KAIJA MATINHEIKKI-KOKKO

Challenges of Working in a Cross-Cultural Environment

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 131

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Principles and Practice of Refugee Settlement in Finland

Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston vanhassa juhlasalissa (S212)
elokuun 22. päivänä 1997 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 August 22, 1997 at 12 o´clock noon.

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 1997

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Cover
Jorma Luotio

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-8087-0
ISBN 978-951-39-8087-0 (PDF)
ISSN 0075-4625

ISBN 951-39-0016-9
ISSN 0075-4625

Jyväskylä University Printing House,
Jyväskylä and ER-Paino Ky, Lievestuore 1997

ABSTRACT

Matinheikki-Kokko, Kaija
Challenges of working in a cross-cultural environment: Principles and practice of refugee settlement in Finland
Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 1997, 130 p.
(Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research,
ISSN 0075-4625; 131)
ISBN 951-39-0016-9
Finnish summary
Diss.

A conceptual framework was created to identify refugee settlement workers´ awareness of the needs of immigrants as it is manifested in refugee and immigrant policy-making and in individual helping interactions. Cross-tabulating the workers´ social awareness, cultural awareness, and awareness of interventions with the socio-economic welfare, interpersonal and intergroup relations, and psychological welfare of immigrants yielded a domain-specific framework. Three empirical studies were carried out which supported the relevance of such a context-sensitive approach to workers´ awareness in cross-cultural helping.

The first study analysed the Finnish State authorities´ awareness of refugee needs. The qualitative analysis of three refugee settlement programmes indicated that the policies of multiculturalism were best defined in the case of the socio-economic needs of newcomers while the social and psychological needs of refugees were assumed to be identified and satisfied by local settlement workers. The policy programmes were based on the administrators´ own interpretations of refugee needs while refugees and other immigrants were seen as the passive audience of settlement programmes rather than as active contributors to them.

The second study examined the policy-related awareness of refugee needs among local settlement workers (n=283). An awareness scale containing 35 statements concerning refugee welfare policy was constructed. The results indicated that the greatest systematic differences existed in *cultural awareness* among the workers. These differences were related to their professional background and experience as well as to the number of refugees in the municipality. Teachers responsible for adult migration training constituted the most culturally sensitive and flexible group in meeting the needs of refugees.

The third study examined how teacher-counsellors manifested their awareness of the needs of immigrants in their recalled case-reports of successful (n=42) and unsuccessful (n=41) resolutions of conflicts with immigrants. The teacher-counsellors also assessed their own behaviour in these interactions using the Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory- Revised (CCCI-R) as a self-assessment inventory. The contextual and interactive perspective to counselling explained best their multicultural awareness in terms of the nature of the clients conflicts and other related client variables. The interpersonal and psychological conflicts of the clients evoked a critical subjective reflection and self-assessment among the teacher-counsellors about the quality of their own performance during the counselling process. In contrast, the conflicts in the politically well defined socio-economic welfare domain of immigrants did not evoke such a self-focus.

In conclusion, this study shows clearly that settlement workers´ challenges for meeting the needs of clients from other cultures are best understood in the larger socio-cultural context of a host society and in terms of the domain-specific awareness workers have of immigrant welfare.

Keywords: awareness, context, cross-cultural, interaction, migrants, refugees, welfare

PREFACE

My interest in migration studies and cross-cultural psychology originated in my work experiences with refugees. However, when I started my research work I didn't know what it meant to study a subject which in principle lacked a scientific tradition in Finland. The work leading to this present thesis has therefore been a long process, but at the same time it has been a challenge attempting to create a dialogue between multicultural practice and research.

Although this project has been a lonely one for most of the time, without the help and support from countless number of people along the way I certainly wouldn't have come this far. I would first of all like to acknowledge the contribution and co-operation of settlement workers who participated in this work. I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor Lea Pulkkinen who has encouraged me all the way and provided discerning guidance for my research effort. I would also like to express my warmest thanks to Professor Karmela Liebkind for all her accurate criticism, challenging advice and personal support. Similarly, I warmly thank Associate Professor Marika Tandefelt-Träskman, the administrative leader of our research project, for her positive attitude and the energy she put in with respect to the arrangements made to support my work.

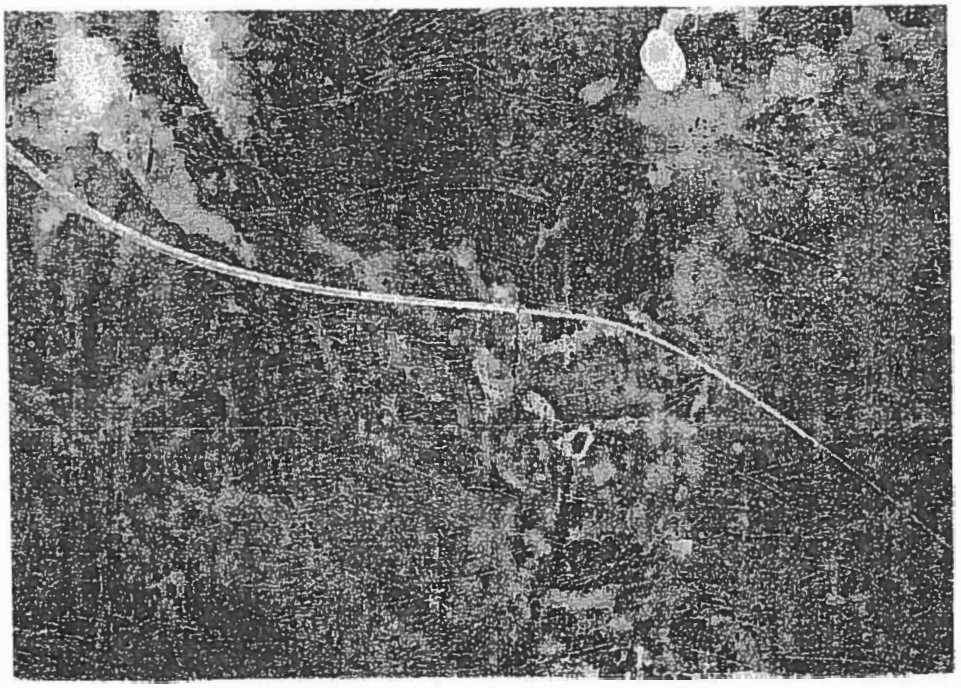
I am also grateful to a number of institutions for various kinds of support during these years. I thank firstly therefore the Academy of Finland for providing the financial support throughout this period. Secondly, my time with the Refugee Studies Programme at the University of Oxford also provided me with the inspiring milieu and cross-cultural atmosphere to broaden my knowledge in cross-cultural research and practice. I want to express in this regard my warmest thanks to Dr. Barbara Harrell-Bond, the director of the Refugee Studies Programme, to my supporting adviser Dr. Giorgia Dona and to my international colleagues. I will always remember the challenging discussions and great parties we had.

Without the help of Stephen Lord and Helena Valtanen my English text would not be readable. It has been a challenge to write in a foreign language. This experience has fostered my cross-cultural awareness of the meaning of context and culture in that I was forced to express one culture in terms of another.

My greatest gratitude is to my family, to my dear husband Jukka, and to my children Tuuli-Maria, Joona-Pekka and Salka who supported and encouraged me throughout my research work. Although I thought that I did not speak much about my work, I noticed that even my youngest nine-year-old daughter knew quite a lot about it. I was surprised when she told me to make a career as a researcher in refugee issues in order to help policy makers in Finland become aware of the needs of immigrants. Moreover, she immediately realized that the study needed to be continued, and that there needed to be a dialogue between researchers and policy makers.

CONTENTS

PART ONE
CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS



1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Finnish experience of hosting refugees

The increased number of refugees and other immigrants in European countries is challenging policy makers to develop welfare policies and programmes to meet the needs of clients from other cultures in complex and dynamic cross-cultural situations. Since the early 1980´s, around five million applications for refugee status have been submitted in Western Europe (UNHCR, 1995). Settlement programmes and practices that have aimed to provide refugee welfare have often been defined in terms of the economic, social, and cultural needs of the newcomers. Perceptions of how best to respond to refugees´ needs, however, have varied among different European host countries and at different times. This study focuses on how refugee needs have been defined and perceived at different levels by Finnish government authorities and by those who work with and are responsible for their settlement and welfare service provision.

Of the total ca. 5 million Finnish population, immigrants and refugees constitute about 1,4%, which is the lowest percentage in Europe. In comparison, in Holland the recent figure was 6% of the total Dutch population, and in the UK the immigrant population constitutes approximately 4.5 million or 8% of the national population (UN Population Fund, 1993). The Bureau for Statistics Finland estimated at the end of 1996 that the total number of foreign citizens living in Finland constituted 74,000 of whom around 14,000 were refugees. The increase in the number of foreign citizens and refugees from 17,000 in 1987 to over four times that amount has, however, been the subject of lively debate in Finland in recent years.

Immigration status has been the most important determinant of settlement policy formation in Finland. Until 1994 settlement policies were developed only for people with refugee status. During the First and Second World Wars, Finland received thousands of refugees (Torvinen, 1984). The recent period in refugee reception began in 1973 after the Finnish Government decided to take

a group of around 200 refugees from Chile. It was not until 1985 however that it decided to admit refugees within a regular framework. Although the quota system involved small numbers, it represented a degree of innovation in Finnish refugee policy. At first this quota was 100 per year, rising gradually to 500 in 1989. Before its introduction, Finland had also received a group of 100 Indochinese refugees in 1979 as a result of a government decision and another group of 43 disabled refugees with their families in 1983. The number of Vietnamese thereafter increased annually within the quota system and within the framework of the family reunification programme, and they were the largest group of refugees in Finland until 1992 (n= 2,319). After 1991 Finland also began to take in Iranians, Kurds from Iraq and Iran from UNHCR camps and, after 1992, people from camps in the former Yugoslavia and their family members within the quota framework. However, after 1992 the largest refugee group has been Somalians, who have been received as asylum-seekers from 1990 onwards. At the end of 1996, over 4,500 Somalians had residence in the country. Before this, the number of asylum seekers arriving at Finland's borders was small. Since 1992 the Somalians as the largest group of asylum-seekers has been overtaken by those from the former Soviet Union. However, altogether since 1992 the number of asylum seekers has declined and stabilized (ECRE, 1994).

The reason for the small number of admitted asylum-seekers in Finland compared to other European countries lies in the small number of people seeking asylum in Finland. It is also due to the narrow way in which the law and its supplementary regulations have been interpreted in the country rather than to Finnish legislation itself regulating immigration (Söderling, 1987). In 1968 Finland signed the 1951 Convention Relating to the Legal status of Refugees and its Protocol, thus undertaking to grant refugees at least as good treatment as that enjoyed by other aliens under similar conditions, and the new Aliens Act, passed in Parliament on 15 February 1991, also improved the treatment of asylum-seekers. Furthermore the EU Maastricht Treaty signed in February 1992 agreed that nationals of third world countries legally living in EU member countries should, as far as possible, have the same rights as the native population.

Therefore, since becoming a member of the European Union at the beginning of 1995, Finland has begun to harmonise its immigration policy and adapt its administrative practices to conform to those of other European Union countries. However, growing restrictions in Europe have, consequently, led to ever stricter immigration policies (Rex, 1992), and since migration to Finland has generally been lower than to other European countries, as reflected in its strict immigration control, the harmonising of immigration policy will thus lead to even further restrictions.

There are also historical reasons for the differences in immigration policy between Finland and Scandinavian countries like Sweden, Norway and Denmark. For example, until the 1990s most foreigners who settled in Finland were returning Finnish emigrants. Thus, they were not necessarily unfamiliar with Finnish society. Until 1994, Finnish migration policy focused narrowly only on refugees and migration back and forth between Finland and Sweden. Moreover, Finland has traditionally been a country of emigration. After the Second World War nearly 700,000 Finns left the country and went to Sweden, North America, Australia and elsewhere (Nieminen, 1994), although around one third of the

emigrants to Sweden have returned. At the present time 78% of all Finnish citizens living abroad are in Sweden (around 112,000). Finally, the large-scale recruitment of migrant workers in Europe since the 1950s resulted in Finland being more a country of departure than arrival. However, immigration currently is higher than emigration.

The number of migrants with Finnish nationality has currently declined and in 1991-93 nearly 75% of the newcomers had foreign nationality (Nieminen, 1994). One central determinant of this migration to Finland has been marriage to a Finnish partner. Because migrants without refugee status have incidentally come to Finland, their reception has not been prepared for by the state or the municipalities in the same way as for the reception of refugees and the repatriation of Ingrians with Finnish ancestors from the former Soviet Union to Finland which began in 1992. In 1994, however, programmes for serving the needs of both refugees and migrants were integrated.

Migrants as well as refugees live all over the country, so there are no ethnic enclaves in Finland in the same way as in many other European countries. In 1995 the newcomers represented over 150 nationalities and a still greater diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, language and culture. At the end of 1996 (Statistics Finland), the largest groups of foreign nationalities living permanently in the country were Russians (around 12,000), Estonians (around 9,000), Swedes (around 7,000), and people from the former Soviet Union (around 5,000). The next largest groups were refugees: Somalians (around 4,600), former Yugoslavians (around 2,500), the majority of them Kosovo Albanians, and Vietnamese (around 2,000).

In 1995, 73% of the foreigners living in the country were of a working age (15-64 years), while the equivalent percentage for the total population was 67% (Statistics Finland, 1996). Under 6% of the foreigners were over 65 and half of them had Swedish nationality, while 14% of the total Finnish population were over 65. The percentage of children (0-14 years) was nearly the same among foreigners (21%) and the total population (19%). However, there are big differences between different ethnic groups. For example, around 40% of the Somalians, Yugoslavians, and Iraqis were under 15 years of age (Statistics Finland, 1996).

Refugees and other migrants currently have a significantly increased risk for having a lower socio-economic status and reduced well-being or mental health compared to the native Finnish population, as a study of family, work and income levels of foreigners (Jaakkola, 1991), studies of the welfare experiences of Vietnamese refugees (Halla, 1991; Liebkind, 1994; Kosonen, 1994), Somalian refugees (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 1994; Virtanen, 1993), Iranian refugees and Russian migrants (Hirstiö-Snellman, 1994), and Polish migrants living in the country (Jaakkola, 1994) indicate. Furthermore, negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants have also generally increased between 1987 and 1993 in the whole population (Jaakkola, 1989,1995). Concurrent with this lack of social support for refugees from the Finnish host population, the availability of support from their own ethnic group may also be lacking due to the policy of dispersal. For example, Vietnamese children settled as a group in Finnish schools were psychologically better adjusted than those without the possibility of forming networks among their own cultural group (Kosonen, 1994; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press). Also refugees living with their family generally

demonstrated significantly better mental health than those who do not, although there were also significant differences in the psychological welfare among Vietnamese family members according to gender, age, time of settlement and degree of acculturation (Liebkind & Kosonen, in press).

According to statistics from 1990, average salaries were lower among refugees than they were among the total population (Ekholm, 1994). Employment is crucial to the well-being of foreigners and there appears to be significant differences between ethnic groups in their employment patterns. The most fundamental question in any assessment of the labour market position of refugees and other foreigners living in the country has, however, become whether or not they have access to employment at all. In 1990 about 10% of refugees (Vietnamese) were unemployed, but in 1992 already 61% of refugees and 43% of the whole foreign population were unemployed while unemployment in the total population was 19%. Thus, unemployment among foreigners was more than twice as high as unemployment in the total population. Unemployment has most seriously affected Somalians, Iraqis and immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, about 90% of whom are currently unemployed (Statistics of the Ministry of Labour, 1996). Also of the Vietnamese refugees 77% are currently unemployed. Although refugees cannot find work, at least they qualify for an unemployment allowance on the same grounds as Finns.

Unemployment or difficulties in gaining appropriate employment constitute additional long-term stressors for refugees and migrants. The long-term consequences of their effects have not yet been addressed in Finland. Though recent studies concerning the mental health of Vietnamese refugees for example (Liebkind, 1994; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press; Valtonen, 1993) have been carried out solely in the context of cultural stressors, these studies clearly demonstrate, that high psychological distress is experienced by them. Intergenerational conflicts also seem to be highly expected because of the different acculturation strategies of the younger and older generations. Vietnamese women and girls particularly suffered high levels of distress. However, the psychological distress among the latter was not considered by Finnish school staff (Kosonen, 1994). These findings point to the importance of considering cultural issues within the framework of settlement and welfare policy.

1.2 Domain-specific awareness in cross-cultural interactions

The possession of perceptions, thoughts, and feelings has been described in psychology by the term *awareness*. The term has a long history, having been used to refer to a wide range of subjective phenomena from the simple, primitive detection of very weak stimuli to a deep understanding of complex cognitive and affective events. In this study the term *awareness* refers to a set of ideas and understandings expressed by settlement authorities and workers about how best to attend, and respond to the needs of refugees and other immigrants. Awareness is perceived to be dynamic in nature involving plans for finding out about objects and events and for obtaining the information needed

in creating awareness. The information that creates awareness at one moment in the cyclic process becomes part of the awareness in the next, determining how further information is accepted (Neisser, 1976; Ridley et al., 1994).

In this context, *immigrant needs* are those demands that settlement authorities and workers perceive to require their attention within the public welfare system. *Immigrant welfare* is the extent to which these workers are aware of and meet immigrants´ *socio-economic, social, and individual needs* (Allardt, 1983; Hill & Bramley, 1986). *A policy of multiculturalism* (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992) tends to be responsive to the needs of other-culture clients in these three domains implying that policy makers and workers should be aware of immigrant needs in these domains. A policy of multiculturalism supports the *integration* of immigrants and it is likely to have at least three characteristics. The first is support in the process of participation within the host society through equal access to employment, education, social and health services (Council of Europe, 1991). The second is the availability of a social and cultural network that provides support during adaptation to the new context. The third is a greater tolerance for and acceptance of cultural diversity. According to the ideology of multiculturalism, the host government aims to respect the values of non-dominant cultural groups. This is opposed to the policy of assimilation, when political pressure to assimilate non-dominant cultural groups into the dominant population is exerted. In western host countries integration is generally considered to be most supportive of refugee welfare compared to a policy supporting their assimilation, separation or marginalization (Berry et al., 1992; Canadian Task Force, 1988a,b; Council of Europe, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996). Many western countries have accepted multiculturalism or integration as the official goal of their refugee and migration policy, without adopting it completely in practice (Council of Europe, 1991).

Despite growing experience with refugees and other immigrants in western host countries (Ager, 1993; Berry et al., 1992; Canadian Task Force, 1988a; Sue & Sue, 1990), relatively little is known about *how* best to support integration through multicultural welfare programmes and practices. There has been no real systematic attempt to research perceptual processing with regard to cross-cultural helping interaction and integration (Escalona & Black, 1994; Joly, Nettleton & Poulton, 1992; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984). Even when governments and agencies are genuine in their efforts to offer assistance, they can be unaware of the components present in their policies which may have a negative impact on refugee welfare (Jablensky, Marsella, Ekblad, Levi & Jansson, 1992; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991; Sue, 1992). Indeed, interactions between workers and refugees easily become enmeshed in complex patterns of emotional involvement, and the needs and motives of both parties are often ambiguously expressed in conflict (Deutsch, 1994; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989; Sue & Sue, 1990). A number of authors (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Liebkind, 1994) argue that the actions of governments and international agencies are aimed at serving their own interests, and these interests may be in conflict with the needs of the refugee. In host countries, the position taken by political parties on refugee issues is usually based on an evaluation of how immigration and integration policies will affect the welfare of the native population (Hammar, 1985).

Increased awareness of refugee welfare has exposed weaknesses in policy,

but it does not explain how workers understand refugees needs. If cross-cultural studies focus only on the experiences of ethnic minority clients and not on those responsible for settlement and welfare services, the picture emerging is too one-sided. Even if welfare programmes will not work if they fail to adopt the perspective of the client, the perspective and experiences of those who serve refugees and other immigrants must also be understood if effective services are to be created for them (Denzin, 1989,1992).

Two broad approaches to the study of cross-cultural helping can be distinguished: policy analyses and psychological analyses of the worker-client relationship. Policy interactions have often been described by ideological constructs such as racism versus anti-racism (Rex, 1986), or *laissez-faire* versus structuralism (Denney, 1983; Ely & Denney, 1987), the politics of universalism versus the politics of difference (Taylor, 1992), and, ethnocentric versus multicultural policy (Berry, 1984; Dahlström, 1971). The first two types of policy analyses stress the structural conditions of minorities and the power relationships present in policy making. The latter two look at the cultural conditions and integration strategies of ethnic minorities and policy makers.

Psychological analyses of cross-cultural helping interactions are often described context-exclusively by cognitive-cultural constructs such as the multicultural or cross-cultural awareness or competence of workers (LaFromboise, Coleman & Hernandez, 1991; Pedersen, 1988; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992). However, although a considerable amount of research has been published on multicultural awareness, so far it has failed to generate an adequate understanding of the ways in which context plays an essential role in grounding workers´ multicultural awareness. Psychologists have collected data at the individual level using behavioural observations and psychological tests. Therefore they have also made only a limited contribution to the broader political and ideological context. Berry (1984) notes that in Canada for example, scarcely a single psychologist has played a major role in policy analyses, even though evaluations of cross-cultural practices have frequently been conducted by psychologists, and despite the fact that policy statements contain concepts and assumptions of a psychological nature.

As psychological studies have typically failed to make connections between the policy level and the individual level, this study aims to analyse data concerning policy interventions as well as inter-individual cross-cultural interactions between workers and refugees. In order to understand and compare the workers´ awareness of immigrant needs at the policy level and in individual face-to-face interactions, this study proposes a conceptual framework within which the workers´ awareness can be identified and compared within the context of immigrant needs.

The word *context* literally means to weave together, to intertwine, to connect. The idea in this study was that the more context is considered, the more it will be realized how the awareness of immigrant needs emerges in a dynamic and interactive process through which authorities and workers become aware of these needs, and how they shape and are shaped by this context (Denzin, 1989; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996). Symbolically *interaction* means taking and acting out the perspective of another, which is a cornerstone of helping (Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992). Each individual worker also holds a set of meanings and expectations for cross-cultural interactions shaped by the

wider context of the society (Denzin, 1992). These influence the behaviour and experiences that each brings to the interactions. By using the same conceptual framework for the empirical analyses, this study aimed to connect the individual workers´ awareness of immigrant needs to the wider ideological context in which the awareness of immigrant needs was produced by the settlement authorities.

In psychological literature, cross-cultural helping is often approached by defining cultural differences *a priori* and then evaluating the multicultural awareness of workers in helping interactions. These general conceptualizations of multicultural awareness and helping may, however, oversimplify the welfare phenomena of clients (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984). In this study, helping is cross-cultural in the sense that workers and clients represent different cultural groups. However, the meanings of cultural differences are determined by the workers and their constructed understanding of immigrant needs is emphasisized. The *constructivist* perspective of these interactions is based on the premise that we do not have direct access to an external reality of these helping interactions, but rather we depend on culturally embedded, interpersonally conncected, and necessarily limited interpretations of this reality (Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996).

While most cross-cultural psychological studies have only concentrated on workers at the behavioural level, this study introduces also the notion of their subjective perceptions and self-assessments. Whether accurate or not, the assessments of one´s own behaviour partly influence the choices one makes in cross-cultural helping activities (Bandura, 1982). For example, workers may avoid helping domains that they believe exceed their capabilities, but are active in those they judge themselves capable of managing. Here the study attempted to draw together theoretical approaches from more general research on subjective attributional biases (Kelley & Michela, 1980) and self-perception mechanisms (Bandura, 1982), and apply them to cross-cultural helping contexts.

The constructivist perspective led to the application of interpretive interactionism as a research method, as developed by Denzin (1989), while attempting also to capture the extent and nature of workers´ awareness of immigrant needs manifested in both policy and in individual helping interactions. In particular, whether they manifested a broad or narrow multicultural awareness of the needs of immigrants, and whether their awareness was multicultural or ethnocentric in nature. The interpretive policy evaluation of this study focused on refugee and immigration policy programmes in order to provide policy makers with pragmatic, action-oriented recommendations for meeting the needs of immigrants (Denzin, 1989,1992). Policy interpretation informed the second type of interpretive work, which focused both on the workers´ expectations of settlement policies and on their interpretations of immigrant needs in face-to-face interactions. In addition to this qualitative, interpretive approach, quantitative methods were also used in the empirical studies.

The following chapter presents the development of a conceptual framework, entitled the Multicultural Awareness of Immigrant Needs (MAIN), for the analysis of workers´ awareness in the context of immigrant needs. The reviewed studies of cross-cultural interactions have been inserted into this framework.

2 A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SETTLEMENT WORKERS' AWARENESS OF IMMIGRANT NEEDS

2.1 Diversity of analytical structures

Studies of cross-cultural helping have adopted different analytical structures with a wide diversity of scientific origins, including counselling psychology (Pedersen, 1988; Ridley et al., 1994; Sundberg & Sue, 1989; Sue & Sue, 1990), cross-cultural psychology (Berry, 1984,1991), sociology (Faist, 1995; Hammar, 1985; Soininen, 1992; Similä, 1992), social work (Denney, 1983; Devore & Schlesinger, 1987; Ely & Denney, 1987; Finlay & Reynolds, 1987; Husband, 1986) and anthropology (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Knudsen, 1986,1988). Immigrant and refugee policy analyses have drawn attention to policy making processes, institutional mechanisms and ideologies for handling migrant welfare in ethnically pluralist welfare states (Ely & Denney, 1987; Hammar, 1985; Soininen, 1992), while the analyses of practices have described developmental models of the acculturation of migrants and their implications for cross-cultural helping interactions (Berry, 1984,1991; Pedersen, 1988; Sue & Sue, 1990).

This diversity of approaches creates problems when attempting to review the current research in the field. All of the above approaches have their merits as well as shortcomings, but it is problematic to make any integrated evaluation of them because of their different research designs. Furthermore, the literature on cross-cultural helping is to a large extent atheoretical in nature and therefore various analyses of resettlement policies and practices suffer from a lack of unity as many researchers (Berry, 1984; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984; Pedersen, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990) have pointed out. Also, analyses of refugee welfare have been assessed as diverse, superficial and generalised in descriptive literature (Ager, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990). Moreover, due to differences in political, social and cultural contexts between host countries, the impact of politics on refugee and immigrant welfare is difficult to measure and compare, even between a

limited number of European Union states (Council of Europe, 1991; Hammar 1985).

The analysis of welfare can be compared to the peeling of an onion. One can take off more and more layers until in the end no onion is left. To be successful in this unravelling process, all variations in welfare implementation need to be explained in terms of measurable variables. The literature does not uncover all of these variations but attempts more to define the nature and extent of immigrants´ needs, which the policy makers and workers should clearly consider when trying to improve their welfare.

The differences between immigrants and refugees are often regarded as a matter of continuum rather than simple categorisation in welfare policy and literature, even if political and legal distinctions clearly separate the two categories (Gold, 1992). This literature review is not restricted to refugees only, but covers the wider phenomenon of welfare in cross-cultural contexts. The terms ethnic minority, cultural minority, non-dominant cultural group or other-culture client have been used in the literature to refer to migrants (including both refugees and immigrants) and other ethno-cultural groups in general. In many cases they form numerically, ethnically, culturally, economically or politically non-dominant cultural or ethnic groups distinct from the dominant ethnic group of a society. They have a common cultural heritage, and comprise an identifiable number of individuals who socially interact and maintain their cultural identity over time (Canadian Task Force, 1988b).

2.2 The identification of awareness dimensions and welfare domains

The generalised structure for multicultural awareness dimensions applied here is close to the types of multicultural or cross-cultural awareness proposed by researchers such as Sue and Sue (1990; LaFromboise, Coleman & Hernandez, 1991; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996), and Pedersen (1988). These scholars identify in their studies sociopolitical knowledge, cultural values and workers´ intervention skills as central factors which have implications for cross-cultural helping processes.

The manifestation of the multicultural awareness of workers is, however, evaluated here in relation to the needs of immigrants in three welfare domains. This brings a new domain-specific insight into the multicultural awareness models of workers. The three welfare domains are formed on the basis of the broad findings of existing research concerning the welfare of refugees and other ethnic minorities. They are not, however, concerned in identifying a hierarchical structure of needs, such as developed by Maslow (Maslow, 1970), as analyses of the priority of human needs have shown that peoples´ experiences of their welfare are influenced by the cultural context (Shweder, 1991; Triandis, 1985,1989) rather than being determined solely by biological factors.

The MAIN framework (Table 1) applied recognises the awareness of settlement workers along three dimensions, and with regard to three welfare domains defined in terms of immigrants needs. The settlement workers´

TABLE 1 A Multicultural Awareness of Immigrant Needs (MAIN) framework depicting the settlement workers´ awareness of immigrant needs

	SETTLEMENT WORKERS' AWARENESS DIMENSIONS		
WELFARE DOMAINS BASED ON THE NEEDS OF THE IMMIGRANTS	1. SOCIAL AWARENESS	2. CULTURAL AWARENESS	3 AWARENESS OF INTERVENTIONS
A SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELFARE	A1. Awareness of the impact of the sociopolitical system on an immigrant´s socio-economic welfare.	A2. Awareness of the impact of cultural differences on an immigrant´s socio-economic welfare.	A3. Awareness of the interventions appropriate to an immigrant´s socio-economic welfare.
B. INTER-PERSONAL AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS	B1. Awareness of the impact of the sociopolitical system on an immigrant´s social networks.	B2. Awareness of the impact of cultural differences on an immigrant´s interpersonal and intergroup relations.	B3. Awareness of the interventions appropriate to an immigrant´s interpersonal and intergroup relations.
C. PSYCHO-LOGICAL WELL-BEING	C1. Awareness of the impact of the social background on an immigrant´s well-being.	C2. Awareness of the impact of cultural differences on an immigrant´s identity development.	C3. Awareness of the interventions appropriate to an immigrant´s psychological welfare.

awareness dimensions are 1) *social awareness*, 2) *cultural awareness*, and 3) *awareness of interventions*. The welfare domains of immigrants include A) *socio-economic welfare*, B) *interpersonal and intergroup relations*, and C) *psychological well-being*.

The first function of this framework is to indicate how the awareness of workers may be related to the central needs of refugees or other immigrants. Despite great differences in the needs of different ethnic groups, a majority of the important elements of cross-cultural helping are common across cultures and clients (Sundberg & Sue, 1989). These elements include here the three welfare domains of immigrants and the three multicultural awareness dimensions of workers, which seem equally applicable to cross-cultural helping in all western host countries. Together, they form the structure of the conceptual framework. However, this does not mean that we can adapt universalist perspective toward cross-cultural helping. On the contrary, it is important to recognize that while commonalities exist between varying ethnic groups, differences are also present (Oerter,1996; Oerter et al., 1996; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). Thus, the second function of the

conceptual framework is to provide the basis for analysing the differences both across the welfare domains and across the helping situations with members of different ethnic groups. These differences may be correlated with needs, cultural values, social background and responses unique to an ethnic group or individuals. The research literature on immigrant welfare includes both universalist (*etic-based*) and cultural relativist (*emic-based*) orientations to welfare (Berry et al., 1992). The third function of the framework is to provide a continuum for the empirical analyses of workers´ multicultural awareness of immigrants needs at different levels within the welfare system of a society. It allows comparisons not only between individual perceptions among workers but also between different ideologies.

2.3 Awareness dimensions

2.3.1 General standards of multicultural awareness

Cross-cultural counselling literature has identified some general standards necessary for increasing multicultural awareness among professionals (Pedersen, 1988,1991; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). The general structure of a workers´ multicultural awareness includes the following types of relatively stable predispositions: 1) workers' awareness of clients social background and of the impact of their own social assumptions and values upon ethnic minorities; 2) workers´ understanding of the world view of culturally different clients, and cultural awareness of their own values; and 3) workers´ awareness of appropriate cross-cultural intervention strategies and techniques. Three columns in Table 1 describe these awareness dimensions, which encompass the attitudes, values, knowledge, and interest that form a motivational basis for helping and also the skills for interventions considered appropriate for each case and for the evaluation of helping outcomes.

Within this framework the ability to take the perspective of an ethnic minority client has been widely considered as fundamental to the development of effective cross-cultural helping. Recognizing that others have a different point of view changes the way workers perceive them, as well as how they understand their own perceptions of welfare. Indeed, the scholars have emphasized that workers should be aware of their own cultural heritage, their own social values and biases, racist attitudes and their impact on ethnic minority clients, and not only on an intellectual level, but also on an emotional level.

