STAY HEALTHY, BE ACTIVE AND WORK! MOTIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICY PROPOSALS ON OLD AGE

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Abstract

This article discusses the motives of ageing policies, based on two cases of national policy documents, from Sweden and Poland. The discourse analysis applied in this study follows the key principles of motive analysis. The main findings indicate that neither document is primarily concerned about older people and their well-being. People and their lives are secondary to the main focus of the analysed policy proposals. Ageing is feared in those documents, and imagined consequences of the population ageing are attenuated.This study offers an insight into discursive spaces of old age in Poland and Sweden. Furthermore, it presents motive analysis as a valuable method for studying ways of problematising social policy issues. The article draws attention to discourses that shape social policy and are reinforced by it. It also shows the process of enacting a precautionary principle in social policy that often leads to reductionist and simplistic perspectives that focus on only one aspect of a given phenomenon.

Keywords: discourse, motive analysis, old age, social policy documents

1. Introduction

The contested, constructed and contradictory nature of the welfare state has been recognised to have a profound role in shaping and producing its people (Clarke, 2004). Each welfare state favours different groups of people and forms of behaviour; it is based on certain moral assumptions that are promoted (Clarke, 2004; Kremer, 2006). Consequently, there is growing interest in the cultural analysis of social policies and an inquiry into cultures of welfare to explain the meaning of the values, ideals, assumptions and emotions that the welfare state evokes and is built on (Chamberlayne, 1999; Clarke, 2004; Freeman & Rustin, 1999; Lockhart, 2001; Oorschot, 2007; Pfau-Effinger, 2005). Critical approaches to welfare states and social policymaking processes advocate attention to discourses that shape social policy and are reinforced by them (Bacchi, 1999, 2009; Schram, 2000, 2006). "Discourses have implications for what we can do and what we should do" (Burr, 2007: 75). They are the social practices constructing our reality; they construct systems of truth, which in turn, govern and define people's lives (Burr, 2007). One such practice is language use. It is through the use of language that people are able to know the world; language is used to construct our representations of the world, but it is not representational of the world out there (Pascale, 2007). Applying a discourse perspective to social policy allows for an examination of constructed problems and illuminates boundaries set to define them (Bacchi, 1999, 2009; Schram, 2006). Discourse analysis can be regarded as an important resource to counteract oppressive welfare structures (Schram, 2006).

In this study, we centre on the ways of problematising old age in social policy. Welfare structures are found to be fundamental sites of ageist attitudes and oppressive practices (Laws, 1995). The way social policies present old age affects individual experiences of ageing, societal values related to ageing and attitudes towards older people and ageing (Biggs, 2001; Hendricks, 2004; Ng & McCreanor, 1999, Katz & Green, 2009). Research has found ageing policies to be replete with instances of ageism (Biggs, 2001), clearly contributing to, if not shaping, intergenerational conflicts (Estes & Philipson, 2002), and invoking fears of an ageing population (Vincent, 1996). We posed the following question in this study: what are motives of such ageing policies?

In this paper, we analysed motives of ageing policies as expressed in two national ageing policy documents from Poland and Sweden. Poland and Sweden are members of EU, which has obvious repercussions for their social policy strategies but otherwise, they are very different, which offers an interesting background for the present discussion. Whereas the welfare state model in Poland remains undefined (Golinowska, 2009; Steinhilber, 2006) and described as a work in progress (Inglot, 2008), Swedish model of social policy has been steadily developing since 1930s. Universalism, redistribution and service welfare as well as a high level of decentralisation remain to be the key landmarks of this model (Abrahamson, 2002; Greve, 2007). The Swedish model, built on the idea of people's home (*folkhem*), has been recognised for its generous public sphere and involvement of the state in the welfare of its citizens. The Polish model of welfare state is oriented towards residual and familial welfare models; welfare benefits are means-tested and the family is the main unit of policy (Steinhilber, 2006). The socio-political transformation that began in 1989 had a great influence on the general political and economic climate; yet, similar changes were not observed in the sphere of social policy. Many characteristics of the socialist welfare model remained intact, for instance, maternalism/familialism of the Polish welfare that assigns most of family caregiving duties to women (Glas & Fordor, 2007; Szkira, 2009). Social services are not fully developed and levels of social transfers are very low (Mikołajczyk-Lerman, 2011).

