‘*Digging deep*’ inside post-migration social care and caring: A critical realist relational sociological analysis of service providers’ and service users’ experiences in the settlement and integration sector in Ontario/Canada

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Doctorate in Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This doctoral research project explores the complexities implicated in 'modernized' publicly-funded and regulated settlement and integration services offered at an organization located in Ontario/Canada. Specifically, it delves into the structural, cultural, agential and reflexive dynamics emerging at this particular site and manifestation of post-migration social care. It also focalizes on the nature and purpose of social relations arising from this social service architecture. It especially considers the experiences of people whose lives were contoured by refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood. This research effort draws on participations, observations, interviews and documents from an organizational ethnography conducted in 2015, or under the Conservative Government of Stephen Harper. It uses a critical realist relational sociological framework to make sense of research data. Overall, it contributes to forced migration and post-migration social care/work scholarship through the use of an innovative meta/theoretical lens that detains multiple and diverse intricacies that are often left out by researchers working on the newcomer-serving sector. As the title indicates, this contribution is driven by the metaphor of '*digging deep*' that probes the ontological social realities beyond those of the directly visible/observable.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce projet de recherche doctorale en sciences sociales explore la complexité des services d'établissement et d'intégration « modernisés » financés et réglementés par le secteur publique et offerts dans un organisme desservant des populations de nouveaux arrivants en Ontario/Canada. Plus précisément, il plonge dans la dynamique structurelle, culturelle, réflexive et d'agentivité émergeant de ce site et de cette prise en charge sociale post-migratoire. Il se concentre également sur la nature et la visée des relations sociales qui découlent de cette architecture du service social. Il considère particulièrement les expériences de personnes dont la vie a été marquée par le statut de réfugié, de jeune et d'usager de services/de client. Cet effort de recherche s'appuie sur des participations, des observations, des entretiens et la documentation d'une ethnographie organisationnelle menée en 2015, ou sous le gouvernement conservateur de Stephen Harper. Il utilise le cadre théorique de la sociologie relationnelle réaliste critique pour donner un sens aux données de recherche. Dans l'ensemble, cette thèse contribue à la recherche sur la migration et le travail/aide social/e grâce l'utilisation d'une lentille méta/théorique innovante qui capte des subtilités multiples et diverses souvent laissées de côté par les chercheur-e-s travaillant dans le secteur des services aux nouveaux arrivants. Comme le titre l'indique, cette contribution est motivée par la métaphore de « *creuser profondément* » qui sonde les réalités ontologiques au-delà de celles du directement visible/observable.

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DEDICATION

"Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and rightdoing,
there is a field. I'll meet you there.
When the soul lies down in that grass,
the world is too full to talk about.
Ideas, language, even the phrase "each other"
doesn't make any sense.
The breeze at dawn has secrets to tell you.
Don't go back to sleep.
You must ask for what you really want.
Don't go back to sleep.
People are going back and forth across the doorsill
where the two worlds touch.
The door is round and open.
Don't go back to sleep."
– Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī, *A Great Wagon*

"You are the way and the wayfarers.
And when one of you falls down he falls for those
behind him, a caution against the stumbling stone.
Ay, and he falls for those ahead of him, who though
faster and surer of foot, yet removed not the stumbling
stone."
– Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet*

"The savage hatred I feel for crowds is getting worse,
natural enemies that they are of imagination and of thought."
– Isabel Eberhardt, *The Nomad: The Diaries of Isabel Eberhardt*

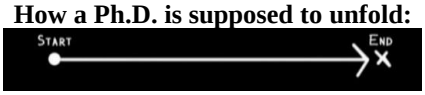
"Attention is the rarest and purest form of generosity."
– Simone Weil, *Gravity and Grace*

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to the people who have so generously shared aspects of their lives with me and have permitted the inclusion of fragments of their biographies in here. Some of them have endured multiple and serious hardships. I hope that their willingness to express their structured, cultured and peopled experiences inspire a more critical analysis in social science and social care/work research, pedagogy, policy, practice and everyday human social life.

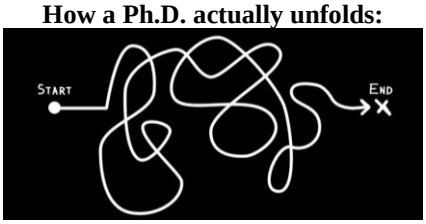
This doctoral research work is also dedicated to every person who acknowledges and honours the relationality of life which inspires the need for care for human and non-human/natural realms through values of interdependence, nurturance and solidarity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

How a Ph.D. is supposed to unfold:



How a Ph.D. actually unfolds:



Inside the doctoral pandemonium

The completion of a doctoral degree is not a linear, straightforward and solitary undertaking. Acknowledgements should then "dismantle the myth of the lone, self-contained genius-at-work, and instead expose the messy interplay of institutional support, finances, intellectual genealogies, and interpersonal chaos that shape how an idea is brought into the world" (Callaci, 2020, p. 127). Moreover, "writing righteous, comradely acknowledgments is a great thing to do, but it also costs nothing" (p.130). So, a less sanitized account is always somewhat risky.

This doctoral journey consisted of ups and downs, ins and outs, lefts and rights, sharps and flats, highs and lows as well as presences and absences. They were experienced with my dear life companion in a tiny one-bedroom unit on the twentieth floor of a troubled downtown high-rise building located in a fairly new to us city/province. They were generated by un/expected events in our lives and the lives of our family members and friends as well as others who were implicated in this endeavour. They also included local and global incidents that in/directly affected/affect our daily realities (*most dramatically, Covid-19 is ravaging the world as I am typing this*). While it is impossible to remember and/or document all meaningful episodes, many are unforgettable.

My entry into the doctoral program was exhilarating. Although I aspired to do a Ph.D. for some time, I did not suspect that it would *really* happen. While it is true that getting to the doctoral level requires hard work, it is also hard to fully eradicate the social-cultural nurturing received in a manual working-class immigrant family like mine. My technical college-educated parents saw my education as a path to upwards mobility; so, the pressure to perform was strong at home. For me, a lonely only child, the pursuit of knowledge became an escape from the harshness of human social life; it was also driven by a desire to understand it. I thus dedicated a sizeable portion of my existence to institutionally-led/schooled and self-directed/de-schooled learning. I did not, however, *just* bury myself in books: I was moved by "seriousness", or "being able to walk one's talk" (Bhaskar, 2013, p. 11). I volunteered and joined intervention-based programs; I derived my existential purpose from helping. The Ph.D. brought a new experience: my appetite for knowledge was mutating into a source of malaise. It was enabled by more advanced interrogations but also a working-class guilt upheld by parental messages (*when are you getting a 'real' job?*). I battled an impulse to quit and queried my belonging in academia. Over the years, I also witnessed its metamorphosis what amplified my discomforts: "the university has moved from being a temple of

knowledge to a factory for the production of credentials, and higher education has changed from an elite club to a mass-market phenomenon" (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2017, p. 116).

On an experiential level, the Ph.D. was a fulfilling but an arduous assignment. I interacted with a wide ideational universe that deepened my understanding of the complex human social condition-in-nature *way beyond* my subject. I ventured into unfamiliar territories (e.g., philosophy of science, sociology, social science research design, etc.). I also secured funding from the SSHRC and engaged in part-time professorship. Overall, I did things I thought I could never do and/or that others made me feel I cannot do or that they said are materially worthless (as they do not guarantee a 'return on investment').

While the 'life of the mind' is thrilling as it allows a meaningful life, the Ph.D. comes with struggles and sacrifices. On a personal level, I travelled to the abyss of loneliness. Most people near me progressed in a socially endorsed fashion with well-choreographed schedules and paycheques. Aside from feeling deserted by mainstream society, I also had no access to an informal group to untangle my complex musings. As a slow thinker who processes dense information by 'thinking out loud'[1], this was agonizing. While my research supervisor always made herself available, it is neither viable nor humane to ask for such an intensive support from one person. The Ph.D. also affects, to various degrees, everyone in the immediate social relational web. It led to declined social invitations, disappointments and frustrations – some of which might never be entirely forgiven and/or forgotten. It also inserts itself into situated and evolving lives; hence, it can never be fully controlled by a doctoral student.

Figure 1: Doctoral social isolation, doodles

During this doctorate, my spouse and I faced his job transitions, an international travel to visit his nearly centenarian grandmother (and her recent passing), relocations and marriages of his sisters, our fathers' hospitalizations, the adoption and loss of our beloved cat, births of our best friends' children, my laptop crash and loss of data, etc. Our housing situation was perhaps the most eventful. We experienced: countless false fire alarms, a severe fire which temporarily displaced all tenants, unexpected water shutdowns, gun shots in the front entry, a tenant's window suicide, broken laundry machines and elevators, getting trapped in an elevator, stolen parking lots, hostile or noisy neighbours (so sleepless nights), vulgar staff, multiple management changes and extreme construction sounds inside the edifice and in the environs. While we made efforts to move out, the scandalously rising prices of real estate mixed with my doctoral position kept us prisoners in this

[1] Muniroh (2019) demonstrates the usefulness of "thinking out loud" as "an effective strategy for doctoral students to maintain their emotional wellbeing during their studies" (p. 113).

dwelling[2]. The instinct to quit was intensifying[3], especially after the termination of funding. Yet, my active search for full-time non-academic work was also failing. Hence, I became a prisoner of the Ph.D. itself. It is because of this imprisonment and my tenacity but chiefly because of my spouse's stable employment that I/we managed to reach the end.

It is now less awkward for me to disclose that this Ph.D. has a *long* life: it began in 2012 and is ending in 2021. This is an anomaly in the contemporary neoliberal capitalist university (*though so is Covid-19 which has affected my progress in 2020*). I did not, however, enter graduate school with an intention to work for the market, the state, or the market-state. As a matter of fact, my ambition was to evade them (though never totally). At first, this was not intentional: since I was neither raised in a business nor a bureaucratic family, those realms felt alien to me. Then, with maturity, I grasped the social relational pathologies they are generating. Academia appeared, at that time, as an appealing option: "No, we don't always "get things done" at the university; we think and question and critique. Often, our best contribution is not that we answer questions; it is that we can reframe the debate. We study and research and think again. Society needs that" (Wood, 2015, p. 227). Partly driven by a conscious resistance ("Fuck Neoliberalism" (Springer, 2016, p. 285)) which was stirred by a duty to share my time with close to me people, I refused to commodify my doctoral student status/degree (though I would have possibly profited if I did).

Figure 2: Disappearance of the dinner table

Appreciation of co-travellers

I have not journeyed alone during this Ph.D.; many people co-travelled with me. Some of them were intensely immersed in it, some were more distant, and some observed from afar. Others were influential strangers. Some were met prior to it and some during it though in different spaces/ places and at different times. What follows is a heartfelt appreciation of you, my dear co-travellers, without whom none of this would have been achievable. While I present you in a certain order, in reality, it is hard, if not impossible, to order/measure relational influences[4].

[2] Ruming and Dowling (2017) discuss Ph.D. students' housing experiences; they claim that it is an important but under-researched area.

[3] Castelló et al. (2017) showed that one-third of a sample of doctoral students who were still enrolled had, at some point, intended to drop out.

[4] If I have omitted someone, please know that this is not intentional; it reflects my memory limitations.

Co-traveller through everyday life

Mo/Ahsan, you believe in me more than I believe in myself. You not only encouraged me to do the Ph.D. but have supported me through its happiest and darkest hours. Thank you for tolerating my prolonged fixation on this doctoral thesis and for the regular laughs, back massages, delicious meals, passionate exchanges, ETC. I know that you/we have forgone a lot for all this.

Co-travellers from École de service social and academic circles

Research supervisor: *Stéphanie*, thank you for accepting me as your doctoral student: you changed my life. Your ongoing encouragement and patience meant a lot! You helped me bring the best aspects of myself into my work. I admired your insights and the clarity of your feedback. I am especially grateful for the intellectual freedom that you have granted me. I also owe you my love of sociology. I will never forget the day when you attended my presentation (or co-presentation), even though your son was not feeling too well. The attention you give people is remarkable. Thank you for listening to my doctoral pains, writing reference letters, correcting my French texts, and SO much more. Last but not least, I have truly relished the occasional gatherings at your home: thank you for loosening the institutional boundaries between us and making me feel welcome.

***Thesis evaluation committee member*s:** *Christina, Marc, Nadia, Sheila*: Thank you for taking the time to read this thick and dense document, sharing your wisdom, and participating in the oral defense (with some technological hiccups). Your feedback allowed me to enhance the quality/ depth of this contribution and ease some self-doubts.

Professors and/or examiners and administrators: *Marc, Lilian, Nicolas*: I enjoyed the doctoral courses with you; you made me think in new ways. *Marc,* thank you for the reference letter for the funding application. *Nicolas,* I appreciated your participation in my comprehensive exam and project defense. I also want to thank *Cécile* for her valuable engagement during those times. *Dahlia*, thank you for your backing when we tried to create the methodology group. *Marguerite*, thank you for your uplifting words whenever we crossed paths; such little gestures had a huge impact! *Nérée*, I treasured our brief email exchanges; you are a person with a big heart. *Sonia,* thank you for your caring/encouraging words! *Hélène, Anne-Sophie, Sarah, Mélanie*: Thank you for answering my administrative questions and processing my countless 'demandes de service'. *Jacynthe*, thank you for your welcoming spirit.

Doctoral colleagues: A special shout-out to *Wendyam, Marie-Pier* and *Sylvie* (and dog *Nolan*): it was so enjoyable to share the early stages of the Ph.D. with you! *Corinna, Bianca, Patrick*: Thank you for your ongoing camaraderie and enduring my rants! *Katarine,* thank you for helping me with the research ethics application. *Caroline,* thank you for inviting us to your home to create some much-needed solidarity. *Valérie,* thank you for giving me an opportunity to teach when you were travelling; it was a 'huge deal' at that time. *Suzanna, Hélène, Claude, Martin*: I appreciated our sporadic chats!

Institution and funders: None of this would have been feasible without the existence of and support from the University of Ottawa. I am also profoundly grateful for the funding opportunity from the SSHRC. Thank you!

Academic scholars: I need to acknowledge the numerous great minds and spirits whom I have never met in person but who have shaped my intellectual inclinations. I especially want to thank the critical realists and relational sociologists whose publications provided precious answers to my philosophical questions in social science. A special thank you to *Fabio, Pierpaolo* and *Timothy* for their precious replies. I also want to recognize *David* and *Cristelle* – two professors from my earlier graduate studies who had a profound impact on me and without whom this Ph.D. would not have happened. Last but not least, thank you to *Jon* for some recent words of support.

Co-travellers from the research process

Thank you to everyone who in/directly participated in this research project – from the people who welcomed me at the research site and/or allowed me to shadow them to those who so generously contributed to the interviews. I will not name you for ethical reasons, but you know who you are! You are the backbone of this contribution. I will *always* remember you.

Co-travellers from familial networks

Mama and *Tata*, thank you for working so hard throughout your lives and recognizing the importance of education. Well, this is as far as it goes! *Auntie D.*, I would not have been able to get to this moment without your support. I enjoyed our frequent phone calls and fiery discussions. *Mama K.* and *Papa K.*, thank you for your unconditional love – you are the most beautiful souls that I have ever met. *Mahwash, Sumra, Sameer* and *Ali*: Thank you for listening to me during difficult times and motivating me! *Taha*, thank you for your good vibes! *Sana, Osman, Nina, Imran*: Thank you for the magnificent moments that we shared (trips, suppers, laundry adventures, childbirths, dancing, ETC.)! A special thank you to *Nina*, my sweetest and youngest pal ("*You can do it, auntie Madda, you can do it!"*).

Co-travellers from social relational networks

Shaheen, Shabaz, Natasha, Farida: Thank you for everything that you have done for me in my pre-Ph.D. life; one thing always leads to another. *Farhat, Rabia* and *Rahat*: I hugely appreciated our occasional meetups and stimulating chats around Kashmiri *chai*! *Ferrukh, Amena, Shawn, Riad, Eren, Shahla*: I was deeply impacted by our intense discussions; your intellect and compassion have touched me beyond words. *Fauzya* and *Bibi*, thank you for the delicious meals and your inclusive spirit. *Alia* and *Murray,* thank you for the invites to your awesome farm – you are an inspiration. *Shakib*, you once told me: "A Ph.D. is like *laddu* [Indian sweet]. You regret it if you eat it, you regret it if you don't." YES! *Inge, Fred, Sertac, Fahri*: Thank you for inspiring me along the way; I secretly aspired to be like you! *Amanda, Yasmina, Shehnaz, Assma, Stéphane, Samoon, William, Anna, Jacqui, Rizwan, Sameer Z., Sana S.:* Thank you for being part of my journey in one way or another; our exchanges – prior and/or during the Ph.D. – meant a lot to me! *Christina, Rafat, Tanya, Amber, Lisa*: You are in my heart forever.

Co-travellers from past and present professional networks

Bertha, our regular messaging was so uplifting; thank you for seeing something special in me in your role as a manager and pushing me to do a Ph.D. I adore your extravagance; you are officially

the coolest person I have met in this grim city! *Carmen*, thank you for looking out for me; your reassurance and guidance meant/mean a lot! *Christie*, *Maria*, *Farrah*, *Renée*, *Jennifer*, *Chitra*, *Noah*: It was a real pleasure to work and learn with and/or from you. *Ana*, thank you for changing my daily life; hiring me renewed my self-confidence and purpose! *John*, *Claudine* and *Bushra*, thank you for the passionate talks and always being there for me! *Michelle* and *Jane*, thank you for your warm support; you are *the best* colleagues ever! *Kamilla*, *Wala'a*, *Elise*, *Lindsay*: Thank you for bringing some much-needed sunshine into my thesis writing life!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CED	Community Economic Development
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CSS	Client-Support Services
ED	Executive Director
GARs	Government-Assisted Refugees
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
OCASI	Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants
M/M Framework	Morphogenetic/Morphostatic Framework
NPM	New Public Management
RAP	Resettlement Assistance Program
SP	Settlement Program
SP	Service Provider
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
SU	Service User
TMSA	Transformational Model of Social Activity
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
YP	Youth Program
WRD	World Refugee Day

PROLEGOMENON: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT AND AN OVERVIEW OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

INTRODUCTION

This prolegomenon, or critical prologue, carries a dual purpose. First, it begins from the obvious premise that no doctoral degree simply appears in one's life by sheer happenstance even though, like other events, it surfaces from an enigmatic alignment of circumstances[5]. The opening part of this initial chapter then penetrates into my situated biography in an autoethnographic fashion to reveal how various material and ideational circumstances as well as people have led me to it and affected its progression[6]. Any research project is "shaped by the totality of experience surrounding the researcher"; this entails "the official and public aspects of the research, that which is often reported in the literature, and the informal, private and unofficial". An autoethnographic reflection on the involvement in social science research appears as "the only way to make explicit the complexity of the lived experience of epistemological and methodological choice" (Botterill, 2003, p. 98). Accordingly, this social-cultural biographical *exposé* not only shows how this doctoral thesis began from and fits into my life-course but allows to make sense of the directions taken in it. This also challenges the decontextualization of the Ph.D. which merely reduces it to "inputs, outputs, and milestones" (Stanley, 2015, p. 143). It thus contests the present-day obsessive prioritization of student employability that fosters a view of learners as mere "players in a market" (Kahn, 2017, p. 368). It is, of course, impossible to cover all biographical aspects here; selective choices are made, filtered through the present. They not only feel safe to share but are part of a rehearsed repertoire for certain audiences; some 'chunks of life' then remain un/intentionally unstated. The second part of this chapter provides an overview of the doctoral research project and a review of the upcoming eight chapters that make up this contribution.

[5] For example, I attempted to switch into a research stream of the Master's degree in Educational Counselling in order to possibly pursue a Ph.D. in the same field; this did not work out. I later approached another local university about a Ph.D. in Social Work but was pushed away because I did not have a Master's in Social Work. These events led me to explore other options which took me to this undertaking.

[6] This is informed by the conceptual framework adopted in this thesis – a critical realist relational sociology.

1. BORN FROM WEBS OF RELATIONS

This doctorate arose from innumerable im/op/posed and re/created relationalities emerging over nearly four decades of my life in an epoch whose name is disputed[7]. It is indisputable, however, that it encompasses polycrises[8] that endanger all life, that is, a bewildering network of mutually-sustaining and mainly human-made afflictions (Naidoo, 2015). They are notably entrenched in histories of settler-colonialism and entwined with the destruction of Indigenous life-worlds (Davis et al., 2019; Erickson, 2020). Specifically, the dynamically nonlinear path towards this Ph.D. surfaced from an expansion of my sited critical relational awareness (self-awareness, other-awareness, an awareness of the impact of my self on others, an awareness of the impact of others on my self, etc.). It provoked many transitions, turning points and bifurcations in my engagement with the world. More concretely, this trajectory evolved from an archipelago of social bonds moulded by material and ideational contexts which included natal, familial, amical, communal, educational, occupational, recreational, etc. webs. Each was created on the other, by the other, with the other, against the other; none can be grasped alone. They occurred on/in two continents (East-Central Europe, North America), two nation-states (Poland, Canada), two Canadian provinces (Québec, Ontario) and three cities (Warsaw, Montréal, Ottawa); they also included leisure local and global travels (e.g., Morocco, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom).

My early childhood in *Polska* [Poland] was communized[9] and de-communized as well as de-Christianized and re-Christianized, that is, it was first affected by the movements of anticlerics/atheists/secularists/freethinkers and later by institutionalized Roman Catholicism (Hoffmann & Tyrała, 2020). In addition, it was sculpted by urban and rural, or peasant/natural, settings with people, mainly from the manual working-class, who self-presented in similar/same ways. Then, my circumstances as a child e/im-migrant parented by struggling e/im-migrants and nurtured by a maternal aunt in French and English, Roman Catholic and Protestant Canada, also a settled-colonized land and 'cultural mosaic', a life partner to a man who left Pakistan as a child with his

[7] It is referred to as (in alphabetical order): Anthrobscene, Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Chthulucene, Eeconocene, Manthropocene, Misanthropocene, Oliganthropocene, Plantationocene and Technocene. See Erickson (2020) for a discussion of these concepts.

[8] The term is attributed to Edgar Morin (e.g., 1999) and his work on complexity; it speaks to a situation where there is no single problem but a series of intersecting and interconnected problems.

[9] Communism denotes here the Marxist-Leninist brand of socialism in East-Central Europe; it differs from other types of socialist ideologies and tends to be viewed as repressive/totalitarian.

family, and abundant friendships with diverse e/im-migrants were highly influential. The experiences of a devoted pupil of the human and social sciences but also of a wannabe visual artist and social activist also played an enormous role. Moreover, many hours of volunteering mixed with paid work in the third sector, mostly with otherized (migrantized and/or minoritized/ racialized) young people, were pivotal. Overall, my varied de/re/socializations in distinct spatial-temporal localities and with diverse people urged me to contemplate on the human social condition in nature early on. I came 'head-and-heart-on' with a complexity that generates mysteries: "Complexity fascinates and confounds" (Chia, 2011, p. 182). This secured the ground for my persistent interest in in-betweenness, connectedness, encounter, dialogue, etc. that birthed a preoccupation with pro-social relationality, or good/ethical human social coexistence in nature.

Navigating inside multiverses

I was born in a small family in Poland at the onset of the 1980s under martial law. It was enforced by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the leader of the communist Polish United Workers' Party, to halt the opposition led by an independent/self-governing trade union *Solidarność* [Solidarity]. It fought "a privileged class that monopolised political power and absorbed much of the wealth the workers produced" and the domination of the Soviet Union (Bloom, 2013, p. 2). Martial law lasted 585 days: a curfew was imposed, telephones were turned off, and the borders were shut; thousands of militants were arrested. My father was unable to attend my hospital birth. This was not unusual: Polish history perspires with protests, petitions, riots, and revolts. Collective civic discontent by non-elites was often used to apply political pressure and shield mutual concerns. In the following years, communist officials and anti-communist resisters joined in more power struggles. In 1989, the formation of a *Solidarność*-led government ceased fifty years of communist rule; it set Poland on the path towards a liberal democracy and a market economy (Ekiert & Kubik, 2004; Gebert, 1990). I still remember the 1989 election when Lech Wałęsa, Solidarity's leader, declared victory: my *babcia* [grandma] and I were glued to a black-and-white TV screen; life, however, suddenly felt colorful. The Roman Catholic Church also emerged as "an institution with a strong moral authority and robust structure" (Kowalczyk, 2012, p. 380). There was a renewed zeal to return to an "untainted-by-communism" Polishness; it birthed "a state increasingly religious in character and the consequent dismantling of any communist law or policy

that contradicted Catholicism" (Renne, 2018, p. 1). So, the first eight years of my childhood were defined by communism, then its historic fall, and, prior to my departure in 1991, post-communism which included institutionalized religion[10]. My parents devised a plan to migrate to Canada in the 1980s with the help of a maternal aunt who left in the 1970s. I dimly recall, but was surely told about, the suffering, resilience and ingenuity of my working-class family during a period of a harsh deterioration in politics and economics. In June 1976, close to a million people protested in the streets against food price rises backed by state-communists and were met with police brutality (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). Daily goods, often of poor quality, were rationed and scarce what led to absurd queueing and surges in black markets. Overcrowded living, divorce, alcohol-related harms, etc. were pervasive; images of intoxicated men on park benches still horrify me. Western products were idealized; they were sold in *Pewex*, a chain of small private boutiques, and could only be bought with Western cash or state-made 'Polish dollars' (Sidorenko, 2014). They induced social envy and division. I felt elated when, on rare occasion, I savoured a glass-bottled Coca-Cola, or was gifted second-hand Barbie dolls and western clothes via my aunt's Canadian contacts (ironically, I later criticized/still criticize these items for their toxicity; Figure 13). Scarcity was offset with resourcefulness: people managed the shortages of goods via an informal economy; consumption was tied to "extended networks of both relatives and close friends" (Mazurek, 2012, p. 1). So, when my parents could not find a winter jacket for me, my paternal grandmother stitched one from her own. My maternal grandparents who owned a 'self-help garden' with poultry, vegetables and fruits were a vital source of sporadic help to the family. Social disparities were then related to a split between "those who had connections and access to goods outside of normal distribution" and those who did not and/or could not develop them (p. 7).

I lived an "Old-School Zero Waste" life (Zakrzewki, 2019) in a two-bedroom unit, in a block of flats, with thick concrete walls, where I experienced a gradual "domestication of technology"[11] (e.g., we acquired a rotary telephone when I was seven years old) (Zalewska, 2020, p. 220). I shared this space with my technical college educated parents (entry to higher education

[10] While institutionalized religion is a vital player in recorded Polish history since 966, or when ruler Mieszko I accepted Christianity from Rome for political motives (so as to integrate Poland into European culture), and it was crucial in the absence of the state (1795-1918), or when its territory was split between Russia, Prussia and Austria, it became an avid "defender of the nation" against communism (Kowalczyk, 2012, p. 378). It is tied to a "tradition of rebellion against foreign invasion", or efforts to denationalize the Poles, chiefly via Sovietization (Kubow, 2013, p. 5).

[11] This refers to the intrusion of "technical infrastructure, household appliances, and audio/video devices into households" (Zalewska, 2020, p. 220).

was limited[12]) and my paternal grandmother. We resided in *Warszawa* [Warsaw], the capital and largest city of Poland, in the *osiedle*, or "the most common arrangement of housing in Polish cities and towns during the communist period" (Podemski, 1995, p. 171), of *Ochota*. In 1944, this district saw brutal German-coordinated massacres devised to depopulate it[13]. *Zieleniak*, a fresh produce market that my *babcia* and I visited weekly, always with a straw basket, became, back then, a transition camp for displaced and abused civilians (Basista, 2013). Our familial structure persisted until my parents' individual migrations (prior to their, and then our, reunion in Canada). My *babcia* (born in 1929) and I stayed alone for about two years. This intergenerational bond was seminal given the parents-child separation; it also acted as a site of knowledge transmission (e.g., I still cook *zupa zacierkowa*, a soup with origins in old rural Polish cuisine, that she made for me). Since she earned a humble income as a seamstress, I grew up around sewing paraphernalia, strangers' visits and her long hours of physical labour with severe backaches. She lost her husband to a heart attack when my father was a teenager and struggled ever since as a single mother with two children. Since she lived with us, she also became my beloved caretaker.

My mother returned to her job at an office in a small firm once her maternity leave was over. I joined a public *przedszkole* [preschool] at the age of three. The family/gender ideology of communist Poland stressed female participation in paid labour[14]. While women and men were formally bestowed equal educational and political rights, they remained unevenly responsible for childcare and housework and occupied less prestigious/underpaid positions/professions/industries (Fidelis, 2004; Fodor, et al., 2002; Kmita, 2016; Kostera et al., 1994). Then, in the post-1989 era, new policies urged women to officially return to domesticity; this was a way to combat communism (Saxonberg & Szelew, 2007; Renne, 2018). Yet, ordinary life under communism was not *all* "hardship and gloom", as my own mother confessed. Young single women partook in "moderate consumerism" and "educational leisure", and carved individual curiosities (Fidelis, 2009, p. 172). I was surrounded by unique women: an urban chic aunt with nails always painted in red who introduced me to fancy bubble baths, a rural strict aunt infatuated with her garden and

[12] "Only the most gifted and the best prepared candidates whose motivation for studying was really strong were eventually admitted to university" (Wnuk-Lipińska, 1990, p. 409).
[13] See the 'Ochota massacre' (1944).
[14] "In postwar Poland, the workplace became a prominent site for social experimentation regarding the equality of the sexes and the everyday experiences of gender relations" (Fidelis, 2004, p. 301). "Communism was supposed to put an end to all kinds of discrimination. One of these was to be discrimination on grounds of gender. In the communist society women would be recognized as equal citizens: they would be granted equal rights by law, among others the right to work and equal pay" (Kostera, Proppe, & Szatkowski, 1994).

with no bathtub for years, and a religious aunt who worked as a head nurse. While loving and witty, my *babcia* was not a docile matriarch: she was a hardcore smoker, made *nalewka* [traditional Polish fruit liqueur], bargained at the bazaar, swore when she had to, and bleached her hair platinum blond; she also had an impressive collection of cork platform shoes. Overall, I never felt particularly limited because of my gender when growing up[15]. In fact, I recall the celebration of female genius: I was told of Maria Skłodowska, then Marie Curie, the first woman to win a Nobel prize in natural sciences (among her other triumphs). To be fair, however, the systemic barriers faced by women were omitted in these accounts (Owens, 2009).

I spent my spare time with friends acquired via relations with neighbours on a *podwórko*, or a common courtyard circled by blocks of flats, where we often mingled around a *trzepak*, a communal rug beater metal frame. A collectivist *modus vivendi* permeated dailyness: it was natural to ask a nearby dweller for sugar or childcare. During summers, I exited urban life and stayed with family in rural areas where I experienced small-town living in union with nature, or the peasantry. My *cioteczny brat* [male cousin/son of my father's sister][16] and I chased butterflies across pastures and operated an imaginary flower shop with gathered wildflowers (and a few that we secretly seized from private gardens). I learned about the origins of food (witnessed animal slaughter, etc.), a homemade culture, and survival (used a bucket as a toilet/bathtub, foraged for mushrooms, etc.). I equate my Polish childhood with creative freedom, or lots of unsupervised, perhaps hazardous, free play that aroused the imagination; this diverges from neoliberal capitalist childrearing practices fixated on risk evasion, rivalry, etc. (Sidorenko, 2014). My public education immersed me in communist/secularized/laicized rites: "A celebration for becoming a first-grade student, celebrative assemblies, school anthems, celebrating children's name days or such new holidays as Saint Andrew's or Saint Nicolaus's". State-endorsed holidays were vital (Women's Day, Teacher's Day, Polish Army Day, etc.) (Hoffmann & Tyrała, 2020, p. 188). I was also baptised as a newborn and, in grade one, obliged to go to church every Sunday by a despotic and cold nun who verified our attendance[17]. I had to partake in religious processions and the First Holy Communion. One day, a replica of the most revered national icon – a giant portrait of the Black Madonna and Child – was circulated from neighbour to neighbour and made its way into our flat.

[15] Polish society values education. For example, the first Ministry of Education (Commission on National Education) in European history was created in Poland by King Stanislaw II August in 1773 (Kurdybacha, 2006).
[16] See Parkin (1995) for a discussion on the transformation of Polish kinship terminology.
[17] The church devised a system of distributing notes at the doorway which were supposed to be glued in a notebook.

I was told to pray to a tinier edition of this enigmatic figure at every bedtime (Oleszkiewicz-Peralda, 2007; Moss & Cappannari, 1953). The church then organized a pilgrimage to *Jasna Góra* Monastery in *Częstochowa* to see the 'authentic' one. We were also heavily indoctrinated with Slavic Paganism[18]. We partook, for example, in the ritual of summoning the spring which consisted of drowning in a river an effigy made of twigs that symbolizes *Marzanna*, a Slavic goddess, or in *śmigus dyngus*, a national water fight day. Religious practices also exhibited Pagan ideas (e.g., blessing of a basket filled with painted eggs, salt, bread, etc. by a priest at Easter).

Figure 3: First communion, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

Figure 4: Religious procession, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

Figure 5: Nativity play, Roman Catholic Church, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

[18] *Rodzimowierstwo* [Native Faith] is a polytheistic spirituality anchored in pre-Christian Slavic traditions practiced in contemporary Poland; those who partake in this movement worship Slavic gods (Simpson, 2016).

Figure 6: Celebration of becoming a first grader, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

Figure 7: First grade class, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

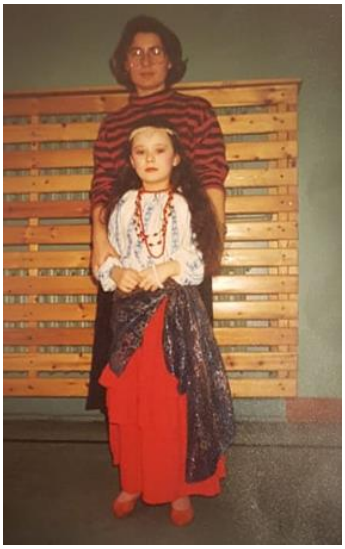


Figure 8: Annual *bal karnawałowy* [carnival ball], with first grade teacher, Warsaw/Poland, 1990

Figure 9: Summer in rural Poland, 1990

This Pagan-Christian mix spoke to Poland's need to defend religion; it is tied to a restored interest in the Slavic culture, or an indigenous Polish culture, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or when Europeans were searching for their national identities. Adam Czarnocki (1784-1825)[19] pioneered the idea of a "duality of culture in Poland, a native Slavic culture and an imported Latin culture" and theorized that "the original homeland of the Slavs was near Indego Stan/Indostan", or India, which they exited in the sixth century to inhabit "almost half of Europe" (Gajda, 2014, p. 47; Lehr, 2013)[20]. Yet, the Slavs remain people of mysterious roots: "The location of the original

[19] A Polish ethnographer, archaeologist, historian and Slavophile better known as Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski.
[20] There is an important scholarship on the kinship between Sanskrit and Slavic languages, including Polish.

homeland of the ancient Slavs is unknown". The birth of Slavic Paganism is also contested (Aitamurto & Simpson, 2014; Santos Marinas, 2013; Kalik & Uchitel, 2018, p. 9; Kohut, 2008).

Post-migration dis/continuities and transformations

Upon my arrival in Montréal/Québec – my adoptive home in Canada – in the Fall of 1991, I faced, once again, a nationalism-religion nexus[21]. It involved the struggles of French Canadians against Britannic/Anglo-Saxon imperialism/conformism (Breton, 1988). I was put for one year in a *classe d'accueil*, or an elementary-level reception class for newcomers. This educational model was part of Québec's mission to assimilate immigrants into its French and Roman Catholic society, backed by the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) (Breton-Carbonneau & Cleghorn, 2010). For me, it denoted my very first direct contact with children from 'around the world' and various peculiarities (yellow school bus, water fountains, juice boxes instead of a *termos* [thermos] with *herbata* [tea], etc.).

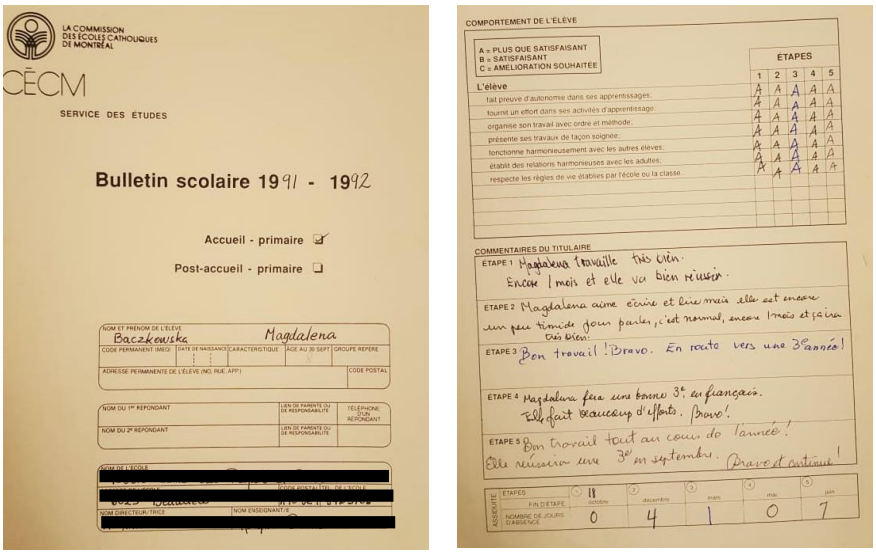

LA COMMISSION DES ÉCOLES CATHOLIQUES DE MONTRÉAL
CÉCM
SERVICE DES ÉTUDES
Bulletin scolaire 1991 - 1992
Accueil - primaire ☑
Post-accueil - primaire ☐
Baczkowska
Magdalena
COMPORTEMENT DE L'ÉLÈVE
A = PLUS QUE SATISFAISANT
B = SATISFAISANT
C = AMÉLIORATION SOUHAITÉE
ÉTAPES
L'élève
fait preuve d'autonomie dans ses apprentissages;
fournit un effort dans ses activités d'apprentissage;
organise son travail avec ordre et méthode;
présente ses travaux de façon soignée;
fonctionne harmonieusement avec les autres élèves;
établit des relations harmonieuses avec les adultes;
respecte les règles de vie établies par l'école ou la classe.
COMMENTAIRES DU TITULAIRE
ÉTAPE 1 Magdalena travaille très bien. Encore 1 mois et elle va bien réussir.
ÉTAPE 2 Magdalena aime écrire et lire mais elle est encore un peu timide pour parler, c'est normal, encore 1 mois et ça va très bien!
ÉTAPE 3 Bon travail! Bravo. En route vers une 3e année!
ÉTAPE 4 Magdalena fera une bonne 3e en français. Elle fait beaucoup d'efforts. Bravo!
ÉTAPE 5 Bon travail tout au cours de l'année! Elle réussira une 3e en septembre. Bravo et continue!
ABSENCES
ÉTAPES
FIN D'ÉTAPE
NOMBRE DE JOURS D'ABSENCE
11 octobre
décembre
mars
mai
juin
0
4
1
0
7

Figure 10: First report card, classe d'accueil [welcome class], Montréal/Québec, 1991

My link to Poland was extended by a multiyear weekly attendance in a Polish Saturday School[22], where I studied Polish literature, history and geography as well as religion and math. This was part of my parents' contingency plan. So, I spent five days in a Québécois/Canadian school and one

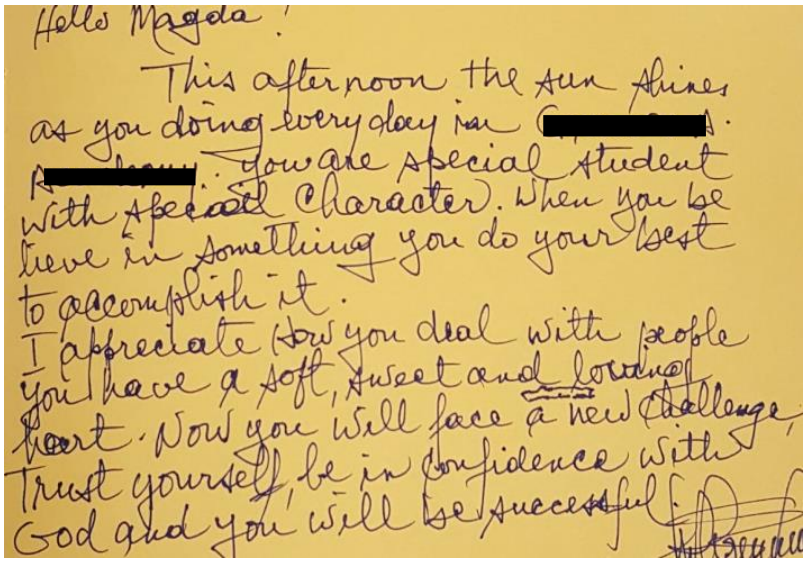
[21] While Poland saw their re-connecting, Québec faced their de-connecting (Kozlowska, Béland & Lecours, 2016).
[22] Polish Saturday Schools exist in many countries (e.g., Zielińska, Kowzan & Ragnarsdóttir, 2014).

day in a Polish one what left little time for non-educational matters. As an isolated (since newly arrived) only child, I submerged myself in learning from paper books. I displayed studiousness and persistence: I routinely received recognition for good grades and conduct. In grade five, I was elected Class President and organized the first dance in the history of the primary school.

My nascent self-confidence was then perturbed during the first two years of high school in a French semi-private school located near a posh neighborhood with many affluent kids; I never felt more out of place. I left from, and returned to, a two-bedroom and mold-infested apartment in Ville-Émard, a working-class district (we moved to a different area when I began college), where I was once shamed by a teenager for wearing a school uniform. My parents, working hard to survive and unable to speak French, could not give me quality attention. Due to my mother's wish for me to master English, I then transferred to the cheapest but fully private English high school (due to Bill 101); it happened to be of a distinct Protestant Christian denomination (other English private schools were too costly). It is where my spouse and I met and are together since. The small student body comprised of many newcomers from working-class families, largely from Asia (Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, etc.). I stood out: I was the only light-skinned girl in class and nearly in all of the school. I was thus a visible minority in this microcosm, itself a minoritized community in the wider society. Nearly all of our teachers and administrators were Afro-Caribbean and African and so were my dear mentors: a bold and wise female English teacher (who spoke Italian and loved French high-fashion) and a humorous and selfless male moral-religious education teacher-pastor. They both expressed genuine care though Ms. W. was known for 'tough love'[23]. She once scolded me for 'teeth-sucking', a habit deemed as rude among people of African descent (Samuel, 2015) which I somehow picked up from my peers. *"You're not Black"*, she said. This added to the confrontations I began to have with my whiteness, shades/hierarchies of whiteness[24] and "peripheral whiteness" (Safuta, 2018, p. 217)[25]. So, racial identity dynamics were brought early into my life via a three-year long immersion in an English-speaking Black Christian school community. While I rebelled, like many students, against their strict religiosity that infused school life (daily devotions, Friday assemblies with Christian songs, no jewellery allowed, vegetarianism,

[23] She remained an influential figure for some time post-graduation.
[24] They are erected "on the basis of the intersection between white skin, nationality and social class" (Moore, 2013, p. 16).
[25] It speaks to "the simultaneous privilege and subordination experienced by white migrants from non-Western countries", including Poland (Safuta, 2018, p. 217).

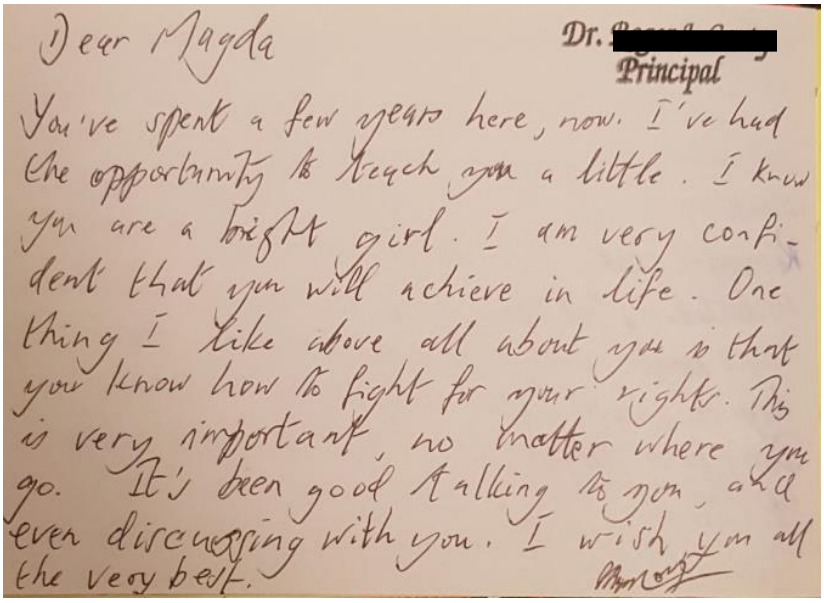
etc.), I also developed a strong sense of belonging there due to its quasi-familial atmosphere: no one ever went unnoticed. In the years to come, it was awfully hard for me to adapt to the alienating vibes of college, university and mainstream society.



Hello Magda!

This afternoon the sun shines as you doing every day in [redacted]. [redacted] you are special student with special character. When you believe in something you do your best to accomplish it.
I appreciate how you deal with people you have a soft, sweet and loving heart. Now you will face a new challenge, Trust yourself, be in confidence with God and you will be successful.

Figure 11: Teacher's entry in the end of high school 'Memory Book', Montréal/Québec, 2001



Dear Magda

Dr. [redacted]
Principal

You've spent a few years here, now. I've had the opportunity to teach you a little. I know you are a bright girl. I am very confident that you will achieve in life. One thing I like above all about you is that you know how to fight for your rights. This is very important, no matter where you go. It's been good talking to you, and even discussing with you. I wish you all the very best.

Figure 12: Principal's entry in the end of high school 'Memory Book', Montréal/Quebec, 2001

Owing to my upbringing in Montréal, the multicultural epicentre of Québec, I slowly grew ashamed of my birthplace, portrayed as the most ethnically and religiously homogeneous country

in Europe despite its heterogeneity[26]. I was never told much about the history of Polish Tatars who identify as Muslim despite the fact that they have been in Poland "for over 600 years as a direct result of the Mongol invasions" (Górak-Sosnowska, 2012, p. 108; Wiktor-Mach, 2008)[27]. I became infuriated by Poles' intolerance palpable in ordinary interactions (anti-Semitic/-Roma/-Muslim/-Black, misogynist, homophobic, etc. remarks)[28] (Golebiowska, 2014). This was occurring in the backdrop of Poland's own oppressed past: the Nazis and the National Socialist Party saw the Poles as "Untermensch (subhuman)" and subjected them "to inhumane acts and unspeakable atrocities" (Hodorowicz Knab, 2016, p. 1). My grandparents endured labour camps imposed by the German Reich as "civilian forced laborers", or rather, "slave laborers as they had no say, no voice, and no civil rights" (pp. 3-4). In fact, Poland was "the first laboratory of Nazi colonial methods" (Furber, 2010, p. 577). My shame was also tied to the depictions of Poles as intellectually inferior ('dumb Pole' jokes); they derive from "Nazi racist ideology": "only races with a genetic predisposition to civilization could be civilized; to try to civilize lesser races was a waste of time" (p. 545). Further, the recent anti-migrant discourses from the state, the church and the civil society in Poland (Narkowicz & Cohen, 2018)[29] are appalling since Polish refugees "found safe haven in distant and often exotic lands such as Persia, India, Africa, and Mexico" during World War II (Stańczyk, 2018, p. 136). I felt disturbed by "Polish-centrism", or "a focus on some aspects of Polish culture to the exclusion of a wider view of the world" (Balogun, 2020, p. 1196). I also grew uneasy with an unexamined/blind religious faith[30]. Refusing to go to church during one of my summer visits at the age of 14, an aunt oddly accused me of satanism. In Canada, my parents did not enforce church-going but replicated Slavic Pagan-Christian rites during key holidays to cure their nostalgia; I found the latter absurd (what was a source of familial frictions).

