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Whether and how could social work address the long-term socio-environmental risks caused by the mining industry in northern Finland

Abstract

Despite underlining the importance of the commitment of states and international organizations, the discourse on human security is seldom explicit about who the actors or frontline workers are that operationalize the framework. One such group of practitioners that is possibly involved, but largely unacknowledged, is social workers, especially as social work as a discipline, profession and social movement has a value base and overall goals that are very similar to the human security approach. In social work, the categories of economic, food, environmental and community security fall within the discourse of human security, particularly with the currently evolving ecosocial (ecological/environmental/green) approach. The paradigm of social work thus exemplifies an important holistic orientation.

Based on the understanding that social and environmental vulnerabilities are interlinked and that the extractive model of development often eats away and alters the land and ecosystems, this article discusses mineral extraction and its consequences from a social work perspective in the context of northern Finland. Of particular interest is the long-term socio-environmental risks associated with metal mining and the actual and possible roles of social work in relation to them. The article rests upon thematically analyzed semi-structured interviews and participant observation conducted in one mining region in Northern Finland.

Keywords: Social work, human security, mining industry, Arctic region, resource crisis, environmental insecurity, ecosocial work

Whether and how could social work address the long-term socio-environmental risks caused by the mining industry in northern Finland

Introduction: Social work and human security

Despite underlining the importance of the commitment of states and international organizations, the discourse on human security[1] is seldom explicit about who the actors or frontline workers are that operationalize the framework. As human security can hardly be enforced by the efforts of the UN and other international organizations or the political scientists and lawyers working in different state departments alone, other professional and scientific fields also have to be involved in its realization. One such potential but heretofore unacknowledged group of practitioners are social workers, who in general have a similar value base and overall societal orientation as the human security framework. The foundational values of social work include the commitment to enforce social justice, human rights, respect for diversities and taking collective responsibility[2] [3]. Human security, on the other hand, aims to protect human lives "...in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment"[4]. The subfields of human security that are aspired to in a comprehensive rather than fragmented manner, further involve economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security[5], which are all integral to the kind of wellbeing that social work pursues.

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[1] The concept of human security originates from the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and stands for a multidimensional approach to the personal safety and freedom of individuals from direct and indirect (physical and structural) violence. Sané, Pierre. "Introduction. Rethinking human security". *International Social Science Journal* 59, September (2008): 5-6. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2008.00666.x.; Williams, James H., "Editorial: Human Security to Promote Capacity-Building and Sustainable Livelihoods Interventions*." Social Work Research* 39, no. 1 (2015): 3.

[2] IASSW and IFSW, "Global Definition of Social Work," July 2014, http://ifsw.org/policies/definition-of-social-work/.

[3] Talentia, *Arki, arvot, ja etiikka: Sosiaalialan ammattihenkilön eettiset ohjeet*. Helsinki: Sosiaalialan korkeakoulutettujen ammattijärjestö Talentia ry, 2017, 10-23. http://talentia.e-julkaisu.com/2017/eettiset-ohjeet/.

[4] Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*. (New York, Commission on Human Security, 2013), 4. http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/chs_final_report_-_english.pdf.

[5] UN, *Human Security in Theory and practice: Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security* (New York: United Nations, UN 2009), 7-8.

Social work is an umbrella term for a number of things: the profession called social work, the discipline of social work, and the broad social and political movement (sometimes but not necessarily always named and positioned as social work) committed to work with and to protect the people who are poor, marginalized and/or otherwise vulnerable. Much of social work consists of supporting individuals and communities with the life challenges they confront, and in this way promoting social change and enhancing the wellbeing and empowerment of people[6]. The actual content of the work varies in time and space reflecting the socio-cultural, political and economic premises of societies. Within the field, a sense of unity rests upon the shared core values that social work in all its diversity stands for. From outside, however, the extensive and politically delicate nature of social work may appear as a "hard-to-define position" and "unclear boundaries"[7]. This is because the position of social work is often ambiguous and requires balancing conflicting interests in an operational environment defined by various other actors, including the state.

So-called official social work, defined as "...any combination of regulated, qualified, state recognized social work"[8], often (as e.g. in Britain and Finland) with protected titles and including tasks that only registered and qualified social workers can undertake, is everywhere largely dependent on state funding and its approval. Taking the given circumstances and the existing status quo as a starting point, official social work tries to make a positive difference in the lives of the individuals and communities with which it engages. Being far from homogenous but consisting of a range of practices, social work often combines elements of both control and support in actual patterns of work. While more radical and political structurally oriented approaches to social work exist, they have remained marginal, for adopting them has been neither in the interest of states nor many in social work. Even so, they have been important for various attempts to maintain and indeed discuss about the original and constitutive value commitments of social work, which are in danger of being diluted amidst of managerial and bureaucratic work that is often also part of professional practice. Further, the political and social change oriented

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[6] IASSW and IFSW, "Global Definition of Social Work".

[7] Mark Doel, *Social Work: The Basics (*Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 5.

[8] Michael Lavalette and Vasilios Ioakimidis, "International Social Work or Social Work Internationalism? Radical Social Work in Global Perspective," in *Radical Social Work Today: Social Work at the Crossroads*, ed. Michael Lavalette, (Bristol: Policy Press, 2011), 139.

dimensions of social work are also manifested in so-called popular (as opposite to official) social work. Usually linked with broader social movement activities for social change including campaigning, political and welfare initiatives, such work is undertaken by a range of people, some but not all having social work training[9].

Whatever the political position of different actors and practices, social work alone has relatively limited prospects to influence the broader political and economic structures, even when they effectively increase the vulnerability and marginalization of the people with whom social work engages. Nevertheless, especially those with structural and/or ecosocial (/ecological/environmental/green) orientations to social work emphasize the need to work in order to change the circumstances and not merely to treat their consequences. For example, Aila-Leena Matthies and Kati Närhi[10] claim that "...if social work sincerely wants to fight against poverty, it has to find ways to impact on the global economic structures as well as to generate sustainable livelihood options to the people who lack them."

