Maja Gerovska Mitev Editor

Social Work and Social Policy Transformations in Central and Southeast Europe



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"This is an important book for at least three reasons. Firstly, it brings together questions of social policy and social work which tend to be treated separately for reasons that have more to do with academic boundary maintenance than the realities of institutional practice and people's real lives. Secondly, it compares and contrasts countries that occupy a contiguous regional space but are rarely studied together, namely the Yugoslav successor states, some of which have been marginalized in both social work and social policy research, together with the Czech Republic and Austria. The value of this is, indeed, even greater when we consider that four are EU Member states and three are candidate countries so that the differential effects of Europeanization are also traced. Thirdly, each country case study chapter (and, indeed, given the specificities of its post-Dayton governance structure, Bosnia and Herzegovina is discussed in two chapters each dealing with one entity) is written by specialists working within the country itself as researchers, scholars and advocates who bring deep insider knowledge to their writing. The common themes of transformation, restructuring and crises, synthesized in excellent introductory and concluding chapters, make the book an essential source for an understanding of contemporary policies and practices, the complex role played by historical legacies, and offer a model of what a comparative policy approach should look like."

-Paul Stubbs,

Senior Research Fellow, The Institute of Economics, Zagreb, Croatia

"Maja Gerovska Mitev's *Social Work and Social Policy Transformations in Central and Southeast Europe* brilliantly captures the evolving nuances of social policy in a region rich with history and complexity. This edited volume, a collective effort of esteemed academics, offers deep insights into the transformation of social welfare systems, particularly in the face of challenges like the COVID-19 pandemic. It stands not only as an academic cornerstone for scholars and students but also as a guiding light for practitioners navigating the ever-changing landscape of social work and policy in Central and Southeast Europe."

-Vasilios Ioakimidis,

Professor, University of West Attica, Greece and University of Essex, UK

Preface

This edited volume is a result of a joint effort of the members of the Central European Social Policy and Social Work Network – CESPASWON. The network was formed in 2019 under the Central European Exchange Program for University Studies (CEEPUS). It comprises of eight universities from seven countries from Central and Southeast Europe, including: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, North Macedonia (coordinator); Carinthia University of Applied Sciences, Austria; Charles University, Czech Republic; University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; University of Belgrade, Serbia; University of Zagreb, Croatia; University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the University of Banja Luka, Republic of Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hence, the focus of the chapters is on the countries represented in the CESPASWON network.

It must be acknowledged that the group of countries encompassed in this volume and analysed under the geographical scope of Central and Southeast Europe is by no means uniform or easily comparable. One aspect of categorisation of countries within this block can be associated with their European Union (EU) membership status. In this respect, the book covers four EU member states (Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Croatia) and three EU candidate countries (North Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). Among these countries, Austria is well recognised in the welfare state literature as a conservative and familialistic welfare regime. Among the 'newer' EU members states, in the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Croatia, the transition from the socialist welfare model has translated into improved employment and poverty rates. Finally, the EU candidate countries, North Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, are still fragile welfare states and inconsistent in their welfare trajectory. By critically contextualising existing welfare state categorisations, the book aims to examine the link between the welfare state reforms and implications for social work in Central and Southeast Europe.

The country chapters provide comprehensive analysis of recent developments in social policy and social work (social services), especially trends after the pandemic COVID-19, which necessitated significant welfare modifications. Structure wise, all country chapters tend to: (a) outline the context in which the social policy and social work have developed and map the main changes in the welfare state; (b)

viii Preface

elaborate the country-specific welfare state discourse and discussions, which through literature review depict the conceptual debates about the welfare state, social justice, equality, poverty, entitlements for cash transfer and services, privatisation, accessibility, etc.; (c) indicate the key challenges in social policy and social work; and (d) provide indications about the future perspectives of social policy and social service provision.

Given the scarcity of literature on social policy and social work in Central and Southeast Europe, we hope this volume will be valuable for researchers from all fields of social sciences and that it will provoke wider academic and professional interest.

Last, but not least, the editor is deeply grateful for the constructive comments received from Paul Stubbs, as well as the two anonymous reviewers during the preparation of the manuscript.

