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PLACEMENT OF ORPHANS

Russian and Nordic experiences

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Abstract: The chapters in this Research Note are grouped in three sections. The first section (chapters 2–5) presents the international experiences. The second (chapters 6–7) presents the Russian background, whereas the third section (chapter 8–9) offers an updated presentation of Russian realities as to the placement of orphans.

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Preface

Developing alternatives to traditional orphanages is given priority in Russia as well as the Nordic countries, and experiences are shared among practitioners and researchers across state borders. This Research Note is a contribution to this.

The Research Note is based primarily on papers and presentations from a Russian-Nordic network seminar arranged by the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) at the Norwegian University Centre in St. Petersburg in October 2003.

The seminar was titled “Alternatives to traditional orphanages in Russia”, and was financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers’ Grant Scheme. The initiative to arrange a seminar was taken on the background of a Russian-Swedish-Norwegian joint project on alternatives to traditional orphanages. Just like the seminar, this project is financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers. It will be finalised in 2006. Two of the chapters in the Research Note (Holm-Hansen et al and Malik) Malik’s contribution to this Research Note form part of the joint project.

The project participants are the Department of Psychology and Social Work at the Pomor University in Arkhangelsk and Moscow State Social University, the Faculty of Social Work at Stockholm University and the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research in Oslo.

The Norwegian University centre in St. Petersburg deserves credit for the excellent way practical details were handled before and during the seminar. All participants are grateful for the hospitality shown throughout the seminar by the institute director prof. Lillian Helle and her staff.

Oslo, December 2005

Hilde Lorentzen

Research Director

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1 Introduction

The chapters in this Research Note are grouped in three sections. The first section (chapters 2–5) presents the international experiences. The second (chapters 6–7) presents the Russian background, whereas the third section (chapter 8–9) offers an updated presentation of Russian realities as to the placement of orphans.

In chapter 2, Jørn Holm-Hansen addresses the issue of policy transfer distinguishing between “lender-driven” and “borrower-driven” transfer.

In chapter 3, Sven Hessle and Yvonne Askerlund argue that institutions that are harmful to children should be closed down. Ten million children throughout the world are living in institutions. Hessle and Askerlund present a procedure for dismantling institutions. The procedure is based on decision-making and process analysis. As a part of the presentation they address the question whether one model possibly could be applicable for such a diversified field worldwide.

Chapter 4 addresses the issue of parent involvement when child care authorities plan and deliver care. Basing herself on the theoretical literature in the field, the author, Mona Sandbæk, argues that stability for children under care is of utmost importance, and that the biological parents is a major source of stability.

In chapter 5 Anne–Dorthe Hestbæk presents the development of out-of-home care in Denmark. The chapter is based on quantitative data that are placed in their contextual framework. The situation in Denmark is marked by the growing number of children and juveniles subject to either preventive measures or placements.

In chapter 6 professor Lev V. Mardakhaev addresses the present day situation regarding what in Russia is termed “social orphanhood”, i.e. children whose parents loose parental rights. Professor Mardakhaev points at the ways social problems, attitudinal changes and behaviour are interlinked in the context of Russian transformation.

Chapter 7 is about the history of care for orphans in Russia. Professor Mikhail V. Firsov, gives an overview going as far back as to the Ancient Rus in the tenth century. Professor Firsov point at the variety of placement forms as well as the variety of actors (not only state) in the history of Russia. Among other things he shows how the phenomenon of secrecy in adoption issues, that still characterizes Russia, was subject to an imperial decree as early as 1715.

Mikhail V. Firsov, Lars Kristofersen, Larisa S. Malik, Lev V. Mardakhaev, Trine Myrvold, and Jørn Holm–Hansen (chapter 8) depict and analyse the preconditions and obstacles for successful policies of supporting alternatives to orphanages in the North-Western town of Arkhangelsk. The chapter looks into the role of the various actors taking part in the policy field of taking care of orphans. Two possible “advocacy coalitions” are suggested, the “residential care coalitions” and the “coalition for family-like alternatives”.

Chapter 9 offers an insight into the relatively fresh discipline of social work at one of Russia's universities, the Pomor State University of Arkhangelsk. By way of presenting recent diploma works on placement of orphans, the author Larisa S. Malik, shows how child care is being strengthened and developed in Russia.

2 Learning across borders – a framework for analysing «policy transposition»

By Jørn Holm–Hansen, Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research

This chapter presents some perspectives on the phenomenon of policies and policy tools spreading across state borders¹.

What I have in mind is the phenomenon of importing, borrowing, copying policies and policy tools that is already in place in one country for introduction in another country.

Borders between jurisdictions (countries, states) do not hinder the transfer of an idea. On the contrary, sometimes the existence of a border may serve as a stimulus to arrange for the idea of crossing the border. We see this in the Baltic area, in the Barents Euro-Arctic region, and in the activities related to EU's Northern Dimension, in euro-regions all over our continent, in Interreg programmes and the like. These are all institutional arrangements that facilitate, encourage and finance transfer and exchange of policy ideas and instruments.

I believe all of us live in countries where some policy or policy tool has been borrowed from another country with or without the regional arrangements just mentioned.

Therefore, I think we can agree that policies and policy tools actually *are* spreading across state borders. I would, however, remind you of the fact that it is nothing new that policies and policy tools have spread from region to region, country to country. What we here called policy transfer, or policy transposition did exist long before the concept of globalisation was coined in the 1980s.

Confronted with a specific policy problem it is only natural to think that others may have been confronted with identical or similar problems. How did they try to solve the problem? Here, it is the potential “borrower” who asks the question. This is the borrower-driven, or importer-driven form of policy transfer. The whole operation can be characterised as “pull”. The Germans put it like this: “So ein Ding müssen wir auch haben.”

There is also a “lender-driven” type of policy transfer. Here it is the lender who takes the major initiatives. The country that first developed the policy or instrument is eager to see it work in other countries as well. It is lender-driven, or exporter-driven. This operation consists in “pushing”: “So ein Ding müssen *Sie* auch haben”.

Most often, of course the processes of policy transfer that actually take place are combinations, where lenders and borrowers are both actively taking part. They may nevertheless have differing agendas. Policy transfer may take place on bilateral basis (between two countries). Often policy transfer is multilateral. It takes place within the

¹ This chapter draws on a treatise that was published in Holm-Hansen (2005).

framework of international organisations, agreements and conventions that set certain requirements for their members.

So far I have been talking about countries, states, jurisdictions (borrower and lender, bilateral and multilateral). Looking more closely into policy transfer shows clearly the point supported by most scholars of international politics: Sub-state and non-state actors play an increasing role in activities going on across state borders. In the field of policy transfer we can observe cross-national groups of people who share a common type of knowledge and convictions about how things should be, how they are connected, what causes what effects and the like. These cross-national groups or networks of like-minded people – let's call them epistemic communities or *knowledge groups* – serve as canals through which ideas about policies and instruments are conveyed. In such knowledge groups or networks researchers, scholars, professionals, practitioners, politicians and users may take part.

In other words, when talking about policy transfer: In this seminar we are where the action is. What are we doing? We are dealing with cross-border learning.

Developing “Alternatives to Traditional Orphanages” is an international concern. It is dealt with in most countries of Europe and the rest of the World, as Sven Hessle showed. And much is being done our part of the World – Mid-Northern Europe. This is illustrated by other chapters in this Research Note..

To what extent we have to do with “policy transposition” is debatable. It varies from case to case. A policy or a policy tool that resembles a policy or a policy tool in another country does have to be the result of policy transposition. It might as well have been the result of parallel processes of finding a solution to a problem. There is reason to believe that in most cases a combination of endogenous and exogenous factors unfold.

In our case of the development of alternatives to traditional orphanages I would suggest that the policy change itself is mostly a result of endogenous processes. The recognition of the negative features and effects of large orphanages resembling boarding schools has been a mainly endogenous process in most countries. But one should not ignore the impact of exogenous factors as well. They have also played a role. It should be noticed that the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child has affirmed the view that children should grow up in family-like settings.

When looking for policy tools, however, most countries, and certainly all countries presented in this Research Note, have been looking across borders for inspiration. In fact, this goes without saying that the reason why we gather here in St. Petersburg is that we believe it is useful to learn from each others' experiences.

2.1 “Lending” and “borrowing” settings

It is a widespread belief that policy transfer works. In the scholarly literature, however, there are some caveats. A newly transposed policy or instrument is not necessarily “fungible”. It may as well be “blocked”, to use the dichotomy put forward by Richard Rose (1993: 35). The critical question, according to Richard Rose (1993:22) is “*whether a program in one setting is capable of being put in effect in another*”.

There is a sender and an adopter, a starting point and an end point, an originating country and a country of destination – or simply a lender and a borrower. In both ends there is a *setting* in which policies and their instruments operate.

I would like to cite Dolowitz & Marsh (2000) who say that there tends to be an unjustified assumption that policy transfer leads to success. Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) identify three main reasons why policy transfer fails. First, the “borrower” has insufficient information about policy/institutions in the “lending country”. The borrower “fails to recognise the importance of other system variables”, as the authors put it. Secondly, there is the situation where transfer actually is completed, but crucial elements of what made the policy or institutional structure a success in the original country may not be transferred. Thirdly, at times insufficient attention is paid to the differences between the economic, social, political and ideological contexts in transferring and borrowing country. In other words, success hinges on the ability to analyse contextual factors in both ends of the line of transposition.

This is what Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) do when looking at Great Britain’s emulation of the Child Support Agency of Wisconsin. They were able to point at differences in the institutional structures (for instance the role of the courts) and political intentions behind using a policy instrument (which was to address the problems of sole parents in Wisconsin, but to reduce public spending in Britain). Therefore, what worked in Wisconsin did not work in Great Britain.

In a similar way Martin Lodge (2003) is able to explain how EU directives on railway liberalisation fare differently in Germany and Great Britain. Lodge applies an institutional approach in which the appropriateness and legitimacy of the “templates” are considered crucial for the success of policy transposition. The appropriateness of a policy or instrument is first of all dependent upon the way the political and administrative nexus is organised in the borrowing setting. The question is to what degree this nexus offers means for “importing knowledge”. This approach may be applied for the study of why a certain policy is chosen as well as of how it strikes root in the new setting.

Dolowitz and Marsh suggest a focus on six main questions. They ask why actors do engage in policy transfer; who the key actors involved in the process are; what is transferred; from where lessons are drawn; what the different degrees of transfer are; and what restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process. Following from the arguments above, we add a seventh question regarding what Lodge (2003) denoted the political and administrative nexus:

What processes were going on in the borrowing country/region/municipality *prior to* the initiation of policy transfer?

Were there already local responses to the challenges that the lender’s instruments aimed at countering? Were new policy instruments being developed already? When policies are being transferred, an asymmetrical relationship between lenders and borrowers is established. This process has not been very much investigated. Nevertheless, it seems that the asymmetrical relationship between lenders and borrowers involves two active sides, the borrower not being less vigorous than the lender. This may for instance include the borrower presenting himself more helpless than he actually is, for instance by downplaying the fact that, in reality, he is already equipped with a set-up of functioning policy instruments. Suffice it here to mention that several former Soviet republics had developed their own, up-to-date and context-adapted environmental policy instruments in the perestroika period. The state ecological expertise (the “cousin” of EIA) is but one of them.

2.2 The sequences of policy transposition

Policy transposition is a process consisting of several sequences.

1: *Genesis of the policy in the lending setting.* It begins with the coming into existence of a policy or instrument in the first place. The circumstances around the “genesis” of the new policy must be analysed. What made the policy desirable (what problem was it a response to)? What actors supported it and were ready to underpin it as soon as it was introduced? What already existing institutional arrangements did the new policy lean against/ what institutional arrangements did it link up to? These questions are important because they should be asked for the borrowing setting as well. Contrasting the two *settings* is the main tool in the procedure of a) identifying the preconditions for a new policy or instrument to work and b) identifying what preconditions for an instrument to function that do not exist in the borrowing setting, or alternatively what circumstances (actors, institutional arrangements, organisations) that could make up for the lack of surroundings identical to those found the lending setting.

2: *Policy getting ready for transfer.* What makes the policy cross the borders? It is not necessarily the same reasons that made the policy appear that makes it “move”. As seen in a sub-chapter above, reasons vary from transition, developmental aid to political changes (both peace and war). There is a varying combination of push and pull factors and varying relative importance of policy exporters and importers. Transfer by invitation or by self-invitation. All this have a bearing on the fate of the new policy.

3: *Policy moving.* Channels through which new policies are conveyed vary. There may be bi-lateral types of transfer or international agreements or regimes through which policies are transposed².

Although our concern is with the two “extreme” ends of policy transposition there is reason to be aware of the process between them. How the instruments were conveyed, by whom, with what knowledge-base, on what grounds and with what degree of voluntariness are relevant questions on factors that have an impact on adaptation (sequence # 5 below).

4: *Policies being adopted.* At this stage the decisive question is whether there has been a process of adaptation prior to the adoption. To what extent has there been a process of adaptation to the borrowing setting’s institutional arrangements? Has the new policy been subject to political debates and conflict, hearings and public participation? Has possibly unintended consequences and impacts of introducing the new policy been assessed?

5: *Policies being carried out and instruments used on an everyday basis in the borrowing setting.* This is the final stage of a process of policy transposition. The way implanted policies and instruments function depends to a large degree on how they were filtered through the four preceding stages of transposition.

² See for instance Per-Olof Busch’s study of the diffusion of fixed feed-in tariffs and quotas in the use of renewable energy. His focus is on the ways policies were diffused. He distinguishes between horizontal and institutional diffusion, in which the former refers to exchange that take place directly between countries and the latter policies conveyed through international organisations (Busch 2003).

2.3 Practical use of operating with “lending” and “borrowing” setting

I bring in some perspectives drawn from the scholarly literature on lesson-drawing, policy diffusion and policy transfer. This may be useful. It is useful because it improves/refines our methods of telling/teaching about our own policies and policy instruments. And it enhances/refines our ability to learn from other countries. In the following I will illustrate this point. I will make use of the analytical categories of a “lending” and a “borrowing” setting already introduced above.

When a policy or policy instrument is developed in the first place (let’s call it the “lending country”) it is usually the result of a long-term process. The process is usually prompted by a perceived problem. The reason why the problem is perceived as a problem may be that there is a professional group carrying with them scientific capabilities of detecting and describing problems. Or even a social group carrying with them an “ideological” preparedness to detect certain types of problems. Without this group, the problem might have been ignored. Then the question is: If these groups played an important role in the genesis of the policy (or instrument) in the lending country, they are likely to be pivotal for the day-to-day upholding and functioning of the instrument. What then if these or similar groups are weaker or absent in the borrowing country?

The following scheme illustrates the point. Trying to fill in some key-words in each of the square may help clarify the picture.

Table 2.1 *Genesis and underpinning of transferred policy in the actual setting*

	Lending setting	Borrowing setting
What were the circumstances that made the policy or policy instrument desirable (what problem was it a response to)		
What actors supported it and were ready to underpin it as soon as it was introduced?		
What already existing institutional arrangements did the new policy lean against/ what institutional arrangements did it link up to?		

Contrasting the two *settings* is the main tool in the procedure of a) identifying the preconditions for a new policy or instrument to work and b) identifying what preconditions for an instrument to function that do not exist in the borrowing setting, or alternatively what circumstances (actors, institutional arrangements, organisations) that could make up for the lack of surroundings identical to those found the lending setting.

In order to detect the surrounding factors that underpins a policy or a policy instrument requires an ability to analyse the phenomena close-up with a curious and without prejudice.

It is necessary to be able to detect factors that are not paid notice to by the people in the respective settings (lending/borrowing) because they are taken for granted, as being self-

evident. This, by the way is a case for international activities involving scholars, researchers and practitioners. Sometimes it is simply easier to see the specificities of each others' contexts from outside.

The table below illustrates in what ways surroundings may differ across settings and in what ways that is relevant for the fate of a given policy transposition. The scheme is preliminary, rudimentary and meant as an inspiration for discussion.

Table 2.2 *Contextual differences between lending and borrowing settings*

Some aspects of the surrounding that may differ:	Relevance:
Knowledge groups (social, scientific)	<p>I The science of social work Relevant within child care for policies aiming at prevention and work with parents</p> <p>-----</p> <p>II Epidemiological-sanitary branch of medicine Relevant for fighting tuberculosis, AIDS (what if strategies introduced pre-suppose the existence of an epidemiological-sanitary sector?)</p>
Institutions (in the narrow sense of organisations, agencies)	Charitable organisations Relevant within social protection (sometimes policies borrowed from countries where such organisations play a large role being vested with task that are under public authorities in other countries)
Widespread convictions and habits	Housewives staying at home/Large households
Economy	Public and private poverty
Power relations	<p>Between business and public authorities Relevant within environmental protection for the ability to pursue environmental policies</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Between public authorities and private individuals Relevant for control of e.g. foster parents</p>

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter calls attention to *transferability*. My simple point is that it is not enough to have a good idea, a good policy or a good instrument. It must be able to get in mesh, to interact, with the surroundings, the society into which the novelty is introduced.

The key to successful transfer of policies and policy instrument, the chapter claims, is careful attention to the differences between the two settings of the "lender" and the "borrower".

Attention should also be paid to the process of transfer itself (How did policies get ready for transfer? Through which channels were policies conveyed?).

The main focus in this chapter, however, is on the "lender"/"borrower" differences. To sum up: The following questions should be answered:

-
- What made the new policy attractive in the two settings (differences and similarities)?
 - What groups supported the idea and what groups were able to underpin it as soon as it was introduced (differences and similarities)?
 - What already existing institutional arrangements did the new policy lean against/ what institutional arrangements did it link up to (differences and similarities)?

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3 A cross-national decision model for closing down institutions that are harmful to children

By Sven Hessle and Yvonne Askerlund, Department of social work, Stockholm University

This chapter presents a universal applicable model is presented for supporting the decision to close down long-term large-scale institutions for children. Ten million children around the world are estimated to be growing up in total institutions. A decision-making procedure is developed that contains a systematic documentation of the development of the dismantling progress. The decision-making and process analysis is the key element in the model. From an official agreement of closing an institution, the selected body of responsible decision makers has to steer the simultaneous processing of five levels, the terms of the closure agreement, decision-making and process analysis, the institution itself, the socio-political context, and the systematic documentation of the closure process. All levels include different factors to consider.

3.1 Introduction

Long-term stay in any of the large-scale children's homes or residential institutions for children is damaging to the child. About this there is common agreement within the international research community. Many countries have accepted the consequences of the research findings and have begun to close their large-scale institutions for children. Sweden for example, began the process of deinstitutionalising children in the mid-1900s. The institutional placement of children has never been the policy of first choice in this country. Rather children who for various reasons are unable to live with their parents have preferably been placed in foster homes. Historically, during one century up to the 1980s eight of ten placements were in foster families, but during the last decades an increasing demand on small group home placements has nearly equalised the selection of placements.

Today, some 75% of the children's homes in Sweden have at most nine children in care simultaneously and their stay is limited to short periods of time³. A worrying tendency

³ Twenty children in residential care is the limit in Sweden when looking at statistics. Only one institution includes up to 40 residents, but institutions with more than twenty residents divide them in small group home units. By the year 2000, all of the institutions for children with developmental impairments/mental disabilities were dismantled in Sweden. This can be attributed primarily to the pioneering efforts of Dr. Karl Grünewald (see Grünewald, 2001).

currently in Sweden though is the increasing demand on compulsory placements of young offenders in residential care units for longer treatment periods, which may mean stays of up to two years in individual cases (Sallnäs, 2000; 2001).

Research has shown that placing children in small institutions for a brief stay is not necessarily harmful to the child if competent staff provides the right kind of care (Hessle, 1998). For instance, shelters for temporary protection of homeless or abused women and children. Or small group homes with staff qualified to focus the quality of life of each individual case.

In this chapter we will present a general model for dismantling harmful institutions for children. Since there is no need of more scientific evidence that long-term residential care is harmful for children, a comprehensive international peer review investigation will not be necessary. The most critical question is therefore: how shall harmful institutions for children be closed down? In many of the countries in the world a dismantling process has started decades ago. This chapter is based on the assumption that some countries will need support from international expertise to initiate the development of dismantling the asylums for children. With experience from Sweden for example, we know that closing down institutions is possible, but the dismantling road is strongly context-bound. Every institution under development is worth a separate approach. But, we believe it is possible to construct a model for dismantling institutions that has both universal features of institutions as well as considering contextual factors. When taking into consideration which kind of residential care arrangement that is harmful for children, there are at least two basic dimensions to take into account: One basic dimension is the size of institution and the length of stay for the child. Essential is also the UN Convention of the Right of the Child (CRC). We commence with the size/time-dimension and will comment on the consequences of CRC in the end of the chapter.