Although it is possible to dismiss statements like the one above as mission impossible, the foundational belief of social work is that positive societal change is achievable with hard and persistent work. Moreover, it actually is the locally based connectedness with people who have difficulties or whom the society at large labels as problematic, which provides social work a grandstand view of the society and the ongoing changes[11]. While the realities encountered in social work are generally harsh, the strong grassroots presence of social work can thus also provide vision and opportunities for practice that professional groups more detached from the everyday lives of people lack. In what follows, the article turns to discuss economic, social and environmental issues in relation to the mining industry, including the mining induced social work needs as experienced and foreseen in the context of metal mining in northern Finland. Of special interest are the long-term

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[9] Ibid., 140.

[10] Aila-Leena Matthies and Kati Närhi, "Ekososiaalinen lähestymistapa rakenteellisen sosiaalityön viitekehyksenä", in *Rakenteellinen sosiaalityö*, eds. Anneli Pohjola, Merja Laitinen and Marjaana Seppänen (Kuopio: Unipress, 2014), 96.

[11] This is not to say that social work would always be beneficial for or protecting those who are vulnerable. The profession has from time to time, as in Nazi Germany, uncritically adhered to powerful, oppressive ideologues and governance, or been blind to its own subordinate exercise of power upon those not fitting into hegemonic frameworks, such as Indigenous people or minorities. At its core lay specific worldviews regarding ideas of progress, normality, the right kind of citizenship, and so forth.

social and environmental risks associated with metal mining, and whether and how social work could address these.

The article connects with the author's postdoctoral research on the consequences of the mining industry for disadvantaged groups in northern Finland and northern Odisha (Academy of Finland 2014-2017). In addition to the literature used, the article is based on computer-assisted thematic analysis (data-driven coding by Atlas.ti7.5) of 15 semi-structured interviews, added with information from more casual conversations and participant observation conducted in one mining region in northern Finland for two weeks (1+1) in September 2015 and October 2016. The choice of the region was dictated by the intensification of mining in the region, which culminated in the opening of a new large-scale mine less than 10 years earlier. Since then, mining has been one of the major sources of employment. There are also possibilities that a new mine/ mines may be opened in the future.

The interviewees were contacted on the basis that they were considered well positioned to reflect upon the changes brought by the intensification of the mining industry. While the majority (12) of the interviews were one-to-one conversations between the researcher and the interviewee, three interviews were conducted with more than one person (2-5) with people who either work or live together. Nonetheless, the analytical approach is similar with each interview. Most of the interviewees were approached because of their professional position and the viewpoint it provided. As the interviews proceeded, the number of interviewees was increased through snowballing with the interviewees suggesting insightful persons able to give further information on the matters discussed. The interviewees, seven men and fifteen women with the age range from early thirties to seventies, worked in the local administration (5) or other public sector jobs (7), as wage earners or private entrepreneurs in the private sector (5), as third sector employees (4) or were retired (1). Altogether 12 of them were social welfare professionals. Noting the small amount of people as well as mining towns in the region and thus limited amount of people in specific professional positions, the interviewees are not depicted here in more detail in order to protect their confidentiality. The interviews of particular interest included perceived changes in the social and economic life and livelihoods in the region, and the interviewees' assumptions about the awaiting long-term developments. Moreover, the interviews dealt with mining-related social work needs and responses,

social work being understood in a broad sense as the work of various social professions and organizations, and not only as the work of qualified social workers (which is a common definition for social work in Finland[12]).

The article continues with a brief elaboration on environmental risks as both a human security and social work concern, as well as with short descriptions of northern Finland as a context of social work and mineral extraction. Thereafter it proceeds to discuss the nature and implications of the mining industry through the interviewees' experiences and views about the social, economic and environmental impacts of mining currently and in the future. The article ends with a discussion that relates these views to the currently existing social work practices and the human security framework.

Why mineral extraction is a social work/human security issue

The current ecological crisis generates substantial social work and human security concerns. In addition to endangering the ecological sustainability of ecosystems and the continuity of many life forms, it increases social inequality, vulnerability and the likelihood of violent conflicts[13] [14] [15]. In this article, the emphasis is further placed on the fact that while the ecological-cum-social crisis is fundamentally a resource crisis, the knowledge of the unsustainability of resource use has not led to anything close to the necessary changes in the problematic patterns of production and consumption. Overall, capitalism as the dominant economic system has proved incapable of dealing with the ecological crisis[18] [19] [20], and thus the urgently needed systemic changes remain undone.

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[12] E.g. Juha Hämäläinen and Pauli Niemelä, "Social Policy and Social Work in Finland" in *Fundamentals of Social Work in Selected European Countries: Historical and Political Contexts, Present Theory, Practice, Perspectives*, eds. Adrian Adams, Peter Erath, and Steven Shardlow (Lyme Regis: Russell House, 2000), 31.
[13] Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[14] Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö, "Ihmisoikeudet ja sosiaalityö globaalien kriisien maailmassa," in *Kansainvälinen sosiaalityö: Käsitteitä, käytäntöjä ja kehityskulkuja*, eds. Maija Jäppinen, Anna Metteri, Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö and Pirkko-Liisa Rauhala (Tallinna: United Press Global, 2016).
[15] Aila-Leena Matthies and Kati Närhi, "Introduction. It is the time for social work and social policy research on ecosocial transition," in *The Ecosocial Transition of Societies: The contribution of social work and social policy*, eds. Aila-Leena Matthies and Kati Närhi (London: Routledge, 2017).
[18] David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* (London: Profile Books, 2011).
[19] David Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism* (London: Profile Books, 2014).
[20] Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate (*New York: Simon & Schister, 2014).

Meanwhile, rather than preserving and saving, actors big and small prepare for the forthcoming resource scarcity by competing over the control of the remaining resources, the more crucial they are to energy, food and water security, and political and economic power. The imbalance and inequality of resource use is particularly clear in the case of metals and minerals, which have historically been central to economic development and political and military power[21].

Modern societies are heavily dependent on metals and minerals, which for the time being makes their large-scale extraction necessary. Yet, scrapping mineral extraction encompasses a number of complex problems. First, mineral resources being finite, their current exhaustion is simply unsustainable and likely to cause a scarcity of important minerals, such as gold, lead, tin or zinc, in the decades to come.[22] Secondly, the mining industry is notorious for being always somewhat and potentially severely polluting, especially if the processes involve using vast amounts of toxic chemicals. Moreover, energy intensive processes of smelting and refining increase global warming[23].