"Strategy of Social Policy for the years 2007-2013" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) was introduced in Poland in 2005, and the Government's Proposition 2005/06:115 "National development plan of care and nursing for elderly" (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) was introduced in Sweden in 2006. These documents express recommendations and propositions that should advance care and welfare for older people: within a 5-year period in Poland, and within a 10-year period in Sweden. In this sense, there are two preferable, desired visions in both countries. None of these documents can be regarded as an accurate representation of the welfare discourse on old age in Poland and Sweden; nonetheless, they are part of it. Furthermore, each policy proposal is indicative of the way a social problem is represented; to call for a change is to represent a problem in certain way (Bacchi, 1999, 2009).

2.   Two documents- two institutions?

Poland has only recently started planning for its ageing policy and has no first-hand experience to refer to (Synak, 2003). Apart from the pension system, no other social security issue related to old age has been addressed (Orenstain & Haas, 2002). "Strategy of Social Policy for the years 2007-2013" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) is the first document to present national guidelines for ageing policy. The "Strategy..." (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) was introduced in response to the demands of the Lisbon Treaty (2000), to which Poland committed itself after joining the EU, in 2004. In 2008, in line with the aforementioned document, a national programme "Generational solidarity- actions towards the increase of labour participation among people aged 50+" was introduced. The rationale of the programme was based on the ideas of activity and social utility of older people, which clearly corresponds to the main ideas expressed in the "Strategy..."

Sweden, however, has a long-standing tradition of ageing policy that has been simultaneously developing; it has three main pillars: a pension system, housing policy and eldercare (Gunnarsson, 2009). However, it is noteworthy to stress that the political debates equate ageing policy with eldercare very often (Brodin, 2005). Consequently, the last two decades have been replete with discussions concerning the future of eldercare in Sweden, particularly its ability to respond to the needs of diverse groups of people (see Brodin, 2006; Gunnarson, 2002) and prevent regional disparities in quality. The latter discussion reached its peak in 2008, when the National Board of Health and Welfare introduced *Äldreguiden,* which gave an overview of the quality of eldercare across the country and revealed great differences across municipalities. The Government's Proposition 2005/06:115 "National development plan of care and nursing for elderly" (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) is the recent attempt to alter eldercare in Sweden.

In both cases, analysed documents were introduced by the national equivalent ministries of social policy. However, the language of those ministries varies. In Poland, the name of the ministry has been changed many times to incorporate social care and health and to reflect changing marketing approaches. In 2005, a Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (labour was added) was established, and its main areas of responsibility were defined as follows: social insurance, labour and family affairs (www.mpips.gov.pl). There are 13 included departments,

two of which are addressed to particular groups of people: the Department of Women, Family and Counteracting Discrimination and the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Disabled People. There is no separate section for old age and/or older people. In Sweden, the situation looks different. The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs has 13 areas of responsibility and is divided into four sectors led by four different ministers, including a Minister for Children and the Elderly. The minister for Children and the Elderly is responsible for, among other things, elderly care; however, pension is managed by the Minister of Social Security. Previously, the elderly minister (*äldreminister*) was associated with public health (2006-2010) and care (2004-2006). In her mission statement published on the official website, the current minister sets the following goal: "My vision is a Sweden where those who are weak become strong" (Larsson, 2010), which is followed by separate goals related to children, people with disabilities and older people.

The language used in these two examples highlights the different values and ideas underpinning the work of both ministries. In Poland's case, the labour element is presented as the main category of social policy. It is not applied to any specific group, but rather it expresses the general rule on which welfare state in Poland operates. On the contrary, in Sweden, there is a clear specialisation of social policy addressing old age. Based on the minister's statement, older people are seen as a group of dependants; they are 'weak', and hence they need help and care. As a conclusion, a study of public discourses on ageing in Sweden (Nilsson, 2008) discusses a discourse of our elderly. The nomination for the Minister for Children and the Elderly can be seen as an example of such paternalistic attitude.

