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Council Housing in Poland. What Should We Do to Achieve its Goals?

Abstract

The subject of this paper is council housing in Poland. Currently, approximately 150 thousand flats are needed in Poland for households which live in poverty and meet the eligibility criteria, whereas approximately 6.5 thousand flats are completed yearly in the social housing construction sector, including also council housing construction, which is comparable to the period of 2011–2015.

The article analyses selected conditions necessary to achieve the goals of council housing in Poland. These conditions include: the demand for flats intended for tenancy on social terms as compared to the growth rate of the relevant housing stock; rents and living standards in such flats; the characteristics of their surroundings in terms of location and social neighbourhoods; social relations within such surroundings, and the specific nature of council housing management.

Key words: council (public) housing, council flats, council housing estates, social housing assistance

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Introduction

The subject of this paper is council housing (*mieszkalnictwo socjalne*). It is defined here as a set of measures undertaken by public administration bodies aimed at satisfying the housing needs of people with income persistently or temporarily too low to satisfy such needs on their own, at a minimum, yet not socially excluding, level. The tasks of council housing are handled by municipalities mainly in their own housing stock but also in private stock. Currently, after reforms of tenancy on social terms (*najem na warunkach socjalnych*) have been introduced, non-municipal social flats (*mieszkania społeczne*) may also be used for this purpose.

The performance of council housing tasks, including in particular the creation and tenancy of flats intended for people with low and very low income, is imposed on municipalities as their own task. In terms of the specific provisions of the Polish tenant rights protection act (dated 21 June 2001), the task is included in the general provision about the creation of conditions allowing for satisfying the housing needs among the locally governed community.

I consider council housing to be a (relatively autonomous) part of social housing (*mieszkalnictwo społeczne*). Of similar opinion are also, among others, Z. Rataj (2018, p. 63), M. Cesarski (2018, p. 14) or P. Lis (2018, p. 73).

The aim of this paper is to present a typology of the determinants affecting the achievement of council housing goals and to examine them in the context of the realities of the contemporary Polish society. Such a typology may not be exhaustive and therefore the considerations in this paper are limited to selected determinants directly affecting the achievement of the goals of this particular segment of the housing sector. The problems of, among others, the funding of council housing, including investment (see: Przymeński, 2019) as well as management and availability of land is set aside of the discussion undertaken in herein. In the paper, I assume a perspective wider than just a current diagnosis and so, elements of the theory of council housing are also touched upon.

For the purpose of this paper, I used data acquired in my previous research, including a programme[2] carried out together with Monika Oliwa-Ciesielska. I also use the current existing materials published by a number of public institutions, instruments of state and local law and statistical data.

The goal of council housing

The goal of council housing is defined differently for different models of the economic system and the corresponding housing policy models. The universal, general goal of council housing in developed market societies is to satisfy at least the basic housing needs

[2] Programme *Meeting housing and provisional housing needs of people and households with low and very low income in Poland and the processes of their social de-marginalisation*. The programme was funded by the National Science Centre (N N114 163940) and carried out from 19.05.2011 to 18.01.2014.

of people and families at risk of housing exclusion. It is one of the conditions for them to participate in society, including to perform their respective social roles.

Pursuant to Article 20 of the Polish Constitution, the foundation of the economic system in the Republic of Poland is social market economy. This places the social policy pursued in Poland in the socio-liberal model, which is also called, among others, the social security model or the motivation model. Apart from Poland, certain versions of it are followed in many European countries, including Germany, Austria and France. A more extensive review of social policy models as implemented in various economic and political systems as well as the corresponding theoretical considerations are beyond the scope of this paper[3]. The adoption of a specific model of social policy, including social housing assistance, is necessary as such a model sets out the system of values on which they should be based and allows for the consistency of measures within them. In Poland, they are laid down in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (among others, Articles 67 and 75) as well as in statues, especially in the Social Assistance Act (dated 12 March 2004), which sets out general principles of providing assistance to citizens by public administration institutions, and in the tenant rights protection act (dated 21 June 2001). With regard to the issues discussed in this paper, these principles may be interpreted as follows:

1. Housing assistance should have the effect of providing households at risk of housing exclusion[4] with housing conditions at the level of the minimal socially acceptable norm (normality). Such circumstances should motivate them to expend effort to improve their living conditions, to the extent possible, on their own. As a principle, the provision of assistance funded by public means should not lead to a situation where the beneficiary is provided with conditions better than a citizen who is not eligible for such assistance.
2. The goal of council housing is to reduce the social exclusion determinants that are related to poor living conditions[5], including those which are generated by the social neighbourhoods around and spatial location of the dwellings rented out to them.
3. Housing assistance, in particular in form of tenancy on social terms, is addressed to low- and very-low-income households[6], i.e. households which respect the norms and values creating the social order. The assistance addressed to troubled households, i.e. people adopting anti-social forms of living, is a more complex and separate subject of considerations and practice.

The goals of council housing pursued by public administration in Poland are included in the National Housing Programme adopted (on 27.09.2016) by the Government. The general goal of the Programme is to improve the housing conditions of the society,

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[3] My view of the essence of social policy and its models has been shaped under the influence of the classics of Polish social policy, A. Rajkiewicz and M. Księżopolski (e.g. Rajkiewicz et al., 1998).

[4] This regards also the homeless who are capable of living within the accepted norms.

[5] An extensive list of them is provided by the ETHOS typology, FEANTSA (2017).

[6] More about the difference between low and very low-income households and troubled households was presented by: M. Oliwa-Ciesielska, in: Przymeński, Oliwa-Ciesielska (2014), p. 47–51, Galor, Goryńska-Bittner, Kalinowski (eds) (2014).

especially by expanding social housing construction. Council housing is directly referred to in Measure 2 of the Programme, i.e. to raise the ability to satisfy the basic housing needs of people at risk of social exclusion due to low income or particular hardship (the Ministry of Development 2020).

The measures to achieve the goal

Council housing, the primary activity of which is to create and rent out flats, is in Poland an important part of a wider system of social housing assistance (SPM). The measures applied by SPM include pecuniary benefits (housing or electricity benefits, rent reductions) or benefits provided in kind, i.e. as tenancy of flats on social terms. Only three measures of housing assistance are applied exclusively in the field of council housing: two forms of tenancy on social terms and rent reductions.

The temporary rent reduction, introduced in the tenant rights protection act (dated 21 June 2001, Article 7(1)), may be applied by municipalities with regard to tenants of municipal dwellings regardless of whether they have been occupied already before or only after the changes of the law governing the terms of tenancy. Tenancy on social terms (*najem na warunkach socjalnych*) has two forms, both of which have considerably changed since 24.04.2019, i.e. following the amendment of the above-mentioned law (see: Przymeński, 2019). Following the amendments, these forms are: fixed term social tenancy (*najem socjalny*) and indefinite term tenancy (*najem na czas nieoznaczony*) (Articles 21(3), 21b(1) and others). Their characteristics and differences between them are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Two forms of tenancy on social terms in Poland, after changes in law

Criteria of differences	Fixed term social tenancy	Indefinite term tenancy
Beneficiaries	Households with very low income; the upper limit of the income is specified by the municipality	Households with low income; the upper and lower limit of the income is specified by the municipality
Term of tenancy	Fixed term (Article 5(1)), usually 1 year; the tenancy agreement may be terminated, including by changing the tenancy form, or extended for another period, if the tenant's circumstances continue to meet the eligibility criteria (Article 23)	Indefinite term (Articles 5(1), 20(1)), but since 21.04.2019, the municipality verifies, no more often than once per 2.5 years, whether the tenants meet the income requirement; if the income of the tenant's household exceeds the criteria, the municipality may withdraw from tenancy on social terms and increase the rent (Article 21c(1), (5), (6))
Payment of a deposit to secure the tenancy liabilities	Deposit not required (Article 6(1))	Deposit may be required to sign the tenancy agreement (Article 6(1))

Source: Author, based on the Act dated 21 June 2001, as amended. See also: Przymeński, 2019.

Provisional (council) accommodation (*pomieszczenie tymczasowe*) may be deemed an instrument of temporary social below par housing assistance rather than social housing assistance. They are not measures of council housing as such as they are intended for achieving a different goal. Provisional accommodations, introduced by the tenant rights protection act (Article 2(5)) are usually premises with a lower standard, intended for short-term tenancy. They are usually a means to facilitate eviction. Also sheltered accommodation (*mieszkania chronione*) may not be deemed to be a measure of council housing. These are provided as part of different procedures and with a different goal than flats rented out on social terms. They are part of social assistance (the Act dated 12 March 2004, Article 53), aimed at preparing residents, under the supervision of experts, to live independently, or are a replacement for an institution providing 24-hour care.

Matching the number of flats to the demand

The demand among society for flats rented out under tenancy on social terms[7] is expressed in the number of applications filed for this type of assistance. The categories of "households waiting for tenancy" estimated by the Polish Central Statistical Office (GUS) include households meeting the eligibility criteria specified in resolutions of Municipality Councils. This type of demand is not equal to the effective demand in economic terms. Consequently, information about it may not be acquired from the market, but from Municipal Offices instead. The number of this type of applications as estimated by GUS (2018b, 2019b)[8], concerning both forms of tenancy on social terms, is presented in Table 2. As GUS has been disclosing full information in this regard only recently (since 2017)[9], it is impossible to analyse its dynamics.

The data in Table 2 allow for a conclusion that the total number of flats would have to be almost doubled to satisfy the demand for tenancy of council flats in 2017 and 2018 on the national scale (setting aside local differences). In 2017 and 2018, and the situation is similar also currently, the demand for flats rented out by municipalities on social terms (in both forms) could have been satisfied mainly by increasing the stock of dwellings intended for this purpose, primarily by construction. This is because dwellings in the municipal stock that are fit for living are already occupied, of which, for flats rented out for indefinite term, the majority is rented on "old" terms, i.e. without the right to verify the tenant's income. Given the circumstances, the fact that municipalities have been selling out dwellings from the stock which may not be used for the purposes of current housing

[7] The changes of law introduced in the recent years reforming the conditions of tenancy on social terms introduced an option to grant this type of benefit not only in the municipal stock, but also in the social housing stock and in private homes. See also: Przymeński, 2019.

[8] It is difficult to carry out these necessary estimations due to the variety of procedures applied by municipalities when granting this type of benefits, e.g. different eligibility criteria or different ways to open or to temporarily suspend the registers of beneficiaries.

[9] Previous to the GUS estimates, and contradicting each other, numbers regarding the demand are presented in: Suszyńska & Muczyński, 2018, p. 139.

assistance, the trend present for a long time, was not an alarming situation, although it is at the same time acknowledged that it is necessary to increase the stock of flats available under tenancy on social terms.

Table 2. Households in Poland waiting for tenancy on social terms in 2017–2018 and the number of council and municipal flats (*lokale socjalne i lokale komunalne*) in use[10], in thousands

Year	Waiting for tenancy of a council flat (fixed term social tenancy)	Waiting for tenancy of municipal flat (indefinite term tenancy)	Waiting households in total	Number of council flats	Number of municipal flats
2017	90.3	63.9	154.2	98.6	869
2018	85.9	63.4	149.3	101.2	840

Source: GUS (2018b) Gospodarka mieszkaniowa w latach 2013–2017 (Housing Management in 2013–2017), p. 46 and others; GUS (2019) Rocznik statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Polish Statistical Yearbook), p. 329; GUS (2019) Gospodarka mieszkaniowa w 2018 roku (Housing Management in 2018), p. 6.

The demand for dwellings available within council housing may be also decreased by limiting economic poverty in Poland and facilitating the access to non-subsidised social tenements (at full rent) to those households which have become better-off. In terms of accessibility, the nearest scheme of social housing construction, which could be a bridge between council/municipal and non-subsidised housing, is the Home Plus Programme (M+), together with the Home for Start Programme (MnS) (the Act dated 20 July 2018) which provides for rent benefits. Both the programmes, addressed to lower-income tenants, are under implementation and do not create a new situation, which may be demonstrated by the data in Table 3.

The data in Table 3 show that the number of social flats completed in 2016–2019 slightly decreased as compared to 2011–2015. When comparing the number of completed municipal flats (approx. 1.8 thousand per year) with the demand for tenancy on social terms (approx. 150 thousand), it may be concluded that the effects of municipal housing construction covered the demand only to an inconsiderable extent. Nevertheless, the slight annual growth of the number of municipal flats ready for use, the use by municipalities of the option of tenancy in dwellings other than the municipal stock, the improvement of income levels in society, as well as other reasons, all have the effect that the demand for tenancy on social terms is slightly dropping. According to GUS, the demand has been dropping since 2014. Yet, it still remains high, mainly in large cities, where 85.9% of the waiting individuals live. (GUSb, 2018, pp. 46–47).

[10] Since 21.04.2019, fixed social tenancy has stopped to be tied to council homes and council homes have stopped their existence as a special pool of homes (see also: Przymeński, 2019).

Table 3. Number of flats completed, in thousands

Year	Municipal flats	Social tenement flats (TBS and M+)	Housing cooperative flats	Social flats in total	Flats in total
2011–2015 on average per year	2.2	1.5	3.4	7.1	144
2015	1.7	1.3	2.1	5.1	147.7
2016	1.8	1.3	2.7	5.8	163.3
2017	1.7	1.5	2.3	5.5	178.3
2018	1.9	1.5	3.0	6.4	185.1
2019	1.8	2.5	2.1	6.4	207.2

Source: GUS (2018a) Rocznik statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Polish Statistical Yearbook), p. 336; GUS (2019) Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Polish Statistical Yearbook), p. 331; GUS (2020) Budownictwo mieszkaniowe w okresie I–XII 2019 (Residential Construction from January to December 2019).

Some ways to reduce the demand for flats rented on social terms, not mentioned before and of more substitute nature, are also created by the market. They emerge in the business sector of rooms for rent, including in forms similar to the workers' hostels as we know them from the past. According to H. Milewska-Wilk (2017), it is the part of the rental market with the fastest rate of professionalisation. Middle-term rental of this type is addressed to a certain category of people looking for cheap flats, i.e. those who are "temporary and not settled", usually young people with potential to grow, such as students and working migrants. This part of the market is assumed to be separate from council housing, it is possible though for some tenants to apply for social housing assistance in form of housing benefits to be used also on this market. It has potential to reduce a certain number of people waiting for tenancy on social terms, especially once the ways to provide housing benefits is reformed, but may not replace council housing in its fundamental functions.

Adjusting the usable standards of dwellings

The flats rented out by municipalities on social terms should have relatively low standards, which, however, still meet the norms of the changing culture of housing in Poland, including also the needs of people with disabilities and families with children. It is the necessary condition for achieving the goal of council housing. This principle does not contradict the municipalities' need to hold a certain stock of sub-standard dwellings, which are an instrument to discipline those tenants who breach the terms of tenancy and violate the rules of neighbourly coexistence, which happens much more often in the municipal stock than in the dwellings of other landlords. The current regulations of the tenant rights protection law and regulations adopted by municipal bodies allow to effect tenancy on social terms in dwellings with a lower standard, including to rent out separate rooms in one flat to several tenants (the Act dated 21 June 2001, Article 22, and based thereupon, e.g. the Resolution No. XXX/443//VII/2016 of the City Council of Poznań). Although such use of sub-standard dwellings usually raises no doubts, the practice of renting them out to households with no social dysfunctions, including people with disabilities or at old age, is problematic. This issue is examined, among others, by Z. Rataj (2011 and 2013), it is also reflected in the contemporary journalism.

Let us note that the majority of municipalities have been for years declaring actions to improve the conditions in their housing stock. Exhaustive information in this regard, however, may not be presented here as there are no updated publications on this topic. The condition of council housing will be probably presented by GUS in a statistical description resulting from the National Census planned for 2021.

In 2018, the average usable floor area of a completed municipal flat was 40.7 sq. m, as compared to 49.2 sq. m for a non-subsidised social flat (GUS, 2019a, p. 332).

Adjusting rents

In council housing, rent is determined not with reference to any market parameters but with consideration of the actual income of the social category of households which are at risk of housing exclusion.

In both forms of tenancy on social terms, rent should be lower not only than market rents but also than rents applied in (non-subsidised) social flats. As fixed term social tenancy is addressed to households with the lowest income, while indefinite term tenancy to those with slightly higher means, rents in both those forms of tenancy differ from each other in that they are higher in the latter form (see: Table 1). Pursuant to the tenant rights protection act (dated 21 June 2001), rent per 1 sq. m in the case of fixed term social tenancy may not exceed half the lowest rent applicable in the municipal housing stock (Article 23(4)), i.e. in the dwellings rented out as indefinite term tenancy.

Pursuant to the above regulation, rents in social flats are higher than in flats rented on social terms by municipalities. They are not regulated or subsidised by municipalities and cover all the costs of their construction and use, including the repayment of building loans. Let us note that the reconstruction costs (*koszty odtworzeniowe*) of non-subsidised social flats are higher than those of municipal flats, which reflects the difference in the usable standards of those dwellings. Rents in social flats are, as a principle, lower than in flats rented on the open market, as these must cover the landlord's profit in addition to the rent charged by the administration.

To answer the question about the approximate relation of rents in the municipal stock as compared to flats rented on the open market, in February 2020 the author reviewed examples of actual values of such rents in Poznań. The research revealed that the average full rent for a flat on the open market at that time in Poznań amounted to approx.

PLN 45 per sq. m[11], which accounts for the landlord's profit and administration rent, excluding utility charges. According to the information published by the municipal company managing the housing stock in Poznań (Zarząd Komunalnych Zasobów Mieszkaniowych sp. z o.o., 2020), the monthly rent in the municipal stock, depending on the so-called rent zone, amounted to PLN 4.90 up to 12.90 per sq. m. For the needs of this paper, it is sufficient to say that the average rent charged by the city for indefinite term tenancy of a municipal dwelling was approx. PLN 9 per sq. m, so it was 5 times lower on average than the market levels. For flats rented under fixed social tenancy, the cost of tenancy could not exceed PLN 2.45 per sq. m. Thus, it was fixed at a level 18 times lower than the market prices. In both forms of tenancy on social terms, if needed and at the tenant's request, municipalities may reduce the rent temporarily. Let us note, however, that the services covered by tenancy in a council flat and on the open market are not the same, as in the latter case, unlike in the former, it usually regards a dwelling with furniture, with a higher standard and with better surroundings.

Limiting the negative impact of social and spatial surroundings

A significant role in the task of housing de-marginalisation of council tenants is assigned to the surroundings in terms of social neighbourhoods and spatial location[12] of the flats rented out to them, regardless of whether they are dispersed in space or are gathered in homogeneous clusters. Such surroundings are made of both the social relations emerging within them, as well as their urban, technical and architectural status.

In homogeneous, in terms of community and location, clusters of households using housing assistance provided by municipalities, the nearest or near neighbourhood are the residents of the same block of flats or housing estate. Further range of the community are "non-council" neighbourhoods, usually resided by households with a higher social status. Both communities construct an image of their neighbours which affects their mutual relations and the outlining of a distance between them. The potential of negative stigmatisation of council tenants stems from the mere fact of their poverty and need to use public assistance, which is only emphasised by them living in separate council buildings[13]. It is additionally reinforced by information about relatively frequent violations of public

[11] The calculations were made on 17 February 2020 based on the first 30 rental offers at the website Ogłoszenia Gratka. The homes offered in the analysed offers included 18 1-bedroom flats, 7 studio flats and 5 2-bedroom flats.