Skopje, North Macedonia

Maja Gerovska Mitev

Contents

1	in Central and Southeast Europe Maja Gerovska Mitev	1
2	The Austrian Welfare State: A Halfway House	17
3	Social Policy and Social Work in the Czech Republic: Partners at Fragile Times. Kateřina Šámalová and Petr Vojtíšek	35
4	The Politics of Welfare – From Rights to Obligations: The Case of Slovenia Vesna Leskošek	57
5	Social Work and Social Policy in Croatia in Times of Continuous Reforms and Crisis Jelena Matančević and Ana Opačić	77
6	Three Decades of Post-Yugoslav Transformation(s) of Social Policy and Social Work in Serbia – Still Between Uncertainty and Failure. Natalija Perišić and Danijela Pavlović	97
7	Social Policies and Social Services in North Macedonia: Between Ideology and Reality Maja Gerovska Mitev and Suzana Bornarova	123
8	Social Welfare Policy and Social Work in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Boriana Miković	143

x Contents

9	Social Protection in the Republic of Srpska: Conditions,	
	Challenges and Reforms	163
	Draško Gajić, Andrea Rakanović Radonjić,	
	and Vesna Šućur-Janjetović	
10	Towards a Post-crisis Welfare State in Central and Southeast	
	Europe: Challenges and Perspectives	185
	Maja Gerovska Mitev and Natalija Perišić	
Ind	ex	197

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xii Contributors

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Abbreviations

AK Austrian Federal Chamber of Labour ALMP Active labour market programs AMS Austrian Public Employment Service

BiH Bosnia and Herzegovina
BD Brčko District of B&H

CEEPUS Central European Exchange Program for University Studies

CSE Central and Southeast Europe

CESPASWON Central European Social Policy and Social Work Network

CO Carbon monoxide CO₂ Carbon dioxide

CSE Central and Southeast Europe
COVID-19 Coronavirus disease of 2019
CSW Centres for social work

DFID Department for International Development

ESPROSS European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics

HIF Health Insurance Fund EU European Union

EU27 European Union of 27 member states

EU-SILC EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions
ESRP Employment and Social Reform Programme
FB&H Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

FBS Federal Bureau of Statistics

FOI Forum for Freedom of Information

FPÖ Freedom Party of Austria

GMA Guaranteed minimum assistance

GDP Gross domestic product

ICT Information and communication technology IBHI Initiative for Better and Humane Inclusion IFSW International Federation of Social Workers

ILO International Labour Organization

KM Convertible mark

xviii Abbreviations

LGBT+ Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and many other

LWA-G Living and Housing Cost Compensation Act

MENA Middle East and North Africa

MLFSA Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal

Opportunities

NGO Non-governmental organisation NIPH National Institute of Public Health

NPM New public management

ÖGB Austrian Trade Union Federation

ÖVP Austrian People's Party

PAYG Pay-as-you-go

PDIF Pension and Disability Insurance Fund

PTSD Post-traumatic stress disorder

RPILS Reform Programme for the Implementation of the Lisbon

Strategy

RS Republic of Srpska

RSD Dinar

RTI Right to Information Rating

SDSM Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia SFRY Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

SPÖ Social Democrat Party Austria

SWCs Social work centres UN United Nations

UNHCR Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
USA United States of America
US\$ United States dollar

VMRO-DPMNE Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic

Party for Macedonian National Unity

WB Western Balkan WB World Bank

WHO World Health Organization

WW2 Second World War

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	Total expenditure on social protection as % of GDP in CSE, 2015–2021	6
Fig. 1.2	Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income in CSE,	6
Fig. 1.3	2015–2022	7
Fig. 3.1	Social expenditures in EU countries, 2020	43
Fig. 3.2	Social protection system in the Czech Republic Proportional and relational scheme of social protection	45
Fig. 3.3	systems in the Czech Republic	47
Fig. 4.1	Public opinion on differences in incomes, Slovenia, 1975–2022	62
Fig. 7.1	Processed GMA applications in 2020 per CSW in North Macedonia, in %	139
Fig. 8.1	Average pension and number of pensioners in FB&H, 2018–2021	150
Fig. 8.2	Average number of employees and working age population	
Fig. 8.3	in FB&H, 2018–2021. Unemployed, workforce and unemployment rate in FB&H, 2018–2021.	151 152
Fig. 10.1	Population in Central and Southeast Europe by age class,	100
Fig. 10.2	2022	189
-	2018–2022	192

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Social protection response to COVID-19 in CSE, 2020–2021	8
Table 1.2	Quality of public services in Central and Southeast Europe, 2016	10
Table 3.1	Number of social workers in respective ministries in the Czech Republic	48
Table 4.1	Average number of recipients of social benefits compared to number of unemployed people in Slovenia, 2009–2014	60
Table 4.2 Table 4.3	Attitude towards social cash benefits recipients in Slovenia At-risk-of-poverty rate by age group and gender in Slovenia,	64
Table 4.4	2021, in %	66
Table 4.5	Unemployment rate in Slovenia by age group, October 2022	67 67
Table 5.1	Total expenditure on social protection benefits in Croatia, by function, as % of GDP	7 9
Table 5.2	Share of social expenditure in Croatia, by function, in %	80
Table 7.1	Fertility rate and at risk of poverty rate among households with three and more children in North Macedonia,	
	2010–2019	130
Table 7.2	Unemployment rate and at risk of poverty rate, 2014–2022, EU27 and North Macedonia	132
Table 7.3	Beneficiaries of social insurance and social assistance scheme in North Macedonia	132
Table 8.1 Table 8.2	Contribution rates for social insurance in FB&H Financial assistance to beneficiaries of social protection	150
	in FB&H, 2019–2021	154