3.2 Size of institution and time in care

The question of short-term stay in residential care becomes obviously problematic when viewed in an international perspective. In the *International Encyclopedia of Social Policy*, Residential care is defined as:

“Care, treatment or protection on 24-hour-a-day basis in social settings involving accommodation in facilities, away from ordinary living conditions in households or family units. Residents may vary from children to elderly people, individuals or families. The care programme provided can show variations depending upon needs of the residents and available resources. The length of stay varies from temporary to permanency living.”

With this definition more than 100 different types of residential care can be identified, which mirrors the differentiation of the institutions that has taken place during the last centuries. When dismantling of institutions is in focus, it is important to consider the contextual framework, including the economic and socio-political factors as well as socio-cultural traditions that shape the basis of and submit possible alternatives to residential care. In broad terms, there are two basic categories that are in focus when considering the development of a universal model for dismantling of institutions with children in care, the size of the institution (numbers of children in care) and the time in care. In table one, the two categories are listed in a fourfold table. It is important to notice that the categories of time in care and size of institution are defined by the local intention

of the institution, codified as objectives in official or other documents. A complication might be that the care of children in reality differs from the official aims.

Table 3.1 *Different categories of institutions for children, based on size and time in care*

	Short-term placement	Long-term placement
Small-scale	1	2
Large-scale	3	4

Four “ideal types” (in Weberian sense of the word) of institutions can be identified with the two categories:

1. *Small -scale institution for short -term placements.* Usually named as a group home or temporary shelter for protection, care, investigation. The modern residential care unit that provides a temporary platform for children and youth. Staffed with highly qualified professionals that supports the individual child development according to the individual needs.
2. *Small -scale institution for long-term placements.* Usually a densely staffed group home like facility for long term individual and group treatment of young delinquents.
3. *Large -scale institution for short- term placements.* Temporary shelters in emergency situations, e g. earthquake, war or refugee camps. Unfortunately there are lots of large -scale refugee camps in the world that have turned into permanent residents, e g. in the Middle East.
4. *Large- scale institution for long -term placements.* Custodial setting for the accommodation of a large number of abandoned children. Typically is the understaffed institution with features of the total institution (Goffman, 1961), i. e. a tendency to deprive the individuals of their personal identity. And the isolation from the community and family stigmatizes the residents and make them vulnerable to oppression and dependent on the contextual framework, resulting in less individual competence for participation in ordinary life.

A model with ambitions to dismantle harmful institutions for children can obviously not cover all these four ideal types. Small-scale institutions have in common the ambition to meet the needs of the individual child in care. And large-scale emergency institutions are not in focus of our model, even if the tendency of these institutions to develop into permanency seriously may harm the children that are growing up under such conditions (e g. refugee camps).

The following presentation concerns only the closing of large-scale long-term institutions with the typical signs of the total institution.

3.3 Closing up large-scale long-term institutions

Some ten million children throughout the world are living in institutions, with some of these institutions housing hundreds of children at any one time.⁴ It is unknown how many

⁴ These figures are of course uncertain, and there is no clear set of criteria for making a sharp distinction between large-scale and small-scale institutions. However, the trend is towards an increase rather than a decrease in the demand for institutional placements. At the same time, all

of these children that are placed in large-scale long-term institutions, but it is most likely the majority of the children in residential care. It is of the utmost urgency that these children are given a better environment in which to grow and develop. Not least the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has drawn attention to the circumstances under which so many institutionalised children live today. In many countries closing such children's homes is being given high priority.

But to close a large-scale children's home is easier said than done. Residential care has generally been built up over a long period of time and is anchored in hard-won traditions. Moreover, in poverty regions institutions may be the only resort for children of poor parents where the children are guaranteed food on a regularly basis and education. In some countries, "exiled children" are put in residential care by parents for protection from drug misuse or sexual abuse in the neighbourhood. Other conserving factors are social or cultural, e.g. the impossibility to establish a foster care placement system due to the socio-cultural unfeasibility to accept another parent's child in the family of a stranger. Finally, one may not underestimate the resistance to a dismantling process in a local community where employment in the institution might be a main resource for the population.

In short, addressing the problem entails both stemming the influx of children into institutions and finding new placements for those currently institutionalised. To do so, alternative forms of placement must be found that will guarantee better and safer life circumstances for children. Furthermore, the process of closing large institutions necessitates making changes in their current organisation, in the staff's work conditions and in conditions in the society. Although it is not possible to know exactly where to draw the line between large and small institutions for children, we have seen that institutions housing several hundred children at a time usually have a staff of several hundred persons as well.

In summary, the task of closing an institution affects both children and adults as well as the way the institution in question is organised; furthermore, the closure process is always carried out within a specific societal context. If the institutional system as such is to be dismantled, there must be a parallel development of the institutions currently in existence. It may be necessary, for example, to take measures to mitigate the harm these institutions do to children or to change the direction of the work they do with children.

The following is a presentation of a model for how the dismantling of the institutional system can be brought about while changing the direction of the childcare activities currently being provided by the larger institutions.⁵ Obviously, the model is formulated in general terms to allow for a broad application. In the individual case, the closing of the institution must be accomplished in accordance with the terms and level of ambition specified in the closure agreement, and with due consideration given to the special context in which the shut down takes place, not least the existing socio-cultural conditions and present welfare policy.

over the world the trend is toward increased professionalism and a demand for better-qualified staff (Tollfree (2000) and Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2001) are citing UNICEF figures).

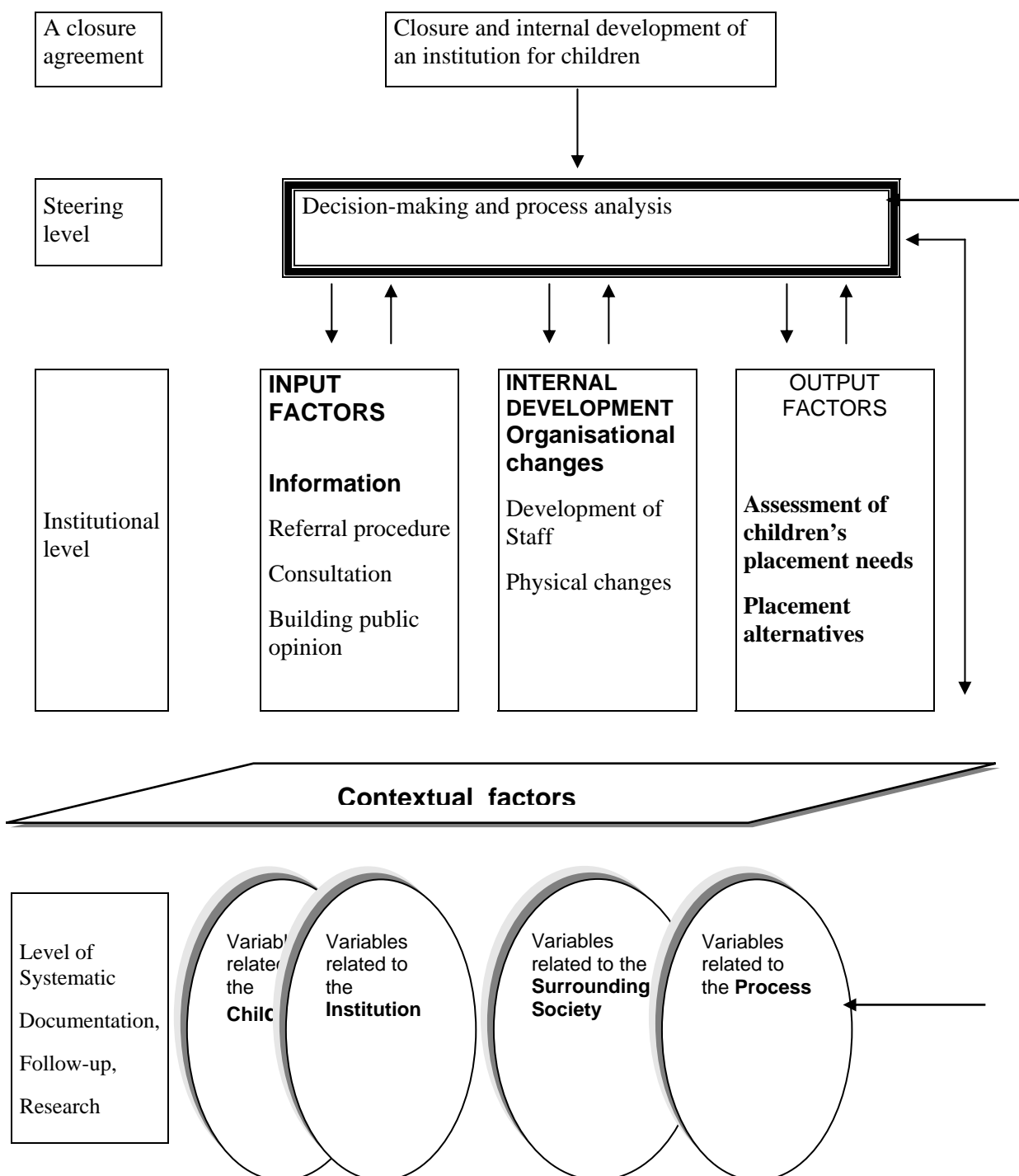
⁵ This model is inspired in part by the model for decision-making devised by Arne Trankell (1963) and originally intended for use in witness psychological decision making. Another source of inspiration is the work being done for institutionalised children in St. Petersburg, Russia (Askerlund, 2000).

One may well ask if it is possible to devise a generally applicable model for such a diversified field. Can the model possibly encompass the diverse forms of institutions existing throughout the world, with children ranging in age from infancy to near adulthood, not to mention those that provide care for both adults and children? Moreover, many institutionalised children have severe mental and/or physical disabilities. The question is whether the features of the large-scale institutions are sufficiently universal so that differences in the children's ages and diagnostic criteria can be transcended to enable the application of a common model for closing the institutions.

The model is presented with social work as a frame of reference. We are aware of that experts from many fields are involved in the issues of residential care, especially when the focus is on structural change of the conditions. But we like to defend our position. When considering transformation of a care situation from institution to community alternatives, social issues inevitably becomes the focus of attention. The arrangement of formal and informal network surrounding the individual child to be placed in a local community arrangement is basically a matter of organisation by the competence of social workers. On the other hand, the special needs of the individual child may require expertise depending on different diagnostic considerations. An interdisciplinary team under a social work case management might be optimal.

The outline presented here is a combined decision-making and documentation model. Closing an institution entails making many difficult and complicated decisions. For each institution to be shut down, there has to be a continuous overview, or holistic grasp, of all the factors involved in the closure process. The model (Figure 1) contains five levels: the terms of a closure agreement; a steering level with decision-making based on a continuing process analysis; the institutional level including input factors, internal development factors and output factors; the socio-political context in which the institution is embedded; and the systematic documentation of the closure process. In the following section we give a brief description of the model and the content of these five levels. Figure 3.1 will help the reader to follow the discussion.

Figure 3.1 *Closing large-scale institutions for children from the inside and from without – a model for decision-making and documentation.*



3.4 The closure agreement

In each case the decision to close an institution must have official sanction. The usual case is for the government or its representative in, for example, a state or municipal authority to officially “commission” the closing of the institution. Such a commission presupposes that there are legal means for closing the institution and that there are other legally sanctioned forms of care available for the children living in the institution as well for those who would normally have been placed in the institution. In both instances the alternative care provided must substantially benefit the children. In other words, the placement of the children affected by the closing of the institution is a matter of public concern. Consequently, even if the children’s home in question is a private or semi-private one and operates outside the public sector, the commission to close it must be formulated by a public authority. In our experience, the road to securing the commission can be strewn with innumerable bureaucratic obstacles, but it is nevertheless necessary to go that route.

3.5 Decision-making and process analysis

We cannot emphasise enough the importance of this level of the model. It specifies that the decisions in connection in closing an institution are to be made by a specially appointed *steering committee* including a. a. internally and externally recruited experts. This committee constitutes the commission’s “brain centre” and its function is to direct the course of the closure process. This entails making a number of decisions, each of which 1) constitutes the most optimal choice of alternatives from a holistic perspective, 2) maintains a balance between the dismantling of the institutional system and the parallel internal development and conversion of the existing institution, and 3) pays due respect to important considerations in relation to the dynamics of the socio-political contextual factors.

A basic principle of the model is that these three factors must work together if the project to close a children’s institution is to be successful in the long run. Consequently, it is not simply a matter of putting a padlock on the door and placing the children elsewhere. Something has to be done about the society’s continued need of placements for children and to meet the needs of the staff and ensure their continued training. First and foremost, there must be a firm conviction that the new placement will better serve the child’s interests. For this reason, systematic documentation and follow-up are crucial to the closure process (see Figure 3.1).

In brief, we can say that the prime function of the steering committee is to steer the institution away from certain kinds of activities and toward others. For example, as the closure process proceeds, the children’s home could be converted into an assessment centre, or perhaps a treatment centre for families, or a day-care centre for disabled children living at home, to give just a few examples. It should be noted, however, that it may be preferable to try to normalise daily life as far as possible for children at risk, for example by using the care and protection facilities that the community has to offer. Indeed, doing so might even be part of the closure agreement. However, this does not prevent the institution from initiating new activities with new goals as the closure process progresses.

3.6 The institutional level

There are three main aspects of this level in the model: input factors; the institution's internal development; and output factors.

3.6.1 Input factors

Stopping the flow of new admissions to an institution need not imply turning away clients in need of care and treatment. The direction of the institution's activities could be changed instead, to name just one option. For example, many of the large-scale institutions housing both children and adults at the same time could be converted to institutions for adults only. In this case, it is the children for whom new placements will have to be found. In Sweden many of the treatment institutions for children began to provide care for the whole family, parents and children at risk together; families became the new client group (Hessle, 1997; Sallnäs, 2000).⁶ The continued influx of new admissions also depends on the age group accepted by the institution. In many cases children are moved between several large-scale institutions throughout their childhood. The creation of alternative placements for the very young would reduce the need for continued institutional placements. In time and with additional training, institutional staff will be better equipped to influence the surrounding community as they proceed with the practical work of closing their institution. Thus, institutional staff will have new roles to play as the external demand for institutional placements tapers off. The following input factors are not ranked in any particular order but are all important parts of the closure process.

Information. The surrounding community must be informed about the institution's change of direction; this concerns not least the public authorities in charge of placing children and, of course, the children's parents. The reason for the institution's change of direction must also be made clear to give both the authorities and parents the possibility to reflect on their own actions and contribute to the conversion process.

Referrals. A reasonable expectation is that the staff will in time acquire the necessary competence to assist in assessing the placement needs of children who would otherwise have been placed in institutional care.

Influencing public opinion and working as consultants. Staff who take a more active stance and have a more outwardly directed function can help to change the attitudes of the general public and social institutions towards children at risk. In-service trained staff will be able to articulate for the general public the main reasons for shutting down the institution. Closing a children's home can thus have an ideological impact on preventive care as well. The institution's staff can also share their skills and know-how with colleagues at other institutions.

Working in the community. Further developing their competence will enable many staff members to provide social services in a community-based setting.

⁶ From an international perspective, this development was unique to Sweden throughout the post-war period (from 1950s onwards). Reforms of family policy were introduced while an ongoing political discourse on care and treatment went under the banner "down with the institution". The family's role in the caring sector is as both giver and receiver.

3.6.2 Factors affecting the institution's internal development

Changing the direction of a residential facility has consequences for all levels of organised care. Three main factors can be distinguished that have an appreciable effect on the closing of an institution.

Organisational change. Changing the direction of a care facility requires re-examining its organisational structure. New goals for the activities that enjoy official sanction must be formulated. Also affected will be how *clients are viewed*, that is, the basic assumptions on why certain children become clients. Certain *technological changes* will have to be made as well, by which we mean the methods of treatment used to promote and facilitate care, growth and change. These shifts of emphasis can be accomplished through training and qualified supervision.

Changes affecting the staff. Closing an institution will also have a profound effect on the staff. To enable staff to meet their new tasks and responsibilities, means will have to be devised to enhance and give a new orientation to their competence; for example, through human resource approaches, in-house training and job retraining. Some staff members will want to continue their work, now in the local community, others might prefer to leave their employment. Some staff will have to be relocated and it is likely that new staff will have to be recruited. In any case, closing an institution will bring about significant changes in the roles of the staff. Without doubt, the decision to close an institution necessitates the further training of all staff.

According to Swedish experiences, the staff may end up in different roles depending on sector in focus. When dismantling institutions for mentally disabled, the staff followed their clients to the new setting in group homes. The new roles for the staff were different, and a training period for the staff was preceding the close down of the institution (Stenström-Jönsson, 1995). The turning down of psychiatric institutions is in international perspective very divergent. In some countries, staff of the closed down psychiatric hospital opened community based psychiatric centres. In other countries, the psychiatric hospital or unit became the basis for open psychiatry. (Forsberg, 1994). In Sweden, the community run social service centre will take responsibility for psychiatric patients living in apartments in local municipality (Eriksson, 1995).

Physical and material changes. The premises of large-scale institutions are usually huge buildings that were seldom originally built with the care of children in mind. Once it has been decided to change the direction of the institution, the physical dimensions of the premises is an important factor to discuss. Can the institution be converted to suit the change of direction decided on? Or should the premises be abandoned altogether and made available for other kinds of activities?

3.6.3 Output factors

A crucial and highly complex aspect of closing an institution is finding new placements for the children. Besides age, gender and type and severity of the child's problems, the assessment also has to take into consideration how long the child has been institutionalised. One of the most important tasks is to devise a diagnostic approach that will make it possible to differentiate among the children according to types of problems and placement needs. Another factor at play in this connection concerns the aims of the care institution; these can vary widely, from child raising, protection, care, treatment and rehabilitation, to give just a few of the more typical examples. Many children most likely suffer the effects of institutionalisation. There has to be a firm conviction that the new

placement for the child will be better than the present arrangement. This might mean that some children will have to remain in the institution but under such conditions that their needs will now be met in the best possible way. A special task in this connection concerns the choice of instruments for making individual assessments of each child's placement needs. Another special task concerns the availability of placement alternatives. There may be so few alternatives available that new forms of placements will have to be devised. In a broader perspective these new forms of placements will require reforms on the socio-political level.

Here are a few examples of placement alternatives:

- *Reunion with the family.* Under what circumstances could the child be returned to his/her family? In most cases, the parents of institutionalised children are alive. Would *financial assistance* be enough to enable them to raise their children themselves? Or would some form of *relief support* be enough in some cases, for example a good *contact family* from the neighbourhood or a *day care centre* that the child could attend on a regular basis?
- *Foster homes,* homes preferably with relatives family, or otherwise where the child has continued contact with his/her family and relatives. An important issue here, of course, is the choice of foster home. There are many ways of selecting a good foster home. The question of payment and access to supervision for the foster family are other important issues to consider.
- *Adoption,* first and foremost national adoption.
- *Group homes,* by which is meant small institutions that are specially adapted to the specific needs of the child and located as close as possible to the child's home community.
- *Other alternatives.* Could a tailor-made placement be arranged for a child with special needs or to fulfil a specific requirement in the closure agreement? For older children, for example, it might be possible to set up special "facilities for independent living" as they might be called from the Scandinavian experience, particularly when an adult institution is the only other option.

3.6.4 Contextual factors

Institutions are dependent on a complex pattern of requirements and circumstances for their existence and further development, or what we here refer to simply as contextual factors. Economic circumstances are one of the main considerations. Under what economic circumstances is the institution being shut down? Experience has shown that although investment costs may be considerable in the short run, in the long run alternative placements for children will be less expensive than the cost of maintaining the large-scale institutions. Moreover, the alternatives are more flexible and offer better conditions for the children's development and social adaptation.

Here there is a wide range of factors that have to be taken into consideration and impacted on by various means. On the national level there are socio-cultural factors and official welfare policies that have to be considered and if possible influenced. Recent research has shown, however, that institutions are greatly dependent on the surrounding contextual conditions (Sallnäs, 2000). The institutions have had to adapt to the demands of the surrounding society rather than being a force for change in the community! In other words, children's institutions are regarded as legitimising the surrounding world's view

of institutionalised children. To go against the stream and shut down institutions that harm children may very well necessitate the parallel reformation of the society⁷.

Through their generous material support, international charitable organisations, NGOs and other donors conserve, if inadvertently, the existing institutional system. Their resources should be channelled into projects that are in accordance with the general principles of the closure agreements.