[26] In 2002, the ethnic and national minorities found in Poland were: Silesians, Germans, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Gypsies, Lemkos, Lithuanians, Kashubs, Russians, Slovaks, Jews, Tatars, Czechs, Armenians and Karaims. They were not allowed to publicly express their demands and concerns under state-communism (Jasiewicz, 2011).

[27] The first historical account of Polish lands was allegedly chronicled in the 10th century by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Isrā'ilī al-Turtushi, a traveller and merchant, who depicted Europe to Al-Hakam II, the Umayyad Caliph of Córdoba, Al-Andalus (Frenkel, 2010; Rynkowski, 2015).

[28] I do not accuse all Poles of intolerance. I speak to observations/events from my childhood and adolescence, or those that occurred partly in Poland and partly in Canada around Polish people; there are also many mediatized accounts. For example, in 2010, a Muslim Cultural Centre was established in the Ochota neighbourhood, and was the first purpose-built mosque in the capital; it was met with shocking Islamophobic attacks (Narkowicz & Pędziwiatr, 2017).

[29] They stress that Poland's response to the arrivals of people as refugees in 2015 "has been one of the least welcoming in Europe" (p. 356).

[30] Such disappointments are widely found among those who leave Polish Roman Catholicism (e.g., Górak-Sosnowska, 2011; Łojek-Magdziarz, 2007).

These various attitudes, while inexcusable, are traceable to Poland's turbulent past[31]. They were steered by nationalist ideologies, informed by positivism and evolutionism, that chiefly arose in the nineteenth century (Buchowski, 2016; Golebiowska, 2014; Napieralski, 2018). Poland's hostile patriotism mirrors an obsession with purity; it is an imagined one as there is no scholarly accord on the genesis of the Slavs. More generally, Europe's episodes of ethnic cleansing and genocide, enacted by different groups at different times and in different places, were powered by a construct of 'ethnic/racial nationhood'. It is factually baseless: "All of Europe's peoples have diverse and often very obscure racial and ethnic origins" (Bideleux & Jeffries, 2007, p. 138). Overall, I grew to decry all forms of tribalism/groupism (racism, casteism, etc.), and appreciate the human oneness underlying outward differentiations. We not only descend from countless and un/known to us travellers and their travels, and thus untraceable/unrecorded hybridizations, but we neither pick the space/place and time of our birth nor the family and body that we inhabit: they select us. While we are conditioned by them, we also hold power over them; we can cultivate an active intentionality to be/think/feel/act/relate in more ethical ways on a planet that moves in a "forever expanding at an accelerated rate" universe (Glattfelder, 2019, p. 3). So, contemporary people cannot be held fully liable for the actions performed by their ancestors; this, however, does not mean that they do not benefit and/or suffer from them in the present: "many fail to consider that we are all accomplices in a society that perpetuates past wrongs in the present day" (Caouette & Taylor, 2015, p. 89).

Searching for illusion reduction and reasoning through the 'mindheart'

Since my multi-sited/faceted childhood conveyed contextual and social relational ruptures, and thus mixed messages, it did not offer me a secure ideational milieu (Archer, 2007a). I searched for answers to my budding philosophical dilemmas, largely in solitude. The search was woken by educational institutions (curricula, educators, etc.), access to the library and the Internet (in mid-teens), social interactions, etc. I faced existential concerns in light of a life increasingly contoured as a "do-it-yourself project": "What should I do? Who should I be? How should I live my life?"

[31] Poland vanished from the political map for 123 years, endured "thirty-five years of socialist transformation and state-sponsored atheism", and a climb of the Roman Catholic Church with a personality cult fixated on Pope John Paul II (a Polish Pope) (Hruby, 1983, p. 317; Skolimowski, 1989).

(Carrigan, 2017, p. 163). I questioned critique itself[32] since "reason – unaided, delinked, unhooked, detached, autonomous, sovereign – doesn't exist" (Ahmad, 2017, p. 16).

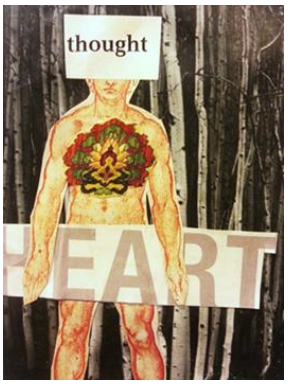


Figure 13: Mindheart collage, 2010.

This quest took me to explore different sub-/counter-cultures. Somewhere along the way, I grew enamored with virtuous revolutionaries; stirred by an antipathy to decadence, devastation, discrimination, etc., I was drawn to voluntary material deprivation, environmental protection, anti-racism, body image activism (my feminism was against the hyper-sexualization of the female body and the indoctrination enacted by the fashion industry), etc.

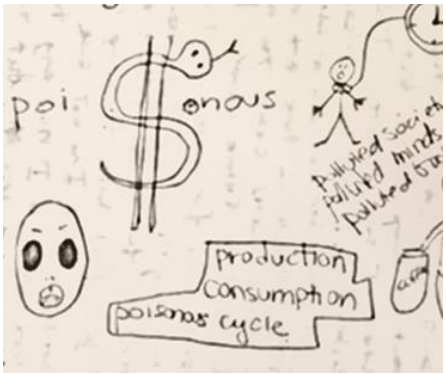


Figure 14: Doodles in a private journal, Montréal/Québec, 2006

Figure 15: Fashion regime, Christina (photo designed and taken by me), Montréal/Québec, 2009

[32] "It is not enough to say that a person is critical; it is equally important to examine what is the ethical and political aim of his or her critique and the suppositions and presuppositions that any critique carries. Likewise, it is equally important to see how criticism is pursued" (Ahmad, 2017, p. 17).

Figure 16: Letter writing campaign for Amnesty International (organized by me), Yuliya, Montréal/Québec, 2010

Despite my infuriation, my introversion, or my fondness for horizontal/deep social ties, prevented me from chasing antagonistic forms of dissent (romanticized social activism). Not only my parents were too strict, but their sacrifices shielded me from heroic agitations. I was also turned off by a certain insularity/vanity of social activist circles[33] and a view of liberation that values radical individual freedom (linked to Western societies shaped by Protestantism (Hwang, 2014)). I also became fatigued by a chronic hyper-fixation on "the harsh dimensions of social life (power, domination, inequality, and oppression)" and "the subjective experience of these dimensions in the form of depression and hopelessness" (Otner, 2016, p. 47). I ruminated extensively on "the bumpy emotional dance that links anger and love" and "the biographical circumstances and personality dispositions such as being more or less afraid of conflict" (Munar, 2018, pp. 955-956). I was seduced by a discreet social activism: daily/small acts of kindness or defiance, relationship-building, creative action, etc. (O'Shaughnessy & Huddart Kennedy, 2010; Pottinger, 2017). In early university years, I bought food or coffee for needy strangers, conversed with homeless youth on the sidewalk, recorded a spoken word piece that decried fast fashion, made hundreds of 'flower cards' (with an uplifting message) which I distributed to random customers at my part-time retail job, etc. This was all too bizarre for my parents who preached: *"Worry only about yourself as no one will worry about you"*. So, worrying about the world, or transmuting self-centeredness, was

[33] "In addition to creating spaces that are alienating to those outside of our milieu, anti-oppression discourse, call-out culture, and the related "communities" leads activists to perceive themselves as an "enlightened" section of the class (largely composed of academics, students, professionals, etc. who have worked out their shit and checked their privilege) who are tasked with acting as missionaries to the ignorant and unclean masses" (Common Cause Ottawa, 2014, online).

my form of social activism. By then, I have discarded my enforced at birth Roman Catholic-Slavic Pagan religion. I opposed its domination, hierarchy and rites; in fact, I did not easily accept any kind of knowledge (Glattfelder, 2019)[34]. At the same time, however, I keenly reflected on what constitutes a decent life and resisted the illusion of our separateness from nature, each other, our practices, our selves, and a Meta-Reality. Meta-Reality indicates a "deeper reality in which we are all intimately connected", where "the freedom of each is necessarily dependent on the freedom of all"; it concerns a "secular or religious spirituality" (Mackie, MacLennan, & Shipway, 2017, p. 303). While it exceeds embodiment, culture, history, etc., it is not removed from the experiential realm (Bhaskar, 2012). These reflections entailed an engagement with Western modern sciences, traditional cosmologies and sacred sciences from non-western parts of the world (Nasr, 1996). Taken as a whole, I longed for connectedness: "We manage, exist in, are tested by the realm of immanent duality; we yearn for, are healed and nourished by experiences of transcendental unity" (Wilkinson, 2015, p. 362).

Figure 17: Interdependencies, mixed media, Montréal/Québec, 2009

Figure 18: The Heretic, collage, Ottawa/Ontario, 2021

[34] "Observed from a distance, the edifice of science appears impressive – a robust and coherent body of knowledge. However, tiny cracks become visible if one looks closer. Unexpectedly, and drastically, these cracks become chasms. The whole monumental structure of knowledge falls apart like a house of cards. These fault-lines appear as soon as one inquires about the true nature of reality. Space, time, and matter emerge as alien concepts, incomprehensible to the mind" (Glattfelder, 2019, p. 345).

This expanded awareness served as a conduit to a shift in my relation to life[35]: in 2005, after a long private study, my 'mindheart' aligned with an Islamic cosmology[36]. This inquiry was driven by an apolitical Islam (i.e., indifferent to world/state politics) even though I recognized that the troubling situations faced by Muslim people/societies/countries were impacted by histories of colonialism, imperialism, orientalism, etc. (Green, 2019; Mirakhor & Askari, 2017; Said, 1979). My interest in it was partly ignited by a male non-Muslim professor and a female Muslim guest speaker in World Religions, a college-level course. An Islamic stance endorses a reasoning that is "much broader, nondualistic, and holistic" than that inherited from European Enlightenment; it merges *aql* [reason] and *qalb* [heart] (Ahmad, 2017, p. 17). It promotes liberation from all forms of human enslavement[37] and advocates justice: "Be upholders and standard-bearers of justice (…) even though it be against your own selves, or parents or kindred. Whether the person concerned be rich or poor (…) So do not (in expectation of some gain from the rich or out of misplaced compassion for the poor) follow your own desires lest you swerve from justice" (Qur'an, Surat An-Nisa 4:135[38]). While I accessed Islam via Sufism[39] and Islamic philosophy, I felt uneasy with Sufi orders and their masters/teachers even though I welcomed their focus on spiritual inwardness (e.g., contemplative techniques), that is, not merely on rigid ritualistic compliance. Sufism can, nonetheless, become too psychologizing/individualizing; it may not sufficiently tackle societal wrongs[40]. With time, I became invested in the Islamic indigenization of help and education (Barise, 2005; Dangor, 2005; Haque, 2004; Wilkinson, 2015)[41]. 'Unmosqued' (i.e., unattached to a mosque and its community/culture)[42], I was eventually drawn to a nonauthoritarian and anti-neoliberal capitalist Islam (Ahmed, 2014; Barylo, 2018; Fraser, 2018; Rahemetulla, 2017). Broadly, I endorse

[35] The Qur'an "provides a blueprint for a new order in society" (Bonner, 2005, p. 391).
[36] Islam is an Arabic word that refers to "peace, security, safety, tranquility, submission, surrender, quietude, greeting". It has roots in "*salima* 'to be safe' and related derivatives like sallam 'to greet', salaam 'peace, greeting', salamat 'safety', salman 'safe'" (Jassem, 2012, p. 67). Despite stereotypical depictions, "Islam is not an Arab religion"; the majority of Muslims are non-Arabs (Joshanloo, 2013, p. 1857).
[37] While it involves certain shared fundamentals, it did not evolve into a monolithic system of belief but rather a pluralistic ensemble of traditions, perspectives and practices (Abdou, 2009).
[38] Translated by Ali Unal.
[39] It must be noted that "there is no such word as conversion in the Arabic language"; the focus is on the 'process of becoming a Muslim' which essentially refers to 'submission' to a meta-Reality (Jawad, 2006, p. 154). Being Muslim by birth does not make one Muslim; many actions of people who identify as 'non-Muslim' can be seen as 'Muslim'.
[40] Yet, it has been noted that for early Islam, "a distinct and recognizable "Qur'anic economics"" secured the basis for an ""economy of poverty"", that is, the poor were at the heart of its economic universe (Bonner, 2005, p. 392).
[41] When I later entered my Master's in Educational Counselling, my ambition was to serve Muslim populations. At that time, this appeared as a way to protect my interests. This led me to stay connected with newcomer populations.
[42] See Unmosqued, a documentary on the need/call for changes in many North American mosques.

a spiritual activism which "posits a metaphysics of interconnectedness and employs relational modes of thinking" (Keating, 2008, p. 242). These private reforms are too vast to explain here. I am also aware that this coming out of a "spiritual closet of sorts" makes some academics uncomfortable (p. 243)[43]. This pertains to a severe misunderstanding of or an unfamiliarity with Islam[44]: "the eclipse of Islam's contributions to scholarship, including ethical principles" derives from the secularization of social science and "overgeneralizations, misrepresentations, negative stereotypes and demonizations (Samier, 2016, p. 36).

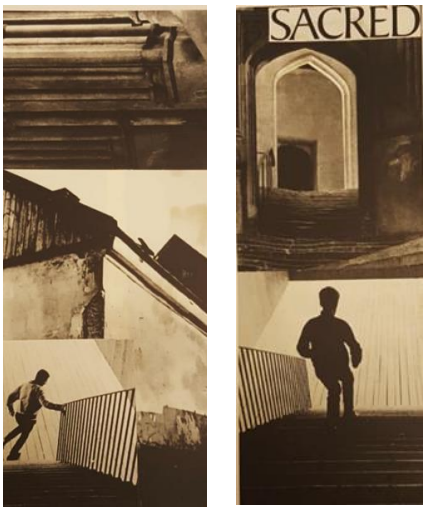


Figure 19: Collages, Certificat en arts plastiques, Montréal/Québec, 2009

Figure 20: Submission, Certificat en arts plastiques, Montréal/Québec, 2009

Figure 21: Masks that people wear, Certificat en arts plastiques, Montréal/Québec, 2009

[43] "My formal education had convinced me that I should not openly incorporate my politics of spirit into my scholarship or teaching" (Keating, 2008, p. 243).

[44] "You shun me out of your fear of Islam as an institutional and organized authoritarian mechanism of repression. But, who is to say that Islam has to be institutional, organized, authoritarian, and repressing? I prove in this thesis it does not have to be. As for your dogmatic view that 'God is Dead', I believe that view to be too easy to fathom because it simplifies what is, in fact, a complex reality. Furthermore, there is no proof of God's life or death. Your view is nothing more than a Euro-centric view" (Abdou, 2009, pp. 7-8).

A lot could be written on my much later participation in a Montréal-based heterogenous Muslim community (Muslim feminism, Muslim youth project, Ramadan baskets, interfaith dialogue, etc.). This also involved various identity negotiations as an invisible/white Muslim: "in addition to being perceived as a violent and oppressive religion, Islam has been confined within narrow and rigid racial boundaries as a 'Brown', foreign, and non-Western faith" (Gallonier, 2015, p. 571; Whiteman, 2020). Most notably, I entered all three graduate degrees with a resistance to "atheism", or the "intellectual baseline" in academia, though I also exhibited a *cautious* attraction to "the political left" (i.e., without selling my soul to its deified heroes) (Archer, Collier & Porpora, 2004, p. 6)[45]. I rejected a naïve realism/scientism/modernism and an extreme postmodern anti-realism/ relativism that relies exclusively on the consensus theory of truth (i.e., there is no truth except truth for me/my group, no objective facts, etc.) (Bernstein, 2010). So, even if deplorable to some scholars running an anti-metaphysical crusade, the roots of this doctorate *are* metaphysical. They relate to my struggles in academia[46] and mirror those of others: a "sacred subjectivity in student-focused research" and "inclusive spiritual expression in the academy" have been marginalized by academia/academics (Ahmed Shahjahan & Barker, 2009, p. 456; Keating, 2008).

Struggling to integrate the labour market

Near the end of my undergraduate degree, I longed to engage in work that produces beneficial personal and social effects via a direct co-presence. Since then, I made several attempts at this ideal. Immediately prior to the Ph.D., I was engaged in clinical counselling at a community organization serving newcomers located in the National Capital, or Ontario – a province with "anti-democratic, elitist, and counter-revolutionary ideological origins in the eighteenth century" (Evans & Albo, 2018, p. xiii). Ottawa itself is "unique among large Canadian cities in having very little in the way of an organized left in city politics" (Fanelli & Paulson, 2010, p. 8). I moved there to

[45] "Islam and Marxism – the world's two chief large-scale endeavours to implement a social ideal – have much in common, more than any other religion has in common with Marxism, with the partial exception of Islam's prototype, Judaism" (Cantwell Smith, 1957, pp. 30-31). More precisely, "the Islamic enterprise has been the most serious and sustained endeavour ever put forward to implement Justice among men; and until the rise of Marxism was also the largest and most ambitious" (p. 32).

[46] "This act of rational compromise with the secular at the expense of the sacred is a process of dialectical disenchantment which has generated in many Muslims in the West a phenomenon closely akin to the Hegelian idea of the Unhappy Consciousness" (Wilkinson, 2013, p. 426).

do a Master's in Education, Specialization in Educational Counselling[47]. I/we then got trapped in the city. I still wrestle with its dreadful urban design and surreal nearness to nationalism/patriotism. It afflicts Ottawans with the Stockholm Syndrome, or a condition that makes hostages develop a survivalist tactic, that is, an alliance with their captors' wishes (Graham & Swimmer, 2009). Instead, Montréalers introduced me to innovative social action. More than a decade ago, I was invited to join a collective initiative that supported a blind male asylum seeker who found sanctuary in a church. I participated in the making of an art mural that was used to attract attention to his unfortunate plight. This mirrored my interest in grassroots visual art for social change. This too was part of a *tradition montréalaise*: Montréalers created a "cultural marginalism whose message was not merely aesthetic" (Fougères & Macleod, 2018, p. 499).

Figure 22: Collective Art mural, Montréal/Québec, 2009.

So, my choice of a counselling education/degree appears odd; it becomes odder in view of my acrimonious rapport with psychology. I hold a Bachelor's in Psychology from a department dedicated to cognitive, behavioural, neuroscientific, and quantitative trends. Halfway, I became annoyed by diagnoses and statistics, unmoved by pseudoscientific claims, revolted by a fixation on pathology, and horrified by an excessive biomedicalization and individualization of human social pains (Cohen, 2018). I felt uninspired by professorial boasting about feeding cocaine/heroin to lab mice (instead, I felt sad for these furry captives). In addition, I grew wary of the hypercompetitive coursemates who were battling for a spot in graduate school (I later found out that a B.A. in Psych. alone was worthless on the job market). At that point, I just aimed to

[47] This is an inaccurate label since we interned and worked in clinical counselling settings; most of our professors were clinical psychologists or counselling psychologists.

graduate[48]. I now praise the elective courses (sociology, anthropology, etc.) for infusing in me a healthy dose of scepticism and my *Cégep* Diploma in Liberal Arts, an Honour's Program[49], for familiarizing me with philosophy, history, art history, creative writing, etc.

While I firmly considered a Master's in Art Therapy, I was warned about work shortages. I have, nonetheless, volunteered at a Centre dedicated to creative arts and fulfilled some pre-entry requirements: thirty credits in visual arts, or a university certificate. It was cathartic: creative boldness was urged and the visits to my professors' home studios are my best memories. At the same time, but at a different university, I finished a Graduate Diploma in Community Economic Development (CED). By then, I hoped to merge visual arts with community work for social change. CED exposed me to the damages inflicted by neoliberal capitalism and to its underlying cynicism about humanity as self-interested. My professors, mainly non-registered community workers, some artists and/or anarchists, confirmed that people can indeed devote themselves to the common good. My first assignment was to write a 'political autobiography'; I felt embarrassingly stuck: not only politics were rarely discussed at home, but I knew little about them and, truth be told, I disliked them. I was, however, given a push to explore them.

Figure 23: Mural on canvas (in progress); part of a community project in CED with young Muslim women, Montréal/Québec, 2010

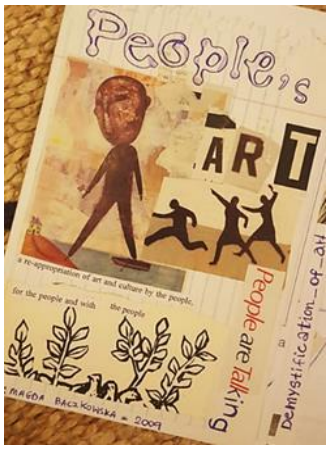


Figure 24: Zine cover (course assignment), CED, Montréal/Québec, 2010

[48] I also had a short-lived adventure in a Minor in Biology ('Insect Physiology' was one of the most interesting courses that I have ever taken). At some point, I also engaged with naturopathy (on the side) and completed one course in nutrition; this was not a viable career path due to expenses, provincial regulations, limited career opportunities, etc.
[49] Given my interest in human biology, I began my college education in Health Sciences; yet, after failing physics, chemistry and calculus during the first semester, I transferred into Liberal Arts (made it to Honour Roll).

After graduation, I was contractually employed at a non-profit community organization that served young Black populations in my neighbourhood; I worked in Literacy and Family Programs. Yet, pressured by a precarious life situation, job market demands, etc., I was forced to hunt for career alternatives. After scanning every master-level degree in the country, counselling appeared most feasible. While I dabbed into mental health work via volunteering at a crisis phone line and a mental health hospital (with young boys placed in a specialized educational program), I had a limited understanding as to what I was getting myself into: neither I nor anyone I knew had any contact with mental health services (my final college project on Carl Jung's and Sigmund Freud's methods to dream interpretation was irrelevant). I submitted applications at three universities in three cities and received only one letter of acceptance: Ottawa was meant to be?!

My earliest counselling encounters were with people who endured serious hardships prior to their arrival in Canada. They were also unacquainted with the concept of 'talk therapy/cure' which flourished with the rise of a 'therapeutic culture/society' (Furedi; 2004; Wright, 2011). They occurred in tiny offices with outmoded furniture in an underfunded Clinical Counselling Program (CCP) for newcomers. My first 'client', a lively senior man who was a refugee claimant from Somalia, and who provisionally resided in an awful motel, often arrived hungry. Most people I met did not come for 'therapy'; instead, they came for humanizing encounters. They wanted to feel like they mattered and, perhaps, get a little break from their cruel, often lonesome, daily realities. I did not give them much materially, except, on occasion, a set of bus tickets and a glass of water; somehow, they returned. Meanwhile, in the mental health marketplace, a chosen few sold courses and/or retreats that vowed to make troubles disappear; others bragged about their private practice that none of my 'clients' could afford (myself included). My discomfort also involved the one-sided transfer of 'expert' knowledge; the lack of discussion about it among 'experts' was even more irksome. I often asked myself: *What is the status of the knowledge of the person in front of me and what can my knowledge do/add but also suppress/oppress?* This introspectiveness also included questions such as: "Who or what must change? Why, how, when and where must change occur?" (Cabiati & Folgheraiter, 2019, p. 439). I then yearned to reconnect with visual arts. In 2011, I was awarded substantial funding to develop, implement and manage a visual arts-based mental health group intervention for young people who arrived as refugees in partnership with the CCP where I interned. It felt like a grandiose assignment – logistically, conceptually, and

ethically[50]. A prior graduate course in program evaluation exposed me to methods of program development. I knew that no program is neutral; it includes "core beliefs and philosophical presuppositions as to the nature of humanity and society" (Carpenter, 2017, p. 110). This is evident in its logic model, or a visual display of "the relationship between a program's resources, activities, and intended results" (Kaplan & Garrett, 2005, p. 167)[51]. Although I was given the freedom of design, my alliance with the mental health industry/CCP meant that the initiative had to operate from an established normative point of acceptability. My ideas were built upon many initial conditions, eclipsed by program layout dynamics and normalized as obvious terms of funding. This was reinforced by my partners (manager, clinical supervisor, high schools, etc.). So, interventionist logics and actions had to be made acceptable by gatekeepers.

These processes sparked reflections on the nature of and solution to problems to be tackled, the populations in need of intervention, etc. I questioned, with the backing of scholarly literature, the underlying assumptions of Western/Eurocentric biomedical-psychological models/approaches. I was alarmed by the knowledge base and practices of mental health experts targeting 'refugees' since their lives (and all lives) are "open to a variety of interpretations" (Brough et al., 2012, p. 207). This was stirred by the criticisms of an "exclusive trauma-focused understanding" (Marlowe, 2010, p. 183) that surely "sounds more authoritative, respectable and convincing (…) than saying that the person has been 'shaken' by it" (Papadopoulos, 2002, p. 26). Affixed in "naïve realism associated with traditional empiricism" of diagnostic psychiatry, it sees a decontextualized individual as the site of intervention (Pilgrim, 2015, p. 143). It concentrates on "the intrapsychic processing of the traumatic experience without taking the sociopolitical context into consideration" (Bistoen, 2016, p. 11). It also ignores the meanings that people attach to their experiences. Yet, its opposite is a diehard anti-realism, or a ceaseless postmodern distrust that leads to other dead ends. These ruminations were an extension of my counselling education and practice: I was trained by professors-clinical psychologists in postmodern, collaborative, and social justice counselling (Arthur & Collins, 2014; Audet & Paré, 2018; Paré, 2013). At the end, I successfully delivered, with the precious help of volunteers and colleagues, the initiative in question at two high schools

[50] In 2010, there were limited mental health services for migrant populations in the city.
[51] The use of logic models surfaced in public and third sectors in the 1980s due to a new funding climate that stressed more accountability and outcome measurement (Carpenter, 2017).

and a refugee-centered local organization. It combined individual and collective experiences in a group setting; it also fused visual arts and talk, or nonverbal and verbal communication.

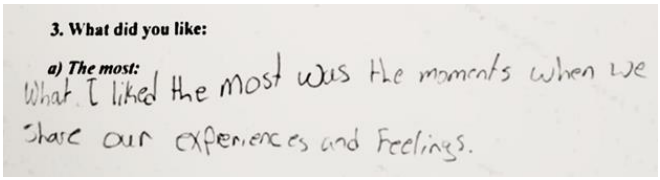


Figure 25: Fragment from evaluations by youth, Ottawa/Ontario, 2012

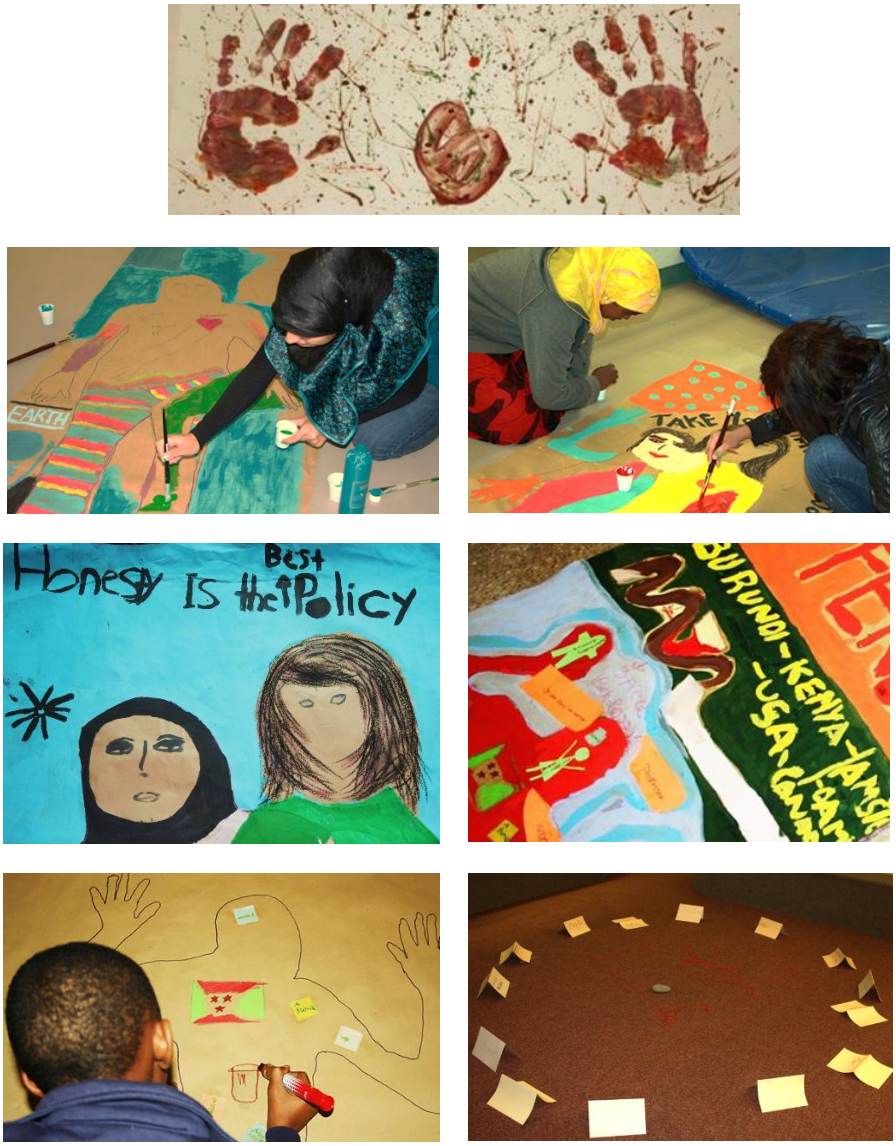


Figure 26: Photos from the mental health groups for young people who endured refugeehood that I have designed and implemented, Ottawa/Ontario, 2012

Spiraling down the doctoral rabbit hole

With the mental health project funding ending, little prospects for secure employment and mounting discomforts with the "mental health industrial complex" (Greene, 2019, p. 1), I saw, back then, the institution of higher education as the most liberating venue. I also developed an attraction to social work since it is the only helping work that openly welcomes social change and the advancement of social justice in tandem with its helping roles (Payne, 2006). So, in the Fall of 2012, I entered a Ph.D. at the *École de service social* [School of Social Work] at the University of Ottawa. While this degree emerged in the disciplinary/professional context of social work, certain oddities might be fished out by aficionados of insularity (Johnson & Munch, 2010; Shore & Thyer, 1997). These regulators of social work who see it as an accredited profession thus inflict an impostor syndrome[52]. Firstly, even if my prior educational/disciplinary/professional paths share a mutual basis with it, a Ph.D. in Social Work does not grant the title of a Registered Social Worker (RSW)[53]. It is still debated whether it should train "stewards of the discipline" or "address practice and service delivery issues" (Anastas, 2012, Chap. 2, p. 1). It can be claimed, however, that professionalization not only harms the 'true spirit' of social work, but that social work cannot be 'owned' by an authority. So, the legitimizers may be accused of an ""epistemicide" of Others' knowledges" (Heron, Boudreau & Poon, 2019, p. 66). It is also claimed that "social work as profession in Canada functions as a technology of settler colonial expansion" and that its decolonization needs the "abandonment of the professional and institutional framework in which it currently exists" (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2018, p.15, p. 16). The history of social work involves inputs from people who were not social workers by schooling/vocation; it also engaged

[52] The literature on this topic is vast. See, for example: Baylis (2004); Harrington & Beddoe (2014); Healy & Meagher (2004); Hugman (1991); Randall & Kindiak (2008); Specht (1972); Weiss-Gal & Welbourne (2008). While the struggle for legitimacy must be appreciated in light of social work histories in Europe/North America, its underpinning logic of monopolization/gatekeeping must be seen via the "ideology of professionalism" (Wenocur & Reisch, 2014 [1983], p.722). It is often stressed that social work has not yet achieved a professional status by establishing a "unique and disciplinary knowledge base" (Thyer, 2002, p. 109). The advocates of the "model of elite professionalism" (Green, Gregory & Mason, 2007, p. 451) thus uphold a uni-disciplinary/professional career path by controlling knowledge via education (e.g., past academic degrees must all be in social work in order to have access to a Ph.D., or to obtain a tenure-track faculty position). The latter was not the case at the École de service social/University of Ottawa.

[53] To which the following aspects tend to apply: basic education, enforceable licensing regulations and procedures, restrictions on the use of the title of social worker, state sanctions for breaches of the code of ethics, control over training and entrance into the profession, etc. Near the end of this doctoral thesis, I secured part-time employment in clinical social work. I am currently a Certified Canadian Counsellor working under the supervision of a RSW. I am thus accumulating the necessary hours to obtain my social work registration.

an extensive borrowing from various disciplines/professions. In addition, social work is not exclusive to Western/European societies[54]. Debates on indigenization and internationalization of social work then blur the status-quo (Coates, Gray & Yellow Bird, 2016; Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2018; Leighninger, 2008). Secondly, my research was supervised by Stéphanie Garneau, a sociologist appreciative of the Chicago School of Sociology, who completed her doctoral studies in France[55]. She especially helped me find a sociological toolbox to clarify the individual vs. society dilemma, or the "chicken-or-egg problem" in social science (Elias, 1970, p. 118). Although many contemporary social workers (e.g., clinical social workers) un/intentionally retreat from sociology, the activities of the "Chicago-enriched sociological social work" (Garneau & Namian, 2017; Shaw, 2015, p. 7), applied sociology, clinical sociology and sociotherapy (e.g., Cavanagh, 2007; Dartiguenave, Le Bot, & Garnier, 2012) challenge common attitudes. Broadly, my encounter with sociology mirrors the experiences of Sarah Burton (2016) who became a sociologist "more by accident than design". She compares it to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: "As Alice makes her way through Wonderland she meets an increasingly odd assembly of strange and delightful characters (…) [with] their own sets of theories and methodologies for understanding the (social) world" (Burton, 2016, p. 985). So, with the gates to *Socioland* opened by my supervisor, I gradually nurtured a 'sociological imagination' (Mills, 1959). Thirdly, my research occurred in an organizational setting where most of the service providers were *not* RSWs and did not describe their work as 'social work'. Yet, this cannot disqualify their labour from that of social work: the origins of North American social work are entwined with the support of newcomer populations (Jennissen & Lundy, 2011).

Since I disembarked into the Ph.D. with a relational worldview which is harmonious with indigenous cosmologies (Keating, 2008; Seehawer, 2018), I have naturally connected with relational sociologies (e.g., Crossley, 2010; Donati, 2011) and relational social work (e.g., Folgheraiter & Raineri, 2012; Folgheraiter, 2007, 2004; Raineri & Cabiati, 2016). I then found a relational sociology grounded in critical realist philosophy which became the framework that informs this doctoral thesis (Donati & Archer, 2015). The encounter with the scholarship of Roy

[54] In China, the roots of social work activities go back to the Zhou dynasty in the era before Christ (Chow, 1987); see also Lawrence (2016); Leighninger (2008); Muliyaningsih (2014); Wu (1978); Javed, Khalid & Arshad (2011).
[55] Stéphanie understands the nuances between the French university academic careers and practices (including those related to doctoral theses) and those associated with the Anglo-Saxon world. Such differences are also documented; see, for example, Altman & Bournois (2004).

Bhaskar (1944-2014), a philosopher of science linked to the movement of critical realism[56], was particularly invigorating. Bhaskar, born to an Indian father and a British mother, entered university with an interest in oppressive structures. While he began his doctoral thesis on the economic progress of developing countries, he did not go too far: he was diverted by philosophical questions (and the shortcomings of Western theories of economy) which he felt he must first tackle; he thus transferred to philosophy (Kurki, 2009; Hwang, 2014). I faced a similar predicament but in helping work; the ensuing philosophical detour was long and excruciating but worthwhile. Critical realism lured me into advanced reflections. It alleviated my pains with postructuralist or strong/radical constructionist/relativist bases of narrative therapy that informed my counselling work. Narrative therapy sees the narrative (i.e., story) as an object of study and brings a focus on subjective interpretations. While I welcomed its critique of modernism, concern with social justice and "a worldview that is based in relationship" (Combs & Freedman, 2016, p. 211), I was distrustful of its metatheoretical[57] footings: they "dissolve the human being into discursive structures and humankind into a disembodied textualism" (Archer, 2000, p. 2). It is suggested, nonetheless, that narrative therapy, along with dialogical and solution-focused therapies, "fit more coherently with critical realism" (Pocock, 2015, p. 169). Overall, this Ph.D. made me become less fixated on interventionism and more attentive to the intricacies arising on the ground: interventions occur in an 'open system' and are impacted by multiple and diverse influences; those involved also affect situations/contexts (Archer et al., 1998, Kjørstad, 2008).

2. OVERVIEW OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

The following two sections provide an overview of this doctoral research endeavour. The first part offers a birds'-eye view of the research project and the second part summarizes the content that is found in the rest of this document.

[56] While Bhaskar accepted the label of critical realism, he did not invent it (de Souza, 2014).
[57] The notion of the 'metatheoretical' is frequently evoked throughout this thesis; broadly, it refers to reflections on the theorical, that is, it considers the philosophy of science, in this case social science.

What, who, where, when, why and how

This doctoral thesis uses a critical realist relational sociology – a conceptual framework in evolution – to investigate the complexities emerging in publicly-backed post-migration social care[58] (Donati & Archer, 2015). It involved an organizational ethnography (i.e., participations, observations, interviews, document analysis). Given the limited use of this meta/theoretical direction in North America/Canada/Ontario (Frauley, 2017; Frauley & Pearce, 2007), it is not presumed here that readers are familiar with it. It is not, however, alien to migration (e.g., Iosifides, 2011; Saar, 2019), social work (e.g., Craig & Bigby, 2015; Houston, 2001; Oliver, 2012; Weaver, 2016), organizational (e.g., Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2004) and ethnographic (e.g., Decoteau, 2017) scholarship. It is also not assumed that readers will approve it. Not only it "remains misunderstood in much mainstream academia" (Price, 2015, p. 30) but its focus on ontology may cause a "certain *frisson*" (Bhaskar, 2007, p. 192)[59][60]. It cannot be confirmed to be the 'best/right' choice; its acceptance involves a personal agreement with its basic propositions. I accept it because: "(a) I think that this is how the world is, (b) even if it isn't like that, I behave as if it is like that, (c) I think that critical realism is better than the alternatives and (d) it is a well thought through and relatively coherent perspective on the world" (Easton, 2010, p. 128). It offers a compelling ontology of human social life in nature. It discards hyper-naturalism/positivism and its empirical realist ontology[61] without falling into anti-naturalism/interpretivism/postmodernism and their strong/radical social constructionist/relativist ontology (Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2004). Hence, it grants "an alternative both to the spurious scientificity of positivism and to idealist and relativist reactions to positivism" (Sayer, 2004, p. 6). Further, a relational sociology anchored in critical realism sees social relations as a *sui generis* reality. It also recognizes the detrimental effects of social theorizing that removes the 'human' out of the social or immerses it so deeply into it that it

[58] Social care is grasped here as "an activity and a set of social relations" found at the junction of market, state, civil society and informal networks (Daly & Lewis, 2000, p. 296). It also manifests itself as "acts of kindness and consideration that make up friendly relations" (Dybicz, 2012, p. 271). While it includes 'social work', it speaks more generally to a social relational attention given to others.

[59] All italicised/emphasized words in the citations that appear in this document are original.

[60] A "mistrust of invisible entities" is odd in sciences like sociology: its "master signifier, society, or "social relations", is hardly an immediately visible object" (Porpora, 2015, p. 33). Ontology is also "currently enjoying a revival" what induces a "perception of ontology as the latest buzzword or even paradigm shift" (Latsis, Lawson & Martins, 2007, p.1).

[61] Empiricism is a "concern with surface phenomena or simply the notion that anything worth knowing or which can constitute valid knowledge must be apprehendable to our senses" (Rigakos & Frauley, 2011, p. 243).

sinks its distinctive uniqueness. While it puts social relations at the heart of social reality, it safeguards the distinctiveness of both, humanity and individuality (Donati, 2011; Donati & Archer, 2015). Since its ontology of human personhood is "oriented toward the good", it allows to engage with "altruism, morality, and social solidarity"; it is thus invested in "human flourishing and the common good" (Mooney, 2014, pp. 21-22).

In line with this meta/theoretical lens, this doctoral work delves into structural, cultural, agentic and reflexive dynamics surfacing in the encounters between service providers, most with a migratory past, and young service users who arrived in Canada, a settler-state, as refugees[62], or re/un/settled settlers, in publicly-backed settlement and integration services offered at a distinct third sector organization located in Ontario/Canada[63] (Fobear, 2014; Castleden et al., 2013). These service partakers met in this context as ambassadors of social groups *and* as inimitable individual selves (Archer, 2000) in 2015, that is, under the Conservative Government led by Stephen Harper, or prior to the election of the Liberal Government led by Justin Trudeau[64]. While the Harper government is known for its "anti-refugee and anti-immigrant legislation" (Lacroix, Baffoe & Liguori, 2015, p. 69), certain trends/logics precede and exceed it[65]. Fieldwork took place in a *modernized* (i.e., restructured) service design. This modernization followed funding increases in 2006 and was officialized in 2010: "the Modernized Approach was developed as a way to channel IRCC's growth efficiently, effectively, and with accountability, and the Settlement Program was developed to be fully consistent with this Modernized Approach to management" (Neudorf, 2016, p. 94)[66]. The neoliberal capitalist motives that powered it pre-existed its actualization and persist today. More concretely, governments tackle post-migration realities by contracting out public service provision to third sector agencies. Over the years, their rapport has been altering in major ways: they have been increasingly colonized by the economic market. The modernized agenda is

[62] The term 'refugee' is used here as a generic concept; it includes the differentiated category of 'refugee claimant'; hence, 'Government-Assisted Refugee' and 'refugee claimant' are used synonymously unless a specific difference is indicated.
[63] The name of the organization and the city are intentionally anonymized.
[64] It allegedly diverted from the harshness of the Harper epoch in favour of a "A More Compassionate Canada" (Liberal Party, 2015, p. 64).
[65] This includes other migration-related developments. For example, scholars detect a shift in Canadian refugee policy between the mid-1970s and 2001 – from protection to security control (e.g., Crépeau & Nakache, 2006; Irvine, 2011). It is also vital to surpass the Harper/Trudeau binary, or "the apparently diametrically opposed positions propagated by politicians and political pundits alike" (Dobrowolsky, 2017, pp. 198-199).
[66] Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) was called Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) during this research project; the name was changed by Trudeau Liberals.

also driven by an evidence-based policy/practice-making centered on an empiricist epistemology. It includes demands for improved standards and outcomes as well as a greater accountability in service delivery (Baines, 2004; Donati & Archer, 2015; Folgheraiter, 2004; Hibou, 2015).

Although there is a vivacious scholarship on the newcomer-serving sector in Ontario/ Canada, "the processes that practitioners engage in when working with people navigating the refugee system remain understudied". There are also not many ethnographic works on settlement and integration services (and third sector in general) (Parada et al., 2020, p. 1). Moreover, there has been little research on their neoliberalization and its effects on those on the ground (Lee, 2008). Existing scholarship is primarily driven by a concern to correct/troubleshoot deficits/problems in services and/or individuals (e.g., Isakson, Legerski & Layne, 2015; Slobodin & de Jong, 2015; Yu, Ouellet & Warmington, 2007) even though such practices can feel degrading to newcomers (Lacroix et al., 2015; Parada et al., 2020). While the focus on and discovery of symptoms/signs (what people say or do) helps to make influential claims about 'what is wrong', it discounts that symptoms/signs are relational, that is, negotiated intra/inter-subjectively in structured and cultured circumstances that vary across space/place and time. So, they conceal their varied social-cultural origins and personal meanings (Pilgrim, 2013). Such research treats organizations/services as 'black boxes[67]'; it thus omits internal cacophonies or avoids an encounter with the relations that unite and animate post-migration interventions as multi-layered/faceted configurations (Houston, 2001; Kjørstad, 2008; Lipsky, 1980). This investigation departs instead from the premise that the merger of the structural and the cultural seeks, at distinct moments in the history of social care, to change social relations in explicit ways. Various critics caution that what is referred to as 'the social' has been attacked/damaged by 'antisocial' market-state ideologies and practices. They pursue objectives and outcomes that are "antagonistic or oppositional to a more thriving, cohesive, enriching and just society" (Atkinson, McKenzie & Winlow, 2017, p. 9).

To map these shifts in the newcomer-serving sector, this initiative 'opens' the 'black box' of publicly-supported post-migration services to gain a more accurate (complex) glimpse into its human social realities. It puts 'under the microscope' the interplay of structure, culture, agency and reflexivity in service-based relations (Donati & Archer, 2015; Donati, 2011). This could never be attained by reading official documents alone: they are de-peopled and lack depth. In addition, declarations from service providers are often about pleasing their masters (funders). Moreover, the

[67] In everyday usage, a 'black box' is anything that has mysterious/unknown internal mechanisms/processes.

push for service quantification allows for statistical enchantment, or a display of dazzling impacts *even if* they are questionable. So, a state-backed post-migration supports are notably about image control and an efficient communication of progress/success to stakeholders than about deep human social care/change. They are nationalist-statist solutions infused with settler-colonialism that prioritize national cohesion by subordinating to them diverse newcomer experiences. Although efforts are surely exerted to better people's lives, this research work argues that the suppositions that underlie these logics and actions are not openly/enough doubted by everyday service partakers despite being ideologically drenched. Last but not least, this social scientific critique could also not be possible simply by interviewing service users: most people enter services with limited/no familiarity with service design. In general, this endeavour offers a meta/theoretical framework for understanding what occurs when the market-state joins peopled service-based social relations. It is biased, from the start, by an alternate vision of social care: one that is pro-social (not anti-social) and that promotes the ability to flourish for all (Atikinson et al., 2017)[68]. As a whole, the matters scrutinized in this contribution have multidimensional repercussions, that is, they affect social science and social care/work research, pedagogy, policy, practice and everyday life.

Summary of the chapters

The rest of this doctoral contribution follows a monograph format. While this opening chapter aimed to breathe my life into this undertaking, the following three chapters lay the ground for the engagement with the collected research data. The next five chapters convey the social scientific insights that emerged from this research project. In order to facilitate the presentation of dense information, the structure of every chapter consists of the same three parts: an introduction that contextualizes and defines specific chapter directions; analytical content; and a short chapter summary. Below is a brief outline of each of the upcoming eight chapters:

- ***Chapter 1*** maps structural and cultural as well as intellectual/cognitive conditions for social scientific inquiry. It engages with key trends in social science scholarship on refugeehood,

[68] This can be found in social cooperative models and methods (e.g., Alfadhi & Drury, 2018; Corcoran, 2009; Tsavdaroglou, et al., 2019).

including post-migration support, and youthhood. It also announces the meta/theoretical direction taken by this research project.

- ***Chapter 2*** presents the meta/theoretical framework that orients this research work, that is, a critical realist relational sociology; it also links it to this research project.
- ***Chapter 3*** introduces the social scientific research methodology compatible with critical realist relational sociological principles, that is, an organizational ethnography. It also exposes the struggles that were encountered while securing access to a research site.
- ***Chapter 4*** presents the structural and cultural conditions that shape service provision-use, or service-based social relations, largely from the point of view of service providers.
- ***Chapter 5*** describes how service providers become and remain employed in the settlement and integration sector so as to better appreciate the complexity on the ground.
- ***Chapter 6*** delves into the social relations that moulded the social-cultural biographies of the young people who confronted refugeehood and service userhood/clienthood[69]. It prioritizes their reflexive orientations in their rapport with their contexts.
- ***Chapter 7*** presents the heterogeneous social relational configurations emerging from the structured, cultured and peopled service-based social relations in publicly-supported post-migration social care occurring at a third sector organization with a distinct past.
- ***Chapter 8*** discusses the conclusions and the openings surfacing from this research project. It also outlines key research contributions and limitations as well as possible future research paths.

SUMMARY

This chapter situated this doctoral thesis in my social-cultural biographical trajectory which unfolded across many different spatial-temporal locations. This demonstrates that no research work is neutral and purely accidental. It also introduced the research project and the content of this document. The next chapter, or chapter 1, describes the process of taking certain meta/theoretical directions while confronting an extraordinary magnitude and diversity of social scientific scholarship on refugeehood and youthhood.

[69] Contemporary human and social services typically use the notion of 'client'; different labels used to describe the social relation conjure differing identities which delineate differing relationships and power dynamics.