Chapter 1 Welfare State Reforms and Their Implications for Social Work in Central and Southeast Europe

Maja Gerovska Mitev

Introduction

This book provides an attempt to bring together two fields of study: social policy including the broader context of the welfare state; and social work in terms of the provision of social services and cash benefits. In doing so, it aims to trace the welfare state trajectories and social policy patterns in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe (CSE), and also assess whether wider welfare state reforms, as well as the implicit social policy formulation, have an impact on who, how and to what extent is being served by the social work. The focus of the book is on seven countries from Central and Southeast Europe, including Austria, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In terms of social work and social policy traditions, the analysed block of countries is diverse, with many similarities and differences stemming from their cultural, historical, socio-economic and political particularities. Moreover, there are two chapters focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina, to highlight the specifics of its two entities, i.e., the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska.

The theoretical and conceptual apparatus used in this book derives from the disciplines of social policy and social work. Ideologies of welfare, such as conservative, social-democratic and neoliberal (Esping Andersen, 1990; Abramowitz, 2013) are explored to assess how they shape the policy debates, social policy strategies, and social work practices in the analysed countries. Along with the analysis of agencies, institutions, structures and discourses (Deacon & Stubbs, 2007; Moulaert & Jessop, 2006), the book also examines welfare at the micro-level, addressing

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M. Gerovska Mitev (M)

M. G. Mitev

encounters between beneficiaries and social service providers. Also, to the extent possible, the transnational dimension of social policy is scrutinised to investigate the impact of various international actors, such as the International Financial Institutions and the European Union, upon welfare state reforms and approaches to welfare.

Methodologically, the book is based on the comparative case study method (Ragin, 2014), with country case studies that elaborate: the context in which the social policy and social work have developed; the main changes in the welfare state after 1990; the country-specific welfare state discourse and debates; as well as the key contemporary challenges in social policy and social work. The timeframe of analysis focuses on developments post-1990, with a particular focus on developments and reconfigurations undertaken during COVID-19. On the basis of the empirical investigations in the case studies, the book aims to draw analytical conclusions about the interdependence between welfare state reforms and social work practices in Central and Southeast Europe and provide an overview of future perspectives regarding social policy and social service provision in this region.

Welfare State Trajectories and Social Policy Patterns in Central and Southeast Europe

Early welfare regime classifications developed for the Western welfare states (i.e., Titmuss, 1974; Wilensky, 1975; Esping Andersen, 1990) as well as their critics (i.e., Leibfried, 1993; Ferrera, 1996; Bambra, 2007) rarely included the countries from Central and Southeast Europe (with the exceptions of Austria, Soviet Russia and East Germany). Even when they did (i.e., Fenger, 2007; Keune, 2008; Cerami & Vanhuysse, 2009), the variables used to identify the welfare state model have not fully reflected developments at the micro level or have undermined less-measurable social phenomena, such as social justice, social cohesion, etc. Notwithstanding the limitations of the welfare state classifications in the context of diverse historical, political, economic, and social realities in Central and Southeast Europe, the purpose of their use in this section is to provide a bird's-eye view of the welfare state configuration and its ongoing modifications in this region.

In the comparative welfare state literature (i.e., Obinger, 2005; Schubert et al., 2016) Austria is depicted as a corporatist, conservative, continental, or male breadwinner welfare state (Osterle & Heitzmann, 2016). However, as argued by Höllmüller in this book (Chap. 2), while the "basic structure of the Austrian welfare state remained intact over the years, recent trends show that the welfare state is dominated by a paternalistic/expertocratic dominant culture that stigmatizes marginalised groups and maintains economic and social exclusion".

After the 1990s, there were many attempts to depict the character of the welfare state in post-socialist countries, focusing on similarities and differences with welfare states in the affluent capitalist democracies. Countries from CSE analysed in this book (particularly the post-Yugoslav states, i.e., Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) have been described as a "modified form of conservative corporatism" where the "greater degree of state protection was achieved at the price of less economic growth" (Deacon, 1992).

