

Kati Turtiainen

Possibilities of Trust and Recognition between Refugees and Authorities

Resettlement as a Part of Durable
Solutions of Forced Migration



Kati Turtiainen

Possibilities of Trust and Recognition
between Refugees and Authorities

Resettlement as a Part of Durable Solutions
of Forced Migration

Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston vanhassa juhlasalissa S212
marraskuun 23. päivänä 2012 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of
the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä,
in Auditorium S212, on November 23, 2012 at 12 o'clock noon.



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2012

Possibilities of Trust and Recognition
between Refugees and Authorities
Resettlement as a Part of Durable Solutions
of Forced Migration

Kati Turtiainen

Possibilities of Trust and Recognition
between Refugees and Authorities

Resettlement as a Part of Durable Solutions
of Forced Migration



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2012

Editors

Jussi Kotkavirta

Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Jyväskylä

Pekka Olsbo, Sini Tuikka

Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

Cover picture: Typical Rwandan relief made out of cow dung and colors from the nature.
A gift from Rwandan friend.

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-4912-9
ISBN 978-951-39-4912-9 (PDF)

ISBN 978-951-39-4911-2 (nid.)
ISSN 0075-4625

Copyright © 2012, by University of Jyväskylä

Jyväskylä University Printing House, Jyväskylä 2012

ABSTRACT

Turtiainen, Kati

Possibilities of trust and recognition between refugees and authorities

- Resettlement as a part of durable solutions of forced migration

Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2012, 116 p.

(Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research,
ISSN 0075-4625; 451)

ISBN 978-951-39-4911-2 (nid.)

ISBN 978-951-39-4912-9 (PDF)

Yhteenveto

Diss.

The main question of this study is how trust and recognition becomes possible between quota refugees and authorities. The concept of refugee is formulated in the Geneva Convention 1951 by the UNHCR. Refugees are one group of forced migrants. The first standpoint of this study is forced migration studies. Forced migration studies can be understood in its widest sense as an umbrella concept concerning all "categories" of forced migrants. The second standpoint is the Critical Social Theory and especially The Theory of Recognition defined by Axel Honneth. The third standpoint of this study is critical social work, which gives bedrock to refugee receiving and integration social work by taking the social environment into consideration.

Refugees are one group of forced migrants and their main problem is that they are not protected by any nation state. Resettlement tries to solve the problem by giving a state protection. Finland has resettled systematically refugees for more than twenty years. In Finland, authorities are in the frontline of settlement and integration work of refugees. The premise of this study is that a mutual trust between newly arrived refugees, and their receiving public authorities is an essential element to successful integration

This study approaches the issue from the dual perspective using qualitative data and the concept of trust and the theory of recognition defined by Axel Honneth. The data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in Central Finland. The other data includes two group discussions with professionals working with refugees. The data was analysed by content analysis of extracts and narratives. I started my study from the question 'how the experiences of refugee are transmitted into the descriptions of trust building towards the authorities of the new society'? I found five types of stories of how the past experiences affected trust building between refugees and authorities. I found out that the concept of trust alone is not enough for understanding the relationship between refugees and authorities. Therefore, the data was subsequently analysed by using the theory of recognition, which proved to be a prerequisite and a tool for trust formation between refugees and authorities.

This study broadens the theoretical understanding of refugee settlement and integration work. Authorities should be sensitive towards using care, respect and social esteem as forms of recognition. If trust is not possible, in consequence, refugees' agency will be limited and they remain dependent on the authorities.

Keywords: recognition, trust, social work, refugee, refugee resettlement, refugee settlement social work

Author's address Kati Turtiainen
Immigrant Services
City of Jyväskylä
mail: kati.turtiainen@jkl.fi

Supervisors Docent, Senior Lecturer Marjo Kuronen
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
/Social Work
University of Jyväskylä

Professor Mikko Mäntysaari
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy
/Social Work
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers Docent, University Lecturer Suvi Keskinen
Faculty of Social Sciences/Sociology
University of Turku

Docent, Senior Lecturer Heikki Ikäheimo
Department of Philosophy
Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia

Opponent Docent, University Lecturer Suvi Keskinen
Faculty of Social Sciences/Sociology
University of Turku

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In December 2007 I travelled to Tampere to confirm with Professor Arja Jokinen if she was serious, when she suggested that I continue my studies after my licentiate theses. As a street level worker with migrants it never came to my mind to write a dissertation. I thank Arja, my supervisor of the licentiate theses, for the assistance and discussions which led me to start a long and interesting journey with academics, fellow students, scientific publications and having many inspiring and joyful events in different countries with many people.

Another important moment was when my supervisor Docent Marjo Kuronen invited me to join the Indosow (International Doctoral Studies of Social Work) seminars in Cambridge, Brussels and Ljubljana. Later I was privileged to be accepted to study in the Indosow – project, which is run by the Faculty of Social Work, University of Ljubljana. Indosow became a second academic home to this dissertation. My special thanks go to Professor Birgit Rommelspacher who supervised my fourth article and gave good perspectives concerning the overall writing process. I thank all the professors and lectures in Indosow for their inspiring presentations. I warmly thank Director of the Indosow, Professor Darja Zaviršek at the University of Ljubljana for being a pioneer and forward looking innovator concerning diversity and social work. Your work has inspired me a lot. I thank Assistant Professor Vesna Leskošek for giving me the possibility to contribute to her book about Theories and Methods in social work. I also thank Vesna for her presentations about poverty and global economic inequality. I hold great reverence for Professor Silvia Staub-Bernasconi who shared her great life's work with us during the summer schools and seminars. Her significant academic achievements and other work for promoting human rights work gave a core where to draw strength from once again.

As a part of the Indosow project I stayed for one semester in Berlin at Alice-Salomon-Fachhochschule studying in the program of Intercultural Management. I thank all the lectures there and direct my special thanks to Doctor Sean Loughna whose inspiring presentations gave me a general view about forced migration.

I thank my supervisor Marjo Kuronen for reading and rereading my texts over and over. Her patience and support has been necessary in all the stages and especially in those moments when I was near to giving up. I thank Mikko Mäntysaari for raising good questions and his assistance. I am grateful to Mikko that I had the possibility to stay for a couple of months in the department of social work while completing this study. The reviewers docent Suvi Keskinen and docent Heikki Ikäheimo I thank for applying themselves to my manuscript. Their comments made this study much better. There have been many people during the process who have supported, assisted and inspired me by reading and commenting on the articles. Especially I thank Marja Kaskisaari and Arto Laitinen for their constructive feedback. There have been many seminars and groups for Phd students in Jyväskylä, Indosow-project and Berlin where I presented my "papers". I thank all those academics and fellow students for their

feedback and support. I also thank anonymous reviewers for their feedback concerning my articles.

I feel privileged that I have had a possibility to share experiences with refugees for more than two decades. Those experiences are full of human suffering, global and local inequality “there” and “here”. My warmest thanks belong to my interviewees who shared their experiences and enabled this study. I really hope that this study could be “a floor” for dignified discussions and dialogue of reception and recognition of refugees. I also thank my co-workers for sharing their experiences concerning our work. I thank them for the continuous discussions on refugeehood, human suffering and for willingness to improve our practices.

I cordially thank The Foundation for Municipal Development for giving me financial support and director Ritva Anttonen for giving me study leave; otherwise I could not have complete this study. I thank proof readers Paul Abbey, Karen Danks and Margaret Trotta Tuomi during the different stages of this study. It has been vital that you have helped me in the place where I am a stranger.

I owe apologies to my friends and relatives for being so unsocial during these years. I thank those people who still are “there”. I thank my friend Mirja Kutti Hytönen for her everyday friendship, which has kept me sane. I thank my sons Miika and Alpi for keeping my legs on the ground and my partner Pertti for being there. I am grateful to my father Martti Turtiainen who taught me to love “written words”. I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my father who passed away this year.

Jyväskylä 7.10.2012
Kati Turtiainen

FIGURES

FIGURE 1	The structure of needs' identification and recognition.....	96
----------	---	----

TABLES

TABLE 1	Global forced displacement without natural disaster-related displacement.....	24
TABLE 2	The structure of the relations of recognition.	48
TABLE 3	Theoretical and conceptual bases, analysis units and analysis methods of the articles.....	65
TABLE 4	Refugees' stories after arrival in Finland	73

LIST OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Turtiainen, Kati (2009a) Kertomuksia uuden kynnyksellä – Luottamuksen rakentuminen kiintiöpakolaisten ja viranomaisten välillä. [Stories on the New Step after Arriving in Finland. Trust building between Quota Refugees and Public Authorities] *Janus* 17 (4), 329–345.
(TRUST ARTICLE)

Turtiainen, Kati (2009b) Recognition and recognitive attitudes between refugees and authorities. A Finnish Example. In: Vesna Leskosek (ed.) *Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives*. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana, 149–161.
(RECOGNITION ARTICLE)

Turtiainen, Kati (2011) Riippuvuus pakolaisia vastaanottavassa sosiaalityössä [Dependency in the Refugee Resettlement Social Work]. In: Aini Pehkonen & Marja Väänänen – Fomin (eds.) *Sosiaalityön arvot ja etiikka. Sosiaalityön tutkimuksen seuran vuosikirja*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus. 139–164. (DEPENDENCY ARTICLE)

Turtiainen, Kati (2012) Social esteem in the narratives of refugees living in Finland. Forthcoming. *Nordic Social Work Research* (1) 2013. Acceptance date 30.8.2012. In Press. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/rnsw> December 2012. (SOCIAL ESTEEM ARTICLE)

H56@9C: 7CBH9BHG

ABSTRACT
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
FIGURES AND TABLES
LIST OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES
TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	13
2	FORCED MIGRATION AND EUROPEAN HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION POLICIES	21
	2.1 Who are forced migrants?	22
	2.2 Refugees and a severed relationship with the state.....	24
	2.3 The concept of refugee in international law	26
	2.4 Why resettlement?	29
	2.5 European nation-states and the needs of asylum seekers and refugees	32
	2.6 The Finnish context of hosting refugees.....	36
	2.7 Social workers as agents of state policies	38
3	TRUST AND THE THEORY OF RECOGNITION AS THE THEORETICAL BASE OF THIS STUDY	41
	3.1 Function and the types of trust.....	41
	3.2 Connections of trust in relation to social capital	43
	3.3 The theory of recognition in the philosophical debate.....	45
	3.3.1 Identification, recognition and recognitive attitudes.....	48
	3.3.2 Non-recognition and a satisfaction of needs	50
	3.4 Recognition, social work and social work research.....	51
4	METHODOLOGY	56
	4.1 Refugees' interviews and authorities' group discussions as data.....	56
	4.2 Studying the experiences and narratives of refugees.....	57
	4.3 Data collection.....	59
	4.4 Abduction as a form of inference	63
	4.5 Analysis of the data	64
	4.6 Ethical considerations	68
5	MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	71
	5.1 Refugees' stories after their arrival to Finland	71
	5.2 Refugees' experiences of misrecognition and immoral trust.....	73
	5.3 Trust stories during the enormous changes in their lives	76
	5.4 Care as a form of recognition	78
	5.5 Respect as a form of recognition.....	80

5.5.1	Theoretical considerations on the concept of respect	80
5.5.2	Respecting rights as entitlements.....	81
5.5.3	Positive dependency as a basis of respect	82
5.5.4	Moral trust and respect as responsibility in social work.....	87
5.6	Social esteem as a form of recognition.....	88
5.6.1	Theoretical considerations concerning the concept of social esteem.....	88
5.6.2	Unrecognised skills wasted in the new society	90
5.6.3	The background of refugee as a motivating factor contributing to the common good	91
5.6.4	Cultural discontinuity before and after resettlement.....	93
6	CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES.....	95
	YHTEENVETO.....	98
	REFERENCES.....	101

1 INTRODUCTION

Lack of trust is said to be an essential obstacle in the interaction between refugees and authorities in the new society due to how they have been treated by the authorities in their countries of origin. Already, prior to crossing their border and becoming a refugee, the mistrust is great (Hynes 2003). Before refugees escaped from their countries of origin, they have been mistrusted by their own government and/or agents of the government and been persecuted by them. After resettlement refugees encounter mistrust in the new country in the form of disrespectful behaviour, like discrimination. My premise is that a mutual trust between newly arrived refugees, and the receiving public authorities is an essential element to successful integration. The main question of this study is how trust becomes possible, by analysing the narratives of refugees concerning different stages of their refugee process.

Besides the administrative concept of refugee, formulated in the Geneva Convention 1951 by the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), refugees are one group of forced migrants. While refugees are not protected by their countries of origin, they have to escape and cross the national border to seek asylum from other countries. The main problem of not being protected by any other state lies in the fact that state sovereignty is stronger than solidarity to unprotected people (e.g. Benhabib 2002). There are also more and more of those individuals in the world who do not even have the "right to claim rights" (Arendt 1968). Also millions of refugees recognized by the UNHCR live under the temporary protection and, in practise, live years, often decades, in a state of limbo waiting for a durable solution. The possibilities of these refugees are to repatriate, reintegrate in the second country or become resettled in a third country. It is estimated that the UNHCR's total resettlement capacity will result in unmet needs for almost 40,000 in 2011. (UNHCR 2011a.) The systematic resettlement of refugees begun in Finland in 1990. These resettled refugees in Finland are the target group of this study.

Finland is said to be a country of emigration, especially from the Second World War until the 1990's. Until the end of the 1980's, most immigrants coming to Finland were returnees from Sweden or immigrants having family ties in

Finland. The number of foreign born citizens in the middle of the 1970's was only approximately 10,000. The situation changed radically during the 1990's, when the number of foreign born citizens residing in Finland increased four-fold. At the end of the 1990's, out of approximately 85,000 foreign citizens residing permanently in Finland, people from Russia formed the largest single nationality group, and Estonians the second largest before Swedes. Somalis formed the fourth largest group, being also the largest refugee community. The most recent statistics dated 1.1.2011 show a steady increase in the number of foreign citizens which is 167,953 with the total population of the country being 5,3 million people. This means that still only 3,1% of the whole population is of foreign origin. The number of foreigners residing in Finland, both numerically and percentage wise is still among the lowest in the European Union member states. (Official statistics in Finland 2011.)

The role of the municipal authorities and social workers is essential in the refugee receiving services in the Nordic countries. Social work as a profession advocates the mandate of the service users, the state and also an ethical mandate where human rights are an essential yardstick (e.g. Staub-Bernasconi 2009). Therefore, social work with refugees has the power of safeguarding the nation state or legitimating different voices (Lorenz 2006, 67). A complicated relationship between the state and refugees might culminate in their relationship with the social worker. Therefore, it is essential to study the relationship between refugees and the authorities in terms of the formation of trust formation and recognition. I use the term "settlement social work" while speaking about refugee receiving social work. The other possible terms are "settlement practice" or "settlement work", which I use while referring to the settlement work also done by other professionals. Integration practise refers to activities relating to long term integration and its processes (Valtonen 2008, 15).

The concept of integration is rather complex. There have been many attempts to encapsulate the concept in a succinct definition with the variety of results. From the UNHCR (2011b) perspective, integration is defined as a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and on-going process. In Finland, the Act of Integration defines integration as "the individual development of an immigrant with a view of participating in working life and in the functioning in the society at large, while preserving the immigrant's native language and culture". At a personal level, integration has a different meaning for every individual. Besides the two-way process between immigrants and the host society, I understand the concept of integration as segmented (e.g. Portes & Rumbaut 2001, 44-70), which means that the different areas of life (cultural integration, employment, language skills etc.) are not integrated simultaneously. The history and past experiences of every refugee and how the host society is reflecting back to the needs of refugees have an enormous impact on the integration process.

This dissertation uses qualitative methods. The data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in Central Finland. The other data includes two group discussions with professionals working with refugees. The first group consisted of four social workers and the other group of social instructors and a

psychologist. All the professionals were working for the same immigrant services and the interviewed refugees had been the service users of that office for a three year period after arriving in Finland. The interview data was collected using episodic interviews (Flick 2006, 181–188), a format containing elements of both focused and narrative interviewing.

Since the beginning of this study, it has been the premise that trust is an essential element for both authorities (society) and refugees while getting to know each other, and therefore in the whole integration process of refugees. Thus, trust is the main theoretical concept of this study. Trust is an essential element in creating a cohesive society (Simmel 1995) and a vital resource in changing situations (Luhmann 1979) and for the individual's wellbeing in general (Kotkavirta 2000). Trust is closely connected to the social capital and therefore it is collectively owned (Putnam 1993, 2000). Without trust, social capital cannot work as capital (Bourdieu 1986). The concept of social capital is used in immigrant research (e.g. Portes 1995; 2000) and coming in the practical work with immigrants. Also, I understand trust as a vital element of the relationship between service users and social workers, building mutual moral trust (e.g. Baier 1995; Ruokonen 2010) and confidence in the society is an important tool and ethical principle in social work.

To understand the moral bases of multicultural societies, trust formation seemed to need other conceptual tools. Therefore, I approached my research questions with the philosophical theory of recognition of the entire person by Axel Honneth (1995). I found the theory of recognition to work as a valuable tool and as a prerequisite of trust formation between refugees and authorities. This theory is based on the notion that the possibility of identity formation depends on the development of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem. These self-relations are built and maintained in the relationships with the other persons. The forms of recognition (care, respect and social esteem) give an analytical framework for research, moral base and tools to understand the relationships in society. The theory of recognition was defined by Axel Honneth (e.g. 1995), Charles Taylor (1995) and Nancy Fraser (e.g. 1997). More recently, it has been developed further by Heikki Ikäheimo (e.g. 2003), Arto Laitinen (e.g. 2003) and many other philosophers.

The Theory of Recognition belongs to the Critical Social Theory, which is the first standpoint in this study. The term 'critical theory' is generally associated with the group of German social theorists, namely Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse affiliated with the Institute for Social Research, called the Frankfurt School, which was Founded in 1923.¹ They are called the first generation of the Frankfurt School representatives. The founders

¹ "The Institute sought to conduct social research that would examine the contradictions of modernity, interrogate the limits of the present order, and overcome the limitations of modern social and philosophical thought. In pursuing these objectives, the 'Frankfurt School' built on the combined foundations of Marxism, idealist philosophy and psychoanalysis as well as empirically oriented sociology." (Calhoun & Karaganis 2003, 179–180.)

insisted on a conception of critical theory as always embedded in processes of historical change, providing both an analytical perspective on the present and a lever on the future. The most famous second generation representative of the Frankfurt School is Jürgen Habermas. The third generation has risen to prominence with theorists like Axel Honneth and Seyla Benhabib in the United States, which are both important in my study. (Calhoun & Karaganis 2003, 179–180.) In this study, the theory of recognition will give light to the relationships between refugees, authorities and society. This study is therefore theory bound while analysing the data.

The second standpoint of this study is critical social work, which has also a long tradition. From the beginning, the ethos of the social work version of “helping people” had to do with the social environment in which people lived and was never simply focused on personal traits. The roots of critical social work as a science and practice can be traced back to the year of 1889 when Jane Addams set up Hull-House, a settlement house to bridge the gap between the middle and working class, the propertied and the poor, the native-born and the immigrants. Jane Addams illustrates the long lasting and critical principles of the social work tradition. (Addams 1905; Fook 2002, 3, 5; Staub-Bernasconi 2009a, 13.) Addams’ approach offers a social ethic through which to see ourselves as part of a common good, which integrates individual lives into the larger community (Otters, 2009). At the same time Mary Richmond focused on the individual, his or her personality and unmet needs and the social environment upon which the individual depends for the satisfaction of needs (Staub-Bernasconi 2009a, 12). Also an Austrian pioneer of science led social work, Ilse Arlt, developed the welfare and social care theory, which aimed at the advancement of the individual and societal development and is based on the concepts of need and the creative act of consuming. Central to her work is the need to base a self-contained social care science on poverty research. (Maiss & Pantucek 2009, 48.)

More recent critical social work is situated within the critical social science paradigm and is informed by the body of critical social theory, which offers a frame for analysing conditions of both systemic and institutional level exclusionary patterns which affect immigrants’ integration negatively. Besides, the critical social science paradigm is well suited as an overarching frame to facilitate the scrutiny of prevailing approaches to settlement in both policy and human services. (Valtonen 2008, 34–36, 38.) Moral principles can be applied from human rights. Human rights are implicit in the definition of needs of how people define their own needs within a context of the dialogical practice of both the social worker and the people directly affected (Ife 2008, 178; also Staub-Bernasconi 2009b).

The third standpoint of this study is forced migration studies. Forced migration studies started in the mid-1990’s and can be understood in its widest sense as an umbrella concept concerning all “categories” of forced migrants. Forced migration studies have separated themselves from the refugee studies, which originated between 1914-1945 when the inter-war problems were ad-

dressed and also later being a response to the problems of the times. (Chimni 2009, 14–20.) Refugee studies have, for example, opposed the image of the refugee as a parasite, criticised the practice of imposed aid, underlined the need for listening to refugees' voices and adopted participatory approaches, elaborated the rights of refugees, highlighted the special needs of refugee women and children, paid attention to psychosocial health of refugees, highlighted problems relating to the integration of refugees in host societies, and pointed to the dangers of involuntary repatriation (Chimni 2009, 15). There are some important elements which are highlighted while studying forced migrants. The study has to have an intention to improve the situation of forced migrants, for example, by calling into question the adequacy and usefulness of existing generalisations, assumptions and categories, and also by questioning of taken for granted assumptions and categories that academic research can have a beneficial impact on policy and practice. (Turton 2003b.) In this study it is essential to ask how to respond to the needs of resettled refugees. This question is fundamental to the requirements for membership of our political and moral community (Turton 2003a).

There are also concerns that the current interest of forced migration studies is accompanied by attempts to establish a new system of global governance for the displaced person. This concern arises from the time after the evolution of refugee studies when refugee studies reflected the western interest where the refugee symbolically denounced the world of actually existing socialism. Therefore, the power of knowledge can legitimise western intrusions into the non-western world and reform the Other (Chimni 17–20; Said 1978). In this study one basis is to understand refugeehood as a part of the state policies in the countries of origin and in the host societies. This is important because social workers operate within a dual mandate, meeting the needs of refugees and implementing state policies. These mandates may contradict and social workers may encounter the needs of refugees or asylum seekers which may remain unmet because of the state policies.

In this study, I am asking *how trust or mistrust affects to the refugees' relationship with the authorities. If mistrust is even partly true what has to be done from the side of the host society to help refugees to gain back trust during the settlement and integration period.* Therefore, the main aim of this dissertation is to examine trust formation between refugees and public authorities in Finland, as a country of refugee resettlement.

My dissertation consists of four articles. In each, I use the concepts of trust and recognition in analysing the relationship between refugees and their receiving authorities from slightly different perspectives. I have built my dissertation step by step, so that each article is based on the results of the previous article. It means that I approach the same data using the concept of trust and the theory of recognition.

In the first article (Turtiainen 2009a), an article on the formation of trust between refugees and authorities, (subsequently called the Trust article), I examined *how the experiences of refugee are transmitted into the descriptions of trust*

building towards the authorities of the new society. The narratives of trust are analyzed concerning the time before the refugees have resettled, after their resettlement and at the time of the interview. I found five types of stories, which are trust stories, fighting stories, withdrawal stories, alliance stories and dependency stories. These different stories are related to different forms of capital. I found out that the concept of trust alone is not enough for understanding the relationship between refugees and authorities, because trust was connected to different concepts like recognition, agency or dependency. A closer look at Axel Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition led me to consider Charles Taylor's (1992, 26) claim, that "getting recognition is a vital human need and the foundation for equal human relations".²

In the second article (Turtiainen, 2009b), (subsequently called Recognition article), I approached my data from the framework of Honneth's (1995), Ikäheimo's (2003) and Laitinen's (2003) theory of recognition and recognitive attitudes. I asked firstly, *what are the identified attributes of the interviewees? What was recognised, or what would they have liked to get recognised.* Secondly, *what are the prerequisites or tools for recognition by the social worker and the refugee?* I discussed the findings of my analysis in relation to forms of recognition and the recognitive attitudes of esteem, care, and respect. The analysis showed that a time-intensive relationship and sensitivity to the identification of the person's needs, skills, education and rights is essential in the process of recognition. Esteem applies to refugees' particular qualities; care applies to a refugee's singularity as a whole person; respect concerns refugees' autonomy as persons entitled to certain rights. The results showed that personal relations as a foundation of 'the social' in social work and the work of other authorities are the key factor of recognition. It was obvious on the bases of the analysis that recognitive attitudes are interconnected and authorities have to understand all of them while trying to build relationships with their clients. Therefore, the forms of recognition and recognitive attitudes needed to be examined further.

After examining the prerequisites of recognition, I found it useful to look closer at the concept of respect and especially the negative relationships of disrespect. I did that in the third article (Turtiainen 2011), (subsequently called the Dependency article). Also, in my first article I found out that dependency seemed to be connected to trust and therefore looking closer at this concept is important. Autonomy and dependency are often seen as opposite to each other but according to the theory of recognition we are deeply dependent on each other because our self-relations are connected to recognition by others. *Because respect concerns persons as autonomous and having certain rights the notions of negative dependency are examined.* Another question is *whether the parties of the relationship consider the behaviour of the other party reasonable, in the situation in question.* The main findings include three kinds of relationships of negative dependency,

² Basically, my aim was to study trust formation between newly arrived refugees and public authorities (Trust article), which was my licentiate's degree. I found out that trust is a very complicated phenomenon and this topic has to be studied with other concepts.

which are entrusting things to another to do things for you, fear of dependency and overemphasized autonomy.

In the fourth article (Turtiainen 2012), (subsequently called the Social esteem article), I examined *how social esteem or lack of esteem (humiliation) before and after arrival in Finland is seen in refugees' narratives*. Social esteem is connected to the possibilities of the refugees' agency in the new society. Refugees' possibilities to agency were also found important in the first article, therefore looking closer at the recognitive attitude of social esteem was important. Social esteem, which means esteeming persons' skills and other particularities (Honneth 1995, 192), is one of the forms of recognition of the person. If persons' skills are esteemed, they contribute to common goals of the entire society. If social esteem is prevented for any reason, it is humiliating and may affect negatively to self-esteem. It is also important for the whole society that refugees' skills can be used as contributively to the common goals. The main findings show that refugee's own background and possibility to have a new start, is a driving force, first, for willingness to contribute to the new society and to build contributing relations with its agents. Second, they would like to contribute to the society of origin and participate in the peace building and reconciliation process of that society. Third, the integrated refugees would like to help newcomers from their own ethnic and cultural background. Many refugees lose their skills as head of the family or in managing everyday life and at the same time they lose social and self-esteem.

In this concluding part of my dissertation, I will first discuss forced migration to provide a wider social context to my study. Refugees are seen as a consequence of weak states, which don't protect all its citizens. Also, the three durable solutions for refugees used by the UNHCR are discussed and why resettlement is needed. The European humanitarian refugee policies and the Finnish context are also introduced. In Chapter 3 I introduce the theoretical base, which includes the concept of trust, its connections to social capital and the theory of recognition, and also how the theory of recognition is used in social work and social work research. After the theoretical part the methodological considerations of the study are introduced in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5 I move to the main findings.

Basically, I discuss my findings together with different articles and theoretical considerations but I also try to find new theoretical perspectives to my results. After representing the Trust article I found it important to look closer trust relationships before coming to Finland in order to give more light for further analysis of the results of the articles. I asked *what kinds of trust or mistrust there has been before coming to Finland*. As a result, I discovered the concepts of moral and immoral trust as very relevant tools for further discussion. Next, *I look for the possibility of trust formation in the changing situations (just after resettlement)*. I also discuss *what are the prerequisites of recognition as a tool for trust formation*. After looking for the possibilities of trust formation I move to discuss the three different forms of recognition and recognitive attitudes. I start with the care as a form of recognition and discuss it by looking at the Trust, Recogni-

tion and Dependency articles. Combining the results of these articles *I look for the possibilities of care and trust formation (recognitive attitudes) after resettlement*. Second, I discuss the respect as a form of recognition and recognitive attitude. I divide the recognitive attitude of respect into two parts in the refugee receiving social work: it is understood rights as entitlements and concerning persons as autonomous. I start with discussing rights as entitlements based on the Recognition article. I also discuss the results of the Dependency article and *look for the possibilities of positive dependency as a base of trust. I take a view to the responsibility as a base of respect in the context of social work*. Next, I move to discuss social esteem as a form of recognition and recognitive attitude according to my results of all my articles.

2 FORCED MIGRATION AND EUROPEAN HUMANITARIAN MIGRATION POLICIES

International migration is part of a transnational change reshaping societies and politics around the globe. There are many ways to describe and explain the mechanisms of global migration. Traditionally, one way of describing it, is in terms of pull and push factors (Soydan (1998, 20–21). Push factors are forces that push people out of regions, countries or even large areas of continents. Famine, war and unemployment are typical push factors. Pull factors are identified in the in-migration areas and attract people to these areas. According to Castles and Miller (2009, 7–8) the old dichotomy between migration-sending and migration-receiving states is being eroded. Most countries experience both emigration and immigration while some countries have taken on an important role as transit zones for migrants. Migration is changing societies radically and deeply (Portes 2008; 2007; also Soydan 1998, 23–24). Castles and Miller (2009, 11–12) have identified certain general tendencies in global migration: First, the globalisation of migration: where more and more countries are crucially affected by migratory movements at the same time. Second, the acceleration of migration as the international movements of people are growing in volume in all major regions at the present time. This quantitative growth increases both the urgency and the difficulties of government policies. Third, there is a tendency of the differentiation of migration where most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labour migration, refugees or permanent settlement, but a whole range of types at once. One of these tendencies is the feminisation of migration, women play a significant role in all regions and in most types of migration. There is also a growing politicisation of migration: domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships and national security politics of states around the world are increasingly affected by international migration. Finally, the proliferation of migration transition occurs when traditional lands of emigration become lands of transit migration and immigration as well. (Castles & Miller 2009, 11–12.)

Migration is a process which affects every dimension of social existence, and which develops its own complex dynamics (Castles 2002, 1146–1147; Cas-

tles & Miller 2009, 21). The effect of globalisation challenges an ability of sovereign nation states to regulate movements of people across their borders. Voluntary and forced migration can be traced back to the evolution of nation states and especially to the principle of sovereignty, the idea that the government of a nation-state constitutes the final and absolute authority in a society, and that no outside power has the right to intervene in the exercise of this authority. Colonialism, and more recently, industrialisation and integration into the world economy destroy traditional forms of production and social relations, and lead the reshaping of nations and states. (Castles & Miller 2009, 3, 34; Malkki 1995.)³

2.1 Who are forced migrants?

Currently the UNHCR (2009) is referring to mixed flows of migrants, which means that many migratory movements involve both economic migrants and forced migrants, which has led to the notion of the migration-asylum-nexus. Also, migrants themselves have mixed motives to move, namely the flight from violence and the hope of building a better life elsewhere. Forced migration includes a number of legal and political categories. The distinctions within the category of forced migrants are an artefact of policy concerns rather than of empirical observation and scientific enquiry (Turton 2003a). However, three main reasons have been used in separating out this sub-category. First, forced migrants have a distinctive experience and distinctive needs. The second reason is the sheer number of forced migrants which is a product of an ever increasing North-South divide in the living standards and human rights violations in the world today. Third, we have to focus on our moral community and ourselves, and, ultimately, what it means to be human. (Turton 2003b, 8-9.)

Reasons why people are forced to flee from their habitual residence have changed during the decades. At the same time the international legal instruments have developed trying to identify groups of people and individuals in the need of international protection. All people who have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere are forced migrants but those getting the status of refugee are included in a quite narrow legal category. The majority of forced migrants flee for reasons not recognized by the international refugee regime and therefore forced migration has to be seen as part of much larger constellations of socio-political and cultural processes and practices. (Malkki 1995, 496.)

³ The evolution of a modern nation state occurred in 1648 of the treaties of Westphalia. The "Westphalian system" evolved from its European origins to become a global system of governments, first through colonisation of other continents, and then through decolonization and the formation of nation states on the Western model throughout the world.

The significantly increasing group of forced migrants are internally displaced persons (IDPs), defined as:

Persons or groups who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or their places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border. (Geissler 1999, 454.)

Another group of forced migrants are the trafficked and smuggled people. Trafficking and smuggling of human beings has been the object of much attention at the national, regional and international levels in modern times (Obokata 2005, 394). These phenomena are important in the context of refugee protection, as an increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers turn into victims of traffickers and smugglers in order to migrate. In contrast with trafficked persons, smuggled migrants are assumed to be acting voluntarily, and therefore, in less need of protection. For many governments, trafficking and smuggling are issues of crime and border control, not human rights. (Gallagher 2002, 26.) The UNHCR's involvement with the issue of trafficking is essential because their responsibility is to ensure that refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), stateless persons and other persons of concern do not become victims of trafficking. On the other hand, the Office has a responsibility to ensure that individuals who have been or have a fear of being trafficked and who make a claim to international protection fall within the UNHCR 51 refugee definition are accorded the corresponding international protection. (UNHCR 2006, 3.) The analysis of human rights and smuggling highlights the current weakness in enforcement of human rights norms and principles. Despite the fact that many aspects of smuggling are already covered by international human rights law, the human rights community has not been able to facilitate its enforcement, because a large number of people are still victimised. (Obakata 2005, 415.)

The third group of forced migrants is stateless persons who also require protection. The "condition" of statelessness was described in article 1 of the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of a Stateless Person. For the purpose of this Convention, the term "statelessness" means a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law. Failure to acquire status under the law, particularly in cases where the individual was born and has lived the better part of his or her life in a single State, creates significant human problems. Such protection may be based on international conventions, on customary international law, or general principles of international law. There are two kinds of statelessness; those persons who cannot establish their nationality are called *de jure* stateless persons and those persons who still have nationality in name, but for whom that nationality is not effective, are called *de facto* stateless persons. (more Batchelor 1998, 171-172.)

The fourth group of forced migrants is asylum seekers. The procedure of asylum claims differs from each other in different parts of the world and its legality is to be questioned. This is not a, so called, legal category because these

people are waiting a decision if they will be granted residency in the country where they claim asylum. The UNHCR (2010) estimates that there are about one million asylum seekers whose cases are under this process. Refugees are a large group of forced migrants. The number under UNHCR and UNRWA is about 15 million. (Table 1.)

TABLE 1 Global forced displacement without natural disaster-related displacement

Category of displaced population	Total (in millions)	Protected/assisted by UNHCR
Refugees under UNHCR mandate	10,4	10,4
Refugees under UNRWA mandate	4,8	-
Total number of refugees	15,2	10,4
Asylum seekers (pending cases)	1,0	0,2
Conflict generated IDPs	27,1	15,6
Total number of refugees, asylum seekers and IDPs	43,3	26,2
Stateless persons	12	

Source: UNHCR 2010

2.2 Refugees and a severed relationship with the state

It is difficult to separate the legally defined category of refugees from other categories of forced migrants in a coherent way, because underdevelopment, impoverishment, poor governance, endemic conflict and human rights abuse are closely linked together (Castles and Miller 2009, 34). People have always sought

sanctuary but the twentieth century became the century of refugees (Adelman 1999, 9). In 1951, Hannah Arendt (1968, 277) the “emigree” political philosopher herself, described refugees as the most symptomatic group in contemporary politics. For her, the emergence of refugees across Europe since the turn of the century symbolised the triumph of the nation state. Those who lost the protection of the nation state were denied not only specific rights but the protection of the community willing and able to guarantee any rights whatsoever. The “refugee” as a special social category and a legal problem of global dimension exist in its full modern form in post-Second World War Europe. During that time the institutional domain of refugee settlement and refugee camp administration started and the legal domain of refugee law emerged. (Arendt 1968, 297; Malkki 1995, 497.)

The reason why post-Second World War Europe saw the emergence of the refugee in a modern form is due to the division of the globe into nation-states in which states were assigned the role of protectors of rights, but also that of exclusive protectors of their own citizens. After the Second World War, when the globe was totally divided into states, those fleeing persecution in one state had nowhere to go but to another state, and required the permission of the other state to enter it. (Adelman 1999, 9.) Therefore, many researches underline that conceptually, refuge-hood is unrelated to migration but it is one form of unprotected statelessness and “exclusively a political relation between the citizen and the state, not a territorial relation between a countryman and his homeland”. (Shacknove 1985, 283). The figure of the refugee exposes a contradiction in the idea of the nation-state, both as a culturally homogeneous political community and as the universal principle of political organisation (Turton 2003a, 10). It is part of ‘the national order of things’ (Malkki (1992; 1995).

Forced migration in general but especially refugees should be considered one manifestation of a broader phenomenon: the access of the international community to persons deprived of their basic needs (Van Hear 2003, 2). The unmet basic need is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for refugeehood: all refugees have been deprived of one or more of their basic needs, though not all persons so deprived are refugees. Also most individuals deprived of their basic needs are prevented by their government from seeking international assistance. On the contrary, a refugee is a person whose government fails to protect his basic needs, who has no remaining recourse than to seek international restitution of those needs, and who is so situated that international assistance is possible and for whom special measures of public policy are justified. (Shacknove 1985, 282–283; Black 2001, 64.) Despite the severed relationship with the state, which include joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased mortality rate and loss of access to common property resources (Cernea 2000, 20), which are often common features of many forced migrants, “refugees often have become tortured, raped, terrorised, spied upon, militarily attacked, separated from friends and families, and often, having been left alive to witness death” (Malkki 1995, 510). By emphasising the common experience and common needs of refugees, we risk seeing them as a homogeneous mass of needy

and passive victims (Turton 2003a, 7), but instead of that, there are as many refugee experiences as there are refugees whose meanings and identities are negotiated in the process of displacement in time and place (Soduk 1999, 4).

In general, the immediate violence and the severed relationship with the state is the only common denominator for all refugees resulting from conflict between the state and civil society, between opposing armies, or conflict among ethnic groups or class formations that the state is unable or unwilling to control. It is also possible to see sociological types of refugees, like the activists, the targets and the victims. Activists are dissenters and rebels whose actions contribute to the conflict that eventually forces them to flee. The targeted refugees are individuals who, through membership in a particular group, are singled out for violent action. The victims are randomly caught in the cross fire or exposed to generalized social violence. (Zolberg et al. 1989, 269.) The decision to flee arises from at least two possibilities: the possibility to anticipate persecution and plan their flight, and those who are coerced, often at gunpoint, and therefore forced to flee (Hynes 2003, 4).

2.3 The concept of refugee in international law

Several international legal instruments have emerged to regulate refugee flow and several attempts to define the term "refugee" have been made in the course of the Twentieth Century by the international community. The main international legal instruments for protecting refugees are the International Refugee Law (Convention 1951 and Protocol 1967), regional refugee laws (Organisation of African Unity, OAU 1969 and Cartagena Declaration 1984), International Humanitarian Law (Laws of War) and Human Rights Law. Also UNRWA (The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) works in the Near East. The UNHCR's Executive Committee has had the effect of extending the High Commissioner's competence to five categories, which are the groups under the international protection: refugees and asylum seekers, stateless persons, returnees, the internally displaced and persons threatened with displacement or otherwise at risk. The latter two categories do not fall under the general competence of the Office. (Tyrk 1999, 155, 171-172.) The refugee definition in Article 1 of the 1951 Convention is deeply rooted in the European context. Even if the definition of "refugee" has been widely regarded as universal and widely accepted, at the same time it has been described as a Product of Cold War and as Eurocentric (Sztucki 1999; Chimni 2000, 2; Loescher 2001, 36).

Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UN General Assembly 1951) defines a refugee:

As someone who has left his or her country or is unable or unwilling to return to it 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion'.

The Convention's refugee definition may be viewed as comprising five elements, each of which must be established before status is appropriately recognized. The first is *alienage*. The Convention definition includes only persons who have left their country of nationality, or in the case of stateless persons, their country of former habitual residence. Second, the refugee claimant must be *genuinely at risk*. Third, the claimant's flight must be motivated by the prospect of "*persecution*", that is, risk of serious harm against which the state of origin is unwilling or unable to offer protection. Fourth, the risk faced by the refugee claimant must have *nexus to her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion*. Fifth, there must be a genuine need for and legitimate claim for *protection*. (Hathaway 1991, 1; italics mine.) The definition stipulates what is essential and universal about refugeehood: First, a bond of trust, loyalty, protection and assistance between the citizen and the state constitute the normal basis of society; second, in the case of the refugee, this bond has been severed; third, persecution and alienage are always the physical manifestations of this severed bond, and those manifestations are the necessary and sufficient conditions for determining refugeehood. It asserts both a moral and an empirical claim, it is moral, because it posits the existence of the normal, minimal relation of rights and duties between the citizen and the state, the negation of which engenders refugees. It is also empirical, because it asserts that the actual consequences of this severed bond are always persecution and alienage. (Shacknove 1985, 275.) Many resettlement countries, Finland among them, strictly follow this refugee status criteria and the concept put forward in the Geneva Convention of 1951.

Chimni (2000, 3) criticises the way the UNHCR investigates who are entitled to the status of refugee. The UNHCR (2011b) recommends the use of both subjective and objective tests. The possibility to discover objective facts and arrive at an ethical judgment on the pain and fear an individual experiences are questioned. At the same time there is a huge quantity of information available in the human rights record of the country of origin offering a foolproof method of determining "well-founded fear". However, any determination is, after all, interpretation and, where government agencies are concerned, deeply influenced by state policies. (Chimni 2000.) Moreover, the concept of persecution is undefined and should be linked to the wider developments in the field of human rights. The 1951 Convention mandates protection only for those whose civil and political rights are violated, without protecting persons whose socio-economic rights are at risk (Hathaway 1998). The 1951 Convention conception of refugee is not, strictly speaking a definition (Shacknove 1985, 275). As such, it could be argued to be devoid of any deeper academic meaning or explanatory power. According to Black (2001, 63) even at best the UNHCR's concept of refugee reflects the designation of refugee enshrined in a particular Convention at a particular time, within a particular international political and economic context.

The 1967 Protocol, achieved the formal, but not the substantive, universalisation of the Convention's definition of refugee status. Even after the elimina-

tion of temporal and geographic limitations, only persons whose migration is prompted by fear of persecution on the ground of civil or political status come within the scope of the Convention-based protection system. This means that most Third World refugees remain *de-facto* excluded, as their flight is more often prompted by natural disaster, war, or broadly based political and economic turmoil than by "persecution", at least as that term is understood in the Western context. (Hathaway 1991, 56.)

There were two important improvements in the interpretations of the refugee definition as a consequence of the changing character of refugee flows. One important notion of refugee concerns victims fleeing gender-related persecution. In 1985, the EXECOM⁴ recognized that States are free to adopt the interpretation that woman asylum seekers who face harsh or inhuman treatment due to their having transgressed the social mores of the society in which they live, may be considered as a "particular social group" within the meaning of article 1A (2) of the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention. In 1993 it supported the inclusion in the definition of refugees of persons whose claim to refugee status is based upon a well-founded fear of persecution, *through sexual violence*, for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. The concept of gender-related persecution has thus a double meaning; the members of a "particular social group" or sexual violence as a form of persecution giving rise to refugee status *when inflicted for any reason defined by the Convention*. The year 1994 marked another, almost revolutionary, change in the approach to the concept of refugee. A switch was made from a "well-founded fear of persecution" as the basis of refugee status, to the need for "international protection as a defining concept". It is this vital need for international protection that most clearly distinguishes refugees from other aliens. It is the need for protection that entitles them to treatment as a refugee. A comprehensive approach is called for and the "need for protection", which has become a generic "defining concept". (Sztucki 1999, 59, 65-67.)

Besides the role of UNHCR as an international legal instrument there are also regional instruments to manage refugee flows. The definition of refugee contained in the 1951 Convention was expanded by the OAU Convention to meet specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa. The new definition was the only salient challenge to the proposition that persecution is an essential criterion of refugeehood (Shacknove 1985, 275). That definition, after incorporating the United Nations' persecution based phraseology, proceeds to state that: The term refugee shall also apply to 'every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of nationality.' (Hathaway 1991, 8.) The OAU definition recognizes, as the UN definition does not, that the normal bond between citizens and the state can be severed in diverse ways, persecution being only

⁴ The Executive Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations Associated with The United Nations

one. Societies periodically disintegrate because of their frailty rather than because of their ferocity, as victims of domestic division or foreign intervention. An overly narrow conception of the refugee will contribute to the denial of international protection for countless people in dire circumstances whose claim to assistance is impeccable. (Shacknove 1985, 275–276.) The Cartagena Declaration 1994 recommends a definition very similar to that contained in the OAU Convention.⁵

2.4 Why resettlement?

State policies determine whether recognized refugees will remain in a state of limbo in a temporary situation under the UNHCR protection or if they will get back to state protection. The UNHCR has three durable solutions for refugees: voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement to a third country in situations where it is impossible for a person to go back home or remain in the host country.⁶ In 2010, resettlement took place from 85 countries of asylum to 28 countries of resettlement, involving refugees from 71 countries of origin. The total number of people resettled in 2010 was 108,086, of whom 53,954 persons were resettled in the United States alone and over 13,000 people were resettled in Australia and Canada. Around 5,000 of all refugees were estimated to get resettled to Europe in 2011. (UNHCR 2010.) Finland is considered to be one of the first, strong and reliable partners for the UNHCR in its resettlement activities.⁷

Conventionally, displacement is represented as a temporary phenomenon, but the real world is messier than in this ideal scheme (Van Hear 2003, 2). Currently about ten million refugees live under the temporary protection of the UNHCR and about one million refugees are in urgent need to get resettled. For millions of refugees, voluntary repatriation and reintegration remain the most

⁵ It considers as refugees persons “who have fled their country because their lives, security or liberty have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously affected public order” (Cros Espiel et al. 1990, 95).

⁶ The official framework of durable solutions aims to achieve, through Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR), Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (4R) and Development through Local Integration (DLI), sharing burdens and responsibilities more equitably and building capacities to receive and protect refugees and redoubling the search for a durable solution. It aims at the empowerment, particularly of women and enhancement of productive capacities and self-reliance of refugees through DAR would lead equipped and capacitated refugees to either of the durable solutions i.e. repatriation to their country of origin (4R), local integration in the country of asylum (DLI) or resettlement in a third country. (UNHCR, 2003, 3-5.)

⁷ Finland acceded to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol in 1968. Finland also accepted to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness on 7 August 2008 and ratified the European Convention on Nationality on 6 August 2008. The national legislation has been amended to implement these instruments.

preferred durable solution for their plight (UNHCR 2003, 19). But also for millions of refugees those solutions are not possible. Returning, when it is possible, is part of the reconciliation process of the society. Reconciliation refers to the future and requires the active participation of those who were divided by enmity (Rigby 2001, 13). Still, return is often impossible and resettlement becomes the only possible durable solution instead of repatriation or reintegration in the second country.

Reintegration in the second country is not often possible because countries in many parts of the world have become increasingly reluctant to admit large number of refugees and asylum seekers. And it is important to recognise refugee problems that cannot be adequately addressed by means of voluntary repatriation alone. A large proportion of the world's refugees are destined to remain in their countries of asylum for very long periods of time, due to the nature of the conflicts which have forced them to leave their homeland (Crisp 2004, 6). The passage of time can be a crucial factor when it comes to a decision to return (Chimni 2004, 59). Thus, second generation refugees may not want to return to a home they know little about. Exile also affects individuals and groups in a profound way so that the meaning of home is often transformed (Koser & Black 1999, 7).

Sometimes local integration or local settlement has a particular potential to succeed (Crisp 2004, 6) and it is a realistic alternative rather than keeping refugees in camps (Jacobsen (2001, 27), but it will only work if it is accepted by host governments, in the local community and by refugees. It should not be advocated if it threatens the security and instability of either the local community or the refugees. Protracted refugee situations will not be resolved by forced repatriation and will not be prevented by interdiction at the borders. Refugees will also settle themselves in border zones monitoring the situation in their home regions and repatriate when possible. (Jacobsen 2001, 27.)

The main reason why refugees don't repatriate is that they are not able to return home safely (Crisp 2004, 6). There are also a number of situations in which refugees did not want to go home. For example, they have established close economic or social links to their country of asylum. But it may also be because the circumstances which forced them into exile were so traumatic that they cannot bear the thought of going back to their country of origin. Also, a gendered view of exile and return contested the "cosy image of home" projected by the advocates of repatriation. There is often an implicit assumption that the end of the conflict, a return to a place called 'home' is possible and desirable. (Chimni 2004, 59.) There is also evidence to suggest that in developing regions, most notably in Africa; very large numbers of refugees are "self-settled", supporting themselves without the local population (Crisp 2004, 6). Moreover, the problem of the declining refugee protection, especially in East Africa, is connected to suspicion by the state and resistance to radical Islamic ideology among sections of refugees (Juma & Kagwanja 2003, 227).

There are also often many practical reasons why people can't return to their countries of origin. For example, among Balkan returnees, property issues

are significant. This illustrates the centrality of property issues in a return process in an ethnically divided society. For those who seek to consolidate ethnic partition, as for those who seek to challenge it, what is at stake when property is discussed is a change in the ethnic mix of communities. This explains the acute sensitivity of property issues. (Phuong 2000, 5-7; Leckie, 2000, 13-14.) Land and property problems are also a gender issue. Throughout the world, women's relationship with land, property and housing during conflict and reconstruction, if characterised by their ongoing displacement, often beginning at the onset of conflict and continue indefinitely. (Farha 2000, 23-26.) The economic and productive reintegration of society is one of the biggest difficulties in many areas preventing repatriation (Rivero 2001, 8-11). It is part of the wider process of transformation, which the country as a whole should undergo if it is to heal the social, economic, ethnic and cultural divide which was at the heart of the conflict (Davies 2004, 12-14). Making the restitution rights a reality is so fundamental, it could be argued that conditions of a safe and dignified return cannot exist unless the appropriate laws, procedures and enforcement mechanisms are firmly in place in the countries of return (Leckie 2000, 7).

Resettlement is needed because, in protracted refugee situations, refugees remain dependent on humanitarian assistance, sometimes for decades. The longer the displacement without durable solutions, the more difficult their return home will be. Ghanem (2003, 36-37) summarises that the material and psychosocial difficulties that accompany reintegration are extremely intertwined, that landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, food, insecurity, to name a few, all impact on the psychological well-being of the returnee. Also, the return 'home' is overlooked by the international refugee regime which assumes that returnees will naturally 're-connect' with their homeland and recover the feeling of well-being they enjoyed before the events leading to their flight. One essential key to solving such situations is political, however, in the meantime, a facilitating element of any durable solution is necessary. Rather than debating the merits of repatriation, focus should be placed on making it safe (Riess 2000, 22). Since refugees become vulnerable due to their unprotected status in the state, and having little agency, they easily become pawns between states, or float between states as unwanted or being described as a security problem. The refugee phenomenon is more complex than its categories. Therefore, transnationalism also has to be seen as a durable solution. Transnational connections can help to fuel conflicts as well as ameliorating their effects: exile communities have been an essential bases of support for those contesting power in their homelands. (Van Hear 2003, 12.)

Contemporary attempts at justifying a departure from the standard of voluntary repatriation rests on a different set of arguments, which include the idealisation of the solution of repatriation, a turn towards objectivism in the interpreting of the 1951 Convention definition of refugee, a stress on contextualism in considering compliance with the standard of voluntary repatriation, and an internalist explanation of the root causes of refugee flows. (Chimni 2004, 57-58.)