CHAPTER 1: AT THE CROSSROADS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

INTRODUCTION

Social science scholarship on forced migration is now incredibly vast/heterogenous. This generates perplexity for a seeker of an enlightened starting-point for a new research project in this area. This plethora of academic expertise is linked to the startling records of people on the move, some of whom do so much less willingly than others. There are now an estimated 272 million global migrants (Edmond, 2020). In 2019, 79.5 million people were forcibly displaced and, among them, 26 million were refugees who fled unbearable situations (persecution, conflict, war, natural disaster). This is a drastic rise from 2012, or when this doctorate began: at that time, there were 45.2 million of forced displacees. By 2015, the year of data collection, this number rose to 65.3 million. This was the highest reported number of people seeking refuge since World War II (UNHCR, 2020; 2016; 2013[70]). The 'refugee crisis' of 2015-2016 spawned an intense and mediatized politicization of migration which included fierce debates on geopolitical borders and identities, particularly in Europe, but also in Canada. They involved antagonistic otherizations of refuge-seeking people driven by xenophobia, Islamophobia, antisemitism, antiziganism and anti-poor racism (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017; Makarychev, 2018; Maneri, 2021; Tyyskä et al., 2017)[71]. Despite the latter, Canada has developed a strong tradition of accepting refugees[72]. Upon their arrival, they encounter public/private, formal/informal and/or paid/unpaid care. While the urgency to assist them is generally accepted, if not desired, there is ample disagreement about *the*

[70] UNHCR is seen by some scholars as the "global police of populations" (Scheel & Ratfisch, 2014, p. 924).
[71] Although an interest in 'crisisology' exists since the last 150 years, crisis literature and discourses have intensified since the 1970s onwards. Some thinkers are against the idea of a general theory of crises; others speak of a 'metacrisis', or a planetary/civilizational human social-ecological crisis. Some speculate that it derives from a synergism between the Western/European Enlightenment ignited by secularization and industrialization driven by capitalist apparatuses. Its resolution demands deep changes in ways of structuring and culturing daily human social life in nature (Hartwig, 2015b; Jessop & Knio, 2019; Wielecki, 2020). In any case, the 'refugee crisis' is one out of many interconnected 'crises' in the world (environmental, financial, mental health, etc.). Hence, its onset has no recent and no obvious origins. Some thinkers argue, however, that it derives from "the spread of the modern way of life from Europe" with its "perpetual preoccupation with order-building and economic progress" (Evans & Bauman, 2016, online).
[72] In 2013, Canada admitted 24,049 people as refugees (IRCC [CIC], 2014).

kind of help that is required or most fit (e.g., Ingelby, 2005; Lamott, 20005; McKenzie-Mohr, 2004; Summerfield, 2002; 1999; Steel, Steel & Silove, 2009).

The immensity of scholarship on forced migration and the disputes on the appropriateness of aid are noticeably linked to "the hyper-analytic, hyper-specialized, fragmented gaze of late modernity". It evolved from critiques of the European Enlightenment which has not only failed to address human social troubles but has added new ones (Hedlund et al., 2015, p. 2). There is now a multitude of different concepts used in a multitude of different ways by a multitude of different scholars. This generates confusion as to how to engage with academic knowledge, or an "active transformation of pre-existing, historically specific, fallible knowledge of the world" (Holland, 2014, p. 22). This is complexified by the fact that it coexists with many other types of knowledge, knowledge re/producing domains and knowledge partnerships. It thus inserts itself into a plural disciplinary/professional and organizational/institutional matrix that is occupied by diverse people who negotiate, in supportive and/or hostile ways, the outcomes allied with their social-cultural positions and individual un/conscious proclivities (Kahn, 2009). Knowledge on forced migration (in all its expressions) is especially enmeshed with public policies and practices that tackle societal changes and their effects, and thus launch/defend certain interventions. They are also interlaced with journalistic, activist and laypeople's accounts. Accordingly, social scientific knowledge and its producers are affected by public policy/practice worlds and everyday life-worlds but also shape them in major ways (Holland, 2014; van Hear, 2011). While it is impossible to engage with the full heterogeneity of academic knowledge on forced migration, it seems necessary to take some time to excavate it in order to carve out a meaningful research direction. This enormity imposes a need for an assessment tool; this usually takes the form of a literature review. What follows retreats from a conventional literature review that integrates "past research to distil important conclusions and open to the way to further research ventures". Although such appraisals are diversely executed and valuable, they tend to produce "compilations that amount to little more than annotated bibliographies". A large stockpiling of empirical data from many sources will not drastically enhance the understanding of forced migration, unless and until the underlying processes/ mechanisms/tendencies that induce the perceptible phenomena are exposed. The rest of this chapter is informed by the meta/theoretical lens adopted in this doctoral thesis, that is, it involves a literature review guided by critical realism (see chapter 2). It is one "with a specific goal of developing new and valuable theoretical contributions" (Okoli, 2015, p. 2).

Chapter directions

This chapter has **three parts**. The **first part** departs from the insight that all academic researchers perform their labour in structural/material and cultural/ideational circumstances that they individually and relationally mediate. It explores these contexts and adds personal aspects to show some of these mediations. The **second part** taps into the intellectual context of social scientific knowledge re/production (Holland, 2014; Kahn, 2009). The **third part** announces how this research effort differentiates itself from the identified meta/theoretical trends. Overall, this chapter seeks to "make strange" all research activities. This calls for an "ontological clarification" (Eslava, 2020, p. 3). Ontology becomes of interest "when you are not satisfied with knowledge, when what passes for knowledge is patently wrong or absurd" (Bhaskar, 2007, pp. 192-193).

1. STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Contemporary academic labour proceeds in strictly regimented and internally/externally varied and unequal establishments: universities, or degree-awarding institutions of higher learning and research (Holland, 2014). Although all advanced societies used forms of sophisticated learning to educate their "ruling, priestly, military, and other service elites", the genesis of the university is entwined with the social-cultural events in medieval Europe[73]. It arose and existed in the frictions between submission to and freedom from the restraints of the church, the state and the market. As "an autonomous, permanent, corporate institution", however, it has roots in the nineteenth-century Europe; it evolved via processes of secularization, bureaucratization and specialization. Moreover, "the model of professorial organization combining teaching and research" appeared mainly in Germany and spread all over the world, initially via conquest and colonization (İhsanoğlu, 2019; Perkin, 2007, p. 159). It was used as a "seat of original secular learning" and an apparatus of European modernization (Ben-David & Zloczower, 1962, p. 48). It reinvented itself post-World War II as a key player in the "new post-industrial or professional society" and service economy. This created a shift: "from elite to mass higher education" (Perkin, 2007, p. 160). It also enthused

[73] There were, for example, older and established educational institutions in the Islamic civilization (İhsanoğlu, 2019).

the rise of a knowledge society and economy that commodify/commercialize scholarship. This involves "an extension of capitalist production, consumption, and exchange into education" where knowledge is appraised for its market value (Fisher & Chan, 2008, pp. 4-5). The university was also turned into "the new star ship in the policy fleet for governments around the world" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313). These trends are linked with anti-intellectualism, or "a negative attitude towards the "life of the mind""; it has little interest in "theoretical content and critical and analytic thinking" (Frunzaru et al., 2018, p. 388). A concern in the production of research congealed in the twentieth century; it is linked to a reduced quality in pedagogy via "technocratic and technophilic modes", or adaptations to the rising numbers of students (Naidoo, 2015, p. 4). The fixation on 'cutting-edge' research has also overtaken contemplative interrogation, or a "disciplined thought about major issues and the quality of existing knowledge" (Clegg, 2013; Pocklington & Tupper, 2002, p. 7). Some critics warn against "the mechanistic, cookie cutter, assembly line dogma that is dominating the intellectual life of the academic". They also call out the complicity of academics in the crises confronting academia and humanity via their "hyper-conformity" or "hyper-cynicism" (Naidoo, 2015, p. 2).

The modern-day university is segmented into large faculties and departments that uphold im/material walls between natural, human and social sciences. This division of labour relies on "hyperspecialization", and thus breeds hyperspecializers. It produces a "society of specialists" and "communities of experts" (Millgram, 2015, pp. 2-3). It is also liable for relational hurdles such as "getting along and managing cooperative enterprises with people whom we do not understand" (p. 6). So, academics are partly "united only by occupancy of a common territory called the campus" (Pocklington & Tupper, 2002, p. 5). Disciplines are "the most powerful units in the university"; they are sited in a department, or the "outpost of a particular discipline". They transmit the "torch of gang and clanship" (Scheff, 1995, p. 157). They establish a "disciplinary self": "disciplines discipline disciples" (Barry et al., 2008, p. 20; Chad, 2015; Han, 2003; Scheff, 1995). More precisely, they carry their own concepts, practices, credentials, etc.; the most prominent ones hold a "regulatory code and tight boundaries controlled by academics" (Clegg, 2013, p. 78). Over time, they were turned into "well-defined identities with markets of exchange of scholars and graduates" (Turner, 2017, p. 14). While disciplinary/professional classification surely offers "a little order in a very chaotic world" (Carolan, 2005, p. 409), it is now challenged by various calls for interactions (i.e., inter-, multi-, pluri-, and trans-disciplinarity) (Klein, 2017).

To some outsiders (e.g., anti-establishment groups, working-class people) universities may appear as "governing/dominating 'elites'", or homes for "intellectual elites" (Read, 2018, p. 593). Certain aggravations with the academy are also surfacing from weakened "historically privileged statuses in relation to 'race', gender, and sexuality"; their bearers are facing a loss of social respect/ power/opportunities (p. 594). Yet, the career ambitions of academics differ; many see their labour a "substitute for radical political action" and aspire to a "radical restructuring of society" (Shaw, 1990, p. 23). Many scholars also originate from socially oppressed groups and confront unfair treatment within academia (e.g., Kidman, 2020). That said, in a world in which many people still struggle with barriers to education, university members are a privileged group. This also applies to non-academic professionals, or the "knowledge-based professional elites" (doctors, lawyers, etc.). Broadly, this points to an "Age of Experts" where "formal knowledge" is a vital propeller of social-cultural mobility (Brint, 1994, p. 4). To insiders, or the professorate, the university may present as a space where joint dealings are converted into a "'game' of power and influence" so as to maximize the prospect of individual outperformance (Krais, 2002, p. 408). It is a classed, gendered, raced, ableist, etc. game (Clegg, 2013; Read, 2018). In general, "academia operates in a culture of extreme competitiveness" that is damaging to wellbeing (Rawlins, 2019, p. FSO392). It involves a hierarchically ordered "agonal structure" (tenure track system, etc.) that runs on the "basis of conflict, of achievement not only for its own sake, but to improve one's standing in relation to others". It thus sustains "rituals of adversity" (Krais, 2002, p. 414). Further, academic life depends on the professor-student relation in which the appropriation of a knowledge surplus by the latter from the former sets the terms on which that bond is arranged. It often entails graduate research supervision which conjures the 'master-slave' relation, or a domination/subordination enacted via fear, infantilization, seduction, etc. (Grant, 2008)[74]. It may, however, be circumvented by a "moral desire to act out of solidarity" (Mackie et al., 2017, p. 305).

Historical reviews show a shift from "the Research University to the entrepreneurial university"[75] that merges "science and the economy, university and industry" usually via

[74] This is an archetypical depiction; this social bond is always intricate, dynamic, negatively and positively emotional, etc. from the position of both, the supervisor and the supervisee.

[75] This is tied to the transformations that emerged in the 1970s via government-led reforms of the public service administration, jointly termed as the New Public Management (NPM). NPM imposed practices of "marketisation, privatisation, managerialism, performance measurement and accountability" (Tolofari, 2005, p. 75). Its multifaceted impact on the educational system is widely documented (e.g., Chandler, Barry & Clark, 2002; Deem, 2004; Fusarelli & Johnson, 2004; Shore & Taitz, 2012).

governmental schemes (Etzkowitz, 2003, p. 109). Contemporary university is then governed by "new logics of managerialism and metrics" (Clegg, 2013, p. 78). They impose an alignment of departmental/disciplinary/professional fidelities with market-state interests what exposes an "academic capitalism" (Gill, 2013, p. 13). Access to university's upper echelons thus hinges on intensive research outputs assessed via indicators (external funding, number of publications in peer-reviewed journals, etc.) (Leišytė & Wilkesmann, 2016). In this neoliberal capitalist climate, "the microprocesses of career advancement and jealousy and the macroprocesses of economic determinants of funding, all influence what comes to be scientifically believed" (López & Potter, 2005, p. 7). Further, students are turned into "fee-paying consumers to be placated" what fosters their therapeutization (Clegg, 2013, p. 80). Since marketized academia applauds autonomous learners, it curtails the social relational nature of teaching and learning. In its fixation on the cultivation of an "affectless rationality", or an objective expertise, it disregards emotional expressions (p. 71). This "dominant Cartesian account of rationality" endorses "the ideal of the autonomous rational person" (p. 73). It implies a divide between "fact and value" and facilitates a retreat from "care work" (p. 80). The rise of evidence-based policies/practices/tools embodies a persistent influence of modernism reinforced by an emotionless/detached *cogito*. It demeans relationship-based and insight-directed approaches (Shedler, 2018). While postmodernism (in its variety) confronts these trends, knowledge is "not reducible simply to position" (Clegg, 2013, p. 72). On the whole, these fads ignore that scholarly activities are not utterly rational journeys: their depth derives from "second-order emotional commentary"[76] (p. 75). This doctoral research project was certainly steeped in a situated and embodied emotionality; this speaks to the "invisible work" of research labour (Batty et al., 2020, p. 354).

Between homefulness and homelessness: Scholarship on refugeehood

Academic research on refugeehood[77] occurs in a settler-colonial system of knowledge creation, where scholarly efforts are influenced "by histories of imperialism, invasion and

[76]Clegg (2013) defines 'second-order emotions' as first-order emotions "become further articulated and elaborated through our internal conversations" which intertwines "logos" and "pathos" (p. 74). Emotions are understood as "the socially *constituted* properties which are emergent from the internal relationship between the subjects' concerns and society's normativity" (Archer, 2000, p. 215).

[77] This speaks to all kinds of research, including on refugeehood-youthhood and refugeehood-human social care.

violence". The practices/processes of settler-colonialism now operate within a neoliberal capitalist framework (Kidman, 2020, p. 247; Fobear, 2014). Post-migration aid for migrant populations thus also has roots in the settler-colonial project, and, more precisely, in the care work done by settling-colonizing Christian missionaries (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2018). Top or leading scholars have been, however, overconsumed by debates over the extent to which forced migration has or needs, or not, its own disciplinary/professional home and, if so, what is the best label for it (e.g., Black, 2001; Chimni, 2009; Hathaway, 2007; Refugee Studies Centre, 2016; Stein, 1981; Zetter, 2000, 1991). Others extol the notable impact of their discipline (e.g., Chatty, 2014; Colson, 2003; Harrell-Bond, Voutira & Leopold, 1992; Marfleet, 2007) or question the limited public recognition given to their own (e.g., Elie, 2014; Gatrell, 2007; Marfleet, 2007). Many researchers also aim to delineate their work (e.g., 'refugee mental health'); some mention the 'refuge/e problem' only when it encroaches on their field. Some deflate the disciplinary craze by asserting that the notion of refuge/e is not a "naturally self-delimiting domain" of knowledge (Malkki, 1995, p. 496).

These disputes emerged alongside two broad trends discernible since the 1980s: research on refuge/es materialized in a field demarcating itself as Refugee Studies; they also surfaced across different disciplines, largely working in isolation, including those with no leading interest in migration. The former development mirrors the founding of the Refugee Studies Centre (initially the Refugee Studies Programme) at Oxford University/England in 1982 and that of the Centre for Refugee Studies at York University/Canada in 1988[78]. Some scholars underline, however, that refuge/e-centred research pre-dates these establishments (e.g., Chatty, 2014; Elie, 2014; Holborn, 1939; Kulischer, 1949; Proudfoot, 1957; Skran & Daughtry, 2007)[79]. Yet, since given access to an "academic institutional base", it gained recognition "as an academic field in its own right" (Black, 2001; Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 2007, p. 283, p. 282). It was originally enmeshed with the most urgent struggles experienced by forced migrants; they were the main concerns of humanitarian organizations and governmental agencies. Affiliated research works were used for the aims forged by "particular political or bureaucratic interests" and can be described as Refugee Policy Studies (Black, 2001, p. 67). This may partly explain the limited regard given to settler-colonialism[80].

[78] It is the successor of the Refugee Documentation Project created in 1981.
[79] They relate to the large movements of people in Europe after World War I, legal-institutional accounts in light of international organizations established in the 1920-30s, etc.
[80] Settler-colonialism carries multiple meanings in different national and disciplinary/professional contexts; in other words, as an "interpretative category" it "has a history" (Veracini, p. 314).

Despite efforts at inclusion/cooperation[81], research is dominated by these institutional players and their merchandise. Considering studies (e.g., Burris, 2004) that show links between prestigious institutions[82] and enhanced access to resources that propel academic careers, this scholarship can be assumed to create disparities in the diffusion of knowledge. So, while some argue about the best home, lack of home or no home for refuge/e-focused research, others are more opportunistic; some also branch-off and/or create new initiatives (e.g., Critical Refugee Studies Collective).

The size of scholarship on refugeehood is now so daunting that it resists synthesis. It surfaces in a material and ideational scenery that intertwines disciplinary/professional variety in harmonious/conflictual ways. The concept of refuge/e has been dissected into countless aspects (social-legal category, event, state, condition, process, experience, outcome) and carries a rich vocabulary (refugee, refuge, refugeehood, refugeeization, refugeeness) (Haddad, 2004). There is an array of sub/themes ('refugees and mental health', 'refugees and education', etc.). Some thinkers refer to a pyramid of study areas that fit into one another like a "matryoshka or Russian doll" (Van Hear, 2012, p. 12): Refugee Studies, Forced Migration Studies, Migration Studies and Mobilities. They are entangled with the "refugee regime complex", or a mobility-nonmobility regimes nexus[83] (human rights, humanitarian, development, travel, security, labour) that intersects with the refugee regime in complementary/contradictory/competitive ways (Betts, 2013). It produces mixed points of inquiry (local/global, individual/collectivity, etc.) and frictions about definitions and categorizations/representations. There are also differences in views about the link between research/activism, refugees/non-refugees, traditional/current refugees, genuine/bogus refugees, best analytical unit and degrees/kinds of ties between structure, culture and agency/ reflexivity, etc. (Bascom, 1998; Lister, 2013; Van Hear, 1998). They also include disagreements over the historical origin of refuge/es and their features. Although scholars tend to agree that modern refugeehood is quantitatively/qualitatively distinct from earlier times (Marfleet, 2007), some see it as a direct result of world wars; others situate it much earlier in European history, at

[81] It initially drew from Sociology, Anthropology, Politics, International Relations, Development Studies and Law, and more recently from Psychology, Psychosocial Studies, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, Critical Legal Studies and Environmental Science (Marfleet, 2007). The Refugee Studies Programme also surveyed over 250 centres of migration studies in the 1980s so as to map their research on refuge/es (Center for Migration Studies, 1987) (Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 2007, p. 283).

[82] "The core of the English university system has always been Oxford and Cambridge" (Ben-David & Zloczower, 1962, p. 63).

[83] The notion of regime refers here to a "national and international body of institutions, law, policy and practice" (van Hear, 1998, p. 342).

least in the sixteenth century (e.g., Forcade & Nivet, 2008; Poussou, 2008). Some thinkers (e.g., Elmadmad, 2008; Shoukri, 2011, Türk, 2008) also warn against strictly Eurocentric accounts; they highlight, for instance, *hijrah*, the Islamic concept of asylum, which is "quite advanced; even arguably more so than modern refugee law" (Elmadmad, 2008, p. 53). Overall, the move of some scholars from Refugee Studies to Forced Migration Studies in the 1990s, the refusal of some to do so and the centrist positions of others have added to this convoluted condition (Hathaway, 2007). Scholarship is then only loosely connected via equivocal master concepts (e.g., refuge/e, forced migration) and a sociopolitical/ethical agenda; it is often powered by a "larger purpose", that is, the enhancement of human social welfare (Skran & Daughtry, 2007, p. 31).

Breaking quasi-free from disciplinarianism/professionalism

Research related to refugeehood can find an atypical dwelling, that is, outside of forced migration studies; this is the case of this doctoral work. It developed at the *École de service social* [School of Social Work] originally founded to attend to the hardships of Franco-Ontarians, or Francophones living in Ontario/Canada – a minority context (e.g., Drolet et al., 2015). So, this setting has no initial/official link to the study of migratory phenomena even though it now considers these realities (e.g., Garneau, 2017; 2010). Further, even if this research effort engaged some French-speaking informants, it does not assimilate itself into its original mission[84]. Yet, given an extensive engagement of social workers with newcomers in Canada, it comfortably inserts itself into social work (e.g., Christensen Pigler, 1992; Lacroix et al., 2015)[85]. In view of my biography, however, it does not neatly incorporate itself into its professionalized articulation (see Prolegomenon). In fact, it wrestles with its proper academic home. This confusion was fuelled by many doubts: *What academic degree from my multi-disciplinary/professional education should be credited for this research initiative? Is there a single event in my life with which it can be associated? What should be done with my non-institutionally backed learning and practices? Does it have an authentic disciplinary/professional dwelling?* It was decided that this endeavour,

[84] This doctoral thesis is partly bilingual; interviews excerpts are preserved in their original language.

[85] The specific guidelines related to social work with migrant populations began to be more seriously considered at the onset of the 1990s; they largely engaged training related to 'cross-culturalism'(Christensen Pigler, 1992). It is with the global rise of Indigenous Social Work that a focus on decolonization became stronger; it is driven by a discontent with Western social work models, practices and education (Coates, Gray, & Yellow Bird, 2016).

although produced in an institutional/professional setting with a distinct social-cultural history, is an upshot of many and wide-ranging spatial-temporal influences that interlace personal and social facets (Kahn, 2009). While I was immersed in post-migration mental health prior to the Ph.D., I have, over the years, purposefully and pleasurably disobeyed disciplinary/professional borders to better appreciate "the human condition in all its fullness" (Carroll, 2016, p. 251). This comprised an encounter with non-Eurocentric views. My awareness of multilevel complexity prevented me from accepting a single disciplinary/professional identity in a linear/stable fashion. Human social life in nature violates such perimeters: "a joined-up world needs joined-up knowledge" (Bhaskar & Parker, 2010, p. vii). More precisely, there is no ontological/epistemological support for enclosed human and social science disciplines: they are "historically specific *facets* of (…) – the human condition, in all its diversity" (Carroll, 2013, p. 10). A human person is a "totality and cannot be studied as a congeries of distinct and separable parts"; it is not made of a "number of parts that relate to distinct disciplines" (Bhaskar, Danermark & Price, 2017, p. 3).

This holistic view mandates a "transdisciplinary sensibility" (Carroll, 2013, p. 22), or a "critical transdisciplinarity" that is chiefly "*metatheoretical*" (Frauley, 2017, p. 295). A vital aspect of transdisciplinarity is 'transcendence', or the production of a framework that displays relations across multiple levels of processes that 'transcend' the borders of customary disciplinary fields (Rousseau & Wilby, 2014). It has been noted, however, that social work meta/theorizing has been falling behind "with the complex, nuanced and evolving debates within the social and psychological sciences" (Houston, 2001, p. 845). Specifically, social work, an applied discipline/ profession, entails disputes whether it is an art, a science, or a blend of both (Bent-Goodley, 2015). So, the relation between social work practice and social work science is seen as problematic. Most relevantly for a Ph.D. in Social Work, this begs the question whether social work can be re/ conceptualized within the social scientific tradition. This contribution adopts an in-between stance: instead of totally escaping science and retreating into subjectivism in a radical postmodernist style or affiliating with modernist/positivist science (e.g., evidence-based movement), it pushes for a social work as an applied science that advances knowledge via meta/theoretical development and an anti-oppressive lens (Brekke & Anastas, 2019).

Applied sociology infused with transdisciplinary/metatheoretical awareness

Since this research work occurred under the banner of social work, it could not fully free itself from disciplinary/professional influences; it was thus oriented by a sociology with distinct flavours. The use of sociology in social work is justified by their sociohistorical kinship[86]: "Once upon a time, social work and sociology were one discipline (…): What has happened with the division into two?" (Levin, Haldar & Picot, 2015, p. S1). Although their link can be variously defended (e.g., Garneau & Namian, 2017b; Lengermann & Niebrugge, 2007), their split was defined by a tension between scientific professionalism and charitable concern: "By defining one discipline as theoretical and the other as practical, shared achievements together with instances of interdisciplinary knowledge production become easily hidden or invisible" (Levin et al., 2015, p. S1). Hoping to reunite them, some scholars (e.g., Cunningham & Cunningham, 2008; Dominelli, 1997; Dunk-West & Verity, 2013; Shaw, 2015) speak of a 'sociological social work'. While sociological theories are routinely used in social work, they are often delineated as "existing 'alongside' or 'with' or 'for' social work". A sociological social work is then a response to the following question: "what theory or theories underpin your practice?" (Dunk-West & Verity, 2016, pp. 5-6). An applied and clinical sociology (e.g., Association for Applied and Clinical Sociology) and sociotherapy (e.g., Cavanagh, 2007) engage sociologists in frontline work, and thus blur the lines between sociologist and social worker. This debunks the popular view that the former is merely "an observer and commentator" and not "an active agent of intervention and change" (Bruhn, 2001, p. 395). Further, while it is arrogant to see sociology as a 'Queen Science', as it was once done by Auguste Comte, a French sociologist and allegedly a troubled man (Fishman, 1950), its potential cannot be underrated: "the sociological terrain is of great import, as a nexus whose permeability, dense connectivity to other fields and critical transdisciplinarity are prime assets" (Carroll, 2013, p. 1). It especially allows "to realize that things are not necessarily as they are, but that they could also be otherwise" (Pyyhtinen, 2017, p. 7). This social work research applies a *relational sociology* created in the context of a *humanist sociology* (Donati & Archer, 2015; see chapter 2). It is invested in "the sociological relevance of metatheory and metatheorising with particular attention to Critical Realism" (Frauley, 2017, p. 293).

[86] University of Chicago offered its first Social Work Program, an outgrowth of the Department of Sociology, in 1920 (Levin, Haldar & Picot, 2015).

2. INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The intellectual contexts of social science research, or existing meta/theoretical options[87], influence researchers' conceptualizations though they do not determine them[88]. The current meta/theoretical richness resulted via a turn from a "controlled mono-dimensional modernity" to a "radically pluralistic and thus rather uncontrolled, at times even semi-anarchic, postmodernity" (Benedikter & Molz, 2012, p. 35). This was a shift from a knowledge conveyed from a "God's eye view" with "disembodied worldspeak" to one that is strongly "incarnational and perspectival" (Archer, 2000, p. 21). Scholars celebrate or decry this pluralism; some stress that it obstructs possibilities for serious intellectual exchanges (Lahire, 2012; Porpora, 2015). They argue that social science research would benefit from more philosophical/metatheoretical talks; yet, these days, many social scientists believe that there is no more need for philosophy/metatheory. At the same time, however, in this belief "lies an implicit philosophy of social science" (Mooney, 2014, p. 22). Philosophy has "traditionally underwritten both what constitutes science or knowledge and which political practices are deemed legitimate" (Bhaskar, 2011a, p. 1). Social sciences (notably sociology) were unable to detach themselves from it (Hughes & Sharrock, 2014). An analysis of philosophical foundations can then build ties across disciplines/professions as it offers the potential for a new way of understanding. It enables reflections that examine the nature of reality (ontology), the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and how to produce knowledge (methodology/method). While an excessive philosophizing fosters righteousness, sectarianism, inwardness, etc., if "what society is held to be also affects how it is studied" (Archer, 1995, p. 2), then opposing risks must also be declared; they involve the effects of hasty researching (e.g., mindless empiricism, gender, racial, etc. bias).

[87] While the metatheoretical, seen here as a "good travel guide" (Abrams & Hogg, 2004, p. 98), is what shapes the theoretical, the latter involves assumptions, principles, etc. that are used to explain/describe the phenomena under study (Holland, 2014).

[88] More precisely, "the sorts of theories that are chosen and how they are used are an expression of the research questions driving projects as well as the political, cultural and biographical characteristics of researchers themselves" (Cieslik & Simpson, 2013, p. 40).

Between hypo-socialization and hyper-socialization of human personhood

Social science scholarship carries variations in the understanding of social ontology/reality, and thus of social analysis. They are expressed through many dichotomies. They entail three key macro-dualisms: hyper-naturalism/positivism and anti-naturalism/positivism, or interpretivism/ postmodernism; methodological individualism/atomism and methodological collectivism/holism; and structure/culture and agency/reflexivity[89]. They also include micro-dualisms such as mind vs. body, reason vs. cause, fact vs. value, theory vs. practice, etc. (Archer, 1995; Bhaskar, Danermark & Price, 2017). They cause debates on the "human condition in society", or how to grasp the human person as a living subject from the social scientific standpoint, or as someone "who is partly formed by their sociality, but also has the capacity to transform their society in some part" (Archer, 2015, p. 87). It is impossible to do social science without the notion of human personhood: "even various forms of determinism or those who most determinedly pronounced the 'death of the subject' have such concepts" (p. 85). Two social ontologies[90] have dictated western meta/ theorizing for more than two hundred years: hypo-socialized and hyper-socialized views of the human person. They are articulated via two prototheorizations: *Model of Modernity's Man*[91] and *Model of Society's Being*. In line with the former, the human person "owes nothing to society" (Archer, 2000, p. 51), and thus appears as a "self-sufficient 'outsider'" who merely functions in a structural/cultural context (2015, p. 69). In line with the latter, the human person owes everything to society or is a "dependent 'insider'" whose every attribute (beyond biology) is formed by structural/cultural contexts (2011, p. 274). Both of them are reductionist and conflationary[92] (see chapter 2), and foster an anti-humanist model of social life. While they are analytical models, they carry real-world effects (Bielecka-Prus, 2017). The former aligns with the free-market and a non-interventionist state; this individualism/liberalism urges norms of profit and competition. The latter allies with egalitarianism and state interventionism/bureaucratic regulation; this collectivism/ socialism upholds norms of civic duty towards the public good and a redistribution of resources

[89] They are often linked with Max Weber and his analysis of intentional social actions and Émile Durkheim and his analysis of social facts, respectively (Wight, 2006, p. 64). Moreover, "with some stretching the various schools of social thought (…) can be seen as instances of one or other of these positions" (Bhaskar, 1998, p. 212).
[90] This can be extended to organization/institution/nation-state/society.
[91] Archer (2000) points out that the term 'Man' was used in Enlightenment thinking and referred to humanity (p. 18).
[92] They create three major 'conflations': structure/culture to agency (downwards) and agency to structure/culture (upwards); some efforts at their fusion lead to a 'central conflation' which treats structure/culture and agency as "two faces of a single coin" (Archer, 2000, p. 6; 2007, pp. 151-152).

(Donati & Archer, 2015). Overall, the process of probing what each model urges to disregard/ defend helps to move towards a more fitting social science meta/theorization.

What follows delves into each model so as to orient the reader; each is then used to map trends in scholarship on refugeehood, including post-migration support. Since this research project involved young informants, this section also engages with a scholarship on youthhood. They are ideal-types; each is selective and delimits a family of perspectives; they allow to tackle the problem of quantity: the trends they conjure are more limited than empirical studies. Although some migration scholars advise against meta/theoretical disputes (Castles, 2010; Portes, 2010), others argue that migration research is "fractured" and omits the "complexities of relations between structure, culture and agency" (Bakewell, 2010, p. 1691; Iosifides, 2011, p. 2). These confusions speak to "the problem of under-conceptualisation in Refugee Studies/Forced Migration Studies" (Chatty & Marfleet, 2013; p. 1). The urgency to lessen suffering may partly overshadow philosophical debates (Donà, 2007; Haddad, 2004). For some thinkers, Refugee Studies produced research that is "fundamentally unsuited even to the task of influencing the policy world" (Black, 2001, p. 67). In short, Refugee Studies emerged as a field loyal to one "common referent": "that abstract persona, the refugee, a product of the twentieth century and the barriers to the movement across borders imposed by nation-states". This character was then confronted on the basis that those so branded are "different in many ways, move under different circumstances, and have different experiences" (Colson, 2007, p. 321). This was intensified by the arrivals of populations from the South, and which urged the insertion of the "voices of refugees" (Aleinikoff, 1992, p. 134). This led to the creation of Forced Migration Studies: "whereas refugee studies scholarship is centered on studying particular persons ('refugees'), forced migration studies focus on analysis of a phenomenon ('forced migration' – notably, not 'forced migrants')" (Hathaway, 2007, p. 354). Instead, Critical Refugee Studies are an interdisciplinary field that reconceptualizes the 'refugee' not as an object of rescue but as a site of social, economic and political aspects (Critical Refugee Studies Collective). Overall, it is possible to *roughly* link Refugee Studies with trends covered in the Model of Modernity's Man; Forced Migration Studies and partly Critical Refugee Studies can be coupled with those in the Model of Society's Being. Further, the structure/culture vs. agency/ reflexivity dilemma is also ignored in social work research even though it is the "axial principle" around which intervention orbits (Houston, 2004, pp. 261-262). The same meta/theoretical concerns are detected in the scholarship on youthhood, including the sociology of youth; they carry

"punitive political and policy consequences" for young people (Cieslik & Simpson, 2013, p. 43; Cieslik & Vera, 2016; Coffey & Farrugia, 2014; Côté, 2014).

Model of Modernity's Man: An overview

The Model of Modernity's Man exhibits anthropocentrism, or an ontological stance that centers the universe in human beings and produces an understanding of it in their image (MinGyu, 2008). Its base is a mutely "gendered, propertied and European man" who is self-centered and dis-related (Bhaskar, 2011b, p. 16). It is sustained by a linear perspective, or a mode of perceiving via "distanced seeing": observers view an external reality as if they were staring at it via a window/ camera lens. So, the world is a "distant spectacle and the viewer is an immobile spectator" (Purser, Changkil & Montuori, 1995, p. 1056)[93]. This fostered a split between natural/social milieu and human beings and human beings and non-/human beings. It contoured them as self-reliant masters/ makers of their history/society/biography (Archer, 2000). The Model began with modern-day science that surfaced during European Enlightenment which was called this way as "it brought the Light of Reason into the darkness of superstition" (Dalal, 2018, p. 2). It entailed a set of events, processes, etc. that appeared in Western societies between seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (Foucault, 2010 [1984]). Modernism fused "an atomistic egocentricity and an abstract universality", or a "self-defining subject" who is "set against a given world, so that subject is opposed to object, and indeed other subjects". This sustains a dualism between an ego (individual/ group/etc.) and its object of action (manipulation/exploitation/etc.) via their objective partition (Bhaskar, 2011b, p. 17). Centricity (e.g., Eurocentrism) overtly excludes while an abstract universality covertly includes a pre-/non-modern Other. This creates a reliance of the One on the Other: "both are part of an only tacitly acknowledged totality" (Hartwig, 2011, p. 497). This was solidified by René Descartes' dictum ("I think, therefore I am") and its various prioritizations: thought over being, epistemology over ontology, thought over body/emotion/soul, human beings over other non-human beings/nature and individual thinker over other people/society. Reason

[93] The linear perspective is said to have emerged as an artistic technique in 15th century Italy. It is associated with Filippo Brunelleschi; it changed how surroundings were depicted. They included "a viewer appearing as thought located at a fixed vantage point, looking out on to a distant landscape". It led to the creation of "scale drawings, maps, charts, graphs, and diagrams". They represented life "in terms of spatial homogeneity and the Cartesian coordinates" (Purser et al., 1995, p. 1056).

became “the only measurement of beings in the universe”; anything beyond it is non-real (MinGyu, 2008, p. 8). Hence, the call for “freedom to think” made rationality into “the organizing principle of society at large”. This birthed a “hyper-rationality” that only esteems quantification (e.g., evidence-based movement); it produces “authoritarianism and darkness” (Dalal, 2018, pp. 2-3). It is also now found in “advanced quantitative techniques, large data sets, and surveys” (Martinez Dy et al., 2014, p. 451). The favouring of epistemology over ontology generates the “epistemic fallacy”: complex reality is shoved into “the straightjacket of our preferred ways of knowing” instead of permitting it to sculpt knowledge production (Wright, 2016, p. 3). So, what is regarded as real is limited to what we can know. The Enlightenment urged to obtain veridical/objective/ value-free knowledge via secular rationality; it was optimistic about human/social progress and perfectibility. It asserted that true understanding is scientific: it is non-metaphysical/teleological/ traditional and surpasses mere criticism. It generated an “authoritative intellectual system” via scientism, or an excessive faith in the power of science, and naturalism, or a doctrine according to which everything can be explained by natural (not super-natural) laws/forces (MinGyu, 2012, p. 230). In fact, nature was an ideal to which human/social nature should conform; it is in this conformity that human/social advancement dwelled. It referred to a “model type of individual living in a model society and operating with model thoughts and values” (Voget, 1968, p. 329). It endorsed “methodological monism”, or the idea that natural and social sciences can use the same approach (Udéhn, 2001, p. 167).

Modernism yielded a hyper-naturalist/positivist social science[94] via empiricism/naïve realism: knowledge stems from sensory experience, or the capacity to observe patterns, and facts can be split from values. So, we possess “an unmediated and direct access to the truth” (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 3). There is a single absolute reality independent of human action that needs to be discovered via a ‘scientific method’. This relies on the “perceptual criterion of existence”: sense-impressions ascertain that a reference to individuals is real given their undeniable presence (Archer, 1995, p. 35). Reality appears “flat, uniform, unstructured and undifferentiated”; it is made of “atomistic events or states of affairs which are constantly conjoined, so occurring in closed

[94] Cruickshank (2011) explains: “any dialogue about positivism can start and end in mutual misunderstanding. The reason for this problem is that the meaning of positivism has broadened out considerably over time” (p. 5). There are many forms of positivist thought; some of the most influential forms were developed by Auguste Compte and David Hume. The term ‘positivism’ was coined by Compte: he called the Enlightenment a ‘positive age’. The Model of Modernity’s Man is most congruent with versions of positivism (logical positivism) that distrust theorizations that do not denote ‘facts’ or ‘evidence’ about human beings.

systems". They are passively detected by "asocial, atomistic individuals" (Bhaskar, 2011a, p. 7). This overlooks that which is "unexercised, unactualized, or unobserved" (Martinez, et al., 2014, p. 452). It also negates that the world is an open/changeable/unpredictable web of relations. Empiricism mixes a materialist ontology and a nominalist[95] epistemology. It engages in a "construction of laws based on experience" (Johnson, et al., 1984, p. 32; p. 30). Social reality is conceived as "pseudo-natural objective structures whose empirical regularities can be observed and explained by nomological hypotheses"; action is "observable behaviour exodetermined by the observable material factors of the environment and the organism" (Vandenberghe, 2008, p. 19). This rise of scientification touched all human and social sciences which rebranded themselves as rational sciences (Dalal, 2018). Psychology became a science of the behaviour which confronted mentalism/psychism (Skinner, 1984). Behaviourism was a "purely objective experimental branch of natural science" whose aim was "the prediction and control of behaviour" (Watson, 1994, p. 248). It focused on the "interaction of biologically fixed features of human nature with variable and non-social factors like physical environment and heredity" (Stoutland, 1990, p. 108). Human beings were converted into "animate *machines* to be studied"; their introspective/volitional abilities were deleted (Dalal, 2018, p. 50). History became fixated on "a sequence of factual events strung together in chronological order" or "objective historical facts" as well as "historical laws" uncovered via a search for "regular sequential patterns in historical data" and "historical prediction" (Wright, 2013, p. 240; pp. 241-242). Medical and social scientists also joined forces: psychiatric social epidemiology, for example, determined social causes of illness but "*without problematizing medical knowledge*" (Pilgrim, 2014, p. 3).

This provoked a dispute on the nature of natural and social realties since research that involves human beings/actions is problematic. It gave rise to anti-/post-naturalism/positivism, or "counter-philosophies of science" that "over-react to it" but carry some of its errors (Porpora, 2015, p. 11). Under the Model of Modernity's Man, this involves interpretivism/hermeneutics[96] that introduce sense-making from below. Since the "object of social-scientific analysis, unlike that of natural science, is *pre*structured with meaning", inquiry must start with the "act of social

[95] Nominalism is a "solution to the problem of how we can know social reality" (p. 15) according to which general ideas/concepts exist only in the names used to express them; they do not stand for the independent existing objects.
[96] The terms are used interchangeably. Hermeneutics comes from Greek for 'interpreter'; interpretivism is associated with Max Weber in sociology. It comes in many varieties such as phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and symbolic interactionism (Iosifides, 2011).

interpretation" (Gorski, 1990, p. 280; p. 290; Iosifides, 2011). So, "human beings 'act' rather than behave": behaviour relies on interpretation what conjures subjectivism. Social scientific work is committed to an idealist (non-materialist) ontology and nominalist epistemology. It is qualitative and generates an "understanding of the individual experience of subjective interpretation"; knowledge is a replica of individual actors' interpretations of social reality (Johnson, et al., 1984, p. 75). It is conceived as "symbolic and meaningful structures whose meaning is understandable and orienting action internally"; action becomes "intentional action, significantly oriented to rules, norms, and symbols". So, "the Newtonian model of behaviour gives way to the Weberian model of intentional action" (Vandenberghe, 2008, p. 19). It is an outcome of "noetic[97] activities of individuals" and entails a micro-level social constructionism[98] (p. 286). While law and meaning appear antithetical, this is a facade (Patomäki & Wight, 2000). Interpretivism shifted from "the true premise" that social life is conceptual to the "false conclusion based on positivism" that social sciences must adopt a "radically different method from the natural sciences". Yet, it is possible to assert that the same general scientific processes are applicable in natural and social sciences, but that social reality restricts this method (Bhaskar et al., 2011, pp. 36-37). Moreover, they use explanations that reduce structural/cultural phenomena/settings to intra-/inter-actional individuals[99]. For methodological individualism/atomism[100], individuals are the only real parts of society; "the important things" about them are found "independently from their social context", or in their intrinsic/pre-given/pre-social attributes. They determine their agency and bring about macro-social occurrences (Archer, 1995, p. 35). So, structures/cultures are visible/constant patterns of individual conduct at the aggregate level; they have no real existence of their own or are not causally efficient in an autonomous way (Porpora, 1998[101]). For methodological

[97] Noetic refers to mental activity/the intellect.

[98] Iosifides (2011) indicates that there are different versions of social constructionism: upwards, downwards and central conflationist/elisionist.

[99] While these terms are not easily defined (since they contain many variations), they pertain to a fundamental debate in the social sciences (Udéhn, 2001; Zahle & Collin, 2014).

[100] Isolated individuals (with their actions and properties) are the only active agents in the social world, and thus the only reasonable unit of analysis for social explanation (Crossley, 2011).

[101] They are "only abstractions from the behaviour of individuals and summaries of the distribution of different microbehaviors in time and space. These abstractions and summaries do not *do* anything; if they seem to indicate a continuous reality it is because the individuals that make them up repeat their microbehaviors many times, and if the 'structures' change it is because the individuals who enact them change their microbehaviors" (Collins, 1981, p. 989 quoted in Porpora, 1998, p. 341).

situationism[102], the situation of micro-interaction takes priority; it explains macro-social facts as sums of interactional incidents (Mouzelis, 2000). While it inserts contextual influences, it preserves individualism in that it interprets them as made of individuals; it omits hierarchies in structuring/culturing and in emergence. Interpersonal relations stand for structure/culture, or "nothing but other people" and their "habits, inertia, loyalties, rivalries", etc. (Archer, 1995, p. 42). Society is a sum of "aggregations of psychic monads, each 'in their own world'" (Crossley, 2011, p. 72). Subjectivity is a singular realm, or a "private theatre" enacted in the cranium (p. 3). The self stands as "totally asocial" or removed from its socio-historical location and possesses a "direct access to reality" (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 1). It exists in an external context – "the direct equivalent of the physical environment" (Archer, 2003, p. 116). It prioritizes purposive action and makes everyone unique, or a carrier of a self-made self. Identity is a direct fulfillment of this self which is equal to the conscious self; it is mainly constant during life. It appears as "synonymous with the 'core' of personhood" – a "deeply embedded, foundational and defining characteristic" (Bendle, 2002, p. 5).

Modernism embraced a "self-centered human nature" with a bounded self which enters into "cause-and-effect 'collisions'" with other bounded selves (Clark, 2002, p. 8). Modern selfhood is governed by an insulated/disembodied/dispassionate *Logos* (Reason), or a self in the form of an "'I' who thinks" (Archer, 2000, p. 87). This rationalist view is fixed in economics via rational choice/action theories[103]; it was also entwined with psychology since economics requires a view of humanhood to theorize how/why humans respond/relate/decide (Chai, 2005; Dalal, 2018). Broadly, human beings are "calculative rational beings" (Dalal, 2018, p. 69). They use an instrumental rationality, or the "capacity to maximize their preferences through means-ends relationships and so to optimize their utility." They seek the maximization of their self-interests and are unrestrained/independent/free to act as they want (Archer, 2015, p. 88). This omits that while the means are managed by *logos*, the ends are ruled by *pathos* or "passionate emotional

[102]Iosifides (2011) underlines that methodological situationism is, at times, grouped with poststructuralism, postmodernism and structuration theory; it typifies here symbolic interactionist approaches.

[103] They represent the "grand narrative of high modernity" driven by the notion of a "progressive rationalization of the West and then the rest of the world" (Archer & Tritter, 2000, p. 1). They operate on thin/positivist and thick/ interpretivist models of individual action (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997). The thin versions focus on biologically-based behavioural dispositions; the thick ones reflect interpretivism given their recognition of intentionality (Iosifides, 2011; Norkus, 2000). They seek "causal cum intentional explanations of observed phenomena" by merging three causes of individual actions: "interests, beliefs, and opportunities" (Hedström & Swedberg, 1996, p. 128). Society is then a "voluntary association" of individuals in the fulfilment of their intentions (Stoutland, 1990, p. 110).

faculties" (Archer, 2000, p. 53). Since they are stripped of social bonds, they are perplexed by social solidarity; they thus never represent structural/cultural collectivities. So, *Modern Man* "works on the world, but the world does not work upon him, except by attaching risks and costs to the accomplishment of his preformed designs" (2011, p. 81). This reduces the human person to *Homo economicus* (Economic Man) – the hero "the modern political and socio-economic drama" (Zagor, 2015, p. 376). He is a "lone, atomistic and opportunistic bargain-hunter". While his inclinations are not necessarily egotistical, their realization leave him more satisfied in his own chosen terms (Archer, 2000, p. 4). This vision disregards concerns that are not means-ends and presumed to boost satisfaction relative to some idea of potential utility, or those that are commitments which are the basis of personal identities. This hypo-socialization turns agency into a "sourceless, fully asocial, rational abstraction" (p. 51).

Model of Modernity's Man in social scientific scholarship on refugeehood

Academic research on refuge/es influenced by the Model of Modernity's Man exhibits hyper-naturalist/positivist and anti-naturalist/interpretivist leanings. They use methodological individualism/situationism or privilege intra-/inter-actional individuals over structures/cultures. It is enmeshed with the International Law of Refugee Protection, the operations of the UNHCR (and other inter/national agencies) and inter/national humanitarianism. This calls for an inspection of legal tools, laws, statutes, treaties, conventions, institutions, etc.[104] International refugee law was framed as an "abstract system of rules which can be identified, objectively interpreted, and enforced" (Chimni, 1998, p. 352). Humanitarianism, or the "self-conscious effort by the global community to relieve the suffering of distant strangers" (Barnett, 2013, p. 380), emerged as "the impartial, independent, and neutral provision of relief" (2005, p. 724). Research on refuge/es depends on the concept of 'refugee' fashioned via the effects of World War II, or when nation-states began to devise methods to regulate mass movements. It surfaced as a knowable/nameable/predictable object of knowledge. This figure is detached from the "national order of things", and thus in need of resolution via legalism and humanitarianism (Long, 2013; Malkki, 1995). More

[104] "If we are to undo the legacy of international law's imperial past and neo-imperial present and build another international law from this exercise, our first step must be to address the ways in which its supposedly "historical" structures and subject formations are still with us today" (Eslava, 2020, p. 15).

precisely, “the definition of refugeehood and the rights catalogue” solidify criteria that are mirrored in domestic law (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2014, p. 574). International law considers “individuals as essentially free agents”. International institutions were also colonized, post-1989, by neoliberal capitalism, or via “state downsizing, privatisation, and a focus on individual action” (Eslava, 2020, pp. 2-3). The concept of human person on which the international migration industry/regime has been erected is that of the Western/European individual (Hayden, 2006). Such scholarship neither permits critical analyses on ‘the refugee’ nor the divergence between expert descriptions and actual experiences of dislocation. They scientize/naturalize it: they generate a category linked with victimhood, passiveness, etc. and portray migration as a separation from a given natural place of belonging (Drotbohm & Lems, 2018). They sacrifice the complexity/depth of knowledge of relocation for an authentic/true/objective ‘refugee’. Refuge/e is then judged via predetermined facts; if they are not detectable, it is/they are not real/true. These logics extend into post-migration social care which need/extol evidence-based practices/tools to handle individual ‘refugees’ in a “culture of disbelief”. This speaks to modernist influences on care (abstract human-centrism, individualism, materialism, clinical imperialism, etc.) (Patel & Pilgrim, 2018, p. 179).