3. Methodology

We deploy a motive analysis in this study. Motive analysis belongs to the broader field of discourse analysis, which is founded on the assumption that saying is doing, and language is a kind of action. To stress the dimension of language as "a mode of action" Kenneth Burke, the founder of this approach, called his model of analysis "dramatism" (1969a: XXII). Dramatism of Burke's methodology reflects another assumption stating that social space can be approached similarly to theatrical space because in both cases actors' actions are contingent

upon various forces (Kenny, 2008). To understand actors and their actions, Burke proposed an analysis of motives that are conceived of as basic "forms of thought" (1969a: XV). The concept of motive is not interchangeable with purpose; motives are described as worldviews, systems of ideas that help to comprehend the social world (Clapp, 2009; Williams, 2009).

Burke asserted that actions are constructed discursively, and his grammar of motives was to enable comprehension of those discursive formations (Scollon, 2006). He presented "the dramatistic pentad" (Williams, 2009) that comprised five elements: act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. These grammar forms creating a terministic screen (Scollon, 2006) are interconnected with each other; thus, change in one element propels change in another (Williams, 2009). Burke established the concept of ratios to accentuate the meaning of those relations for understanding motives. In the process of analysis, ratios indicate the direction of causation between various elements of the pentad (Scollon, 2006). Hence, to discern a motive, one needs to know what was done, the background and/or situation where it happened, the person who acted, the means she/he used to complete the action, and its outcome. Moreover, one needs to attend to relations existing among those five elements; for example, to explain the relationship between the scene and agent, does the scene determine the agent's actions, or does the agent transform the scene according to their desire? Motive analysis pays equal attention to what is said and how it is said (Burke, 1969a, 1969b). Consistently, Burke discussed the notion of ideology, which he contended was about the use of words carefully selected to meet certain ends (1969b). Ultimately, the analysis of motives searches for explanations of actions as agents provide them and offers alternative perspectives for understanding these actions (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Considering the structure of the analysed documents, we conducted the analysis in two steps. First, we examined the introduction of each document to search for statements conveying information about acts, agents, scene, purpose and agency. We focused both on directly and indirectly expressed elements of the motive pentad, and ratios established among them. The analysis of agency in those texts linked the first step with the second. The agency related to the overall act and purpose of the document comprised various acts. We treated those acts as having a motive and subsequently, we looked for the remaining elements of motives. However, we acknowledge that while those acts may stand independently, their meaning should be considered against the backdrop of the overall act and their role in

answering the agency's overarching question throughout the whole document. In the course of analysis, we also presented an alternative view of explanations offered in the policy documents.

None of the documents is available in English; hence all quotations used in the subsequent parts are authors' own translations. The analysed documents use the following terms to refer to older people: people at postproductive age [*osoby w wieku postprodukcyjnym*] and elderly [*äldre*]. Although they express ageist attitudes, we preserve them in the original form to accentuate the type of language used in both documents.

4. Findings

4.1. Fear of ageing

Every action occurs within a specific context. Yet, a scene is a ground not only in the physical sense, but metaphorical as well; therefore, the question about the type of scene that calls for a particular action is particularly relevant (Burke, 1969a). Analysed documents deal with the sphere of ageing policy, their main claim is that something needs to be done about the population ageing. In understanding why this is so, the establishment of a scene provides an answer.

The introductory part of the "Strategy...." contains a section called "demography" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:6-8). There are two main demographic trends stressed here: a decrease in the fertility rate of women and an increase in the overall life expectancy. What follows is an analysis of changes in the number of people of postproductive age. Apart from statistical data, the picture is supported by a chart depicting the tendency of the demographic dependency ratio to grow, with a particular focus on the share of people at post-productive age, and a chart displaying the growth of the 65+ population segment to the year 2029. The latter information is supported with a detailed estimation of the expected number of people over the age of 65, 85 and 100.

Likewise, the Governmental proposition (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006) is rich in statistical information concerning the share of older people in the total population in Sweden, emphasising divisions between men and women. A particular focus is on the 80+ age

group, which has the greatest need of care. Differences between men and women are stressed when discussing the disadvantaged situation of women who, according to the data, are more likely to be clients of eldercare, residents of special housing and to live alone more compared than men. A substantial part of the introduction deals with costs for eldercare: it ranges from displaying the percentage estimated cost increases, as a proportion of GDP, to a detailed specification of expenditures for eldercare and health care for older people. The picture ends with acknowledgment of the role played by relatives in caring for older people, as well as analysis of the staff working in the eldercare field, including their total number, sex and level of education. The report concludes that there is a shortage of educated staff within eldercare, and that this type of work is mainly performed by women.