The Slovenian welfare state was demonstrating characteristics similar to that of the Austrian welfare state. As indicated by Svetlik "the substitution of some social rights by contractual relations, pluralisation of service provision and stress on a subsidiarity principle have not been worked out fully" and the early 1990s tendencies of the welfare system in Slovenia were "in the direction of a corporatist conservative model" (Svetlik, 1993). But as shown by Leskošek in this book (Chap. 4), neoliberal influences have also impacted the Slovene welfare state as, in recent years, Slovene social policies have also become "increasingly restrictive and conditional, encouraging moral judgement and a division between deserving and undeserving recipients of cash benefits".

The Czech Republic was among the best performers within the post-socialist countries, most notably due to its success in maintaining low unemployment and low poverty rates. Welfare choices favoured by the Czechs after the 1990s as stressed by Potuček focused on "the performance principle and the creation of natural feedback within and between the state, public and privatised corporations and individuals" (1993, p. 224). He saw the possible future welfare state in the Czech Republic as being less redistributive and more corporatist conservative (Potuček, 1993). Despite favourable trends in the Czech Republic, Šámalová and Vojtíšek claim in this book (Chap. 2) that social statistics do not tell the complete story and that "a large percentage of people levitate just above the relative poverty line and that a significant number of employed families are facing in-work poverty".

Assessing the Croatian welfare state developments post 1990s, Puljiz identifies the welfare trajectory going "from passive to active welfare state" (Puljiz, 2001), hence substituting the older Bismarckian model of the welfare state with elements of the liberal and social-democratic model (Puljiz, 2008). Zrinščak and Stubbs, on the other hand, have stressed the importance of nation state building, and the consequences of war and delayed Europeanisation as important factors shaping welfare arrangements in Croatia, leading to a "complex mix of statism and centralisation, as well as a lack of clear roles of non-state and local government actors" (Zrinščak & Stubbs, 2009, p. 131). Today, as Matančević and Opačić suggest in Chap. 5 of this book, Croatian social policy faces "challenges of adequacy and sustainability, relatively low efficiency in social inclusion and work integration programmes, and inadequacy to answer to new social risks".

The group of non-EU countries covered in this book (Serbia, North Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) are even less represented in welfare state mapping and research than the other countries from the CSE region. Analysed also under the term the Western Balkans, these welfare regimes are assessed as "incomplete versions of the liberal welfare regime, with elements preserved of the corporatist regime" (Sotiropoulos, 2014, p. 252). Sotiropoulos also rightly argues that "state socialist welfare regimes have been replaced by assemblages of public, private, and non-governmental welfare institutions, which are under the influence of

M. G. Mitev

international organisations" (ibid, p. 252). As pointed out in the subsequent country chapters of this book, such description still holds true in these countries. Perišić and Pavlović confirm that "Serbia is in a locked–in situation of a passive welfare state, with discourses embedded into the crisis framework", with lack of incentives for innovation and modernisation (Chap. 6). In North Macedonia, welfare state development has been "guided by the specific socio-economic trends, different political ideologies, as well as by the impact of different international organisations" (Gerovska Mitev and Bornarova, Chap. 7). Similarly, Miković (Chap. 8) indicates that in Bosnia and Herzegovina the "residual welfare model seems to prevail, which was mainly supported by the supranational financial agencies, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund". Finally, Gajić, Rakanović Radonjić and Šućur-Janjetović (Chap. 8) conclude that the "welfare model in the Republic of Srpska shows rudimentary evolution and is characterised by a 'elemental-rudimental' moving away from the previous socialist period".

From this short snapshot of welfare state patterns in Central and Southeast Europe, as well as from the more thorough descriptions in the following country chapters, it may be summarised that several factors are relevant for understanding CSE welfare state configurations and reform trajectories:

Historical Roots: The early establishment of contributory social insurance programs, (Austria, post-Yugoslav countries), a strong emphasis on maintaining traditional family structures and provision of family-oriented benefits and support (Austria), the early establishment and equal geographical distribution of social services, i.e., Centers of Social Work (CSWs) (post-Yugoslav countries), and universal healthcare (Czech Republic), have laid the foundations for the modern welfare state in the CSE. These early developments have had a lasting impact on the current structure of the welfare system in CSE, as well as on its capacity to reform.

Political ideologies: While the legacy of conservativism (Austria) and socialism (Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) continued to shape the welfare state developments post 1990s in the CSE (notwithstanding the differences between the Yugoslav and Soviet bloc socialism), other political ideologies have also contributed to social policy reforms since. Most prominently, the neoliberal influences swooped across the region, as privatisation of the social services (pensions, long-term care, health, early childhood education, etc.) and limiting welfare spending through narrowing eligibility, targeted and conditional social transfers, public-private partnerships in social service delivery, and so on, were seen as the only alternative. While in some cases the neoliberal turn was a result of a dependence on international donor assistance (Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) in others it was a result of the orientation of the ruling political parties, as well as using the EU membership as an excuse for free market reforms (Austria, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia).