2.5 European nation-states and the needs of asylum seekers and refugees

The UNHCR negotiates with states while trying to make durable solutions for refugees. This makes resettlement a very limited possibility in the European context. European nation states, in general, never described themselves as immigration countries, even after they become the destination for immigrants. This is a big difference elsewhere, for example, in Canada. The emergence of European nation states is not based on migration (Bommes & Geddes 2000a, 248). Asylum exposes a profound conflict of values between the legitimate claims of citizens and those of refugees (Gibney 2006, 258). The treatment of foreigners is a crucial test case for the moral conscience, as well as the political reflectivity of liberal democracies. Defining the identity of a sovereign nation is a process of fluid, open and contentious public debate, where the line is drawn between “us” and “them”, and often rests on “unexamined prejudices, ancient battles, historical injustices and sheer administrative fiat”. (Benhabib 2001, 27.) While promoting the welfare organisations and programs, the European nation states become “thresholds of inequality” for immigrants. At the same time, these states permit different kinds of migration, such as, labour migration, family migration, and migration for educational reasons. (Bommes & Geddes 2000a, 248.)

Even if the “mature” nation states have politically declared themselves to be non-immigration countries, migration has always figured in the history of European integration (Castles & Miller 2009, 199; Bommes & Geddes 2000a, 249). The European Union, since its beginning, started open borders within its member states. The 1951 Treaty of Paris, which created the ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community), barred employment restrictions based on the nationality of citizens of the six member states. In 1995, the Schengen Agreement came into force for those signatory states which had established the necessary procedures. This meant complete removal of border controls for people moving between these countries. Furthermore, aiming to secure an “area of freedom, security, and justice”, the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam integrated all decisions made by the member states of the Schengen Agreement into the EU body of law. These concern issue regarding visas, asylum, immigration, and other policies related to free movement of persons. This common immigration and refugee policy introduced a progressive transfer of decisions pertaining to free movement from intergovernmental to supranational authority.⁸ In 2004, The Hague program established goals to expand the “area of freedom, security, and justice” between 2005 – 2010. (Castles & Miller 2009, 196–197, 199.) But here it is important to note, that besides the elimination of internal borders within the European space, the EU remains open to legal migration and porous to, so

⁸ This approach was buttressed at the Tampere Summit, which defined a comprehensive approach to asylum, managed migration, and enhanced partnership with sending regions.

called, “illegal migration”. It is evident, that the enlargements, treaties, and institutional changes of recent years have been significantly affected by migration control concerns. In practice, since the year 1991, co-operation in asylum matters within the European Communities/European Union has expanded to include the harmonisation of substantive and procedural aspects of immigration, asylum and visa policies (Tyrk 1999, 172).

One major difficulty is that both migration law and asylum law are situated in the grey zone between the particularism of a sovereign, self-interested state, and the claimed universality of human rights commitments (Pirjola 2009, 356). All states, but especially those in Western Europe, have developed a battery of measures designed to reduce asylum claims. These measures are, for example, carrier sanctions, pre-inspection regimes in foreign countries and interdictions to prevent asylum seekers from accessing national territory. They also use deterrence policies like limitations on employment and welfare, detention and restrictions on residency. (Gibney & Hansen 2003, 5-9.) At the same time, national courts have developed and applied international human rights law, which is increasingly influential in limiting the expulsion powers of states, for example, signing the Convention against torture. This is often called self-imposed limits of sovereignty. The obligation is self-imposed because states agree to sign up the convention themselves, while the precise obligations associated with signatory status are articulated by domestic courts. Most individuals in this category will receive some form of non-refugee humanitarian status. By maintaining policies on deportation, the state furthers the myth that it can actually remove from its territory all criminal non-citizens and/or illegal migrants. No state is willing to collapse the distinction between “legal” and “illegal” migrants.⁹ They claim that this myth serves a three-fold purpose: it assuages domestic public opinion; it serves as a disincentive for those seeking to migrate into Europe and, in cases where a policy of voluntary return is operated, and it allows the state to apply pressure in favour of return. (Gibney & Hansen 2003, 10-15; Joppke 1999.) This shows that the so called migration crises in the north, is an ideological and political one because migration in general is symbolic of the erosion of nation state sovereignty in the era of globalisation (Castles 2003). Today, the rich northern states see no reason to share the burden¹⁰ of the poor south at both the level of asylum and resources. Involuntary repatriation may thus be described as the favoured solution of the northern states in the era of globalisation which is marked by the end of the Cold War and a growing north-south divide. (Chimni 2004, 66, 73.) Many countries promote their policies based on beliefs for protecting the rich and powerful. But today’s threats do

⁹ For example the British government’s argument at the 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act and the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act, its one aim was to identify the ‘genuine’ asylum seekers who would declare themselves at their arrival in Britain. It was only ‘bogus’ asylum seekers who applied within the country. (Bloch 2000, 34-36.)

¹⁰ I prefer the term responsibility-sharing instead of burden sharing because no State can stand alone. Collective strategies, collective institutions and a sense of collective responsibility are indispensable (A more secure world 2004).

not recognize national boundaries and these threats are connected. Therefore they must be addressed at the global and regional, as well as, the national levels. Not even powerful states can by its own efforts alone, make itself invulnerable to today's threats. (A more secure world 2004.)

States have no duty under international law to provide asylum to refugees. They are only bound by *non-refoulement*, the requirement not to turn back refugees to a state where they would be persecuted. Traditionally, states have tended to grant refugee status to individuals who satisfy the UN definition (Gibney & Hansen, 2003, 8-9). *Non-refoulement* is a key principle of refugee law. This principle has been taken into account in international human rights conventions by giving consideration to the rights of these people: under international law persons fleeing persecution must be provided the opportunity to seek refugee status, those in fear of torture may not be returned to their home country and protection must be provided against inhuman and degrading treatment. For the purpose of determining whether there are such grounds, the competent authorities shall take into account all relevant considerations including, where applicable, the existence in the State concerned a pattern of gross, flagrant or mass violations of human rights. (Pirjola 2008, 639; Goodwin-Gill 1996, 117.) The content of *non-refoulement* is incomplete in each case, hence, it must be defined. In practice, legal concepts do not remain open because each decision fills them with content and meaning. On the national level, the content of *non-refoulement* is ultimately approved, depending on the national juridical system, by a composition of judges, which changes according to the stage of appeal. It is possible that the objective of the system is to protect the state from, for example, international crime - an acceptable goal - instead of protecting refugees. The question of *non-refoulement* may have to be resolved accordingly. No common definition exists, national and international authorities and courts have, in practice, extensive power of discretion to give content to the terms 'persecution' or 'degrading' or 'cruel' treatment (Pirjola 2008, 639-640, 656). The Western European states have always been "Convention fundamentalists". From the point of view of "refugee realities" it is perhaps more important that states in practice follow common sense and recognise the social and humanitarian nature of the problem of refugees and apply the Convention definition in accordance with the "object and purpose" of the Convention, rather than approach it in a legalistic manner (Sztucki 1999, 68, 78).

The focal issue of this deep inequality mainly between the global north and south is a course that the sovereignty of nation states over a given territory and population is based on loyalty to the citizens while providing welfare provisions (Bommes & Geddes 2000b, 1-2). Even if liberal democratic states satisfied all of the requirements of humanitarianism, the claims of many of the world's refugees to a safe place of residence might well go unmet (Gibney 2006, 258). As a consequence of the external closure of the borders of nation states, and on the other hand, the loyalty of the EU-citizens, the nation states have evolved as international thresholds of inequality. Migration can be seen as an attempt to overcome this threshold. But as a result we live in the world where

“we become aware of existence of a right to have rights and a right to belong to some kind of organised community, only when millions of people emerge who had lost and could not regain these rights because of the new global political situation” (Arendt 1968, 177). Their status at the moment of entry into a new country without appropriate papers is not very different from that of a criminal. To be without papers in the state centric world is a form of civil death (Benhabib 2000, 62).

An attempt to counteract the causes of refugee generation is clearly necessary. Yet there are no simple answers to the mixture of problems, such as war, ethnic hatred, political instability, economic failure, that force people from their homelands, nor any simple routes to eliciting the international political will needed to ameliorate them (Gibney 2006, 258). On the one hand there is a massive increase of forced migration due to new wars and the wide spread abuse of human rights (Goldhagen 2009) and, on the other hand, blocking the free mobility to the north. Partly due to that, there is also the so called “migration industry” since people have to rely on informal networks or “people smugglers”. The migration industry embraces a broad spectrum of people who earn their livelihood by organising migratory movements. Such people include travel agents, labour recruiters, brokers, interpreters, housing agents, immigration lawyers, human smugglers, and even counterfeiters who falsify official identification documents and passports. (Castles & Miller 2009, 201.)

There are several approaches in contemporary debates concerning the issues to resolve the problems of millions of refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. Boswell 2005).¹¹ The debates vary from the radical universalist argument for open borders, the defence of deterritorialized citizenship, and the civic republican perspective of “thick conceptions of citizenship” (Benhabib 2001, 28). This is a challenge of transforming any reconciliation of the conflict at a theoretical level into actual prescriptions for governments. If prescriptions are to have any force they must take into account real world constraints (electoral, economic and international) and on the ability of governments to implement more inclusive refugee policies. (Gibney 2006, 259–260.) Arendt was a radical universalist in writing about people without the “right to have rights”. While analysing Arendt’s expression, Benhabib (2001, 16–18) summarises the two possibilities of what Arendt meant by using this expression. First, the term “right” is addressed to humanity as such and enjoins us to recognise membership in some human group. This is a moral claim to membership and a certain form of treatment compatible with the claim to membership. The second use of the term

¹¹ Christina Boswell (2005; also 2002) analyses largely the contemporary debates and approaches from forms of nationalism to the universalist radicalism. It can be noted here that nationalism in its broadest sense is a doctrine or theory asserting the special claims of members of a particular national group. A second form of nationalism, which is called “ethnocentric” nationalism, is built on the more romantic or culturalist strands of nineteenth century thought. Both welfare and ethno-nationalism arguments have been drawn on in the political debate to challenge the relevance and feasibility of liberal universalist approaches to refugees. An ethno-nationalist perspective would attribute anxieties about identity of the damaging impact of immigration on the shared norms and values of the receiving community. (Boswell 2002.)

“right” in the phrase “the right to have rights” is built upon this prior claim of membership to the organised political and legal community. Benhabib herself stays in the middle course between radical universalism and open borders politics on the one hand and sociologically old conceptions of republican citizenship on the other. Instead of stressing the constitutive tension between universalistic human rights claims and democratic sovereignty principles, she analyses the principles and practices of political incorporation into liberal democracies.

No liberal democracy can close its borders. The porosity of borders is a necessary while not sufficient condition of liberal democracies. By the same token, no sovereign liberal democracy can lose its right to articulate and define immigration and incorporation policies. (Benhabib 2001, 28.)

Christina Boswell (2002) also challenges the foundations of the dichotomy between liberal universalism and nationalism. She suggests that we don’t need to abandon the universalist foundations of liberalism. But it is essential that we don’t support the shared liberal traditions. She undermines a necessary dichotomy between group values and universal norms, locating a commitment to universal values in the culture of receiving communities.¹² But after all, the protracted situation of refugees living in temporary situations, asylum seekers waiting residence permits for years and people without rights to claim rights is, first of all, for them, but also for the people belonging to the same humanity, morally indefensible (Benhabib 2001). Besides, Pirjola (2009, 365–366) highlights that the virtues of liberal democracies do not consist of their capabilities to close their borders or build frontiers, but to hear those who are excluded and take their voice seriously.

2.6 The Finnish context of hosting refugees

Global politics also affect Finnish humanitarian immigration. Welcoming people based on international protection needs started in Finland in the 1970’s with a small group of Chilean refugees. Later in the 1980’s Finland accepted refugees from Vietnam, all together some 1,400. Finland started to systematically resettle refugees at the beginning of the 1990s. The annual quota is now 750 refugees.

In the 1990’s Finland also started to welcome thousands of asylum seekers, instead of the hundreds earlier. In the early 1990’s, this was very challenging because of economic depression. In 2008, Finland experienced a significant increase in the number of asylum applicants. In 2009, the numbers remained at a high level with a record total of 5,988 asylum applications lodged that year. Prior to October 2011, a total of 2,525 applications for asylum were lodged, com-

¹² For Boswell (2002) it provides conceptual scope for combining a commitment to universal rights with recognition of the relevance of community ties. It also offers a better strategy for refugee policies which recognises a group’s pride in affirming a shared liberal tradition.

pared to 3,498 during the same period in 2010. Altogether, 181 persons were granted refugee status in 2010 and 1,298 asylum-seekers were granted complementary forms of protection. (UNHCR 2011a.)

Recently, the government immigration policy has taken more interest in work related to migration. Finland is forced to solve the problem of an ageing population and to secure the economic well-being of the country. Finland's official immigrant policy keeps humanitarian and labour related migration separate. It means, for example, that people having international protection needs are selected based on the most vulnerable grounds. Resettlement countries have adopted different approaches or models with regards to the division of responsibility for the reception of resettled refugees. In some countries the central government is a main actor, whereas other countries employ a high degree of delegation to local and regional authorities. This kind of delegation is used widely in the Nordic countries where local municipalities are vested with wide administrative and budgetary powers. In other countries the authorities 'contract out' responsibility for reception and integration measures to NGOs and other entities. This practice is used in some of the larger resettlement countries, such as the United States, Canada and Australia. NGOs are contracted to implement key aspects for integration from the provision of initial reception services and early settlement support, through to job placement and administrating social support payments. The Nordic model can perhaps offer the best guarantee that refugees will receive services of equal quality in the different regions of the country, but it faces many other challenges finding new ways of working with NGOs and especially with refugee associations and organisations. (Ekholm et. al. 2005.)

In Finland the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for resettled refugees at the Central government level whereas the Ministry of Labour is responsible for the integration of immigrants since 1st September 2011. They cover the costs of reception incurred by receiving municipalities in accordance with agreements between the government and municipalities concerned. The financial recourses for this purpose are allocated in the state budget. The Central Government negotiates with the municipalities through the regional economic and development centres. The resettlement of the refugees depends on the municipalities' own willingness to receive refugees. When a political decision on placement has been made, it must be considered whether the municipality in question has sufficient resources to take on all the responsibilities connected with immigrants. (Ekholm et. al. 2005.) In recent years there has been a slow rate in departures of accepted cases in Finland due to the unwillingness on the part of municipalities to receive refugees. Despite the increase of government compensation to municipalities in 2010 and 2011, there was no immediate effect on the willingness of the municipalities to accept refugees. A generally more hostile tone against refugees in Finnish society has also negatively influenced public opinion. (UNHCR 2011a, 5.)

The role of public authorities, social workers especially, is a very essential part of settlement and integration work with refugees and other migrants ac-

according to The Act of Integration (1386/2010), and also, in practice, in our Nordic welfare services. For this reason refugees must frequently communicate with the public authorities. Social workers could play a central role in the life of the refugees, especially if there are no members of their own community living in the local municipality. Therefore interaction between refugees and public authorities may take a key role in the integration process of the refugees, be the communication positive or negative. In practice, social work in refugee matters consists of the following main areas: counselling concerning social benefits and the integration support measures, psycho-social support, child protection, community work and networking activities, information sharing and awareness-raising activities. Social workers also assist refugees in preparing their family reunification applications and writing statements for the immigration authorities.

In Finland, work with refugees is based on the Act of Integration (1386/2010). Settlement and integration social work conducted by special immigration workers usually takes three years according to the Act of Integration, called the "integration period". In countries where the work of receiving refugees is contracted out, for instance to refugee organisations or other NGOs, the perspective of the social work of receiving refugees is not so essential. The Act on Integration (1386/2010) specifies the responsibilities of various parties in integration work. It emphasises the immigrants own responsibility to participate actively in their integration process and provides the authorities with tools for supporting integration. One of these tools is the "Integration Plan", an agreement detailing the measures supporting the integration of the immigrants and their family. The Act also requires that local authorities draw up an Integration Program and offer immigrants measures promoting their integration. These plans take into account the situation of the refugee concerned and his/her individual and family needs. This is especially important for refugees representing special categories, like women at risk or the elderly. The other important Act is the Non-Discrimination Act (21/2004, 50/2006). The purpose of this Act is to foster and safeguard equality in the different sectors of society. Attempts are made to reach equality and non-discrimination in working life through measures promoting equality and provisions prohibiting discrimination.

2.7 Social workers as agents of state policies

A critical approach is important because social work may be over-dependent on the project of the nation state of having national standards as the decisive yardstick of work. This is a paradigmatic test of social work whether its values are rooted in, or related to nationalism, or ideologies which restrict the right to belong and to be cared for in the identification of innate cultural or biological qualities. Therefore, work with migrants, with all people whose citizenship is in doubt, tests the relationship of social work and the nation state project. While

meeting the needs of refugees the relevance of the communities, societies and policies have to be discussed. These are dynamic processes shaping all members of these communities. "Between the dilution of traditional collective identities and the stubborn, aggressive affirmation of nationalism, social work can indeed make a contribution to the realisation of cultural fairness, social human rights and human dignity in concrete, particularly, everyday contexts". (Lorenz 2006, 73–74, 78, 100.) In practice the borders of the nation states have also moved the everyday practices where the nation state process is discussed (see Rigo 2009; Balibar 2004). Individuals alone may not always be capable of overcoming oppression, especially when obstacles arise from broader structural difficulties. Adopting a human rights and ethical perspective can help social workers more readily identify structural difficulties in planning appropriate interventions. (Reichert 2003, 246.) Human rights serve a generic framework in social work practice and especially in settlement, integration and working with minorities (Valtonen 2008; Ife 2008; Staub-Bernasconi 2009a, 2009b). But as Humphries (2004, 105) states, the essential point for social workers is to find a combination of a genuine caring for people and the galvanisations of actions against manifest injustice, due to the contradictory position of social work within the state and having many mandates from the state such as advocating clients, implementing laws and at the same time being a highly ethical profession.

In the Nordic model, the role of social work is essential to the focus of critical and radical social work approaches where the social structure is a cornerstone without "blaming" the individual "victim" for the problems. These theories and methods entail some related ideas which include a critique of existing social arrangements and social work's complicity, and a corresponding emphasis on power relationships and social change by and for individuals, groups and communities. (Fook 2002, 5; Staub-Bernasconi 2009a, 19; Healy 2005; Valtonen 2008, 37.)¹³ It is also vitally important for the social work profession to have a moral and ethical yardstick besides and beyond the state mandate. Social work reflects the society where it takes place. It is often the national agenda that frames the social work mandate to ensure solidarity, to patch together a national unity so that conformity with national standards of behaviour extends as far as possible (Lorenz 2006, 73; Dominelli 2004, 249). It may contradict the core principle of social work that people, who are socially excluded, can assume full rights. The exclusion of minorities are not primarily effected by the processes of migration but by processes of social construction and a definition which can cause people to find themselves on the wrong side of a divide without ever having changed location (Dominelli 2004, 249). Skin colour, language, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, ethnic belonging, general appearance and life style are arbitrary markers in this process of social allocation (Staub-Bernasconi 2009a, 19; Lorenz 2006, 78). These problems may arise from inadequate methods of social

¹³ In Finland also during the 1980's Marxist social work research took place (Heinonen 1984). Mäntysaari (2009, 104–105) highlights that Marxist philosophy is still relevant in social work research. For example, classes still exist and the more communal approaches are needed, instead of those where the emphasis is more on the individual.

work and social relations between ethnic minorities and majority populations which are characterised as power relationships.

Social work with refugees also faces sensitive political questions behind its methods and strategies. In Finland, the myth of the homogeneity of the society may activate anxieties and defensive reactions and also may test the boundaries of solidarity. The articulation of ethnic diversity in European societies which occurred during the 1980's and 1990's raised fundamental questions not only about social work methods but also about the role of social work in society (Lorenz 2006, 67, 78). "Social work has always had a contradictory and ambivalent relationship with those who use state services" (Humphries 2004, 94).

Finnish society is becoming more aware of its cultural diversity but recently increasing nationalist ideas and discrimination has taken place. The cultural competences of social workers have been promoted for more than twenty years, but those methods and discussions are not yet mainstreamed in social work and it is not possible to speak about culture specific social work (e.g. Anis 2012). In Finland, Vuori (2012, 261-262) states that the integration policy and settlement practises produce problems concerning gender and family status. But also racism and ethnic relations are invisible in the integration policy, which is not enabling to improve the integration practices. Therefore, it is essential to focus on integration policies and practises instead of concentrating in the individual responsibility in the integration process. Also Keskinen's (2012, 291-320) study shows, how the practises of Finnish authorities are not taking into account cultural differences. Authorities use universal or cultural explanations for the behaviour of their service users. These explanations end in the same kind of practises to all of their clients. Also, by using cultural explanations authorities participate in producing an exclusive definition of society, where different individuals and groups living inside the country are put in unequal positions (Keskinen 2012, 329). According to Kamali (1997) in the Nordic welfare societies the concept of integration is based on the assumption that there is already a political, social and economic consensus. For example, in Sweden, rejection of cultural differences results in the clientization of immigrants. This excludes immigrants from active participation in the production and reproduction of their own life in the new society.

3 TRUST AND THE THEORY OF RECOGNITION AS THE THEORETICAL BASE OF THIS STUDY

The critical social theory of recognition enables us to contemplate moral relationships in society. At the same time, refugees have very contradictory relationships within the state because of their refugeehood. As discussed already in the introduction, in addition to forced migration studies the other standpoint of this study is critical social theory and especially the theory of recognition as a base of mutual trust between refugees and authorities. Trust formation between refugees and authorities is the main question in this study. This question is essential in the Nordic countries where the role of public authorities is central in the provision of services. In this chapter, first trust will be discussed and its connections to social capital. Also how social capital is applied in migration studies and in practice with integration work with migrants. Next, the theory of recognition and its main concepts are introduced. Lastly, the connections of recognition theory within social work and current social work research are presented.

3.1 Function and the types of trust

Trust has been approached from many disciplines and therefore there are various concepts which attempt at definition of its core ideas. It can be seen as an essential element of personal attributes, so called basic trust, interpersonal trust, contextual trust concerning institutes or organisations or as a dispositional trust, a propensity or tendency to believe in the positive attributes of others in general. One important basis comes from Georg Simmel (1995) who claims that trust is essential in creating a cohesive society. On the other hand, trust is necessary for the individual's wellbeing (Kotkavirta 2000, 55-68) and can be a vital resource in our relationships as it gives access to social capital and adds it, as well as, pools other resources (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 95-103; Dominelli 2004, 70). Current research largely revolves around the functional properties of the con-

cept. Trust can be defined as a state of favourable expectation regarding other people's actions and intentions. Trust can be seen, for example, as the basis for individual risk-taking behaviour (Coleman 1990), co-operation (Gambetta 1988), reducing social complexity (Luhmann 1979), order (Misztal 1996), and social capital (Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993). Trust can be defined broadly as a willingness to become vulnerable to the trustee, another person, institution, or people generally after having taken into consideration the characteristics, such as benevolence, integrity and competence of the trustee (e.g. Rousseau, et al., 1998). According to Simmel (2005, 175–176), trust includes social, emotional, cognitive and moral factors. Besides, trust is contextual in time and space (Ilmonen 2005, 58–59; 61–64; Ilmonen et. al. 2000). Selma Sevenhuijsen (1998) suggests that trust has to be studied in relation to other concepts like vulnerability and dependency. The functional dimensions of trust will be considered in addition to its relation to the theory of recognition and the concepts related to that theory, such as dependency.

In my first article (Turtiainen 2009a) I used Ilmonen's (2002, 92; 2005, 52) four-fold classification of trust as an analytical tool. First, trust takes place in direct and personal relationships where trust is not questioned. It can also be called primary trust (Sztompka 1999, 70–86). Second, there are two types of trust, first, trust in persons, and second, trust in institutions. Luhman (1979) calls the latter not trust but confidence. For him, trust is vital in interpersonal relations, but when we speak about the functional systems like the economy or politics it is no longer a matter of personal relations and therefore it requires confidence instead of trust. Also, Giddens (1990) distinguishes trust in persons, trust in institutionalised personal ties and trust in abstract systems. Trust in institutions is non-personal and in-direct. The third type of trust (Ilmonen 2002, 92) is also indirect, but it is based on direct contacts. Coleman (1990, 180–188) calls this kind of trust a "chain of trust", which concerns social networks maintained by trust. It means that we trust somebody even if we don't know that person because he/she belongs to the same network with us. The fourth type of trust in Ilmonen's analysis concerns people in direct contact in the same networks who don't know each other, but who are trusted because we think that they share the same qualities with us. This kind of trust can be called generalised trust or humanistic trust. According to Offe (1999, 72–74; also Putnam 1993) we think that people share the same kind of moral space with us, which means that trust is based on the shared norms and values .

One cornerstone of this study is that trust should not only encompass those persons and institutions that meet standards of familiarity. The key question in this study is how trust is able to develop between strangers. Therefore, the shared norms and values cannot be the precondition of trust. When refugees come to the society that they are unfamiliar they meet authorities that they have not met before. While studying plural societies it is important to keep in mind how to judge trust relationships from a moral point of view and therefore to ask: "Whom should we trust in what way and why?" (Sevenhuijsen 1998, 12.)

I will elaborate on the concept of trust further while discussing the findings of the articles in Chapter 5.

3.2 Connections of trust in relation to social capital

Trust is said to be a complicated element in the puzzle of social capital (Ilmonen 2005, 53) and therefore trust cannot be studied without some consideration of its relation to social capital. Social capital can be broadly seen as a resource that belongs in social relations and networks. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) with James Coleman (1990) and Robert Putnam (1993) are considered as the main authors in the original development of the theory of social capital. Here I will concentrate on social capital theories by Putnam (1993; 2000) and Bourdieu (1998) where trust is a core element.¹⁴

Putnam (1993; 2000) and Bourdieu (1998) understand social capital as a character of social relations. For Putnam (1993; also Fukuyama 1996) trust is a part of social capital and it is connected with commonly shared resources, values, commitments, and participation in the community. Thus, impersonal or indirect trust does not rest with knowledge of particular individuals, but rather with norms and behaviours that are generalised to others in the social unit as a whole. This generalised trust characterises systems with strong social capital. Putnam's work on participation in voluntary organisations in democratic societies (the United States in his studies) reflects the use of this perspective. He argues that social associations and the degree of participation indicate the extent of social capital in society. Participation in these associations promotes and enhances collective norms and trust, which are central to the production and maintenance of the collective well-being. He (1993, 171) claims that the greater level of trust within a community, the greater the level of cooperation. Besides, trust is collectively owned and without trust, social capital cannot work as capital. Putnam (2000, 355) has also described four types of societies in terms of social capital and tolerance. High social capital and high tolerance describe the civic community. Low social capital and low tolerance means anarchic society, war of all against all; high social capital and low tolerance means sectarian community with in-groups and out-groups; high tolerance and low social capital means individualistic community where you do your thing and I'll do mine. (Ibid., 355.) Putnam shows that high social capital cannot just work alone to improve common good, therefore other concepts, such as discrimination, and also context has to be taken into consideration, for example, in the studies of integra-

¹⁴ There are also social capital theories (Coleman 1993; Lin 2001) which rule out emotional, normative and moral elements such as trust or solidarity from social capital and keep it mainly instrumental for taking advantage of it (Ilmonen 2005, 47-48). For example, one of the main authors of social capital theories, the American sociologist James Coleman, claims that whether any structural aspect is a capital depends on whether it serves a function for certain individuals engaged in particular activities. For this reason, for him, social capital is not fungible across individuals or activities.

tion of the immigrants (e.g. Portes 2000). It also depends on the situation whether social capital is a key for success, a tool for survival or even a reason for exclusion (Ruuskanen, 2003, 79; 2001).

According to Bourdieu (1986) a form of capital is possessed by members of social networks or groups and depends on the extent of one's connections. Furthermore, the amount of capital in these groups, with clear boundaries, obligations and exchange, depends on the mutual recognition. Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1986). For him, social capital is a product of the group members and maintained and reinforced for the utility when members continue to "invest" in relationships. For Putnam social capital is more a characteristic of the group, which is how I understand social capital. In Bourdieu's understanding, trust is not connected to social capital directly but first of all to the symbolic capital, which is understood to reside in the recognised legitimacy of capital, in whatever form. Therefore, trust is something which takes place in mutual acquaintance and recognition, that is, in the eyes of others.¹⁵ (Bourdieu 1986, 248–249.) In the Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a) I use the idea of symbolic capital when refugees had power in the communities/societies where they lived. This could also be the possibility to help others, to contribute to the society or survive (Ruuskanen 2003, 79). However, for me, social capital cannot work as a capital without trust (Putnam 2000).

Through social integration, building social capital is an essential element and contributes to the entire integration. According to Kazemipur (2004, 82) social capital is a useful concept in both the practical integration of immigrants and in immigrant research. Immigrant research using the concept of social capital is growing fast. It has been used to study the social role of social networks in the initial settlement of immigrants and refugees until the educational and occupational achievements of second generation (ibid). Valtonen (2008, 116–121) introduces a capital model for the immigrants' settlement and integration work, which provides a conceptual model that, also has relevance to the strengths perspective in social work. This model gives an idea of the type of social resources which individuals and groups would utilise in establishing membership in different spheres of society. The forms of capital refer here to social resources which can be brought to bear on individuals' pursuits in social life, and facilitate purposive activity oriented to personal and collective goals. Korhonen (2006) claims that besides public promotion, the emergence of social capital be-

¹⁵ Bourdieu stresses the fungibility of different forms of capital and the ultimate reduction of all forms to economic capital, defined as accumulated human labour. Therefore, through social capital, actors can gain direct access to economic resources, they can increase their cultural capital through contacts with experts and individuals or they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials as institutionalised cultural capital. Through connections among the members, the capital can be used by members with credits. In this sense, social capital is a collective asset endowing members with credits, and it is maintained and reinforced for its utility when members continue to invest in the relations.

tween immigrants and native born people requires individuals who lead the way in a multicultural society.

Even if social capital is essential in the integration process of immigrants, it is not always directly improving social integration. Alejandro Portes (2000) with his colleagues (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1996) have studied immigration, ethnic entrepreneurship, urban poverty and immigrant children. Portes (1998, 21) has criticised that the importance of social capital is exaggerated in providing a ready remedy for major social problems, as promised by its bolder proponents.¹⁶ He gives two alternative arguments which are compatible with his data. First, Portes pays attention to the different cultural orientations brought by immigrants from different countries that lead them to put differential value on education as a vehicle for upward mobility. This is because it is based on values introduced during the socialisation process and that is enacted regardless of whether individuals are isolated or form part of a community. His second explanation is eminently interesting in the context of this study because it focuses on the contexts of reception encountered by different immigrant minorities in America. Immigrants from Asia are beneficiaries of a relatively benign reception in the United States, marked by the absence of persecution by government authorities, declining discrimination by natives, and the halo effect of successful settlement and adaptation by prior Asian cohorts (also Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 3). Portes interprets, based on Cornelius (1998), that Mexicans, on the other hand, are regularly persecuted as potentially “illegal aliens” and are subject to much external discrimination as “takers” of American jobs and bearers of an inferior culture. This negative reception inevitably affects the outlook of immigrants, reducing their expectations of what is possible to achieve in their new country, and consequently, their aspirations for their children. Again, this is not a social capital argument, but one grounded on broad structural forces in the society and the policy. His key point is that the ready attribution of positive effects to social capital, be it in its individual garb as social networks or in its collective one as civic spirit, is premature because observed effects may be spurious or compatible with alternative explanations arising from different theoretical quarters. (Portes 2000, 20–21.) I also find (Tur-tiainen 2009a) that social capital is not enough for the trust formation process but it needs other concepts for understanding this phenomenon. Therefore, I move on to introduce the theory of recognition.

3.3 The theory of recognition in the philosophical debate

Besides trust, recognition is an important concept in this study. In philosophy, recognition is seen as fundamental in our being in the world and it has always

¹⁶ Based on his interesting studies about Chinese, Korean and Mexican children’s success at school in Canada, he spins an alternative social capital understanding around the ethnic effects by asserting that it is community networks and support, not isolated families that play the central role in children’s educational success.

played an essential role in practical philosophy (Honneth 2007, 129). The idea of recognition goes back to the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel (1770–1831), and his book “The Phenomenology of Spirit” published in 1807 (Hegel 1807/1978). Hegel’s idea is that recognition develops in reciprocity and moreover mutual recognition is a prerequisite for human freedom and for the development of a positive self. From the beginning of the 1990’s the theory of recognition has received wide academic interest. The two main contemporary Neo-Hegelian philosophers of the theory of recognition are the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor and the German social philosopher and sociologist Axel Honneth. Taylor’s (1992) contribution “The Politics of Recognition” arise from Canadian politics. Honneth’s focal intervention is his book “The Struggle for Recognition” which was published initially in German, in 1992 (Honneth 1995). The American feminist philosopher, Nancy Fraser, with her broader theory of justice, is a third significant academic who has contributed to this theory. For Fraser (2003, 10) one becomes an individual only in virtue of recognition, and being recognised by another subject. For Taylor (1992, 26) recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need.

Honneth’s approach can be understood as a continuation of the Frankfurt School’s attempt to locate the motivating insight for an emancipatory critique and struggle within the domain of ordinary human experience, rather than in the revolutionary theory of intellectuals. One basic claim by Honneth (1995) and also Taylor (1994), based on the George Herbert Mead’s (1962) notion, is that human life is fundamentally dialogical. Basically their approach focuses on the importance of social relationships in the development and maintenance of a person’s identity and in constructing normative criteria for a good society. Hegel’s notions are the foundation for Honneth, together with Mead’s social psychological theory of the role they take over and “the generalised other”. Honneth’s (1995, 92–131; 2007, 138–139) approach is based on the idea that the possibility for identity formation depends on the development of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem (Figure 1.). These practical relations to the self are built in an inter-subjective process. It means that if we are not recognised by love (care), respect and esteem, our self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem are not developed properly. Also later, these relations to the self are maintained by the attitudes of recognition. Honneth (1995), following Mead and Hegel, distinguishes family life, where care exists, civil society, which is an arena to social esteem, and the State which provides rights. For Honneth, recognition is a *medium* of social integration of how groups, institutions or individuals *relate* to each other as persons whose rights have to be respected, who have to be cared for and whose achievements have to be esteemed (Laitinen 2009, 16). For Taylor (1994, 37), recognition takes place at two levels. First, in the intimate sphere, where we understand the formation of identity and the self as taking place in a continuing dialogue and struggle with significant others; and second, in the public sphere, where politics of equal recognition has come to play a bigger role.

Honneth and Fraser (2003) argue against each other in their joint book. Honneth has a critical attitude towards Fraser’s distinction between redistribu-

tion and recognition (Honneth 2003). Fraser (2003, 2007) analyses two distinct kinds of obstacles to participatory parity, which correspond to two distinctive species of injustice. First, people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers, which case they suffer from distributive injustice or maldistribution. Second, people can also be prevented of interacting in terms of parity by institutionalised hierarchies of cultural values that deny them the requisite standing, in that case they suffer from status inequality and or misrecognition. In the first case, the problem is the class structure of the society, which corresponds to the economic dimension of justice. In the second case, the problem is the status order which corresponds to the cultural dimension. For her, only the two-dimensional theory, encompassing both distribution and recognition, can supply the necessary levels of social-theoretical complexity and moral-philosophical insight.¹⁷ According to Honneth, struggles for material redistribution have the same logic as other social struggles and distributional injustices must be understood as expressions of institutionalised patterns of recognition which value certain performances more than others. According to Honneth, struggles for recognition arise when particular groups struggle for social rights and social esteem as a response to experiences of disrespect, whether it takes the form of material or cultural injustice. Gosh and Juul (2008) claim that what fundamentally separates Honneth and Fraser, is not that Honneth wouldn't be interested in redistribution of material goods or that Fraser puts the greater priority to redistribution than recognition. Instead they have to be seen within the frameworks of two different moral philosophical traditions where Honneth is primarily interested in conditions for the good life, while Fraser primarily focuses on social justice. I don't want to make a clear distinction between redistribution and recognition. I include inequalities of redistribution to the rights (respect as a form of recognition) also encompassing social justice.

¹⁷ Fraser (2007, 16–35) suggests that in order to deal satisfactory with this problem, the theory of justice must become three-dimensional, incorporating the political dimension of representation, alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition. The political dimension of representation should itself be understood as encompassing three levels. Fraser (2007, 20) means by justice “a parity of participation”. According to this radical democratic interpretation of the principle of an equal world, justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalised obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction. The third dimension of justice is, for her, political in a specific, constitutive sense. It concerns the constitution of the state's jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation. (Fraser 2003, 2007.)

TABLE 2 The structure of the relations of recognition. Source: Honneth 1995, 129, published with the permission of Professor Axel Honneth.

Mode of recognition	emotional support	cognitive respect	social esteem
Dimension of personality	needs and emotions	moral responsibility	traits and abilities
Forms of recognition	primary relationships (love, friendship)	legal relations (rights)	community of value (solidarity)
Developmental potential	–	generalization, de-formalization	individualization, equalization
Practical relation-to-self	basic self-confidence	self-respect	self-esteem
Forms of disrespect	abuse and rape	denial of rights, exclusion	denigration, insult
Threatened component of personality	physical integrity	social integrity	'honour', dignity

The starting point of my study is that refugees' personalities have been threatened because of the different forms of disrespect by persecution during the refugee process. Therefore, the possibility of trust formation is decreased. In the article of Recognition (Turtiainen 2009b), I use the forms of recognition and how they can be applied to social work. Honneth uses the term "emotional support" (or love), I use instead the term care, which is more suitable for social work. In the Dependency article (Turtiainen 2011) I further study respect as a form of recognition as a meaning of how we understand each other. In the fourth article of Social esteem (Turtiainen 2012), the data is analysed by using the concept of social esteem as a form of recognition. In Chapter 5, I will discuss my findings concerning these different forms of recognition.

3.3.1 Identification, recognition and recognitive attitudes

The Finnish philosophers Heikki Ikäheimo and Arto Laitinen have developed further the theory of recognition by Honneth and Taylor. According to Ikäheimo (2003, 135), recognition is a process where a person attributes in her attitudes certain relevant attributes to another person, whether in explicit speech acts, or implicitly in her overall orientation in the shared world; and the other person has a positively evaluative attitude towards that attribution, or accepts it. Therefore, as Ikäheimo (2003, 137–138) proposes, we have to draw a clear distinction between recognitive attitudes and recognition and the social and institutional settings where recognition and/or mis-recognition may occur.

The relationship between these is extremely complicated (Ikäheimo and Laitinen 2007, 42–43). Ikäheimo further (2003, 137–138, also Ikäheimo and Laitinen 2007, 37–42) argues that it is important to distinguish between distinctly recognitive attitudes and the totality of attitudes instantiated in a given personal relationship. In line with Ikäheimo, I view recognition as a ‘two way complex of attitudes’, where attitudes are different ways of accepting another person as a person. This, to be exact, means respecting him/her, esteeming him/her and/or loving him/her. Here, ‘love’ means care for another person’s well-being. Recognition is not a crude natural process, but something that is always already taking place for certain reasons consisting of mutual attitudes involving judgements (ibid. 2003, 130). It is also important to understand that the other participant of the relationship as capable of making judgements about us.

Ikäheimo and Laitinen (2007, 43–47) point out that one can easily be seriously mistaken about the recognitive attitudes of others towards himself/herself. By attitudes towards persons, they understand not only explicit opinions or views, but also implicit background attitudes that affect the ways in which we encounter others. Recognitive attitudes have an important role in the motivation of actions, that is, we can often read others’ attitudes towards us in their actions. Conversely, Ikäheimo and Laitinen also point out that it is often important for a person to know that someone loves, respects or esteems him/her, *even if that other person has no way of acting on these attitudes*. Another important point is that people are easily prone to imagining or guessing others’ attitudes towards them; this can sometimes lead to unnecessary conflicts or feelings of insult. For example, a service user might think that a social worker wields too much power, even if the social worker is in fact carefully respecting the client’s rights. In such cases one cannot speak of a real lack of recognition because the social worker genuinely cares for the client’s problems and respects the client’s autonomy and the conditions which must be fulfilled to maintain it. In the ‘dialogical’ model of recognition supported by Ikäheimo and Laitinen, recognition is a matter of real attitudes, and a merely imagined lack of recognition is not a genuine lack of recognition. Following Honneth, Ikäheimo and Laitinen, I stress the importance of a dialogical model of recognition. The idea of understanding the behaviour of the other is mainly seen in the Dependency article (Turtiainen 2011).

Many authors, including Honneth and Taylor, use the terms ‘recognition’, ‘identification’, and ‘acknowledgement’ to describe roughly the same phenomenon¹⁸. Instead, I draw a distinction between ‘identification’ and ‘acknowledgement’ in terms of building relations of recognition between refugees and authorities. ‘Identification’ is used as a synonym for recognition in the sense that one identifies things and persons as definite individuals having some particular feature(s). Identification can be external or internal (self-identification).

¹⁸ Ikäheimo (2003, 141–151) analyses Taylor’s (1995) understanding of these concepts. He concludes that each of these concepts is a complicated phenomenon in its own rights and grasping their internal connection is a far from easy task.

Self-identification is never completely independent of the qualitative identifications made by others. I understand identification as the complex process of the identification and self-identification of the needs or traits of refugees in the relationship between refugees and authorities. For example, these needs or traits of the refugees must be identified if recognition is to take place. However, identification is not enough if it does not lead to recognition. 'Acknowledgement' is used as a synonym for recognition in the case of norms, rules and so on. Through acknowledgement, things are constructed, for example, as valid, good and genuine. I use the concept of acknowledgement when special rights are or should be recognised by the laws and regulations. The concept of identification is mainly used in the Recognition article (Turtiainen 2009b).

3.3.2 Non-recognition and a satisfaction of needs

Honneth's analysis of the forms of recognition (1995, 192) corresponds to the dimensions of non-recognition or misrecognition. The lack of love or care is physical abuse, the denial of rights is exclusion and lack of social esteem is denigration, insult, humiliation or stigmatisation (Honneth 2007, 136; 1995, 129). In general, non-recognition threatens physical and social integrity and dignity. The forms of adequate recognition help to meet the basic needs of people. Laitinen (2009, 15–22) argues that if needs are not adequately met, and if the response is not the right kind, that is an important criterion of misrecognition. The needs of the other provide reasons to respond in ways which help meet the needs. Laitinen (2009, 15) stresses the *reasons* for our responses towards others, because the balance of reasons tells us what we ought, overall, to do, or have most reason to do. "Adequate recognition is inherently responsive to reasons, which determine what kinds of esteem, respect or concern are 'fitting' (...) We have a categorical reason to protect and not to destroy any valuable object, and reasons to acknowledge its value" (Laitinen 2009, 19). Due to that, there is a duty not to harm, and a corresponding right not to be harmed, and thus unjustified harming is a clear case of *wronging* the other. A person is harmed if such needed responses are denied. There are two ways that misrecognition can take place. First, the cases of inadequate recognition, lack of respect, esteem or concern, can harm directly. When misrecognition constitutes humiliation, denigration, or not caring for another, it constitutes a setback or obstacle to the needs for respect, esteem, belonging and love. Second, they can harm indirectly via the effects of misrecognition on agents' competencies. "An approximate rule seems to be that negative demands (not to destroy, humiliate and so on) are categorical prima facie duties in every context, whereas positive demands are optional, dependent on the mode of relationship between persons, and are not categorical duties". (Laitinen 2009, 20–22; Ikäheimo 2009.)

For Taylor (1994, 25) our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *misrecognition* of another, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if persons or the society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm; it can be a form of

oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being. Misrecognition shows not just a lack of due respect. It can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred. If recognition is a vital human need (Taylor 1994, 26) therefore, resonating Honneth, misrecognition can cause serious harm to our self-realisation.

Nancy Fraser (1997) understands non-recognition as a cultural or symbolic injustice, where injustice is rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. For her, cultural injustice and economic injustice are intertwined. While cultural norms are unfairly biased and are institutionalised in the state and the economy; the economic disadvantage impedes equal participation in public spheres and in everyday life and may result in cultural and economic subordination. (Fraser 1997, 15.) For her, non-recognition means being rendered invisible by means of the authoritative representational, communicative and interpretative practices of one's culture.

Toleration is the word which is often used in the contemporary discourse concerning minorities. Rainer Forst (2007, 215–237) analyses toleration in the context of the theory of recognition. First of all, toleration can never be a "complete" form of recognition. If one person in a given relationship does not have a positive attitude towards the other person, toleration may quickly set in. Toleration of another person without recognition means that the person in question is unwanted, but must be tolerated because nothing else can be done (Ikäheimo 2008, 2–28). It always has a power dimension because as being recognised as some kind of different or non-normal minority and therefore has to be awarded some kind of minority status is recognised as not equal. So, in this sense, toleration does not fit to any form of recognition and it is an insult. Approaching toleration from the "respect" point of view, we have to come from a perspective of "hierarchical to horizontal" and a democratic standpoint where toleration is respect for the basic moral right to justification, in other words, one must have to come to see oneself and others as moral persons with such right, as moral equals. (Forst 2007, 235–236.)

3.4 Recognition, social work and social work research

In social work, already in its early stages the pragmatic philosophers and pioneers of professional social work Jane Addams (1902/1905, 269–270) in the USA and Ilse Arlt (1934) in Austria wrote about the recognition of the entire person. Addams emphasised integral democracy, which promotes participation for all and Arlt highlighted recognition of the whole person on the base of avoiding humiliation in social work relationships with clients. More recently, the theory of recognition has been considered adequate for social work by several authors

(e.g. Houston and Dolan 2008; Houston 2008; 2009; 2010; Gosh and Juul 2008; Juul 2009; 2010; Garrett 2010)¹⁹.

The authors, who apply the theory of recognition to social work, basically agree about the value and usefulness of the theory. For example Garrett (2010, 1530), despite his critique discussed later, highlights the ethical core and conceptual bases of the recognition theory which enable the social work practitioners a fresh and more 'human' approach. For Houston (2009, 1288) Honneth's three forms of ideal identity formation provide a prism through which social workers can 'tune in' to ethical imperatives and sharpen empathy leading to an understanding of an actor's identity struggles. According to Houston and Dolan (2008, 167), recognition theory gives the lens in order to gain inner awareness of emotions, desires, sensibilities, choices, perceptions, expectations and attitudes both at a gross and subtle level. Juul's (2009, 415) contribution from the perspective of the theory of recognition, gives some ethical core principles, which should be used as routines of good habits in social work. I agree with him that the struggle for recognition is not just relevant in a direct meeting between client and social worker. It is about "the value orientation of modern culture, about the overall substance of social and welfare policies and about the prevailing norms in welfare institutions" (Juul 2009, 415).

According to Houston (2010, 842) the theory of recognition poses a direct and necessary challenge to social work.²⁰ He criticised the use of the concept of personalisation in social work, which brings as the concept of *homo economicus*. It means that the understanding of the person is rational, individualistic, utilitarian, calculative and instrumental. He suggests (ibid., 848) that extending Honneth's ideas on self-realisation to social work gives some practical dimensions, where social work is seen as 'symbolic interaction', 'care', 'respect' and 'validation'. These four dimensions, taken together, constitute a social work of 'recognition' that views each person as a social, rather than an individual emphasising the context of group life and explaining human action in terms of social context. Houston's contribution is an important reminder that if social work is blind to the fundamental ontological reality, it forgets its roots in collectivity.

Garrett (2010, 1518) claims that the critical literature of recognition has been mostly neglected in social work. He claims that Nancy Fraser's more general theory is preferable, as he sees it, to the narrower approach of Honneth. For Garrett, Fraser's approach which focuses on 'axes of subordination' and 'perspectival dualism', is conceptually more persuasive. It expresses the multifacet-

¹⁹ I have conducted a review of the literature regarding studies of social work using Honneth's theory of recognition. The database Ebsco (accessed at 20.8.2011) gave 7 results if searched "social work" and "Honneth" of which four are concerning social work. Three of those are Stan Houston's articles and one about social care is by Pamela Fisher and Jenny Owen (2008) about health related interventions. Social service abstracts (ProQuest) gives 9 articles. In addition to Ebsco it gives Gosh's and Juul's (2010) and Garrett's (2010) articles, which concern social work.

²⁰ Houston's (2010) paper is built on Ferguson's contribution to the debate on personalisation in social work that appeared in the *British Journal of Social Work* in 2007. Whereas Ferguson approached the topic through the lens of political philosophy, Houston's paper draws on critical social theory to examine not only the nature of personalisation, but also its supportive pillar of individualisation.

ed nature of oppression and subjugation which is present in the discourse of social work. Garrett (ibid.) states that Honneth's approach is prone to 'psychologisation' and psychological determinism. He bases the notion on McNay's (2008, 2) critical contribution on recognition theory. McNay is not entirely against recognition theory, but she disagrees with the basic claims made about the dialogical nature of subjectivity, identity and agency. McNay (2008, 2-3) argues that these insights are not sufficiently embedded in a sociological understanding of power relations. However, in her understanding, relations of power are always already present when the individual psyche is formed. The consequent ways in which the idea of recognition is naturalised and universalised, foreclose anything but the most limited understanding of identity and agency in the context of the reproduction of inequalities of gender. (McNay, 2008, 2-3.)

Another of Garretts' claim is that the theorisation of recognition neglects or under-theorises the role of the state. Garrett (2010, 1527) states that these theories fail to acknowledge that the state, with a primary intent of maintaining patterns and processes aiding and sustaining capital accumulation, can be a substantial source of oppression and hardship in itself. By neglecting the state, social workers might humiliate or overlook invisible cases which deserve attention. He refers to symbolic violence (e.g. Bourdieu 1999) and the role of the state and its functionaries. He also states (ibid., 1530) that the state can build and consolidate the "difference", for example, due to its border controls. Garrett's (2010,1530) main claim is that if the state is not understood for example as a user of symbolic violence or consolidating the "difference" recognition is partly rooted in the dynamics of (mis)recognition and almost entirely represents micro encounters. For me, the state is fundamental in the theory of recognition because social workers are using the state's mandate while implementing its laws. That is one reason why the power dimension is present. Also, the main idea of the study is that the social workers are public authorities and therefore trust building is complex. Besides, the social workers have to be sensitive and in a reflective position to the institutions and the state because they may contradict the human rights and the mandate of advocating refugees. This is a reason why I suggest that the critical approaches of social work have to be applied to social work with refugees.