The discourse of alarmist/ apocalyptic demography (Katz, 1996; Vincent, 1996) based on decline ideology (Gullette, 2004) seems to underpin both documents, yet it has diverse features in each case. The Polish document puts forwards an economic perspective: increased numbers of older people entails increasing costs for the rest of society. Sharp distinctions between the categories of pre-productive, post- productive and productive age are drawn. Moreover, a fourth category, the "immobile age" [*wiek niemobilny*] (those over the age of 44) (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 6), is introduced here. Evidently, the position in the labour market is a primary determinant in assessing people's value.

Although the financial aspect is also crucial in the Swedish document, its presence is the outcome of a different type of thinking: "When the number of elderly in the populace is growing, so does their need for care" [*När gruppen äldre växer, växer också behoven av vård och omsorg*] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). An increasing number of older people entails an increasing number of sick people who are in need of care. Even though it is mentioned at the beginning of the introduction that more and more older people enjoy better health nowadays, the role of the state is emphasised: "The overall welfare policy lies at the heart of this progress" *[Det är den generella välfärdspolitiken som lagt grunden för denna utveckling*](Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). Diversity of the group of elderly is acknowledged, but only in terms of variety of care needs. Therefore, the document revolves around the following logic: as greater numbers of older people make up society, the more the state's involvement is required.

Fears invoked of a population that does not work and people who are "foremost, recipients of the various social welfare benefits" [*przede wszystkim beneficjentami różnego rodzaju świadczeń społecznych*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 7), in Poland, and fear of sickness, in Sweden, penetrate the discourse. Carefully selected statistical data are tools used to persuade the audience that the situation is severe and requires immediate action. According to the analysed documents, ageing is a problem that calls for a solution. Defence against ageing, which is constructed as a threatening phenomenon, is a driving theme of both documents. Considering the scene-act ratio, it is mainly the ageing population that determines ageing policy acts. However, in both cases, additional scenes are established. In Poland, it is the market economy; in Sweden, it is the welfare economy. In Poland, ageing is equated with a decline in the labour force; in Sweden, it is about bodily decline. Nevertheless, both types of decline are described as costly to the society. Simultaneously, solid lines are drawn between different groups of people. People who are above a certain age are presented as different from the rest of society; an age marker becomes a social divider that clearly indicates who "they" are. Hence, categories such as post-productive age and elderly are presented as unproblematic and self-evident.

4.2. Ready to act

Ageing, or more specifically, ageing society, is the scene that calls for some actions. The principal act, according to the Polish document, is " a building a system of support for persons at the post-productive age" [*Budowa systemu wsparcia dla osób w wieku poprodukcyjnym*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 22). This act is in line with the perception of ageing as being primarily an economic problem for the country. Consistently, the Polish act discusses a category of people at the postproductive age, stressing their unusual place outside the labour market that needs to be changed. It is unusual because, in the discursive space of the welfare system displayed in the act, every person is labour active, and life outside the labour market seems non-existent. Consequently, old age is perceived as manageable, and older people as responsible for their life projects (Katz, 2000, 2001).

The Swedish act asserts that "This [an increasing number of older people] requires development and renewal of social planning as well as health care and eldercare" [*Detta kräver utveckling och förnyelse av såväl samhällsplaneringen som sjukvården och*

äldreomsorgen] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19). This reorganisation of ageing policy includes the establishment of a national steering plan of eldercare with "much clearer rules" [*en tydligare styrning*](Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19), legislative changes and the allocation of more financial resources for eldercare. It highlights the bureaucratic element of the system and centres upon accumulating governmental documents. The scene-act ratio shows that ageing population calls for changes in social policy. Acts directly related to older people are not mentioned here.

In both countries, the vision of ageing is presented as a simple and straightforward phenomenon. Considering the act-purpose ration, ageing leads to one-dimensional outcomes. There is no discussion relating to diverse images of ageing, multiple life courses and stories. It appears to be 'natural' that ageing is about sickness and/or lack of activity.