If Modern Man is a “rational, individualistic, utilitarian, calculative and instrumental” agent (Houston, 2010, p. 842), then scholarly works either transpose this conceptualization onto ‘the refugee’, or they use it as a benchmark against which ‘the refugee’ is measured. If humanity refers to the presence of these ‘enlightened’ traits, then those lacking them are de-humanized; they must be re-humanized by being aligned with this ideal. *Homo economicus* is one of the most prevalent underlying concepts in migration research; rational choice theorization has been applied to migrants’ behaviour to explain migration processes (Haug, 2008). It assumes that migrants – individuals/aggregates of individuals (families, households, etc.) – are “resourceful actors who select from sets of alternatives” (p. 586). So, they have a sizeable agency over their decision to migrate and form their lives (Boswell, 2008). In forced migration research (Bohra-Mishra & Massey, 2011), this includes “rationalist models of displacement” which suggest that as the risk of safety increases with the intensity of violence, people seek to decrease this threat by relocating (Edwards, 2008, p. 348). The consideration of refugees-as-rational-agents can be detected in past scholarship rooted in a time in which they were viewed as “people with capacities, in short, people ‘like us’” (Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 2007, p. 282). This was spread, for instance, by the New School for Social Research in New York in 1933, or the ‘University of Exile’, which was a

sanctuary for European intellectuals facing Nazi persecution. They rejected the 'refugee' label and adopted that of 'émigré'; they also added to the legal and institutional development of the refugee-centered regime which shaped the Refugee Studies (Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 2007; Krohn, 1993). The period of the Cold War politics (1950-1989) also adopted a concept of refugees as "political heroes" and "courageous defenders of freedom" whose lives were defined by "political suffering" (Pupavac, 2006, p. 1); the 'refugee' was an "active shaper" of his life (Behrman, 2016, p. 38). It is then that an "image of a 'normal' refugee was constructed – white, male and anti-communist". This image was disrupted by the arrivals of populations from the geopolitical South (Chimni, 1998, p. 351). Scholarship now insisted that forced migration, given its involuntariness, cannot engage autonomous choice: the "lack of choice (…) is the starting point of our discipline even if autonomy is its telos, its purpose, its end" (Zagor, 2015, p. 373). In fact, the ascription of agency to the displaced might damage their case for refugee status as is the case with those who use illegal means to seek refuge (economic refugees/bogus asylum seekers/welfare migrants) and, as a result, are criminalized/painted as a threat (Bakewell, 2010). A person who enters nationally defined premises irregularly is the "*quintessentially* autonomous human being" who is instantly caught in a "clash of individual and collective autonomies". This controls autonomy by undermining rationality and transforming it into an unsafe irrationality (Zagor, 2015, p. 378). The Model of Modernity's Man thus serves as a gauge against which 'in/-authentic refugees' are demarcated.

Positivist social science seeks to establish generalizable law-like[105] relations that proffer objective truths to predict/control events/conduct. Egon Kunz sketched a "comprehensive approach to refugee movements" in his "kinetic models" of "the refugee in flight" (Kunz, 1973, p. 126; p. 125). Driven by concept of 'refugee' as an identifiable/identical pattern of conduct and causes, such inputs intended to scientifically isolate the 'refugee experience'. The goal is to develop an abstract framework that is valid for 'refugees from all places and times', or one that can contrast "the well integrated 1938 Viennese professional settled in New York with the Hindu refugees of the Bangladesh war of 1971" (p. 129). This assumes that people living refuge refer to an "objectively self-delimiting field of study" and a "label for a special, generalizable 'kind' or 'type' of person or situation", or a ""proto-refugee" of which the modern refugee is a direct descendent" (Malkki, 1995, p. 497). Recent positivist research (e.g., Groen, 2016) employs

[105] Ravenstein (1885) aimed to establish 'Laws of Migration' akin to natural laws; others spoke of 'push-pull' models (e.g., Dorigo & Tobler, 1983).

sophisticated computational modelling methods of human behaviour "for purposes of predicting the spatio-temporal attributes of displacement events" (Edwards, 2008, p. 347). This includes agent-based modelling used to stimulate the intra-/inter-actions of autonomous agents (e.g., Crooks & Hailegiorgis, 2012). Positivist social research is also invested in the conversion of 'refugee suffering' into universal/technical problems to standardize and submit it to strict interventions articulated in a specialized language and applied similarly across different situations/ contexts/groups. It justifies the claims of experts – the "authenticators of suffering" or the "legitimators of the sick-role" (Bracken, et al., 1997, p. 436; Pilgrim, 2015). This is now led by studies of intervention effectiveness, or evidence-based methods and randomized control trials. These trends are driven by the call for accountability and fit with neoliberalism: help should be based on empirically-proven knowledge. Adopting a "closed systems ontology", they presume that "there is a mechanical, regular relationship between interventions and outcomes, with no focus on outcomes being open to change as a result of the interaction of many factors in an open system" (Craig & Bigby, 2015; Cruickshank, 2012, p. 74).

Steered by a "problem-centered research agenda" and the Western/European biomedical approach to dis/ease (De Anstiss et al., 2009, p. 585), there is also a research fixation on the pathologies 'inside' the individual, or the prevalence, incidence, etiology and symptomatology of mental disorders (e.g., Kim, 2016). They embrace the psycho-trauma model and the notion of the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Embedded in medical naturalism, this imposes "the existence of natural and unvarying disease entities, separable from the person, and whose presentation [is] uniform across sufferers" (Boyle, 2002, p. 9)[106]. It allowed a move from "the savage and the other" to a new concept of the human – "united in its shared vulnerability to suffering" (Robbins, 2013, p. 450). The psychiatric research data (symptoms/syndromes) are framed as existing "prior to and independent of psychiatric theory" (Bracken, Giller & Summerfield, 1995, p. 1075). PTSD is seen as a timeless[107], universal and cross-culturally valid reaction to distress that can be treated with (Western) clinical/psychosocial therapies (Kienzler, 2008). Its nature is notably unaffected by structural/cultural conditions what inflicts an "individualization, decontextualization and depoliticization" of refugeehood. Instead of focusing

[106] This is linked to the work of Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926).
[107] Its timelessness stems from its "roots in ancient, evolved fear circuitry whose activation pathologically persists long after mortal danger has passed" (McNally, 2012, p. 220).

on traumatic experiences to which an individual reacts with appropriate distress, the diagnosis internalizes the 'problem' within the individual in terms of indicators implying 'problem' responses to trauma; this pathologizes the person and psychologizes/naturalizes human suffering (Bistoen, 2016, p. 11). Since hyper-naturalism/positivism uses a concept of human beings as "passive sensors of given facts and recorders of their given constant conjunctions", this leads to a 'refugee-specific psychology' contoured by victimhood/passivity/misery (Bhaskar, 2011a, p. 40; Pupavac, 2006, 2002). Its spectators lament at the traumatized people's plight and establish them as radically 'Other'. This direction became central with the arrivals of people from the 'Third World': 'refugees' were objectified as medical spectacle (Summerfield, 2000). A reactionary movement is that of resilience studies rooted in a salutogenic lens, or a "thread of theorizing and research related to human strengths and potential" created by personality/developmental scholars (Pickren, 2014, p. 8). This trend focuses on "what it takes for refugees to overcome loss and adversity and to stay psychologically healthy" (Simich, 2014, p. 1). It centers on individual protective factors such as personality traits/patterns of desirable behaviour. It marvels at their ability to resist/bypass their suffering/oppression by hyper-glorifying their psychological stamina/ agency/strategism. It indirectly ascertains them as idealistically 'Same' as 'non-refugees'. Overall, positivist social research obscures the significance of what a 'refugee' is experiencing and how this experience is interpreted. Conceiving 'refugees' as "meaning bearers and agents" (Pilgrim, 2014, p. 4), interpretivist works examine their subjective meanings/intentions/motives/actions according to their individual frame of reference, and thus bridge experience and behaviour in certain settings. A researcher generates rich/thick understandings without being consumed by universalism. This is illustrated by refugee-centered research. It also involves research that studies individuals assisting refugees-clients (Donà, 2007; Iosifides, 2011; Robinson, 2014).

Model of Modernity's Man in social scientific scholarship on youthhood

The notion of youth, as an intermediary age-stage, that is, sited between "the dependency of childhood and the autonomy of adulthood", is linked with Western/European modernity; it appeared in the eighteenth century and gained importance in the centuries to come. Scholarly works, impelled by hyper-naturalism/positivism, are fixated on youthhood as a natural/universal objective fact (Cieslik & Simpson, 2013, p. 3). They surfaced with the expansion of psychology

and concurred with the spread of youth institutions[108]. They embrace a developmental or life stage view[109] that invokes a biologically emergent shift into adolescence that convenes the psychological effects of these changes[110]. Most famously, Erik Erikson outlined eight stages where each move entails a crisis, or a conflict between psychological and social needs. Adolescence, the fifth stage, is defined chronologically; it occurs between the ages of 12 and 18 and involves a tension between ego identity and role confusion. He welcomed the "epigenetic principle" that implies that "anything that grows has a ground plan" (Erikson, 1968, p. 92). Conceptualizations of youthhood tied to the Model of Modernity's Man are informed by biologism, determinism and evolutionism; they aim to discover general laws/criteria and formulate pre-given linear sequences that lead to adulthood. More precisely, psy-researchers-practitioners "observe, test, classify and measure" young people's "development within grids of assumedly genetic and universal stages of cognitive growth and moral development" (Alderson, 2013, p. 26). This is fuelled by an "adultist fallacy" that "sets rational adults at the apex of morality, and regards childhood as a slow climb up from lower, natural, pre-social, pre-moral babyhood to higher, socialised, moral adulthood" (2016, p. 29). These trends are detected in quantitative and evidence-based research. John Weisz et al., (2013) state: "research across more than 4 decades has produced numerous empirically tested evidence-based psychotherapies (EBPs) for psychopathology in children and adolescents" (p. 1). These trends are also linked to leading ideals of "cost-effective, future-oriented approaches" to youthhood, where young people are "cost units rather than persons" (Alderson, 2013, p. 32). This depicts youthhood as deeply troublesome rather than a prized time of life. Some argue that certain problems are fixed for life what promotes a "powerful self-fulfilling pessimism"; this can generate accusations of underprivileged families instead of low-quality neighborhoods, schools, services, etc. (Alderson, 2013, p. 33). Overall, young people are reduced to anatomical changes and healthy/ unhealthy or normal/abnormal behaviours. They are individualized, pathologized and/or victimized, or portrayed as passive sufferers of their inner unrest or as agents blamed for their problems (deviance/dysfunction). Other studies adopt a solutogenetic lens and thus elevate their resilience/strengths; this encloses them in individual protective characteristics or proper

[108] In 1904, G. Stanley Hall published Adolescence: its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education.
[109] In the 1950s, Jean Piaget's and Erik Erikson's developmental psychology acquired major influence in framing what it means to be a young person (Cravens, 2006; Furenstenberg, 2000; Kett, 1993).
[110] This involves bodily changes and sexual maturation; their effects involve their impact on body image, the responses to menarche and spermach, hormonal turmoil, etc.

behavioural patterns. They are also turned into submissive objects of adult education/care and socialization; this can breed ageism or bias and intolerance against young people. Anti-naturalism/ interpretivist scholarship rejects the above and focuses on how subjective meanings/interpretations of youthhood emerge from intra/inter-actional individuals; while it inserts interactional/situational aspects, it adopts a methodological individualism. Young people are seen as fairly free/voluntary agents with entitlements who are able to re/make their lives as they wish without too much regard to structural/ cultural constraints (Alderson, 2016; 2013; Cieslik & Simpson, 2013).

Model of Society's Being: An overview

Various denunciations of the Enlightenment and its modern ideal of science surfaced in the second half of the twentieth century. These posts[111] were a reaction to hyper-naturalism/ positivism, including empiricism, rationalism and human-centrism, and the failure of interpretivist efforts to consider power in shaping interpretation. This also led to multiple theoretical 'turns'[112] with no clear accord on what should replace the 'old ways'. The initial science wars (law/ quantitative vs. meaning/qualitative research) were surpassed by the 'post-modern turn' which founded "a permanent regime of ultra-relativism and nihilism about ontology" (Pilgrim, 2014, p. 5). It challenges the prospect of science itself. It stressed the fragmented nature of knowledge and the unattainability of freedom based on a totalizing vision (Adams St. Pierre, 2013; Wood, 1995). It began with a fixation on the "universal inscription of humankind within language and systems of codification which regulate all human experience and activity, and therefore lie beyond the control of either individuals or social groups" (Archer, 2000, p. 25). It devoted to epistemic issues: reality is "either unknowable or only knowable from particular situated perspectives or representations" (Pilgrim, 2014, p. 4). The Model of Modernity's Man gave space to a new version of "disciplinary imperialism": sociologism, or "the idea that all phenomena in the human world are to be explained socially" (Collier, 2011, p. 17). The Model of Society's Being depicts "all our human properties and powers, apart from our biological constitution, as the gift of society" (Archer, 2015, p. 90). This hyper-socialization assumes that everything about human beings is

[111] Post-modern/structural/human/emancipatory/foundational/colonial/subjective, etc.
[112] Linguistic turn, textual turn, interpretative turn, poststructuralist turn, constructivist turn, narrative turn, hermeneutic turn, qualitative turn, etc.

"derivative from society", including the contents of the private realm. They are socially determined, or "internalized from the public moral order" (Archer, 2000, p. 92). This rejects any control over progress: "if humankind cannot be the master of society it becomes the slave of one of its sub-systems, culture, restrictively presented as language" (p. 24).

The Model of Society's Being joins structuralism[113], poststructuralism and postmodernism. It refers to the structuralism espoused by the continental philosophical tradition that arose from an engagement with Émile Durkheim and Karl Marx but became moulded by the linguistic theories of Ferdinand Saussure. They stressed the structure of language where 'structure' is a feature of social reality "that ties the various elements together" and "can never be brought into the realm of the observable" (Wight, 2006, p. 122). This viewpoint was also developed via an antagonism to the philosophy of the subject what led to a dismissal of any concept of an "active self-reflective human subject". Despite differences, structural traditions adopt methodological holism/ collectivism: they ground their explanations in systems/wholes/collectives/structures, notably the "internal patterns of connection" (p. 126). The human person is "nothing but Durkheim's 'indeterminate material', by bundling personal properties (thoughts, convictions, feelings) into collectivities – as the collective conscience" (Archer, 1995, p. 38). Structures/cultures are thus reified and hypostasized; since they determine action, people are "berearers or performers of structural powers" (Iosidifes, 2011, p. 79). Durkheimian structuralism supports a rationalist theorization: an idealist ontology and a realist epistemology. It presumes that social reality is comprised of controlling and objective ideal structures; objective ideas are not the features of individuals (Johnson, et al., 1984). Instead, their structure is "a transcendental framework that conditions and limits the meaningful actions of individuals". Social research aims to "systematically identify the ideal structures and cultural codes underlying and ruling empirical manifestations" (Vandenberghe, 2008, p. 287). This view mirrors one of Durkheim's two definitions of social facts[114]: collective representations that embody group-based beliefs/values/ norms/conventions which are integral to identities, etc. This invites a subjectivist view of structure

[113] Wight (2006) emphasizes that there are different models of structure and two different structural traditions which were shaped by different intellectual resources: "Confusing these two traditions can lead to serious misunderstandings about both the scope and form of varying types of structural theory" (p. 123).

[114] Wight (2006) explains that Durkheim fits within the two different types of structural theory depending on what definition of 'social fact' is adopted. The first version concerns social facts as 'facts of social morphology' (ecological and demographic facts). This kind is associated with positivist methodology/quantification; the second one concerns social facts as 'collective representations' (collective beliefs/values/norms/conventions). This is associated with a more qualitative/subjectivist treatment of structure.

(Johnson, et al., 1984; Wight, 2006). The Model of Society's Being, propelled by Durkheim, is exemplified in the figure of *Homo sociologicus* (Organizational Man), that is, a "puppet of rule and role requirements" (Archer, 2000, p. 5). It is a one-dimensional view: a human person simply occupies social positions thus is subordinated to the social order. *Society's Being* is then a "socialized, norm-driven, cultural and role-governed individual whose behaviour is determined by the structural features of the whole of society" (Faye, 2012, p. 73).

This structuralism birthed poststructuralism. Although the former accepted the 'structure of a language', the latter expanded this. It claims that "language is a meta-structure that structures all other structures". This includes various realms of social life which should be read as a text what "linguistifies all reality, and sociologizes language" (Collier, 2011, p. 17). Meaning is found in the "structure of a whole language rather than in the analysis of individual words"; so, the "driving logic of the social is the transmission of meaning" (Wight, 2006, p. 133). It discarded objective structure/culture, or the feasibility to exit the power-knowledge nexus and inspect circumstances objectively. Structure/culture became a set of "relations of difference that constitute and define the properties of elements" (p. 127). Social life is constructed by "structural logics of relations of difference, even if this logic is indeterminate" (p. 137). It also assumed that "context" can offer the "grounds upon which the potentially infinite play of differences could be halted" (p. 134). Theorization uses a macro-level social constructionism[115]: reality/truth is a cultural/linguistic construct that arises from discourse. As a variant of interpretivism, it asserts that culture/ language/discourse cannot be given causal explanations; they can only be interpreted (Elder-Vas, 2012). It was affected by a strong social constructionism which entails an "extreme 'discursive reductionism', culturalism, ontological muteness and self-contradictory relativism". It discards a weak version which considers discourse as a vital component of social reality that co-joins with other "non- or extra-discursive elements". It destabilizes existing beliefs about what is ab/normal or institutional power relations. This reflects the work of Michel Foucault who stressed how power relations establish discursive practices/ways of creating social reality (Iosifides, 2011, p. 111). Postmodern theories substitute structures/cultures and causes by "fragments and contingencies". There are no systems with their own unity/laws; there are only "many different kinds of power, oppression, identity, and 'discourse'" (Wood, 1995, p. 5). By using genealogical/deconstructive methods, they have generated major inputs to social science such as the focus on the value of

[115] Constructionism comes in different versions and persuasions (micro, macro; weak, strong) (Iosidifes, 2011).

diverse voices and the role of culture/discourse/power in the social construction of worldviews (Benedikter & Molz, 2012). They have also allied with Othered populations, or "the local, the decentred, the marginal, and the excluded is superior to examining what is at the centre" (Rosenau, 1992, p. 136). Hence, they are sustaining an "ontological affirmation of alterity" (Wright, 2012, p. 85). This has released a remarkable multiplicity and is sustained by a "sacrifice of the moment of unity and universality" (MinGyu, 2012, p. 218).

The Model of Society's Being "not only asserts the primary of (linguistic) structure over human agency, it ultimately seeks to dissolve the human subject entirely" (Archer, 2000, p. 25). While the Model of Modernity's Man implied a 'Death of God', that of *Society's Being* involves a 'Death of Man' via "asphyxiation by social forces" (p. 18)[116]. It is driven by a "de-centering, dissolving or demolishing" of the modernist concept of human being: selfhood is "kaleidoscopically shaped by the flux of historic-cultural contingencies" (2015, p. 89). This anti-humanism strips the human person of any properties or powers (selfhood/reflexivity/memory, emotionality/belief) which are inherent to human-kind. Instead, the person appears as "one flat, unstratified, powerful particular", a "site or literally a point of view" or a "grammatical fiction". The self is a local contingency or seized from society. Hard/strong social constructionism "elides the *concept of self* with the *sense of self*"; we are wholly what society creates us into thus robbed of any ability to follow personal aspirations. People can only be affected by motivations adopted from society: they are "*conventionalists*" (p. 90; italic orig.). So, this *Model* rejects all substantial views of the self/I/society/reality. The human person is a "decentred contingency which cannot transcend its socio-historical location" (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 1), or a local and conceptual social construction whose actions must be grasped by reference to the collectivities in which they occur. Postmodern theorization eliminates a concept of personal agency: structures/cultures infiltrate the personal core so deeply that personal identity is infinitely malleable. This generates a *homo inconstantus*, that is, an *ad infinitum* shifting individual: human persons are seen as increasingly free to chose or create their self and biography, or self-narrative; yet, those personal biographies are subject to "breakdown, reconstitution and reinvention" (Archer, 2007a, p. 36).

[116] Foucault (1970) affirmed that "Man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea" (p. 387; cited in Archer, 2000, p. 19) or Jean-François Lyotard that "a *self* does not amount to much" (1984, p. 15, cited in Archer, 2000, p. 19).

The Model of Society's Being sees no independent or interpretation-free reality which transcends what human persons have socially constructed[117]. All sciences are "socialized power structures" where those in power establish norms which outline what is un-/scientific (Faye, 2012, p. 177). Social constructionism adopts a "negative approach based on scepticism" (Cruickshank, 2011, p. 11): knowledge is a "symptom of underlying power relations"; the duty of the researcher is "to undermine such power relations by fostering a sceptical attitude to the prevailing knowledge-power nexus" (p. 4). Social sciences should not attempt to be scientific; knowledge cannot be positively applied. Social scientific knowledge is structurally/culturally and historically situated and restricted to a focus on "context-specific perspectives" (Pilgrim, 2015, p. 15). It is thus impossible to acquire *a priori* knowledge, or one which surpasses local experience. Since all experience is subjective, research must capture the meanings which orient human action. Yet, unlike in the Model of Modernity's Man, it is not the individual who initiates these meanings: "in each generation we are born into an ongoing cultural tradition, from which they are individually appropriated through the process of socialization" (Archer, 2000, p. 86). So, theorization is anchored in the experiential base of different collectivities delineated via power relations: "all social facts, and possibly all natural facts as well, are constructions of 'thought collectives', such as a scientific community" (Bunge, 1993, p. 214). This invites a return to communalism, or "collective identities that had been considered dead and buried (such as religious, ethnic, 'tribal', and racial ones)" (Donati, 2011, p. 184). Social reality is reduced to "the experiences and interests of the groups whose perspective knowledge is held to represent" (Moore, 2007, p. 25). This undercuts the prospect of any objective position as knowledge is only based on the views of its producers and is entangled with their interests. Social science theories then also construct reality (Brinkmann, 2006). As a result, research labour fully relies on the notion of truth anchored in a

[117] As Benedikter & Molz (2012) highlight, "Lyotard, Derrida and Foucault discovered, in the last years of their lives, that there must be something that constitutes the ontological basis of deconstruction and of language games – something that consists in an actively driving force of the living process of thought prior to the emergence of any contents of thought. What they became aware of is a kind of primordial, non-located, but already on a certain level self-conscious 'life energy' of thinking, consciousness and awareness: something that usually eludes the mind of the thinker, because the thinking mind always identifies with its contents, and misses the processes on which these contents are based, and out of which they are being born, i.e., its own life process, which is an active gesture of creation through 'inspiration'. This inspiration must be something that is the prerequisite of all contents of thought, its fountainhead, so to speak: something that has not been constructed in the first place, but instead is – and functions as – the prerequisite of all constructs. It must be a 'pre-positive constructing process, empty in itself', a 'productive void', or an 'absent presence'. It must be something like a non-identifiable awareness, or even something like 'pure consciousness', however it may be designated (p. 57).

situated perspective. This entails an "anti-foundationalist idea of truth" fused with a linguistic concept of perspectivism, or the doctrine that "what we say about the world is deeply embedded in the community of discourse that we inhabit". It is a "strange twist in the postmodernist project": a postmodern "critical empiricism" (Archer, 2000, p. 45, p. 44). It leads to "'universal' relativism" which presumes that all convictions about reality are equally legitimate (Benedikter & Molz, 2012, p. 56), or that "any belief can be valid, depending upon one's perspective" (Groff, 2004, p. 1). Since this relativism rejects an epistemologically independent ground for knowledge claims, critical argumentation becomes superfluous while the attainment of a common ground problematic (Moore, 2007). This makes postmodern social science indefensible: something is true relative to "who you are and where and when you are is quite relevant for the truth you hold" (Faye, 2012, p. 181). While it is insightful to start from lived/local experiences/perspectives, such knowledge alone "limits us to what we already know about an already familiar world". It is vital to do 'something' with it (e.g., consider the "not experienced") to exceed the structural/cultural conditions under which it emerges (Rata, 2012, p. 19).

Model of Society's Being in social scientific scholarship on refugeehood

Social science research that reflects the Model of Society's Being involves post-naturalist/ positivist trends with explanations that use methodological holism/collectivism or those that examine socially constructed meanings/representations/images/discourses. The latter is driven by questions such as 'who decides the objective criteria of refugeehood?', 'whose perspectives are informing truth about refugees?' or 'how are 'refugee identities' constructed?'. So, the "post-modern ethic" entails "a concern not to impose order on the world" and urges "the emergence of other voices and visions" (Bracken, Giller & Summerfield, 1997, p. 435). In structuralist research, 'refugees' are depicted as over-determined by systems/wholes/collectivities, or in terms of social, cultural, political and economic aspects. They are viewed as structural/cultural role players or passive internalizers of structure/culture, and thus as familially/racially/ethnically/culturally/ religiously hyper-socialized subjects. This disregards human/individual/personal aspects (such as distinct ways of coping with life) and over-estimates the impact of groups communities/nations and their norms/values. They lead to collective identity-based matching in service provision (e.g.,

culturally-sensitive services). This homogenizes people's families/cultures/ religions/etc. in ways that omit dynamic interactions/relations[118] (Watters, 2001).

Scholarship led by poststructuralism and strong/hard social constructionism/relativism uses the notion of 'social de/construction'. It focuses on "language, semiosis and discourse": nearly all aspects of refugeehood, and social reality in general, are "linguistic and discursive constructions"[119] (Iosifides, 2017, p. 132). These works also include contributions where researchers consider themselves as social actors. The following is a usual statement in such research: "The purpose of this paper is to deconstruct the socially constructed image of ''the refugee'" and reveal the harm it institutionalizes in Canadian refugee policies" (Olsen, et al., 2014, p. 59). Similarly, Yoosun Park (2008) conducted a "historical discourse analysis" to show "the discursive constructions through which refugees were produced as particular kinds of subjects in US social work discourse" (p. 771). Others examine the "refugee claimant subjectivity" as a "social construction through a number of dimensions – social, political and legal definitions" (Lacroix, 2004, p. 163). They promote perspectivism. A title of a publication on "Bhutanese refugee youth's lived experiences" rooted in poststructuralist theory, for example, starts with a declaration: "'What defines me is what I have been through'" (Chao, 2019, p. 812, p. 809). The Model of Society's Being also covers research that advances socially constructed accounts of mental health/illness. Instead of being a natural kind discovered by traumatologists, PTSD is a "social construction, a cultural artefact arising in the wake of the Vietnam War" (McNally, 2012, p. 220). More precisely, "traumatic memory is a man-made object. It originates in the scientific and clinical discourses of the 19th century" (Young, 1995, p. 141). This, however, may repress the "voices of survivors" by "delegitimizing their suffering, and aligning skeptics with the perpetrators of trauma" (McNally, 2012, p. 221). Scholars-practitioners also deconstruct 'trauma-centered refugee narratives/stories' upheld by the biomedical explanatory model or its mental illness categories. Helping work that applies 'postmodern narrative therapy' concentrates on how people make sense of experiences and aims to construct a new identity narrative/story. At the same time, however, "the voice of the refugee is only heard within predefined and compartmentalised context that conform to and

[118] In mental health services, same culture/religion/etc. service providers may be "agents of de-culturalisation and de-politicisation in that they transfigure the refugees' accounts into individualised pathology" (Watters, 2001, p. 1712).
[119] See: Costas & Baker (2008).

reinforce institutional structures within the health and social care field"; it is also heard "under the gaze of the therapist" (Watters, 2001, p. 1710).

Model of Society's Being in social scientific scholarship on youthhood

The Model of Society's Being is manifested in scholarly works on youthhood that insert it excessively into social/material and cultural/ideational conditions. In other words, they consider it as a societal expression. So, they focus on social-cultural and historical shifts and a myriad of contextual divergences (rites, life events, social roles, institutions, etc.). They are driven by the de-naturalization, de-westernization, etc. of youthhood. So, the concept of youthhood varies across spatial-temporal dimensions and power relations. It is strongly/radically socially constructed via subjectivities or a narrative/discourse/text. Scholars are notably invested in researching the lived experiences of youthhood that intersect with their multiple identities; research works thus mostly explore local differences/diversities. They also see young people as reliable research informants or co-researchers. Some claim that young people are incomprehensible to adults. If this is truly the case, however, "how can we be certain that they are so 'other' from adults?" Moreover, "given that everyone is partly mysterious and unknown, even to ourselves, is age the great barrier or is it simply being human?" (Alderson, 2013, p. 40). The hyper-socialization of youthhood associated with the Model of Society's Being dissolves their individual agency/reflexivity in structures and cultures: "young people are overly determined in their lives and have little control over them" (Cieslik & Simpson, 2013, p. 43). This strong/radical relativism is also troubling: without a minimal recognition of "some stable realities, such as human bodies and universal needs", how can researchers understand young people? Further, in the absence of "a sense of real human nature, can suffering exist, or matter?" Most crucially, abuse directed at young people is "more than discursive processes" (Alderson, 2013, p. 40). So, it is vital to identify material/physical and other threats/harms affecting young people as real (e.g., domestic/sexual abuse) (Houston, 2001).

3. THE ROAD TAKEN: AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF THE HUMAN PERSON

This doctoral research project moves away from the Model of Modernity's Man and the Model of Society's Being, or the two dominant models of human personhood in western social

science meta/theorizing. Instead, it embraces the Model of Relational Subject; it is informed by the metatheory of critical realism and a theory of social relations derived from relational sociology (Donati & Archer, 2015). It refuses a view of both, "de-socialized people" and "de-populated societies" (Collier, 2011, p. 9). Instead, human personhood involves the inputs of structure, culture, agency and reflexivity. Although contemporary social science research often integrates them, it does so in ways that discard the individual-in-relation, or the "homo relatus" (Archer, 2011a, p. xii). Specifically, humanity refers here to "species-beings who are more than their biology but less than their socialization" (1998, p. 193). So, the Model does not abandon the concept of human nature; it upholds a soft/provisional essentialism as its definitions are always partial/contingent/ alterable: "relationality does not cancel out substances, but forges them in social time, so that we must always read reality as consisting of substance and relation as co-principles of what exists or that may exist (the 'being')" (Donati, 2019, p. 66). Donati (2011) hints that as society is ever more lived as "fragmentary, uncertain, fluctuating, estranged and manipulated", it becomes de-/in-/ humanized (p. 20). He then advocates for a "humanistic sociology" to capture "the deepest richness of human beings and of their coexistence differently from what happens in the world of non-human animals" (2015, p. 88). This prevents a "reduction of the human to the sub-human or to the supra-human" (2011, p. 39).

The Model of Relational Subject proposes that human beings are "relational by nature" and that these relations are generated in space/place and time (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 54). So, every human person is a "*subject-in-relation*" (p. 15). The concept of the relational subject detains "how *social* relationality helps to mould the human individual's personal and social identity as well as agency" (p. 55). Although the Model is serious about the contributions of structural and cultural conditionings, it retains a continuous self that occurs across different situations/contexts. People are the same creatures across time "with an ontologically real and irreducible subjectivity"; it is where the human power for agency is sited. The continuity of the self is maintained via ultimate concerns and life projects across different locales (Mooney, 2014, p. 33). Overall, the shift towards this conceptual vision is driven by a desire to address the "repression of social relations" in western society/culture as well as to confront the radical/strong social constructionism/relativism of contemporary social science research, that is, one where "flows replace structures, narratives displace culture, and human plasticity makes the fluidity of our putative serial re-invention homological with the equally putative liquidity of the social order" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 14;

p. 5)[120]. In addition, given the various types of dehumanization in theory[121], a critical realist relational sociology is said to offer "the only prominent forms of humanistic social theory today" (Archer, 2010, p. 206). It is not "an abstracted defence of *humanism* (which reduces to ideology) but a 'vision' of the social commensurate with human thriving" (2007, p. 37). It is intrigued by both, human personal and social flourishing and suffering (Donati & Archer, 2015).

This doctoral work departs from the understanding that service users/clients, or young refugees, are singular/individual relational subjects who co-created and co-joined plural/collective relational subjects (couple, friendship, social groups, etc.) throughout their lives (though less intentionally as infants/children). Their experiences of refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood occur, first and foremost, in multiple and different in/direct social relations. They are interpreted in unpredictable/differing ways by the people in those relationships. They obviously arise in embodied, structured and cultured conditions; hence, they are lived within/ through/beyond bodily, material and ideational situations/contexts that are mediated by their subjectivity and reflexivity. This acknowledges the heterogeneity of the young people (and, by extension, of refugees-service users/clients). Moreover, real young people and their everyday lives cannot be fully reduced into concepts of refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood even though they influence them. These logics also apply to people who acted as service providers (Alderson, 2016; Donati & Archer, 2015). Overall, this meta/theoretical view resolves many shortcomings/impasses presented in this chapter[122]. Considering its originality, the Model of Relational Subject, is then an innovative lens for the scholarship on post-migration support for the newly re/un/settled.

[120] Between 2012-2015, or during my immersion in scholarly literature, a vast majority of academic titles included the following expression: 'the social construction of…'. Philip S. Gorski (2013) who noticed a similar pattern asserts: "It was enough to make you pound on a table". He then adds: "The solidity of a table may not be a social construction. But what about its "table-ness?" Is that also "real?" Wasn't there some sort of via media, I wondered, between social realism and social constructionism?" (p. 461).

[121] They include: "anti-humanism, non-humanism, post-humanism, and trans-humanism" (Porpora, 2017, p. 353).

[122] Priscilla Alderson (2016) affirms: "During 30 years of researching with children and young people, I became increasingly puzzled by philosophical splits and contradictions in social research and gradually learned how critical realism (CR) helps to resolve them" (p. 199). These 'splits/contradictions' were partly addressed in this chapter (see sections of youthhood); they relate to the shortcomings of trends associated with the Model of Modernity's Man and the Model of Society's Being.

SUMMARY

This chapter departed from the view that social science research quality is tied to a meta/ theoretical understanding of its subject matter. It concluded with the argument that it can be enhanced by investigating its multi-faceted/layered and interconnected nature. Specifically, it explored the structural, cultural and intellectual/cognitive conditions for social scientific work on refugeehood, including post-migration aid, and youthhood. It included in this analysis some personal aspects. Jointly, this examination helped to clarify the meta/theoretical trends that permeate relevant scholarship. It is clear that disciplines/professions, especially the psy/individual-based and the society-based, diversify scholarly knowledge. Although their analyses produce useful insights, they offer unfinished appraisals. Moreover, scholars with a proclivity to critique depict people's troubles as backed by inappropriate policy/practice/research. Those from the psy-universe are led by a drive to troubleshoot/fix, and thus use research to abstract evidence-based practices/tools to help individuals/groups of individuals handle their troubles. Something is lost: critical and empowering research that tries to explain issues and how they work, is not obsessed *a priori* with problems and stays receptive about what evidence-based practices/tools should be applied. The last part of this chapter announced the direction taken in this doctoral thesis which differs from those presented in the previous sections. The following chapter, or chapter 2, describes in detail the meta/theoretical framework adopted in this research work: a critical realist relational sociology. It reflects some of the ideas discussed in this chapter; this has, hopefully, equipped the reader to better grasp this conceptual choice.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL REALIST RELATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This doctoral effort is oriented by a critical realist relational sociological framework, or one that merges critical realism (metatheory) and relational sociology (theory). Critical realism is now a global and multidisciplinary movement[123] that evolved from the philosophy of science. It includes scholars who take it – more or less overtly – as their starting-point; its compatibility with different intellectual positions has also been shown[124]. It also embraces academics who find it later in their careers and then reconsider their scholarship via a critical realist lens (e.g., Alderson, 2013; Botterill, 2003). In addition, it involves those who promote an indigenous/the indigenization of social science research and practices (de Souza, 2014[125]; Hwang, 2014; Price & Lotz-Sistka, 2015; Smallwood, 2015; Wilkinson, 2015) or focus on de-/post-colonialism and anti-racism (e.g., Diffey & Mignone, 2017; Long & Spracklen, 2011; Tinsley, 2021). It is also at the heart of discussions on a 'social work science' (Brekke & Anastas, 2019). It is connected with Roy Bhaskar and his adherents, mainly from the United Kingdom (Vandenberghe, 2014). Bhaskar's input is irrefutable: "no one can question the depth, complexity and innovatory power of his work" (Shoolman, 2017, p. 416). He used "philosophical underlabouring"[126], or an approach that allows "clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way to knowledge" (Locke, 1959 in Bhaskar, 2013, p. 11). Critical realism acts as an 'underlabourer' for the sciences, especially human and social sciences whose aim is not only to interpret but to alter the world; yet, to alter the world for *the better*, they must interpret it accurately enough (Price & Lotz-Sistka, 2015). Bhaskar

[123] See the websites of the Centre for Critical Realism and the International Association for Critical Realism.
[124] See Al-Amoudi (2007) and Rigakos & Frauley (2011) for links between critical realism and the work of Michel Foucault. Day (2007) reveals "some interesting and important commonalities" between critical realism and poststructuralism such as their shared "commitment to relative intransivity and depth ontology" (p. 138). See Decoteau (2016) for a re-reading of Pierre Bourdieu via a critical realist lens.
[125] It is of interest to thinkers "who agree that mainstream psychological and social science theories have tended to reflect, and be dominated by, the cultural values, perspectives, and problems emerging from North America" (de Souza, 2014, p. 141).
[126] A notion that he borrowed from John Locke.

critiqued hyper-naturalist/positivist/empiricist[127] and anti-naturalist/interpretivist as well as postmodernist and strong/radical social constructionist/relativist methodologies (see chapter 1). He tackled the (social/cultural) structure vs. agency problem in his Transformational Model of Social Activity (TMSA). Broadly, critical realism is appealing to scholars[128] who embrace a philosophical basis for human action; they accept that structures within society are real and, even though their nature and impact may be disputed, their being/ontology (class exploitation, alienation, spiritual being, etc.) is undoubtable. It is consistent with many theories/methods used in various disciplines/professions; it is not dogmatic but eager to debate to attain compromise (Bagley, Sawyerr & Abubaker, 2016). Its application in social science research is still being tested. Its "inaccessible language" can be an obstacle (Craig & Bigby, 2015, p. 311); it also "takes time" (Archer, 2020, p. 146).

Critical realism has been made more 'user-friendly' by Margaret S. Archer[129], a prominent British sociologist. Her scholarship spans over nearly four decades; it is extolled as "one of the very few really outstanding treatises in theoretical sociology and its ontology" (Himmelstrand, 2002, p. 360). It entails a critical review of dominant social theorizing (used in chapter 1) and the Morphogenetic/Morphostatic (M/M) Framework which she built from Bhaskar's TMSA. It offers an "explanatory programme" that fuses social ontology with practical social theory and grasps the interplay between structure, culture and agency (Archer, 1995, p. 5). Archer (2007) also produced a theory of reflexivity via the concept of internal conversation, or the mediator between structure/ culture and agency. More recently, she partnered[130] with Pierpaolo Donati, an Italian relational sociologist who, for the last three decades, is outlining a "general framework" that treats the social relation as "the first general presupposition for sociological analysis" and links "the best of all other theories" (2018, p. 433). This partnership culminated in a joint book, *The Relational Subject* (2015), which is an important advancement in contemporary social theory: it is "something new

[127] This refers to classical empiricism initially suggested by David Hume (1711-1776); it sees all scientific knowledge as derived from sense-based experience, that is, it views atomic facts as the final objects of knowledge and their mixes comprise all of the events which are objective to observers in acknowledging the external world (Hwang, 2014).
[128] They include Indigenous thinkers, Marxists, Catholics, Muslims, etc. Bhaskar's initial consideration and alteration of Marxist theory made some American scholars to label/reject him as a Marxist. Yet, Bhaskar surpassed materialist concerns of Marxist ideology; he later embarked on a spiritual quest and explored Hindu and Buddhist concepts (Bagley et al., 2016).
[129] Archer began her career in the sociology of education and was the former President of the International Sociological Association (1986-1990) (Piiroinen, 2014).
[130] In 2015, Archer and Donati co-published *The Relational Subject*; it is a winner of the Cheryl Frank Memorial Prize (International Association for Critical Realism).

under the sun" (Porpora, 2016, p. 419). Overall, it differentiates a relational sociology that is not relationalist/transactional and that is inspired by a humanist sociology (Donati & Archer, 2015). It is harmonious with Indigenous worldviews which tend to take the relationality of people and the world as "ontologically foundational" (Wolf, 2019, p. 8)[131]. It was also chosen because it is in sync with an Islamic cosmology[132] (Wilkinson, 2015).

This doctoral work is then prudently situated in the movement of relational sociology which was popularized by the *Manifesto for a Relational Sociology* written by Mustafa Emirbayer (1997). It arose from critiques of taken-for-granted sociological concepts/theories/methods (Dépelteau, 2015). Given its roots in European scholarship[133], it enjoys a robust presence in Europe but is also endorsed by North American "academic entrepreneurs"[134] (Vandenberghe, 2018, p. 36). Donati and Archer (2015) view their works as "frenzied rhetoric for 'radical relationality', without coherence or consistency" and "more like 'product placement' than serious theorizing" (p. 23). Relational sociology, via its ties with "disciplinary sociology", derives, however, from, and was inserted within, "the culture of Anglo-European imperialism". Yet, it is seen as congruent with postcolonial thought, or one that is anti-imperialist: they "share common ground and can be readily reconciled"; "they are interdependent and can be mutually beneficial" (Go, 2018, p. 357, p. 366). In its current state, relational sociology is a "diffuse cluster of theories with selective affinities" and "multiple tensions, contradictions and complementarities"; it holds, nonetheless, the potential to become "multi, inter- and, perhaps even transdisciplinary" (Vandenberghe, 2018, p. 38). For some thinkers, it is a "new and emergent sociological 'school'"; for others, it is "a sort of 'esprit du temps'" (Prandini, 2015, pp. 1-2). For Nick Crossley (2011) sociology already encloses "approximations" of relational sociology (p. 4). It is also claimed that relational thought originated in the works of Heraclitus of Ephesus, the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher; this entices a review of

[131] For example, the notion of Ubuntu [I am because we are], or "an African philosophy, worldview, moral ethics and a way of knowing", is interpreted as "humanness"; it is not an anthropocentric view in that it promotes a life in harmony with human and non-human beings, including the universe (Seehawer, 2018, p. 454, p. 455).
[132] Indigenous Muslims (e.g., Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians who identify as Muslim), note that Aboriginality and Islam share similarities (Stephenson, 2011).
[133] It includes the works of Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Gabriel Tarde, Norbert Elias, Niklas Luhmann, Pierre Bourdieu, Bruno Latour, Michel Foucault, etc. Georg Simmel, a German philosopher/sociologist, is seen by some scholars as the originator of the 'relational turn' (Prandini, 2015; Ruggieri et al., 2017). While his thought is "too rich, rhizomic, inconsistent, and multifaceted" for any synopsis (Pyyhtinen, 2010, p. 38), he developed a "sociology of associations" or "sociology of relations": "instead of starting from isolated actors or from the hyper-existence of society, methodologically Simmel begins with a theory of relations" (p. 164).
[134] See: Dépelteau, 2018; Powell & Dépelteau, 2013; Dépelteau & Powell, 2013. Some North American contributors are part of a research group in the Canadian Sociological Association.

reputed predecessors via a relational lens (Emirbayer, 1997; Pyyhtinen, 2015; Ruggieri et al., 2017). In any case, relational sociology has now so many connotations that it is "an almost empty label" (Donati, 2015a, p. 86). For François Dépelteau (2013b), a lack of consensus is perilous: it can become "a fashionable label with no generic and consistent meaning" (p. 165). Christian Papilloud (2017) also sees an excess of 'the relational' as problematic: "if relation is everywhere, it hardly is at the centre of sociological theory" (p. 3). He thus praises Donati and Archer for taking it as the *prima materia* of sociological inquiry. Overall, given the "high level of abstraction" and "deep conceptual differences", accords between relational sociologists are perhaps unfeasible (Prandini, 2015, p. 3). So, relational sociologists are "far from homogenous or consensual" (Archer, 2015, p. 93). For Frédéric Vandenberghe (2018), the field needs a "general social theory" that joins "structuralism, processualism, interactionism and symbolism"; other insiders reject this call (p. 37). The most fitting solution is then to compel scholars to specify the ontology of society and social relations that underpin their pursuits (Donati & Archer, 2015).

Chapter directions

This chapter consists of **two parts**. The **first part** presents the foundations of a critical realist relational sociology. It first engages with critical realism; this review is not only limited by its density/enormity but also by the fact that I am *not* a philosopher of science. I find myself in a similar position to that of David Pilgrim (2020): "Critical realism is a philosophy and I am not a philosopher, but have been a 'jobbing' clinician and social science researcher". He also recognizes the "(reasonable) fear of getting critical realism wrong" (p. viii). Moreover, only aspects relevant to the selected relational sociology are included. Next, this chapter presents a critical realist social theory and a critical realist relational sociology. This progressive interweaving is necessary to ensure a clear understanding of the various facets of this meta/theoretical framework. The **second part** applies it to this doctoral research endeavour; it outlines the research objective, questions and sub-questions as well as the research site and informants through this conceptual lens.

1. CRITICAL REALIST RELATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

This section first explores the basic tenets of critical realism. It then introduces the critical realist social theory embedded in the M/M Framework developed by Archer (1995). Next, it presents a relational sociology anchored in critical realism and the M/M model (Donati & Archer, 2015).

Critical realism: Basic tenets

Critical realism, as a philosophy of science, engages with natural, human and social sciences[135]. Its fortes include: "relational explanation, empirically informed theorising and theoretically informed empirics" (Frauley, 2017, p. 294)[136]. While it is not prescriptive, it urges critical reflections on 'good' science. It admits that social science can "rarely be predictive"; instead, it can be used to criticize society via explanatory critiques (Archer, 2017, p. 1). So, it refutes experimental strategies as well as a search for laws and measurements of social realities. It thus rejects the empirical realist ontology of hyper-naturalism/positivism; it opposes its uncritical reliance on observed/experienced data. It also rebuts the strong social constructionist ontology of interpretivism/postmodernism/poststructuralism; it promotes an extreme subjectivism and relativism, or no objective knowledge. Critical realism is inclusive of their insights but surpasses their traps. While the former "avoids virtually all discussion of meta-theory" and the latter "replaces philosophy of science with socio-politics of science", and thus yields a "socio-political critique of meta-theory", critical realism "retains both philosophy of science and socio-politics of science" (Fleetwood, 2015, p. 12; 2004). Most notably, it defies their flat/surface ontologies, that is, their denial of absence/potential or the unsaid/unknown (Iosifides, 2018). It negotiates tensions between a naïve realism and an anti-realism by adopting an objectivist ontology and a relativist epistemology. It basically entails three tenets: ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgmental rationality (Archer et al., 2016). They are presented below.

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[135] It rejects the view that the methods of social science are/should be identical to those of natural science; yet, it also rejects the idea that they have nothing in common (Fleetwood, 2004).