The suitability of the theory of recognition to social work can be justified because its grounds are built from social ontology, from the reality of lived experiences and from an awareness of "interbeing" (Houston 2008, 34-35). Houston (2007; 2008; 2009) has made several contributions to social work and social work research by using the theory of recognition. Houston's article (2008) deals with social work in Northern Ireland where "identity" is multilayered and ethno-religious identities continue to prevail despite recent changes within the political sphere and attempts to effect mutual understanding and consensual dialogue.²¹ Social work's response to the "politics of sectarian identity" in North-

²¹ "The problematisation of identity is an issue for all citizens in Northern Ireland, regardless of whether they have experienced direct violence. That is, to live in this most

ern Ireland over the past 30 years has been typified by an uneasy silence. Houston states that Honneth's critical theory of recognition provides a means for reshaping social work intervention according to three perspectives: first object-relations theory (care), citizenship rights (respect), and communitarianism (social esteem). Recognition, social justice, and social work in Honneth's tripartite model of recognition has a direct bearing on the "politics of identity". Object-relations theory is one tool for social workers to build the conditions for trust and safety; enable individuals to recognise the "good" and the "bad" in everyone (rather than splitting). The second possibility emerging from Honneth's theory of recognition is to strengthen social work's commitment to citizenship rights. (ibid., 37.) Third, the possibility of communitarian social work emerges. Honneth's brand of communitarianism emphasises the role of social networks in shaping and defining identities through the recognition of strengths, potential, and achievement. (Houston 2008, 25–41.)

Another article by Houston (2009, 1274–1290) examines the combination of Habermas' (1990) and Honneth's (1995) ethical theories and how they resonate with each other. He suggests that the need for egalitarian communication (Habermas) and the principle of inclusive recognition (Honneth 1995) are the two foundation stones of moral decision making in social work. He suggests that these theories are complementary, mutually rectifying and concordant at the metaethical level of analysis. (Houston 2009, 1274.) Besides social work practice, they have implications for research and education as well.

The study by Houston with Pat Dolan (2008, 458–469) is about how the recognition theory by Honneth can be adapted to invigorate theories of social support. They show how Honneth's ideas can be reworked and linked to theories of social support, invigorating the latter while grounding the former. They offer no practical guidelines but focus on what makes the practitioner ethical. They create a conceptual framework for reflective practice that can illuminate, and interrogate, the moral and operational dimensions of preventative work with children and families.

Søren Juul's study (2009) is about how service users should be treated in a proper way and how to avoid the clientification of people who need help in order to become better off and independent again. He employs the concepts of recognition and judgement for the critical analysis of social work. In his interpretation the prevailing forms of judgement to be found in social institutions pose an obstacle to recognition. He claims that the forms of recognition are the most fundamental prerequisites that must be fulfilled if social work is to promote human flourishing.

Flora Ghosh's and Juul's (2008) study in Denmark comes closest to my study in this topic. They have examined newly arrived refugees in Denmark using the theoretical concepts of redistribution and recognition by Honneth (1995) and Fraser (2003b). According to their empirical results, refugees experience misrecognition, inequality and poverty and that the program they studied

troubled, and constitutionally contested of regions, is to be sectarianised by the conscious, the unconscious, and the unchallenged." (Houston 2008.)

constitutes an obstacle to social integration. Refugees experience material sufferings, as well as a lack of moral recognition, and there is a need for both, a politics on redistribution and a politics on recognition. Although, there may be a positive relation between labour market integration and social integration, it is questionable which way this relationship goes. They argue that refugees' participation in the labour market is sometimes hindered by a lack of social integration. They suggest that the government and other politicians must avoid the idea that getting a job is the only way for social integration. Integration and social cohesion is about much more than that, not least about recognition and equal citizen rights for all residents. It is also an important notion of the authors that it is difficult to draw a clear line between material problems and missing moral recognition. Start Help is a low material benefit for a section of the residents in Denmark, but as has been shown, this is subjectively taken to be a symbol of moral disrespect. Refugees experienced disrespect as a bearer of equal rights and missed social appreciation associated with this, which lead to a weakened identity, and hence to problems of participation. (Ghosh & Juul 2008.)

4 METHODOLOGY

The concept of trust and the theory of recognition provide the theoretical framework to the empirical research and for the analysis of the data in all the four articles. Therefore, this study is theory-bound. It was important to use refugees as “experts” of their experiences of the different stages of the refugee process, therefore their interviews are the main component of my data set. Listening to refugees directly is an epistemologically legitimate way of collecting data. From an ontological point of view it is meaningful to use refugees’ knowledge and understand their experiences (Hynes 2003, 13). It is important to interview refugees to become aware of different experiences to deconstruct the idea of the refugee experience, but also to understand that there are as many refugee experiences of as there are persons entitled to refugee status. I have used the two different sets of data, the first consist of interviews of refugees and the second is two group interviews of authorities involved in refugee reception. In this chapter, I introduce the data, narrative approach, data collection, the main idea of abduction and analysis of the data in each individual article. Lastly some ethical considerations of researching refugees are discussed.

4.1 Refugees’ interviews and authorities’ group discussions as data

My data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in the region of Central Finland. The interviewees represent a heterogeneous group in terms of ethnicity, education, age, and gender. Half of them are women and half men of which six are either single or are single mothers and seven married with children. Some of them are illiterate without any basic education, some are students and the others have vocational or a university education. Some of them are unemployed and the others are working or studying. They come from different countries in Africa, the Far East and the Near East and their ages range from 20 to 60. At the time of the interviews, they had been living in Finland between 4 and 13

years. Half of the interviewees are so called strong cases (Patton 2002, 230) who are somehow working with their own ethnic community. They provide information in rich cases and know the community well. By trying to find a heterogeneous group of interviewees I tried to minimize the biased picture of interviews. For ethical reasons, to avoid identification of the interviewees, I will not provide more detailed background information of the interviewees. Ethically, it is important that, at the time of the interviews, they were no longer users of the services to which the interviews pertained, and thus could speak freely about them. I have worked for two decades in the immigrant services. This probably affects the entire research process especially with regard to relationship formation between interviewees and interpretation of the narratives.

My other set of data consists of two group discussions with immigrant reception authorities (Flick 2006, 190–197; Bohnsack 2004, 214–221), on the topic of the discussions was about the trust in the refugee reception work. The first group consisted of four social workers and the other group consisted of three social instructors and one psychologist. All of them work in the same office of immigrant services. These groups are natural, homogenous (Flick 2006, 192) and milieu specific groups, where existing interpretations and codes were reconstructed (Bohnsack 2004, 215–216). The advantage of homogenous groups is that the members are comparable in the essential dimensions and related with the research questions and have similar backgrounds. For these groups the main important feature is that all the participants are working in the refugee receiving services. Some of the civil servants have worked in that office since it was established in 1990, some of them have worked for a couple of years and some workers were just started working with refugees or were substitutes.

4.2 Studying the experiences and narratives of refugees

During recent decades there has been a rapid increase of interest in narrative studies in various branches of human science. The term narrative or story can be used to mean different things in different contexts. (Hänninen 2004, 69-70.) There are at least three possibilities in approaching narratives. One possibility is to focus on the spoken recounting of particular past events that happened to the narrator (Labov and Waletzky 1967). Second, we can understand a narrative or a story as a person's experience of a special event. Such narratives and stories can range in length from segments of interviews to many hours of life histories, that may be general or imagined. (Squire 2008.) The third possibility is to focus on the intersection of the life-worlds of the speaker and the hearer, which is a constructive characteristic of narrative (Ricoeur 1984). Constructively build narratives cannot be repeated exactly, since words never mean the same thing twice and stories are performed differently in different social contexts (Squire 2008, 44; Hyvärinen 2006). I use the mixture of the two latter possibilities constructing the theme of trust during the interview interaction. In this study, narratives are understood as jointly told between researcher and interviewee (Ric-

oeur 1991; Hydén 2008, 123). The sequence itself can favour dialogue, not just what the interviewee says, or how the meaningfulness is produced in the interaction (Squire 2008, 42–43).

According to Hänninen (2004, 72–75) a narrative can be understood as inner, lived and told narratives. The inner narrative is an individual's interpretation of his/her life. It is partly made external by told narratives, and validated in that process. The lived narrative refers to real-life, which is shaped in the interplay between situational constraints and the inner narrative that guides one's actions in changing life situations. "An episode of lived narrative cannot be understood on the basis of knowledge of the objective facts alone; knowledge of the actor's motives and emotions is a necessary part of the interpretation." (Hänninen 2004, 72.) Therefore, the moment of narrating and the person with whom the narratives are constructed have an impact how the final narrative or story appears.

Experience-centred narrative research has been chosen as my methodological approach because it enables me to understand personal experiences as stories or narratives. It also enables the examination the agency of refugees in a new country. By agency, I mean the possibilities to build relationships with authorities and to the new society in general. Third, it allows us to examine progress, changes or turning points of the narratives during the process. This is the evolution of the stories, which can be called, for example, progression and decline (Squire 2008) or disruption (Herman 2007)²². Experience-centred research stresses that representations vary drastically over time, and across the circumstances within which one lives, so that a single phenomenon may produce very different stories, even from the same person (Andrews 2008). Such stories may be a narrative of one event but they may also be more flexible about time and personal experience, and defined by theme rather than structure (Denzin 1989). For me, both the theme "trust formation towards authorities" and the structure of the story "does trust appear or disappear during the refugee process" are important.

Coherence has been a guarantor of the quality of narratives and was assumed as a norm for a good life story. Squire (2008, 43) goes further by stating that sequential temporal orderings of human experiences into narrative are not just characteristic of a human being but make us human. Recently, the function of narrative as creating coherence is challenged due to marginalizing many narrative phenomena such as finding out new methods to approach broken narratives and causing ethical problems. An essential ethical problem is that the coherence paradigm may privilege middle-class narrators and marginalize, for example, politically traumatized people whose narratives are often fragmented and disorganized. (Hyvärinen et.al. 2010, 1–2.) During the interview process I did not attempt to build refugees' lives as a one life story having a start, a middle and a conclusion. Rather, while analyzing my data I arranged the narratives

²² According to Herman (2007, 9) core instances of narrative represent a structured time course, disruption into the storytellers' and interpreters' model of the world evoked by the narrative and what it is like to live through the disruption.

by the refugee process, that is, before coming to Finland, arrival to Finland and at the moment of the interview.

All the interviews are multi-voiced, which means that interviewees were not speaking only about themselves, but also about other refugees and factors that could help them in their relations with the authorities. Potter (1996, 142–143) calls this the principle of footing²³, where a particular piece of speech may be necessary to distinguish, whose position the talk is meant to represent, the author, who does the scripting or the animator who says the words. I also include these narratives in my analyses. Interviewees have to establish their position and right to speak on the topics being discussed. Potter (1996, 148) calls this as claiming “category entitlement” and so having authority to speak, for example by establishing their membership of a particular group that has expert knowledge or privileged experience about the topic discussed. Potter suggests that successful claims to category entitlement allow people to speak without having to explain the source of their knowledge. Phoenix (2008, 70–71) adds that the social context may set up a potentially troubled subject position where the narrator is being asked to tell her story without knowing whether the interviewer is a sympathetic or a potentially threatening adversary.

4.3 Data collection

Interviews were conducted in 2007 based on contact information for refugees from the immigrant services in one town. I explained what this research was about by phone and none of the refugees contacted refused. Before starting the interview I explained again, both orally and in writing, the purpose of the interview and asked for their consent. One interviewee asked me to send it before the interview, because it enabled a better preparation for the interview. Some of the interviews took place at the interviewees’ homes or work places and the rest of them in my office lasting for one to two hours. They were pleased that I, as a civil servant, asked questions about their experiences with authorities and settlement services. I knew all interviewees somehow beforehand because I worked in the immigrant services where they were service users after resettlement in Finland. None of the interviewees were personal my client while using our services. I was surprised how openly interviewees told about their lives and problems with authorities in Finland. I thought that the continuation of the relationship enabled them to be critical and reflective while narrating about the time after their arrival in Finland. We were looking back to many events which

²³ The notion of footing was developed by Erwin Goffman particularly in 1979. Also Bakhtin (1981, 272), even though he studied novels, his concepts have infused studies of interaction in everyday life. He situates all utterances in the “I – thou” relationship. Every text, he argues, includes many voices – hidden internal politics, historical discourses, and ambiguities – beyond the author’s voice. Therefore, narratives are polyphonic – multivoiced. A given word is saturated with ideology and meanings from previous usage. (Riessman 2008, 107.)

were examples of trust or mistrust. Many times interviewees mentioned that I knew how their lives were in the refugee camps because I had visited there, and then they continued their narration. I felt that there was a trust between us which enabled them to be more critical and reflective. Due to that, I had the impression that the interviewees did not tell much about the things they expected that I wanted to hear. This type of willingness to satisfy the researcher is usually known as “reactivity” in the field work (Jacobsen and Landau 2003).

A researcher-interviewee relationship is always a power relationship (eg. Keskinen 2001, 32; Oinas 2004, 17-18). A complex power relationship is one important consequence of having a dual position as a researcher and a civil servant. A power relationship is much more complex than just researcher – interviewee or civil servant – client/interviewee relationship. Besides the power relationship, the interpretations of cultural norms play profound roles in shaping the relationship between the narrator and researcher (Hydén 2008, 130). Also gender, age difference, profession, position etc. may play a significant role in shaping the relationship in the interview situation (e.g. Rastas 2005). For example, if a person highly values a life experience but not education, a young researcher might not be given a value as a capable researcher and an interviewee will not tell about his/her life so openly. Refugees might have high positions in their countries of origin; they may have lived in many countries and have an amazing survival background, so they might also ask, why they should tell about their lives to the researcher. Both these kinds of unequal power relationships were seen my data. My claim is that these same elements are present in the researcher – interviewee relationship. I also had a sense that some interviewees challenged me to consider our social work practises, which are not useful or relevant.

One problem could be a willingness to be interviewed by a familiar person. It may not be easy to say “no” to a person you already know and who is a civil servant. Due to that fact I tried to highlight the voluntariness of being interviewed. One possibility is that narrators do not give power to the researcher and don’t tell much about their personal lives or opinions. One important issue to consider is if interviewees spoke to me as a researcher or as a civil servant. My answer is that they spoke to me as a civil servant due to the continuation of our past relationships. I had a sense that while people were narrating about their lives they were giving many suggestions on how to improve settlement services. These responses were analysed in the recognition article. Many times it was told that mistrust is also civil servant’s problem and something must be done to minimize it. Even if there was “trust speech” or willingness to become friends with the authorities, interviewees showed how their lives proved that trust was good “attitude” after settlement. Also vice versa, interviewees told how humiliating it was to be dependent on “us” and how badly society is threatening the refugees. Sometimes I had also a sense that the interviewees appealed me as a civil servant to improve practises and the laws in the society. I suggest that my dual position enabled the ethical demand of dual imperative (Jacobsen and Landau 2003) of the refugee studies, discussed in Chapter 4.6.

The data would inevitably have been different if the interviewees had not known the researcher and if the researcher did not have a dual position. However, the data differs depending on the situation.

The data was collected using episodic interviews (Flick 2006, 181–182), a format containing elements of both focused and narrative interviewing. I collected narratives about refugees' experiences towards public authorities. Their narratives are connected to the different events of the refugee process: escape from one's own country, living in a second country and resettling in a third country. I had prepared interview themes that were used when I conducted the interview. I transcribed all the interviews verbatim. Three refugees were interviewed with the help of an interpreter; and the others were interviewed in Finnish. I translated the data from Finnish into English, which means that some informative details may have been lost in translation. The interviewees' own words are used to provide a better description of the examined phenomena.

The starting point for the episodic interview is according that:

Subjects' experiences of certain domain are stored and remembered in forms of narrative-episodic and semantic knowledge. Whereas episodic knowledge is organised closer to experiences and linked to concrete situations and circumstances, semantic knowledge is based on assumptions and relations, which are abstracted from these and generalised. (Flick 2006, 181.)

This method enables the context related presentations in the form of the narrative, because these are closer to experiences and their generative contexts than other presentations. For me, the timeline, situations, situated experiences and reflective analysis of the past and present are important elements of the interview, and the episodic interview allows the usage of all that knowledge. Central elements of the episodic interviews, which are situations, or chains of situations in the refugee process, interviewees' changes in the expectations and fears in their relations to the authorities during the process and abstractive relations such as what has to be done at their arrival in Finland, that it enables trust formation (Flick 2006, 182). The latter enables access to the semantic part of everyday knowledge. Special attention is paid in the interview to situations or episodes in which the interviewees has had experiences that are relevant to the question of study. The episodic interview employs the advantages of both narrative and the semi-structured interview, although, experience-centred narratives are often semi-structured (Squire 2008, 52).

As mentioned above, the other method of data collection was group discussions. The reasons why group discussions are usually used, are based on the notion that the opinions which are presented to the interviewer in interviews are detached from everyday form of communication and relations. Group discussions correspond to the way in which the opinions are produced, expressed, and exchanged in everyday life. (Flick 2006, 190–192.) The main reason why I chose to conduct the group discussions in the same office where I worked was my willingness to study my own work. These notions of possibility to collect data from the natural groups encouraged me to ask my co-workers if they were willing to participate the group discussion. We discussed this possibility in weekly meeting

and later I sent an e-mail about the exact topic. I wrote that we were discussing trust formation concerning our relationships with our service users. I encouraged them to think about issues which influenced trust formation in practise. Some of the co-workers hesitated to participate because they were quite new in the office but we discussed that it is useful to have some "fresh" ideas also involved in the group discussion. The workers who had recently started to work with refugees could also challenge the opinions of those who had been working with refugees for a long time and knew each other quite well. I did not prepare a questionnaire beforehand because I wanted to participate as openly as possible and discuss the topic as well.

My dual position as a researcher and as a director of the immigrant services had an impact of the group discussions. The employees have thought that the discussions were one of the duties of daily work life because it was initiated by me as a director. Participants expressed their satisfaction afterwards by reporting that it was useful to discuss important issues concerning our work and that we could use such conversations as a tool for improving our practises and sharing our experiences. One weakness of the natural team as a source of data can be the existing group dynamics in the team, which means that there are members who usually speak and those who prefer to be quiet. My role as a researcher was to introduce and deepening the topic by asking new questions when needed and also encouraging all the members of the group to tell their opinions. One advantage of using the group is that it may also become a tool for reconstructing individual opinions more appropriately (Flick 2006, 192). A common feature of the group discussions is to use, as a data source, the discussion on a specific topic in a natural group, which is existing in everyday life. The reason for this, is that real group starts from a history of shared interactions in relation to the issue under discussion and thus have already developed forms of common activities and underlying patterns of meaning. Besides the fact that the group discussions are time saving, they also stimulate a discussion and use its dynamic of developing conversation in the discussion as the central source of knowledge. One advantage of the natural work team is connected with their common history, which enabled a reflection on the events and relationships where trust or mistrust was connected. We could reflect and analyse those moments from a different perspective from that than in the everyday work. I also participated in the discussion as a member of the group and sometimes I merged with the group the way that I had to remind myself that I am in the role of the researcher.

Basically, I collected group discussions as my other data set because I wanted to compare the experiences of trust between refugees and their settlement workers. The concept of dependency came up strongly connected to the trust in the group discussions. Therefore, I decided to compare the group discussion to the interviews of refugees using the concept of dependency (Dependency article).

4.4 Abduction as a form of inference

This study follows abductive logic of “discovery” (Paavola 2006). Abduction is closely related to many kinds of cognitive processes, such as instincts, perception and practices (Peirce 1998). It is said to be “a brainstorm, “inspiration of bright moment” (Routila, 1986, 28) and central to it, is careful “thinking”, which is representing, besides the academic research, in the form of a professional or maturity logic. This logic provides many possibilities. (Kotiranta 2008, 40.)

Abduction appeared for the first time in Charles S. Peirce (1839–1914) writings as a third main mode of inference besides deduction and induction.²⁴ Peirce’s abduction had a continuation in the 1950’s and 1960’s when Norwood Russell Hanson identified in his studies the logic of discovery as an important research area. Another remarkable philosopher Gilbert Harman has developed the logic of inference as a Best Explanation Model, which is closely related to Peirce’s abduction. Abduction is often used as a synonym for the Inference to the Best Explanation Model (Paavola 2006, 45–51, 66–67). In Finland, Sami Paavola (2006) has continued the work of Peirce and Hanson²⁵, taking distance from Harman, developing abduction as a way of analysing discovery with philosophical means. He (*ibid.*, 56) focuses on *processes* of abduction, and by seeing abduction as one element within a large process of inquiry. He understands abduction as a *mode of inference* and it starts with “a *curious* or *surprising* fact (or facts), which the abductive conclusion is supposed to explain” (*ibid.*, 71).

A central basis for abduction is the claim that discovery is not a sequence of events governed only by processes of chance. Among those processes include constrain and instigate the search for new ideas; starting from the use of clues as a starting point for discovery, but continuing in considerations like elegance and ‘loveliness’. (Paavola 2006, 71.)

Paavola (2006, 68–69) makes a clear, analytic distinction between abductive inference and abductive instinct even if they are interrelated. Therefore in actual problem-solving situations, both are needed. A central basis for abduction is the claim that discovery *must be* something which both constrains and instigates the search for new ideas (*ibid.*, 73). Furthermore, actual processes of inquiry do not happen just inferentially. It is important in my study to understand that a basis for abductive hypotheses is not just about ideas residing within a conceptual space, but “an interaction with the social, material, and cultural environment in long-term processes. Abduction should be brought in the middle of these

²⁴ Deduction is often called a “top-down” approach where the provable coherence between premises and conclusion are searched. It starts from the general and going to the more specific hypotheses that can be tested. This can lead to the confirmation of the original theories. Induction, instead, moves from specific observations to provable generalisations and theories. (Peirce 1998.)

²⁵ “Hanson’s distinction of three ingredients of logic of discovery, that is, *anomalous phenomena*, the delineation of the *type* of hypotheses, and the search for a *pattern*, can also be interpreted strategically” (Paavola 2006, 65–66).

processes". (ibid., 73-74.) Therefore, for example, I decided on three different standpoints, using a timeline and analysing my data from different perspectives. The timeline of the refugee process gave me a concrete ground, the social and physical environment what refugees had to go through. I used refugee- and forced migration studies to illuminate that process from the theoretical point of view. The settlement and integration work by public authorities in Finland is the context where I locate this study. I decided to approach this work from the critical social work perspective. This study started about trust formation between refugees and public authorities. The study proceeded step by step taking first the theory of recognition which was connected to the trust formation. Recognition seemed to be a tool and even a prerequisite of trust. I moved on to reading the data, the concept of trust and the theory of recognition which were located to the concrete, social environments of refugee process and settlement work. While moving on the process the concepts of dependency and social esteem seemed to be closely connected to trust as found in the Dependency and Social Esteem articles. These concepts arise from the theory of recognition. In this final Chapter, the concepts of moral and immoral trust, and also reliance, gave an additional explanation to the entire phenomenon of trust formation between refugees and public authorities.

4.5 Analysis of the data

The interviews were analysed thematically using thematic content analysis based on the theories of trust and recognition. According to Flick (2006, 186), the data from episodic interviews should be analysed with the method of thematic and theoretic coding. In all the articles the data is approached by the thematic content analysis, but in the trust article (Turtiainen 2009a) and the article of social esteem (Turtiainen 2012, manuscript) I analyse narratives, whereas in the recognition article (Turtiainen 2009b) and the dependency article (ibid. 2011) the analysis unit is an extract. A narrative is connected to the different events of the refugee process: before coming to Finland, after arrival in Finland and at the moment of the interview. A narrative is a part of the story of the one person, in the other words; the story includes the whole refugee process. I look at the turning points of the narratives where trust or social esteem appear or disappear. Since the data is not being analysed using only one narrator, but classify and group the narratives of different interviewees connected to the events of refugee process, it can be called categorical in terms of content²⁶ (Lieblich et.al. 1998, 12-13).

I also use a narrative as an extract, but the difference here is that the narrative has a timeline and changes or continuations, whereas when using an ex-

²⁶ If a complete life story of an individual is used it is called the holistic-content or form mode whereas the other possibility is the categorical form or content mode (Lieblich et.al. 1998, 12-13).

tract I do not take time into consideration. The thematic content analysis of the narrative is distinguished by its attention to the sequencing and progression of themes within interviews, their transformation and resolution (Squire 2008, 50). Categories of the studied topic are defined and separate utterances of the text are extracted, classified, and gathered into these categories or groups. While working with narrative material, the theoretical framework of trust or recognition provides the concepts and tools for interpretation, it provides the voice of a narrator and the act of reading, interpretation, and the decision process of drawing conclusions.

Step by step the topic and analysis of each article is based on the previous one(s). The results of one piece of the study suggested the way forward. However, the Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a) is the most important basis for all the other articles, because the important connections of trust to the concepts are used in the other articles. I have collected the theoretical and the conceptual basis, analysis units and analysis methods used in each individual article in Table 3. In the following, I will describe the analysis found in each article.

TABLE 3 Theoretical and conceptual bases, analysis units and analysis methods of the articles

Article	Concept/ theory	Analysis unit	Analysis method
1. Stories on the New Step after Arriving in Finland. Trust building between Quota Refugees and Public Authorities	Trust	Refugees' narratives	Thematic analysis of narratives (classification)
2. Recognition and Recognitive Attitudes between Refugees and Authorities. A Finnish Example	Recognition (recognitive attitudes of care, respect and esteem)	Refugees' interview extracts	Theory testing and thematic analysis (classification)
3. Dependency in the Refugee Resettlement Social Work	Dependency (connected to the recognitive attitude of respect)	Intersections of the extracts from the refugees' interviews and group interviews of the authorities	Thematic analysis (classification)
4. Social esteem in the Narratives of Refugees Living in Finland	Social esteem	Refugees' narratives	Thematic analysis of narratives (classification)

Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a)

In this article I use thematic analysis in analysing the refugees' narratives (Hyvärinen 2006, 10–11, also Hyvärinen 2008), where the trust towards the authorities is the main question of my analysis. The article examines trust building between refugees and public authorities concerning the different

phases of the refugee process. I analyse narratives of trust concerning the time before the refugees have resettled, after their resettlement, and at the time of the interview. In particular, I examine how the refugee experiences are transmitted into the descriptions of trust building towards social workers and other social service professionals of the new society. The themes of trust, related to the experiences with the authorities, are reconstructed in the interaction between the researcher and the interviewees.

Narratives before arrival in Finland create one entity, which is the first part of the story, arrival in Finland another entity, which is the middle part of the story and the event when narratives were told, the last part of the story. I looked for the expressions of trust or mistrust about the descriptions of systems and authorities. Next, the changes or turning points were investigated for (Squire 2008, 45; Herman 2007) in descriptions concerning trust towards authorities during the refugee process. In this phase of analysis the concept of agency was an essential analysis tool (Jokinen & Suoninen 2000, 212). Agency means the possibilities to build relationships with the authorities. I continued by looking for the narratives about the experiences which helped trust formation after arrival in Finland. Each story consists of all these three elements: before coming to Finland, after arrival and the moment of the interview. Next, the narratives about the phase after arrival in Finland were analysed. I found five different types of narratives and named the stories according to these narratives. The stories may also include elements of other story types, but I named the story according to the strongest description type. Therefore, any story is not about one narrator. This enables the interviewees not to be identified.

Recognition article (Turtiainen 2009b)

In the second article I used thematic analysis (Gubrium and Holstein 1997) to identify needs which refugees would like to have recognised and what is required of the refugees and of the authorities during the recognition process. The extracts concerning the phase of arrival in Finland were selected because this research concentrated on the early stages of integration. The data was classified by grouping the identified needs, rights, and traits of the interviewees under the concepts of autonomy, particularity, and singularity (Honneth 1995; Ikkäheimo 2003). Because I started with the theory of recognition, the analysis is strongly theory bound and also theory testing by examining if the theory of recognition is useful in the analysis of the empirical data. I asked what the prerequisites or tools for recognition by the social worker and the refugee are. This was done by looking for extracts where refugees talked about helpful factors in their relations to social workers and other authorities after arrival in Finland. I was also looking for extracts containing suggestions of factors which they felt would have been helpful in their relations with the authorities. Because my aim was to collect accounts of successful relations of recognition, the accounts pertain to the requirements which must be met by the authorities, on

the one hand, and the refugees on the other, in order to make recognition possible.

Dependency article (Turtiainen 2011)

In the third article thematic analysis was used to identify different kinds of relations of negative dependency. In this article, I used both the group discussions of the professionals and the interviews of the refugees. I started by analysing a group discussion of the social workers. Thematic analysis was used and extracts of the negative dependency were classified into the groups. I continued the analysis by using the extracts from two other data sets (refugees' interviews and group discussions of the other authorities) intersecting them with the group discussions of social workers. I also identified extracts were refugees and authorities spoke about each other. By comparing these three data sets, the extracts where refugees, social workers and other authorities intersect each other were analysed. By examining this intersection I looked to see if the parties consider the behaviour of the other part of the relationship reasonable in the situation in question. This is a meta-level discussion about the other part of the relationship and therefore I needed both refugees' interviews and the group discussions of the authorities.

Social esteem article (Turtiainen 2012)

In the fourth article, I used content analysis and approached the narratives thematically (Squire 2008, 50). Here, I understood the narratives as episodes of the whole interview. These are the subtexts, which are analysed independently. The criterion of the narratives chosen for the analysis was that these included the time before and after arriving in Finland. By analysing narratives concerning the time before and after resettlement, I was able to capture the changes in social esteem during a certain period (Hänninen 2004). The themes were defined from the theory of social esteem. These themes included traits, achievements, roles and cultural features which were humiliated or esteemed before and after arriving in Finland. The narratives and utterances of those themes were separated from the data. One theme included narratives by several different individuals. (Lieblich et. al. 1998, 112–114.) Next, I identified two themes from those narratives, firstly, narratives about the driving forces to aid contribution to the common good in Finland, and secondly, narratives of changes or continuation in humiliation or social esteem. The findings are presented in the article according to three categories found in the narratives of changes and continuation of social esteem and contributinal features.

4.6 Ethical considerations

While, the good of refugee resettlement is to give durable solutions to start a new life, settlement may also generate new problems for refugees (Soydan 1998, 23–24). Therefore, one task of refugee resettlement research, is to improve settlement work and advocate the refugees. Research with vulnerable groups in general and, so called, advocacy research have many ethical concerns. The ethical and methodological decisions are closely bound; therefore it is not possible to discuss ethical issues separately from methodological ones.

There are general ethical considerations during the field work, especially when doing participatory research with refugees living in the camps or other temporal circumstances, but there are also important questions for the refugee research after resettlement. According to Karen Jacobsen and Loren Landau (2003) there is a dual imperative of refugee research which means that both should satisfy the demands of science and to ensure that the knowledge and understanding our work generates is used to protect refugees, influence the governments, and improve the ways institutions do their work. These two imperatives are not mutually exclusive but, on the contrary, if the methodologies are sound and rigour, the work can provide a solid empirical basis for policy and advocacy efforts. (ibid., 1.) Because interviewees knew me before as a civil servant they might expect me to improve services/society as a director of the immigrant services but not as a researcher. Sometimes expectations may be unrealistic compared to the possibilities one can do in a Finnish society.

Jacobsen and Landau (2003, 17) highlight some principles that will help to meet the demands of the dual imperative. One important demand is a willingness to be proven wrong. One reason for the lack of rigorous research is that in a so called 'advocacy research', there are researchers who already know what they want to see and say, and come away from the research having 'proved' it. Therefore, the concepts, research design and methodologies have to be sound. (ibid., 2–3.) This is a remarkably important consideration in this study, due to my dual position as a researcher and, at the same, time as a civil servant working with refugees. I have worked for a long time in the immigrant services and this probably affects the entire research process. The first step is to challenge the knowledge and experiences learned during the time working with refugees. Therefore, a reflective attitude to my own understanding and work is needed in order to hear and learn. The motivation to do this research, is to remember the position of "not knowing" which hopefully enables listening and interpreting. Of course, past experiences affect to the whole study which you should be conscious of. Besides trying to explicate the research process, I chose to approach the topic from a theoretical point of view because it gave distance to the phenomenon, which I face daily in my work. This is also an important ethical decision due to my dual position and principle of not knowing. Taking a theoretical bound perspective to the research enables me to look at the phenomenon in a new and broader way. Taking a theoretical perspective in the field and selecting

interviewees who had distance from the time of their services was a conscious decision, also to minimise power relations between the researcher and interviewees (Hydén 2008, 126–127). People were no longer dependent on settlement services which enabled me to enquire how the services could be improved in order to better meet refugees' needs. Ethically, it is important that, at the time of the interviews, they were no longer users of the services to which the interviews pertained, and thus might speak more freely about them.

I consider ontological and epistemological decisions important in fulfilling the principle of being proven wrong. These are also significant ethical issues of this study. My ontological basis of approaching this topic is that refugees' experiences are meaningful and their narratives are the best way to approach those experiences. Epistemological choice is that refugees know best whether their past experiences have an impact on trust formation and recognition (also Hynes 2003, 13). At the beginning of the interviews I told the interviewees the reason why I am studying these issues. In other words, the belief behind the study is that by listening to refugees and also settlement workers, it is possible to improve settlement services. It is important to keep in mind that refugees are "experts" on their experiences and there is no such thing as refugee experience, but experiences of individual refugees (Soduk 1999, 4). My premise is that the sustainable base on both the settlement work and scientific knowledge is to trust refugees as experts of their own life and needs. Otherwise, they might become victimised again by authorities and politicians and by the researcher. Jacobsen and Landau (2003, 17) suggest that the second principle to fulfil, is the dual imperative. We must be explicit about how we have collected our data and the techniques we have used to draw conclusions. They suggest that even in qualitative research, such revelations are important if others are to replicate a study and try to build a more general understanding of a specific phenomenon.

The intensive involvement of the researcher in the field is also a methodological and ethical problem, known as reactivity: the active presence of the researcher might potentially influence the behaviour and responses of informants, thereby compromising the research findings. While it can be argued that all research affects its subjects, clearly there are matters of degree, and the greater the researcher's involvement, the greater the effect is likely to be. (Jacobsen & Landau 2003, 7–8.) After all, why should a refugee tell a researcher anything that is not in their interests? The researcher's involvement with the community can lead to the kinds of ethical dilemmas and difficulties linked to the idea of doing no harm.²⁷ (ibid., 9.) The "Do no harm" principle applied also in my research by not evoking painful events. Sometimes hidden wounds might be opened unintentionally. According to Hydén (2008, 123) talk about a traumatic experience has the potential to pose a threat and even has the potential to re-traumatize the traumatized, but such talk can just as well have the potential to heal. Sometimes there were very sensitive and emotional moments when interviewees told about their past experiences. In those moments, I switched off the recorder and

²⁷ This principle is mainly known as Mary B. Anderson's (1996) powerful "do no harm" - approach to all peace builders, conflict mediators and also researchers.

promised those expressions to stay between us. For instance, if an interviewee said that "the Asian experience was too terrible" and he/she did not continue actively, I did not encourage him/her to continue. One of the main intentions of the interview was to ask what helped them at the beginning of the settlement, and I had the impression that nobody was left alone with their emotions. On the other hand, as Hynes (2003, 1) states, refugees are quite often glad to tell their histories to researchers, particularly if they have politicised the experience and recognise it in a political context. That was also my experience. One of them said "*when you ask I am happy to speak my mind*". I collected the data by trying to make the time of the interview into a joint process. By this I mean that the interviewees and the researcher together actively shaped the form of the interviews. Hydén (2008, 123) calls this a circular process, where both parties are trying to make continuing sense of what they are talking about. Basically, Hydén (2008, 123-124) understands the sensitive topics from the relational perspective, not just caused by the personal circumstances. Therefore, an event that involves a traumatic experience has the potential to become a sensitive topic, without necessarily intending on doing so.

5 MAIN FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Refugees' stories after their arrival to Finland

The Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a) is the bedrock of this research. It has been also the base for the other articles. Therefore, before discussing the results of the whole study I will introduce the main results of the Trust article.²⁸ Ilmonen's (2002; 2005) four-fold frame of different forms of trust and Bourdieu's (1986) capital model were used while analysing the narratives telling about trust building between refugees and public authorities during the different phases of the refugee process. Each story includes narratives of trust before the refugees have resettled, after their resettlement and at the time of the interview. Also, the means of trust building of each story were gathered from each story. I found five different types of stories. I named the stories according to the arrival moment in Finland. These story types include trust stories, conflict stories, withdrawal stories, dependency stories and alliance stories. It is significant that trust formation was closely connected to dependency, care, and building different forms of capital. (Table 4.)

In the trust stories, it was typical that the people had human capital before resettlement. They were educated or they would like to have a good education in Finland, and therefore they had their goals and hopes of having a better future than what was possible in their past. They also had a strong willingness to solve their problems, such as, sharing their hard experiences of violence and trying to find good solutions in building the future. An important part of the human capital was trust that enabled co-operation with the authorities. Later that trust became generalised so they could build human capital, which is needed in the new circumstances. Also, individual treatment was important in maintaining trust to share their problems. But if the refugees remained dependent on the authorities, trust disappeared. Trust stories are discussed also in Chapter 5.2.

²⁸ Another reason to introduce the results of the trust article here, is the possibility for the English speaking readership to read the main results of this article. Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a) is originally published in Finnish.

In the fighting stories, the terrible experiences of violence and torture are typical. These refugees also have human capital like education. They find it hard to be dependent on the authorities of the new country and have strong negative emotions towards them. Trust could be built if they had the experience of the authorities that they had really helped, and also that the functioning of practical things was important. It was also important that they could use their skills and build symbolic capital. But if they remain dependent on the authorities this trust was not built.

In the withdrawal stories the fear and “respect” to the authorities was typical. Here “respect” means that authorities were somewhere far from the people and it was not possible to ask help from them. They also had terrible experiences with the authorities in their past. It was typical that they have found help from their own ethnic group or other peer groups, such as religious communities. This is called a chain of trust, which could become generalised. Later these refugees would also like to help newcomers and co-operate with the authorities.

In the alliance stories refugees had high positions or otherwise were active in their own societies. They would like to become friends with the authorities and gain benefits through that behaviour. That could be one way of surviving in their past. During the time and in tight co-operation with the authorities they learned to trust authorities as professionals. They were also willing to help people and co-operate with the authorities and to become active in their new society. Close co-operation and knowing each other helped trust building.

In the dependency stories refugees had been dependent on their families and own group for many practical things before coming to Finland. They were often illiterate and that is one reason why they could not cope in the new circumstances. They could not easily identify their own needs and they also let authorities decide and do practical things for them. A long time frame, a very intensive relationship with the authorities and also within their own peer groups helped to build human capital for building routines and, little by little, find their own goals and future.

I analysed the data of the Trust article following Ilmonen’s (2002) four-fold frame (see Chapter 3.1), but I also needed the other forms of trust to extrapolate my four articles. For further analysis, the division of moral and immoral trust (e.g. Ruokonen 2010) became important as well as the functional characteristics of trust. In the next chapters, I will specify the different forms of trust. All the stories identified are further discussed in the next chapters by using the concepts of trust and different forms of recognition.

TABLE 4 Refugees' stories after arrival in Finland (Turtiainen 2009a, 342)

	Before arrival in Finland	Arrival in Finland	Interview moment	Trust building
Trust stories	Human capital Hope Own goals	Willingness to solve problems together	Trust becomes generalised OR Disappears (dependency from authorities)	Individual treatment Knowledge (human capital)
Fighting stories	Terrible experiences (torture) Human capital	Avoiding dependency	Trust (independency) OR No trust (dependency)	Long time Functioning of practical things Symbolic capital
Withdrawal stories	Terrible experiences	Fear Respect	Trust gets generalised Co-operation	Time Chain of Trust Own peer groups
Alliance stories	Symbolic capital	Friendship Assurance	Trust Co-operation	Long and tight co-operation Knowing each other Symbolic capital
Dependency stories	Dependent on own group and family	Dependent on the authorities	Dependency	Long time Time intense relationship with the authorities

5.2 Refugees' experiences of misrecognition and immoral trust

The starting point of my research was that trust formation towards the new society is a very basic element in the integration process of newly arrived immigrants. But for the refugees, it is presumable to think that their trust formation is endangered during the refugee process and therefore, they might have problems of building trust towards the resettlement countries and its authorities. But after the analysis of the articles I put it in a different way: an important basis of understanding the mistrust, is the fact that *refugees are victims of not to be trusted during the period of threat*. Those experiences of refugees create mistrust at a number of levels. First of all, refugees are mistrusted in the process of restruc-

turing the social order of the nation states (Zolberg 1989; Malkki 1995; Benhabib 2002).

All the stories identified in the Trust article included narratives about the authorities or other adversaries of the upheaval or the armed and other conflicts and therefore it is important to see *what kind of trust or mistrust* they have experienced before coming to Finland. The mistrust or, as I call it, forms of misrecognition (Honneth 1995) got forms of torture, sexual violence, and serious violations of human rights. Because all the interviewees were recognised as refugees by the UNHCR, it is a truism that they did not receive state protection and therefore they were simply mistrusted persons in their countries of origin for the reasons of their opinion, ethnicity, religion or belonging to a certain group. During the interviews there were times when I switched off my tape recorder because of emotional moments, while interviewees told about the events of rape or persecution.²⁹ Also Tricia Hynes's (2003)³⁰ study shows that the problem of trust is not only from the side of refugees but they are largely mistrusted by others. She (ibid., 19) states that during the period of threat, refugees are mistrusted by their own government and/or agents of the government due to their perceived or real political connections. Barriers to exit, through physical borders or inaccessible documentation are manifestations of the mistrust governments have over their own population.

During the period of threat there is a breakdown of trust in the whole society, and especially in a rural context, members of different ethnic and religious groups may mistrust each other. My findings also include these narratives (Social esteem article), for example as *"brother becomes against brother"*. The person may be considered to be a spy and/or a member of another ethnic or religious group and thus treated with mistrust by other villagers. Refugees do not trust informers, spies, government agents and military intelligence. Refugees have often seen friends/family jailed, killed or tortured and they may be 'in hiding' due to political loyalties. These kinds of narratives were told during the interviews (Trust article), such as *"I had to jump over the dead bodies during my escape and many of them were my friends and relatives. During the flight from the country of origin, refugees cannot trust in order to survive, for example, travel facilitators, passport brokers, other brokers even if they may be forced to trust them. They cannot trust because the decision to flee creates a split of the social contract between the government and the individual. After reaching safe countries they cannot trust because of different past or present political allegiances.*

²⁹ I did not encourage interviewees to tell narratives from their past. I found it unethical to recall the terrible experiences. During my twenty years work with refugees I have heard countless stories and also read exact descriptions of the terrible past in refugee resettlement applications during my participation in Finnish refugee selection missions to Ruanda and Thailand.

³⁰ Hynes (2003) studies recognised refugees in the UK. She examines why refugees do not trust and why refugees are mistrusted in relation to the theoretical as well as practical dimensions based on Baker's (1990, 67) model of refugee process. The model mainly concerns refugees who have sought asylum in a country where they are recognised as refugees. This model includes the period of threat; the decision to flee; in flight; reaching safety and a place of asylum; the refugee camp experience; reception into a host country; resettlement; and post-resettlement.

By the time a refugee reaches a refugee camp these past experiences of officials and past betrayals become matters of survival. (Hynes 2003, 9, 19–20.) It was narrated, for example, in the withdrawal stories that all “*the authorities are considered the same kind, like police and we were victims of the violence by them*”. They may live years in the country that they escaped to and had to learn ways to survive according to their descriptions.

Sometimes the refugees had to decide whether to live in the cities or go to the refugee camps. It was narrated that there was violence everywhere, but sometimes in the refugee camps it was even worse than in the cities and especially for the women. In the cities, refugees were humiliated in different ways because they were considered foreigners or belonging to the “wrong” nationality or ethnic group and therefore they were not trusted. For example, interviewees told that “*we were the last people whose practical things were processed. During that time we were humiliated to come many times and to work for them to get papers if we did not have money for corruption.*” Also, even if they had an official document to stay in the second country the local authorities did not give any rights without any possibility to appeal.

When we think about the experiences of refugees in their country of origin or in the country they escaped, they often have lived in situations of extreme hierarchies and structural asymmetry of power relations, which they have been dependent on. In extreme cases, refugees have to trust people not to kill or torture them and to be “trusted” to behave whatever is needed in order to survive. Refugees are negotiating massive obstacles in order to live in third countries that are not necessarily responsive to the problems they encounter. Many refugees have lost their ‘primary ontological security’ or it has weakened.³¹ I suggest based on my results that *refugees have learned not to be trusted* and it often leads to violence.

I needed other concepts in order to understand that trust is not only a conciliatory concept, but as we can see, trust does not need moral relationships to exist. Therefore we have to separate *moral and immoral trust* (Ruokonen 2010; Sevenhuijsen 1998; Baier 1994, 95). Refugees had also to use ways of immoral trust to survive. The past experiences of refugees are related to the structural inequality of power. The less powerful are at the mercy of the goodwill of the powerful. (Sevenhuijsen 1998, 1, 10.) There are relationships like exploitation or justice and fellowship which thrive better in an atmosphere of trust (Baier (1994, 95). If a person does not respect another (Honneth 1995; Senneth 2003) it may lead to the use of immoral trust as a form of disrespect, and as refugees experience, even torture. *This leads to look at trust from a moral point of view.*

Even in the atmosphere of distrust, refugees have been extremely dependent on the authorities in their own country and in the country where they have escaped to often in order to survive. These are the situations where people must trust that the other person will cooperate, although they know that there is no respect towards them. Here, Luhmann’s (1979, 39) understanding of trust be-

³¹ Ontological security means, for example, a sense of continuity and order of events (Giddens 1991, 243).

comes relevant. According to him, trust is an internal calculation of external conditions which create risk. This is maybe an extreme case where such a calculation can be seen in possible terms of trust to another person or group. I understand immoral trust taking place in the atmosphere of disrespect. Sevenhuijsen (1998, 10) still analyses the situations of fear, aggression, hate and distrust as a case to “trust in trust”. She suggests that in those situations we have to develop discretionary powers in order to distinguish situations where we should follow our distrust and fight from those situations where we can trust our enemies well enough to expect that they will react appropriately when we put our white flag up (also Baier 1994, 99). We could see earlier that the enormous distrust has developed even towards their own group, or in some cases, to their own family. According to my results, refugees have inevitably the experiences of the forms of non-recognition and immoral trust in their past during their journey of escape, therefore carrying the “white flag” may be too demanding after the resettlement.

5.3 Trust stories during the enormous changes in their lives

There are reasons to state, based on my findings, that past experiences have a great effect on the trust formations towards the new society. But as the Trust article showed, trust formation towards authorities is possible after resettlement. When refugees are resettled in a new country they inevitably go through a vital change in their lives. During the settlement and integration process they have to rebuild their social networks, adjust to new people, communities, services and societal structures. In this *chapter I discuss the possibility of trust formation in the changing situations (just after resettlement)*. I also discuss *the prerequisites of recognition as a tool for trust formation*.

After resettlement, even if trust formation seems to be unfeasible, trust stories (Turtiainen 2009a, 333–335) have been identified as one of the story types. In these trust stories, refugees told how they trusted authorities after resettlement because the *treatment was so different* compared to their previous experiences. It was said that, the treatment was like *falling from heaven*. But there were also trust stories where refugees *did not find any reasons not to trust* authorities and they found the situation more neutral in terms of trust. In the first cases, trust can be seen as *a personal attribute* and it is like a disposition or “a structure” which we take into use when we encounter new situations (Kaskisaari 2005). Dispositional trust in changing situations goes much deeper than in the context of a particular situation or a specific relationship and it is therefore considered cross-situational and cross-personal (e.g. Deutsch, 1973). Besides this situation, there are instances where trust is transferred at the level of disposition and becomes an element of character. For example, it is trust that is implicit in our cooperation with and existence in a social and natural order, and it allows us to behave “rationally” in that context. (Notter 1995, 5.)

Once, trust is presented as a neutral issue I found the Karen Jones' (1996, 14) concept of *reliance* relevant. She states that there is not necessarily trust towards a situation or relationships but a reliance on it. We can, for example, rely on someone to behave in a certain kind of way. Trust is "an attitude of optimism about the goodwill and competence of another as it extends to the domain of our interaction with them" (Jones 1996, 15). For making this division, trust is an *affective attitude*. While analysing my data in the Trust article I used the division of separating trust in persons and confidence in institutionalised personal ties and abstract systems (Giddens 1990; also Luhman 1979). I think there has to be also at least some non-personal institutional confidence, otherwise refugees will not get an impression that "*the system functions normally*". Besides confidence, the concept of reliance completes the idea where people do not find trust as a relevant question for them.

While looking back to the stories of trust, it is possible to understand of what kind of individual is behind that story. On the other hand, when I looked for the prerequisites of successful settlements told by the refugees (Turtiainen 2009b), the same understanding of the individual is behind that. I frame the prerequisites of mutual trust just after settlement in three forms of recognition. First, the person can/learn to use the support and treatment provided by the social- and health services. These services have to be the right kind of support. This is care as a form of recognition (Honneth 1995, 129; Ikäheimo 2003). Second, a person respects the laws in Finland, and also understands his/her rights and duties. Those laws and rights have to respect human rights, for example, in relation to family life. This is respect as a form of recognition (ibid.). Third, the person must be goal oriented, active, have strong motivation, good learning skills and also have hope for the future. The information of the possibilities and relationships maintaining of those traits have to be appropriate the right kind and the working life and other places where can be used to receive social esteem. This is social esteem as a form of recognition. (ibid.; Turtiainen 2009b.) We cannot currently expect this list to be fulfilled in settlement work. However, my results show, (Trust article) in positive cases, many needs can be met and trust can get generalised after resettlement. Even the trust stories do not mean immediate integration, but the *possibility* to use services which already exist and the settlement and integration process starts immediately. The main point while analysing the prerequisites of recognition is that there is an *adequacy between the needs and the services and also dispositional trust, reliance and confidence*.

If trust in these changing situations appears it is an enormous resource for a person and therefore, besides a base of social capital, a part of human capital as well. It can be a liberating action by reducing complexity (Luhmann (1979, 39). By limiting the complexity, it allows us to pursue activities that otherwise we would not "rationally" pursue. Trust can also provide stability and certainty and enables people to achieve more by pooling their recourses to secure agreed goals (Dominelli 2004, 70) or, in this case, to further the integration process. Trust enables the immediate use of services available to them. For example, they could start to share their terrible experiences and start the healing process.

According to my findings trust does not automatically continue or it does not get generalised (e.g. Ilmonen 2002) towards the new society during the integration process. The main issue which might destroy trust seems to be the continuing dependency of the public authorities, which means that people cannot support themselves and their families financially, and therefore it limits their agency to become socially esteemed. This is the consequence of becoming disappointed at not being able to fulfil one's goals. These experiences are humiliating and a sign of misrecognition by the host society.

5.4 Care as a form of recognition

I will now turn to look at the experiences of refugees from three perspectives of recognition and recognitive attitudes. I start each chapter by representing some theoretical considerations about the form of recognition in question.

Love is the medium through which self-confidence develops (Houston 2009). It is important to keep in mind that self-confidence has to be maintained by the relationships as well as the other self-relations. I use the concept of 'care' referring to a form of recognition or recognitive attitude where the authorities care for the well-being of refugees (Turtiainen 2009b). Care should not be shown for refugees as a result of their particular features or autonomy but, as Ikäheimo states (2003, 131–132, also Honneth 2005, 129; 2007, 137–139), for their own sake, as singularities. Singularity implies a singular point of view or definite life horizon, encompassing such elements as hopes, fears, desires, interests and valuations (Ikäheimo 2003, 132). These are not considered as features of an individual; instead care concerns the person whose hopes and fears they are. It concerns an entire person, and not particular features.