There are two additional factors that are central to a closure agreement: relations with the surrounding community and contact with the child's family. The large-scale institutions' isolation from the local community seriously affects the children's wellbeing; maintaining an open channel of communication with the local community is a prerequisite when closing a children's home. This refers to communication with both the local community where the institution is located and where a large part of the staff most likely live, and the children's family and relatives, many of whom do not live in the community. It could be advantageous to work closely with various volunteer organisations; in particular, the parents of the institutionalised children should organise themselves to ensure that their interests are taken into consideration in the closure agreements.

3.6.5 Systematic documentation, follow-up and research

Closing a children's home is a huge task and affects many more people than the institution's young residents and staff. At the time it was instituted, the institution was probably the best available option for the children, or the one causing the least harm. Systematic documentation of the decision-making process that led to the children's placement is thus of prime importance for determining what kind of care they will need in the future. Research has shown us what form of placement for children is the least recommendable – the large-scale institutions! But can we say on the basis of science and proved experience, which forms of placement are the most recommendable? It is for this reason that great care must be taken in following up the child's development.

Four variables emerge as being of main importance for conducting systematic studies of the process of closing an institution; they pertain to the children, the staff, the surrounding society and the closure process, respectively. (See Figure 3.1.)

1. *Variables pertaining to the children.* Here we include baseline values pertaining to the children and their development after leaving the institution, to their families (parents, siblings and relatives), to the children's social networks, and to key persons in the new placement, such as foster families, contact families, adoptive families, etc. Not least important in this connection is the children's own views on their situation, whenever these can be obtained.
2. *Variables pertaining to the institution.* Here we include the main baseline values pertaining to the organisation (type of institution, organisational structure, client view, technology, economy, etc.), as well as baseline values pertaining to the staff, to their need for further training and development, and to their attitudes towards and ways of relating to the children.
3. *Variables pertaining to the related context.* Here we include first and foremost baseline values affecting the process of social change that are not covered in point 1

⁷ Here it is important to bear in mind that the closing of large-scale children's institutions in Sweden was possible because of the parallel development of the welfare state and the successive reformulation of social welfare legislation.

above (under children's variables). An example is the possible change of attitude towards children and care on the part of representatives for various organisations and public authorities.

4. *Variables pertaining to the closure process.* Here we include the whole body of documented decisions made by the steering committee in connection with the closing of the institution. All these decisions must be in accordance with the terms of the closure agreement. Furthermore, to make the correct decisions, a holistic perspective has to be applied to each aspect of the closing of the institution as a residential home and its possible conversion for other kinds of activities that promote the children's wellbeing. *A systematic study of this body of decisions and the motives behind them* is thus highly relevant for following up the closure process.

The model allows for fairly simple follow-ups, but can easily be adapted for making more ambitious evaluations. A decisive factor in this respect is the choice of instrument for collecting data (operationalisation) of the first three groups of variables described above. It is especially important that standardised instruments are used for assessing the children's continued development, which will thereby enable making comparisons with other projects of a similar nature.

3.6.6 Is the model feasible?

The model described here is, as pointed out earlier, greatly simplified for the sake of generalisation. Each set of decisions to close an institution and each institution itself is of course unique and the model must be flexible if it is to be applicable to this complex reality. It should also be borne in mind that the time factor plays an important role, and that in many countries the large-scale institutions were closed down over a period of decades. In Sweden it was possible to close the large-scale children's homes because there was parallel development of the post-war welfare state. Poverty was no longer a reason for putting children into institutions. Another related factor was the ongoing discourse on care that was being conducted in connection with reforms initiated within the framework of the emerging welfare state (Hessle, 1997). Thus, welfare policies and prevailing social conditions are important factors that must be brought into the equation. In some instances it may not be possible to close the children's homes unless there is a parallel reformation of the society.

In this connection we shall touch upon three sensitive questions, which the model brings to the fore: assessing the children's placement needs; the composition of the steering committee; and the staff's continued need for training.

1. A sensitive factor in the model concerns replacing the children. Even if it is generally applicable, no model can be based on the assumption that there is a common starting point for assessing children's individual placement needs. Placement decisions have to evolve within each specific context. We mentioned earlier that research can tell us what constitutes a poor placement, but not what is the best possible placement for a particular child. For example, we can assume that many of the children in question have spent most of their growing years in institutions and that the institution slated for closure is probably not the child's first experience of institutions. It is likely that many of the children already suffer from the harmful effects of institutionalisation. Great care must be taken and patience exercised in finding new placements for these children. The child's age and gender are important factors, of course; there is a difference between institutions for the very young and those for adolescents. And

under what circumstances would it be possible or advisable to mix boys and girls? Type of problem is also a decisive factor for the new placement. In most countries there are institutions that mix children with different kinds of disabilities, whereas in Sweden, to give one example, it is illegal to place children with developmental disabilities in an institution. There are also sociocultural and ideological traditions that have to be taken into account. Different cultures, different societies develop different ways to meet and resolve crises involving children. In Russia and in some of the African countries, for example, the extended family and village community have traditionally played a central role in the children's upbringing. We should consider how these patterns of community life will work in the new emerging societies.

2. Another sensitive question concerns the composition of the steering committee that has the responsibility for making all the major decisions for closing a children's institution. The steering committee has links to interest groups both within and outside the institution and for this reason should be composed of both internal representatives and external experts. The group can be large or small depending on the situation, but it should be small enough to allow for flexibility and effectiveness. The external experts can be selected from both the national and international community of experts having experience of deinstitutionalisation projects with children involved. The main emphasis should be on the problems of the actual children in question. Institutional staff should be represented in the steering committee because they have firsthand knowledge of the institution's culture. But they should be included for democratic reasons as well – that it is only fair to involve the staff in a decision-making process that will affect their professional future. It might also be advisable to include representatives of the local community in the steering committee – indeed, including persons from the school system and the social services could be essential to ensure the continued and smooth functioning of the process.
3. Lastly, we mentioned earlier that the continued training of the staff is an important part of deinstitutionalisation. It is a matter of updating the staff's knowledge of the international state of the art in childcare and imparting such knowledge that will give the staff new ways of relating to the children and create the impetus for changing the children's life conditions.

3.6.7 The closure process

The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) is underlining the whole dismantling process. Basic principles are: non-discrimination and non-exploitation of the child, family is the primary unit for development and security and the child's interests and opinion shall be considered in all decisions. The basic rights can be summarised under four headings: The Rights to Survival, Development, Protection and Participation (Save the Children Alliance, 2002). Most of the children that are institutionalised have a family and relatives alive. CRC prescribes the State to support reunion of the child with the family and to secure the rights of the child in alternative placements if a reunion is not possible. Starting a closure process can in some cases be said to turn a top-down steered institution to a bottom-up strategy. The principle of participation of the children and their families in the development of the institution will not only brake the isolation of the institution from society, it will contribute to the transparency of the future protection arrangement of the children, regardless of placement.

For countries that ratified it, the CRC can be said to have put pressure on them to shut down the large-scale institutions and give the children their just rights. Also, in some countries the institutional process may have been initiated because international experts

applied pressure. In such cases, a top-down strategy is unavoidable. Many among the institutional staff may resent being pressured from above. To counteract this situation it may be necessary to begin the process of finding alternative placements for some of the children even before the work to change the institution from the inside has begun; that is, before development from the bottom-up has become a fact. The alternative placements could thereby serve as good models and the staff may find it easier to envision a different kind of future for institutionalised children.

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4 Involving parents in the children's care process

By Mona Sandbæk, Nova

4.1 Introduction

In this presentation I will talk about an issue that has become an increasing concern of mine, namely how to involve parents when the child welfare authorities plan and deliver care⁸. Involving them might seem evident, but in practice it is still often overlooked.

First, I will address why parents should be involved when their children are taken under care by public authorities, then I will move on to discuss reasons for the fact that this often is neglected and finally I will share some reflections on how parents can be involved.

4.2 Reasons for involving parents in the planning and delivering of care

When I started out as a young social worker almost 30 years ago, I had a naive belief that children who were taken into custody by the Norwegian state, would get nurturing and stable environment, a new lasting home.

This has proven to be very far from the realities, also in our small country. More recent Norwegian reports indicate that between 15 and 20 percent, experience various forms of breakdowns within a relative short time span (Havik, Hassel og Poulsson 2003, Hordaland fylkeskommune). Empirical research has shown that this is indeed also the case in other Western countries. A large number of children placed in foster care and in institutions are exposed to unplanned and for them unwanted breaks (Smith, Gollop and Taylor; 1998). Without going into details about numbers, some figures will be used to indicate the situation. Foster home breakdowns seem to involve 10 per cent for children placed before they were ten, 15-50 per cent for children of older age, according to Kagan and Reid, 1986; Thoburn and Rowe, 1988. When it comes to placements in institutions Millham, Bullock, Hosie and Haak (1986) followed 450 children who came into care in five local authorities in England and Wales. After two years 170 children were still in care and 67 of them had experienced break downs. Including hasty transfers, the number of breakdowns was 107. The 170 children had experienced 505 different placements. After five years 78 per cent of the children had returned to family or relatives.

⁸ Part of this chapter has been presented in Knorth, EJ, van den Bergh, PM and Verheij, F's book (2002) *Professionalization and Participation in Child and Youth Care*. Aldershot: Ashgate

Figures will be different among countries, and can surely be debated and interpreted differently also within each country. There is, however, a general agreement that lack of stability is a fact of life for too many children in care. This undermines children's opportunities to establish new secure attachment. So, one reason why parents should be involved in planning and delivering care, is that they represent stability and continuity in the majority of the children's lives. The following quote illustrates this point: *"It may be true that some children in care reluctantly go back to relatives because they have nobody else. Nevertheless, whether professionals like it or not, almost all children in care will eventually be restored to their family and our perspectives and interventions need to accommodate that fact"* (Bullock, Little and Millham, 1993: p 67).

Two parallel processes may contribute to exclude the parents from the care process. First, overestimating the state as a parent and overlooking the problems with lack of stability and attachment discussed above. Secondly, underestimating the parents' psychological as well as practical importance for their children in the long run. Feeling they are in charge or at least involved in the whole process, may make it easier for the parents to keep up the contact with the child.

4.3 Are parents treated as partners?

In Scandinavia, as well as in England and the US there is a trend towards talking about parents as partners, and recognising their legal rights. But even though this is the discourse, there is reason to believe that this is not always what happens. When parents are asked in various kinds of research, quite a number report that they do not feel treated as partners, on the contrary, they feel excluded and rendered suspect (Cleaver and Freeman, 1995; Thoburn, Lewis and Shemmings, 1995). So, there seems to be a discrepancy between the professional rhetoric of treating parents as partners and the parents' own experiences.

The way professional views are frequently reflected in research, may contribute to this problem. There is reason to say that professional explanations - with a few exceptions - place a major responsibility for children's problems upon their parents, particularly mothers, (Kristinsdottir 1991, Parton, Thorpe and Wattam, 1997).

I will give a few examples on how this manifests itself, in the approach to minor as well as to more serious problems. A Norwegian study focusing on teachers' views upon the parents' role when the children were receiving special education, found that to a large degree parents were seen as part of their children's problems, either as a cause to their problems or as an obstacle to solving them (Fylling and Sandvin, 1999). A consequence of this attitude was that the professionals tried to keep the parents away from the treatment rather than involving them. Gerdner (1999) has pointed to the fact that only a few decades ago it was still common within psychiatry to talk about mothers who provoked schizophrenia in their children. It is easy to understand how this would cause feelings of guilt in the mothers, but also how it could reduce the professionals' interest in involving the mothers in the treatment of their children. A third example is adolescents with behaviour problems. When it comes to anti-social behaviour and delinquency, the connections between children's and the parents problems are expressed rather explicitly as can be seen from this quote.

"...delinquency is statistically associated with a long list of psychosocial risk factors. These span broken homes, single-parent families, teenage parents, family discord, abuse or neglect, coercive parenting, lack of

supervision, family criminality, poverty, large family size, delinquent peer groups, poor schooling, and living in a socially disorganised area." (Rutter et al., 1998:168).

There is no reason to understate the fact that quite a number of children are taken into care because of their parents' problems, and I am not questioning Rutter et al (1998) statistics. But when parents are portrayed like this in research, why should practitioners treat them as partners? The rather one-sided focus on parental shortcomings may prevent social workers from looking upon parents as partners - and thus contribute to a practice where they are excluded rather than included. There is a challenge for research to provide a more balanced picture of the parents; with their strengths and efforts to help their children as well as their shortcomings.

4.4 The parents' efforts to help their children

The parents themselves seem to have a more balanced picture upon the situation. In discussing their views, I will draw upon results from the study *Children as clients*¹. Parents of 60 children were interviewed twice about various aspects of their and their child's contact with Child welfare and protection, School counselling and Child psychiatric clinic.

When the parents were asked about the problems that their family were facing, they talked about a variety of problems. However, the interviews with the parents, also told a different story, namely that for parents, having problems was only one part of the coin. The other part consisted on how they tried to overcome their problems, how they tried to compensate and actually to help their children in various ways. A few examples will be used in order to highlight the parents' efforts to try to sort out the problems (Sandbæk, 1999, 2000, 2002).

4.4.1 Acknowledging problems and seeking help

The researchers had no other source of information about the families than what the families told them - but they got to know a lot about the families' problems during the course of the interviews- the children's problems as well as the parents'. The services might have defined the problems in a different way than the parents, but the parents certainly did not deny the existence of problems. The parents did not, however, see any contradiction between having problems themselves - and wanting to help their child at the same time.

They were also seeking help, informal as well as formal. The parents were the ones who most frequently contacted the child welfare and protective services. They made half of the requests to the school counselling and child psychiatry and one third of the requests to the child welfare services - which is pretty much in accordance with official statistics (NOS 1997). Other studies have also underlined the parents', particularly the mothers', efforts to find solutions to their child's problems. Farmer and Owen (1998) found that the mothers were actively involved in seeking help from child protection agencies. They were the single largest group to initiate actions that led to a child protection referral. This occurred in 27 per cent of the cases in their study. Similar results were found in a study where child sexual abuse referrals were examined (Sharland et al, 1996).

4.4.2 Parents as co-ordinators

When asked to participate in the research project "Children as clients", one mother replied: "Do you think I have time to talk to a researcher as well? We saw the child welfare officer yesterday, tomorrow we'll meet the school counsellor and next week we have an appointment at the Child Psychiatric clinic. And I actually have a job and another child "

Her reply illustrated the common experience of having to relate to several services. Many parents - particularly mothers - run from one office and one service to another. Quite often they were the only ones who attended all the meetings. They filled in the gaps when one case manager quit, waiting for a new one to turn up, they accompanied the children to new services informing them about what the latter services meant, etc. There were of course examples of efficient service co-ordination, an experience the parents really appreciated, but such incidents were still more the exceptions than the rule. Thus, the lack of formal co-operation quite often placed the parents into a demanding role as co-ordinators and they were certainly those who represented continuity. There is reason to worry about the children whose parents were not able to handle this task.

4.4.3 Efforts to integrate the children

From the parents point of view it was a problem that professionals could so easily say "Sorry - we have nothing more to offer!" or "You broke the rules!" and the adolescents were returned home. Again and again some parents had to make new efforts to help the child establish roots in society - and to take them back when they were expelled from institutions or foster homes or for other reasons had to leave. For some of the adolescents there seemed to be a pattern where the parents kept trying to get the child back into society only to be turned away by various professional institutions. It is often taken for granted that parents contribute to marginalize their children, but these examples seem to indicate that professionals and public institutions also have their share in excluding and stigmatizing children.

It is important to emphasize that not all parents made all of these efforts, but most of them were involved in at least one of these kinds of activities in order to help their children. The parents of children who become orphans in Russia, may have less resources than the parents in this study. I would still be surprised if the majority of them had not tried in one or another way to sort of the situation.

4.5 How can parents be involved?

An alternative to blaming the parents, is to focus on their activities and efforts to find solutions and to help their children. Newer literature emphasises the importance of help-seeking and agency. Uehara and Takeuchi (1998) underline that in recent decades, research on illness and help-seeking has moved away from static, psychological models of medical decision-making toward those that conceptualize help-seeking as a dynamic and inextricably social phenomenon. People change the course and outcome of illness through help-seeking and purposeful resolution to solve problems, to reconstruct the meaning of life experiences, and to observe and learn from the past in order to shape the future (Thoits, 1995). The concept of agency tries to grasp the intentions, reflections and efforts of people when they are facing problems (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Williams, Popay and Oakley (1999) also point out a shift in newer welfare research, from

a view upon help seekers as passive recipients to see them as active and reflexive agents in their own life. There is also a shift from regarding people with problems as victims, to focusing on coping and social support. The authors emphasize that a view upon people as agents must not be used to blame individuals for problems that may be caused by society. Structural aspects, like class, gender and race must still be taken into consideration.

Parents are expected to take care of their children, and there is reason to believe that the concept of agency is relevant for parents also when their children have problems. To what degree or in what ways does agency manifest itself in parents' actions when their children are clients?

In the project *Alternatives to orphanages in North West Russia – preconditions and obstacles* (Holm-Hansen, Kristofersen & Myrvold (2003) there is a concern about preventing placement of children. To my opinion, identifying and strengthening the parents own efforts, may be a very important part of preventing family break downs and a link towards involving them in the care process. In families where breakdowns can not be prevented, acknowledging their efforts, can inspire both parents and social workers to keep up a certain contact between parents and children and let them play the role in their children's lives that they are capable of.

Combining an acknowledgement of the families' efforts to help their children with an acceptance of break-downs in professional placements, draws attention to the importance of involving parents in the placements of their children. This leads to the necessity of keeping up the contact with parents, and an important way to secure such a contact, is to involve the parents, and the children, in all steps of the care process. In addition to valuing the effort the parents make to help their children, the following questions should be discussed with the parents:

- *What kind of placements do you think would work for your child?*
- *How can we help you keep in touch with your child?*
- *How can we help you sort out the problems that caused the placement?*

An important part of how to involve children is to ask the parents about their reflections, their practices, their efforts to cope with life. Further to inform them about how the child welfare authorities think. This way of engaging in a real dialogue with the parents is so simple, yet so complicated. According to parents who are interviewed about their experiences, such a dialogue can make a big difference.

4.6 Concluding remarks

Understanding and respecting the identity and agency of parents as well as children are of vital importance. Children have not been the topic of this presentation, but is of course of at least equal importance. Results from interviews with children in the study "Children as clients" have been discussed in other articles (Sandbæk, 1998; 1999a; 1999b). Combining an acknowledgement of the families as partners with an acceptance of professional shortcomings and limitations might create a more equal and thus fruitful relationship between professionals and the families. This is not only a matter of altering or improving the practice of the front-line workers. It is just as much about the role of research and production of theory. There is a gap between these parents' efforts and responsibilities and the research literature focusing mainly on them as part of the problem. There is a need to develop alternative theoretical constructions regarding why problems occur as

well as how to approach them. I agree with Fiona Williams (1988), when she states that whatever discourse we work with, we need to develop conceptual frameworks which allow us to move away from seeing people as passive beneficiaries of state and professional intervention. Instead we need to develop ways of researching the complexities of identity and agency without losing sight of the social relations of power and the broader patterns of inequality through which identity and agency are inscribed.

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5 Alternatives to residential care – Experiences from Denmark

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5.1 Introduction

This article discusses the development in the number of children and youngsters in public care in Denmark, including the use of other alternatives to residential care.

In Denmark the municipalities decide whether a child or juvenile should be placed outside home when particular needs of the child or juvenile are considered to be of great importance. If there is an obvious risk of serious detrimental effect on the health or development of the child, the Municipality's Committee for Children and Juveniles can decide to place the child or juvenile in compulsory care, i.e. placement without the consent of the parents (and the youth older than 14).

It is important to note that nowadays parents usually keep up their parental rights and custody of their child even if the child is placed without their consent. Practically, a lot of limitations are seen in practicing the custody. We know from research that many parents find it very difficult to keep up a feeling of being a responsible parent (Egelund & Hestbæk, 2003; Hestbæk, 1997).

As regards supply, the counties are responsible for the main supply and supervision of residential care today, and the 271 local authorities can apply for a child's stay at these institutions. Municipalities with many inhabitants are increasingly establishing their own residential institutions in a local context. Apart from institutional care, the local communities are responsible for the recruitment, contact to and supervision of other care possibilities which by and large are established in the private sector, e.g. family foster care, group care, own accommodation, and ship projects.

5.2 A brief historical context

To understand out-of-home care in Denmark requires a brief introduction to the historical-political context, which to a great extent seems to have influenced the placement system.

The public institutions dates back to the beginning of the 17th century where King Christian IV established the first public residential care units for homeless children and juveniles (Lihme, 2000). At that time, the aim of the institutions was twofold: To protect young people without home and family from the society and reversely, to protect the society from these often very tough runaways.