Morover, in cross-cultural interaction, ´a culturally skilled worker is one who is in the process of actively developing and practising appropriate, relevant and sensitive intervention strategies and skills in working with his or her culturally different clients´ (Sue & Sue, 1990, 166). Cross-cultural counselling studies of face-to-face interventions (Pedersen, 1988; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992) have emphasized the communication skills of workers and their ability to negotiate mutual meanings, rules and positive

outcomes with other-culture clients. According to Pedersen (1988) workers have to be able to keep in mind both their own responses and clients´ responses in dealing with the welfare issues of other-culture clients. Workers therefore require a wide repertoire of intervention strategies, an ability to send and receive verbal and nonverbal messages accurately and an ability to recognize their own limitations in cross-cultural helping situations (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Sue & Sue, 1990). This is no easy task as Pedersen (1988) has noticed that skilled workers perhaps make as many mistakes as do unskilled ones even if they are more able in learning from these and correcting them when they occur.

Indeed, cross-cultural helping interactions are affected by the social and cultural background of clients and workers´ awareness of such factors. How workers respond to the needs of ethnic minorities depends on how they define them. Teun A van Dijk (1988) has criticized the dominant elite, which advocates welfare provision for ethnic minorities, because they assume power for themselves by defining the problems of minorities and the solutions to them. In this way welfare services and actions have been based on their assumptions of immigrant needs and what is seen to underly them. However, there is a general tendency to view helping interactions from the standpoint of one´s own culture and systems (Triandis, 1990). When workers represent the dominant cultural group, they may, in cross-cultural helping prefer the interpretations of this group. Consequently, evaluations of groups representing another culture may, in the larger society, be profoundly biased.

2.3.2 Biases in awareness

Biases in social awareness (Column 1, in Table 1). Differences in class, values and socio-economic status between workers and immigrants may cause biases in the workers´ interpretations of immigrant needs. For workers who come from a middle- and upper-class background it may be difficult to relate to the circumstances and hardships affecting immigrants, especially refugees, who have often not had the opportunities to direct and control their own lives in their country of origin. In a settlement country also, immigrants´ lives may be characterised by low wages, unemployment and a lack of control, with feelings of helplessness and dependence easily developed under these circumstances. Therefore, workers with very different socio-economic backgrounds and experiences in regard to society may unwittingly interpret attitudes that result from social adversity to the individual traits of immigrants (Berry et al., 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sundberg & Sue, 1989).

Biases in cultural awareness (Column 2, in Table 1). In a situation where clients represent non-dominant cultural groups and service providers represent a host welfare system, *culture* comes into play. This implies that awareness of immigrant welfare is also culturally produced and mediated (Pedersen, 1991; Segall, 1986; Segall, Dasen, Berry & Poortinga, 1990). In terms of meanings, the concept of culture influences all symbolic meanings, such as beliefs, values, preferences and information processing, which, in turn influence interpretations of cross-cultural interactions (Rohner, 1984). Even when people have similar values relating to socio-economic welfare, human relationships and individual welfare, the best way of realising them may vary according to their culture.

People representing a dominant cultural group tend to interpret the behaviour of members of non-dominant cultural groups selectively in a way that may establish attributional biases in interpretations (Kelley & Michela, 1980; Rodkin, 1993). This means that interpretations of others are biased in the direction of overemphasizing the importance of personal, dispositional factors and underestimating the influence of the environment and situations. The less workers know about the culture of their clients, the less they are able to identify with the cultural reasons for a client´s actions and as a consequence the more likely they are to attribute those actions to a client´s personal traits. Furthermore, individuals tend to categorise members of other cultural groups along fewer and less complex lines than members of their own group (Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984; Triandis, 1990). Research on stereotyping and intergroup attractiveness (Feldman & MacDonald, 1980; Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Tajfel, 1982) supports the notion that inaccuracy in categorization, in turn, encourages ineffective communication and low interpersonal attractiveness (Korten, 1974).

Oddou and Mendenhall (1984) assumed that people representing a dominant cultural group will base their perceptual conclusions of ethnic minorities primarily on observable behaviour, rather than on the expectations behind the particular behaviour, or the values behind those expectations as held by the minority group. Thus, behaviour will be the salient issue in forming perceptions about them and attitudes will be inferred from that behavior. This may mediate biased interpretations, because we know that people from different cultures may behave in the same way for very different reasons, as well as behave in a different way for similar ones. Furthermore, the majority´s stereotypes of minorities are evident mostly at the behavioural level.

Finally, due to culturally biased information processing, the disparity between the actual information workers receive about a particular ethnic group, and the information they use to comprehend that group, may be quite large. And significantly, neither are the faulty interpretations of why others act the way they do likely to be corrected. Rather, due to the selective processing of information, constructed category characteristics usually become more deeply ingrained in cognition (Rodkin, 1993).

Biases in interventions (Column 3, in Table 1). The tension between the *universalist* or mainstream orientation versus *cultural relativist* or culture-specific orientation is reflected in the various debates in policy and professional helping models (Berry & et al., 1992; Council of Europe, 1991; Draguns, 1989; Ely & Denney, 1987; Hammar, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989; Taylor, 1992; Triandis, 1989; Triseliotis, 1986). A politic of *universalism* emphasizes the equal dignity of all citizens, and the content of policy interventions has been the equalization of rights and entitlements. The universalist position views ethnic minorities as being oppressed and exploited in a manner similar to indigenous disadvantaged groups. It tends to play down differences between what are seen to be groups of people with similar basic needs, and considers the State responsible for providing equality of opportunity for all, and making basic public services easily accessible. What is to be avoided at all cost is the existence of ´first-class´ and ´second-class´ citizens. The actual measures implemented according to this principle have, however, varied greatly, and are often controversial. For some, equalization has affected only refugee and migrant legal rights; for others, it has extended more widely into the socio-economic and cultural spheres (Hammar, 1985).

In contrast, the relativists emphasize particular sociopolitical and cultural needs of ethnic minorities, demanding culture specific modes of policies called *affirmative or positive actions* or *get-tough* policies so as to help them cope better with the process of immigration. They point to the failure of equal-opportunities or the equal-treatment-for-all concept, as shown by the continued disparities between minorities and the majority. Furthermore, relativists argue that the universalist approach, by failing to acknowledge and respond to differences, indirectly favours the assimilation or marginalization of immigrants. Universalist policies do not respond to the special needs of ethnic minorities, as they are not readily accommodated by existing categories of service. According to the supporters of affirmative actions, in the host country common policies can only be the ones that have long been dominant in a given society and they therefore represent the values of the majority. As a result, the equal treatment of immigrants with different sociopolitical and cultural backgrounds requires the creation of distinct institutions and services that cater exclusively for different immigrant communities.

Relativists are likely to recognise the need for changing the surrounding society and its institutions to respond to the needs of ethnic minorities (Taylor, 1992; Triseliotis, 1986). In addition to universal characteristics, there exist conceptualizations of human nature that comprise culture specific elements (Berry et al., 1992; Oerter et al., 1996; Oerter, 1996; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). Therefore, neglect or minimization of these cultural and social differences would lead to helping practices that would be inappropriate, ineffective or even harmful for ethnic minorities. According to relativists existing physical, social and economic arrangements are important targets of change in order to meet the needs of newcomers in terms of their own cultural positions. Projects will be launched to create suitable opportunities for success in the host society. Relativists argue that the constructs of ´normality´ or ´abnormality´, ´healthy´ or ´unhealthy´ may, however, be inadvertently applied to minority members, if workers perceive their own conditioned values, assumptions, and perspectives of reality as universal without regard for the legitimacy of the views of ethnic minorities. In contrast, universalists argue that specific actions worsen relations among ethnic newcomers and established residents and that specific ´affirmative actions´ policies are considered to be part of the ethnic communities problems (Bach, 1993).

The cross-cultural studies have defined these three dimensions for settlement workers´ multicultural awareness, and are also used in the MAIN framework of this study (Columns 1-3, in Table 1). However, the studies have also revealed several limitations of defining multicultural awareness, such as the definitional variance of multicultural awareness, the inadequate and context-exclusive descriptions of construct indicators, the lack of theoretical grounding, and limitations in measurement and research designs (Ridley et al., 1994). In an attempt to overcome current limitations of the multicultural awareness construct, this study proposes a domain-specific framework for workers´ multicultural awareness that completes previous presentations. First, this study specifies the multicultural awareness construct in relation to immigrant needs and second, links it to the constructs of immigrant welfare, and studies of immigrant acculturation or integration. Third, this domain-specific approach also specifies the construct indicators and measurements of multicultural

awareness. An abstract definition of workers´ multicultural awareness can be demonstrated within the domain-specific framework by workers´ cognitive and behavioural responses related to the welfare or problems of an other-culture client.

2.4 Awareness in the three welfare domains

2.4.1 Domain-specific awareness

The basic assumption guiding this approach is that the extent and nature of the multicultural awareness of workers may vary in cross-cultural helping interactions depending on which welfare domain it concerns. Welfare encompasses a wide range of phenomena. Welfare as a social psychological and sociological concept has often referred to community, to ethnic relations, and to the environmental features of social institutions (Allardt, 1983; Berry, 1984,1991,1997; Hammar, 1985; Henriksen, 1985; Jaakkola, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990), whereas welfare as a psychological concept refers to the mental health, self-esteem, identity consolidation and well being or satisfaction of individual immigrants (Ager, 1993; Beiser, 1991; Berry, 1997; Canadian Task Force, 1988a,b; Liebkind, 1994; Rumbaut, 1991). This means that welfare has to be dissected into distinct domains.

The domain-specific framework developed in this study allows for the analysis of workers´ multicultural awareness in the context of the three *welfare domains*, which appeared to be central in regulating the welfare position of immigrants in western host countries: 1) *socio-economic conditions* (Row A, in Table 1), 2) *interpersonal and intergroup relations* (Row B, in Table 1), and 3) *psychological welfare* (Row C, in Table 1). The socio-economic welfare domain encompasses the needs that concern satisfying the socio-economic needs of immigrants, such as opportunity to work, education, housing, health, and social care. The interpersonal and intergroup relations encompass the needs of the immigrants, considered in their own cultural context, such as the opportunity to maintain and develop one´s own family life and ethnic group, opportunity for intergroup contacts, sharing and tolerance, and opportunity to maintain one´s own language as well as to master the official language of the host society. The psychological welfare domain encompasses the individual needs of immigrants that concern their internal adaptation to the host society, such as the feelings of having a place in the host society, feelings of satisfaction, well-being, and the development of their own identity in the host society.

A call for becoming aware of these immigrant needs resounds throughout the literature concerning immigrant welfare. Implicit here is the assumption that multicultural awareness of immigrant needs facilitates welfare policies and their implementation, resulting in better outcomes for immigrant welfare, while the lack of awareness reduces policy effectiveness. Unfortunately, immigrant welfare policies often manifest a lack of awareness of immigrant needs necessary to fulfil a policy of multiculturalism (Berry et al., 1992; Council of Europe, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990).

2.4.2 Awareness in the socio-economic domain

Firstly, the access of refugees and other immigrants to equal socio-economic conditions is threatened by the institutional practices of host countries which are tied to majority values and therefore are not responsive to the social and cultural needs of ethnic minorities (Row A, in Table 1). The risks of immigrants having a disadvantaged socio-economic status (Cell A1, in Table 1) have been clearly measured and pointed out by researchers in many western countries, such as Finland (Ekholm, 1994; Halla, 1986; Jaakkola, 1991), Sweden (Drobnic, 1990; Leiniö, 1984; Wadesjö, Jonung & Lundahl, 1982), Denmark (Hjarno, 1991; Körmendi & Melchior, 1987; Melchior, 1990), England (Mason, 1995) and Germany (Blume, 1988).

Several research findings and reviews (Canadian Task Force, 1988a; Draguns, 1990; Henriksen, 1986; Sundberg & Sue, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990) also show that the entry of refugees and immigrants into the welfare system of a host country is affected by cultural background and attitudes toward helpseeking (Cell A2, in Table 1). For example, people from Asia or Africa hold a very different concept of what constitutes mental health, mental illness, and adjustment than do Europeans. Thus, Vietnamese refugees, for example, have less positive attitudes toward seeking professional psychological help, are less likely to recognize the need for help and are more concerned with the stigma attached to professional helping than people in Europe (Liebkind, 1993, 1994,1996) or in the US (Montero & Dieppa, 1982; Sundberg & Sue, 1990). The culture of a host-country determines not only the norms of how to help, but also the set-up of the service-system (Ting-Toomey, 1985). Sue and Sue (1990) noticed, for example, that while ethnic minorities in the US are more likely to bring primarily their vocational and educational concerns to the attention of counsellors than their psychological problems, only 15% of the counsellors themselves expressed interest in vocational and educational counselling, 85% stating they would more likely give help for the clinical problems of ethnic minorities. Consequently, vocational and educational counselling of other-culture clients is largely ignored in cross-cultural counselling research (Herr, 1985; Meijers & Piggott, 1995; Super, 1985).

The development of overall *universal* policy interventions (Cell A3, in Table 1) to overcome socio-economic deprivation in employment, education, housing, social and health care among both immigrants and non-immigrants has failed to provide a solution to their disadvantaged situation. Research strongly suggests that where resources are scarce, universal socio-economic distribution processes tend to favour the indigenous population at the expense of refugees and immigrants, even in cases where equal rights exist on paper (Council of Europe, 1991).

2.4.3 Awareness within the domain of interpersonal and intergroup relations

Secondly, the possibility for refugees and other immigrants to gain support from interpersonal and intergroup relations is threatened by their separation from the family, their isolation from other members of the ethnic group, the lack

of friendly reception by the host population, and the lack of respect given towards their own ethnic group (Row B, in Table 1). The welfare of refugees and other immigrants is not just a socio-economic phenomenon or a set of hard facts that are possible to measure and observe using standard instruments. Migration is also followed by group level changes in the social and cultural framework which alters also the base through which immigrants interpret their welfare in everyday life. However, the changes in ethnic minorities´ social settings resulting from cross-cultural encounters are often more hidden and gradual than changes in socio-economic settings.

The *social structures* of immigrants´ networks (Cell B1, in Table 1) have an impact on the ways in which they receive social support in host countries. More adjustment difficulties have been noted in refugees or other immigrants who have had no family support in the host country, who have had no opportunity for receiving social support from among their own ethnic group, or who have been affected by negative attitudes among the dominant population (Brody, 1994; Canadian Task Force, 1988a,b; Westermeyer, 1987).

The central importance of the family and one´s own ethnic group as a protective factor can be seen clearly through studies of Southeast Asian refugees, in the United States (Haines, Rutherford & Thomas, 1981; Montero & Dieppa, 1982; Tran Van Thanh, 1987; Rumbaut, 1991; Westermeyer et al., 1983; Westermeyer,1987), in Canada (Beiser,1991), in England (Dalglish, 1989), in Norway (Knudsen, 1986,1988) and in Finland (Liebkind, 1994,1996; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press; Valtonen, 1993). Accordingly, the strong dispersal settlement of refugees in host countries has been criticizied because it has led to a lack of natural social support among this group. This has caused far-reaching difficulties in adaptation, and has, as a consequence of a high rate of secondary migration increased the probability of poor mental health (Westermeyer, 1987).

Besides support from the family and one´s own ethnic group acting as buffer factors, friendly reception and social linkages to the dominant population also support adaptation to the host society (Berry, 1984,1991,1997; Canadian Task Force, 1988a,b; Fawcett, 1989). Negative attitudes towards refugees or other immigrants, whether they are called ethnocentrism, xenophobia, or racism, affect sociocultural and psychological welfare, not only for adults but also by inflicting damaging wounds on children (Beiser, 1991; Kosonen, 1994). Dispersal policies have aimed to decrease these negative attitudes, but studies show that the higher the representation of ethnic minorities among the local population, the lower are the negative stereotypes toward these groups. This rule is valid at least until the population of ethnic minorities within the population at large reaches 20% (Kalin & Berry, 1982).

The welfare of ethnic minorities depends not only on the mere fact of their acceptance, but also on the terms on which they are accepted. It is important to consider also the cultural assumptions of host societies (Cell B2, in Table 1) concerning the choices of acculturation strategies offered for immigrants in the domain of interpersonal and intergroup relations, such as the family, ethnic and host community. This domain is more private than its socio-economic welfare counterpart and therefore greater cultural maintenance may be sought in interpersonal relationships than in more public domains, such as the work place or welfare services. Political views have also aimed to emphasize the importance of culture, particularly in the private welfare domain. Rex (1986) for

instance argues that a society can be defined as multicultural when it provides the opportunity to practice diverging cultural practices in the private domain (eg. family arrangements, religion, language and cultural arts) whilst simultaneously guaranteeing equal political and social rights for ethnic minorities in the public sphere.

As in the domain of socio-economic welfare, so also in interpersonal relations workers have to deal with cultural differences (Hofstede, 1984). However, cultural values in this domain are often more emotionally sensitive as they may be linked to family structure, gender roles, child rearing, the structure of social relations and communication styles (Berry et al., 1992; Deutsch, 1994; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). This suggests that the lack of multicultural awareness among workers will easily result in an ethno-centric orientation in regard to cultural differences in the domain of social relationships. The greater the incongruence in expectations on both sides of the helping relationship, the more difficult it will be to establish trust, confidence and mutual norms between workers and their clients.

The study findings (Berry, 1984) support the type of interventions (Cell B3, in Table 1) which encourage the minority´s own *group development and maintenance*, and permits in the minority a sense of confidence. A wealth of research similarly suggests that ethnic collectivism is a major factor in the adaptation and welfare of immigrants. Ethnic solidarity seems to grow with time and to provide the members of ethnic groups with invaluable economic, social and informational resources (Gold, 1992). Multicultural policy also states that without the encouragement of *intergroup contact and sharing* ethnic grouping may lead to isolation and have negative consequences in regard to *mutual group acceptance and tolerance* (Berry, 1984). Studies of acceptance and tolerance among majority toward different ethnic groups (Jaakkola, 1995) generally support this multicultural view along with the well-known contact hypothesis, that under certain conditions (Pettigrew, 1986) *intergroup contact* is positively associated with *group acceptance and tolerance. The learning of official languages* also has an impact on social relations as it provides a vehicle for intergroup contact and sharing and accomodates group acceptance and tolerance. The linguistic vitality of ethnic minorities including also their mother tongue is important for group maintenance and development especially through the advantages afforded by bilingualism (Cummins, 1981,1989; Jayasuriya,1990; Levine & Havighurst, 1989; Martin-Jones, 1989; Ozolins, 1993). Therefore, a policy of multiculturalism should also support an ethnic minorities´ mother tongue learning.

2.4.4 Awareness in the psychological welfare domain

Thirdly, the psychological welfare of immigrants is threatened by the decline in their social status and self-esteem, and the lack of support provided for the development of their own cultural identity (Row C, in Table 1). The definition of the psychological welfare of ethnic minority members given by Berry and Sam (1996) encompasses the context-inclusive idea of mental health and shows how it overlaps with the socio-economic welfare and interpersonal relationships domains. It refers to a set of internal psychological adaptation processes including the achievement of personal satisfaction, the feeling of having a place

in the new cultural context, a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, and good mental health.

Group level changes in the social, political, economic or cultural opportunities available to refugees and immigrants cause changes in their personal behaviour, values, identity and ´self´ (Berry, 1997; Canadian Task Force, 1988a,b; Triandis, 1990). Like changes in social relationships (Row B, in Table 1), these psychological changes also can be hidden and slow. In acculturation studies the term ´psychological arrival´ denotes a point of time at which psychological reactions suddenly emerge even up to three years after arrival in the country (Liebkind, 1994; Rumbaut, 1991). This is because initially problems are interpreted in a materialist framework, connected to socio-economic adaptation, material needs, jobs, housing, education and a new language, but after these things seem to settle, the immigrants have to find out also the internal psychological meanings in their lives.

The social background of ethnic minorities, such as demographic background, life-situation or social status at the time of departure, also has an impact on their psychological welfare, and on their feelings of having a place in the host society (Cell C1, in Table 1). However, multivariate analyses of psychological distress and life satisfactions indicate a very complex and to some degree contradictory picture regarding the factors affecting problems in psychological welfare among refugees and immigrants. Indeed, refugees and migrants are as variable in their personal characteristics and past experiences as other people. Their subjective psychological adaptation to their new environment is influenced not only by the migratory experience, but also by their internal psychological features, culturally determined attitudes and behaviours, and structural background (Brody, 1994).

According to Rumbaut (1991) the key events most strongly affecting the psychological problems of refugees occur before arrival. For example, psychological distress among Southeast Asian refugees in the United States was predicted particularly by family loss and separation from significant others, but also by violent events and long-time residence in refugee camps before reception in a host country. As a consequence, these pre-arrival experiences explain why refugees in general have experienced greater psychological distress than other immigrants. Beiser (1991) on the other hand, declares that what happens to people after they enter a host country has a greater effect on their stresses of psychological welfare during the first years of settlement than what happened to them before. This is especially so for individuals who are more advanced in age, who have less education and income (Ager, 1993; Bach & Argiros, 1991), who are unemployed, fail to speak the native language and have resided in the host country for only a short period of time (Beiser, 1991).

The connections between employment difficulties and a significantly higher level of psychological distress among refugees have been noted (Beiser, 1991; Westermeyer, Vang & Neider, 1983). The low socio-economic status of refugees or powerlessness to influence their own lives, for example, affects their self-esteem and personal feelings of having a place in society (Meijers & Piggott, 1995). Unfortunately, despite the widely acknowledged linkages between economic status and health within refugee literature itself, remarkably little attention has been paid to the psychological impact of their economic status.

Studies of cultural identity development (Cell C2, in Table 1) help us to

understand the dynamics of experienced psychological welfare among refugees or other immigrants living in a host country. For instance, there is wide evidence that refugees feel better in societies encouraging pluralist and integration strategies rather than assimilation (Berry, 1997). However, the linkages between acculturation strategy and welfare outcomes appear to be, at an individual level, nonlinear and dependent upon a range of personal, social and political factors (Sue and Sue, 1990).

Any attempt to anticipate risk and reduce the likelihood of a refugee or other immigrants from having psychological problems means that policy makers and workers must be aware of the potential stressors and 'buffer' factors of immigrants while developing their policy and intervention strategies (Cell C3, in Table 1), and not merely respond to need only after psychological difficulties have clearly arisen (Ager, 1993; Sue, 1992; Williams & Westermeyer, 1986). In practice this means that policy makers and workers have to develop an awareness of the role that oppression plays for immigrants in being an alien and in establishing a place in a host society and an awareness of cultural identity development. The greater the social and cultural conflicts where immigrants have to live, the more important it is to consider the impact of these conflicts also on personal development. Accuracy in identifying the social and cultural determinants, reviewed above, will help to construct culture specific institutional interventions and challenge those forces in society that prevent refugees from developing a positive identity for themselves (Sue & Sue, 1990).

The causes of the decreased psychological welfare of immigrants therefore, may be found in the external circumstances and social institutions of the host society, but they do not explain its whole dynamics. By making the problems of immigrants external, immigrants are seen as victims of the host society and its passive objects. Internal conflicts are, however, passed over too easily if the adaptation of a subject is explained solely in terms of external factors. Indeed, the acculturation model developed by Berry (1991,1997) and the cultural identity model developed by Sue and Sue (1990) crucially point out, that even though sociocultural and psychological changes are influenced by external determinants, they also always demand subjective resolutions, which need to be supported. A relativist orientation (Lee, 1991; Sebby & Papini, 1991) on the other hand accounts for interventions that are sensitive to context, and for the acceptance of contradictions as a feature of the physical and social reality, thus affecting also an other-culture client's subjectivity and experiences of his or her cultural identity. As a result of confronting these subjective contradictions in integration, an immigrant client's awareness of them may stimulatingly increase his or her attemps to find 'integrative' solutions or to recognize that some conflicts are not reducible (Oerter et al., 1996; Oerter, 1996).

2.5 The research questions and assumptions

2.5.1 A need-centered perspective in settlement policy and practice

The research on immigrant welfare and of the appropriate interventions for their helping reviewed in the former Chapter, encompasses multiple underlying assumptions that guided the formulation of the Multicultural Awareness of Immigrant Needs (MAIN) framework (Table 1) and the empirical studies based on these assumptions. In the MAIN framework, settlement workers´ awareness is viewed as a contextual and socially constructed multidirectional process (Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996), rather than as an abstract description of demands concerning multicultural awareness. Current theories of multicultural awareness (LaFromboise, Coleman & Hernandez, 1991; Pedersen, 1988; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis 1992) have, however, inadequately described and dealt with contextual elements of awareness across immigrant welfare domains.

These theories have emphasized cultural elements of multicultural awareness but tend to be limited in their attention to the needs of immigrants. Culture is also in the MAIN framework one of the most important forces influencing workers´ awareness of immigrant needs. However, the MAIN framework attempts to provide a higher degree of accuracy in the assessment of workers´ multicultural awareness than cross-cultural approaches that disregard the domain-specific context of cross-cultural interactions. Authorities´ and workers´ culturally learned behaviours are linked domain-specifically to their wider cultural and social context and in this way also the theories and assumptions of multicultural awareness (LaFromboise, Coleman & Hernandez, 1991; Pedersen, 1991; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990) are combined.

Authorities´ and workers´ narrow attention to immigrant needs, and their inaccurate and non-interactive interpretations unrelated to these needs can be said to manifest an ethnocentric awareness with respect to them. Ethnocentrism is a tendency to view one´s own cultural group as the center of everything, and to scale and rate all others with reference to it (Triandis, 1990). In contrast, broad attention to immigrant needs, and cultural relativist, interactive, and accurate interpretations of the needs of immigrants, manifest an awareness multicultural in nature (Berry et al., 1992; Ely & Denney, 1987; LaFromboise, Coleman & Hernandez, 1991; Pedersen, 1988; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990). The multicultural view supports interactional policies and practices, in which change is reciprocal and multidirectional, each event is both cause and effect, roles are negotiated, and the participating settlement authorities and workers become aware of and participate in constructing new environments in order to help (Pedersen, 1991).

2.5.2 Underlying assumptions of the empirical studies

Within the MAIN framework (Table 1) the present study analysed the awareness of immigrant needs in the three empirical studies as it is expressed

1) by the Finnish State authorities in their policy programmes for refugee and immigrant settlement and welfare; 2) by settlement workers in their expectations of settlement policies; and 3) by settlement workers in their case-reports and in their own experiences of multicultural awareness in actual cross-cultural helping interactions.

Within the larger Finnish political framework the essence of changes in refugee and immigrant settlement and welfare policy concerns the decision about the course of acculturation forms and the long-term policy goals, which are offered for immigrant newcomers (Berry, 1984; Berry et al., 1992). It concerns the change from a culturally fairly homogeneous society to a society made up of a number of cultural or ethnic groups interacting in various ways within a larger national and political framework. Political responses to the acculturation forms and welfare of refugees and other immigrants refer to the changes in Finnish social institutions and affect through changes in organisational forms and norms, the attitudes of service providers and workers in these institutions. Changes in practice and in face-to-face interactions also reflect these political and institutional changes. Especially in a period of drastic changes (such as a drastic increase in the number of immigrants in Finland) these political and institutional changes can have a crucial influence on cross-cultural practice and on the awareness of immigrant needs among settlement workers. The main change in policy and practice concerns whether the establishment of awareness patterns considering the needs of refugees and other immigrants and appropriate interventions within the cross-cultural helping settings manifest either a multicultural or ethnocentric awareness of immigrant needs.

The changes at all these levels affect the welfare of immigrants in Finland and the development of multicultural awareness among Finnish settlement authorities and workers. Therefore, the development of multicultural awareness among authorities and workers was expected to be a contextual and socially constructed multidirectional process rather than one-directional progression.

Cross-cultural studies have shown that political and administrative systems impose values and behavioral demands on settlement workers in practice and further the welfare of immigrants (Chapter 2.4). Therefore the first empirical analysis focused on the settlement policy programmes 1980 - 1994 published by the Finnish State authorities (Study 1). This study analysed first, whether the authorities have in their settlement programmes attended broadly to refugee and immigrant needs encompassing all the welfare domains, or narrowly, encompassing only some welfare domains (Table 1). Second, the study analysed whether the authorities´ awareness of immigrant needs expressed in these programmes was multicultural or ethnocentric in nature.

A survey of the policy-related expectations among settlement workers examined their awareness of refugee needs and its connection to the ideological context of the policy programmes (Study 2). The main question was to what degree did the settlement workers´ expectations of settlement policies manifest a multicultural awareness of refugee needs, and did they represent expectations of refugee policy programmes, which differed from the policy programmes published by the Finnish State authorities.

The third study (Study 3) considers the experiences of teacher-counsellors in their face-to-face counselling work with immigrant students. It deals with the same theme of whether they manifested a multicultural or ethnocentric

awareness of immigrant needs in their interactive case-reports of cross-cultural helping interactions. In this study the teacher-counsellors also assessed the degree of their own multicultural awareness in these two reported cases: one experienced as successful and the other as unsuccessful by them.

My general assumption (*Assumption 1*) in all these studies was that as the context of immigrant needs can be viewed in several ways, the extent and nature of settlement authorities´ and workers´ awareness of immigrant needs vary domain-specifically depending on whether it concerns A) the socioeconomic welfare, B) the interpersonal and intergroup relations or C) the psychological welfare of immigrants. However, similar patterns of 1) social awareness, 2) cultural awareness, 3) awareness of interventions was expected to appear across domains (Sue & Sue, 1990). Thus, it remained an empirical question in all these studies whether there seems to be a general, overarching pattern of awareness as depicted in the MAIN framework. However, within this structure the extent and nature of the awareness of immigrant needs was expected to vary and be determined situationally and domain-specifically in the interactive processes through which workers become aware of immigrant needs.

In the second study I assumed (*Assumption 2*) that since the awareness of immigrant needs is ideologically constructed, the existing ideology of immigrant welfare is shared by the Finnish settlement authorities and workers at many points. Politically highly formalized welfare domains were expected to define the workers´ personal awareness of immigrant needs regardless of the differences in their professional and individual backgrounds, while politically less formalized welfare domains were expected to permit more situational, professional, and personal variation in awareness of immigrant needs (Dentzin, 1989,1992; Deutsch, 1994).

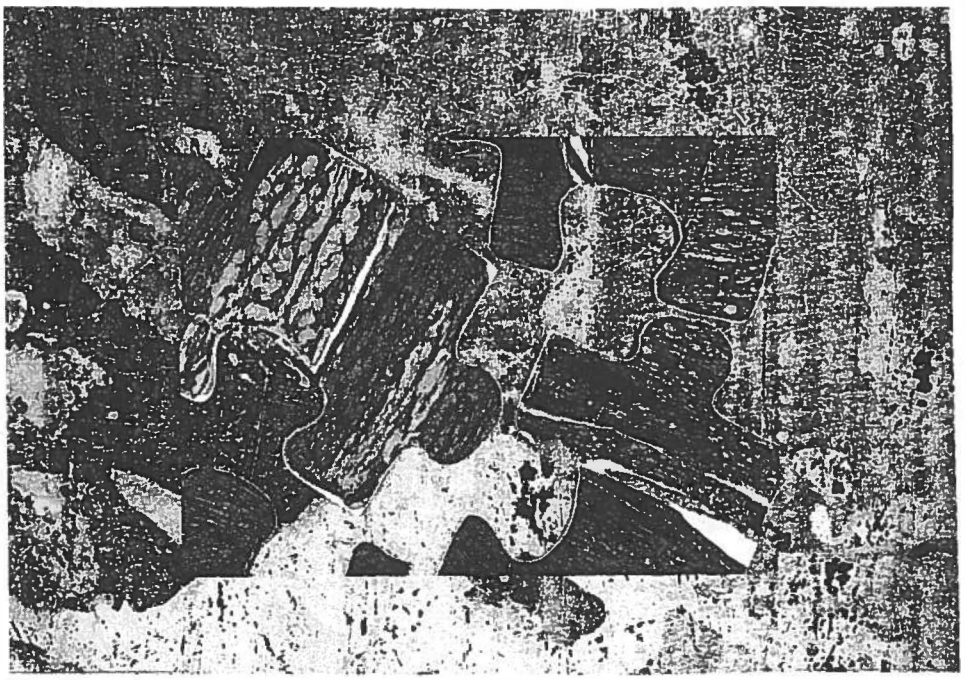
In the third study I wanted to connect the teacher-counsellors´ subjective experiences of their multicultural awareness (Bandura, 1982) to the wider Finnish refugee and immigration policy context and practice. I assumed (*Assumption 3*) that politically less formalized welfare domains evoke in the teacher-counsellors a self-focus on their own awareness, while politically well defined welfare domains do not evoke such a self-focus; consequently, the workers´ subjective awareness will be an influential determinant of behaviour in politically less formalized welfare domains.

The research methodology for analysing Finnish authorities´ and workers´ interpretations of immigrant needs included both qualitative and quantitative elements and workers´ experiential aspects of cross-cultural interactions (Denzin, 1989; Ponterotto & Casas, 1991; Sue et al., 1996), which is not typical to traditional empirical investigation. Table 2 summarizes the study focus, the data collected and the methods of analysis in each study. The development of methods and methodological considerations are discussed in more detail in the context of each study.