Overall, mineral extraction tends to exacerbate older ecological, spatial, and intergenerational debts. The bulk of mineral extraction takes place in the global South and in the hinterlands of the global North, whereas their consumption concentrates heavily in the affluent countries and population[24] [25] [26]. The situation reflects the long-term patterns of wielding of political and economic power between societies and within and between hinterlands and metropoles. While the profits, which can be exceptional, commonly flow outside mining regions, the negative impacts fall disproportionately to the people and other life forms close to the sites of extraction. These include various forms of pollution, such as dust, noise, and possible contamination of water bodies, and

[21] Martin Lynch, *Mining in world history* (London: Reaktion, 2002).
[22] Tom Theis and Jonathan Tomkin, *Sustainability: A Comprehensive Foundation* (Houston: Connexions, 2012), 151, 212-26.
[23] Felix Padel and Samarendra Das, *Out of This Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* (Hydrabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2010), 15, 331-337, 384-385.
[24] Ibid., 682-669.
[25] Theis and Tomkin, *Sustainability: A Comprehensive Foundation*, 212-226.
[26] David Leadbeater, "Metropolitanism and hinterland decline," in *Resources, empire & labour: Crises, lessons & alternatives*, ed. David Leadbeater (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 2014), 90-110.

the totality of the environmental and land use changes[27] [28]. From a social and environmental justice and human security perspective the basic problem thus is that the positive and negative consequences of the mineral extraction separate unevenly in time and space. More long-term effects, such as the depletion of the mineral wealth, the possibility of environmental damage (e.g. due to toxic or radioactive substances released or stored on site), and the burden to deal with abandoned or contaminated sites, are deferred to future generations[29].

Northern Finland and social work

In the Finnish context, northern Finland, also known as Finnish Lapland (in Finnish *Lappi*), is a distinctive place in terms of the economic, cultural, and geographical imaginaries attached to it. Covering nowadays a bit over 30 per cent of Finland's land mass while having only 180,000 inhabitants (2 per square kilometer), northern Finland belongs to the most sparsely populated areas of the European Union. Its four northernmost municipalities are part of the greater Sápmi, the land of the Indigenous Sámi, which reaches further to northwest Russia, northern Norway and Sweden, whose borders in the region have varied at the course of times[30].

Ilmo Massa divides the history of northern Finland into four phases in his pioneering and widely acknowledged social and environmental history Pohjoinen luonnonvalloitus [Northern Conquest of Nature, translation S.R.]. These phases, which are fluid but nonetheless mark historical turning points, include the Lapland of the Sámi people (until circa 1650), the Lapland of the backwoods settlers (1650-1870), the Lapland of the forest industry (1870-1945), and the Lapland of the Finnish state (1945 onwards)[31]. This

[27] Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor.*
[28] David Leadbeater,"Introduction," in *Resources, empire & labour: Crises, lessons & alternatives*, ed. David Leadbeater (Black Point: Fernwood Publishing, 2014), 12-46.
[29] Here the question is how long does the perpetual care by corporations last. Companies may go bankrupt or cease to exist, in which case the costs fall usually to the state and thus ultimately to the taxpayers. What if states, as we know them, are no longer functional in the future world?
[30] Finnish Lapland was officially constructed when the eastern part of Swedish Lapland was annexed by Russia in 1809, Maria Lähteenmäki, "Suomen Lapin synnystä alueiden Lappiin", *Terra* 117, no. 3, (2005): 147.
[31] Ilmo Massa, *Pohjoinen luonnonvalloitus: Suunnistus ympäristöhistoriaan Lapissa ja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1994), 142-263.

periodization, which as such is little disputed, reflects the understanding of Lapland as originally home to the Sámi, with only loose ties to the state/s that claimed it. Gradually, settlers from south disturbed the Sámi and their livelihoods. While the settlers relied on farming and animal husbandry, they also adopted Sámi livelihoods, particularly fishing and hunting, so reducing the catch of the Sámi and forcing them into reindeer herding.[32]

Northern Finland was thoroughly integrated with the rest of the country only after the Second World War[33], with the region suffering the systematic destruction of infrastructure especially during the withdrawal of the German troops at the end of the war. Even after the war, the role of northern Finland was largely to function as a resource pool providing timber and hydropower for national use. From the 1970s onwards, the Finnish welfare state eventually 'nationalized' Lapland by bringing a greater level of social security and employment opportunities in the public sector, as well as infrastructure development that improved access to the region's natural resources. Later the downsizing of the welfare state as well as the structural changes in the forestry sector have been detrimental to employment opportunities and the service infrastructure in the region.[34] New opportunities have arisen in services, tourism and mining industries. Northern Finland has also benefited from Finland's EU membership, which has opened new channels of political influence and opportunities in cross-border regional collaboration[35].

In southern Finland, where national political and economic power is concentrated, northern Finland has had an exotic and peripheral image. In spite of the acknowledged opportunities in tourism and resource extraction, northern Finland has also been perceived as a burden to the national economy[36]; even the viability of keeping northern

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[32] Ibid. 155, 161-181.
[33] Sami Moisio, *Valtio, alue, politiikka: Suomen tilasuhteiden sääntely toisesta maailmansodasta nykypäivään (*Tampere: Vastapaino, 2012), 14.
[34] Massa, *Pohjoinen luonnonvalloitus: Suunnistus ympäristöhistoriaan Lapissa ja Suomessa*, 262-3.
[35] David Arter, "Regionalization in the European Peripheries: The Cases of Northern Norway and Finnish Lapland." *Regional and Federal Studies* 11 no. 2 (2001), https://doi.org/10.1080/714004693.
[36] E. g. Moisio, *Valtio, alue, politiikka: Suomen tilasuhteiden sääntely toisesta maailmansodasta nykypäivään*, 277.

Finland populated has been questioned[37]. Lately, however, the manifold and growing strategic importance of the region has been increasingly recognized[38].