For more than 300 years, public measures concerning care were mostly concentrated on institutional care.⁹ These institutions were often big and were managed by a headmaster who lived with his family at the institution.

Even up to the 20th century the laws on childcare services had a highly controlling, intervening and sanctioning character. In 1905 the first law on children was passed.¹⁰ This law reflected an understanding that through state education and upbringing it was possible to establish more appropriate conditions for growing up. Until the amendments of 1958, the placement of a child always implied that the parents lost their custody of their child to the state during the care.

In the period 1958-1964 the system gradually changed from being reactive and based on compulsion, to be more proactive, offering a range of non-compulsive, holistic measures in a dialogue with the family. At that time it became possible to decide on placements with consent, the parents thereby keeping up the custody of their child. In 1976 the Act on Social Assistance was passed, covering the social system as a whole. In 1982 the rights of the parents were strengthened as concerns placements without consent, and in 1993 a radical reform was passed strengthening the rights for both the child and the parents.

The latest radical reform was the replacement of the Act of Social Assistance by the Act of Social Service in 1998, which only involved minor changes in the placement system. Since 1998, we have seen smaller amendments to the Act of Social Service, among other things a placement reform in spring 2004.¹¹

Thus, in the last decades of the 20th century the professional discourse gradually began to focus more and more on the protection of the child.¹² With the upcoming of the welfare state in the period after World War II, a wide-ranging set of measures has slowly but steadily developed as part of the social security system. The development of the social sector as a whole, as well as the number of specific social services is reflected in the increasing number of families being subject to these services.¹³

In the post-war period the Danish welfare society has grown richer, and the focus on child protection has switched towards the protection of the child from unsatisfactory conditions of adolescence. In this period the focus on care settings has switched too, from public care as a simple “storage” of children and juveniles to public care in the form of active protection involving development, education and proper treatment of the child, be it physical or psychological.

⁹ Informally, privately arranged foster care and kinship care were found in many families.

¹⁰ Børneloven af 1905.

¹¹ Among other things, this placement reform imply a stronger focus on kinship care, stronger rights for children and youth, more focus on school attainment, education of case workers etc.

¹² This development is shortly described in Lihme (2000).

¹³ In a study on the recruitment of families to social services it is discussed whether the Scandinavian welfare states are recruiting middle class families for the social services. The conclusion of this specific study was, however, that this was not the case (Jonassen, 1996). This is also confirmed by Egelund & Hestbæk (2003) in a Danish context. The increasing number of families with social services could be regarded as a response to an increasing number of possible services. This support the hypothesis that the greater the supply of services, the greater the demand for these services.

5.3 The development in public care in Denmark (in figures)

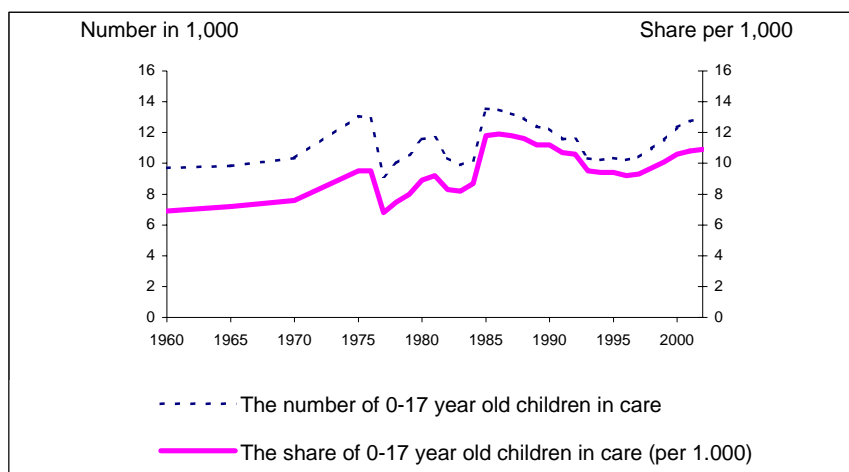
The development in public care during the past 30-40 years is explained in the figures on the following pages. Certain reservations, i.e. legislative changes must be taken into account when comparing the figures for public care throughout the years. For example, amendments to the Social Acts have an impact on which groups of children and youngsters that are included in the figures for children in public care.

5.4 Children in public care

It is seen in figure 1 that significant changes were observed from 1996 when the number of 0-17- year-old in public care rose considerably from 10,226 by the end of 1996 to 12,923 by the end of 2002, i.e. an increase of 26%. Out of all 0-17-year-old in Denmark, the total share of children in public care has risen correspondingly from 9.2 per thousand in 1996 to 10.9 per thousand at the end of 2002.

Compared to other Scandinavian countries the relative share of children and juveniles in care was almost twice as big in Denmark in the 1990s compared to Norway and Sweden (Hestbæk, 1999). While the share of children in care, aged 0-17 was 9,2‰ in Denmark in 1996, the share was 3.8-4.8‰ in Norway and 5.3‰ in Sweden. On the other hand, the share of children placed without consent was significantly lower in Denmark, where only about one out of ten placements were non-consensual (0.9‰ in 1996) while Sweden had 1.6‰ and Norway 3.8-4.8‰.¹⁴

Figure 5.1 *The number and share of 0-17-year-old children in public care from 1960-2002 (per 31 December).*



However, in the long term it can be maintained that the share of children in care with or without consent has remained relatively constant, around 1% during the last 40 years. A slightly increasing trend has, however, been observed in recent years. It should be mentioned that the share of children in public and compulsory care is varying with age.

¹⁴ Due to the Norwegian legislation (Barnevernloven) any placement might be regarded as a placement without consent, compared to the other Nordic countries (Hestbæk, 1999).

While the rate for the 0-4 year-old is 0.31, the rate will thus be 1.39 for the 10-14 year-old and 1.83 for the 15-19 year-old.

Figure 5.2 *The share of children in compulsory care of all 0-17-year old in public care (per cent) and of all children 0-17-year old in Denmark (per thousand) from 1977-2002 (per 31 December).*

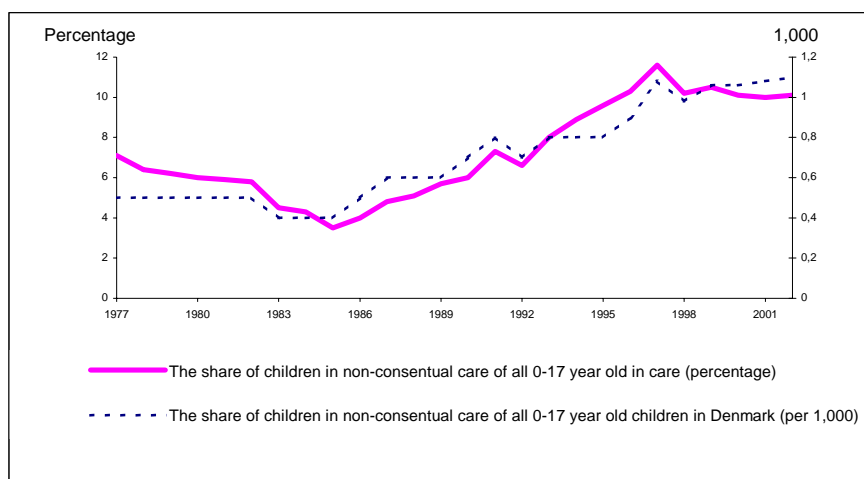


Figure 5.2 shows the development of the share of children (0-17 years old) in *compulsory care*. From the start of the registration in 1977 until 1984, the share of children in public care has declined. In 1984, however, the share began to raise steadily, and from 1996 – 2002 the share of children in compulsory care constituted around 10% of all 0-17-year-old children in public care. In the same period the share of children in compulsory care – in proportion to the same age group of the whole Danish population – was constant, around 1 per thousand.

5.4.1 Distribution per year group

The number of children in public care distributed by year group is shown in Figure 5.3. After an increase in the 1980's and 1990's, the share of children 0-6-year-old is stable at 14-15%, yet the tendency seems to fall slightly from 1998 and onwards.

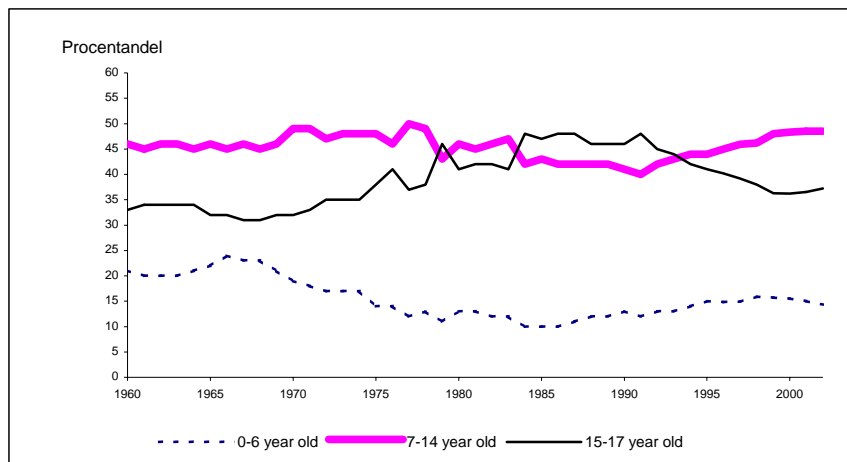
The share of 7-14-year-old increased from 40% to 48.5% from 1991-2002, while the share of 15-17-year-old subsequently fell from 48% to 37% in the same period.

The latter development can partly be explained by the amendments of 1993 to The Social Assistance Act. Consequently, stays at boarding schools and continuation schools may be registered as preventive measures today, while they previously were included in the total number of children in public care.

We find differences between the Scandinavian countries when dividing children in care by age. In Denmark the share of 15-17-year-old juveniles in care is relatively high, while the share of children aged 0-6 years and 7-14 years is bigger in both Norway and Sweden.¹⁵

¹⁵ Measured on December 31, 1996 (Hestbæk, 1999), the share of 15-17 year old in care was 40% in Denmark, 33% in Norway and 28 % in Sweden.

Figure 5.3 *Figure 3. 0-17-year-old children in public care distributed per age group from 1960-2002 (per 31 December)*



5.4.2 Leaving care

With respect to after-care or alternative offers to young people, 18-22 years old, who are or were in public care before they turned 18, the following possibilities are available according to the 2001 amendments of The Law on Social Services:

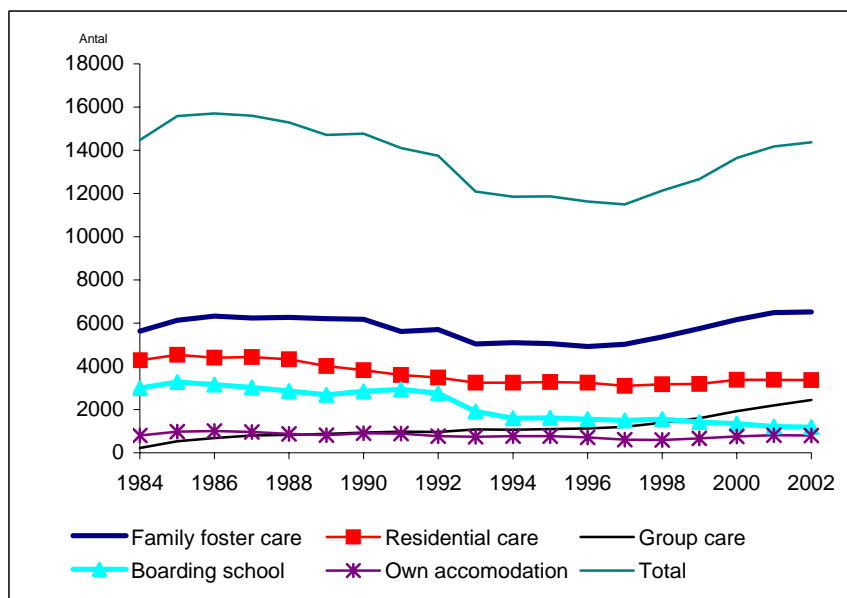
- a) Gradually 're-absorption' into society
- b) Appointment of a personal advisor
- c) Appointment of a permanent contact person for the youngster
- d) Continuation of a placement scheme at the care setting till now

These measures are especially aimed at 18-year-old young people for whom it would be inconvenient to leave their present care setting only because they have got full legal capacity. The number of young people in "late" placement schemes (d) was measured for the first time by the end of 2002. Here it was seen that in total 97 youngsters were receiving this kind of support of which 5 were 15-17-year-old, 73 were 18-19-year-old and 19 were 20-22-year-old (including 5 who were older than 22).

5.5 Types of care in Denmark today

First, I want to describe the development in the different types of care, also in comparison with Norway and Sweden. Then I will focus on the alternatives to residential care respectively.

Figure 5.4 *The number of children and youngsters (regardless of age) measured per type of public care from 1984-2002 (per 31 December)*



When studying the number of children and youngsters in public care it is noteworthy that the number of children in *family foster care* has increased significantly in the past years (see figure 4). From 1998 – 2002 the number of children in family foster care increased from 5,370 to 6,522, an increase of 21% in four years. Subsequently, the number of children in *residential care* declined from 1985 to 1997, when it began to rise again. The number of children in residential care has been stable for some years (I will return to this later) and we seem to face a period with a declining demand for institutional care which to some extent can be explained by economic reasons.

Today, *group care* is increasingly being preferred and this type has more than ten folded from 1984 to 2002 (from 220 to 2.448). Thus, Denmark is reflecting the international trend towards an increase in the number of children being cared for in small and family like settings in preference to residential care in big institutions (Colton, Matthew & Hellinckx, 1994).

The number of stays at *boarding schools* has varied, but since the amendment to The Social Assistance Act in 1993, the number of stays has declined. To be in *care in own accommodation* has varied during the whole period, but generally the figures are stable.

With regard to type of care we also find considerable differences between these countries. While 42% of the children in Denmark are placed in foster care (1996), the figures are much higher for Norway and Sweden (82% and 75%). Denmark has a relatively high share of children in institutional care (28%). Additionally, 30% are placed in other forms of care than institutional care and foster care (described below), which is a relatively high share of children being cared for in alternative settings.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that despite the differences between the countries, the Scandinavian countries have been strongly inspired by each other as concerns legislation and conditions for taking a child into care (Hestbæk, 1999). The large number of interesting research projects and results coming from Norway and Sweden has been of great inspiration to the Danish researchers.

By the end of the 20th century, the legal, political and professional focus to a great extent was based on the theoretical achievements in the field, especially the more psychological understanding of the relation between mother (the parents) and child, the importance of continuity and the child's possibility of growing up in an emotionally safe environment. Mirroring this theoretical understanding, more focus has gradually been put on alternatives to residential care, acknowledging that different children have different needs of care and treatment. The status of the different types of care will be briefly described in next section following.

5.5.1 Residential care

Residential institutions as such are continuously undergoing substantial changes, and the concept of residential care is being differentiated into specific types of more specialized institutions, e.g.:

- Residential institutions focusing on therapeutic, pedagogical treatment¹⁶
- Residential institutions with internal school targeted at children who are not capable of attending the public school system
- Particular residential assessment centres for infants
- Acute residential institutions
- Institutions with children and parents together
- Residential institutions with a combination of therapeutic and pedagogical treatment and internal school targeted a more antisocial and/or emotionally disturbed group of children and juveniles.

5.5.2 Alternatives to residential care

a) Family foster care

Family foster care is, together with residential care, the most traditional and dominant form of public care. The incarnation of the traditional foster family in Denmark is the middle-aged farmer or workman couple living in the country with 2-4 grown-up children who have left home. In Denmark, private foster care undertakings very often recruit foster carers for the municipalities.¹⁷ However, some of the large municipalities have their own department, which is responsible for the recruitment of foster families.

However, the development of foster care possibilities also reflects the development of the problem profiles of the children and juveniles involved, some of them getting more and more marked by severe psycho-social problems. Thus, we see an increasing tendency of professionalized foster families, and it is often seen that one or both foster parents have a psychological and/or pedagogical education, and that one, or perhaps both foster parents have foster care as a part time or full time job.

¹⁶ See e.g. Lihme & Palsvig(1977).

¹⁷ The private foster care companies have some kind of para-public status, as they solely provide care financed and recognized by the municipalities. However, they must be regarded as private companies, that are supplying a social service, which principally could be supplied by another care company.

A negative side effect is, however, the increasing number of foster care breakdowns where either the child or juvenile refuse to stay in the foster family and eventually run away. Or the many cases where the foster families give up their caring project as they do not feel capable of meeting the needs of e.g. the juvenile who goes beyond normal limits as a consequence of, e.g. serious conduct disorders.

The many unplanned breakdowns have been criticized by professional social workers. They claim that the municipalities often chose foster care for economical reasons in spite of the fact that the juvenile requires a concentrated and professional treatment - foster care is usually much cheaper than institutional care. This debate has, however, been followed by a claim for more regular treatment institutions.¹⁸ The development indicates that there may be limitations as to which kind of problem that can be solved within foster families.

Among different types of foster care, the following can be mentioned:

- The traditional foster care supplied by a common, sound family
- Relief care for the child, e.g. twice a month to relieve the biological family (typically a lone mother) or the foster family¹⁹
- The professionalized foster care where the adults have special preconditions for offering care
- Kinship care.

As regards kinship care, this type of foster care is rarely used in Denmark, and the number of children in kinship care is unknown at a national level. However, there is a growing interest in the possibilities of kinship care, inspired by the positive results from e.g. Britain and Sweden.²⁰ An increasing focus on kinship care is mirrored in the placement reform, that was passed in spring 2004. The municipalities can now consider the possibility of kinship care in any placement case.

As can be seen in figure 4, the number of children in family foster care has increased substantially in the past few years.

b) Group care

In the 1970's privately organised²¹ alternatives to residential care developed and was labelled "group care".²² Group care tries to mix the comparative advantages of traditional residential care and foster care, often-targeted juveniles. In the beginning, a typical group care unit was set up by professionals (e.g. a couple), who had 4-8 youngsters in care, all living together in the same house.

¹⁸ At the end of the 1990s almost all residential institutions were full, overcrowded, and with long waiting lists, even for children with acute and serious problems. This situation has changed dramatically, however, due to a reform of the financing principles as regards placements in out-of-home care, described in the last section of the article.

¹⁹ Relief care is not included in the total number of children in care.

²⁰ E.g. Rowe, Cain, Hundleby & Keane, 1984; Sundell & Thunell, 1997; Vinnerljung, 1992; Vinnerljung, Sallnäs & Kyhle-Westermarck, 2001.

²¹ E.g. in the form of private persons or independent institutions who makes a house available for group care

²² The first Danish term was "social-pedagogical care collectives" (translated directly). Today, more than 500 units are organised in a national NGO called "Landsforeningen af Opholdssteder og Skole-behandlingstilbud".

In small units it is possible to work with a specialised treatment philosophy in a family-like context. Another advantage of group care in small units is that they constitute a very flexible supply of care places, adaptive to the needs of the municipalities.

Since 1984, which was the first year with public statistics on group care, the number of children in-group care has more than ten-doubled. The variety of the different types of group care is considerable:

- rather small foster care-like places,
- places where e.g. juveniles are supported in setting up a home of their own,
- small institutional-like settings focussing on education
- school-like settings,
- places where both children and parents are placed in care.

One of the problems with group care has been the lack of systematic documentation and evaluation of the treatment, combined with lack of public inspection of the group care units (for which the counties are the responsible body at present). Unfortunately, some “black sheep” have taken advantage of this unstable situation, which has resulted in e.g. some extremely expensive units, and units promoting certain more or less extreme ideologies among the juveniles.²³ This was possible in a period of time where the demand exceeded the supply.

The variety between the different group care units is enormous. However, in the latest decades, group care and care in residential institutions have, as an overall phenomenon, approached each other so that very often it is primarily the structural organisation that differs, while the content of these types of care can be more or less alike (hybrid forms, as they are labelled by Colton & Hellinckx (1994)).

c) Boarding schools and the like

Also Denmark has a strong tradition for different types of boarding schools for children at any stage of primary school between 7-15 years old, especially continuation schools, where juveniles in care are mixed with other juveniles staying at the boarding schools for other reasons. In 1993 the law changed so that the local municipalities were now allowed to support the youngster financially with a boarding school stay as a preventive measure. This type of stay is not counted as a placement. However, the boarding and continuation school still counts as a placement for about 1,200 juveniles a year.

d) Other alternatives to residential care

Denmark has two other main alternatives to residential care. The first alternative is the so-called “*ship project*” where mostly young boys are recruited to a ship (e.g. an old fully-rigged vessel). The treatment/pedagogy is closely connected to the daily work on the ship and a relatively strong, fixed working moral, combined with long trips where they get away from their daily milieu, sometimes for several months. This type of care is typically aimed at young persons with severe conduct problems.