[136] Frauley (2017) dispels some myths via explicit references: it is "not the "grand theory" criticized by Mills (1959) or the post-modernists (see Lyotard 1984). Nor is it an esoteric or highly abstract "theoretician's theory" (Blaikie 2000: 142) or what Bourdieu (1988: 744, 775) has referred to as useless "scholastic" or "theoreticist theory". CR isn't a "prophetic or programmatic discourse that is its own end" (Bourdieu 1988: 775)" (pp. 300-301).

Ontological realism

Critical realism begins with ontology or queries about the nature of existence/being: "What must the world be like for science to be possible?" (Bhaskar, 1998, p. 18). Ontology refers to "the *study* or *theory* of being, not to being itself". Any allusion to something that exists involves an ontological supposition, even if buried/unknown: "Ontology is, therefore, non-optional" (Fleetwood, 2004, p. 26). For critical realism, *"something is real if it has an effect or makes a difference*" (e.g., organizations, discourses) (p. 27). Entities[137] can exist independently of our (articulable, not tacit) knowledge/identification of them. Doubts about this assertion derive from empiricists-positivists who claim that knowledge only stems from the senses; if an entity cannot be sensed, it cannot be known, and thus does not exist. They also come from postmodernists/ poststructuralists who negate that entities are ever independent of knowledge, that is, they are strongly socially constructed, or reliant on people. Both sides commit the 'epistemic fallacy', or the reduction of ontology/being to knowledge; in the case of the latter, knowledge of what exists is reduced to whatever is socially constructed (Fleetwood, 2004). For critical realism, ontology is nuanced: many things are real but in distinct ways. They can be real materially, ideationally, artefactually and socially, where the last three are social in that they are human activity-dependent. That said, only some, but not all, humans and only some, but not all, activities, at only some, but not all, times, are involved in the replication/modification of social entities (pp. 29-33; 35-39).

Critical realism suggests that reality is not only what can be sensed empirically. It discerns between an intransitive/ontological realm which is fairly durable and a transitive/epistemological realm which is transitory/fluid. Social theories exist in the latter (this allows to explain changing knowledge about a fairly unchanging phenomenon). This does not imply that there is a dualistic ontology: critical realism strives to link context-dependent descriptions of the world with the ontological reality that exists independently of the attempts to describe it. The two realms are interwoven; human persons are a vital part of the world though they experience it only partially. So, critical realism denies a direct correspondence between knowledge claims about reality and

[137] The notion of entities neither refers to "physicalism" nor "substantialism"; it stands for "what exists" (from Latin entia) (Al-Amoudi, 2014, p. 9). It indicates observables and non-observables (people, discourses, organizations, etc.). They are generally "processual", and thus changing (Fleetwood, 2015, p. 26).

reality itself[138]. Ontological realism affirms that reality exists independently of the ways we identify it though it does matter how we identify it when we are alive. Reality is then mind- and species-independent. Human individual life is ephemeral: the cosmos existed prior to our birth and will likely exist after our death; it will also not necessarily cease to exist if humanity vanishes. While a mind-independent natural reality is thinkable, a mind-independent social reality is absurd: it is always pre-interpreted (conceptualized/linguistified/valued) and a result of human agency (Pilgrim, 2020; Porpora, 2015). There is no theory-neutral observation/explanation/interpretation: "there is, in other words, *no unmediated* access to the world". This means that our sense-data is always mediated by our pre-existing conceptual reserves (Fleetwood, 2004, p. 28).

Without *some* detachment, however, "self-referentiality" takes root: "consciousness becomes to be conscious of our own ideas (generic idealism), experience equates knowledge with the experienced (pragmatism and empiricism), and language becomes the internal relationship between linguistic signs (textualism)" (Archer, 2000, p. 154). Phillip S. Gorski (2013) argues: "While there can be no social reality that is independent of "all minds" considered collectively, there is one that is independent of "individual minds" considered singly (p. 465). Social reality is then somewhat mind-independent historically – "from these minds, right here, right now". It is also so artefactually: culture carries "an objective dimension" as it is amassed in a ""universal archive" of "intelligibilia", of human artifacts that exist independently of human minds" (p. 464). It also precedes consciousness "not only chronologically but also ontologically" as consciousness is "always *consciousness of*". Since people are "embodied consciousness", it also needs "first the evolution of certain kinds of bodies" (Porpora, 2015, pp.70-71). Language and emotionality have the "same quality of 'aboutness'": they are about an aspect of reality (Archer, 2000, p. 154). So, while critical realism recognizes the "conceptuality of social life", it exceeds it[139] (Bhaskar, 2013, p. 16). It opposes an idealist ontology drained by "discourses, language, signs, symbols, texts" (Fleetwood, 2015, p. 11). It urges an integration of causal and interpretive reasoning[140]. Since social reality is roughly patterned, never law-determined, causality (i.e., power to generate change) is not about correlations between variables/event-regularities/general laws (Porpora, 2015).

[138] For example, the world did not change shape when it was found to be round: "people's changing of their objective world views does not mean that reality changes as well" (Archer, Collier & Porpora, 2004, p. 2).
[139] For example, power relations are "not directly observable, but the effects of domination and subordination, wage inequality, preferential treatment, racism, and the like are experienced" (Rigakos & Frauley, 2011, p. 247).
[140] Critical realism rejects the "Humean theory of causal laws" which depicts social reality as "based on constant conjunctions of invariant events" (Bhaskar, 2007, p. 193).

Critical realism shifts from the "visible/superficial" to the "invisible/deep" (Prandini, 2011, p. 42). It is a "depth realism"; its "anti-reductive" ontology bans "the errors which are generally named by adding the suffix "-ism" to a discipline: biologism, psychologism, economism, sociologism, and so on". So, it eliminates "disciplinary imperialism" (Collier, 2011, p. 4; p. 17). Reality is "much thicker and richer than the observer can see and communicate 'directly'" (Donati, 2011, p. 98). It is "stratified, emergent, transformational, systemically open, becoming, processual, and often relational" (Fleetwood, 2015, p. 11). While realist views converge on ontological realism, they diverge on how they see reality. Anti-realists misconstrue critical realism: it is not a common-sense/naïve/empirical realism that refuses unseen entities. It instructs that beneath/ beyond empirically sensed phenomena, there are objectively real underlying structures and causal mechanisms[141] and their properties[142]; they generate often unpredictable phenomena which may be unactualized/unrecognized. Critical realism thus begins from "the *complexity* of open systems, in which we have a situation of *multi-mechanismicity*" (Bhaskar, 2013, p. 19). Science should tap into this hidden realm to detain "discontinuous moments of the heterogenous flux of reality in order to produce accounts of it". Yet, critical realism resists the idea that "reality itself can pinned down, fixed, and 'solidified' by a particular form of analysis". It thus concurs with social constructionists on the necessity to confront "accepted knowledges" but it also invites to deliver more refined understandings (Stevens, 2020, p. 8). For critical realists, "the world is composed not only of events, states of affairs, experiences, impressions, and discourses, but also of underlying structures, powers, and tendencies that exist whether or not detected or known through experience and/or discourse" (Patomaki & Wight, 2000, p. 223).

While reality is "multi-levelled", it appears "flat" due to a "process of abstraction that is inherent to our perception, and as a result of the limited slice of reality to which our senses give us access" (Elder-Vass, 2007b, p. 165). This ontological depth conjures stratification in space/place and time: reality has "dimensions", "domains", "orders" or "layerings" what stresses its multifacetedness (Layder, 1997, p. 2). Stratification implies "sedimentation": an "ordered and "deep" arrangement of reality which introduces temporality. Layers overlap and breed structures/

[141] The concept of mechanism is non-mechanistic and non-deterministic; it is a "structure" or a "complex organization or relation of different elements"; causal mechanisms are "what makes things work". Causality entails the doings of mechanisms and their properties in sited and combinatory circumstances. Since the world is open and includes multiple mechanisms at once, they are almost never regular (Porpora, 2015, p. 46).

[142] Causal properties stand for "tendencies", "dispositions", "capacities" and "powers" and emerge from mechanisms (Porpora, 2015, pp. 51-52).

mechanisms that are "only analytically disentangle-able". Reality is then a "*perduring relationality* (at all empirical levels of analysis)". It is made of "first-, second-, and third-degree relations (i.e., relations, relations between relations, and relations between relations and with their non-relational ambit)" (Prandini, 2011, p. 42; pp. 48-49). Critical realists distinguish between three domains: real, actual and empirical. The real domain is the deepest/most persistent: it embeds all structures/ mechanisms which generate phenomena, whether they are un/observable or in/active. The actual domain refers to the objective totality of phenomena generated by real structures/mechanisms; whether or not anyone is present to sense them. The empirical domain entails human subjective/ interpretive sensations and schemas (Bhaskar, 1998). Stratification entails emergence[143]; this presumes a spatial-temporal dimension which is part of action. It grants the possibility to "sustain the notion of past activity creating the context for, and limitations upon, present activity"; without it, structures/mechanisms are reduced to "individuals' actions or instantiations" (Cruickshank, 2003, p. 110)[144]. It indicates the arrival of new entities from pre-existing entities "from which they could have been neither induced nor deduced." Specifically, "the pre-existing entities, through cycles of reciprocal interactions and relations, lead to the constitution of a new entity that possesses *sui generis* qualities and properties" (Donati, 2015b, p. 201).

Bhaskar extended critical realism from natural science to social science via the TMSA. It is a model which clarifies "the ontological relations between individual and society – relations of irreducibility of one to the other, in ontological inter-dependence" (Collier, 2011, pp. 12-13). It is concerned by transformation through human agency: causal powers of structures/mechanisms are always/everywhere mediated via actions. It surfaced from Bhaskar's critiques of three explanatory models: individualist (actions, no conditions), collectivist (conditions, no actions) and dialectical (no distinction between actions and conditions). It contests the reconciliation of (social and cultural) structure and agency in the dialectical model[145] which implies that "society (…) produces the individuals, who produce society, in a continuous dialectic". In it, "they do not constitute two moments of the same process"; to accept that they do is to endorse "voluntaristic idealism" in

[143] The notion of emergence has various connotations (Sawyer, 2005). Emergence can explain "how an entity can have a causal impact on the world in its own right"; this "capability of having such an impact" is its "*causal power*" (Elder-Vass, 2010, p. 5).
[144] It offers a "non-reductionist and non-teleological account of order". This order is "not the result of anyone's plans, neither can it be explained by the qualities and characteristics of its elements – or an aggregate of them – or by their choices, actions, and behaviours" (Maccarini, 2013, p. 22).
[145] See Berger & Luckmann (1966).

terms of structure and a "mechanistic determination" in terms of agents (Bhaskar, 1998, pp. 213-214). Although they are co-dependent, they are ontologically/analytically distinguishable: they "neither can (…) be identified with, reduced to, explained in terms of, or reconstructed from the other. There is an ontological hiatus between society and people, as well as mode of connection (viz. transformation) that the other models typically ignore" (p. 217). This means that structures pre-date and restrict actions that subsequently reshape them; they are also the emergent results of historical mediations by earlier generations of people that produced them. So, people reproduce or transform structures: "if society is always already made, then any concrete human praxis (…) can only modify it; and the totality of such acts sustain or change it" (p. 214). Bhaskar discerns between a "*duality of structure*" and a "*duality of praxis*". The former refers to the dual constitution of society as "the ever-present *condition* (material cause)" and a "continually reproduced *outcome* of human agency". The latter refers to the dual constitution of agency as the "conscious *production*" and often "unconscious *reproduction*" of society (p. 215). He refers to "the position-practice system": it consists of "*positions* (places, functions, rules, tasks, duties, rights, etc.) occupied (filled, assumed, enacted, etc.) by individuals, and of the *practices* (activities, etc.) in which, in virtue of their occupancy of these positions (and vice versa), they engage" (1998, p. 200). For Bhaskar, sociology should be invested in studying the relations that exist between different positions-practices. He sees agency as located between "the domains of the psychological and the social sciences"; the structure and agency problem thus fits into "the science of socio-psychology" (p. 216).

Epistemological relativism

Epistemological relativism occurs in the transitive domain; it is dependent on human actions, including "facts and theories, paradigms and models, methods and techniques of inquiry available to a particular scientific school or worker" (2008, p. 21). It grants a path beyond epistemological certainty and uncertainty. Critical realism is neither a "privileged access to the truth" which entails "a kind of foundationalism" nor "a form of naïve objectivism" which asserts an "unmediated access to the truth" (Sayer, 2000, p. 2). It sees knowledge as socially constructed, temporary and fallible, and thus "alterable" and "undergoing an incremental transformation" (Frauley & Pearce, 2007, p. 5). It insists on the limits of "perspectival knowledge" and disallows

replacing “what we (think we) know for the way things really are (even if that eludes us)” (Archer, 2011b, p. 59). It supports an “epistemic relativism”, or “the initial situated-ness of all knowledge formation” (Porpora, 2015, p. 72). Knowledge is “always historically, socially, and culturally situated”. It is conveyed “from various standpoints according to various influences and interests and is transformed by human activity”; it is “context-, concept-, and activity-dependent” (Archer et al., 2016). Critical realism is critical because any efforts to describe the world are always imperfect; the descriptions cannot be vindicated in an absolute sense and can be supplanted. Yet, despite the limits of our knowledge, it is possible to establish ‘better’ knowledge. Critical realists are then weak social constructionists; critical realism differs from radical/strong social constructionism in that “this is understood in terms of emergent properties rather than through a reduction to experience and individual subjectivity”. Knowledge making is “a form of *production* in the sense that new meanings are constructed from and *transform* existing meanings (…) that are extensive in time and space and which have their own irreducible qualities” (Moore, 2013, p. 344). Dave Elder-Vess (2012) then argues that “social constructionism’s potential is best realised by separating it from the anti-realist baggage it has often been expected to carry, and linking it instead to an explicitly realist ontology of the social world” (p. 9). Overall, critical realism provides “a rationale for a critical social science, one that is critical of the social practices it studies as well as of other theories” (Sayer, 2000, p. 18).

Judgmental rationality

Critical realism accepts objective grounds for favoring one belief/theory over another (Bhaskar, et al., 2018). Judgmental rationality is an avenue between the certainty of modernism and the uncertainty of postmodernism; it argues for the acceptability of fairly reliable though restricted and contingent knowledge. It is “a constructive (though *pro tem*) method of arbitrating upon theoretical disputes” (Archer, 2011b, p. 59). Positions are not of equal merit: “some constructions are epistemically superior to others” (Porpora, 2011, p. 73). This does not pertain to the “content of knowledge (because it is always revisable)” but to the “*manner in which it is produced*”. Some knowledge has been reached “in ways in which we can be demonstratively more confident”. As a *critical* philosophy, critical realism invites revisions via a “constant, systematic questioning of existing knowledge” (Moore, 2013, p. 345). Dedicated to the “clarity of

exposition", it advocates a "sincere and committed engagement with the ideas of others" (Mutch et al., 2006, p. 611). Despite internal divergences (e.g., atheists vs. theists (e.g., Creaven, 2010; Hartwig & Morgan, 2012; Potter, 2007; Wilkinson, 2015; Wright, 2013)), it is animated by a concern for a better world (Bhaskar, 2013). It is situated "between the *scylla* of premature activism and the *charybdis* of ignorant complacency" (Herborth, 2012, pp. 237-238). Critical realism considers the stratified nature of social reality while judging between different competitive assertions; it claims that a theory is more desirable over others when it can: "identify and/or describe and/or explain a deeper level of reality; and or achieve a new order of epistemic (explanatory and/or taxonomic) integration, or at least show grounded promise of being able to do so" (Bhaskar, 1989, p. 82).

Critical realist social theorization: Morphogenesis/Morphostasis (M/M) Framework

Archer saw Bhaskar's TMSA as a "generous under-labouring of a philosopher who has actually dug beyond disciplinary bounds" but expanded it as a "working sociologist" (1995, p. 161). Since she was invested in non-conflationary theorizations (see Table 1), her review of the TMSA was fuelled by her dismissal of 'central conflation' which she saw as "areductionist" in that it treats structure/culture and agency as indivisible or "mutually constitutive". Since they cannot be untangled, "their reciprocal influences cannot be teased out" (2000, p. 6). This is found in Anthony Giddens' (1979; 1984) Structuration Theory (ST) which was seen as "an advance" to the structure and agency problem (Lipscomb, 2006, p. 175)[146]. It also acted as the precursor to the *relationist* sociology contested by Donati and Archer (2015). Bhaskar initially drew on ST in developing the TMSA but Archer argued that they are different. She criticized ST in various ways[147]; she saw it as too subjectivist and not giving adequate ontological status to social/cultural structure (King, 2010; Mingers, 2004). While structure, as Giddens properly asserts, is never

[146] For Giddens (1984), "agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism but represent a duality" (p. 25). Structure is "both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices" (1979, p. 5). He argues that "action and structure *presuppose one another*" (p. 53). He was inspired by the pragmatism of John Dewey and George Herbert Mead who developed the process ontology of Alfred North Whitehead and Henri Bergson. They were also stirred by Charles Horton Cooley, possibly the first one to advise the "inseparability claim" that conflates society and individuals (Sawyer, 2005, p. 127).

[147] In 1982, Archer published 'Morphogenesis versus Structuration: On combining structure and action' in the British Journal of Sociology. It was "one of the first serious critiques of Giddens' theoretical project; it remains one of the most insightful" (King, 2010, p. 254).

beyond agentic grip, or exists only via the activities of people, Archer (1995) claims that his 'duality of structure' offers no methodological basis from which to theorize the relative inputs of structure/culture and agency. ST makes this inevitable as it rejects an emergentist/stratified social ontology (Willmott, 1999). While non-emergentists focus on the "interpenetration" of structure/ culture and agency to exceed the gap between objectivity-subjectivity, emergentists emphasize their "interplay" (Archer, 1995, p. 15). Archer indicates that non-emergentism defies the "possibility of reflexivity": if structure/culture and agency are fused, "it is difficult to see how a person or a group is able to reflect critically or creatively upon their conditions" (2007b, p. 41). Instead, emergentists see objectivity and subjectivity as "two causal powers that are irreducibly different in kind and make relatively autonomous contributions to social outcomes" (2003a, pp. 1-2). Archer also stresses the temporality of emergence, or the fact that it "takes time since it derives from interaction and its consequences which necessarily occur in time" (1995, p. 14). So, it is the attention ascribed to the temporal in the TMSA that splits it from ST. It sees "the emergent and aggregate consequences of past actions and past agents [and it] actually makes analytical dualism a methodological necessity to the TMSA itself" (p. 151). Archer thus proposes an emergentist social theory that maintains an analytic dualism between structure/culture and agency[148].

THREE FORMS OF CONFLATION			
		TWO FORMS OF ANTI-REDUCTION	
Downward	**Upward**	**Central**	**Anti-conflation**
STRUCTURE/CULTURE (+ agency)	AGENCY (+ structure/culture)	STRUCTURE/CULTURE-AGENCY	STRUCTRUE/CULTURE + AGENCY
Methodological collectivism/holism; all varieties of determinism – structuralism, culturalism, etc.	Methodological individualism; all varieties of voluntarism – individualism, psychologism, etc.	Ontology as 'praxis'; non-emergentism; mutually constituted; interpenetration	Critical realism; emergentism; analytical dualism (radically different entities possessing different emergent properties); temporality; interplay
Model of Society's Being (hyper-socialization)	Model of Modernity's Man (hypo-socialization)	Agents are constrained/ enabled/motivated in the present (equal weight given to structure/culture and agency)	Agents, of varying power, elaborate their structural/cultural legacies, of varying power, producing potential transformation or reproduction

Table 1: Synthesis of Archer's structure, culture and agency configurations and their social theoretical bases (based on Archer, 1995; 2000; 2003)

[148] The 'Archer-Giddens dispute' is thorny and got ample attention; some commentators see parallels between them, others defend one over the other, others see flaws on both sides and others try to refine one side (e.g., Bates, 2006; Elder-Vass, 2007b; King, 2010; Larkins, 2019; Lipscomb, 2006; Piiroinen, 2014; Sawyer, 2002; Willmott, 1999). There is also a scholarship on the 'reconciliation' of Archer and Bourdieu (e.g., Elder-Vass, 2007a).

Analytical dualism, temporality, emergence, interplay

Archer (2003) argues that social reality is heterogenous as constituted of "entities whose own constituents are radically different from one another" what points to "plural ontologies" (pp. 35-36). She understands structure, culture and people as analytically distinct strata of social reality. So, any social phenomena consist of structural, cultural and agentic inputs: they are all "crucial for each other's formation, continuation and development" (2013, p. xii). Although they are, in reality, interwoven, if they are not analytically unwoven, it is hard to explain how each un/changes and how they influence one another. To do this 'unweaving', she advocates the use of analytical (not philosophical) dualism since their undifferentiation "severely limits their utility in practical social research" (2000, p. 6). It is a "methodology based on the historicity of emergence" (1995, p. 66). It allows to split up a convoluted flow of happenings over time into three temporal phases; this makes a research problem more manageable. To do so, she has been developing a sophisticated M/M Framework[149] since the 1980s[150]. It is the "practical methodological embodiment" of a critical realist social ontology (1995, p. 16). It is only a toolkit and researchers must fill in the specifics: "*how* particular parts of the social order originated and came to stand in a given relationship to one another, *whose* actions were responsible for this, through *which* interactions, *when* and *where* and with *what* consequences" (2011, p. 59; 2013). The M/M indicates that "action is a continuous, cyclical flow over time: there are no empty spaces where nothing happens and things do not just begin and end" (Fleetwood, 2004, pp. 37-38). Given space limits, it is impossible to cover it in detail here.

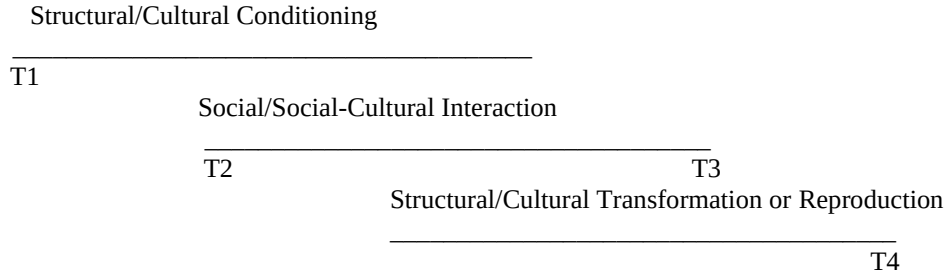


Figure 27: The M/M sequence for structure and culture (Archer, 1995)

[149] 'Morpho' refers to no pre-set/ideal state, 'genesis' refers to change and 'stasis' refers to stability.

[150] It evolved out of her investigation of educational systems of England and France. It entails a "solid concept of structure and social systems" without which "social theory becomes idealistic and loses its critical edge"; a notion of "culture and symbolism" without which it is "mechanistic and deterministic" and, a "theory of practices" without which structure and culture are "reified into anonymous processes without subjects" (Vandenberghe, 2013, p. 90).

The M/M sequence (Figure 27) helps to conceptualize the ways in which structural, cultural and agentic aspects interact and replicate or transform one another. The point of departure for an analysis is always arbitrary. It is identified by the researcher in view of research interests/ questions. It is necessary to 'burst into' the M/M cycle at some point in space-time and apply an analytical starting-point, or a prior M/M cycle. This cycle consists of three stages:

- At T1 pre-existing structures and cultures emerge from a prior cycle and operate as pre-existing structures and cultures that condition subsequent social and socio-cultural interactions. This calls for a study of structural and cultural contexts in which particular people find themselves at a particular space/place and time.
- At T2 agents find themselves interacting with – and influenced by – these (to them) pre-existing structures and cultures; a process of production is launched where these agents do whatever it is they can do given the nature of these pre-existing structures and cultures, that is, they are constrained, enabled and motivated by them in different ways.
- Between T2 and T3 the pre-existing structures and cultures endure change, which is finalized by T4 where structures and cultures are reproduced (morphostasis) or transformed (morphogenesis). After T4, a new cycle starts: T4 becomes the new structural and cultural context (T1) which sets the stage for the new cycle.

While the above description refers to structure and culture, Archer (1995) also speaks of "double morphogenesis": "agency leads to structural and cultural elaboration, but is itself elaborated in the process". She presents this account using "the same scheme" and "the same theoretical premisses" (p. 247). Overall, the M/M model aims to reveal why things are so and not otherwise. It illuminates a given social phenomenon by narratively recreating its manifestation and by integrating the ongoing modifications of structure, culture and agency in their interactions. It recognizes that any social phenomenon is a product of multiple interactants and processes/mechanisms; it only allows to make differentiations for analytical reasons. In addition, it accepts that, at any time, there are countless M/M cycles unfolding throughout society. So, it generates only hypothetical/tendential explanations (2013). It relies upon specific views of structure, culture and agency: structural emergent properties (SEPs), cultural emergent properties (CEPs) and people emergent properties (PEPs). They briefly described below.

Structural emergent properties (SEPs) and cultural emergent properties (CEPs)

The consideration of structure and culture is inescapable since all agentic expressions occur within material and ideational contexts; there is no context-less action. SEPs include systems, organizations, institutions and roles with primary dependence on necessary material (physical and human) resources and their distributions which rely on the "relations between the propertied and the propertyless, the powerful and the powerless, the discriminators and the subjects of discrimination" (Archer, 2000, p. 263). CEPs entail, also differentially distributed, collection of ideas, beliefs, theories, ideologies, etc. (found in specific discourses; not a communal identity) (1995; 2000; 2003). Archer has worked out an elaborate theory of culture. She critiques the "myth of cultural integration" which typically defines culture as "a community of shared meanings". She asserts that this view conceals many hurdles such as the incapacity to clearly differentiate between and analyze culture apart from community. Instead, she argues that the cultural system, or "the corpus of existing intelligibilia" or "all things capable of being grasped, deciphered, understood or known by someone", has an objective existence apart from the socio-cultural community/realm (1996, p. 104). CEPs are those aspects of the cultural system that people have engaged and which have thus begun to impact them. If cultural systems are examined separately from people, it is possible to grasp their distinct properties, but also assess the various ways in which culture and people interact. Although structure and culture differ, they "raise identical difficulties and the method by which these can be resolved turns out to be exactly the same". So, CEPs operate similarly to SEPs except that they display necessary logical relations as opposed to necessary material relations (1996, p. xi). As a context of action, these relations are neither of the making nor of the choosing of present-day subjects who inherit them. People joining service provision as new employees at some particular space/place and time, for instance, engage in a pre-existing milieu where and when the service provider position involves specific relations with organizational/institutional administrators, an enforced service programme and rules, etc. These new service providers neither produced nor decided the servicing context; they might praise or critique it. While they might be enticed to criticize their senior coworkers for these circumstances, the latter may have desired for matters to be different but lost the fight, had no/little input in the decision-making, or may have been deceived about the kind/effects of the modifications that were

initiated. In other words, they too have faced an earlier context though one which was structured and cultured slightly differently (Archer, 1995; 2014).

Structures and cultures possess causal powers that can do certain things but not others: they can constrain, enable and motivate people. They shape (not determine[151]) the situations in which people find themselves. They exert constraints (e.g., service providers cannot do whatever they want) and generate enablements (e.g., more education and advancement); they also supply motivation in that they offer some people vested interests in preserving the status quo (e.g., if they reward their expertise) and others in making change (e.g., if they are unfair). The preservation or modification of any organizational feature is fully dependent on what people do: how they join and quarrel and whom they can mobilize in endorsing or opposing change. Hence, it is not enough to assume that a 'better' social care would simply result from more righteous people; instead, it is crucial to understand how social care as a structure and culture conditions social care partakers. All structural and cultural influences are conveyed to people by the ways in which structures and cultures mould the situations in which they find themselves and are mediated by what people make of them. At any point, they are the outcomes of prior social and cultural interactions, including the outcomes of previous outcomes of such interactions. Those structures and cultures may have been unintended, undesirable or unrecognized; they rely upon past actions and they are irreducible to present actions alone. In order to grasp how structures and cultures exert causal powers, it is helpful to assess three kinds of effects they have on people. Specifically, they grant them vested interests, affix opportunity costs to adopting or refusing the latter, and link a situational logic of action to what people do in a given context.

First, structure and culture divide the majority of people into two groups: some with a vested interest in preserving the inherited status quo and others in altering it. People's vested interests are objective aspects of their situations that influence their general actional path – either to uphold the benefits linked with their positions (social and cultural stability) or to seek to surmount the disadvantages (social and cultural change). Second, objective opportunity costs are connected with different reactions to fulfilling or irritating situations, and those costs condition the understandings people put upon them. These opportunity costs represent good justifications for

[151] Critical realist social theory rejects structuralist logic according to which people are more/less obliged to act in certain ways; it also refuses voluntarist logic which claims that people act more/less without constraint.

many people to carry out their vested interests. Third, the strategic ways for the preservation or transformation of structure and culture does not merely rely on the judgment/preference of the people concerned. Situational logics of action, or configurations of SEPs and CEPs brought jointly by particular arrangements, foster stability or change; they predispose people to adhere to specific actions. In the example of services, the organization where service provision-use occurs, and its constituent positions and relations, is only one structural and cultural influence. Yet, there are other structured and cultured institutions and their (second-order) relations to the service organization in question can be of compatibility or incompatibility (see Table 2). In addition, cultural emergents (beliefs, values, etc.) may be encouraging of or challenging to the material range of institutions. Complementarities serve to strengthen social reproduction; contradictions/incompatibilities enhance the possibility for social transformation. Archer acknowledges that, in reality, the concrete manifestations of these relations are complex and nebulous (Archer, 2014; 2000; 2003; 1995).

	CONTRADICTIONS		**COMPLEMENTARITIES**	
	Necessary	**Contingent**	**Necessary**	**Contingent**
Situational logic	***Correction***	***Elimination***	***Protection***	***Opportunism***
SEPs				
Structural system	Compromise	Competition	Integration	Differentiation
Social interaction	Containment	Polarization	Solidarity	Diversification
CEPs				
Cultural system	Syncretism	Pluralism	Systematization	Specialization
Socio-cultural interaction	Unification	Cleavage	Reproduction	Sectionalism

Table 2*:* Situational logics of action (based on Archer, 1995, p. 303[152]).

People emergent properties (PEPs)

People are influenced but not determined by SEPs and CEPs: all structural and cultural constraints, enablements and motivations are mediated through them. This 'mediation' adopts different forms: from conformity to avoidance and strategic action to rebellion. People possess their own emergent properties and causal powers. A critical realist social ontology instructs that it is possible to conceptualize layers of PEPs. Archer (2000) thus adopts an emergent/stratified view of human personhood and agency: "Mind is emergent from neurological matter, consciousness from mind, selfhood from consciousness, personal identity from selfhood, and social agency from

[152] This is a standard table that is commonly cited in most scholarly works that use the M/M Framework. It would be too long to explain each term; explanations are available in Archer's scholarship.

personal identity" (p. 87)[153]. She views human personhood via "four strata": "the *self*, the *person*, the *agent* and the *actor*" (p. 254). They reflect the 'I', 'Me', 'We' and 'You', respectively. While the last three embody the 'I''s "*internal relations*", since they inhabit structural and cultural contexts they also entail "*external relations*" (2015, p. 103). So, she conceptualizes the human person as someone who develops between nature, practice and social interaction[154]. Mature human beings are persons, agents, and actors though they never abandon their origins in the self. Archer explores the influences of individual and collective articulations by focusing on two individual positions (self; social actor) and two collective positions (primary agent; corporate agent). They intertwine notions of personal identity and social identity. The meanings of these terms are presented below.

Personal identity – Human agency begins in an uninterrupted awareness of the self which is formed early in life. The advent of self-consciousness is the outcome of human interaction with the world as a whole; it is not a product of society alone (i.e., culture/language). It implies the ownership of "a continuous sense of self" (2000, p. 10). It upholds our links with the animal realm and bonds all human persons into "the community of humanity" (p. 124); it is "prior to, and primitive to, our sociality" (p. 7)[155]. Given its earliest contacts with mainly pre-/a-linguistic strata, it is initially "wordless", or not socially obtained (2015, pp. 94-96). It thus occurs prior to social engagement; it is the origin of "basic principles of logical reasoning which are *prior to and necessary for discursive socialisation*" (2000, p. 152). It then entails a perception of temporal durability in a physical body; yet, it is alterable, or changes over space/place and time. So, "there is no essence of the self to detect" and "no decontextualized 'self' has ever been born" (2015, pp. 99-101). The self is "not the Cartesian *cogito*, not the soul, not the William James' 'self of selves' in its inner citadel, and not the variable social concepts of the self" [156]. As human beings develop,

[153] Archer (1995) highlights that the simplest way to grasp the meaning of agency is to inquire "where it stands in relationship to notions of the 'human being'" (1995, p. 248). She identifies four positions: no human being, only social agent; social agent as idealized human being; human being identical with social agent; and, both human being and social agent. The latter is the critical realist position.

[154] Donati (2011) adds to this 'transcendence' (fourth order) which concerns the relations between humanity and divinity/the supernatural. A human person can thus exist "between the natural bio-physical world and transcendence, between the body and the ultimate sense of existence" (p. 48).

[155] Archer (2000) distinguishes between "evolving *concepts* of the self" and "universal *sense* of self", or an asocial awareness of one's individuality that is common to all human persons (p. 124).

[156] These various features differentiate it from the pre-given human nature inscribed in the Model of Modernity's Man; since Archer privileges practice over social conversation/language, it also differs from the Model of Society's Being (see chapter 1). Human persons are "reflexive beings": reflexive powers are "neither pre-given nor (…) the gift of society – they have to be realized in and through practice" (Archer, 2000, pp. 7-8).

they acquire more emergent properties and powers which turn them into subjects who act in various ways in the social reality (i.e., commitments, intentionality, evaluation). Archer claims that we encounter social reality via three orders: natural, practical and social; these encounters trigger the emergence of specific knowledge. Each order involves particular concerns which are variously prioritized by people: "physical wellbeing", "performative skills" and "self-worth" (2003b, pp. 20-21). By living at once in these orders, we experience various concerns. The 'internal conversation' is the space where we assess them and decide on a direction. This process depends on 'reflexivity', or "the regular exercise of mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa" (2007, p. 4)[157][158]. Appraising and selecting concerns is an emotional activity, where emotions (not moods) are seen as "commentaries on our concerns" and emotionality as our reflexive reaction to the world[159] (Archer, 2007a, p. 13).

Our personal identity then resides in how we carry out the internal conversation and in what we choose to care about, that is, in our "constellation of concerns" (p. 40). Personal concerns are not mere preferences; they are commitments "for who's sake we will be altruistic, self-sacrificing and sometimes ready to die and always, at least, be trying to live" (2012, p. 22). This leads to the articulation of a project, or a way to exercise what we care about; we generally are involved in more than one project (in three orders). People eventually achieve a personalized manner of engaging in/with the world. This construction of a way of life is "an active process of reflection" which occurs as the self identifies as "the being-with-this-constellation-of-concerns" (2003b, p. 22). While people oversee a myriad of concerns, they also pick their ultimate concerns, or those that matter to the most to them and which become longstanding goals; they reflect "what we value most" (2000, p. 223). For Archer, the realization of personal identity occurs in early adulthood[160]. Jointly, self-consciousness is the base for the emergence of personal identity, or "the achievement of subjects themselves in relation to their environment" (2003, p. 120). It is our "unique identity and way of being in the world" (2000, p. 10); it is generated by our "rich inner life" which interlaces with our sociality "but exists *sui generis* and cannot be reduced to it" (p.

[157] It is "broader than language because it can register, record, and respond in terms of visceral and visual images and, thus, is operative prior to the acquisition of the public linguistic medium" (Archer, 2015, p. 124).
[158] The notion of reflexivity has a rich conceptual background. Archer (2010) affirms that "reflexivity really belongs to no particular school of thought" (pp. 3-4). The pragmatist tradition developed in American philosophy and social science gives strong support to this approach.
[159] This strongly challenges rational choice theories; decision-making occurs via the evaluation of different emotional aspects, that is, it is not a purely rational activity.
[160] Archer's developmental approach can be seen as somewhat uncritical (Larkins, 2019).

194). This is needed for the expansion of "first-person perspective on reality" which allows a human person to consider one's self as a "subject who is distinct from all else in the world" (2003, p. 39). Personal identity makes us specific persons; although it is unique, it can "largely be constituted by the things that have happened to us". While it involves an "active interplay with the environment", it cannot be "pro-active in selecting this environment" (p. 9).

It is because of people's reflexive inputs that full homogeneity in response for every person who confronts the same structural and cultural conditions is rarely, if ever, found. So, an analysis of the subjectivity and reflexive irregularity of people becomes crucial in order to seize differences of response under the same conditions. People always think about their relationship with their structural and cultural context; this is the process via which reasons become causes of actions embraced by them. It is via their subjective internal conversations that those objective structural and cultural aspects have their conditional impact on actions. That said, they reflect about their selves in relation to their circumstances fallibly, partially and via their perceptions. In investigating the ways in which people conduct internal conversations, Archer found heterogenous types of reflexivity. She delineated four modes that she has empirically differentiated and explored across the lifecycle[161]. Each type is a particular way of considering one's self in relation to one's structural and cultural context. It is an upshot of people's 'personal concerns' that they have formed over time; it also comes from their orientation toward their structural and cultural sceneries. It depends on whether they have fulfilled their personal concerns, how they assessed their original context, whether they pursued an extensive transformation in their circumstances, or if they were confused when trying to join them. The four ideal-types of reflexivity are not psychological personality types; they can also change across the lifespan. While all are used to various degrees and intensities by one person, one mode appears more dominant; it tends to stem from early socialization[162]. Broadly, they are ways in which people think about their thinking; they steer their confrontations with structural and cultural constraints, enablements and incentives. Each reflexive posture tends to entail a different moral attitude, or conclusions about what is valuable to seek in the structural

[161] In her research of first year sociology students, Archer (2012) noticed a tendency for particular features of natal/familial contexts to explain the variance in the ways that individuals engage with the world. Particular events in an individual's situations/contexts provide the circumstances within which reflexive deliberations evolve that are favorable for the development of a particular mode of reflexivity.

[162] Nyika, Manguvo & Zinyanduko (2016) state that it is conceivable that there are aggregated or in-between styles.

and cultural arrangement, and a practical logic about what should be done to carry out personal concerns. The four types and their general features are described below (Table 3)[163]:

Mode of reflexivity	General features	General moral stance
Communicative reflexivity	Internal deliberations need to be reinforced and finalized by others before they lead to action. They opt to uphold established practices in the face of shifting conditions and do so under the influence of culture, religion, politics, etc.	Moral communitarianism/ collectivism; internalization of the social-cultural order; social-cultural reproduction
Autonomous reflexivity	Internal deliberations are self-contained. They make decisions independently by adjusting their ruminations directly to action with little external consultation. They exhibit instrumentality which leads them to develop socially-culturally advantageous actions.	Moral libertarianism/individualism; normalization of the social-cultural order; social-cultural production
Meta-reflexivity	Internal deliberations critically assess previous inner conversations; they are critical about effective action in society. They critically analyze their own and others' thoughts and actions to make decisions that best serve their ideals; they often desire to make a meaningful difference.	Moral idealism/vision; problematization of the social-cultural order; social-cultural redirection
Fractured reflexivity	Internal deliberations cannot lead to purposeful courses of action; instead, they augment personal anguish/confusion. They cannot work out how to make effective decisions.	Moral passivity; weak reflexivity which is expressive rather than purposeful.

Table 3: Four modes of reflexivity and their general features (based on Archer, 2012; 2007a; 2003).

Archer (2012; 2007a) notes that reflexivity is not itself acontextual. She argues that the major changes that occurred on a global scale from the 1980s onwards (spread of the Internet, globalization, etc.), and which have generated an array of options, have been urging people to use their personal reflexivity more intensely; they birthed a 'situational logic of opportunity'. In more developed parts of the world, these trends have been harmful to the ways of life based on contextual continuities with the past and made the formation of new ties anchored in kinship, community, occupation, religion, etc. more difficult. So, communicative reflexivity has been on decline. The rise of neoliberal capitalism has been fostering an autonomous reflexivity which maintains stability today (in finance capitalism, corporate realm, social entrepreneurship, public service delivery using managerial performance, etc.). At the same time, meta-reflexivity is also on the rise: many

[163] The four modes of reflexivity have been used in many areas; see: Goodman (2017) (nursing), Hung & Appelton (2016) (social work); Saar (2019) (migration).

young people, for example, are ever more indifferent to class, status or power since they aspire to make social changes. Due to social relational shortages, however, fractured reflexivity is also rising. Broadly, while benchmarks are now less firmly allocated, more varied and rapidly transmuting, structural and cultural influences continue to maintain their grip (2012; 2007a).

Social identity – To explain 'social selves', Archer introduces the concepts of agent and actor; they surface from the influence of the structural and cultural context on the self and personal identity. Personal identity is the essential stratum for the agent and actor, or the social identity, that is, "the capacity to express what we care about in social roles that are appropriate for doing this" (2002, p. 17). The latter emerges from the relations with the social order and is a "sub-set of personal identity" (2003, p. 120). Although the surfacing of personal identity and social identity is a "dialectical process", the former is "always broader" as it manages "the subject's relations with reality as a whole". It inspires it and delineates "its standing relative to other concerns, which social concerns do not necessarily outweigh" (1995, p. 257). So, while personal identity pertains to full reality, social identity is only held in society. It does not emerge in a "single movement" what implies a "stratified social subject". More precisely, it is differentiated into social agent – primary and corporate – and actor (2000, p. 259). Archer asserts that these are both plural identities which entail a connection to a broader group. Since agency is universal to all social members, it is "*always and only employed in the plural*" (1995, p. 257); human persons and social actors exist in the singular. Hence, a social agent refers to a collectivity and a social actor refers to a social role bearer within in. Yet, this differentiation is "only temporal and analytical" (2000, p. 280).

Primary agency stems from the circumstances of one's birth or emerges via "involuntary embroilment in society's distribution of resources" (p. 254). Primary agents are "involuntarily situated beings" (p. 262). They are then "*collectivities* sharing the same life-chances" (p. 261). This includes gaining membership in a group that is privileged or unprivileged. Corporate agency results from agents collectively joining together in an attempt to influence structural and cultural circumstances. Corporate agents are active "self-conscious vested interest groups, promotive interest groups, social movements and defensive associations". They represent the 'We', or collective action. So, while human persons are always pre-grouped, they can re-group (p. 265). Primary agency is a passive power and corporate agency is an active one; each can generate structural and cultural change though differently, or from demographic numbers and organized action, respectively. Archer claims that, historically, primary agency has been declining in terms

of its importance and corporate agency has been expanding. In any case, both are group identities. Conversely, the social actor emerges via the "voluntary involvement in society's role-array" (Archer, 2000, p. 254). It is an individual accomplishment: a person who is able to personify a social role in a distinct manner. For Archer, the becoming of a social actor represents the full realization of a social identity. Social actors are "the particular social identities of individual social actors" which are made from "agential collectivities in relation to the array of organizational roles which are available in society at that specific point in time" (1995, pp. 255-256). They cannot be grasped without agency: agency "conditions (not determines) who comes to occupy different social roles" (p. 275). Social roles work in "sets" which require "necessary and internal relations" what in turn needs "resources and rules". Social actors are then role occupants; social roles possess emergent properties which are irreducible to people. They not only pre-exist them and are more resilient over time but are endowed with "autonomous powers of constraint and enablement which are lodged in the role, not the occupants, and can be lost (or shed) with loss of occupancy" (p. 276). Yet, "what array of roles is open to them at any given time, strongly conditions who may become an Actor at that time and thus who may acquire a social identity" (2000, p. 261). So, not everyone can become a certain social actor. People become social actors by identifying themselves with a particular social role which they actively personify. They cannot be reduced to 'persons' though they have to be affixed in them so as to infuse their role with "human qualities of reflexivity and creativity". If stripped of the latter, they cannot reflect upon the inflexibility of role-governed constraints and defy/alter the role. Social roles are dynamic because the engagements of corporate agents modify the available role assortment; moreover, the creative personalizations enacted by social actors can jointly change the normative demands linked with social roles (1995).

Full human personhood – Archer (2000) depicts "full personhood" as follows: "Human selfhood (*Grandparent*) → → → Social Agent (*Parent*) → → → Social Actor (*Offspring*)" (p. 111). The self is then made of three aspects: universal self (asocial), reflexive self (personal identity) and social self (agent and actor); the human person has a personal identity and a social identity. While this is a developmental explanation of human personhood, she (2000) asserts that people orbit the strata throughout their lives (Figure 28): a "lifelong account" entails "dialectical relations between social identity and personal identity, which serve to monitor our subsequent commitments to, and doings within society" (p. 260). Archer uses the M/M Framework to explain these movements. This suggests that temporally prior to interaction (T1) is the I, or the continuous

sense of self which is socially detached. It is also a primary agent who is involuntarily and objectively located in society's set of collectivities sharing similar constraints, enablements and motivations due to ancestral/familial relations and the immediate social milieu; it is a 'conditioned Me'. At T2, one becomes aware of one's "objective placement and its relationship to the social ordering of qualities conferring *self-worth* and their opposites" (Archer, 2015, p. 105). Every primary agent is an "object" to one's self: "there are many things that 'I' can discover about 'my' objective position". This is possible since there is a cognisant 'I' which makes discoveries about 'Me' as a primary agent. The 'Me' possesses no strict identity; it is the object of society and the 'I'. The 'I' reflects upon the everyday occurrences of objective conditioning influences. Since self-worth is the basic social concern of the social order, the 'I' realizes that there are dis/advantageous aspects about the 'Me' (gender, religion, legal status, etc.) (2000, pp. 263-264). T3 depicts the collective action that one may potentially become involved in and become a 'We', or a corporate agent. This engages "*commitments* in a genuine act of solidarity" (p. 107) which lead to structural/cultural transformations. At T4, one becomes a 'You', or social actor by assuming and personifying social role(s) that most closely articulate one's concerns/projects. Any biography involves an incessant movement around these four quadrants. The "mature emergent person (at T4 which is also start of the new T1'), inspects the 'I', the 'Me', the 'We', and the 'You' which have been part of her personal morphogenesis" (2003, p. 124). Each new course reveals that "the Actors have changed experientially, their relationships have altered, and so have their contextual circumstances". This means that "the micro-, the meso-, and the macro-levels continue to interpenetrate and to influence one another" (2015, p. 114). At re-entry at T1', the initial 'I' is now a "personal and social self" (p. 2015). Its most vital aspects are "the *commitments*" that have been established (family, career, organizational membership, skills and knowledge, distinctive lifestyles, etc.) (2003, p. 125). At T2', the 'I' has (possibly) a new social position: "the mature 'Me' has been assigned her own life-chances" which are "not involuntary because anyone who has become an Actor has actively collaborated in making themselves *what* they are, even though this was accomplished from the context of his or her initial involuntary placement as a (primary) agent" (p. 126). The 'I' re-engages in social comparisons (victim, victor, fair, unfair): the 'Me' is "an object of the 'I'" (2015, p. 105). At T4', the maintenance of personal identity and social identity is re-inspected; one might decide that the Actor one has become is no longer relevant.

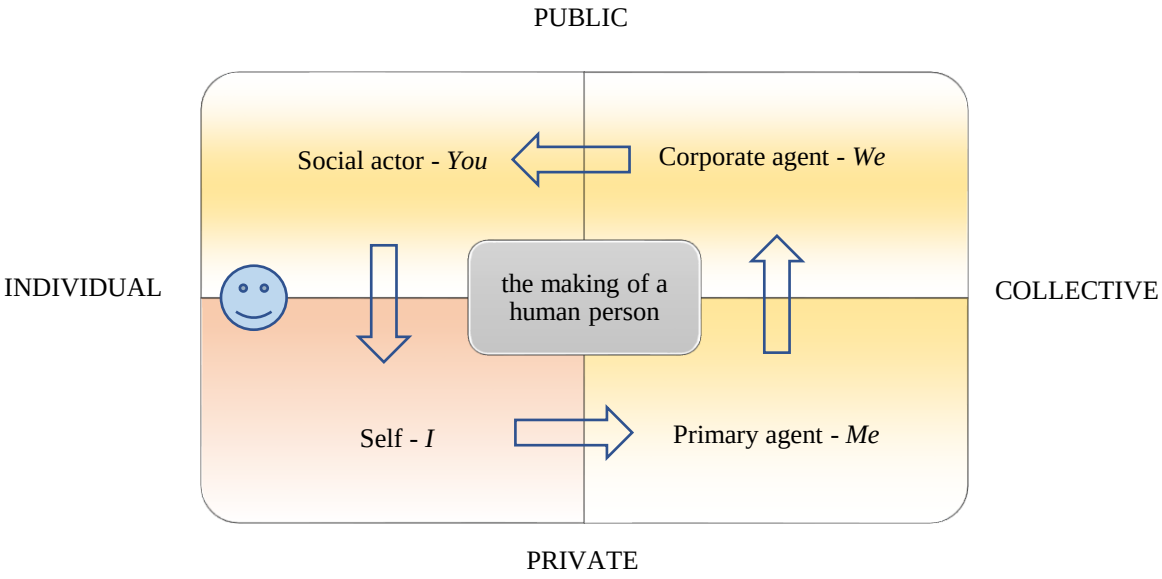


Figure 28: A simplified depiction of the construction of human personhood (adapted from Archer (2015), p. 104).