Aiming to understand the life (challenges) of a person within the context of his/her multiple environments and relationships, social work in northern Finland is to some extent defined by the characteristics of the region. Although legislation and the existing institutional structures regulate much of the work, the long distances and the small number of people give their distinctive flavor to the work.[39] Small communities have a cohesion different from that of big cities, and thus neither the social professionals nor the service users can expect much confidentiality but are likely to come across each other also outside the institutional connection. Village and family connections play a big role, providing at best lots of support but having also the capacity to exclude outsiders or those who do not fit in.

The vastness of northern Finland implies significant differences between different regions and municipalities. Some villages suffer from a skewed age and gender ratio, if younger people and women have migrated elsewhere in search of education and jobs and aging males have stayed put.[40] In other places with more employment opportunities, the change of generations has been more successful. The overall low population density and small amount of taxpayers has forced the municipalities to focus on providing at least the statutory minimum level of services; even that often requires creative solutions and long(er) distances to services, especially for those outside main population centers. On the other hand, the situation has given rise to innovative ways to work, such as developing e- and distance services, as well as nature-related working methods such as forest therapy[41].

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[37] The issue of whether northern Finland should be kept populated was discussed, for example, in a discussion event on regional policy in Haukipudas in November 2014 with a number of candidates for the parliament elections in 2015 being invited to present their views.

[38] E.g. Lassi Heininen and Teemu Palosaari, Teemu, eds, *Jäitä poltellessa: Suomi ja arktisen alueen tulevaisuus* (Tampere: Rauhan- ja konfliktintutkimuskeskus TAPRI, 2011).

[39] Arja Kilpeläinen and Marjo Romakkaniemi, ”Paikallisuus rakenteellisessa sosiaalityössä,” in *Rakenteellinen sosiaalityö*, eds. Anneli Pohjola, Merja Laitinen and Marjaana Seppänen (Kuopio: Unipress, 2014), 136.

[40] Ibid., 139.

[41] In Finnish *mettäterapia*, in Sámi *meahcceterapiija,* for more information about the approach see Lydia Heikkilä, *Meahcceterapiija – mettäterapia: Kulttuurilähtöistä päihdetyötä luonnossa* (Inari: SámiSoster ry, 2014).

Meanwhile, the natural environment has continued to have a significant role for the local people and their livelihoods. Kilpeläinen and Romakkaniemi[42] describe the Lappish relationship with the natural environment as functional and aesthetic. Although not everyone is an outdoorsy person, nature related activities like hunting, fishing and picking wild berries are a common part of the Lappish lifestyle and opportunities to be in the natural environment for its own sake are appreciated. According to the interviewees, this defines also soci(et)al work service users, who enjoy being outdoors, prioritizing (and asking for) opportunities to visit nearby places of natural beauty even when they are no longer very mobile themselves. While the earlier ordinary livelihood combination of agriculture, forestry and natural economy has become rare, outside urban centers many rely partly on natural economy as a source of food. Livelihoods like fishing, reindeer herding and forestry persevere in up-to-date forms, tourism, mining industry, and the emerging field of bioeconomy also having their foundation in the natural environment and its resources.

The Finnish mining boom of the 2000s

Until the mid-1990s, mines in Finland were state owned, with foreign ownership becoming possible only in 1994[43]. At that time, the common view in many nationally owned mining companies, including the leading company Outokumpu, was that the major deposits in Finland had already been extracted and that the preconditions for the continuance of mining as a major field of industry were drying up[44] [45]. This vision was in line with the long-term official narrative (taught repeatedly also to the author throughout her schooling in the 1970s and 1980s) of Finland as having no valuable natural resources other than forests and some hydropower. In those days, the mineral wealth of the country was not acknowledged, possibly because it was not considered significant. Two decades later Finland ranked as one of the main destinations for global mining expansion.

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[42] Kilpeläinen and Romakkaniemi, ”Paikallisuus rakenteellisessa sosiaalityössä,” 145.

[43] Lasse Hernesniemi, Birgitta Berg-Andersson, Olavi Rantala and Paavo Suni, *Kalliosta kullaksi kummusta klusteriksi: Suomen mineraaliklusterin vaikuttavuusselvitys* (Helsinki: Elinkeinoelämän Tutkimuslaitos ETLA & Taloustieto Oy, 2011), 137.

[44] Ibid. 37.

[45] Markus Kröger, “Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 16, no. 4 (2016): 554.

Finland experienced an unprecedented mining boom from the mid-2000s to the early 2010s as part of the global resources boom, which led to the opening of several new mines, including two large-scale ones (Kittilä 2009 and Kevitsa 2012) in the north and one (Talvivaara 2008) in eastern Finland. By early 2013, almost a third of Lapland and over 15 % of the overall land surface of Finland was under claims processes by the mining industry. These included permit areas for reservation (the majority of the claims, first stage claims granting the privilege to submit an ore-prospecting application), exploration, and mining[46]. The metals with the highest economic value in the Finnish ground are estimated to be nickel and chromium[47], in addition to which there are deposits of gold, phosphorus, iron, uranium, zinc, copper, cobalt, platinum, palladium, lithium, silver, ferrochrome, and so forth. Significant rock material quarrying and extraction of industrial minerals is also taking place. In 2016, Finland had altogether 10 metal mines and 32 other mines and quarries (excavating industrial minerals and stones) in operation[48]. After the few years of economic recession of the early 2010s, the number of metal mines had gone down by one or two. The changes reflect the openings and closures of mines, some mines (e.g. Talvivaara and Pahtavaara) being/having been temporarily either bankrupt or in liquidation before changing ownership.

According to Markus Kröger[49], the Finnish mining boom was the outcome of longer economic and political trajectories, namely the neoliberal, pro-mining legal and operational regulatory framework enabling the boom, and not only the high mineral prices of the moment. In fact, the neoliberal reforms preceded the resources boom everywhere[50], and Finland was no exception. Since the 1980s, Finnish economic reforms have been molded by neoliberalism[51], gradually replacing the Nordic welfare state paradigm by the

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[46] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom", 548.
[47] Hernesniemi et al., *Kalliosta kullaksi kummusta klusteriksi: Suomen mineraaliklusterin vaikuttavuusselvitys*, 50.
[48] Tukes (Finnish Safety and Chemicals Agency), *Tilastoja vuoriteollisuudesta 2016.* http://tukes.fi/Tiedostot/kaivokset/tilastot/Tilastotietoja_vuoriteollisuudesta_2016.pdf., 2016.
[49] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom".
[50] Jewellord Nem Singh and France Bourgouin, "Introduction: Resource Governance at a Time of Plenty," in *Resource Governance and Developmental States in the Global South: Critical International Political Economy Perspectives,* eds. Jewellord Nem Singh and France Bourgouin (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 3.
[51] William E. Connolly, *The Fragility of Things: Self-Organizing Processes, Neoliberal Fantasies, and Democratic Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 2. Unlike classic market liberalism, which "wanted the state to minimize interference with "natural" market processes", contemporary neoliberalism

paradigm of workfare[52] or an alternatively competitive workforce state[53]. The Finnish mining boom was located within this paradigmatic change[54].