[12] More on how the external effects and neighbourhood affect the quality of living, from the point of view of urban economics, see: M. E. Sokołowicz (2017), pp. 129–134.

[13] Research by M. Oliwa-Ciesielska reveals that neighbours of council housing estates usually distinguish poverty, including poverty of people who may not be blamed for their difficult situation, from intentional behaviours that may be called social pathology, and, disregarding extreme views, their negative assessment of the community of residents of council buildings is usually moderate and blurred or even is not expressed at all. They are focused on the behaviour of specific individuals. Nevertheless, the mere distinction of that community from their neighbourhood, both by its members and its "non-council" neighbours, as well as distance towards it tinged with more or less

order in such neighbourhoods which disturb the life of those neighbours who expect peace and security and give reason for police interventions (e.g. Kukuła & Dudziak, 2013; Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014).

These circumstances are of importance because they may create an oppressive neighbourhood community which impedes or even completely prevents the achievement of the goals of council housing. A lack of adequate response to it is always a clear failure of incompetent municipal administration. A spectacular example of it were the events in Nowa Sól, which in 2015 appalled the national public opinion after a material published by the TV channel TVN24 (2015). When commenting on the air about the tenants devastating council homes (units) in part of a council housing estate, the then mayor of the town asked: "– Should we continue to help those who turned flats given by the town council into a pigsty? Those who ripped off and sold doors, boilers, heaters, taps and stoves? Help them? What to do with them?" When analysing the situation more closely, it turned out that the devastation and other behaviours menacing to the rest of the tenants took place only in a part of the estate, and they were the result of a risky selection of its residents. Despite that risk, the units devastated for 4 years were not effectively (or at all) supervised by the municipal services. A hypothesis could be made that the lack of intervention of municipal services was the main reason of the continuity of anti-social behaviours among part of the tenants. The only opinion of the mayor that may be considered just, however still too far-going, is that there are no instruments with which the municipality may decisively and legally carry out such interventions.

When, for various possible reasons, oppressive conditions in the community emerge, it is impossible to pursue the goals of social housing. If this is the case, instead of help in housing de-marginalisation, we only see repression for poverty, which in the case of the majority of council tenants is not their fault. The clusters of council tenants all over the world constitute a space of forced coexistence of diversified households whose shared characteristic is economic poverty[14]. This is why, according to M. Oliwa-Ciesielska, the social circumstances of people in need of assistance in having a flat require the emphasis of their diversity instead of homogenisation (Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, p. 192).

There is no clear answer to the question whether the measures aimed at housing de-marginalisation are more effective when council tenants are concentrated in small buildings or even estates or when they are dispersed within non-council flats and tenants. It depends on a concurrence of many determinants[15], as well as on how this task is carried out. Experience, especially foreign, definitely shows that council housing projects pursued in enormous, homogeneous housing estates or large, multi-storey buildings must be abandoned. Regardless of the intention of their originators, they only impede

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negative appraisals, is a fact (Oliwa-Ciesielska, in: Przymeński, Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 27–28 and others).

[14] More about communities of council tenants in Poland, see: Przymeński, in: Przymeński, Oliwa-Ciesielska (2014) pp. 163–168 and others; Przymeński (2016), pp. 22–23.

[15] For example, in the USA, the problem of housing marginalisation and poverty coincides with the problem of racial prejudice (e.g. Bennett et al., 2006).

the achievement of council housing goals, and additionally they are risky for the whole society as they create communities which are an incubator of anti-social behaviours. They accumulate issues resulting in social separation and stigmatisation of their residents, and facilitate their ghettoisation/slumisation.

The most often named drawbacks of such estates, particularly in the countries where the biggest of them were constructed (Italy, France, USA), are: failure to complete fully the assumed projects; poor materials and workmanship, often caused by economic fraud during the construction works; quick technical devastation of the estates; failure to implement assumptions of the architects and urban planners, impossible to be implemented and idealistic, regarding the creation of "a new type of social ties"[16], taking over "the criminal control" (Kukuła & Dudziak, 2013) over the majority of tenants by an aggressive minority capable of joining forces and acting together. This does not mean, however, that such large clusters have no benefits for their residents, which is reflected in the movements for their defence and attempts of improvement (Smith, 2006). The most important ones include: their cultural homogeneity and the mere, trivial fact of having a home, which could be at risk if the neighbourhoods or estates occupied by them were to be demolished or regenerated, which actually happened in the USA (Bennett et al., 2006).

As mentioned before, better conditions for housing de-marginalisation of households with low and very low income may be created in small clusters of flats rented out on social terms or if they are dispersed within other types of housing stock. A strength of the first option may be relative ease of establishing effective and equal ties with neighbours of similar status, to which council tenants themselves refer positively, if only such neighbours have positive traits of character. According to M. Oliwa-Ciesielska, the basis for such choices is the expected solidarity in poverty (Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 10–11, 23–25). Let us note, however, that council tenants judge the neighbourhood of other tenants in an ambivalent way. When referring to the context of the realities of everyday life, they also express negative opinions which mainly regard those co-residents who violate the neighbourhood life rules preferred by themselves (see also: Oliwa-Ciesielska, in: Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014; Rataj, 2011). Opinions about poor neighbours are ambivalent, yet with positive potential which may be used to create a well-functioning neighbourhood.

The option to locate flats rented on social terms within small clusters has also other advantages:

1. it allows to reduce the administration costs as compared to certain situations in which the flats are dispersed,
2. it facilitates contacts between the residents and social assistance institutions, which, through the social workers operating on-site, perform their tasks expanded by social work also for the benefit of the community,
3. it makes it easier to control anti-social behaviours of the tenants.

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[16] An excellent work on this topic: Di Biagi, 2008; see also: Zubrzycka-Czarnecka, 2011, pp. 79–84.

In the case of the other option, in which housing de-marginalisation is pursued with dispersed dwellings and council tenants, its potential to develop has been still unrecognised in Poland. Under regulations introduced within last years, municipalities may provide housing assistance in stock not belonging to them. Apart from subletting dwellings from private stock to council tenants, which has been practised for a long time, municipalities may also sign contracts with companies building social flats (TBS, M+), under which these companies may provide the municipalities with flats intended for tenancy on social terms in exchange for funding part of the construction costs (see also: Przymeński, 2019). The future will show whether this practice will be pursued more in the model of small clusters or the model of dispersion of council tenants. The experience so far shows that the latter option, in addition to positive factors, may also activate negative factors of the process of housing de-marginalisation. These are:

1. In the dispersion model, the risk of alienation of council tenants among households with a higher social status does not disappear (Oliwa-Ciesielska, in: Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 12–13 and others).
2. Examples of failed programmes of dispersing council tenants may be found in Chicago, where in the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century, the municipal administration, looking for an alternative for demolished or renovated occupied buildings within large council housing estates, provided a selected group of their tenants with an option to find a flat on the open market on their own and gave them a money voucher to subsidise the rent. The initiative failed because the landlords and the community recognised the low social status of the programme beneficiaries (who paid with the vouchers) and accepted neither the fact that flats are rented out to them nor their neighbourhood, including also due to racial prejudice (Przymeński, in: Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 137–139; Wilen & Stassel, 2006, pp. 240–250).
3. In many towns in Poland, projects in which municipalities sublet dwellings rented by themselves in private stock to council tenants did not bring any improvement in terms of housing de-marginalisation because the dwellings were often located in ruined buildings, and their living standards were often lower than in the municipal stock.

Not only the community but also the location of the buildings or estates with the function of council housing within the urban area affects the abilities to effectively fulfil these functions. Research by M. Oliwa-Ciesielska shows that council tenants have their own preferences in this regard, which should be known to and respected by urban planners. The tenants usually do not want the buildings or estates created for them to be located within suburban areas, or within isolated areas which are poorly communicated with the centre. On the contrary, they prefer their flats to be located in developed, unfenced urban areas (Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 19–20 and others). Furthermore, research by Z. Rataj reveals that if it is possible or necessary, they are against concentrating council housing in their neighbourhood. In July 2010, she noted an event[17] where the residents

[17] The author received information about this event from dr Zuzanna Rataj, who in July 2010 carried out field research in Poznań council housing estates for the purposes of her master's thesis (Rataj, 2011).

of a council housing estate, Darzybór, in Poznań, in fear of their own safety, applied to the municipal authorities (in an application made together with their non-council neighbours) for withdrawal from the plan to locate council residential containers (units) for problematic council tenants within the neighbourhood.

The above shows that the plans of development of areas in which council housing dwellings are located should take into account the need to lift barriers between them and non-council neighbourhoods. This may be facilitated by locating infrastructural elements in a space encouraging to use them together and equally by both council and non-council neighbours. Such measures are necessary although they require an ability to break the ice because, depending on the situation, the isolation tendency may be present not only in the community of better-off households towards council tenants but also the other way round.

Competent management of the council housing stock

The achievement of the goals of council housing requires competent management, not only in terms of standard administration of housing stock but also social problems, the range and frequency of which are greater than in other types of housing stock. The administration of buildings with dwellings covered by tenancy on social terms should have appropriate expert knowledge and possibility of legal sanctions against tenants who make it impossible for the remaining residents to normally use their dwellings. Such sanctions include: termination of the tenancy agreement, including consequences such as allocation of a flat with a lower standard, transfer to any form of a social hostel or even a homeless shelter, etc. Tenancy on social terms is a form of a benefit which, as any other social benefit, has a secondary but important function of an instrument of social pedagogy and social control (see also: Frieske, 2010; Przymeński, 2017).

The contemporary knowledge about managing the stock of social housing, especially municipal housing, entails a directive to support tenants' participation. It corresponds with the idea of democratisation of their management, which includes the formation of proper relations between tenants and the administration, including their participation in decision-making with regard to the buildings occupied by them and their surroundings. The tenants' participation may increase their chance to identify with the specific neighbourhood and community. According to M. Oliwa-Ciesielska, in clusters of council tenants, the lack of readiness to take up any intervention against the observed bad behaviours results from the fear for own safety, not from indifference. Reactions to wrong things happening in the nearest neighbourhood are usually at the cost of direct conflicts and stigmatisation of the reacting ones (Przymeński & Oliwa-Ciesielska, 2014, pp. 193–194). Good management must level out the deficit of informal social control in these neighbourhoods.

Research by K. Suszyńska and Z. Rataj (2017) shows that the majority of residents of municipal housing estates (69%) is ready to get involved in activities for the local community. The sense of having impact on the neighbourhood is necessary for the residents to organise themselves and act against the ghettoisation of that neighbourhood. The sense of helplessness and menace, combined with the passive attitude of the administration, works otherwise. In the light of the possible positive effects of the tenants' participation in the communities created in municipal housing stock and the deficit and poor formal acknowledgement of such activities in Poland, Suszyńska and Rataj propose that legal regulations be introduced to make such participation part of the currently applicable management systems of such housing stock (Suszyńska & Rataj, 2017, p. 141).

Conclusions

1. The effectiveness of measures applied within council housing should be evaluated based on the achievement of its goals. The analysis of economic expenditure ratios or current statistics is insufficient in this regard.
2. The basic benefits of council housing in Poland are still provided under the discretionary (*uznaniowy*) care model. In the light of Poland's level of socio-economic development, the shift of the benefit model from discretionary to obligatory is an urgent matter.
3. The incapability to satisfy the demand for tenancy on social terms is reflected in the deficit of approximately 150 thousand dwellings which would have to be allocated by municipalities to those benefits, as well as the lack of means to fund the costs of their daily use.
4. The demand for tenancy on social terms may be reduced by: increasing municipal stock of dwellings, improving the financial condition of households, as well as increasing the number of constructed social dwellings, particularly within the M+ programme complementary to council housing, together with the Living on Your Own (MnS) programme of rent benefits.
5. Council housing in Poland, similarly to the entire housing assistance policy, is now under changes, including with regard to the principles of tenancy on social terms and implementation of new social housing schemes.
6. Under new and old social housing schemes, up to and including 2019, (slightly) fewer social flats were built as compared to the period 2011–2015.
7. So far, the M+ programme aimed at the construction of flats for rent, with a lot of governmental propaganda publicity, has brought no material effects, although certain revival in this regard could have been observed in 2019 (see: Table 3).
8. The low scale of social housing construction up to 2019 corresponds with the low status of the Department of Housing in the Ministry of Development (as well as in the predecessors of this institution). Its tasks, including the development of social housing, are not part of the main mission of the Ministry, which is currently "to increase the efficiency of the Polish business by the development of innovative solutions" (Ministerstwo Rozwoju, 2020).
9. Traditional council housing, so far based mainly on municipal housing stock, after the introduction of more flexibility for municipalities to acquire dwellings for tenancy on social terms, may change its nature by using social housing stock of other landlords.

10. The goals of council housing may be attained in two options regarding the concentration of flats rented out on social terms: small clusters or dispersion among the neighbourhood and community. Decisions in this regard require an analysis of experience and academic research.
11. In Poland, the failed social housing construction in the recent years, including 2015–2019, accompanies a good condition of the housing construction sector on the open market, which operates for the benefit of households in a better financial condition (see: Table 3).

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Defining and measuring of homelessness. Poland

Abstract

The problem of determining the number of homeless people concerns many countries. Estimates of the homeless population show wide variation. This text aims to review and attempt to systematize the ways of defining and measuring homelessness in Poland.

Poland serves as a good example of the analysis of this phenomenon, because both the activities carried out in the field of diagnosis of homelessness and research aimed at developing a reliable methodology have been undertaken since the 1990s. The article summarizes such approaches as collecting data using the Central Statistical Application,

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The National Census and indicators based on international recommendations for "point in time" and the index of "homelessness".

Thanks to the analysis, we conclude that a reliable and comprehensive diagnosis of homeless people throughout the country depends on several factors. Administrative and statistical data at the local level collected by state institutions and non-governmental institutions should be supported by compatible electronic data recording systems. Efforts should be made to improve and standardize the methodology of researching the population of homeless people to avoid errors that make it impossible to compare the results. At present, the data closest to the real number of homeless people are obtained using the 'point-in-time counting' method.

Key words: homelessness, diagnosis of homelessness, monitoring

Introduction and background

It would seem that the concept of homelessness and a homeless person is clear and commonly understood. Homelessness, however, is a complex social, psychological, healthcare-related, economic and political problem. An increase in the number of homeless people has been recorded in various countries in recent years. The causes of that situation are sought, among others, in the economic crisis, which has been recognized as a key factor contributing to increasing homelessness in the last 5 years in the European Union member states: Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. The increasing number of immigrants, women, families and young people who join the ranks of the homeless is alarming (Szluz, 2014).

In Poland there has long been no reliable and full estimation of the homeless population that would satisfy every homelessness analyst, although efforts are constantly made to assess the scale of the phenomenon realistically. The aim of the article is to analyze the activities undertaken in Poland over the past 20 years as regards the diagnosis of the homelessness phenomenon and to present the profile of a homeless person resulting from the current analysis. Based on the analysis of these activities and the reports of MFL&SP -03 (Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Policy) for the years 2010–2019, the methods used to measure homelessness in Poland were compiled and characterized. The European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion ETHOS recommends describing the homeless population using several indicators, mainly the "point in time" index and the "homelessness" index (FEANTSA), which were taken into account in the efforts to diagnose homelessness in Poland. The purpose of the compilation is to present estimated data on the homeless population in Poland in 2010–2019, including the survey method. The profile of the homeless person resulting from the current analysis was also presented.

In the social, economic and political context, we can encounter different social attitudes towards the homeless as well as different governmental policies for the problem of homelessness. In countries with a traditional approach, based on the idea of charity, which undoubtedly includes Poland, large-scale aid programmes for the homeless are implemented. On the other hand, in countries where the revanchist trend prevails in politics (Latin America, Asia, Africa, USA) all help for the homeless is denied, assuming that it is a factor that strengthens people in their decision to stay homeless (Podgórska-Jachnik, 2014). Unfortunately, in spite of various, sometimes so extreme, approaches to this phenomenon, no effective model of the homelessness problem solution has been developed so far).

The largest number of homeless people is recorded in countries where the social assistance system is well-developed (Kalinowski, 2010). Well-developed social welfare systems, drawn-up and implemented strategies to fight homelessness, as well as systematic diagnosis of the homeless population, have a bearing on the real prevention of homelessness through the implementation of assistance programs for people at risk of homelessness (Pleace, 2017). Ambitious strategies to fight homelessness are in place in many countries of Western Europe, including Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, Austria, France, Ireland or the Netherlands (Gnaś & Majer, 2019). In the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where the problem of homelessness has become apparent as a result of the transformation of political, economic and social systems, homelessness prevention strategies are not fully implemented. The reason for that is usually the state policy or the country'scountry's difficult economic situation (Snieškienė & Dulinskienė, 2014). Examples include countries such like Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia or Romania, where there is no official definition of homelessness, as well as no current and up-to-date data on the number of homeless people, and thus no national strategy to fight homelessness. In these countries, like in Poland, care and services for the homeless are provided mainly by non-governmental organisations (Frączak, 2009; Hrast, 2019). The situation is similar in the Czech Republic, whose legislation defines neither a homeless person nor homelessness, but adopts the term "persons without shelter". Not only has the national strategy adopted in 2013 not been yet implemented, but also the regional strategies aimed at determining the number of the homeless (Gnaś & Majer, 2019). There are few local research projects aimed at diagnosing homelessness implemented locally and they concern larger cities (Daňková et al., 2019).

Also the very definition of a homeless person, homelessness, as well as its typology, although seemingly obvious, poses many problems in clear definition of these terms to those dealing with the issue of homelessness scientifically and practically (Dobrzeniecki, 2010). The difficulty lies in the undisputed multidimensionality of this phenomenon emphasized by many authors. Therefore, the most desirable are the definitions taking into account all these areas (Pindral, 2010). In the opinion of others, it is the "multiformity and gradual nature" of the homelessness status that is considered by some authors as the reason for the indefinability of this phenomenon (Śledzianowski, 2006). According to the traditional approach, this is because acceptance of this or another typology that categorizes different forms of homelessness has a real impact not only on the operations of social welfare bodies, implementation of social work programs, therapeutic programs, cash and non-cash assistance, but also on monitoring the homelessness prevalence.

The difficulties in defining homelessness as well as different approaches to collecting and measuring the data on homeless people mean that all countries in which this problem is faced contend with proper assessment of the homelessness prevalence (Edgar et al., 2003). The number of homeless people in the United States is estimated at a quarter to over three million (Burt et al., 2001; National Alliance to End Homelessness). The main reason for such a broad divergence is the lack of a clear and precise definition of homelessness. The variety of definitions and typologies does certainly not facilitate the formulation of methodological assumptions, hence the data is sometimes subject to a significant margin of error (Pindral, 2010). The comparison of research results is therefore problematic and sometimes impossible (Fitzgerald et al., 2001).

Also in Poland there has long been no reliable and full estimation of the homeless population that would satisfy every homelessness analyst, although efforts are constantly made to assess the scale of the phenomenon realistically. The aim of the article is to analyse the activities undertaken in Poland over the past 20 years as regards the diagnosis of the homelessness phenomenon and to present the profile of a homeless person resulting from the current analysis.