EU Integration: Aiming to join the European Union (EU) became a driving force for reforms and aligning social policies with EU standards across the post-socialist countries from CSE. EU membership required adherence to certain social and economic criteria, which influenced the development of welfare policies in these countries, including the strategic programming of social policies as well as implementing harmonised methodologies for the collection and presentation of social statistics. While the Czech Republic, Slovenia and, to an extent, Croatia succeeded to balance their socio-economic challenges from the transition period with the requirements of EU integration on time, Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina are still navigating the tension between domestic reforms (i.e., rule of law and corruption, ethnic and political divisions, nationalism and identity) and the demands of the EU integration.

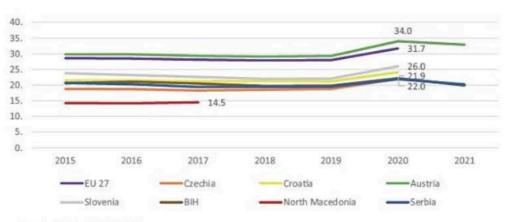
International financial institutions: For the post-socialist countries such as Serbia, North Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and to some extent Croatia, policy advice and loan conditionalities coming from the International Financial Institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, were highly influential in shaping social policy reforms in the late 1990s. The introduction of the mandatory fully funded pension insurance in Croatia and North Macedonia is one such example where the World Bank's technical assistance and advice shaped the paradigmatic shift from pay-as-you-go (PAYG) pension schemes towards mandatory pension privatisation. On the other hand, due to their favourable economic conditions, as well as the strong political and expert resistance, Slovenia and the Czech Republic have not followed the World Bank's advice to shift from the PAYG system to the mandatory private-funded system. In general, dependence on international financial assistance, ministries of finance and economy being run by neoliberal economists, and a lack of vocal critical opposition have all contributed to the invasive impact of International Financial Institutions on the social policy landscape in the CSE.

Each country chapter also outlines other immanent welfare state determinants, among which are also: the impact of the wars of the 1990s in post-Yugoslav countries; the role of religion, the deep politicisation, the layered welfare regarding ethnic communities, as well as the balance between centralised and localised responsibilities.

Social policy patterns in Central and Southeast Europe continue to evolve as these countries adapt to changing demographic, political and economic conditions. Welfare state capacity to provide comprehensive social services and tackle social inequalities is also conditioned by the size of social protection expenditure. Based on the available statistical data (Fig. 1.1), it may be seen that among the analysed CSE countries, only Austria, the richest of the countries studied, is a "big" spender, as its social protection expenditure is above the EU27 average and stood at 32.9% of GDP in 2021. Other countries from the region spent significantly less than the EU27 average of 31.7% in 2020. Slovenia is closest to the EU average with 26% of GDP spent on social protection, while North Macedonia is furthest from the EU average as its social protection expenditure stood at 14.5% of GDP in 2017 (latest available ESPOSS data).

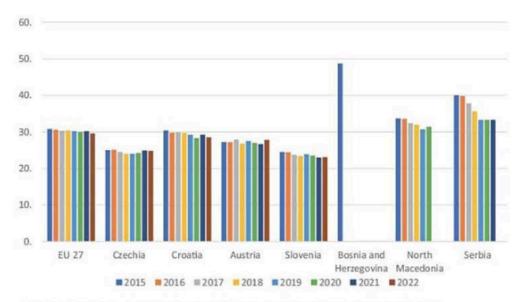
Assessment of the income inequality measured through the Gini coefficient (Fig. 1.2) shows that in the Central and Southeast Europe, three of the countries are characterised with higher inequality (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and North Macedonia), while the other four (Czech Republic, Slovenia, Austria and Croatia) have lower income inequality compared to the EU average (29.6% in

M. G. Mitev



Source: Eurostat, 2023a.

Fig. 1.1 Total expenditure on social protection as % of GDP in CSE, 2015-2021. (Source: Eurostat, 2023a)



Sources: Eurostat, 2023b; Statistics Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2017.

Fig. 1.2 Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income in CSE, 2015–2022. (Sources: Eurostat, 2023b; Statistics Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2017)

2022). Given the significant degree of informal economy in some of the analysed countries, the Gini coefficient does not capture the full extent of inequality in the region.

It must be acknowledged that the lack of timely and harmonised social statistics in most of the post-socialist countries hindered more comprehensive as well as the comparative analysis of these welfare states. Also, lack of more disaggregated data regarding redistribution in the post-socialist countries prevents their comparison in terms of welfare state outcomes.