The other alternative is not a traditional placement. The juvenile is offered own accommodation in a single room or a small flat. What distinguishes this form of

²³ In 2003 the Danish state brought a case to the courts. The private organisation, Tvind, was accused of misusing public funds in relation to among other things group care settings with a rather special treatment philosophy, among other things by transferring big amounts to secret accounts in foreign countries.

placement in own accommodation is that the municipality will follow and supervise the juvenile more or less closely, e.g. through daily visits or calls depending on the needs, to give personal support and to ensure that she or he goes to school or work, etc. By the end of 2002, 860 juveniles were placed in this type of public care.

Finally, very few children are placed while they are in care in hospitals, typically, due to mental illnesses or another serious illnesses. However, hospitalisation cannot count as a formal way of placing in care as this possibility only is used as an emergency measure.

5.6 The current Danish political context

At present, the political debates on placements in out-of-home care are very much marked by the growing number of children and juveniles subject to either preventive measures or placements during the last 5-10 years. Correspondingly, the expenditures have almost exploded, and any politician, being it on a local or national level, now points out that it is necessary to change this development.

In 2001 the public expenditures for placements amounted to almost 1 billion euro for about 14,000 juveniles in care at the end of the year. This amount will more than quadruple in less than ten years if this trend continues. To place children in public care is expensive, i.e. if a family with 3-4 children moves to a small municipality, and their children have to be placed outside home, this will almost ruin the economy of the whole municipality.

One of the Government's ways to change the trend was to change the financing principles for placements in 2002. Compared with the former model, where 50% of the total costs were refundable, the local municipalities now have a greater economic responsibility, as they are supposed to pay the price for any kind of placement up to an amount of approximately 53,000 euro per child per year.²⁴ Only if the expenses for the placement of a specific child exceed approximately 53,000 euro per year – which is much money – the county will refund the exceeding amount. When the economic reform came into force on January 2002, the placement behaviour of the local municipalities changed dramatically in some areas. The situation is still new, so that we do not have national statistics available to analyse on. However, the Danish directors of residential institutions report that children are being removed from residential institutions, and the demand for foster care has likewise fallen correspondingly.

Apparently, the local authorities try to refocus their attention from placements in care to preventive measures for the child staying with her/his family, which under certain circumstances may be a good idea. Many professionals are, however, discussing whether the rationale of this trend is economically or socially founded. It still remains to be documented what happens to the children that used to be placed outside home and the outcome of this strategy.

In the years to come Denmark is facing a fundamental structural reform of the counties and municipalities, implying fewer, but larger municipalities and regions. This may have an influence on the placement system (e.g. to place the full responsibility for care in the new and major municipalities or, reversely to place part of it – for example non-consensual placements – in counties/regional bodies.

²⁴ 402,100 DKK in 2003.

5.7 Challenges to the placement system

Today the most important challenges to the Danish placement system are:

- Continuously to increase flexibility in any type of care
- To strengthen the family foster care system as a whole, so that professional competences reflect a more complex problem profile with many children and especially juveniles
- To gain systematic experiences with kinship care
- To establish experimental projects with new forms of care, e.g. multipurpose institutions with a combination of foster care, group care and residential institutions etc.
- To improve the preventive measures with the purpose of reducing the need for care (acknowledging that we cannot render care superfluous)
- To lower the increase in the public expenditures as concerns placements

An overall challenge is to establish more research-based knowledge enabling us to act more systematically in this field, to examine the different kinds of measures and treatments and, finally, to measure the effect on the children and youth involved.

In 2003 The Danish National Institute of Social Research, Copenhagen started the first longitudinal Danish study on out-of-home-care. Tine Egelund and Anne-Dorthe Hestbæk are performing the study, and their test sample is any child born in 1995 who currently is in care or has been in care.

In the first data collection, we have interviewed all parents and all the involved social workers in the municipalities. For those children who are still in care we have also interviewed the foster family or the professional social workers. The analytical focus of the study is the development and well being of the child. Our aim is to continue the study by collecting data every third or fourth year, including the child's point of view. In the long run we hope to be able to specify risk factors and resilience factors for children in care in a Danish context - very much inspired by the international discussion on this topic.²⁵

²⁵ E.g. studies by Quinton, Rutter, Werner & Smith, Vinnerljung a.o.

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6 Sources of social orphanage at the turn of the millennium (end of 20th – beginning of 21st centuries)

By Prof. Lev V. Mardakhaev, MSGU – Moscow State Social University

6.1 Some definitions

First, some basic words will be defined. **Orphan** denotes a child, whose mother and/or father has died. **Orphanhood** is a social phenomenon consisting in the existing in the society of children whose parents have died, but also children whose parents have been deprived of their parental rights or have been declared without legal capacity or parents with unknown address. Orphanhood also refers to children whose parents have not been deprived of parental rights, but who in practice do not take care of their children. In the official documents of the Russian Federation the concept of “child-orphan” is used as well as “children left without parental rights”.

Child-orphan – a person below 18 years old whose mother and/or father is dead.

Children left without parental rights – a person who lives without the care of one or both parents due to deprivation or limitations of parental rights, declaration of parents living on an unknown address, parents being “without” or with “limited legal capacity”, parents in hospitals and health institutions, in prisons and other penal institutions, parents evading upbringing or defending the rights and interests of their children, refusal of parents to take their children out of health, educational or social institutions.

In international as well as domestic practice the concept of “**social orphanhood**” has been introduced to denote the category of children (up to 18 years) whose parents are alive, but do not have parental rights. Social orphans are taken care of by public authorities. Based on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child who is “permanently or temporarily deprived of its family environment, or in whose own best interests cannot be allowed to remain in that environment, shall be entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the State” (art 20,1) can be categorised as “social orphan”.

6.2 The scope

At the threshold between the 20th and the 21st century the number of social orphans increased sharply. In 2000 it had reached 4 million, and some figures indicate an even higher number.

Also other phenomena, that may be conducive to an increase in social orphanhood, are getting more prevalent. For instance, every year about 300,000 children are born with parents who have not entered into a registered marriage. In the 1970s and 80s the share of births out of wedlock was stable at ten to eleven percent. After 1985 the share started to grow. In 1993 it reached 18 percent and in 2000 almost 28 percent.

The number of divorces grows on the background of fewer and fewer registered marriages. In 2000 the number of divorces reached 627,700 against 897,300 marriages. In 1998 389,685 children found themselves without one of the parents around as a result of divorce. According to statistics from the Ministry of the Interior, in 1999 41,5 percent of all minors committing a crime came from families with only one parent. Research made by A.N. Il'iashenko (2001) indicate that 29 percent of the criminal boys and 41 percent of criminal girls have been brought up by a parent and a step parent.

Violence in the families is an increasing problem that lead to abandonment of children and social orphanhood. According to figures from the presidential commission on women, family and child affairs each year 2 million (out of a total 35 million) Russian children are beaten by their parents.

According to D.I Balibanova et al (2001) ten percent of children who are victims of violence die of it, two thousand each year commit suicide and 50,000 run away. Research made by A.N. Geshi (2000) in two orphanages vindicate that violence had been used in the families of its children.

The types of child abuse are manifold. According to a study made by N. Iu. Siniagina (1998) 20-24 percent of the cases of abuse consist in not letting the child eat or drink. In ten to 15 percent of the cases the child is kept in a dark place and in 13 percent of the cases of family violence the child is simply thrown out of the home.

6.3 Causes

The main reason for the increase consist in several factors:

1. The reduced status of the family institution, which partly is a result of lowered attention from the state towards the families (in terms of financial support), partly a result of changes in the way people think (linking the "contemporary civilised world" to a reduced role of the family)
2. Sexual abuse is widespread among orphans. In a study made among 265 children (five to 18 years) in two shelters in St. Petersburg showed at first that 15 percent had experienced physical or sexual abuse. After follow-up talks with psychologists it turned out that 75 percent had such experiences (Surovtseva et al 2000). The Centre for the protection of the Rights of Children and Youth in Irkutsk asked 500 youngsters in the age 14-17 years about their experiences. One of three had experienced sexual abuse or attempts.
3. Alcoholism and drug abuse are major reasons why Russian families get in trouble. According to official statistics the narcological clinics in 1999 registered 2,210,000 cases of alcoholism, 82,000 people suffered from alcoholic psychosis. Over the last few years there has been an increase in the number of women drinking too much, even during pregnancy and breast-feeding In 1999 there were registered 335,000 women suffering from alcoholism. It is estimated that 43 percent of all children born by alcoholic mothers suffer from alcoholic embryopathy.

4. The consequences of the parents' alcoholism on the children's upbringing and socialisation is dramatic. According to some figures (Iovchuk et al 2001) no less than 88 percent of the cases of deprivation of parental rights are linked to parents' alcoholism.
5. Drug abuse is one the rise in Russia, having increase 7,5 times during the period from 1990 to 1999. The 1999 the narcological clinics registered 209,000 drug abusers of which 31,000 were women. In all, there are probably no less than two million drug abusers in Russia.
6. The number of parents who are deprived of parental rights is increasing. In 2000 there were 42,900 cases (involving 53,100 children), which is 3,5 more than in 1993. Figures derived from research made in Moscow by I.F. Dement'eva indicates that 81 percent of children whose parents have lost parental rights go to orphanages.
7. Another tendency discernible the last few years consist in rich parents leaving their children to professional care persons, like governesses and the like.
8. High level of mortality in Russia is one reason why the number of orphans is growing. Unnatural death used is the second most frequent cause of death. Murders is 15 times more frequent in Russia than in the EU as an average.
9. Psychological problems are suffered by 3,5 million Russians (1999).
10. Economic problems have been on the rise, in particular among families with children. About every second family are "of limited means" (*maloimushchie*), and 18 percent live in "extreme poverty". Families with three or more children are even worse off, 76 percent being "of limited means". *No less than 88 percent of families who take care of the children of relatives are of limited means. Every second family in this category belong to those living in "extreme poverty"*.
11. As for families with only one parents, the situation is even worse, more than half of these families having 1-2 children are of limited means, whereas 85 percent having three or more children are in extreme poverty.
12. A certain degradation of human decency has taken place. Long-term unemployment may influence negatively on a person capacity for being a parent. The moral ideals that used to dominate have been changed and parents find it difficult to choose what values to base their upbringing on. Criminal ideals have gained a certain foothold among young people, who experience that through criminality one can "obtain everything". The rise in alcoholism and drug abuse is another problem leading to a reduced number of adult people, and adult people able to take care of children. The status of education has diminished.
13. Legislation on juvenile criminality has been liberalised. This results in a practice of keeping criminal youth under arrest only for a couple of hours, then leaving them alone in the streets. Adult criminals actively recruit young people to criminality, pornography and prostitution.
14. The liquidation of the former child and youth organisations was made on the grounds that the used to be politicised, but the result has been a reduced possibility to organise young people in positive activities.
15. To sum up, the problems of abandoned children is due to a lot of factors, and require complex solutions.

Translated from Russian by Jørn Holm-Hansen

7 Help and support to orphans in Russia: The historical path

By Prof. Mikhail V. Firsov, Moscow State Regional University.

The models of support to orphans in Russia have developed gradually over a long period of time. The development can be divided into periods:

- Tenth to fifteenth century – archaic forms of support to orphans
- Fifteenth to seventeenth century – confessional models of support
- Eighteenth century to the early twentieth century – development of public institutions of education and patronage of orphans
- 1917–1990 – Soviet model of education and patronage
- Late 20th, early 21st century – development of support to orphans under the conditions of democracy coming into existence in Russia

7.1 The emergence of care for orphans in ancient Rus (10th to 15th century)

In the first stages of the history of early Russian statehood, in ancient Rus, the concept of “orphan” was not only used about children, but about adults as well. “Orphanhood” (in Russian “sirotstvo”) referred to the state of being on one’s own, abandoned. Usually it was used about servants, slaves, widows and widowers and in some cases even about princes. Thus in the Instructions issued by Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh (1113–1125) to his own children, the sovereign affirms that helping orphans and widows forms part of the grand princes’ politics. Likewise, in the early 13th century prince Vsevolod Mstislavovich issues a regulation on orphanhood.

The Provisions from the Holy Synod in the town of Vladimir 1274 is one of the period’s most important historical sources. The Provisions consist of a collection of canonical texts, defining and regulating the duties of the clerics, including their duties towards people in need and towards the power-holders. In short, the Provisions formulate the basic principles of Christian social service.

The flock was conceived as “spiritual children”. Among the members of the flock “crippled orphans” were singled out. These abandoned and disabled people were taken care of by the Church, which made use of incomes through tithes for this purpose. The Church also encouraged the prince to protect these unfortunate layers of the population.

In general there are very few historical testimonies telling about orphanhood in the period. Rather, like among other peoples of the world, infanticide was widespread as a

legally established way of killing orphans. Archeological excavations show that newly-born babies were killed immediately after birth if their mother died during labour.

Gradually ecclesiastical courts began covering issues pertaining to children, in particular children born out of wedlock. The guardianship institution was introduced by law, although not covering orphanised children. However, in practice confessional models of support developed as a means to strengthen the clergy. For instance, the historian Tatischev, points at the girls' school established as early as 1086 at the Andreev nunnery. Princess Anna took the initiative to build this school where 300 orphan girls were trained in, among others, writing, singing, and handicraft. It is possible to assume that the nunnery this way prepared future Slavonic, Christian preachers.

Little is known about the care for orphans during the Mongol-Tatar invasion 1237 and the three centuries that followed. What is known, however, is that towards the 14th century the institution of guardianship controlled by the Church included child orphans, who were adopted.

7.2 Emergence of help to orphans in the 15th to 17th centuries

In this period an institutional transition was under way in which orphanhood increasingly was seen from the child's perspective. This change must be attributed to the fact that begging at the time was becoming a profession, in which not only adult, but children as well took part.

In 1682 a decree (ukaz) "On Measures of State Care" was issued. This marked the initiation of state social protection in Russia. In accordance with the decree, orphan children should not only learn about disciplines like "reckoning", "fortification", but also handicrafts (silk, clothes, clocks). This enabled orphans becoming self-sufficient and it contributed to the domestic production.

It should be noted that there was no system for help to orphans. Rather it was up to the Church, private persons or members of the Tsar's family to render assistance. Nevertheless, in the period a system of supporting child orphans did develop. Thus, in the beginning of the 16th century Iosif Volotskiy (1439-1515), abbot in the Volokolamskiy monastery, opened a shelter for children and the elderly.

The Church continued to be a patron of widows and orphans. In addition, secular schemes started to develop. For instance, tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich gave the widow and orphans of the *strel'tsy* (riflemen in the tsar's permanent army) 1,5 rubles each.

7.3 The development of the ideology and practice of helping orphans from the 18th to the early 20th century

In this period "orphanhood" referred only to children. It should be noted that the legislation as well as ideology at the time envisaged measures not only from the state, but from societal organisations as well. An emerging civil society developed its institutions to support orphans following the principle of division between the estates.

Assistance to child-orphans was introduced as a part of the reformatory restructuring that took place under Peter the Great in the first part of the 18th century. A network of state-

run institutions for child care was set up. The motives were not merely altruistic, but also pragmatic. Among others, the manufacturing industry was developing and was in need of labour supply, that could be provided by children. Also Peter the Great may have had personal reasons for developing child care in the country. The tsar got eleven children in his second marriage (with Marta Skavronskaia, better known as Ekaterina 1).

The practice of setting up institutions for child care was reflected also among the clergy. The head of the Novgorod church province, metropolit Job, established monasteries and hospitals of a new type at the end of the 17th century. In 1706 the first shelter (priiut) for orphanised children was established in the Novgorod district. In fact, an entire monastery (the Kolmov monastery) was accommodated to shelter children. The metropolit also built three hospitals where children without parental care, invalids and poor people were offered shelter.

According to information from 1713, in all institutions established by metropolit Job, altogether 170 people were taken care of.

Under Peter the Great legislation on orphans, in particular disabled children, was developed. In the draft code of laws of 1701 in article 25 it was forbidden for poor people to beg together with disabled children and to mutilate children for the aim of increasing the alms. Poor people committing this latter crime were to be punished “without mercy” to death.

In 1712 an “ukaz” (decree) on orphanised children was issued by tsar Peter: “In all guberniia (*regions, translator’s remark*) hospitals (*shpitateli*) are to be established for cripples as well as a shelter for feeding young children of unlawful (*i.e. unmarried, translator’s remark*) women, based on the examples of the bishop of Novgorod.”

In 1714 the tsar issued another *ukaz* on orphans. This time he ordered the building of a house for them, and in other towns special wooden houses. To take care of the children the tsar ordered “competent women” to be selected, and he stipulated their salaries to three rubles per year.

Peter the Great understood that there were legal and economic reasons why mothers left their “illegally born” children, and that these children were considered to be a shame and a result of sin for which the mother was blamed by the surroundings. Therefore tsar Peter decided, based on a Western pattern, to make placement of children a secret. The children should not know who is “brought in” and not, it was stated in an *ukaz* from 4 November 1715. (Making a leap in time, it should be noticed here that the principle of confidentiality forms a part of the professional activities of social workers).

In 1714 in St. Petersburg close to the “Joy of All Mourners” Church a hospital was built for children modelled on Western orphanages. The children were handed over in specially constructed chambers securing the anonymity of those bringing them.

Another thing worth mentioning about the *ukaz* of 4 November 1715: Infanticide (killing children) was made a crime and was punished by execution.

After the death of tsarina Natal’ia Alekseevna in 1716 Peter the Great reorganised the home for paupers established by the tsarina. It was now made “a home for unhappily born children”. In 1721 an *ukaz* on the building of hospitals for children born out of wedlock was issued.

The *ukaz* included provisions on payments to the children and those taking care of them. The children were brought up until they reached a certain age, after which they served as an apprentice (boys) or went into service as maids (girls). In case they became crippled,

seriously ill or “fell into madness”, they were sent back to the shelters. In the ukaz from 1724 it was emphasised that when abandoned or illegitimate children came of age, they were given away for apprenticeship “in any art”.

In 1724 the gubernatorial chancellery of Moscow registered altogether 895 children in the age from six months to eight years. Altogether 218 women provided for them (such a woman was called “kormilitsa”, or “feeders”). They received altogether 4731 rubles.

A new stage in the assistance to orphans did begin with the reign of Ekaterina II. On 7 November 1775 she introduced a reform on the regions (guberniia). As a part of the reform in each region institutions for support and control were established, among them orphanages for both girls and boys. These orphanages were to be established on a facultative basis. In case financial resources did not allow for the establishment of orphanages, orphans could be handed over to “trustworthy, virtuous, decent people for moderate remuneration for support and rearing”. The decree ordered prescribed control of the child’s living conditions. Likewise, vocational training was to be provided for, following the estate principle. This meant that “children of craftsmen were to be trained in crafts, children of traders in trade, and all children were to be taught and fed according to sex, breed and condition”.

In accordance with the 1755 decree on regions and later decisions a guardianship arrangement for children – as well as widows – of noble birth was set up. Likewise an Orphans’ Court was established to provide guardianship for children – and widows – “of all ranks”. Guardians were found among relatives or orderly people, who took care of the orphans’ and widows’ property. The orphans’ courts remunerated the guardians economically.

A new stage in the social care for children was represented by the introduction of homes for the upbringing of children in Russia. The famous Russian pedagogue Ivan I. Betskii (1704-1795) made himself acquainted with upbringing homes in Milan, London, and Paris before he drafted the Russian version. The first home of this kind was established in 1764 in Moscow, the second in St. Petersburg in 1771. It was required that children be received anonymously. It was stated that the children were to be “brought up ... for the benefit of the state.”

At first philanthropists were to finance these homes, but it turned out their funds were insufficient. Therefore, Ivan I. Betskii introduced a set of measures to raise funds, among others by organising loans and insurance for widows from which the surplus was spent on children’s homes. He also raised money by adding small fees to theatre tickets and the like.

In addition to financial problems, organisational and sanitarian problems occurred. The upbringing home in Moscow was dimensioned for 500 children, but in fact no less than 12,-14,000 children actually lived in it. In the home abandoned children from all over Russia were gathered. A special profession emerged – “*podkidyvalitsa*” (“woman taking care of the abandoned”). She would receive an annual remuneration varying from three to seven rubles.

Bad nutrition in the homes for abandoned children led to high mortality. During the first year after the establishment of the home in Moscow 429 out of a total 523 children died. The investigation commission in 1797 noted that among the children received between 1764 and 1797 eleven percent were still alive. Those in live were a sad sight. Ekaterina II while visiting the Moscow home found children who were “clumsy, slow, taciturn and glum”.