The Recognitive attitude of care or care as a form of recognition can be seen in the stories of trust, withdrawal and dependency (Turtiainen 2009a). Here, I discuss these stories together with the results of the Recognition and Dependency articles.³² I found three different possibilities of care after resettlement. Depending on the case the process of trust formation was different. The first case presented above as those who could trust authorities right after resettlement. They had a possibility to start their healing process immediately. Many preconditions for the possibility to get support have been fulfilled already. First refugees have identified social workers as a source of social, practical, and emotional support, which enables therapeutic elements in the relation to provide relief and healing from stressful and traumatic memories. As noted above, this kind of treatment is very different compared to their previous experiences with authorities. Second, refugees have identified their needs and have the capacity to ask for support after arrival in Finland. Third, these people are able to be dependent on other people (social workers). Besides, dependency has to be the

³² I discuss care based on these articles because there is no separate article included about the care as a form of recognition.

right kind i.e. positive dependency (more in the Chapter 5.5.3). Because trust already exists the precondition of care is that there has to be relevant support by the social workers or arranged by the social workers.

In the second case, refugees do not voluntarily choose to form relationships with the authorities because they need the authorities to take care of them. Therefore, they entrust things to another because they may feel incompetent and vulnerable to do those things by themselves (Turtiainen 2009a; 2011). Here, the main issue is *to build capacity* (information, routines etc.) *to be autonomous* in the new situation even though they partially need to be taken care of the authorities. After resettlement dependency can be a very complex issue, because refugees are not voluntarily in the concrete relationships with authorities (Chapter 5.4). Kittay (1999) calls the professionals who take care of vulnerable people as "dependency workers" and therefore these professionals have to be aware of the dependency and also the power they have over the service users.

Thirdly, there are cases where authorities have to build trust relationships before refugees can identify either their own needs or the authorities as care givers (Turtiainen 2009a). Authorities have to identify people's needs in order to gain knowledge about how to improve their well-being. The identification of the needs of refugees should take place in a mutual relationship. Authorities have also *to prove their trustworthiness through care and relevant support before they are identified as a source of support*. Trustworthiness means here being a moral person (Turtiainen 2011).

Care as a form of recognition is essential in the refugee receiving social work. Juul (2009, 406) suggests that love as a form of recognition (Honneth 1995) is expecting too much from social work. I understand Honneth's idea of love concerning close relationships in a wider sense as an attitude to care for the wellbeing of another, which is relevant in social work and essential in settlement in integration social work. According to Houston (2010, 850-851) care in social work arises from the object relation theory and he suggests that it can also be used more widely in the theoretical understanding of oppression. Honneth (1995, 129) in fact situates care and love in the family context. However, once we understand care as an attitude and as the opposite of a lack of concern towards the welfare or well-being of other people, it is easy to understand care as something that can also take place – and be expected – outside the realm of close personal relations (Ikäheimo 2003, 157-169, 2008, 22-23). I understand care first of all *as giving safety and continuity* in the new situation. Safety can concern recovery from the hard background. Safety has to be built through emotional, social, and practical support and by fostering feelings of acceptance. Authorities have to actively search for different methods for building safety, and also guide refugees to places where safety-building is possible, such as peer groups (Turtiainen 2009a). Therefore, it is also essential that social workers identify situations where relationship between authorities and service users are not possible in order to give safety and continuity and instead use, for example, a chain of trust.

5.5 Respect as a form of recognition

5.5.1 Theoretical considerations on the concept of respect

The concept of “legal recognition” (following Mead) refers to, “the situation in which self and the other respect each other as legal subjects for the sole reason that they are both aware of the social norms by which rights and duties are distributed in their community” (Honneth 1995, 106). Respect reflects Kant’s (2010/1974) moral imperative to see a person as an ‘end’ and not as a ‘means’ to an ‘end’ of the others’ concerns or irrespectable of their social standing. Here rights include cultural, legal, political and material entitlements and also in its widest sense that people are entitled to live a life free from the effects of misogyny, sectarianism and racial prejudice. As discussed above (Chapter 3.3), all redistributive rights, as Fraser (2003) calls them, belong to this form of recognition and therefore people are also entitled to be free from material inequities. According to McBride (2009, 100) we qualify for respect simply by virtue of our humanity. An important difference with esteem and respect is that while esteem is clearly an important good, we are not entitled to it but we have to earn it.

According to Ikäheimo (2003, 128–135) respecting rights have several aspects: firstly, rights concern a person, regardless of his/her autonomy or particular features. Secondly, people’s rights should be respected as autonomous, that is, in spite of their varying degrees of autonomy. Thirdly, people have rights stemming from particular features, for example ethnicity or age. We can also respect each other’s culture in some terms.³³ Ikäheimo takes distance to Honneth here because for Honneth, rights concerns persons only as autonomous. When personal relations are not present during the identification of these rights, the concept of acknowledgement is used in order to draw a distinction between relations to persons and relations to society or the state. Ikäheimo (*ibid.*, 133) does not pay much attention to the difference between the juridical rights and those we normally grant each other in our everyday interaction without any juridical backing. Also, according to Sennett (2003, 127, 139) autonomy is the base of respecting another person. Autonomy for him is the acceptance of what we fail to understand in another person.

Houston (2010, 851) understands respect first of all from a multidimensional perspective where human rights assist the (social)work if the dimensions of structural oppression relating to class, gender, age, disability, religion, ethnicity and culture occur (also Ife 2008; Staub-Bernasconi 2009). Civil, political,

³³ In order to respect in a sense of cognitive attitude, “at least we should not exclude in advance the possibility that they are capable judges and that we might hence learn from their judgements (...). On the other hand, when persons from western societies respect people of other cultures as capable judges, this means that the attitude of those others become of significance for the recognition or mis-recognition of those embodying the “western culture”. (Ikäheimo 2003, 149.)

cultural, economic and collectivistic rights are intertwined forms of respect (Houston 2010, 851). Also Juul's (2009) study is important in order to understand respect in social work. He connects respect to the institutional and social judgement. He states that the values social workers may adjust as employees in an institution can lead to invisibility or stigmatisation of the client. Therefore, recognition (respect) means that in the social worker – client relationships have to recognise each other not as different, but equal participants in a common conversation. Also, the client as a legal person has to be a co-author in the practical implementation of the laws where the professional knowledge takes place in an open dialogue. Moreover, social workers have to protest whenever legal rules are offensive and social work practices neglect clients as ethical and legal persons. (more Juul 2009.)

I divide the recognitive attitude of respect into two parts in refugee receiving social work. *Respect as a form of recognition concerns persons as autonomous and entitled to rights.* First, respecting rights takes the form of juridically institutionalised legislation of the state (Honneth 2005, 129) where respect means equal rights for all the people. Rights are also negotiated in a relation with social workers. This expresses the second case of respect which takes a form of personal relations and as respecting a person's autonomy (Ikäheimo 2003, 133–135). Autonomy means here a possibility and ability to positive dependency. It is important to highlight that people's rights should be respected as autonomous, despite their varying degrees of autonomy, such as being a child or mentally disabled (ibid.).

5.5.2 Respecting rights as entitlements

Resettlement solves the problems of refugees once they are more respected, for example, as a woman, as a single mother, as disabled, as having a special culture and religion. They are no longer dependent on those in whose hands they have suffered abuse, and respect is a key factor in this. Refugees mention entitlement to social security as generally improving their life, but also as a constraint to their autonomy in cases where it is their only source of income. (Turtiainen 2009b.)

One form of respect is the acknowledgement of equal rights which takes place in the relation between refugees and legislation. The identification of oneself as entitled to these rights takes place, on the one hand, without a personal relationship and on the other hand, in the relation between refugees and the authorities. In the first case, *legislation itself is a source of relief and allows a positive relation with representatives of the law such as social workers to emerge.* In the second case, the essential content of the relation is the affirmation of rights and the negotiation of doubts about *equality in the distribution of social benefits and in how refugees are treated by social workers* (Turtiainen 2009a). Positive dependency is also a prerequisite of negotiations on rights and duties concerning legislation (Turtiainen 2011). In practise, time and a great deal of explaining and experience of positive treatment are needed before rights, acts and regulations are identified and acknowledged by the refugees (Turtiainen 2009a; 2009b). The relationship

and cooperation between authorities, refugees and associations is essential in fostering positive attitudes stemming from a realisation of the meaning of the law. In this case the idea of being acknowledged by rights and acknowledging the rights is intertwined with the relational form of respect.

5.5.3 Positive dependency as a basis of respect

Dependency is a crucial factor in almost all stories (Turtiainen 2009a). After re-settlement, refugees became inevitably dependent on the authorities and other agents in the host society due to the enormous differences in how the society functions and how daily life will be arranged. Besides, there may be changes in their relation to self (self-respect, self-confidence and self-esteem) because of the terrible experiences of disrespect in their past. The sense of autonomy is part of our self-relations and corresponds with self-respect. Autonomy and dependency are often seen as opposite of each other's but according to the theory of recognition we are deeply dependent on each other because our self-relations are connected to recognition by others and therefore, our autonomy is also developed and maintained in the relationships with other persons. (Honneth 1995, 107–124; Ikäheimo 2003, 133; Sennett 2003, 125–130.)

Based on my results, I understand negative dependency at least partly as a consequence of their past experiences. If the parties of the relation lack trust in each other there is no respect in a sense of the theory of recognition and negative dependency may take place. I understand trust first of all, as the ability to form positive relationships of dependency (e.g. Baier 1994) therefore, we cannot speak about *the ability of trust, but an ability to form positively dependent relationships*. Due to that, *I found it important to look closer at the concept of negative relationships of dependency (disrespect)*. Besides looking for the different kinds of relationships of negative dependency, it is fruitful *to analyse meta-level insights in the behaviour of the other part of the relationships*. By doing so, we can see if the person considers the behaviour of the other partner of the relationship reasonable in terms of the situation in question. This is important because autonomy is granted (recognised), which means taking another part of the relationship as capable of making judgements about ourselves and therefore an equally competent party of communication. (Ikäheimo 2003, 130.) One important element is that the consequences of emotions of dependency can be culturally bound. For example, it can be shameful to be dependent on the other in one "culture" but in another "culture" it does not cause any shameful emotions. (e.g. Sennett 2003, 119–120.)

In the Dependency article (Turtiainen 2011)³⁴ I found three relations of negative dependency by intersecting the experiences of both the refugees and the public authorities. These are first, dependency as entrusting another to do something for you, second, the fear of dependency and third, overemphasised autonomy. I discuss these three kinds of possibilities of negative dependency together with the stories of the Trust article (Turtiainen 2009a).

³⁴ Here, I refer also the content of Dependency article because it is originally written in Finnish and therefore reiteration with the original article is evident.

First, relationships of negative dependency describe situations where a person entrusts another to complete a task for him/her. These relationships come close to dependency stories. Refugees telling about these experiences were dependent on their own group, family or international humanitarian aid. After resettlement they became dependent on the authorities. In these relationships of negative dependency, refugees did not entrust practical tasks to themselves in the new circumstances. They do not have “core self-trust”, which means that one did not trust one's perceptions, memories, capacities and judgments (Govier 1993, 112). In this context, I understand the lack of core self-trust first of all as an inability to trust one's judgments of how to solve problems in the new society. This is closely related to the situational self-trust, which means (ibid.) that one can perform certain tasks in an appropriate manner. Social work with newly arrived refugees is very special in terms of situational trust because refugees often come from societies without social justice and therefore such an infrastructure with civil servants do not exist. Especially in the relations of dependency if there is a lack of judgment it is more robust to know what is possible to entrust to social workers. Sevenhuijsen (1998) links situational trust to the expectation that professionals handle their roles in accordance with situational trust and also professionals somehow wait that their service users know where they are coming to and how to behave in that situation. That cannot be the case at the beginning of the relationship after resettlement, but the roles have to be learned, as well as a social worker has to learn to identify the needs of the refugee. An essential point is that even the refugees themselves cannot always identify their own needs in the new situation because everything is new and confusing. They have to learn to identify what is possible in the new society. Therefore, it asks judgments of social work to make decisions without negotiation of the service users because they might tell social worker “*you decide, you know better*”. (Turtiainen 2011.) In these relationships, the lack of core self-trust (Govier 1993, 112) does not allow to entrust to him/herself but to give the “power” to another. In the latter case a person's agency is very limited. Ilmonen (2005, 58; also Baier 1994, 193) calls this “blind trust” which is for him, not trust at all. The power of the social worker in these situations causes *a significant moral demand to respect* a service user and give him/her a possibility to learn to be respected, as well as being ready to learn to identify his/her needs and learn judgment.

I call the second relationships of negative dependency as “fear of dependency” (Turtiainen 2011). These relationships come close to fighting stories, which are told by the persons (or these are the narratives told about these kind of persons) who have extremely terrible experiences, like torture, in their past. It can be thought that their self-relations have been wounded. Honneth (2007, 134) connects the violation against the body to the wound in self-confidence. In situations of armed conflicts and persons who have such experiences as many refugees have, they have also been humiliated and even their immediate human rights are seriously violated. For example, torture affects the sense of independence (autonomy), self-confidence, shame, failure and guilt and constant sense of being a victim (Chambon et al. 1997, 51–63).

In these relationships it is easy to see that mutual trust does not exist. It was noted above (Luhmann 1979, 39) that one function of trust is to reduce complexity. But here I go further by following Notter (1995) that a reduction of complexity can also be satisfied by distrust. In these cases distrust is not simply the lack of trust; rather it is a functional equivalent of trust. Therefore, distrust can reduce complexity “by ruling out trustworthy behaviour” (ibid.). People do not make choices consciously when seeking to reduce complexity but the behaviour becomes a habitual outlook on life, a routine (Luhmann 1979, 71). In these relationships between the refugee and the social worker I tend to follow Giddens’s (1990, 33) idea of trust that it is basically bound up, not with risk, but with contingency.³⁵ Notter’s (1995) idea about the functional equivalency of distrust and trust suggests that people tend to base their lives on contingency rather than on risk. The contingency is seen when refugees have also learned in their past that they are unable to believe in the morality of social workers or other authorities.

Distrust is like a vicious circle, which makes the ability to deal with a less complex world much more difficult. It fosters an unconscious attitude of distrust that can become part of the disposition of the distruster in the first place. Strategies of distrust will ultimately provide a self-strengthening barrier against developing trust in the future. (Notter 1995.) This may have serious consequences in practice because it narrows down agency. According to my findings the sense of being a victim of injustice can be constantly connected to the sense of being victimised again, which adds to the sense of dependency. It was seen that the continuing situation of being practically dependent on the authorities is an obstacle of mutual trust.

In these relationships the conditions of respect cannot be fulfilled. The consequences of lack of respect may be serious. Refugees do not believe the information delivered by the person/social worker. The service user does not accept the decisions of the authorities or they constantly feel that their rights are violated. The vicious circle of disrespect is fostered by believing that an authority may not be a moral agent. One serious consequence of the lack of respect/trust is that an individual might act against his/her own best interest.

The third relationships of negative dependency (Turtiainen 2011) come close to withdrawal stories (Turtiainen 2009a). I have named these relationships or more concretely, the lack of a relationship, “the overemphasised autonomy” (Turtiainen 2011). Refugees have terrible experiences and corruption in their past. Individuals could have survived by paying authorities who were persecuting them. They have been victims of torture and other violence often by an authority like the police. It is typical that the only experiences of authorities (besides the UNHCR personnel) are with those who seriously violated their human rights. Therefore, for example, the fear of the police was still present and the expression like “*I thought all of you are like the police*”, were typical. Fear of the police seems to be a very reasonable reaction. Another possibility was that

³⁵ Of course refugees have lived in situations of real risk in order to survive and therefore they have been forced to take a strategy of risk.

the authorities were so distant that the only possibility was a kind of “respect” which was mixed with fear. These people can be seen somehow as autonomous, but in the sense of the theory of recognition the requirements of autonomy are not fulfilled, because *autonomy is developed and maintained in relationships with other people*. In these cases, it can be seen that it is possible to entrust things like himself/herself, which means that the core self-trust (Govier 1993, 112) is developed but it is not possible to entrust “power” to another. Also, the situational self-trust towards the authorities cannot be developed without learning and knowing the services. In the narratives of withdrawal, refugees had trustworthy relationships in their own group or to other people who have arrived in Finland earlier (Turtiainen 2009a). This is a chain of trust and also generalised trust (Coleman 1990, 180–188). Generalised trust was also typical towards their own religious groups. In these narratives/relationships, it is also possible to think that when encountering new situations we do not use distrust or mistrust as an opposite of trust, but rather of fear (Sevenhuijsen 1998). This is the fear for the unknown or as existential angst or dread (Giddens (1990, 100).

When autonomy is understood so that it is given in a mutual relationship by respecting a person, it gives an image of individuals as deeply dependent on each other. Mutual dependency includes an idea of moral relationships. Due to that, the idea of trust as risk taking, where the individual is seen ontologically free from other (Luhmann 1979, 39) is not fulfilling the criteria of recognition. The risk taking belongs more to a negative dependency relationship. According to my results, mutual dependency and especially the relationships with unequal powers have a claim to understand trust relationships as morally demanding relationships. This also emphasises a moral dimension of trust. Trust in those who have made promises to us is seen as a moral achievement and while taken as an image of a person as a moral agent there must also be a possibility to be fallible in the trust relationship (Baier 1994, 103, 112). While the three relationships of negative dependency are not fulfilling the criteria of mutual respect, there is also a threat that these parties stay apart and, as a consequence, just start to tolerate each other, which can be one form of non-recognition (Forst 2007, 135–136). This cannot be the aim of social work. This meta-level understanding of autonomy is a two-way street, but the other meaning of the concept in Honneth’s theory (1995, 129) is one-way, which means respecting a person’s rights. Everyone deserves rights as an autonomous person, but also as having certain features as such.

In practise, all the relationships of negative dependency (Turtiainen 2011) pose a question of decision-making in social work. Because of the lack of trust due to negative dependency, there is not enough room for negotiations about entitlements, rights, needs and possibilities. Therefore, the social worker has to make necessary decisions with very limited knowledge. At the same time, the dimensions of power are inevitably present. The power dimension makes that relationship a very complex one in terms of trust. Service users have to decide what to entrust to a social worker. In this case trust means entrusting something valuable to someone that he/she will take care of it. This valuable thing can be

feelings of identity, like entrusting life stories to a social worker or in the extreme cases to let the social worker decide the best interest of their own child or a willingness to look after, rather than harm things which are entrusted to the carer (Baier 1994, 101, 128).

Positive dependency can be built by relational and institutionalised/legalised trust in a mutual trust relationship between refugees and social workers/authorities. Relational trust means that in relationships perceptions are fluid and dynamic and constantly being (re)formulated as people (re)negotiate relationships through their interactions (Dominelli 2004, 69). Trust can be developed in the learning process, therefore, what is routine for one can be strange for another (Luhmann 1979, 72). For refugees, due to extensive transition, the learning process is inevitable in order to build capacity to make judgements. This is an important part of building human capital as well. To understand trust formation between refugees and public authorities, also, the dimensions of relational and institutionalised/legalised trust need to be identified. These dimensions are related to a situational trust of learning to know what to expect from the services. (Turtiainen 2009a.)

Sometimes social workers may be restricted in using relational trust and therefore they have to rely upon trust expressed as a contractual mechanism and bureaucratic procedures for the delivery of appropriate services. Relational trust and legalised/institutionalised trust are intervened (Dominelli 2004, 69) and it is important to identify when the *trust must be built by functioning on the legal issues*. It is important to create conditions of trust to thrive; we should, on a collective level, invest a considerable amount of effort into developing institutional settings and norms in order for individuals to function well (Sevenhuijsen 1998, 12). The functioning of practical things enables trust to be built little by little (Turtiainen 2009a). The authorities' responsibility is also to build trustworthy institutions in a way that they will distribute power in a more equal way (also Baier 1994, 128).

Dependency is a rather comprehensive factor after resettlement in Finland. Also, the findings of the Dependency article (Turtiainen 2011) show that negative dependency took place in mutual relationships. Therefore, building positive dependency is crucial in social work. Real autonomy cannot exist without cooperation and positive dependency and without positive dependency there is no trust. Besides, without real cooperation and trust, negative dependency takes place and people's agency remain limited. For the social worker, it is useful to understand how to build the relationship in practice in a relational, situational, institutional and legalised manner. Still, when building different forms of trust they have to be sensitive in a way that it fulfils the demand of respect and moral trust, and at the same time being moral agents that take ethical codes into consideration.

I understand respect as a possibility for positive dependency to be a cornerstone of the entire use of recognitive attitudes. Therefore, the critical attitude of overall development of concrete methods and decision making in social work with refugees is highly needed. Besides, human rights must be taken as the

yardstick for social work, and getting to know the unknown (e.g. Sennett 2003, 127; Seikkula and Arnkil 2005) which lies between the parties of the relationships, rather than using national, cultural and personal prejudices and standards in needs assessment and looking for possibilities to meet them (cf. Keskinen et.al 2012).

5.5.4 Moral trust and respect as responsibility in social work

Social workers are not merely identified according to their role, but also as an individual. One of the interviewee's told *"you have to be like a friend, not exactly like a friend, but you have to tell that you are like a friend"*. This expression includes the idea as the individual does not know the role of the social work, and, due to that, does not know what is expected based on their terrible experiences with the authorities. If an authority can be identified "as a friend" in order to trust, then goodwill can be expected. This comes close to the basic action of trusting someone to keep their word or to depend on the goodwill towards the other (Baier 1994, 99), but it highlights the aspect of the relationship, because the expectation is derived from a social role and a specific situation. Also, Notter (1995) highlights that in certain situations, certain people will put others' interests before their own. It is important that the starting point of the identification of social workers by refugees may be the expectation of good will from them. This occurs because the role and profession of social workers is strange and they are identified basically as "a friend" or an "an enemy".

In social work goodwill is not enough, therefore, responsibility is also called for. I found Floora Ruokonen's (2010, 187) understanding about the attributes of trustees very useful. She claims that the attributes of trustees will be described as *responsibilities* instead of goodwill. While keeping another as trustworthy means that he/she is taken as a moral person (ibid., 190). This means considering one as capable of making judgments and acting according to this claim. In the context of social work, trust is based on situational forms of expertise and responsibility (Sevenhuijsen 1998). I would add that in order to respect, the service user has to become capable of making judgments about social workers' thoughts, and behaviours. So, respect is a mutual, two way attitude (cf. Ikäheimo 2003, 133, 135). In general, it can be claimed that social worker-service user relationship is a situational, role bound (Sevenhuijsen 1998, 12) and trustworthy.

One thing which makes the refugee - social worker relationship very special, is its involuntary character. Because the relationship between the social worker and the service user is an unequal one, the social worker has a code of ethics designed to protect the service user from exploitation or misconduct (Banks 2006, 17-18; 79-80). By respecting refugees, social workers have to give information about the profession and its possibilities. Information enables one to build the capacity of making judgments. Basically, this capacity is not often possible because refugees do not have the knowledge needed and they are not used to trusting authorities and do not rely on the system. This means that both parties of the relationship must become equals in order to make judgments.

This will give a possibility to become autonomous, which means here positively dependent, in the relationship.

5.6 Social esteem as a form of recognition

5.6.1 Theoretical considerations concerning the concept of social esteem

The third form of recognition, in addition to care and respect, is social esteem, which takes a communal form. Social esteem makes one feel valuable or particular with unique talents, capabilities or skills, which takes place in informal or formal social settings (Ikäheimo 2003, 134). Honneth (1995, 129) also uses the term 'solidarity' to describe social esteem and claims that a good society is a society in which all individuals have a real opportunity to achieve esteem and other forms of recognition (respect and care). Therefore, a state of societal solidarity for Honneth (1995, 129; also Kamali 1999, 82; 1997) is the society where people esteem each other.

Juul (2010, 225) points out that in a culturally differentiated society characterised by individualisation and value pluralism, there is a need for an inclusive concept of solidarity which also encompasses people differing from the majority. He formulates a concept of solidarity based on Honneth's (1995, 121 -130) and Forst's (2007) ideas. First, to show solidarity in inter-human relations means recognising the person in question as an equal and worthy partner of interaction. Second, a society has to be based on a just distribution of possibilities for recognition and third, a just order of recognition is a precondition of social cohesion. Dean's (1995, 123, see Juul 2010) understanding of reflective solidarity, distinguished from affective or conventional solidarity³⁶, is important here because its expectation is the recognition of our interdependency and shared vulnerability, the acknowledgement of our relationship to one another. Reflective solidarity is defined as a mutual expectation of a responsible orientation to relationships. At a time of increasing globalisation, (im)migration and individualisation, we have both the opportunity and the need to see the differences of others as contributions to and aspects of the community from all of us (Dean, 1995, 136; also Benhabib 2001).

In modernity, social esteem applies to traits and abilities which show that members of society are different from each other. Such differences had previously been defined collectively (Honneth 1995, 122). "Social esteem concerns people whose capabilities are of constitutive value to a concrete community, and through orientation towards shared goals, it forms a community of value" (Honneth 2007, 139). Ikäheimo (2010, 9) calls this the contributive concept of esteem which means that people contribute to the common good. Esteem can also be personal achievements which partly overlap esteem as contributions

³⁶ According to Dean (1996, 18) affective solidarity is based on close relations and moral responsibility and conventional solidarity is based on common interests.

(Seglow 2009, 68). Contributational esteem is more egalitarian than achievement esteem because significant additions do not need to be judged. For example, being a doctor means personal achievement (education) but working as a medical doctor means a contribution to common goals. In the settlement work of refugees capacity building (education, language skills etc.) is needed before people can contribute to the common good of the host society. It is also important to understand esteem for contributions so that people are not taken as instruments (Ikäheimo 2010, 9–10). Laitinen (2010, 12–18) lifts the restriction that esteem is always personifying and suggests that recognition is a matter of responsiveness to any normatively significant feature without taking a person as an instrument. For example, being a conservationist is not between two people but the willingness to protect nature and therefore satisfies common goals.

Esteem can also take a cultural dimension (Taylor 1994). The strengthened pluralism and individualism of society has led to an increased need for the social appreciation of individually chosen lifestyles and ways of living (Seglow 2009, 68). Cultural communities need positive value judgments from outsiders to maintain collective self-esteem (*ibid.*), but in my study, I look at it from an individual and contributational perspective. A Person's cultural features fulfil the criterion of social esteem if they conceive of themselves as exemplifying that culture and if their culturally specific features are valuable as contributors to some shared ends and if a real intercultural dialogue takes place. (Ikäheimo 2003, 148–149.) Even a serious effort of giving positive value judgments may in the end lead to negative value judgments, especially if cultural practices are strange (Seglow 2009, 68). That may happen, for example, if a social worker does not ask what a person really thinks and wants.

Taylor (1994, 26–27) distinguishes honour based hierarchies from the modern notion of dignity used in a universalistic and egalitarian sense, as an inherent "dignity of human beings" or of citizen dignity. He uses honour concerning the ancient regime, in the sense in which it is intrinsically linked to inequalities. The underlying premise here is that dignity belongs to everyone. The change from honour to dignity, status or individualised identity, is important in understanding the change of family and social roles and recognising persons by supporting their worth and finding places to use their particularities. According to Honneth (1995, 126) a person's 'honour', 'dignity', or, to use the modern term, 'status' refers to the degree of social esteem accorded to his or her manner of self-realisation within a society's inherited cultural horizon. On the other hand we can speak of an individualised identity instead of status, one that is particular to me, and that I discover in myself (Taylor 1994, 28). On the other hand, the birth of a democratic society does not, by itself, do away with this phenomenon, because people can still define themselves by their social roles (Taylor 1994, 31).

I understand social esteem primarily as the value we give to another in this relation in terms of our speciality (Honneth 1995, 129). That speciality is founded on personifying or normative skills, actions, achievements, roles and cultural features which contribute to the common good. In practice, it means how the host society reflects on refugees' capacities. Social esteem is "a funda-

mental part of our being-in-the-world to a distinctive contribution to the community, regardless of its content, and, importantly, to have this contribution recognised" (Houston 2010, 853). During resettlement, which creates huge change in a person's life and circumstances, the relevance of past roles and skills in the new society may need to be reframed and acknowledged. Houston (ibid., 852–854) calls the practice of social esteem in social work as validation and therefore the strengths based practices are needed and the capacity to learn and develop are encouraged. I understand building human capital as a cornerstone of integration in order to increase the possibilities to be esteemed.

5.6.2 Unrecognised skills wasted in the new society

According to my findings (Turtiainen 2009a; 2009b; 2012) the skills of refugees are not always recognised in the new society. In practice, it means that the host society did not find a proper way of reflecting on the refugees' capacities and therefore their skills remain unrecognised. Basically, refugees want their education, skills, roles, future, goals and activity to be esteemed by the host society. It is obvious that refugees would like to contribute and receive esteem in the new circumstances but there are frustrations about the unrecognised skills which are not useful in the new society. I found two kinds of experiences of unrecognised skills, which I name *experiences as uselessness*. First, there are educated refugees with different skills and know-how, who cannot use their skills because they are not recognized as relevant in the new society. Therefore, if their potential value to this society goes unidentified, they will not be esteemed. (Turtiainen 2009a.) The key to maintaining trust or gaining it, is the autonomy gained by the possibilities to get esteem or get symbolic capital. Symbolic capital means, that whatever capital they have, it becomes recognised in the eyes of others through the mutual acquaintance. In other words, they become trustworthy in the eyes of others. (Bourdieu 1986.)

Second, there are also social roles which are not relevant in the new society. These are very basic roles of being mother, father or having any contributory role in the new community. In my findings, being particular in the community or society seems to be important despite a very traditional background. People have the need for getting esteem through social roles rather than as individualised identity of getting esteem by particular skills. While one loses a role in the eyes of the host society and even inside the family, one also loses dignity as an individual unless there are possibilities to contribute to the common good, whatever it is.

Honnet's recognition theory explains comprehensively the self-relations and how they are connected by the basic need of becoming and recognised and getting esteem. It does not mean that refugees merely want to have symbolic capital but they would like to support themselves and use their skills. According to my further analysis (Turtiainen 2012) the concept of social esteem became more useful than the symbolic capital (Chapter 5.6.3). This particular situation about educated refugees as well as those whose identity is defined more by social roles, is a good example of the situation where refugees' background may

affect a weakening of self-esteem in terms of losing the position and the role. Later, dependency on public authorities and loss of autonomy may affect the loss of self-esteem as well. In practice refugees do not have work opportunities where they could get back their self-esteem, as well as self-respect, through autonomy. There may also be serious damages to self-relations in the past, so the capacity to work and learn may be limited and need special attention.

5.6.3 The background of refugee as a motivating factor contributing to the common good

While analysing the driving forces of that willingness of refugees it is seen that they are not only looking for symbolic capital but, particularly, want to contribute to the common good in the new society. The results of the Social esteem article (Turtainen 2012) showed that it is area the refugees' hard past of non-recognition which motivated them to contribute to commonly shared goals. The background of the refugees and their possibility to have a new start, created a driving force to contribute to the new society a number of ways: First, *they are willing to contribute to the new society and to build contributing relations to its agents*. Second, *they would like to contribute to their society of origin and participate in its peace building and reconciliation process*. Third, *the integrated refugees would like to help newcomers from their own ethnic and cultural background*.

I have named their willingness to contribute to the common good of the host society as *reciprocity*. Because the state of origin did not protect, there is nothing to give back to that society as a meaning of reciprocity. Instead, the commitment is built towards the country of resettlement. This is a strong moral commitment to the state. Another driving force for the willingness to contribute to the common good is *social recovery* (Turtainen 2012). That also arises from the refugees' background and severed relationships between the different adversaries during the armed conflicts, massive losses and serious violations of human rights. This willingness to contribute can also arise from their own recovery process connected to a survivor's guilt (Aarts et. al. 1996, 371) and to reconciliation with the past. Today's wars are more often civil wars and have an ethnic origin, which means that afterwards past enemies have to live in the same area as neighbours (Goldhagen 2009).

The terrible experiences of humiliation, which refugees have often had before resettlement can also victimise a person (Barclay 1998). Gaining social esteem by participating in the commonly shared goals can be a part of recovery, which strengthens self-esteem. We often use the words such as "healing" or "recovery" through "processing", "acceptance" and "coming to terms with the past". Summerfield (2002, 1105) criticises this kind of individual understanding of recovery to be humiliating in post war situations, because the pathological effects of war are located inside the person as if the person would be recovering from an illness. Instead, the recovery should be seen as a social process, as also shown in my findings. The social needs and recovery from past experiences can be reciprocal. Therefore, maintaining or getting back social esteem in close relationships is fundamental for self-realisation and a meaningful life. The first step

is, believing in people's strengths and esteeming them as capable to be reproductive and able to offer other contributions. Recovery is also social in terms of the fact that the victims of war may be alone in their need to find a social and moral meaning for what they have experienced, so that personal safety and social safety are linked (Summerfield 2002, 1105–1106; also Sluzki 2003). Therefore, it is humiliating if the effects of war are found inside a person. Besides the social aspect of recovery, enabling autonomy is also essential, which starts building everyday routines (e.g. Ager 2002) and a concrete future are also tools for recovering post-war experiences.

Refugees' social integration, and therefore, social esteem, has not always been successful and one reason may be weakened self-relations. Therefore, the consequences may also be seen when participation in working life is sometimes hindered by lack of social integration (Ghosh and Juul 2008, 103). Kamali (1997, 1999) claims that Swedish social services agents subject immigrants to various problem-solving programs and thereby make them clients of the social service system. There may be different reasons why refugees' social integration is not successful even if they really want to participate in societal life. In the fighting stories (Turtiainen 2009a) refugees had human capital and often had to leave good professions behind and later, during the refugee process, were persecuted and tortured and therefore their self-relations were weakened. Also other, studies (Westoby & Ingamells 2010, 1771) show that many people do not feel culturally and socially safe. Also, hostile societal climate, discrimination and racism can affect the self-esteem of the immigrants (Portes 2007). My results (Turtiainen 2009b) show that working life is discriminating. Employers question language skills, even when proper knowledge of the language is not needed to practise a profession. The fact that persons have a different religion or skin colour than the majority population affected the identification of their professional skills. They are identified 'only' as immigrants having different features than the majority population.

On the other hand, the possibility of getting social esteem and building societal relations can be prohibited because of their past experiences and weakened self-relations and therefore the tool is starting to deal with the emotion of being victimised. Thus, it is important to assist refugees to make the transition from victims to active community members.³⁷ It is important to build human capital and different forms of social capital in order to build self-relations by being taken cared of and respected as capable of improving their skills and other capacities.

³⁷ For example, in Canada they developed a community model for tortured refugees to gain social capital in a special way (Chambon et al. 1997, 51–63). That model is based on the notion that self-relations are severed because of the torture and therefore they behave as victims. Volunteers are trained in empowering equal-peer relationships that preserves for example a survivor's decision making capacity, re-establish trusting and emotionally supportive relationships (countering the fear, mistrust, and powerlessness resulting from torture) and to participate in community life beyond survivor communities.

5.6.4 Cultural discontinuity before and after resettlement

Refugees' cultural identity³⁸ can be highly complex at least for two reasons. First, wars and armed conflicts destroy the cultural continuity and safety, and second, living in the second country and later resettlement inevitably causes accultural stress while living within the strange culture. I find it essential to discuss cultural identity separately because the important point of the theory of recognition is to struggle for the recognition for the distinctive identities. The importance of cultural recognition (respect and esteem) is seen in my results in two ways: First, the concern of cultural continuity is narrated in my data as a willingness to improve the life of the newly arrived refugees. I consider this from the social esteem perspective because it arises from the willingness to improve the lives of others, which means contributing to common goals (Turtiainen 2012). The other perspective arises from respecting the right to have a certain culture and its meaning in relation to a person's identity (Turtiainen 2009b).

While armed conflicts destroy societies, communities and, in the worst cases, the personal self-relations, it also destroys the culture. The context of social upheaval creates profound discontinuity to the order and predictability that the culture has brought into daily life and social situations. When this occurs, traditional systems break down and a conservative element often takes hold. When cultural protection and security fail, the individual's problems are proportional to the cultural disintegration. The avenues of vulnerability resulting from trauma follow the routes vacated by culture: paranoia replaces trust; aggression replaces nurturance and support; identity confusion or negative identity substitutes for a positive identity. (deVries 1996, 407 - 408; also Taylor and Osborne 2010; Fracer 1997.) For this reasons it is highly important to pay attention to the cultural continuity and safety of the refugees, which is highlighted in my results (Turtiainen 2012).

In the narratives I termed as *cultural integration*, when refugees wanted to contribute because of their culturally specific features and knowhow from their past. The narrators understood the additional value how they can contribute because of their past experiences. According to them, this kind of cultural understanding is not possible for the authorities representing the culture of the host society and therefore it is suggested that working together establishes a sustainable ground for settlement work. This kind of contribution comes to the specific situation after resettlement and with specific persons, namely working together with refugee receiving authorities. On the other hand, culture as a source of knowledge and information locates experience in an historical context and forces continuity in discontinuous events (deVries 1996, 401). Therefore, especially in the first steps of the settlement, cultural understanding may give continuity and safety. Cultural continuity is also seen in the withdrawal stories

³⁸ "Culture, and also ethnicity, is not something people own or belong to, but they are complex repertoires, which people try, experience, use, live and do in everyday life" (Jenkins 1997, 14).

(Turtiainen 2009a) where cultural continuity is part of the chain of trust or generalised trust. Refugees did not trust authorities, but rather people coming from the same ethnicity as them.

The results of the Recognition article (Turtiainen 2009b) show how refugees were humiliated when they applied for work. They were seen as representatives of a certain culture or ethnicity, which means that their culture was seen instead of their skills. Annika Forsander (2002), who has examined immigrants' employment, writes about the degree of Finnish culture, so called "Finnishness", as a prerequisite to being employed, which means that the person's own culture is seen before his or her skills by the employers (also Røe 2011, 120). But this kind of discrimination can also happen intentionally or unintentionally in the settlement work of refugees in the host society. Therefore, the narratives of cultural integration are an appeal to the authorities against a serious form of humiliation by seeing a culture, not a person.

In the case of refugees the role of social workers and other authorities lies in the search for *ways to facilitate the identification of these people's abilities as being of value to the new society or to the refugees themselves*. A central finding of my study is that mutual activity is needed in the identification process if the refugee's abilities are to be esteemed. The exchange of information and various actions, such as changing professions, are a key tool for esteem. Social workers' central task is to give information about the society and about their rights and duties, but first of all, *to maintain hope in having a future and building contacts* in the places where their know-how and roles are esteemed and also to negotiate about the goals and possibilities of the future. (Turtiainen 2009b; 2012.) Besides building human capital, it is essential that social workers are constantly conscious of how *the change* affects refugees' skills, abilities and roles, and how important the continuity may be in the *recovery process, which is social in nature*. Therefore, it is vital that settlement workers co-operate with people who came from the same ethnic background as the newcomers.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

When refugees resettle in a new country they go through vital changes in their lives. They have to rebuild their social networks, adjust to new people, communities, services and societal structures. Trust is a vital resource in an integration process and its formation is bound to mutual recognition. I consider the theory of recognition is relevant in refugee receiving (social)work. Above all, mutual recognition is a tool and prerequisite of trust. It can work in a number of levels, which I will summarise next.

Firstly, care, respect and esteem as forms of recognition give practical bases of the relations where *needs identification* takes place. I represent the structure of needs identification in Figure 1. One important base of social work is to deal with the needs of service users so that those needs are met. The theory of recognition is about struggling that the needs of the people will be met. Refugees do not always identify their needs in changing situations and, especially, how to meet those needs. The identification of needs is a complex process of self-identification and also in the relationship between refugees and authorities or other parties working with refugees. Besides the social workers and other agents, the state can enable or limit meeting the needs by its legislation. The needs are identified in the process of the recognitive attitudes by developing different methods and dialogical communication for recognition to take place. In other words, needs identification and recognition are intertwined and reliant on each other. After and during the needs identification process, relevant individual forms of recognition and recognitive attitudes take place. In social work, the attitudes of recognition include explicit opinions, views, implicit background attitudes that affect the way we encounter people (Ikäheimo 2003, 137). But first, the needs must be identified if recognition is to take place. However, identification is not enough if it does not lead to recognition.

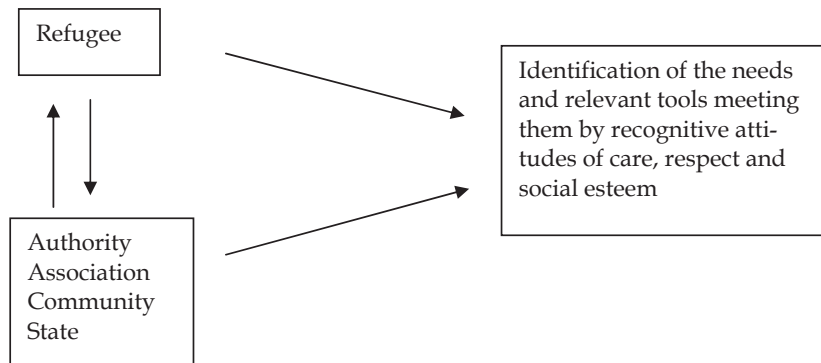


FIGURE 1 The structure of needs' identification and recognition

Secondly, the theory of recognition gives *grounds for self-relations*. This is essential in refugee receiving work, because the refugees' backgrounds provide a special backdrop for recognitive attitudes. They have been mistrusted by persecution because of particular features such as ethnicity or opinion, which has led to the violation of their rights. Although refugees' self-relations are often injured many of them are able to maintain hope of having better future. Trust and hope can be lost in the resettlement country by its discriminatory structures, employers and authorities, by the continued humiliation and disrespect shown, and the continuation of having needs unmet.

Thirdly, respecting autonomy requires the building of capacity *to make judgements about the other part of the relationship*. To be respected means that people have to be seen as moral equals (Forst 2007, 235–236). I suggest that the *recognition has to be taken as a moral yardstick in order for trust to be built and maintained*. This gives a base of mutual positive dependency. Mutual positive dependency is a prerequisite of trust. This also means that tolerance cannot be the general goal in order to achieve a diverse society. Tolerance often includes a power dimension and therefore it cannot be a base for equal moral relations (ibid.). The way to fulfil the preconditions of a trust relationship is to understand the trustworthiness of the other as recognising him/her as a moral person (Ruokonen 2010, 190) and therefore *to identify the thought, behaviour and speech of the person reasonable, in the situation in question*.

Fourthly, the theory of recognition provides a way of shaping debate and finding best ways in providing services. The debate should take place together with all the different stakeholders such as refugees, authorities, civil society and the state. Recognition as a foundation for equal relations in the new society makes a huge but indispensable demand to the state, civil society and public authorities. The demand is to fulfil their task to create legal and social settings where the diverse society, the state of societal solidarity (Honneth 1995, 129), will take place.

Finally, respect as juridical rights is a claim for social work. This opens one important arena for social work practice to reflect the debate with politicians about the policies and legislation. The State is an important actor in refugee resettlement. At the level of nation states and the international community it is said that the world's migration management systems are in crisis (e.g. Gallagher 2002, 28). The need to get recognition among the world's forced migrants is enormous. I highlight a moral claim to share the responsibility for the world's refugees as far as the root causes are not addressed enough. Today, the burden of the poorest countries and millions of wasted lives are inherited in the refugee camps and in other circumstances where people stay in a state of limbo. The main concern is also that the global north fulfils its international obligations and stops changing its legislation to take more distance from human rights. Besides international obligations, recognition of those whose rights are constantly violated is a moral claim because we all belong to the same moral community *as persons*. Recognition not only helps the refugees, it helps societies by adding their resources and enables us to fulfil our moral obligation.

I agree with the researchers such as Houston (2008, 2009, 2010), Gosh and Juul (2008) and Juul (2009; 2010) to support the validity of the theory of recognition in social work. According to my results, recognition is necessary in the trust formation process between refugees and authorities. The theory of recognition also works well as an analytical tool for examining relations between newly arrived refugees and authorities. These are some of the reasons why the studies of recognition and social work need to continue.

In the studies of the work with immigrants in Finland³⁹ culturally sensitive approaches are not sufficiently represented, even if there has been development in the work with refugees and other immigrants in Finland. In order to improve work with refugees and migrants I suggest that research about relationships between authorities, refugees and other agents have to be continued. One important area to study is how the immigrant communities participate in the work with immigrants and refugees.⁴⁰ This could be deepening the study about recognitive attitudes of social esteem and care. Another possibility is to look at social esteem from the perspective of the parents who feel that they are losing their roles and social esteem as well and how they can develop their capacity in the new circumstances.

³⁹ For example, Valtonen 1999, 2000, 2004, Anis 2008, Hammar-Suutari 2006, 2009, Brewis 2008, Martikainen and Tiilikainen 2007, Järvinen 2004, Pitkänen 2006, Pitkänen – Kouki 1999, Matinheikki-Kokko 1997, Clarke, 2003, Keskinen, Vuori and Hirsiaho 2012.

⁴⁰ There is a study about immigrant associations (Pyykkönen 2009). Because the role of association and one's own community is essential according to my results, it will be useful to have a closer look from this perspective. This could be deepening the study about recognitive attitudes of social esteem.

YHTEENVETO

Tämä väitöskirjatutkimus tarkastelee Suomen vastaanottamien kiintiöpakolaisten ja viranomaisten välisen luottamuksen ja tunnustamisen mahdollisuuksia. Pakolaisella tarkoitetaan YK:n Genevessä vuonna 1951 muotoilemaa ja 1967 täsmennettyä pakolaisen määritelmää. Tutkimus paikantuu ensinnäkin pakolais-tutkimuksen perinteeseen, joka laajeni myöhemmin laajemmaksi pakkomuuttoa koskevaksi tutkimukseksi. Toiseksi tämä tutkimus paikantuu kriittiseen sosiaalityöhön, joka antaa välineitä pakolaisia vastaanottavan ja kotouttavan sosiaalityön tarkasteluun. Kolmas paikannus on Frankfurtin koulukunnan kriittisten teorioitten perinteessä, johon tässä tutkimuksessa käytettävä tunnustamisen (recognition) teoria liittyy. Tutkimus nojautuu Axel Honnethin (1995) ja Heikki Ikäheimon (2003) tunnustuksen teorioihin. Tunnustuksen teorian peruslähtökohta on, että tunnustuksen saaminen on ihmisen perustarve ja sen kautta tulemme persooniksi.

Tutkimustehtävänä on pakolaisten ja heitä vastaanottavien viranomaisten välisen luottamussuhteiden tarkastelu ja erityisesti luottamuksen rakentuminen näissä suhteissa. Tutkimustehtävää lähestytään haastattelemalla Suomeen tulleita pakolaisia sekä heitä vastaanottavia viranomaisia. Ensimmäisenä tutkimuksessa kysytään, miten pakolaisten taustat näkyvät muodostettaessa suhteita uuden maan viranomaisiin? Tuloksena on viisi erilaista kertomustyyppiä, joissa tulivat esille muun muassa menneisyyden hankalat viranomaiskokemukset. Yhtenä kertomustyyppinä ovat myös luottamuskertomukset, joten pakolaisten taustoista käsin tarkasteltuna viranomais-suhteiden muodostaminen voi myös olla ongelmatonta. Muita kertomustyyppejä ovat riippuvaisuuskertomukset, liittymiskertomukset, taistelukertomukset ja vetäytymiskertomukset. Luottamus joko olemassa olevana tai myöhemmin syntyvänä suhteena ei välttämättä säily, mikäli riippuvaisuus viranomaisista jäi pysyväksi esimerkiksi viimesijaisen sosiaaliturvan varaan jäämisen muodossa. Tutkimuksessa osoitetaan, että pakolaisten ja viranomaisten suhteet ovat ennen uudelleen sijoittamista usein perustuneet epämoraalisen luottamuksen varaan, jota pakolaisten taholta on ollut edellytys hengissä pysymiselle tai perheen elättämiseksi. Mikäli luottamusta on ollut uuteen maahan tullessa, on se uudessa tilanteessa resurssi, inhimillistä pääomaa, joka nopeuttaa uuteen maahan sopeutumisessa.

Luottamus ei osoittaudu riittäväksi käsitteeksi pakolaisten ja viranomaisten suhteiden tarkasteluun erityiseksi siksi, että luottamuksen syntyyn ja sen ylläpitämiseen ei tarvita välttämättä moraalisia suhteita. Tämän takia tutkimuksessa testataan tunnustamisen teoriaa pakolaisten haastatteluaineistossa ja lisäksi tarkastellaan tunnustamisen edellytyksiä. Tunnustamisen muodot, tai käytännöllisemmin tunnustusasenteet, osoittautuivat tärkeiksi luottamuksen välineiksi ja edellytyksiksi. Tunnustamisen peruslähtökohtana on, että tunnustetuksi tuleminen on ihmisen perustarve. Ihmisen itsesuhteet (itsetunto, itsearvostus ja itsekunnioitus) syntyvät ja niitä ylläpidetään tunnustussuhteiden kautta. Tutkimuksen oletuksena on, että pakolaisten itsesuhteet ovat ainakin jossain määrin vaurioituneet lähtömaassa koetuissa vainoissa. Tutkimus osoit-

taa, että tunnustusasenteiden (huolenpito, oikeuksien kunnioittaminen ja sosiaalinen arvostus) kautta muodostetaan ja ylläpidetään luottamusta. Kaikki tunnustusasenteet eivät edellytä viranomaiskontaktia ja niitä muodostetaan ja ylläpidetään sekä pakolaisten omissa verkostoissa että erilaisissa muissa yhteiskunnan instituutioissa ja työelämässä. Tutkimustuloksena on, että pakolaisia vastaanottavan sosiaalityön tulee olla herkkä sille, mikä tunnustusasenne tai tunnustamisen muoto on ensisijainen konkreettisisissa kohtaamisissa. Yksi keskeinen tutkimustulos on se, että tarpeiden tunnistaminen sekä pakolaisten itsensä että viranomaisten taholta on välttämätön edellytys relevanttien työkäytäntöjen valitsemiselle ja kehittämiselle. Tarpeiden tunnistamisessa ja relevanttien työkäytäntöjen kehittämisessä pakolaisten omat yhteisöt ovat avainasemassa viranomaisten rinnalla.

Tutkimuksessa osoitetaan, että riippuvuuden tunnistaminen on merkittävä tekijä pakolaisia vastaanottavassa työssä. Tämä tulee esille tarkastelemalla hankalia riippuvuussuhteita. Luottamuksen oletetaan olevan ensisijaisesti kykyä muodostaa positiivisia riippuvuussuhteita. Näin ollen keskinäinen tunnistaminen edellyttää positiivisia riippuvuussuhteita. Sekä pakolaisten haastatteluaineistosta että viranomaisten ryhmäkeskusteluista löytyi hankalien riippuvuussuhteiden samanlaisia kuvauksia. Nämä ovat riippuvuutta puolesta tekemisenä, ylikorostunutta autonomiaa tai riippuvuuden pelkoa. Hankalien riippuvuussuhteiden ylittämiseen tarvitaan keskinäisen tunnustusasenteita. Tunnustusasenteisiin tulee sisällyttää erehtymisen ja arviointikyvyn kehittymisen mahdollisuus. Viranomaisten on pystyttävä osoittautumaan moraaliseksi toimijoiksi, joka on edellytys sille, että heitä uskotaan ja heille voidaan uskoutua tai uskoa omia tärkeitä asioita hoidettavaksi.