A

A	Charter of Fundamental Rights and
Accession process, 59	Freedoms, 37, 43
Activation, 9, 10, 60, 64, 65, 72, 73, 82, 88,	Childcare, 9, 10, 32, 99, 100, 102, 104,
99, 102, 103, 110, 119, 133, 187, 191	105, 112
Active labour market programmes, 82, 110,	Citizenship, 25, 65, 72, 88, 109
112, 113	Civic participation, 41
Adaptive social protection, 12, 138	Civil society organisations, 60, 83, 87, 100,
Ageing, 40, 45, 50, 53, 113, 119, 155, 172,	104, 107, 108, 118
189, 193	Community work, 11, 53, 71, 138
Assimilation, 36	Conditionality, 5, 8, 60, 65, 125, 191, 193
	Contributory system, 37
	Convergence, 41, 44
В	Cost of living, 7, 49, 126, 190
Benefits, 4, 7, 8, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 32,	COVID-19, 2, 7, 8, 11, 26, 52–53, 58, 67,
44–47, 49, 51, 54, 60–62, 64, 69, 70,	69–71, 83–84, 93, 98, 104, 106, 110,
79, 80, 84, 86, 88, 98, 100–106,	112, 117, 118, 120, 128, 131, 133,
109–111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 126, 127,	135–139, 144, 145, 147–149, 155–157,
130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 138, 145–147,	161, 172, 178–181, 186, 190
149, 152–156, 160, 167, 174, 177, 191	Crisis intervention centres, 50
Bottom-up welfare state reform, 190, 191	Croatia, 1, 3–5, 8–10, 12, 77–93, 174,
	187, 189–193
	Czechoslovakia, 37, 38
C	Czech social welfare state, 35–54
Case management, 10, 11, 50, 53, 98, 102,	
116, 127, 135, 191	
Cash benefits, 1, 3, 9, 10, 46, 58–61, 64, 65,	D
67, 69, 70, 99, 100, 102, 103, 124,	Decentralisation, 41, 44, 81, 82, 85, 87, 99,
130–132, 134, 139, 161, 167, 193	102, 103, 124–127, 139
Challenges, 2, 3, 5, 12, 20, 49, 50, 53, 54, 59,	Decommodification, 7, 146
68, 77, 82, 83, 89, 91–93, 98, 103, 104,	Deinstitutionalisation, 50, 81, 82, 85, 87, 102,
106, 109, 112–117, 119, 120, 124, 128,	104, 124–126
131–136, 144, 145, 149, 151,	Dementia, 50
163–181, 185–194	Democratisation, 19, 79, 190, 191
Charity, 9, 20, 37, 61	Distraints, 49

Charter of Fundamental Rights and

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E Early intervention, 53 Economic expansion, 39 Efficiency, 3, 10, 36, 44, 65, 83, 93, 129, 153, 156, 160, 166, 177	K Key challenges, 24–26, 28–30, 42–52, 65–69, 82–91, 109–117, 131–135, 148–155, 157–160
Eligibility, 4, 8, 61, 69, 71, 100, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 113, 127, 129, 131, 134–137, 186, 189, 193 Ethnic minorities, 36, 134 European Social Charter, 37, 193 European Social Doctrine, 41 Evidence-based policy, 120, 139 Expertocracy, 19	L Labour market, 10, 40, 60, 62, 65, 67, 72, 73, 82, 83, 99–104, 107, 113, 119, 132–134, 145, 153, 161, 167, 172, 174–176, 187, 190 Labour Office, 37 Legality, 43 Legislation, 24, 37, 30, 41, 53, 60, 61, 63, 65
F Field social work, 53 Fraud, 63, 64 Freedom, 24, 27, 39, 41, 82, 191 Free-market economy, 36	Legislation, 24, 37, 39, 41, 53, 60, 61, 63, 65, 69, 78, 99, 102, 103, 105, 107–109, 125, 134, 144, 160, 161, 193 Liberal state, 39 Life expectancy at birth, 50 Life expectancy in health, 50 Lifelong learning, 38, 173 Livelihood, 65, 69 Long-term care, 4, 9, 10, 50, 51, 53, 57, 97,
G Gender poverty gap, 59	112, 119, 131, 161, 188, 190
H Healthcare, 4, 10, 11, 18, 51, 70, 77, 79, 80, 84, 89, 98, 100–105, 110–113, 124, 145, 146, 149, 150, 155, 158, 161, 186, 187 Health insurance, 7, 8, 41, 45, 79, 97, 98, 101, 102, 105, 123, 130, 132, 168, 174	M Market economy, 39, 40, 62, 63, 123, 129 Material poverty, 49 Media, 11, 50, 52, 114, 117 Minimum wage, 59, 88, 130–131, 133, 134, 136, 154, 187
Homelessness, 51, 54, 158 Housing, 9, 10, 18, 25, 26, 32, 41, 42, 46, 49, 51, 54, 59, 63, 79, 80, 83, 87, 89, 97, 105, 124, 146 Housing first, 54	N Non-contributory system, 37 Non-governmental organisations, 42, 58, 128, 144, 155, 158, 161
Humanisation, 50 Human rights, 37, 39, 62, 73, 108, 115, 119, 146, 186, 193, 194 Human rights perspective, 119, 190, 193	O Old-age and disability insurance, 97, 100, 102, 105, 113 Ombudsman, 28, 37, 84, 115
I Indebtedness, 49 Individual responsibility, 63, 79, 81, 82, 93 Informal caregivers, 50, 51 Innovation, 4, 11, 32, 50, 82, 119, 190, 192, 193 Insurance in case of unemployment, 97, 99, 105 International Labour Organization (ILO), 11, 37, 193	P Paternalism, 19, 30 Pay-as-you-go (PAYG), 5, 45, 53, 109, 172 Pension reform, 37, 49, 79, 125, 189 Policy reforms, 4, 5, 77, 78, 82, 190, 192 Post-crises welfare state, 190 Poverty, 3, 20–24, 29, 30, 32, 36, 49, 51, 53, 57–59, 61, 63–69, 71–73, 79, 81, 83,