TABLE 2 Focus, data collected and data analysis of studies

Empirical Studies	1. An Interpretive Analysis of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy	2. Settlement Workers´ Policy Expectations	3a. An Interpretive Analysis of Teacher-Counsellors´ Cross-Cultural Counselling Interactions	3b. Teacher-Counsellors´ Self-Assessments of Their Cross-Cultural Counselling Interactions
Focus	The settlement authorities´ awareness of immigrant needs manifested in their refugee and migration policy programmes	The local settlement workers´ awareness of immigrant needs manifested in their expectations of settlement policies	The awareness of immigrant needs manifested by teacher-counsellors in their counselling of immigrants in conflict settings	Teacher-counsellor´ self-assessments of their awareness of immigrant needs manifested in their counselling of immigrants in conflict settings
Data collected	The refugee and migration policy programmes published by the Finnish State authorities (1979 - 1994)	A structured questionnaire	The case-reports of teacher-counsellors A structured questionnaire Interviews	The Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory Revised (CCCI-R)
Methods of analysis	Qualitative interpretive analysis within the conceptual framework of this study	Quantitative data analysis and interpretation within the conceptual framework of this study	Qualitative interpretive analysis within the conceptual framework of this study	Quantitative data analysis within the conceptual framework of this study

PART TWO
EMPIRICAL STUDIES



3 AWARENESS OF REFUGEE NEEDS IN THE REFUGEE POLICY PROGRAMMES (STUDY 1)

3.1 Background and aims of the policy analyses

This study analysed how refugee needs have been defined and expressed by the Finnish State authorities in their settlement programmes and whether these programmes produce an ideological context which is multicultural or ethnocentric in nature. Practice is affected by this ideology. In this sense, ideology provides the organizing and linking system between policy principles and the interpretive practices of workers (Berry et al., 1992, Clarce, Cochrane & Smart, 1987).

The ideologically constructed awareness of refugee and immigrant needs is a set of ideas, beliefs, values and attitudes shared by actors representing various interest groups (settlement authorities and workers, specific professional groups, immigrants) about what constitutes immigrant welfare and of how to respond to their needs and to develop their position in the host society (Berry, 1984; Denney, 1983; Sue & Sue, 1990). The ideology also describes the relationships between settlement workers and clients (Montero, 1990; Parker, 1992). In the case of refugees and immigrants the ideology is produced between unequally powerful groups: workers and clients, as well as between dominant and non-dominant cultural groups. Ideology tells us how views about immigrant needs are connected with other views, and who is allowed to express these views about immigrant needs at a policy and practical level.

Denney (1983; Ely & Denney, 1987), selected as an example of case studies, has taken a historical view to the ideological development in British social work relating to ethnic minorities. His analysis is based on British social work literature from the 1960´s to the early 1980s. Denney focuses also on the broader minority ideologies of the British welfare state, which overlap with the institutional and professional views manifested in social work literature. He has identified four qualitatively different ideologies or perspectives of ethnic minority welfare. These are: *cultural deficit, liberal pluralism, cultural pluralism,*

and *the structural position.* This typology of ideologies match many of the other schemes for the study of the development of the major positions which have arisen in the development of minority welfare in host countries (Burnet & Palmer, 1988; Gordon, 1978; Hammar, 1985; Herberg, 1989; Schierup, 1987).

A central difference arising in these perspectives concerns the social, cultural and psychological assumptions of ethnic minority needs. *The Cultural deficit* perspective does not make any distinction between the needs of ethnic minorities and those of the majority population and therefore political interventions are considered universal even if they are determined in terms of the ethnically homogeneous host population. Where help is provided for ethnic minorities, it is informed by a notion of ´deficit´, as defined by the service providers. Consequently, this model leads to assimilationist processes, wherein those of a minority ethnicity are encouraged or coerced to abandon their own culture in favour of the dominant culture. The cultural deficit perspective is also associated with *laissez-faire* minority policy, in which public services are perceived to have a residual role in minority welfare.

Liberal pluralism identifies some social and cultural differences between the needs of ethnic minorities and the majority, but they are considered situationally. Within the liberal pluralist model any egalitarian emphasis is on the equality of condition and of opportunity, not on the equality of outcome. Universalist criteria of opportunity or access are applied with respect to all minority groups without distinction. Liberalist policy aims at ´integration, equal opportunities, and cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance´ emphasizing psychological aspects in policy making. The cultural sensitivity of individual welfare workers is considered important because they have a great responsibility in addressing the needs of other-culture clients and developing appropriate responses to them.

Cultural pluralism identifies systematic culturally bound differences between the needs of ethnic minorities and the majority and therefore emphasizes culture specific social policy formation for ethnic minorities. Cultural pluralists emphasize ethnic ´relativity´. Each ethnic group should have equality under conditions of cultural pluralism regarding different values, structures, processes and cultural dynamics. This position is adapted officially in the policy of multiculturalism in Canada, for example (Berry, 1984; Herberg, 1989).

Structuralism draws attention to the systematic structural inequalities of ethnic minorities which minority policy should address. Structuralists interpret the problems of ethnic minorities within a political framework related to the Socialist and Marxist analyses of society. They locate these problems in material disadvantages and socio-economic maladaptation, in racist attitudes and practices within public services, and in the current dominant ideologies of the state. Within the structuralist model, it is not just sufficient to be aware of cultural and social differences; the key is to remove racially structured inequalities in society (Ely & Denney, 1987; Husband, 1986).

Denney (1983; Ely & Denney, 1987) paints an over-unified view of each of these four positions in social work literature offering the structural view as the most relevant for the welfare of ethnic minorities. However, these four ideologies seem to be continuously at the centre of ideological conflicts. Cultural, structural and psychological forces and their interplay have

continually been at the centre of debate in the development of integration policy and community relations. The Community Relations Project (Council of Europe, 1991) sets out in its report how social and cultural conditions shape racial beliefs and create inequalities in society. It considers the importance of a legislative basis for action to ensure equal opportunity and to fight discrimination. However, it also takes up a psychological stance with respect to the development of community relations by noting that 'the building up of good community relations in a society is primarily a matter of changing attitudes and developing good administrative practice based on sensitivity to ethnic and cultural diversity' (Council of Europe, 1991, 28). The Community Relations Project suggests that the most important changes are not called for in the political system, but instead in the perceptions and evaluations that each group has of the other. However, minorities and majorities cannot be put on an equal footing in this respect because majorities often determine the relationship.

The welfare of human beings is always subject to historical context and social negotiation. Social and cultural forces influence the construction of welfare, but this also is a product of human cognition. The debate over which forces remain at the centre continues at the ideological level. Psychological studies (Rodkin, 1993) show that ideologies also have a psychological reality that exists even apart from structural conditions. The psychological study of ideology could highlight how authorities and workers attend to and understand these cross-cultural realities at the policy level and in direct helping interactions, and inform further the structural and cultural analyses of minority policy and their welfare. The essential theme is that to understand the impact of context on refugee and immigrant policy one needs to see it not merely as a fact but as a way of thinking, a way of defining the needs to be tackled and of responding to them. This study analysed the settlement authorities' ways of defining policy responses to immigrant needs in Finland and whether they concerned the socioeconomic, interpersonal or psychological needs of the immigrant.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 The material of the study

Three Government refugee policy programmes undertaken in Finland since 1980 comprised the material of the study [1]. These programmes have been published

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1) The Finnish refugee and migration policy programmes in interpretive policy analysis:
1. Pakolaistoimikunnan mietintö [Report of the Refugee Committee]. Komiteanmietintö [Report of a committee] 1980:57. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
2. Suomen pakolaispolitiikka [Finnish Refugee Policy]. Pakolaisasiain neuvottelukunta [The Delegation of Refugee Affairs]. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön julkaisuja [The reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health] 3/1989. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
3. Suomen pakolais- ja siirtolaisuuspolitiikan periaatteet [Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy]. Komiteanmietintö [Report of a committee] 1994:5. Pakolais- ja siirtolaisuusasiain neuvottelukunta [The Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs]. Helsinki: Painatuskeskus.

by government bodies who have been appointed by the Council of State responsible for coordinating and organizing refugee settlement in the country. These three programmes have each in turn defined the broad lines of settlement policy in the country. An earlier document analysis *Pakolaisten vastaanotto ja hyvinvoinnin turvaaminen Suomessa [The Refugee resettlement and welfare policy in Finland]* (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991) gathered together all the refugee documents published by the state authorities between 1980 and 1990. The documents were grouped into three categories in the study, including general policy documents, special documents published by the different branches of the administration, and reports and surveys evaluating refugee welfare and the outcome of policy actions. However, this analysis concentrates mainly on the three general refugee policy programs (1980-1994), because they were deemed likely to reflect the dominant political atmosphere in the country (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991).

The Finnish refugee policy programmes are worked through and published by a governmental body at the highest level. This body has undergone titular changes at different times: The Refugee Committee (1979 - 1980), The Delegation of Refugee Affairs (1981 - 1991), and The Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs (1992-). The departments of the various ministries responsible for refugee policies (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Ministry of the Interior, The Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Environment), municipal authorities and non-governmental organisations have all participated in the work of this co-operative body.

When the first refugee groups were received from Chile in 1973, and from Vietnam in 1979 the *Refugee Committee* was a central channel of collaboration for the government. It prepared and coordinated settlement programmes under the Ministry of Labour. In 1980, the Committee published the *Report of the Refugee Committee* which for the first time, laid down the official guidelines for *Refugee Care*.

In 1981, the responsibility for *Refugee Care*, as it was called at that time, was moved, by an act of Parliament to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. The act was an important sign of the continuity of refugee settlement. Refugee settlement received a legal status in the central government after previous being a temporary project under the Ministry of Labour. *The Delegation of Refugee Affairs* took over the role of the Refugee Committee. It had largely the same composition as the Refugee Committee, but the Delegation functioned under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. In 1983, the Delegation published its programme for *Finnish Refugee Policy* which laid down the overall principles for *refugee reception* until 1994.

In 1992, the *Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs*, under the Ministry of Labour, became the central interadministrative body for policy-making. This Board was appointed by the Council of State for a period of three years. It began to coordinate, develop, plan and evaluate both refugee and migration policies. The Board had largely the same composition as the latter body (*Reception of Refugees in Finland*, 1993). In 1994, this Board defined new goals and guidelines for refugee and migration policy entitled *Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy* (1994). These three policy programmes from different time periods are systematically analysed here in order to discover their ideology of refugee and migrant welfare.

3.2.2 Procedure

One way of working, which is used in policy-making research, is the *interpretive evaluation* (Denzin, 1989). This policy analysis adapted and modified the interpretive evaluation developed by Denzin (1989,1992). It also modified analytic techniques (Frontman & Kunkel, 1994; Rhodes, Hill, Thompson & Elliott, 1994; Tesh, 1990) based on grounded theory outlined by Strauss (1987).

The interpretive analysis involved the following phases: 1) framing the research question, 2) identification of material relevant to refugee settlement and welfare, 3) interpretation of the extent and nature of awareness, 4) interpreting the ideology in terms of the essential structures and features of awareness, 5) identification of the challenges for change that existed within the policy programmes being evaluated.

In the first phase, the institutional framework in which the authorities have written their policy programmes was located (see also Chapter 1.1). After this the study began to ask the extent and nature of awareness of refugee needs manifested by the Finnish State authorities in their refugee and migration policy programmes.

In the second phase, the written interpretations of refugee needs and settlement policies were categorized according to the nine awareness categories within the MAIN framework (Table 1). The writers´ interpretations were categorized first along three awareness dimensions into core categories: social awareness, cultural awareness, and awareness of interventions. After the textual material was identified into core categories, writers´ interpretations were categorised further according to their focus on refugee welfare domains (socio-economic needs, interpersonal and intergroup relations, psychological needs of refugees) into nine awareness cells presented in Table 1. The essential awareness elements (words, sentences, phrases) were identified next that seemed to express a discrete and unitary idea of refugee settlement policies. Through this ´bracketing´ (Denzin, 1989) the textual elements were next laid out for detailed inspection.

Criteria for the identification of the *extent of awareness* included a) centrality of the core categories in relation to refugee needs, b) relevance, implications for more general policy principles, and c) variety, the extent to which the ideas encompass all the core categories. The extent of awareness referred to the extent to which the writers of policy programmes become aware of refugee socio-economic needs, interpersonal relations and psychological needs. The writers may focus on one welfare domain more than on others or they may encompass all refugee welfare domains. Their interpretations can be unidimensional or multidimensional encompassing the social and cultural awareness of refugee needs and the awareness of interventions relevant to them.

Nature of awareness is concerned with the basic qualities and character of policies. Criteria for interpreting the *nature of awareness* included a) universalist versus culture specific elements of policies, b) interactive, reciprocal versus non-interactive policy making, and c) the accuracy and context-sensitivity versus the inaccuracy of policies aimed at targeting refugee needs. High concern for the needs of ´all citizens´ including immigrants is associated with the *universalist* approach. In contrast, high concern for the specific needs of immigrant clients is associated with the *culture-specific* or relativist approach to policies. An

interactive approach is associated with a ´dual concern´, which means a high awareness of oneself and one´s own system as well as an awareness of other-culture clients (Denzin, 1989; Deutsch, 1994; Pedersen, 1988; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990; Triandis, 1990). *Non-interactive* policies focus on the policy makers´ needs to feel more secure about their policies ignoring refugee needs. *Accurate* policies involve contextual, detailed, exact and specific accounts of problematic issues concerning ethnic minorities. Inaccurate welfare programmes and policy interventions, as opposed to accurate ones, are unrelated to the needs of ethnic minorities or do not specify the ambiguous cross-cultural situations and needs of ethnic minorities.

In the fourth phase, the ideological constructions of awareness were interpreted in order to inform whether the policies are likely to lead to integration, assimilation, marginalization or segregation (Berry et al., 1992; Sue & Sue 1990). Multidimensional, interactive and accurate interpretations of immigrant needs are associated with integration indicating a multiculturalist position of policy writers (Berry, 1984; Denzin, 1989; Pedersen, 1988; Sue & Sue 1990; Triandis, 1990). In contrast, narrow, unidimensional, non-interactive and inaccurate policy interpretations, which are unrelated to the needs of other-culture clients, indicate an ethnocentric position of policy makers intentionally or unintentionally favoring the assimilation, marginalization or segregation of ethnic minorities.

Those groups who are allowed to give their interpretations about refugee welfare also challenge for a change in policy and they also justify that change. Therefore, in the fifth phase it was identified whose interpretations the authorities have reinforced or objected to in their programmes. It was also focused on the authorities´ ability to use recovery strategies to overcome problems after being responsible for a decrease in refugee welfare, which indicates their recovery skill (Pedersen, 1988) and also challenges for changes in these policies.

3.2.3 Verifying the evaluative analysis

The document analysis interpreted one ´truth´ of refugee resettlement in Finland. I agree with those researchers (Denzin, 1989) who assume that there is no ´objective´, value free reality that can be captured in policy issues such as these. While interpreting the written documents, the researcher has to reflect upon what she reads. As the text is reread in different contexts it is also given new meanings, sometimes contradictory and always socially embedded. Thus, there is no original or true meaning of a text outside the specific historical context (Denzin, 1989; Hodder, 1994).

History enters into the interpretations of policies in many ways (Denzin, 1989). The policies and awareness that they manifest have their own inner sense of history, which the study tried to highlight and make understandable. Refugee issues occur within a larger historical social structure, which shapes, influences and constrains policy-making for refugees. A brief history was given here (Chapter 1.1) of the development of refugee issues in the wider social context of Finnish society in order to facilitate the understanding of the history of each policy programme. The researcher has a personal and historical relationship to

the interpretative process, which also shapes the research. My work with refugees and lived experiences as a front-line welfare worker (1979, 1992), and as an educational adviser in the government administration (1980-1988) have helped me as a researcher of refugee issues to contextualize my material in its social context. These experiences gave prior understandings to the policies. At the same time my subjective prior understandings have shaped what is selected for interpretation and interpreted. Hence prior understandings are part of what is interpreted. But as Denzin (1989) says, to exclude them is to risk biasing the interpretations in the direction of false objectivity.

The emphasis on validity is noted as a process of checking, questioning, and theorizing rather than as a classic, measurement-oriented view for establishing rule-based correspondendence between the findings and ´real world´ (Kvale, 1989). The validity of policy analysis emerges among four type of understanding that this analysis of the multicultural awareness of authorities aimed to produce: descriptive, interpretive, theoretical and evaluative (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The analysis aimed to produce context-rich descriptions of the policy programmes considering the wider social framework of settlement policy in the country. Moreover, the meanings of policy programmes and their writers were interpreted and evaluated linked to the theory-based and context-sensitive categories within the MAIN framework.

The validity check of the study involved group discussions with my three research colleagues representing social psychology, psychology, and sociology in categorizing the data and feedback from the authorities responsible for the documents as well as from the refugees served by these applied programmes. The method of group consensus was used while categorizing and coding the material to reduce potential bias inherent in the use of a single judge. After doing my preliminary version of analysis gathered all the refugee documents (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991), the ´practical validity´ (Kvale, 1989) or ´testimonial validity´ (Stiles, 1993) of the analysis was evaluated by sending it to the refugee administrators of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the National Board of Health and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, and to two refugees working with welfare issues, for getting feedback from the ´informants´. In general ´official´ feedback was in agreement with my interpretations. However, the civil servants in the National Board of Health and Social Affairs critizised my interpretation of dispersal policy. I agree with them that these were sociopolitical reasons behind this policy change, but my interpretion focuses on the interrelationship between dispersal policy and refugee needs.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 The Finnish administration of refugee affairs

The *Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs* is currently responsible for coordinating settlement and welfare services for newcomers. It has not always had this function however. The changes in the authorities´ way of thinking about refugee needs have also had implications for the management of refugee

affairs which is characterized by uncertainty in administrative duties and by continuous organisational changes.

The *Refugee Committee* (1973-1980) had responsibility for planning, implementing, co-ordinating and evaluating the settlement of 182 refugees from Chile (1973-77) and later (1979 -80) of 115 so called ´boat people´, who were Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese with a Chinese background. The Committee worked under the Ministry of Labour. According to the Committee, settlement responses were of an *ad hoc* nature, and often involved unco-ordinated reactions to particularly pressing problems as they arose. A coherent, overall strategy was lacking. As a result of the experiences covering this early phase of refugee integration, the Committee sketched out some settlement policy principles, which it wished to follow in the future. After reflecting on the appropriate administrative base for coordinating and developing refugee issues in the future, the Committee pointed out that *´in the first phase refugee reception is concerned to a high degree with material and humanitarian care, and because of that the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health would be a more appropriate authority to oversee these duties´* (Report of the Refugee Committee, 1980, p.47).

In 1981 the *Delegation of Refugee Affairs* took up the role of the Refugee Committee as the central governmental body responsible for refugee affairs, under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. At the administrative level however, responsibility for refugee issues has circulated from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health (1981-84) to the National Board of Social Welfare (1984-92) and back to the Ministry (1993-96). Furthermore, the assignment of duties between these two authorities and the *Refugee Centre* remained unclear, even though the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health had set up two administrative working groups, one in 1984 and the other (the *Local Refugee Reception* working group) in 1987, to define the administrative practice of refugee affairs. The *Local Refugee Reception* working group had evaluated the new administrative control and financing of refugee reception in the framework of the residential dispersal of refugees (The Ministry of Social Affairs and Health,1987, published in 1989). Since 1987, the policy has been to disperse refugees throughout the country. The role of the municipalities became crucial for refugee welfare, because in practice they started to organize all settlement services. In 1989 the Delegation published its programme *Finnish Refugee Policy* (pp. 79).

In 1992 the central government body for refugee affairs was renamed the *Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs* and it took up the role of the Delegation of Refugee Affairs under the Ministry of Labour. In March 1997 the responsibility for coordinating refugee and migration issues was also moved at the adminisrative level from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health to the Ministry of Labour. Migrants other than refugees are also addressed in the policy programme of Advisory Board titled *Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy* (1994, pp. 66). In 1994, over 60,000 foreigners, of which around 12,000 were refugees, from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds were living permanently in Finland. The diversity of social and ethnic background within the refugee population had also increased (see Chapter 1.1). According to the principles of the Finnish Refugee policy (1989) the refugees were dispersed throughout the country in more than 100 municipalities of which 70% had received fewer than 50 individual refugees. However, the four biggest cities

(over 100,000 inhabitants) had accomodated nearly half of the total number of refugees living in Finland. About 18% of those refugees who were dispersed initially had resorted to secondary migration to join their own ethnic community members in the big city areas.

3.3.2 Extent of policies: from ad-hoc responses towards general policy principles

The awareness of refugee issues has increased from a stance of ad-hoc responses to a multicultural one. The socio-economic needs of refugees have been under the authorities´ focus in all their refugee policy programmes concerned with refugees´ participation in the basic institutional, formal organisational structures of society, such as education, work, housing, social and health care. Ethnic relations and cultural integration have also become increasingly central in policy making focusing on cross-cultural interactions between residents and ethnic minorities as well as on personnel training in ethnic issues, and the adaptation of the administrative culture of public agencies. The psychological needs and support for a refugees´ personal integration have, on the other hand, been left on the shoulders of the individual settlement workers.

The principles of the *Refugee Committee (1980)* covered the legal status of refugees, settlement policies, and the reorganisation of the administration of refugee affairs. The Refugee Committee´s analysis of refugees´ legal status in the country and its initiatives in defining *refugee care* in terms of settlement interventions were a major step forward in Finnish refugee policy (ibid., pp. 39-44). By developing *the legal status of refugees* the Refugee Committee granted them an opportunity for access to the mainstream educational, social and health care services in Finland. These policies concentrated on appropriate interventions for refugee socioeconomic adaptation during the reception phase and on the administrative control and financing of reception services by central government.

A low awareness of interpersonal and intergroup relations and of the psychological welfare of refugees might be one reason that the Committee simply defined refugee settlement as ´humanitarian care´. Consequently, it considered the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health as an appropriate authority for coordinating refugee issues and the Ministry of Labour for coordinating migration issues. Therefore immigrant status became the distinctive element in policy making. Two different Committees planned, developed, co-ordinated and evaluated settlement procedures separately for migrants and refugees until 1992.

In its programme for *Finnish Refugee Policy (1989)* the *Delegation of Refugee Affairs* attempted to explore the ideas of localized, increasingly non-statutory, collective settlement actions as alternatives to state, centralized, individual-based actions and in this way continued the work of the *Local Refugee Reception* working group (1987). The Delegation replaced ´refugee care´ by *refugee reception* and connected clearly the government settlement authorities´ administrative control and financing to the refugee reception phase. This put the responsibility for long term refugee care in the framework of general national and local social policy, even though the requirements for long term integration policies were not discussed in *Finnish Refugee Policy*.

The new programme, however, was concerned with refugee issues in a larger refugee policy context than the former programme of the Refugee Committee (1980). It also focused on the interpersonal and intergroup relations of refugees concerning the relationships between refugees and the host community and emphasizing *´optimism to influence through information the attitudes of the whole population´* (Finnish Refugee Policy 1989, p.58).

According to the *Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs*, its programme, however, provides the first comprehensive review of refugee and migration issues which affect many sectors of Finnish society and have international implications. It emphasizes that because of its far-reaching implications immigration has to be adopted as an orientation for domestic social policy. In the context of the demographic development of the Finnish population, the Advisory Board considers immigration as one remedy for its demographic conditions. A low birthrate and an increasing average age have combined to reduce the rate of natural growth in the Finnish population. However, the Advisory Board mentions that the level of immigration should be independent as far as possible from the socio-economic changes in the country. The programme also deals extensively with international development and its implications for Finnish society in terms of demographic development, human rights and ecology; European integration; development in countries nearest to Finland; international co-operation and agreements; and security issues and their monitoring. Regulation and control of Finnish immigration is characterized in the programme by a well-developed legal tradition that should be developed and harmonised within the context of the European community, while also taking Finnish national interests into consideration.

Only refugees had been eligible to receive settlement services. The Advisory Board suggested that access to settlement services should also be provided, to some extent, for other immigrant newcomers. The increased emphasis on *immigration* was also reflected in changes in the official terminology of the policy. The word ´alien´ or ´foreigner´ (ulkomaalainen) and refugee were replaced with the common word *immigrant* (maahanmuuttaja). This term is used in the same meaning as the Swedish term ´invandrare´, which in Sweden replaced the term ´utlänning´ (foreigner) in the 1960s. The term immigrant in Finland, compared to ´invandrare´ in Sweden, has a very broad and vague meaning without an official definition. It covers all foreign citizens, including political refugees, as well as all Finnish citizens born abroad.

Table 3 shows that also the current settlement policy principles for refugees and immigrants (1994) focus on their socio-economic needs and to an increased extent on their interpersonal and intergroup relations. The psychological adaptation of immigrants was, however, disregarded by the writers in this new official programme as in the former ones. The programme emphasizes equal opportunities for immigrants in access to public services as did the former programmes with respect to refugees. The concrete proposals for changes in immigration policy are concerned with ethnic relations and cultural integration. The Advisory Board suggests developing information on ethnic issues, increasing the refugee quota from 500 to 1,000 refugees, and considers refugee families and children as specific target groups for policy implementation.

TABLE 3 Extent of awareness in relation to immigrant needs manifested by the Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs in the Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy 1994.

	SETTLEMENT AUTHORITIES´ AWARENESS		
IMMIGRANT WELFARE DOMAINS	Social Awareness	Cultural Awareness	Awareness of Interventions
Socio-economic welfare	The authorities * Emphasize equal opportunities and rights between immigrants with different status * Recognize the limits of the public service system to meet the needs of clients from other cultures	The authorities * Recognize the limits placed by cultural and religious differences, and language problems. * Emphasize the cultural awareness of Finnish officials	The authorities * Propose the application of general policy instruments to immigrants * Propose short-term positive actions in welfare-assistance * Propose training for the staff in multicultural issues * Propose the improvement of the legal status of immigrants
Interpersonal and intergroup relations	* Recognize activity in refugee family reunification and the need for special support to refugee families * Recognize the need for special support to under-aged refugee children received without their parents to Finland * Recognize the role of immigrant associations and other Finnish voluntary bodies in community relations	* Recognize the vital role of mother tongue and refugees´ own culture in sociocultural adaptation * Acknowledge the vital role of refugee families and refugees´ own ethnic groups in sociocultural adaptation	* Propose an increase in refugee quota * Propose mother-tongue teaching * Encourage developing information, advice and counselling concerning ethnic groups and their culture in public services
Psychological welfare	—	—	—

3.3.3 Nature of awareness: equal opportunities, cultural maintenance and self-determination of refugees within the existing services

All the three policy programmes (1980, 1989, 1994) define the three main principles of refugee reception policy: equal opportunities, maintenance of one´s own culture and language, and support for self-determination. The application of refugee and immigrant policies is, however, characterized by the universalist position to ethnic differences in service delivery combined with short-term culture specific development. At the same time when the authorities have more broadly taken immigrant needs into consideration in their programmes, these principles have been less evident in practice. The programmes manifest images of consensus-based social harmony and optimism with regards to equal opportunities, cultural diversity and tolerance within society but just record problems in the integration process as having no easy answers. The immigrant themselves also have been the audience of the authorities rather than their partners in policy making.

The organisational set-up combines the adaptation of existing services with the short-term separate development of specific settlement services. The Refugee Committee (1980) tried to ensure that the law did not restrict refugees from using ´normal´ public services and recommended, that *´legislation should impose as few restrictions as possible on the ability of refugees as foreign citizens to obtain different kinds of services and benefits. Thus, there would be no need to create any parallel systems for refugees, as the Committee had often to do* (Report of the Refugee Committee, p.39). The Delegation of Refugee Affairs also emphasized the universalist approach in service delivery, but added that *´for refugees there has tried to have been established the preconditions necessary for developing a readiness for the successful implementation of equal opportunities. These preconditions are that a refugee gets permanent housing, enough teaching in the Finnish or the Swedish language to attain a work or education place, counselling and normal local service provision* (Finnish Refugee Policy 1989, p.37)´.

The *Advisory Board* went further in the direction of cultural pluralism encouraging the mainstream agencies to develop multicultural modifications to their mandates. It suggests *a policy of multiculturalism* as a primary orientation in domestic social policy (Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy, 1994, p.8). The writers consider multiculturalism as the challenge for the public service machinery to adapt to better taking into account the cultural, linguistic, or other differences of immigrant clients. However, organisational adaptation by itself is not the focus of the Advisory Board, rather it concentrates especially on administrative culture and personal attitude training. The Advisory Board bases its policy of multiculturalism on an increased awareness of ethnic minorities and their needs in Finnish society as well as on the effort to develop and utilize their knowledge and skills in the country, and to ensure that immigrants can live and work as equals with Finnish citizens.

The programmes have increasingly focused on cross-cultural interactions which challenge the ´normal´ set of service systems to change. According to the Advisory Board (1994, pp. 27-44) tensions between ethnic groups may turn into conflict where the information about migrant groups in the majority population is insufficient. It recommends that the authorities foster positive interactions by increasing information about ethnic minorities, by encouraging participation and

mobilization across group lines in schools, workplaces and day care, by providing newcomers with access to Finnish language instruction, and by providing better information about newcomers to established residents.

The Finnish refugee and migration policy programmes have also noted the importance of the maintenance of one´s own culture and language within ´refugee groups´. Without making any distinctions along ethnicity with respect to the newcomers, the authorities have used refugee status as the criteria for permitting support of their cultural activities. The programmes have connected support for a refugees´ own culture with ´club-type´ activities in the munipalities. The municipalities are recommended to support the refugees and immigrants in organizing their own cultural activities in these areas. These activities may involve traditional festivals, excursions, or the teaching of one´s own mother tongue to one´s children. Local officials are also encouraged to support all immigrant families in the bicultural education of their children. Bilingual activities are connected also with the school education of refugee and immigrant children.

It is suggested that settlement services (housing, social and health care, day care, education, employment, interpreter services) should be organised by ´mainstream´ organisations. The State compensates municipalities for the cost of organising these programmes. The programmes have been in principle reimbursed as a lump-sum subsidy for a maximum of three years. However, because of the competition for scarce resources in the Finnish welfare state, the compensation system for local refugee reception has been under review during the last few years. The tendency has been towards a decline in state subsidies for the municipalities. As government funding of settlement arrangements is based on the volume of intaken refugees, it encourages municipalities to receive an increasing number of refugees rather than to develop multicultural programmes and services for them and other immigrants. Resettlement funding and the decisions about its allocation are decentralized both at the governmental and local level. Legitimation of service production occurs at the local level. The programme producers have not translated this local legitimation into any accurate institutional recognition of multiculturalism.

All the programmes (Report of the Refugee Committee, 1980, p.54; Finnish Refugee Policy, 1989, pp. 56-60; Principles of Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy, 1994, pp. 39-44) are based on optimism about influencing attitudes through information. The authorities have paid attention to some psychological factors in the development of refugee and immigration policies. However, they have done so in a non-interactive way by taking the perspective of only the host society and the psychological adaptation of its residents without considering the psychological adaptation of the newcomers themselves. Nevertheless, especially the Programme of Advisory Board (1994, pp. 39-40) emphasizes the positive attitudes of immigrant settlement authorities and workers and their training in ethnic issues. The authorities hope that if intolerance towards different ethnic groupings is eradicated then equal opportunities could develop. Attention is focused on the contribution that individual welfare workers could make to the problems of immigrants. Non-Governmental organisations have also an important role in supporting the interpersonal and intergroup relations and psychological welfare of immigrants, involving legal counselling, mental health counselling, and community-based networks.

3.3.4 Ideological context: from paternalistic assistance towards a policy of multiculturalism

Three major orientations can be distinguished in the history of Finnish refugee and migration policy: paternalistic assistance (1980), the 'normal' assistance of refugees (1989), and the modification of 'normal' assistance towards a multicultural one (1994). The authorities' views have been changed from an initial assimilationist stance to a stance of ethnic egalitarianism and cultural pluralism.

The Refugee Committee used to handle refugees case by case according to their current needs without a long term social vision of the future. Finland received only some 300 refugees in the 1980s. Thus, in practice it was possible to 'tailor' the reception services to refugees according to their individual needs. The Committee also offered an elastic economic and institutional framework for refugee care that enabled the socio-economic integration of refugee members in one or more municipalities.

However, when the Refugee Committee (1980) motivated settlement policies it fell into the trap of paternalism. The Committee wanted to provide interventions suitable for refugee needs but did not outline the responsibility or subjective rights of the refugees themselves to influence their own welfare. It had put faith in the Finnish welfare state, not in the people who arrived. The Committee's interpretations involved the hidden idea of a 'modern cross-cultural charity'. The Finnish welfare state appeared to take care of new kinds of 'miserables' with kindness and neighbourly love. The rich traditions of Asian culture, for example, were assessed according to Western standards, which in a ethnocentric way indicated the big differences between the background of people living in a modern welfare system and refugees coming from non-Western contries (ibid, 1980, p.37).