4.3. This is what we want

The Swedish document expresses a governmental will to improve quality, accessibility, equality as well as diversity within eldercare. This is not the only purpose presented in this document, however. Notions of "raising ambitions"[*ambitionshöjning]* and that "Sweden will be the best place in the world to grow old. This the most important goal of this development plan" [*Sverige skall bli världens bästa land att åldras i. Det är regeringens högst ställda mål i denna utvecklingsplan*] (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006: 19) - this is how the overall aim of the new policies are described in the Swedish document. This seemingly positive picture is, however, concealing some ambiguity. The concern over Sweden's international reputation seems to supersede other issues. No references to the opinions or wishes of ordinary people are found here. In that sense, the development of ageing policy can be read as just one of the areas of public policy that needs to be scored with respect to other countries; "social policy becomes its own cause" (Schram, 2000: 26). Moreover, there are governmental criteria on which policy decisions would be made, not the will of the people.

Compared to this, the Polish version seems to have more local purpose, which is expressed as follows: "adjust social policy to the consequences of these changes [refers to demographical trends] and counteract negative phenomena" [*dostosowanie polityki społecznej do skutków zachodzących zmian oraz przeciwdziałanie niekorzystnym zjawiskom*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:6). Reoccurring, phrases such as "challenges", "strong impact", and

"socio-economic situation of the country" add to the drama caused by ageing. Economic sustainability appears to be the ultimate goal. Accordingly, active ageing is supposed to lead to "effective and satisfying" [*efektywnie i satysfakcjonująco wykorzystany*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:7) ways of using seniors' time, and activation of older workers implies "postponing the decision about retirement" [*odkładania momentu przejścia na emeryturę*] (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:7). Just as in the Swedish case, older people and their welfare are not primary concerns here. In the Polish scenario, they pose a threat of becoming an economic burden on the rest of society.

Surprisingly, older people and their well-being are not the ultimate targets of ageing policies; they are rather means to achieve slightly different ends. Under the guise of concern and attention, there is an unmistakable tendency to control and shape the lives of older people in order to pursue goals that are far removed from the overtly expressed ones.

4.4. We will do it or… maybe someone else will

There is a clear indication, in the Swedish document, that it is the government that sees a need for developing and reconstructing eldercare in Sweden "According to the government's assessment there is a need for a clear steering of elderly care" [*Regeringen bedömer att det på visa områden krävs en tydligare styrning]*. Therefore, "the government intends to... [*regeringen avser att*] ...The government presents, in the development plan, its will to work for ... [*I utvecklingsplanen presenterar regeringen sin vilja att verka för*]" (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006:19-27). As far as the document and the overall plan for elderly care are concerned, the question of an actor is unproblematic. The agent-act ratio, relating to the policy-making, shows the prime role of the government, which makes all decisions. Yet, the question at the heart of this analysis involves the realisation of the plan. Here, there is a sudden shift in appointing actors responsible for the execution of the government's plan: "Responsibility for planning, financing and developing eldercare rests on municipalities and county councils" *[Ansvaret för att planera, finsiera och utveckla vård och omsorg om äldre vilar på kommunerna och landstingen]* (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 2006:19). A top-down perspective is apparent here: decisions and plans worked out at the national level are to be followed by adequate implementations at local levels.

In the case of Poland, the question of actors is more complicated. There are many actors acknowledged in the introduction to the "Strategy..." (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005) who took part in preparing the document. Non-governmental organisations, trade unions, employers' organisations and 50 social policy scholars contributed to the document. Subsequently, the document was subjected to societal consultations. As a social-policy making process, the Polish case clearly represents a model diametrically opposed to the Swedish one. Various social organisations at different levels participated in the process of writing the document, but the execution of the project remains problematic. Wherever there is an indication that something needs to or should be done, the agent of the desired act remains unidentified. There are numerous instances of nominalisation (the linguistic process of concealing actors responsible for certain acts), such as: "it will be achieved through [*Cel ten będzie realizowany poprzez*] ... building a system of support [*budowa system wsparcia*] ... creating conditions [*tworzenie warunków*] ..." (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 34-36). There are at least two ways of reading such locutions: first, if no one is specified as the sole executor of the plan, then everyone can try to work with it; second, there is a plan that no one is responsible for, and therefore no one would be interested in pursuing it. What is shared by these two options is that in both cases, no one is accountable for the implementation of new policies.