The main homelessness prevalence indicators

The European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) developed by the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) is one of the attempts to respond to the need to standardize concepts, organize research methodologies and standardize assistance provided to homeless people (Amore et al., 2011). FEANTSA has adopted a very broad definition of the homelessness, while emphasizing the importance of country-specific differences in order to understand the phenomenon more precisely. The ETHOS typology considers the following four main conceptual categories: rooflessness (people living in public places, e.g. on the street, or lodged as an intervention, e.g. in a night shelter); houselessness (people staying in shelters for the homeless, immigration centres, as well as people to leave, e.g., prisons or psychiatric hospitals); living in insecure housing (people who “are put up” temporarily by their family, dwelling illegally, threatened with eviction or violence) and living in inadequate housing (people living in overcrowded or sub-standard housing). A total of thirteen operational categories describing in detail the housing situation of a given category have been assigned to the main categories. FEANTSA recommends the use of the ETHOS Typology as a starting point for creation of country-specific typologies. The advantage of the ETHOS typology is that it does not describe the causes of homelessness, which are very complex and specific for each person. Instead, the typology is based on current living and housing conditions.

The homelessness diagnosis should be broad taking into account the ETHOS Typology and international recommendations, including European Parliament resolutions (European Parliament Resolution, 2014) and European Commission guidelines. Determination of the number of homeless people and their socio-demographic profile forms the basis for further actions aimed at reducing the negative effects of homelessness. In order to undertake these actions it is necessary to know the size of the group to be covered, as well as the financial resource to be allocated to this activity. Therefore, the diagnosis should describe the population of homeless people using several basic indicators, the key ones of which are the following quantitative indicators: “point in time” (PIT), applicable to the “headcount at a point in time” method and the “homelessness prevalence” indicator. Both indicators represent the size of the homeless population in a given period of time (Edgar & Meert, 2006).

The “headcount at a point in time” method is widely used all over the world. It allows to obtain data on the population of homeless people at one selected moment and place of its functioning. Social workers, police officers, municipal police officers, street workers and volunteers locate and count the homeless within a strictly defined time frame, completing the data using a traditional paper questionnaire method. For several years now, in many countries of Western Europe and the United States, a tool supporting the services when counting the homeless has been a telephone application of the geographic information system (GIS), which uses a non-standard form and allows to send notes and photos updating the information recorded in the form (ESRI, 2015). Research using the PIT method allows to avoid counting the same homeless people many times. Conducting the research in winter makes it easier to determine the number of homeless people, since it is likely that most of them use night shelter at that time. The number of homeless people inside and outside homeless institutions is counted. However, the method has some limitations. The status indicator always slightly underestimates the population, which is mainly due to organisational reasons. The counting services are unable to reach all homeless people within one day, and they only go to areas known to them for homeless people. Also, not all categories recognised as homelessness according to the ETHOS Typology are taken into account, for example: people who are “put up” by their family or friends, those temporarily rent apartments collectively, homeless people addicted to psychoactive agents staying in specialised institutions, shelters for refugees and undocumented migrants, and people getting out of homelessness living in so-called protected, training or temporary apartments (Herbst & Wygnańska, 2016). Omitting certain situations undoubtedly causes underestimation of the number of people meeting the definition of homelessness. Apart from that, the results of the survey using the PIT method are largely dependent on the organisation of the survey by the local systems of assistance, cooperation and involvement of the services that count the homeless, as well as the knowledge of the public places where homeless people live.

In order to more accurately estimate the homeless population and to determine the need for long-term assistance the occurrence rate is used. It is intended to determine the real size of the population experiencing the problem. While the status indicator reflects the phenomenon at one point in time, the prevalence rate covers the size of the population over a longer period of several months and even years (Wygnańska, 2011). It is obtained by analysis of records on aid provided by institutions, hospitals and NGOs. The homelessness category (chronic, temporary and periodical) is important in this indicator, because it involves extremely different assistance, sometimes provided for many years, characteristic for a given type of homelessness. A factor that complicates research using this indicator is the issue of determining the time interval during which a person becomes homeless and the time interval when he or she gets out of homelessness (Fitzgerald et al., 2001). This method requires implementation of the register computerization procedure enabling to eliminate double counting of the same people who use the assistance in several centres. Absence of the above data in the records means that, like in the case of the “point in time” method, as well as in research using the occurrence rate, we can only obtain the estimated number of homeless people, which clearly highlights the difficulty of monitoring the phenomenon.

The specificity of the homelessness phenomenon makes it possible to use untypical methods to diagnose it. An example is the Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) method, i.e. selection of a sample controlled by the respondents. It is applied in research on so-called hidden populations and populations hard to access during a survey. Such a population can undoubtedly include the population of homeless people. The RDS method is a variation of the snowball method, which is modified by introducing a system of double rewards in the form of rewarding respondents for both the participation in the survey and for recruiting more participants. In this method, it is the respondent who decides who is invited to participate in the survey, while hoping to receive an award, usually financial, for recruitment if the person persuaded by the respondent takes part in the survey (Heckathorn, 2002). The RDS survey method was used, among others, to diagnose the population of homeless people in Prague and Plzen (Daňková et al., 2019), where the importance of the participation of homeless people regardless of where they sleep was emphasized, as well as the inclusion in the study of people who do not use the services of assistance organisations. The disadvantage of the method is that it is time-consuming and costly.

Monitoring the homelessness scale in Poland

Attempts to determine the scale of the homelessness phenomenon in Poland have been made since the beginning of the 1990s. The data published by the researchers of the subject was initially highly divergent. It was based on the estimated number of homeless people, which were at the disposal of the social assistance organizations and institutions operating in individual voivodships (Kaźmierczak-Kałużna, 2015). Przymeński pointed out a high divergence of data, especially that obtained just after 1989, falling within the range of 200 000 to 500 000 homeless people, as well as the phenomenon of exaggerating the scale of homelessness and providing data that is very incorrect (Przymeński, 2008). According to the author, the aim of publishing inflated, undocumented information was to draw the attention of state institutions to the phenomenon of homelessness after the political, economic and social transformation of the country (Przymeński, 2001).

An undoubted difficulty in conducting a methodologically correct research on that subject is that, apart from homeless people staying in places of institutional support, whose number is much easier to estimate, a significant part of the homeless stays in other places:

railway and bus stations, staircases, basements. In addition, homeless people constantly move from one place to another, which may result in their being recorded several times in statistics. Sometimes homeless people avoid registering, not wanting to be identified as homeless.

At present, data on the scale of homelessness in Poland, which is burdened with various margins of error, can be obtained from several sources. One of them provides data collected using the MRPiPS-03 form developed by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy (MFL&SP — formerly, until 2015, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (ML&SP)). The information contained in the form on the local and supra-municipal social assistance and integration units is the main source of knowledge about homelessness in Poland. On the basis of these data, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, in cooperation with the Social Policy Departments of individual Voivodship Offices, reports and analyses the scale of homelessness in Poland. Data on the scale of homelessness can also obtained from the reports of full-time social welfare institutions submitted to the Polish National Statistical Office (GUS PS-03), as well as national population and housing censuses carried out by the Statistics Poland. In this paper, particular attention was paid to the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy's use of the following quantitative indicators discussed above: the "point in time", the "headcount at a point in time" applicable to the PIT method and the "homelessness prevalence" indicator.

It is worth noting that the first local study using the PIT method in Poland was conducted by the Pomeranian Forum for Getting out of Homelessness (PFWB) in 2001. It was the first survey in Poland that covered non-institutionalized homeless people (Sochocki, 2010).

The first nationwide assessment of the homelessness prevalence was carried out on the night of 15th to 16th of December 2009 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and repeated on the night of 26th to 27th of January 2010. At the request of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, voivodship offices then provided the number of people staying in shelters for the homeless on the specified dates. The aim of the survey was to conduct it overnight throughout the country, in all voivodships, to avoid duplication of data on homeless people using shelters. The data obtained during the second survey was higher (20 960) than that from one month earlier (18 227). The reason for the difference was a sharp frost, which caused that there were many more homeless people in the shelters. Assuming that approximately 1/3 of homeless people did not use the overnight accommodation in facilities at that time, the number of homeless people in Poland was estimated at around 30 000 (ML&SP 2010).

In 2011, the counting methods used by Pomorskie Forum na rzecz Wychodzenia z Bezdomności (Pomeranian Forum for Getting out of Homelessness) were applied in the National Population and Housing Census (The National Census). 25 773 homeless people were recorded. Two categories of homeless people were distinguished in the National Census of 2011: the "roofless" people in the number of 9 789, including people living on the street, in public places, without shelter, and the second group, the "houseless" in the number of 15 984. The "roofless" people stayed at train and bus stations and around them, channels and district heating substations, streets, beaches, bunkers, forests and parks, cemeteries, shopping malls, parking lots, abandoned cars, caravans, staircases, rubbish chutes, basements, attics, dustbins, dugouts, railcars and railway sidings, warm-up shelters. The census of homeless persons was carried out by census takers at a strictly defined time. Places where homeless people were found had previously been identified in cooperation with social assistance centres, the Municipal Police and other organizations providing assistance to homeless people. The group of "houseless" persons usually included people without a domicile, who receive assistance in accordance with the Social Welfare Act, i.e. a shelter, food and clothing. These are primarily people accommodated in homeless shelters and social welfare homes (CSO, 2013).

The first nationwide research on the number of homeless people using the "headcount at a point in time" method was conducted in 2013, and has been continued every two years since then. The last one was conducted in 2019. On the basis of the data obtained in the PIT survey, one can conclude that the number of homeless people in Poland is relatively constant and amounts to approximately 30 000 (Table 1).

What is noteworthy, however, is the large decrease in the number of non-institutionalized homeless people in 2017 and 2019 compared to previous years of research (by 10%). This does not mean a real decrease in the number of the non-institutionalized homeless people in a given period, but results from a change in the research methodology. In accordance with the recommendation of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, the homeless population in the 2017 and 2019 survey did not include people living in allotment garden houses if their standard was similar to an apartment and there was a suspicion that they had been living there for a long time. According to the ETHOS Typology, such people would be included in the last, fourth category of the homelessness defined as "people living in inadequate housing" (substandard conditions). This category of the homeless is characterized by living in premises that do not meet housing standards and are not suitable for residence according to the national statutory standard or building regulations (FEANTSA). The case is undoubtedly debatable, because although the law unequivocally prohibits permanent residence in family allotment gardens (FAG) (Journal of Laws of 2014, item 40, article 12), such conduct is common and increasingly popular. Although Article 3 of the Act on the FAG contains a provision on assistance to families and people in a difficult life situation and equalizing their chances, the fact of living on in allotment garden due to poverty is to be reported by the FAG board to the district authorities or social assistance. On the other hand, regarding those for whom living in an allotment garden house all year round in the territory of FAG is a way of life as homeless is really counterproductive and overstates the statistics of homelessness.

The problem of interpreting the status of people who are living and are registered in the FAG areas proves that it is difficult to define the homeless and, consequently, to estimate their number in real terms. It also makes it difficult to compare survey results and to plan social policy in this regard.

The homelessness rate was first published in 2011 by ML&SP on the basis of data obtained from reports of voivodship offices as of the year 2010. The rate was developed on the basis of statistical data collected directly from non-governmental organizations running night shelters for the homeless — by means of questionnaires, and from district, county and voivodship authorities — by means of the one-time DPS-IV-52-IR report prepared using Centralna Aplikacja Statystyczna (the Central Statistical Application, CSA). Based on above data, over 43 083 homeless people were identified receiving assistance from districts and counties (ML&SP, 2012). Subsequent analyses using the incidence rate were carried out for the years 2012 and 2014, in which 37 645 (ML&SP, 2013) and 39 936 homeless people (ML&SP, 2015) were identified, respectively (Table 1).

It should be stressed, however, that the data on the number of homeless people in 2010, 2012 and 2014 were challenged by NGOs dealing with homelessness. It was noted that it was impossible to compare data from this period due to incorrect survey methodology, including duplication the personal data in the survey of 2010, caused by different dates of the survey implementation depending on the decisions of voivodship authorities, or calculation errors (Szarfenberg, 2019). Therefore, due to law computerization degree of service user registers, preventing the elimination of double-counting of people who use the assistance in several centres, the analysis of the incidence rate at the national level was discontinued in the following years and was continued at the local level only (Wygnańska, 2016).

Table 1. Estimated data on the size of the homeless population in Poland in the years 2010–2019 considering the survey method

Year of survey	2010	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2017	2019
Survey method	Voivodship Offices report	CSA	National Census	CSA	PIT	CSA	PIT	PIT	PIT
Institutionalised homeless people	20 960	33 650	15 984	No data available	22 158	No data available	25 600	26 900	24 323
Non-institutionalised homeless people	No data available	9 440	9 789	No data available	8 554	No data available	10 500	6 508	6 007
Total	No data available	43 080	25 773	37 645	30 712	39 936	36 160	33 408	30 330

Source: Based on MFL&SP data for 2010–2019.

Taking into account the presented data concerning the diagnosis of homelessness in Poland, it is important to eliminate the critical errors in the methodology of survey conducted. No doubt, every method applied in the assessment of the homelessness scale in Poland should be supported by measures at the governmental level. It seems that combining data collected by different service providers and use of electronic systems of homeless population registration would provide access to current information about the real size of the population of people dealing with homelessness and their sociodemographic characteristics (Herbst & Wygnańska, 2016).

According to Debski, the homeless population is “an empirical reality which falls outside any strictly empirical approach”, which is reflected in the presented difficulties in estimating the number of homeless people (Debski, 2014).

The profile of a homeless person

As sociodemographic analyses show, about 80% of the homeless population are men (MFL&SP, 2015; MFL&SP, 2017; MFL&SP, 2018) in the age group between 40 and 60 (Dębski, 2014; Sochocki, 2010), who are often single (Szluz, 2010). Homeless women are younger (Dębski, 2014). The homeless population includes relatively small percentage of people over the age of 65, which can be accounted for by ill health and, consequently, premature death (Sochocki, 2010). In the study by Suzańska, homeless people over the age of 65 accounted for only 14% of the total population (Suzańska et al., 2010). According to Stepulak, the population between 51 and 60 years of age constituted 33.3%, and over 60 years 22.1% of the homeless people (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015).

According to the research performed in the Pomeranian Voivodship, the homeless community is also getting older (Olech & Ługowski, 2006). The average age of a homeless person in 2003 was 46 years, while in 2013 it was 52.4 years (Dębski, 2014). The European Commission points out the change in the profile of homeless people. The general population of homeless includes more and more young people, women and children, migrants and national minorities (Szluz, 2010). In an all-Poland study on homeless people carried-out in 2015, children constituted 5.2% of the homeless population (ML&SP, 2015). In 2017, they constituted 4% (MFL&SP, 2017), and in 2019 3.3% (MFL&SP, 2019). They stayed mainly in homes for mothers with minor children, in homeless shelters and crisis intervention centers, but as much as 27% of them also outside shelter facilities: in cottages on allotments, summer houses and other unspecified places (ML&SP, 2015; MFL&SP, 2017). A similar number of homeless children, i.e. 4.6%, was estimated in the study by Stepulak (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015). Families with children account for 15%, women 16%, adolescents 9%, and adult men 60% of the homeless population in the United States (Burt et al., 2001).

Homeless people are most often single (80%), including divorced, widows and widowers as well as separated people. They are usually unemployed. They live mainly on social assistance, scrap collecting, odd jobs and pensions or allowances (Sochocki, 2010; MFL&SP, 2017; Stenius-Ayoadeet al., 2017). Almost one fifth of them have no source of income (MFL&SP, 2017; Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015).

Homeless people tend to concentrate in large urban areas, which gives them a better chance of getting assistance and supporting themselves. A city is also a place where it is easier to beg for money and food (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015). The largest concentrations of homeless people have been recorded for years in the following voivodships: Mazovian, Silesian and Pomeranian (MFL&SP, 2017; MFL&SP, 2019). According to Stepulak, there are four times as many homeless people in the cities as in the countryside (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015). During seasonal works in farms, the homeless people sometimes migrate to smaller towns and to the countryside (Sochocki, 2010).

The average education level of homeless people in Poland is low. These are most often people with vocational and primary education, and only one fifth of them has secondary education. People with higher education are a very small group of the homeless (Suzańska et al., 2010). In the analysis by Stepulak they accounted for 2% of the studied population of 1128 homeless persons. For comparison, the percentage of people with vocational education constituted 41%, and the primary one, 31.2% (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015). The education level of young homeless people is higher compared to the education level of older homeless people (Dębski, 2014).

Many people have been homeless for a long time. In the study by Sochocki, developed on the basis of the results of five research projects, more than 50% of respondents have been homeless persons for several years, and the group of the people who have been homeless for more than 10 years was dominated by men (Sochocki, 2010). In the research carried out by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Policy (MFL&SP) in 2017, 25% of people have been homeless for more than two years (MFL&SP, 2017). In 2019, the most numerous group were people who have been homeless for 5–10 years (27.8%) (MFL&SP, 2019).

The most common cause of homelessness is forced eviction and family conflicts. Stepulak emphasises that there are often several reasons for homelessness. According to the results of the author's study, homelessness was caused by addiction (16.9%), job loss and unemployment (12.7%), as well as ill health and disability (6.7%). Among other reasons, Stepulak mentions leaving the prison, indebtedness, leaving the young offenders' institution and domestic violence. The author also emphasizes different causes of homelessness depending on gender. While the two most common causes of homelessness, i.e. evictions and family conflicts, are characteristic of both sexes, the subsequent reasons for women are: unemployment, domestic violence and addiction, and for men the order of direct causes for homelessness was different and included: addiction, unemployment and ill health (Stepulak & Kowalski, 2015).

Conclusions

It is necessary to take measures to ensure a comprehensive diagnosis of the homelessness and housing exclusion phenomena. On the basis of a nationwide survey on the number of homeless people carried out in 2019, one can conclude that a statistical Polish homeless person is a single man aged 41 to 60, with low education, living on social welfare benefits and being homeless for 5 to 10 years (MFL&SP, 2019).

The analysis of activities undertaken in Poland over the past 20 years as regards the diagnosis of the homelessness phenomenon has shown that carrying out comprehensive activities in this area and developing a reliable methodology is very difficult. They result not only from the complexity and multiformity of the homelessness phenomenon, diversity of definitions and typology of homelessness, but also from the typically organizational aspects, resulting from the reach of the survey which covers the homeless in the whole country (Pindral, 2010).

Therefore, the basis for a reliable and comprehensive diagnosis diagnosis of homeless people throughout the country should be local administrative and statistical data collected by governmental and non-governmental institutions aided by compatible electronic data recording systems. One should also strive to improve and standardize the homeless population surveying methodology in order to avoid mistakes that make it impossible to compare the results, because monitoring of that social problem is of practical importance (Szarfenberg, 2019; Wygnańska, 2016).