Critical realist relational sociology: The meeting of Archer and Donati

While relational sociologies (and other disciplines) focus on social relations, they are divided by different conceptualizations of them. They entail a conflict over their ontology which involves the structure/culture vs. agency problem (Donati, 2011). They argue over the extent to which the latter should be a priority or not, even if at all. For Emirbayer (1997), relational sociology has moved beyond it as it removes "substances of various kinds (things, beings, essences)". He famously exclaimed: "Entities of the world, relate!" (p. 313). For Archer (2007), the dilemma "cannot be dismissed as 'tiresome' or 'old fashioned'; it does not evaporate because "we become vexed by it, tired of it, or try to turn our backs upon it" (p. 38). Donati (2013) claims that Emirbayer locates substances in the same realm as social relations even though "we are dealing with two distinct orders of reality" (p. 151). He (2015) asserts: "relations cannot fade away substances (layers of reality), although the latter are constituted by relations" (p. 87). While it is impossible to present here a full account of these quarrels, it seems vital to briefly outline them so as to justify the conceptual choices made here.

Ontological clashes between relationist and relational sociologies

Dépelteau (2013b) identifies three "constellations" of relational sociology: deterministic/ structuralist, co-deterministic/dialectical and deep/relationist (p. 164). He (2105) endorses a "deep, transactional sociology" which "detaches relational sociology from social determinism and co-determinism" (p. 45). He refutes co-determinism or explanations in terms of interactions between structure/culture and agency. He (2008) links with it various scholars, including Bhaskar and Giddens, but seeks Archer's work as "one of the most sophisticated co-deterministic attempts to define the relationships between structures and agency" (p. 52). He (2013) referred to her and her allies as "reluctant relational co-determinists" since she rejected such a portrayal and accused it of central conflation. He then differentiated between "two subtypes of (relational) co-determinism": 'conflated' and 'analytical dualist' (p. 171). For Archer (2015), although relationists discard co-deterministic conceptualizations, they lean towards the Model of Society's Being by relying on social theorists (Wittgenstein, Vygotsky, Mead, etc.) who have prioritized the social order over other orders of reality. Alternatively, Donati and Archer (2015) discern two camps of relational sociology: *relationist*, mainly North American (including Dépelteau) and *relational*, mostly European[164]. These tensions are the most "violent clash" in relational sociology: they are a rift between "processual-pragmatist"/"relationalists" and "relational-structuralist"/"relational realists" (Vandenberghe, 2018, p. 38).

Relationism englobes theories that limit social reality to "processes, without distinguishing the contribution of the individual components from those of their relations as emergent phenomena" (Donati, 2011, p. 71). Donati and Archer (2015) see it as a reaction to neo/ liberalism's individualism and an "uncritical receptivity towards the destructured portrayal of late modernity as fluid flows and formless complexity". It silences "the critique of mutating capitalism" in that it veils – via "destructuration" – "the machinations of financialized banking, multinational corporations, digital technology, climate change, warfare and so on" (p. 8). It is an exaggerated return to Heraclitus' processualism where "everything flows", or to "relativistic metaphysics" and "radically constructionist epistemology" (Donati, 2013, p. 151). A processual ontology discards the conditions of the debate between individualists/atomists and collectivists/

[164] Yet, there is danger in dividing the movement based on geography; this doctoral thesis is produced in N. America.

holists (Sawyer, 2005). *Relationist* relational sociology adopts a flat/non-emergentist social ontology what eradicates "the Subject (by its anti-humanism) and the 'social structure' (through its so-called anti-substantialism)" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 12). The notion of structure, if recognized, sees action as 'situated'. For Archer (2015), "this is not only 'presentist' by implying a covert version of Giddens' instantiation-by-agency-in-the-present, but this simultaneously entails his position of 'central conflation'" (pp. 156-157). Dépelteau argued for a "single-level ontology in which relations are simply the transactions between interdependent individuals" (Powell & Dépelteau, 2013, p. 9). This echoes Emirbayer's (1997) transactional approach where social relations are "transactions unfolding within social networks" (p. 299). For Donati and Archer (2015), a 'transaction' is extremely vague. Relationism reduces social relations to "contingent exchanges and transactions" or to "communications" (p. 186). It seizes them as a "product of a mixing of individual actions and social structures without seeing that the relation is a *sui generis* reality, not able to be manipulated at will, in terms of cultural relativism and constructionism" (Donati, 2015a, p. 88). So, they endure a "radical contingency in all their elements, i.e., their situational goals, means, rules and value-pattern". Since they are de-structured/cultured: they have no "specific qualities" and no "causal powers" (2016, p. 155). This restrains analysis "from within social relations, their own internal constitution, and ultimately does not deal properly with the 'nature' of social relations" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 20).

Merging critical realism and relational sociology

While Archer zooms in on the interplay between structure/culture and agency across space/place and time, Donati delves into social relationality. Although their works are "fully complementary", they exhibit differences that are mutually enhancing (2011, p. xii). British-American critical realists and Italian relational sociologists were/are intrigued by different aspects of social relations. The former focused on non-reductionist links between structure/culture and agency: social relations are seen as "holding the positions and practices (or better positioned-practices), not between the individuals who occupy/engage in them" (Bhaskar, 1979, p. 41). Since they overlooked the constitution of the social order, they lack "a robust and relational theory of social integration" (Archer, 2010b, p. 273). Donati's (2010a) relational sociology has a "deeper social ontology because the very existence of the social order is itself relational" (p. 201). Society

"is not a space-time where relations happen, it is relations" (Donati, 2011, p. xv). It starts from the premise that "in the beginning was the relation" (p. 65), or that "in the relation is the beginning" (Vandenberghe, 2018, p. 39). Specifically, critical realist relational sociology joins Archer's M/M Framework with Donati's social theorization of social relations[165] It embraces a stratified/non-flat/ emergentist social ontology of social relationality. It sees the 'social relation' as the basic analytical unit: every human person and social form are relationally constituted. It considers "the relation *qua* relation" what makes it irreducible (Donati, 2013, p. 148). It is both, a lens for social scientific research and a particle that constitutes the social fabric/life. Society itself is not a container but social relational web (2011). So, while it is "made *by* individuals", it is "*not* made *of* individuals" though only them can trigger it (2015, p. 90). People are the 'generators' of social forms that surpass them since they are "the emerging product of their mutual acting in a situated context" (p. 88). Society is an upshot of emerging "associative and dissociative relations" that incessantly modify it (2014, p. 144). A given society is distinguishable via the ways in which its social relational net is configured; its singularity lies in the particularities embedded in the latter's "generative mechanisms". So, societal change is a "transformation of the social relations that *make that* society" (2015a, p. 91).

Critical realist relational sociology rejects conflationist views of social relations or those that treat them as: (1) projections/expressions/by-products of the self/individuals and their internal states or interpersonal effects; (2) articulations/outcomes of structures/cultures, and thus external restrictions imposed on selves/individuals; and (3) some mix of the two. Instead, social relations involve structural, cultural and agentic/reflexive inputs (2018). The realm of social relations is "an invisible world generated by human beings, but that human beings do not see or come to see very rarely" though one "which helps to forge them" (2011, p. xv, p. 61). Although they often stay "hidden, latent, unsaid and indescribable, lacking reflexivity" (2016, p. 151), they are considered real: "we can forget them, we can ignore them, we can banish them. But they are still there" (2011, p. xvi). They remain the "*terra incognita* of theory and of empirical research, not to mention of

[165] They are collaborators in real life. Donati (no date) stated about Archer: "we share the same social realism, even if I would prefer to talk of 'relational critical realism'". He specifies: "For the kind of critical realism I call 'relational', social reality is the expression of a particular order of reality, which is neither material or ideational (…) the *order of social relations*" (p. 99). Archer (2015) self-labels as a relational sociologist but emphasizes that "all our human capabilities and liabilities (apart from the physiological) exist only *in potential* and crucially, that their development – its direction or possible distortion – *depends on our relations with all three orders of reality*". She adds: "If some readers would be more comfortable in calling me a 'Relational Realist', so would I, because what I will be advancing is a *stratified ontology of the Relational Subject*" (p. 94).

practical (applied, clinical) sociology" (p. 4). They can only be accessed via a relational thought – one which acts as a "microscope" that reveals a new social order (Donati, 2016, p. 156). This order is neither located "midway between the individual (the Self) and the whole (the social system) nor is "a mixture or a bridge between the two" but is found "on another stratum of reality" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 32). What follows explores in more detail the concept of social relation and the notion of (individual and collective) relational subject which forms the bedrock of this thesis.

Social relation – For Donati (2011), 'being in social relation' implies that (1) between two/ more entities there is a certain distance which at once differentiates and ties them; (2) that such a relation exists (i.e., has a reality) in itself with its own emergent properties; and (3) that such a reality has its own more or less un/stable structure. A social relation then has a double meaning: it is a process and an outcome of that process. Social relations are a "*sui generis* (= of its own kind)" reality; they depict "a different (autonomous and peculiar in its characteristics) order of reality" (2016, p. 356). This relational order[166] stems from the "relatedness itself of the social order"; it is not "derivable from or reducible to this or that particular factor or variable" (2011, p. 13). It cannot "be manipulated at will, in terms of cultural relativism and constructionism" (2015a, p. 88). It is a "non-observable but equally real level of reality" (2011, p. 13). Social relationality that arises between an Ego and an Alter, always in/with/via broader structural and cultural conditions, can be seen from the subjective side of both, the Ego and the Alter, and as an objective reality between them. So, it must be analyzed via two dimensions – the symbolic-psychological axis (the *refero*) and the instrumental-normative axis (the *religo*) – which are entirely intertwined and birth an emergent result. A social relation is an "emergent effect of a reciprocal action (ego-alter inter-action) between actors/social subjects who occupy different positions in a societal configuration (a system, a network, or other arrangements)". It can be depicted as "[i→j/j→ i]" (2013, p. 214); it is "the *tertium*" or a third component (2011, p. 13). It is at once "a symbolic fact ('a reference to') and a structural fact ('a link between')"; it cannot be reduced to its participants even if it can

[166] This is not to be confused with Goffman's interaction order. For Goffman (1961), every society has "frameworks for contact" which are at once "a source of identity, a guide for ideal contact, and a basis for solidarity and divisiveness". They entail "a set of interdependent assumptions that fit together to form a kind of model" (p. 323). While he referred to an 'interactional order', this thesis invokes the 'relational order'. Goffman was "undoubtedly committed to dualism". In contrast to Archer, it is a "lukewarm version of dualism". While he focused on how the interaction order is linked with the institutional order, he did not elaborate on the latter "in any "rigorous theoretical manner, nor did he imply that it was urgent to do so" (Layder, 1994, p. 240). Archer (2000) claims: "Goffman owed us an account of the self, but left the bill unpaid, for the sources of the self remained completely shrouded" (p. 317).

only be animated through them (Donati, 2011, p. 130). It is created through its two axes via "the distinctions of time (present/future) and space (inside/outside)" (2014, p. 145).

Social actions in any social relation can be grasped via four dimensions: intentions/goals, values, means and norms; they depict the 'social molecule' of the social relation. It is a "heuristic instrument aimed at simplifying our understanding of a form that is very complex in reality" (p. 152; p. 155). It presents it "as a relationship from a sociological point of view" (2013, p. 93). It is "not a pure metaphor (…) but possesses some similarity with reality, and therefore is an analogy, albeit weak" (p. 146). The composition of a social relation can then be analyzed via the four facets as they assume meaning that is different from that present in the agents/actors: "their coherence is always problematic, at the levels both of single actions and of the social relation" (2014, pp. 145-146). The aspects from each partaker converge and diverge and are understood differently by them. It is also possible that participants generate another type of social relation than supposed (e.g., service provider and servicer user develop friendship). Social relations are configured in the T2-T3 phase of the M/M sequence: they act as mediators between structure, culture and agency/ reflexivity. They are impacted by external constraints, enablements and motivations (T1) and those that stem from their own internal dynamics. All social realities are "relational products generated by unceasing cycles"; they can only be seized via the M/M Framework what makes them ""products of first, second, or *n*-order relations" (2011, p. 99; p. 98). Figure 29 illustrates the M/M cycle for a social relation.

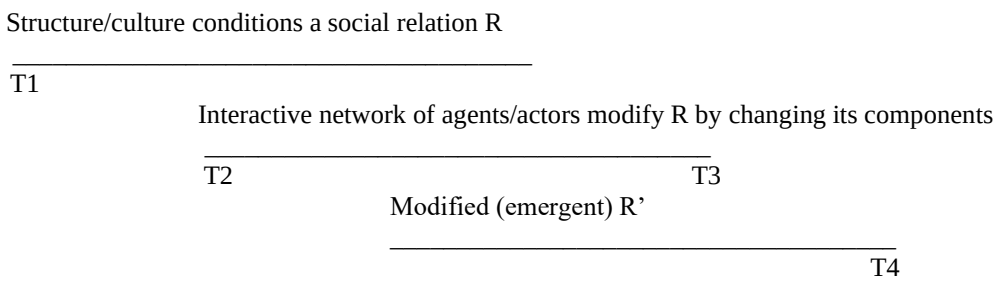


Figure 29: The M/M sequence for social relations (adapted from Donati, 2014, p. 146).

Relational subject – The notion of 'relational subject' relies upon the conceptualization of the social relation outlined above. It can be singular/individual and plural/collective. In the case of a singular/individual relational subject, "the relation to the Other enters into the individual consciousness and plays a part in the internal definition of that particular Self" (Archer & Donati,

2015, p. 59). Human persons are made in natural, practical and social orders via "inescapable relations" what makes them universally relational subjects. So, "our human selves are relational *through and through*, but our relationality is not confined to society's discursive order" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 80). In other words, "*our experiential relations*" are "*with the nature of reality as a whole*". This opposes the anthropo-/psychocentrism of the Model of Modernity's Man, where "man works on reality as a whole but reality does not work upon man", and which promotes monadic ir-/rational selves. It also resists the sociocentrism of the Model of Society's Being which condenses "the whole of reality" to "people sieved through one part of it, 'society's conversation'" and depicts selves as exhaustively social creations (Archer, 2015, p. 91). It also rejects views in which human selves vanish or linger as a jumble of relations caught in "total processuality" (Donati, 2013, p. 151). A 'subject' is an "agent and actor" captured in the "singularity as a human person", or one who has self-continuity and subjectivity/reflexivity which is liable for the choice of ultimate concerns/projects in relation to structural and cultural conditions. A 'relational subject' is "the human person" who produces social relations and is produced by them. This convenes a "relational I", that is, one which emerges when the individual is seen as being "in relation to others and otherness (people and things)". It is socially relationally engaged as a "Self" and is generated "in/through/and with these relations" – "as the Me, the We, and the You" (different facets of social identity) (p. 54). A relational subject then exists when "social relations enter into the constitution of the personal identity of whoever is involved" (p. 58). Donati (2016) asserts that to grasp a relational subject means to grasp "how *social* relationality structures the individual's personal and social identity as well as agency". He summons Archer's stratified view of the human person: "When the personal *I* meets the social realm in the form of *Me*, *We* and *You* (Archer, 2003, p. 124), it is necessary to see how it considers these social identities, that is, what relation the Self establishes with them" (p. 356). A relational subject appears when social relations comprise the personal identities of the participants through their "*social* reflexivity", or their internal dialogues consider "the feedbacks originating from the reflexivity of the network of social relations in which the person is involved" (p. 358). A couple, family, friendship, organization, neighborhood, etc. are plural/collective relational subjects. It is so "if and to the extent to which the partnership relation *emerges* as a distinct reality from the two [or more] individual subjects and, in turn, influences each of them" (p. 359). It necessitates a "We-relation" which surfaces from "the dynamics of their relations over time", or from their reflexive dealings (p. 360). The emerging 'We-ness' stems from

partakers' reflexive orientations towards the emergent relational outcomes that they themselves have generated/generate. Although their objective reality is the same, their musings about it may be vastly different: there is no 'we-thinking'. Yet, their inclination towards the effects of their social relationality inspires their actions. Hence, 'relational subjects' are meta-reflexive about their social ties; 'relationist subjects' are individualists who are thinking and acting in conformity with their personal inclinations (Donati & Archer, 2015). Donati classifies relational subjects based on "the level, type and degree of mediation of the relations". While the level refers to the micro, meso or macro, the type stands for various social spheres ("informal networks, civil associations, market, state"); the degree of mediation relates to the extent of association – from direct/face-to-face to indirect/hyper-mediated. The probability of encountering relational subjects declines as the level increases, or as relations become more indirect (pp. 358-359).

While singular/individual relational subjects engage in personal reflexivity (first order), plural/collective relational subjects use social relational reflexivity (second order). The internal conversation is relational in that the self converses with itself in relation to the social order. It is a process which holds a "double analytical dimension": a "self-referent relation of the I" which is an "operation of differentiation" and "the relation between the Self and its environment" (internal, external) which is a "*connection* operation" where the Self is a Me, We, You. Personal reflexivity thus means that "*the Self sequentially redefines itself as a Me, We, You through its relationality to the context*". Relational reflexivity entails a "reflecting on the relation to the Other as an outcome irreducible to the actions of Self and Other". The Self does not only engage in personal reflexivity as a Me, We, You but "*redefines its relationality* (…) and therefore, *by taking the relation to the Other as a third element* (…) *the Self redefines its context not as a matter of personal preferences (I wish/want/need to change the context), but as a demand or invitation coming from the We-relation, if certain outcomes are to be achieved*" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 60). Relational reflexivity is reflexivity directed on "how the relation with the Other, which is coming into existence or altering itself, produces changes on itself or on the Other, that is, on their social and personal identity". Subjects become "relationally reflexive" when they examine the relation that they have with others "as an entity in and of itself and, thus, they consider it as a reality that, while depending on themselves, can in turn determine their identity and action." To 'determine' means here that the relation "'circumscribes' the agent/actor with boundaries, 'delimits' them, 'identifies' them with a certain precision, 'specifies' them" (Donati, 2016, pp. 356-357). Relational reflexivity

manifests itself as a "way of changing people's attitudes and behaviours by acting upon their relational context and networking" (p. 361). Since critical realist relational sociology stipulates that a social relation is ontologically real and possesses emergent properties, it has the power to produce a special kind of social/common goods: 'relational goods' (trust, dependability, mutuality, etc.) and 'relational evils' (distrust, rivalry, hatred, etc.). These helpful and damaging social relational products reflect the human capacity for suffering and flourishing in their sociality. Subjects who form social relations have the power to adopt relational reflexive orientations towards them. They are created reciprocally and simultaneously during social relations; they are more than the sum of individuals' un/wellness, that is, they involve that what is produced through the dis/satisfaction stemming from them sharing the social relation. The reality of a social relation then persists in the case of interruptions/silences or transcends the contents of communications/ transactions. A plural/collective relational subject thus has the ability to turn themselves to their bond when they are absent/apart, and so still be influenced by it (Donati & Archer, 2015).

2. CONCEPTUAL PLAN FOR THE DOCTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT

Upon their arrival in Canada, many newcomer populations[167] engage with various forms of post-migration assistance that is backed by the federal, provincial and municipal governments as well as local community and private groups. Those services vary across provinces and cities (McGrath, Burke Wood & Young, 2010; Parada et al., 2020). They are part of the "sociabilities of emplacement", or the ties that new settlers establish upon their re/settlement (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016, p. 21). Canada's publicly-supported post-migration aid tends to be seen as the most refined in the world – "in terms of state and civil society organization, scope of services, client coverage and workforce training" (Türegün, 2013, p. 392). In Ontario, the federal government is the main funder-regulator of the settlement and integration services and principally serves

[167] The Canadian refugee system accepts asylum seekers' applications via two processes. First, people can make refugee claims within Canada via the in-Canada Asylum Program. Second, the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program is in place for individuals residing abroad that need protection. People who need resettlement cannot submit applications directly to Canada; instead, UNHRC and private groups facilitate the refugee identification process. Resettled refugees can enter this program via the following streams: Government-Assisted Refugees (GARs), Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), or via the Blended Visa Office-Referred Program (Government of Canada, 2019; Parada et al., 2020).

permanent residents[168]. Eligible individuals can access various types of support. This service architecture is a strategic milieu for the advancement of dominant social-cultural agendas in response to the continuously shifting needs of the nation-state (McGrath, et al., 2010; Parada et al., 2020). It is also located in the public social welfare system which, in the last few decades, has been undergoing transformations. Although all social welfare initiatives have endured shifts since the advent of their existence, the pace of change began to hasten in the post-war years. Since the 1980s, however, a vastly different trend has surfaced: a battle against budget deficits and government spending. As time went on, this neoliberal agenda (i.e., smaller state and bigger market) was becoming more extreme; it urged the public sector to reduce public expenses via the marketization of public services (Baines, 2004; Dahlgaard-Park, 2015). Unsurprisingly then, the newcomer-serving sector has been depicted as "increasingly in crisis", and thus in need of 'renovation' (Richmond & Shields, 2005, p. 514).

A *Modernized*[169] *Approach to Settlement* was launched in 2008-2009 and merged former service streams into one macro program to sustain "timely, effective and client-focused" services (IRCC [CIC], 2015, p. 28). In 2010, eligible service provider organizations (SPOs) had to reapply for funding under this new framework, that is, they had to submit proposals to IRCC [CIC] that specify their projected outcomes in areas such as orientation, language skills, labour market access, welcoming communities or policy/program development. They were also expected to collaborate and compete with one another in submitting these proposals. This new approach was a major makeover: while prior to this modernization, SPOs typically had their funding renewed, they now could no longer foresee what services they will be funded to deliver (if any) (Neudorf, 2016; McGrath et al., 2010; OCASI, 2010). More concretely, the government contours service parameters via a uniform funding application that outlines: "eligible applicants", "eligible clients",

[168] Settlement refers to the concrete activities and processes of becoming established post-arrival. Integration includes settlement and stresses the goal-oriented dimension of settlement; it indicates that newcomers are seeking full participation in the social, economic, political, and cultural life of Canada (Valtonen, 2008). Both, settlement and integration, include aspects related to language learning, employment, housing, healthcare and social networks. A newcomer's settlement and integration experiences vary based on how they entered Canada. Resettled refugees are permanent residents upon arrival and are instantly entitled to certain services and supports; refugee claimants face a more uncertain situation and have access to less assistance (Parada et al., 2020; Yu et al., 2007).

[169] Modernization as a "rational and common-sense project" seeking to restructure public service management is linked with the emergence of the NPM in the 1980s (Newman, 2000, p. 46).To grasp this 'turn', it is crucial to confront the dogma of modernization by digging under "the surface imagery of change as a rational process of getting rid of old-fashioned practices" (p. 47).

"eligible activities", "themes and priorities", "outcomes" and "budget" in the "National Call for Proposals" (IRCC [CIC], 2015). Chosen SPOs receive funds in the form of Contribution Agreements (CAs) which chart distinct terms and conditions. Within orthodox discourses, this modernized post-migration aid is seen as a standardized social service model that delivers optimistic possibilities for their settlement and integration results.

While a description of publicly-funded and regulated post-migration service architecture is required, it is devoid of everyday organizational/service life and ties between service providers and service users. In other words, a sizeable part of what stays unaccounted for is the relational reality which exists between service design, practices, and people. Specifically, in a "service society", service encounters occur via institutionally/organizationally/professionally contoured links between a "server" and a "served", or a "service relation". Any service then joins service providers with predefined service-related competencies and service users with predefined serviceable troubles (Goffman, 1961, p. 326, p. 323). These service situations are not vague or short-term events and are more precise or sited than long-term trends; it is their intermediary spatial-temporal breadth that allows detaining their duration/particularity. They obviously exceed the frontline and the backline[170] as they include distant contributors: politicians and market-state bureaucrats, or their funders and overseers[171]. Service-based interactions can be seen as 'social relations' as they are not brief interpersonal transactions/exchanges, strings of individual choices or aggregates of variables. Partakers can identify the person/people with whom they have interacted, expect to interact in the future and develop a social relational history (in many cases). They can be dyadic or involve a couple/family or a group of strangers and more than one service provider at once. Moreover, although every service relation is somewhat unique, varied service relations coalesce to engender more enduring directionalities. This invites a mapping of patterns that materialize as fairly stable at a medium-term space-time scale.

In view of the above, there are 'things' happening between service partakers that must be reported. So, the visible social and service realities cannot deliver a truthful account of intricate and shifting occurrences. The fabric and performance of the relational web linking the people at the organization/in services has mysteries to divulge. More precisely, akin to the unseen dark

[170] Administrative staff, Executive Director, Board of Directors, etc.
[171] State bureaucracy grants the political executive the channels to design and turn public policy targets into practical program attainments (Johnson, 2017).

matter (which makes the bulk of the mass in the visible universe)[172], the relationality of services may not be entirely understood without considering what is occurring in relations (NASA, 2021). The challenge that emerges is that it cannot be studied with the senses; it can be accessed via people's statements and observations of its effects in dailyness. This doctoral thesis departs from the view that relations between service participants constitute a level of social reality that carries distinct features and powers that are not reducible to structures, cultures and people though they are affected by all three (Donati, 2011; Donati & Archer, 2015). Specifically, street-level service implementation is fashioned by structural/material and cultural/ideational influences that mould a nation-state-backed post-migration service architecture but also the organizational site which carries a particular social-cultural history. It is also impacted by those that underlie its execution. Most notably, a publicly-funded service is condensed into a logic model, or a "master document" that steers "local activities to extra-local interests and concerns". This outcome-based approach uses a "sequential, rational chain of causality" which presumes that program actions and resources transform a (settlement and integration) problem. Its genesis lies in an "abstract extra-local perspective" used by officials to educate local players as to how the program's parts relate to one another and how to make evident the expediency of their services (Janz, et al., 2014, p. 231). Yet, service partakers handle these service and social prescriptions in various ways; this variation arises out of individual and relational reflexive practices (Donati & Archer, 2015). Overall, what is noticeably absent from scholarly works on the newcomer-serving sector is an engagement with the structured, cultured and peopled service relations that link and enliven the organization as a service and social configuration.

Research objective and questions

In order to address the above problematic, this doctoral research project is oriented by a critical realist relational sociological framework described in the first part of this chapter. More precisely, it adopts the relational ontology of the Model of Relational Subject (Donati & Archer, 2015). The overarching ***research objective*** is to 'dig deep' into publicly-funded and regulated post-

[172] "More is unknown than is known. We know how much dark energy there is because we know how it affects the universe's expansion. Other than that, it is a complete mystery. But it is an important mystery. It turns out that roughly 68% of the universe is dark energy. Dark matter makes up about 27%. The rest - everything on Earth, everything ever observed with all of our instruments, all normal matter - adds up to less than 5% of the universe" (NASA, 2021).

migration services offered at an organization with a distinct social-cultural history in order to illuminate the emerging complexity. In other words, it intends to move beyond the observable, or tap into unobservable structures and processes/mechanisms/tendencies. What follows attempts to make the research goal more concrete (Figure 30):

- At the onset of the process (T1), it is possible to observe the organization (plural/collective relational subject) and its social agents/actors and human persons (singular/individual relational subjects), as always anchored in a structural/material and cultural/ideational milieu that shapes their interests, powers, etc., and thus their actional inclinations. This context is a configuration generated by previous cycles of transformative processes; it pre-defines service-based possibilities, resources and positions in the initial distribution. Social analysis inevitably demands margins on which the threads of social relations are to be interpreted. This involves decisions made by the researcher which are affected by institutional and personal interests, calendars, options, etc. The period between 2006 and 2015 was significant: three[173]consecutive Conservative governments led by Harper instituted various changes that affected the newcomer-serving sector. The interval between 2008 and 2012 was particularly important as it involved the launch of service modernization. Fieldwork occurred in 2015, or when this restructuration was established. Hence, service modernization was chosen as a suitable starting-point (T1).
- Service-based relations occur at T2-T3 of the M/M sequence, or in the interactive and mediating network (black box). They are not only structurally and culturally conditioned, but they are also endowed with their objective internal dynamics; moreover, they involve the subjectivity/reflexivity of service providers and service users who are more than these positions. They convert the initial material and ideational distribution into a new one.
- Service and social outcomes (T4) are the emerging results from structural and cultural conditioning, social relational dynamics and individual subjective/reflexive deliberations of distinct service protagonists. The emerged distribution entails relational goods/evils among those involved but also between them and more remote others. The opening of the black box of post-migration services allows to see how things could be different; it invites a consideration of how social actions configure social relations, and thus how they preserve

[173] Two minority and one majority.

or change the relations that establish service provision-use that is in place. Since a critical realist relational sociological framework cultivates an emancipatory project which esteems pro-social forms of social relationality, or one that aims to enhance coexistence, it is crucial to consider the restrictions and opportunities for the emergence of social care that alleviates/resists/challenges oppressive conditions (Donati & Archer, 2015; Bruni, 2008).

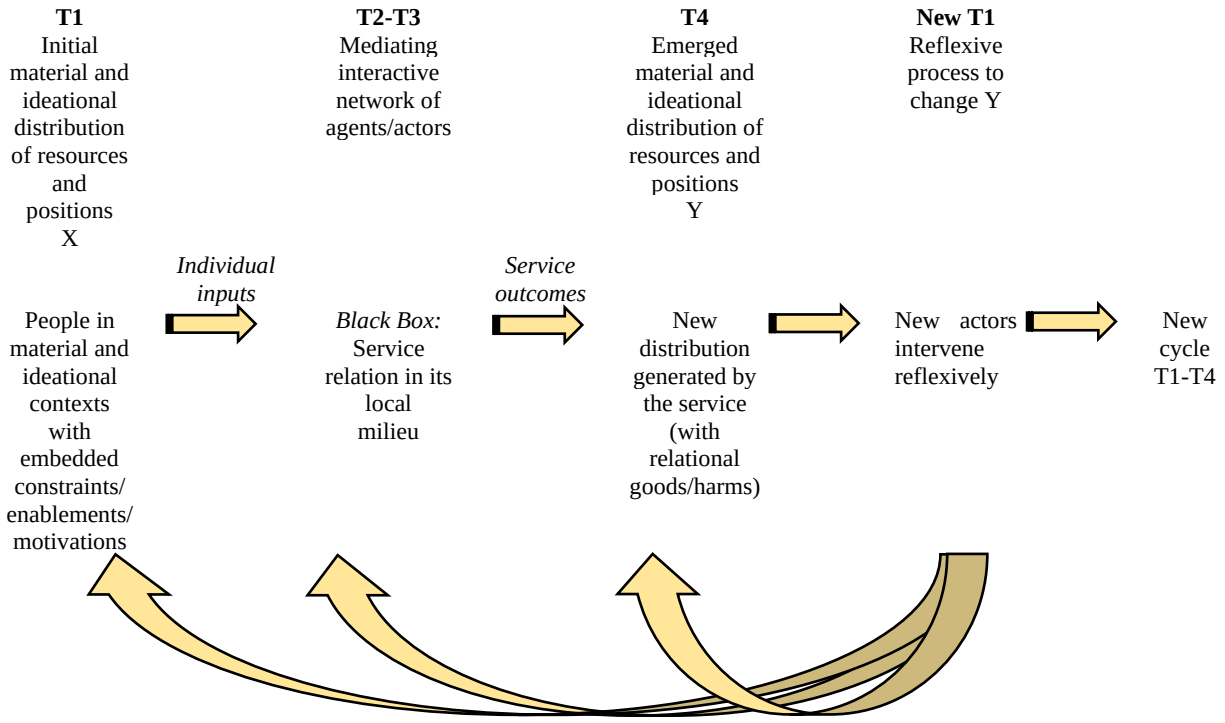


Figure 30: Visual depiction of the conceptual framework (modified and adapted from Donati, 2015c, p. 279).

Joining the concepts discussed above, the central ***research question*** is formulated in the following way:

- *How did the individual and relational inputs of service providers and service users mediate the constraining/enabling/motivating structural and cultural conditions they faced and the service and social outcomes in publicly-supported settlement and integration services at an organization located in Ontario/Canada in 2015?*

This question manifests a curiosity about structural, cultural, agentic and reflexive dimensions from the point of view of service providers and service users and from that of their interactions but also those that surpass services. It was of course not feasible to investigate *every* possible analytical direction; choices were made. They arose from a challenging access to a research site and different limitations encountered during fieldwork (see chapter 3). Three viable ***research sub-questions*** were extracted from many different analytical potentials:

- **Sub-question 1:** *What were the structural and cultural conditions shaping individual actions and service relations?* This is tackled in chapter 4 and mainly includes the point of view of service providers given their better knowledge of and access to the backstage of post-migration service architecture. It is enhanced by a review of internal and external organizational and institutional documents as well as scholarly literature on settlement and integration services.

- **Sub-question 2:** *How were the service protagonists mediating the structural and cultural constraints/enablements/motivations in service relations?* This calls for the knowledge of service partakers' agentic and reflexive inputs which include their personal and relational concerns and life projects. This is presented in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 explores how informants became service providers in the newcomer-serving sector. Chapter 6 delves into the social relations that sculpted/sculpt the biographies of people who faced youthhood, refugeehood and service userhood/clienthood. This necessarily requires attention to processes of socialization and personalization.

- **Sub-question 3:** *How did the interplay between structural and cultural conditions and agentic/reflexive inputs affect service relations and outcomes?* This is presented in chapter 7. It pertains to three surfacing configurations of service-based relational dynamics and their respective social relational effects (relational goods/evils): atomizing, paternalizing and solidarizing.

Research site and methodology

A ***case research study*** was performed at a publicly-backed organization serving newcomer populations located in a city in Ontario/Canada. Specifically, a case research study offers "a great deal of, largely qualitative, data". It was shaped by the philosophy of critical realism according to which generalization derives from the detection of structures and processes/mechanisms/ tendencies (Easton, 2010, p. 118). The ***research methodology*** used in this research project involved an organizational ethnography (participations, observations, interviews, document analysis). ***Research informants*** included service providers and service users/clients who are much more than their pre-set social positions/roles. These methodological aspects are developed in chapter 3.

Research site as a plural/collective relational subject and research informants as singular/ individual relational subjects

The Model of Relational Subject presented in this chapter allows to contour the research site as a plural/collective or secondary relational subject. Although its specifics are tackled in chapter 4, it is a third sector organization caught in intricate relations with three social spheres: private sector/market, public sector/state and informal webs (family and primary networks)[174]. It exists at the meso level, or a domain of organized human action made of collectivities typified by direct formal social relations. So, it is located between the micro level/highly personal relations and the macro level/highly impersonal relations. It engages "mediations in the sphere of civil society"[175]; it is thus an in-between 'corporate agent' (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 184; Evers, 1995). The third sector emerges from what Donati (2015) calls the "social private" (p. 205). It is an independent sphere with pro-social aims which is private regarding its property and management

[174] Donati (2014) describes the 'public' as that which is "accessible to everyone and impersonal" and promotes a sociability that is "neutral and open" and 'private' as that which is "available only to autonomous subjects who are its owners" and sustains a sociability that is "particularistic and closed" (p. 22).

[175] There are different and conflicting definitions of civil society (Viterna, Clough & Clarke, 2015). Broadly, civil society refers to "the space which opens up when conceiving the state, market and informal sector as cornerstones of a triangular tension field". Third sector organizations are only one type of manifestations in this public space (Evers, 1995, p. 161).

and public as it engages people outside informal groups. It is a heuristic device to grasp social relations in which actors operate neither for profit/market nor command/state.

While the origins of the third sector are traced to the nineteenth century, it was given more attention in the 1980s and became prominent in the 1990s; it has then flourished on a global scale. It has adopted new forms and roles compared to earlier philanthropic and charitable practices (e.g., participation in social policy-making) (Borzaga & Fazzi, 2011; Stanzani, 2017). It is now so diverse and complex that there is no unanimity as to a single definition[176]. Hence, there are third sectors: divergent religious, political, etc. tracks have created various meanings across space/place and time (Kallman & Clark, 2017, Intro., p. 1). Despite this "rise of meso-governance" (Chaney & Wincott, 2014, p. 758), the third sector has been strikingly ignored in social sciences (Richmond & Shields, 2004). Donati (2015) observes that it is "an 'indeterminate' social space that remains little explored" (p. 202). Organizational research has not only fancied market firms and state agencies but also analyses via the market/state dichotomy. The third sector is thus stripped of its distinctiveness; in fact, its specificity is one of the most disputed dimensions (Borzaga & Fazzi, 2011; Macmillan, 2015; 2012). Donati (2015) retreats from private/public polarization and attributes to the third sector its own identity. Its social relationality borrows aspects from the market and the state but surpasses them. A third sector entity is an emergent social phenomenon: internal social interactions take place in structured, cultured and peopled contexts which alter them in return; once created, this "associative sphere" becomes a collective relational subject endowed with "its own reality, not reducible to the properties of the individuals who compose it, or to something holistic and above it" (Donati, 2015d, p. 255).

Although this analysis is appealing, it is best aligned with organizations that use co-production/collaboration. Donati's scholarship considers the *Italian* third sector which has a "distinctive nature of personal social services and social care". It has been fostered by both, Roman Catholicism[177] and communism (Folgheraiter, 2004, pp. 9-10; Ranci, 2015). Ismael Al-Amoudi (2017) observes that "the emergence of such associations is limited in current morphogenic society

[176] It consists of: "relief and welfare organizations, innovation organizations, public service organizations, economic development organizations, grassroots mobilization groups, advocacy groups, and social networks" which encompass "civil society organizations, nonprofit organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and formal and informal associations" (Kallman & Clark, 2017, Intro., p. 1).

[177] It must be noted that Donati is open about his religion (Roman Catholicism) and attempts to connect with it some of his sociological theorizing. While I do not subscribe to a Christian thought, his work is compatible with my worldview.

based on relative stability of the mechanisms most fundamental to capitalism". They are too "parasitic" on the public and private sectors for funding (pp. 77-78). While the 1980s witnessed an astonishing expansion of the third sector on a global scale, this co-occurred with the appearance of a fiscal conservatism and neo/liberalism. Governments began to subcontract services to the third sector to transmit their policies closer to their beneficiaries, decrease costs and increase the efficiency of service provision (Kallman & Clark, 2017). This birthed organizational amalgams between state/market/third sectors. Third sector entities also adopted features of the state and the market and became trapped in conflicting interests. While third sector scholars aim to differentiate the third sector, policymakers are invested in the effectiveness of service provision (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006; Ranci, 2015). Contemporary third sector organizations are thus part of a landscape permeated by managerialism that promotes a logic of individualized service delivery (Bjerregaard, 2011). It is, nonetheless, possible to argue that even if they are engaged in contractual services with the public sector, they preserve some autonomy. They are not merely a ""reflected image" of the state or the market" (Borzaga & Fazzi, 2010, p. 424). While the organization, at the time of research, did not neatly reflect a collective relational subject, its origins align with it (see chapter 4). This parallels with the developments of social work: "the social work profession in Canada emerged from the efforts of local citizens responding to the needs of their neighbours, many of whom were recent European immigrants in search of better lives" (Jennissen & Lundy, 2011, p. 1). Hence, the notion of a plural/collective relational subject remains a useful conceptual/analytical apparatus. Further, research informants are viewed here as singular/individual relational subjects (see end of chapter 1 and chapters 5 and 6).

SUMMARY

This chapter presented the meta/theoretical framework that orients this doctoral research project: a critical realist relational sociology. It first explored critical realism, including a critical realist social theory (M/M Framework), and then tapped into a relational sociology that is informed by critical realism (Donati & Archer, 2015). Next, it linked this meta/theoretical apparatus to this research effort. The next chapter, or chapter 3, discusses more exhaustively the research design, methods and analysis as well as delineates some of the difficulties that were encountered when attempting to secure access to the research site to conduct an organizational ethnography.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL REALIST RELATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

This doctoral research project opted to conduct an organizational ethnography. It is a research method concerned by the fine-grained and up-close understanding of daily organizational human social life, or the meso-level, and via such an ethnographic view, by a sharper understanding of an organization and organizing. It appeared as the most suitable approach: not only the research site is an organization, but most present-day social services occur in such settings (Bruni, 2006; Gaggiotti, Kostera & Krzyworzeka, 2017; Van Maanen, 2011; Ybema, et al., 2009). Existing organizational ethnographies offer exclusive insights into the insides of organizations and validate the distinct obstacles faced by social science researchers. In fact, their struggles can be so striking that Tony Watson (2011) asks: "Why on earth engage in such a painful way of doing research then?" He asserts, however, that it is the only way to "really learn a lot about what 'actually happens' or about 'how things work' in organizations" (p. 204). Although this research effort is not located in Organization Studies (OS), or a field dedicated to "the understanding of organizations, organizing and the organized in and between societies" (Organization Theory, n.d.), it benefits from their expertise[178]. Most fittingly here, critical realism and relational sociology are important contributors to OS (e.g., Ackroyd & Fleetwood, 2004; Donati & Archer, 2015; Edwards, O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014; Mutch, Delbridge & Ventresca, 2006; Porter, 1993). So, the adopted organizational ethnography is guided by a critical realist relational sociology.

While my initial research ambitions were grandiose, I faced many challenges. Hence, it seems more appropriate to refer to what actually occurred as "quasi-ethnographic" where "quasi" is ascribed to "the timescale of the study and frequency of visits to the sites of data collection" (Murtagh, 2007, p. 194). The investigation could also be portrayed as "an interview study with ethnographic components" (Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013, p. 491) though this may faultily insinuate that ethnography excludes interviews. A major problem was the limited freedom to engage in

[178] It does so within limits: theorization on organizational realities is now so multifarious that "doctoral students sometimes complain that it makes no sense to them" (Starbuck, 2009, p. 26).

prolonged and rigorous participations and/or observations. This is *not* atypical. Organizational scholarship confirms the existence of new realities that are redefining orthodox ways of doing ethnography. Richa Awasthy (2015) insists that quasi-ethnography is now more realistic: "it is rather difficult to gain entry into organizations to work as a participant observer since it is likely to cause interference in organizational functioning" (p. 221). Michael Smets and colleagues (2014) highlight an emerging paradox: "Ironically, the organizational realities that ethnographers are called to examine have at the same time become less amenable to ethnographic study". They claim that "being there" is now more problematic owing to an "increasing fragmentation, complexity, mobility, pace, and technological intermediation of organizational life" (p. 11). Monika Kostera (2012) notes that "organization ethnographers rarely use the most engaged methods that dominate in cultural anthropology, such as participant observation" (p. 247) while others (e.g., Scott-Jones & Watt, 2010) argue that it is possible to conduct an ethnography without it. An ethnographic procedure was, nevertheless, favoured over a more remote approach which, while convenient, would not have provided a direct contact with everyday organizational/service work: "for organizational ethnographers much of the intriguing 'mystery' of organizational life is hidden in the ordinary exchanges of ordinary people on an ordinary sort of day" (Ybema, et al., 2009, p. 1). An ethnography was appealing given its parallels with my counselling work (e.g., Brody, 1981; Krause, 2003). It is also more and more common in social work (e.g., Floersch, Longhofer & Suskewicz, 2013; Haight, Kayama & Korang-Okrah, 2014); it even became trendy outside of academia (e.g., market research). Gobo Giampietro (2008) situates this trend in the rise of an observation society fuelled by technological advances (webcam, camera phone, etc.); it generates a fascination with self- and other-observation.

Chapter directions

This chapter presents the research design and methodology; they align with the conceptual framework and plan (chapter 2). While the meta/theoretical groundwork must be carried out by a researcher prior to the 'doing' phase of research, there is rarely any strict linearity. In the case of this endeavour, both, the constraints and opportunities of the research site, in pre- and post-entry time periods, have oriented the reconstruction of the overall research problematic. What follows has **three parts.** The **first part** elucidates the methodological directions rooted in a critical realist

relational sociological stance. The **second part** contours various facets of the research project design and methodology. The **third part** explores the process of securing access to the research site – a facet of research labour that is often excluded/avoided in final reports. In other words, the portrayals of fieldwork by organizational ethnographers are often "varnished". While this chapter is not immune to these "lies from the field", it offers a more transparent, and thus vulnerable and somewhat *risqué*, account (Fine & Shulman, 2009, p. 177). It has been stressed that fidelity towards the research site and/or informants may prevent the researcher from doing critical research (Järventie-Thesleff et al., 2016). Some also underline how visions of future partnership may impact research (e.g., Macdonald & Hellgren, 2004); others highlight the problems that arise when performing research as a practitioner (e.g., Bell & Nutt, 2012). In addition, researchers' emotionality continues to be dismissed (Gilmore & Kenny, 2015; Vincett, 2018). Broadly, scholars invested in the issue of access concur that it remains under-theorized: "Our exploration of access literature has pointed to a blind spot; one that points to the absence of a concerted scholarly effort to theorise access" (Cipollone & Stitch, 2012, p. 30). It is confirmed here that research is a messy affair and that nothing in it goes as initially planned; it is trapped between pre-fieldwork dreamy speculations about possibilities and the harsh/er actualities of entering and surviving fieldwork.

1. CRITICAL REALIST RELATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ORGANIZATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This section examines in more detail the notion of organizational ethnography in order to clarify how it was used in this research project. It also explores an ethnographic engagement rooted in a critical realist relational sociology.

Organizational ethnography

OS have fairly recently witnessed an ethnographic turn which prompted a movement of organizational ethnography. Organizational ethnographers are studying new organizational phenomena, formulating methodological innovations and developing original ways of ethnographying that often embrace new labels[179] (Rouleau, de Rond & Musca, 2014). An

[179] Multi-site ethnography, institutional ethnography, etc.

organizational ethnography is, in crude terms, "the ethnographic study, and its dissemination, of organizations and their organizing processes" (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 4). It involves two concepts – organization and ethnography – which carry different meanings (King, Felin & Whetten, 2010; Reff Pedersen & Humle, 2016). Christian Krijnen (2015) asserts: "there are not only many different views on what organization is; there are also a remarkable number of different views of the *history and classification of organization theory*" (p. 14). Since OS are interdisciplinary and shaped by researchers and practitioners, they involve disputes over the meaning of social science research and practice (Adler, 2009; Adler, et al., 2014). This induces a debate over the foundations of OS – the nature of organization and the most fitting ways of understanding it (Krijnen 2015; Mutch, Delbridge & Ventresca, 2006). For critical realism, there is a need for "a *philosophy* of organization" that considers ontological questions (Krijnen, 2015, p. 10). Chapter 1 presented two social ontologies that dominate western social theorizing – Model of Modernity's Man and Model of Society's Being. Since comparable conceptual trends can be detected within organizational scholarship, the structure/culture vs. agency/reflexivity dilemma and conflationist tendencies are also found in OS (e.g., Adler, et al., 2014; Cunliffe, 2010; Boisot & McKelvey, 2010; Hatch, 1997; Hodgson, 2007; Willmott, 2000). This is expected: they borrow extensively from human and social sciences, mainly from psychology, sociology and economics (Whetten, Felin & King, 2009). Similarly, ethnography has no "standard, well-defined meaning" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 2). It is painted either as a "family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents" (Willis & Trondman, 2002, p. 394), or a "distinctive type of research". Hence, it is not "simply a method of doing research" what "encourages researchers to be open to the whole range of other investigative methods" (Watson, 2012, p. 16). Martyn Hammersley (1992) argues that it often involves a "strong anti-philosophical strand" that prioritizes "the practice and products of research" and "has little patience with or interest in discussions *about* research" (p. 43). He stresses that there is "little discussion of the nature of theory used in ethnographic work" (p. 33). Despite definitional variations, fieldwork is seen as the common denominator though it is recognized as "biographically and situationally varied – spectacularly so" (Van Maanen, 2006, p. 14). That said, even this aspect is now challenged: the rise of cyber/virtual/ online ethnography confronts the usual emphasis on physical/direct participation in the 'field'.