It appears that an army of experts has been hired to discuss the problem of ageing. Though employed at different stages, both Polish and Swedish versions of the document acknowledge and accentuate the role of self-designated experts on aging. They are scholars, social policy makers, representatives of governmental agencies and care organisations- people who produce a professional perspective on ageing.

4.5. *A way to go*

There are several ways of achieving the main objectives of the future ageing policies mentioned in both documents. There are discussed as the key thematic sections of the documents mentioned above in the introduction. Tables 1 and 2 below summarise the results of a motive analysis of five priorities, as expressed in the Polish document, and six areas of development, as stated in the Swedish one.

Creation of conditions facilitating integration in the ageing society

Act	Agency	Scene	Purpose	Agent
Development of a system of care	-building the system of financing (social insurance or budget); -support to family caregivers who work; -development of community care (practice, staff, standards and supervision); -provision of health care and training of nurses; -expansion of service for independent living	local community; family;	- community-based model of integration	Not specified
Introduction of residential care	- provision of all-hours care;- training of the staff	Social care homes	-provision of specialised support to people with special care needs	Not specified
Activation and community integration	- support of societal integration of people at post-productive age (neighbourhood groups of older persons, social and cultural participation, life-long learning); - supporting actors and advocates working in the interest of older people; supporting development of intergenerational bonds	Local communities;	-use of the potential of people at post-productive age	Not specified (NGOs)
Provision of pension services	- equality among men and women (equalisation of the retirement age);- introduction of flexible working schemes - support of older workers (training, activation);- support of individual plans for old age financial security	(the labour market?)	-adequate pensions	Not specified (the government and legislative organs)
Pursuit of coherent ageing policy	program of ageing policy meeting international standards;- education for old age;-anti-discrimination practices;	governmental level; school system; public media; local level	-counteract age discrimination; preparation for old age;	Not specified

Table 1. Integration in the ageing society in Poland- an analysis of motives

According to the overall goal of the new policies, a support system for people of post-productive age should be the prime focus of ageing policy in Poland. Yet, later in the document, this purpose is reframed as "Creation of conditions facilitating integration in the ageing society" *[Tworzenie warunków sprzyjających integracji w starzejącym się społeczeństwie]* (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005:34). Against the background of ageing society (scene), integration is seen as the main goal. However, neither actor nor agency is specified here. This priority of social policy is to be achieved through the implementation of five specialised objectives, which are presented in the above table.

All acts mentioned in the document are formulated in a way that conceals the agent. Nominalisations take the form of either nouns constructed from verbs or the gerund: hence, the numerous instances of "promotion [*promocja*], development [*rozwój*], strengthening *[wzmacnianie],* creating *[tworzenie]*, and implementation [*wdrażanie*]" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2005: 34-36). Consistent with the overall approach of the document, the issues of responsibility and accountability are also avoided in this section. In this sense, the whole document can be read as an expression of wishful thinking that is not followed by more concrete actions. However, this type of wishful thinking has its own ideology, one that needs to be examined.

An important arena for actions, described in the document, is a local community. The role assigned to the local community seems to extend the frame of a scene; to a great extent, local community is assumed to undertake concrete actions such as caretaking or organising various activities. For the former, the family has a prime role in care responsibilities; the latter appears to be mutually shared by older people and NGOs along with other local organisations. It is apparent that the main value promoted in the document is activity - with its social, cultural and labour dimensions. On the one hand, this may be read as the enactment of a positive model aiming at achieving some good. On the other hand, the situation seems to be far more problematic. Older people are expected to be active, to participate in social life, be able to contribute to their own well-being and above all else, prove their usefulness to the

communities. Activity is perceived as a privilege that older people cannot resist (Katz, 2000; Sinding & Gray, 2005). This type of "prescribed busyness" (Cruikshank, 2003:160) is in line with the aforementioned fear of economic burdens on the rest of society caused by older people. Integration of older people is conditional: it does not refer to just any older people; it pertains to a specific type of older person. Concurrently, the emerging situation may be considered in terms of a model encompassing integration and dehumanisation (Haim, 1994): to be integrated, older people need to fulfil additional requirements, since being a fellow human is not enough in their case.