It seems that the most representative data on the number of homeless people can currently be obtained using the “headcount at a point in time” method. Despite the limitations of this method, the results of which are largely dependent on the organisation of the survey by the local assistance systems, the cooperation and involvement of the services that count the homeless, as well as the knowledge of the public places where homeless people live, the diagnosis of the homelessness using the PIT method may constitute the basis for development of the social policy of the government in the context of homelessness prevention, emergency relief, as well as the successful return of homeless people to normal functioning in society. In order to improve the methodology of research on the scale of homelessness and streamline the survey process itself, it would be worthwhile to take advantage of the experience of other countries using telephone applications supporting the survey process (ESRI, 2015). Geographical information systems provided with an interface for collecting spatial data during fieldwork seem to be a good tool supporting services participating in the homelessness counting actions.

The conducted study has some limitations. As far as the study methodology is concerned, the analysis was based on a review of selected estimates of other researchers (Kaźmierczak-Kałużna, 2015; Przymeński, 2008) and MFL&SP data. Moreover, two main quantitative indicators used in monitoring the scale of homelessness in Poland were presented and analyzed herein. Despite those limitations, the study constitutes substantive material for this rarely discussed subject. It enables better understanding of the phenomena and processes related to homelessness, as well as difficulties related to reliable determination of the number of homeless people. The research problem outlined in the paper may, at the same time, be a starting point for further research on monitoring homelessness as not only a multidimensional and diverse phenomenon, but also dependent on country-specific differences.

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Factors Determining Migration Decisions of Nursing Students from Eastern Poland[2]

Abstract

The article contributes to research on international migration of healthcare professionals. The principal objective of the article is to identify and evaluate the factors which affect the decisions taken by young nursing students to emigrate from Poland.

In the article original data from authors' survey are used. It involved 207 students from universities in two relatively poor regions in eastern Poland: Lubelskie and Warmian-Masurian Voivodships.

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The literature analysis and the survey results conducted among nursing students show that low wages, poor working conditions, and low professional prestige are the factors motivating them to leave the country. Migration networks play an important role in the migration process as well. Young people increasingly often prefer virtual networks to look for a job. It seems that this type of contact will play an increasingly important role.

The remuneration level should be increased and the working conditions improved in order to stop the emigration of nurses.

Key words: nurses, healthcare, international migration, human capital, youth

Introduction

Migration is among the major socio-economic problems faced by Poland. The intensification of the migration process following Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 is inextricably associated with the principle of free movement of people, services, and capital within the European Union (Art. 56 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and Art. 26 item 2 and 63 of the consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union). The extent of Polish economic emigration has been raising concerns among scientists for years (Kaczmarczyk, 2005a, 2008; Jończy, 2006).

In 2017, as many as 2.5 million Poles stayed abroad for over 3 months, and approximately 80% of the emigrants left the country for longer than 12 months. The majority of them were persons aged 25–35 years (GUS, 2018a). This is a disadvantageous phenomenon, especially because it involves the emigration of highly qualified young people (Kaczmarczyk, 2005b, 2006; Mihi-Ramírez et al., 2015), including medical staff (doctors and nurses in particular).

The migration phenomenon of nurses represents a social problem that is associated with the aging of the Polish population (the average lifespan of women is 82 years and that of men is 74 years) (GUS, 2018), as well as with the expected increase in demand for the work of nurses (contribution of persons in the post-productive age will increase to 37% by 2050) (GUS, 2016a). Poland has the lowest number of nurses per 1000 inhabitants in Europe. In 2016, it reached 5.24 compared to 17.5 in Switzerland, 13.1 in Germany, 7.9 in the UK, and 9.4 on average in the OECD countries (RNRPiP, 2017). In addition, the nurses themselves are aging as well (RNRPiP, 2017). These data show that young, educated people are essential for the Polish labour market. Unfortunately, students who study nursing decide to migrate, in the same way as representatives of other professions. For this reason, the domestic labour market faces the problem of a nursing shortage. This can threaten the operation of the healthcare system. Therefore, it seems important to identify the factors that affect migration decisions taken by young people who have just entered the labour market. This will help indicate potential options for keeping nurses in the country.

The subject of the research, presented in this article includes international migrations, and more specifically, the emigration of young nurses entering the profession. This is a specific group of people among whom there is no unemployment. They are desired employees in the domestic and foreign labour markets. It is important to keep them in Poland for the sake of the proper functioning of the healthcare system. Therefore, the main goal of this survey was to identify the most important factors underlying the decision to leave the country for economic concerns. A survey method was used in the research to achieve the main purpose of the study. An anonymous survey covered a group of 207 respondents, including students of the nursing major, from selected universities in Eastern Poland, i.e. the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and the Medical University in Lublin.

Theoretical underpinnings

The demographic aging of the Polish population, including the aging of medical staff, is also being exacerbated by staff shortages and poses a serious challenge to the functioning of the healthcare system in Poland. The increasing percentage of the older generation in the population is associated with more frequent than average incidences of disease, which requires greater involvement of the healthcare system. This problem is additionally aggravated by migration processes involving nursing graduates.

Another alarming phenomenon observed in the last few years is the so-called brain-drain (Kaczmarczyk, 2005b; Makulec, 2013), meaning the emigration of young, well-educated people who could also be employed in the labour market in Poland. They emigrate because they can perform the same job, but for better pay. This applies particularly to such occupational groups as: doctors, nurses (Leśniowska, 2005, 2008), engineers, IT specialists, and scientists (Mihi-Ramírez et al., 2015). Emigrations of representatives of these professions contribute to increasing shortages of human capital resources in Poland. In the case of emigration of qualified staff whose education was costly, the state incurs losses. The reasons for emigration include not only low pay, but better working conditions or the existence of migrant networks (relatives and acquaintances in the country of emigration) (Wyrozębska & Wyrozębski, 2014; Smoleń & Kędra, 2018).

The migration of nurses is monitored, to some extent, by the Chief Council of Nurses and Midwives (RNRPiP, 2017), which in its reports publishes data on, among other things, the number of issued certificates of professional qualifications for recognition in the EU Member States. This type of certificate is needed by nurses to be employed in the EU. However, the number of issued certificates is not tantamount to the number of persons leaving the country to work abroad. Despite applying for and getting the certificate, a portion of nurses do not decide to leave. In turn, there is a group of nurses who leave the country to work as care-providers for the elderly (and not as nurses), while taking an employment leave in Poland.

In the analysis of reasons for migration, worthy of attention is the neoclassical theory of *push and pull factors*, which focuses on factors which pull and push for migration (Lee, 1966). A decision to migrate is taken when the push factors dominate in the country of origin, or the decision to migrate may be made due to pull factors, which dominate in the destination country (Organiściak-Krzykowska, 2013, 2017). The push and pull factors for migration include (Auleytner & Głąbicka, 2001):

- economic factors, e.g. a low pay pushes one out of the country, whereas a high pay pulls one to a new country,
- socio-political issues, e.g. discrimination of national minorities, is a push factor, whereas a friendly attitude to foreigners and national minorities is a pull factor,
- legal factors, e.g. liberal passport regulations are the pushing force, and no visa obligations attract one to another country,
- demographic factors, e.g. a surplus of young people of working age is a pushing force, and a shortage of young people of working age attracts them to another country.
- historical factors, e.g. a large number of immigrant centres encourages people of the same nationality to migrate and facilitates their assimilation in the new environment (a pull factor).

There might be a number of reasons behind emigration. They can be associated, for example, with forces of nature or with human activities, such as: war, political transformations or socio-economic transformations. They can also arise from an individual's efforts to improve their financial and living status, including: earnings, living conditions, education or work conditions (Kaczmarczyk, 2008; Organiściak-Krzykowska, 2013). All of these factors will be analysed in this manuscript.

The literature concerning the theory and phenomenon of migration, both domestic and foreign, is very rich. Moreover, the issue of migration among young people is often addressed in the literature, especially when it concerns the migration of young educated persons (the so-called brain drain) (Brome, 2007; Tverdostup & Masso, 2015; Feraru, 2012). Usually, their migration is associated with economic problems of the state, such as a high youth unemployment rate (Cerdeira et al., 2016) or the occurrence of an economic crisis (Cairns, 2017). In Poland, studies of the emigration of young people for economic reasons usually cover voivodships or regions (Jończy, 2006; Piecuch & Piecuch, 2014). Usually, these studies address the motives behind emigration decisions made by students (Kowalewska et al., 2018; Szyszka, 2016; Witczak-Roszkowska & Okła, 2015), but some surveys are also available that concern professional plans and migration destinations of nursing major students from individual higher medical schools, like the Warsaw Medical University (Wyrozębska & Wyrozębski, 2014) or the State Medical Higher Vocational School in Opole (Smoleń & Kędra, 2018).

The Polish scientific literature offers sparse works on the emigration of nurses (Wyrozębska & Wyrozębski, 2014). There is no information concerning the scale of this phenomenon, because data concerning the migration of this occupational group has not been collected regularly (Kautsch, 2013).

The problem of emigration among nurses and its impact on the healthcare system has especially been emphasized after 2004 (Kaczmarczyk, 2006; Leśniowska, 2005, 2008). According to a report prepared by the RNRPiP (RNRPiP, 2017), the number of issued certificates which enable nurses to be employed in the UE reached 19,953 (in the years 2004–2016). This figure points to a great interest in practicing the profession abroad.

The forecasts for the years 2016–2030, presented in this report, are not optimistic. They assume an increase in the number of registered nurses with retirement entitlements, an increase in the average age of working nurses, no simple substitutions, and a decrease in the rate of employed nurses per 1000 inhabitants.

The issue of emigration among the middle medical personnel is important, considering that it is a global phenomenon (Majda at al., 2018). This is evidenced by the fact that the popularity of this topic has been increased in recent years worldwide (Favell, 2008). There are several hundred works, published in English (and other languages), describing local and global problems that make a significant contribution to the field of research on the migration of nurses. They demonstrate it to be a global phenomenon concerning nurses leaving from underdeveloped countries such as India, the Philippines, Mexico, Uganda, Nepal, or Lebanon to highly developed countries with a higher standard of living such as the USA, Canada, Norway, Great Britain, or Germany. Very often, their migrations are considered in the light of the push and pull factor theory. The most important of the economic factors is the amount of wages. Nurses migrate to countries where they will be offered higher salaries and better working conditions (e.g. Alameddinea et al., 2019; Prince, 2019).

Research methodology

The main objective of the study was to identify and evaluate the factors affecting the migration decisions taken by nursing students in Eastern Poland. This area was selected for the study because the Voivodships of Eastern Poland are the area from where the largest numbers of emigrants originate (*Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 2017–2018*, 2018). These are the regions with a lower average gross salary, a higher unemployment rate, and a lower standard of living compared to the other voivodships. These are typical factors encouraging people to leave a country (having a push character). The amount of salary seems to be a decisive factor in making migration decisions. It was assumed that the financial factors are the main motive for making a decision to leave the country for economic reasons. This study also attempts to identify other *push and pull* factors as being important to respondents. It was expected that migration networks existing in the destination country would be equally important for the respondents. The study was also expected to confirm or reject this assumption. No similar studies have been carried out so far in this region.

The survey was conducted with students of state universities: Medical Universities and Universities with nursing majors (first and second degree studies), which received accreditation from the Polish Accreditation Commission. On this basis, it was assumed that the level of education acquired at these universities should be comparable. This criterion was met by five universities where 851 students studied in total (Table 1).

Table 1. The number of nursing students who meet certain criteria in 5 selected voivodships

Specification	Total
Lubelskie Voivodeship: Medical University of Lublin	242
Podkarpackie Voivodeship: University of Rzeszów	202
Podlaskie Voivodeship: Medical University of Białystok	122
Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship: Jan Kochanowski University (JKU) in Kielce	179
Warmian-MasurianVoivodeship: University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn	106
Total	**851**

Source: own study based on GUS (GUS, 2016b).

This paper presents the results obtained on the basis of primary data collected from two voivodships: Warmian-Masurian and Lubelskie. The analysed voivodships are the regions with the lowest and the highest number of nursing students at universities that meet the adopted criteria. Research conditions were met by two universities from this area: the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and the Medical University in Lublin. At the same time, they turned out to be, respectively, the youngest and the oldest educational centres for nurses in Eastern Poland. It should be noted that this survey is part of a wider study addressing the discussed issues, the scope of which covers all voivodships listed in Table 1.

The following formula was used to determine the minimum sample size:

$$n = \frac{p(1-p)}{\frac{d^2}{z^2} + \frac{p(1-p)}{N}}$$

where: n — minimum sample size,
p — percentage of the phenomenon in the general population,
d — maximal estimated error,
z — critical value in the standardised normal distribution read-out at the significance level of 0.05,
N — population size.

The minimum sample size (n) determined in total for the Lubelskie and Warmian-Masurian Voivodeships was:

$$n = \frac{p(1-p)}{\frac{d^2}{z^2} + \frac{p(1-p)}{N}} = \frac{0..5(1-0..5)}{\frac{0..05^2}{1..96^2} + \frac{0..5(1-0..5)}{348}} = 182$$

where: p — percentage of the phenomenon in the general population, $p = 0.5$,

d — maximum estimated error (the value of this error adopted in the study was 5%),
z — critical value calculated in the standardized normal distribution, read out at a significance level of 0.05 (z = 1.96),
N — population size reaching 348 students.

The survey was conducted in 2018 in the form of an auditorium questionnaire and was anonymous. All students of the nursing major (first and second degree studies) from the two universities (one in the Lubelskie Voivodeship, the other in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship) were included into the survey. Most MA students were undergraduate students from selected universities. In total, 207 correctly completed questionnaires were collected, which constituted almost 60% of the surveyed population and was higher than the minimum sample size (182).

During the survey, the respondents were asked, among other things, to:

— evaluate their inclination to migrate (How do you assess your inclination to migrate to another country, as a change of the place of residence or the place of work);
— declare their willingness or unwillingness to leave the country after graduation (Are you interested in leaving to another country after graduation?). Possible answers: yes, I want to work abroad; rather yes, if I do not find a job in Poland; rather no, but I do not exclude the possibility of leaving in the future; and definitely no, I do not want to work abroad;
— identify factors encouraging them to leave the country and determine which of them are most important.

The effect of selected reasons for migration on the attractiveness of emigration was assessed using the Likert scale, according to the following rule: 1 — an unimportant factor, 2 — a factor of little importance, 3 — a factor of medium importance, 4 — an important factor, and 5 — a very important factor. However, in order to better illustrate the results (graphs) and to make data presentation clearer, factors 1 and 2 were grouped as being of little importance, 3 — as one of medium importance, and 4 and 5 as important ones.

Statistica and IBM SPSS Statistics Viewer software was used in the quantitative analysis. A Spearman's rank correlation was employed to determine the degree of correlation of the variables (pull and push factors) and respondents' inclination to migrate. In addition, the estimation of the logistic regression model was proposed with the highest likelihood method to check the strength of correlations between the inclination to migrate declared by the surveyed student and making the decision about leaving the country after graduation.

Findings

A total of 207 students participated in the survey. The respondents were 92% women and 8% men. This was due to the strong feminization of the nursing profession. Moreover, 10% of the respondents were married, 7% had children, 45% lived in the countryside, and 55% lived in a city.

A specific trait of the nursing studies is that the students combine education with work. Almost 62% of the respondents worked as nurses and studied at the same time (127 out of the 207 surveyed). An equally high number of the students (60% — 122 out of the 207 surveyed) had migration experience.

An important thing in the survey was to determine the nursing students' inclination to migrate. An inclination to migrate is a subjective self-evaluation of the respondent's will to emigrate to another country. Of the 207 respondents, over 64% described their inclination to migrate as high and medium (26% and 39%, respectively), and 36% described it as low.

To determine significant differences between the inclination to migrate in the selected voivodeships, a table was prepared which presented indicators of the inclination to migrate in the selected voivodeships (Table 2), where percentages (p_1, p_2) were computed as the ratio of questionnaire answers obtained (whether the inclination is high, medium or low) to the number of nursing students at the individual university representing a given voivodeship. A null hypothesis was advanced as H_o: $p_1 = p_2$, meaning that the ratio of answers in the voivodeships examined are similar and comparable with each other, relative to the alternative hypothesis that the appropriate percentages in the voivodeships examined differ from each other, H_o: $p_1 \neq p_2$.

Table 2. Structural indicator of the inclination to migrate in the voivodeships studied

Statistical measure and statistical test	high inclination to migrate	medium inclination to migrate	low inclination to migrate
Structural indicator in the LubelskieVoivodeship (p_1)	0.245	0.352	0.403
Structural indicator in the Warmian-MasurianVoivodeship (p_2)	0.267	0.422	0.422
The value of test statistics	–0.301	–0.859	–0.229
The p value	0.763	0.390	0.819

Source: own calculation, based on the survey using Statistica software.

Table 2 presents the percentages of the inclination to migrate (high, medium, low) in the surveyed samples of respondents from the Lubelskie and Warmian-Masurian Voivodeships as well as statistics verifying the significance of the equality of these percentages. The results presented do not allow for a rejection of the null hypothesis concerning the equality of the proportions analysed, which enables a comparison of the answers given by the respondents from both voivodeships.

It turns out (Fig. 1) that students from the Warmian-Masurian Voivodship proved to be more willing to emigrate than their colleagues from the Lubelskie Voivodship. The proportion of students from the University of Warmia and Mazury who described their inclination to migrate as high or medium was higher by 9 pp than for those from the Lublin University (69% vs 60%). These students will decide to leave the country sooner.

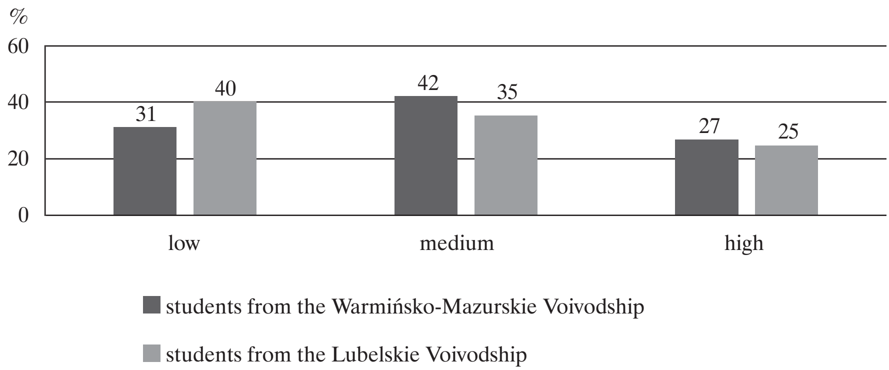

Fig. 1. Inclination of nursing students from the voivodships studied to migrate

Source: own work based on the survey.

When asked about their inclination to emigrate after graduation, almost 26% of the respondents confirmed they would like to work abroad (12% unconditionally and ca. 14% if they do not find a job in Poland). As many as 46% of the students declared they would rather not leave the country, but did not exclude emigrating in the future, whereas 24% of the respondents definitely did not want to work abroad. Only 4% of the respondents remained undecided. The high percentage (46%) of those unwilling to emigrate but did not exclude emigrating in the future may indicate that they are waiting to make a decision after graduation or they want to see if working in Poland after graduation will provide a decent standard of living. Conducting the chi-square independence test allowed a confirmation of the assumption that there is a correlation between the declaration to emigrate after graduation and the inclination to migrate (i.e., the difference between the willingness to take action or only imagining being a migrant). The respective results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Results of Pearson's chi-square independence test

Statistics	The value of test statistics	The p value
Pearson's chi-square	195.720	0.000
Phi-Yule coefficient	0.984	0.000
V-Cramer coefficient	0.492	0.000
Pearson contingency coefficient	0.401	0.000

Source: own work, based on the survey using Statistica software.