87, 88, 92, 99, 102, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 123–125, 128–135, 143, 144, 146–149, 153, 155, 157, 160, 161, 164–167, 170, 172–174, 181, 185–189, 191 Poverty rate, 3, 49, 67, 68, 99, 101, 110, 124, 130, 132, 134, 147, 164, 166 Private commercial sector, 35 Privatisation, 4, 5, 9, 21, 58, 59, 63, 72, 78–82, 93, 101, 102, 107, 164 Professional organisation, 38, 52 Public sector, 9, 42, 69, 98, 100, 103, 104,	Socialism, 4, 58, 62, 98, 144, 159 Social justice, 2, 27, 40, 73, 97, 186, 189 Socially excluded localities, 51, 53 Social peace, 35, 40, 54 Social policy, 1, 18, 35, 57, 77, 97, 123, 159, 163, 185 Social policy actors, 36, 42 Social protection, 5, 37, 58, 79, 107, 123, 143, 163, 191 Social protection reform, 128, 139, 159, 170, 171, 177–180 Social protection system, 7, 8, 12, 35, 45, 47,
106, 107, 115, 117, 147, 156, 186, 187	48, 58, 99, 115, 117–119, 124, 125, 127, 128, 137, 138, 145, 148, 149, 157, 160, 161, 165–177, 179, 181, 190, 193 Social rights, 3, 21, 39, 41, 43, 44, 62, 64, 77,
Rapid re-housing, 54	80, 81, 91, 124, 129, 130, 160, 193
Redistribution, 6, 20, 21, 39–42, 46, 63, 97	Social risk, 3, 18, 36, 39, 40, 42, 45, 47,
Reforms, 1–12, 24–26, 36, 37, 45, 53, 59, 73,	77–79, 83, 87, 89, 93, 193, 194
77–93, 99, 101–105, 107–109, 112,	Social security, 8, 20, 21, 28, 30, 36, 37, 39,
114, 116, 118, 119, 125–127, 131, 145, 160, 163–181, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192	42, 60, 61, 64, 67, 72, 77–79, 82, 93,
Residential services, 36, 50	124, 126, 131, 144, 146, 148, 160, 164–166, 168
Residual social policy, 57	Social services, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8–12, 17, 28–31, 37,
Residual social policy, 57	40, 42, 46, 47, 49–53, 57, 58, 60, 61,
	65, 68–73, 80, 81, 83–92, 98, 100, 102,
S	103, 114–118, 123–140, 157–161, 167,
Segregation, 51	186, 188, 190, 193, 194
Self-governing territorial corporations, 41	Social sovereignty, 40
Sickness insurance, 37	Social tensions, 35, 40, 129
Social and legal protection of children, 36	Social welfare, 18, 19, 31, 46, 84–88, 90–93,
Social assistance, 7, 9, 11, 24, 25, 29, 46, 63,	99, 100, 108, 113, 114, 116, 123, 124,
67, 69, 88, 111, 118, 124, 125,	144–147, 149, 150, 154, 158, 161, 168,
129–134, 138, 146, 147, 149, 156, 157,	179, 180, 193
159, 160, 186, 187	Social welfare policy, 143–147, 157
Social benefits, 20, 21, 37, 49, 58–61, 64, 84,	Social work, 1, 17, 36, 57, 77, 97, 123, 144,
146, 156, 157, 159, 166, 177, 181, 191	169, 185 Social workers, 10–12, 36–38, 47, 48, 52–54,
Social care, 9, 11, 36, 37, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58, 81, 82, 84–93, 97, 98, 100,	57, 58, 64, 68, 69, 71, 84, 89, 90, 92,
102–105, 110, 115, 118, 178,	93, 98, 105, 114–117, 119, 120, 146,
186–188, 191	157–161, 171, 178, 186–191, 193
Social care system, 77, 78, 81–83, 85, 87–93,	Solidarity, 20, 38, 39, 41, 54, 63, 108, 146,
101, 102, 104, 191	172, 186
Social change, 58, 60, 107, 189	Squalor, 36
Social exclusion, 2, 36, 46, 47, 51, 54, 59, 72,	Stakeholders, 81, 83, 101, 103, 107, 109, 119,
79, 80, 82, 129, 147, 166, 170, 191	125, 127, 167, 169, 188
Social functioning, 48	State social support, 46
Social inclusion, 3, 46, 59, 65, 72, 93, 110,	Stratification, 7
125, 147, 164, 165, 174, 176, 181	Subsidiarity, 3, 41, 44, 82, 92
Social inequality, 5, 40, 58, 62–64, 72, 73, 100	
Social insurance, 4, 18, 30, 41, 45, 46, 77, 78,	
97–102, 112, 118, 123, 130–132, 136,	<u>T</u>
145, 149, 150, 152, 155, 160, 161, 168	Telephone crisis intervention, 50