In comparison to the Polish document, the Swedish one clearly responds to the question of responsibility and accountability for planned acts. The government is the main agent that has control over the majority of activities. Even if some actions are assigned to other actors, the government still retains its role as the ultimate supervisor and instructor. Here, ageing is clearly associated with disease; instead of aiming to attain positive conditions, attention is focused on preventing and counteracting envisioned negative features of ageing.

	Development plan			
Act	**Agency**	**Scene**	**Purpose**	**Agent**
Improvement of care of the most sick	-increased cooperation between municipalities and county councils;- more funding; -better work performed by medical doctors; - review of medications;	Not specified (home and hospital?)	-increase safety and trust within elder care	-the government, municipalities,-county councils,-medical doctors
Provision of housing	-a stimulus package for renovation of special housing; -an inquiry into the housing situation of older people; -secure better access to good housing	Not specified	-good housing adjusted to local needs	municipalities, the government
Development of social care	-expansion of home services; cooperation with minority organisations; development of nutrition-related care	Not specified (home)	support for living in ordinary housing; response to a multicultural society	Not specified (municipalities)
Securing nationwide equality of care and local development	-research enquires on older people; recruitment of more actors providing care; supporting technical advancement	Not specified (home)	-clarify rules regulating elderly care; quality development	-the government,-the National Board of Health and Welfare; -Central Statistical Office
Preventive work	-preventive home visits;-financial support to relatives providing care,	Not specified (home)	-prevent injuries and bad health among older people; benefit all citizens	-the government. municipalities
Training of staff	-a national system of qualifications and recruitment for eldercare workers; improvement of working conditions	Not specified (working life)	-competent staff	-the government; (many nominalisations)

Table 2. Six development areas of ageing policy in Sweden- an analysis of motives

Although the roles of agent and agency are obvious, the scene of proposed acts is rather vague. While one might reasonably conclude that the national and municipal levels contain acts to be performed, on the other hand, the focus on agents may indicate a special ratio between the agent and scene. Whereas in the Polish document, the scene designates potential agents, here the agent has much more power over the scene. In this situation, the agent transforms and creates the scene according to his or her own plan (Burke, 1969a). Overall, this approach can be seen as a version of segregation and dehumanisation practices (Haim, 1994). Older people are different than the rest of society; they are viewed as potentially sick and disabled. Services and care provided to them is intended to separate them from the outside world. At best, it centres upon confining older people in their own houses, albeit with an increasing range and scope of home services.

Transformation of the organisation and structure of eldercare is the core concern of the document. Yet, the introduction of new laws and the production of new documents and repost appear to be almost equally important. There is an assumption that a more highly regulated system gives greater control to the regulator, and therefore secures the fulfilment of expected goals. Paradoxically, this may be achieved by the Swedish government: not only are remedies to the apparent problem of ageing suggested by the government, it is also government that sets the standards and suggest ways of measuring them. In this scenario, the voice of older people themselves is unimportant, or rather "trivial", as Persson & Berg (2009) concluded in their study on formal influence channels for older people in Sweden.

4.6. *Social identity of older people*

In this section we will discuss several elements of policy language used in the analysed documents. In terms of the overall style of the documents, they may be described as examples of realism in policy. Realism is about presenting things the way they are, plain and blatant (Apthorpe, 1997). This is particularly evident in the introductory sections of the documents. There is typically an assortment of statistics quoted after introducing many institutions and organisations- these tools are used in order to represent the current situation. This display provides a background to the policy recommendations and solutions to the problem which follow. However, this practice portrays the process of producing a certain type of knowledge about ageing that characterises older people as dependent on the state (Katz &Green, 2009).

Another feature of realism expressed here is the deductive nature of its prescriptions (Apthorpe, 1997). Given a certain situation, experts propose a relevant solution. What differentiates the two documents is the fixation on a few terms that are recurring in the whole document, which ultimately reveals the core approach to ageing. In case of Poland, there are words such as post-productive age, work, activity and community. Ageing is viewed through the lens of national economy; the problem of ageing is that people stop working. Active participation and utilisation of human potential is the key response to that situation. Moreover, the life of an older person is confined to a local community, one that is assumed to fulfil all his/her needs. The rhetoric of the Swedish document centres on care, elderly, a national plan, home. Older people do need care because – this is the main argument underpinning the government's proposition. They do not exist as active subject; they are portrayed as recipients increasing level of care and services. They are not pictured as members of society; they sit at home and await the next delivery of care or services in silence. Their lives are confined to the space of their apartments; home, in this document is about physical space, a non-institutional rather than a familiar social space. It becomes less important whether there are any people around who can make the space homey and sociable.