Seeking a way out of the problem a system of *patronat* was put forward. According to this scheme children were to be sent to peasant families. The Moscow home for upbringing of children sent as an annual average no less than 40,000 children to peasant families, and the St. Petersburg home sent 18,000 children.

However, yet another stage in the development social assistance emerged when the societies and institutions taking care of orphans came under imperial protection. Empress Mariia's (1759-1828) foundation played a particularly important role.

The charitable activities at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 19th century did not only consist in money support, but also in the development of principles for enlightenment and upbringing. The activities of several charitable societies were remarkable at this stage. One of the earliest among them was the "Society for Upbringing of High Born Girls", that was established as early as 1764 to support orphans. Several smaller, charitable organisation joined the network, like the Moscow Charitable Society (in 1837) and the Moscow Ladies' Guardianship of Poor People.

In 1796 Empress Mariia Fëdorovna undertook the direct steering of the branches of the Society, which constituted a new stage in its development. Under her administration the Society grew, and a network of institutions for upbringing developed. It was with the activities of the Empress Mariia that a *system* of care for orphans was developed in Russia. The status of work with orphans was given higher status, among others by giving some orphanages the rights of an "institute" (Kronstadt in 1837, Irkutsk in 1838).

In 1864 after the emancipation of the serfs a new system of care for the orphans was developed. The newly established zemstva (institutions of local self-government) got the responsibility for supervision of illegitimate and abandoned children. There was no unified system for this work although tendencies were discernible. In many guberniia the control (*patronazh*) was undertaken by municipal (*zemskii*) doctors, teachers and priests in co-operation with the local police.

7.4 Social care for orphans in the Soviet period

During the first years of soviet government care for orphans was undertaken following the "estate principle", only in an inverted version, giving priority to children of the working class and the poorest peasants. However, the mass scale of orphanhood made it necessary to skip these limitations.

In 1920 it was decided to set up orphanages (*detskie doma*) "of a new type". They were joined in one network of orphanages, colonies, vocational schools, "securing the needs of first of all the proletarian parts of the population and the poorest peasantry".

Assistance in getting a job through so-called *raspredeliteli* (distribution points for employment of poor people) was established in 1919. depending on their working capacities they were assigned different types of jobs. Old and disabled people were referred to places of refuge (*ubezhishche*), children to children's homes (orphanages), unemployed to the Departments for Distribution of Labour, and "parasites" (*tuneiadtsy*) to special working communes. However, the number of poor people increased. The newly established organs of social assistance simply could not cope with the high number.

In the 1920 a number of decisions and measures were made to deal with the problem of unattended and homeless children (*besprizornost'*). One of the measures consisted in

handing homeless children over to peasant families. In the 1920s and 30s working communes were established with the purpose of training and upbringing homeless children on the workplace (working collective). In some cases working collectives and schools together gave these children a profession.

The problems of child protection in war time became urgent. Now the problem was not only how to open new institutions, but also how to evacuate children from the orphanages to the inner, safer parts of the Soviet Union. In mid-December 1941 altogether 664 orphanages were evacuated with 7887 children. In the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "on the placement of children left without parents" envisaged the establishment of a supplementary network of orphanages and the participation of the citizens as guardians. In 1943, military schools (so-called Nakhimov and Suvorov schools) were established for children whose parents had lost their lives in the war.

After the Second World War, in the 1950's and 60's orphanages "of an internat type" were established. These institutions differed from the traditional orphanages by being more open to the surrounding society, allowing the orphans to stay in touch with children from ordinary families.

In the 1970s and 80's several decrees and decisions were made on orphans. Measures were taken to improve their living conditions.

7.5 The system of social protection of orphans at the end of the 20th early 21st century

The changes in Russia in the 1990s required a reorganisation of the system of support and assistance to orphans. The crisis of the families, including a decrease in the level of consumption, the destruction of structures, marginalisation – all this led to an increase in orphanhood in Russia.

Each year in Moscow alone 42-44,000 marriages are dissolved. For each officially registered marriage in the capital there are two official divorces. Each year in Moscow, as a result of divorce, 25 – 30,000 children are left without one of the parents. According to the Statistical Office of Russia (Goskomstat) in 2000 there were 897,300 marriages in the country and 627,700 divorces.

It should be noticed that in the 1990 there was a clearly discernible tendency of growing number of orphans and other children left without parental care. Thus in 1993 there were 460,400 children in this category, but in 2000 the number had reached 662,500. Also the number of children growing up in orphanages increased from 117,500 in 1993 to 180,000 in 2000. Through Moscow 28,000 children migrate on an average per year.

The former system of social upbringing could not cope with the new problems emerging from the transition to market conditions. In this period several presidential programmes aiming at supporting children have been launched, among them "Children of Russia", "Children of Chernobyl", "Orphans". The Russian Child Fund and charitable organisations deal with the problems of orphanhood for instance by setting up Children's Villages.

The social situation required changes in the approaches to upbringing of children, among them foster families (in 2000 altogether 4,400 children were placed in foster families). The number of orphans (biological and social) is increasing. Orphanages of different

kinds are still the most wide spread placement form. In 2000 there were 1244 children homes and 157 school-internats. Between 20 and 25 percent are returned to their parents.

Translated from Russian by Jørn Holm-Hansen

8 Alternatives to orphanages in Northwest Russia: Preconditions and obstacles in policy development

By Jørn Holm–Hansen, Mikhail V. Firsov, Lars Kristofersen, Larisa S. Malik, Lev V. Mardakhaev, and Trine Myrvold

8.1 Introduction

Russia takes part in the international trend of preferring family-like units to big institutions of residential care for children who are left without parental care. Russia was among the first countries to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child stating that children should grow up in family-like settings. At the same time, paradoxically, the number of children deprived of a family upbringing has grown.

What are the preconditions, and what are the obstacles to the establishment of alternatives to traditional orphanages in Russia? Based on findings from a pilot study (Holm-Hansen, Kristofersen, Myrvold et al 2003) the chapter seeks to shed light on this question²⁶.

The focus alternates between the federal level policies and the case of Arkhangelsk in Northwest Russia. The case study shows how federation level policies, laws and programmes fare on a local level. This approach enables a close-up view on obstacles and preconditions in a real-life context. The study, however, is still in progress and no suggestions or tentative conclusions in this chapter must be taken as final results.

Studying alternatives to traditional orphanages in Russia is tantamount to studying the development of new policies. We hold two factors to be crucial for the introduction of new methods in dealing with orphans.²⁷ First, there must be knowledge and support for the idea i.e. there must be epistemic communities or advocacy coalitions willing to exert pressure. Reforms envisaged in Russia, like elsewhere, rely heavily on the involvement of a wide range of actors. Various branches of public administration are expected to take part and co-ordinate their efforts. Civil society organisations potentially play an important

²⁶ The study was financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Family Affairs and the Nordic Council of Ministers, and is followed up by a project financed by the latter. The pilot study was carried out by researchers at the Pomor State University in Arkhangelsk, the Moscow State Social University, and the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research in Oslo. The follow-up study is joined by Swedish researchers.

²⁷ The term ‘orphan’ is used here for simplicity to mean children deprived of parental care, even if the large majority of Russian orphans have at least one living parent. These children are traditionally called ‘social orphans’.

role. A non-hierarchical relation between public authorities and the families in trouble is expected to strengthen empowerment of the latter. This, in turn will be conducive to prevention of children ending up as social orphans. The chapter will present and discuss the emerging advocacy coalition for alternative childcare in Arkhangelsk town.

Secondly, the institutional surroundings must be able to receive and sustain reform. Alternatives to traditional orphanages have to be introduced into a setting, not from scratch, not on a *tabula rasa* nor in an institutional vacuum. The chapter will elucidate how reforms are being carried out in the intersection of general principles developed internationally, and the real-life setting of Russian former state socialism.

The next section of the chapter presents a broad overview of the scope of the problem of orphans in Russia. We also present the most relevant Russian institutions engaged in care for orphans and their legal underpinnings. In section 3, the chapter discusses three groups of family-like alternatives to traditional orphanages: care in families or family-like settings outside institutions, reform within orphanages, and alternatives aiming at preventing children from being social orphans.

The chapter ends up in a discussion of the two groups of possible causal factors influencing the potential success of new policy development: Is there an emerging advocacy coalition promoting policies of alternative childcare, and what may hinder the development of such a coalition? What contextual factors may influence policy development, and in what way?

8.2 The scope of Russian orphanhood and relevant Russian institutions

The past decade Russia has witnessed an immense increase in the number of children deprived of parental care. The problem remains one of the most acute social problems in Russia. Whereas 49 000 children in Russia became orphans (biologically or socially) in 1990, this number increased to almost 113 300 in 1996 (Henley and Alexandrova 1999; Dement'eva 2000). In 1999 the number of such children reached 114 000, and the total number of orphans 654 000.

Not all children who live in an institution of residential care stay there on a permanent basis. According to figures from the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection altogether 52 700 children were living in institutions temporarily, of which 2200 had fled from their families.

This is not solely a Russian problem. In the 27 former state socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Western Asia, more than one million children are taken care of by public authorities (UNICEF 1999:18).

Table 8.1 *Number of Russian children becoming orphan per year*

Year	Number of children
1991	59 154
1992	67 286
1993	n.a.
1994	102 682
1995	113 296
1996	113 243
1997	105 534
1998	110.930
1999	114.000
2000	123.204

(Source: Dement'eva, 2000:4, and Ministerstvo Obrazovaniia 2001)

Most children in residential care have parents, and are classified as “social orphans”. Their parents may have been deprived of parental rights, they may be chronic alcoholics, drug addicts, prisoners, or incapable of taking care of their children for health reasons (Dement'eva 2000). Only 10 percent of the children became orphans in consequence of parent's death or invalidism (Annual governmental report, 2001).

The number of children in need of public care – or external assistance – increases with the general poverty in Russia. Child poverty rates have increased one-and-a-half times more than the overall poverty rate (UNICEF 1997). Poverty is particularly widespread among families with many children. According to statistics from the Russian Statistical Committee, Goskomstat, 33 percent of all households with children lived below subsistence minimum in 1997. The same applied for 72 percent of households with four or more children (Henley and Alexandrova 1999:2). This situation is reinforced by the erosion of the system of primary family support (consisting of cash transfers, maternity leave, parental leave, kindergartens). Most probably poverty triggers off other negative mechanisms that eventually leave a certain percentage of children in need of care from adults other than the household members.

The situation in Arkhangelsk region and city

There are currently 1.5 million inhabitants in the Arkhangelsk region, of which 365,000 are children. Lately, there has been a slight decrease in the number of revealed orphans (in 2000 – 1560 persons, in 2001 – 1361 persons).²⁸ This is reflected also at city level, in Arkhangelsk city.

Table 8.2 *Number of children left without parental care, Arkhangelsk region and Arkhangelsk city*

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Arkhangelsk region	1077	1294	1410	1560	1361
Arkhangelsk city	282	365	377	440	337

²⁸ This figure, however, is not as favourable as it appears, since not only the number of revealed cases decreases. Also the birth rate has been falling considerably for the eight years. In Arkhangelsk region the rate of children to the total population decreased from 25 percent in 1990 to 20 percent in 1998 (Lund, Solstad et al. 2001).

In Arkhangelsk region 83 percent of revealed children are social orphans. These children have at least one living parent, but their parents are either deprived of parental rights (26 percent), have relinquished their children for reasons like unemployment or alcoholism (52 percent), or are convicted (4 percent). 17 percent of children are biological orphans. In orphanages, however, the percentage of biological orphans is lower (about five percent), since children without living parents more easily are adopted when they are new-born²⁹.

8.3 Legal underpinnings

In Russia responsibilities in the field of childcare are divided between the three levels of government: central, regional, and local. As mentioned in the introduction, Russia was one of the first countries to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Following this a series of laws and resolutions have been passed on the Russian federal level the past decade. These policy documents covers a wide selection of issues related to child care, taking into consideration both urgent measures for children without parental care and longer term measures aiming at preventing problems for children and families. Some of the most relevant federal level legal underpinnings include:

- the governmental resolution (*postanovlenie*) (1991) “On urgent measures within social protection for orphans and children without parental care”. This resolution settles the minimum conditions under which children in orphanages are to live under
- the federation government ordinance (*rasporiazhenie*) of 3 July 1992 (no. 1063) where the norms and standards for the social protection of the population were established. In connection to this it was decided to set up centres for social rehabilitation for altogether five to ten thousand children
- the President decree of 6 September 1993 “On prophylactic measures against child neglect and criminality among children and protection of child rights”. This decree served as a legal basis for a host of measures made by the Ministry of Social Protection, in particular the order (*prikaz*) of 1994 “On the endorsement of the standard statutes of the institutions for minors in need of social rehabilitation”
- the federation level law (21 December 1996) “On supplementary guarantees of social protection for orphans and children without parental care”. On the basis of this law two important governmental documents were issued in 1996. These were the Governmental Regulation (*postanovlenie*) from 27 July “On federal ear-marked programmes on children’s situation in the Russian Federation” and the Governmental Regulation of 13 September “On the confirmation of the standard statute on specialised institutions for minors in need of social rehabilitation”
- the Russian “Convention on the development of a system of preventive measures against neglect and crime among minors”. Letting children live in families is one of the basic ideas in this convention, which was elaborated and confirmed by the inter-ministerial commission on minors under the Government of the Russian Federation (from 7 July 1998 no. 1/1 p. 125)
- the federation level law (14 July 1998) “On the basic guarantees for children’s rights in the Russian Federation”. In the law it is stated that children’s rights is one of the most important policy fields of the government. The competencies of the authorities at the levels of federation and federation subject are defined in the law. The tasks of

²⁹ Thanks to Valerii Nuromskii, vice-director at the regional Department of Education, for this piece of information.

the state at federation level is to fix priorities, to establish standard regulations, set minimum standards for social services and to finance federal programmes

- the Governmental Regulation (14 May 2001) “On first-line measures to improve the situation of orphans and children without parental care”. In the Regulation new norms and standards for the care of orphans were established

Laws have also been passed on the regional level of government (oblast). In Arkhangelsk oblast these include laws on payment for families taking care of orphans. Although a host of legal acts and decisions have been made by the regional assembly practitioners in the field maintain there is still a lack of legal backing for alternatives to traditional orphanages. A regional act on patron families has been considered, but has so far not been passed.

On the local (city) level, the legislature must stick to the confines laid out by federal legislation. The local authorities in Arkhangelsk are generally open to all possible measures to place orphans in families, even if formal regulations still are lacking. One exception is the Regulation on foster families in Arkhangelsk city (18 August 2000), giving rules for how to set up a foster family, how to take an orphan into a foster family as well as how to compensate the foster family financially.

The organisational underpinnings

In addition to the different *levels* of government, responsibilities for orphans are also divided between different *sectors* of government:

The educational sector (Ministry of Education) is responsible for the major part of the orphanages, and reforms within them. This sector also answers for preventive measures against social orphanage. The responsible organs for guardianship and care are under the Ministry of Education.

Handicapped children often end up as social orphans. *The Ministry of Health* develops preventive measures aiming at helping parents cope with difficulties emanating from the fact that they have got a child in extra need of care. This ministry also answers for the youngest orphans (up to three years).

According to the Family Code (1995) “family rights” is the domain of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection. This means that it is the sector of social protection that is the master of most of the tools that may help households over the worst, and thus avoid social orphanage. Family right issues are under the *Ministry of Labour and Social Protection*.

Street children are placed in temporary centres called police collection and distribution departments. These centres are mostly found in big cities. They are under the *Ministry of the Interior*.

Social work as a profession and branch of science is developing dynamically in Russia. The Faculty of Social Work and Psychology at the Pomor State University is the hub of these activities in Arkhangelsk region. At a federal level, the Moscow State Social University is the core of a network of over 100 higher leaning institutions spread all over Russia. These two institutions constitute the Russian counterparts of the project this chapter is a result of.

The specialists on children’s rights are envisaged to play an important role. For instance there are 68 children right inspectors in Arkhangelsk region, one in each municipality.

These inspectors were originally introduced in 1997 as pilot project between the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection and the UNESCO (Shestakova 2000:18).

To sum up: There is a well-established framework of public organisations that work with orphans. It is in the interaction between the bodies and institutions mentioned above plus parents, relatives and voluntary organisation that an “advocacy-coalition” in favour of reforms may develop.

8.4 Possible alternatives to traditional orphanages

The policies of providing alternatives to traditional orphanages can be divided into three broad categories. First, there are efforts aiming at establishing alternatives *other than* the traditional institutions of residential care inherited from the Soviet epoch. Secondly, there are alternatives *within* the existing orphanages. It has appeared that the experienced staffs in many orphanages is eager to try out alternatives, like dividing the institutions into more family-like units, offering more individual care and the like. These efforts are less conspicuous than those of the former category, but often more feasible in financial terms and as to the actual workforce situation. Thirdly, there are alternatives aiming at *preventing* children from ending up as social orphans. These measures are undertaken with the intention of helping parents and children over the hump in periods of trouble. We will here give a very brief presentation of these alternatives in contemporary Russia. Again we will use Arkhangelsk to exemplify the developments.

8.5 Alternatives outside the institutions

The Family Code stresses the following alternatives to traditional orphanages for placing children deprived of parental care: Adoption, foster families and guardianship. In addition to the forms mentioned explicitly in The Family Code, alternatives to traditional orphanages include patronage families, SOS Children’s Villages, family upbringing groups and replacement families.

The number of **adoptions** has grown considerably in Russia, and is primarily an option for children under 1 year. This is definitely the case for in-Russian adoptions, which constitutes the dominant part of the adoptions. The same holds for disabled children. Physically or mentally disabled children are as good as never subject to adoption in Russia. In the Arkhangelsk region there has been a constant *decrease* of number of adopted orphans. In 1999, 342 children (24 percent of the total number of children discovered to be deprived of parental care) were adopted, whereas the number of adopted children was 265 in 2000 (17 percent of the total number). The number of orphans who were adopted in families of foreign citizens has also declined: in 1999 - 73, in 2000 - 60. The decline is connected with new restrictions made in the Civil Code of the Russian Federation. For the last two years all the adopted children in the Arkhangelsk region were under one year old.

The conception of **foster family** in the contemporary meaning was introduced to Russia in the new Family Code. The foster family as a form of placing children for upbringing, and the content of this form, are established by the Regulations about foster family. The family and the guardianship authorities agree on a preliminary contract on placing children. The contract specifies the conditions of children’s keeping, and also defines the rate of payment for the foster parents’ labour and the

privileges, which are given for the work. The organs of guardianship render the necessary support to the foster families and supervise the living conditions and upbringing of the foster child. The number of foster families is so far very small in Russia, taken the vast amount of orphans into consideration. In 1997, altogether 239 foster families were established in Russia. The same year the number of foster families in the Arkhangelsk region was 10, and in 2001 it rose to 28.

Placing the child with a **guardian family** is one alternative for orphans and children without parental care. This arrangement secures the child's support, upbringing and education, and also the protection of his or her rights and interests. Guardianship is arranged by the authorities within a month after it has been discovered that the child has no parental protection. The guardian is not obliged to support the foster child at his own expense. Expenses related to the foster child are compensated according to the principles established in the Civil Code. Russia has seen a steady increase in the number of families taking responsibilities as guardian families. Contrary to most foster parents, guardians are usually related to the child: grandparents, uncles and aunts, and elder brothers and sisters. As for the 1st of September 1999, there were 506 guardians (or tutors/trustees) in Arkhangelsk (Makarova 2001:174).

Patronage families have a long standing in Russia, but nevertheless it is sometimes considered a new form of placing orphans. The essence of the patronage family system is that professional teachers for a definite period of time take the place of a family for orphans, for children from unhappy families, and for children otherwise deprived of parental care. The main idea of this system is that a child is placed in an ordinary family for some time. Registration of patron families through labour agreements gives work for patronage teachers. At the same time it guarantees the child's education and upbringing in a (close to) normal family setting. The institution of patron families is now developing in Russia with a certain success. Several regions all over Russia have expressed their interest in establishing a system of patron families, but to date few are realised. In Arkhangelsk, the authorities have worked on the idea of patron families for some time, but the regulations are not yet passed.

8.6 Alternatives within the institutions

Russia has a strong tradition of large institutions for children, handicapped children, sick children and orphans. Traditionally, priority in Russian child care institutions have been on securing the children appropriate food, clothes and a wide variety of health services. Different professionals – like speech therapists, psychologists, dentists and paediatricians, only to mention some – take care of “their” part of the child, whereas closeness and care not has had the same degree of professional attention. Russian orphanages still have a certain “scientific” character.