Totalitarianism, 38 Vocational training, 36 Transition, 5, 37, 40, 58, 62, 63, 65, 72, 78, Voluntary solidarity, 42 79, 98, 100, 102, 106, 109, 123, Volunteering, 37, 46 Vulnerable groups, 54, 83, 104, 110, 118, 120, 143–145, 158, 159, 164, 169, 174, 190 Transparency, 27, 31, 44, 190, 191 144, 145, 157, 159, 161, 180, 193 U W UN conventions, 37, 193 Welfare, 1, 17, 40, 58, 77, 97, 127, 146, 186 Unemployment, 3, 7-9, 18, 20, 21, 31, 32, 37, Welfare benefit, 19, 100, 108, 113, 144 51, 67, 72, 78-80, 83, 88, 99, 104, 108, Welfare mix, 9, 58, 81, 82, 85, 92, 93 110, 111, 114, 118, 123–125, 129, Welfare rights, 124, 144–147, 193 131–137, 144, 146, 148–154, 161, 166, Welfare state, 1, 17, 38, 57, 77, 97, 124, 168, 172, 174–176, 193 146, 186 Unemployment rate, 49, 59, 60, 67, 82, 101, Welfare state benefits, 39 103, 132, 134, 147, 151, 152, 164, 174 Welfare state trajectory, 1–8 User-centred approach, 82, 119, 190, 193 Workfare, 64, 65, 72, 88 \mathbf{v} Y Velvet Revolution, 37 Youth justice, 37

Maja Gerovska Mitev Editor

Social Work and Social Policy Transformations in Central and Southeast Europe

This book provides a picture of recent developments in social policy and social work in Central and Southeast Europe, especially trends after the COVID-19 pandemic, which necessitated significant welfare modifications. Through a comparative method, the book draws analytical conclusions about the interdependence between welfare state reforms and social work practices in Central and Southeast Europe and provides an overview of future perspectives regarding social policy and social service provision in this region.

The book covers four EU member states (Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Croatia) and three EU candidate countries (North Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). By critically contextualising existing welfare state categorisations, the book aims to examine the link between the welfare state reforms and implications for social work in Central and Southeast Europe.

The country-based chapters of this contributed volume:

- outline the context in which social policy and social work have developed and map the main changes in the welfare state since the transition from socialism;
- elaborate the country-specific welfare state discourse and discussions, which
 through literature review depict the conceptual debates about the welfare state,
 social justice, equality, poverty, entitlements for cash transfer and services,
 privatization, and accessibility;
- · indicate the key challenges in social policy and social work; and
- provide indications about the future perspectives of social policy and social service provision.

Social Work and Social Policy Transformations in Central and Southeast Europe addresses the scarcity of literature on social policy and social work in this region. The book is primarily intended for social policy researchers and scholars, and students in social work, social policy, political science, and sociology. It is an invaluable resource for researchers from all fields of social sciences and should provoke wider academic and professional interest.

"The common themes of transformation, restructuring and crises, synthesized in excellent Introductory and Concluding chapters, make the book an essential source for an understanding of contemporary policies and practices, the complex role played by historical legacies, and offer a model of what a comparative policy approach should look like".

-Paul Stubbs, Senior Research Fellow, The Institute of Economics, Zagreb, Croatia