To determine a correlation between the inclination to migrate and the declaration of emigration after graduation, an estimation of the logistic regression model was proposed with the maximum likelihood method. Estimates of a respective function are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Results of the logistic model estimates

Effect	binomial distribution., F: LOGIT Modelled probability Y = making a decision about leaving (yes)					
	Level	**column**	**odds ratio**	**GU upper 95.0%**	**GU lower 95.0%**	**p**
the constant term		1				
x5 – willingness to migrate	high	2	9.86	5.30	18.31	0.00

	binomial distribution., F: LOGIT Modelled probability Y = making a decision about leaving (yes)							
	Level	**Column**	**Rating**	**standard error**	**Statistics Wald**	**GU upper 95.0%**	**GU lower 95.0%**	**p**
the constant term		1	-1.31	0..16	69..0	–1.62	1.00-1.00	0.00
x5 – willingness to migrate	high	2	1..15	0..16	.4152.41	0.830.83	1.451.45	0.00
Scale			.01.00	00.00		.00	.01.00	

Source: own work, based on the survey using Statistica software.

$$P\left(Y = 1 \,\middle|\, X\right) = \frac{e^{-1.31 + 1.15x}}{1 + e^{-1.31 + .115x}}$$

The declared inclination to migrate is a statistically significant factor, which increases the probability that a person will be among those who will emigrate for economic reasons after graduation. The odds ratio of 9.86 means that the respondents who assessed their inclination to migrate as high, have a 9.86 times higher chance of making a decision to leave the country after graduation to search for work abroad than the respondents who assessed their inclination to migrate as low.

In the subsequent part of the study, we examined the relationship between the pull and push factors and the inclination to migrate (Table 5 and 6). It should be emphasized that all of the pull and push factors (variables) were on the rank scale, which is why a decision was taken to use the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient.

Table 5. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (pull factors)

factors		**higher salaries**	**high currency exchange rate**	**better work prospects**	**the importance of promotion opportunities**	**existence of migrant networks**	**social security**	**gaining professional experience**	**family reunification**	**inclination to migrate to another country**
higher salaries	correlation coefficient	**1.000**								
	statistical significance									
high currency exchange rate	correlation coefficient	0.331	**1.000**							
	statistical significance	0.000								
better work prospects	correlation coefficient	0.442	0.304	**1.000**						
	statistical significance	0.000	0.000							
the importance of promotion opportunities	correlation coefficient	0.304	0.160	0.585	**1.000**					
	statistical significance	0.000	0.052	0.000						

Table 5. Cont.

factors		**higher salaries**	**high currency exchange rate**	**better work prospects**	**the importance of promotion opportunities**	**existence of migrant networks**	**social security**	**gaining professional experience**	**family reunification**	**inclination to migrate to another country**
existence of migrant networks	correlation coefficient	0.071	0.229	0.135	0.136	**1.000**				
	statistical significance	0.389	0.005	0.100	0.096					
social security	correlation coefficient	0.299	0.279	0.413	0.327	0.397	**1.000**			
	statistical significance	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000				
gaining professional experience	correlation coefficient	0.186	0.239	0.371	0.327	0.193	0.336	**1.000**		
	statistical significance	0.022	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.018	0.000			
family reunification	correlation coefficient	0.039	0.271	0.137	0.191	0.553	0.280	0.171	**1.000**	
	statistical significance	0.636	0.001	0.097	0.019	0.000	0.001	0.037		
inclination to migrate to another country	correlation coefficient	0.264	0.080	0.275	0.161	-0.044	0.100	0.227	0.027	**1.000**
	statistical significance	0.001	0.331	0.001	0.049	0.589	0.224	0.005	0.742	

Source: own work, based on the survey using Statistica software.

In the case of the pull factors (Table 5), the inclination to migrate was statistically dependent on: higher salaries, better employment prospects, and gaining professional experience. These factors are important to educated and ambitious persons, who wish to fulfil themselves professionally and, at the same time, not worry about their financial status. They fit perfectly into the brain drain concept concerning the nursing staff. Moreover, the respondents who declared that better work prospects were important to them very often also declared that better promotional opportunities were a significant factor in the decision to emigrate. In addition, the respondents who valued better employment prospects very often declared the importance of both the salary factor (high salaries) and the social security factor.

Table 6. Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (push factors)

factors		low salary in Poland	a high unemployment rate in the region	worse prospects for employment in the country	worse prospects for promotion	poor social benefits	poor prospects for the future	deteriorating living conditions	persecution at the place of origin	inclination to migrate to another country
low salary in Poland	correlation coefficient	**1.000**								
	statistical significance									
a high unemployment rate in the region	correlation coefficient	0.252	**1.000**							
	statistical significance	0.002								
worse prospects for employment in the country	correlation coefficient	0.287	0.488	**1.000**						
	statistical significance	0.000	0.000							
worse prospects for promotion	correlation coefficient	0.342	0.293	0.547	**1.000**					
	statistical significance	0.000	0.000	0.000						
poor social benefits	correlation coefficient	0.443	0.332	0.391	0.460	**1.000**				
	statistical significance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000					
poor prospects for the future	correlation coefficient	0.440	0.178	0.345	0.465	0.544	**1.000**			
	statistical significance	0.000	0.029	0.000	0.000	0.000				

Table 6. Cont.

factors		**low salary in Poland**	**a high unemployment rate in the region**	**worse prospects for employment in the country**	**worse prospects for promotion**	**poor social benefits**	**poor prospects for the future**	**deteriorating living conditions**	**persecution at the place of origin**	**inclination to migrate to another country**
deteriorating living conditions	correlation coefficient	0.375	0.279	0.354	0.405	0.630	0.641	**1.000**		
	statistical significance	0.000	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000			
persecution at the place of origin	correlation coefficient	-0.064	0.306	0.139	0.091	0.174	-0.024	0.200	**1.000**	
	statistical significance	0.435	0.000	0.090	0.269	0.033	0.768	0.014		
inclination to migrate to another country	correlation coefficient	0.341	0.106	0.110	0.148	0.281	0.279	0.254	-0.033	**1.000**
	statistical significance	0.000	0.198	0.181	0.071	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.685	

Source: own work, based on the survey using SPSS software.

The results provided in Table 6 indicate that the inclination to migrate was statistically dependent on the push factors, i.e.: low salaries, poor prospects for the future, poor safety, and deteriorating living conditions. Very often, the respondents who declared poor prospects for the future also indicated other push factors as being important to them, i.e.: low salaries in Poland, poorer social benefits, and worse prospects for promotion in Poland.

Answers to the question “What pull-factors for migration are important to you and how strong are they?” indicated the main pull factors to be (Fig. 2): higher salaries (96%), better work prospects (86%), gaining professional experience (81%), and better prospects for promotion (76%). These factors were followed by: currency exchange rate (63%), family reunification (54%), and existence of migrant networks (41%).

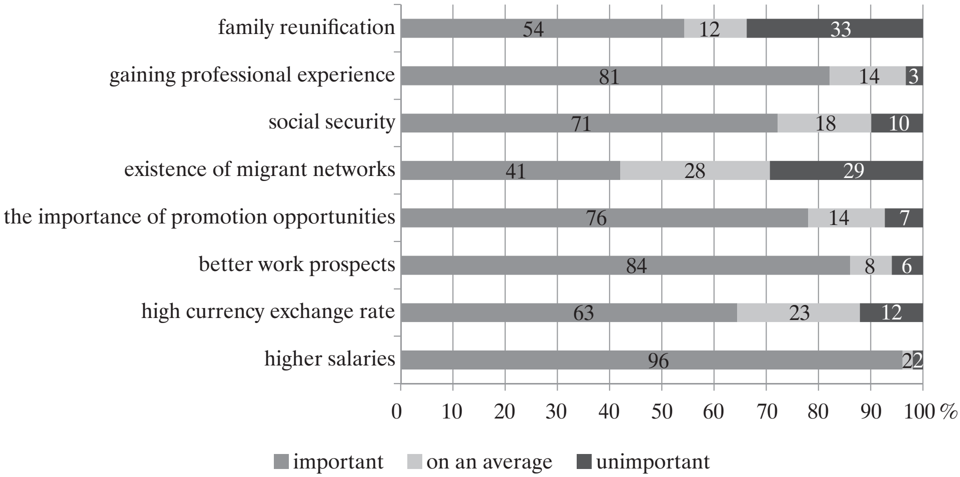

Fig. 2. Pull factors of nursing students surveyed

Source: own work.

Answers to the question "What push-factors for migration are important to you and how strong are they?" indicated that the main push factors were those of an economic nature. The respondents indicated low salaries as the key factor discouraging them to stay in Poland (it was declared by as much as 91% of the surveyed students) (Fig. 3).

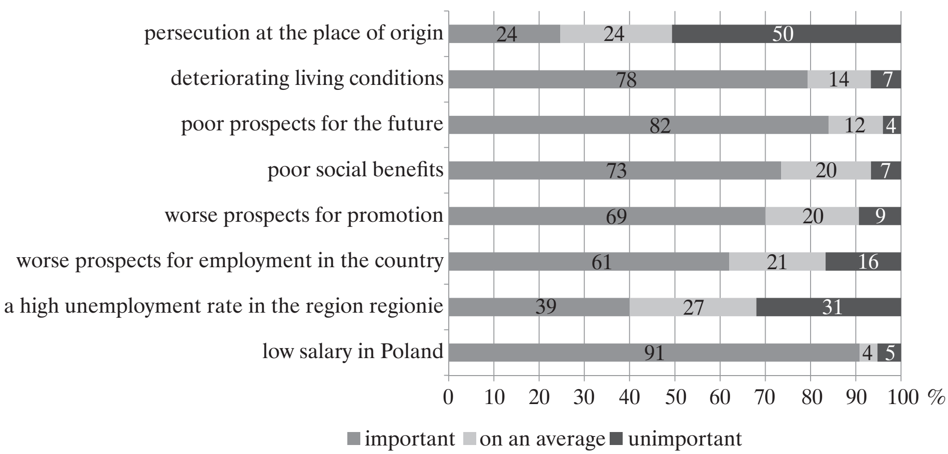

Fig. 3. Push factors for nursing students

Source: own work.

Poorer prospects for the future (declared by 82% of the respondents), deteriorating living conditions (78%), or poor social security (73%) also turned out to be important factors encouraging the students to leave Poland (push factors). Interestingly, persecution at the place of origin (25%) and high unemployment rate in the region (39%) appeared to be of least importance to the surveyed students, which is mainly due to the fact that unemployment practically does not occur in this occupational group.

To determine significant differences in the evaluation of the *pull* and *push* factors between the voivodeships studied, a table was developed with structural indicators determining the percentage of indications of these factors in the sample surveyed. The sample proportion (p_1, p_2) was computed as the ratio of questionnaire answers collected (when the factor was important to the respondent) to the number of nursing students in a given university representing a given voivodeship. The results of structural analysis are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Structural indicators of pull and push factors in the voivodeships studied

factors important to respondents	Pull factors							
	higher salaries	high currency exchange rate	better work prospects	the importance of promotion opportunities	existence of migrant networks	social security	gaining professional experience	family reunification
Structural indicator in the Lublin Voivodeship (p_1)	0.967	0.641	0.898	0.797	0.458	0.748	0.807	0.546
Structural indicator in the Masurian-WarmianVoivodeship (p_2)	0.938	0.656	0.719	0.719	0.281	0.625	0.875	0.531
The value of test statistics	0.753	–0.157	2.586	0.945	1.807	1.379	–0.892	-0.861
The value p	0.451	0.875	0.009	0.345	0.071	0.168	0.373	0.389
	Push factors							
factors important to respondents	low salary in Poland	high unemployment rate in the region	worse prospects for employment in the country	worse prospects for promotion	poor social benefits	poor prospects for the future	deteriorating living conditions	persecution at the place of origin
Structural indicator in the Lublin Voivodeship (p_1)	0.909	0.449	0.661	0.729	0.731	0.839	0.788	0.271
Structural indicator in the Masurian-WarmianVoivodeship (p_2)	0.906	0.219	0.469	0.594	0.75	0.844	0.813	0.156
The value of test statistics	0.052	0.356	1.985	0.478	0.216	–0.068	–0.31	1.339
The value p	0.958	0.018	0.047	0.139	0.829	0.945	0.757	0.181

Source: own calculation, based on the survey using Statistica software.

Table 7 presents the results of the determination of the percentage of importance of particular factors in the surveyed samples from the Lubelskie and Warmian-Masurian Voivodeships, together with statistics verifying the significance of equality of these percentages. Values of the likelihood of exceeding the test statistics point to a significant difference in structural indicators between the voivodeships studied for the following factors: better work prospects, high unemployment rate in my region, and worse prospects for employment in the country. Significantly higher values of indicators were noted for these variables in the case of respondents from the Lubelskie Voivodeship. Considering the fact that the structure of answers varied in both voivodeships, these three factors were eliminated from the comparative analysis. In the case of the other factors, no significant differences were noted in the analysed proportions.

Answers collected from the survey questionnaire allowed a comparison of the *pull* and *push* factors between the voivodeships (Fig. 4). In the case of the *pull* factors, the students from the Lubelskie Voivodeship declared the three most important pull-factors for migration to be: higher salaries (97%), gaining professional experience (81%), and better prospects for promotion (80%). Students from the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship declared the same factors but in different proportions: higher salaries (94%), gaining professional experience (88%), and better prospects for promotion (72%).

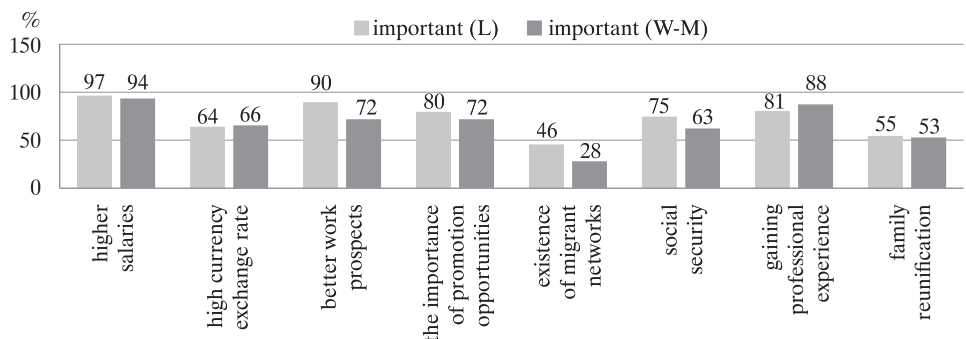

Fig. 4. Factors encouraging emigration according to the voivodships studied

Source: own work.

In addition, survey results demonstrate that high salaries in the destination country were important to students from both voivodeships. Relatively high differences between answers can be observed in the factor 'existence of migrant networks', which was almost two times more important to the students from the Lubelskie Voivodeship than from the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship.

The analysis of the *push* factors among the nursing students from both voivodeships shows that low salaries tend to be the most important push factor in both groups of respondents (Fig. 5).

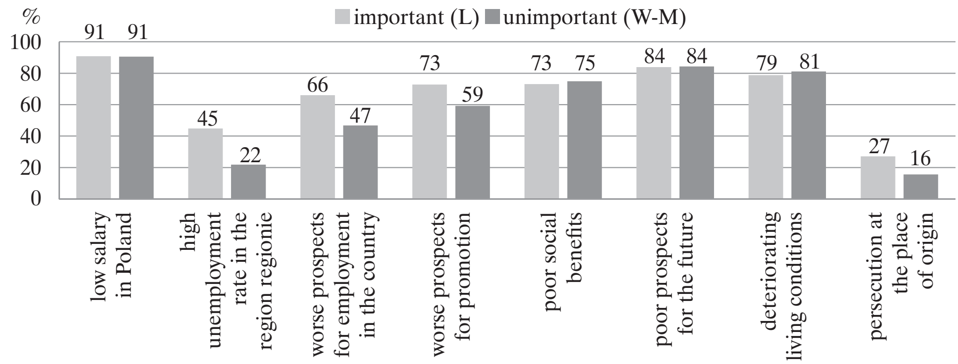

Fig. 5. Factors discouraging nursing students from staying in Poland (by voivodship surveyed)

Source: own work.

The most important push factors were the same for the respondents of both the Lubelskie and the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeships, and included: low salaries, deteriorating living conditions, and poorer prospects for promotion. The *push* factor "poor social security" was almost two times more important to the respondents from the Lubelskie Voivodeship than from the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship.

The respondents declared the importance of the existence of migrant networks, i.e. contacts with friends/relatives who had already emigrated. They provide support and assistance in solving a variety of problems, which new emigrants face in a new country. This may include help with formalities and looking for accommodation or a job. In addition, the results of the questionnaire survey demonstrate that one third of the respondents indicated the migration networks as a significant source of searching for a job (34% of the respondents). In turn, looking for a job through the Internet was a better solution to only 4% more of the students (38% of the respondents). Another solution included: browsing the industry press (18%) and browsing advertisements at the Labour Office (9%). It is an interesting observation, as the respondents are representatives of the Millennium Generation, who are definitely more comfortable with "virtual" than "real" contacts, while the Internet can also be assumed to be a specific type of network and interpersonal connection (e.g. social networking).

Conclusions

Earning decent salaries is a common need expected by employees. If the income from work in a country does not ensure the fulfilment of life needs, then the employee will look for other sources of income (also outside of the country). It is a relatively simple choice, especially since in the highly developed countries such as Finland, Switzerland, Great

Britain, Ireland, and Germany, the salaries of nurses are much higher than in Poland. Polish literature, foreign scientific literature and our own research conducted among nursing students show that low wages, poor working conditions, and low professional prestige are the factors motivating them to leave the country.

The greatest role in making the decision about migration is ascribed by the respondents to low salaries. This means that the level of remuneration in Poland does not seem satisfactory to the respondents. The average salary of a nurse is 95% of the average salary in Poland, compared to the salary of other specialists (e.g. doctors) representing 123% of the average salary in Poland (GUS, 2016c).

Survey results indicate that better conditions of employment and better promotional opportunities abroad play an important role in deciding to emigrate (90% of the respondents mention better employment conditions, while 80% mention better promotional opportunities as a very important factor in deciding to emigrate).

Migration networks play an important role in the migration process as well (34% of the respondents use the help of such networks when looking for a job abroad). In addition, young people increasingly often prefer virtual networks (Internet — 38%) to look for a job. This is a specific network of connections, based on social networks and virtual contact (video conferencing, chats, etc.). It seems that this type of contact will play an increasingly important role in migration networks.