Critical realist relational sociological ethnography

Ethnography grounded in critical realism and relational sociology distinguishes itself from a naïve/common-sense realist and an anti-realist ethnography. The former is linked with naturalism[180] according to which "the social world should be studied in its 'natural' state, undisturbed by the researcher" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 7). It depicts social phenomena literally, and thus relies upon a stern dedication to observation and rich/thick description with as little deception as possible. Ethnographers are detached observers of an outer social reality that is directly available and untouched by their presence. While Bronislaw Malinowski is credited for establishing the rudiments of naturalist ethnography, it is the Chicago School that has contributed to its proliferation. Robert Park, its founder, contended that social science researchers must become submerged in the real-world. It was a petition against those "who sat in their armchairs quantifying the world by manipulating an arbitrary mix of variables or producing philosophical categories without empirical insights" (Edwards, et al., 2014, Chap. 7, p. 4). Naturalist ethnography was then superseded by an anti-realist ethnography. While naturalist ethnographers recognized that people construct social reality via their interpretations, "this constructionism and relativism is compatible with naturalism only so long as it is not applied to ethnographic research itself". The moment they are themselves considered as social constructors, "there is a conflict with the naturalistic realism built into older ethnographic approaches" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 11). Anti-realist ethnographers, mostly invested in "politically interventionist forms of ethnography" (p. 10), confront third-person representations of social reality and favour multivocality/polysemy. So, an ethnographer's account is no more legitimate than that of any other person. Instead, it is recognized that the transmission of knowledge "from one person (author) to another (the reader) requires that the author make herself known" (Hatch & Yanow, 2009, pp. 11-12). Anti-realist ethnography's focus on people's subjectivities has also provoked "the erasure of structure from the ethnographic imagination" (Porter, 2002, p. 53).

[180] As a form of qualitative research, ethnography resists positivism. In fact, it has been accused by positivists as being unsuitable to social science research. Efforts were thus made to outline its own standpoint on the most appropriate nature of social research which became known as 'naturalism'. Like positivism, it adopted the model of natural science though differently: it was oriented by interpretivism, and thus rejected the aspiration to discover laws of human behaviour (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

Critical realism is a useful "under labourer to ethnographic theory and practice" (Banfield, 2004, p. 53). Ethnography anchored in critical realism[181] integrates anti-realist insights[182] without succumbing to their "ultimately pessimistic, unproductive and completely inward-directed perspective". The excessive individual/collective self-analysis leads to "a form of self-absorption (…) in which boundaries between subject and object disappear, the one becomes the other, a process that effectively denies the possibility of social research" (Davies, 1999, p. 17, p. 5). The critical realist ethnographic stance sees an objective social reality that is knowable though this knowing is always fallible/incomplete. It also accepts the existence of a "relational tie between the development of knowledge and the development of the object of knowledge" (Bhaskar, 1989, p. 48). Research outcomes are always influenced by the researcher and research processes what calls for a "continuous reflexive awareness as part of the condition of ethnographic practice" (Davies, 2012, p. 21). While critical realist ethnography is anchored "in the concrete, in what real people on the ground are doing and saying", it offers "explanatory abstractions". It thus advocates for a "creative tension between the production of explanations without promoting flights of theoretical fancy" (p. 20). This explaining is then positioned between "theoretical abstraction and descriptive detail"; it implies an incessant assessment of conceptualizations in view of concrete knowledge (p. 24). A critical realist ethnography aims to clarify the relations between structures/cultures and agency/reflexivity even if structures/cultures cannot be studied directly but can only grasped via their effects on people. So, while subjective accounts (interpretations/meanings) are the starting-point, they are not the end-point. They are connected to different strata of social reality (Porter, 1993; Porter & Ryan, 1996). So, "purely interpretive accounts of social action are inadequate for generating a full understanding of the reality of social phenomena" (Edwards, O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014, chap. 7, p. 5). Sam Porter (1993) insists that the intention of ethnographic inquiry "is not to ideographically illuminate small scale social events, but to use explanation of human agency to shed light on the relationship between agency and structure" (p. 593). The focus on (social-cultural) structure offers a "useful antidote to the micro-sociological tendencies of much ethnography" (p. 595). Critical realism makes ethnography take seriously "the ontological status of structure and its relation to forms of human practice" (Banfield, 2004, p. 53). Broadly, though

[181] The concept of 'critical realist ethnography' was advanced by Porter (2002; 1993).
[182] These insights include: "incorporation of varying standpoints, exposure of the intellectual tyranny of metanarratives and recognition of the authority that inheres in the authorial voice" (Davies, 2012, p. 5).

subjective accounts are "a necessary condition for social knowledge", they are "not a sufficient one" (p. 596). This challenges the view that "there is only one truth – a *participant truth* that is confined to the field site"; instead, there is a "second *sociological truth* that explains the participant's truth – through the examination of wider forces of determination" (Buroway, 2017, p. 282). Overall, critical realist ethnography – a "depth method" (Decoteau, 2017, p. 59) – aims to expose "the relationship between agency and structure" or "structured relations". It intends "to show how they may be oppressive and to point to the sort of actions required to make them less oppressive" (Porter, 2002, pp. 14-15).

Relational ethnography is now receiving attention. Matthew Desmond (2014), inspired by Emirbayer's (1997) call for a relational sociology, advocates a relational turn in ethnography. More precisely, he aspires to release ethnography from the substantialism underpinning place-/group-based ethnographies (treated as isolated/bounded/homogenous). A relational ethnography focuses on the "processes involving configurations of relations among different actors or institutions" (p. 547); it ontologically prioritizes relationality and processuality. Yet, Michael Burawoy (2017) considers Desmond's proposal as "a *return* to the naïve empiricism of the early Chicago School in which truth is confined to the field site" (p. 262). The delineation between substantialism and relationalism not only emits an impression that relational ethnography is new, but it also veils a difference between two types of relational ethnography: "Desmond's empiricist *transactional* ethnography" and a "theoretically-grounded structural ethnography" (p. 263). He emphasizes: "ethnography is *always* relational whether those relations are discovered empirically to produce "theory" tabula rasa or whether relations are constructed theoretically before they are explored empirically" (p. 266). A relational sociology affixed in critical realism brings attention to the intricate organizational realities in specific ways. It contours the organization/research site as a plural/collective/secondary relational subject of the third sector, or one operating at the meso-level, which is influenced by the private/market and public/state sectors as well as informal webs (family and primary networks). It is peopled by variously positioned and reflexive singular/individual relational subjects who enter into service-based social relations in/at distinct spaces/places and times (chapter 2). An organizational ethnographer is also one of those subjects; this speaks to the process of ethnographing and of being ethnographed, or impacted by organizational life.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This second part describes the various facets of the research project design and methodology. More concretely, it explores the following aspects: research site selection, research-researched relation, research collection methods and research analysis processes.

Research site selection

The organization involved in this research project consists of two sites located in adjacent neighbourhoods in a city in Ontario/Canada: a reception center, or a temporary and by referral only housing facility for GARs and, at times, homeless newcomers, and a hub of various services related to settlement and integration. The selection of this particular research spot was not planned but imposed by various constraints. They included: a restricted number of available local organizations working with refugee populations, access problems, tricky dealings with gatekeepers and restrictive institutional/organizational calendars (see the third part). As it was indicated in the 26-page Application Form for Ethics Approval, the aim was to spend six to twelve consecutive months in the field. Given a bumpy entry into the research site, a prolonged stay was impossible[183]; this speaks to the real challenges of conducting ethnographies in organizational settings. Moreover, given my interest in newcomer youth (e.g., Van Ngo, 2009), the chosen service was a Youth Program (YP). It was discovered post-entry that it is a small portion of the internal post-migration service arrangement: it had only two paid employees (one was absent during fieldwork), sporadic unpaid interns or volunteers (such as ex-service users) and one collaborator from another internal program with a trivial youth component (ran by this person). Most notably, the YP did not provide regular on-site programming; I hardly ever encountered young people during my visits. In fact, since there was not much to participate in and/or observe beside inaction/stillness and absence, it was necessary to branch out for this project to occur (see chapter 4). Moreover, I was placed under the supervision of youth worker from the YP. This was a condition set by a manager and a standard

[183] While the *Certificate of Ethics Approval* was effective as of June 2, 2015, and the closing of the Research Ethics Board (REB)-approved file occurred on August 24, 2017 (as per email notification), the fieldwork did not actually last over two years. Ethics approval is valid for one year with the possibility of renewal (also for one year; an *Annual Status Report* must be submitted for ongoing projects). A renewal was thus sought after one year to reach the projected number of interviews with service users. This, however, was not possible.

practice for non-employees. While this person's schedule, duties, preferences, etc. have seriously rationed my internal exposures, this bond also acted as valuable source of guidance/support; it is because of it that I was invited into the depths of organizational/service life.

Researcher-researched relation

I entered the organization as a researcher, or with a social position typically contoured via power relations inscribed in the researcher-researched relation and the privileged position of the researcher in relation to the researched. Yet, there was much more taking place than a me vs. them split. While the possibility of exploitation in research is real, a hurried reduction of the researcher to a position of superiority and the researched to a position of inferiority is disputed, especially in ethnography. The position of a *doctoral* researcher, or one linked with the student status, adds a new layer to the matter given the vulnerabilities it carries, and which were experienced. What follows exposes the mutability and complexity of the insider/outsider positions by considering two manifestations of the researcher-researched relation: (1) who the researched were for me, and (2) who I was for the researched (as experienced on the ground) (Gilmore & Kenny, 2014; Råheim, et al., 2016; Oladele, et al., 2012; Wang, 2013). This aims to circumvent two pitfalls: (1) an over-belief in the research site that assumes that the researcher sees impartial facts and an essential/ durable reality unaffected across space-time; and, (2) an under-belief in the research site which condenses it to subjective perceptions and negotiated interactions within social-cultural contexts, and thus presumes that the researcher perceives only their own truth and all is affected by immediate space-time (Alderson, 2016; Herepath, 2014). For critical realism, the researcher is not a "disinterested observer" but an "active member of society ridden with social antagonisms and relations of exploitation, domination and exclusion" (Belfrage & Hauf, 2016, p. 259). Yet, it also recognizes that: "we can as 'outsiders' understand worldviews other than our own despite lacking the experiential privileges of 'insiders'" (Wright, 2016, p. 205).

Who the researched were for me: Like me but not me

A critical realist posture does not require a "postmodernist-style apology" for one's existence nor "complete self-absorption" (Wilkinson, 2015, p. 7). It welcomes, nevertheless, an

attention to multiple standpoints and a critique of metanarratives though "without the extreme relativism and antipathy to generalized explanation" (Davies, 2012, p. 24). A sensibly dosed reflection on my positionalities is thus justified (see Prolegomenon). As a brief reminder, I arrived in Canada nearly three decades ago. So, I entered the research site as a female ex-newcomer/settler and naturalized Canadian of Eastern-Central European background[184] with other intricate identifications. I also carried with me a professional history in the newcomer-serving sector, mostly with newcomer/refugee populations, and in mental health. While I was never a user of settlement and integration services, I experienced a provincially-mandated educational initiative for newcomer children promoting social-cultural integration in Québec. I also lived, along with my parents, the many hurdles linked with e-/im-migration. This research project, however, focuses on *forced* migration. While I did not live through the extreme hardships of many refuge-seeking people, I (we all) can, to some degree/in different ways, relate to the experiences "homesickness and homelessness" that typify it (Warner, 1992, p. 368). We all have, for instance, "a certain homesickness that cannot be fulfilled" (p. 371). In other words, "the differentiation between refugees and non-refugees diminishes as we see the important ways in which we are all refugees" (p. 368). Moreover, the history of Eastern-Central Europe entails many tragedies that affected most families. Between the end of World War II and 1956, roughly 64,000 Polish people sought refuge in Canada (Library and Archives Canada, 2019). Further, hostile representations of migrants are not new. The arrivals of Slavic newcomers in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century were met with disapproval. James Shaver Woodsworth (1909) depicted Poles in a stereotypical way: "They are peasants, the majority illiterate and superstitious, some of them bigoted fanatics, some of them poor, dumb, driven cattle, some intensely patriotic" (p. 305). An over-emphasis on how my experiences of migranthood/newcomerhood are same/similar to those of others, however, would wipe out aspects that made it unique; it would also be accused of essentializing others. Conversely, an over-focus on my particularities would discharge my declarations as private/ insignificant; it would de-contextualize them. The standpoint adopted here sees multiple contributions: those of "individuals, the groups to which the individuals belong, and the location of those groups within larger sociopolitical contexts". So, it aims to preserve "the connections

[184] The first recorded Polish immigrant to Canada was Dominik Barcz; he was a fur merchant who arrived in 1752 (Library and Archives Canada, 2019).

between my personal experiences and the experiences of others while articulating the uniqueness and singularity of my experiences" (Gilpin, 2006, p. 15; p. 12).

Who I was for the researched: Like them but not them

Since I engaged in research with/about/for newcomers, I was an insider practitioner-researcher applying a specific meta/theoretical knowledge to my prior professional practice. I was also a student-researcher who was always-already in relations: I walked into the research site in/ with/via a web of social relational influences which included other academics (research supervisor, doctoral colleagues, ex-professors from decades of formal education, scholars who fashioned my thought, etc.) and institutional actors (School of Social Work, Research Ethics Board, university, etc.) (Gilmore & Kenny, 2015). They were all invisible to 'the researched'. While I did not actively engage research informants in the research design (this was unfeasible – see section on access problems), this endeavour materialized out of my justified anxieties with individualizing/ psychopathologizing migrantization. I welcomed some detachment provided by the researcher position (Elias, 2007): if too much intellectual remoteness holds the risk of creating theoretical structures that are extraneous to people's lived experiences, too little intellectual distance can lose sight of crucial dimensions (Davies, 2012). Yet, I doubt that I was perceived as a 'researcher' by workers who – in crude terms – appeared too busy to care (providing that I did not cause explicit damage). In fact, the lack of appreciation for research felt infuriating though it was unsurprising[185]. There was little/no curiosity in my presence/doings; the priority of service providers is, after all, service provision. A frontline worker (SP12) explained that the organizational ethos restrains an engagement with outsiders; relational attention is often a conscious personal choice:

> Some organizations are pretty chaotic and not everybody has the time to be a good supervisor. I personally love working with students and having them on. And, I think, we live in a world where people worry a lot about liability and accountability.

In an interview with a female case/youth worker (SP6), the subject of home visits came up:

[185] Anti-intellectual/research attitudes are documented in social work literature (e.g., Bisno & Cox, 1997; Staller & Killer, 1998; Wells, Maschi & Slater, 2012).

> I regret of not having you, but my schedule is so sporadic! And, like I was telling you, sometimes, we rely on coordinating through the calendar. So, if I see that there is a free moment when not everyone is out, I will take the opportunity to almost go right away.

Not only it took weeks and some very pushy attempts to schedule a meeting with a manager to just introduce myself, but an interview was gently but resolutely declined. I was informed by an employee (SP3) that this person is "very busy" but "would answer an email faster than the manager who was there before." She also asserted:

> They [managers] are doing the proposals (…) [Name] is my manager – she wears 4-5 different hats (…) because she wears a lot of hats, she needs a team that can be independent. And, so, basically, the attitude generally, is, 'okay, if you are going to do something completely new, come and pass by me first but otherwise just go ahead and do your job' which is great but it, sometimes, would be nice...sometimes people need a little bit…

While she did not complete her sentence, she referred to a need for 'direction'.

Although I have provided a formal document about the research project to those in charge, I was not questioned about my work, objectives, deadlines, etc.; my manuscript was simply buried in a pile of papers. This not only deflates self-importance and highlights the powerlessness of the researcher but stresses the weight of contexts and exposes an unconcern for or a narrow familiarity with ethnography. A manager (SP13) underlined with a smile: "I feel guilty! If Magda comes here, what kind of service can she provide? Waste everybody's time!? You need a specific target." During the enjoyable interview with this frank employee, I allowed myself to ask bluntly but teasingly: "How can I do research without pissing you off?" He laughed and exclaimed: "Can you imagine the number of people here with me?!" He narrated earlier:

> Unfortunately, we don't accept much. As you can see, the space is limited. You can see my office – small corner. The people sitting there – as if in a prison! Sometimes, we have to friendly refuse. For me, if I accept volunteers, I must provide a place where she or he can stay but now, where can I put them to sit?!

A social work intern (SP24) faced similar space troubles: "C'était un bureau pour les bénévoles et les stagiaires. Je m'arrangeais pour arriver tôt le matin pour être la première pour avoir un bureau parce que, si non, tu dois aller partout." A certain aversion to researchers cannot be excluded; it is

reinforced by stereotypes (over-thinkers, impractical, conceited, etc.). Although no one has openly declared such statements, there was a floating disapproval of academia among some informants. The youth worker (SP12), for instance, praised the didactic value of low-skilled jobs that typify his own work history:

> I normally tell people "even though it's not super fun, go and work at Tim Horton's or Dairy Queen" (…) I would encourage my own child to do that because if he gets to 18 and he has never done this kind of job, he is spoiled or lazy – in my humble opinion.

The case/youth worker (SP6) declared: "When I feel practical, then I feel like I have been useful." In contrast, service providers/users were used to dealing with journalists[186]. In fact, the interaction with the media seems less menacing than with researchers. SP12 disclosed: "I got asked to do interview with one of the newspaper. And, in theory, there is a protocol for this. But I checked with my boss and she said, "we trust you to make the right decision"" Yet, the mediatization of newcomer stories is not always positive for service users. A young man (SU2), a GAR from Congo, who was interviewed by a local journalist, disliked the experience:

> I don't like to be in the news, but it just happened. "Oh, there is this reporter from [newspaper]". She (…) asked me how I am doing, how is my life, this and this, yah, she wanted to know about me, how was my life in refugee camp (…) I don't like it; I don't want people to know my story (…) if they show, you know, this is [name], see he is in newspaper. I don't like it.

I was presented as a researcher only once – by a Canadian-born male frontline worker (SP19) who justified my attendance during a home visit. For the most part, I was reduced to a student status and even that of volunteer. The social work intern (SP24) indicated: "C'est un centre qui accueille beaucoup de stagiaires, beaucoup de bénévoles. Ils se fient beaucoup sur eux pour faire le travail vu qu'ils sont débordés." Since 'student' is largely an unthreatening label, or one that evokes learning instead of evaluation, I welcomed it given access problems though it generated some unease. Little is done in practice to differentiate between types of students, interns and volunteers; they tend to be clustered into one source of 'extra help' without a meaningful concern for their needs. The intern explained:

[186] Some speak of 'ethnographic journalism'.

> La première journée que je suis arrivée, ils m'ont dit: "Voici ton bureau, voici ce qu'ont fait, tiens." Donc, c'était un peu un choc parce que, comme formation, c'était 0. Puis vraiment tu apprends sur le tas. Je n'étais pas habituée. J'étais habituée dans les expériences de travail et dans les expériences de stage d'être encadrée autrement. J'étais plus laissée à moi-même.

Comparably, during my initial visits, I was given tasks to complete (designing a group activity, preparing a document for the World Refugee Day, stapling brochures for a community event, etc.). It is also not uncommon for current/ex-service users to volunteer to obtain volunteer community service hours – a requirement in Ontario high school education. This generates a mutually convenient deal: young people need volunteer hours and frontline workers need client statistics and welcome the occasional off-loading of tasks to unpaid helpers (e.g., Glimmerveen, Ybema & Nies, 2018).

Research data collection methods

The research data collection methods involved a direct participation in and observation of organizational/service activities as well as individual interviews with service providers and service users. It also necessitated an analysis of available on/offline organizational and institutional documents. This was supplemented by scholarship on refugeehood and the newcomer-serving sector in Ontario/Canada, in light of the conceptual trends mapped in chapter 1.

Participating and observing

To understand the structured and cultured contexts of servicehood/clienthood unfolding at the organization, the point of departure was to learn what is it like to provide and use services there. To address this curiosity, data was collected via my immediate co-presence with those directly affected by services. My overall attendance consisted of an average of three days per week for about three months. During this time, qualitative observation was attempted. While there are different kinds of observation, ethnographic research is most associated with participant observation with roots in anthropology and Chicago School sociology. Although a disputed notion, it is generally defined in terms of a prolonged engagement in the everydayness of informants in order to grasp their lived realities from the inside. So, participation in daily routines allows the

study of specific practices, situations, events, etc. and social interactions (Davies, 2012). In an organizational ethnography, this means that a researcher adopts the role of an organizational member or that a member of staff becomes a researcher. It implies that "observers are doing the same things as the people (or some of the people) they are observing" (Czarniawska, 2014a, p. 44). This is only achievable if access and permissions are granted, and work does not necessitate credentials and specific competencies. In this research effort, becoming an organizational member was impossible for various reasons ranging from the nature of service provision (clearly defined office space and computer access, confidentiality issues, specific service knowledge, etc.) to ethical concerns (the REB has only authorized the observation of consenting service providers). What occurred can be best described as "variations in observation strategies" that "tend to blur in the field" (2014a, p. 43)[187].

Observation can be indirect/covert or direct/overt. Direct observation can be participant or nonparticipant and nonparticipant observation can be stationary or on the move. The latter refers to shadowing or "following selected people for a time in their everyday occupations" (p. 44). It embodies an "attitude of outsidedness" which does not seek to portray organizational life "from an insider's perspective" – an intention tinted by "colonial sediments" – but recognizes that an observer/outsider often perceives differently from an actor/insider (p. 45). Charlotte Aull Davies (2012) argues: "it is fallacious to take participation as the only, or even the principal, measure of the success of the research" (p. 72). The degree of participation fluctuates throughout fieldwork; it does not necessarily amplify with the time spent in the field. She thus ascribes a greater significance to critical/reflexive observation and insists that ethnography relying upon the latter is "certainly preferable to one in which participation is forced and self-aggrandizing" (p. 74). In fact, the implementation of long-term participant observation in current organizational settings involves challenges such as "problems of participation, of time, of space, and of invisibility" (Czarniawska, 2007, p. 13). Contemporary organizing tends to arise "in a net of fragmented, multiple contexts, through multitudes of kaleidoscopic movements" (p. 16). Observation can also be structured/ formal or unstructured/informal. The basic distinction between the two is the extent of pre-structure involved in observing/participating. The former is associated with quantitative/positivist research; it is concerned with measuring behaviour and relies upon "taxonomies developed from

[187] Gold (1958) suggested that the ethnographer may adopt one of four possible roles: complete observer; observer-as-participant; participant-as-observer; or complete participant.

known theory". The latter is linked with interpretivist/constructionist research, and thus usually with participant observation; it implies that the researcher penetrates a research setting "with no predetermined notions" (Mulhall, 2003, p. 306; Pretzlik, 1994).

In view of the above, fieldwork consisted of obvious instances of direct observation which, at times, took the form of participant observation and, at other times, of nonparticipant observation. Participant observation occurred during specific moments (e.g., collective preparations prior to an event such as stapling brochures or spatial arranging). Nonparticipant observation mainly included episodes of shadowing during contact with service users; service provision for resettled refugees often involves mobility (services offered in different places, home visits, etc.). Shadowing is "a way of studying the work and life of people who move often and quickly from place to place" (Czarniawska, 2014b, p. 92). Most of the fieldwork can be situated in the grey zone, or somewhere between participant and nonparticipant observation. While a certain degree of participation in organizational/service life occurred, there were – strangely – not many opportunities to participate in. I typically arrived at a space divided into cubicles and populated by silent bodies oriented to computer screens (chapter 4 describes this material and ideational place in detail). In fact, an important fraction of service provision remains hidden: it occurs via communication technology (e-mail, Facebook, online governmental system). I was restricted to one specific floor, and one corner of that floor, where only sporadic conversations/meetings took place:

> I arrived at the organization at around 10:30AM. The floor was deserted. Those present were preoccupied with the planning of the annual event – [name]; it is happening this Sunday (…). I went straight to my assigned corner, near my on-site supervisor's desk, not only because I have nowhere else to go but because I am not allowed to simply 'hang out'. I constantly feel like I am disturbing. After my access problem, I certainly do not want to aggravate the situation – at least not at the very beginning! I thus try to make myself as invisible as possible…
> I am now sitting at the big brown table hoping for something to occur. [Service provider] just came by to plan things with [service provider]. They were complaining about something, but I could not decipher what it was all about. Then, [service provider] from [external organization] showed up. This feels so awkward as I am just sitting and staring at their meeting. I am not sure what to do with myself! I am writing this to appear busy. I literally feel like an intruder! I also feel like they are judging me. When [service provider] was leaving, she made some comment. I got a strong sense that it was about me. She suddenly approached me and stated that she is doing an online master's degree on forced migration. She said that she is unsure what topic to pick for the thesis. My 'supervisor' shouted that she should talk to me! I gladly offered to help. Suddenly, another staff member came by and proposed that I prepare

> documents for the annual event. I was relieved that I had 'something' to do! (Fieldwork notes, June 26, 2015)

As mentioned earlier, the opportunities to observe depended upon an invitation from a key informant who was assigned as my on-site supervisor by a manager who oversaw various programs, including the YP. This was a way to delegate responsibility and prevent organizational damage. So, a large portion of my time was spent in the compulsory – but very pleasant – company of this person who kindly accepted this role. Brian Moeran (2009) captures this recurring situation: "For a start it is often very difficult to get initial *access* to an organization. Even when this has been achieved (…) the *kind* of access you are permitted may well prove problematic" (p. 140). About halfway through fieldwork, an exchange social work student from East Asia and I have voluntarily proposed to develop and deliver an art-based group initiative for children. We included a young man who arrived as a GAR from Iraq and who was looking for volunteer hours. This was an important episode of participation in organizational life. Overall, in light of the structure of the doctorate (courses, comprehensive exam, project proposal/defense, research ethics application) and my prior work in the newcomer-serving sector, the idea of entering the field as a *tabula rasa* – promoted by some ethnographers – is absurd. My observations were then never totally unstructured: they were structured enough to direct my attention at dimensions that were pre-identified by research directions; they were also flexible enough to remain open to aspects that might otherwise be ignored by rigidly pre-determined knowledge.

Interviewing

Interviews in social science research are assumed to provide an access to participants' meanings/explanations of their lived experiences. This "in-depth interpretive data" was obtained here using a one-time semi-structured interview (Fletcher, 2017, p. 185). So, it was neither fully structured nor unstructured. The former, often used in quantitative/positivist research, involves standardized questionnaires with closed questions asked by supposedly neutral interviewers to obtain unbiased and replicable responses. The latter, typically found in qualitative/interpretivist/ postmodernist/constructionist research works, entails no prefixed outline or open-ended questions. It sees a co-construction of meanings as a basis through which the researcher obtains access to interviewees' subjectivities; the social categories (gender, class, age, etc.) of the interviewer and

of the interviewee, can facilitate or hinder this construction. For strong/radical constructionists, these interpretations involve different narratives; while they coexist, they cannot be contemplated in view of an objective reality (Iosifides & Sporton, 2009; Smith & Elger, 2014). A semi-structured interview uses predetermined themes/questions as in a structured interview and maintains elasticity in conversation and content (Galletta & Cross, 2013). It is "ensuring the flexibility to explore and update the existing literature (…) while still allowing new ideas to emerge" (Fletcher, 2017, p. 185). In other words, semi-structured interviews are positioned between the "rigidity of structured interviews and the complexity of unstructured interviews, which sometimes lose a sense of time or any thematic constraints" (Nurse, 2013, p. 115). From a critical realist relational sociological stance, interviews (and other methods) are employed "to appreciate the interpretations of (…) informants and to analyse the social contexts, constraints and resources within which those informants act" (Smith & Elger, 2014, p. 6). So, interviews "may not reveal real causes of action and present a partial picture". Yet, "without conducting investigations in action as experienced by actors, it is not possible to get insights into the actual and empirical representations of action"; interviews thus allow to tap into "the individual experience" (p. 4).

A total of 41 semi-structured interviews was completed: 26 with service providers and 15 with service users[188]. Since these participants engage in different organizational roles, positions, situations, etc., interviews diverged in format, content and time. Questions were crafted using the meta/theoretical framework and prior professional expertise. Both sets of interviews used, though differently, a biographical approach with a critical realist relational sociological view of biography[189] (Donati & Archer, 2015; Iosifides & Sporton, 2009). This method seeks to connect "structural influences and agential powers of reflexivity". It acknowledges that "life stories are both influenced by actual life events and influence human practices and processes in the real world". They grant a "privileged way to the analysis of the mechanism of reflexivity that mediates between social structures and human agency" (Domecka & Mrozowicki, 2013, p. 191). Interviews thus allowed to illuminate how service partakers' individual/singular/personal inputs mediated the linking effects of structural and cultural influences in service-based social relations (T2-T3 of the

[188] While the aim was to do 20 interviews with service users, this was impossible due to problems with recruitment. Moreover, while the initial intention was to conduct 15 interviews with service providers, in view of the organizational realities that were encountered (i.e., wide service arrangement), the increase made sense.

[189] The biographical approach regroups various terminology (i.e., biography, autobiography, life story (récit de vie), life history (histoire de vie), meta/theories and methodologies (Burrick, 2010).

M/M sequence; see chapter 2). Broadly, interviewees are not subjectively free to formulate what they want of the past; they cannot construct biographies as they please: "We bring to the present the objective results of our previous commitments. The 'deposited' features are real and impose serious limitations upon narrative freedom because any re-telling of the past has to account for them" (Archer, 2003, p. 126). There are also constraints at the interactional level (communicative, self-presentation, etc.) (Goffman, 1959). All interviews were scheduled in advance and occurred at an agreed upon place (all interviewees were offered the possibility to select a location). Most interviews occurred at the organization, in a small conference room that needed to be pre-booked. Two interviews with service users took place on different university campuses and one at a private residence. Only one interview with a service provider occurred in a café (with blasting music). While interviews with service users were longer and informants were flexible as to time, those with service providers were regimented by work schedules; long interviews were thus impossible. All interviews were preceded by ethics procedures and an introduction to the research project; they were followed by a short sociodemographic questionnaire (Appendix B and Appendix D). All were audio-recorded with a digital recorder.

Interviewing service providers

The interviews with service providers involved participants from heterogeneous social/ material and cultural/ideational backgrounds who had different positions/roles at the organization (chapter 5 presents this sample in more detail). The need to interview them emerged from the conceptual framework: not only there are no service users without them, but service providers located across the division of labour are the most familiar with post-migration service design. Yet, it was assumed that they could not offer full accounts as many of their practices are taken-for-granted; their evaluative perspectives are also impeded by their inadequate/insufficient knowledge of the post-migration system. While repeated attempts were made to interview middle and top management/administration, only one manager accepted to be interviewed. I was told that this was an exception, largely because of my volunteering. Another manager accepted to briefly meet in person but did not wish to be interviewed (supposedly due to a lack of time). Stuart Macdonald and Bo Hellgren (1999) argue, however, that "top management may not know most about what is going on in the organization, that middle management is likely to be better informed, and that

junior managers may be most knowledge about specific matters" (p. 230). While I emailed the executive director, I never received a reply even after a direct encounter:

> I arrived at the organization at around 12:00 o'clock. My interview with [service provider] was scheduled at 12:15. I was so excited: it was my first interview with a service provider! Then, I got worried: the floor was completely empty. Was there an emergency? A holiday? Suddenly, the ED mysteriously emerged with a Manager. They headed for the elevator. I saw this as a golden opportunity to introduce myself. So, I left my things and ran towards them, knowing that there is enough time for a small chat (the elevator is slow). First, to break the ice, I asked where everyone is. The ED said that there is a meeting downstairs directed by the City until 12:15. (I was surprised: [Service provider] did not mention it to me even though I emphasized that I am interested in attending meetings). I then quickly explained who I am and what I do and asked whether I could email him to possibly schedule an interview. He said 'yes' but it was an odd, cold and rushed 'yes'. He seemed to be preoccupied by something else – much more important than an overly excited doctoral student. And then, the door of the elevator opened. I returned to my usual empty corner and waited for [service provider] to arrive (Fieldwork notes, July 16, 2015).

Semi-structured interviews with service providers involved employees and two interns working in/directly with young people who endured refugeehood across different services. Each interview took place during work hours (the preference of all informants) and lasted about one hour. It consisted of twenty open-ended questions which were spread across four dimensions: (1) Narrative of practice; (2) Conceptions of intervention; (3) Concrete experiences; and (4) Framework of practice (see Appendix A).

Interviewing service users

The interviews with service users involved participants from heterogeneous social/material and cultural/ideational backgrounds whose lives have been shaped by refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood at the organization (chapter 6 presents the sample in more detail). They were affiliated with the YP which, based on the organizational website, served people between the ages of 14 and 29. While chronological age is tricky in social science research/

practice (Clark-Kazak, 2012; 2009)[190], the Application Form of Ethics Approval[191] imposes this specification; services are also delineated via such parameters which tend to mirror those of funders and society at large. So, it is an "immediately practicable means of stratifying populations to make them manageable, be that intellectually, empirically or politically" (Fletcher, 2021, p. 485). It is recognized here, however, that, in reality, it is a "poor, and frequently poorly used, biosocial variable", that is, "it has always been used as a crude proxy, loosely representing a complex composite of socio-cultural, politico-economic, psychological and physiological human states" (p. 484). It is applied "to understand populations rather than persons" and linked with state concerns about social problems (p. 482). Yet, it is not always feasible to totally respect the reality of the heterogeneity of youth even though it should always be considered. From a critical realist stance, social reality is only known via "value-laden constructs" such as chronological age; while fallible/inexact, it may still be useful to understand that reality – at least partially (p. 485). While the goal was to interview only resettled refugees/GARs, it became unrealistic to uphold rigid criteria due to various difficulties; flexibility was crucial. The initial decision *not* to focus on a specific social group (gender, country of origin, religion, etc.) proved to be very fitting. While linguistic barriers were expected, all participants were proficient enough in English and/or French. Prospective contributors were contacted via phone and/or email after being suggested by key informants who knew them relatively well. I was also permitted to post a short recruitment message on the YP's Facebook Page (it yielded no results). Each interview lasted about 90 minutes.

> It is about 10:45AM and I am waiting for [service user]. It is my first interview with a service user! I am excited but a little nervous. He just texted me that the bus is taking longer than usual. I am anxious…
> I feel good about the interview, but I am extremely exhausted! It is hard to pay attention to so many details at once and ensure that the person feels that what they are saying really matters. My counselling training was useful. The interviewee was 30 years old thus older than I expected. He really did not seem to care about any of the research-related paperwork (what amused me) and was really open about his life experiences. At the end, he was curious about me. He asked questions about my ethnocultural background, whether I am married, have children, etc. The roles (interviewer-interviewee) were reversed! (Fieldwork notes, July 15, 2015)

[190] Clark-Kazak (2009) proposes the notion of 'social age'; it speaks to "the socially constructed meanings applied to physical development and roles attributed to infants, children, young people, adults and elders, as well as their intra- and inter-generational relationships" (p. 1310).

[191] The initial intention (submitted in the Application Form of Ethics Approval) was to engage those between the ages of 14 and 20. This changed with the realities of the fieldwork.

The interviews consisted of life story interviews or "oral, autobiographical narratives generated through interaction" (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984, p. 216). They were formatted using an arboreal imagery where the tree metaphor was not merely a figure of speech, but a "cognitive tool" used to seize that what exists as an idea (Landau, Robinson & Meier, 2014, p. 4). A metaphor helps "to understand our selves and our world in ways that no other modes of thought can" (Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. xi). Ethnographic studies that examine the ways in which trees are employed as representations for human social realities confirm that they are driven by the need to "make concrete and material the abstract notion of life"; trees are perfect bases "precisely because their status as living organisms is ambiguous" (Rival, 2001, p. 3). More concretely, the interviews were inspired by the Tree of Life method that is informed by the narrative therapy developed by Michael White. It invites people to assess their lives from a detached stance so as to construct a preferred storyline (Denborough, 2014; Ncube, 2006). It was co-developed by Ncazelo Ncube-Mlilo and David Denborough in 2006. Ncube-Mlilo has defined her work as "The Imbeleko Approach to therapeutic practice", where Imbeleko is a Zulu word "symbolic and representative of home grown knowledges and wisdoms to provide care and support"; it is thus a culturally and contextually sensitive approach (BAATN). The research process required, however, a shift from a focus on re-authorship of identities to that of knowledge production.

This methodological choice was motivated by the ethical concerns enforced by the REB when working with 'vulnerable' populations. Because the Tree of Life urges people "to speak about their lives in ways that are not retraumatizing" (Dulwich Centre), and has been/is used with refugees, it appeared as a sensible option. I myself knew its effectiveness as I have applied it prior to the Ph.D. in mental health group work with young people who experienced refugeehood. Moreover, since biographical interviews tend to have positive effects on interviewees, they are not a mere procedural tool; they have emancipatory potential. They can awaken them to the resources built into their trajectories that can be mobilized/activated (Chaxel, Fiorelli & Moity-Maïzi, 2014). Each interview began with a brief visualization of the self as a tree to channel attention. The process of interviewing was facilitated using paper cards that I have created for the occasion; they symbolized the elements covered in the interview (different tree parts). Table 4 presents this conceptual architecture (see Appendix C). At its heart is social relationality which comprises multiple spatial and temporal junctions: micro-macro, local-global, individual-social articulated through the past, the present and the future. It also elicits experiences of suffering but also

endurance, resilience and hope. This generates a rich depiction of human social life; it is unleashed here via a critical realist relational sociological lens.

Tree of Life part	Description
Roots	Place of birth; family history and practices; significance of roots today; mentors and guides; favorite places, stories, activities, memories, etc.
Ground	Relocation(s) across geopolitical borders; daily activities; favorite activities; residential, schooling and work experiences
Trunk	Skills, abilities or talents; their histories and current significance
Branches	Hopes, dreams or wishes for self and others; their histories; means of sustaining them in hard times
Leaves	Significant people in life
Fruits	Gifts received from others and given to others
Nutrients	Sustenance in everyday life
Animals	Social services or support received in Canada
Storms of life	Troubles/problems experienced in past and present, their management; life without troubles/problems
Forest of life	Canadian society, socio-political context, etc.

Table 4: Tree of Life interview structure (adapted from the Tree of Life narrative therapy intervention (Ncube, 2006)).

Excavating organizational and institutional documents

To make sense of the sociohistorical occurrences that generated the structured, cultured and peopled conditions in which service partakers found themselves at the organization and in post-migration service provision-use, it was essential to search for relevant organizational and institutional (i.e., authored by the federal government) documents. They comprised data on the service architecture at the time of research and its recent modernization, mission statements, annual reports, archived historical accounts, etc. Most were found/accessed online. Some organizational writings were shared by service providers (floor layout, assessment forms used, etc.). It was crucial to determine how contemporary service delivery has surfaced. Documents were also analyzed to establish how/why structural changes were made; mission statements were examined to identify cultural/ideational commitments. Moreover, documents such as annual reports were studied to clarify recorded information (service admission numbers, exclusion factors, etc.) in services. Together, these documents were explored to offer a structural and cultural background to service provision-use that resulted in what service participants encountered at the organization in 2015.

Research Question			
How did the individual and relational inputs of service providers and service users mediate the constraining/enabling/motivating structural and cultural conditions they faced and the service outcomes in publicly-supported settlement and integration services at an organization located in Ontario/Canada in 2015?			
Research sub-questions	**Analytical stage in the M/M Framework**	**Type of research data collection method used**	**Chapter(s)**
What were the structural and cultural conditions shaping individual actions and service relations?	T1-T2	Scholarly literature; organizational and institutional documents; observation and participation; semi-structured interviews	Chapter 4
How were the service protagonists mediating the structural and cultural constraints/enablements/motivations in service relations?	T2-T3	Semi-structured interviews	Chapters 5-6
How did the interplay between structural and cultural conditions and agentic/reflexive inputs affect service relations and outcomes?	T3-T4	Semi-structured interviews	Chapter 7

Table 5: Synthesis of research design and methodology

Research data analysis processes

Research data entailed participation and observation fieldnotes, interview recordings and transcripts, organizational and institutional documents/websites and email correspondence as well as academic scholarship. Limited scholarship on *applied* critical realism creates challenges for research data analysis. It is now "an emerging discussion" with no consensus: some critical realist researchers use Grounded Theory (GT) for data coding and analysis, initially devised by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967); others denounce its inadequacies (Hoddy, 2018, p. 111). GT is also "a popular but often uncritically adopted methodology in the study of organizations" and used to understand ethnographic data (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 258). It asks that a researcher steps into the field fairly unrestrained by pre-existing meta/theoretical knowledge and amasses data about a general phenomenon: "data are compared and coded over fieldwork sessions, and concepts and categories are distilled out and linked together to generate a theory that is *grounded* in that data" (Hoddy, 2018, p. 114). Critical realist critics stress that it is overly "data-driven", and thus omits an "active engagement with existing theory during the analysis process". Hence, it has

inductive and empiricist features[192]. Since theory should fully arise from data without any prior meta/theory, this grants little/no knowledge beyond the surface. Instead, critical realism is a "more theory- and researcher-driven analytical process"; it recognizes ontological depth (Fletcher, 2017, p. 186). It denounces GT's "original naïve realist foundations and the radical constructivism at the base of its more recent iteration" (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 258). It sees observations as "necessarily theory-laden" and affected by "pre-concepts" or "proto-theories" (p. 259). Various developments of GT increased its compatibility with critical realism[193]. New versions integrate "preconceived analytical categories" and "pre-existing theoretical knowledge, hunches and hypotheses" as starting-points and foundations (Hoddy, 2018, p. 114). For example, interviews with service partakers called for an inspection of their reflexivities that occur in their internal conversations; this analysis involves a "double hermeneutic", or the interpretation of interviewees' interpretations (Archer, 2003, p. 154) . So, an interviewee narrates, and the interviewer listens, but then explains the narrative using the meta/theoretical framework. While critical realist data analysis is not linear, it involves some key moves: "identification of demi-regularities, abduction (also known as theoretical redescription), and retroduction". Demi-regularities are "rough trends or broken patterns in empirical data" or tendencies which are detectable via qualitative data coding[194]. Abduction is a meta/theoretical re-description of empirical data; it enhances the level of conceptual commitment "beyond thick description" while recognizing meta/theoretical imperfection (Fletcher, 2017, p. 184). It is a thinking process that exceeds "a strictly logical way of understanding a phenomenon". Retroduction is a "tool of analysis that "moves backwards" from the knowledge of one thing to knowledge of something else"; it asks: "what makes X possible?" (Craig & Bigby, 2015, p. 315). It involves an identification of the necessary contextual conditions for certain causal mechanisms to come into effect and bring about the empirical trends detected. It is not occurring away from the research site but is conducted by a situated/embodied researcher:

[192] Social science research typically uses four modes of reasoning: "induction: reasoning from data to generality; deduction: reasoning from generality to data via hypothesis testing; abduction: reasoning from immersion in a scene to a verbal summary; and retroduction: reasoning about why things happen including why the data appear the way they do (used by critical realists)" (Olsen, 2007, p. 1).

[193] Charmaz (2006) puts together an "objectivist grounded theory" and a "constructionist grounded theory" (p. 129). The former is linked to positivism; the latter to interpretivism. She is missing, however, the third epistemological position – that of critical realism (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017).

[194] A code is "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 14).

it is a “continuous, spiral movement between the abstract and the concrete, between theoretical and empirical work” that entails “an interpretive and a causal dimension of explanation”. Conceptualizations created in the “retroductive spiral” can be applied to explain social problems/ processes at a given space/place and time (Belfrage & Hauf, 2017, p. 260).

This research project used a critical realism-informed GT. Data analysis was non-linear or involved a back-and-forth movement between various analytical processes towards a more refined understanding. It is possible to arrange it into four key moments that merge various stages of a critical realist research and analytical methods drawn from GT (Hoddy, 2018):

1. *Description:* The first phase described the specifics of the complex situation. Pre-existing concepts, debates, empirical investigations, historical and statistical data and personal-professional experiences in the newcomer-serving sector were explored throughout the research project, particularly prior to data collection. This allowed to generate research questions and give an overall sense of purpose and direction. This knowledge was transitory and a heuristic: it helped to shed light on refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood during encounters with empirical data in the field. It only softly oriented the research, and thus left ample room for surprises. Research dynamics engaged deduction: meta/theoretical aspects were applied to produce preliminary conceptualizations that informed my understanding of observations and steered my conversations with informants. They also included induction: I was submerged in the field prior to data analysis and the generation of polished and/or new conceptualizations. At first, the exploration of empirical data used open coding and a comparative method to map people’s interpretations of contexts as well as possible areas of interest, connections, categories, etc. Interview data that was digitally recorded and transcribed in verbatim to retain interviewees’ voices; process codes were used to detain conceptual items. Data fragments were compared to map convergences and divergences. Codes led to categories that captured several codes at once. Distinct codes and categories were expected to emerge given that the interview questions were arranged around themes, understandings and intuitions from scholarship and prior professional practice.
2. *Analytical resolution*: This phase entailed an identification of the core aspects of the social phenomena of interest. The latter involved the specification of demi-regularities/tendencies

in the empirical data. It separated the various dimensions of the research study, and thus it began to map crucial connections. An open data coding technique was used: data was firstly coded in a line-by-line format, where each line of transcribed data was coded for processes which detained conceptual pieces. Data parts were then compared to pinpoint similarities and differences. Certain codes were expected to appear given that the interview questions were arranged around prior understandings and intuitions.

3. *Abduction and retroduction*: This phase involved the use of creative reasoning processes that surpass appearances; it developed ideas about how realities are interconnected and shifted to a deeper understanding of social phenomena under consideration. It also re-described various aspects in terms of theories about structure/culture and agency/ reflexivity and indicated the mechanisms that might be implicated.
4. *Concretization and contextualization*: This phase entailed an inspection of the joint impact of abstract components in concrete situations, that is, it involved a confrontation of theory with the research data.

Typological analysis

The research analysis included typification, or the process of engaging with research data by arranging it by means of types/typologies. Typological analysis is not a homogenous set of practices. It was not driven here by the hyper-naturalist/positivist/empiricist pseudoscience that congealed ideas of distinct racial/ethnic/cultural differences set into colonial hierarchies. It, nonetheless, departed from the understanding that typification is largely unavoidable; it can also be useful though it is not without limitations. More concretely, the production of typologies allows to handle the complexities/nuances of everyday human social life. Moreover, a typology can act as an analytical tool in comparisons. It allows to extract singularity of individual cases in order to identify similarities without removing the richness of the ensemble of cases; all cases are needed to make sense of each one. Most importantly, the types *do not* refer to people but to configurations of multiple and active dimensions (Demazière, 2013; Garneau, 2006; Sadre-Orafai, 2020). Since typification is always done from a certain perspective, it was generated here from a critical realist relational sociological stance. It considered the dynamic interplay of structural, cultural, agentic and reflexive aspects, that is, it paid close attention to objective and subjective elements in the

interview data. It was conducted in each analytical chapter and helped to illuminate intricate and shifting processes/mechanisms/tendencies at play:

- Chapter 4 introduces a typology of the emerging four 'faces' of the organization; they are condensed into two major 'faces'.
- Chapter 5 presents a typology of service providers' career patterns.
- Chapter 6 offers a typology of service users' personal and social engagement with social realities; it was informed by the typology of reflexivity modes produced by Archer (see chapter 2).
- Chapter 7 proposes a typology of the emerging social relational configurations and social care outcomes in post-migration social care.