Utilizing Bourdieu's theory of spatial causalities to explain the power relations and their spatial connections, Kröger[55] identifies several factors that enhanced the Finnish mining boom. First, the upturn of the mining industry reflected the belief that the improved mining technology enables the profitable extraction of deposits with relatively low ore content. Secondly, the similarity of Finland's geological landscape to certain metal-rich areas elsewhere, such as in Canada and Australia, supported assumptions that more metals can be found. Thirdly, for many companies Finland's regulatory framework appeared almost too good to be true: "Finland has no mining royalties or tax and does not retain ore or mineral ownership when leasing or renting the excavation rights"[56], which means the extracting companies get the deposits virtually for free. Moreover, Finland has a relatively low corporate tax (lowered to 20 from 24.5 per cent in 2013), low or non-existent compensations and royalties to the landowners, and low restrictions of profit repatriation[57]. The state provides incentives to starting companies and may participate in the costs of major infrastructure (e.g. transportation network) or the training of qualified workers.

In early 2000s, one driver for the boom was the anticipated new, slightly stricter mining law (2011). Many investors foresaw the law by starting their projects before its enforcement, thus securing the right to run their business under the more lax old mining law. From the industry's perspective, Finland's other assets included easy logistics and good infrastructure supporting investment, as well as well researched, high quality geoscientific base data over the existing mineral resources (available from the Geological

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calls for an active role of the state to create, maintain and protect the preconditions of market self-regulation. As discussed above, the Finnish state has had an active pro-mining policy.

[52] Tuula Helne, Tuuli, Hirvilammi and Markku Laatu, *Sosiaalipolitiikka rajallisella maapallolla* (Helsinki: Kelan tutkimusosasto, 2012), 53.

[53] Anu Kantola and Johannes Kananen, "Seize the Moment: Financial Crisis and the Making of the Finnish Competition State". *New Political Economy* 18 no. 6 (2013).

[54] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom," 545.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 547-548.

[57] Ibid. Under the new Mining Act (621/2011), the mining company has to pay the landowner € 20-50 per hectare when exploration is being carried out, and €50 per hectare plus 0.15 % of the worth of the metals yearly excavated when there are mining operations in place.

Survey of Finland, GTK), which makes further exploration easy. Finland also has plenty of expertise in mining technology, some Finnish and Nordic companies, such as Metso, Outotec, Konecranes and Sandvik being leaders in the field. The perhaps most important asset, however, has been the stable socio-political climate, which guarantees the companies security of tenure[58]. Although an anti-mining movement exists, there is no large-scale resistance towards the mining industry. On the contrary, the attitudes of the local people in Northern Finland towards mines and mining have been largely positive[59], more so than those of tourists or recreational part-time residents, the overriding reason being the jobs provided.

On the impacts and nature of the mining industry

Mining has impacts on employment, policymaking, land use, physical infrastructure, and the environment[60]. As the mineral rich regions in northern and eastern Finland, like similar areas in northern Sweden (ibid.), have long suffered from small labor markets and structural unemployment, the pro-mining politics has been justified by emphasizing its job creation potential. Likewise, the interviewees also repeatedly addressed the importance of the mining jobs. In the small communities of northern Finland, hundreds of new jobs are simply revolutionary, generating jobs also in transportation and services. Even those whose own livelihoods were negatively affected or who expected mining to cause major environmental destruction in the longer run were happy for those who had jobs. Some interviewees further explained that the value of the jobs lies in the fact that they enable the social and cultural continuity of the Lappish family- and kin-centered lifestyle: the improved employment situation gives younger people opportunities to stay in or return to the region. On the other hand, several interviewees mentioned that not everyone is eligible for the mining jobs. In addition to appropriate training and skills, mining work requires life management that is not within the reach of everyone, especially if one has substance abuse problems. Those still unemployed have often multiple problems to the extent that a job in a mine is no option.

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[58] Ibid., 568.
[59] E. g. "Lähes 80 prosenttia sodankyläläisistä hyväksyy kaivostoiminnan," *Sompio*, February 1, 2017, 12-13.
[60] Erika Knobblock and Örjan Petersson, "Restructuring and risk-reduction in mining: employment implications for northern Sweden", *Fennia* 188 no. 1 (2010): 62.

The mining jobs are bound to the location where the mineral deposits are, and thus relatively secure. Even so, the volatility typical of the industry can cause dramatic changes in the mining communities. The mineral prices and thus the profit margins of their extraction can change rapidly and unexpectedly, leading to closures of mines and changes in their ownership.[61] Mines have gone bankrupt and mining companies have seized their plans to open new mines also in Finland. A mine typically provides the highest number of jobs during its start-up phase when the necessary physical infrastructure is constructed; a period often experienced as a local boom. Once functioning, technologically advanced modern mines are not particularly labor intensive. Moreover, mining companies, like others, do their best to rationalize their production costs by outsourcing functions and relying on sub-contractors. In northern Finland, the biggest mines directly employ a few hundred workers and roughly the same amount of sub-contractors, with the Kittilä mine employing altogether around 650 workers and contractors[62] and Kevitsa 380 workers and 200 private entrepreneurs[63]. Taken together, the metal mines in Finland employ approximately 2500 people directly or as contractors. One job in metal mining further generates roughly two jobs in other fields of the national economy, which sets the overall employment effect of the industry at around 7000 jobs[64]. Regarding the future when the number of mining and related jobs is likely to decrease[65], the mining industry is hoped to inspire innovations and eventually new products to sell and export.