Russian orphanages and boarding schools are only to a moderate extent reorganised to be more family like. Further reorganisation is planned, as The Family Code establishes family type children houses as a better way to give orphans the notion of family life.

In Arkhangelsk, the ongoing reform of traditional orphanages takes three ways:

- Large institutions are reorganized to comprise several smaller units, some of them with children at different ages living together. The group is called a “family”. There are, however, several aspects of daily life that still are tied to the boarding school, like meals in the canteen, laundry and distribution of new clothes. Boarding schools of family-type are a kind of institution where children

live in groups like separate families with separate entrances and their own organisation and way of life. This kind of institution is the one that most resembles a normal family-life.

- The family orphanage is one possible alternative to traditional orphanages. Here a family takes on the responsibility for one or more children on a contact-basis, but the child still has his or her home in the orphanage
- There are also family-type orphanages, regulated by a federation government regulation (19 March No 195). This kind of orphanage is established by a married couple willing to bring up no less than five and no more than ten children.

Up to date, most of the reforms are in the stage of planning.

8.7 Preventive measures

Most of the alternatives to residential care discussed above do only rarely lead to a situation where the child may return to his or her family. Moreover, preventive measures, for instance social work, have traditionally had a low standing in Russia, but is now developing in many regions. Recognizing the family as one of the principal institutes of positive socialisation of children, the Family Code (1995) of the Russian Federation made the departments of social care responsible for questions pertaining to family rights. Decisions concerning financial questions and living conditions for families are made by the departments of social care. These departments mainly make use of compensation payment and rent allowances. A minimum living standard is defined annually, and families whose income does not reach this figure have a right to get financial compensations from the state. There have, however, been severe delays in these payments the past years.

Prevention does not only have to do with the family living standard. A highly qualified social and educational sector is also a must. There seems to be a growing awareness in Russia of the importance of strengthening specialists' work on the protection of children's rights as well as on social work in the family centres and its subsidiaries. This work consists, among other things, of identification of families in crisis, to provide help for all members of the family before the situation becomes irreparable, and short-term (1-6 months) rehabilitation of children in family centres, as well as efforts to return children to their family.

In Arkhangelsk, the development of the Faculty of Social Work at the Pomor University obviously means a stronger focus on preventive social work. The Faculty is educating a high number of specialists working with families in difficult situations. From 1997 family centres have been established in Arkhangelsk, with a primary task to prevent social orphanhood by helping children within the family setting (Makarova 2001:173). The first centre was, and still is, a 24-hour shelter for children in acute situations. The other centres provide daytime support for families experiencing difficulties. Still, taken into account the large number of children and families needing help, the preventive measures are only helping very few.

8.8 Policy development: some possible explanations

As the previous sections have shown, the last decade there has been established a well-elaborated legal framework to deal with issues pertaining to orphanhood and the establishment of family-like alternatives. It seems to be widely recognized in Russia, as it is internationally, that the family setting represents the most favourable conditions for childrearing. Parallel to the evolution of this public policy, the number of orphans has grown considerably in Russia. How can this be explained?

This chapter's ambition is not to provide a full explanation of the discrepancy between the said intentions and the results in the Russian orphan and family policy. We merely aim to discuss two groups of factors that may prove to be important when developing new policy: favourable institutional surroundings and the existence of an advocacy coalition.

8.8.1 Contextual factors

Our discussion of contextual factors is inspired by policy diffusion theory (see chapter 2). Diffusion theory states that when studying the development of a new policy, programme or instrument, it does not suffice to know the policy or instrument in detail. One must also be able to analyse the setting into which the policy or instruments are installed. This ability is more and more required as policies and the inventory of policy instruments are being harmonised between states to an increasing degree, as in the case of "family-like upbringing".

There is a whole literature on "lesson-drawing", "policy diffusion" or "policy transfer" (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000) which is applied in concrete studies, e.g. of environmental policies (Jänicke 2000, Tews 2001). Richard Rose (1991) asks: "Under what circumstances and to what extent can a programme that is effective in one place transfer to another?" Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) identify several reasons why policy development may fail. One group of factors consists of the economic, social, political and ideological context in which the policy is developed. In other words, success hinges on the ability to analyse contextual factors.

Russia is not alone among the countries of the developed world to carry out sweeping reforms of the educational and welfare sectors. The Russian reforms, however, are relatively dramatic because they are envisaged as elements in a transition from one *type* of society to another. This far in our project we are not anywhere near giving a full analyses of contextual factors influencing the development of the Russian orphan policy. Still we want to point to certain possibly important factors: Poverty, habits and world views, and material legacies.

Poverty

Russia's strained economy throughout the last decade has gravely affected the social sector, including public care for children. The effects are both *indirect*, because poverty among families leads to greater need of help, and *direct*, meaning that there has been a considerable lack of money within the social sector. The orphanages are for instance greatly dependent on sponsors.

Poverty complicates the policies of reducing input to the orphanages as well as the policies of increasing output (adoption, foster families and other). As compared to 1990, Russian real wages in 1998 had halved (Klugman and Kolev 2001). Due to difficult public finances and new political ideas, subsidised housing, energy, schools and kindergartens, now either tend to be closed down or must be paid for. Since

most families have just enough to keep body and soul together, even minor cut-downs in may result in significant worsening of living conditions.

Poverty is closely linked to family size in Russia. A large majority of families with four or more children live below subsistence minimum (Henley and Alexandrova 1999). Twenty per cent of Russian children live in families with a large number of children (in Russia this means three or more children). At the same time about 95 percent of such families have an average income less than the minimum living wage. On the other hand, in Russia having many children in a family is well-established as a recognised reason for being poor, and alongside with low wages accepted as such in Soviet times (McAuley 1996). Therefore, benefits and privileges for those families used to be elaborate.

In Russia, the number of one-parent families is on a sharp rise. This is partly due to women without a (stable) partner giving birth, and partly due to the declining number of registered marriages (a decline of about 10.5 percent in 2000). Looking at Arkhangelsk region one-parent families appear to be the principal “suppliers” of orphans. 87 per cent of children who were taken to Arkhangelsk orphanages in 2001, were children from one-parent families (Department of Social and Health Welfare of Arkhangelsk administration 2001). Interestingly, Klugman and Kolev show that the main reason single parents end up as being classified as poor is not their lone-parent status, but because most single parents are women, and in consequence suffer from the labour market disadvantages faced by women in general (Klugman and Kolev 2001).

Roumiantseva (2001) points to the problem of feminisation of poverty in Russia. Workers in the educational, health care, social welfare and culture sectors get the lowest pay. In 1999 the average salary in the social sector was less than half of the average in the manufacturing sector. The wages for women are one third less than men’s wages.

General poverty as well as housing problems hamper the recruitment of foster families and guardians. Even if the authorities have decided on the monthly payment for families taking in an orphan, there have been severe delays in these payments the past years. In 1999, the delays amounted to one year (Makarova 2001:174). In 2001 the payments were transferred from the local to the regional budgets, which enables more regularity than previously. In 2001 the payment was 900 rubles (30 euro) a month, in January 2001 1,600 rubles (52 euro) and in October 2002 it was at 2,114 rubles (68 euro). These measures are of help for those who have taken an orphan into their family, but it is widely held that the payments are not sufficient. The allowances are often compared to the costs of having one child in an orphanage, which are about 3500 rubles (115 euro) a month. Anyway, regular payments seem to be a minimum requirement for the recruitment of new foster families.

Habits and world views

Reforms will in many cases be muddled by deeply ingrained habits and world views. Informally, in Russia it is sometimes argued that Russians in general are less reluctant to relinquish their children than most other Europeans. This has been explained by a Communist ideology that allegedly reduced the sense of living in a family, which made parents abandon their children. This is at best an interesting hypothesis. Several circumstances make the hypothesis not very plausible. First, Communist ideology as construed by the ideology secretaries in the Kremlin ceased to be culturally leftist in the late 1920s and early 1930s. From then on there were no more attacks on “the bourgeois family”. On the contrary the ideal was a strong family unit (Lebina 1999:276). Under Nikita Khushchëv, however, policies were pursued to increase productivity by freeing mothers from the burden of parenthood, and boarding schools for all children were stated as an official goal. In the 1960 and 70s, under Leonid Brezhnev, the main concern was the

falling birth rate among others caused by the dissolution of the traditional family structure. Again, family support policies were introduced (Tobis 2000: 7). All in all, it is reason to say that it was more the disruptive *effects* of state socialism that led families to break up than its ideology.

After all state socialism was able to modernise the backward agricultural society into an industrial society, even “a complex urban society pushing for change”, according to the Sovietologist Moshe Lewin (1995:63). With that society comes an individualism that applies also to women. If that is the reason why family structures break up, it applies equally to industrial societies that did not experience state socialism, which endows state socialism as such with a poor explanatory power. However, the state socialist phenomenon may explain why large numbers of Russian children ended up as social orphans in orphanages, while the numbers are considerably smaller in other industrialised societies, including those with relatively low living standards. State socialism was able to combine social catastrophes like Stalinist repression, famine and war with a strong ability to establish and equip policy sectors.

Furthermore, Communism as a political system, as we saw, was based on repression. Above, this was mentioned as a reason why families were broken up. Such effects of Communism, however, was mostly a phenomenon during extreme repression, like under Stalin. The tight control might also have had the opposite effect. It may have made informal and immediate ties more relevant than in societies where taking part in formal organisations made more sense. The sociologist Piotr Sztompka (1993) argues that the state socialist inability to create a bond between citizens and the state resulted in a popular affirmation and idealisation of the “private” (by retreat into the family as an authentic civil society). It is often said that the Russians retreated to the kitchen table where they lived their lives among family members and close friends.

Another factor distinct to Russia is that the phenomenon of children in want of parental care has not been much focused upon until the past few years. Therefore, even the language lacks proper words to describe it. There are several reasons for this.

First, there is the communist tradition of upbringing, which existed until the early 1990s and still is making its imprint. Within this framework it was not easy to deal with phenomena that witnessed of a society not conforming with the ascribed perfection of the communist system. The fact that children were lacking parental care for social reasons was entirely accidental and atypical, according to the optimistic communist ideology. Therefore, broad research, debate, and reflection were not required on this issue, it was held. For the same reasons the institutions for orphans were closed to attention from and communication with society at large. The orphans (biological and social) were enjoying certain social rights and price reductions, but were isolated from the surrounding society in order to avoid spreading information about the phenomenon as such.

Secondly, after the fall of communism a wave of capitalist and liberal thought swept over Russia and influenced on the economic as well as the social sphere. New illusions were born and spread on a mass-scale, this time on the automatic relationship between introducing market mechanisms and solving all problems of the society, including those of upbringing children. In this period of euphoria, in 1992, a new Law on Education was passed, according to which any school was allowed to exclude the least successful, most difficult children. The result of this was that a veritable army of children emerged, consisting of somewhere between one and one and a half million individuals. These children had not finished school, they could not get into any other type of schools, and most of them could be classified as having “difficult life conditions”. “Difficult life

conditions” is a clue term in the new wave of Russian legislation that was passed in the second half the 1990s.

Thirdly, personal ambitions of Russian politicians and civil servants make them reluctant to admit the speed and the scope of the increase in the number of children living without care from their own parents. As a result of this, no legal acts so far have been passed directly referring to children living without care from their parents. In recent legislation these children are referred to not as being “deprived of parental care”, but as “living under difficult conditions”. In this way the phenomenon is shyly hidden in the legislation, in the local under-programmes of the Presidential Programme “Orphans”. Likewise, mass media cover the issue of children without parental care. There is, however, very little research and prognostics on how to solve the problem.

Material legacies

The last factor we want to point out is the importance of institutional and material legacies. These have deep roots dating back to long before the advent of Communism. In fact, large residential institutions for out-of-home care were established by the authorities as early as under Peter the Great (1682-1725) followed up by Catherine the Great (1762-96). The central orphanage in Moscow received 17,000 children a year in the latter half of the 19th century (Tobis 2000:5). Then came the large-scale demographic dislocations due to famine, large-scale Stalinist persecution and the Second World War. Millions of parents died, leaving behind small children in surroundings struck by deep poverty. Probably no country outside the former state socialist world has had a comparable combination of individual poverty (which certainly also was noticeable under Communist rule) and alcoholism on the demand-generating side, and widely available public child care facilities on the supply side. Soviet Union, unlike most countries in a similar situation of widespread poverty and need had the capacity to build and establish policy sectors. Thanks to this capacity orphanages were set up, and the luckiest among the orphans were placed in them. Large crowds of social orphans still wandered about. Poverty was so deep that many parents arranged for a place in an orphanage to give their child a better life. No matter how sad the orphanages may appear, they are the result of a set of circumstances, not necessarily the result of bad choices. The question then is whether now is the time to say that these circumstances are no longer valid.

To sum up: Large scale macro factors (economic, mental and material) complicate endeavours to develop alternatives to traditional orphanages. However, as argued by John A. Sabatier (1988), the large scale macro factors do not hinder the interaction of like-minded actors within a policy field from pushing successfully for change. To what extent does this play a role in the reform of Russian policies for orphans?

8.8.2 Advocacy coalitions, epistemic communities, and discourse coalitions – a tentative scheme

The role of like-minded actors within a policy field is being discussed within the social sciences. Sabatier’s “advocacy coalition” is primarily a domestic constellation of actors whereas Peter M. Haas’ (1992) “epistemic communities” are transnational groups of actors spreading policies from legislation to legislation. Maarten A. Hajer (1995) brings discourse analysis into the concept and terms it “discourse coalition” emphasising the importance of “story-lines” that potentially change the previous understanding of what the actors’ interests are. Story-lines are narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding” (Hajer 1995:62).

All three concepts have in common an including approach to the question of whom is in the “coalition”, the actors do not only operate on one level of government, nor to one sector. They do not necessarily confine themselves to the formal political and bureaucratic channels. Scientists, voluntary organisations, international NGO, and mass media workers all play a role.

To what extent is it possible to say that advocacy coalitions, epistemic communities, and discourse coalitions play a role in the reform of Russian policies for orphans? Is there a coalition pushing for (and underpinning the officially sanctioned policies for) alternatives to institutionalised care in huge orphanages? Are epistemic impulses flowing over the state borders, like in the article by Haas? Is one “story-line” of the kind Hajer refers to dominating?

In the following some very preliminary pointers will be given. First of all it may be of use to borrow from Sabatier’s distinction between the subsystem (policy field) and the advocacy coalition. The subsystem is defined as: “... the interaction of actors from different institutions interested in a policy area. ... those actors from a variety of public and private organisations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue such as air pollution control etc”. There may exist more than one advocacy coalition within the subsystem, and they may be competing.

According to Sabatier the advocacy coalition is made up of “...people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest groups leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system – i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions – and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time”.

Based on Sabatier’s list of actors constituting the US Air Pollution Control subsystem, we present a rough inventory of participants in the Russian subsystem for orphanage issues:

- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Labour and Social Development
- Ministry of the Interior
- Ministry of Health
- Regional state and self-governmental political and administrative authorities (covering the tasks of the ministries mentioned above)
- Local self-government and its administrative bodies
- Institutions for children (orphanages, boarding schools, children and family centres)
- Universities and research institutes
- Voluntary associations and organisations (for instance of foster parents)
- Foreign “NGOs” and voluntary organisations
- Professionals (social workers, teachers, doctors, psychologists)
- International institutions and foreign states
- Foreign research institutes and universities co-operating with Russian counterparts
- Parents and relatives
- Adopting and foster families and families willing to become
- Journalists

As mentioned above, there is a well-established framework of public ministries, organisations and institutions that work with orphans. It is in the interaction between these bodies

and institutions plus parents, relatives, voluntary organisations as well as international researchers and NGOs that an “advocacy-coalition” in favour of reforms may develop.

Is it possible to discern rivalling (or one dominating) coalition within the subsystem? So far, the project which forms the basis for this chapter has not ventured systematically into that issue. However, it is possible to sketch out some main traits. Basically two main coalitions may be distinguished. For simplicity they will be referred to as the “residential care coalition” and the “coalition for family-like alternatives”. Although it is not very easy to get hold of the residential care coalition during short field visits (most respondents, interviewees and conversations partners repeat statements on the benefits of growing up in a family) it is possible to summarise its core beliefs. Sabatier holds core beliefs (“a deep core of fundamental normative and ontological axioms”) to be a basic feature of an advocacy coalition. Core beliefs then are followed up by a policy core of basic policy choices and causal assumptions (basic strategies for achieving normative axioms of deep core beliefs). The coalition for family-like alternatives

The following table contrasts the traditional and the contemporary coalitions.

“Residential care coalition”	“Coalition for family-like alternatives”
Core belief/Story-line: Mass problem. The child needs education and health.	Core belief/Story-line: Problem first of all for the individual child. The child needs close relationships.
Policy core: Institutions for residential care are cost-efficient and in other respects realistic means to achieve the goal	Policy core: Family-like environments organised or enabled by public authorities achieve the goal

The table above is, of course, a rough simplification. The subsystem of alternatives to orphanages is a highly complex system, with many levels of government and a large number of actors involved.

Within the subsystem the coalition for family-like alternatives seems to be able to count on support from the emerging profession of social work and the organisation in which social workers are employed. These people are eager to try out preventive measures including helping families in trouble. Likewise federation level authorities responsible for implementing international conventions and agreements push for family-like solutions. Foreign and international actors play a role as well. Eager to make their own ideas, experiences and practices travel across borders, and often financed by their own government according to their credibility in doing so, these actors contribute significantly to the underpinning of the coalition for family-like alternatives. Russia, being a huge country equipped with a self-confident administrative apparatus, seems to be able to incorporate and make use of these external in-puts.

On the other hand, the coalition for family-like alternatives does not seem to benefit much from domestic voluntary organisations. Neither does there exist a large number of potential parents having expressed a willingness to take on the responsibilities for taking care of orphans although various models are already in operation. There are very few voluntary or commercial organisations ready to run institutions (family-like) for orphans. Another rather obvious point is that this policy subsystem deals with some of the weakest individuals in society. The families and children involved seldom have resources to engage in policy development. Moreover, the social sector is often seen as a weak sector in Russia, unable to compete with “harder” sectors over public finances. An

overwhelming majority of the employees working with the children in question are women, whereas higher administrative staff and politicians normally are men (Holm-Hansen, Kristofersen and Myrvold 2003). The building of alliances within the subsystem might be weakened by gender differences.

The “traditional” coalition (that of residential care) is likely to be found in the educational institutions that take care of orphans. This is first of all the standard orphanages (for children without special disabilities). This coalition, although with a very low profile can count on “realities”. The employees are there, and they have a required quite a lot of professional capacity. There is a huge network of buildings all over Russia. The number of children in need of parental care is not decreasing.

Furthermore, the traditional coalition can count on what we earlier called habits and worldviews. For instance, traditionally when a child is neglected by its family, the obvious solution in Russia has been to remove the child from the destructive environment, i.e. from the family. The idea of working with the child in the family, or use preventive measure to avoid orphanage is relatively new in Russia. This idea seems to have its stronghold in academic circles educating social workers, and it may take time before it convinces all or most actors in the subsystem.

8.9 Concluding remarks

By way of introduction this chapter asked: What are the preconditions, and what are the obstacles to the establishment of alternatives to traditional orphanages in Russia?

On the macro level it is easy to point at barriers and pre-conditions. The mere scope of the problem, and the fact that the number of social orphans is stable, makes it tempting to stick to the existing practices of residential care. Orphanages manned by personnel competent in fulfilling basic needs (education and health care) are a physical reality all over Russia. Economic scarcity in most households and intensive ladder climbing in “middle class” circles make taking on the responsibility for an orphan difficult. Finding alternatives to traditional residential care does not only entail finding foster or adopting parents. Just as important are the preventive measures that may help parents and children stick together. A macro level economic recovery encompassing even the poor would facilitate preventive measures. However, not only economic constraints, but also mental habits are of importance. The novelty of adopting children (other than new-born or relatives) makes for mental obstacles to finding alternative solutions.

Although still on a very preliminary level this chapter has looked into the role of the various actors taking part in the policy field, or “subsystem”, of taking care of orphans. Two possible “advocacy coalitions” were suggested, the “residential care coalitions” and the “coalition for family-like alternatives”. The chapter shows that the wind is behind the latter coalition. International conventions and agreements plus domestic laws and regulations open up for alternatives. Economic and mental constraints, however, make the former coalition’s recipe the most practicable choice in many cases. This consists in focusing directly on education and health rather than the child’s need for parents plus making use of already existing institutions and practices rather than “unknown” alternatives. Figures shown in the chapter show that alternative placement so far takes place on a very restricted scale. Alternatives consisting in creating family-like environments on the basis on and within the existing orphanages are an attempt at bridging the gap between “realities” and “ideal solutions”, and a meeting-point between the advocacy coalitions.