Yksisuuntainen kunnioittaminen lainsäädännön avulla yhdenvertaisuutta ja ihmisoikeuksia kunnioittaen on välttämätön lähtökohta tunnustamiselle. Tunnustamisen edellytykseksi ei kuitenkaan riitä yksisuuntainen lainsäädännöllisten oikeuksien korostaminen. Lisäksi tarvitaan suhteisiin ankkuroitua kunnioittamista, jolla tarkoitetaan henkilön pitämistä arviointikykyisenä ja hänen käyttäytymistään tilanteeseen nähden järkevänä. Tämä suhde tarvitsee kehittyäkseen aikaa ja suhteen, jossa tutustutaan toiseen osapuoleen. Mikäli suhteen muodostuminen ei onnistu, tarvitaan tunnustussuhteiden rakentamista muiden yhteisöjen tai viranomaisten kautta.

Pakolaisten uudelleen sijoittamisen jälkeen tapahtuvaa sosiaalisen arvostuksen saamista tarkastellaan yhtenä tunnustamisen muotona. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että roolit ja osaaminen eivät ensinnäkään ole välttämättä relevantteja uusissa olosuhteissa ja toiseksi osaamista sinällään ei tunnusteta riittävästi. Erityisesti vanhemmuuteen liittyvät roolit ja siitä saatu arvostus on uhattuna lasten nopeamman sopeutumisen ja erityisesti kielen oppimisen myötä. Mikäli sosiaalinen arvostus on rakentunut aikaisemmin erityisesti vanhemmuuden roolien varaan, voi sen heikkeneminen vaarantaa isearvostusta. Tämän takia vanhemmuuden roolien toimivuus uusissa olosuhteissa on tärkeä haaste sosiaalityölle ja pakolaisten yhteisöille. Myös sosiaalisen arvostuksen saaminen osaamista hyödyntämällä ei toimi riittävästi. Suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa

viranomaisten ja työnantajien katseet muuttuvat eri etnisestä ryhmistä tulevien kohdalla siten, että yksilön ja hänen osaamisensa sijasta nähdään hänen oletettu kulttuurinen tai uskonnollinen tausta ja käyttäytyminen. Näin ollen suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa ei arvosteta pakolaista yksilönä vaan oletettuna kulttuurin kantajana. Tämä on vakava este sosiaalisen arvostuksen saamiselle. Sosiaali-työssä on tärkeää pitää yllä uskoa omiin kykyihin sekä luoda mahdollisuuksia omien toiveiden tunnistamiselle.

Pakolaisille on vahva halu olla hyödyksi suomalaiselle yhteiskunnalle. Halu olla hyödyksi liittyy siihen, että valtio on tarjonnut suojelua ja palauttanut yksilöille ja perheille mahdollisuuden tulevaisuuden suunnitteluun ja eteenpäin pääsemiseen. Mahdollisuus sosiaalisen arvostuksen saamiseen osaamisen käyttöön ottamisella on tärkeä merkitys myös menneisyyden traumojen käsittelyssä. Toimiva arki ja tunne siitä, että voi olla hyödyksi lähipiirissä ja laajemmin yhteiskunnassa ovat ensiarvoisen tärkeitä itsearvostuksen palauttamisessa. Tämä ulottuu tarpeena olla hyödyksi lähtömaan uudelleen rakentamisessa. Lisäksi tärkeäksi osoittautui halu toimia viranomaisten rinnalla oman yhteisön tukena uusien pakolaisten sopeutumisprosessissa.

Mikäli tunnustaminen ei toteudu, toisin sanoen mikäli positiivista riippuvuutta ei synny uuden yhteiskunnan toimijoiden kanssa, pakolaiset jäävät tosiasiallisesti riippuvaisiksi uudesta yhteiskunnasta. Negatiivinen riippuvuus toteutuu toimijuuden rajoittumisena. Positiivinen riippuvuus ei voi toteutua, mikäli toiselta osapuolelta vaaditaan itsen tunnustamista, mutta itse ei sitä toiselle anna. Tunnustuksen eli oikeuksien, huolenpidon tai sosiaalisen arvostuksen epäämisen seurauksena tämä yhteiskunta menettää ne resurssit, joita pakolaiset tuovat mukanaan tänne tullessaan. Lisäksi tunnustuksen kieltämisellä voi olla vakavat seuraukset positiivisten itsesuhteiden ylläpitämiselle.

Tällä hetkellä tunnustaminen kohdistuu niihin pakolaisiin, joilla on tullessaan vahva motivaatio oppia uutta, päämäärätietoisuus omasta tulevaisuudesta ja jotka luottavat uuden yhteiskunnan instituutioihin. Pakolaisilla on vainotausta, joka lähtökohtaisesti tarkoittaa sitä, ettei heihin ole luotettu. Sekä positiivisia itsesuhteita että uuden yhteiskunnan käytäntöjä tulee kehittää siten, että molemminpuolinen tunnustaminen olisi mahdollista. Tämä tulee tapahtua kaikilla yhteiskunnan tasoilla. Pakolaisia vastaanottavat viranomaiset ovat merkittävässä asemassa tunnustamisen edellytysten luomisessa.

Tunnustamisen teoria tarjoaa tärkeän lähtökohdan yleiselle keskustelulle pakolaisten vastaanottamisesta ja työmenetelmien kehittämisestä monikulttuurisessa yhteiskunnassa. Se tuo merkittävän lähtökohdan keskustelulle kansallisvaltion tasolla toteutettavista velvoitteista heitä koskien, joilta puuttuu minäkään valtion taholta tapahtuva tunnustaminen eli kuten Hannah Arendt (1968) kuvaa, oikeus pyytää oikeuksia.

REFERENCES

- Aarts, Petra & Velde, Wybrand Op den. (1996) Prior Traumatization and the Process of Ageing: Theory and Clinical Implications. In: Bessel A. van der Kolk, Alexander C. McFarlane, & Lars Weisaeth (eds.) *Traumatic Stress. The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. New York, London: The Guilford Press, 359–378.
- Addams, Jane (1981) *Twenty Years at Hull-House. With Autobiographical Notes by Jane Addams*. Scarborough: New American Library.
- Addams, Jane (1905) *Democracy and Social Ethics 1902*. London: The Macmillan Company.
- Adelman, Howard (1999) Modernity, Globalization, Refugees and Displacement. In: Alastair Ager (ed.) *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migrants*. London: Cassell Publishers, 83–110.
- Adelman, Howard (2001) From Refugees to Forced Migration: The UNHCR and Human Security. *International Migration Review*, XXXV (1), 7–32.
- Ager, Alastair (2002) Psychosocial Needs in Complex Emergencies. *The Lancet* 360, 4–44.
- Ahmed, Amel (1995) Genocide Prevention. In: Obi Igwara (ed.) *Ethnic hatred, Genocide in Rwanda*. London: ASEN Publications, 115–134.
- Anderson, Joel (1995) Translator's Introduction. In: Axel Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition - The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press, x-xxi.
- Anderson, Mary B. (1996) *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War*. Cambridge: MA, Collaborative for Development Action.
- Andrews, Molly, Squire, Corinne & Tamboukou, Maria (2008) *Doing Narrative Research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage.
- Anis, Merja (2008) Sosiaalityö ja Maahanmuuttajat. Lastensuojelun ja Asiakkaiden Vuorovaikutus ja Tulkinnat. Väestötutkimuslaitoksen julkaisu D 47. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Anis, Merja (2012) Isäkuvat monikulttuurissa lastensuojelun kohtaamisissa. In: Suvi Keskinen, Jaana Vuori & Anu Hirsiaho (ed.) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 321–348.
- Arendt, Hannah (1968) *Origins of Totalitarianism*. Orlando, Austin, New York, San Diego, London: A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Inc.
- Arlt, Ilse (1934) On the Way to the Scientific Analysis of Poverty. *A Journal of Case Work and Social Effort*. Vol. VIII Charity Organization Society. London: Denison House, 2–21.
- UN General Assembly, Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 28 July 1951, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 189. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3be01b964.html> Referred 3.3. 2012.
- Baker, Ron (1990) The Refugee Experience: Communication and Stress, Recollections of a Refugee Survivor *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 3 (1), 64–71.

- Bakhtin, Michail (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. M. Holquist Austin (ed.) University of Texas Press.
- Baier, Annette. C. (1994) *Moral Prejudices. Essays on Ethics*. Harvard UP.
- Balibar, Étienne (2004) *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton UP.
- Banks, Sarah (2006) *Ethics and Values in Social Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Barclay, Heather Haas (1998) Validity Tortured Refugees: Reconnection in Social Work Policy and Practice. *International Social Work* 41 (2), 211-226.
- Benhabib, Seyla (2002) *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University Press.
- Benhabib, Seyla (2001) *Transformation of Citizenship: Dilemmas of the Nation State of the Era of Globalization: Two Lectures*. The Department of the University of Amsterdam: Koninklijke van Gorcum.
- Black, Richard (2001) Fifty Years of Refugee Studies: from Theory to Policy. *International Migration Review*, XXXV (1), 57-78.
- Bloch, Alice (2000) A New Era or More of the Same? Asylum Policy in the UK. *Journal of refugee studies*, 13 (1), 29-42.
- Bloomfield, David (2003) Reconciliation: An Introduction. In: Huyse Barnes & David Bloomfield (eds.) *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict. A Handbook*. Stockholm: IDEA, 10-18.
- Bohnsack, Ralf (2004) Group Discussion and Focus Groups. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst Von Kardoff & Ines Steinke (eds.) *A Companion to qualitative research*. Translated by Bryan Jenner. Sage Publications, 214-221.
- Bommies, Michael & Geddes, Andrew (2000a) Conclusion. Defining and Redefining the Community of Legitimate Welfare Receivers. In: Michael Bommies and Andrew Geddes (eds.) *Immigration and the Welfare State. Challenging the Borders of the Welfare State*. London and New York: Routledge, 248-253.
- Bommies, Michael & Geddes, Andrew (2000b) Introduction. Immigration and the Welfare State. In: Michael Bommies and Andrew Geddes (eds.) *Immigration and the welfare state. Challenging the Borders of the Welfare State*. London and New York: Routledge, 1-13.
- Brewis, Kielo (2008) *Stress in the Multi-ethnic Customer Contacts of the Finnish Civil Servants: Developing Critical Pragmatic Multicultural Professional*. Jyväskylä : University of Jyväskylä.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy & Vuorela, Ulla (2002) Transnational Families in the Twenty first Century. In: Deborah Fahy Bryceson & Ulla Vuorela (eds.) *The transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, Oxford: Berg, 3-30.
- Denzin, Norman K. (1989) *Interpretive Biography*. New York: Sage.
- Duffield, Mark (1997) Ethnic War in International Humanitarian intervention: A Broad perspective. In: David Turton (ed.) *War and Ethnicity. Global Connections and Local Violence*. Rochester, NY, 203-216.

- Boswell, Christina (2005) *The Ethics of Refugee Policy*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.
- Boswell, Cristina (2002) *The Liberal Dilemma in the Ethics of Refugee Policy*. Marie Curie Fellow. Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy. Draft (Paper prepared for the panel) Available online: <http://isanet.ccit.arizona.edu/noarchive/boswell.html> Referred 20.9.2011.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) *The Forms of Capital*. In: Richardson, J. G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, 241-258.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1998) *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and symbolic power* / Pierre Bourdieu. John B. Thompson (ed.). Translated from French: Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brown, Rupert (2000) *Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges*. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30, 74-778.
- Bryceson, Deborah Fahy & Vuorela, Ulla (2002) *Transnational Families in the Twenty first Century*. In: Bryceson, Deborah Fahy & Vuorela, Ulla (eds.) *The transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford: Berg, 3-30.
- Chanbon, Adrienne, Simalchik, Joan & Abai, Mulegeta (1997) *The Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture, Toronto: Transforming Relations between Refugees, Professionals, and the Community*. In: Hubert Campfens (ed.) *Community Development around the World. Practice, Theory, Research, Training*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 51-63.
- Coleman, James S. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Castles, Stephen (2002) 'The international Politics of Forced Migration'. In: C. Leys and L. Panitch (eds.) *Fighting Identities: Race, Religion and Ethno-Nationalism*. *The Socialist Register* 2003. London: Merlin Press, 172-192.
- Castles, Stephen (2003) 'The international Politics of Forced Migration'. *Development* 46 (3), 11-20.
- Castles, Stephen & Miller, Mark J. (2009) *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Fourth Edition. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Calhoun Craig & Karaganis, Joseph (2003) *Critical Theory In: George Ritzer and Barry Smart (eds.) Handbook of Social theory*. SAGE Publications. London: Thousand Oaks, 179-200.
- Chimni, B.S. (2000) *Who is a refugee?* In: B.S. Chimni (ed.) *International Refugee law. A Reader*. New Delhi: Thousand Oaks, 1-81.
- Chimni, B.S. (2009) *The Birth of a "Discipline": From Refugee to Forced Migration Studies*. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 22 (1), 11-29.

- Chimni, B.S. (2004) from Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Towards a Critical History of Durable Solutions to Refugee Problems. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 23 (3). 73(19) Oxford: OUP.
- Clarke, Kris (2003) *Welfare Research into Marginal Communities in Finland: Insider Perspectives on Health and Social Care*. University of Tampere, Department of Social Policy and Social Work. Research. Reports Series A, No. 8.
- Cornelius, Wayne (1998) The Structural Embeddedness for Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor: New Evidence from California. In: M. Suarez-Orozco (ed.) *Crossings, Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Cambridge: Center for Latin America Studies. Harvard University, 115-155.
- Crisp, Jeff (2004) *The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees: a Conceptual and Historical Analysis*. New issues in Refugee Research. Working Paper No. 103. April 2004. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/> Referred: 15.8. 2010.
- Cros Espiel, Hector & Picado, Sonia & Valladares Lanza, Leo (1990) Principles and Criteria for the Protection of and Assistance to Central American Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in Latin America. *International Journal of Refugee Law*. 2 (1), 83-117.
- Davies, Anna (2004) Restitution of Land and Property Rights. *Forced Migrant Review*. 21, 12-14.
- Dean, Jodi (1996) *Solidarity of Strangers*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Dean, Jodi (1995) Reflective Solidarity. *Constellations* 2 (1), 114-140.
- deVries, Martin W. (1996) Trauma in Cultural Perspective. In: Bessel A. van der Kolk, Alexander C. McFarlane, Lars Weisaeth (eds.) *Traumatic Stress. The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. New York, London: The Guilford Press, 398-413.
- Dominelli, Lena (2004) *Social Work. Theory and Practice for a Changing Profession*. Polity Press. UK.
- Ekholm, Elina, Magennis, Sophie & Salmelin, Leni (eds.) (2005) *Shaping our Future. A Practical Guide to Selection, Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees*. Helsinki: Prima Oy.
- Farha, Leilani (2000) Woman's Rights to Land, Property and Housing. *Forced Migrant Review*. 7, 23-26.
- Flick, Owe (2006) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Third edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Fook, Jan (2002) *Social Work. Critical theory and practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Forsander, Annika (2002) Luottamuksen Ehdot. Maahanmuuttajat 1990 -luvun Suomalaisilla Työmarkkinoilla. [Conditions of Trust. Immigrants in the 1990' Finnish Labour Market] Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Fukuyama, Francis (1996) *Trust: the Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. London: Penguin.

- Forst, Rainer (2007) "To tolerate Means to Insult". *Toleration, Recognition, and Emancipation*. In: van der Brink, B. & Owen, D. (eds.) *Recognition and Power. Axel Honneth and the Tradition of Critical Social Theory*. Cambridge University Press, 215-238.
- Fraser, Nancy (2007) *Re-Framing Justice in a Globalizing Word*. In: Terry Lovell (ed.) *(Mis)Recognition, Social Inequality and Social Justice - Nancy Fracer and Pierre Bourdieu*. London and New York: Routledge, 17-33.
- Fraser, Nancy (2003) *Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation*. In: Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser (eds.) *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso Press, 7-110.
- Fraser, Nancy & Honneth, Axel (2003) *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political - Philosophical Exchange*. London, Verso Press.
- Fraser, Nancy (1997) *From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a "Postsocialist" Age*. In: Nancy Fraser (ed.) *Justice Interrupts: Critical Reflections on the "Post Socialist Condition"*. London: Routledge, 11-39.
- Gallagher, Anne (2002) *Trafficking, Smuggling and Human Rights: Tricks and Treaties*. *Forced Migration Review* 12, 25-28.
- Galtung, Johan (2001) *After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Resolution*. In: Mohammed Abu-Nimer (ed.) *Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 3-21.
- Gambetta, Diego (ed.) (1988) *Trust: Making and Breaking Co-operative Relations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Garrett, Paul M. (2010) *Recognizing the Limitations of the Political Theory of Recognition: Axel Honneth, Nancy Fraser and Social Work*. *British Journal of Social Work* 40 (5), 1517-1533.
- Geissler, Nils (1999) *The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*. *International Journal of Refugee Law*. 11(3), 452-450.
- Ghanem, Tania (2003) *When Forced Migrants Return 'Home': the Psychosocial Difficulties Returnees Encounter in the Reintegration Process*. RSC Working Papers, no. 16. Available online: <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/> Referred: 16.7.2010.
- Gibney, Matthew J. (2006) *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibney, Matthew, J. & Hansen, Randall (2003) *Deportation and the Liberal State: for Forcible Return of Asylum Seekers and Unlawful Migrants in Canada, Germany and United States*. *New issues in Refugee Research*. Working Paper No. 77. Geneva: UNHCR, Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.
- Gibney, Matthew J & Hansen, Randall (2003) *Asylum Policy in the West: Past Trends, Future Possibilities*, September 2003 Discussion Paper No. 2003/68.
- Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, Anthony (1994) *'Living in a Post-Traditional Society'*. In: Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens & Scott Lash (eds.) *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 56-109.

- Giddens, Anthony (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goffman, Erwin (1979) *Gender Advertisements*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Goldhagen, Daniel, J. (2009) *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. University of Toronto: New College.
- Goodwin-Gill Guy S. (1996) Non-refoulement In: Guy S. Goodwin-Gill (ed.) *The Refugee in International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117-171.
- Gosh, Flora & Juul, Søren (2008) Lower Benefits to the Refugees in Denmark: Missing Recognition? *Social Work & Society*, 6, 88-104. Available online: [urn:nbn:de:0009-11-14791http://www.socwork.net/2008/1/debate/ghosh_juul](http://www.socwork.net/2008/1/debate/ghosh_juul) . Referred 10.10. 2010.
- Govier, Trudy (1993) Self -Trust, Autonomy and Self-Esteem. *Hypatia: A Journal for Feminist Philosophy* 8 (1), 99-120.
- Gubrium, Jaber F. & Holstein, James A. (1997) *The New Language of Qualitative Method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1990) *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hammar-Suutari, Sari (2009) *Asiakkaana Erilaisuus - Kulttuurien Väliäisen Viranomaistoiminnan Etnografia*. [Difference as a Client - Ethnography of Intercultural Civil Service] University of Joensuu, Publications of Karelian Institute N:o 147. University of Joensuu.
- Hathaway, James C. (1991) The Development of Refugee Definition in International Law. In: James C. Hathaway: *The Law of Refugee Status*. Toronto & Vancouver: Butterworths, 1-24.
- Healy, Karen (2005) *Social Work Theories in Context: Creating Frameworks for Practises*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hegel, G.W.F. (1978) *Phenomenology of Spirit*. With Analysis of the Text and Foreword by J. N. Findlay. Tr. A.V. Miller. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heinonen, Jari (1984) *Sosiaalityö Sosiaalivaltion Mikrostruktuurin Menetelmänä: Sosiaalityön Tehtävien ja Käsitteen Kriittistä Tarkastelua Suomalaisen Aineiston Valossa. Sosiaalipolitiikan laitoksen tutkimuksia 70*. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.
- Herman, David (2007) Introduction. In: David Herman (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*. Cambridge University Press, 3-21.
- Hogg, Michael A. (2006) Social Identity Theory. In: Peter James Burge (ed.) *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 111-137.
- Honneth, Axel (1995) *The Struggle for Recognition - The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Honneth, Axel (2007) *Disrespect. The Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Honneth, Axel (2003) Redistribution as Recognition. A Response to Nancy Fraser. In: Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser (eds.): *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso, 110–160.
- Houston, Stan (2008) Transcending Ethno-Religious Identities: Social Work's Role in the Struggle for Recognition in Northern Ireland, *Australian Social Work*, 61 (1), 25–41.
- Houston, Stan & Dolan, Pat (2008) Conceptualising Child and Family Support: The Contribution of Honneth's Critical Theory of Recognition. *Children & Society*, 22 (6), 458–469.
- Houston, Stan (2010) Beyond Homo Economicus: Recognition, Self-realization and Social work. *British Journal Social Work* 41, 841–857.
- Houston, Stan (2009) Communication, Recognition and Social Work: Aligning the Ethical Theories of Habermas and Honneth. *British Journal of Social Work* 39 (7), 1274–1290.
- Horst, Cindy, Ezzati, Rojan, Guglielmo, Matteo, Mezzetti, Petra, Pirkkalainen, Päivi, Saggiomo, Valeria, Sinatti Giulia & Warnecke, Andrea (2010) Participation of Diasporas in Peace Building and Development. A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers. PRIO-report. 2/2010.
- Humphries, Beth (2004) An Unacceptable Role for Social Work: Implementing Immigration Policy. *British Journal of Social Work*, 34, 93–107.
- Hydén, Margareta (2008) Narrating Sensitive Topics. In: Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire & Maria Tamboukou (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 122–136.
- Hynes, Tricia (2003) The issue of "Trust" or "Mistrust" in Research with Refugees: Choices, Caveats and Considerations for Researcher. Working Paper No. 98, *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.
- Hyvärinen, Matti, Hyden, Lars-Christer, Saarenheimo, Marja & Maria Tamboukou (2010) Beyond Narrative Coherence: An Introduction. In: Matti Hyvärinen, Lars-Christer Hyden, Marja Saarenheimo & Maria Tamboukou (eds.) *Beyond Narrative Coherence*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, *Studies in Narrative*, 1–16.
- Hyvärinen, Matti (2008) Analyzing Narratives and Storytelling. In: J. Brannen, P. Alasuutari & L. Bickman (eds.) *Social Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks and London: Sage, 447–460.
- Hyvärinen, Matti (2006) Kerronnallinen tutkimus. Available at: http://www.hyvarinen.info/material/Hyvarinen-Kerronnallinen_tutkimus.pdf. Referred 15.5.2009.
- Hänninen, Vilma (2004) A Model of Narrative Circulation. *Narrative Inquiry* 14, 69–85.
- Ife, Jim (2008) *Human Rights and Social Work. Towards Rights-based Practice*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki (2003) On the Genus and Species of Recognition. In: Heikki Ikäheimo (ed.) *Tunnustus, subjektiviteetti ja inhimillinen elämänmuoto. Tutkimuksia Hegelistä ja persoonien välisestä tunnustussuhteista*. Jyväskylä

- studies in education, psychology and social research 220. Jyväskylän yliopisto, 125–141.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki (2008) Sosiaalisuus ja Epäsosiaalisuus Sosiaalityössä. In: Petteri Niemi & Tuija Kotiranta (eds.) Sosiaalialan Normatiivinen Perusta. Palmenia. Helsinki University Press, 13–33.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki & Laitinen, Arto (2007) Analyzing Recognition. Identification, Acknowledgement, and Recognitive Attitudes towards Persons. In: B. Van der Brink & D. Owen (eds.) Recognition and Power. Axel Honneth and the Tradition of Critical Social Theory. Cambridge University Press, 33–57.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki (2004) Recognitive Attitudes and Dimensions of Personhood. In: Heikki Ikäheimo, Jussi Kotkavirta & Pessi Lyyra (eds.) Personhood. Workshop papers of the conference "Dimensions of personhood". Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Yliopisto.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki (2010) Personifying Contributional Account. In: Michael Seymour (ed.) The Plural States of Recognition. Palgrave.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki (2009) A Vital Human Need: Recognition as Inclusion in Personhood. *European Journal of Political Theory* 8(31), 31–45.
- Ilmonen, Kaj, Jokivuori, Pertti, Kevätsalo, Kimmo & Juuti, Pauli (2000) Luottamus ja Paikallinen Sopiminen. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Ilmonen, Kaj (2000) Sosiaalinen Pääoma, Käsitys ja sen Ongelmallisuus. In: Kaj Ilmonen (ed.) Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 9–38.
- Ilmonen, Kaj (2005) Luottamuksen Operationalisoinnista. In: Pertti Jokivuori (ed.) Sosiaalisen pääoman kentät. Jyväskylä: Minerva, 45–68.
- Ilmonen, Kaj & Jokinen, Kimmo (2002) Luottamus Modernissa Maailmassa. Jyväskylä: SoPhi.
- Jacobsen, Karen & Landau, Loren B. (2003) 'The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration', Disasters, Issues in Refugee Research, working Paper No. 90, Geneva: UNHCR. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.ch/> Accessed 20.5. 2010.
- Jacobsen, Karen (2001) The Forgotten Solution; Local Integration for Refugees in Developing Countries. New issues in Refugee Research. Working Papers No. 45. UNHCR: Genova. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/> Referred: 15.8. 2010.
- Jenkins, Richard (1997) Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations. London: Sage.
- Jokinen, Arja & Suoninen, Eero (2000) Rikoksesta Resurssi. In: Synnove Karvinen, Tarja Pösö & Mirja Satka (eds.) Sosiaalityön tutkimus. Metodologisia suuntauksia. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 207–237.
- Jones, Karen (1996) Trust as Affective Attitude. *Ethics* 107 (1), 4–25.
- Juma, Monica, Kagwanja, Kathina, & Mwangi, Peter (2003) Securing Refugee from Terror: Refugee Protection in East Africa and September 11, In: N. Steiner, M. Gibney, & G. Loacter (eds.) Problems of Protection: the UNHCR, Refugees and Human Rights. New York: Routledge, 225–236.

- Juul, Søren (2010) *Solidarity and Social Cohesion in Late Modernity: A Question of Recognition, Justice and Judgment in Situation*. *European Journal of Social Theory* 13 (2). Sage Publications, 253–269.
- Juul, Søren (2009) *Recognition and Judgement in Social Work*. *European Journal of Social Work* 4 (12), 403–417.
- Järvinen, Riitta (2004) *Ammatillisen Maahanmuuttotyön Kulttuuri. Erilaisuus sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon jäsenyyksissä*. Tampere: Tampereen yliopistopaino.
- Kant, Immanuel (2010/1974) *Puhtaan Järjen Kritiikki*. [Kritik der Reinen Vernunft] Translated from German to Finnish: Olli Koistinen. Gaudeamus.
- Kamali, Masoud (1999) *Distorted Integration. Problems of Monolithic Order*. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences* 12 (1), 81–97.
- Kamali, Masoud (1997) *Distorted Integration. Clientization of Immigrants in Sweden*. *Multiethnic Papers*. Uppsala University, Uppsala: Reprocentralen HSC.
- Kaskisaari, Marja (2005) *Luottamus Sosiaalisena Rakenteena. Näkökulmina Työuupumus ja Käsitteen Feministinen Kritiikki*. In: Pertti Jokivuori (ed.) *Sosiaalisen pääoman kentät*. Jyväskylä: Minerva, 256–269.
- Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad (2004) *Social Capital of Immigrants in Canada*. PMC Working Paper Series No. 04-04. Edmonton, AB: Prairie Metropolis Centre. Available online: <http://pcerii.metropolis.net/WorkingPapers/WP04.04.pdf> Referred: 5.5.2011.
- Keskinen, Suvi (2012) *Kulttuurilla merkityt toiset ja universaalien kohtelun paradoksi väkivaltatyössä*. In: Suvi Keskinen, Jaana Vuori & Jaana Hirsiaho (ed.) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 291–320.
- Keskinen, Suvi, Vuori, Jaana & Hirsiaho, Anu (ed.) (2012) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 291–320.
- Keskinen, Suvi (2001) *Ahdistavien tunteiden äärellä. Tutkijan, väkivaltaa kokeneiden naisten ja kulttuurin kohtaamisia*. [Anxious Emotions. Encounters Between a Researcher, Abused Women and Culture] *Naistutkimus - Kvinnoforskning [Women's Studies]* 14: 3, 29–40.
- Kittay, Eva F. (1999) *Love's Labor*. New York: Routledge.
- Korhonen, Marjaana (2006) *Discovering Keys to the Integration of Immigrants: From Human Capital towards Social Capital*. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto, Alueellisen tutkimuksen kehittämissyksikkö.
- Koser, Khalid & Black, Richard (1999) *The End of the Refugee Cycle?* In: Richard Black & Khalid Koser (eds.) *The End of the Refugee Cycle: Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction*, Oxford: Bergam, 2–17.
- Kotiranta, Tuija (2008) *Aktivoinnin Paradoksit*. [The Paradoxes of Activation]. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä studies in education, psychology and social research 335.

- Kotkavirta, Jussi (2000) Luottamus Instituutioihin ja Yksilöllinen Hyvinvointi. In: Kaj Ilmonen (ed.) *Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus*. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 55–68.
- Labow, W. & Waletzky, J. (1967) Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience. In: J. Helms (ed.) *Essays in the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle: The University of Washington, 12–44.
- Laitinen, Arto (2010) An Unrestricted Normativist Account. In: Michael Seymour (ed.) *The Plural States of Recognition*. Palgrave.
- Laitinen, Arto (2009) Recognition, Needs and Wrongness: Two Approaches. *European Journal of Political Theory* 8 (13), 13–30.
- Laitinen, Arto (2003) Strong Evaluation without Sources. On Charles Taylor's Philosophical Anthropology and Cultural Moral Realism. *Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research*. University of Jyväskylä.
- Leckie, Scott (2000) Resolving Kosovo's Housing Crisis. *Forced Migrant Review* 7, 12–15.
- Lieblich, Amia, Tuval-Mashiach, Rivka & Zilber, Tamar (1998) *Narrative Research. Reading, Analysis and Interpretation*. Applied social research methods series, Volume 47. London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Loescher, Gil (2001) UNHCR and the Erosion of Refugee Protection. *Forced Migration Review* 10, 28–30.
- Lorenz, Walter (2006) *Perspectives on European Social Work - From the Birth of the Nation State to the Impact of Globalization*. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Luhmann, Niklas (1979) *Trust and Power*. New York: John Wiley.
- Maiss, Maria & Peter Pantucek (2009) Theory with Passion. Ilse Arlt and Current Questions in Social Work. In: Vesna Leskosek (ed.) *Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives*. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana, 45–59.
- Malkki, Liisa (1995) Refugees and Exile: from Refugee Studies to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 495–523.
- Malkki, Liisa (1992) National Geographic: the Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), 24–44.
- Matinheikki-Kokko, Kaija (1997) Challenges of Working in a Cross-cultural Environment. *Jyväskylä studies in education, psychology and social research* 131. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- McBride, Cillian (2009) Demanding Recognition: Equality, Respect, and Esteem. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 8 (96), 96–108.
- McNay, Lois (2008) *Against Recognition*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mead, George Herbert (1934) *Mind, Self & Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* / [by] George H. Mead; ed., with introduction, by Charles W. Morris. Chicago (Ill.): University of Chicago Press.
- Misztal, Barbara A. (1996) *Trust in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Mäntysaari, Mikko (2009) Marx Sosiaalityön Tutkimuksessa. In: Mikko Mäntysaari & Anneli Pohjola & Tarja Pösö (eds.) *Sosiaalityö ja Teoria*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 85–108.
- Möllering, Guido (2001) 'The Nature of Trust: From Georg Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension', *Sociology* 35 (2), 403–420.
- Notter, James (1995) "Trust and Conflict Transformation," Occasional Paper 5, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. Available online: <http://www.imtd.org/pdfs/OP5.pdf> Referred 5.5. 2010.
- Obokata, Tom (2005) Smuggling of Human Beings from a Human Rights Perspective: Obligations of Non-State and State Actors under International Human Rights Law. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 17 (2), 394–415.
- Offe, Claus (1999) How Can We Trust our Fellow Citizens? In: M Warren (ed.) *Democracy & Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1259–1319.
- Official Statistics of Finland (OSF): Migration [e-publication]. ISSN=1797-6782. Helsinki: Statistics Finland. Available online: http://tilastokeskus.fi/til/muutl/kuv_en.html Referred: 30.12. 2011.
- Oinas, Elina (2004) Haastattelu: kokemuksia, kohtaamisia, kerrontaa. [Interviewing: experiences, encounters, narratives]. Liljeström, Marianne (ed.) *Feministinen tietäminen. Keskustelua metodologiasta*. [Feminist knowing. Discussions on methodology] Tampere: Vastapaino. 209–227.
- Otters, Rosalie V. (2009) Following in Jane Addams' Footsteps. *The Journal of Social Work Values & Ethics*. Vol 6 (3), 5–23.
- Paavola, Sami (2006) On the Origin of Ideas: An Abductivist Approach to Discovery. *Philosophical Studies from the University of Helsinki* 15. Department of Philosophy.
- Phoenix, Ann (2008) Analyzing Narrative Contexts. In: Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire & Maria Tamboukou (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 65–77.
- Phuong, Catherine (2000) At the Hearth of the Return Process: Solving Property Issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Forced Migrant Review* 7, 5–8.
- Patton, Michael Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage.
- Peirce, Charles S. (1998) *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*. Edited by the Peirce Edition Project: Nathan Houser [et al.]. Bloomington (IN): Indiana University Press, cop.
- Pirjola, Jari (2008) Shadows in Paradise – Exploring Non-Refoulement as an Open Concept. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 2007 19 (4), 639–660.
- Pirjola, Jari (2009) European Asylum Policy – Inclusions and Exclusions under the Surface of Human Rights Language. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 11, 347–366.
- Pitkänen, Pirkko (2006) *Etninen ja Kulttuurinen Monimuotoisuus Viranomaistyössä*. Helsinki: Edita.
- Pitkänen, Pirkko & Kouki, Satu (1999) *Vieraiden Kulttuurien Kohtaaminen Viranomaistyössä*. Helsinki: Edita.

- Portes, Alejandro (2008) *Migration and Social Change: Some Conceptual Reflections*. Princeton University.
- Portes, Alejandro (2007) Migration, Development, and Segmented Assimilation: A Conceptual Review of the Evidence. *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*. 610 (73), 73–97.
- Portes, Alejandro (2000) The Two Meanings of Social Capital. *Sociological Forum* 15 (1), 1–12.
- Portes, Alejandro (2000) Social Capital: Its Origins and Application in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol 24. 1–24.
- Portes, Alejandro & Rumbaut, Rubén (2001) *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro & Rumbaut Ruben G. (1996) *Immigrant America, a Portrait*. Second edition. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes Alejandro & Sensenbrenner J. (1993) Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action. *Am. Journal of Sociology* 98, 1320–1350.
- Potter, Jonathan (1996) *Representing Reality. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. Great Britain: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Putnam, Robert (1993) *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert (1998) *Bowling alone. The Collapse of Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Pyykkönen, Miikka (2009) Järjestäytyvät diasporat. *Etnisyys, Kansalaisuus, Integraatio ja Hallinta Maahanmuuttajien Yhdistystoiminnassa. [Organizing Diasporas. Ethnicity, Citizenship, Integration, and Government in Immigrant Associations]* Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Rastas, Anna (2005) Kulttuurierot haastattelutilanteissa. In: Johanna Ruusuvoori & Liisa Tiittula (eds.) *Haastattelu. Tutkimus, tilanteet ja vuorovaikutus*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 78–102.
- Reichert, Elisabeth (2003) *Social Work and Human Rights: A Foundation for Policy and Practice*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ricoeur, Paul (1984) *Time and Narrative*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Ricoeur, Paul (1991) Life in Quest of Narrative. In: D. Wood (ed.) *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, 20–33.
- Rigby, A. (2001) Reconciliation and Forgiving the Past. In: *Justice and Reconciliation: after the violence*. Lyonne Rienner, Boulder, 1–14.
- Riess, Steffanie (2000) Return is Struggle, not Resignation: Lesions from the Repatriation of Guatemalan Refugees from Mexico. *New issues in refugee research. Working Papers no. 21, UNHCR: Geneva*. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/> Referred 15.8. 2010.
- Riessman, Cathrine Kohler (2008) *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. Sage Publications: Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore.
- Rigo, Enrica (2009) *Rajojen Eurooppa. [Europa di confine]* Translated from *Fresh to Finnish: Antti Paakari, Taina Rajanti, Miika Saukkonen and Eetu Viren*. Helsinki: Like.

- Røe, Melina (2011) "Why don't they still want us" Refugees still unemployed after many years in Norway. *Nordic Social Work Research* 1 (2), 109–123.
- Routila, Lauri (1986) *Miten Teen Tiedettä Taiteesta. Johdatus Taiteentutkimukseen ja Taiteen Teoriaan*. Keuruu: Clarion.
- Rousseau, D. M., Sitkin, S. B., Burt, R. S. & Camerer, C. (1998) 'Not So Different after All: A Cross-Discipline View of Trust', *Academy of Management Review* 23(3), 393–404.
- Ruokonen, Floora (2010) *Luottamus ja Vastuullisuus. Ajatus. Suomen Filosofisen yhdistyksen vuosikirja*. Helsinki: Suomen Filosofinen Yhdistys.
- Ruuskanen, Petri (2003) *Verkostotalous ja Luottamus*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto SoPhi.
- Ruuskanen, Petri (2001) *Sosiaalinen Pääoma - Käsitteet, Suuntauokset ja Mekanismit*. VATT -tutkimuksia 81. Helsinki: Valtion taloudellinen tutkimuskeskus.
- Said, Edward W. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Seglow, Jonathan. 2009. *Rights, Contribution, Achievement: Self-Esteem as Achievement and Contribution*. *European Journal of Political Theory* 8 (1), 61–75.
- Seikkula, Jaakko & Arnkil, Tom (2005) *Dialoginen Verkostotyö*. Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi.
- Sennett, Richard (2003) *Respect: the Formation of Character of a World of Inequality*. London: Allen Lane.
- Seligman, Adam (1997) *The Problem of Trust*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sevenhuijsen, Selma (1998) *Too Good to be true? IWM Working Paper No. 3/1998*. Vienna: IVM Publications.
- Shacknove, Andrew E. (1985) *Who is a Refugee? Ethics* 95 (2), 274–284.
- Sluzki, Carlos E (2003) *The Process Towards Reconciliation*. In: A. Chayes and M. Milow (eds.) *Imagine Coexistence: Restoring Humanity after Violent Ethnic Conflict*. San Francisco: Jossey - Bass, 21–23.
- Simmel, Georg (1995) *Hur är Samhället Möjligt? - och andra esseär*. Göteborg: Korpen.
- Soguk, Nevzat (1999) *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacement of Statecraft*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Soydan, Haluk (1998) *Understanding Migration*. In: Charlotte Williams, Haluk Soydan & Mark R. D. Johnson (eds.) *Social Work and Minorities. European Perspectives*. Routledge, 20–36.
- Squire, Corinne (2008) *Experience-Centred and Culturally-Oriented Approach to Narrative*. In: Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire & Maria Tamboukou (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 42–63.
- Staub-Bernasconi, Silvia (2009a) *Social Work as a Discipline and Profession*. In: Vesna Leskosek (ed.) *Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives*. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana, 9–31.

- Staub-Bernasconi, Silvia (2009b) Human Rights and Their Relevance for Social Work as Theory, Education and Practice. In: Claire Dorrity & Peter Herrmann (eds.) *Social Professional Activity: The Search for a Minimal Common Denominator in Difference*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 37-54.
- Stein, Barry N. (1981) The Refugee Experience: Defining the Parameters of a Field of Study, *International Migration Review* 15 (1), 320-330.
- Summerfield, Derek (2002) Effects of War: Moral Knowledge, Revenge, Reconciliation and Medical Concepts of Recovery. *British Medical Journal* 9, 325 (7372), 1105-1107.
- Sztompka, Piotr (1999) *Trust. A Sociological Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sztucki, Jerzy (1999) Who is a refugee? The Convention Definition: Universal or Obsolete? In: F. Nicholson & P. Twomey (eds.) *Refugee Rights and Realities. Evolving International Concepts and Regimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 55-80.
- Tajfel, Henry & Turner, John C. (1986) The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In: S. Worchel & L. W. Austin (eds.) *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor, Charles (1994) The Politics of Recognition. In: Amy Guttmann (ed.) *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 25-75.
- Taylor, Charles (1992) *Ethics of Authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, Donald M. & Osborne Esther (2010) When I Know Who "We" are, I Can Be "Me": The Primary Role of Cultural Identity Clarity for Psychological Well-Being. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 47(1), 93-111.
- Thernborn, Göran (1995) *European Modernity and Beyond - the Trajectory of European Societies 1945 - 2000*. London. Sage.
- Tiilikainen, Marja (2003) *Arjen islam: Somalinaisten elämää Suomessa*. [Everyday Islam: Life of Somali Women in Finland] Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Tronto, Joan (1993) *Moral Boundaries. A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Turtiainen, Kati (2009a) Kertomuksia Uuden Kynnyksellä - Luottamuksen Rakentuminen Kiintiöpakolaisten ja Viranomaisien Välillä. [Stories on the New Step after Arriving in Finland. Trust building between Quota Refugees and Public Authorities] *Janus* 4 (17), 329-345.
- Turtiainen, Kati (2009b) Recognition and Recognitive Attitudes between Refugees and Authorities. A Finnish Example. In: Vesna Leskosek (ed.) *Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives*. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana, 149-161.
- Turtiainen, Kati (2011) Riippuvuus Pakolaisia Vastaanottavassa Sosiaalityössä. [Dependency in the Refugee Resettlement Social Work]. In: Aini Pehkonen & Marja Väänänen - Fomin (eds.) *Sosiaalityön arvot ja etiikka. Sosiaalityön tutkimuksen seuran vuosikirja*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, 139-164.

- Turtiainen, Kati (2012) Social Esteem in the Narratives of Refugees Living in Finland. Forthcoming. *Nordic Social Work Research* (1) 2013. Acceptance date 30.8.2012. In Press. Available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/rns> December 2012.
- Turton, David (2003a) Conceptualizing forced migration. RSC Working paper 12. Available online: <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk> Referred 20.5.2010.
- Turton, David (2003b) Refugees and other forced migrants. Discussion papers. Forced migration studies. Oxford University. Available online: <http://repository.forcedmigration.org/> Referred 20.6.2010.
- Tyrk, Volker (1999) The role of UNHCR in the Development of International Refugee Law. In: F. Nicholson & P. Twomey (eds.) *Refugee Rights and Realities. Evolving International Concepts and Regimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 153–174.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org> Referred 5.5. 2009.
- UNHCR (2011a) High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR Global Trends 2010. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4e01b00e2.html> Referred 27.12. 2011.
- UNHCR (2011b), UNHCR Resettlement Handbook. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4ecb973c2.html> Referred 14.1. 2012.
- UNHCR (2010) Statistical Yearbook 2009. Trends in displacement, protection and solutions.
- UNHCR (2006) The Guidelines of International Protection. The Application of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention and/or 1967 Protocol of Relating of status of Refugees to victims of trafficking and persons at risk of being trafficked. HCR/GIP/06/07.
- UNHCR (2003) Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern. Core Group on Durable Solutions. Geneva: UNHCR. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/> Referred 14. 8. 2010.
- Valtonen, Kathleen (2008) *Social Work and Migration: Immigrant and Refugee Settlement and Integration*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Valtonen, Kathleen (2004) From Margin to Mainstream. Conceptualizing Refugee Resettlement Processes. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 17 (1), 70–96.
- Valtonen, Kathleen (2000) The Challenge of Multicultural Social Work in Finland. *Nordisk Socialt Arbeid* 3, 158–164.
- Valtonen, Kathleen (1999) The Integration of Refugees in Finland in the 1990's. Työhallinnon julkaisu no: 224. Helsinki: Ministry of Labour.
- Van Hear, Nicholas (2003) Framework for Durable Solutions to Transnational Relations: Home and Exile among Refugee Diaporas. *New issues in refugee research*. Working Papers no. 83, UNHCR: Geneva. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/> Referred 15. 6. 2010.
- Westoby, Peter & Ingamells, Ann (2010) A Critically Informed Perspective of Working with Resettling Refugee Groups in Australia. *British Journal of Social Work* 40, 1759–1776.

- Winnicott Donald, W. (1957) *Mother and Child: a Primer of First Relationships*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Winnicott Donald ,W. (1971a) *Child, the Family and the Outside World*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Winnicott Donald ,W. (1971b) *Playing and Reality*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Wolff, Stefan (2007) *Ethnic Conflict - A Global Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vuori, Jaana (2012) Arjen kansalaisuus, sukupuoli ja kotouttamistyö. In: Suvi Keskinen, Jaana Vuori & Anu Hirsiaho (ed.) *Monikulttuurisuuden sukupuoli. Kansalaisuus ja erot hyvinvointiyhteiskunnassa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 235-262.
- Zolberg, Aristide, Suhrke, Astri & Aguayo, Sergio (1989) *Escape from Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laws

- Act of Integration of Immigrants and the Reception of the Asylum Seekers (493/1999, 280/2006). Available online:
<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1999/19990493> Referred: 5.5. 2010.
- Act of Integration (1383/2010). Available online:
<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2010/20101386> Referred 5.5.2011.
- Act of Equality (21/2004). Available online:
<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2004/20040021> Referred 5.5.2011.

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

**KERTOMUKSIA UUDEN KYNNYKSELLÄ -
LUOTTAMUKSEN RAKENTUMINEN
KIINTIÖPAKOLAISTEN JA VIRANOMAISTEN VÄLILLÄ**

by

Kati Turtiainen 2009

Janus 17 (4), 329-345

Reproduced with kind permission by the publisher

Kertomuksia uuden kynnyksellä – Luottamuksen rakentuminen kiintiöpakolaisten ja viranomaisten välillä

Kati Turtiainen: *YTL, maahanmuuttajapalveluiden johtaja, Jyväskylän kaupunki,
sosiaalityön jatko-opiskelija, Jyväskylän yliopisto
kati.turtiainen@jkl.fi*

Janus vol. 17 (4) 2009, 329–345

Janus

Tiivistelmä

Artikkelissa tarkastelen kiintiöpakolaisten luottamuksen rakentumista viranomaisia kohtaan pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheissa. Analysoin pakolaisten luottamukseen liittyviä tarinoita ennen Suomeen tuloa, Suomeen tulon jälkeen sekä haastatteluhetkellä. Erityisesti tarkastelen sitä, miten pakolaisuuden ajan kokemukset välittyvät kuvauksiin luottamuksen rakentumisesta uuden maan viranomaisiin. Tutkimusaineistona on kymmenen episodista haastattelua, joihin osallistui yhteensä 13 kiintiöpakolaista. Haastatteluissa viranomaiskokemuksiin liittyvät luottamuksen teemat rakentuvat tarinoina pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheille tutkittavien ja tutkijan välisessä vuorovaikutuksessa. Tarinoista löytyi viisi kertomustyyppiä. Kertomustyypit ovat luottamuskertomuksia, taistelukertomuksia, vetäytymiskertomuksia, riippuvaisuuskertomuksia ja liittoutumiskertomuksia. Menneisyyden viranomaiskokemusten sekä symbolisen ja inhimillisen pääoman lisäksi uudessa maassa luotu erilainen pääoma, omien tavoitteiden toteutuminen ja toimijuuden mahdollisuus selittävät viranomaiskokemuksiin liittyvien kertomusten rakentumisen.

Suomeen saapuvilla pakolaisilla on usein takanaan hankalia viranomaiskokemuksia, joihin liittyy vainoa, jopa kidutusta ja pitkiä vankilakokemuksia. He tulevat totalitaarisista, sotaikäyvästä tai vallankumousten kanssa kamppailevista maista, joista heidän on ollut paettava. Maata, johon pakolaiset pakenevat omista maistaan, kutsutaan toiseksi maaksi. Toisessa maassa he ilmoittautuvat YK:n pakolaisjärjestölle UNHCR:lle, joka antaa heille tutkimustensa perusteella pakolaisen statuksen.¹ Osa pakolaisista sijoitetaan kolmansiin maihin, mikäli heidän ei ole mahdollista palata takaisin kotimaahansa tai integroitua toiseen maahan. Suomi, yhtenä kolmansista maista, sijoittaa vuosittain 750 pakolaista suoraan kuntiin, joissa viranomaiset ottavat heidät vastaan ja ovat heidän tukenaan kolme ensimmäistä

vuotta. Valituista pakolaisista käytetään nimeä kiintiöpakolaiset.

Oman pakolaisia vastaanottavan viranomaisen kokemukseni kautta ajattelen, että maahantulon alkuvaiheen viranomaiskokemuksilla on suuri merkitys luottamuksen rakentumiseen uutta yhteiskuntaa kohtaan. Sosiaalityöntekijöiden lisäksi näitä viranomaisia ovat muun muassa työvoima-, terveydenhuolto- ja kasvatusalan viranomaiset. Suomessa, samoin kuin muiden Pohjoismaiden pakolaisten vastaanottomalleissa, viranomaisten rooli kotouttamistyössä on keskeinen (Valtonen 1999; Kamali 1997). Tästä näkökulmasta aiheetta ei ole kuitenkaan tutkittu. Sen sijaan maanmuuttajatutkimusta on tehty Suomessa runsaasti ja muutamia kulttuurien välisen viranomaistyön tutkimuksia on olemassa².

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelen Suomeen tulleiden kiintiöpakolaisten luottamuksen rakentumista viranomaisia kohtaan pakolaisuuden prosessia kuvaavien kertomusten avulla.³ Pakolaisprosesseilla tarkoitan pakoa kotimaasta, asumista toisessa maassa ja valintaa sekä saapumista ja asettumista Suomeen (Pentikäinen 2005, 38). Tarkastelen luottamuksen rakentumista pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheissa. Erityisesti olen kiinnostunut siitä, miten pakolaisuuden aikaiset viranomaiskokemukset välittyvät kuvauksiin luottamuksen rakentumisesta uuden maan pakolaisia vastaanottaviin viranomaisiin.

Luottamuksen käsitteestä

Pakolaisten luottamus uutta yhteiskuntaa kohtaan on keskeistä sekä yksilöllisen hyvinvoinnin (Kotkavirta 2000, 55-68) että koko yhteiskunnan toimivuuden kannalta, mikäli ajatellaan luottamusta Simmelin (1995) tavoin keskeisenä yhteiskuntien koostavana voimana. Eri tieteenalojen tutkijat ovat liittäneet luottamuksen sosiaaliseen pääomaan ja määritelleet luottamuksen joko sen osana tai sosiaalisena pääomana itsessään.