The obtained results of the survey indicate that economic factors are the most important to the respondents. These are the causes of migration: higher salaries and achieving a higher standard of living. In order to stop the migration of nurses, it would be necessary to increase their salaries and improve their working conditions. On the one hand, it would seem that these conclusions do not bring anything new, as this problem has often been addressed in the literature on the subject. However, they point to other important problems: the lack of an effective remedy programme, and the underfunding of health care and nursing salaries (salaries below the national average). The salaries of nurses promised after the announced payroll raises did not exceed the average salary in Poland. This level of salary is therefore not satisfactory enough to become a reason for giving up the thought of leaving the country for work. Still, despite reported staff shortages and the need for the work of nurses, hospitals do not have the financial or legal means to attract them, for example through payroll negotiations. Therefore, the only way to compete for an employee (nurse) in the health services market involves non-economic factors, such as creating a better work environment. This may, however, prove insufficient to stop the emigration of nurses, especially the young ones who enter the profession, and have no family obligations, but have the need to provide themselves with adequate living facilities (for example, a flat). Their emigration will not improve the situation in the healthcare system. It can only contribute to deterioration in the quality of healthcare, especially if their shortage will cause the closing of hospital wards.

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The Police and Local Community Safety: an Assessment by School-Age Youth

Abstract

Local public safety consists in ensuring that members of a given local community lead their lives in safety, using both lawful and legal means. The Police, being the organ specifically vested with this responsibility, especially with regards to crime, exercises direct control over a given local community. The aim of the article is to examine whether the results of police work appraisal by the minors could influence the behaviour of the assessors.

The hypothesis presented in the article tests the existence of a correlation between the opinions regarding police work by juvenile respondents and their motivations to engage in reprehensible acts, including contacts with drugs.

Analysis of the results of the survey, "The International Self-Report Delinquency Study (ISRD-3)", conducted in 2017 on a sample of over 2,000 pupils of the last grades

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of elementary schools and the first and second grades of lower secondary schools in two Polish municipalities: Rzeszów and Białystok show that there exist statistically significant relationships between negative perceptions of the police by minors and their demoralising behaviours.

Key words: local community safety; police; community police officers; school-age youth; demoralization

Introduction

The physical space that defines one's place of residence pervades the local community's social space as most of the community's life needs are taken care of in the local institutions. The socialization of the geographical space is, thus, accomplished (Lipińska, 2019). Therefore, the district's status (life quality), "pathological" or "exclusive" does not only impact on living standards, but also shapes patterns of education for the younger generation.

Given the increasing pathological behaviours observed amongst the final year pupils of all types of schools, numerous studies are being conducted to assess the reasons, scale and dynamics of the social pathology phenomena in juveniles, and how various social risks in contemporary school-age adolescents are combated by the police units responsible for the public safety of particular local communities (Moczuk, 2016). From the sociological and social policy points of view, it does seem appropriate to undertake a deeper study of the not often researched issues relating to police work by unruly youth that often engage with these organs.

The aim of the article is to examine whether the results of police work appraisal by the minors could influence the behaviour of the assessors. The subject of the analysis is to indicate how the work of the police in charge of the local community safety is perceived by school-age youth, who have engaged in contacts with police authorities in Białystok and Rzeszów. The article characterizes the school-age youth that have had contacts with the police, based on the criteria of sex, age and local specificity.

Based on the empirical studies, the following research hypothesis was tested, namely observing victims of social pathology and the low evaluation of police work by school-age youths of the local community and its correlation with their indulgence in committing undesirable social acts.

This hypothesis has been verified based on the results of empirical research conducted by means of a survey method, using the technique of surveying in the final years of primary school, as well as in the first and second years of junior secondary schools in Białystok and Rzeszów, using the electronic questionnaire tool.

The article describes the activities of the Police regarding safety in the local community. The results of the self-authored survey indicate a correlation between the assessment of police work in pathological neighbourhoods and the demoralizing behaviours of the school-age youth residing there.

Local community police work aimed at ensuring safety

Safety is a concept referring to the certainty of an individual's survival, existence and operation, both in the individual and social context, provided that some requirements are satisfied. Safety is not a permanent state, given once and for all. It depends on factors that influence it, including risks existing in its external environment, whether natural or social (Moczuk, 2013a). The complexity of the process of studying safety results from the linearity of its components, their variation, dynamics and hierarchical structure. In addition, the fact that the discipline has emerged only recently there is a lack of recognised research methodology (Jaroczkin, 2000; Kardaszowa, 2005; Korzeniowski, 2008; Moczuk, 2013b; Pastorczak, 1984; Skvrnda, 2003; Szopa, 1998; Wozżenikow, 2002).

The area of safety analysed in this paper is the perception of safety by members of a given local community. Local safety operates at the level of a local community, characterized by such factors that are necessary for its existence: a common area, social interactions and interactions between the residents (Odoj, 2007).

Local safety "is a condition within a locality, regulated by a set of legal and non-legal norms, the observance of which enables normal coexistence of the people in such a locality in a particular place and time" (Płowucha, 1995). Local safety consists in ensuring, with lawful and legal means, that members of a given local community may lead their normal lives, being protected from crime and other dangers which may appear in such a community. The objective of local safety is to ensure appropriate standards of living at the local level, by minimising the natural, economic and social threats (Moczuk, 2009).

The understanding of local safety is also influenced by other factors (Moczuk & Leśniak-Moczuk, 2016), including the way the media present and comment criminal and "para-criminal" acts, extremism, terrorism, organized crime, economic fraud and crime, illegal drug-related crime, cyber-crime (Ostaszewski, 2014), the delinquency related to the on-going globalization process, the development of a networking society dependent on the IT and digital technologies, as well as the emergence of the new forms of political influence on states (Łabuz, 2015). Local safety, hence the residents' sense of safety, is one of major types of safety to be found in contemporary world (Bratton, 1999; Smolak, 2015). It determines the comfort of living by shaping the local ties and social identities as it is an endogenous factor of development (Grobelny, 2007).

The bodies responsible for local safety are both the local government and the police. The police create the conditions for the citizens to feel safe through crime prevention, i.e. by undertaking activities that make it impossible or more difficult to embark on criminal acts, thus increasing the individual safety by eliminating the sense of fear of becoming victims of crime (Moczuk & Bajda, 2015; Spelman & Eck 1989; Trojanowicz & Carter, 1988).

The tasks of the police in the field of combating dysfunctional phenomena of the youth are regulated in sections 3, 4, 7 of the Regulation No. 1619 of the Police Commander in Chief (KGP) of November 3, 2010, regarding the methods and ways of performing tasks by police officers in the area of combating demoralization and juvenile delinquency as well as actions taken in respect of minors (Journal of Laws of KGP of 2010 No. 11, item 64), which refers to Art. 7 section 1 point 2 of the Act of April 6, 1990 of the Police (Journal of Laws of 2020, items 360, 956, 1610). One of the strategies of the Police for local safety is Community policing, which is a system of cooperation between the Police and the local community (Działoszyński, 2012). It is a “new philosophy” of policing (Kappeler & Gaines, 2011), which includes the following components: a) creating trust for effective partnership with the society, b) employing tactics and strategies in resolving issues, c) changing the police organizational structure and mentality in support of the Police in-house transformations (Miller et al., 2014). Crime prevention involves all direct actions of the state and social institutions as well as the citizens aimed at preventing or hindering criminal actions, improving individual safety by eliminating the fear of becoming a victim and, in consequence, improving the quality of life (Moczuk & Bajda, 2016). As part of preventive activities, the Police cooperate with schools to prevent the demoralization of minors. The basic legal provision regulating the codes of conduct by the police with juvenile perpetrators of criminal acts is the Act of 26 October, 1982 on proceedings in juvenile cases (Journal of Laws of 2018, item 969), where the Police, pursuant to Art. 37 of the Act, in urgent cases, collects and records evidence of criminal acts, if necessary, apprehends minors, as well as performs activities commissioned by a family judge. An internal document specifying these rules is the Order of the Police Commander in Chief No. 1619 of November 3, 2010 on the methods and ways of performance of tasks by police officers in the field of combating demoralisation and juvenile delinquency as well as activities undertaken in respect of minors (Journal of Laws of the Police Headquarters of 2010, No. 11, item 64).

Crime statistics (records) remain the main source of information on juvenile delinquency, and one of the best-known methods of studying the scale of crime is by analysing the dynamics of juvenile delinquency (KGP Monthly Statistical Bulletins). Specific crime maps are thus created using available statistical data (https://www.policja.pl/). Juvenile delinquency is one of the unfavourable social phenomena that have emerged in Poland in recent times. Currently, this crime has hit levels never attained previously, and criminologists, sociologists, psychologists, educators and representatives of other sciences are making all efforts to find the causes of youth criminal behaviour (Moczuk & Bajda, 2016). Studies have shown that the phenomena are dependent on particular local circumstances, prevailing in specific local realities that are rooted in the socialisation process existing in primary groups (families, peer groups) (Moczuk, 2003). The youth who come in with the work of the Police do have specific expectations regarding the image of the Police. These include being specific in their actions, direct in respect of law breakers, actions taken should be relevant to a given situation, quick response, professionalism, a sense of trust and security, education, culture and respect for law-abiding citizens, complying with its provisions (Jaworski, 2015). Sociological studies conducted by CBOS in Poland have confirmed the increased assessment of police work in recent years. The findings from the studies conducted in March 2020 indicate that 80% of respondents assessed the activities of the Police as very positive, the best of such results compared to September 1990 (https://policja.pl/pol/aktualnosci/). Such assessments are most often performed by the district responsible for ensuring local security.

The Police is responsible for gathering knowledge concerning their service area, including the territory, the people, and events that influence levels of public safety and order. They perform social prevention tasks, prosecute perpetrators of crimes and offences, verify the observance of legal regulations, both general and local, learn about the interpersonal relationship in order to "penetrate" the structure of a given community (Gontarzewski, 2007). The residents of the area supervised by a community police officer expect him/her to ensure their safety through crime-preventing activities, prosecuting offenders and responding quickly to risky situations (Jaworska & Stefański, 2007), hence they want to have direct contacts with him/her. Consequently, a community police officer should know the residents, their expectations and should co-operate with them (Cielecki, 2004).

Optimally, community police officers should live in their service neighbourhoods, rather than arrive to work there, as being part of the given local community they would understand its specificity and problems. They ought to maintain contacts with residents through blogs and social medias, serving in a given district for a longer time, rather than being frequently moved to other police units. They should be recognisable persons and given *ex officio* seats on the neighbourhood or district collegial bodies, be conversant with issues vital to the community, be present in hypermarkets, pubs and clubs, at public events, festivities, parties and church celebrations. In this way, the community police officer engages in performing "a new mission" in their local environments (Clarke & Eck, 2003; Działoszyński 2012; Kappeler & Gaines 2011; Miller et al., 2014; Moczuk, 2013c; Stefański, 2007).

Empirical research methodology

Empirical studies were conducted as part of the international project ISRD-3: The International Self-Report Delinquency Study, presenting the image of the juveniles' involvement in demoralizing behaviours. The ISRD-3, which comprises of 35 countries worldwide, presents the circumstances and motivations of minors involved in dysfunctional behaviours, including addiction and crime, as both victims and perpetrators. The main goal of the ISRD project is to observe and compare the differences, similarities and trends in juvenile delinquency and victimization of minors in selected cities in countries covered by the study.

The field research was conducted on a sample of pupils in the final years of primary school, as well as in the first and second years of junior secondary schools in Białystok and Rzeszów. The selected cities met the criteria of medium or large cities as defined by a given country as required in the ISRD project. They are located in culturally different regions that determine the processes of socialization and upbringing of the young generation, which is an appropriate basis for comparing variables influencing dysfunctional behaviours of school pupils in the ISRD-3 project.

The research applied the diagnostic survey method, consisting in collecting facts, information, statistical data on the state and dynamics of development of structural and functional phenomena. As a research technique, a questionnaire was used in this study, with the questionnaire tool consisting of questions relating to the purpose of the research, together with a cafeteria of the proposed answers, from which the respondent independently selected relevant answers.

The participating pupils indicated their levels of participation in the following manifestations of demoralization, namely Internet piracy (movies, music), causing injury to animals, drawing graffiti, carrying a gun, shoplifting, stealing without violence, participation in a fight in a public place, vandalism, robbery car, threatening to collect money, beating causing injury, bicycle theft, drug sale, burglary, motor or car theft, contact with drugs such as alcohol, marijuana / hashish, soft drugs, Relevin, hard "drugs".

The results of the research constitute a reliable source of information as the survey was carried out with particular care for the anonymity of the respondents. Each school received a scheduled deadlines and instructions for conducting the survey. Links to on-line versions were generated for one day only. The presence of teachers in the computer labs for the entire period while the pupils were filling in the questionnaires was ensured. On the completion of the study, having been filled information was immediately sent to the survey organisers, "SAF", informing them that the pupils were focused and that questions were answered independently.

Team selection, which is a part of the probabilistic scheme was applied for selecting the research sample. The research sample was drawn from the general population, consisting of all grades VI of primary as well as 1st and 2nd classes of secondary schools in Białystok and Rzeszów.

Within the framework of the ISRD-3 delinquency study, a sample made of 92 schools in both cities was selected (51 in Białystok and 41 in Rzeszów). The sample obtained out of the entire pupil population in these towns was 4,572 pupils. A response rate of 40% was adopted as the survey was implemented in the last week of the school year, when the filling in of online questionnaires by pupils could be achieved in the computer labs without disrupting the schools' timetables. Since there was a high rate of absenteeism, the research team established a proportionately larger sample so that the desired number of completed and returned questionnaires is achieved.

A total of 2,179 respondents, consisting of 1033 pupils in Białystok and 1146 in Rzeszów participated in filling out the questionnaires. The electronic version of the questionnaire survey made up approximately 0.5% of the pupil population.

After conducting the survey, the collected data was adapted for suitability of analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Statistical calculations of survey data, using this program were carried out. The interdependence of variables was tested using the chi^2 chi-square independence test.

Analysis of School Pupils' Appraisal of Police Activities in Local Communities

In order to verify the thesis formulated for the needs of this paper appropriate questionnaire questions were selected (the questionnaire question numbers are given in brackets in the tables below). The analysis of the results obtained is presented in the following section. The correlations have been marked as follows: strongest ones (p close to 0.00) — ***; medium level ones — **; weakest ones (p close to 0.05) — *. The tables show the correlation coefficient r_{pb}, (Pearson's) together with the evaluation of its statistical significance. The * symbol signifies the significant correlations at level 0.05; the darker the colour, the stronger the statistical significance.

Table 1. Pupils' contacts with the police

Contacts with the police	Count	Per cent
no	2053	94.2% (96.1%)
yes	84	3.9% (3.9%)
no answer	42	1.9%

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Approximately 4% of the pupils polled have had contacts with the police due to their delinquent behaviour. Approximately 2% of those polled failed to answer the question. This is not a high rate, but given that they are juveniles in legal terms (12–15 years old), any number of such police interventions should raise concern and result in the need to take preventive measures.

Table 2. Pupils' contacts with the police, by sex

Contacts with the police	Sex ($p = 0.0479$*)		Total
	Girls	Boys	
no	1057 (96.9%)	996 (95.2%)	2053
yes	34 (3.1%)	50 (4.8%)	84
Total	1091	1046	2137

Source: The authors' own research and calculations.

The risk of the contacts with the police is higher amongst the boys. This difference has a low level of statistical significance, not as large as one would expect (4.8 vs. 3.1%) given the habitus according to which males come into conflict with the law more often than females. Changes regarding norms of behaviour are a symptom of the social anomaly during periods of transformation and on-going globalization, providing for multicultural contacts and a networking society, that enable virtual diffusion of cultures in the cyberspace.

Table 3. Pupils' contacts with the police, by age

Contacts with the police	Age (p = 0.0001***)				Total
	12 years old	13 years old	14 years old	15 years old	
no	349 (98.9%)	639 (97.0%)	602 (96.0%)	463 (93.0%)	2053
yes	4 (1.1%)	20 (3.0%)	25 (4.0%)	35 (7.0%)	84
Total	353	659	627	498	2137

Source: Authors' own research and calculations.

Age is the factor which evidently determines the occurrence of school pupils' contacts with the police due to delinquent acts. The most prominent is the group of 15-year-olds: 7% of whom had had contacts with the police. This figure for the youngest (12-year-old) category of respondents is 1.1%.

Table 4. Pupils' contacts with the police, by region

Contacts with the police	Town (p = 0.0018**)		Total
	Białystok	Rzeszów	
no	963 (94.7%)	1090 (97.3%)	2053
yes	54 (5.3%)	30 (2.7%)	84
Total	1017	1120	2137

Source: Authors' own research and calculations.

The juveniles in the Podlaskie province have more contacts with the police than those in Podkarpackie province. The difference is 2.6 percentage points, which is a medium level of statistical significance.

The amount of time taken by the Police to reach a caller to undertake an intervention was taken into account in assessing the work of the Police. This factor was correlated with variables indicating pupils' illegal behaviours.

Table 5. Correlation between the police response time following the call and the pupils' delinquent behaviours

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	Police response time following the call (10.2)
graffiti drawing	–0.10*
vandalism	–0.03
shoplifting	0.01
burglary	–0.06
bicycle theft	–0.14*
motorcycle or car theft	–0.08*
stealing from a car	–0.08*
making threats to extort money	–0.06
non-violent theft	–0.05
carrying arms	–0.08*
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.11*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	0.00
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.06
drug dealing	–0.01
injuring an animal	–0.18*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 6. Correlation between the police response time following the call and pupils' use of alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	Police response time following the call (10.2)
alcohol	–0.14*
marijuana/hashish	–0.11*
sedatives and hypnotics	–0.01
soft drugs	–0.13*
hard drugs	–0.09*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The promptness of arrival of the police at the crime scene or burglary in the vicinity of the respondent's place of residence was mildly related to the probability of success of assessment of actions undertaken by minors who are in conflict with the law. Only slight correlations were observed in respect of some specific offenses. The observed relationships between police mobility, assessed as the speed of reaction of officers to a call for intervention, and the risk of juveniles engaging in crime-culpable illegal behaviours, and the frequency of contact with alcohol and drugs, may be of a two-way nature. Due to the fact that most of the analysed dependencies have very low levels of correlation, it is not possible to draw conclusions concerning the existence of cause-and-effect relationships based on such findings.

Table 7. Correlation between being treated with respect by the police and the youth's delinquent behaviour

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	The police treat young people with respect (10.3)
graffiti drawing	–0.18*
vandalism	–0.13*
shoplifting	0.00
burglary	–0.04
bicycle theft	–0.06
motorcycle or car theft	–0.03
stealing from a car	–0.06
making threats to extort money	–0.06
non-violent theft	–0.09*
carrying arms	–0.09*
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.13*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	–0.04
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.05
drug dealing	–0.09*
injuring an animal	–0.19*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 8. Correlation between being treated with respect by the police and the use of alcohol and drugs by juveniles

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	The police treat young people with respect (10.3)
alcohol	–0.15*
marijuana/hashish	–0.16*
sedatives and hypnotics	–0.04
soft drugs	–0.09*
hard drugs	–0.04

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Both the correlation coefficient r_{pb} and its statistical significance assessment examine the relationship between the treatment of juveniles by the police and dysfunctional behaviour by juveniles. The data analysis shows that opinions held by pupils on how they are treated by the police is of varied significance with their engagement in illegal behaviour as well as in the use of drugs. The strongest correlations were in respect of drawing graffiti, vandalism, non-violent theft, carrying weapons, participating in fights in public places, selling and using drugs at school, injuring animals and reaching for alcohol and illegal psychoactive substances.