This chapter has been a call for identifying and developing strategies to cope with “realities”. In conclusion it is timely to recall the main belief that the whole project bases itself upon: Even if their parents are not around, children should have a family-like childhood. This idea has a lot of implications. One of them is that the knowledge must be developed in order to make the idea strike roots in the actual setting. Then institutional, financial and mental factors are decisive for success.

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9 Development of Actual Research Fields on the Problem of Modernizing Social Work with Orphans a treated in Diploma Works of the Students of the Faculty of Psychology and Social Work of Pomor State University

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The diploma work is the basic document that depicts the level of qualification the student reached during the period of his study at the university. Its main task is to systematise and prove theoretical and practical knowledge on the specialty “Social Work”, to show possibilities of using this knowledge in deciding concrete scientific, practical and technological tasks.

9.1 What is the diploma work?

Using theoretical understanding and skills of mastering research methods and making experimental researches, the student must make an analysis and conclusions and suggestions on the problem showed in his diploma. As a rule the theme of diploma work is a continuation of students course researches, that is why it contains volumetric material in the field of sociology, psychology and pedagogics, legal background of chosen problem; it is also based on skills and habits the students got on practice and at work (for the students of correspondence course).

As the main aim of diploma work is to decide concrete problems in activity of social institutions and in the sphere of social services for people, the Faculty or the student gets a social order from the Department of Social Welfare or social institution to make a research. The student works on writing diploma work during at least one year and has a possibility to probe hypothetical suggestions made during learning scientific and research literature and during going through pre-diploma practice. The students activity on writing diploma work is organised with the help of scientific leader who has high qualification and special knowledge in the filed of social problem that is chosen for research. If it is needed the student gets the right to invite consultants on certain partitions of diploma work to cooperate. The consultants may be scientific workers and highly qualified specialists from practical institutions.

The defence of diploma work takes place on the meeting of State Certification Commission with the audience of theoreticians and practitioners in the field of social work. If diploma work is successfully defended, the State Certification Commission can recommend continuing research for writing candidate's theses, introducing results of research into practice, preparing an article on diploma materials.

As at the present time chairman of State Certification Commission is the head of the Department of Social Welfare of Arkhangelsk local administration, realisation of social order from concrete social institutions and openly defending conclusions and suggestions made in diploma works are rather useful for improving organisation of social welfare in the town.

9.2 Teaching problems of overcoming orphanage

The author of this article during long period has been teaching the problems of overcoming orphanage and reducing its negative impact on a child's development and is an official scientific leader of a specialisation at the Faculty "Social Work with Family and Children". That's why most diploma works written by students of the Faculty within this field investigate various aspects of realisation and possibilities of improving social policy in respect of family and children.

At the present time for learning conditions and possibilities of realisation of principal of continuous upbringing of a child in family into Russian family policy researches made in the following fields are of great scientific and practical interest:

- Improving existing (adoption, guardianship. Foster family, children house of family type) and creating new forms of family placing children-orphans;
- Reorganizing of life activity of system of institutions for children-orphans that formed in Russia;
- Strengthening prophylactic direction of social policy through improving economic, legal and social support for family.

The Department of Social Welfare of Arkhangelsk local administration, specialists of which realise functions on child's rights and legal interests' protection, build up its work in the following fields:

- special patronage of family with an aim to save it;
- returning a child back into his family;
- choosing a family for child, whose return back to his family is impossible;
- revealing and placing children who left without parental care;
- establishing adoption;
- establishing guardianship;
- work with foster families;
- consideration of dispute in respect of children upbringing and living;
- protection of property and living rights of minors, etc.

Specialists on family and childhood rights protection deal with questions on prophylactic of social orphanage and placing children-orphans and children who left without parental care. Social institute of adoption suffers nowadays a crisis, less people are willing to

adopt a child. Such formed and spread form of placing children-orphan as guardianship nowadays is also castigated by practitioners.

9.3 Alternatives to institutionalised care

The amount of foster families – the most perspective form of placing children-orphan – is quickly increasing. The search of new forms of social care for children-orphan led to opening groups “Sons of regiment” that is form of placing which was used for the first time on the territory of North West of Russia.

As practice shows foster parents, guardians, adopters become people who have no special pedagogic, psychological and medical knowledge. The questions of children and foster parents relationships take the first place; there have been cases when foster and guardianship families disintegrated due to lack of these relationships. Children-orphan who need adoption have deviation in development, different illnesses and require initial rehabilitation and preparation for further placing into family. An unadapted child, not reconciled himself with his past and gone through psychic troubles, physical and emotional violence, doesn't finally feel himself adopted in a new family, as for unprepared parents his adaptation becomes an difficult task.

Children houses in Arkhangelsk are under control of the Department of Education, its specialists and practitioners understand the necessity of radical reforming of formed during period of Soviet time system of institutions for upbringing children-orphan. At the present time two children houses #1 and #2 carry out the experiment on reorganizing activity with an aim to change the conditions of socialisation of children-orphan. The children house #1 probes the approach on type of living in family groups. The children house #2 realises the idea of introducing patronage upbringing in Arkhangelsk.

Nowadays these and other questions are raised by social practice as vital for making theoretical analysis and generalisation of foreign and native experience and making experimental researches for revealing possibilities of using new suggestions in activity of system of social welfare of Arkhangelsk.

9.4 Diploma works on overcoming social orphanage

Within the researches on the problem of overcoming social orphanage the following diploma works have been written during the period from 2001 till 2003:

Name	The title of diploma work	Year of defence
Gorina O.V.	Making conditions for redevelopment of family relationships among children at children houses	2003
Derevtsova N.N.	On the way to a new model of educational institution for children-orphans	2003
Surmenko J.V.	Organisation of work with family in a micro district on the example of municipal centre of pre-school education	2002
Edovina I.V.	Social and pedagogic principals of social work with children of pre-school age from unfavourable families	2002
Mahmudova J.A.	The possibilities of deciding questions on interaction between pre-school educational institution and a family (Municipal Centre of Help for Family as an example)	2003
Grushihin P.V.	Organisation of work on prophylactic of legal infringement and crimes among teenagers in Arkhangelsk	2002
Chuhina N.V.	The contemporary approach in organisation of social work with teenagers in Vinogradov district	2002
Veliamidova S.S.	Practice of social help for teenagers in Russia: history and contemporary state	2003
Ryahina E.I.	Comparative analysis of guardianship system in Russia and Germany	2001
Darzina O.V.	Social policy in respect of family and its realisation in Arkhangelsk region	2001
Chertova O.V.	Planning of work in social organisation: operative and strategic management	2002
Kuznetsova S.E.	Family forms of placing children-orphans and children left without parental care	2002
Nechaeva A.S.	Organisation of consultative service for guardian families at the departments of social welfare	2002
Ivashova N.V.	Social work with foster families in the system of Department of social welfare of local Arkhangelsk administration	2003

In accordance with a social order mentioned above all the diploma works can be conditionally divided into three groups:

- Diploma works investigating the possibility of improving conditions of socialisation of children from children houses;
- Diploma works investigating the possibility of strengthening prophylactic work on preventing social orphanage;
- Diploma works investigating necessary conditions of effective realisation of family forms of placing children-orphans and children left without parental care.

Two diploma works of students by correspondence relate to the first group; that is Gorina's work "Making conditions for redevelopment of family relationships among children at children houses" and Derevtsova's work "On the way to a new model of

educational institution for children-orphan's". At the present time both researchers work at children house that's why the works contain vividly expressed practical necessity. The chosen themes are actual as nowadays organisation structure of educational institutions for children-orphan's still remains traditional and needs creation of new forms of social and pedagogic rehabilitation of children.

In the first paragraph of Gorina's work the peculiarities of child's personality who is up brought in conditions of children house, problems of his intellectual, emotional and communicative development are reflected. The second part is devoted to less learned theme of researches of psychic deviations and personal frustration of women who leave their children.

The third part contains a systemised experience of internat institutions and shelters on redevelopment of deviated children-parents relationships, and analysis of work of family groups in children houses. An undoubted advantage of this diploma work is methodical recommendations on making conditions in work with children from children houses on redevelopment of family relations that were made on the base of theoretical material and personal practice.

The work of Derevtsova, director of children house #2, shows the mechanism of making a new model of organisation of work of educational institution for children-orphan's. The base of the new model was an experience of patronage upbringing that has been realised during several years by children house #19 (Moscow) and that has positive results of placing children into substitute family.

The concept that is suggested by author is revolutionary and as a consequence is not appropriate for conservative system of education. At the present time the question on handing the children house over from the Department of education to the Department of social welfare is being decided. The researcher in his work suggests a series of principally new approaches to organisation of children rights protection:

- widening the circle of children whose rights and legal interests protection are realised by organs of guardianship by those children who live in family not providing the level of normal life activity;
- introducing a social patronage after children (by family) who need state protection by giving a professional patronage teacher;
- making up a plan on children rights protection where definite delimitation of responsibility for realizing plan between participants of the process of upbringing a child; that allows to realise interdepartmental interaction;
- delimitation of rights and duties on children rights and legal interests protection that allows to define the duties of each party in respect of a child and also to follow after its well-timed realisation;
- realizing command form of work with child and family;
- carrying out control after the state of development of child not by checking his conditions of life but by checking realisation of plan on child rights protection.

Such approach to organizing activity of an educational institution for children-orphan's is of a practical interest and can be used as a possible variant in the process of reorganisation of institutions for orphan's.

A great part of researches was devoted to learning possibilities of strengthening prophylactic direction of social work on overcoming social orphanage in Arkhangelsk. It

in the first place includes diploma works on organizing work with a family having a child of pre-school age on the base recently created municipal centres of work with family. Three works devoted to the problem investigate quite a new experimental approach in developing forms of help for a family on the base of centres for families having children of pre-school age who don't attend a kindergarten.

The particular field of centres' activity is work on revealing problematic families in the district who found themselves in difficult financial conditions, including families with many children, disabled families, and families having disabled children; rendering consultative help in question of upbringing, education and development of children; and also preparing children for school.

The main principal of organizing such social support is involving parents into a whole pedagogic process, correction of relationships between family members, motivation of parents for increasing responsibility for socialisation of their own children; no doubt it promotes recovering inside potential of a contemporary family, its stabilisation; it prevents from anomaly of social development of families, hence it prevents from social orphanage. Besides these centres are territorially close to citizens (at the present time 9 centres function in each district of the town), it allows to organise an early well-timed help.

The diploma works investigate organisation of similar help in other regions of Russia and abroad, learn the conditions of improving system of help for family having a child of pre-school age who is not able to decide the problems of relationships personally. The works have learned the impact of different types of family non favour to personal development of a child of pre-school age; social and pedagogic principals of work with children from unfavourable families; suggestions on creating a system of interaction between a family and specialists of educational institution for pre-school children have been made.

The next three diploma works in this group are devoted to learning one of the actual state problems in Russia, i.e. prophylactic of deviated forms of behaviour and youth criminality. For instance, Grushihin in his diploma work investigates the existing state of system of organs of prophylactic of youth neglecting, offences and crimes in Arkhangelsk. He investigates possible ways of improving this system with an aim to decline manifestation of deviant behaviour of teenagers. In his work he both analyses activity of prophylactic crime system and carries out sociological researches on revealing peculiarities of personal situations of teenagers of risk group. The part of the research is devoted to defining an impact of family, school and socium on behaviour formation of teenagers. Research of leisure time of teenagers has been carried out; it showed its direction on passive forms of leisure activity (informative and entertaining). The results of his research proved that family and socium to a large extent impact on formation of deviant behaviour of teenagers, that's why the main theme of work on normalisation of deviant behaviour should be a preventive work with family and teenagers surroundings. The research resulted in recommendations on interaction of various services on complex support of unfavourable families and teenagers of risk group.

The more profound sociological research on peculiarities of socialisation of modern teenagers has been carried out in the diploma work of Chuhina N.V. She investigates principal aspects of state youth policy, directions, forms, and methods of social work with teenagers in Vinogradov district of Arkhangelsk region as an example. The author learns valuable orientations of teenagers, parents and specialists who work with teenagers and reveals differentiations in these valuable orientations. Building an hierarchy of values of teenagers the author represents a hypothetic model of institutions and services dealing

with teenagers socialisation that greater responds to the needs of future generation and promote an effective socialisation of future members of society.

Much attention in the work is paid to the possibilities of forming an intention to healthy life style, their self perception as future parents and husbands and wives and development of these qualities in themselves. Such an approach in socialisation of teenagers is the principal reason for appearing generation who is able to overcome negative tendencies in socio-economic situation of our country.

The work of Veliamidova S.S. contains an analysis of historical experience of social help for minors in Russia that is useful in forming a modern system of social rehabilitation of children and teenagers. The newest history of help for unfortunate children has also been investigated. In 90 years of last century in Russia a network of childish shelters appeared; they took care after rehabilitation of children who left without family relationships, refused to live with family or internat institutions, and left without means for existence. The shelters were formed as semifunctional institutions called for not just to give place, food, and warmth for living but also to take away all psychic stresses, to protect his rights and legal interests, to help for social recovery, to compensate and recover experience of family life if it is possible. At the present time the shelters realised its function and are being transformed into social rehabilitation centres for teenagers.

The author's task was to show modern approaches in organisation of social rehabilitation centres for teenagers in other regions of Russia, to reveal its specifics, to define correspondence of forms of activity to modern tendencies, to reveal conditions of improving forms and methods of social help for teenagers in Municipal Institution "Social Rehabilitation Centre for teenagers of Arkhangelsk" as an example. The student distinguishes new directions of development of centre's activity on work with hard teenagers:

- development of technologies on prophylactic and overcoming drug abuse and toxicology;
- need of postinternat adaptation for great number of leavers of institutions of internat type;
- organisation of social adaptation of amnestied and conditionally condemned teenagers.

These directions are distinguished in result of carried out social monitoring in Arkhangelsk and revealing needs in the sphere of work with teenagers. Carried out investigation contributed into the programme of centre's development that allows making social help more concretised, practically orientated and conforming to society needs.

The third group of researches is devoted to the wide circle of questions dealing with realisation of social policy in respect of family and development of family forms of placing children-orphans and children left without parental care in Russia and abroad.

The work of Darzina O.V. investigates the questions of state family policy as a whole, especially its regional aspects. The extent of formation and activity of family policy in regions of Russian Federation is different and to large extent depends not on economic conditions but on scientific reasonability and direction of family policy to conforming needs and regions peculiarities. The author in his work has analyzed and compared the peculiarities of realizing regional family policy in Arkhangelsk and the Samara region. Conclusions made in result of the research are scientifically based and concrete according to its content and form.

The appendixes showing dynamics and direction of development of family policy in the Samara region are of greater interest; it is considered to be more the most favourable on forming system of placing children-orphans and family support in Russia. Based on the concept of family policy in the Samara region Darzina O.V. has formed several suggestions on improving regional family policy in Arkhangelsk region.

The work also contains description of new institutions, approaches and technologies used in the Samara region; it also contains the structure of management promoting such an effective development of family policy. As an every comparative research the work written in 2001 is of an interest and appears for thinking of improving regional policy in Arkhangelsk region and directly in Arkhangelsk. For the first time the work describes experience in activity of centre "Family", principal programme "Children of Samara region", foster and replacing families as a new form of family placing of children-orphans and children left without parental care. The work showed an economic effect of such approach and its expediency for realizing principal of continuous upbringing of a child in family.

The research of Ryahina E.I. "Comparative analysis of guardianship system for minors in Russia and Germany" was carried out during several years, also during studying and going though practice in Germany. The area of spreading social orphanage as a phenomenon put forward the state a necessity to improve guardianship system which aim is to make more favourable conditions for development of children-orphans. Many countries including Germany have long and rich experience of development of guardianship system. The work contains analysis of theoretical and practical aspects of guardianship system in Russian Federation and Germany, and also their comparative analysis with an aim to reveal advantages and disadvantages of each system. The author sees the following advantages of German system:

- successful practical use of dispensary and partially stationary forms of help for family and children and differentiation of offered services;
- rendering help for family before appearing crisis situation with an aim to prevent children and parents separation;
- possibilities of short time removing of children from family for the period of 3 months with an obligatory organisation of special help for family child's return;
- complex procedure of deprivation of parental rights that makes the system of social welfare orientated on work on family stabilisation but not on removing of child from family.

Specific peculiarities of development of social, political, economic spheres, mentality of Russian society do not allow completely copying German model of system of help for family and children; however learning its experience can help in working out and making a model corresponding to Russian conditions and considering peculiarities of processes that take place in modern society.

The research on planning work of social organisation is of undoubtedly actual importance in modern conditions when both a new and individually orientated system of social help for different group of people and market relations in economics are forming. Chertova O.V. in her work considered the questions of importance of consideration of social policy in the process of planning activity of social organisation and also impact of planning on efficiency of organisation's activity.

The author makes suggestions on strategic planning as the most modern management method, and also the necessity of introducing the concept of life quality with an aim to

organise an effective control after realisation of social programs and projects. The conclusions made in the work are of vital importance for services of social welfare in realisation of systematic approach to the process of activities' planning and management.

The work of Kuznetsova S.E. "Family forms of placing children-orphan and children left without parental care" reveals the history and legislative principals of guardianship organs activity on affairs of placing children-orphan into the family. It contains all detailed modern forms of placing children-orphan into the family and comparative analysis (guardianship, adoption, foster family), statistic data on orphanage in Russia, Arkhangelsk region and Arkhangelsk. The experience of Moscow children house #19 and Arkhangelsk children house #2 on realisation of a new family form of placing children-orphan – patronage upbringing – has been showed in it. During several years the author studied this problem, went through the pre-diploma practice as a social worker in children house #2; she has analyzed work experience in this field in Germany that allowed her to make motivated conclusions on the necessity of realizing children rights for living in the family and suggesting conditions for organisation of such service in Arkhangelsk.

At the present time Kuznetsova S.E. heads newly formed department on family forms of placing children at the Centre of help for family and can practically use theoretical approaches to forming a model of family placing considered in her diploma work.

The last two diploma works consider possibilities of improving existing in Russia forms of family placing of children-orphan – guardianship and foster families.

The work of Nechaeva A.S. contains the analysis of modern state of work of departments of social welfare with guardians. Theoretical principals of social institute of guardianship and legislative base were considered; modern state of guardian families and possibilities of its improving through development of new forms of work of specialists at the departments of social welfare were learned. The author examines peculiarities of organisation of consultative work with grown-ups on the base of learning needs of concrete guardians. As a result of analysis of received data the author formulates suggestions on improving the system:

- necessity of arranging a family consortium on choosing the most optimal candidate for guardians;
- realizing special preparation of a guardian and a child who needs guardian;
- rendering goal-directed and planned support not only by financial allowances but also by consultative help and organisation of self-help groups during the period of fulfilling guardians duties.

Similar research has been carried out on organisation of social work with foster families. The student Ivashova N.V. at the present time works as a specialist on social work in newly formed department on alternative forms of placing at the Centre of help for family and children. In this case her diploma work has been written on a concrete social order from the Department of social welfare of Arkhangelsk local administration and is of a practical interest in this new for the town field on organisation work with foster families. The author analyzes existing native and foreign experiences, carries out sociological research and diagnostics of all members of foster family, and using received data formulates suggestions on improving social work with foster families in conditions of newly formed institution.

9.5 Conclusion

Thus, the researches of leavers of the faculty contain widely presented theoretical and practical motivations of directions of social policy in Arkhangelsk region on the problem of overcoming social orphanage. It should be considered that a number of diploma works not mentioned in this article were written on the questions concerning improving family policy in Arkhangelsk region. These are work investigating social policy in respect of handicapped children and their families, families with many children, families in need and others. It seems that theoretical and practical material generalizing work experience in the sphere of social family policy both in Russia and abroad can become a basis for scientific design of a model of social work with family in Arkhangelsk region and Arkhangelsk directed on realisation of principal of continuous upbringing of a child in family.

ⁱ The 60 families, representing approximately 44 per cent of the client population in the community where the study was carried out, consented to participate in the interviews. In this presentation the children from the three services will be treated as one category - because there were no major differences between them on the phenomenons that will be discussed here. The three services will be named Child welfare and protection services. As is common in client samples, there was an over representation of children from broken homes, and with out of home placements. 26 of these 60 parents consented to interviews with their children. Two children refused, leaving a sample of 24 children. The parents were restrictive in allowing access to their children mainly because they did not want them to be confronted with questions related to their problems or contacts with the child welfare services.