The Refugee Committee suggested that the universalist criteria of access should apply with respect to all clients including refugees after their reception phase. The Committee emphasized the prevention of the unequal treatment of refugees rather than the preservation and advancement of their ethnic collectivity, thus manifesting an *assimilationist* position towards their cultural adaptation. The Refugee Committee considered as a principle that:

The reception is naturally only a temporary phase, which aims to give time for the refugees to acquire that kind of information and readiness which helps them to cope with the new and strange environment (Report of the Refugee Committee, 1980, 49).'

'The aim of refugee reception has to be to introduce refugees to live independently in Finnish society and to use the public services of this society as Finns (ibid, 54).'

The Refugee Committee's principle of working case-by-case with the refugees and according to their individual needs was, however, not functional after the increase in their numbers. The *Delegation of Refugee Affairs* (1989) had to plan, co-ordinate and evaluate the settlement work carried out also in a growing number of municipalities. The dispersal policy had created a situation which needed a new shared conception of how to provide welfare services for refugees living in the municipalities. Finland's 460 municipalities and 12 county regions were all potential refugee receivers. Most, if not all of them totally lacked experience in providing welfare services for culturally different clients.

The Delegation was therefore committed to collective, rather than to individual responses towards refugee needs and within a less elastic economic and institutional framework than the Refugee Committee.

The Delegation´s principles for Finnish Refugee Policy (1989, pp.37-47) aimed, more explicitly than the Refugee Committee´s, to the *integration* of refugees according to the liberal pluralist tradition. The legislative basis for welfare action ensured the opportunity for refugees to have access to the same services as the local Finnish population, and these services were considered as universal. The wide range of local welfare benefits were available to refugees on the basis of their settlement and permanent residence in the municipality. According to the Delegation, by financing the normal services for refugees during their reception phase in the municipalities, the criteria of normal service delivery could be applied with respect to them without any restrictive distinctions. The Delegation associated normal services with ´integration´ involving some time-limited special services for refugees according to their needs. It warned against creating any separate public services or institutions for refugees at the local level.

The codes of positive practical actions were most highly formalized in education, while special needs were seen as a stigma for refugees especially in the social field. The following quotation describes this view presented by the Chiefs of the Central Administration in their policy rationale for cross-cultural services to the local authorities.

> ´*However, the greatest amount of refugee social work involves normal services, which are available to all. Therefore we can say, that only around 10 per cent of this work is connected with a refugees´ background and encounters between cultures. But in many situations the insecurity of the worker causes blindness to the reality behind the refugees background and/or cultural background.* (New Neighbours 1989, 9)´

In any case, as a client the refugee had to discover a strategy for resolving the gap between the ideal standard of normality and his or her experience of reality because of his or her different cultural and social background.

At present, the authorities´ consideration of ethnicity in Finland hinges on the notion of a culturally pluralistic society. The Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs considers in its principles for Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy (1994, p.2), that ´*Finland is faced with the necessity of transition from a monocultural context to a multicultural one.*´ Within the cultural pluralist model, it creates an image of *multiculturalism* offered as an ideology for refugee and immigration policies. Although immigration has not dramatically changed the demographics of the local areas in Finland, the Advisory Board (1994) believes that, in future, several ethnic groups would reside permanently in Finland, which would reshape ethnic relations. Therefore it emphasizes the promotion of good ethnic relations and an accomodation of services as central in order to integrate immigrants into Finnish society.

The principles of changing ethnic relations focus on sociocultural accomodation, a process by which all parties in a multifaceted situation should find ways of adjusting and supporting one another. This accomodation embraces the entire community in collective change. According to the Advisory Board (1994, pp. 28-33) the challenge for Finland is in harmonising ethnic relations among groups which would also have implications for mobilizing

intergroup cooperation into strategies for economic and political advancement.

Economic decline in the country has affected most severely refugee newcomers and increased their number as recipients of unemployment insurance, also creating dependency on welfare assistance. Consequently, settling refugees has become itself a welfare responsibility which has been reflected negatively in the wider public image of refugees. Thefore, the current refugee and immigration policy programme has aimed at creating a positive association in the public image of immigration, which could provide a wider demographic base and a greater social and economic opportunity for Finnish society. The needs of the settlers to get assistance is described as temporary. In the longer run, settlement assistance would result in compensatory returns in terms of positive ethnic relationships and effective integration into education and work launched by effective settlement assistance.

Indeed, the Advisory Board also has perceived multiculturalism as a transitory state forming a bridge for the immigrant newcomers between their home culture and Finnish culture. As a cultural way station, certain services should be supplied according to the needs of the newcomers. After a certain period the immigrants should no longer need these special services. Only in the case of children, the longer-term opportunity for participation in mother tongue teaching is clearly offered for the maintenance of their own language.

3.3.5 Challenge for change: an image of multiculturalism

The aimed improvements for immigrant welfare are guided by analyses made by the settlement authorities of the problems in service delivery and of the challenges in finding solutions. The governmental authorities´ own experiences or intuitions of reception policies have shaped the essential features of the settlement policies. They have also made links with refugee reception policies in other Nordic countries as well as in the context of the European Union which has direct implications for Finnish refugee policy making, especially with respect to the legal framework of immigration.

Even if the authorities emphasize ethnic egalitarianism and cultural pluralism, they have not perceived refugees and immigrants as partners in their ´pluralist´ policy making. In its principles the Advisory Board (1994, pp. 27-28) has, however, recognized the ´partnership´ of immigrant associations as an opportunity in integration policy. This is a sign of a new political discourse that challenges also authorities themselves to make the effort to create activities that involve several ethnic groups working together.

Policy interventions are mainly initiated by the authorities through the central governmental body for refugee and migration issues. In spite of their attempts to push refugee and migration issues to the top of the political agenda, Finland still lacks a co-ordinated and organized refugee and migration policy approved by Parliament. On the one hand, the lack of political visibility in refugee and immigration policy has provided for administrators an opportunity to make decisions without responsibility to a wider public, and to change policy interpretations without recourse to legislative changes. On the other hand, Parliament and its want of policy statements has not supported the authorities

in directing the public attention to the cultural plurality and ethnic dynamism that is expected to exist in Finland. In the future this will be an even greater problem because a policy based on the images of a multicultural Finland would be more valid and effective when it is recognized and legitimated at the top level of the political agenda.

Although the Advisory Board has created a new image of a multicultural Finland and a national framework for the policy of multiculturalism, its applications of policies are, however, framed within existing delivery patterns without considering the general cutback of public assistance in a climate of general fiscal restraints. This may hinder the challenge to change the most conventional and ineffective modes of services into those more appropriate for the needs of immigrants. Thus, in Finland the principles of cultural diversity lack a vision of the political changes required to bring about multiculturalism in practice.

3.3.6 Discussion

In policy interventions in Finland state apparatuses and civil servants have played an active role. They have to a higher degree than in many other European countries (Council of Europe, 1991; Hammar, 1985) however, acted in a vacuum with regards to political decision making. The authorities´ activities in Finnish government bodies for refugee and migration policy-making have included the formulation of plans and the active definition of, and solving of social problems in a cross-cultural context rather than just simply implementing or recording those measures that various interest groups have designed.

The Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs emphasizes in its *Principles for Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy* (1994) the policy of *multiculturalism*, and points out that the culturally homogeneous Finnish society is becoming through immigration a multicultural society. Indeed, ideologically Finnish refugee and migration policy within administrative bodies is moving toward a policy of multiculticulturalism, following the development in European immigration policy (Council of Europe, 1991; Ely & Denney, 1987; Hammar, 1985) and elsewhere outside of Europe (Berry, 1984; Gordon, 1978; Herberg, 1989). Finnish policies are, however, linked to Finnish culture and society, and witness the history of Finnish refugee and migration policy. In this study, three major orientations were distinguished in the history of Finnish refugee and migration policy: paternalistic assistance (1980), ´normal´ assistance for refugees (1989), and the modification of ´normal´ assistance (1994) being a combined form of liberal and cultural pluralism in terms of Denney´s model (1983; Ely & Denney, 1987).

In Finnish settlement policies the different welfare domains of immigrants were characterized by different demands. From the beginning the authorities have clearly defined affirmative actions for the socio-economic adaptation of refugees in the reception phase. The goal is to offer refugees and other immigrants the same living standards as the rest of the population. As the ideology of Finnish national welfare policy emphasizes public responsibility for the welfare of each individual and the equal treatment of all members of society, these norms were taken as given by authorities also in the case of

immigrants. Rather than achieving pluralist equality in a culturally very homogeneous society such as Finland, ´equal treatment´ policy in terms of universalist equality may, however, lead to a rigidity in developing different means for meeting the needs of clients from other cultures.

Compared to the principle of ´equal opportunity´, the principle of cultural diversity is a relatively new concept in Finnish society, but subject to change as workers are expected to adapt their behaviour according to the needs of newcomers. Cultural awareness about the interpersonal relations of refugees and ethnic group relations has gradually increased among Finnish authorities. In the second (1989) and third refugee and migration programmes (1994) published by them, social institutions have been encouraged to develop multicultural programmes for creating shared interest and accomodation among the diverse groups of newcomers and established residents. Local authorities are also expected to take the public initiative in guaranteeing refugees and other migrants living in the local community the genuine choice of maintaining and developing their own language and cultural identity.

The preservation of cultural identity and the protection of ethnic minority cultures and group maintenance are considered the domain of Finnish refugee and migration policy in the same way as in other countries following the policy of multiculturalism (Berry, 1984; Council of Europe, 1991; Hammar, 1985). The policies related to interpersonal relations and to the psychological needs of refugees and migrants are, however, less formalized in policy programmes than policies related to their socio-ecomic needs. Psychological support and services are assumed to be supplied according to the individual needs of refugees and other migrants. State authorities have focused their attention on the psychological awareness of settlement workers and guided the improvements aimed at the well-being of ethnic minorities through their professional expertise.

According to the settlement authorities the residential distribution of newcomers aims to create opportunities for them to interact with established residents and also aims to open up a new challenge for shaping Finland´s social life. The resettlement policy based on the dispersal of refugees has, however, also limited the opportunities of organising culturally-sensitive policies at the local level. Although cultural diversity is emphasized in official policy, it has often been impossible in practice to organise the learning of native languages or to support ethnic group maintenance and development because the local refugee and immigrant groups have been multiethnic and very small in number. Dispersal policy has also created dependency among refugees on public care as they have had few opportunities of getting support from their own ethnic groups, especially in municipalities with a small number of refugees. A number of researchers have strongly criticized models of assistance that create dependency and that may, in this way, cause resentment among local populations (Harrell-Bond, 1993; Knudsen, 1986; 1988; Liebkind, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990).

However, since local authorities are currently responsible for, and play a key role in designing settlement and welfare services for immigrants, their implementation of settlement policies is important to study. How and when the different ethnic groups come together has much to do with the people themselves, as it does with local political and economic opportunities.

4 SETTLEMENT WORKERS´ EXPECTATIONS OF REFUGEE POLICY PROGRAMMES (STUDY 2)

4.1 Background and aims of the survey

The principles governing refugee policy in Finland have emphasized both the central position of the municipalities in receiving refugees and the importance of the positive attitudes of personnel working with them. The following study investigated local settlement workers´ awareness of refugee needs manifested in their expectations of settlement and welfare policy programmes for refugees in Finland. The purpose of the inquiry was to find out to what degree settlement workers expected that refugee needs can be best met by *multicultural* and culturally selective policies targeted specifically to refugees as opposed to general or *universalistic* policy-responses in the sense that refugees are expected to be treated according to the same standards in relation to their needs as Finns or that they could even be discriminated against in relation to Finns.

The refugee policies and practices as enacted by the host state and its social institutions are the outcome of complex political processes in which the ideologies concerning the welfare of ethnic minorities play only a partial role. The ways in which political programmes become actual policy and practice are affected further by institutional as well as by human individual mechanisms. Consequently, the workers´ awareness of refugee needs may be the intersection of his individual experiences within a broader institutional, professional, and ideological context.

The analysis of policy programmes (Study 1, Chapter 3) made explicit the societal and ideological context of Finnish refugee policy. Ideological explanations may, however, be relatively static in character and have therefore a limited usefulness in explaining the helping behaviour of individual workers (Dentzin, 1989; Deutsch, 1994). The workers´ awareness of refugee needs is further shaped by professional education, skills, and attitudes that have been nurtured in particular professional roles (Berry et al., 1992; Jenkins & Morrison,

1979; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992).

In general, psychological studies (Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992) suggest that refugees and other ethnic minorities can be more effectively helped if settlement workers are aware of their social position and cultural differences, and if they are able to develop interventions that take these differences into consideration. The wider context of helping and its impact on workers´ awareness has, however, often been left in the background in psychological studies, as criticized by Berry (1984) and Sue and Sue (1990). The focus has been on individual determinants influencing interactions, such as workers´ education, gender, ethnicity, age or the characteristics of ethnic minority clients (Cayleff, 1986; Draguns, 1989; Hess & Street, 1991; Pedersen, Fukuyama & Heath, 1989; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). However, individual helping interactions are also reflections of the wider context, the history and reality of the society in which they are studied (McAndrew & Weinfeld, 1996; Moscovici, 1972; Tajfel, 1972). Therefore, these have to be studied by taking our own society and its consequences for human awareness into consideration.

This study examined the complex sets of settlement workers´ awareness of refugee needs in Finland in terms of ideological, context-related and individual determinants. Settlement workers´ expectations of refugee policy programmes were evaluated in the context of the Finnish experience of hosting refugees at the time of the inquiry (1990). At this time the Ministry of Social Welfare and Health was responsible for issues concerning the reception of refugees, while the Ministry of Labour dealt with issues pertaining to other migrants and emigrants. Moreover, every ministry was responsible for contributing in the organisation of refugee and immigrant services. Between 1973-1990 Finland had received around 2,600 refugees of whom approximately 1,900 were from Vietnam (1979-), about 200 from Chile (1973-77), some 470 from the Near and Middle East, under 50 from Africa and 16 from Eastern Europe (MoniTori Plus, 1997; Statistics Finland, 1996). In 1990, the percentage of the population having foreign citizenship constituted around 0,5% (approximately 26,000) of the national population in the country. The settlement workers´ own experiences of refugee reception were mainly based on resettlement work carried out with Vietnamese refugees, who were the biggest refugee group at that time. While the Finnish authorities (Chapter 3, Study 1) had considered the great differences between Finnish and Vietnamese culture and values, and which were also considered in many cross-cultural studies (Hofstede, 1984; Liebkind, 1993,1996), these differences might also have challenged the settlement workers to demand the appropriate policy responses to the needs of refugees in the domains of their socio-economic welfare, social relationships, and psychological well-being.

Since it was expected that the ideologies of refugee and immigrant welfare are powerful factors influencing settlement workers´ expectations of refugee policy programmes, it was assumed that the ideological context will be shared by the settlement authorities and workers on many dimensions. Each individual worker will hold a set of expectations shaped by the ideological context of the Finnish settlement policy programmes which were analysed in the earlier study (Study 1, Chapter 3). Highly formalized settlement policies were expected to define the workers´ personal awareness of immigrant needs regardless of the differences in their professional or individual backgrounds, while politically less formalized welfare domains would permit more context-related, professional, or

personal variation in awareness of immigrant needs. The principles governing Finnish refugee policy have emphasized the importance of the social equality of refugees as well as the significance of their own culture, but especially the cultural aspects in the choice of practical actions have been left to individual settlement workers. Moreover, a viable organizational set-up is one that emphasizes the adaptation of existing services but avoids separate development and institutional parallelism in service delivery for refugees. These 'universalist' organisational arrangements based on Finnish standards will, however, standardise the ethnocentric lines of expectations adopted by settlement workers.

Based on earlier study findings (Jenkins & Morrison, 1979; Pedersen, Fukuyama & Heath, 1989), the differences in workers' expectations for meeting refugee needs, especially in their cultural awareness, were expected to be attributed to their individual (age, gender, experiences related to cross-cultural work) and professional backgrounds (education, professional group) and to contextual influences (number of refugees). In spite of some variation in worker expectations along the multicultural and universal continuum, a common structure in their awareness of refugee needs would be expected, as suggested by many researchers (McAndrew & Weinfeld, 1996; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992) and depicted in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2, Table 1). Thus, as an analytical challenge it was expected to distinguish in workers' expectations three types of awareness, comprising of 1) the comparable or differential performance workers expected on a variety of refugee welfare outcome measures and the expected comformity of refugees to the basic laws of Finnish society (Social awareness); 2) the degree to which the workers expected cultural sensitivity in dealing with refugees in their welfare domains (Cultural awareness); and 3) the degree to which the workers expected organisational adaptation based on universal or culture specific institutional responses to refugee welfare (Awareness of interventions).

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Participants

Questionnaires (Appendix 1, in Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992) were sent out to 35 municipalities that had received refugees by the year 1990. At the time of the study, Finnish municipalities had received a little less than 3,000 refugees and their relatives received through family reunification in all. Questionnaires were responded to by 283 settlement workers who represented different professional groups: administrators within social services (14%), social workers (15%), day care personnel (23%), workers in home help service (14%), public health workers (18%), teachers (12%), and interpreters (2%) (Table 4).

The majority of the respondents were women (89%), and a fifth of them were Swedish-speaking. Approximately one third of the respondents worked full-time in refugee work. The majority had worked with refugees for less than two years. Table 4 shows that 24% of the workers were employed by municipa-

TABLE 4 The numbers of participants according to municipality group and professional group

	Group of municipalities [1]						
	I	II	III	IV	No mention	Total n	Reply percentage %
Professional Group							
1. Personnel in local Administration	13	9	3	12	2	39	72
2. Social Workers	18	8	4	10	2	42	74
3. Personnel in Day Care	9	12	12	26	7	66	83
4. Personnel in Home Services	9	14	3	7	6	39	78
5. Personnel in Health Care	10	9	13	12	8	52	75
6. Teachers in Adult Education	1	6	12	12	4	35	35
7. Interpreters	1	1	1	2	1	6	27
8. Others	-	-	1	1	2	4	
Total	61	59	49	82	32	283	

1) Municipality groups according to the numbers of refugees received between 1973-1990
I under 20 refugees
II 21 - 49 refugees
III 50 - 79 refugees
IV Over 80 refugees

lities with less than 20 refugees (17 municipalities); 24% worked in municipalities with 21 - 49 refugees (9 municipalities); 20% in those with 50 - 79 refugees (5 municipalities); and 32% in those with more than 80 refugees (4 municipalities).

4.2.2 Measures and data analysis

Settlement worker expectations of settlement policies and service delivery for refugees were analysed using a 5-point Likert type awareness scale containing 35 statements of refugee settlement and welfare policies (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992). Part of the statements were taken directly from public documents issued by the Finnish authorities, and part dealt with some controversial issues found in refugee policy in different countries. In most statements, the principle ´the same for everyone´ (universalism) and ´special demands on the system providing services for refugees´ (multiculturalism) were juxtaposed as an continuum in the multicultural awareness of refugee needs (Denney, 1983; Devore & Schlessinger, 1987; Ely & Denney, 1987; Jenkins & Morrison, 1979; Sue & Sue, 1990; Triseliotis, 1986). Derived from the theories concerning *minority welfare*, the content of the statements were constructed in such a way that they dealt with the protection of equal opportunities in the socio-economic welfare

domain, the protection of interpersonal and intergroup relations as well as the psychological well-being and cultural identity of refugees. The statements of the *state of institutional responses* focused on the expected level of *ethnic match* in the Finnish organisation or institution providing the service concerned to refugees, and in the content of the practice of the services (minimal ethnic match ignoring or minimizing the facts of ethnic diversity, as opposed to maximal ethnic match), as well as in the ethnic origin of the professionals (different or the same as the recipient of the service). The statements concerning the *culture and sociocultural rights* of refugees in Finland focused on the right to form ethnically based organisations, the prohibition of discrimination, the right to ethnic meals in public establishments and on the wearing of ethnic clothing, and on support for the practicing of different religions. The expected normative cross-cultural models in *social networks* focused on policies of refugee residential concentration or dispersal as well as on *linguistic services* which the workers expected to best foster the integration and welfare of refugees. The following examples illustrate the approach:

'Residential care services for the ethnic elderly should be provided in their mother tongue.' (agree/ multiculturalism)

'The reception of refugees should be taken care of by using normal municipal services' (agree/ universalism).

'Local residents should be favoured in providing home help services.' (agree/ institutional discrimination).

Factor analysis was used for investigating relations between principles that govern refugee reception and welfare services. The factors based on an oblique solution were interpreted to form three dimensions representing the principles of refugee work: (1) *cultural awareness* in service delivery (2) *social responsibility* in service delivery along ethnic lines, and (3) *organisational adaptation* in service delivery structures (Table 5). These factors explained about 22% of the variance in the workers' awareness of refugee needs manifested in their expectations of refugee policies.

Cultural *awareness* in service delivery described the variance in the degree to which the workers would like to assimilate the refugees into the culture of the host country (universalist position) or encourage them to retain aspects of their own culture and language (cultural relativist position). Cultural selectivity appeared, on the one hand, as actions that promoted the refugees' own language and culture as well as their ethnic unity. On the other hand, it was also reflected in negative attitudes directed towards the cultural assimilation of refugees into the host society, their dispersal, and discrimination.

Social responsibility in service delivery along ethnic lines denoted the workers' opinions about the responsibility of society for refugees and their culture, as opposed to shifting responsibility to the refugees themselves, for example, in preserving their cultural values, meeting their religious needs, and organising their child-care. The social responsibility models depended on the specificity of the issues addressed by the institutional responses and on the nature of the intended target (children, refugee mothers, religious groups). Although settlement workers took a positive view of special measures to support different cultures, they did not, for example, want to organise separate service development along ethnic lines for refugee children by placing them in

TABLE 5 The factors and factor scores of settlement workers' awareness of refugee needs manifested in their statements concerning refugee policies

	I Cultural Awareness	II Social Responsibility	III Organizational Adaptation
CULTURAL AWARENESS IN SERVICE DELIVERY			
Finnish language should be preferred for refugee children to their native language	-.63	-.05	.18
Ethnic meals should be provided for refugees in schools and other public institutions	.61	-.10	-.01
Residential care services for the ethnic elderly should be provided in their mother tongue	.57	-.14	.18
Financing should favour native language teaching rather than Finnish language teaching	.56	-.13	.17
Native language teaching for refugee children should be organized by law	.55	-.09	.02
Refugees should organize themselves into their own ethnic organizations	.48	-.12	.12
There is no need for society to support the refugees' own culture	-.45	-.17	-.06
Refugee reception should be restricted on the basis of the shortage in housing	-.42	-.36	-.04
Refugee mothers should be in employment even if it is against their cultural values	-.38	.15	.07
Day care should aim at effective Finnish language teaching for refugee children	-.37	-.17	.00
Residence for refugees should be concentrated rather than dispersed throughout the country	.37	-.13	.09
Local residents should be favoured in providing home service	-.31	-.14	.08
The use of refugee childrens' native languages should be restricted	-.30	-.23	.25
Official languages should be used with refugees, for learning purposes, in spite of comprehension problems	-.28	-.25	.01
Refugee children should be dispersed within schools and day care centres	-.28	-.04	.04
Refugees should have the right of absense on their own national holidays	.28	.02	.14
Refugees should be dispersed within the municipalities	-.28	-.21	-.05
Refugee children should not be provided with their own day care	-.26	-.14	-.05

(continues)

TABLE 5 (continues)

Refugees should move from a municipality if unemployed	-.22	-.19	.19
SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN SERVICE DELIVERY			
Refugee mothers should take care of their small children	.21	-.52	.10
The maintenance of a refugees´ own culture is their own responsibility rather than a duty of society	-.18	-.44	-.18
In housing services, normal services for refugees should be preferred without positive actions	-.16	-.43	-.37
Refugees themselves, including our religious minorities, should take care of their own religious needs	.07	-.41	-.15
Development of services for refugees should be a national rather than a local responsibility	-.05	-.37	-.09
When refugees are inept at financial planning, non-financial ways should be preferred in helping strategies	-.10	-.35	.17
Ethnic care should be provided when placing refugee children into a foster home	.28	-.31	.21
Finland should not allow the practice of Islam as it threatens our culture	-.27	-.27	.09
Social services should treat refugees in the same way as Finnish clients	-.21	-.24	-.21
ORGANISATIONAL ADAPTATION			
Normal existing services should be applied in refugee reception	-.06	-.23	-.48
Municipalities should provide specific services for refugees	.17	.11	.42
Those enterprises which employ refugees should have societal support	-.05	-.17	.38
Society should grant specific mortgages for refugees for housing	-.03	-.04	.37
In the case of refugees the standards of social allowances should be flexible	.01	.13	.35
Ethnic staff should be recruited in my professional field, even if they do not fully understand Finnish ways of action	.23	.09	.31
Creating equal opportunities for refugees requires political and administrative changes	.26	-.02	.26
Total variance explained (100%)	64	22	14
Variance explained by three factors (22%)	14	5	3

foster homes only for their own respective groups, nor did they support separate development in day-care services for small refugee children by supporting their care in the child´s own home.

The factor denoting *organizational adaptation* in service delivery structures indicated how the respondents would have liked to adapt the existing organizational structures with separate development along ethnic lines. Organizational adaptation was expressed through the positive attitudes of the settlement workers towards differentiating measures in administration, and, on the other hand, through their negative attitudes towards refugee policy that emphasises the normal mainstream services of host society.

A multivariance analysis was carried out to determine how much of the obtained variance could be attributed to selected relevant background variables of workers (education, professional group, number of refugees, age, gender, experiences related to cross-cultural work). With a Scheffe-Test it was tested which samples differed from the others significantly ($p<.05$). In the following, only statistically significant factors that influenced the settlement workers´ expectations of refugee policy programmes will be discussed. Statistical analyses and results are discussed more in the detailed report of the study (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992).

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Support for refugees' own culture

The greatest number of systematic differences between settlement workers was observed in questions that concerned cultural awareness in service delivery, and those that concerned supporting the refugees' own culture, ethnic relations, and cultural identity (Factor I). Cultural awareness was most clearly a function of the number of refugees received in the municipality (Table 6) and of the workers´ professional background (Table 7). Cultural awareness of the workers was also related to their education $F(4,189)=4.61$, $p<.001$, to the number of their refugee clients ($r=.34$, $p<.001$), to the intensity of work with refugee clients ($r=.30$, $p<.001$) and to special training of workers in refugee issues ($r=.31$, $p<.001$).

The number of refugees received by a municipality has influenced the organisation of the work of settlement workers. The workers in this study were divided into four groups in accordance with the number of refugees received by the municipality. As table 6 shows, workers in those municipalities that had received the smallest number of refugees were less ready to support the culture and identity of refugees than those in municipalities with a higher number of refugees. It also became evident from the statements, that workers in municipalities with less than 20 refugees were more in favour of dispersing refugees both inside the municipality and nationwide. Their attitude could also be interpreted as a willingness to receive even very small groups of refugees in their municipalities. However, as this group was less supportive than the other groups of refugees' own culture and native language teaching, their attitude can clearly not be interpreted as a cultural sensitivity to refugee needs.

The professional group explained 12% of the variation in the workers´ cultural awareness in service delivery. Teachers responsible for the adult educa-

TABLE 6 Factor score means of workers according to the volume of refugees received in their municipality in one-way analysis of variance with Scheffe comparisons

Municipality Groups		I Cultural awareness	III Organizational adaptation	Workers N
1.	under 20 refugees	-.48	-.45	46
2.	21 - 49 refugees	.17	.22	46
3.	50 - 79 refugees	.29	.15	30
4.	Over 80 refugees	.13	.21	56
	F-value	6.80***	8.42***	
	Scheffe comparisons	4,2,3>1 (1	3,4,2>1(2	

p<.001***
High scores represent high cultural awareness and organizational adaptation
II Factor, Social Responsibility. No significant differences.
1) Workers in municipalities which received over 20 refugees manifest higher cultural awareness than workers in municipalities with under 20 refugees, p<.05
2) Workers in municipalities which received over 20 refugees manifest the need for organisational adaptation to a greater extent than workers in municipalities with under 20 refugees, p<.05

TABLE 7 Factor score means of workers according to their professional groups in one-way analysis of variance with Scheffe comparisons

Professional Groups	I Cultural awareness	II Social responsibility	Workers N
1. Personnel in local Administration	.20	.53	25
2. Social Workers	.15	.04	36
3. Personnel in Day Care	-.10	-.11	45
4. Personnel in Home Services	-.49	-.66	27
5. Personnel in Health Care	-.27	-.15	37
6. Teachers in Adult Education	.59	.37	22
F-value	5.12***	6.84***	
Scheffe comparisons	6>4,5(1	1,6,2>4(2	

p<.001***
High scores represent high cultural awareness and social responsibility with respect to refugees
III Factor, Organisational adaptation. No significant differences.
1) Teachers manifest higher cultural awareness in service delivery than personnel in home care and health care, p<.05
2) Personnel in administration, teachers and social workers support higher social responsibility for refugees than personnel in home care, p<.05

tion of refugees agreed more often with supporting the refugees' own culture, language, and ethnic unity than did health care workers and homehelp-personnel (Table 7). Teachers were most often of the opinion that it was the duty of society to support the teaching of the refugees' native language and the preservation of their own culture, and that teaching Finnish to refugee children should not be done at the expense of their native language. More often than the other professions, teachers supported that refugees should organize themselves

in to their own ethnic organizations. Also the official principles guiding the education of refugees clearly support the preservation of their native language and their own culture (Study 1, Chapter 3).

However, the item-specific analysis (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992) indicated that awareness in detecting cultural differences also followed professional lines in a more specific way. Workers took a more positive view of the culturally selective measures in the field of action including their own profession than in the field of other professions. Thus, settlement workers were particularly sensitive to detect a need for cultural selectivity in the context of their own profession. Day-care personnel supported more often than the personnel in health care or in home service the use of refugee children's native language in day care, $F(5, 270) = 5.46$, $p < .001$. Administrators took most strongly a stand on arranging interpreting services for official affairs, whereas the personnel in home services most strongly supported the use of official languages (Finnish/Swedish) in spite of comprehension problems, $F(5, 269) = 3.81$, $p < .01$. Teachers defended most frequently culturally selective measures in education. Home-help-service personnel were less often ready than workers in health care, day care, and the social services to accept that the residents of the municipality should be given priority in municipal home help services.

The individual backgrounds of workers also related to their cultural awareness, and became in part a question of the intersection of their individual experiences with a broader local, professional and ideological context. As the workers´ level of education became higher, they also showed a more positive attitude towards supporting the maintenance of refugees´ own culture and identity. Those who had completed a comprehensive school-level degree in the social field considered it less frequently necessary to give cultural support to refugees than those who had a lower or higher university degree.

Settlement workers' attitudes to supportive cultural measures became more positive as the number of their refugee clients and the amount of time spent in refugee work increased, and as they got more training in this work and became more proficient in foreign languages. These factors also partly explain the differences in cultural awareness between professional groups: teachers were most often full-time settlement workers, they were best versed in languages, and most of them had sought training in refugee work. Increase in age ($r = -.16$, $p < .05$), on the other hand, tended to increase a person's aptitude to adopt a universalistic position to service delivery.

Living and studying abroad had a positive effect on refugee workers' attitudes to supportive sociocultural measures. Finnish-speaking workers were more in favour of promoting the culture and native language of refugees than Swedish-speaking ones. This difference had to do with the small number of refugees received by the Swedish-speaking municipalities, for in those municipalities that had received a large number of refugees, Swedish-speaking workers, more often than Finnish-speaking ones, regarded measures that increased the sociocultural welfare of refugees as necessary. However, the number of Swedish-speaking refugee workers in these municipalities was too small for drawing reliable conclusions.

Above are described the relative differences of settlement workers´ cultural awareness in service delivery. It is also necessary to consider, in the light of percentual distributions, on what types of issues the workers agreed or

disagreed in supporting the refugees' own culture.

Settlement workers did not generally approve of intentional discrimination against refugees on the basis of their culture or their status. For example, only 1% of workers lent their support for sending refugees away from the municipality as a result of their unemployment or 5% wanted to forbid refugee children to speak their own language at school or in day-care centres.

Settlement workers (90%) considered it necessary for society to provide support for the refugees' own culture. However, the degree to which the workers expected to offer special services for refugees varied when this support was asked more concretely. Their judgements depended on the welfare sectors in question and the nature of targeted group. On the one hand, a majority of workers (70%) wanted society to provide aged refugees with services in their own language. On the other hand only 25% of them took a positive stand on organizing native language day-care for refugee children and almost as many of them preferred funding the teaching of the refugees' native language to the teaching them of Finnish. More than half of the settlement workers agreed on providing refugees in public institutions with meals that conformed to their religion, and letting them have days off on ethnic holidays. In contrast, more than half of the workers would not allow refugees to wear their ethnic clothing at work. Every fifth worker did not want to express an opinion about the organisation of refugee matters, and as many were opposed to it.

The issues that caused greatest disagreement among settlement workers concerned the teaching of Finnish to refugee children at the expense of their native language, preferring Finnish instead of interpreter services in official matters even if comprehension would suffer, the dispersion of refugees, and ethnic matching of professional or caregiver by hiring persons with a refugee background to do refugee work.