Ymmärrän sosiaalisen pääoman Robert Putnamin (1993 ja 2000; ks. myös Ilmonen 2005, 47) tavoin kytkeytyvän sosiaalisiin suhteisiin ja niiden myötä saataviin resursseihin, jotka ovat verkostojen jäsenten käytettävissä. Näin sosiaalinen pääoma on kollektiivinen varanto. Luottamus puolestaan on oleellinen edellytys sille, että sosiaaliset suhteet voivat toimia pääomana (Ilmonen 2005, 47; Ruuskanen 2001, 45-47). Sosiaalinen pääoma voi edistää myös omia etuja, mikäli yhteisön jäsenet ovat halukkaita ja valmiita auttamaan toisiaan. Näin luottamus avaa yksittäiselle verkoston jäsenelle toimintansa piiriä (Sztompka 1999, 77; Ilmonen 2005, 49.) ja kasvattaa inhimillistä pääomaa, kuten tietoja, osaamista ja motivaatiota. (Bourdieu 1986; ks. myös Kajanoja 1998; Korhonen 2006.) Inhimil-

linen pääoma saa merkityksensä sosiaalisten toimijoiden arvonannon kautta. Tällöin se on symbolisista pääomaa ja palautuu yhteisön sosiaalisesti pääomaksi. (Bourdieu 1986, 48-49.) Henkilöiden välinen arvonanto tuotetaan puolestaan luottamuksen avulla, jolloin luottamus saa merkityksensä keskinäisestä tunnustamisesta ja tunnustamisesta (ks. Kaskisaari 2005, 259). Vuorovaikutussuhteisiin kiinnittyvänä luottamus edellyttää vastavuoroisuutta sosiaalisessa rakenteessa. Vastavuoroisuuden toteutumiseen voi liittyä ajallisesti pitkä viive. Coleman näkee luottamuksen palveluksen ja vastapalveluksen ajallisen viiveen ylittäjänä. (Coleman 1990.)

Ymmärrän luottamuksen synnyn Kaskisaaren (2005, 266) tavoin valmiina sosiaalisena rakenteena, jonka ihmiset ottavat käyttöön toimiesseen. Tällöin luottamuksen synty kuitenkin edellyttää sosiaalista toimintaa ja sen paikka siirtyä ajallisesti ennen kyseessä olevia toimijoita tai heidän jälkeensä (mt., 265). Tässä artikkelissa tarkoitan luottamuksen paikan muodostumisella pakolaisprosessissa mahdollisesti muodostuvaa luottamusta, jolloin pakolainen ottaa käyttöön niitä sosiaalisissa suhteissa syntyneitä kokemuksia, joita hänelle on muodostunut elämän aikaisemmissa vaiheissa.

Anthony Giddens (1990), Niklas Luhman (1979) ja Adam Seligman (1997, 18) erottavat yhtäältä ihmisiin ja toisaalta instituutioihin sekä muihin abstrakteihin systeemeihin liittyvän luottamuksen. He käyttävät luottamuksen (trust) käsitettä ainoastaan edellisestä ilmiöstä ja soveltavat luottavaisuuden (confidence) käsitettä jälkimmäiseen. Ilmonen (2005, 51) mukaan erottelu on mielivaltaisen, sillä luottavaisuus on loppujen lopuksi eräänlaista luottamusta. Luottamus sekoittuu muihin sosiaalisiin tekijöihin, kuten institutionaalisiin järjestelyihin, lainsäädäntöön, heimonperäisiin tekijöihin ja tunnetason motiiveihin (Simmel 2005, 132, 175-176; Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 89). Instituutiot puolestaan ovat sosiaalisia tosiasioita (Searle 1995, 62). Luottamuksen

kohteen asemasta onkin tärkeämpi keskittyä sen sisältöön, jolloin luottamus liittyy tulevaisuuteen ja sen ennustettavuuteen. (Ilmonen 2005, 51; Luhman 1979, 112.) Luottamusta aletaan osoittaa ihmisiin ja asioihin juuri siksi, että siinä on piirteitä, jotka tekevät tulevaisuudesta hallittavan tai ainakin ymmärrettävän. Luottamuksen ymmärtäminen ajallisella jatkumolla soveltuu hyvin pakolaisprosessin ajallisuuteen.

Ilmosen (2000, 175; 2002, 92) mukaan luottamus ja luottavaisuus toimivat kuitenkin analyttisinä välinenä. Hän on muodostanut luottamuksen tyypeistä nelikentän (taulukko 1), jossa hän erottaa suoran ja epäsuoran sekä henkilökohtaisen ja ei-henkilökohtaisen luottamuksen ja muodostaa näistä neljä eri luottamustyyppiä: Annettu tai primääri luottamus viittaa tilanteeseen, jossa kontaktit ihmisten välillä ovat henkilökohtaisia ja suoria, luottavaisuus puolestaan epäsuoriin ja ei-henkilökohtaisiin suhteisiin viittaavaa. Jos kontaktit ovat epäsuoria mutta henkilökohtaisia, syntyy sosiaalinen muodostuma, jota kutsutaan ”luottamusketjuksi” (Coleman 1990, 180–188). Luottamusketju tarkoittaa sitä, että johonkin henkilöön luotetaan, koska hän kuuluu itselle tuttuun verkostoon, mutta emme häntä henkilökohtaisesti tunne. Neljäs vaihtoehto liittyy siihen, että olemme suhteellisen pysyvästi tekemissä henkilöiden kanssa, joita emme tunne, mutta luotamme heihin, koska heillä on samankaltaisia ominaisuuksia kuin meillä. Tätä luottamuksen lajia Ilmonen kutsuu yleistyneeksi luottamukseksi (Ilmonen 2005, 51–52). Offen (1999, 72–74) mukaan yleistyneen luottamuksen haurauden takia tarvitaan enemmän kuin yksi yhteinen sosiaalinen piirre ennen kuin

luottamus yleistyy. Merkittävin edellytys luottamuksen yleistymiselle on se, että uskomme itsellemme tuntemattomien ihmisten jakavan samankaltaisen moraalisen avaruuden kuin mitä itsellämme on.

Luottamus ei aina kasvata sosiaalista pääomaa, esimerkiksi mikäli annettu luottamus ei yleisty. Jos yleistymistä ei tapahdu ja sen sijaan tapahtuu jako meihin ja muihin, sosiaalinen pääoma heikentyy. Yleistynyt luottamus on vahvimillaan, kun se saa tuekseen yhdessä jaetun moraalisen avaruuden, joka yhdistää meitä heihin, vaikka meidän ja heidän välillä olisikin selkeitä näkemyseroja (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 93). Lisäksi luottamuksen tai sen pettämisen muodot voivat esiintyä vahvistaen tai heikentäen luottamusta sosiaalisissa suhteissa ja institutionaalisissa käytännöissä (Ilmonen 2000, 175; ks. myös Dominelli 2004, 69).

Omassa analyysissäni Ilmosen nelikenttä on hyödyllinen, koska sisällyttän luottamuksen käsitteeseen koko sosiaalisen todellisuuden, kuten institutionaaliset järjestelyt, lainsäädännön ja yksilöiden välisen toiminnan.

Pakolaisten kertomusten rakentuminen

Aineistonani on kymmenen nauhoitettua haastattelua, joissa oli mukana yhteensä 13 henkilöä. Haastateltavat valitsin suurehkon kaupungin maahanmuuttajapalveluiden pakolaislistoista mahdollisimman heterogeenisesti lähtömaiden, koulutuksen, iän ja sukupuolen suhteen. Haas-

Taulukko 1. Luottamuksen tyypit (Ilmonen 2002, 92 ja 2005, 52)

Suhde	Suora	Epäsuora
Henkilökohtainen	A. ”annettu” tai ”primääri” luottamus	B. ”luottamusketju”
Ei-henkilökohtainen	C. ”humanistinen” tai yleistynyt luottamus	D. luottavaisuus

tatteluhetkellä pakolaiset olivat olleet Suomessa 4–13 vuotta, keskimäärin seitsemän vuotta. Eettisesti on tärkeää, että heistä kukaan ei ollut enää asiakkaana maahanmuuttajapalveluissa, mikä mahdollisti puhumisen vapaammin viranomaiskokemuksista. Kolmessa haastattelussa käytin tulkkia ja loput tein suomen kielellä. Käytin menetelmänä episodista haastattelua (Flick 2006, 181–182)⁴, jossa yhdistyvät teemahaastattelu ja narratiivinen haastattelu. Keräsin narratiivit eli tarinat viranomaiskokemuksista siten, että ne sijoittuivat pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheisiin. Ymmärrän tarinoiden ja niistä muodostuneen kertomuksen syntyneen haastattelutilanteessa haastattelijan ja haastateltavan vuorovaikutuksessa. Kertomus voi siis olla erilainen riippuen siitä, kenelle se kerrotaan. (Hyvärinen 2006, 2). Pakolaisten Suomeen tulon jälkeistä vaihetta tarkensin kysyen, mikä heitä on auttanut eniten heti Suomeen tulon jälkeen ja mitä viranomais-suhteissa on tapahtunut.

Käytin analyysivälineenä narratiivista lukutapaa, joka mahdollistaa aineistosta paikannettavien tarinoiden sijoittumisen ajalliselle jatkumolle. Käytin kertomusten analysoinnissa myös teemaattista luentaa, jossa luottamus viranomaisiin oli luentaa jäsentävä teema (Hyvärinen 2006, 10–11). Sijoitin pakolaisten kertomukset viranomaiskokemuksista pakolaisprosessin ajalliselle jatkumolle siten, että kokemukset ennen maahantuloa muodostivat kertomusten alun, Suomeen tulon alkuaika keskikohdan ja nykyhetki kertomusten viimeisen vaiheen. Analysoinnissa tätä vaiheistusta tärkeämmäksi nousivat kuitenkin kertomusten käänneet. Kertomusten keskikohta on merkittävin vaihe tämän tutkimuksen kannalta. Etsin kertomuksista kuvauksia järjestelmistä ja viranomaisista, joihin luottamuspuhe ja luottamuksenpuutepuhe liittyvät. Seuraavaksi hain jokaisen haastateltavan kertomuksesta luottamuspuheen juonikäänneiden sijoittumista pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheissa. Alkuaikojen kokemuksista etsin maininnat siitä, mikä viranomais-suhteessa auttoi luottamuksen

rakentumisessa. Rakensin jokaisen kertomuksen erikseen kaikkien näiden elementtien osalta.

Jatkoin analyysiä kertomusten Suomeen tulon alkuaikojen viranomaiskokemuksista, joista löytyi viisi erilaista kertomustyyppiä. Kertomuksissa on yleensä elementtejä useista kertomustyypeistä, mutta loin päätyypit vahvimmin kerronnassa tulleen kuvauksen mukaan. Mitään kertomustyyppiä ei voi palauttaa vain yhteen ydinkertomukseen. Näin haastateltavien tunnistamattomuus myös säilyy. Seuraavaksi etsin viiden luottamussuhteen kertomustyyppin taustoista ja lopputuloksesta erilaisia alakategorioita suhteessa viranomaisiin ja järjestelmiin ja tarkastelin näitä tarinoita maahantulon jälkeisten viranomaiskokemusten kanssa yhdessä. Näin ollen yhteen kertomustyyppiin sijoittui tarinoita erilaisista lähtökohdista ja lopputuloksista. Tässä aineiston analyysivaiheessa toimijuuden käsite nousi merkittäväksi aineiston analyysivälineeksi. Toimijuudella tarkoitan kertomuksista nousevia mahdollisuuksia suhteen rakentamisessa viranomaisiin (Jokinen & Suoninen 2000, 212).

Aineisto on moniäänistä, koska kertomuksissa puhutaan paljon myös muiden pakolaisten viranomaiskokemuksista (Potter 1996, 142–142). Otan myös näitä tarinoita mukaan kertomuksiin, mikäli ne eivät sisälly puhujan omiin tarinoihin. Tarinat luottamuksesta ennen maahantuloa muodostivat selkeästi yhden kokonaisuuden, maahantulovaihe toisen ja tarinoiden kerron-tahetki asettumisen vaiheen. Kertomukset kuvaavat pakolaisten kokemuksia luottamuksesta pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheissa, eivät siis reaali-maailmaa sinänsä. Aineiston tulkintaan vaikutti väistämättä myös pitkäaikainen kokemukseni pakolaistyöstä.

Esitän seuraavassa aineistosta nousevat viisi kertomustyyppiä. Olen nimennyt kertomukset maahantulovaiheen tarinoiden perusteella luottamuskertomuksiksi, taistelukertomuksiksi,

vetäytymiskertomuksiksi, liittoutumiskertomuksiksi ja riippuvaisuuskertomuksiksi.

Luottamuskertomukset

Kaikki luottamuskertomukset kerrottiin kouluteuista henkilöistä, jotka olivat toimineet jossakin vaiheessa elämää vaikutusvaltaisissa ammattiteissa omilla kotimaissaan tai olleet perheen pääasiällisiä vastuunkantajia. Heidän taustalla oli sekä inhimillistä että symbolista pääomaa (Bourdieu 1986, 48–49).

Yhteistä näissä kertomuksissa on oma tahto päästä eteenpäin ja toteuttaa itseään uudessa yhteiskunnassa. Vahva sisäinen näky paremmasta, toivo, jota kohti pääsisi uudessa maassa, ohjaa kertomusten kulkua. Merkittävin yhteinen tekijä on luottamuksen olemassaolo ennen Suomeen tuloa. Luottamuskertomuksia voisi nimittää myös alkuajan mutkattomien kontaktien kertomuksiksi, jolla tarkoitan viranomaisien ja pakolaisten välisiä ”mutkattomia”, vastavuoroisia suhteita.

Luottamuskertomusten yhteisten piirteiden lisäksi niissä on myös eroja. Ensimmäiset kertomukset ovat niitä, joissa heti maahan tultua lentokentällä syntyi vanha luottamus viranomaisiin ja kotoutuminen yhteistyön kautta alkaa. Merkittävä tekijä oli aikaisempien ja uusien kokemusten suuri ero. Näissä kertomuksissa kuvattiin Suomeen tuloa ”taivaaseen tipahtamisena”. Oman maan kokemukset olivat esillä yksityiskohtaisina kauhukokemusten ja pakoon johtaneiden tapahtumien kuvauksina. Myös toisessa maassa koetut nöyryytykset viranomaisien tahtolta olivat vahvasti esillä. UNHCR:n palveluksessa olleet toisen maan viranomaiset kohtelivat kuitenkin paremmin kuin muissa tehtävissä toimineet viranomaiset. Tämä antoi luottamusta siihen, että pakolaisia vastaanottavien valtioiden ylläpitämisissä organisaatioissa viranomaiset eivät kohtelisi huonosti. Luottamus oli olemassa

kolmanteen maahan tultaessa ja se on säilynyt kerrontahetkeen asti.

Siellä ei ole sosiaaliturvaa, pitää kerjätä tai mennä töihin tai tappaa itsensä, muuta vaihtoehtoa ei ole. Meitä kohdeltiin kuin eläintä, haukuttiin huonoilla sanoilla ja hoidettiin viimeisenä asiaa (...). Heti lentokentällä ajatukset menivät ylösalaisin. Heti lentokentällä näki, miten hyvin suhtauduttiin ja luottamus oli heti sen takia. Lentokentällä osasin arvostaa tätä hetkeä, koska tiesin, että täällä voin olla ihminen. (...) Muistan, se oli ihan kun maan ja taivaan ero. Viranomaiset, jotka ovat kohdanneet minua siinä maassa ja Suomessa, minä olen ymmärtänyt, että olenko minä näkemässä unta, minä pistin itseäni monta kertaa, että olenko minä näkemässä unta, olenko minun sängyssä vai olenko Suomessa jonkun viranomaisen edessä puhumassa jostakin asiasta.

Näissä kertomuksissa kuvattiin paljon kontakteja viranomaisiin sekä asiakkaana että myöhemmin yhteistyökumppanina. Kontaktit olivat suoria ja pitkäaikaisia ja niissä syntyi kokemus autetuksi tulemisesta. Tärkeä luottamusta synnyttävä tekijä oli se, että sai purkaa pois sydäimestä sen, mitä siellä painoi. Tällöin mainittiin taustojen huomiointi ottaminen, kuunteleminen sekä se, että ylipäättänsä otettiin huomioon. Tasa-arvoinen kohtelu nostettiin esille tärkeäksi luottamusta herättäväksi tekijäksi erityisesti halveksitun vähemmistön kertomuksissa. Hyvä, yksilöllinen ja lakien mukainen kohtelu nousi esille korjaavana ja luottamusta ylläpitävänä kokemuksena, koska toisessa maassa pakolaisten asiat hoidettiin viimeisenä tai ei hoidettu lainkaan.

Kun tehdään lain mukaan ja siksi jokainen saa tarpeen mukaan, ei niin, että joku toisesta etnisestä ryhmästä saa enemmän eli työntekijä on hoitanut hommansa.

Asioiden sujuminen verrattuna aiempaan oli myös merkittävä luottamusta herättävä kokemus. Luottamus työntekijöihin kasvoi myös, mikäli työntekijä myönsi virheensä ja korjasi sen. Virheiden korjaaminen jopa häkellyttävänä kokemuksena näkyy seuraavassa sitaatissa:

Jopa tuli sellainen tilannekin, että (sosiaalityöntekijälle) tuli pieniä virheitä, mutta niitä on korjattu ja pyydetty anteeksi. Välillä tulee sellainen olo, että ovatko he lainanneet meidän isoisaiselta ne rahat, että me käydään pyytämässä, että antakaa meidän isoisaisän rahat takaisin, uskomatonta.

Luottavaisuutta kuvattiin myös siten, että saman uskonnon ja kulttuurin viranomaiset kohtelivat huonosti, eivät pitäneet ihmisinä, mutta uudessa maassa viranomaiset ymmärsivät paremmin kuin "omat". Tämä nousi esille vähemmistökulttuurin edustajien kertomuksissa.

Toisissa luottamuskertomuksissa syntyi pohdinnan jälkeen ajatus siitä, että tänne tullaan asettumaan, koska tämä järjestelmä voi auttaa omissa tavoitteissa. Näissäkin kertomuksissa alkuaika oli mennyt ilman suuria vaikeuksia, mutkattomasti ja luottamus viranomaisiin oli ollut koko ajan olemassa. Näiden kertomusten ero "taivaaseen tipahtamiskertomuksiin" on siinä, että suhde viranomaisiin oli muodollisempi ja etäisempi. Kysymys luottamuksesta on lähes hämmästyttävä herättävä, sillä kaikkihan on sujunut "normaalisti" ja omat asiat hoituivat "tavallisesti". Tärkeää näissä kertomuksissa olikin se, että ei tarvinnut huolehtia käytännön asioista, koska voi luottaa että käytännön apua sai ilman hankaluuksia tai viivytyksiä. Luottamusta ei kyseenalaistettu missään vaiheessa.

Tulon jälkeen kaikki asiat ovat menneet automaattisesti, ihan normaalia viranomaisten kanssa. Jos sosiaalityöntekijä ei auta, mitä silloin voi tehdä. (...)Tulon jälkeen istun ja mietin puoli vuotta ja ajattelen, jos saan

vastauksen yhteen toiveeseen, saan varmasti toiseen (...) Alussa kun ei ollut tietoa, siksi ymmärsin vasta vähän myöhemmin. Kun saa tietoa, voi ottaa kiinni ja rakentaa omaa juttua. Täytyy olla oma näkökulma ja silloin työntekijät auttavat. Kun minun toive on sata metriä, minä haluan tietää, kävelenkö vai ajan pyörällä. Jos oma näkökulma ei löydy, silloin tulee olo, tämä maa ei sovi minulle (...) Suomessa voi saada paljon tietoa laista, paperista, lehdestä. Se tarkoittaa, täällä systeemi on mennyt hyvin ja ihmiset ja viranomaiset haluavat yhdessä että systeemi ja ihmiset on sekoitettu ja se hieno malli, minulle se on hyvä kokemus.

Viranomaisten rooli omassa elämässä koettiin tärkeäksi, vaikka se on välillinen. Viranomaisia kutsuttiin tieksi, joka auttoi eteenpäin omassa asioissa. Metaforalla tarkoitettiin esimerkiksi sitä, että viranomainen on tutustuttanut suomalaisiin ja maahanmuuttajakollegoihin. Heiltä saatu tieto oman ammatin harjoittamisen mahdollisuuksista oli tärkeä eteenpäin vievä asia. Tiedon saanti eri muodoissa tästä yhteiskunnasta oli merkittävintä luottamusta herättävä asia.

Kotoutumisaikana oli päästy omaan ammattiin liittyvään työharjoitteluun tai saatu työtä kotoutumiskoulutuksen ohessa. Tausta kuvattiin siten, että "omassa maassa systeemi elää omaa elämää, siitä ei saa tietoa eikä siihen pysty vaikuttamaan". Lopputuloksena viranomaiset nähtiinkin kumppanuuden, ei asiakkuuden kautta, vaikka asiointi sosiaalitoimistossa jatkuisi. Lisäksi merkittävä luottamuksen herättäjä oli, että entiset asiakkaat voivat olla maahanmuuttajien vastaanotossa töissä. Merkityksellisintä luottamuksen säilymisessä oli, että elämä eteni omien toiveiden mukaan ja kiinnittyminen tulevaisuuteen Suomessa oli niin vahvaa, että "olisi valmis antamaan verta tämän yhteiskunnan puolesta." Kiitollisuuden kuvauksilla on todellisuus pohja, koska apua oli saatu ja edetty omia tavoitteita kohti.

Luottamuskertomus voi kuitenkin kääntyä myös toisenlaiseksi: Kolmannessa luottamuskertomustyyppissä alkuaikeiden mutkattomien ja runsaiden viranomaiskontaktien jälkeen lopputulos oli katkera ja taaksepäin katsova molempipuolisista ponnisteluista huolimatta. Alkuvuosi-avun hakemisen, hyvien palvelukokemusten ja omien käytännön asioiden hoitumisenkin jälkeinen tilanne voi kääntyä huonommaksi, mikäli omassa maassa sotatila aktivoituu tai jatkuu ja elämän täyttää entiseen kotimahan jääneistä omaisista huolehtiminen. Tähän voivat liittyä pitkät perheenyhdistämisprosessit, jotka estivät myös omaan kotoutumiseen keskittymistä. Jo maahan tultua tilanne omassa maassa voi vaatia kaiken huomion, minkä vuoksi informaatio voi olla "kuin paksun satukirjan kuuntelemista, jossa aikuisten aika menee hukkaan". Taustakokemuksista kuvattiin yhteiskunnan mielivaltaa, jota viranomaiset käyttivät ja näihin kokemuksiin palataan myös uudessa maassa. Vaikka järjestelmä tuo turvallisuutta ja pysyvyyttä, lopputuloksena syntyi epäluottamus yhteiskuntaa kohtaan, jonka symbolina ovat sosiaalityöntekijät. Alkuaikojen omista ja viranomaisten ponnisteluista huolimatta lopputulos on esimerkiksi seuraavanlainen:

Oman kokemuksen perusteella voi sanoa, että sosiaalityöntekijä on aika iso virkamies tai virkanainen, joka pystyy tekemään omia ratkaisuja aika omavaltaisesti. On todella vaikea selittää vakuuttavasti näitä asioita, kaikki riippuu vain työntekijästä. Mä väitän ainakin, että joka ikinen maahanmuuttaja, joka löytää jonkun työpaikan, se lähtee heti niin sanotulta sosiaaliluukulta, ei kukaan halua jäädä sinne. Antaako vai eikö anna, myöntääkö vai eikö myönnä, koska se järjestelmä on rasittaa itse, istut hakemassa, sinä mietit, saatko vai etkö saa, tulet takaisin, seuraava kuukausi sama. (...) On vielä paljon vaikeampia ja monimutkaisempia asioita kun perheenyhdistäminen. Nyt tilanne on vielä vaikeampi,

perhe on omassa maassa, on sota ja minä olen saman ongelman edessä.

Omaan maahan paluun ajatus oli keskeistä ja Suomi nähtiin välitilana itselle, vaikka esimerkiksi lapsille tämä maa on hyvä.

Ensimmäisissä ja toisissa luottamuskertomustyypeissä luottamus ja luottavaisuus resurssina vahvistuvat ja yleistyvät sekä suorien viranomaissuhteiden kautta että luottavaisuuden kokemuksina uuden yhteiskunnan palvelujärjestelmän antamista mahdollisuuksista. (Ilmonen 2005, 52.) Samoin uuden yhteiskunnan itselle tärkeisiin verkostoihin hakeuduttiin aktiivisesti ja tähän pyydettiin viranomaisapua. Yhteiskunnan palvelujärjestelmää osattiin käyttää maahantulon alkuaikeina riittävän informaation saamiseksi ja autetuksi tulemiseksi. Näin luottamus on toiminut resurssina uudessa maassa. Luottamuksen paikka on siirtynyt ennen uuden maan luottamuskokemuksia (Kaskisaari 2005, 264–265).

Kaikissa kertomuksissa alkuaikojen luottamuskokemukset eivät kuitenkaan johtaneet omien toiveiden suuntaiseen elämään. Esimerkiksi omien voimavarojen kiinnittyä muualle kielten oppiminen jäi vajaaksi ja lopputuloksena oli toimeentulotukiriippuvuus, joka koettiin raskaana ja nöyryyttävänä. Tulokseni ovat tältä osin samansuuntaisia kuin Kamalin (1997) tulokset ruotsalaisesta yhteiskunnasta, joka on hänen mukaansa asiakkaistanut (clientization) maahanmuuttajansa. Tällä hän tarkoittaa maahanmuuttajien pitkäaikaista riippuvuutta ruotsalaisesta hyvinvointivaltiosta, erityisesti sosiaalipalvelujärjestelmästä. Luottamuskertomusten lopputuloksissa on myös näitä kuvauksia. Luottamus ei yleistynyt alun luottamuskokemuksista huolimatta, koska myöhemmät kokemukset eivät sitä tue (Ilmonen 2005, 52). "Annettukin luottamus on olemassa vain niin kauan kuin sen kohde toimii luottamuksen mukaisesti" (Ilmonen & Jokinen 2002, 246).

Taistelukertomukset

Taistelukertomuksissa on sekä korkeasti koulutettujen, luku- ja kirjoitustaidottomien, kidutettujen että pitkittyneitä sota- ja väkivaltakokemuksia kokeneiden kertomuksia. Näitä kerrottiin paitsi itsestä, myös runsaasti omien yhteisöjen jäsenistä. Yhteisenä taustoihin liittyvänä asiana oli taistelu hengissä selviämisestä joko sodan tai välivallan jaloissa tai riippuvuutena ympäristön avusta. Suomeen tulon jälkeen kertomuksille on yhteistä avoimet ristiriidat viranomaisten kanssa maahantulon alkuvuosina, ei välttämättä aivan alkuvaiheessa. Järjestelmää arvosteltiin myös epäoikeudenmukaisena ja omia pyrkimyksiä estävänä. Ristiriidat kuvattiin joko taisteluna itsenäisyydestä tai viranomaisista riippuvuuden välttelyä.

Itsenäisyydestä taistelujen taustalla oli käytännön asioihin liittynyt riippuvuus ympäristöstä, kuten suvusta ja naapureiden hyväntahtoisuudesta omassa ja toisessa maassa. Omaa elämää ei voitu rakentaa perheestä kannettavan vastuun takia. Elämää kuvattiin jokapäiväisenä hengissä pysymisenä. Ainoa ulospääsy tilanteesta oli yrittää päästä maasta pois YK:n avulla, koska toinen maa ei tarjonnut asettumisen mahdollisuuksia. Omia haaveita sekä sisäistä voimaa asioiden hoitoon oli, jota kuvastaa seuraava lausahdus: ”Minä taistelin ihan hirveästi YK:n kanssa ja päästiin Suomeen, Suomesta tuli enkeli ja pelasti kun minulla ei ollut rahaa ja oli sairas lapsi.” Tämä on tyypillisesti naisen tarina, jonka ympärillä ei ollut riittävästi tukea asioiden hoitamiseksi. Suomea kuvattiin lähtökohdiltaan unelmien täyttymisenä.

Maahantulon alkuaika koettiin helpotuksena, viranomaiskokemuksia oli runsaasti perheenjäsenten terveydentilan tai vammaisuuden sekä sosiaalisen tilanteen takia ja apua saatiin paljon. Ensimmäisten päivien helpotuksen jälkeen hoidettavia asioita oli hyvin runsaasti, voimavarat olivat rajalliset ja kaikki tuntui jälleen hallitsemat-

tomalta. Taustalla oli kokemus jatkuvasta hädän tunteesta.

Minusta tuntui, että minulla on oikea koti, kun minä olin toisessa maassa, ei ollut tunnin rauha. Aina joka päivä joku tuli, nyt palautetaan, istukaa kotona, ulkona poliisi ottaa kiinni ja tammöisiä, aina oli hätä. Minä ajattelin, että on hätätilanne aina. Rahaakaan ei uskaltanut käyttää, kun ajattelin, että tulee hätätilanne. Alussa oli paljon asioita ja ne menivät polvista pois (...) Ei ollut työntekijän vika, oli minun vika, en ymmärtänyt kieltä ja lakia. Sosiaalityöntekijä ei tiennyt, mitä minä tarvitsin ja minä itsekään en tiennyt. Kestää kun ymmärtää. Työntekijät ovat auttaneet minua tosi paljon, joskus minä tappelin heidän kanssa tosi paljon, mutta vika oli minussa, minä en vielä ymmärtänyt.

Elämää hätätilanteessa kuvattiin selviytymistaisteluna. Näissä kertomuksissa omia reaktioita kuvattiin vahvasti tietämättömyydeksi ja kielen osaamattomuudeksi. Tietämättömyyttä kuvaa hyvin se, ettei itsekään voinut tietää, mitä tarvitsi. Merkittäväksi luottamusta herättäväksi kokemukseksi nostettiin se, että ”kun minä riitelin, työntekijä vain hymyili”. Kohteluun liittyi myös se, että kun alkuaikoina ei jaksanut hoitaa omia asioita, sosiaalityöntekijä piti niistä huolen ja asiat hoituiivat. Myöhemmin merkittäväksi luottavaisuuskokemukseksi nousi sen ymmärtäminen, että ”täällä valtio on olkapää”, ympäristöstä ei tarvinnut olla riippuvainen ja apua oli saatavilla. Sosiaaliturva takasi, että ei tarvinnut ”kerjätä apua” naapureilta eikä suvulta ja voi toteuttaa omia tavoitteita. Lisäksi luottamusta herätti se, että täällä suomalaisetkaan eivät riko lakia ja että täällä ”laki toimii kirjan kanssa, ei rahan kanssa” eli viranomaisia ei tarvinnut lahjoa. Tämä selitti myös hädän siitä, että rahaa ei uskallettu käyttää alkuvaiheessa. Näissä kertomuksissa yhteiskunnallisten instituutioiden toimintatapa edesauttoi luottamuksen muodostumisesta. Offen (1999,

69–722) mukaan puhutaan luottamuskulttuuria tukevista instituutioista, mikäli näiden instituutioiden edustajat toimivat moraalisesti oikein.

Menneisyys näkyi siten, että taistelu liittyi hädän tunteeseen ja itsemääräämisoikeuden puolustamiseen myös uudessa maassa. Kova hengissä selviämisen taistelu palkittiin, kun järjestelmä tarjosi sosiaaliturvan ja avun muodossa olkapään, johon nojaamalla aktiivinen toimijuus mahdollistui. Elämän käänneet näkyivät ”uudelleen syntymisen” kokemuksena Suomeen, jonka kulmakivenä oli kielen ja järjestelmän oppiminen. Tätä kuvasti vahva vertaus: ”enkeli pelasti vapauteen suomalaisen viranomaisen muodossa”.

Toisenlaisissa taistelukertomuksissa kuvattiin viranomaisista riippuvuuden välttelyä, mutta kontaktit uudessa elämäntilanteessa olivat välttämättömiä. Taistelu omista oikeuksista oli keskeistä ja vaikeutena oli uuden yhteiskunnan hahmottomuus. Myös kulttuuriset seikat nousivat esille kommunikoinnin vaikeutena. Vaikeana kuvattiin esimerkiksi miehen omasta elämästä kertomista naistyöntekijälle. Oikeustaistelut voivat toisaalta olla kulttuurisia tapoja ”käydä kauppaa” etuuksista, työntekijän ajasta tai asioiden hoidosta:

Minä olen nähnyt, että he haluavat kaiken, muuten hän ei lähde pois teidän luukulta, kaikki asiat pitää selittää, se on kauppa, se on kuin elintarvike ja hän on ostamassa.

Näissä kertomuksissa puhuttiin sekä luottamuksen puutteesta viranomaisiin että luottavaisuuden puutteesta järjestelmään, jotka molemmat olivat taistelujen kohteena. Kontakti työntekijään oli yleensä ohut ja aktivoitui silloin, kun jotain tarvittiin. Ainoastaan ajan ja konkreettisten asioiden sujumisesta saadun avun sanottiin auttavan luottamuksen synnyssä. Ajan myötä tieto omien asioiden hoitamiseksi kasvaa ja riippuvuus viranomaisista vähenee. Osassa kuvauksia kontakti viranomaisiin jäi hyvin ohueksi

ja negatiivinen asenne vallitsevaksi. Sekä luottamus viranomaisiin että luottavaisuus yhteiskunnan palvelujärjestelmään ja sen itselle tarjoamiin omien tavoitteiden mukaisiin mahdollisuuksiin jäi puuttumaan, esimerkiksi työllistymisen epäonnistuesssa. Se synnytti nöyryyttävän riippuvuuden kokemuksen viimesijaisesta toimeentuloturvasta ja sosiaalityöntekijöistä. Menneisyyden kokemukset eivät myöskään tue luottamusta uusissa olosuhteissa, ja vasta pitkäaikaiset primäärit kontaktit synnyttivät luottamusta ja positiiviset toistuvat institutionaalisten kokemukset luottavaisuutta järjestelmää kohtaan (Ilmonen 2005, 52).

Vetäytymiskertomukset

Vetäytymiskertomuksissa viranomaisten luo hauduttiin ainoastaan pakollisten asioiden hoitamiseksi eikä heiltä pyydetty aktiivisesti apua tai kysytty neuvoja. Vetäytymisellä tarkoitan viranomaisesta välttelyä, mutta se voi olla myös läheisen suhteen välttelyä, vaikka viranomaiskontakteja olisi paljon esimerkiksi perheenjäsenten terveydentilan tai sosiaalisesti vaikean tilanteen takia. Näiden kertomusten taustalla oli vaikeita omaan ruumiiseen liittyviä kidutuksen tai väkivallan kokemuksia, pakolaisleireillä asumista ja yksin selviytymistä. Kiduttaja, raiskaaja tai muun väkivallan tekijä oli usein myös viranomainen. Tyypillistä oli myös se, että käsitykset ja kokemukset viranomaisista liittyivät lähinnä poliisiin, muista viranomaisista tai auttamisjärjestelmistä ei juuri tiedetty. Menneisyyden viranomaiskokemuksia sävytti pelko, alistuminen ja maksamalla selviytyminen.

Maahantulon alkuvaiheen viranomaiskokemukset jäivät hyvin pinnallisiksi ja vähäisiksi eikä heiltä pyydetty apua kuin pakon edessä. Kuitenkin käytännön asioiden kuvattiin sujuneen helposti aikaisempiin kokemuksiin verrattuna. Normaalit tulovaiheen rutiinit käytiin läpi ja apua saatiin,

mutta silti kerronta alkuajan raskaudesta ja avun puutteesta oli keskeistä.

Viranomaiseen pakolaisen on tosi vaikea luottaa. Sinä et voi luottaa suoraan. Sinä et tiedä, kuka hän on (...) Meidän paikassa me ei voida luottaa poliisiin. Meidän paikassa ei ole mitään sosiaalijuttuja ei ole tämmöistä systeemiä. Kun päästään tänne, mikä on sosiaalitoimisto ja kaikki tämmöinen, me ajatellaan, kaikki on sama kuin poliisi (...) Minulle soitettiin, huomenna minä menen poliisille, en tiedä miksi. Onko minulla jokin ongelma, olenko minä tehnyt jotain väärin. He eivät voi tietää, mitä on tapahtunut tai he tietävät, mutta kaikilla on oma kokemus.

Pelon kuvattiin nousevan menneisyyden kokemuksista ja uuden yhteiskunnan palvelujärjestelmä ja viranomaisten auttamispyrkimykset hahmottuivat vasta pitkän ajan myötä. Viranomaisen ajatuksista oli tiedettävä, ennen kuin häneen voidaan luottaa. Tämä edellyttää kommunikoinnin vastavuoroisuutta, jonka puutetta kuvattiin kertomuksissa siten, että "suoraan viranomaiseen ei voi luottaa koskaan". Vasta välittömät, pitkän ajan myötä toistuvat myönteiset kontaktit synnyttivät luottamusta.

Luottamuksen rakentumista vaikeutti myös se, että viranomaiselle ei voi kertoa suoraan, mikäli ei ymmärrä esimerkiksi käytännön asioihin liittyvää informaatiota, koska viranomaisen auktoriteettia ei haluta kyseenalaistaa. Pakolainen ei voi esimerkiksi sanoa, ettei ymmärrä viranomaista, "se on tosi huonosti sanottu". Toisaalta avun pyytämistä pelättiin, koska ongelmista kertominen voitiin tulkita viranomaisten taholta hyödyn tavoitteluna, "viranomaisesta ei saa hyötyä". Näissä yhteyksissä puhuttiin korruptiosta omista tai toisissa maissa. Lisäksi vetäytymissyys kuvattiin viranomaisia kohtaan tunnettua kunnioitusta ja ujostelua.

Luottamuksesta puhuttaessa mainittiin usein uskonnolliset ryhmät ja kirkot, joista apua oli tullut. Etukäteiskokemus on, että niihin voi luottaa "tuttuuden" takia, kun taas viranomaisista ei tiedetä, keitä he ovat. Tällöin kyseessä on yleistynyttä luottamusta jaetun arvomaailman takia (Ilmonen 2005, 53).

He rukoilevat ja minä voin kertoa heille mikä on minun tilanne, ja on joku mihin voi luottaa, pitää olla ihmisiä sama kuin kaveri, johon voi luottaa ja hän auttaa. Se mitä on täällä (näyttää sydäntä), se jää muuten sinne ja sitten se aina vaikuttaa.

Uskonnon merkitystä kuvataan erityisesti yhteisöllisen kuulumisen tunteen kautta. Samoin "omaa yhteisöä" kaivataan samasta kulttuurista tulevista henkilöistä, joita asui maahantulohetkellä vähän samassa kaupungissa.

Uudet ovat onnekkaita, koska me olemme täällä. (...) Oli tosi vaikea saada apua, kun ei ollut kavereita, ei löydy meidän maalaisia. Me vain autoimme itseä. Myöhemmin löytyi maahanmuuttajanaapuri, joka auttoi.

Osassa näitä kertomuksia kuvataan myös vaikeuksia omista yhteisöissä ja perheissä. Tällöin tärkein viiteryhmä löytyy suomalaisista, jotka vievät elämässä eteenpäin. Merkittävin käänne Suomessa oloaikana oli itsenäistyminen omaan perheeseen ja yhteisöön nähden, mikä toi paljon iloa ja taloudellista itsenäisyyttä.

Vetäytymiskertomuksissa käytettiin luottamusketjua ja yleistynyttä luottamusta (Ilmonen 2005, 51–53) omaan etniseen ryhmään tai muihin samoilta alueilta tulleisiin maahanmuuttajiin. Yleistynyt luottamus näkyi myös omaa uskonnollista ryhmää kohtaan. Luottamus yleistyi myöhemmin viranomaisia kohtaan, pelot ja arkuus väistyivät ajan myötä. Näissä kertomuksissa mainittiin merkittävimmiin yhteiskuntaan

perehdyttäjäiksi muut kuin viranomaiset ja heihin myös luotettiin.

Vetäytyjien kohdalla luottamukseen liittyvät kerronnalliset käännteet tapahtuivat vain pitkän ajan kuluessa, kun menneisyyteen liittyvistä vaikeista kokemuksista nouseva paha olo helpottui tuttujen viiteryhmiensä kautta. Luottamusketju eli luottamuksen ylläpitämä sosiaalisten suhteitten verkosto, yleistynyt luottamus (Ilmonen 2005, 52) ja positiiviset institutionaaliset kokemukset lisäsivät sosiaalista pääomaa siten, että avun saaminen mahdollistui ja syntyi halu toimia itse auttajana erilaisissa sosiaalisissa verkostoissa.

Liittoutumiskertomukset

Liittoutumiskertomuksissa maahantulon alkuaikaa värittää joko kokonaisvaltainen liittoutuminen viranomaisten kanssa tai tilanteittainen liittoutuminen yksittäisten asioiden ajamiseksi. Näiden kertomusten lähtökohdat paikantuvat sekä pakolaisleireille että kaupunkeihin.

Kertomukset liittyivät henkilöihin, joilla oli symbolista pääomaa vaikutusvaltaisen aseman muodossa omista maissa tai pakolaisleirillä. Osa heistä oli pystynyt vaikuttamaan asioihin toimimalla viranomaisten kanssa tai ollen itse viranomaisia. Taustalla kuvattiin myös hengissä säilymisen kamppailuja omista maista pakojen aikana, kuten ”joka päivä me uskoimme, että ei eletä huomiseen”. Hengissä säilyminen oli kiinni siitä, että osasi toimia yhteistyössä valtaa pitävän ryhmän kanssa. Hengissä selvitettiin maksamalla tai luovuttamalla tietoa oman ryhmän jäsenistä. Symbolinen pääoma menneisyydessä tarjosi yhteisön resursseja, mikä näkyi toimijuuden tasolla viranomaisiin samaistumisena uudessa yhteiskunnassa.

Jos sinulla oli rahaa, pystyit vaikuttamaan viranomaisiin, jos ei ollut rahaa, ei ollut ihmisiä paljon takana. Kun me tultiin tänne, me

ajateltiin samalla tavalla, se oli vähän vaikeaa. Me ajateltiin, että jos sinä olet viranomaisen kanssa, säkin olet niin kuin viranomainen ja voit vaikuttaa. Ihmiset ajattelevat, että jos sinä menet toimistoon ja olet siellä puoli tuntia, ahaa sinä olet nyt erilainen, he pelkäävät, että nyt ei pysty kertomaan kaikkia asioita sinulle. (...) Alussa minä sanoin tulkille, että muista meitä, mutta tulkki sanoi, että hän (sosiaalityöntekijä) on teidän viranomainen. (...) Pitää puheessa arvioida, minkälainen tämä on. Meillä sanotaan, jumala ja tämmöistä ja täällä ei ole, minä en tiedä, millä tavalla sinä uskot minua, onko itkemällä, nauramalla, jumalalla. Pitää olla joku keino, mutta teillä joku sanoo, minä tulen, se tarkoittaa sitä.

Viranomaisten kanssa liittouduttiin ajatellen, että se oli keino saada omia asioita eteenpäin. Liittoutuminen tapahtui tuttavaksi ryhtymällä tai yrittämällä vakuuttaa viranomainen eri tavoin. Valtaapitävien henkilöiden tunteminen ja heidän kanssaan liittoutuminen oli hengissä säilymisen keino, mikä näkyi jatkumona Suomeen tulon jälkeen. Asiaa kuvattiin myös päinvastoin siten, että viranomaisen täytyi oppia tuntemaan minut, että hän voi ymmärtää, mitä minä tarvitsen. Vastaanottavat viranomaiset kuvattiin tärkeiksi itselle, ja kontakteja saattoi olla paljon käytännön asioiden hoitamiseksi.

Käänteentekevä asia tapahtui ajan myötä suorien kontaktien kautta käytännön asioissa. Lopputuloksena oli luottamus viranomaisiin ja heidän näkeminen yhteistyökumppaneina. Näissä kertomuksissa sekä luottamus että luottavaisuus syntyivät pitkässä oppimisprosessissa, joka edellytti paljon kontakteja ja avun saamisen kokemuksia. Sosiaalinen ja symbolinen pääoma taustalla vaikutti siihen, että niitä pyrittiin myös hankkimaan uusissa olosuhteissa. Liittoutumiskäytännöt muuttuivat keskinäisen tutustumisen myötä sosiaalisiksi pääomaksi primääreissä

suhteissa viranomaisten kanssa (Ilmonen 2005, 52).

Riippuvaisuuskertomukset

Lähes kaikissa kertomuksissa tuli esille maahan-tulon alkuaikoihin sijoittuvia riippuvaisuuden kokemuksia. Erotan kuitenkin riippuvaisuuskertomukset omaksi tyyppikseen, koska niissä riippuvaisuus liittyy lähes kaikkeen omien asioiden hoitamiseen. Esimerkiksi luku- ja kirjoitustaidottomuuden takia viranomaisten rooli laajeni myös perhe- tai sukuyhteisön asioiden hoitoon. Ero muihin kertomuksiin on myös siinä, että niissä alusta alkaen on pyrkimys oppia hoitamaan omat asiat itse. Kertomukset liittyivät heikosti koulutettuihin, yleensä luku- ja kirjoitustaidottomiin, jotka olivat eläneet tiiviissä perhe- tai sukuyhteisöissä.

Taustoista nousi esille, kuinka entisissä kotimaisissa oli totuttu asioiden hoitamiseen yhteisön ja perheen selkeän sisäisen roolijaon kautta, mikä perustui riippuvaisuuteen yhteisöstä. Perhe ja muu yhteisö olivat kuitenkin hajonneet pakolaisuuden seurauksena yleensä miesten tai pääasiallisten perheen huoltajien katoamisen, kuoleman tai toiseen maahan jäämisen takia.

Uuteen maahan tuloa kuvattiin hämmentäväksi kokemukseksi, jossa omat aiemmat roolit eivät päde: "Nyt hänen pikkulapsi kävelee edeltä työvoimatoimistoon vaikka aikaisemmin hän oli perheen kassanhoitaja." Yksilöllisiä tavoitteita kotoutumiseen uudessa yhteiskunnassa oli vaikea hahmottaa ja tavoitteet liittyivätkin perheeseen ja sukuun, joka voi olla hajallaan eri maissa. Hämmennystä palvelujen kohtaamattomuudesta kuvasivat seuraavat esimerkit:

Ihminen ei itse tiedä, mitä hän tarvitsee, siksi hän tarvitsee kaikkea. Tai: Hän on kuin lapsi, joka ei itke, miten sinä osaat antaa hänelle maitoa.

Viranomaisten kanssa vietettiin paljon aikaa ja käytännön arkiasioden hoitoon voitiin olla hyvinkin tyytyväisiä, vaikka luottamusta heihin ei silti saavutettu:

Kyllä me ollaan tyytyväisiä, miten meidän käytännön asiat menevät alussa, mutta meidän asioita ei hoideta.

"Asiat" liittyivät lähinnä pettymykseen perheen hyvinvointiin, kuten lasten kasvatukseen liittyvissä kysymyksissä silloin, kun oma käsitys ja viranomaisten tai palvelujärjestelmän näkemys ja sen tarjoamat keinot eivät kohtaa.

Luottavaisuuden puute kuvattiin siten, että järjestelmä "elää omaa elämää" eikä se vastaa omiin odotuksiin toivotulla tavalla. Tyypillistä luottamuksen puutetta kuvasi myös se, että samaa asiaa kysyttiin usealta eri työntekijältä tai saman asian tärkeyttä vakuutettiin useille eri työntekijöille kerta toisensa jälkeen. Suomalaisesta järjestelmästä nousevat perustelut, kuten laki, eivät riitä perusteluiksi esimerkiksi perheen yhdistämiseen liittyvien asioiden sujumattomuudelle. Jäljelle jää kysymys: miksi minua ei auteta?

Riippuvaisuuskertomusten erityistapauksia olivat ne, joissa läheisten perheenyhdistämisasiat eivät ole edenneet kaikesta mahdollisesta viranomaistyöstä huolimatta. Keskiössä olivat yhteisölliseen elämäntapaan tottuneet, vanhenevat pakolaiset, joiden lapset eivät ole turvassa. Luottavaisuutta yhteiskuntaa kohtaan ei pääse syntymään, koska se pitää perheenjäsenet erossa toisistaan. Lopputuloksena on pettymys tätä yhteiskuntaa kohtaan:

Tämä on oikeusvaltio, mutta minun perheen asioita ei hoideta.

Samalla oma kotoutuminen on jäänyt heikoksi kielen oppimisen tai itsenäisen selviytymisen osalta. Näissä kertomuksissa kuvattiin jopa, että olisi parempi olla koko perheen kanssa vanhas-

sa tilanteessa kuin osan kanssa täällä. Täällä olevan muun perheen kotoutuminen voitiin nähdä jopa negatiivisena siten, että heidän ja toisessa maassa olevien perheenjäsenten kärsimystä ei ymmärretä riittävästi. Asettumisen vaikeutta kuvattiin seuraavasti:

Miten minä voin päästä eteenpäin kun vanhaa asiaa ei voi hoitaa pois ja se on aina edessä.

Nämä kuvaukset menevät päällekkäin liittoutumiskertomusten kanssa siltä osin, että oman asian tärkeyttä vakuutettiin ja viranomaisten kanssa liittouduttiin myös maahan tullessa, mutta erona on omien asioiden hoitoon liittyvä riippuvaisuus ja pyrkimys alussa jättää asiat kokonaan viranomaisten hoidettavaksi.

Lopputuloksena luottamus työntekijöihin ja luottavaisuus järjestelmään jäi ohueksi. Yhteistyö ajan myötä oli tilanteesta nousevaa pakkoa olla tekemisissä viranomaisten kanssa. Jäljelle jää riippuvaisuus viranomaisista ja lähiyhteisöstä, kuten omista lapsista. Taustalla oleva vähäinen sosiaalinen pääoma lähiyhteisön ulkopuolella sekä palvelujärjestelmän kohtaamattomuus synnyttivät toimijuuden tasolla riippuvuuden viranomaisista. Luottamus on lähinnä primääriä (Ilmonen 2005, 52), omaan yhteisön jäseniin kohdistuvaa, joka ei yleisty ei-toivottujen institutionaalisten kokemusten tuloksena oman yhteisön ulkopuolelle. Tämän kaltainen primääri luottamus tai luottamusketju ainoastaan oman yhteisön jäseniin ei lisää Ilmosen ja Jokisen (2002, 92) mukaan sosiaalista pääomaa, vaan pikemminkin sillä on vaarana kasvattaa eroa meihin ja muihin ja näin jopa heikentää sitä. Myös vahva kollektiivinen identiteetti tukee tätä jakoa. Rutiinien rakentamiseen suojaavaksi mekanismiksi tarvitaan paljon työtä ja aikaa, jonka jälkeen luottamus näyttäisi ainakin jossain

määrin olevan mahdollista. (mt., 98–99.) Toisaalta kollektiivisen, ulkoapäin normitetun ja vahvan roolijaon myötä toimijuuden muutoksen pakko on edessä uusissa olosuhteissa. Aktiivisen toimijuuden katoaminen kääntyy riippuvuudeksi viranomaisista. Mikäli ajatellaan Seligmanin (1997) tavoin, että luottamus kytkeytyy historiallisesti yksilöllistymiseen, yhteisöllisistä olosuhteista tulleille luottamuksen muodostuminen uutta ja tuntematonta yhteiskuntaa ja sen edustajia kohtaan on monimutkainen ilmiö, jota ei voi selittää ainoastaan ikävillä viranomaiskokemuksilla.