In addition to bringing jobs, mining eats away land and displaces some other livelihoods[66]. In northern Finland, the most negatively impacted livelihood is reindeer herding, as the land for the mining projects and related infrastructure is generally taken away from diminishing reindeer pastures[67]. But mining is not alone in altering nature.

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[61] Ibid., 66.
[62] Arnico-Eagle, *Kestävän kehityksen raportti 2015*. http://agnicoeagle.fi/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/AGNICO_SUMMARY-SDR_FINNISH.pdf
[63] Boliden, http://www.boliden.com/fi/Toimipaikat/Mines/Boliden-Kevitsa/. Accessed February 19, 2017.
[64] Hernesniemi et al., *Kalliosta kullaksi kummusta klusteriksi: Suomen mineraaliklusterin vaikuttavuusselvitys*, 116-118.
[65] Ibid., 118.
[66] Padel and Das, *Out of This Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel.*
[67] About the mediation between different livelihoods, see Sanna Hast and Mikko Jokinen, ”Elinkeinojen yhteensovittaminen: Tarkastelussa kaivostoiminta, poronhoito ja luontomatkailu”, in Kaivos suomalaisessa yhteiskunnassa, eds. Tuija Mononen and Leena Suopajärvi (Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopistokustannus, 2016).

Some of the interviewees pointed out that besides mining the current forestry practices (often cutting all trees from large areas) have spoiled some of the areas that they used to utilize either for recreational or livelihood purposes, making them places of no return in their lifetime. On the other hand, not everyone is equally concerned. Encountered casually outside actual interview situations, some other locals claimed that there is no dearth of wilderness in northern Finland even with the mines and other industries: "*kyllä meillä täällä jänkhää riittää*". The unclear land tenure situation with regard to the Sámi further complicates the land issues, as Finland has not ratified the ILO 169 Convention.

While concerns regarding the impacts of mining are primarily local and national, the corporate decision-making does not necessarily adhere to national or regional interests. In Finland, Finnish companies own the majority of all mines and excavation sites, but metal mining companies (especially the biggest functioning ones) are mostly under foreign ownership (in 2015 6/10). In Northern Finland, the subsidiary of the Canadian company Arnico Eagle operates the Kittilä Mine, whereas the Canada-registered First Quantum Minerals transferred Kevitsa to the Swedish/Nordic Boliden in 2016. In Finland, the shift from earlier state ownership to private and global corporate ownership of mines has been justified by the insufficiency of domestic capital in the highly capital intensive field, the costliest phases of the business being exploration and setting up a mine. In retrospect, Kröger's observation is that when the mining boom took off, aside from the small national mining elite able to cash in on privileged information of the resources and knowledge of the system, Finland entered the boom unprepared. The existing mineral wealth was not discussed politically, nor was there much long term planning regarding it. Consequently, the political system was not able to counter the power of capital, but surrendered most of the control of the system and the mineral wealth.[68]

The more the ownership and control of the mineral resources is concentrated in large companies overseas, the greater the risk that the exploitation of the mineral resources becomes determined by foreign markets, not domestic needs, causing in the longer run a net outflow of economic surplus and wealth[69]. Globally, large-scale globalized capitalist

[68] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom," 554-555.
[69] Leadbeater, "Introduction".

corporations dominate mineral extraction, owning and controlling the chains of mines, smelters, refineries, transportation systems and their production activities. Capitalism having the tendency to "privatize, commodify, monetize and commercialize all those aspects of nature that it possibly can"[70] localities may be increasingly seen as "abstract spaces of calculable extraction", "mineral tons" instead of unique places extracted[71]. Putting price tags on degrading environments, biodiversity losses, or costs borne by future generations is not equally easy. Being often monetized and defined as "externalities", costs that fall outside budgeting do not appear in the corporate balance books[72].

The World Bank study by Halland et al.[73] summarizes that "...the exhaustability of subsoil resources (…) raises complex questions around intergenerational equity and long-term fiscal sustainability". The focus on investments, jobs and positive GDP figures here and now may hide the fact that extractives-based fiscal planning is often challenging and that "exhausting the non-renewable resource is the very nature of mining"[74]. The utility of the mining projects thus depends on the temporal scale applied. Kröger[75] estimates that in Finland the current compensation paid to landowners or reindeer herders is not large enough to compensate for the losses if the time span is more than 40 years.

While the above-discussed issues have significance to human security and current and future wellbeing, addressing them in a constructive way is not easy. For example, several of the interviewees addressed how the negotiations between locals (be that an association, municipality, or reindeer herder's cooperative) are not negotiations between equals. In addition to the unequal political and economic weight and capacities of the different parties, at stake is also epistemic inequality between experts and those with no prior experience and knowledge of mining and its consequences. The interviewees saw mining as a source of various insecurities regarding the future, as well as a source of some tensions within the Lappish communities. Most overwhelmingly, the interviewees were feeling environmentally insecure. Around two-thirds expected mining to cause major

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[70] Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, 262.
[71] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom," 561.
[72] E.g. Padel and Das, *Out of This Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel,* chapter 14.
[73] Håvard Halland, Martin Lokanc and Arvind Nair, with Sridar Padmanabhan Kannan, *The Extractive Industries Sector: Essentials for Economists, Public Finance Professionals, and Policy Makers* (Washington: The World Bank Group, 2015), 2.
[74] Knobblock and Petersson, "Restructuring and risk-reduction in mining: employment implications for northern Sweden", 73.
[75] Kröger, "Spatial Causalities in Resource Rushes: Notes from the Finnish Mining Boom", 566.

environmental damage in the longer run and feared that in the end it will spoil the Lapland they love. At the same time, most did not believe mining to bring any significant further increase in jobs or population in the region; rather the common view was that it would lead to a gradual future downturn of both.

Social work and the mining industry?

Social work perspectives on the mining industry have traditionally focused on issues such as the health and safety of miners, the family and community level impacts of the industry, need of social services and support in mining communities, community work, and developing alternative visions and sources of employment in retrograding mining regions. These fit with the person-in-environment perspective, one of the longstanding practice guiding principles in social work, which emphasizes the need to understand the life (challenges) of an individual within the interactive system of his or her multiple environments and relationships and their both enabling and disempowering features[76] [77]. However, while the approach appears at the outset holistic, social work especially in its (North American or European) professional forms has focused almost solely on the sphere of the social, leaving ecological or biophysical issues to other professionals[78].