The Swedish document, to a greater degree than the Polish one, exemplifies a discourse of essentialism. Essentialism, in political discourse, is the conviction that governmental actions and plans are intrinsically good and appropriate; moreover, the state or government is the entity that has the solution (Gasper, 1996). The latter is called prescriptive essentialism (Gasper, 1996) and this type of discourse is clearly visible in the document. In each of six areas of development, there is a story being told. The government tells a story about what is or can go wrong, and instantly offers a solution that is assumed to be correct. For instance, people do not trust the system of eldercare and do not feel safe; hence, the government suggests that the cooperation between various administrative units should be improved. It is assumed that if the rules of cooperation between various units are clear, people will feel safer and more secure. The solution is presented as the singularly correct one. These straightforward responses of the Swedish government are juxtaposed to the idealistic visions proposed in the Polish document. The whole concept of ageing policy relies on the conviction that older people thrive in their communities; they are eager to help

one another; and they see themselves as members of a bigger group which boosts their sense of solidarity.

5. Discussion

The main objective of this study was to explore the motives of ageing policies as expressed in two national social policy documents, in Poland and Sweden. Upon a critical examination of the analysed texts, we found that neither document is primarily concerned about older people and their well-being. People and their lives are secondary to the main focus of the analysed policy proposals. The documents attenuate the imagined consequences of ageing. This application of precautionary principle in social policy often leads to a focus on only one aspect of a given phenomenon, because the underlying fear blurs and silences other aspects (Sunstein, 2008). In the Polish document, ageing is feared because it renders people inactive; furthermore, it reduces the labour force, which threatens the economic sustainability of the country. In the Swedish document, ageing is principally associated with physical impairment, and older people are viewed as state dependents in need of care.

Old age, in both documents, is tolerated on the condition of activity and good health. Old people are encouraged to make their own choices, to decide on their own behalf, providing that their choice is consistent with the policy's vision. Tables 1 and 2 indicate which actions and behaviours of older people are promoted and, therefore, expected. In the case of a document from Poland, older people are supported in their work in society and the community; the right choice to make is to choose to be active. In the document from Sweden, it is the opposite; the right choice expressed is to stay home, to become invisible to the rest of the society. Otherwise, old age is perceived as a burden, and the existence of older people is problematic.

The idea that people's lifestyle may cause social problems stems from the new discourse of welfare paternalism (Mead, 1997). It is based on the welfare state's exertion of control and power over people's individual interests and the enforcement of certain values (ibid). In the Polish document, work is given the main value. As such, it exhibits elements of the personal responsibility discourse that praises work and denies the visibility of other structural factors that may be at play (Schram,

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2000). In the Swedish document, the logic of medicalisation of dependency (Schram, 2000, 2006) is discernible. The main problem with older people, as represented in the document, is that they are sick and that they consequently need to be treated. The growing public administration, the development of assessment processes and the controlling mechanisms outside institutional frames all indicate the advancing medicalisation of welfare (Schram, 2000, 2006). In the analysed document, the quest for more administration and advanced forms of monitoring people's lives was clearly visible. The government values health because it needs it. Sweden is one of the countries that applies a functional approach to health and perceives health as necessary for successful governance (Bacchi, 2009).

This study reflects upon discourses of old age that made examined policy proposals possible. However, it does not explain the complexity of ageing policies in Poland and Sweden and is far from providing a comprehensive image of such policies. By identifying key categories and concepts used in these two documents, and by attending to the language of the documents, this study offers an insight into discursive spaces of old age in Poland and Sweden. It shows words and ideas that can be used within these spaces. The attitudes of "postproductive age" in Poland and "our elderly" (Nilsson, 2009) in Sweden do not seem to raise any concerns or elicit societal disapproval. On the contrary, they indicate societal ideas about old age aimed at its management. These ideas and attitudes become parts of the "assumptive worlds" that not only policy makers carry over in their occupational duties, but welfare professionals as well (Wilson, 1991).

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