Johtopäätökset

Tyypittely ei tee oikeutta kertomusten moninaisuudelle, mutta tavoittaakseni aineiston yhteisiä piirteitä, olen jäsentänyt sen kuvattuihin viiteen kertomustyyppiin. Kokosin pakolaisten maahan-tulon jälkeiset viisi kertomustyyppiä pakolaisprosessin eri vaiheisiin (taulukko 2). Nimesin kertomustyytit maahantulovaiheen kokemusten mukaan, joihin tiivistyvät myös taustakokemukset. Kuvaan tarinoiden viranomaiskokemusten pääasiallisia sisältöjä pakolaisprosessille ennen maahantuloa, maahantulovaiheessa ja asettumisen ajalta. Maahantulovaiheessa näkyy se, miten kuvaukset viranomaisista aikaisemmissa elämänvaiheissa näkyvät uudessa maassa. Asettumisvaiheessa tulee esille, onko luottamus syntynyt tai olemassa ollut luottamus säilynyt, yleistynyt tai heikentynyt. Kuvaan luottamuksen rakentumisen merkittävimpiä tekijöitä taulukon viimeisessä sarakkeessa. Luottamuksessa tapahtuvat kerronnalliset käännteet kuvaavat luottamusta sosiaalisena rakenteena, koska luottamuksen syntykokemukset eivät sijoitu kerronnallisesti maahantulohetken kontakteihin, vaan ovat joko olemassa sitä ennen tai rakentuvat vuosien kuluessa.

Taulukko 2. Luottamuksen rakentuminen viranomaisiin maahantulovaiheen kategorioiden mukaan nimettynä.

	Ennen Suomeen tuloa	Suomeen tulovaihe	Asettuminen	Luottamuksen rakentuminen
Luottamus-kertomukset	Inhimillistä pääomaa kuten vahvat omat tavoitteet Toivo	Taivaaseen tipahtaminen Halu yhdessä ratkaista vaikeudet	Luottamus yleistyy tai Luottamus katoaa; riippuvaisuus viranomaisista	Yksilöllinen kohtelu taustojen ja toiveiden mukaan Inhimillisen ja sosiaalisen pääoman luominen
Taistelu-kertomukset	Kauhu-kokemukset (kidutus) Hätä Inhimillistä pääomaa	Riippuvuuden välttely Hätä	Luottamus syntyy; itsenäistyminen tai Luottamusta ei synny; Riippuvaisuus viranomaisista	Aika; riippuvuus vähenee Konkreettisten asioiden sujuminen Symbolisen pääoman luominen
Vetäytymis-kertomukset	Kauhu-kokemukset viranomaisten taholta Alistuminen	Pelko Kunnioitus	Luottamus syntyy	Aika; oppimisprosessi Luottamusketju Sosiaalisen pääoman luominen
Liittoutumis-kertomukset	Symbolista pääomaa, kuten vaikutusvaltaa	Kaveri Vakuuttaminen	Luottamus syntyy	Tutustuminen ja yhteistyö Symbolisen ja sosiaalisen pääoman luominen
Riippuvaisuus-kertomukset	Riippuvaisuus yhteisöstä	Riippuvaisuus viranomaisista ja/tai omasta yhteisöstä	Riippuvaisuus käytännön asioissa	Aika; yhteistyö Sosiaalisen pääoman luominen

Jos sosiaalista, inhimillistä tai symbolista pääomaa on ollut omassa maassa koulutuksena, erilaisten verkostojen jäsenyyksinä ja vaikutusvaltana, pyritään sitä myös saavuttamaan Suomessa. Mikäli aktiivinen toimijuus estyy riippuvuuden kokemuksina uudessa maassa tai omia resursseja ei tunnustettu tai tunnustettu, sosiaalinen pääoma heikkenee ja symbolinen pääoma jää muodostumatta. Tällöin myös luottamus jää syntymättä tai katoaa. Myös aiemmissa olosuhteissa saadun symbolisen pääoman toimimattomuus uusissa olosuhteissa rooli-dotusten muutosten myötä synnyttää riippuvuutta. Tällöin Kamalin (1997) väittämä yhteiskunnan taholta tapahtuvasta pakolaisten asiakkaistamisesta toteutuu sosiaalisen pääoman heikkenemisenä ja luottamuksen synnyn tai yleistymisen vaikeutena.

Luottamuksen yleistymisen yhteisesti jaetuiksi tavoitteiksi on tärkeää sosiaalisen pääoman lisääntymiseksi yhteisenä resurssina (Putnam 1993). Viranomaisten on luotettava pakolaisiin tunnistamalla ja tunnustamalla heidän resurssinsa niiden yhteiseen käyttöön saamiseksi. Riittävä apu rutiinien rakentamisessa, vaikeista taustoista toipumisesta ja perheen yhteiselämän mahdollistamisesta on tärkeää näiden resurssien käyttöön saamisen esteiden poistamisessa. Samalla on myös kasvatettava inhimillistä ja sosiaalista pääomaa institutionaalisissa suhteissa riittävien tietojen, taitojen ja tarpeellisten kontaktien muodossa. Luottamus voi myös yleistyä ja sosiaalinen pääoma lisääntyä maahanmuuttajien omaehtoisten verkostojen, kuten aiemmin tulleiden maahanmuuttajien ja uskonnollisten- tai kirkkojen jäsenyyksien kautta, mikäli nämä ryhmät ovat tarjonneet riittävää tukea ja apua maahantulovaiheessa (vrt. Korhonen 2006).

Tulokset osoittavat, että pakolaisten inhimillistä, sosiaalista ja symbolista pääomaa on rakennettava heti maahantulon alkuvaiheessa, muuten joko ennen maahantuloa tai maahantulon jälkeen saavutettu luottamus katoaa.

Viitteet

¹ UNHCR:n vastuulla on noin 20 miljoonaa pakolaista, joista pakolaisen statuksen saaneita on noin 12 miljoonaa. Vuonna 1951 Genevessä laaditussa yleissopimuksessa ja vuoden 1967 pöytäkirjassa pakolaisella tarkoitetaan henkilöä, jolla on "perusteltua aihetta pelätä joutuvansa vainotuksi rodun, uskonnon, kansallisuuden, tiettyyn yhteiskuntaryhmään kuulumisen tai poliittisen mielipiteen takia, joka oleskelee kotimaansa ulkopuolella ja on kykenemätön tai vainotuksi tulemisen pelon takia haluton turvautumaan kotimaansa suojaan". (Suomen pakolaisapu)

² Uuteen maahan kotoutumista ja työllistymistä ovat tutkineet esim. Ekholm (1994), Valtonen (1999), Forsander (2002), Tiilikainen (2003). Kaija Matinheikki-Kokko (1992 ja 1997) on tutkinut pakolaisten vastaanoton periaatteita kunnissa sekä monikulttuurisessa ympäristössä työskenteleyn haasteita. Viimeaikoina Sari Hammar-Suutari (2006) on tutkinut kulttuurisen monimuotoisuuden huomioimista viranomaistyössä (ks. myös Pitkänen & Kouki 1999). Riitta Järvisen (2004) väitöskirja käsittelee ammatillisen maahanmuuttajatyön kulttuuria sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon jäsenyksissä. Merja Anis (2008) on paneutunut tutkimuksessaan monikulttuuriseen lastensuojelutyöhön. Valtonen (1999) kirjoittaa myös monikulttuurisen sosiaalityön haasteista Suomessa. Laura Huttunen (2002) on tutkinut maahanmuuttajien omaelämäkerrallisia tekstejä, joissa tarkastellaan paikan, tilan, kodin ja kuulumisen merkityksiä risteävien globaalien suhteiden maailmassa. Marjaana Korhonen (2006) on tutkinut sosiaalista pääomaa maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa. Monikulttuurisuuteen liittyvää käsitteistöä ovat analysoineet esim. Lepola (2000) ja Rastas ym. (2005).

³ Tämä artikkeli pohjautuu sosiaalityön ammatilliseen liseniaatin tutkimukseeni (Turtiainen 2008).

⁴ Episodisen haastattelun lähtökohtana on tiedon käsitteen kaksi ulottuvuutta: Tietoa siitä, miten heidän elämänsä kietoutuu tutkittavaan ilmiöön sekä tietoa siitä, joka ilmentää kertojan reflektiivistä suhdetta ilmiöön ylipäätään. Kerätty aineisto voi siten ilmentää tilanne- ja episodimaista kokemustietoa yhdistettynä toiminnan konteksteista etäännytettyyn käsitteellisen tason argumentointiin. (Flick 2006, 181–182.)

Kirjallisuus

- Anis, Merja (2008) Sosiaalityö ja maahanmuuttajat. Lastensuojelun ja asiakkaiden vuorovaikutus ja tulkinnat. Väestötutkimuslaitoksen julkaisu D 47. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986) The Forms of Capital. In J.G Richardson ,(ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood Press, 241-258.
- Coleman, James S. (1990) Foundations of Social Theory. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dominelli, Lena (2004) Social Work. Theory and Practice for a Changing Profession. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ekholm, Elina (1994) Syrjäytyä vai selviytyä – pakolaisten elämää Suomessa. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön selvityksiä 9. Helsinki: STM.
- Flick, Uwe (2006) An Introduction to qualitative research. Third edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Forsander, Annika (2002) Luottamuksen ehdot. Maahanmuuttajat 1990 -luvun suomalaisilla työmarkkinoilla. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990) The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hammar - Suutari, Sari (2006) Kulttuurien välinen viranomaistyö. Työn valmiuksien ja yhdenvertaisen asiakaspalvelun kehittäminen. Työpoliittinen tutkimus. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Huttunen, Laura (2002) Kotona, maanpaossa, matkalla. Kodin merkitykset maahanmuuttajien omaelämäkerroissa. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Hyvärinen, Matti (2006) Kerronnallinen tutkimus. Saatavana: http://www.hyvarinen.info/material/Hyvarinen-Kerronnallinen_tutkimus.pdf Luettu 15.5.2009.
- Ilmonen, Kaj (2000) Sosiaalinen pääoma, käsite ja sen ongelmallisuus. Teoksessa Kaj Ilmonen (toim.) Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 9-38.
- Ilmonen Kaj (2005) Luottamuksen operationalisoinnista. Teoksessa Pertti Jokivuori (toim.) Sosiaalisen pääoman kentät. Jyväskylä: Minerva, 45–68.
- Ilmonen, Kaj & Jokinen, Kimmo (2002) Luottamus modernissa maailmassa. Jyväskylä: SoPhi.
- Jokinen, Arja & Suoninen, Eero (2000) Rikoksesta resurssi. Teoksessa Synnove Karvinen, Tarja Pösö & Miirja Satka (toim.) Sosiaalityön tutkimus. Metodologisia suuntauksia. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 207–237.
- Järvinen, Riitta (2004) Ammatillisen maahanmuuttotyön kulttuuri. Erilaisuus sosiaali- ja terveydenhuollon jäsenyksissä. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.
- Kamali, Masoud (1997) Distorted Integration. Clientization of Immigrants in Sweden. Multiethnic Papers. Uppsala University, Uppsala: Reprocentralen HSC.
- Kajanoja, Jouko (1998) Sosiaalinen pääoma. Yhteiskuntapolitiikka 63 (1), 36–49.
- Kaskisaari, Marja (2005) Luottamus sosiaalisena rakenteena. Näkökulmina työuupumus ja käsitteen feministinen kritiikki. Teoksessa Jokivuori, Pertti (toim.) Sosiaalisen pääoman kentät. Jyväskylä: Minerva, 256–269.
- Korhonen, Marjaana (2006) Discovering keys to the integration of immigrants: From human capital towards social capital. Alueellisen tutkimuksen kehittämisyksikkö. Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.
- Kotkavirta, Jussi (2000) Luottamus instituutioihin ja yksilöllinen hyvinvointi. Teoksessa Kaj Ilmonen (toim.) Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 55-68.
- Lepola, Outi (2000) Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi. Monikulttuurisuus, kansalaisuus ja suomalaisuus 1990-luvun maahanmuuttopoliittisessa keskustelussa. Helsinki: Suomalaisuuden kirjallisuuden seura.
- Luhmann, Niklas (1979) Trust and Power. New York: John Wiley.
- Matinheikki-Kokko, Kaija (1992) Pakolaiset kunnassa: kenen ehdoilla? Sosiaali- ja terveyshallitus, Helsinki: VAPK-kustannus.

- Matinheikki-Kokko, Kaija (1997) *Challenges of Working in Cross- Cultural Environment. Principles and Practice of Refugee Resettlement in Finland*. Jyväskylä Studies in education, psychology and social research 131. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Offe, Claus (1999) *How can we trust our fellow citizens?* Teoksessa , MWarren (toim.) *Democracy & Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1259-1319.
- Pentikäinen, Marja (2005) *Loputon matka. Vietnamlaisien ja somalialaisten kertomuksia pakolaisuudesta*. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Pitkänen, Pirkko & Kouki, Satu (1999) *Vieraiden kulttuurien kohtaaminen viranomaistyössä*. Helsinki: Edita.
- Potter, Jonathan (1996) *Representing Reality. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. Great Britain: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Putnam, Robert (1993) *Making democracy work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert (2000) *Bowling alone. The Collapse of Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Rastas, Anna & Huttunen, Laura & Löytty, Olli (2005) *Suomalainen vieraskirja - Kuinka käsitellä monikulttuurisuutta*. Jyväskylä: Vastapaino.
- Ruuskanen, Petri (2001) *Sosiaalinen pääoma – käsitteet, suuntaukset ja mekanismit*. VATT – tutkimuksia 81. Helsinki: Valtion taloudellinen tutkimuskeskus.
- Seligman, Adam (1997) *The Problem of Trust*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Simmel, Georg (1995) *Hur är samhället möjligt? – och andra esseär*. Göteborg: Korpen.
- Sztompka, Piotr (1999) *Trust. A Sociological Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Suomen pakolaisapu. Saatavana: http://www.pakolaisapu.fi/pakolaisinfo/yleistietoa_pakolaisuudesta.html Luettu 14.4.2009.
- Tiilikainen, Marja (2003) *Arjen Islam: somalialaisten elämää Suomessa*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Turtiainen, Kati (2008) *Kommunikointia uuden kynnyksellä – Luottamuksen rakentuminen kiintiöpakolaisten ja viranomaisten välillä*. Sosiaalityön lisensiaatin tutkielma. Yhteiskuntatieteen ja filosofian laitos. Jyväskylän yliopisto. (julkaisematon)
- Valtonen, Kathleen (1999) *Pakolaisten kotoutuminen Suomeen 1990 – luvulla*. Työhallinnon julkaisu nro: 228. Helsinki: Työministeriö.

II

RECOGNITION AND RECOGNITIVE ATTITUDES BETWEEN REFUGEES AND AUTHORITIES. A FINNISH EXAMPLE

by

Kati Turtiainen 2009

In: Vesna Leskosek (ed.) Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana, 149-161

Reproduced with kind permission by the publisher

Chapter 9

Recognition and Recognitive Attitudes between Refugees and Authorities: A Finnish Example

Kati Turtiainen

Introduction

Finland was among the first countries to host resettled refugees processed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Welcoming people based on international protection needs started in the 1970s, with a small group of Chilean refugees. Later, in the 1980s, Finland began accepting refugees from Vietnam. Systematic refugee resettlement began in the beginning of the 1990s; the annual quota is now 750 refugees. These resettled persons are known as quota refugees, and are the target group of this chapter.¹

Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as someone who has left his or her country or is unable or unwilling to return to it 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion'. Finland follows this refugee status criterion and the concept put forward in the Geneva Convention of 1951. This concept of the refugee, which differs from descriptions found in many other countries, will be used in this chapter. It is important to keep in mind that refugee resettlement programmes vary from country to country based on how they grant access to their country to people in need of international protection.



¹ Up to the end of 1980s, most of the immigrants coming to Finland were return migrants from Sweden or immigrants with family ties in Finland. By the middle of the 1970s, the total number of foreigners was only around 10,000. The situation changed radically during the 1990s, when the number of foreign citizens residing in Finland increased four-fold. The latest statistics, from the end of the year 2008, show a steady increase in the number of foreign citizens, which is now at about 140,000, 25,000 of which are quota refugees. However, the total percentage of foreign citizens is still low by European standards. Out of a population of 5 million, only 2 % are of foreign origin. Recently, the government immigration policy has taken more interest in work-related migration. Finland is being forced to solve the problem of an aging population and to secure the economic well-being of the country. The growing multiculturalism of Finnish society places increasing demands on the intercultural competence of members of the host culture in many areas of life, including the public sector (Brewis 2008, 18).

Migration has a dual character (Soydan 1998: 23–24): while it solves problems in certain instances, it generates problems in other contexts, both for individuals as well as in communities. In the global context, refugee resettlement is one of the available problem-solving mechanisms for refugee issues. Resettlement countries have adopted different approaches to the division of responsibility for the reception of resettled refugees. In some countries, the central government is the main player, whereas other countries employ a high degree of delegation to local and regional authorities. The latter model is found in the Scandinavian countries, where local municipalities are vested with wide administrative and budgetary powers (Ekholm et al. 2005). In Finland, the Ministry of the Interior is responsible for resettled refugees at the central government level. It covers the costs of reception incurred by the receiving municipalities in accordance with agreements between the government and individual municipalities. The resettlement of refugees in a given municipality therefore depends on the municipality's own political willingness.

Alongside humanitarian immigration, the central role of public sector authorities in the Scandinavian system provides another context for this article. In Finland, work for receiving refugees is based on The Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (493/1999, 280/2006), which specifies the responsibilities of various parties in integration work. In particular, the role of the municipal authorities and social workers is essential in the refugee receiving services. In practice, social work in refugee matters consists of the following main areas: counselling on social benefits and integration support measures; psychosocial support; child protection; community work and networking activities; providing information; and awareness-raising activities. The term 'social workers' will be used for those who engage in special social work practices; in all other cases, the term 'authorities' will be used.

Recognition of refugees will be considered through examples of resettlement as a problem-solving mechanism on the personal level. The key concept of this article is recognition, as defined by Axel Honneth (1995), who uses the concept to construct normative criteria for a good society. Another central author, Charles Taylor (1995), points out that getting recognition is a vital human need and the foundation for equal human relations. The definition of 'refugee' includes persecution, which often consists of forms of non-recognition such as psychological abuse, discrimination, humiliation, and disrespect on the part of the authorities in the countries from which refugees have escaped. According to Honneth (1995: 129, 2007: 136–139), non-recognition threatens physical and social integrity and dignity. Honneth's (1995: 92–131, 2007: 138–139) approach is based on the notion that the possibility of identity formation depends on the development of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem. These practical relations to the self are built in an inter-subjective process. Corresponding forms of recognition, love, respect and esteem also

exist in social reality.² Heikki Ikäheimo (2003: 128–135) clarifies Honneth's analysis by suggesting that the different attitudes of recognition correspond to different dimensions of the personhood of the recognised person: we love or care for people as singular beings; we respect people as autonomous and entitled to certain rights; and we esteem people for their particular qualities.

Refugees' past experiences of non-recognition by the authorities have an effect on the formation of trust towards the new society and its authorities.³ This notion has led me to look at the prerequisites of trust formation in the relationship between newly arrived refugees and public authorities. The concept of trust can be examined in terms of mutual relations of recognition (Kotkavirta 2000: 60–61). I understand the different types of recognition as a basis for the formation of trust towards the new society.

Recognition will be located and examined in the relationship between refugees and social workers, in light of the latter's key role as receiving workers in the Scandinavian model. The research discussed here focused on the early stages of the integration process in Finland. My first research task focused on the following question: What kinds of needs, traits, and rights are identified in the relationship between authorities and refugees? Needs that refugees *would have liked* to have recognised are also discussed, so it must be kept in mind that all the interviewees' needs weren't recognised following their arrival in Finland. My second task was to identify the prerequisites or the means of successful recognition in relationships between resettled refugees and authorities, especially social workers. This entails the identification of needs and prerequisites of successful recognition in my data using the forms of recognition described by Axel Honneth and the philosophers Heikki Ikäheimo and Arto Laitinen.

Identification, recognition and recognitive attitudes

Ikäheimo (2003: 137–144) proposes drawing a clear distinction between recognitive attitudes and recognition on the one hand and the social and institutional settings where recognition and/or mis-recognition may occur on



² Honneth (1995) sketches an approach similar to that of Hegel or George Herbert Mead, focusing on the importance of social relationships for the development and maintenance of a person's identity. This approach can be understood as a continuation of the Frankfurt School's attempt to locate the motivating insight for an emancipatory critique and struggle within the domain of ordinary human experience rather than in the revolutionary theory of intellectuals.

³ In a previous study (Turtiainen 2008), I examined trust and confidence between refugees and the host society from different perspectives. Trust is an important element of social capital which has an essential bearing on whether refugees become players or non-players in a new society (Dominelli 2008). The findings include four different types of stories: trust stories, conflict stories, withdrawal stories, and joined stories.

the other. The relationship between these is extremely complicated (Ikäheimo and Laitinen 2007: 42–43). In this article, the nexus of newly arrived refugees in Finland and their social workers and other authorities forms the social setting where recognitive attitudes are to be found. These social settings are heavily influenced by past experiences. Refugees experienced non-recognition at the hands of authorities during the refugee process. Also, the laws, regulations, and values of the new country influence the social settings.

Ikäheimo further (2003: 137–144, see also Ikäheimo and Laitinen 2007: 37–42) argues that it is important to distinguish between distinctly recognitive attitudes and the totality of attitudes instantiated in a given personal relationship. In line with Ikäheimo, I view recognition as a 'two way complex of attitudes', where attitudes are different ways of accepting another person as a person, which, to be exact, means respecting him/her, esteeming him/her and/or loving him/her. Here, 'love' means care for another person's well-being. Recognition is not a crude natural process, but something that is always already taking place for certain reasons: it consists of mutual attitudes involving judgements (*ibid.* 2003: 130). It is also important to understand the other part of the relationship as capable of making judgements about us.

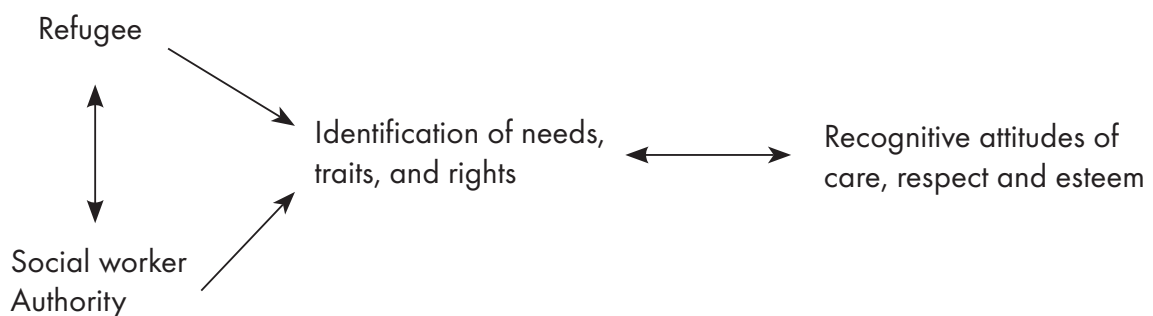
Ikäheimo and Laitinen (2007: 43–47) point out that one can easily be seriously mistaken about the recognitive attitudes of others towards himself/herself. By attitudes towards persons, they understand not only explicit opinions or views, but also implicit background attitudes that affect the ways in which we encounter others. Recognitive attitudes have an important role in the motivation of action: we can often read others' attitudes towards us in their actions. Conversely, Ikäheimo and Laitinen also point out that it is often important for a person to know that someone loves, respects or esteems him/her, *even if that other person has no way of acting on these attitudes*. Another important point is that people are easily prone to imagining or guessing others' attitudes towards them; this can sometimes lead to unnecessary conflicts or feelings of insult. For example, a service user might think that a social worker wields too much power, even if the social worker is in fact carefully respecting the client's rights. In such cases one cannot speak of a real lack of recognition because the social worker genuinely cares for the client's problems and respects the client's autonomy and the conditions which must be fulfilled to maintain it. In the 'dialogical' model of recognition that Ikäheimo and Laitinen support, recognition is a matter of real attitudes, and a merely imagined lack of recognition is not a genuine lack of recognition. Following Honneth, Ikäheimo and Laitinen, I stress the importance of a dialogical model of recognition. If one person in a given relationship does not have a positive attitude towards the other person, toleration may quickly set in. Toleration of another person without recognition means that the person in question is unwanted, but must be tolerated because nothing else can be done (Ikäheimo 2008: 27–28, see also Rainer Forst 2007: 215–237).

Many authors, such as Honneth and Taylor, use the terms 'recognition', 'identification', and 'acknowledgement' to describe roughly the same phenomenon⁴. I, on the other hand, draw a distinction between 'identification' and 'acknowledgement' in terms of building relations of recognition between refugees and authorities. Ikäheimo's (2003: 142–151) and Ikäheimo and Laitinen's (2007: 34–37) clarification serves as a base for my understanding of these concepts.

'Identification' is used as a synonym for recognition in the sense that one identifies things and persons as definite individuals having some particular feature(s). Identification can be external or internal (self-identification). Self-identification is never completely independent of qualitative identifications made by others. From the workers' perspective, identification can be seen as a proactive work approach (Valtonen 1999: 55). I understand identification as the complex process of the identification and self-identification of the needs or traits of refugees in the relationship between refugees and authorities. These needs or traits are those which refugees would like to get recognised. Furthermore, these needs or traits must be identified if recognition is to take place. However, identification is not enough if it does not lead to recognition.

'Acknowledgement' is used as a synonym for recognition in the case of norms, rules and so on. Through acknowledgement, things are construed, for example, as valid, good, genuine. I use the concept of acknowledgement when special rights are or should be recognised by the laws and regulations.

Figure 1. The process of recognition between refugees and authorities



Data and analysis

In my study, I looked for extracts from my data that would be applicable to the framework of Honneth's or Ikäheimo's theory of recognition and recognitive attitudes. I approached the data by asking the following questions: Firstly, what are the identified attributes of the interviewees? What was recognized,



⁴ Ikäheimo (2003: 141–151) analyzes Taylor's (1995) understanding of these concepts. He concludes that each of these concepts is a complicated phenomenon in its own right and that grasping their internal connection is a far from easy task.

or what did they want to get recognised in the mutual relationship with the authorities? Secondly, what are the prerequisites or tools for recognition by the social worker and the refugee?

My data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in Central Finland. I received the refugees' contact information from the immigrant services in one town. The interviewees represent a heterogenous group in terms of ethnicity, education, age and gender. Ethically, it is important that, at the time of the interviews, they were no longer users of the services to which the interviews pertained, and thus could speak freely about them. At the time of the interviews, they had been living in Finland for 4 to 13 years. Three refugees were interviewed with the help of an interpreter; the others were interviewed in Finnish. I translated the data from Finnish to English, which means that some informative details may have been lost in translation. The interviewees' own words are used to provide a better description of the examined phenomena.

The data was collected using episodic interviews (Flick 2006: 181–182), a format containing elements of both focused and narrative interviewing. Basically, I collected narratives about trust towards the authorities during the refugee process (escape from one's own country, living in a second country and resettling in a third country). The theme of trust was reconstructed during the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. In this chapter, I will use thematic analysis (Gubrium and Holstein 1997) to identify needs which refugees would like to get recognised and what is required of the refugees and of the authorities during the recognition process. I selected extracts concerning the phase of arrival in Finland because the research applies to the early stages of integration.

The data revealed 25 issues which refugees would like to get recognised. I classified this data by grouping the identified needs, rights, and traits of the interviewees under the concepts of autonomy, particularity, and singularity (Honneth 1995, see also Ikäheimo 2003). Because my aim was to collect accounts of successful relations of recognition, the accounts pertain to the requirements which must be met by authorities on the one hand and refugees on the other in order to make recognition possible. I left out accounts of negative experiences with authorities following arrival in Finland because my aim was to determine the prerequisites and tools needed for recognition. That's why it is necessary to keep in mind that the data presented here does not reveal the whole picture of what transpired between interviewees and authorities after arrival in Finland. When analysing the data, I was looking for extracts where refugees talked about helpful factors in their relation to social workers and other authorities after arrival in Finland. I was also looking for extracts containing suggestions of factors which they felt would have been helpful in their relation to authorities. In some of the data, the past represents a comparative contextualising factor; at the same time, it allows for greater

insight into the refugees' backgrounds. All the interviews are multi-voiced, which means that interviewees aren't speaking only about themselves, but also about other refugees and factors that could help them in their relation to authorities (Potter 1996: 142–143)⁵. Below, the findings of my analysis will be discussed under the headings of the recognitive attitudes of esteem, care, and respect. The analysis of esteem applies to refugees' particular qualities; care applies to a refugee's singularity as whole person; respect concerns refugees' autonomy as persons entitled to certain rights.

Information exchange and being esteemed

'Esteem' concerns persons as having particular abilities or achievements that may be understood as being of benefit to persons other than the esteemed person himself/herself (Ikäheimo 2003: 132). Refugees have education, training, and know-how which they can contribute to their new society. Education or skills are gained either before arrival in Finland or after resettlement. Refugees consider the exchange of information a central tool of esteem after resettlement in the new country. Authorities have to identify refugees' abilities and goals; refugees, in turn, have to learn about the possibilities open to them in the new circumstances. Without this, the recognition of abilities is not possible.

In the following extract, an occupation had already been learned and practised prior to arrival in Finland:

My background is media...and here I like to be active and if I am active I hope I get more job...Hope is very important. It gives a message to me that if I am active my life will be easier. If I want to run 100 meters I am asking here do I use car or is it better to walk?

There is the hope that, if a person actively displays his/her abilities, he/she will have his/her know-how identified. The validity of one's own goals and the means to achieve them are discussed in relations with the authorities. Before abilities can be identified, 'you have to know who I am and what do I want'. This identification takes place *in relation* to the authorities through negotiation and the exchange of information about refugees' abilities and the possibilities for their use in the new society.

'There are people they know the language really well but still they are unemployed...What can I do, I would like to be a carpenter, but still you need more language'.



⁵ Potter (1996: 142–143) uses the term 'footing' when a speaker is presenting some factual account as his/her own or distancing himself/herself from it. The notion of footing was developed by Ervin Goffman (1979).

'When I called there they asked where you come from and when I told they got quiet. But I am a driver...I thought, what the hell, he is not taking me to work because I am a Muslim woman. But I went there and they took me to practise this work...And then they saw what kind of person I am and now my employer sends me a Christmas card every year and all my co-workers like me'.

'...As a black woman I have to go there again and again and show that I can take care of my patients and they learn to trust me'.

According to these extracts, the abilities of the refugees need to be exhibited to the authorities or employers before they are identified. Employers question language skills, even when proper knowledge of the language is not needed to practise a profession. The fact that the persons have a different religion or skin colour than the majority population affected the identification of their professional skills. They are identified 'only' as immigrants having different features than the majority population.

These findings about the esteem of the immigrants' professional skills echo Annika Forsander's findings (2002, see also Valtonen 1999), which are also from the Finnish context. There is a lack of trust about immigrants' abilities, even if they are highly educated and know the Finnish language. According my data, they are not esteemed as professionals until they are able to show what they can do in practice.

The authorities' activity of delivering information is heavily stressed in my data. Information as a tool of esteem is underlined in different ways:

From my point of view my experience is important in the beginning when you come as a refugee what kind of view you have just in the beginning and what kind of knowledge in the beginning then you can change yourself and go faster forwards...You can start to build your own story immediately. But a person who has not any view like this year will study and later do something else, they can't go fast...You have to catch him/her and give him/her such successful stories. Such a good role model and its effects and in Finland you can go forward...If he/she has understood wrongly in the beginning. But if in the beginning you give good information he/she can decide by herself/himself and later cope up independently.

An immigrant needs explanation about laws, life. I needed to know that I should like to become an entrepreneur, how many those companies are in this area and does it make any sense to establish one more and what is needed any way...I come to talk to my social worker and she helped me by telling me contacts and booking me an interpreter because I would like to go forward in my occupation. If she is not helping me what can I do.

General information is not enough in relations with authorities. Fostering hope by sharing successful examples and positive role models is also a part of the exchange of information. The above examples highlight that decisions are made with an impression of what may be possible in the future. The motivation to learn activities and some professional skills must exist before such

information can be put to use. Knowledge about these goals and how refugees achieve them is a primary tool for professionals. Also, guidance in finding peers in a professional field is mentioned as an important issue. The role of the social worker is to provide information about social security and other laws, which improves the refugee's understanding of how this society functions and also makes it possible for him/her to identify his/her possibilities. The clarification of goals is a process constantly taking place between the immigrant and social workers.

While educated and active refugees are provided with information about possibilities in their relations with authorities, the abilities of refugees who are ageing or illiterate or who lack motivation or hope for various reasons also need to be esteemed, as the following example shows:

When they come here their role disappears. Before when they went shopping, children were behind them but now when they go to the labour office they are following their children. Before she was cashier in our house. I always think how they can live like that... They have to be esteemed also.

As noted above, this analysis focuses on successful relations of recognition. However, in the case of refugees whose abilities are not esteemed, the role of social workers and other authorities lies in the search for ways to facilitate the identification of these people's abilities as being of value to the new society or to the refugees themselves. Their know-how and past roles are not valid in the new society, and if their potential value to this society goes unidentified, they will not be esteemed. Holding such a person's abilities in esteem means finding ways for him/her to learn a new role in the new circumstances, one in which the abilities of the person would promote his/her well-being, even if they do not contribute to the good of others (Ikäheimo: 2003: 132). In finding a new role by acquiring new skills and finding ways in which past abilities can become valid, esteem comes close to respect for autonomy. If this is to occur, authorities must play a part.

A central finding of my study is that mutual activity is needed in the identification process if the refugee's abilities are to be esteemed. The exchange of information and various actions, such as changing professions, are a key tool for esteem; on the other hand, one cannot automatically assume that professional skills will be esteemed simply because a refugee has found employment: as noted above, employers take note of foreign features before professional skills.

Caring for a person as a whole

'Care' as a recognitive attitude means that authorities care for the well-being of refugees. Care is not shown for refugees as a result of their particular features or autonomy but, as Ikäheimo argues (2003: 131–132, see also Honneth

2005: 129), for their own sake, as singularities. Singularity implies a singular point of view or definite life horizon, encompassing hopes, fears, desires, interests, valuations etc. (*ibid.* 2003: 132). But here, these are not considered features of the individual; care concerns the person whose hopes and fears etc. they are. It concerns people as wholes, and not particular features. However, the authorities have to identify people's needs in order to gain knowledge about how to improve their well-being. In other words, authorities take care of a person's needs because they care about the person's well-being, regardless of what kind of person he/she is. This is a reason why the identification of the needs of refugees takes place in a mutual relation.

Here, I analyse the kinds of needs that are identified as taken care of following arrival in Finland, as well as the means used to fulfil these needs. Persons selected for resettlement in Finland are mainly among the most vulnerable of refugees – at risk woman, victims of torture, survivors of war. The refugee's background is revealed in the following extracts:

I must say that immediately at the airport my thoughts turned upside down. I felt that I am a human being not an animal, I felt here I have human rights, here I have human relationships, here I have love of the life, here people will understand me as a human being not like something different. I think even if I am an immigrant people will take me as a human being not as a different person. I felt they treat me as they treat their own children.

They were so warm people... They try to support us. They try to help us in different stage of life because they thought this place is culturally and geographically and religiously very different and they understand where we come from... Listening our stories it helped and then they tried to take our backgrounds into account and try to support us because we had so hard backgrounds. And what was the most important they gave a possibility to open up and relief what was in our hearts.

It was the main thing in the beginning that she (social worker) takes care of everything... It was very good in the beginning I did not need to take care of these bills because all information went out from my knees. I had so many other things to think about because I am a single mother.

These extracts show that refugees received support despite the fact that they belong to a minority group and, as refugees, had a difficult past. Support for persons with a background as members of a maltreated minority gives relief in and of itself. Also, ethnicity is recognised as a background factor in understanding individual customs and behaviour. The interviewees discussed ethnicity in two ways: on the one hand, as representatives of a maltreated ethnic group; on the other hand, as representatives of a certain culture who also possess cultural features as individuals. The latter is more applicable to discussions of rights; the former is identified as the possibility to feel safe despite one's belonging to a maltreated ethnic minority.

There are two kinds of approaches to 'caring' in terms of identifying the needs of refugees. Firstly, there are cases where refugees identify their needs and have the capacity to ask for support following arrival in Finland. Social workers are identified as persons who provide social, practical, and emotional support, which enables therapeutic elements in the relation to provide relief and healing from stressful and traumatic memories. Secondly, there are cases where time and different kinds of care are needed in a relation before refugees can identify either their needs or the authorities as care givers. Authorities have to prove their trustworthiness through care and valid support. Authorities have to actively search for different methods for building safety, and must also guide refugees to places where safety building is possible, such as peer groups. A proactive approach aimed at the early identification of difficult situations is especially important if larger problems are to be avoided in the future (Valtonen 2000: 162–163).

Following arrival in a new country, it is important to build safety by taking care of practical matters, especially in the case of refugees who have special needs, such as illiterate persons, single mothers, or people with serious illnesses. Authorities have to be aware of these features so that they can find valid ways to take care of the refugees' needs. Fluent routines provide safety, and building routines is an important means of taking care of a person. Because of the backgrounds of the refugees, giving signals that emotions and behaviour are accepted was also mentioned as an important tool of care.

'Tell them I am like a friend, ok not like a friend but you are there to help them like a friend. Everything has to be explained, why you are there'.

'Social worker takes care of this and that yes they did not leave us alone yes it affects really positively a lot that somebody pays attention to you'.

'It takes long time when you understand Finnish law and other things. But I managed because you guide and take care of all my practical things'.

Practical support for building routines and coping independently are stressed strongly in these extracts. In this regard, one interviewee's comment is quite telling: 'The only thing which is in my mind is where to find a tea pot'.

Emotional and practical support are an important way of taking care of the refugees in their new environment. Safety can be built little by little through a relationship where the social worker is active, and results in the person feeling that he/she is being taken care of.

'That therapy has a direct effect to these days. We could relief ourselves; it felt really good that somebody is interested how you feel and are you ok'.

Safety building through emotional, social, and practical support and by fostering feelings of acceptance in people acknowledged as having different and painful backgrounds is the main means of providing care. Expressions like 'love', 'warmth', 'like a friend', 'treated like their own children' refer to family or other close relationships. Honneth (1995: 129) in fact situates these kinds of

care and love in the family context. However, once we understand care as an attitude and as the opposite of a lack of concern and indifference towards the welfare or well-being of other people, it is easy to understand care as something that can also take place – and be expected – outside the realm of close personal relations (Ikäheimo 2003: 157–169, 2008: 22–23). Refugees often come from countries that don't have state or municipal social services. Their language might not even contain words for 'social services'. This is one reason why they use the vocabulary of close relations when describing these services. Not only the vocabulary, but also the provision of care and safety is taken over by the receiving workers and new networks because family or other close relations are not available. Care as a recognitive attitude is highly valid in social work with refugees, as revealed by accounts of these relations. The processes by which the needs of refugees are identified by the refugees themselves or by the authorities and suitable services for providing relief are built can start immediately after arrival in Finland or later, through the care relation.

Becoming a service user in a new society requires a capacity to know or to learn to know how to use services when in need. Building this capacity is a social work method. The following excerpt illustrates the results of a caring attitude in the case of a refugee with a very difficult background: 'I am very, very happy for that support I have got and I value it because here I can become a person that I have dreamt the whole of my life.'

Respect of independence

'Respect' as a recognitive attitude concerns persons' rights. Respecting rights has several aspects: firstly, rights concern a person, regardless of his/her autonomy or particular features. Secondly, people's rights should be respected as autonomous, that is, in spite of their varying degrees of autonomy. Thirdly, people have rights stemming from particular features, for example ethnicity or age (Ikäheimo 2003: 128–135). According to Ikäheimo, when personal relations are not present during the identification of these rights, the concept of acknowledgement is used in order to draw a distinction between relations to persons and relations to society or the state. I will begin by analysing aspects identified as being respected in terms of rights, and proceed with a consideration of what is needed to make respect possible in a relation between refugees and the host society or its authorities.

Refugees' backgrounds are contrasted to the host society when the latter respects the possibility for a refugee to continue his/her life without fear of being killed or persecuted, as shown in following example: 'Here even if you have only mattress but it is peace and peaceful how can you believe it'. Routines in the everyday life of Finnish women are described as a symbol of equality, which also reflects a background marked by a lack of respect: 'I go shopping and beside me a Finnish lady takes a same kind of shopping bag'.

These rights respect refugees without referring to any special features or autonomy. A seriously mentally disabled child is shown respect by being given the right to go to school and receive necessary treatment, regardless of her (lack of) capacity for autonomy:

'Everything went fine because my daughter got treatment and started school and that was the reason I could start my life here even if I am a woman and a single mother'.

While the child with learning difficulties herself is respected as a singularity, her mother's autonomy is also increased because the child is no longer totally dependent on her mother. The following extract describes autonomy, but also points out limitations:

The circumstances here are really better...I don't speak about work but if I speak about services, the services are good, everyday money is coming and it is many ways to get services through taxation. But economically it is difficult because we can't get work. I would like to improve my family's life economically, if I could plan my future not only food and cloths I claim that everybody wants to go out from the social office because it is stressful to wait if she grants anything or not.

In this case, the person could not find work, a situation which decreases his autonomy; even though he is entitled to social benefits, these only secure minimal economic autonomy and keep him dependent on his social worker. His degree of autonomy is not equal to that enjoyed by the majority if his immigrant background affects this particular lack of acknowledgement. For example, if an immigrant's skills are not esteemed because of an immigrant background, even though he/she is entitled to the same social benefits as the majority, it can't be said that he/she is a full member of society.

Respect as a person with particular features is also essential:

Because of this country I am understood as me. In my own country I have been disliked because of my ethnicity and my religion. But here I have been educated by your laws and you and helped a lot economically and mentally. Here even if we have different religion you give me a key to my flat and tell that this is your rights and this is your home.

If a civil servant understands what kind of position our ethnic group has in our country...There you are threatened as an animal because you belong to that ethnic group that why you have to tell in the beginning that here you are all equal.

It is bad if you don't know anything about my customs. Culture is general but a person is individual, it depends on the family. Here about 100 Kurdish people are living and all of them are different.

It was already noted that another feature that merits respect is that one is a woman and a single mother. Respect linked to these features allows refugees equal access to social benefits and support and freedom to practice their

religion and be treated equally. Finland has an Act of Equality (2004), which states that people must be granted equal access to services and receive equal treatment, regardless of their ethnicity, age etc.

The acknowledgement of equal rights takes place in the relation between refugees and legislation. One interviewee expressed this by saying that the 'state is my shoulder'. The identification of oneself as entitled to these rights takes place, on the one hand, without a personal relation and, on the other hand, in the relation between refugees and authorities. In the first case, legislation itself is a source of relief and allows a positive relation with representatives of the law such as social workers to emerge. In the second case, the essential content of the relation is the affirmation of rights and the negotiation of doubts about equality in the distribution of social benefits and in how refugees are treated by social workers. In the following example, the difference between past experiences and experiences in the new country is explained in terms of an understanding of the law:

'Here immigrants use word "why" because they think they are not equal and they are treated unequally...But here you see poor and rich people through the same eyes and you try to deal with everything equally...Here nobody takes money but they write an Act and goes forwards with it... There (in my country) gun is the law but here words are law, words have meanings. They come from the country where law does not mean anything. I tell that Finnish law is law and I live with it'.

Time and a great deal of explaining and experience of positive treatment are needed before rights, acts and regulations are identified and acknowledged by the refugees. The relationship between authorities and refugees is essential in fostering a positive attitude stemming from a realisation of the meaning of the law. An understanding of the laws and of one's rights and duties through a positive experience is needed before acknowledgement of laws can take place.

Independency is stressed in all the relations of respect because refugees' rights are generally improved compared to their previous situation. Refugees usually did not have any rights in their countries of origin; even in the country to which they escaped, their right to stay has, in most cases, been violated. Resettlement solves the problems of refugees once they are respected, for example, as a woman, as a single mother, as having a special culture and religion. They are no longer dependent on those at whose hands they have suffered abuse, and respect is a key factor in this. Refugees mention entitlement to social security as generally improving their life, but also as a constraint to their autonomy in cases where it is their only source of income.

Conclusions

The resettlement of refugees as a problem-solving mechanism for humanitarian migration requires recognition in all its forms. The attitudes of esteem,

respect, and care are interrelated. The identification process in a mutual relation is holistic in terms of rights, traits, and needs. A time-intensive relation and sensitivity to the identification of the person's needs, skills, education, and rights is essential in the process of recognition. Especially in the case of respect and care, the active involvement and sensitivity of authorities is needed to identify the needs of refugees before mutual recognition is possible. Some dimension of the personality may stand out, and be the first to be recognised, with other dimensions following. For example, care as a recognitive attitude later allows skills to become visible and potentially esteemed in the new society (in contrast, mere passive tolerance of another person does not provide any kind of basis for equal relations). For example, a single mother's rights are respected by giving her social security, and her child with learning disabilities is respected by being allowed to attend school. As an illiterate mother with several children, she cannot cope with practical matters and is taken care of by social workers and other authorities. Later, she learns a new profession and is esteemed as having employment.

A refugee background provides a special backdrop for recognitive attitudes. Persecution because of particular features such as ethnicity leads to humiliation and the violation of rights. A refugee background is most emphasised in relations where safety and rights are essential. Gender appears mainly in relations of safety and respect. In the case of at risk women, gender is a key factor in resettlement. Care is important due to a difficult background and/or a lack of family or other close relations in the new country.

Honneth's theory of relations of recognition and Ikäheimo's analysis of recognitive attitudes are equally represented in my data. It is important to keep in mind that the extracts contain not only accounts of actual events, but also suggestions for improvements in receiving work. Studies of refugee receiving in Finland and other multicultural work studies⁶ show that 'culturally sensitive approaches' are not sufficiently represented in work with refugees and other immigrants in Finland. Also, my previous study revealed that a successful initial arrival in Finland does not automatically lead to successful integration (Turtiainen 2008).

Ikäheimo (2008: 22–25) suggests that recognitive attitudes and relations of recognition are the cornerstones of 'the social'. The data presented above makes it easy to concur. Recognitive attitudes as a foundation of equal relations in the new society work well as an analytical tool for examining relations between newly arrived refugees and authorities. This chapter has shown that personal relations as a foundation of 'the social' in social work and the work of other authorities are a key factor of recognition. The role of social work is mainly seen in the terms 'rights' and 'care'. Social workers are representatives



⁶ See, for example, Valtonen (1999, 2000, 2004), Anis (2008), Hammar-Suutari (2006), Brewis (2008), Martikainen and Tiilikainen (2007).

of their society through the training they give to refugees on how to use social security and live independently. Rights are also negotiated in a relation with social workers. Social workers have an important role because they serve as representatives of the new society and because, through a dialogue with the newly arrived refugees, they can negotiate doubts about rights and treatment. At the same time, social workers emphasise care in different ways and seek to understand the backgrounds of the refugees. All this requires a mutual relation where the identification of needs and the building of tools for recognition can take place. If successful, it could ultimately ensure that a refugee's status as a client of social work is not permanent.

References

- Act of Equality (Finland) (21/2004), <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2004/20040021> (5.5.2009).
- Act of Integration of Immigrants and the Reception of the Asylum Seekers (Finland) (493/1999, 280/2006), <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/1999/19990493> (5.5.2009).
- Anis, M. (2008), *Sosiaalityö ja maahanmuuttajat. Lastensuojelun ja asiakkaiden vuorovaikutus ja tulkinat*. Väestötutkimuslaitoksen julkaisu D 47. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Brewis, K. (2008), *Stress in the Multi-ethnic Customer Contacts of Finnish Civil Servants: Developing Critical Pragmatic Intercultural Professionals*. Jyväskylä Studies in Humanities 103. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Dominelli, L. (2008), *Globalising Communities: Players and Non-Players*. Working paper, Indosow project.
- Ekholm, E., Magennis, S., Salmelin, L. (Eds.) (2005), *Shaping Our Future: A Practical Guide to Selection, Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees*. Helsinki: Prima Oy.
- Fraser, N. (2007), Re-framing Justice in a Globalizing World. In: Lovell, T. (Ed.), *(Mis)recognitoin, Social Inequality and Social Justice: Nancy Fraser and Pierre Bourdieu*. London: Routledge (17–33).
- Fraser, N., Honneth, A (2003), *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political – Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso Press.
- Fraser, N. (1997), From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-socialist' Age. In: Fraser, N. (Ed.), *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist Condition'*. London: Routledge (11–39).
- Flick, U. (2006), *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. 3rd edition. London: Sage Publications.
- Forsander, A. (2002), *Luottamuksen ehdot: maahanmuuttajat 1990-luvun suomalaisilla työmarkkinoilla*. Dissertation. Helsinki: Väestötutkimuslaitos. Väestöliitto.
- Forst, R. (2007), 'To tolerate means to insult.' Toleration, Recognition, and Emancipation. In: Van der Brink, B., Owen, D., *Recognition and Power: Axel Honneth and the Tradition of Critical Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (215–238).
- Giddens, A. (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Gubrium, J., Holstein, J. (1997), *The New Language of Qualitative Method*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Hammar-Suutari, S. (2006), *Kulttuurien välinen viranomaistyö. Työn valmiuksien ja yhdenvertaisen asiakaspalvelun kehittäminen*. Työpoliittinen tutkimus 300/2006. Helsinki: Työministeriö.
- Honneth, A. (1995), *The Struggle of Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Honneth, A. (2007), *Disrespect: The Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Ikäheimo, H. (2003), On the Genus and Species of Recognition. In: Ikäheimo, H., *Tunnustus, subjektiviteetti ja inhimillinen elämänmuoto. Tutkimuksia Hegelistä ja persoonien välisistä tunnustussubteista*. Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research 220. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto (125–141).
- Ikäheimo, H. (2003), Persoonien välisestä rakkaudesta – lähtökohtia teoriaan. In: Ikäheimo, H., *Tunnustus, subjektiviteetti ja inhimillinen elämänmuoto. Tutkimuksia Hegelistä ja persoonien välisistä tunnustussubteista*. Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research 220. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto (157–159).
- Ikäheimo, H., Laitinen, A. (2007), Analyzing Recognition: Identification, Acknowledgement, and Recognitive Attitudes towards Persons. In: Van der Brink, B., Owen, D., *Recognition and Power: Axel Honneth and the Tradition of Critical Social Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (33–57).
- Ikäheimo, H. (2008), Sosiaalisuus ja epäsosiaalisuus sosiaalityössä. In: Niemi, P., Kotiranta, T. (Ed.), *Sosiaalialan normatiivinen perusta*. Palmenia: Helsinki University Press (13–33).
- Kotkavirta, J. (2000), Luottamus instituutioihin ja yksilöllinen hyvinvointi. In: Ilmonen, K. (Ed.), *Sosiaalinen pääoma ja luottamus*. Jyväskylä: SoPhi (55–68).
- Lorenz, W. (2006), *Perspectives on European Social Work: From the Birth of Nation State to the Impact of Globalization*. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Martikainen, T., Tiilikainen, M. (Eds.) (2007), *Maahanmuuttajanaiset: Kotoutuminen, perhe ja työ*. Väestötutkimuslaitoksen julkaisusarja D 46. Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Potter, J. (1996), *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. Great Britain: Sage Publications.
- Putnam, R. (1993), *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Soydan, H. (1998), Understanding Migration. In: Williams, C., Soydan, H., Johnson, M. R. D. (Eds.), *Social Work and Minorities: European Perspectives*. New York: Routledge (20–36).
- Taylor, C. (1995), The Politics of Recognition. In: Taylor, C., *Philosophical Arguments*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Turtiainen, K. (2008), *Kommunikointia uuden kynnyksellä – Luottamuksen rakentuminen kiintiöpaikolaisten ja viranomaisten välillä*. Licentiate thesis in social work, Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- UNHCR (no date available), Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/refugees.htm>.
- Valtonen, K. (1999), *The Integration of Refugees in Finland in the 1990s*. Työhallinnon julkaisu 224. Helsinki: Ministry of Labour.
- (2000), The Challenge of Multicultural Social Work in Finland. *Nordisk Socialt Arbeid*, 3: 158–164.