4.3.2 Social responsibility

The second dimension in the factor analysis, social responsibility, concerned the workers´ expectations towards social care, and revealed how these expectations were culturally determined. Those workers who emphasized the social responsibility of society for refugee welfare did not, however, agree that society should take responsibility for developing services along ethnic lines for refugee children, for example, in order to preserve their own culture. In their opinion, society should support the preservation of ethnic cultures, but at the same time follow Finnish principles and norms in social welfare services. These workers made their judgements based on ideological predispositions for greater cohesion rather than greater cultural pluralism. In those cases in which settlement workers emphasised the development of special measures to support different cultures, they also emphasised that refugees should assume responsibility for their own culture as well as for their religious and social needs.

Workers´ expectation concerning social responsibility related to their professional and educational background. Professional group explained 16% of the variation found in the principles concerning social responsibility. In addition to administrators, teachers and social workers stressed significantly more often than home help personnel the responsibility of society for securing the welfare

of refugees (Table 7). The better educated workers were the more they supported the sociopolitical responsibility of society, $F(4,189) = 9.70$, $p < .001$. The greatest number of workers with a university degree were among teachers and administrators. Home help and day-care personnel with a lower degree in the social field as well as public health nurses emphasised most frequently the responsibility of refugees for their own welfare.

The majority of settlement workers stressed the normal lines of action of our society in organising day care and child welfare for refugee children. The majority also considered that the preservation of their own culture was primarily the duty of refugees, not of society, and that when refugees belonged to religious minorities they were themselves responsible for taking care of their spiritual needs. Although the majority (90%) considered it necessary for society to give support to refugee cultures, refugees themselves were regarded as primarily responsible for preserving their own cultural values. This reflects the support for universalistic programmes of refugee settlement and welfare according to which society is responsible for taking care of refugees by adopting the same principles that are applied to meeting the needs of the majority population.

4.3.3 Organizational adaptation

The third dimension arising from the factor analysis represented the expectations of settlement workers for the organization of refugee reception and welfare services. Differences in the workers' organizational expectations were best explained by the number of refugees received by a municipality and the amount of time spent in refugee work.

Settlement workers in those municipalities that had received a small number of refugees had the most negative attitudes towards special administrative arrangements made for refugee welfare in the social welfare services (Table 6). In practice, the organisation of institutional responses for refugees have also varied in accordance with the number of refugees received. Especially in the municipalities with the fewest refugees, the initial stages of refugee work have been organised in such a way that social workers attend, within the sphere of their normal duties, to the needs of both refugees and Finnish clients. In these municipalties, 66% of those working with refugees spent less than three hours a week in refugee work, and only 12% of them were full-time settlement workers. The number of full-time settlement workers increased as the number of refugees received increased, but even in these municipalities, over 30% of the workers participating in the study spent less than three hours a week in refugee work.

The public authorities have regarded refugee welfare strictly as part of the ´normal´ or mainstream administration, and looked special administrative arrangements upon with disapproval especially in the social field (Study 1, Chapter 3). Half of the settlement workers agreed that the normal municipal organisations should be used for the reception of refugees, while half of them supported differentiation in welfare services for refugees. In their open-ended answers, teachers responsible for the adult education of refugees emphasized the right of refugees to special services and the need for expertise in refugee

work. On the other hand, persons working in the field of social welfare expressed their concern about refugees becoming negatively labelled if their special needs were emphasised and special supportive measures were demanded for them in social services.

Every third of the respondents failed to express an opinion on whether it was necessary to bring about political and administrative changes in our country in order to guarantee equality for refugees. Of those who took a stand 13% were in favour of changes, and 17% disagreed with the need for making any administrative changes. Less than half of the workers stated that they approved of employing persons with a foreign cultural background in their field, even if these persons could not fully understand Finnish ways of action. On the other hand, over half of the workers approved of societal support for enterprises that employ refugees. These results indicate that also according to the settlement workers, in Finland, an appropriate organisational set-up might be one that combines the adaptation of existing services with some separate development as suggested in refugee policy programmes.

4.3.4 Discussion

The settlement workers´ awareness of refugee needs was multi-dimensional. The degree to which the workers expected the resettlement policies and welfare services for refugees to be universal or multicultural in nature varied over the three factors. These were cultural awareness, social responsibility in service delivery along ethnic lines, and organisational adaptation. Thus, the findings supported the suggested general patterns of workers´ awareness (Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Chapter 2, Table 1) even if the awareness factors did not correspond fully to those suggested in the conceptual framework. Secondly, the workers´ awareness of refugee needs was shaped in a complex interaction influenced by their individual, local and professional background, rather than strictly determined by the general ideological context manifested in the policy programmes for refugee settlement and welfare (study 1, Matinheikki-Kokko, 1990). Thirdly, the workers, however, shared the ideological context of refugee policy programmes with the settlement authorities in the highly formalized settlement policy domains putting emphasis on the sharing of common institutions and values based on Finnish socio-historical paths rather than on the increase of ethnic and cultural diversity in public policy domains (Study 1, Chapter 3). Although the workers supported Finnish standards as universalist related to the state´s responsibility for providing services for refugees, simultaneously there existed also multicultural modes in the workers´ expectations of the actual content of the practice of the service reflective of and sensitive to the needs of refugees.

When the universalism and multiculturalism manifested in the various responses of the Finnish workers and authorities was analysed along *ethnic match* in the three public domains of *recruitment of professionals, ethnic control in organisations and the actual content of the practice of the services* (McAndrew & Weinfeld, 1996), there was no agreement among workers as to regards ethnic match in the recruitment of ethnic professionals (where the caregiver is expected to be the same as the recipients of the services), and in the control of

organisations providing services for ethnic communities (where the organisation is expected to provide culture specific services under the control of the recipient´s ethnic community). Some services on the other hand evoked among the settlement workers fairly high levels of consensus and acceptance of ethnic match in the actual content of the practice of the services sensitive to the ethnic culture of the refugees. A majority of respondents (70%) supported ethnic care for the refugee elderly and the provision of ethnic meals in day-care settings and schools, even if these services were not suggested directly in the official programmes or were not available in the existing service structure. Nevertheless, as expected, the differences in policy-related expectations among workers were best identified on the dimension describing their cultural awareness in service delivery.

The workers´ position to *culture-specific services* and to *organisational adaptation* was clearly related to the local context of refugee work (Pedersen, Fukuyama & Heath, 1989). In the municipalities with the smallest number of refugees, the workers took up more of an assimilationist position to service delivery related to the refugees´ own cultural maintenance, and their expectations of organisational adaptation were more rigid than those in the municipalities with a higher number of refugees. These expectations reflected the concrete demands of their job constraints and the existing organisational structures. The municipalities with a high number of refugees had had better opportunities to adapt their existing services with separate development according to the needs of refugees, than municipalities with small numbers. Consequently, the workers in the former municipalities more often saw as necessary a number of changes to existing organisational structures for the application of multicultural policies that aimed at responding to differences in the needs of refugees.

The workers´ cultural awareness of refugee needs was also connected to their professional background, and further to their level of education, language ability and intensity of refugee work. These findings are in accordance with earlier findings of the connections between ethnic attitudes and individual backgrounds among populations (Jaakkola, 1994) or among workers´ (Jenkins & Morrison, 1979). The teachers working with refugees in Finnish adult education had the most relativist position while the personnel in health care and in home care assistance had the most universalist position to service production. Moreover, the workers´ expectations of *social responsibility* for refugee welfare were shaped by their professional context. The workers in home services expected society to take responsibility for refugee welfare along ethnic lines to a lower degree than did the other professional groups.

Considering the Finnish state´s universal responsibility for providing equality and welfare for all, the question of the state´s responsibility for indirect, specific integration policies for refugees has been more contradictory than it has been within ´small´ welfare states. These have developed specific integration policies for immigrants but an all encompassing universal policy has been lacking (Faist, 1995; Hammar, 1985). On the dimension of social responsibility there was also revealed the cultural homogeneity of Finnish society in which cultural diversity is easily associated with inequality: unequal, because different (Shweder, 1991). Consequently, diversity became easily sacrificed to the demands of ´universalist´ equality. The issues of equality seem to play an

important role in Finland when workers and authorities have evaluated responses to immigrant needs. However, authorities and workers have often made their decisions based on normative equality models without questioning the results of the impact of their policies on refugee and immigrant welfare (Jaakkola, 1991,1994; Liebkind, 1993,1994,1996; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press, Matinheikki-Kokko, 1991,1992). Long-term evaluation is needed of the development of immigrant welfare as well as comparisons of the different models of institutional responses and their impact upon the welfare of refugees and immigrants.

In spite of some common structures identified in the workers´ awareness, it also became apparent that these general constructions of awareness need to be combined with data obtained by more context-sensitive methods in order to identify the individual and situational determinants of a workers´ awareness. The three factors explained 22% of the variance in workers´ awareness of refugee needs. This implies not only a challenge to develop the methods of the study and operationalizations of multicultural awareness, but also the need for analysing more closely the nature of awareness within the existing political framework.

This study suggests that workers´ awareness of refugee needs is a function of refugee policy programmes and of professional attitudes, but that they also appear in response to the immediate and current experience of interaction with refugee clients (Berry et al., 1992; Pedersen, Fukuyama & Heath, 1989). The majority of settlement workers (78%) experienced that their work was to the greatest extent directed according to each interaction and situation, whereas only 31% of the workers experienced the programmes for refugee settlement and welfare as important in guiding their work. At the same time some 30% of the workers experienced that they had the opportunity to draw up some of their own plans for their work with refugees. The majority of the workers experienced, however, that they just had to accomodate their interactions with refugees into their day-to-day activities or structure their work according to their own professional field. These reactive and immediate forms of accomodation (Bach, 1993; Deutsch, 1994) in workers´ ways of meeting refugee needs suggest that it is important to study their everyday interactions with refugees and the domain-specific accomodation of their awareness within these interactions. The outcomes of this study supported the relevance of the MAIN framework (Table 1) as an analytical tool to face the multicultural awareness of workers, but also show that it will be necessary to explore practices in the field within the broader framework of Finnish society. As we consider the ways in which context functions in workers´ awareness of immigrant needs, we will also understand better the ways in which the different contexts interact with each other influencing these constructs of multicultural awareness.

5 AWARENESS OF TEACHER-COUNSELLORS IN MEETING THE NEEDS OF IMMIGRANTS IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS (STUDY 3)

5.1 Background and aims of the case-study

The study examined how refugee settlement workers´ awareness of refugee and other immigrant needs is demonstrated in cross-cultural counselling interactions. The settlement workers´ social and cultural awareness and awareness of counselling interventions was identified and analysed with regard to the socio-economic welfare, interpersonal relationships and psychological welfare of immigrants within the MAIN framework (see Table 1).

The awareness of workers regarding the needs of other-culture students was studied in *conflict situations*. The conflict episodes were defined by the workers. In this sense the term ´conflict´ was considered as an elastic and elusive term being stretched and moulded in each helping case for the purposes at hand (Ting-Toomey, 1985). Interpretations of conflicts are a manifestation of workers aims to make sense of these conflictual situations and the needs of immigrants and to determine the appropriate interventions with respect to other-culture clients (Bach, 1993; Denzin, 1989; Sears, Peplau & Taylor, 1991). Conflict resolutions can be successful as well as unsuccessful. Conflicts have been given a bad reputation due to their association with social disorder. However, conflict may also have positive functions. It is the root of personal and social change and the medium through which problems can be aired and solutions arrived at (Deutsch, 1994). Rather than eliminating conflicts, it is important to understand how workers can develop such an awareness of client needs that enables them to create the conditions that give rise to lively controversy and to integrative acculturation processes regarding ethnic minorities instead of giving rise to marginalization, discrimination or assimilation processes (Berry, 1991; Sue & Sue, 1990).

The ways in which conflicts are resolved may lead either to the integration or disintegration of the other-culture client. *Integration* is associated with the

settlement worker having an interactive, accurate and multidimensional awareness of the clients´ needs (Denzin ,1989; Deutsch, 1994; LaFromboise, Coleman and Hernandez, 1992; Pedersen, 1988; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue 1990). In other words, if workers have a systematic awareness of the effects of integrative and disintegrative processes, they will also have a systematic awareness of the conditions that will give rise to integrative processes in conflict management.

The settlement workers´ understanding of the needs of other-culture clients constitutes the basis for dealing successfully with conflicts and for taking corrective actions in cross-cultural settings (Pedersen, 1988). Awareness of these interaction processes is also a precondition for the self-awareness and self-regulation of a settlement worker (Bandura, 1982; Figurski, 1987; Kelley & Michela, 1980). Interactive awareness means a ´dual concern´ involving an awareness of oneself and one´s own system and an awareness of other-culture clients (Deutsch, 1994). On the other hand, the workers´ ignorance concerning the cultural and social differences emerging in cross-cultural counselling may create barriers, such as in language, value divergencies, intercultural misunderstandings and prejudices. These differences may lead to conflicts, whose resolution is also a culture-relative construct, as the cross-cultural conflict literature indicates (Alcock, Carment & Sadava, 1987; Berry et al., 1992; Bond, Leung & Schwarz, 1992; Hamilton & Hagiwara, 1992; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Ting-Toomey, 1985,1988). However, this cross-cultural literature is more concerned with describing the major dimensions and typologies of conflict resolution strategies between various cultural groups than with explaining how these value differences are dealt with amongst individual participants from different ethnic backgrounds.

Within a broad comparative framework different culture-specific styles in conflict resolution have been placed on dimensions such as low- versus high-context cultures (Hall, 1976), individualism versus collectivism (Triandis, 1990), and a positive and negative face-negotiation process (Ting-Toomey, 1985,1988). Applying Hofstede´s (1984) model of cultural dimensions to cross-cultural helping, the responses of workers and welfare programmes have been identified (Draguns, 1990; Pedersen, 1988) to differ along four major dimensions: *individualism - collectivism, masculinity - femininity, high or low power-distance, and high or low uncertainty-avoidance,* along which cultures can be placed and compared. Hofstede identified these four major dimensions in his comparative study which focused on work-related values, comparing value preferences across sixty-six different nationalities. These value dimensions show that values of equality and optimal functioning, for example, are not universal or context-neutral concepts. Thus, for example, ideological barriers may be faced in cross-cultural helping in relation to individual autonomy (individualism-collectivism) or to gender ideology (masculinity-femininity).

There is also a considerable body of psychological literature on *ingroup ethnocentrism* (Pettigrew, 1986; Tajfel, 1982; Triandis, 1990), which reduces the likehood that a productive problem-solving process will characterize the interaction between members of different groups. An ethnocentric orientation is likely to result in strong emotional reactions toward culturally different people leading to misunderstandings, stereotypes and prejudices that affect the ability of people to manage conflicts successfully. Ethnocentric ingroup bias has been

identified to occur most consistently with regard to such moral traits as ´trustworthiness´, ´honesty´, ´fairness´, and ´equality´ (Deutsch, 1994; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989).

Deutsch (1994) considers that, although the term ethnocentrism is usually employed in relation to ethnic and national groups, it is well to recognize that an analogous process can occur in the relations between various categories based on *gender, age, race, religion, class or occupation*. Few studies have focused on gender roles in cross-cultural conflict resolution. There are, however, some suggestions (Hamilton & Hagiwara, 1992) that in conflict resolution strategies the differences between males and females are greater in cultures where gender roles are more sharply defined. In conflict situations females are more likely to offer apologies and internal excuses while males are more likely to offer denials and counterattacks.

The domain of the conflict may also influence how the workers become aware of the needs of the immigrant client and manage to achieve a successful helping interaction. However, literature concerning the *domain-specific, contextual* impact on the awareness of conflict and its resolution among participants is limited (Sternberg & Soriano, 1984). It mainly concentrates on various types of conflict-resolution styles (Rhodes et al., 1994), such as the use of power (Falbo, 1977; Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Fisher, 1994; Frontman & Kunkel, 1994; Nadler et al., 1985; Rubin 1994) and is associated with the culture, sex, role or personality traits of participants, rather than with the cross-contextual impact or impact of conflict domain on conflict resolution. Psychological literature regarding individuals´ cross-contextual styles of conflict resolution has, however, indicated that the understanding of personal behaviour requires at least as much attention paid to the *context* of this behaviour as it does to underlying personality dispositions (Deutsch, 1994; Mischel, 1977; Sebby & Papini, 1991; Sternberg & Soriano, 1994).

Here the focus was on the immigrant welfare domains and on how the scope of a conflict affected the welfare domains. *The scope of the conflict* tends to be one important contextual factor in conflict resolution (Deutsch, 1994). Small conflicts are easier to resolve than larger ones. In the context of this study the scope of conflicts is described in relation to how they affected the welfare domains of the immigrant. The conflict may cover many client welfare domains or be focused only on one welfare domain. The conflict may also be greater when it is considered to be a conflict over a principle (incompatible cultural values, religious conflict) rather than over the application of a principle. The conflict scope is also a subjective construct. It is defined in relation to the outcomes of conflict resolution.

The study also addresses the question of whether conflicts in certain *welfare domains* may be less conducive for workers in becoming aware of immigrant needs and successful conflict resolution than conflicts in other domains. Sundberg and Sue (1991, 338-356) have stated as one general hypothesis in counselling that as the amount of shared client and counsellor expectations, knowledge, and interests increases, the probable success of counselling also increases. Further, the more the aims and desires of the client can be appropriately simplified and formulated as concrete behaviour or information, the more effective the cross-cultural counselling will be. On the other hand, the more counselling becomes personally and emotionally laden, the more the client tends to rely on words and concepts learned early in life. The more hidden and

personal become also the criteria accepted as relevant for the outcome of the dialogue between the worker and client. Hence, if workers are not aware of socialization and cultural meanings in the client´s culture, their awareness of client´s psychological needs may become ethnocentric and may be heavily loaded with good and bad emotional connotations. Based on these general statements, it is suggested that conflicts in socio-economic domains might be easier to formulate as concrete behaviour or information and thereby help to create mutual understandings of purposes than conflict in the more ´private and soft welfare domains´ of needs, such as in family relationships or with respect to the psychological welfare of other-culture clients (Deutsch, 1994).

There also is very little research that is concerned with the context-sensitivity of the settlement workers´ *self-perception* of their multicultural awareness or competence. Empirical findings based on attribution theories indicate in general that in the absense of clear external forces, people are more likely to assess their own behaviour (Michela & Kelley, 1983; Sears, Peplau & Taylor, 1991). Thus, welfare domains without clear political or professional perspectives will evoke critical self-focusing tendencies of workers according to which they make attributions salient to the self. By contrast, if welfare domains are politically well defined, workers may perceive strong external forces as affecting their behaviour. In these domains they are more likely to present external excuses for their counselling behaviour rather than internal excuses referring to their own ability. Consequently, workers´ self-perceived awareness is assumed to become an influential determinant of their behaviour especially in welfare domains, where workers are expected to work on their own and produce by themselves the relevant elements of the counselling frame (Deutsch, 1994).

Settlement workers may have distinctive views of how to define and meet the needs of culturally different clients in conflict situations as was indicated in the previous study, which examined the expectations of settlement workers of refugee and settlement policies (Study 2, in Chapter 4; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992). The study of workers´ expectations identified teachers working in refugee adult education as the most multiculturally oriented professional group of local settlement workers. Thus, this study examined further the awareness of immigrant needs among teachers expressed in their face-to-face interactions with immigrants. More specifically, it studied teachers, who had counselling responsibilities on prevocational training or career training courses for adult immigrants.

There are wide differences in the role of professional counselling services and in the pattern of training and staff development of those occupying counselling roles (guidance psychologists, careers teachers, teacher-counsellors, guidance counsellors, guidance teachers) within the different European States (Educational and Vocational Guidance in the European Community, 1993). In this study the teachers having counselling responsibilities are called teacher-counsellors. The activities of *teacher-counsellors* in Finland involve individual and group counselling, career and social education, placement and tutored practice for students with an employer and sometimes also language training in groups. The teacher-counsellors in Finnish adult education are generally defined as teachers and they carry out their individual counselling alongside their teaching responsibilities. Teacher-counsellors mostly have academic degrees, usually in

psychology, education or social sciences. Special training in counselling or guidance is not required of teacher-counsellors before they assume their guidance responsibilities on prevocational training courses.

Since 1980, special vocational and educational services for refugees and other migrants have been developed in Finland within institutions for adult education. Currently many adult education institutions offer migration training courses for refugees and other immigrants in Finland. The aim of the *prevocational training* programmes is to integrate immigrants into Finnish society by providing them, with in addition to Finnish language teaching, educational and vocational counselling, the opportunity of work experience with an employer and help in finding a place on a training course, in an educational establishment or employment. Migration training lasts about 8 months. Often immigrants, and refugees especially undergo a 3 month language course before a prevocational training course (around 5 months). All adult refugees (over 16, usually 18 years) admitted to Finland are eligible for Finnish language training and special career training courses. Since 1992 other migrants in addition to refugees have also been accepted onto the career training courses. Participants come from heterogenous groups comprising of students with different cultural backgrounds and education status.

Within the MAIN framework proposed in Chapter 2 (Table 1) this study examined the meanings and understandings that teacher-counsellors formed with regard to themselves and other-culture clients within conflict settings. In order to create an understanding of the wider contextual influences on teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs, these conflict cases were also interpreted within the wider policy framework (study 1) studied earlier.
The following questions were addressed in this study:

1. Do teacher-counsellors select and define immigrant needs differently in successful and unsuccessful conflict interactions in cross-cultural counselling?
2. Do teacher-counsellors´ interpretations of immigrant needs vary in successful and unsuccessful conflict interactions and according to the scope of clients´ conflicts, manifesting either a multicultural awareness in terms of broad, multidimensional, interactional and accurate interpretations of immigrant needs or an ethnocentric awareness in terms of narrow, unidimensional, non-interactive and inaccurate interpretations of immigrant needs?
3. Does the degree of teacher-counsellors´ *self-perceived awareness* relate to such contextual factors as the scope of conflict domain, outcomes of resolution, and background of the client?

The tentative assumptions were the following:

1. The extent and nature of a teacher-counsellors awareness of immigrant needs was expected to vary *domain-specifically* according to the scope of the conflicts and situationally, according to the result of conflict resolution. Thus, as the scope of a conflict increases the degree to which a conflict affects the socioeconomic welfare, interpersonal and intergroup relations, and psychological welfare of immigrants, the scope of the ´unmet needs´ of the immigrant clients was also expected to increase in the counselling settings and consequently affect the opportunity for dealing successfully

with these conflicts (Deutsch, 1994; Sundberg & Sue, 1991).
Moreover, considering the wider context of conflict interactions, the teacher-counsellors were expected to target conflicts in socio-economic domains, which are highly formalized by policy programmes, more successfully than conflicts affecting the interpersonal relations and psychological welfare of immigrants which are politically less formalized. Ethnocentric ingroup bias, inaccuracy and non-interactive communication were expected to occur most consistently within these 'soft' conflict domains considered as more personally and emotionally laden (Deutsch, 1994; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989).

2. Based on theories of attributions (Michela & Kelley, 1983) and of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982), politically less formalized welfare domains (the psychological well-being and interpersonal relations of immigrants) were expected to evoke in the teacher-counsellors a self-focus on their own multicultural awareness, while politically well defined welfare domains (socio-economic domain) would not evoke such a self-focus; consequently, the teacher-counsellors' subjective awareness was expected to be a more influential determinant of behaviour in politically less formalized than in highly formalized welfare domains (Deutsch, 1994).

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Participants

Forty-two teacher-counsellors (60% of the target group) from 18 institutions answered the questionnaires, which were channelled to 20 Adult Education Institutions running migration training courses in late of 1993 and early 1994. The 33 teacher-counsellors were also *interviewed* at the time. The informants were selected on the basis of their willingness to be interviewed.

There are no national statistics available for the number of teacher-counsellors working in migration training. This lack of statistics also indicates the unclear role of professional counselling within the counselling courses for adult migrants in Finland. There are, however, national statistics of immigrants who participated in migration training in 1993 funded by the Ministry of Labour. The total number of immigrant students in 1993 was 3,643 students representing 78 different nationalities. The biggest national group were immigrants from the former Soviet Union (n=1,314) comprising 35% of the total group of refugee and immigrant students. Somalis (n=515, 14%) represented the second biggest group in migration training courses, 9% were from Iran or Irak, 8% from Estonia and 3% were Vietnamese.

The regional proportion of the teacher-counsellors represented the whole country. Of the 42 teachers 38% were from Northern and Eastern Finland, 24% from Central Finland and 38% from Southern Finland. The majority of the teacher-counsellors worked in Finnish Vocational Adult Education Institutions in the field of migration training. Four participants worked in Community Education Institutions that ran similar types of migration training courses. Two

participants worked in Health Care Training Institutions, which ran special vocational courses of health care for immigrants.

The majority, (64%) of the teacher-counsellors (n=42) were women, while 36% were men. Ages varied from age 26 to 62, with a mean of 39 years. All the teachers had a university background, 69% had a masters degree, and 31% a first degree (BA) from a university. The teacher-counsellors came from the following five educational backgrounds: 26% psychology, 26% education, 17% social sciences (sociology, social policy), 17% Finnish language and 14% other subjects. In addition to university training 69% of the participants had undergone teacher training (about one year). Seventy-four per cent of the teachers were full-time teachers and 26% were part-time (less than 15 hours a week).

The teacher-counsellors had had an average of eight weeks training in multicultural issues. They had worked in migration training for an average of two years and ten months. During the last three years they had trained and counselled on average 105 refugees or immigrant students. Individual counselling time varied from 4 to 20 hours per week. The time of individual counselling varied between teachers and individually across time. In general the individual counselling of teacher-counsellors had declined radically during the two last years. The average time of teacher-counsellors given over for individual counselling was 7 hours per week, which means about half an hour per student per week. All the teachers also had group teaching and counselling duties.

5.2.2 Procedure

Reasearch on cross-cultural helping has been criticized (Pedersen, 1991; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990) because of: 1) the lack of a theoretical framework, 2) overemphasis on simplistic worker-client process variables without regard to the context, 3) overreliance on experimental analogue research outside the ´real world´ setting, 4) disregard for intracultural within-group differences, 5) heavy overreliance on student samples, and 6) overemphasis on clinically oriented helping.

This study aimed to avoid these weaknesses. The teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant welfare were examined 1) in the theoretical framework of workers´ awareness with regard to immigrant needs, 2) context-inclusively, 3) in ´real world´ settings and with settlement staff (teacher-counsellors) as a target group, and 4) in a non-clinical context.

The study comprised of data from an unstructured (the case-reports) and a structured questionnaire (structured evaluations of these cases) and an interview with the teacher-counsellors. The Finnish questionnaires are available from the reseacher. In the *unstructured questionnaire* teacher-counsellors were asked first to think about the different kinds of conflict situations they had faced in interpersonal counselling with refugee and migrant clients. These conflicts could be connected to culture, values, means, and goals. They may have originated in the counselling interaction or outside of it (relating e.g. to work, training, family of the migrant), but the conflicts were dealt with in individual counselling within migration training. The teacher-counsellors were then asked to report on two conflict situations that they had dealt with: one case, in which they perceived the outcomes of the counselling process as successful and

constructive (case +) and another, in which they perceived the outcomes as unsuccessful and non-constructive (case -).

Next they were asked to analyse these interactions both 1) from their own point of view, and 2) from the client´s point of view. They were asked to express their own views on the causes behind the conflicts that emerged during the counselling interaction, the actions undertaken during the counselling process, the expectations and goals of the interaction, and to report on how they viewed the client´s perception of the situation in both the successful and unsuccessful cases. They were also asked to reflect upon these cases and re-evaluate whether they were likely to take corrective action with respect to them. The teacher-counsellors were also asked to give a title for their cases. This data is called the *case-reports*.

In the *structured questionnaire* teacher-counsellors were first asked to evaluate quantitatively these cases. They evaluated on a 3-point scale (a score of one affected to a low degree) to what degree the conflicts in these successful and unsuccessful cases affected 1) the socio-economic welfare of clients, such as employment issues or education issues, 2) interpersonal relationships or intergroup relations, or 3) the psychological welfare of the clients. They also evaluated to what degree the conflicts were associated to the social and cultural differences and personal characteristics of the clients and teacher-counsellor.

The main focus in the structured questionnaire was on the *self-perceived counselling awareness* of the teacher-counsellors in these two cases. Although an interest in developing counselling self-estimate inventories has increased, few studies (Larson et al., 1992) have been published in international publications. The Cross-cultural Competence Inventory- Revised (CCCI-R) developed by LaFromboise, Coleman and Hernandez (1992; Ponterotto & Casas, 1991) was used as a self-assessment inventory. LaFromboise, Coleman and Hernandez (1991) recommend the use of the CCCI-R also as a tool for the self-assessment of counsellors in enabling them to reflect on their own behaviour in counselling sessions. Even if the CCCI-R has been used in a number of studies, so far there has been no research on its use as a self-assessment measure and neither has it been used domain-specifically, i.e., considering the influence of conflict domain on the degree of awareness.

The CCCI-R -measure aimed to sample the three broad domains of cross-cultural competence of counsellors - beliefs-attitudes, knowledge and skills - originally described by Sue et al. (1982; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1991). LaFromboise, Coleman and Hernandez (1991) have developed their inventory through three studies. As a result of their work (LaFromboise et al., 1991), factor analyses of the CCCI-revised version yielded 3 factors that reflect *counsellors´ cross-cultural counselling skill* (10 items), *sociopolitial awareness* (6 items) and *cultural sensitivity* (4 items). According to studies of LaFromboise et al. (1991) the 20-items scale yielded an internal consistency (coefficient alpha) reliability of .95 for the total CCCI-R, with interitem correlations ranging between .18 and .73. The three factor-solution accounted for 63% of the variance.

Cross-cultural counselling skill (Factor I) focuses on the counsellor´s awareness of his or her interventions: self-awareness, his or her ability to convey appropriate counselling communication, understand his or her own counselling role and to convey being comfortable with ethnic and cultural differences. *Sociopolitical awareness* (Factor II) involves the counsellor´s ability to recognize his

or her strengths or limitations that might advance or impede the counselling process with other-culture clients. The items note, for example, counsellors´ appreciation of the status of ethnic minorities in the country and understanding of conflicts within the clients´ cultural context. *Cultural sensitivity* (Factor III) represents the degree to which the counsellor can empathise with the client´s feelings, understand the environmental and interpersonal demands placed on the client and recognise the institutional barriers impacting on the client´s ability to function effectively and achieve a satisfying quality of life. These factors were considered in parallel with the settlement workers´ awareness dimensions proposed in the MAIN framework (Table 1). Cross-cultural counselling skill considered in parallel with *Awareness of interventions*, Sociopolitical awareness with *Social awareness* and Cultural sensitivity with *Cultural awareness* within the conceptual framework.

The CCCI-R inventory consists of twenty 6-point Likert items in which raters indicate on a scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6) how well a participant demonstrates a particular competency or awareness in a cross-cultural counselling situation. In this study the teacher-counsellors assessed their own social and cultural awareness, and awareness of interactions in their recalled successful counselling case and in the unsuccessful case by using the CCCI-R as a self-assessment measure. In this study item (11) concerning the ability to send and receive a variety of verbal and non-verbal messages was divided into two items, which assessed separately verbal and non-verbal communication abilities. Thus the inventory consisted of 21 items. Higher scores indicated more favourable awareness by the participants of immigrant needs.

In the interview (March - June 1994) the teacher-cousellors (n=33) had first the opportunity to comment on their case reports and evaluations. They were also asked to describe their perceptions of a successful and unsuccessful counselling relationship between a counsellor and an other-culture client. They were then asked to give the criteria by which they had selected their successful and unsuccessful cases. The theme of the interview concentrated also on how the teacher-counsellors in general determined relevant behaviour and goals in counselling with other-culture clients in conflict situations, but these findings will be reported later in another report.

5.2.3 Measures and data analysis

In order to find out how the teacher-counsellors defined their successful and unsuccessful conflict cases and how their counselling reports manifested their awareness of immigrant needs the case reports were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively within the MAIN framework (Table 1). This was carried out along the dimensions of social awareness, cultural awareness and awareness of appropriate interventions in relation to the client´s socio-economic welfare, interpersonal and intergroup relations, and psychological welfare domains.

The focus was on the *qualitative interpretive analysis of case-reports* which enabled the consideration of the characteristics of the conflict cases without separating interpretations from meaningful contexts (Kindermann & Valsiner,

1989). The awareness of the teacher-counsellors of the client needs in the successful and unsuccessful cases was analysed by adapting the methods of interpretive interactionism (Dentzin, 1989) as in the policy programme analysis in study 1 (see Chapter 3.2). The 33 successful and 32 unsuccessful cases of those teacher-counsellors (n=33), who were also interviewed were selected for the qualitative analysis. There were, however, only 32 unsuccessful cases because one of these teacher-counsellors could not find out any personal experience of an unsuccessful counselling case.