Table 9. Correlation between being treated fairly by the police and the delinquent behaviour of juveniles

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	The police treat young people fairly (10.4)
graffiti drawing	–0.12*
vandalism	–0.10*
shoplifting	–0.01
burglary	–0.04
bicycle theft	–0.08*
motorcycle or car theft	–0.06
stealing from a car	–0.09*
making threats to extort money	–0.09*
non-violent theft	–0.05
carrying arms	–0.07
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.13*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	–0.03
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.04
drug dealing	–0.09*
injuring an animal	–0.18*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 10. Correlation between being treated fairly by the police and the use of alcohol and drugs by the juveniles

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	The police treat young people fairly (10.4)
alcohol	–0.09*
marijuana/hashish	–0.14*
sedatives and hypnotics	–0.03
soft drugs	–0.10*
hard drugs	–0.05

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The correlation coefficient r_{pb} and its statistical significance illustrates the relationship between the fair treatment of juvenile delinquents by the police and the undertaking of dysfunctional behaviours by minors. The strongest correlations concern doing graffiti, vandalism, bicycle theft, car theft, extortion, participating in fight in public places, selling and using drugs at school, injuring animals, alcohol abuse and use of illegal psychoactive substances.

Table 11. Correlation between minors' knowledge of police actions, including their approaches to persons involved in dysfunctional behaviour and their delinquent behaviour

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	Police activities are explained to young people (10.5)
graffiti drawing	–0.12*
vandalism	–0.05
shoplifting	–0.03
burglary	–0.08
bicycle theft	–0.05
motorcycle or car theft	–0.07
stealing from a car	–0.10*
making threats to extort money	–0.08
non-violent theft	–0.04
carrying arms	–0.11*
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.12*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	–0.01
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.07
drug dealing	–0.05
injuring an animal	–0.08*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 12. Correlation between knowledge that minors have about police actions, including behaviour towards persons engaging in dysfunctional behaviour, and their use of alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	Police activities are explained to young people (10.5)
alcohol	–0.10*
marijuana/hashish	–0.09*
sedatives and hypnotics	0.00
soft drugs	–0.07
hard drugs	–0.02

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The correlation coefficient r_{pb} and its statistical significance shows the relationship between higher knowledge about the actions and behaviours of the police towards persons undertaking dysfunctional behaviours and the undertaking of such behaviour by minors. The higher the knowledge minors have about the actions and behaviour of the police towards people who engage in dysfunctional behaviour, the lower the risk of them engaging in illegal behaviour. Higher knowledge about the actions and behaviours of the police towards persons undertaking dysfunctional behaviour is related to the refraining of persons from committing prohibited acts. The strongest correlations concern drawing graffiti, robbing a car, carrying weapons, participating in a fight in a public place, injuring animals and reaching for alcohol and illegal psychoactive substances.

Table 13. Correlation between the obligation to comply with police orders in given situations by minors, and their delinquent behaviour

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	Obligation to obey the police in any situation (10.6)
graffiti drawing	–0.17*
vandalism	–0.19*
shoplifting	–0.04
burglary	–0.04
bicycle theft	–0.08*
motorcycle or car theft	–0.04
stealing from a car	–0.10*
making threats to extort money	–0.09*
non-violent theft	–0.10*
carrying arms	–0.12*
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.12*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	–0.02
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.06
drug dealing	–0.15*
injuring an animal	–0.22*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 14. Correlation between the obligation to comply with police orders in given situations by minors, and their use of alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	Obligation to obey the police in any situation (10.6)
alcohol	–0.18*
marijuana/hashish	–0.23*
sedatives and hypnotics	–0.02
soft drugs	–0.09*
hard drugs	–0.07

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The correlation coefficient r_{pb} and its statistical significance presents the relationship between the knowledge of minors' obligation to obey police orders in certain situations, and their dysfunctional behaviour. Higher awareness of minors that they are obliged to obey police orders in certain situations is related to the existence of a lower risk of illegal behaviour by minors. The strongest correlations concern drawing graffiti, vandalism, bicycle theft, car theft, threats to extort money, carrying weapons, participating in a fight in a public place, selling and using drugs at school, injuring animals and reaching for alcohol and illegal psychoactive substances.

Table 15. Correlation between minors' attitudes towards the police and their delinquent behaviour

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	The police share young people's values	The police understand young people	I support the police activities
graffiti drawing	–0.16*	–0.17*	–0.23*
vandalism	–0.18*	–0.17*	–0.19*
shoplifting	–0.04	–0.01	–0.06
burglary	–0.09*	–0.09*	–0.14*
bicycle theft	–0.10*	–0.06	–0.09*
motorcycle or car theft	–0.09*	–0.04	–0.06
stealing from a car	–0.07	–0.06	–0.05
making threats to extort money	–0.09*	–0.12*	–0.15*
non-violent theft	–0.08*	–0.08*	–0.07
carrying arms	–0.17*	–0.17*	–0.17*
getting into a fight in a public place	–0.13*	–0.09*	–0.17*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	0.00	–0.06	–0.10*
internet piracy (films, music)	–0.25*	–0.28*	–0.17*
drug dealing	–0.06	–0.09*	–0.16*
injuring an animal	–0.10*	–0.08*	–0.10*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 16. Correlation between minors' attitude towards the police and their use of alcohol and drugs

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	The police share young people's values	The police understand young people	I support the police activities
alcohol	–0.15*	–0.15*	–0.16*
marijuana/hashish	–0.08*	–0.01	–0.15*
sedatives and hypnotics	–0.03	0.00	–0.04
soft drugs	–0.03	0.03	–0.11*
hard drugs	0.00	0.00	–0.10*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The minors' positive attitudes towards the police are related to their less frequent engagement in dysfunctional behaviours, drinking alcohol and taking drugs by the youth. The value of the correlation coefficients for internet piracy is as high as 0.28. Correlation coefficients for graffiti (0.23), vandalism (0.19) or carrying of weapons (0.17), using alcohol (0.16) and illegal psychoactive substances (0.15–0.10) are also high.

Table 17. Correlation between bribe-taking among the police and the delinquent behaviour by minors

Delinquent behaviour (7.1)	Bribe-taking among the police (10.8)
graffiti drawing	0.13*
vandalism	0.16*
shoplifting	0.05
burglary	0.08*
bicycle theft	0.09*
motorcycle or car theft	0.08*
stealing from a car	0.10*
making threats to extort money	0.17*
non-violent theft	0.08*
carrying arms	0.18*
getting into a fight in a public place	0.15*
battery resulting in grave bodily injury	0.13*
internet piracy (films, music)	0.12*
drug dealing	0.13*
injuring an animal	0.11*

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

Table 18. Correlation between bribe-taking among the police and the use of alcohol and drugs by minors

Alcohol and drugs (8.1-8.5)	Bribe-taking among the police (10.8)
alcohol	0.12*
marijuana/hashish	0.14*
sedatives and hypnotics	0.06
soft drugs	0.06
hard drugs	0.05

Source: Authors' own research and analysis.

The minors' positive attitudes towards the police are related to their less frequent engagement in dysfunctional behaviours, drinking alcohol and taking drugs. The value of the correlation coefficients for internet piracy is as high as 0.28. Correlation coefficients for graffiti (0.23), vandalism (0.19), or carrying weapons (0.17), drinking alcohol (0.16) and illegal psychoactive substances (0.15–0.10) are also high).

Conclusions

The appraisal of the degree of safety in the locality is not only important from the perspective of the comfort of living but also as a factor determining the young generation's behaviour, since the interpersonal contacts in environments threatened with social pathologies shape the awareness and also encourage juveniles to imitate delinquent behaviour. The necessary intervention of public safety institutions, e.g. the police, in the local environment may be a consequence of the demoralization of young people brought up in families that do not live up to their educational responsibilities.

Due to violations of local safety by the school pupils covered by the study, it is necessary for the police to conduct delinquency prevention activities focused on the adolescent population, with the aim to prevent risks, demoralization and pathology in the young generation. If the demoralisation symptoms occur in youngsters, intervention is undertaken by community police officers. In their particular service districts, community police officers are representatives, rather than executors of the law. Hence, local communities expect them to ensure safety. How this function is performed by community police officers has been subject to the appraisal of adolescents in order to verify the thesis that the method applied by community police officers and the quality of their interactions with the residents of the neighbourhoods supervised by them may influence the young generation's behaviour.

The hypothesis concerning the relationship between being a victim of social pathology and assessing the work of the police in their neighbourhoods by minors, including engagements in socially undesirable acts by these youths was tested using a questionnaire survey.

Positive opinions of the juvenile respondents concerning police activities coexisted with their deterrence to commit reprehensible acts and having to do with drugs. The relationship between the negative perception of police activities and the demoralization of minors was demonstrated. The relationships between all the parameters of the police assessment and the majority of evidences of demoralization of minors are at the level of statistical significance. The results of the research showed statistically significant dependencies of regional differentiations at average levels, gender at a low level and age at a high level in respect of the evidences of demoralization of the surveyed pupils, including their contacts with police personnel.

The correlations between all the parameters of the police work appraisal and the majority of evidences of juvenile demoralization attained statistically significant levels. The results of the study show statistically significant correlations between respondents' demoralization and their contacts with the police relative to regional variation (a medium level), sex (a low level) and age (a high level).

The results of the research presented in this paper justify the need to pay more attention to the appointment of police officers for community patrols, especially with regards to their education, values and moral principles cherished by them, and their politeness. This important in modern societies as they perform an important mission of ensuring the safety of local communities through cooperation with local authorities, school institutions and citizens.

Local education supervisory authorities are in possession of knowledge concerning the demoralization of minors, based on available statistics and reports from organs responsible for local safety and public order. However, in order to undertake prophylactic actions information concerning pupils' motivations and the circumstances of their engagement prohibited acts is needed. Such knowledge is provided by empirical surveys.

The research findings obtained are useful both to exercise effective pedagogical supervision that meets current needs, and to make educational decisions. Ultimately, this project aims to build scientific frameworks for improving children's lives and also to implement measures aimed at preventing social pathology.

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REVIEWS

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Wyższa Szkoła Finansów i Zarządzania w Białymstoku[1]

O fundamentach niemieckiego rynku pracy

Michał Moszyński, Zenon Wiśniewski,
Polityka rynku pracy w Społecznej Gospodarce Rynkowej Niemiec,

Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu,
Toruń 2020, 268 s.

Problematyka rynku pracy w Niemczech należy do kluczowych i jednocześnie fascynujących tematów badań współczesnej polityki gospodarczej. Tylko dla przypomnienia: jeszcze na początku XXI w. zjednoczone Niemcy określane były w publikacjach światowych, szczególnie anglosaskich, jako „chory człowiek" Europy. To mało zaszczytne określenie Niemcy przejęły zresztą po Wielkiej Brytanii, która kilkanaście lat wcześniej, w przededniu rządów premier Margaret Thatcher, była tak właśnie oceniana. W obu krajach przesądzały o tym niskie stopy wzrostu gospodarczego oraz idące z tym w parze rosnące z roku na rok stopy bezrobocia. Określenia „chory człowiek Europy" używał zresztą jeszcze wcześniej, pod koniec XIX w. car Wszechrosji, Nikołaj II, w odniesieniu do znajdującego się wówczas w procesie stopniowego rozkładu Imperium Osmańskiego. Wielką zaletą recenzowanego opracowania jest to, że autorzy — znani i uznani eksperci w zakresie funkcjonowania

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gospodarki niemieckiej — zdecydowali się odejść od ściśle analitycznego potraktowania tematu niemieckiego rynku pracy, co umożliwiałaby im oczywiście większa niż dostateczna ilość różnych statystyk i opracowań ściśle empirycznych. Rynek pracy w Niemczech był i jest bowiem wszechstronnie empirycznie „rozpracowany". Autorzy, nawiązując do holistycznego sposobu myślenia ordoliberalizmu, zdecydowali się jednak na ustawienie wywodów w ramach koncepcji Społecznej Gospodarki Rynkowej (SGR) związanej z nazwiskami jej twórców Waltera Euckena, Alfreda Müllera-Armacka i przede wszystkim architekta zachodnioniemieckiego „cudu gospodarczego" lat 1948–1966 Ludwiga Erharda, ministra i później kanclerza federalnego.

W monografii kwestie intelektualnych korzeni niemieckiej SGR i jej świadomego konstruowania środkami polityki ładu gospodarczego po drugiej wojnie światowej omawiane są w pierwszym, wprowadzającym rozdziale. Zamieszczono tu również próbę ulokowania współczesnego modelu społeczno-gospodarczego Niemiec na „mapie" odmian kapitalizmów. Dzięki zebraniu najważniejszych koncepcji teoretycznych Autorzy ukazują możliwości sięgnięcia po inne — poza ordoliberalizmem i SGR — narracje i tworzenia alternatywnych interpretacji.

Rozdział drugi sprowadza te bardziej ogólne rozważania na obszar rynku pracy. Zostają tu zaprezentowane teoretyczne argumenty za podejmowaniem interwencji na tym rynku oraz omówione poglądy na politykę rynku pracy formułowane przez ordoliberałów i czołowych ideologów SGR. W dalszej kolejności rynek pracy i polityka traktowane są jako arena, z perspektywy której analizuje się ewolucję niemieckiego modelu społeczno-gospodarczego od jego budowy w latach powojennych aż do zjednoczenia kraju.

Niemcy przeżyły na rynku pracy począwszy od roku 1990 prawdziwy szok wewnętrzny, „szok zjednoczeniowy". We wschodniej części kraju (byłej NRD) spadkowi produkcji przemysłowej w latach 1991/1992 o około 50% towarzyszyła, z niewielkim opóźnieniem, redukcja zatrudnienia o 30%. Załamanie produkcji i zatrudnienia na terenie byłej NRD było głębsze niż w Rzeszy Niemieckiej w latach Wielkiego Kryzysu 1929–1933. Wiele młodszych i wysoko wykwalifikowanych osób przeszło w pierwszych latach po zjednoczeniu kraju na ciągle wówczas jeszcze chłonny rynek pracy zachodnich krajów federalnych. Z wynikającym z tego zamieszaniem, a także i sporą porcją chaosu skonfrontowana została polityka rządu federalnego kanclerza Helmuta Kohla, mająca za fundament teoretyczny wywodzącą się z pierwszych lat powojennych, opartą na ordoliberalizmie, koncepcję Społecznej Gospodarki Rynkowej (SGR). Już z poznawczej perspektywy jest interesujące, jak polityka gospodarcza mająca za bazę teoretyczną koncepcję eksponującą konkurencję rynkową, długi horyzont czasowy, stabilność oraz równowagę gospodarczą i społeczną uporała się z transformacyjnym chaosem okresu pozjednoczeniowego. Autorzy udzielają na to pytanie odpowiedzi w rozdziale trzecim, w którym analizują procesy zjednoczeniowe z perspektywy rynku pracy i polityki na nim prowadzonej, jak również szkicują alternatywne strategie integracyjne i ich potencjalne konsekwencje. Konstatują, że „…problemy zatrudnieniowe, spowodowane niewystarczającą stopą wzrostu gospodarczego, nie mogą być rozwiązane przez instrumenty polityki rynku pracy" (s. 107), gdyż jej instrumentarium nie jest dostosowane do skutecznego oddziaływania na rynek pracy w warunkach permanentnego niedoboru miejsc zatrudnienia, co ewidentnie miało miejsce w okresie kryzysu transformacyjnego i w całych latach 90. w byłej NRD.

Dalszym interesującym pytaniem — stawianym też przez Autorów monografii — jest, jak stało się możliwe, że zjednoczone Niemcy z ich polityką uporządkowanego liberalizmu osiągnęły po kilkunastu latach ewidentny sukces i z „chorego człowieka" Europy lat 90. XX stulecia przekształciły się w drugiej dekadzie XXI w., według określenia literatury anglosaskiej, w „ekonomiczną supergwiazdę"[2]. Z wynikających z tego doświadczeń i analizy autorów można i należy wyciągnąć dalej sięgające wnioski. Chodzi o poszukiwanie także sposobu podejścia polityki społeczno-gospodarczej do niezrównoważonej w sensie społecznym i ekonomicznym, chaotycznej i niebezpiecznej, współczesnej gospodarki i społeczeństw. Dotyczy to zarówno skali europejskiej, ale także i wymiaru światowego. W omawianej monografii Autorzy przyjęli założenie, że gruntowne reformy rynku pracy i zabezpieczenia społecznego, prowadzone w latach 2003–2005 pod hasłem „wspierać, ale wymagać" (a omawiane w rozdziale czwartym), można interpretować jako zwrot w kierunku pierwotnej koncepcji Społecznej Gospodarki Rynkowej. W tym też zwrocie upatrują przyczyn późniejszej sukcesywnej poprawy na niemieckim rynku pracy i funkcjonowania gospodarki tego kraju jako całości. Mają jednak świadomość, że podażowo nastawione instrumenty polityki rynku pracy, którym reformy nadały priorytet, mogą się wiązać z pewnymi niedogodnościami dla pracowników, głównie za sprawą ekspansji nietypowych form zatrudnienia. Autorzy omawiają też nowe instrumentarium polityki rynku pracy wprowadzone przez reformy (rozdział piąty) oraz ich efekty (rozdział szósty i siódmy).

Reformy Hartza wprowadziły nową jakość w ocenie niemieckiej polityki rynku pracy, związaną zarówno z kompleksowością badań, jak i szerszą paletą stosowanych metod badawczych. W opracowaniach, często zlecanych przez rząd, a wykonywanych przez Instytut Badania Rynku Pracy i Zawodów (*Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung*), inne instytuty badawcze oraz ośrodki akademickie, podejmuje się profesjonalne próby oszacowania efektów netto oddziaływania instrumentów polityki rynku pracy za pomocą metod ekonometrycznych. Warto tu nadmienić, że ten kilkukrotnie wspominany na kartach książki ośrodek udostępnia dane wybranym ośrodkom badawczym i naukowcom na całym świecie w myśl zasady: „let them work for us". Dzięki temu pragmatycznemu podejściu w badania niemieckiego rynku pracy angażują się uczeni spoza Niemiec i w związku z tym rośnie zasób wiedzy na jego temat. Ostatni rozdział książki zawiera ewaluację aktywizującej polityki rynku pracy w Niemczech po reformach i jej poszczególnych instrumentów.

W omawianej monografii zauważalna jest intencja, by uczyć się z doświadczeń własnych, ale i innych krajów europejskich: „Pomimo wszystkich różnic w instytucjonalnej obudowie rynku pracy i stylu prowadzenia polityki doświadczenia największej europejskiej gospodarki mogą inspirować i służyć jako punkt odniesienia dla decydentów w naszym kraju. Problemy i wyzwania pojawiające się w Niemczech są bowiem podobne do tych znanych i w Polsce, z tym, że na ogół są diagnozowane i przebadane wcześniej. Również

[2] C. Dustmann i in., *From Sick Man of Europe to Economic Superstar: Germany's Resurgent Economy*, „Journal of Economic Perspectives" 2014, nr 1, s. 167–188.

reakcja w sferze polityki u naszego zachodniego sąsiada najczęściej jest pragmatyczna i poddana chłodnej analizie ekonomicznej. Z tych względów niniejsza publikacja może przyczynić się do lepszego zrozumienia źródeł sukcesów i efektywności działań państwa na rynku pracy" (s. 263–264).