Lately, the realization that social work could have a role to play in shaping a response to the environmental crisis together with the social and environmental justice issues that accompany it has gradually gained significance. The core of the emerging ecosocial orientation is that there is a need for a new ecosocial paradigm and sustainability transition in social work and beyond. The idea of the transition relies on economic de- and post-growth models of society and combines ecological, economic and social

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[76] Mary Ellen Kondrat, "Person-in-Environment," in *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (National Association of Social Workers and Oxford University Press, 2008). http://socialwork.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199975839.001.0001/acrefore-9780199975839-e-285. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199975839.013.285.Kondrat 2008,
[77] Kilpeläinen and Romakkaniemi, "Paikallisuus rakenteellisessa sosiaalityössä".
[78] Fred Besthorn, "Radical Ecologisms: Insights for Educating Social Workers in Ecological Activism and Social Justice", *Critical Social Work* 4 no. 1 (2003).

dimensions of development[79] [80]. While the transition has to be interdisciplinary and cut through different sectors of the society, social work can contribute particularly by its knowhow of the social and the societal embeddedness of changes[81] [82]. In so doing, it will deal largely with issues that in the human security discourse fall under the categories of economic, food, environmental and community security[83].

For the time being, the social welfare professionals interviewed in northern Finland saw ecosocial practice as a distant, although interesting dream; the present institutional contexts and ways to work simply leave neither time nor opportunities for such an orientation. Municipal social work in particular has many statutory obligations and time limits with which social workers must adhere. Therefore, ecosocial practice could more realistically be accommodated in different social and environmental movements[84]. Outside social work, niches of actual or potential ecosocial orientation (even if not named as such) exist in certain bureaus of public administration, such as in regional and municipal planning and development, or sometimes in projects[85]. The situation matches the observation of Coates and Gray[86], who point out that there are likely scores of other than social professionals doing environmental social work without realizing it or calling the work by that name.

Regarding the impacts of the mining industry, the interviewees did not consider mining to have much direct impact on the content of social or societal work in northern Finland, but acknowledged a number of indirect impacts. The latter included the currently good employment situation, as well as the scarcity and expensiveness of rented flats, causing

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[79] Matthies and Närhi, ”Ekososiaalinen lähestymistapa rakenteellisen sosiaalityön viitekehyksenä”.
[80] Matthies and Kati Närhi, ”Introduction. It is the time for social work and social policy research on ecosocial transition”.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Gautam Yadama, “Environment, Social Work, and Sustainable Development.” *Social Dialogue* (June 2013).
[83] E.g. UN, *Human Security in Theory and practice: Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*. (New York: United Nations, Human Security Unit, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2009). https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/HSU/Publications%20and%20Products/Human%20Security%20Tools/Human%20Security%20in%20Theory%20and%20Practice%20English.pdf.
[84] Matthies, Aila-Leena, “The conceptualization of ecosocial transition”, in *The Ecosocial Transition of Societies: The contribution of social work and social policy*, eds. Aila-Leena Matthies and Kati Närhi (London: Routledge, 2017).
[85] E.g. REGINA, *http://www.reginaproject.eu/about/*.
[86] John Coates and Mel Gray, “The Environment and Social Work: An Overview and Introduction (Quest Editorial*),” International Journal of Social Welfare* 21, no 3 (2012).

challenges for local poor people in need of housing. Mining has also increased the ethnic and cultural diversity of the people in the region. Most social professionals were able to memorize a case with a happy conclusion – a job in the mine – that had solved the economic problems of someone and her/his family. Generally, however, social professionals felt that the mining boom had not done much for the marginalized in the region; rather they work with "the same old heroes" as before the boom.

One of the issues discussed in relation to mining was time, particularly the rhythm of mining work in relation to the rhythms of the rest of the society. Some interviewees commented that the working schedules of the mineworkers, especially if consisting of a row of 12- hour shifts followed by several days off, do not match with the rhythm of the rest of the society or the weekly timetables (school, hobbies) of their family members. While some saw this as limiting mineworkers' possibilities to participate in the society as full-fledged citizens and family members, others pointed out the varied consequences for the service infrastructure. As the jobs in mines have brought new service users/customers, some services have extended their hours so that the mineworkers have access to them despite their working schedules. Municipal social work schedules were stretched, for example, to get the parties of a child protection case together or to get divorcing parents to the same table to agree on the arrangements for their child/children. It was also noted that for those mineworkers' children who need day care services 24/7, the best arrangement is often to stay in care several days and nights in a row during the time when the parent(s) work in night shift and need to rest during the day. Overall, time was an issue mostly in the context of current mining related situations and service needs rather than as a longer-term concern over the impacts of the mining industry.

Adhering to David Harvey's[87] claim that "all ecological and environmental projects are socio-economic projects" this article is grounded on the understanding that both the ecosocial/ environmental and future orientation should be further and rapidly developed in social work theory and practice. In this project, the question of resources and issues related with mineral extraction are part of the general unsustainability problem of current consumer lifestyles. As an outcome of modernity and indeed as "the archetypal example

[87] Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, 249.

of the optimism of the 20th century"[88], professional social work is not detached from the general lifestyle problems of western(ized) societies. Instead of trying to either ensure that the income of the poor is sufficient to participate in consumption (as aimed in some forms of social assistance) or to demand, in the name of ecological orthodoxy, that the poor should at least limit their consumption to the bare minimum, the ecosocial project is about far deeper structural and ideological changes in economy and society. The goal is putting sustainability and ultimately the survival of the humankind as the first priority.

In practice, a step towards a more ecosocial practice could be introducing and establishing a routine to consider the consequences of every act in view of different temporal, also long-term horizons, and thus eventually building strategic thinking into social work, and for that matter any type of employment and economic decision making. While an intergenerational or future orientation is implicit in current social work practice, for example, in the idea that investing in child protection brings returns during the later life of the child, otherwise the future orientation is barely explicated. Even the numerous practice guiding ethical principles and laws focus largely on ethical and just professional conduct in the here and now, leaving issues of intergenerational justice and responsibilities unarticulated.