In the qualitative analysis the teacher-counsellors´ own quantitative assessments in the structured questionnaire of the degree to which the conflicts affected each welfare domain directed the preliminary categorization of their reported interpretations of conflict cases. In the structured questionnaire the degree to which conflicts were concerned with socio-economic welfare, with interpersonal and intergroup relations, and with the psychological welfare of clients was measured on a scale from 1 to 3. For qualitative analysis the data was transformed so that the cases could be analysed according to their main concern within a specific conflict domain. The interval scale was transformed into a nominal-scale by assigning the value 1 to the conflict domain if the actual value of the extent of a conflict was high (3) in the welfare domain, otherwise the value 0 was given. In this way three different *scopes of conflicts* were identified with regard to the *welfare domains*: *Socio-economic conflict* (domain A, in Table 1), mainly involving the clients´ socioeconomic welfare; *or Psychosocial conflict* (domains B-C, in Table 1), mainly involving the clients´ social relationships and psychological welfare; or *´Multidomain´ conflicts* (domains A-B-C, in Table 1), involving all the welfare domains. The socio-economic conflicts appeared to be more differentiated than the other conflicts. Of the successful cases there existed two cases and of the unsuccessful ones three cases, which involved greatly both socio-economic and psychological welfare and also to some degree interpersonal relationships. These cases were categorized as multidomain conflicts. On the other hand conflicts concerned mainly with social relationships were also associated with the psychological well-being of the clients. Three successful cases and one unsuccessful case were concerned only with the psychological welfare of a client. These were categorized into the psychosocial conflict group because they were too few to be a category of their own.

Each element of the teacher-counsellors´ reports was first grouped into one of the three *core categories* of awareness presented in the conceptual framework (Social awareness, Cultural awareness, Awareness of Interventions). After the preliminary coding new conceptual subcategories of awareness were identified and named under the core categories across the welfare domains, taking into consideration the *scope of a conflict domain* of the immigrant client as defined by the teacher-counsellors. The required conceptual subcategories were identified and named in each welfare domain affected by the conflict. The final categorizing of teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs is presented in Appendix 1 and within the results (5.4.2).

Reliability in the interpetive analysis. The identification and categorization of the case-reports occurred in a series. First, the categorization of the conflict scope was made according to the teacher-counsellors´ own quantitative assessments expressed in the structured questionnaire. These assessments were transformed

for qualitative analysis and analysed further within the MAIN framework (Table 1). This framework allowed for the comparison of quantitative and qualitative data concerning the awareness phenomena (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stiles, 1993). Second, the material of counselling cases and the preliminary categorization of the case-reports was given to two teacher-counsellors. These persons had experience of cross-cultural counselling research and they were informed about the purpose of this study. Consensus with these two persons and the researcher was required for the final categorization of case-report data.

The validity of interpretive analysis has to do with the meaningfulness of the findings. The interpetations of the case-reports may be considered meaningful insofar as they reflect the teacher-counsellors´ way of meeting the needs of immigrant clients. The interpretive analysis may also be considered valid to the degree that it meaningfully represents and organizes the information provided by the teacher-counsellors, with minimal introduction of other sources of bias (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The coherence of preliminary outcomes was discussed with the teacher-counsellors who participated in the study (n=8) as well as with other teacher-counsellors outside the study group. They appreciated the idea of the categorization of case-report data as one meaningful way in which to understand cross-cultural counselling interactions. However, the teacher-counsellors emphasized the role of the larger social context of society as relevant in counselling rather than their psychological models of counselling. The case-study also had *catalytic validity* (Stiles, 1993) in the case of the teacher-counsellors for they felt that they benefited from the reporting of cases and self-assessment which increased their awareness of immigrant needs, and perhaps, also their counselling skills. The case-reports also provided fresh contextual material for the researchers with which to reconsider the patterns of cross-cultural awareness.

The self-perceived awareness of the teacher-counsellors (problem 3) was measured quantitatively by the CCCI-R inventory. An estimate of the internal consistency of self-assessments was computed according to the original CCCI-R factor structure for each of the three factors and for the total CCCI-R self-assessment inventory. The estimate was computed for self-assessments both in the successful (n=42) and in the unsuccessful counselling cases (n=41). The internal consistencies for the Cross-Cultural Counselling Self-estimate Inventory total score and the tree factors were as follows: for CCCI-R total, Cronbach´s alpha=.90, for counsellor´s *awareness of interventions*, alpha = .84 (successful cases), alpha= .87 (unsuccessful cases), for *social awareness*, alpha= .63 (successful cases), alpha= .71 (unsuccessful cases), and for *cultural awareness*, alpha= .60 (successful cases), alpha= .51 (unsuccessful cases).

The CCCI-R scores were also factor analysed to examine the underlying structure of the self-assessment inventory in an effort to measure the expected three-dimensional construct. The factor structure was complex and situation-dependent differing in the successful and in the unsuccessful cases. The three factor-solutions explained 47% of the variance in the successful cases and 48% in the unsuccessful cases. The first factor had the same structure as in the original CCCI-R both in the successful and the unsuccessful cases. However, Factors II and III differed both from the CCCI-R structure and from each other in the successful and unsuccessful cases. It was decided to use the original theoretically-based three factors of the CCCI-R (LaFromboise et al., 1991) in

categorizing the self-assessments of teacher-counsellors. Firstly, the sample was too small to fix the new structure. Secondly, the CCCI-R structure provided the best possibility of comparing the scores according to the three awareness-dimensions. Thirdly, the internal consistency reliability of the CCCI-R was high enough in each factor after omitting the inconsistent items. Three items were omitted as inconsistent in the Finnish sample. In Factor I (Item 12) 'Suggests institutional intervention skills' was omitted, in Factor II, (Item 5) 'Willing to suggest referral for extensive cultural differences' was eliminated, and in Factor III (Item 15) 'Present own values to client' was omitted. These items neither were appropriate for the case-based assessment in the Finnish sociocultural context nor did they represent the corresponding structure of the CCCI-R. Item 12 got the highest scores on the social awareness factor in successful cases, but on the first factor in unsuccessful cases. Item 15 got the highest scores on Cultural awareness (Factor III) in unsuccessful cases, but in successful cases it got the highest scores on the first factor when all the other items had exactly the same structure as in the original CCCI-R.

The researchers who developed the CCCI-R considered its factorial structure to be a complex problem. The measure has a predominantly unidimensional structure as a result of the high degree of intercorrelation among the characteristics of counselling effectiveness, which is shared by most measures of counsellor effectiveness. It seems that distinguishing between a counsellors' awareness of interventions, social awareness and cultural awareness is difficult not only for raters but also for the counsellors themselves when the CCCI-R is used as a self-estimate measure. As can be seen in Table 8 the teacher-counsellors' self-assessed scores in three awareness factors correlated highly with each other.

TABLE 8 Intercorrelations of self-assessed scores of teacher-counsellors in three factors of the Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory Revised (CCCI-R) for successful and unsuccesful counselling cases (unsuccessful cases , n=41, above the diagonal, successful cases, n=42, below the diagonal)

CCC-Awareness Factors		I Aw. of interv.	II Social awareness	III Cultural awareness
I	Awareness of interventions	-	.76***	.65***
II	Social awareness	.69***	-	.68***
III	Cultural awareness	.40**	.39**	-

**p<.01 ***p<.001

The relationships between the background variables of the teacher-counsellors and their assessments of the degree of the conflicts, the causal attributes of the conflicts and the self-assessed awareness scores were analysed by using Pearson correlation analyses, One-Way Variance analysis and the t-test. With a Scheffe-Test it was tested in which domains the awareness of the teacher-counsellors differed from the other domains significantly (p<.05).

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Determinants of successful and unsuccessful conflict cases

Descriptive data. The data for cases was analysed first quantitatively to find out the general determinants of successful and unsuccessful cases. The gender and nationality (ethnicity) of a client were most often considered by the teacher-counsellors as relevant background information in their reports of successful and unsuccessful cases (Table 9). Teacher-counsellors mentioned the gender of a client in 94% of the case reports (n=83) and the language, ethnicity or nationality of a client in 80% of the cases.

The majority, 52 % of all clients in counselling cases encompassed men, 24 % encompassed women and 18 % of case-clients represented couples or mixed gender groups. The female teacher-counsellors reported more often about cases with a female client than did the male teacher-counsellors. Only once was a female client in the successful cases and twice in the unsuccessful cases reported by the 15 male teacher-counsellors. In contrast, 50% of the clients were women in the successful cases reported by the female teacher-counsellors and 21% in their unsuccessful cases. On the other hand, the male teacher-counsellors reported more often about group cases (33% of their cases, n=10) than the female teacher-counsellors (10 % of their cases, n=5).

Other background variables of the client were reported as relevant in the following cases: age (young client in 3 successful and 4 unsuccessful cases); education or social status (high social status in 8 successful and in 5 unsuccessful cases; religion (Islam in 3 successful and 4 unsuccessful cases); and clients´ health (weak in 6 unsuccessful cases). The time of residence in Finland of a client was not mentioned in the cases of the refugee clients, because they usually had participated in migration training in their first year of residence. However, the residence time of the migrants was often mentioned. Generally migrants had lived in the country for a longer period of time than refugees before participating in the educational and vocational courses.

The scope of conflict, gender, ethnic background and immigration status of a client were significant determinants of whether counselling was successful or unsuccessful. Even if the teacher-counsellors undertook both successful and unsuccessful courses of actions across all types of conflicts, the successful course of action was more likely undertaken across the socio-economic conflicts (64 % of the cases, n=14) and less successful action across the multidomain conflicts (38% of the cases, n=21). Figure 1 shows that teacher-counsellors assessed that the conflicts affected in over 70% of the reported cases to the highest degree the psychological welfare of a client. However, they assessed that over 80% of conflicts they in general deal with immigrants in counselling affected to the highest degree their socio-economic welfare (employment, education issues). Thus, the reported conflict cases were more concerned with social relationships and psychological welfare than counselling cases in general.

Conflict resolutions were more often successful with women (65%) than

TABLE 9 Numbers of clients according to gender and nationality in successful and unsuccessful cases (n=71)

Gender of client	Female	Female	Male	Male	Mixed group	Mixed group	Sum total	%
+Successful cases/ -Unsuccessful cases	+	-	+	-	+	-		
National group								
Russians, Estonians Yugoslavian (Europe)	7	6	6	2	1	3	25	35
Iran, Irak, Kurds	1	-	4	9	3	3	20	28
Vietnamese (Asia)	2	-	-	2	-	-	4	6
Somalis (Africa)	3	2	8	9	-	-	22	31
Sum total	13	8	18	22	4	6	71	100

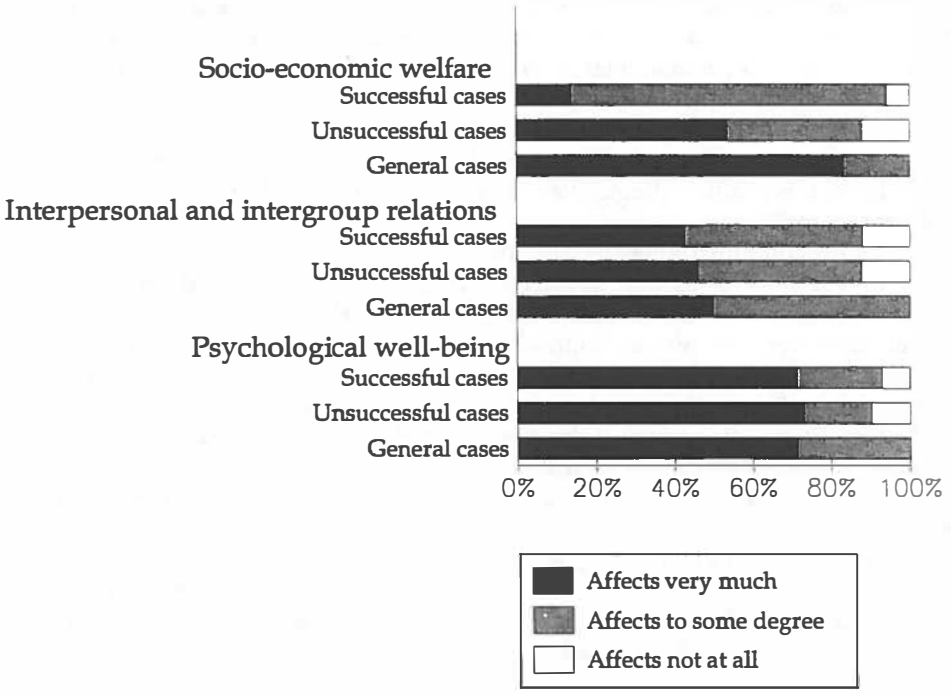

FIGURE 1 The Teacher-counsellors' (n=42) main spesific assessments of the degree of conflicts that affected clients' welfare in successful, unsuccessful and general counselling cases

with men (44%). Of the group counselling cases (female and male clients) 47% were successful and 53% unsuccessful. Generally, conflict resolution with clients of European backgrounds (mainly Russians) were more often successful (56%, n=14) than those with non-European clients except with the European women (Table 9). Conflict resolution was most often unsuccessful with Iraqi and Iranian refugee men (9 of the 13 Iranians represented in the cases). With 54% of refugees (n=54) the conflict resolution was unsuccessful, while it was unsuccessful for only 31% of migrants (n=32). The majority of the migrant clients encompassed Russians (n=10). The Iraqi and Iranian refugees as well as Somalis were overpresented in the reported cases (Table 9) compared to their representativeness of the total group of immigrant students in migration training courses in 1993 (Chapter 5.2.1).

The cross-cultural work experience of the teacher-counsellors and their degree of contact with friends from different ethnic backgrounds were significantly related to their tendency to define the context of the conflicts. The increased experience of the teacher-counsellors with migration training was related to the tendency to define the conflicts as psychological in successful cases ($r=.32$, $p<.05$). In contrast, in unsuccessful cases the experienced teacher-counsellors had a tendency to consider the conflicts as socio-economic ($r=36$, $p<.05$).

Determinants for the selection of the successful and unsuccessful cases. In order to find out whether the chosen cases were typical successful and unsuccessful cases or very idiosyncratic ones, in the interview the teacher-counsellors (n=33) were asked about their criteria for selecting their cases. The teacher-counsellors generally stressed that every case is an individual and unique case and therefore there are no typical cases in cross-cultural counselling. Nevertheless, they considered the conflicts themselves to be typical of those that occured in cross-cultural counselling.

Some common dimensions but opposite characteristics were found typical both of the successful and unsuccessful cases, which seemed to have an influential role for teacher-counsellors in their selecting these cases. These dimensions were the teacher-counsellors´ confidence (successful cases) vs. lack of confidence in these counselling cases (unsuccessful cases); concrete achievements (successful cases) vs. lack of concrete achievements in counselling (unsuccessful cases); feelings of comfort with differences (successful cases) versus discomfort with differences (unsuccessful cases); perceived ability to adapt to a client´s needs (successful cases) versus inability to adapt to the client´s needs and to fulfil the expressed expectations of interventions (unsuccessful cases). Four of the cases were still ongoing counselling processes and two cases had happened as long as three years ago. Time may influence what the teacher-counsellors remembered about the cases, but these cases continued to influence their everyday counselling practice in the forms in which they remembered them.

The subjectivity of definitions for *success and failure* also came out in the case reports. For example, two of the teachers had reported the same case of *´the bloody fight in the classroom between two students´*. This fight led to the dismissal of both students from the course. Both of the teachers evaluated the interaction patterns in this case and considered the dismissal as the best resolution in that situation. However, the headteacher considered the counselling as successful,

because they had by dismissal succeeded to show the other students that some rules existed in Finnish education. The other teacher however, who had trained this group and counselled the students, considered the case as unsuccessful, because the teachers and the immigrant students had failed to adhere to the desired interactional norms and the conflicts between these two students had spoiled the whole athmosphere in the class.

Success and failure can also take another course when the consequences of counselling are evaluated in the long-term. One of the teacher-counsellors said that his successful and unsuccessful cases had taken the opposite course after the prevocational training course. The unsuccessful case, *´A man who wanted only to do his own business´* and *´had problems in adapting to education and work during the course, who had rigid attitudes and who escaped his responsibilities´* had later got access to vocational education and seemed to manage to study there. Instead, the successful case ´A *man, who saw the light of realism´*, had interrupted his vocational studies and failed in his attempt to reorientate to a new profession in Finland. The teacher-counsellor noticed that this client had been a ´white collar worker´ in his own country and the teacher-counsellor tried to make him into a ´blue collar one´ without success in the long-term. The power imbalance in helper-client relationships implies that successful conflict resolution could also be different from the point of view of a client. The scope of a given conflict may be larger for clients or located in a different way, but their own view was not analysed in this study.

In the reported cases the criteria for successful and unsuccessful outcomes, however, were more diffuse than the *general* characteristics constructed by the teacher-counsellors for *successful versus unsuccessful* counselling processes. All of the 33 teacher-counsellors who were interviewed considered adherence to *mutual confidence* and *trustworthiness* as the most influential determinant of successful counselling and lack of confidence as a typical determinant of failure in cross-cultural counselling in general. Two examples are given of how the teacher-counsellors described the determinants for successful counselling processes between themselves and the immigrant clients in general:

> *´The forming, maintenance and deepening of mutual confidence is the area which is experienced as problematic with other-culture students by many teachers. For example, for Finnish-Ingrians, who are stateless people, teachers are associated with the government system... and Finnish refugee policy means that foreigners do not very quickly trust their teacher on many issues. They often used to ask me who was reading their texts and who got the information. The word ´police´ on any occasion is enough to make many students jump through the ceiling even after many months on the course.... Time and consistency are needed.´* (from an interview)
>
> *´First of all a good relationship in counselling is one of mutual confidence...For me it is clear that if there is no mutual confidence, there is no basis for counselling.*"(from an interview)

5.3.2 The characteristics of conflicts according to their scope

Table 10 summarises how the teacher-counsellors defined conflicts and their

scope mainly as socio-economic, psycho-social or multidomain across the successful and unsuccessful cases. Their definitions of the scope of clients´ conflicts also were subjective and therefore it was difficult in some cases to identify common characteristics for conflicts according to their scope.

Socio-economic conflicts were, however, concerned with the problems in the external integration of ethnic-minority clients. As the following examples indicate in successful cases the socio-economic conflicts of the clients (n=9) were typically evoked because of the incongruence between the expectations, knowledge and skills of a client and the requirements of Finnish society and the employment or educational options it could offer for immigrants.

´The student and the teacher-counsellor had very different views of the skills of the students and *of making use of work practice´*

´He wants practice in an office...but later, work places in offices could not be obtained...´

´The student had worked in his own country for 15-20 years in a type of work, that was not available in this city or near it..´

´The professional identity of the client became zero.´

´The client had no selfdirectiveness ..´

The unsuccessful socio-economic conflict cases (n=5) manifested the incongruence between the *cultural and personal values* of the client and the sociocultural values of Finnish education or work life rather than the unawareness of the client of his or her opportunities in the society as in the successful cases.

´Religion says to the Muslims that Friday is a holy day. To us, religion says that we have to work on weekdays - Sunday is the day of rest. Try to explain this to a Fundamentalist.´

´Non-commitment to studies, continuous absences, contempt and rejection of the Finnish life style and society. The student has no need to make any vocational or other plans for his future.´

´...the student seems not to understand punctuality and the function of the educational system.´

´..who ´comes and goes´whenever she wants and gives what ever lies as reasons.´

Psychosocial conflicts were concerned with the social and internal psychological integration of ethnic-minority clients. The psychosocial successful cases (n = 16) generally concerned conflicting interests, beliefs and values within a family or group within the context of Finnish society or between Finnish sociocultural values and the values of other-culture clients, causing misunderstandings, offensive behaviour of the clients and internal conflicts.

´The husband who was opposed to his wife's working hindered the plans made with her...´

´Marital distress...her husband was unemployed, very nervous and had forbidden the wife to ask for outside help..´

´The student had held a prestigious position in his country, now in Finland his self-esteem was a problem, in opposition against teachers. Conflicts with other students, with other Russians also political conflicts...´

´The client felt that no one was listening to him and imagined that he was continuously persecuted by the authorities here...´

TABLE 10 Summary of characteristics of clients´ conflicts according to scope and outcome of conflicts as described by the teacher-counsellors

	Teacher-counsellors´definitions of the conflicts	
Scope of conflics in the welfare domains	Successful cases	Unsuccessful cases
Socio-economic conflict (A)	(cases n=9) Client´s inappropriate assumptions about choice processes and negative emotional experiences about their present educational or vocational situation	(cases n=5) Cultural conflicts which are generalized beyond the specific action to cultural, religious principles and personalities
Psycho-social conflicts (B - C)	(cases n=16) Conflicts in a client´s social and internal adaptation	(cases n=14) Client´s motivational problems and blocking awareness of self and others
Multi-domain conflicts (A - B - C)	(cases n=8) Client´s unrealistic beliefs about choice processes and internal conflicts reflecting present identity	(cases n=13) Internal and external conflicts in a client´s adaptation reflecting past, present and future identities

The unsuccessful psycho-social conflicts (n=14) differed in nature from the successful ones. In all these cases, except one, the conflicts were considered to be present in the interactional systems of the client. These interactional conflicts were typically defined as a clients´ motivational problems, their blocking of the awareness of themselves and others (n=11) or as their ´social inability´ (n=3), which was associated with their problems to study effectively and manage their life in a new cultural context.

> *´The Vietnamese student (male) had his own goals and plans, but he had no strength to carry them out. Learning was slow, concentrating difficult, etc. His wife, on the other hand, was one of the best students in the group. A drinking problem, domestic violence, and negligence in money matters were also linked to the situation. ´*
>
> *´The man was suspicious about everything, felt threatened, was afraid of the new ideas of his wife, had no responsibility, did not accept a female teacher-counsellor... ´*
>
> *´The problem was neglecting one's studies, with the social inability to take care of one's affairs in the background.´*

Multidomain conflicts covered the external, social and personal integration of ethnic minority clients. In the multidomain conflicts, the criteria for success or failure were diffuse and allowed for individual variation. Success (n=8) often

meant a course toward a better rather than a final resolution. Teacher-counsellors´ views of clients´ unrealism and problems in their psychological well-being were common for these cases.

´The student had very excessive demands concerning special arrangements...´
´The student expected that the external conditions would be changed because they were refugees..´
´.. She was discriminated against because she belonged to the "Siad Barre Clan". The only clearly stated problem was worry about her ailing mother in a refugee camp: for example, how to send her money. Could not concentrate on studying: thoughts elsewhere. Difficulties in taking care of everyday affairs...´
´The student has frequently been absent from school. ...the student is in such a mental state ...´
´The student is in such a mental state that it was not possible to send him on workpractice´

The unsuccessful multidomain conflicts (n=13) included both *social and cultural* differences creating great *incongruence* between the client and the teacher-counsellor which often became *personalized.* The conflicts were also often connected with the earlier experiences of the clients. These clients were typically helped by many different institutions at the same time.

´The student has no mental facilities to study..´
´In this situation, the client's energy was somewhere else, mental pressure was too strong for him to have the strength to turn to the future...´
'The student has frequently been absent from school, comes late etc. ..Is not able to discuss anything else except feeling bad, insomnia, and so on, and acts and talks about things "like a child who is not helped"...'
´The student disclaimed her own responsibility when something was not going according to her expectations..The travel expenses were one reason, the wearing of a scarf at work another one, and the third was her unrealistic ambition to have study opportunities...One reason could also be that her own expectations and her husband´s view of her life here were contradictory..´
´I told him that he had already got all possible help...The student felt that the Finns do not give an opportunity for a "good" refugee who needs special arrangements, not the same as the Finns have...´
´..she is the only Baluchi in the municipality and also there are two men besides her husband... She has many psychosocial symptoms...but no physical reason had been discovered. Her husband criticises authorities and feels that we do not want to help him...´

5.3.3 Awareness according to the three dimensions

The final categorizations of the teacher-counsellors´ social, and cultural awareness and their awareness of interventions are presented in the Appendix 1. In this appendix are defined conceptual categories and subcategories within the MAIN framework (Table 1). In the text are provided illustrative examples and these categorized interpretations of the teacher-counsellors are labeled as *general* if they occurred in all these cases and *typical* if they occurred in at least half of the relevant cases. The cases are analysed domain-specifically according

to their scope of conflict in the welfare domains, and across the successful and and unsuccessful cases.

Regardless of the scope of conflict in the welfare domains the teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs was the most comprehensive and accurate when they explained the impact of social background on their clients´ welfare in terms of their own experiences as well as in terms of how the client experienced the Finnish system. Consequently, in the Appendix 1 the *social awareness* of the teacher-counsellors is divided into more detailed conceptual categories (1.1-1.6) than their cultural awareness (2.1-2.3) and their awareness of interventions (3.1-3.3).

Social awareness (Core category 1, Appendix 1). The teacher-counsellors aimed at resolving with the immigrant clients their conflicts in socio-economic welfare typically by focusing on clients´ adaptation strategies rather than on the adaptation of the Finnish sociopolitical system (1.1, Appendix 1). One explanation for their person-change approach is the organisational context of the prevocational courses which offered to the teacher-counsellors very few chances for tailoring educational and career paths according to the individual needs of clients. Thus, in conflict situations they aimed at increasing the social awareness of the immigrant clients about the opportunities available for them in Finnish society rather than at tailoring these opportunities.

Regardless of the outcomes of the conflict, the clients´ experiences of the Finnish social system were described as negative, such as feelings of being unsupported, discriminated against, unvalued and the victims of racism. Besides concrete outcomes (placement) the teacher-counsellors aimed at sharing these feelings with their clients and at creating *trust, self-confidence and self-directedness* in them. At the same time they carefully avoided giving signs of discrimination.

Cultural awareness (Core category 2, Appendix 1). Cultural differences were the ones most superficially described by the teacher-counsellors, and were generally given only from their own point of view. The teacher-counsellors´ own cultural orientation (2.2, Appendix 1) in conflict cases was associated with the following values:

Social justice and equality

I tried to be unbiased towards everybody and I stuck to my effort to make the group work together in harmony...(+successful case).

I tried to offer him/her some kind of an idea about the differences between our societies and customs (-unsuccessful case).

I was careful not to underestimate anything (+).

Empowerment of client

I strove at activating the student to consider her abilities and chances by herself (+).

Expertise

I tried to make a diagnosis: What were the things that were at the bottom of these problems (+).

I was striving for some sort of metacultural awareness (+).

Liking

I appreciated the girl's characteristics and wanted to lend support to her. She

was completely different from the image that I had about the 'normal' role of a Somali girl (+).

Moral appeal

It was pretty difficult to accept the idea that something can be agreed upon in counselling and then the student will not do as was agreed (-).

I suppose culture had some effect in creating hopelessness. The difference that there was between the ´anything goes´-culture of modern Russia and the appreciation of honesty in our culture (-).

The teacher-counsellors´ awareness about the meaning of cultural differences was typically based on their descriptions of clients´ behaviour. Clients´ cooperativeness and conformity in the training group, self-directiveness, self-esteem, self-expression and self-development were valued by the teacher-counsellors, but the client´s own perspective often remained unclear (2.3, Appendix 1). However, cultural differences had the clearest implications for the outcomes of conflict resolution. The unsuccessful cases manifested typically the teacher-counsellors´ blocking awareness of their clients:

'I do not know what the student expected.'

'I cannot say exactly what the student expected, maybe I should have asked. I was trying to find a concrete solution quickly = a suitable place where to place the client.'

'Culture had a very strong influence. I did not know enough about it.'

'The meaning of culture. I do not know. The problem might have been widowhood. My knowledge of culture was not sufficient enough for evaluating any underlying issues.'

Awareness of interactions (Core category 3, Appendix 1). In their counselling interventions the teacher-counsellors aimed first to negotiate with their clients about the desired interactional norms (3.1, Appendix 1). In successful cases this communication was described typically as interactive (3.1a) in nature and in unsuccessful cases as non-interactive (3.1b):

´I tried to direct the student's dreams towards greater realism without destroying them or hurting the student's self-confidence. The student expected the teacher to approve of and to give encouragement to his/her plans. I wanted to avoid using coercion and to settle the matter together with the student. In view of the student's educational background, the plan was logical indeed´ (successful case).

The student had no need to make any plans concerning the choice of a vocation or his life. The teacher had difficulty in establishing an appropriate conversational contact. I tried to discuss the student's situation, goals, expectations, plans. Conversation was very forced, answers monosyllabic... I also tried a more directive approach; I talked about norms and sanctions, no change. Allah takes care of the future and the norms are found in the Koran. I tried to get the student to assume responsibility for his studies and to commit himself to the norms of studying. As far as I know, the student regarded counselling as interrogation, reprimanding or as a punishment´ (unsuccessful case).

We tried to talk things over and agree, in the agreement the wife won and the husband was dropped... The client did not talk nor make agreements. The client wanted everything without doing anything... The man has not, up to now (3 years), learned Finnish and thus has not been able to come to grips with any plans for the future´ (unsuccessful case).

Moreover, in the successful counselling cases, the teacher-counsellor and the client were typically able to formulate further concrete actions by compromising their views (3.2 b). However, often it was the client who had to accomodate his or her views more than the teacher-counsellors.

´After discussions, we devised together a program that included practical training..., evaluations about the work in question, interviews and exercises, discussions (3.2a Collaborating style, Appendix 1)

´Finally the student accepted the situation and agreed to try out other lines of work. He did very well, and at the moment he is taking part in a vocational training course.´(3.2b The client is accomodating, Appendix 1)

On the other hand, an ethnocentric approach was typical of the unsuccessful cases. In these cases, the teacher-counsellors typically failed in their first step to establish interactive communication with their client (Appendix 1, 3.1b). According to the teacher-counsellors the clients did not express their point of view clearly, or they did something that the teacher-counsellor did not want him to do, or they failed to do something that the teacher-counselor wanted them to do. Consequently, the teacher-counsellors typically felt uncomfortable and frustrated because they were not able to increase the awareness and self-awareness among these culturally different clients about the kinds of abilities, personal qualities, practical skills and qualifications that would be expected of them within the context of Finnish work places and educational institutions. However, it was more typical of the teacher-counsellors to threaten to expel the immigrant students from the course than to actually expel them. In four cases the conflicts associated with continual absences from the course led to dismissal, but more often the teacher-counsellors took a ´wait and see´-attitude, or repeatedly admonished the client about their behaviour, or set new lower standards for their behaviour:

´In spite of several discussions, the situation continues unchanged. ´

´A compromise between the trainee and the training position, that is, we do not expect too much of the trainee either.´

Although the teacher-counsellors failed to explicitly address the needs of the minority client in his or her cultural framework, they believed they had implicitly done so. Typically, the teacher-counsellors described their own behaviour as *responsive to the situations*, and as natural, considering the economic situation, the needs of the whole group, the rules of the institution or available resources. The teacher-counsellors´ descriptions of their own approach and interventions reflected the democratic ideals as well as the realism in Finnish society, but often in a non-interactive way. In contrast, the clients´ behaviour was typically described more uncontextually with a focus on their *personal characteristics* and emotions rather than on their social and cultural context of behaviour.

The teacher-counsellors were, however, able to learn from their own experiences, especially from the effects of cultural differences on counselling psycho-social conflicts (3.3, Appendix 1). In the case of socio-economic conflicts, on the other hand, the teacher-counsellors discovered only a few challenges for changing their own strategies in counselling. The following examples describe the *recovery skills* of the teacher-counsellors in these cases:

Interactivity
´Perhaps I would now have more courage to dig even deeper into the bitterness of a returning migrant woman´(+).

Sensitivity
´Unprofessional: one's sympathy goes out to a young woman (+).
I should have sorted out the cultural background. What is the position of a widower in a group of female Somalis? (-)

Directiveness
´I should have tackled the absences more strictly already in the beginning > find out the reasons and also show them to the student ´(-).

Time for personal counselling
´Finnish reality does not become reality for a foreigner very quickly. The starting points for counselling and lines of action must be found in the culture and reality of the client...´ (+).
´Counselling is too much affected by time. There is a queue behind the door. I am too busy to concentrate on one person too deeply´ (-).

The teacher-counsellors also considered that a favorable institutional and socio-cultural context was also needed for making it possible to meet in practice the needs of immigrant clients within their cultural framework. Indeed, although the teacher-counsellors could learn while working with clients from different cultures, this does not mean that they could really function in a culturally appropriate way in a similar situation and context.

5.3.4 The domain-specific awareness of immigrant needs

The domain-specific variation of teacher-counsellors´ social awareness according to the scope of the clients´ conflicts was most clearly identified, because their interpretations of clients´ social backgrounds were most accurate in nature. The teacher-counsellors´ interpretations of cultural differences, however, were so inaccurate and non-interactive that it was more difficult to identify a domain-specific variance in their cultural awareness within the successful or unsuccessful cases. Nevertheless, the teacher-counsellors´ interpretations of the clients´ psychological well-being were mostly non-interactive and inaccurate. Teacher-counsellors´ interpretations of appropriate interventions indicated that their opportunities to develop appropriate culture-specific interventions according to the specific needs of immigrant clients were very limited in practice. Thus, the scope of conflicts varied more than the scope of teacher-counsellors´ interventions, which focused narrowly on the short-term effectiveness of the course.