- (2004), From Margin to Mainstream: Conceptualizing Refugee Resettlement Processes. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17, 1: 70–96.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) website: <http://www.unhcr.org>.

III

RIIPPUVUUS PAKOLAISIA VASTAANOTTAVASSA SOSIAALITYÖSSÄ

by

Kati Turtiainen 2011

In: Aini Pehkonen & Marja Väänänen - Fomin (eds.)
Sosiaalityön arvot ja etiikka. Sosiaalityön tutkimuksen seuran vuosikirja.
Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus. 139-164

Reproduced with kind permission by the publisher

IV

**SOCIAL ESTEEM IN THE NARRATIVES OF
REFUGEES LIVING IN FINLAND**

by

Kati Turtiainen 2012

Forthcoming, Nordic Social Work Research (1) 2013

Reproduced with kind permission by the publisher

Social esteem in the narratives of refugees living in Finland

Kati Turtiainen

Nordic Social Work Research (1) 2013. Acceptance date 30.8.2012. In Press.

Summary

In this article, it is asked how social esteem or lack of it is told in refugees' narratives. The data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in Finland. Those persons who are resettled in Finland by UNHCR are called quota refugees. The data was collected using a method of episodic interviews, a format containing elements of both focused and narrative interviewing. This study shows that the concept of social esteem is relevant to the refugee receiving work because the resettlement affects refugees' lives so that they have to reshape their already existed relations and get esteem in the new official and unofficial settings. Social esteem means that one can contribute to the common good in the community and society. A refugee's own background and possibility to have a new start, is a driving force, first, for willingness to contribute to the new society and to build contributing relations to its agents. It is essential that the nature of these relationships is reciprocal. Second, they would like to contribute to the society of origin and participate in the peace building and reconciliation process of that society. Third, the integrated refugees would like to help newcomers from their own ethnic and cultural background. Many refugees lose their skills as head of the family or in managing everyday life and at the same time they lose social and self-esteem. Besides the importance of getting esteem as a parent, family life is an important arena to get esteem because of its reproductive task.

Key words: social esteem; refugee; resettlement; social work; recognition

Introduction

Refugees¹ live in very special conditions in terms of forced migration; first, they are forced emigrants and later they live under the temporary protection by UNHCR. One possibility to find a durable solution is to become resettled in a new country. These resettled people are called quota refugees in Finland. The

¹ The concept of refugee is useful first of all for the administrative purposes, but it includes very different people coming from different socio-economical positions, life histories and also from different political situations and cultures (Malkki 1995, 496). Finland follows the concept of a refugee as it is defined in the Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. A main criterion of getting refugee status by UNHCR is defined as follows: someone who has left his or her country or is unable or unwilling to return to it 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion'. (UNHCR) All quota refugees were recognized by the UNHCR before getting resettled in Finland. Finland resettles refugees who are, for example, survivors of torture and violence, women at risk or have medical needs.

change from a persecuted and humiliated past to safety does not automatically mean a step to good life. The possibilities refugees have depends on the host society. But refugees' past experiences of massive traumas during their refugee process also have an impact on their relationship towards the new society and on their own well-being (e.g. Turtiainen 2009a; Nicholson and Walters 1997; Barclay 1998).

For getting the status of 'refugee' by UNHCR a person must have an individual background of persecution, which often consists of physical violence, torture, rape, denial of rights and humiliation. Refugees have lost their social connections and capacities through fragmentation of families and loss of peer support and communities (Ager 2002, 44). Such violations can destroy the individual's self-esteem and cause feelings of shame, indignation and anger. (Honneth 1995, 134; Ghosh and Juul 2008.) It is further discussed during the article do refugees loose also social esteem for their capacities. Social esteem means that we can contribute to the common good by our skills and other capacities. Refugees have to rebuild the community, often from the beginning. Refugees often find that the well-developed social capacities that they have depended on in their adult lives do not work in the new society. Refugee settlement services and integration programs build the capacity for the newly arrived people, but in worst cases early settlement learning may be learning to be a client of a service, and this hardly produces the social skills and sense of social agency that facilitate social healing (Westoby and Ingamells 2010, 1772). Refugee settlement services can feel humiliating by rejecting the socio-cultural characteristic of integration (Kamali 1999; Gosh and Juul 2008).

This article is theory bound using the theory of recognition² (Honneth 1995; Taylor 1994; Ikäheimo 2003), and especially social esteem as one form of recognition. For Honneth, recognition is *a medium* of social integration of how groups, institutions or individuals *relate* to each other as people whose rights have to be respected, who have to be cared for and whose achievements have to be esteemed (Laitinen 2009, 16). In social work, already in its early stages, two pragmatic philosophers and pioneers of scientific social work, Jane Addams (1905, 269–270) and Ilse Arlt (1934) wrote about the recognition of the entire person. Addams emphasized integral democracy, which promotes participation and Arlt highlighted recognition of the whole person as the base for avoiding humiliation in social work relationships with clients. More recently, the theory of recognition has been considered adequate for social work (e.g. Houston and Dolan 2007; Houston 2008; 2009; 2010; Gosh and Juul 2008; Juul 2009; 2010; Garrett 2010). For example, Garrett (2010, 1530) states that "recognition theory can provide the ethical core and conceptual bedrock that will enable practitioners to

² The theory of recognition is largely discussed by Honneth, Taylor and Fraser. Fraser and Honneth (2003) argue against each other in their joint book. Fraser puts the greater priority to redistribution than recognition. Honneth is primarily interested in conditions for the good life, while Fraser primarily focuses on social justice.

reclaim social work and to inject a fresh, reinvigorated and more 'human' approach to the work in social work". In this article, I will study the experiences of social esteem or the lack of it before and after arrival in Finland using the refugees' narratives as my data. More specifically, how the past experiences affect social and self-esteem in a new country, and second, how the reflection of the host society to refugees' traits and capacities is seen in their narratives.

Refugee resettlement in Finland

Resettlement countries have adopted different approaches to the reception of resettled refugees. In Finland the central government delegates employ a high degree of delegation of power to local and regional authorities. The local municipalities are vested with wide administrative and budgetary powers (Ekholm et al. 2005). Finland is a significant example with the other Nordic countries to study because it was among the first countries to host resettled refugees processed by UNHCR. Welcoming people based on International Protection needs, in Finland, started in the 1970's. Systematic refugee resettlement began at the beginning of the 1990's; and the annual quota now stands at 750 refugees. The latest statistics, from the end of 2010, show a steady increase in the number of foreign citizens which is now at about 16, 4000 people, of which 25, 000 are called quota refugees. However, out of a population of 5,4 million, only around 3% are of foreign origin. (Tilastokeskus 2011.)

It is significant to study refugees receiving social work in Finland because here social workers are in the frontline of refugees receiving work. Social work in refugee services consists of counselling on social benefits and integration support measures; psychosocial support; child protection; community work and networking activities; providing information; and awareness-raising activities. Therefore, it is essential to understand how the *refugees' past experiences* and *authorities respond to refugees' special needs* and how this affects to their integration and well-being.

The Labour market integration is often prioritized in immigration policies and employment is seen as the most important source of social esteem. The aim of the Finnish Act on the Integration of Immigrants (493/1999, 280/2006) and the Act of Integration (1386/2010), is to support the opportunity to acquire sufficient language skills and other knowledge and skills required in Finnish society and working life, and to promote their opportunity to participate in society also supports the integration of an immigrant's family. However Gosh and Juul (2008) states, based on their notions in Denmark that the government and other politicians must avoid the idea that getting a job is the only way for social integration. Refugees experienced disrespect as a bearer of equal rights and missed social appreciation associated with this, which leads to a weakened identity, and hence to problems of participation. Although, there may be a positive relation between the labour market integration and social integration, it is questionable which way round this relationship goes. (ibid.) Moreover, the comparative analysis of Norwegian and Swedish refugee integration policies by

Marko Valenta and Nihad Bunar (2010) show that they had to extend their policy scope and include the use of more proactive 'facilitators' (see also Valtonen 2004). Also, my previous study (Turtiainen 2009b) showed that all the forms of recognition (rights, care and social esteem) are adequate in the refugee receiving social work, but for instance knowing about one's rights and duties is not enough if there are no possibilities to relate to the community. This notion led me to look at how refugees relate to each other as contributors being one form of esteem in the formal and informal setting in the destination society. I haven't looked at working life because it has been previously studied in Finland (e.g. Forsander 2002) and because it is important to identify needs in social work, which is not easily identified. That led me to look at the other areas of social esteem.

Social esteem in the theory of recognition

The key concept of this article is social esteem, which is related to the philosophical theory of recognition by Axel Honneth (1995) and Charles Taylor (1994).³ Social esteem is fundamental because it is a prerequisite for the development and maintenance of self-esteem and self-realization (Honneth 1995). Social esteem makes one feel valuable or particular with unique talents, capabilities or skills, which takes place in informal or formal social settings (Ikäheimo 2003). Honneth (1995) also uses the term 'solidarity' to describe social esteem and claims that a good society is a society in which all individuals have a real opportunity to achieve esteem and other forms of recognition (respect and care). Therefore, a state of societal solidarity for Honneth (1995, 129; also Kamali 1999, 82) is the society where people esteem themselves. The forms of adequate recognition help to meet the basic needs of people. But if the needs are not adequately met, and if they are not the right kind, is that an important criterion of misrecognition. (More Laitinen 2009, 20-22; Ikäheimo 2009.) Here it means that if the needs to get esteem for one's particular capacities are not met, is that humiliating?

In modernity, social esteem applies to traits and abilities which members of society differ from. Such differences had previously been defined collectively (Honneth 1995). "Social esteem concerns people whose capabilities are of constitutive value to a concrete community, and through orientation towards shared goals, it forms a community of value" (Honneth 2007, 139). Ikäheimo (2010, 9) calls this the contributive concept of esteem which means that people contribute to the common good. Esteem can also be personal achievements which partly overlap esteem as contributions (Seglow 2009, 68). Contributive esteem is more egalitarian than achievement esteem because significant additions do not need to be judged. For example, being a doctor means personal achievement (education) but working as a medical doctor means contribution to

³ Honneth's (1995, 92-131) approach is based on the notion that the possibility of identity formation depends on the development of self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem.

the common goals. In the settlement work of refugees the capacity building (education, language skills etc.) is often needed before people can contribute to the common good of the host society. It is also important to understand esteem for contributions so that people are not taken as an instrument (Ikäheimo 2010, 9–10).

Esteem can also take a cultural dimension (Taylor 1994). The strengthened pluralism and individualism of society has led to an increased need for the social appreciation of individually chosen lifestyles and ways of living (Seglow 2009, 68). Cultural communities need positive value judgments from outsiders to maintain collective self-esteem (*ibid.*), but here I look at it from an individual and contributory perspective. Peoples' cultural features fulfill the criterion of social esteem if they conceive of themselves as exemplifying that culture and if their culturally specific features are valuable as contributors to some shared ends and if a real intercultural dialogue takes place. (Ikäheimo 2003, 148–149.) Even a serious effort of giving positive value judgments may in the end lead to negative value judgments, especially if cultural practices are considered unusual by the native-born population (Seglow 2009, 68). That may happen, for example, if a social worker does not ask what a person really wants.

In this article, I understand social esteem primarily as the value we give to another in this relation in terms of our speciality (Honneth 1995). That speciality is founded on the skills, actions, achievements, roles and cultural features which contribute to the common good. In practice, it means how the host society reflects back to refugees' capacities. Basically social esteem is "a fundamental part of our being-in-the-world to a distinctive contribution to the community, regardless of its content, and, importantly, to have this contribution recognized" (Houston 2010, 852). Because this article is theory bound and the concept of social esteem is used, this concept affected the formulation of the research question. I had a hypothesis that the refugees' background may have an influence to the self- and social esteem after resettlement, due to persecution which is a serious form of humiliation. I also interpreted the data through the concept of social esteem.

Data, method and ethical considerations

My data consists of interviews with 13 quota refugees living in Central Finland. The interviewees represent a heterogeneous group in terms of ethnicity, education, age, and gender: Half of them are women and half men; six are either single mothers or are single and seven are married and have children; some of them are illiterate without any basic education, some are students and the others have vocational or a university education; some of them are unemployed and the others (if not students) are working; they come from different countries in Africa, the Far East and Near East and their ages range from 20 to 60. At the time of the interviews, they had been living in Finland for between 4 and 13 years. For ethical reasons, to avoid identification of the interviewees, I do not provide more detailed background information of the interviewees. By trying to

find the heterogeneous group of interviewees I tried to minimize the biased picture of interviews. I have worked for a long time in the immigrant services and this probably affects the entire research process especially with regards to the relationship formation between interviewees and interpretation of the narratives. Ethically, it is important that, at the time of the interviews, they were no longer users of the services to which the interviews pertained, and thus could speak freely about them.

I conducted the interviews during 2007. I received the refugees' contact information from the immigrant services in one town. I called interviewees and explained what this research is about and nobody refused. Before starting the interview I explained again both orally and in writing the purpose of the interview and asked for their consent. They were pleased that I, as a civil servant, asked questions about their experiences of authorities and settlement services. Some of the interviews took place at the interviewees' homes or work places and the rest of them in my office lasting from one to two hours. The data was collected using a method of episodic interviews (Flick 2006, 181–182), a format containing elements of both focused and narrative interviewing. I collected narratives about refugees' experiences towards public authorities. Their narratives are connected to the different events of the refugee process (escape from one's own country, living in a second country and resettling in a third country). The central elements of the episodic interviews include the situations or chains of situations (refugee process), interviewees' imaginations of expected or feared changes (did the relations with the authorities change during the process) and abstractive relations (refugee's reflection of their experiences with the authorities) (Flick 2006, 182). I transcribed all interviews verbatim. Three refugees were interviewed with the help of an interpreter; and the others were interviewed in Finnish. I translated the data from Finnish into English, which means that some informative details may have been lost in translation. The interviewees' own words are used to provide a better description of the examined phenomena.

There were very sensitive and emotional moments when interviewees told about their past experiences. In those moments, I switched off the recorder and promised those expressions to stay between us. I tried to be careful not to evoke painful events, because sometimes hidden wounds might be opened unintentionally. For instance, if an interviewee said that "Asian experience is too terrible" and he/she did not continue actively, I did not encourage him/her to continue. One of the main intentions of the interview was to ask what helped them at the beginning of the settlement, and I had the impression that nobody was left alone with their emotions. Hynes (2003, 1) states that refugees are quite often glad to tell their histories to researchers, particularly if they have politicised the experience and recognise it in a political context. That was also my experience and maybe also my position as a civil servant affected to the willingness to speak what people had in their minds. One of them said that "when you ask I am happy to speak my mind".

It was my ethical decision to approach the subject from the theoretical point of view because it gave distance to the phenomenon as I faced it in my everyday work. My premise is that the sustainable base on both the settlement work and scientific knowledge is to trust refugees as experts of their own life and needs. Otherwise they might get victimized again by authorities and politics and by the researcher. My ethical basis of approaching this topic is, first, ontologically, that refugees' experiences are meaningful and their narratives are the best way to approach those experiences, and secondly, epistemologically, that refugees know best whether their past experiences affect social esteem (Hynes 2003, 13). It is important to keep in mind that refugees are "experts" on their experiences and there is not such a thing as refugee experience, but experiences of individual refugees (Soguk 1999, 4).

I approach the narrative material from the theoretical framework of social esteem, which provides the concepts and tools for categorising the data. The voices of the narrators are important and therefore I discuss the narrative material in dialogue with the concept of social esteem while interpreting the data. I understand the narrative as an episode of the whole interview. These are the subtexts, which are treated independently. In other words, I am not analysing a narrative of one person but one person's interview includes many narratives. All the interviews are multi-voiced, which means that interviewees are not only speaking out themselves, but also about the other refugees (Potter 1996, 142-143)⁴. The criterion of the narrative is that it includes the time before and after arriving in Finland. By analysing narratives concerning the time before and after resettlement I can capture changes, if there are any, in social esteem during the certain period (Hänninen 2004)⁵. I use content analysis and approach the narratives thematically (Squire 2008, 50). The themes are defined from the theory of social esteem. These themes include traits, achievements, roles and cultural features which were humiliated or esteemed before and after arriving in Finland. The narratives and utterances of those themes are separated from the data to the relevant themes. One theme includes narratives by several different individuals. (Lieblich et. al. 1998, 112-114.) Next, I identified two themes from those narratives, firstly, narratives about the driving forces to aid

⁴ Potter (1996, 142-143) uses the term 'footing' when a speaker is presenting some factual account as one's own or distancing one from it.

⁵ During the recent decades there has been a rapid increase of interest in narrative in various branches of human science. The term narrative or story can be used to mean different things in different contexts. (Hänninen 2004, 69-70) According to Hänninen (2004, 72-75) a narrative can be understood as inner, lived and told narratives. The inner narrative is an individual's interpretation of his/her life. It is partly made external by told narratives, and validated in that process. The lived narrative refers to the real-life, which is shaped in the interplay between situational constraints and the inner narrative that guides one's actions in changing life situations. Therefore, "an episode of lived narrative cannot be understood on the basis of knowledge of the objective facts alone; knowledge of the actor's motives and emotions is a necessary part of the interpretation" (Hänninen 2004, 72).

contribution to the common good in Finland, and secondly, if there were narratives of changes or continuation in humiliation or social esteem. After categorizing the narratives in terms of changes and continuation of social esteem and contributational features I gathered them into three different groups of narratives, which is how I also present my findings. It was very challenging to categorise the narrative material because I hesitated if the data really can be represented under the concept of social esteem or does it belong to family life or legal rights? I decided to take those skills or traits which serve the common good even if it is possible to discuss them under the other forms of recognition (rights and care). There are also overlaps in three different groups of narratives, but I kept the idea of continuations and changes while categorising the data. It is important to keep in mind that social esteem is only one view of looking at the person's life course. Also, experiences before and after resettlement in Finland cannot be narrated very widely in one interview and therefore the entire picture of the person's life even from this particular point of view is much more complex than what is possible to capture here.

Findings

I found three different groups of narratives during my analysis of the data. The first group of narratives include humiliation before coming to Finland and after resettlement those experiences become driving forces as contributors to the common good. I found two kinds of versions within these narratives on how refugees want to contribute because of their refugee background; first, the willingness to give back to Finnish society and second, to help their own people. I name those: reciprocity, social recovery and reconciliation. The term 'reciprocity' refers to refugees' interest in reciprocating to Finnish society what they feel they have received from Finnish society: protection; it is the outcome of the process of seeking refuge from atrocious situations in countries of origin. The concept of 'social recovery' refers to refugees' willingness to help people of their own ethnic background in their country of origin and also highlighting that the recovery should be seen as a social process and as a part of reconciliation. The second group of narratives start with telling about socially esteemed skills and roles in their past, which are not esteemed and become useless as such in the new circumstances. The third group of narratives were told emphasising the culture or ethnicity at the time before and after arrival in Finland. These narratives come close to the first group because culture or ethnicity can be the reason of humiliation in the refugee status determination process. But they differ from the first ones, because they are told clearly as a member of a certain group of culture or ethnicity. On the other hand they are "features", not roles, skills or achievement. After resettlement, these cultural features had two kinds of roles in terms of esteem: they either become special contributors or, they are a target of humiliation. There were 50 narratives told all together in these three groups and of those, 16 were told about reciprocity, social recovery and reconciliation,

9 about uselessness and 15 about cultural integrity. I invented the names to my interviewees so that they cannot be identified.

Narratives of reciprocity, social recovery and reconciliation

Narratives of reciprocity and social recovery are connected to the experiences as a refugee. Refugees can be considered a group of people, but I emphasise the personal experiences of refugees. The only shared experience is that all of them went through the same kind of refugee process. They had escaped from their own countries because of a lack of state protection and had temporary protection by the UNHCR, which gave them refugee status. Later they were submitted to a third country, which promised protection as a durable solution.⁶ The most important issue for all the refugees is their personal experience of persecution and the failure to be protected by their state of origin.

The experiences of refugees, the humiliation by persecution and the refugee process are the driving forces for their willingness to contribute to the common good; reciprocity and social recovery. To start with reciprocity, the person tells about the willingness to contribute.

That time there was the Taliban and the Taliban said that if you kill five Hazaras when you die your place is in paradise. And those stupid Taliban soldiers did it in our city and they did the same and within 12 hours they had killed 8000 hazaras. I knew many of them. They *were* my friends and their parents and relatives. The road smelled of dead people and when we escaped I had to jump over the dead bodies. I am very grateful to Finland that they rescued me (...) it is honestly like that I am ready to give my blood to Finnish people, to this country. I could go there where is war, to the border, I am even ready to go there, but I am not ready to go to Afghanistan to work there, because what I have got, I have got because of Finland (...) I am understood as (mention his name) because of Finland. (Sohrab)

This narrative is highlighting the lack of protection before being resettled in Finland. It is important to also state that conceptually refugee-hood is a political relation between the citizen and the state (Shacknove 1985, 283), which is seen in this narrative. When the state of origin does not protect there is nothing to give back as a meaning of reciprocity. For this reason the commitment is built towards the country of resettlement. It is possible to see a deep commitment to Finland as a state that in an imaginary situation of war, blood is the symbol in reciprocating protection.

This narrative concerns the refugee process, which means experiences as refugees. Experience is not a trait by itself but it is a driving force for contributing to the State. Our past experiences affect us as individuals /people and

⁶ Refugee resettlement is one of the durable solutions used by UNHCR whereas the others are repatriation or integration in the second country where people escaped from the country of origin. Currently approximately 1% of the refugees under the UNHCR are to get resettled, which is 12, 4000 people out of 10,4 million. In 2009 there were 19 countries selecting refugees directly from the second countries. The total number of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons is 26,2 million (excludes natural disaster - related displacement). (UNHCR 2010.)

who we are. If we consider the special history refugees have, their past affects them in a very special way as is seen in the extract above. Those experiences are turned into driving forces of the willingness to contribute to the common good by using the skills they have. Terrible experiences of humiliation as refugees often had before resettlement can also victimize a person (Barclay 1998) but refugees should not be seen as needy victims but having competences and willingness to contribute. A part of recovery can be gaining social esteem by participating in the commonly shared goals, which can strengthen self-esteem. Social esteem in this context is also coming close to gratitude (Ikäheimo 2010, 11). Gratitude arises from the protection by the state. This kind of esteem is not connected to the personifying contributory concept of esteem (Laitinen 2010) because on the other side of the relationship is the state but as a response to normatively significant features.

Another driving force for the willingness to contribute to the common good is the own recovery process connected to a survivor's guilt (Aarts et. al. 1996, 371) and to the reconciliation with the past. We often use the words such as 'healing' or 'recovery' through 'processing', 'acceptance' and 'coming to terms with the past'. Summerfield (2002, 1105) criticises this kind of individual understanding of recovery to be humiliating in post war situations, because the pathological effects of war are located inside the person as if the person would be recovering from an illness. Instead, the recovery should be seen as a social process, as also shown in my findings. Today's wars are more often civil wars and have an ethnic origin, which means that afterwards past enemies have to live in the same area as neighbours (Goldhagen 2009). Resettled refugees are not excluded from the reconciliation process even if they live in a safe country. People living in exile often need to participate in the process of reconciliation for their own recovery and as a normative response to contribute to the rebuilding of their societies. On the other hand, reconciliation can also be prevented from those in exile, as there is nobody to reconcile the past with on the other side or when the war that led to their exile is still going on.

Reconciliation is a multidisciplinary concept. According to Galtung (2001, 4) reconciliation is a theme with deep psychological, sociological, theological, philosophical, and profoundly human roots – and nobody really knows how to successfully achieve it. Bloomfield (2003, 12; also Sluzki 2003, 13) continues that reconciliation is a "process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future" and "a process that redesigns the relationship". Personal, communal, and societal reconciliation after war is a long process, which may last for generations. In post-war societies the process of reconciliation is essential for the future of all people living in that area.

Resettled refugees often come from ethnic groups that fight against each other in civil wars. That is a reason why the reconciliation process may extend to the areas where they live in exile, as it is mentioned in the next:

Somehow when I look at these people and how it has affected them psychologically, how trust has disappeared, when during the war everything has been destroyed and a brother has killed his brother and nations have killed each other's and somehow the trust has disappeared. (Jamila)

Their heart is full of black blood; they want to quarrel also here (...) but you have to accept other religions and you have to come to terms with these people (past enemies). (Soraya)

It is important to understand that refugee communities may need to rebuild their relations in the resettlement countries. For the refugees, the reconciliation process may be very complicated or even prevented. Tensions between different ethnicities do not stop by themselves, even if people are in safe countries. They have to rebuild their relations again and gain back trust.

The next narrative is told about the willingness to contribute to the society from where the interviewee had to escape:

There are much more difficult things than the reunification of my family. Now the situation is more complicated because my relatives live in Iraq and there the situation is more difficult than it was before, it means to say I am facing the same problem (like family reunification). I mean why I tell about this, this belongs to life. It is still war there. That is a reason why I tell you about my problems because they are continuing. Of course all people have problems but the level is different (...) My situation is stable... the situation of my children is good, good education (...) If I could find a job I could improve my situation and the situation of the others. (...) We would like to establish such a group home for orphans, but now we wait for the right situation, because that area, in the South where I come from, it is too hard, they have suffered the most. Anyway we already bought a piece of land half a year ago and got permission to build, we need money and it is possible to co-operate with my countrymen who live abroad and participate in this project. It is like a kind of charity (...) And when you ask, I have hope that when I am old I will be there and looking after the children. I prefer to help children there. (Hassan)

In the narratives of social recovery, the common good is mainly participation in the rebuilding of the country of origin. Rebuilding is seen as maybe the only possible way in participating to the common good as a part of the reconciliation process after the war in their own country. Reconciliation concerns not only the redesigning of relations at every level, but also building infrastructure for the shared future. The interviewees in the extracts above want to concretely heal the wounds after the war by helping orphans with the desire to return. Reconciliation differs from sending remittances to the family, which is also seen in this narrative. Supporting family and relatives in their own country cannot be seen directly as a recognitive attitude of esteem because it is understood as a contribution to the common good at the societal or community level. People's social "worth" is measured by the degree to which they appear to be in a position to contribute to the realization of societal goals (Honneth 1995).

Contributing to Finnish society is not exclusive to working for the country of origin. The ultimate goal is to participate in helping their own people. Working in Finland for the future of their own children through paying taxes is

in a way also a tool for getting money and improving the situation of others too. This kind of esteem is not only connected to other people but it arises from the moral climate of the situation and the willingness to respond to it, which is here the willingness to participate to the process of rebuilding their own post-war society (Laitinen 2010, 13–14).

Narratives about feeling useless

Especially educated people told narratives about feeling useless in my data if they did not have access to the working life and therefore they are not esteemed. It also affects negatively to self-esteem because they cannot use their skills (Honneth 1995). I do not analyse the working life here but instead the narratives of feeling useless which are told mainly by the refugees or about the refugees who do not have any education and have lived in traditional circumstances. It is often an enormous change that refugees go through when they move from refugee camps or other temporary arrangements to safe and more developed countries. When people move to developed countries, they encounter a change in how to feel esteemed or get esteem. The following two narratives are about the change in social esteem.

They lose their power, they think, they do not have the same values that I had before, now my children have power they are more valuable than I am and they have power over me, now I suffer because of my own children. My sons can even tell me, father, shut up, now I am your interpreter and now I know how to deal with all these things. Then all the power disappears. Because in his own country he knew tricks, he had relationships, but here he cannot use those tricks, never. (Sohrab)

It has changed; when she goes shopping she goes with her child, when she goes to the labour office, she goes with her child. This is difficult, you cannot live your life like this, all the time I think, they cannot live like this. There have to be places where they can do things together and be together (...). Their roles have disappeared. They have to be esteemed also (...) There she was a cashier of our household but here her small girl is the cashier (...) here she is going after her child to the labour office. (Omar)

These narratives about elderly people or parents are closely connected to *respect* because when people lose their autonomy they also lose their *esteem*. They had lived in a traditional way without education but they had roles, which were esteemed. Parenthood was esteemed as such, as a role, and after coming to new circumstances, they lost their esteem even in the eyes of their own children. Even if parenthood belongs to the area of family life, here I consider it in the sense of esteem because it is necessary for the social reproduction of society (see Seglow 2009, 68). In fact, people's input into the reproduction to be esteemed is an important part of everyday life of any circumstances or society and the parenthood is an essential part of that.

The higher adjustability of young people to the new circumstances disempowers the older generation. Therefore the parents become dependent on their own children. While losing autonomy and agency, refugees also lose their

power inside the family. And that means also a loss of social esteem. It can take a long time before some of the refugees become autonomous (Turtiainen 2011). Before coming to Finland, social esteem belonged to the role of a parent, because they could support their family and had roles on how to solve problems. In the new circumstances, their possibilities to contribute are decreasing because the parents lose their agency inside the family and they have to rebuild their routines again.

Because these narratives describe the situation in very traditional circumstances, in some cases the change after resettlement can be seen as a long jump from the traditional to modern societies. In the refugee camp or in the rural areas social esteem is based more on social roles and group features instead of being esteemed as an 'individual'. Honneth (1995) writes that a person's 'honour', 'dignity', or, to use the modern term, 'status' refers to the degree of social esteem accorded to his or her manner of self-realization within a society's inherited cultural horizon. On the other hand we can speak of an individualized identity instead of status, one that is particular to me, and that I discover in myself (Taylor 1994, 28). According to Honneth (1995) the individual no longer has to attribute to an entire collective, the respect that he or she receives for accomplishments that fit social standards but instead can refer them positively back to himself or herself. Under these altered conditions, the experience of being socially esteemed is accompanied by a felt confidence that one's achievements or abilities will be recognized as 'valuable' by other members of society. (Honneth 1995.) But for refugees there are fewer possibilities to be 'valuable' before learning new skills. It is a challenge for the authorities and stakeholders to create /provide places for refugees to be socially esteemed; otherwise, his or her self-esteem can be distorted (Gosh and Juul 2008). While one loses a role in the eyes of the host society and even inside the family, one also loses the dignity as an individual unless there are possibilities to contribute to the common good, whatever it is.

The change of power structure in an immigrant family is not only due to a jump from the traditional to modern societies, but first of all, a reframing of social roles, competencies, and resources in the new social and cultural context. On the other hand, the birth of a democratic society does not by itself do away with this phenomenon, because people can still define themselves by their social roles (Taylor 1994, 31). According to social identity theories⁷ social identity processes are not less strong in individualized societies. "Cultural norms may regulate how people interact and conduct themselves in groups, but groups still

⁷ Tajfel and Turner (1986, also Brown 2000) wrote about the distinction between social and personal identity, which they argued underpinned the difference between interpersonal situations and group situations. Social identity theories are concerned about the latter and starts from the assumption that social identity is derived from group memberships. It also proposes that people strive to achieve positive social identity, which derives from comparisons that can be made between the in-group and relevant out-groups.

provide with a strong sense of self, social location and belonging" (Hogg 2006, 116).

Narratives about cultural background

These narratives are about the willingness to help newly arrived refugees in their acculturation process. These narratives come close to first narratives but differ from them because they are not told only as refugees, but first of all, because they possess valuable cultural knowledge. The narrators have successfully integrated and due to their own cultural integrity they want to work with authorities and use their skills for newly arrived refugees which are forms of social esteem. The following extracts tell about possibilities to work with Finnish authorities:

I think that I do not know so much about the Finnish culture and Finland but if I know 20% and I can tell it to others and they believe me and if I do it through an association I can help, we know what our people need. You also know, and if a person tells you I came from the village and we know what does this village mean, then we need to work together, our relationship has to continue, there is not any problem. (Omar)

I'd like to produce new material and use media because I know what these people need. (Farid)

In these narratives, refugees want to contribute because of their cultural specific features and knowhow from their past. The narrators understand the additional value how they can contribute because of their past experiences. According to them, this kind of cultural understanding is not possible for the authorities representing the culture of the host society and therefore it is suggested that working together establishes a sustainable ground for settlement work. On the other hand, culture as a source of knowledge and information locates experience in an historical context and forces continuity on discontinuous events (deVries 1996, 401). Therefore, especially in the first steps of the settlement, cultural understanding may give continuity and safety. Refugees may also give a special meaning for their cultural or ethnic background because one ground of getting refugee status is ethnic persecution as one interviewee tells: "There I have been disgusted as a hazara (...) and your background, it is always there". Ethnicity is one of the cultural images that depend on a person and what kind of meaning he or she gives to it in his or her identity. Culture, and also ethnicity, is not something people own or belong to, but they are complex repertoires, which people try, experience, use, live and do in everyday life (Jenkins 1997, 14).

Humiliation based on cultural features can also continue by the authorities in the destination society if people are not seen as individuals as it is told in the next extracts.

We need to have a common space where to learn to know each other. If I go to the office once a month you do not know who I am? (...) Culture is general but a person is individual, it depends on the family, it depends on the

life and where you have lived. For example here we are about 100 from the same ethnicity (mention the name) but we are all very different. The areas are very different, different religions, there has only been a refugee camp, and it is just a refugee camp, it is not possible to learn anything, children were born in refugee camps, think about that, the whole life there, there is not a good education, there is nothing. (Omar)

This is a case, we have in Afghanistan, many nations and we come from different cities and we have many cultures and we do not have so much in common. People have their own culture and everyday habits. (Jamila)

These narratives describe how difficult it is to understand cultural differences even inside the country. Therefore, if authorities really want to learn to know a person's special needs, one hour once a month can only amount to standardized help. These narratives are the appeal to the authorities against a serious form of humiliation by seeing a culture, but not a person. Refugees were humiliated often as representatives of a certain culture or ethnicity and it could also continue with the authorities. It is obvious that the narrators' understand culture as changing, it is local and difficult to understand for those who have not lived in those areas or circumstances. In my previous study (Turtiainen 2009b) refugees spoke about humiliation, because only their culture was seen, instead of their skills when they applied for work. Annika Forsander (2002), who has also examined immigrants' employment, writes about the degree of Finnish culture as a prerequisite to being employed, which means that the person's own culture is seen before his or her skills by the employers. But this kind of discrimination can also happen intentionally or unintentionally in the settlement work of refugees in the host society.

In the pluralistic and mobile societies, it is difficult to maintain self-esteem in the face of systematic denigration from outside one's subculture. The community/society has to establish the conditions under which *members* of those groups can then build self-esteem by contributing to the community. (Anderson 1995, xvii; italics mine.) After resettlement, refugees represent minority cultures in a new society. Only the minority or suppressed cultures are being forced to take alien form (Taylor 1994, 37).

Honneth (1995) regards the struggles for recognition - in which the esteem is central - as attempts to end social patterns of denigration in order to make possible new forms of distinctive identities. Fraser (1997, 24) criticizes mainstream multiculturalism, which proposes to redress disrespect⁸ by revaluing unjustly devalued group identities, while leaving intact both the contents of those identities and the group differentiations that underline them. She also underlines that destabilizing existing group identities and differentiations would not only raise self-esteem of members of currently disrespected groups, but they would change everyone's sense of self. This struggle for recognition or politics of equal recognitions as Taylor (2004) calls it, is very essential not just an

⁸ Disrespect means here being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypical public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions. (Fraser 1997, 14)

individualized person having cultural features but seeing those cultural features also as additional and contributive values as a part of one's identity.

Discussion and Conclusions

The concept of social esteem is relevant to the refugee receiving work because the resettlement affects refugees' lives so that they have to reshape their already existed relations and get esteem in the new official and unofficial settings. This study shows that a refugee's own background, and possibility to have a new start, is a driving force first, for a willingness to contribute to the new society and to build contributing relations to its agents. The humiliating background as a refugee is not just victimizing a person but also being a driving force for reciprocal and contributing relations in the new society (also Malkki 1995). Second, they would like to contribute to the society of origin and participate in the peace building and reconciliation process of the society. Close family, other social ties, and community are not limited to the country of resettlement (also Tiilikainen 2004). This means that often the idea of a common good is also extended to their country of origin and the areas where their real social ties exist. For example in Norway, the Pilot Project Pakistan shows how support for engagement by Diaspora members with their countries of origin can be a tool for inclusion in the host country (Horst et.al. 2010, 16). Third, the integrated refugees would like to help newcomers from their own ethnic and cultural background. The context of social upheaval creates profound discontinuity to the order and predictability that culture has brought into daily life and social situations. When this occurs, traditional systems break down and a conservative element often takes hold. When cultural protection and security fail, the individuals' problems are related to the cultural disintegration. The avenues of vulnerability resulting from trauma follow the routes vacated by culture and negative identity may substitute for a positive identity. (deVries 1996, 407-408; also Taylor and Osborne 2010; Fracer 1997.)

Refugees' social integration has not always been successful. Ghosh and Juul (2008, 103) argue that refugees' participation in working life is sometimes hindered by lack of social integration. Westoby and Ingamells (2010, 1771) study shows that many people do not feel culturally and socially safe in their new countries and Kamali (1997) claims that Swedish social services agents subject immigrants to various problem-solving programs and thereby make them clients of the social service system. The findings of this article show the relationships where the past skills are not any more relevant and the social needs are not met. These are the relationships where social workers are challenged to identify humiliating acts and structures. The skills as head of the family or managing everyday life may not be relevant anymore and it can have an effect to social and self-esteem. Besides the importance of getting esteem as a parent, family life is an important arena to get esteem because of its reproductive task in a society. Building everyday routines (e.g. Ager 2002) and a concrete future are also tools for recovering post-war experiences. The social needs and recov-

ery from past experiences can be reciprocal. Therefore, maintaining or getting back social esteem in close relationships is fundamental for self-realization and a meaningful life. Recovery is also social in terms of the fact that the victims of war may be alone in their need to find a social and moral meaning for what they have experienced, so that personal safety and social safety are linked (Summerfield 2002, 1105–1106; also Sluzki 2003). Therefore, it is humiliating if the effects of war are found inside a person.

The theory of recognition applied to social work is, first of all, ethical theory and therefore, methodological tools or guidelines are inadvisable (also Juul 2009, 415; Houston 2009; 2010), but some proposals to take into the consideration base on this paper could be possible. First, it is important to esteem service users willingness to reciprocity in some way to someone. This means that the social worker sees the client from a different perspective, not simply as someone who must co-operate and conform to an institution (Arlt1934). Also, Addams (1905/1902) emphasizes that for example, the reciprocity of interests is a crucial precondition for unconstrained community life, which is important in the multicultural social work. Second, it is important to understand how *the change* including past experiences and resettlement affects refugees' skills, abilities and roles, and connected to that, how the *recovery process is social in nature* and also includes possibilities *to build* new skills, abilities and other potential and *opportunities to get esteem* because of that capacity. Third, cultural safety can enable integration because culture is supposed to render life predictable (deVries 1996, 407). Therefore, it is important that settlement workers co-operate with people who came from the same ethnic background than the newcomers. This is also one way of reciprocity between refugees and social workers even if reciprocity should be seen in a larger societal and international context. And relating to cultural background, social workers should identify humiliation and stigmatisation as taking a racist and discriminatory form as an extremely serious form of denying esteem. In summary, the concept of social esteem can be applied to social work in at least three ways: to identify social needs, to find out the relationships and structures which humiliate and stigmatise and to identify relationships supporting social esteem.

Social esteem seems to be transnational if we would like our skills, achievements, roles or features to get esteemed in a reciprocal relationship. The need to be socially esteemed is important in traditional circumstances and in more individualised modern societies where people still define themselves by their social roles. Also, in modernity people are still dependent on the social and cultural groups where they belong and therefore people still define themselves by their social roles (Hogg 2006, 116; Taylor 1994, 31). Thus, after resettlement the change is sometimes enormous and that change should be seen, first of all, as reframing social roles, skills and other competences which are not relevant in the new social and cultural context. Another theoretical consideration of the concept of social esteem is its normative nature in the context of resettlement. It means that refugees would like to contribute to the state as reci-

procity to protection by the state. Even if the contribution needs personal relations, in some cases the ultimate goal is to give back to the state (Ikäheimo 2010, 11; Laitinen 2010). The roles and capacities should be seen as strengths to the new society and the settlement workers have to understand that the change has an impact to self-realisation and self-esteem. The challenge is to find the relevance for the roles and skills in the new circumstances.

References

- Aarts, Petra, and Wybrand Velde Op den. 1996. Prior Traumatization and the Process of Aging: Theory and Clinical Implications. In *Traumatic Stress. The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. Ed. Bessel A. van der Kolk, McFarlane, Alexander C. and Weisaeth, Lars, 359–378. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Act of Integration of Immigrants and the Reception of the Asylum Seekers* (493/1999, 280/2006). <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1999/19990493>
- Act of Promoting of Integration* (1383/2010). <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2010/20101386>
- Addams, Jane. 1905. *Democracy and Social Ethics* 1902. London: The Macmillan Company.
- Ager, Alastair. 2002 Psychosocial Needs in Complex Emergencies. *The Lancet* 360: 4–44.
- Anderson, J. 1995. Translator's Introduction. In *The Struggle for Recognition – The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Honneth, Axel. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Arlt, Ilse. 1934. On the Way to the Scientific Analysis of Poverty. *A Journal of Case Work and Social Effort*. Vol. VIII Charity Organization Society. London: Denson House. 2–21.
- Barclay, Heather Haas. 1998. Validity Tortured Refugees: Reconnection in Social Work Policy and Practise. *International Social Work* 41, No. 2: 211–226.
- Bloomfield, David 2003. Reconciliation: An Introduction. In *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict. A Handbook*. Ed. Huyse Barnes, and David Bloomfield. Stockholm: IDEA.
- Brown, Rupert. 2000. Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30: 74 – 778.
- deVries, Martin W. 1996. Trauma in Cultural Perspective. In *Traumatic Stress. The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society*. Ed. Bessel A. van der Kolk, Alexander C. McFarlane, Lars Weisaeth, 398–413. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Ekholm, Elina, Sophie Magennis and Leni Salmelin. 2005. *Shaping Our Future. A Practical Guide to Selection, Reception and Integration of Resettled Refugees*. Helsinki: Prima Oy.
- Flick, Uwe. 2006. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Third Edition. London: Sage Publications.

- Forsander, Annika. 2002. *Luottamuksen Ehdot. Maahanmuuttajat 1990 –luvun Suomalaisilla Työmarkkinoilla*. [Conditions of Trust. Immigrants in the 1990's Finnish Labour Market] Helsinki: Väestöliitto.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1997. *Justice Interrupts*. New York: Routledge.
- Galtung, Johan. 2001. After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Resolution. In *Reconciliation, Justice and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*. Ed. Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Lanham, MD, Lexington Books.
- Garrett, Paul M. 2010. Recognizing the Limitations of the Political Theory of Recognition: Axel Honneth, Nancy Fraser and Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work* 40, No. 5: 1517–1533.
- Goldhagen, Daniel, J. 2009. *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism, and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*. University of Toronto: New College.
- Gosh, Flora and Søren Juul. 2008. Lower Benefits to the Refugees in Denmark: Missing Recognition? *Social Work & Society* 6: 88–105.
- Hogg, Michael A. 2006. Social Identity Theory. In *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*. Ed. Peter James Burge, 111–137. Stanford: Stanford University Press, California.
- Honneth, Axel. 1995. *The Struggle for Recognition – The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Honneth, Axel. 2007. *Disrespect. The Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Honneth, Axel, and Fraser Nancy. 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*. London: Verso.
- Horst, Cindy, Rojan Ezzati, Matteo Guglielmo, Petra Mezzetti, Päivi Pirkkalainen, Valeria Saggiomo, Giulia Sinatti and Andrea Warnecke. 2010. *Participation of Diasporas in Peace Building and Development. A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers*. PRIO-report. 2/2010.
- Houston, Stan. 2010. Beyond Homo Economics: Recognition, Self-realization and Social work. *British Journal Social Work* 41: 841–857.
- Houston, Stan. 2009. Communication, Recognition and Social Work: Aligning the Ethical Theories of Habermas and Honneth. *British Journal of Social Work* 39, No.7: 1274–1290.
- Houston, Stan. 2008. Transcending Ethno-Religious Identities: Social Work's Role in the Struggle for Recognition in Northern Ireland. *Australian Social Work* 61, No. 1: 25–41.
- Houston, Stan, and Pat Dolan. 2007. Conceptualizing Child and Family Support: The Contribution of Honneth's Critical Theory of Recognition. *Children and Society* 22, No. 6: 458–469.
- Hynes, Tricia. 2003. *The issue of "Trust" or "Mistrust" in Research with Refugees: Choices, Caveats and Considerations for Researcher*. Geneva: Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit.
- Hänninen, Vilma. 2004. A Model of Narrative Circulation. *Narrative Inquiry* 14: 69–85.

- Ikäheimo, Heikki. 2010. Personifying Contributational Account. In *The Plural States of Recognition*. Ed. Michael Seymour. Palgrave.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki. 2009. A Vital Human Need: Recognition as Inclusion in Personhood. *European Journal of Political Theory* 8, No. 31:31–45.
- Ikäheimo, Heikki. 2003. *Tunnustus, Subjektiviteetti ja Inhimillinen Elämänmuoto. Tutkimuksia Hegelistä ja Persoonien Välisistä Tunnustussuhteista*. [Subjectivity and the Human Life Form: Studies on Hegel and Interpersonal Recognition] Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research 220. Jyväskylän Yliopisto.
- Jenkins, Richard 1997. *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations*. London: Sage.
- Juul, Søren. 2010. Solidarity and Social Cohesion in Late Modernity: A Question of Recognition, Justice and Judgment in Situation. *European Journal of Social Theory* 13, No. 2: 253–269.
- Juul, Søren. 2009. Recognition and Judgement in Social Work. *European Journal of Social Work* 4, No. 12: 403–417.
- Kamali, Masoud. 1999. Distorted Integration. Problems of Monolithic Order. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences* 12, No. 1: 81–97.
- Kamali, Masoud. 1997. *Distorted Integration. Clientization of Immigrants in Sweden*. Multiethnic Papers. Uppsala University, Uppsala: Reprocentralen HSC.
- Laitinen, Arto. 2010. An Unrestricted Normativist Account. In *The Plural States of Recognition*. Ed. Michael Seymour. Palgrave.
- Laitinen, Arto. 2009. Recognition, Needs and Wrongness: Two Approaches. *European Journal of Political Theory*. 8, No. 13: 13–30.
- Lieblich, Amia, Rivka Tuval-Mashiach and Tamar Zilber. 1998. *Narrative Research. Reading, Analysis and Interpretation*. Applied Social Research Methods Series, Volume 47. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi.
- Malkki, Liisa. 1995. "Refugees and Exile: From Refugee Studies to the national Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, No. 1: 495–523.
- Nicholson, Barbara, and Tali, K. Walters. 1997. The Effects of Trauma on Acculturative Stress: A Study of Cambodian Refugees. *Journal of Multicultural Social Work* 6, No. 3/4: 27–46.
- Potter, Jonathan. 1996. *Representing Reality. Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. Great Britain: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Seglow, Jonathan. 2009. Rights, Contribution, Achievement: Self-Esteem as Achievement and Contribution. *European Journal of Political Theory* 8, No. 1: 61–75.
- Shacknove, Andrew E. 1985. Who is a refugee? *Ethics* 95, No. 2: 274–284.
- Sluzki, Carlos E. 2003. The Process Towards Reconciliation. In *Imagine Coexistence: Restoring Humanity after Violent Ethnic Conflict*. Ed. A. Chayes and M. Milow, 21–31. San Francisco: Jossey – Bass.
- Soguk, N. 1999. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacement of Statecraft*. University of Minnesota Press.

- Squire, Corinne. 2008. Experience –Centred and Culturally –Oriented Approach to Narrative. In *Doing Narrative Research*. Ed. Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage.
- Summerfield, Derek. 2002. Effects of War: Moral Knowledge, Revenge, Reconciliation and Medical Concepts of Recovery. *British Medical Journal* 9, No. 325 (7372): 1105–1107.
- Tajfel, H., and J. C. Turner. 1986. The Social Identity Theory of Inter-Group Behavior. In *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* Ed. S. Worchel and L. W. Austin. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Taylor, Charles. 1994. The Politics of Recognition. In *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Ed. Amy Guttmann, 25–75. Princeton: Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Taylor, Donald M., and Esther Usborne. 2010. When I Know Who “We” are, I Can Be “Me”: The primary Role of Cultural Identity Clarity for Psychological Well-Being. *Transcultural Psychiatry* 47, No. 1: 93–111.
- Tiilikainen, Marja. 2003. *Arjen islam: Somalinaisten elämää Suomessa*. [Everyday Islam: Life of Somali Women in Finland] Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Tilastokeskus [Finnish Statistical Office]. 2011. *Väestö* [Population]. <http://tilastokeskus.fi/til/vrm.html>.
- Turtiainen, Kati. 2009a. Kertomuksia uuden kynnyksellä – Luottamuksen rakentuminen kiintiöpakolaisten ja viranomaisten välillä. [Stories on the New Step after Arriving to Finland. Trust Building between Quota Refugees and Public Authorities] *Janus* 17, No. 4: 329–345.
- Turtiainen, Kati. 2009b. Recognition and Recognitive Attitudes between Refugees and Authorities. A Finnish Example. In *Theories and Methods of Social Work. Exploring Different Perspectives*. Ed. Vesna Leskosek, 149–161. Faculty of Social Work. University of Ljubljana.
- Turtiainen, Kati. 2011. Riippuvuus pakolaisia vastaanottavassa sosiaalityössä [Dependency in the Refugee Resettlement Social Work]. In *Sosiaalityön arvot ja etiikka*. Ed. Aini Pehkonen and Marja Väänänen – Fomin, 139–164. Sosiaalityön tutkimuksen seuran vuosikirja. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus.
- Valenta, Marko, and Nihad Bunar. 2010. State Assisted Integration: Refugee Integration Policies in Scandinavian Welfare States: the Swedish and Norwegian Experience. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23, No. 4: 463–483.
- Valtonen, Katleen. 2004. From Margin to Mainstream. Conceptualizing Refugee Resettlement Processes. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 17, 1: 70–96.
- Westoby, Peter, and Ann Ingamells. 2010. A Critically Informed Perspective of Working with Resettling Refugee Groups in Australia. *British Journal of Social Work* 40: 1759–1776.
- UNHCR. *Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*. <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/refugees.htm>.
- UNHCR. 2010. *Statistical Yearbook 2009. Trends in Displacement, Protection and Solutions*. The UN Refugee Agency. <http://www.unhcr.org>.