Podjęty przez autorów temat polityki na niemieckim rynku pracy skłania do spojrzenia na ten problem z szerszej perspektywy badawczej. Zarówno Polska, jak i Niemcy deklarują, w różnej zresztą formie, orientację na realizację idei Społecznej Gospodarki Rynkowej. W Polsce zapisane zostało to w Konstytucji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z roku 1997. W Niemczech SGR nie doczekała się zapisu konstytucyjnego, ale wymieniana jest *explicite* w ustawach i dokumentach państwowych najwyższej rangi. Dotyczy to szczególnie traktatu o Unii Walutowo-Gospodarczej i Socjalnej RFN i NRD z lipca roku 1990 oraz Traktatu Zjednoczeniowego dwóch państw niemieckich z października tego samego roku.

Warto zwrócić uwagę na to, że rynek pracy obejmuje wprawdzie nie całość, ale pewien nader istotny element składowy antropologiczno-socjologicznego fundamentu SGR. Uprzednio wymienieni koryfeusze ordoliberalnego kierunku myślenia byli nie tylko bardzo wszechstronnie wykształceni, ale argumentowali także w kwestiach dotyczących SGR w kategoriach wykraczających poza ekonomię *sensu stricto*, argumentowali bowiem w kategoriach społecznych. Sama nauka ekonomii zaś była dla nich przede wszystkim nauką społeczną, a nie jak w myśleniu wielu współczesnych neoklasycznych uczonych nauką matematyczną. W tym kontekście wymienić trzeba nadzwyczajną odporność gospodarki niemieckiej po roku 1945 aż do dnia dzisiejszego na liczne, różnego rodzaju szoki zewnętrzne i wewnętrzne. Przeróżne Talebowskie[3] „łabędzie" czarne i bardziej kolorowe przylatywały dość gromadnie do Niemiec i dotychczas jakoś na ogół sobie z nimi radzono. Niemcy jako gospodarczo największy i najmocniejszy kraj Unii Europejskiej stabilizowały dzięki temu Unię jako całość. Niektóre kraje peryferyjne, szczególnie z basenu Morza Śródziemnego, miały natomiast z tymi niezbyt pożądanymi nalotami „łabędzi" o wiele większe trudności gospodarcze i społeczne (szczególnie Grecja).

Odporność na szoki staje się we współczesnym świecie, który dosłownie „wykoleił się z szyn" dotychczasowego ładu społeczno-gospodarczego coraz większą zaletą (siłą) danego społeczeństwa gospodarującego. Stosując terminologię przywołanego Taleba, można wręcz mówić o „antykruchości"[4]. Jest ona już teraz i będzie w przyszłości jeszcze ważniejsza od często przecenionej w literaturze fachowej efektywności, optymalizacji alokacji dóbr i zasobów oraz wzrostu gospodarczego mierzonego przyrostem nader niedoskonałego wskaźnika PKB. Noblista Joseph Stiglitz użył dla współczesnej gospodarki amerykańskiej, jednoznacznie zorientowanej na dynamiczny przyrost PKB, sugestywnego porównania samochodu jeżdżącego bez jakiegokolwiek koła zapasowego[5]. W istocie rzeczy chodzi

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[3] N. N. Taleb, *Czarny łabędź: jak nieprzewidywalne zdarzenia rządzą naszym życiem*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2020.

[4] N. N. Taleb, *Antykruchość. O rzeczach, którym służą wstrząsy*, Kurhaus Publishing, Warszawa 2013.

[5] J. Stiglitz, *Joseph Stiglitz: An Economy without Spare Tires*, Institute for New Economic Thinking podcast: Economics & Beyond with Rob Johnson 20.04.2020, https://www.ineteconomics.org/perspectives/podcast/joseph-stiglitz (08.01.2021)

syntezę, tj. o połączenie wysokiej społecznej i ekonomicznej sprawności funkcjonowania gospodarki rynkowej z jej odpornością na szoki wewnętrzne i zewnętrzne. Autorzy monografii takie szoki omawiają (zjednoczenie Niemiec, kryzys 2008+) bądź sygnalizują (pandemia COVID), wskazują też na szereg wyzwań i zagrożeń, jakie rysują się przed rynkiem pracy. W Niemczech w ramach SGR udało się tę syntezę sprawności i odporności uzyskać w stopniu wyższym niż w wielu innych krajach Europy i świata. Według autora recenzji sukcesy konkurencyjnej, rynkowej gospodarki niemieckiej mają swoje najważniejsze źródło w jej antropologiczno-socjologicznym fundamencie, czyli też w rynku pracy i jego funkcjonowaniu. Przed Autorami omawianej godnej polecenia, wartościowej i interesującej książki, otwiera się tu więc dalsze nowe pole badawcze.

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Polityka społeczna i zdrowotna w kontekście przebiegu życia człowieka

Stanisława Golinowska, Marzena Tambor (2020),
O łączeniu spraw zdrowotnych i społecznych w przebiegu życia,

Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 261 s.

Opublikowana przez Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN książka Stanisławy Golinowskiej i Marzeny Tambor pt. *O łączeniu spraw zdrowotnych i społecznych w przebiegu życia* jest oryginalną i wartą dostrzeżenia propozycją analizy stanu zdrowia i różnych przejawów społecznego funkcjonowania ludzi w toku ich życia. W analizie tej autorki uwzględniają wpływ różnych instytucji przyczyniających się za zaspokajania ludzkich potrzeb i do rozwiązywania lub łagodzenia problemów społecznych. Jest to podręcznik akademicki, z którego korzystać mogą słuchacze różnych kierunków studiów, w których programach występują zagadnienia polityki zdrowotnej i zdrowia publicznego, polityki społecznej i innych polityk publicznych oraz socjologii problemów społecznych. Przy czym autorki najbardziej eks-

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ponują podejście z punktu widzenia dwóch dyscyplin naukowych: nauk o zdrowiu oraz polityki społecznej.

Struktura publikacji zbudowana została wokół kolejnych etapów przebiegu życia człowieka, a dokładnie rzecz biorąc — wokół subpopulacji przeżywających owe etapy. W poszczególnych rozdziałach omawiana jest zatem sytuacja następujących kategorii społeczno-demograficznych: dzieci, młodzieży, młodych dorosłych, osób będących na etapie późnej dorosłości oraz osób starszych. Rozdziały te poprzedza wprowadzenie do książki oraz dwa rozdziały poświęcone założeniom teoretycznym i — w niewielkim zakresie — metodologicznym związanym z perspektywą przebiegu życia oraz zagadnieniom integracji i koordynacji spraw społecznych i zdrowotnych. Struktura książki jest więc bardzo przejrzysta i logiczna.

„Przebieg życia" jest, jak wiadomo, pojęciem występującym w literaturze naukowej obok takich terminów, jak „bieg życia" oraz „cykl życia". Granice między nimi są nieostre, a często są one traktowane nawet jako synonimy. Autorki omawianej publikacji zdecydowały się na zastosowanie pojęcia „przebieg życia", choć bywa, że posługują się także określeniem „cykl życia". Nie podają definicji tych pojęć, jakie przyjmują dla potrzeb swojej pracy. Omawiają jednak syntetycznie, jak w naukach o zdrowiu i w naukach społecznych charakteryzuje się cykl i przebieg życia oraz jakie są najważniejsze założenia perspektyw badawczych powiązanych z tymi kategoriami.

Obok kategorii przebiegu życia, autorki odwołują się swoim wykładzie do jeszcze innych pojęć, jakie wykorzystują, analizując sytuację poszczególnych subpopulacji. Są to: potrzeby, problemy społeczne i instytucje.

O potrzebach autorki piszą, przywołując przede wszystkim teorię Abrahama Maslowa, głoszącą koncepcję ich hierarchicznego porządku, ale uwzględniają także holistyczne podejście do potrzeb — charakterystyczne dla nauk o zdrowiu. Autorki przyjmują założenie, że w wyniku biologicznego i społecznego rozwoju człowieka poszczególne etapy życia charakteryzuje inna hierarchia potrzeb. I tak, kluczowymi — z punktu widzenia polityki społecznej — są: dla dzieciństwa — potrzeby opiekuńcze, wychowawcze i edukacyjne, dla młodości — wychowawcze, edukacyjne, tożsamościowe i emocjonalne, dla wczesnej dorosłości — mieszkaniowe, relacji intymnych, prokreacji, samorealizacji zawodowej, dla późnej dorosłości — zdrowotne, psychologiczne, edukacyjne (kształcenie permanentne), zaś dla starości — zdrowotne, aktywności społecznej i opiekuńcze. Zaproponowana przez autorki koncepcja pokrywa się z dominującym sposobem myślenia o poszczególnych etapach życia. Pewne decyzje autorek mają jednak charakter dyskusyjny. Na przykład, zdaniem recenzentki, w okresie dzieciństwa do kluczowych należą potrzeby zdrowotne, gdyż od kondycji zdrowotnej na tym etapie życia w znacznym stopniu zależy stan zdrowia na kolejnych etapach biografii ludzi. Wątpliwości budzi także pominięcie dla okresu późnej dorosłości (wiek między 45 a 65/67 lat) potrzeby samorealizacji zawodowej, skoro jest to dla większości osób dorosłych okres wysokiej aktywności zawodowej i — co więcej — w polityce społecznej różnych krajów dąży się do wydłużenia czasu pracy zawodowej.

Problem społeczny został w książce zdefiniowany jako „niezaspokojenie czy nierespektowanie potrzeb społecznych określonej grupy ludności, jeśli ten brak obniża potencjał rozwojowy osób przynależnych do tej grupy i jest poza ich kontrolą, a jednocześnie, mając znaczny zasięg, pogarsza jakość funkcjonowania całego społeczeństwa" (s. 12). Warto zauważyć, że jest to definicja bliska temu, jak Jan Danecki definiował w swoich pracach teoretycznych pojęcie „kwestia społeczna". Rozumienie problemu społecznego jest zatem w recenzowanej książce osadzone w teorii polityki społecznej, choć nie można znaleźć tam odwołań do dorobku Jana Daneckiego i jego uczniów. Dodajmy, że w socjologii silny jest nurt teoretyczny, w którym eksponuje się znaczenie, jakie dla wyłaniania się problemu społecznego ma uznanie jakiegoś zjawiska za problem przez różne podmioty tworzące społeczeństwo. Jak się wydaje, autorki podręcznika przyjęły, że problemy społeczne rozpoznają i definiują instytucje realizujące polityki publiczne w ramach określonego modelu *welfare state*. Jest to podejście zawężające, ale zrozumiałe w ramach przyjętej w tej książce konwencji.

W omawianej publikacji wiele uwagi poświęcono bowiem instytucjom *welfare state.* Przede wszystkim w kontekście „analizowania i oceny systemu z punktu widzenia zdolności do unikania problemów [społecznych] i zapobiegania im oraz umiejętności ich zwalczania i łagodzenia, gdy występują" (s. 12). Za pożądaną cechę tych instytucji autorki uznają ich zdolność nie tylko do łączenia działań, ale także do koordynacji i integracji. Zagadnieniom tym poświęcono osobny rozdział książki, który zamyka autorska propozycja modelu integracji/koordynacji polityki społecznej i zdrowotnej. Jego opracowaniu przyświeca słuszny pogląd, że „efektywne łączenie spraw społecznych i zdrowotnych w wyróżnionych grupach populacyjnych wymaga odejścia od tzw. zarządzania silosowego i doprowadzenia do przełamania barier resortowych, a w naszym przypadku – likwidowania instytucjonalnych barier między sektorem zdrowotnym a sektorami społecznymi" (s. 50). Te ograniczenia we współpracy instytucjonalnej są omawiane na konkretnych przykładach w kolejnych rozdziałach książki.

W rozdziale trzecim, poświęconym problemom zdrowotnym i społecznym dzieci, został scharakteryzowany stan zdrowia dzieci (populacji w wieku od urodzenia do 12–13 lat), ich sytuacja rodzinna (w tym problematyka pieczy zastępczej), materialne podstawy ich rozwoju oraz potrzeby opiekuńcze dzieci. Instytucje odpowiedzialne za zaspokajanie potrzeb dzieci, jakim autorki poświęciły uwagę to głównie przedszkola i szkoły. Nie jest jasne, dlaczego pominięto funkcjonowanie żłobków oraz opieki pediatrycznej. Rozdział zamyka analiza sieci instytucji publicznych odpowiedzialnych w Polsce za zaspokajanie potrzeb dzieci, prowadzona z punktu widzenia możliwości koordynacji ich działań.

Rozdział czwarty dotyczy młodzieży, czyli osób w wieku 11–24 lata. Autorki słusznie dostrzegają zróżnicowanie tej populacji i tego etapu w biegu życia. Omawiają potrzeby i zagrożenia zdrowotne, rolę rodziny, relacje z rówieśnikami, ale także — w stosunku do starszej młodzieży — problemy aktywności zawodowej, edukacji na poziomie wyższym, aktywności społecznej. Uwzględniają także problem ubóstwa rodzin z dziećmi oraz niskich dochodów samych młodych ludzi na etapie ich startu zawodowego. Za rozwiązywanie tych problemów powinna być odpowiedzialna zintegrowana, zorientowana prorozwojowo polityka wobec młodzieży, której brakuje w naszym kraju.

Kolejny etap życia — to wczesna dorosłość. Osobom w wieku 25–44 lata, czyli młodym dorosłym, poświęcony jest rozdział piąty. Ten etap w życiu człowieka rozpoczyna następujących „pięć złotych wydarzeń”: ukończenie edukacji, podjęcie regularnej pracy, opuszczenie domu rodzinnego, wejście w związek i narodziny potomstwa (s. 140). Co warto podkreślić, w książce podniesiono problem opóźnień we wchodzeniu w dorosłość, szczególnie w kontekście pozostawania dorosłych dzieci we wspólnych gospodarstwach domowych z rodzicami. Stan zdrowia subpopulacji młodych dorosłych omówiono koncentrując się na stylu życia, prokreacji i warunkach pracy. Główne obszary społecznego funkcjonowania młodych dorosłych, jakimi zajęły się autorki, są praca zawodowa i życie rodzinne. Celem zaś polityki publicznej powinna być koordynacja działań związanych z zatrudnieniem kobiet i mężczyzn, ich stanem zdrowia oraz godzeniem życia rodzinnego z aktywnością zawodową. W charakterystyce sytuacji młodych dorosłych, zabrakło — zdaniem recenzentki — poszukiwania odpowiedzi na pytanie, jak na tę sytuację rzutują sukcesy i zaniechania polityk publicznych na wcześniejszych etapach życia tych osób oraz jakie konsekwencje w dalszym przebiegu ich życia mogą wywoływać problemy, z jakimi borykają się obecnie.

Rozdział szósty został poświęcony późnej dorosłości, czyli okresowi zaczynającemu się w wieku 45 lat, a kończącemu w chwili osiągnięcia wieku emerytalnego (65/67 lat). Ten etap w życiu jednostek określany jest w statystykach jako wiek produkcyjny niemobilny. W części rozdziału dotyczącej stanu zdrowia autorki skupiły się na zagrożeniach zdrowotnych nasilających się w tym wieku. Jeśli zaś idzie o społeczne funkcjonowanie, omówiły zagadnienia związane z aktywnością zawodową, kształceniem ustawicznym i życiem rodzinnym (m.in. syndrom pustego gniazda, *sandwich generation*). Zdaniem recenzentki, niesłusznie pominięto społeczną aktywność na etapie późnej dorosłości. Na tym bowiem etapie życia, między innymi dzięki stabilizacji zawodowej i zmianom w życiu rodzinnym, relatywnie wysoki jest poziom społecznego zaangażowania (co pokazują wyniki polskich badań sondażowych). W ostatniej części rozdziału wskazano, jakie powinny być „obszary koordynacji na przedpolu starości”. Autorki nie wskazały natomiast, jakie instytucje *welfare state* uznają za szczególnie odpowiedzialne za zapewnienie odpowiedniej jakości temu etapowi przebiegu życia.

Zgodnie z przyjęta strukturą wykładu, ostatni rozdział poświęcono etapowi starości. Autorki wyróżniają w nim dwa okresy: trzeci i czwarty wiek (65/67 lat — 80/85 lat oraz 85 lat i więcej). Jednak w charakterystyce sytuacji zdrowotnej osób starszych posługują się najczęściej danymi dla całej tej populacji. Także w analizach sytuacji społecznej to rozróżnienie nie jest konsekwentnie stosowane. Ważne jest, że autorki wiele miejsca poświęcają dobrostanowi i jakości życia w starości. W tym kontekście omawiają życie rodzinne seniorów, kwestię ich aktywności zawodowej i wieku emerytalnego oraz sytuację materialną. W wyniku przyjętego dla całej książki założenia związku „spraw zdrowotnych i społecznych” wiele uwagi poświęcają zagadnieniu aktywnego starzenia się w zdrowiu. Jest to z jednej strony indywidualna strategia życiowa, a drugiej — cel różnych polityk publicznych. W Polsce polityki te skupiły się w programach i działaniach określanych jako polityka senioralna. Własna propozycja autorek dotycząca koordynacji polityk publicznych wobec osób starszych stanowi podsumowanie rozdziału siódmego.

Na politykach publicznych koncentrują się autorki w zakończeniu książki, które nosi tytuł „W kierunku rekomendacji". Syntetycznie omawiają w tej części publikacji problemy społeczne i zdrowotne charakteryzowanych wcześniej grup wieku, wskazując zarazem na braki i niedostatki polityk publicznych. Trzy kluczowe rekomendacje dotyczą zaś: 1) „wzmocnienia wielo- i interdyscyplinarności badań naukowych"; 2) „wzmocnienia perspektywy przebiegu życia w badaniach społecznych i zdrowotnych, jak i uwzględnianie tego podejścia w prowadzeniu polityk publicznych"; 3) „wzmocnienia instytucji łączenia spraw społecznych i zdrowotnych zarówno w badaniach, jak i programowaniu polityk publicznych" (s. 255).

Recenzowana książka jest przykładem podejścia interdyscyplinarnego do problemów indywidualnych i społecznych, z jakimi zmagają się członkowie współczesnych społeczeństw na różnych etapach życia. Zaprezentowane przez autorki podejście z perspektywy przebiegu życia pozwoliło przede wszystkim na wyeksponowanie problemów osób w różnym wieku (a nie tylko dzieci i osób starszych, którymi najbardziej interesuje się polityka społeczna) oraz na wskazanie wyzwań związanych z przejściami (tranzycją) między kolejnymi etapami ludzkich biografii. Znacznie słabiej udokumentowano natomiast w zaprezentowanym materiale powiązania między różnymi etapami biegu życia, które to powiązania są zarówno „kapitałem" wnoszonym w kolejne etapy drogi życiowej, jak i mogą być źródłem blokad i zagrożeń utrudniających prawidłowy rozwój człowieka i oczekiwane społeczne funkcjonowanie.

Omawiana publikacja jest udaną propozycją interdyscyplinarnego spojrzenia na problemy zdrowotne i społeczne.

Składamy podziękowania wymienionym poniżej recenzentkom i recenzentom,
którzy w 2020 r. wsparli „Problemy Polityki Społecznej. Social Policy Issues”
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