A short-term *economic benefit approach* dominated in cross-cultural counselling, in which the teacher-counsellors assumed that every immigrant student had to put enough effort into the programmes that would help to make them aware of their opportunities in Finland and to facilitate their integration process. The interpretations indicate, however, that this kind of rationality in practice works only when an immigrant client is able and willing to assimilate to Finnish society.

When the teacher-counsellors perceived the conflict primarily *as socio-economic* (Domain A, in Table 1) , their counselling concerned information about occupational choices available for the immigrant client and their short-term placement. Typically, the teacher-counsellors emphasized the client´s *achievement motivation, commitment to the course,* and *his personal characteristics* as an indication of success or failure in counselling, but took for granted the wider socio-cultural context and its effects upon the choices available for the immigrants. The following example from a case-report describes one typical socio-economic conflict setting in which the teacher-counsellor expects the immigrant client to become realistic and aware of his opportunities in Finnish society while the client wants the teacher-counsellor to help him to maintain the position he had in his society of origin.

> *´The student (male) is an African with a fairly high professional background. He is well-mannered but demanding. He wants a job as a trainee in an office... Eventually, he is not able to get an office job and discovers how difficult it is to get any training position whatsoever... Discussions with the student follow the principle of realism. Teacher: first pressure, later cooperation. Student: more assistance in preserving one's prestigious standing. The teacher is inefficient and apathetic.' (Successful case: 'Man who saw the light of realism')*

In the successful cases, cultural differences were not considered as meaningful by the teacher-counsellors. Cultural differences were, on the other hand, typical of the barriers underlying the unsuccessful resolution of socio-economic conflicts. This is not to say that the immigrant client´s needs and his traditions were not realized, but that the teacher-counsellors felt that anyone coming as a refugee or an immigrant must eventually either assimilate to the existing socio-economic norms of Finnish society or be prepared to suffer the consequences of not being accepted by Finnish employers or providers of education. Moslems, for example, were understood if they behaved according to Finnish norms.

> *´One has to try and offer a carrot, then a stick, but finally to give up. A fundamentalist, for God's sake, won't take part in instruction if Allah "forbids" it. In the end, my counselling, although I really genuinely tried to understand, and I think I do, religious differences, was not successful but doomed to fail. One is forced to give up, otherwise one's own work would suffer unreasonably - nothing would come out of it for sure. A foreigner will really be made to feel, over and over again, that Finland is cold also in this respect. After all, life is a matter of making choices: if you insist on not wanting to do something that is compulsory, as was the case in my example, you are sure to land outside the community. With us, having a job is a crucial matter. Every knot cannot be untied.' (Unsuccessful case: 'Total incompatibility due to religious differences')*

Psychosocial conflicts (Domain B-C, in Table 1). Ambivalence between socializing the immigrant client into Finnish society and supporting his own autonomy and desires characterized the teacher-counsellors´ counselling activities in the conflicts primarily affected by the *interpersonal and intergroup relations* and *psychological well-being* of the client. Counselling was concerned, on the one hand, with controlling the affiliation of the immigrant client to his study group, the educational institution (1.1-1.4, Appendix 1), and to the larger socio-cultural context of Finnish society, and, on the other, with empowering him or her by encouraging the client to make his or her own judgements and to act in a self-directed way (1.5-1.6, Appendix 1). The conflicts within the client´s own ethnic group or between clients from different ethnic groups were typically linked to *competition* for political power or personal power among immigrant students or to clients´ unawareness of ´universalist´ social justice.

In their own values the teacher-counsellors emphasized their equality with the immigrant students and the students´ own expertise. However, the autonomy of the client became intertwined when the teacher-counsellors could not trust the immigrant client, or could not agree with him or her. Typically, the teacher-counsellors first facilitated the client´s own decision in a non-directive way but gradually increased directiveness and control in counselling in response to the behaviour of the client.

> *´...I will try and find something concrete that the student can seize upon... "what would you like to do so that your life wasn't so miserable?"...The student didn't pay any attention to me until I threatened not to enrol him on the training course... I made threats as a counsellor. The student made threats... The fact that my threat worked shows that I made allowances for the student's culture. What I felt myself was, naturally, shame about having resorted to such naive means.' (Successful case: 'Through threats to happiness')*
>
> *'...In this case I, for example, 1) had a friendly conversation, 2) had a less friendly conversation, 3) used an even harsher tone, 4) threatened with expulsion. The student first smiled and promised to come on time. The promise was held for a couple of days. At the end of the course, when my tone had become harsher, he somehow felt ashamed of his behaviour (did not come to counselling) or, on the other hand, blamed the entire Finnish system...' (*Unsuccesful case: *'A master tampers with a future that does not exist')*

In immediate conflicts concerning a client´s *´cultural fit´* to environmental and institutional demands, the teacher-counsellors tried to guarantee fairness in terms of the rules of the Finnish system without exploring its relevance for the client (2.1-2.2, Appendix 1).

The teacher-counsellors ambivalence in psychosocial conflicts was also marked by the expected control of their client of the conflict situation. When the interpersonal conflicts were out of the *control of the client* (e.g. the client was a wife controlled by her husband), the teacher-counsellors were more prepared to support and understand these clients. In contrast, the teacher-counsellors assigned responsibility to the client if the management of the conflict was under his or her own control.

Moreover, the teacher-counsellors´ interpretation of the client´s readiness to cooperate was linked to *the sex of the client* and to the ideology of gender in interpersonal conflicts. The teacher-counsellors shared widely and successfully

the feelings of immigrant women in family conflicts between husband and wife (1.3a, Appendix 1). In contrast, men as spouses were more often described as ´weak, jealous, violent, not responsible for caring for their family´. Furthermore, the men as students and as clients were more often described as *aggressive or unresponsive to counselling, unrealistic and demanding, and difficult to trust.* Consequently, the counselling of men was instrumental while the counselling of women involved more social and personal support.

Multidomain conflicts (Domain A-B-C, in Table 1). When the teacher-counsellors described the conflicts which affected all the welfare domains of the client, they were concerned with the clients´ *ignorance of the ´realistic´ opportunities* that prevented him or her from making appropriate career choices or entering a particular job or course. The titles of the successful cases describe well the successful handling of the multidomain conflicts: *´Making plans realistic´, ´Oriental bargaining in Finnish markets.´* A short-term economic benefit approach of the teacher-counsellors was successful in those multidomain cases where the client was willing and able to calculate the relationship between means and goals in a way suggested by the teacher-counsellors:

> *'The student had very excessive demands concerning special arrangements in teaching, privileges, and so on, which could not be fitted in with the general objectives and content of the course or with the objectives of other students. They were also in contradiction with the economic and instructional resources of the course. The student spurred his demands with threats to strike and by agitating other students. According to the student's strong preconception, Finnish society is steered solely by utilitarian principles + xenophobia. I myself did not have a good idea about the real situation in the student's home country nor about the conditions in which he had lived. First, long discussions about how Finnish society functions... no outcome. Second, the student's offer... no outcome. Next, the student told more about the society he came from... After these discussions I made a concrete concession but one that I regarded unimportant and trivial compared to his demands... A deal is struck... Finding and understanding concepts and meanings common to both. A rapprochement in the ways of thinking and understanding each other's starting points. Finnish reality does not become reality for a foreigner very quickly. Counselling and procedures must take the student's culture and reality into consideration as a starting point.'* (Successful case: *'Oriental bargaining in Finnish markets'*)

On the other hand, when the multidomain conflicts affected to a greater extent the client´s internal psychological adaptation, associated with their pre-migration experiences, separation from the family, loss of self-esteem and professional identity as well as with experiences of racism and discrimination, the short-term economic benefit approach did not work. It did not work because an immigrant student was unable to calculate and develop a new ´work identity´. This easily blocked the teacher-counsellors awareness of the clients needs. These multidomain conflicts evoked ambivalence among the teacher-counsellors about the needs of these clients for counselling and about the primary concerns of the courses. The greater the extent to which the conflict of the client affected his psycholocial welfare, the more difficult it was for the teacher-counsellors to find successful outcomes in counselling within the setting of career courses. The teacher-counsellors dealt with issues related to the

psychological problems of the immigrant client, such as emotional issues, psychological stress, anxiety or depression, only where such issues were closely tied to the primary concerns of the career course. Typically, the teacher-counsellors tried to make a clear-cut distinction between educational and vocational counselling and personal counselling. This distinction was motivated by the immediate goals and measures of the immigrant training courses set by the labour authorities funding the courses, and by the lack of their own professional competence to deal with psychological problems. Also the psychological conflicts were approached in the context of the effectiveness and short-term economic benefit of the training course. Everything had to be an immediate learning experience for the client:

> *´An Iraqi man, who is receiving psychiatric treatment, has taken part in remedial teaching. His attitude towards me is positive, but he is not motivated to learn Finnish. Mostly he wants to talk about his life; the same things are repeated over and over again in his speech and run in circles. Because of his attitude and mental state, I do not see any chances for him of breaking out of the vicious circle (Too tired to study > sinks ever deeper into depression >increased medication >less and less facilities for study). Because of my heavy work load, I am unable to go on teaching him, and so he was transferred to another teacher. It is likely that he will soon stop making any effort whatsoever. I don't feel that I have personally failed but I do feel sorrow for the fact that a talented person goes round the bend with his paranoid thoughts. The student has no mental facilities to study - I am a teacher, not a therapist.' (Unsuccessful case: 'It is a quite hopeless business after all'*

However, immigrant clients also push teacher-counsellors toward the larger role of catering for their personal and social needs. According to the teacher-counsellors, the clients expected them to be the powerful other: supporter, advisor, defender, sponsor, emotional supporter and friend. Referring clients to other experts (psychologists, psychiatrists) was problematic because the clients were not motivated to use these mainstream services or the experts were not prepared to offer their services to a culturally different client.

In the structured questionnaire the teacher-counsellors assessed that the conflicts affected in over 70% of the cases the *psychological welfare* of the client to a very high degree both in the successful and unsuccessful cases. However, the teacher-counsellors focused superficially on the psychological welfare of the immigrant client in their case-reports (1.5-1.6, 2.3, Appendix 1)). Typically, the teacher-counsellors linked the client´s psychological conflicts to the social context rather than analysed the psychological development and acculturation process of the client as such. However, those teacher-counsellors who had psychological expertise often used it in their work successfully.

> *The girl had had some harrowing experiences in her home country, and coming to Finland at the age of 16 was not easy. The most difficult thing in counselling was that she rebuffed her teachers. She somehow regarded us as authorities towards whom it was worth being friendly, but 'the less you tell them' the safer you are. She had lost confidence in adults...* (an unsuccessful case)

> *´It was difficult to get the client to reveal his thoughts, apparently all his strength was spent on worrying about his own family, the boy had not received*

the decision about the unification of his family, the family was still in Somalia. In this situation, the client's energy was somewhere else, mental pressure was too strong for him to have strength to turn to the future. Maybe the client himself was not aware of the significance of family matters? (an unsuccessful case)

However, in unsuccessful multidomain cases the client´s own experiences about the situation often remained unclear to the teacher-counsellors and they felt that clients themselves were neither aware of their own goals nor able to communicate their feelings clearly:*´Is not able to discuss anything else except feeling bad, insomnia, and so on, and acts and talks about things "like a child who is not helped"...´*

5.3.5 Awareness variation in successful and unsuccessful cases

The teacher-counsellors´ awareness of the needs of the immigrant client was also shaped by their experiences about the outcomes of the conflicts. In general, in the successful cases the teacher-counsellors´ case-reports included *accurate* and *interactive* references to the client´s needs and implications related to the client´s expectations, statements, experiences, and social and cultural background more often than in the unsuccessful ones.

It was typical of the successful cases that the conflicts were of the ´here-now-this´ type. In these cases the conflicts were localized in the particular, often very concrete needs of the clients. The teacher-counsellors could target these needs of the clients within the immigration training course and minimize the size of the conflict at stake. These conflicts were more likely to be alleviated by the simple provision of information, advice, counselling and actions or by using institutional and professional control.

In unsuccessful cases the scope of ´unmet needs´ of the immigrants encompassed larger substantive issues. The conflicts were often defined in terms of principles (culture, religion, equality, justice, responsibility) and were generalized beyond the specific conflict situation to personalities or conflicts between different cultures and systems. Some titles, which the teacher-counsellors gave to their unsuccesful counselling cases, illustrate the generalized characteristics of unsuccessful cases in regard to culture, *´Cultures do not meet´*; to religion, *´It is difficult to get an opportunity to deputize for Allah´, ´A total incompatibility because of the religious differences´*; to social system, *´Falling down from the boat´, ´Quite hopeless fuss - after all´* or to personalities, *´Stubborn solo player´*.

The experiences of the teacher-counsellors about success or failure in counselling were typically associated with their positive or negative awareness of a client´s characteristics and behaviour (1.1b,c, Appendix 1). Successful cases included those immigrants whom the teacher-counsellor trusted and was ready to collaborate with. Their positive awareness of clients was bound to ´modern´ Western values experienced as universalist by the teacher-counsellors. Immigrant students who were ´modern, strongly influenced by Western culture, and educated were likely to be successful and join ´in-group students´ on the course. These immigrant clients were typically described as active, committed

to the counselling process, enterprising, receptive, willing to express their thoughts, honest, responsible, and friendly.

In contrast, those immigrants who were traditional, had a refugee background, were past-oriented, and had psychological problems, were likely to become ´out-group students´ and further marginalized during the career courses. These clients were often also outside the influence of their natural in-groups, such as the family, or their own ethnic group, which profoundly affected their behaviour. In unsuccessful conflict resolution, the conflicts tended to grow in size, and they were generalized beyond the specific actions which caused a stereotypic and negative awareness of the client´s personal characteristics (passive, inflexible, uncompromising, uncooperative, aggressive, insincere). This stereotypic awareness was also associated with identifiable religious values (fundamentalists). The *trustworthiness* of the client was most often associated with specific ethnic groups and their political background. Although the teacher-counsellors became aware of the meanings of cultural differences, they in unsuccessful cases often felt it difficult to have interactive communication within the existing counselling settings (3.1, Appendix 1): *´The language, and the vagueness and inconsistency of goals affected counselling. Sometimes it seems that the students did not understand the function of guidance. The influence of culture became evident on many levels: concepts, the future, controlling one's own life, planning one's life, these are the products of us Westerners/middle-class persons.´*

Further, the conflicts were associated with culture-based expectations about gender-roles. In the unresolved psychosocial and multidomain conflicts, the clients typically were men who came from a non-Western, strictly sex-segregated culture or woman appreciating the traditional female role. Culture-bound sex role conflicts typically overlapped with refugee background, and with the low social class of the male client. The teacher-counsellors often connected sex differences to contextual differences but also generalized them to the personal characteristics of the client.

5.3.6 Teacher-counsellors´ self-assessed awareness in successful and unsuccessful conflict cases

The Finnish teacher-counsellors assessed their own awareness in conflict situations in successful and unsuccessful cases by using the Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory as a self-assessment measure. The teacher-counsellors´ self-assessments were categorized and analysed according to the CCCI-R factors. As shown in Table 11 the teacher-counsellors assessed their own awareness above the mean point of the scale in the CCCI-R statistics. However, the self-assessed scores were systematically lower in the unsuccessful cases than in the successful ones. Even though all the participants responded in a very self-competent direction, the CCCI-R discriminated teacher-counsellors´ self-assessed scores according to the scope of a conflict.

In both cases teacher-counsellors assessed highest (M=4.68) their *awareness of interventions* in successful cases, while in the unsuccessful cases the mean scores of assessments were lowest (M=4.16) in the awareness of interventions.

TABLE 11 Difference of scores of teacher-counsellors´ self-assessements in successful and unsuccessful counselling cases for each item according to the original factors of Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory-Revised.

Cases	Successful (n=42)		Unsuccessful (n=41)				
Self-Assessments	M	SD	M	SD	t	df	p
I Cross-Cultural Counselling Skill / Awareness of interventions (in Table 1)							
Comfortable with differences	4.45	1.10	3.39	1.32	4.92	40	p<.000
At ease talking with client	4.86	1.10	3.27	1.38	6.26	40	p<.000
Aware of own cultural heritage	5.33	0.85	5.00	0.98	2.40	40	-
Understands counselling process	4.19	0.99	3.66	1.20	2.95	40	p<.01
Aware of professional responsibilities	5.10	0.73	5.07	0.72	.30	40	-
Values and respects cultural differences	4.74	0.77	4.51	1.05	1.46	40	-
Communication is appropriate to client	4.29	0.97	3.63	1.18	3.43	40	p<.001
Suggests institutional intervention skills	4.50	1.24	4.22	1.13	1.57	40	-
Acknowledges and comfortable with cultural differences	4.79	0.78	4.49	1.03	1.74	40	-
Communicates variety of verbal messages	4.79	0.78	4.37	0.97	3.04	40	p<.01
Communicates variety of nonverbal messages	4.48	0.86	4.20	1.08	2.22	40	p<.05
II Sociopolitical-Awareness / Social awareness (in Table 1)							
Willing to suggest for referral of client in extensive cultural differences	2.43	1.42	3.88	1.40	-6.66	40	p<.000
Elicits variety of verbal and nonverbal resp.	4.71	1.09	4.61	1.18	.67	40	-
Appreciates social status of client as an ethnic minority	4.48	1.11	4.34	1.02	.65	40	-
Aware of how own values might affect client	4.48	0.71	4.27	1.14	1.32	40	-
Perceives problem within the client´s cultural context	4.62	0.83	4.37	1.04	1.30	40	-
Understands the current sociopolitical system and its impact on the client	4.78	0.94	4.54	1.05	1.85	39	-
III Cultural sensitivity / Cultural awareness (in Table 1)							
Presents own values to client	4.67	0.93	4.59	0.97	.78	40	-
Demonstrates knowledge about client´s culture	4.10	1.30	3.90	1.18	1.12	40	-
Recognizes limits placed by cultural differences on the counselling relationship	4.62	0.94	4.76	1.07	- .86	40	-
Aware of institutional barriers that affect the client	4.98	0.87	4.59	0.97	2.57	40	p<.01

The CCCI-R is scaled from 1 to 6, with a high score meaning strong agreement and greater awareness

Particularly, the teacher-counsellors´ assessments of their communication skills differed in the successful and unsuccessful cases which also emerged in their case-reports (3.1, Appendix 1). The teacher-counsellors felt it easier to talk with their clients, they felt more comfortable with differences, and communication was perceived to be more appropriate for the client in the successful cases than in unsuccessful ones.

In the teacher-counsellors´ self-assessessments the differences in their *social awareness* between successful (M=4.61) and unsuccessful (M=4.43) cases were small after the item of referral in counselling had been omitted (see Chapter 5.3.3). The teacher-counsellors considered that there was no need for referral of the client to other professionals because of the extensive cultural differences in successful cases because they managed with these differences. In unsuccessful cases they, on the other hand, had difficulties in finding someone to whom to refer the client. According to the teacher-counsellors (interview) they themselves were expected to represent the professionals who are specialized in counselling other-culture clients.

Generally the teacher-counsellors also assessed themselves high in *sensitivity for cultural differences* both in the successful (M=4.59) and unsuccessful cases (M=4.46). Even if the teacher-counsellors in general assessed themselves to be more culturally sensitive in the successful than in the unsuccessful cases, they recognized the limits placed by cultural differences in the unsuccessful cases better than in the successful ones. In the case reports the teacher-counsellors also considered the limits placed by cultural differences on the counselling relationship more meaningful in the unsuccessful cases than in the successful ones.

When examining the scores on the single items on the CCCI-R scale the teacher-counsellors assessed highest their awareness of their own culture and professional responsibilities both in the successful and unsuccessful cases. They were, however shy to demonstrate their knowledge about the client´s culture during counselling as well as to present their own values to the clients. In contrast, in their recalled case-reports the teacher-counsellors presented broadly but often implicitly their own values underlying their counselling interaction and often explicitly admitted their ignorance about the client´s culture.

Teacher-counsellors´ self-assessments reflected both the scope of conflicts and the outcomes of counselling. Table 12 shows that the teacher-counsellors assessed their *awareness of interventions* significantly higher in successful conflict cases than in unsuccessful ones across all types of conflict scopes. However, the outcomes of counselling did not influence significantly the teacher-counsellors´ assessments of their social awareness and cultural awareness.

The teacher-counsellors´ self-assessed scores were related significantly to the scope of conflict on each of the three CCCI-R factors. The teacher-counsellors assessed their awareness as highest in the *socio-economic* conflict cases (Domain A, in Table 1) and lowest in the *psychosocial* conflict cases (Domains B-C, in Table 1). In psychosocial conflicts the teacher-counsellors assessed their awareness even lower than in the *multidomain* conflicts (Domains A-B-C, in Table 1), which encompassed all the client´s welfare domains. The self-assessments of the teacher-counsellors emphasize the domain-specific influence on awareness also manifested in their case-reports, especially the need for domain-specific awareness.

TABLE 12 Self-assessed awareness of the teacher-counsellors according to scope of conflict and outcome of conflict resolution; Two-way analysis of variance separately for three factors.

Awareness Factors	I Awar. of interv.	II Social awar.	III Cultural awareness
	Mean scores in successful cases (max.6)		
Scope of Conflict			
Socio-economic (cases n=10)	5.1	4.9	4.9
Psycho-social (cases n=21)	4.6	4.4	4.3
Multidomain (cases n=11)	4.5	4.6	4.8
	Mean scores in unsuccessful cases (max.6)		
Socio-economic (cases n=8)	4.6	4.8	4.9
Psycho-social (cases n=17)	3.9	4.2	4.2
Multidomain (cases n=16)	4.2	4.5	4.4
Two-way analysis of variance			
Source:			
Scope of Conflict	F=5.9*** (df 2,82)	F=4.41** (df 2,82)	F=5.43** (df 2,82)
Outcome of Conflict Resolution	F=11.27*** (df 1,82)	-	-
Scope x Outcome of Conflict	-	-	-

**p<.01, ***p<.001

The individual background of teacher-counsellors, which was measured by education, work experiences and gender, was not correlated significantly to their self-assessed scores in the successful or unsuccessful cases. Furthermore, neither the number of successful and unsuccessful cases faced in general by the teacher-counsellors in cross-cultural counselling nor the degree of stress they experienced in cross-cultural counselling were correlated significantly to their self-assessments on the CCCI-R.

5.3.7 Discussion

As expected, the extent and nature of the teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs varied domain-specifically and situationally, depending on the outcomes of conflicts, but similar patterns of awareness - social awareness cultural awareness, awareness of interventions- were identified across the domains and situations.

The workers targeted more successfully the conflicts in the politically

highly formalized socio-economic domains than those in the politically less formalized domains related to interpersonal relations and the psychological welfare of immigrants. The teacher-counsellors formulated easier the responses to clients´ needs as concrete behaviour or information in socio-economic conflict settings than in psychosocial or multidomain conflicts. Furthermore, as expected, inaccuracy and non-interactive communication occurred most consistently as the scope of a conflict increased and encompassed also the ´soft´ and more private interpersonal and psychological welfare domains of an immigrant client, often becoming personally and emotionally laden in nature (Deutsch, 1994; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989).

Counselling in the ´soft´ welfare domains also generated in the teacher-counsellors critical self-assessments of their own awareness related to the needs of their clients (Bandura, 1982; Deutsch, 1994; Michela & Kelley, 1983). In contrast, the teacher-counsellors were not reconstructive in their behaviour in the cases concerning the socio-economic welfare of their clients, even when the resolution was unsuccessful. Instead of reflecting on their own patterns of counselling or the system of society, the teacher-counsellors perceived the resolution of socio-economic conflicts as a matter of personal change in a client. Indeed, these results supported the expectation (Deutsch, 1994) that in the absence of clear external forces and programmes, the workers´ subjective awareness was a more influential determinant of their behaviour than in the highly formalized welfare domains. This emerged as a critical self-focus in the teacher-counsellors´ case-reports, that is, they took more responsibility of their own behaviour in the politically less formalized welfare domains and described their own values and behaviour most accurately in these domains.

The social and cultural biases which emerged in the teacher-counsellors´ assessments of the other-culture clients and of their own awareness can be integrated into more general theories and research on the attributions about others and the self (Alcock, Carment & Sadava, 1988; Kelley & Michela, 1980; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984; Rodkin, 1993; Sears, Peplau & Taylor, 1991; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). In the teacher-counsellors´ assessments about the clients there emerged a tendency of overattribution to their personal characteristics, and an underestimation of situations, especially in the socio-economic conflict settings. On the other hand, the teacher-counsellors seemed to overemphasize the role of external factors when they explained their own behaviour. This bias is so common that Ross (1977) calls it ´the fundamental attribution error´. Furthermore, depending on the outcomes of conflicts, the teacher-counsellors attributed positive personal characteristics to their clients in the successful cases and negative personal characteristics in the unsuccessful ones. Low interpersonal attractiveness experienced by the teacher-counsellors was further linked to their non-interactive interaction with a client and to inaccuracy in their interpretations concerning a client´s needs, which supports the research on stereotyping and interpersonal attractiveness (Feldman & MacDonald, 1980; Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Tajfel, 1982).

Psychosocial conflict settings appeared to be particularly sensitive to gender-linked patterns of dealing with conflicts. Typically, a female-solidarity existed in client-teacher interactions concerning psychosocial conflicts, which increased the probable success of counselling (Denzin, 1992). In contrast, non-interactive communication patterns, counterattacks or withdrawal were the most

typical of the psychosocial or multidomain conflicts dealt with in the case of refugee men from highly masculine cultures (Dragung, 1990; Hofstede, 1984). In these cases, the teacher-counsellors´ awareness of a client´s cultural values and experiences typically remained at the image level involving ethnocentric emotional connotations of ´goodness´and ´badness´ with regard to such moral traits as ´equality´, ´trustworthiness´ and ´fairness´ of the client (Deutsch, 1994; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Sundberg & Sue, 1989). This emphasizes the gender differences reported in the cross-cultural literature (Hamilton & Hagiwara, 1992) that, in conflict situations women are more likely to offer apologies and internal excuses while men are more likely to offer denials or counterattacks related to social rules and justice. Gender differences seem, however, to be a function of culturally bound gender roles and acculturation stress (Liebkind, 1994,1996) rather than of gender per se.

The teacher-counsellors experienced cultural differences as the most relevant when dealing with psychosocial or multidomain conflicts but their superficial awareness of the impact of cultural differences on a client´s experiences acted as a barrier to meeting his or her needs. The teacher-counsellors conceptualized these conflicts at a very abstract level when describing their own behaviour by using terms such as ´empowerment of client´,´respect of cultural differences´, and ´increasing of meta-awareness´. In contrast, their awareness of a client was based primarily on observable behaviour rather than on the clients´ own expectations and experiences behind this behaviour. As a consequence, the teacher-counsellors may have mediated culturally stereotypic and biased interpretations of their clients when their perceptions were based mainly on a client´s behaviour (Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984).

However, the teacher-counsellors were reflective in their client work, which is seen as central in the learning processes of counselling expertise (Deutsch, 1994; Pedersen, 1988), and learning took place especially in cultural issues and in metacognitive cross-cultural counselling skills. Nevertheless, the current short-term economic benefit approach based on the rigid and course-based arrangements do not favour these learning processes in Finnish cross-cultural counselling. Neither does it offer an opportunity for a counselling approach based on the dynamic awareness of a clients´ acculturation process and needs. Although in Finland the basic aim of integration is defined in the programmes for immigrant training (Study1, Chapter 3; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1994) in such a way that in principle maximum individual variation and tailoring is possible with regard to the immigrant needs, there is in practice also another view of the role of migration training and counselling which describes it as ´a market in the training courses´ (Watts, 1993). It means that the training courses themselves are exposed to market forces. Local labour offices buy the migration training courses by letting the local institutions of adult education compete for these courses. The criteria for buying courses were, according to the teacher-counsellors, mainly based on the lowest market prices without any central enforcement of criteria for the quality or the outputs of counselling. Meijers and Piggott (1995) have expressed their worry about the fact that without centrally developed plans for implementing and evaluating new developments, the quality of migration training and counselling will be eroded by market pressures. This is an exremely relevant worry also in Finland, because

the professional status of counselling is very unclear and weak under the pressure of market forces. Counselling is not regarded as a profession as such in Finnish adult education. Special training in counselling or guidance is not required of teacher-counsellors before they assume their guidance responsibilities on careers education courses. There is no fixed professional training for the work, and the procedures, techniques and ethical codes are also still vague (Vehviläinen, 1996).

At the same time as the resources for individual counselling have decreased, the challenges of vocational and educational counselling for immigrants in Finland have increased. As a consequence of an increase in unemployment in the country, opportunities for entering a job or education after the course have dramatically decreased among immigrants, and concrete outcomes at which the training is aimed are more difficult or nearly impossible to achieve. Unemployment has most seriously affected the newly arrived refugees from Somalia, Iraq (Kurds) and the former Yugoslavia, 90% of whom were unemployed in 1994. The immigrants´ psychological acculturative stress has also increased as the Finnish studies of refugee welfare (Liebkind, 1996; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press) and this study presenting the point of view of settlement workers clearly demonstrate. However, the teacher-counsellors typically tried to make a clear-cut distinction between educational and vocational counselling on the one hand, and personal counselling on the other. This distinction was motivated by the immediate goals and measures of the immigrant training courses set by the funding labour authorities, and by the lack of professional competence to deal with conflicts affecting the psychological well-being of clients. The teacher-counsellors also interpreted these psycholocigal conflicts in the context of effectiveness in training. Everything had to be an immediate learning experience for the client even if he or she lacked any psychological readiness for that.

In general, this study suggests that the settlement workers´ case-based awareness is not best described only as an individual continuum of multicultural awareness, but it appears to be more domain-specific, situational, and inconsistent than has generally been the case in counselling studies (Berry et al., 1992; LaFromboise et al., 1991; Pedersen, 1984; Ridley et al., 1994; Sternberg & Soriano, 1984; Sue & Sue, 1990). These results are in line with studies that emphasize the nature of peoples´ awareness as contextually varying and liable to change (Denzin, 1988,1992; Deutsch, 1994; Dufva, 1994; Ellström, 1996). Consequently, the *contextual and interactive perspective* to teacher-counsellors´ multicultural awareness in face-to-face situations addressed best the elements which influenced on their awareness, such as the nature and scope of the clients need for counselling, the cultural distance between the counsellor and client, the gender of the client, and the past experiences of the client (refugee, migrant). Furthermore, their multicultural awareness reflected the broader context of counselling arising from policies and the allocation of resources which shape the focus of teacher-counsellors, their purposes, and the opportunities to adapt their counselling in response to the perceived needs of immigrant clients. It is worth mentioning that the domain-specific findings about the teacher-counsellors´ awareness were quite consistent throughout the whole sample. No significant effects of the age, gender, educational background or work experience of teacher-counsellors were found in their self-assessed awareness in conflict cases.

Instead of individual differences, domain-specific and situational differences emerged in their case reports. This allows us to interpret the results as representing some general tendencies in the extent and domain-specific nature of awareness manifested in cross-cultural helping interactions. Perhaps these tendencies were easier to identify in this sample than it would have been in a sample with very different ideas about immigrant needs and welfare policies because the teacher-counsellors as a professional group were quite homogeneous in their expectations of settlement policies (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992).

This study was, however, based on a case-oriented approach rather than on a personality-oriented one. As this approach has limitations in understanding and explaining the person-related differences underlying cross-cultural interactions, it is necessary in future studies to combine both case-based and person-based approaches for studying the workers´ individual patterns of awareness and their development over time as well as the factors that determine these patterns. Nevertheless, this study supported the domain-specific framework of awareness for immigrant needs which can provide a general framework for future investigations concerning both workers´ and clients´ awareness in cross-cultural interactions. Indeed, further context-inclusive studies are needed to investigate experiences in cross-cultural interactions also from the point of view of clients. The use of self-reported measures should allow us to compare how clients and workers experience interactions. These client-counsellor interactions could also be observed and related to self-reflected material. Also the comparative studies of counselling the Finnish clients and clients from other cultures are needed to find out the meaning of culture in counselling processes.

The findings of the influences of different research methods and contexts for the settlement workers´ interpretations of cross-cultural interactions show that the awareness processes are dynamic and multidetermined, and that the results can be interpreted in several ways. Therefore, longitudinal data sets of interactions are also needed, for they could help to describe these interactions as dynamic and multidetermined processes from both current and developmental perspectives. A particular statement by the teacher-counsellors could have many meanings, depending on the research context in which it was made. The teacher-counsellors might initially ignore the less conscious aspects of their counselling interactions with an immigrant client, but when the case was reflected on further, the original interpretations would often be altered. This might, at first, look like a self-contradictory interpretation, but it might also be the result of a deeper reflection and closer analysis (Dufva, 1994). In the first recalled report of counselling, a teacher-counsellor might consider that cultural differences had no influence on resolving a conflict. In the structured questionnaire, however, she or he might, to a great extent, attribute the same conflict to cultural differences. Furthermore, in the interviews with the teacher-counsellors it became evident that perceived contextual and situational factors played an important role in their interpretations (Kagitcibasi & Berry, 1989), and that they could reflect on the cases from various points of view.