In developing intergenerational and future oriented thinking, social work can both draw from and further contribute to the interdisciplinary future ethics discussion[89]. In the latter, one of the realizations is that combatting the ongoing ecological crisis is both a cognitive and affective challenge, the basic problem being the poor resonance between factual knowledge of the environmental degradation and the psychological operations of humans. Therefore, another step forward could be developing ways to work on the affective aspects of environmental woes together with individuals and communities. Noting the widespread sense of environmental insecurity regarding the future, why are we worried, and what could we do about it? What hinders us from acting? What does it mean to us and to our descendants if we do not act? As Sarah Amsler argues, one of the necessary tasks at stake is to generate spaces for radical hope. Among other things, this can be

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[88] Catherine McDonald, *Challenging Social Work: The Institutional Context of Practice* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 20.

[89] E.g. Stefan Skirmishire, "Introduction: How should we think about the future?" in *Future Ethics: Climate Change and Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Stefan Skirmshire (London: Continuum, 2010).

facilitated by nurturing people's (and one's own) capacity to imagine a radically different, yet possible and better world than the current one, without giving up the optimism that a change is possible[90]. In this mighty task, social work can build on its age-old tradition of empowerment and generate ways to challenge the prevailing political inertia and the apparent lack of alternatives. Furthermore, social work can promote and organize dialogue on, as well as test and further develop the yet marginal or alternative sustainable economic models[91] in collaboration with the service users.

Concluding notes

As discussed earlier, mineral extraction in Finland is backed up by pro-mining state politics that prioritizes foreign investment and consequent economic activities in the hope that they will bring employment and development to earlier economically stagnated areas. The essence of the pro-mining ethos, especially before the notable environmental and economic difficulties of the Talvivaara (renamed after liquidation to Terrafame) mine – initially launched as a flagship of green mining – has been that mining in Finland can and will be done in technologically advanced, risk-free, and even green ways. The assumption has been that the thorough administrative scrutiny preceding licenses to mine, as well as the expected high technological and geological know how of the companies involved, guarantee as good outcomes as possible in a world far from harmonious and perfect. Although the majority of the mines have been operated responsibly and without major environmental harms, the Talvivaara/Terrafame case proved that this cannot be taken for granted. Moreover, the long-term concerns regarding the consequences of mineral extraction remain largely unanswered.

The kind of conflicts that are typically associated with mining projects are not only contestations of power and (the unequal) division of the positive and negative impacts of mining, but also and essentially of different orientations to time and place. As Rob

[90] Sarah S. Amsler, "Bringing hope 'to crisis' Crisis thinking, ethical action and social change", in *Future Ethics: Climate Change and Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Stefan Skirmishire, (London: Continuum, 2010).
[91] For an example of the latter, see Maria Joutsenvirta, Tuuli Hirvilammi, Marko Ulvila and Kristoffer Wilén, *Talous kasvun jälkeen* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2016).

Nixon[92] explicates, activities in a given time and place enmesh with different temporal and political contexts: places of today are the outcomes of long processes of formation. Likewise, the entirety of the impacts of the current activities and decisions will emerge only at the course of time. When official political and economic estimations value certain places based on their prevailing economic value and opportunities available, these often clash with longer-term cultural and economic principles and orientations to life, land, sustainability and security.[93] From the latter angle, for example, resource nationalism is neither selfishness nor a politico-economic catastrophe, but wise economic management. In Finland, despite critical voices, the fact that (after the production costs) the mining companies get the minerals free of charge has thus far not resulted in serious political or economic reconsideration. Another issue is that not everything that could be taken out of the earth has to be utilized by the current generation.

Notwithstanding the current dependence of humanity and Finnish society on the availability of cheap minerals as the material basis of mainstream consumer lifestyles, the ultimate ecosocial mission is to address the problems of the prevailing, ecologically and ultimately socially and economically destructive political and economic order. Regarding mineral extraction, the goal can be nothing less than a radical reduction in the mineral consumption and dependence of societies. Although the extraction of minerals cannot be fully avoided, the processes of production as well as the pricing, including profit sharing, of minerals should be renewed according to the principles of global intergenerational social and environmental justice. While such a reconstruction would make minerals far more expensive than nowadays, it would also make their recycling and sparing use a matter of course. Even if the mission is, for the time being, utopian, the idea is that the world needs utopian solutions and that finding ways to realize them is necessary for future peace and security. In the end, at stake is positive peace, which involves peaceful coexistence, wellbeing, and a safe environment in the Arctic region[94] and beyond.

To conclude, the standpoint of this article has been that social work as discipline, profession, and movement could contribute to the realization of human security in different contexts and levels, although this requires rethinking and reorganization in

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[92] Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*.
[93] Ibid.
[94] E.g. Teemu Palosaari, ”Pohjoisnapa sulaa kaikessa rauhassa”, *Futura* 1 (2013): 46, 50.

social work itself. Both social work and human security seek ways to respond to the ongoing problems of individuals and communities, and in so doing aim to understand the vulnerabilities of particular groups in their particular situations and localities. In principle, both can expand their concerns over the future and not only current generations, even if there is much to do in the development of ethical and policy languages and practices that are recognizable to and that can mobilize people worldwide[95]. In short, when a more economically, ecologically and socially sustainable, just and secure world is not possible without locally based just, sustainable and secure solutions, social work can engage in carving them out[96] [97] [98]. Joining hands with the human security approach now requires mutual recognition of the overlap of interests and the potential for collaboration.

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[95] Regarding human security, see Des Gaspar, “Climate Change: The Need for a Human Rights Agenda within a Framework of Shared Human Security”, *Social Research* 79 no. (2012):1008; and social work, see Ranta-Tyrkkö, ”Ihmisoikeudet ja sosiaalityö globaalien kriisien maailmassa”, 290-296).

[96] Lena Dominelli, *Green Social Work: From Environmental Crises to Environmental Justice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

[97] Michael Lavalette, “Conceptualizing Popular Social Work in the Context of War: Lessons from Lebanon and Palestine”, in *Global Social Transformation and Social Action: the Role of Social Workers. Social Work – Social Development Volume III*, ed. Sven Hessle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 197-209.

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