These findings also have direct implications for the professional training of teacher-counsellors and the organisation of their work in Finland. In any attempts to promote the awareness of immigrant needs, identified differences in domain-specific settings should be taken into account. Professional training should offer teacher-counsellors opportunities to work on their awareness,

particularly related to the psychological integration of an immigrant (Bandura, 1982; Deutsch, 1994). Most important, also the current ´short-term course practices´ and rigid organisational arrangements, which favour an *assimilationist perspective* rather than a *multi-cultural and equality perspective*, should be changed in a way that gives more room for the client, and for need-centered counselling and arrangements in migration training and placement.

APPENDIX 1 Categorization of the teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs manifested in their recalled reports of successful and unsuccessful conflict resolution within interpersonal counselling settings

CATEGORIES

CORE CATEGORY 1: TEACHER-COUNSELLORS´ SOCIAL AWARENESS
(Column 1, in Table 1)

General criteria
The current social forces that the teacher-counsellor experiences as relevant in a conflict setting from his/her own point of view and from the point of view of the client.

Teacher-counsellor´s

1.1 Social awareness of a client´s socioeconomic needs

a. System-related awareness
Recognizes the impact of the sociopolitical system on an immigrant´s socio-economic welfare and choices available for a client.

b. Positive person-related awareness
Recognizes positive aspects in the client´s personal characteristics and behaviour, such as social activity, effectiveness, strong commitment to counselling, good education, good behaviour.

c. Negative person-related awareness
Recognizes negative aspects in the client´s characteristics and behaviour such as social passiveness, lack of motivation and effort, untrustworthiness, rigidiness, aggressiveness.

1.2 Socio-economic needs expressed by the client
Elicits the client´s verbal and nonverbal experience of the social forces affecting his/her socio-economic welfare, such as feelings of inequality, injustice, experiences of racism, lack of support.

1.3 Social awareness of the client´s social network
Teacher-counsellor refers to the social forces that affect the client´s interpersonal and intergroup relations.

a. Family relations
Identifies the nature and boundaries of the client´s family problems which have an impact on him/her.

b. Own ethnic group/Other ethnic groups
Recognizes the client´s relations with members of his/her own ethnic group or of other ethnic groups which have an impact on the client, such as competition for political power, personal status.

c. Client´s relation toward the members of ethnic majority (the Finns)
Recognizes the client´s relations to the ethnic majority (personnel) and its social rules (educational institution), such as unappropriate behaviour of the client.

1.4 Interpersonal and intergroup relations expressed by the client
Elicits the client´s verbal and nonverbal experiences of the social forces affecting his/her social relations, such as affective and emotional feelings, expectations for handling the interpersonal conflict.

1.5 Social awareness of the client´s psychological well-being
Teacher-counsellor refers to the social forces that affect the client´s psychological well-being and psychological adaptation pattern to the changes, such as development of self-esteem, anxiety, depression.

1.6 Psychological well-being expressed by the client
Elicits the client´s verbal and nonverbal experiences of the social forces affecting his/her psychological well-being.

CORE CATEGORY 2: TEACHER - COUNSELLORS´ AWARENESS OF THE MEANING OF CULTURE
(Column 2, in Table 1)
General criteria
The cultural forces that the teacher-counsellor experiences as relevant in a conflict setting.

Teacher-counsellor´s

2.1 Awareness of the cultural differences
Recognizes limits placed by the cultural

differences and their impact on the client, such as the difficulties in communicating with the client because of the cultural differences, experience of social justice (religious values, political values), gender-related patterns of dealing with a conflict (masculine vs. feminine values), time-orientation (punctuality).

2.2 The teacher-counsellor presents his/ her own cultural values
Presents his/her own values to resolve the conflict and increase the client's welfare, such as social justice and equality, self-directedness, expertise, liking, moral appeal.

2.3 Cultural differences expressed by the client
Elicits the client's verbal and nonverbal experiences of the cultural forces affecting his/her welfare.

CORE CATEGORY 3: AWARENESS OF INTERVENTIONS
(Column 3, in Table 1)

General criteria
The counselling interventions that the teacher-counsellor reports as relevant in resolving the conflict.

Teacher-counsellor's

3.1 Adherence to the desired interactional norms of interventions: Building trust

a. Interactive communication
Both the teacher-counsellor and the client assert their points of view by using strategies such as suggesting, expressing positive affects, asking, persuading, bargaining.

b. Non-interactive communication
The teacher-counsellor asserts her/his point of view by suggesting, expressing negative affects, asking, persuasion, stating importance and reasoning, threatening.
The client does not assert her/his point of view, or
fails to do something that the teacher-counsellor wants, or
the client does something that the teacher-counsellor does not want him/her to do.

3.2 Creation of concrete actions for handling conflict situation

a. Collaborating
Both the teacher-counsellor and the client assert and reassert their points of view by formulating concrete actions, plans, placement to a specific job or course , seeking supporters.

b. Compromising - Accomodating (client)
The teacher-counsellor maintains his/her own point of view: telling and stating importance, threatening, personal influence, expert-power.
The client reasserts her/his point of view.

c. Attacking - Avoiding
The teacher-counsellor is uncomfortable with differences, but counselling continues by threatening to expel the client, or by accepting false resolution, or by taking laissez-faire, or 'wait and see'approach, or by setting lower standards of performance for the client.

3.3 The teacher-counsellor recovers the ways of improving his or her counselling behaviour based on his/ her experience of the case (Recovery skill)

a. *Describes success* in the degree to which he/she fulfilled his/her self-imposed role expectations.

b. *Criticizes* his/her awareness for example by blaming his or her cultural unawareness, lack of time or undirectiveness in counselling.

6 DISCUSSION

6.1 Evaluation of the conceptual framework

This study examined the awareness of immigrant needs among settlement authorities and workers in the context of Finnish refugee and immigrant settlement policy and practice. It tackled the need for making a context-sensitive psychological analysis of workers´ interactions with refugees and other migrants.

The crucial elements that have been used by a number of researchers in assessing settlement workers´ cognitive processes and behaviour in cross-cultural interactions are: the workers´ social awareness focusing on the structural conditions of clients, awareness of the implications of cultural differences, and awareness of interventions and their management (LaFromboise et al., 1991; Pedersen 1988; Sue, Arredondo & Roderick, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990; Ridley et al., 1994). The present study used these earlier dimensional conceptualizations in defining the elements of settlement workers´ multicultural awareness. However, multicultural awareness was analysed in context rather than as uncontextual individual continua. The context comprised of the needs of immigrants perceived within their own cultural context and of settlement workers´ socio-cultural histories as well as the specific settings of helping interactions and their analyses.

In an attempt to develop a context-sensitive approach to settlement workers´ cross-cultural awareness, this study provided, first, a review of the literature on the helping and welfare of ethnic minorities; and, second, a conceptual framework for analysing settlement workers´ awareness in the context of immigrant needs. Three welfare domains of immigrant needs were constructed on the basis of the theories and research findings on the adaptation and welfare of immigrants in host countries. Cross-tabulating the settlement workers´ social awareness, cultural awareness, and awareness of interventions with the socio-economic welfare, interpersonal and intergroup relations, and psychological welfare of immigrants yielded a domain-specific 3 x 3 framework

with 9 awareness cells (Table 1). These dimensions formed the structure and the frame entitled the *Multicultural Awareness of Immigrant Needs* (MAIN) framework within which the extent and nature of the workers´ awareness of immigrant needs were analysed. The more multidimensional, interactive, and accurate the authorities´ and workers´ interpretations of immigrant needs, the better their awareness represented a *multicultural and equality perspective* (Denzin, 1989; Pedersen, 1988; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990). In other words, the authorities and workers recognise issues of social inequality and challenge a mono-cultural supremacy, and stress the development of appropriate policies to address discriminatory practices directly.

Settlement workers´ awareness of immigrant needs was assessed both at the policy level and at the level of individual face-to-face helping interactions. At the policy level, the application of the domain-specific framework focused on a prebehavioural stage involving the settlement workers´ a priori awareness of relevant interventions to immigrant needs (study 1 and 2). In the case-oriented study, the focus was also on a postbehavioural stage involving the settlement authorities and workers´ awareness of their recalled interactions with migrants. In the empirical studies data was collected by investigating policy documents (study 1), and with the help of a survey of settlement workers´ policy-related awareness of refugee needs (study 2), and with two questionnaires and a theme interview concerning the teacher-counsellors´ experiences of cross-cultural counselling (study 3).

The refugee and migration policy programmes (study 1) and the teacher-counsellors´ recalled case-reports of their interpersonal counselling with immigrants (study 3) were examined qualitatively from an interpretive interactionist perpective (Denzin 1989,1992; Frontman & Kunkel, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This interpretive approach contributed to the study of the settlement workers´ awareness in cross-cultural interactions in the following ways: First, the extent and nature of awareness of workers could be identified in relation to immigrant needs. The boundaries of the environmental context could be identified by comparing the similarities and differences in the workers´ awareness expressed at the policy level and at the individual level, widening the prevailing psychological approach which has often described the workers´ cross-cultural awareness mainly within the framework of cognitive-cultural constructs (Berry et al., 1992; Rodkin,1993; Sue & Sue, 1990). Second, the abstract definitions of settlement workers´ awareness could be made explicit by using the workers´ own expressions of immigrant needs. Only a few authors (Lopez et al., 1989; Sue & Sue, 1990) have presented hypothetical examples or actual samples of indicators for workers´ cross-cultural awareness manifested in practice. Third, the interpretive analyses could also enhance understanding about how settlement authorities and workers become aware of immigrant needs, and reveal the contextual variability of this awareness. The interpretive analyses could show the contextual variability and nonlinear causality of the workers´ awareness of immigant needs whereas statistical analyses are often stated in linear terms, i.e., one thing causes another.

The settlement workers´ awareness of refugee needs was also examined quantitatively (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1992). The awareness scale containing 35 statements about refugee settlement and welfare services related to refugee needs supported the structural relevance of the MAIN framework. This

awareness scale was well suited for finding relationships among awareness-variables in a large group of workers (Jenkins & Morrison, 1979; Miles & Huberman, 1994), but it was inadequate for dealing context-sensitively with the real complexities in the sources of the settlement workers´ awareness. Although an underlying structure of the awareness of refugee needs was found, the workers often associated individual statements with a context in different ways, depending on how specific the statements were to each professional group or to an individual worker. Although general constructs of cross-cultural awareness are essential, context-sensitive and domain-specific sets of scales for assessing workers´ awareness may be more useful in predicting the workers´ actual behaviour (Kagitcibasi & Berry, 1989). Although, in the 1980s and 1990s, great advances have taken place in the development of methods for assessing cross-cultural competence and awareness (LaFromboise et al., 1991; Ponterotto & Casas, 1990; Ridley et al., 1994), there is still need for further development, especially from a domain-specific point of view. The awareness scale (study 2) indicated that the settlement workers were, for example, more sensitive to cultural differences in addressing the needs of immigrants within their own profession than within the welfare system in general. Workers´ awareness also reflected the nature of the immigrant client group (children, elderly) as well as the specificity of the issues addressed by the statements of institutional responses.

The case-oriented study (study 3) examined the teacher-counsellors´ awareness of immigrant needs and self-assessments of their own behaviour in recalled face-to-face experiences with immigrants. The study aimed at a new mode of analysis in which teacher-counsellors were actively involved in the interpretation of cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Both unstructured and structured questionnaires were used. In international research, the multicultural awareness of settlement workers has often been studied in normative terms of what science considers relevant in cross-cultural helping (LaFromboise et al., 1991; Sue, Arredondo & Roderick, 1992). In the case-study, the case-reports of the teacher-counsellors were not influenced by apriori concepts and categories, but by what the workers considered relevant (Collier & Thomas, 1988). Thus, participants´ own perceptions provided here new insights into how they become aware of immigrant needs in the context of interpersonal counselling. In the second phase of the study a structured questionnaire was used which provided information on those elements of multicultural awareness that researchers consider relevant in cross-cultural helping.

Although the domain-specific MAIN framework provided the cross-level analyses with a well suited continuum, it was not simple to synthesize findings from the studies conducted with different approaches at the policy level and the individual level (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Therefore, the conclusions concerning the interplay of workers´ awareness of immigrant needs across policy level and practice remain partly speculative. In the future, more attention should be paid to the choice of research designs that would enable us to study cross-level effects, i.e., the interaction of awareness at the political level and in practice (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1992).

A major problem with current presentations of awareness, including this study, still is the lack of specificity of indicators in the construct of multicultural awareness (LaFromboise et al., 1991; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen,

1996; Sue & Sue, 1990). The problem with the instruments is related to the problems caused by variation in the definitions of multicultural awareness. The operationalization of multicultural awareness is here different from other multivariate conceptualizations in terms of linking settlement workers´ awareness to immigrant needs. Nevertheless, the domain-specific awareness of workers was identified on three general dimensions of their multicultural awareness previously conceptualized as the workers´ social and cultural awareness and awareness of interventions (Sue et al., 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996). There is still need to specify these general dimensions of multicultural awareness. In the quantitative evaluations, these dimensions were closely related to each other as well as in the qualitative analyses, even if, each awareness dimension could be identified as a separate construct. Furthermore, there were differences in the relevance of each awareness dimension with regard to the welfare domains of the clients. In the qualitative analyses, it also was possible to create subcategories under the main dimensions and in this way to detect the contextual effects on workers´ awareness of immigrant needs.

It is easy to agree with many researchers (Ager, 1993; Berry et al., 1992; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990), who have considered that in studies of cross-cultural interaction and settlement workers´ awareness that there is also badly needed a theoretical foundation for research. The lack of common theories concerning workers´ multicultural awareness makes it difficult to make comparisons between different empirical studies. The domain-specific framework developed here may be a good starting point for the formulation of context-inclusive research into settlement workers´ multicultural awareness based on an interactionist approach and linked to the theories and findings of welfare research on refugees and other migrants. This framework helps to explain to what extent workers are aware of the needs of culturally different clients, and why this kind of awareness is necessary in cross-cultural helping, which has often remained unclear in cross-cultural awareness studies abstracted from the context (Ridley et al., 1994).

6.2 Challenges of working in a cross-cultural environment: implications of the main findings for practice

In the empirical studies it was attempted within the MAIN framework to link the awareness of immigrant needs manifested in the Finnish policy programmes for refugees and immigrants (study 1) with the expectations of local settlement workers for settlement policies (study 2) and with the awareness expressed by the teacher-counsellors in their case-reports of cross-cultural counselling, also including their self-assessments in these cases (study 3). The professional and individual background of the settlement workers and their local context for immigrant work were also expected to be linked with their awareness of immigrant needs.

As expected, the empirical findings indicated the domain-specific differences and interplay between the settlement authorities´ awareness expressed in their refugee and migration policy programmes and in the interpretive practices of the settlement workers. The authorities and settlement

workers expressed most extensively and accurately the socio-economic needs of immigrants in terms of their living standards, conditions of employment, or education. In contrast, they were largely unaware of the immigrants´ psychological well-being, especially from the point of view of immigrants. The awareness of socio-economic welfare of immigrants also showed greatest change over time while the psychological adaptation and well-being of immigrants has remained an untouched domain in the political programmes.

Settlement policies have provided the settlement workers with a common but very unflexible basis for interpreting the socio-economic needs of immigrants. This brought about that in order to better meet immigrant needs in terms of their cultural and social positions, the workers anticipated person-related changes in immigrants rather than system-related changes (Sue & Sue, 1990; Taylor, 1992; Triseliotis, 1986). However, politically less formalized welfare domains concerning the immigrants´ interpersonal relationships and psychological needs permitted more play of professional, personal, and situational differences among the workers, especially in their cultural awareness. The differences in professional and local positions in the field of immigrant work seem to be at the root of the differences in the workers´ cultural awareness. Their choices for cross-cultural interventions corresponded with their practical sense of opportunities to act and react to immigrant needs (study 2). Workers in the professions and in positions with a high degree of autonomy (teachers, administrators) or in a local context with a large number of immigrants and opportunities for culture-specific arrangements tended to have better opportunities for becoming aware of the impact of cultural differences on immigrant welfare than those having a lower degree of autonomy in their work (personnel in home services, health care) or working in a local context with a small number of immigrants and few opportunities for adapting mainstream services for them.

There also was identified (study 3) a domain-specific interplay between the official policies and the self-assessments of the workers (Deutsch, 1994). Politically well defined welfare domains did not evoke in the workers critical assessments of the quality of their own awareness during counselling interactions while the domains without a clear political definition evoked a critical self-focus among the settlement workers. Consequently, they were more active in feeding back their experiences and in using subjective repair strategies in the politically less formalized domains than in the well-formalized ones. The experiences of cross-cultural client work broadened the workers´ self-awareness especially about the impact of cultural differences on interaction with an immigrant client. However, the universalist mainstream arrangements offered for them few opportunities to develop their cultural sensitivity or appropriate patterns of culture-specific choices. The lack of concrete opportunities for culture-specific interventions also explains why the workers tended to give very abstract interpretations of the impact of cultural differences on an immigrant client.

In Finland, the multicultural awareness of the workers has awakened through ideologies concerning immigrant welfare rather than through recognising the institutional and structural contexts that seem to act as barriers to addressing the immigrant needs in practice. Ideology has changed from an assimilationist stance to a policy of multiculturalism. At the same time, the

Finnish refugee and migration policy programmes have also changed and become more and more context-exclusive and abstract in nature, and the importance of political images has significantly increased in them. All the programmes have aimed to give positive images of immigrant welfare for the workers which recognise and validate the cultural beliefs and practices of ethnic minorities. The new images about *multiculturalism* and the moving towards a decentralized structure for settlement services in Finland support the new ways of regarding cultural differences as valuable assets in the society and offer innovative perspectives to local arrangements of services for refugees and other immigrants. However, at the same time, the conditions for exercising multicultural policy have become worse in a situation where the Finnish welfare-state has come under increased pressure to change its welfare and redistributional systems. These changes have hit hardest refugees and migrants. For example, the unemployment rate of foreigners (ca. 40 - 60%) is more than double that of Finnish citizens. The services for refugees and other migrants have been reorganised and training services have submitted to market pressures, but the programmes or governmental authorities have not offered any central enforcement of criteria for the quality of multicultural training services or centrally developed plans for implementing and evaluating new developments. Meijers & Piggott (1995) have expressed their concern of the creation of a ´market in guidance´, that will deteriorate the position of ethnic minorities in Holland and Britain considering also the times of recession and cutbacks in public spending. Also in Finland, despite an increased multicultural awareness of immigrant needs in refugee and migration policy programmes, settlement workers are only beginning to witness the lack of opportunities in putting into practice the multicultural plans expressed in these programmes.

This poor fit between multicultural expectations for the workers´ behaviour and real opportunities for this type of behaviour in practice also affected the self-assessments of the settlement workers especially in the ´soft´ welfare domains (study 3). The findings from the workers´ self-assessments can be integrated into a more general theory of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). According to this, the higher expectation of changes for multiculturalism, combined with the workers´ everyday experiences of the lack of opportunities for these changes and poor outcomes concerning immigrant welfare, might affect their individual and also collective efficacy, awareness patterns, future actions and emotional reactions experienced in cross-cultural helping interactions. The negative effects of this lack of fit might be that the workers put less effort especially on the increased psychosocial conflicts of immigrants because in these issues they doubted most clearly their multicultural awareness and opportunities to support the well-being of an other-culture client. From the point of view of immigrants this might be interpreted as the sending of them from one authority to another without any of them taking responsibility for their psychosocial well-being.

These findings challenge, first, the organisation of cross-cultural services. Long-term goals would help the professionals, but these seem to be ill-defined in Finnish integration policy as they have been discovered to be also in the integration policies of other European countries (Council of Europe, 1991; Hammar, 1985). This is in contradiction with the need for far-reaching developments in these policies, as is expressed in refugee and migration literature. Indeed, recent studies on the mental health of Vietnamese refugees in Finland

(Liebkind, 1996; Liebkind & Kosonen, in press) clearly demonstrate that their psychological distress was increasing rather than lessening after resettlement in Finland. In this study (study 3), the teacher-counsellors were also of the opinion that the conflicts encountered with clients from other cultures in their educational and career counselling were affected to the greatest extent by the psychological welfare and interpersonal relationships of over 70% of these cases.

Public authorities however, have preferred measures that produce direct and quick results. For example, the work instruments of the teacher-counsellors were intervention-oriented and based on the concepts of an average situation for newcomers and of an average client without taking the differences within and between ethnic groups into consideration. In providing migration education for refugees and other migrants, language problems are widely considered ´normal´ and common to all in Finland (Domander, 1994). On the other hand, psycho-social and psychological effects are excluded from the sphere of ´normal´ migrant training policies. The organisational context of migrant training and counselling did not favour flexible practices organised on a case-by-case basis. Therefore, the teacher-counsellors had no time nor other resources to complement their ´normal´ counselling strategies with person-oriented and context-sensitive ones. Considering also that teacher-counsellors assessed lowest their multicultural awareness when dealing with psychosocial problems of client, that may also be a barrier to develop counselling services in these ´soft´ domains of immigrant welfare.

Indeed, the short-term ´affirmative actions´ do not seem to enable the implementation of a policy of multiculturalism (Berry et al., 1992) as suggested in the Finnish refugee and migration policy programmes. Furthermore, the strong dispersal of refugees throughout the country similarly neither supports such a policy (Berry et al., 1992) because it makes it difficult for refugees to form their own social and cultural networks that could provide support during their adaptation to the new context. Moreover, although the support for and acceptance of cultural diversity has increased in the official policy programmes following a policy of multiculturalism (Berry et al., 1992), in practice negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants have generally increased between 1987 and 1993 in the whole population in Finland (Jaakkola, 1995).

The findings about the workers´ awareness as contextually varying and liable to change constitute a challenge also to the professional training of settlement workers, which has been strongly emphasized in the current programme of Principles for Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy (1994). The role of training is to produce domain-specific awareness which will enable the workers to become aware of the specific features of each welfare domain. For example, differences in gender ideology (Berry et al., 1992; Denzin, 1992; Hofstede, 1984) brought refugees and migrants into a new and problematic relationship especially in the private domains of social relationships and psychological welfare, opening up the area of male-female relations for re-examination (study 3). The gender of the client as well as of the worker filtered the awareness of immigrant needs. An increase in the multicultural awareness of immigrant needs is unlikely among settlement workers if their training is abstracted from everyday helping contexts. Emphasis should be put on training in contextual interactions with skill practice in diverse contexts, and on direct feedback from these interactions (Bandura, 1982; Deutsch, 1994).

The findings also constitute a challenge for change in the existing ethnocentric power structure in the administration of refugee and migration affairs. Although the Finnish authorities responsible for refugee and migration policies have supported the immigrants in their process of participation within Finnish society according to the principles of a policy of multiculturalism (Berry et al., 1992), they have not allowed any ´subjectivity´ or active role for refugees and migrants in policy making. None of the ethnic minorities have participated in the official administration of refugee and migration affairs at the governmental level. The Finnish authorities who advocate the welfare of immigrants have taken on themselves the power of defining what the problems are and what has to be done about them. The Finnish professional approach is based on the universalism defined by the ethnic majority, and it means adhering to a narrow professional model built around the Finnish concept of expert neutrality without regard for the legitimacy of the views of the immigrants themselves. This type of a helping model may be insufficient for creating ´cultural diversity´, innovative social actions, and for being prepared to give priority to the active involvement of ethnic minorities in the integration process (Denney, 1983; Dijk Van, 1988; Ely & Denney, 1987; Sue & Sue, 1990).

YHTEENVETO

KULTTUURIENVÄLISEN TYÖN HAASTEET: PERIAATTEET JA KÄYTÄNTÖ MAAHANMUUTTAJIEN HYVINVOINNIN TURVAAMISEKSI SUOMESSA

Tutkimuksessa analysoin miten maahanmuuttajien tarpeita koskeva tietoisuus ilmeni 1) Suomen viranomaisten pakolais- ja siirtolaisuuspoliittisissa ohjelmissa, 2) kuntatyöntekijöiden pakolaispoliittisissa odotuksissa, ja 3) ohjaavien opettajien kuvauksissa maahanmuuttajien aikuiskoulutuksen ja työelämän yksilöohjauksen onnistuneista ja ei-onnistuneista ohjaustapauksista.

Tutkimuksen teoreettisena lähtökohtana oli olettamus, että suomalaisten työntekijöiden tietoisuus toisesta kulttuurista tulevien asiakkaiden yhteiskunnallisista, kulttuurisista ja toimintatapoja koskevista eroista vaikuttavat keskeisesti kulttuurienvälisen auttamisen tuloksellisuuteen eli maahanmuuttajien hyvinvointiin. Tämän mukaan monikulttuurinen tietoisuus käsittää työntekijän *yhteiskunnallisen tietoisuuden, kulttuurisen tietoisuuden* ja *tietoisuuden toimintakeinoista,* joilla voidaan vastata toisesta kulttuurista tulevan asiakkaan tarpeisiin.

Tutkimuksessa lisäsin tähän kolmidimensionaaliseen työntekijöiden tietoisuutta koskevaan lähestymistapaan toimintaympäristön, josta käsin työntekijöiden ja viranomaisten monikulttuurista tietoisuutta tutkittiin. Määrittelin toimintaympäristön maahanmuuttajien tarpeista lähtien. Erotin maahanmuuttajien hyvinvointitutkimusten perusteella kolme maahanmuuttajien tarpeiden eli hyvinvoinnin kenttää: 1) sosioekonomisen hyvinvoinnin käsittäen ulkoisen sopeutumisen, kuten työn, koulutuksen ja asumisen; 2) sosiaaliset suhteet ja ryhmien väliset suhteet käsittäen perhesuhteet, suhteet omaan etniseen ryhmään, muihin etnisiin ryhmiin ja valtaväestöön; ja 3) psykologisen hyvinvoinnin käsittäen psyykkisen tasapainon ja kulttuuri-identiteetin kehityksen. Ristiintaulukoimalla kolme työntekijöiden monikulttuurisen *tietoisuuden* ulottuvuutta ja kolme maahanmuuttajien *hyvinvoinnin* kenttää saatiin yhdeksän monikulttuurisen tietoisuuden solua sisältävä käsitteellinen viitekehys (Table 1, Multicultural Awareness of Immigrant Needs).

Käsitteellisen viitekehyksen avulla jäsensin ensimmäisessä tutkimuksessa suomalaisten viranomaisten tietoisuutta pakolaisten tarpeista heidän julkaise-

mansa kolmen pakolaispoliittisen periaateohjelman valossa (1980 -1994). Survey tutkimuksessa (tutkimus 2) selvitin Likert-tyyppisin pakolaispoliittisin väittämin kuntatyöntekijöiden (n=283) tietoisuutta maahanmuuttajien tarpeista. Monikulttuurisen tietoisuuden ilmenemistä kulttuurienvälisessä asiakastyössä analysoin maahanmuuttajien aikuiskoulutuksessa toimivien ohjaavien opettajien (n=42) ohjauskertomusten valossa sekä kvantitatiivisesti että kvalitatiivisesti. Ohjaavat opettajat arvioivat kuvaamissaan onnistuneissa ja ei-onnistuneissa ohjaustapauksissa myös omaa monikulttuurista pystyvyyttään Cross-Cultural Counselling Inventory Revised (CCCI-R) mittarilla.

Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että kulttuurienvälisessä vuorovaikutuksessa viranomaisten ja työntekijöiden yhteiskunnallinen, kulttuurinen ja toimenpiteitä koskeva tietoisuus vaihtelivat sen mukaan mihin maahanmuuttajien tarpeiden kenttään heidän tulkintansa kohdistuivat. Vastaanottopolitiikka ja siihen perustuvat julkiset toimenpiteet (tutkimus 1) ovat kohdistuneet ensisijaisesti maahanmuuttajien ulkoisen, *sosioekonomisen* hyvinvoinnin turvaamiseen. Viranomaiset ovat kasvavassa määrin kiinnittäneet ohjelmissaan huomiota myös kulttuurienvälisiin *sosiaalisiin suhteisiin*, erityisesti etnisten vähemmistöjen ja valtaväestön välisiin suhteisiin. Sen sijaan maahanmuuttajien psykologisen hyvinvoinnin turvaamisesta ei ole esitetty toimintaperiaatteellisia kannanottoja. Ohjaustapausten tutkimus (tutkimus 3) osoitti, että tässä suhteessa ilmeni voimakkain ristiriita politiikan kohdentumisen ja käytännössä kohdattavien maahanmuuttajien tarpeiden suhteen. Maahanmuuttajien ohjaava koulutus vastasi heikosti niihin erityisvaatimuuksiin, joita maahanmuuttajien yksilölliset tarpeet, psyykkinen pahoinvointi ja sopeutumisongelmat sille asettivat.

Suomessa vähemmistöideologia on periaatteiden tasolla muuttunut maahanmuuttajien sulauttamista suosivasta valtavirtapolitiikasta integraatiota tavoittelevaksi monikulttuuripolitiikaksi. Kuitenkin viranomaiset ovat korostaneet universalistista lähestymistapaa pikemminkin kuin pluralismia ja kulttuurisesti eriytyviä ratkaisuja maahanmuuttajien tarpeisiin vastaamiseksi. Monikulttuuristen periaatteiden kääntäminen konkreettiseksi toiminnaksi ja talouden kielelle on kasvavassa määrin kunnassa toimivien palveluiden tuottajien ja työntekijöiden tehtävä.

Kuntatyöntekijöiden pakolaispoliittiset kannanotot (tutkimus 2) osoittivat, että kunnilla ja työntekijöillä ei ole yhtäläisiä edellytyksiä toteuttaa monikulttuuripolitiikkaa. Maahanmuuttajien määrän kasvu vastaanottavissa kunnissa ja monikulttuurisuutta tukevien ammatillisten toimintaedellytysten kasvu (erikoistuminen pakolaistyöhön, koulutus, kielitaito) olivat yhteydessä työntekijöiden kulttuurista moniarvoisuutta, yhteiskunnallista vastuuta ja organisatorista joustavuutta korostaviin kannanottoihin. Ammattiin ja toimintaympäristöön kytkeytyvät työntekijöiden keskinäiset näkemyserot tulivat herkimmin esiin heidän suhtautumisessaan pakolaisten oman kulttuurin tukemiseen (kulttuurinen tietoisuus).

Ohjauskäytäntöjä koskeva tutkimus (tutkimus 3) osoitti edelleen, että vaikka opettajat ammattiryhmänä ottivat selkeimmin kantaa monikulttuurisen politiikan puolesta (tutkimus 2), niin toimenpiteiden tasolla heidän oli vaikea toteuttaa monikulttuurisuuden periaatteita. Ohjaavien opettajien toimenpiteitä sääteli institutionaalinen aikataulu ja välittömät tehokkuustavoitteet pikemminkin kuin maahanmuuttajan yksilölliset tarpeet tukitoimenpiteisiin. Mitä syvemmin ristiriidat koskettivat maahanmuuttajan psykologista hyvinvointia,

sitä vaikeampi ohjaavien opettajien oli vastata onnistuneesti hänen henkilökohtaisen tuen tarpeeseensa.

Myös ohjaavien opettajien itsearvioinnit heidän omasta monikulttuurisesta ohjauspystyvyydestään (tutkimus 3) vaihtelivat maahanmuuttajien kanssa käsiteltävien ongelmien mukaan. Pystyvimpinä ohjaavat opettajat pitivät itseään ratkoessaan maahanmuuttajien ulkoiseen sosioekonomiseen sopeutumiseen liittyviä konfliktitilanteita ja vähiten pystyvinä konfliktitilanteissa, jotka koskivat maahanmuuttajan psykologista sopeutumista ja heidän sosiaalisia suhteitaan. Onnistuneissa ohjaustapauksissa ohjaavat opettajat arvioivat pystyvyytensä korkeammaksi kuin ei-onnistuneissa ohjaustapauksissa. Tällöin eniten erosivat opettajien omia vuorovaikutustaitoja koskevat arviot.

Ohjaavien opettajien ilmaisema huoli puuttuvista mahdollisuuksista ja pystyvyydestä toteuttaa kulttuurienväliselle työlle asetettuja odotuksia viestivät monikulttuuristen periaatteiden ja käytännön välisestä ristiriidasta. Ideologisten ratkaisujen tueksi vaadittaisiin monikulttuurisuutta edistäviä organisatorisia ratkaisuja, seurantaa ratkaisujen toimivuudesta sekä henkilökunnan tukemista koulutuksen avulla erityisesti maahanmuuttajien psyykkisen hyvinvoinnin turvaamiseen liittyvissä kysymyksissä.

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