3. GAINING ACCESS TO THE RESARCH SITE

> Pour être honnête, je ne sais même plus si je crois à la faisabilité de mon projet (le côté ethnographique) (…). J'ai pris la décision que s'il y a rien qui se débloque d'ici la fin de cette session, ce parcours doit, malheureusement, se terminer pour moi. Je vais faire tout ce que je peux pour que ça n'arrive pas – car ce n'est pas ce que je veux – mais, en même temps, je ne peux pas passer les prochaines années à négocier une entrée pour des raisons pratiques (comme le CRSH) mais aussi des réalités au niveau personnel. (Email exchange with research supervisor; February, 6, 2015)

This raw and vulnerable fragment is a piece of an electronic communication sent to my research supervisor after my first rejection from an envisioned/preferred research site. It expresses frustration, pain and powerlessness; it was distinctly demoralizing given my prior professional affiliation with the organization (but not the program approached). It challenges the pervasive belief that a private connection guarantees access. It is commonly accepted that qualitative researchers, especially ethnographers (e.g., Davidson, Bondi & Smith, 2016), experience research "both intellectually and emotionally" (Gilbert, 2001, p. 9). In fact, emotionality can be so intense during an organizational ethnography that researchers speak of "compassion fatigue" (Vincett, 2018, p. 44). In fact, emotional exhaustion, but also social isolation, are linked to doctoral students' plan of quitting academia (Hunter & Devine, 2016; Pretorius, Macaulay & Cahusac de Caux, 2019). Gaining access to a research site was an emotionally taxing and lonely process for me that

made me reconsider the possibility of this doctoral undertaking. Gary Alan Fine and David Shulman (2009) aptly assert: "ethnographers are more often beggars than choosers" (p. 179). Matthew Desmond (2014) notes that they tend to be "rebuffed, avoided, exploited, hoodwinked, provided only limited access, or taken down paths that lead nowhere" (p. 569).

It is well documented that the process of obtaining access to a contemporary organization is strenuous. Since difficulties persist during fieldwork (and even beyond), the problem of access is more than a single administrative procedure that predates research data collection. Even after initial acceptance "access can be fully retracted at a moment's notice, often with little to no warning, or constrained and limited along the way" (Cipollone & Stitch, 2012, p. 21).

> I'm feeling extremely awkward now. Most people are nice, but I feel like [service provider] is really unhappy to see me (…) I tried asking about [service provider]; she murmured that she is on training. She kept staring at the screen – her Facebook Page. She looked annoyed. Suddenly, some clients arrived in the office; I had to move. I felt like I'm taking space. It's a horrible feeling (…) I wanted to ask [service provider] whether it would be possible to sit on an interview between an immigration officer and clients but I'm too afraid to ask now! (Fieldwork notes, September 17, 2015)

Hierarchical arrangements and various power relations shape the ways in which people interact with a researcher. Those interactions also hinge on the researcher's personal background (gender, age, professional position, etc.) (Buscatto, 2008). Access dynamics involve relations with in/formal gate-keepers/openers who also carry diverging and converging interests. While top and middle management are not always the main arbiters of access, they often need to be made aware of a researcher's entry. When SP3 heard about my access difficulties at the research site, she confirmed the intricacy of obtaining general permissions – a vertical and entangled process: "You start sort of in the middle and the middle sends it up, and the up finds out about it, and then the middle will give it to somebody down." There are also different kinds of access. Simon Carmel (2011) differentiates between physical access (getting in) and social access (getting along) and notes that "social access to one group is no guarantee of successful social access to another" (p. 555). A researcher can inherit sympathy or hostility simply by being connected to a specific staff member; my experience confirms this. A service provider at the organization that became my research site approved my access almost instantly but then removed it just as quickly with the pretext of feeling overburdened. This poorly, if not unethically, handled situation only made sense

later: I eventually learned about this person's fiery demeanor, and thus unpopularity[195]. Further, discussions on access explore strategies/guidelines to ease the navigation of complexities[196]. Yet, some ethnographers (e.g., Johnson, 1975) claim that the problem of access is so multifaceted that it cannot be theorized. While this contribution distances itself from rigid prescriptions, and thus from fully resolving the access problem, it also moves away from the argument that access is impenetrable. What follows focuses on making sense of its sources and how it connects to the research project and informants' organizational everydayness (without delving too deeply into it; see chapter 4). Japonica Brown-Saracino (2014) suggests asking various questions: "1) Is it me? 2) Is it the study? 3) Is it them? 4) Is it them-there (context)?" (p. 44). Overall, while the struggles related to access are not always divulged by researchers, these tribulations are a rich supplier of information. Attila Bruni (2006) argues that "negotiation of access may be an important moment of observation per se, in that it reveals some of the principal characteristics of the organizational processes that the ethnographer is about to study". She conceptualizes access as a "trajectory, a never-ending process of engaging with multiple actors and organizational dynamics" (p. 138). So, in the words of Muriel Darmon (2005), it is then possible to "commencer l'enquête avant son début" (p. 99). I now document the set of occurrences which have led me to my research site.

Mapping the trajectory of access

The attempts to secure access to a research site were initiated at the end of 2014 and continued in the early months of 2015. They coincided with the preparation of the Application Form for Ethics Approval. The confusion as to the location of fieldwork delayed its submission. Question 3.6 concerned the "source of participants" and asked to "indicate the specific names and locations of any sources checked" (p. 14). A doctoral researcher must be granted the authorization to engage in the project by the university's Office of Research Ethics and Integrity and a Certificate of Ethics Approval must be obtained prior to the onset of research. While the confirmation of submission of the Application was received on March 6, 2015, the Certificate was granted on June 2, 2015. A full REB review lasts about six weeks, and it is customary for reviewers to ask to

[195] Carmel (2011) recounts his experience with an "unpopular manager" (p. 557).
[196] Harrington (2003) identifies five approaches: ""common sense", anecdotes, checklists, role-playing, and exchange" (p. 600).

elucidate certain elements. This feedback arrived on April 13. The Board requested twelve minor clarifications and modifications which were submitted on May 15. While fieldwork unfolded at a newcomer-serving organization, the original goal was to conduct it in a high school. This was not possible, and a reorientation had to take place. While this impossibility carries its own story, it is omitted here[197]. It is after two formal refusals from third sector organizations, other unsuccessful attempts and a tumultuous entry at the organization in question that I officially began fieldwork in June 2015. To reconstruct what took place, I rely on electronically mediated exchanges[198] and pre-fieldwork notes.

Facing the first rejection from a third sector organization

> Greetings Magda, I hope that you are well. In discussion with the Program Coordinator and after a careful consideration of your proposal, I am sorry to tell you it won't be possible for us to collaborate with you on your project. Our goal is to create safe spaces for youth and provide quality programming within a very limited time frame and while I value the work you are doing; it will be very difficult logistically to attach your research to our weekly group. I am really sorry we cannot support you this time. I wish you success in your studies. (February 5, 2015)

[197] Joanne Harrell and her colleagues (2000) observe: "a public school provides a large potential subject pool; however, obtaining access to that subject pool can seem impossible with all the layers of permissions that must be obtained" (p. 14). It is possible to identify six strata of authorizations: from the REB, School Board, the principal, teacher(s) and/or other staff members, parents and students. All external research projects must be first approved by the Research Advisory Committee of the School Board; this Committee only considers projects that have already been approved by the university's REB. A researcher is also prohibited from contacting a school without prior approval. As indicated in the Research Guidelines, the project must be submitted on one of the five application deadlines, meet certain criteria (e.g., pedagogical pertinence) and conducted during particular school months. The application might be rejected simply because the Board is preoccupied with other matters; all decisions are final. Moreover, the principal, teachers and/or other staff members are not obliged to host the project. To introduce it to potential participants, an information letter must be provided to all students within a specific age range (*the school of interest had over 600 students*). Only the students whose parents/guardians have self-selected and granted them the permission to participate could be contacted. Yet, such letters are not always delivered to parents or returned. While the lack of parental responses may be attributed to actual refusal, they can also imply "the nonreceipt of or inability to read consent forms, lost or misplaced consent forms, or confusion regarding the research or consent process, among other factors" (Fletcher & Hunter, 2003, p. 216). All students under the age of 18 require parental consent (for the REB, only those under the age of 16). The researcher might also be asked to translate this letter in various languages (*the students at the school of interest spoke in over 40 different languages*). There is also the need to submit a police clearance, a *curriculum vitae* and all research-related documents in ten hard copies. Considering these grueling demands, acute uncertainty, financial costs and incompatible deadlines (REB vs. School Board), etc., the idea of a school-based research was fully abandoned.

[198] Not only an astounding number of research-related communications now occur via email (Sharma, et al., 2015) (with RS, REB, gatekeepers/openers, etc.) but they offer "'real time' recording of thoughts and activities" (Au & Marks, 2013, p. 882).

The above is an electronic reply that I received from a manager at the organization with which I was once allied though in a different program. It arrived shortly after our direct meeting (January 28). During this encounter, I emphasized my desire to benefit the organization and service users. I offered to integrate organizational/service concerns into the research and even to volunteer. I was told, however, that this is unfeasible: the program has its own employees and funding (this felt odd given how valued experienced volunteers are in the sector). Further, while I have initially asked whether it is appropriate to communicate with the executive director, I was told that I should first present my project and the idea will only then be conveyed to top management. An ex-colleague from middle management informed me: "Generally, no one goes directly to the ED unless it is she who starts the discussion". During the meeting, when I asked, once again, about the possibility of contacting the ED, I was quickly detracted. I was also informed that while the organization gets sporadic requests from academics and journalists for interviews, it never actually hosts doctoral students who seek such an intensive participation in organizational life. While the fear of the unknown has perhaps contributed to the refusal, organizational politics have also played a role. An ex-colleague described internal rivalries linked to diverging social care philosophies, personal loyalties, divisions based on ethnocultural and racial backgrounds, etc. She shared: "Once a counsellor, forever a counsellor. They do not like counselling. There will always be a separation between counsellors and other staff members. She [Program Manager] thought I stigmatized people by referring them to counseling". While I was now wearing a different hat, I was maybe trapped in a past professional identity (ironically, I always adopted critical approaches to mental health). These organizational dynamics must also be put into a broader perspective. Since 2012, under Harper Conservatives, there have been many funding cuts in the Ontarian settlement and integration sector. These realities have certainly contributed to the stiffened and jaded attitude of service providers. In any case, I felt a deep sense of hurt, if not injustice, given my past dedication to the organization (including bringing funding and service provision to it).

Floating in limbo

> I am wondering whether collective spaces like a church, a mosque, a food bank organized by a specific community, etc. might be good places to offer free activities and recruit [research participants]? (February 9, 2015; fragment of an email to supervisor).

Following the refusal, I explored every possible alternative. I contacted every single person in my personal and professional networks – friends, acquaintances and ex-colleagues. I read widely about the best practices in securing access. Yet, given the restricted number of organizations in the city serving young people who arrived as refugees[199], my aspiration to conduct an organizational ethnography began fading away. I contacted (phone and e-mail) the executive director of an organization serving a specific ethnocultural community. My efforts yielded no results – not even a negative response. Next, I contacted an individual responsible for a small food bank led by a religious community. While the person in charge very kindly expressed interest in my work, due to the structure of service provision (weekends, volunteer-based, etc.), ethnographic research was impractical. Meanwhile, a close friend told me about a person in charge of a youth program for newcomers at an organization where she used to work. While it offers some on-site services, its service delivery mainly occurs at a high school. It took some time to reach this service provider:

> The person at [organization] is unreachable. I spoke to the reception and they reassured me that she is there, but she is always moving around and has meetings. She is not returning my phone calls. It is so hard to move forward! (Fieldwork notes, February 17, 2015)

We finally arranged a meeting (February 19). The encounter was promising, and the interest and enthusiasm expressed by this person was refreshing. Yet, I was informed that the organization does not differentiate participants by legal status; the newcomer experience is the decisive dimension for admission. Moreover, programs are offered during the school year. To remedy the situation, I proposed to develop and implement a summer program as a volunteer but was told that funding will be an issue as there is an obligation to have two service providers per group. While the person remained optimistic and commented that my research could possibly assist the organization to obtain funding in the future, she told me that she needs to consult two directors. I thus handed in my résumé and a document that explained my project. A few days later, I was notified that the organization cannot host me:

> Unfortunately, the director said that the youth programs cannot accommodate me because they do not have a large enough pool of young people with a refugee status.

[199] This occurred prior to the arrival of people from Syria which has generated many new services and public interest.

> She also said that I cannot create a program because they do not ask young people if they are refugees. (Fieldwork notes, February 25, 2015)

This experience only confirms that third sector organizations are important regulators of access to research participants. While this episode did not end successfully, it was an important link in the chain of events. Specifically, the person in question gave me the contact information of a youth worker serving resettled refugees at another organization. While I have already reached out to a manager at this particular site, it is via this frontline worker that things began to unblock.

Securing a research site

> I just spoke to her [service provider] and she invited me to an activity for young people this Saturday. She emphasized, however, that program participation is low, especially in winter. She told me not to talk to the Program Manager because she will not answer. (Fieldwork notes, February 25, 2015)

The initial contact with this employee consisted of a telephone conversation. In less than ten minutes, I was kindly given the permission to conduct research and was invited to an activity for youth. I was even invited to help plan March break[200]. The only requirement was to bring a police clearance (I received an organizational letter which waived $15; this is done for volunteers). The astonishing ease with which things suddenly progressed made me feel quite suspicious and anxious. At that time, I did not yet have a Certificate from the REB. I first needed to secure access to an organization to submit the application. The invitation to attend activities made me feel trapped: if I do not grab this rare opportunity, I might be left with none. With the intention to show my dedication and explore the situation, I attended the Saturday event (11am-2pm):

> I arrived at 11am. The onset of the event (movie screening – 'Belle' (about a racially mixed female character) and discussion) was delayed by logistical issues. The staff were not ready. [Service provider] kept apologizing for the wait. I was immediately alarmed by the low participation! There were only four adolescent girls from Congo

[200] On March 16, I attended the March Break activity. It was held in a basement of a residential building in what is considered a low socio-economic part of the city. Upon my arrival, there were two young girls from Africa, two youth workers (both African), myself, an intern and the service provider. The service providers outnumbered service users (5:2). The day consisted of chatting and playing interactional games. The two youth workers overpowered the space; the two young participants were neglected.

> who lived at the reception center. They were sitting next to each other. They seemed shy but participated in the icebreaker ('one truth and one lie'). They spoke English well. There were also three volunteers: a girl who identified herself as Bosnian and who works for the federal government, a younger girl who stated that she is 'half-Polish' and a young man from Africa who was getting volunteer hours (high school requirement). Basically, non-service users outnumbered service users (6:4). The event took place in a spacious and well-equipped room (chairs, tables, kitchen area). [Service provider] appeared down-to-earth. When we were going upstairs, however, she said that she identifies as [specific African ethnic background]. She then mentioned that she thought that I was also [same specific African ethnic background] because of my name (we initially connected on the phone). This made me feel uncomfortable. I integrated myself in the activities. While I'm grateful that [service provider] accepted to have me around, I feel misunderstood; she does not seem to really grasp why I'm there. She seems overwhelmed by other matters. I'm thus excited but also terrified. In fact, I can already sense some trouble. (Fieldwork notes, February 28, 2015)

The service provider's comment concerning the ethnocultural background lingered in my mind: Is it this imagined identity that made access so effortless? Is she now deceived? Yet, since the newcomer-serving sector is racialized/ethnicized/culturalized, this was expected (Ku, 2011). I emailed this person on March 4 to solidify the commitment:

> I'm finally submitting my ethics application today! They review it for about six weeks and, if things are good, they will give me an official permission to start the research. I included in the application that I have started a process of negotiation with the [organization]. (Fieldwork notes, March 4, 2015)

In the days to come, we met in person to clarify the direction of my research project:

> I arrived a good 15 minutes in advance. The location is quite convenient – only two bus stops from home! I was quite nervous before the meeting as I was not sure what to expect. [Service provider] brought a volunteer student or intern with her – a young man from [institution]. There are no words to describe what took place..." (Fieldwork notes, March 11, 2015)

The meeting involved strong attacks which accentuated our differences: my doctoral researcher identity was especially targeted, if not vilified. The encounter was initiated with the following comment stated with coldness: "People like you like to read, not me". Next, I was stroked with a statement about political affiliations: "Most of the people here [organization] are on the left but I

am on the right". I was also reminded that no one will interrupt their work for me. She then emphasized that she had to let go of volunteers/interns in the past (was this a threat?) and that the organization is overwhelmed by the amount of applications from volunteers; I was done a "favour". She insisted that this is only possible because the organization has "no union". She also stressed that I will *never* have access to clients' files and that I could never be on-site without her supervision. Then, she informed me that she is going on vacation for two months. I kept my friendliness and attempted to negotiate whether someone else could take over the supervision. Yet, she refused. The encounter ended with no resolution. What took place is delightfully captured by Fine and Shulman (2009):

> "The organizational ethnographer lacks control, held captive to bureaucracy, the rhythms of work and the fears of workers. Some informants, knowing they have the power to say no, can be especially irksome and require patronization. While in print most fieldworkers will acknowledge their gratitude and debt to all informants, they may silently curse some for having been hindrances" (p. 181)."

She later emailed me that another employee is willing to supervise me during her absence[201]. Following this meeting, she became more difficult to reach; my initial excitement subsided. I emailed her asking for organizational documents to maintain the relation. We met again in person on April 9. Next, I decided to wait for the reply from the REB and, for now, familiarize myself with the organization via the obtained documents. Then, things went sour. On April 21, we spoke on the phone about the reply from the REB. I was met with unexpected resistance. She stated that her priorities are serving clients and not research; she is not paid for doing this. She suggested that my research supervisor and I meet her manager – in her presence or not (Stéphanie was on sabbatical at the time). She re-emphasized that she is going on vacation and this is no longer her dilemma. I, on the other hand, felt like the world is about to collapse! In summary, it is via an acquaintance who worked at the organization that things got resolved. She worked closely with another youth worker who gladly accepted to step in. I also managed to meet with the manager to formally solidify my on-site supervision. As if by a fortunate stroke of serendipity, the official onset of fieldwork coincided with an event organized for the World Refugee Day (WRD) (June

[201] I met this person on June 12 and found out that she mostly serves children who arrived as resettled refugees; I eventually volunteered in her program in order to have a better understanding of the reception center. Meeting this person was an important step in the research process; it was also a hopeful one given her warmth, friendliness and general desire to support me.

19)[202]. It was carried out by an apolitical local network of community and non-profit organizations serving refugee populations in partnership with the UNHCR and held at the YMCA-YWCA. I was invited to help to organize and attend the festivity by my cherished on-site supervisor. Exactly three years earlier, I was myself engaged – in the role of a clinical counsellor – in the planning of a WRD celebration.

Gifts received and reciprocated

Despite impediments, doing an organizational ethnography is a transformative experience. Some organizational ethnographers invite to map the 'gifts received' in the field: "What are the things that I appreciate about my fieldwork? What elements of my fieldwork make me feel privileged? How am I being treated and how does that make me feel? How are my informants and gatekeepers helping me? What is the value of the knowledge that I gain from being here?" (Gosovic, 2019, p. 10)[203]. I was given various tangible gifts: a discount for the required police check, lunch food prepared at the reception center and access to coffee as well as regular snacks brought by an employee. I was also granted different intangible gifts: access to the organization, services, activities, internal documents, and service users. Most vitally, I was gifted people's limited time and attention. They also openly shared with me their biographical trajectories and their knowledge of service design and local community. The social invitations to partake in lunches with them were especially meaningful as well as the more casual exchanges between us, particularly during bus and car rides.

Those who offer gifts gain power over the receiver who accepts this uneven power relation; received gifts then encourage the receiver to reciprocate (Gosovic, 2019). I reciprocated – also in tangible and intangible ways. I voluntarily designed and facilitated an arts-based support group for children who arrived as resettled refugees with an international social work student. I largely funded (i.e., art materials) this initiative (I was only given $20 to cover the costs of snacks); I also shared my counselling knowledge with her and dropped her off at the main service site. Moreover, I secured gently used toys from a personal contact that we distributed to the children. While I

[202] WRD is a worldwide commemoration of persons of concern to UNHCR observed each/around June 20 since 2001; it involves "'awareness-raising' activities and festive events" (Hedman, 2009, p. 283).
[203] She uses Marcel Mauss' concept of the 'gift' which is linked to the formation and sustenance of social bonds.

proposed to help create a small garden to beautify the entry and clean a cluttered room-closet filled with donations, there was no interest in these proposals from the staff. Broadly, I constantly offered support whenever possible (e.g., I acted as a translator during a home visit). I also assisted informally: I helped one service provider with her doctoral project proposal on refugeehood. Further, I wrote a Thank You card for each interviewee (Figure 31). Based on a consultation with the youth worker, I also purchased a $5 Tim Horton's gift card for each interviewed service user (total of $75). While I initially intended to make keychains with a Tree of Life symbol (I bought the materials pre-fieldwork), the stress of access, however, did not allow me to execute this idea (which was mentioned in the REB application). In addition, I invited a young man/service user to get his volunteering hours in our arts-based groups; he was very pleased. In return, he helped us to better communicate with Arabic-speaking children. Overall, the depth of my relational care should not be eclipsed by the more exasperated tone related to access problems in the previous sections. While an organizational ethnography provokes, at times, an unpleasant emotionality (with roots in relational pains), it also generates affective warmth. I lived the latter inside the quality social ties that I co-developed with research informants; they were probably also influenced by the faith-based facet of the research site.

Figure 31: Thank you card given to all interviewees

SUMMARY

This chapter explored various social science research design and methodological matters in view of the meta/theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2 – a critical realist relational sociology. It also presented the research strategies used for data collection and analysis. Moreover, it shared the long, non-linear and tumultuous, if not disheartening, process of securing access to a research site to conduct an organizational ethnography. The next four chapters, or chapters 4 to 7, are analytical, that is, they build on the knowledge developed in the first three chapters to make sense of the research question and sub-questions, and thus reach the research objective.

CHAPTER 4: MULTIFACETEDNESS OF PUBLICLY-SUPPORTED POST-MIGRATION SOCIAL CARE AND CARING

INTRODUCTION

It is about 10am of a cloudy and unusually windy day. The case worker (SP19)[204] parked his old grey car in a section of the parking lot designated for visitors. He arrived for a 'home visit', or a professionally, organizationally and institutionally coordinated investigative practice and a component of his case management. He works for the Client Support Services (CSS) – a program assisting newly arrived GARs "to become self-sufficient and independent as soon as possible". It claims to be premised on the notion of empowerment: "We can give you/your family different choices, but we cannot make them for you/your family; Our role is to help you/your family to do things for yourself" (CSS Client Charter, 2012)[205]. SP19 displayed an air of calmness – he has done this many times before. Dressed casually, he grabbed his backpack from the backseat with one arm, locked the car, and headed for the entrance of a dreary high-rise building made of *béton brut*. I followed him. After being granted access via an intercom, we took the elevator to the eight floor and exited into a shadowy long hallway. He knocked on a door. A young person of slim stature opened and uneasily welcomed us inside a scantily and modestly furnished apartment. We took off our shoes at the doorway and followed him into the small living room space where two younger boys were quietly watching TV. We sat down and did brief self-introductions. The service provider then took over in French. "Starting a new life is not easy", he uttered while firmly staring at three silent youngsters in front of him – two sitting on an aged sofa placed against a blank white wall and one in a used armchair located near the window. They were brothers who escaped Congo to Burundi and were resettled to Canada about a month ago. They were sponsored by an uncle via the One-Year Window Program (OYW) which facilitates family reunification under certain circumstances[206]. While he resided in a different but nearby province, he allegedly checked upon them. This triggered the case worker who then said: "Provinces function differently. You are *my* bosses. I work for you. I'm here to help you create a network, to make you understand the health,

[204] SP stands for service provider and SU stands for service user throughout this thesis.
[205] From an organizational document designed for service users.
[206] They were not interviewed; they were only part of the shadowing experience.

education and transport systems." This mirrored the elements of a *Settlement Plan* which they will eventually co-develop, possibly during his next home visit. It solidifies newcomers' duties related to their settlement and integration in the dominant receiving society.

The case manager then spoke about the organization and the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) which offers financial aid for one year. He quickly added: "There will be another social assistance after, *don't worry*." He stressed the need for productivity: "They [state officials] will always continue to help you *if* you go to school or demonstrate that you are looking for employment." The talk shifted to education. The two younger boys voiced that they completed admission assessments for an institution of the Catholic School Board – their personal choice since there are "religion classes". They spoke of their interests – computers and medicine. The older brother (19 years old) expressed a desire to attend university to study clinical psychology and asked about the procedures. The service provider interrupted him: "What is important *right now* is your social integration. Education is free until grade 12. You have to pay yourselves afterwards." He underlined the importance of two official documents: Confirmation of Permanent Residence and Proof of Address. This led him to ask about their rental agreement and advise them to protect their personal records. Having noticed the elevated temperature in the room, he declared: "You don't have a lot of money at the beginning. You should lower the heat. The Government of Canada is not rich. We have to pay taxes." He then returned to the topic of education. He avowed that they have "the right to go to school without discrimination" and talked about bullying and immunizations. After praising the value of bilingualism in Canada and accentuating the need to "learn English" in Ontario, he addressed employment: "I know *very* educated Congolese people, but they cannot find employment (…) If you don't work, *it's a problem*". The young man tried, once more, to obtain information about studying clinical psychology. Yet, he was brought back to their current precarious situation by the worker who proclaimed in a serious voice: "Integration is difficult". He insisted that they need to take charge of their individual lives even if their uncle offered help: "I want *you* to become a 'dad' [pointed to the eldest] and *you* as well [pointed to the younger ones]." He questioned them about the health card (the Interim Federal Health Program (IFHP) coverage) and rapidly tackled the subject of mental health: "If you hear voices…we could have traumas that stayed with us." The eldest shyly shared a document that indicated his special health status and divulged that he is taking medication. During the rest of the encounter, the worker extolled the benefits of Canadian citizenship and offered a crash course on Canadian political

system. He reassured his clients: "You came as refugees, but you are *no longer* refugees. Permanent resident is *almost* the same as Canadian citizen." He also discussed the rapport with the police ("we can look the police in their eyes, not like in Africa"), winter clothing (and the importance of developing a positive attitude towards Canadian winter), bus pass, SIN number and fraud. Towards the end, he emphasized the urgency of using an agenda: "You have to learn to manage things. You have to plan. Hours are important in Canada. We are paid by the hour." After nearly two hours of this one-way scripted lecturing on efficiency, autonomy and responsibility (my other home visits with him and a different service provider confirmed this), the meeting was officially concluded.

Prior to our exit, a much looser social atmosphere has developed. With the formal home visit now over, the conversation shifted to more mundane matters such as the big closet space in the hallway. The boys also shared their confusion about their surroundings since they were new to the area. Then, in a totally unplanned manner, the service provider invited them to come for a ride in his private car; he wanted to familiarize them with the environs. So, the five of us crammed ourselves into his small vehicle and circled around the neighbourhood. The worker made sure that they knew how to go around by emphasizing the location of the bus station. He then dropped us to our respective homes and drove off to the office. He was not obliged to take that extra step of 'guideship', but he did. SP19 later disclosed in an interview that he sees himself as an "urban guide" instead of an 'expert service provider'; he underlined that it is vital to build a hospitable society and that the best form of social help is "natural", or one that comes from caring neighbours. From the outside, his considerate act could have been overlooked, if not marginalized/devalued, if only seen via the prevailing logics of the state-backed service arrangement. Yet, it can also be grasped as a temporary suspension of the service provider's role or self-interest (i.e., ending the visit as fast as possible to secure more time for himself or only doing what he is paid for), and its substitution by an interest of the care-receivers. This suggests a concern for interconnectedness instead of detachment and a situated decision-making instead of a generic use of procedures. This invisibilized form of social caring offers a useful lens to assess local practices beside those framed by the market-state. It is a vital thread that runs throughout this chapter and the rest of this thesis.

Chapter directions

This chapter explores the structural and cultural conditions that shape service partakers and service relations (research sub-question 1). It departs from the insight that service protagonists are inserted and insert themselves into service contexts and relations; while they actively mediate them, the latter were neither fully made nor chosen by them and will outlive them though in altered forms. So, they can only replicate or modify the service and social relational status quo (Archer, 1995). This is unpacked using research informants' narrations from semi-structured interviews with a focus on how they handled material and ideational circumstances in service operations. It mostly relies upon frontline service providers' accounts given their close enmeshment with the service design and backstage operations. Their positions carry various titles; they are also diverse in terms of age, gender, country of birth, years of employment, etc. The content is also enriched by my participatory and observational episodes, relevant official documents and academic scholarship. What follows is divided into **three parts**. The **first part** presents a short review of organizational ethnographic moments to better situate the reader in the fieldwork. The **second part** maps the complexity in distinguishing the organization in light of its sociohistorical origins and developments. It figuratively presents itself as 'Janus-faced' (i.e., like the Roman deity with two faces burdened with a need of carrying/confronting two directions at once, and, in this case, two sets of these faces). The **third part** delves into each face in more detail.

1. SYNTHESIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC ESCAPADES

Fieldwork occurred in 2015 at an organization with two sites located in nearby neighbourhoods in a city in Ontario/Canada: (1) a reception center, or a temporary and by referral only housing facility for GARs and, at times, homeless newcomers, and (2) a hub of various services related to settlement and integration. There were three major publicly-funded and regulated programs offered at the organization: the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) for GARs which offers income support and help with immediate/essential needs in the first four to six weeks post-arrival; the Client-Support Services (CSS), a nationwide case management for GARs with 'complex' needs coordinated by a YMCA and which offers extra support in their first twelve

to eighteen months; and the Settlement Program (SP) with multiple service delivery streams[207]. More precisely, the YMCA grants "standardized professional support and program advancement" (organizational brochure). RAP is delivered at the reception center and the other two programs at the main site. They are interlinked via a linear logic: service users are expected to move from RAP to CSS and then to SP. CSS was created since many GARs were "falling in-between the cracks" when transitioning from RAP to SP (SP13). My earliest activities consisted of shadowing the on-site supervisor (SP12) who was assigned to me by the SP manager. This person belonged to the Youth Program (YP) situated under the Community Connections stream of the SP. This obligatory bond took me to the front and back stages of a World Refugee Day, youth support group sessions, including those offered at a high school for adult populations, meetings with external service providers at a transitional housing facility for female refugee claimants, work in a community garden, bus rides and staff lunches, a used winter clothing giveaway and the reception center. I was also invited by other employees to various events such as youth activities delivered at a low-income high-rise building during March Break, a funeral in the Karen community, a leadership training session for young GARs, home visits, a visit to Service Canada with a group of privately-sponsored refugees from Tibet and a post-arrival orientation session with Arabic-speaking families. I was used as an interpreter on one occasion and have voluntarily co-funded, co-designed and co-facilitated a visual art-based group for newly arrived children at the reception center.

Absence of young service users or absences in the services for young people?

My regular on-site presence began in the YP, also called 'Youth Corner', during summer. While it advertised online that it targets youth between 14 and 29 years old, SP12 stated that he mostly met with those between 13 and 24 years old; they arrived from various places, including "Iraq, Congo, Burundi, Afghanistan, Somalia, Eritrea, Haiti, Colombia and Honduras". They had to be permanent residents to be served: "Asylum seekers wouldn't be eligible for service". So, the

[207] Standardizes direct services across six activity streams: Needs Assessment and Referral; Information and Orientation; Language Training and Skills Development; Employment-related; Community Connections; and Support (childcare, translation and interpretation, short-term crisis counselling, mobility limitations and disabilities). It also funds indirect services (training, resources, etc.) that support communities, employers, public institutions, etc. The expected results involve five areas: Orientation; Language/Skills; Labour Market Access; Welcoming Communities; Policy and Program Development. A project proposal must demonstrate how it will contribute to one of these outcomes by drawing from one or more streams. Each outcome is measured by indicators (e.g., percentage of clients who report that they feel connected to the broader community).

focus on GARs was imposed by service access (exceptions were sometimes made to serve refugee claimants). I was confined to a small region of the fifth floor with two side-by-side cubicles of the 'not-so-young-anymore' youth workers (one of them was on leave), bookshelves and an outmoded large brown table with chairs. It was an uneventful spot: when I was present, there was hardly any turnout of young people – if at all[208]. This contrasted with the hectic second floor which hosted services that included the SP and a law office. SP12 confirmed: "I don't work like on the second floor where I'm sort of *guaranteed* a steady stream [of service users] (…) We have a Youth Corner: people drop by regularly and I'll go visit the shelter [reception center] most weeks". He also emphasized with joy: "I'm one of the first people they will meet". The reception center is another site where youth can be found though on an irregular basis (during my visits, I only saw children and pre-teens). Young people are also part of CSS. Its youth component aims to help them "integrate into a new community through recreation, education, and leadership activities"; it also "connects them to Canadian peers with similar interests" (organizational brochure). At this point, I had no access to it: since CSS workers engage in home visits, this calls for an actual invitation to shadow. Then, other youth come from the SP: "This person just moved here, and their son needs volunteering hours, or they need to make new friends" (SP12). In most cases, they are referred to the YP by the CSS; they can also be connected with it by external service providers and/or recruited during organizational events. In any case, they were physically absent during my presence; this was a problematic matter for the research process.

The detected physical lack of youth in the YP became gradually clearer: those already affiliated with the organization were 'absent present'. They were officially present in organizational and institutional databases as well as linked to the YP via Facebook (e.g., Lim, 2017) but they were bodily absent. Facebook was used for service marketing purposes: "I invite about 600 people (…) some of them predate me, some of them have been involved for years" (SP12). He exclaimed about this social tool: "I cannot imagine doing my job without it. Yah, these guys are *not* using emails!" The case/youth worker from CSS (SP6) clarified: "We decided to have a Facebook page a few years ago. And that was a *really* good idea because even after a year, when they close with my program (…) they still come to activities *if* it tickles their interest."[209] It thus

[208] This inactivity challenges the ethnographic duty to only depict a world in ceaseless movement (O'Neill, 2017).
[209] This speaks to "the crisis of presence" generated by "networked digital communications technologies" (Miller, 2012, p. 265).

became apparent that the best way to spot young people is during organized events. Not many were planned during my research. I was also informed that individual service use is most stable directly post-arrival ("for about six months to a year"); it then fades. The physical rupture is seen as "good" by workers as it reveals that "there are other things (…) not specific to being a newcomer" (SP12). When asked how absentees could be better included, SP6 voiced, after a long silent pause: "That's a *really* good question and one that I struggle with (…) we don't try to trick them in coming to anything that they don't want to." While this shows respect for autonomy, absence as a measure of social integration obscures obstacles to youth engagement and upholds the service status quo. It omits the fact that presence *and* absence convey information (e.g., Thiara & Humphreys, 2017)[210].

SU11, a young man born in Iran who identified as "gay" and "Kurdish" and who came to the interview with his older boyfriend shared: "I'm a little different, maybe they won't accept me". SU10, also born in Iran but to a Muslim father and a Bahá'í mother, and who self-labelled as "transgender", suffered social relational harms in his natal milieu. So, when an employee helped the family to secure housing in an area densely populated by people who are visibly Muslim, he was beset by old relational wounds: "I *hate* the neighbourhood (…) I'm not someone who hates religions, but I don't like Islam, Muslim people. All the neighbourhood is Muslim – *all*!" So, absence is more than the opposite of presence. As the interviews with young informants later indicated, they engage, dis/un-engage or do not engage in services for various reasons. Those who do not participate tend to have access to supportive informal networks, do not have the time to connect (busy study and/or work schedules), feel uneasy with group activities (e.g., due to perceived marginalization), have other interests, etc. SU11 affirmed: "I was not worried because I had my uncle and cousin here but someone like me, if he doesn't have a family here [*head nod*] (…) My cousin – he found me my house and I rent." He added: "My cousin and my uncle gave me *more* information because I came here, my English was zero and I didn't understand anything. [Service provider] speak with me and I was like, *OH MY GOD* (…) I didn't understand!" SU7, a young Sunni Muslim man born in Iraq who fled, with his family, the persecution from Shia Muslims, was engaged in the Sunni Iraqi community through his uncle's helping initiative. SU4,

[210] "Absence and presence have been and continue to be particularly potent political tools, utilised to reinforce particular power relations, narrative and control over space" (Jones, Robinson & Turner, 2012, p. 257). More precisely, "absence and presence are intricately woven rather than existing as binaries: they are co-constituted and co-exist simultaneously" (p. 258).

a soft-spoken young woman, a refugee claimant from Burundi, enjoyed visual arts but her interest was never accommodated. Broadly, the inattention to who/what is absent can ignore crucial dimensions that prevent/damage youth participation. In any case, the scarcity of happenings in the YP imposed an urgent need to branch out. Accordingly, fieldwork spanned across different on/off-site spaces/ places and services/programs; it included diverse populations providing-using services in varied social relational compositions. So, while my general focus remained on young GARs, they had to be inserted into a wider service arrangement. This proved to be successful in many ways but did not necessarily remove all obstacles in the later stages of fieldwork:

> I wrote an email to [service provider] sharing my experience – how in three months, I barely interviewed any youth. [Service provider] said that there are too many requests from volunteers, students. They are very busy with clients. (Fieldwork notes, September 11, 2015).
>
> [Service provider] emailed me a few phone numbers to young people under the age of 30 (Fieldwork, notes, September 23, 2015).

2. EMERGING FACES OF POST-MIGRATION SOCIAL CARE AND CARING

The service circumstances that service partakers face involuntarily in their everydayness are objectively shaped by structural and cultural contexts that variously constrain/enable/motivate them and their relations. Specifically, the organization and the staff are positioned at the junctions between local communities and the people they are serving, the frontline and the backline, as well as governments, or their funders-regulators, especially at the federal level. They are thus operating in material and ideational configurations that overflow with many ambiguities, frictions and contradictions. So, why and how service-based social relations occur are far from straightforward. The organization appears as a conundrum: it has multifarious structural and cultural trajectories across time which ramify its allegiances. Unsurprisingly, a social work intern (SP24) expressed confusion about where she was. She has rightly spotted a tension between ‘the communal’ and ‘the institutional’: “Je ne sais pas comment le [l’organisme] nommer parce que ce n’est pas un centre du communautaire, ce n’est pas un organisme institutionnel. Donc, je ne savais pas trop c’est quoi tout au long de mon stage!” This was complexified by employees who were well-

acquainted with organizational past. The youth worker (SP12) affirmed: "I really think that there are *so many* different perspectives on who we are and why we are here and what we do". He tied this to a long organizational history which unearths a second tension: between 'the religious' and 'the secular'[211]. This leads to four configurational types (Figure 32) below:

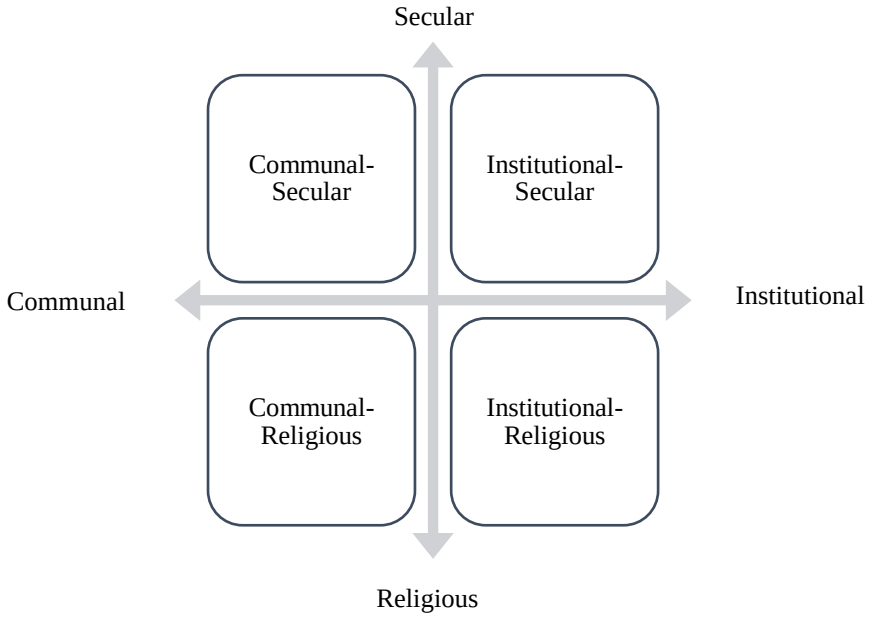


Figure 32: Emerging four configurations of the research site

Janus-faced organization: Market-state face and associational face

> Reception house[212] (…) is neither a hotel, neither social services. It is in-between (…) because if you operate it as a social worker, you don't have enough budget to run the operations but, in the meantime, you are living with the refugees who are in need, so you have to balance it out. Because a hotel operates as a business; social services have a different aspect of running. Sometimes you have to listen to your head; sometimes you have to listen to your heart (…) So difficult! (SP13)

[211] Bramadat (2013, 2014) stresses the absurdity of grasping Canada's engagement with refugee populations without the consideration of religion. Williams (2005) indicates the strong influence of religion on social welfare, counselling and psychotherapy, education, political activism, etc.
[212] The facility is formally known as the 'reception center' but is often called 'house' by service providers/users.

The organization's official/public mission statement encodes a binary: the basis for social care is represented as a mix of individual and collective aspects. It promotes: (1) an endorsement and a facilitation of the reception of newcomers in Canada; (2) a sensitization of the Canadian society to their needs; and (3) its invitation to support them in the realization of their individual full potential[213]. New settlers then need collective aid to conquer the hindrances to becoming individually self-fulfilled/actualized. This organizational *raison d'être* is affixed in a societal configuration that is archetypal to Western liberal democracies: an oscillation and an ensuing conciliation between the neo/liberal face of the capitalist market, appealing to the middle and upper classes, and the socialist face of welfare entitlements and equal opportunities backed by the nation-state and its administrative apparatus, attractive to 'regular' working-class people. It contours a distinct blueprint for a 'good life': an everyday administration of austerity and a decrease in public spending with lowest repercussions (Archer, 2013; Donati & Archer, 2015). In view of its purpose, the organization was born out of and subsists due to "migrantization", or "the categorization of people with specific political, social and economic characteristics as 'migrants'" (Iosifides, 2017, p. 128). Yet, while it is a powerful contributor to domineering social relations, most service users conveyed great appreciation for the help they received what indicates a paradoxical state of affairs.

The organization can be painted as 'Janus-faced', or with two different but overlapping sets of faces. They emerge from its dynamic social-cultural histories and give rise to differing effects. They create challenges for the partakers such as how to protect certain values and conform to and/or resist imperatives; it especially perturbs service providers' rapport with their work and their identities within it. In the present, it is firmly linked with the public sector which emulates the private or for-profit sector (institutional-secular face). Over the decades, Canada, like other welfare capitalist countries, enacted neoliberal reforms of its post-Second War safety net which produced an erosion of state-funded aid[214]. Everyday life is now contoured by a market-state crossbreed that animates a "neoliberal art of governing" or a "market and enterprise bureaucracy" (Hibou, 2015, p. 61). It fortifies/replicates/aggravates social inequalities, that is, it generates precariousness in the lives of all service participants and the service design (Survarierol, 2015; Waite, Valentine, Lewis, 2014). While the organization's legal status and purpose is not-for-profit,

[213] This echoes the rhetoric on the excellence of Canadian newcomer aid which is so widely disseminated by policy-makers, practitioners and researchers aligned with methodological nationalism.

[214] Neoliberalism generated a "particular nexus" of economic and political power in a "distinctively capitalist social ensemble"; its backers push for smaller governments and free-market liberalism (Maher & Aquanno, 2018, p. 50).

its operations are clearly propelled by the economic market. On average, upper management oversees an annual operating budget of $10 million and a workforce of 100 people serving 6,000 people per year[215]. Hence, the boundaries between non-profit and for-profit sectors are porous (Williams, 2005). The institutional-secular face produces a mix of commercialized and regulated hospitality. It is commercialized as it is ever more adopting tactics from the business sector (efficiency, predictability, calculability, technology, etc.); it is regulated because it serves only pre-selected/screened outsiders in pre-set positions and with pre-defined service agendas. These trends establish an "inhospitable hospitality" (Ritzer, 2007, p. 129). Yet, in a truer hospitable relation, the receiver is granted "an authentic experience by people who behave in a genuinely authentic manner" (i.e., non-scripted conduct) (p. 134)[216].

The organizational mission statement attends to individual newcomers and the Canadian society, but not to social solidarity which is relational. Social solidarity, on the other hand, requires "the acceptance of common responsibility between two parties", "the recognition of their interdependence"; and "a response entailing reciprocity not exchange, coercion or strategic concession of one to the other" (Archer, 2013, p. 5). Instead, the organization conveys an odd instruction. It suggests an obligation of individual freedom to reach fulfilment: to obey it is to lose freedom (as done out of coercion); to disobey it is to reject freedom. It is then not a coincidence that service providers are conflicted about the most appropriate kind of help and/or feel frustrated by the options presented. This shows paradoxes embedded in the economic-political binary: the processes which promote liberty are contrary to social equality; social controls are then established to lessen the inequality arising from the existence of certain freedoms (Donati, 2017; 2019; Donati & Archer, 2015). Broadly, the institutional-secular face speaks little of forging meaningful social ties; at best, it eliminates the impediments to their development and stresses fairness towards individuals. In many cases, however, the contact between service providers and service users does not continue as a bond between strangers. It does not necessarily entail the closeness that often typifies families and friendships, but it can, at times, border it. Yet, while the market-state carries certain merits, it sees anything that is outside of it as trivial: "life-worlds" are viewed as private or as "left-overs" (Donati, 2012, p. 335).

[215] Source: public documents.
[216] George Ritzer (2007) warns that authenticity is challenging to define but "we can pretty much agree when we are witnessing something that is so routine and mechanical that it offends us with its inauthenticity" (p. 134).

The institutional-secular face promotes instrumentalist and secular (non-metaphysical), orientations: service work is performed via a rationality that is "means-ends driven, self-interested, calculating, controlling and predicting" and treated in material/worldly terms. The organization is, however, simultaneously anchored in the community/third sector and its legal incorporation as a non-state owed and non-profit entity; it is also a charity which can issue tax deductible receipts for charitable donations. While in its relation to the institutional-secular face, it adopts a communal-secular face, it has religious origins in the social networks of the life-world (communal-religious face). This integrates a religious, or metaphysical, and humanist orientation: service work, or rather "face-work", is attributed an immaterial sense and realized as an end in itself, mainly the humanization of partakers, and as an input to the common good (Donati, 1999; Webb, 2006, p. 40). Further, historically, some public sector practices spring from the community-religious face what contours the institutional-religious face. In fact, the inattention to religious antecedents of social welfare practices and their depictions as inept/obsolete are now challenged. That said, the religiously motivated social care was then displaced by complex secular processes directed by the state even though it was not erased by them (e.g., Crisp, 2014; Kahl, 2005; Jawad, 2012; Williams, 2005). Accordingly, the four relational types can be reframed as two major manifestations. In the present-day, the most notable organizational face is the *market-state face* (institutional-secular). It depicts the neoliberal capitalist restructuration of social welfare in Canada and beyond. Publicly-backed post-migration aid is devised as a blend of deregulation and regulation, commodification and command and efficiency and efficacy[217]. Yet given the research site's roots in the 'social private', or as a mediating entity in the realm of civil society driven by pro-social aims, it cannot be reduced to the market-state. This speaks to its *associational face*, or "a reality that escapes the public/private dichotomy" (Donati, 2015b, p. 20). It can be grasped in light of a conceptualization as a plural/collective/secondary relational subject, or an emergent whole generated by interactants, or singular/individual relational subjects, but which exceeds them (see chapter 2) (Donati & Archer, 2015). Although the two faces are alike in some ways (e.g., provision of social care), they differ in the focus/meaning/features/etc. of social care and caring. What follows is a social-cultural

[217] According to popular definitions, efficacy means effectiveness, or the ability of something to produce the intended results; efficiency refers to the ability to do something well without a waste of time or money.

narrative[218] of key developments of the research site across space/place and time. It lays ground for the presentation of the two faces in more detail.

A brief social-cultural historical account of the research site

The organization is a site of a dynamic co-existence of various material and ideational continuities, discontinuities and transformations as well as compatibilities and incompatibilities. The oldest/most senior informants talked about multiple spatial re/locations across the city or struggles related to securing a proper physical place: "We moved *many* times" (SP15). These spatial/physical/material changes were linked with social care practices in that different layouts constrained/enabled different services (number of people served, ways of serving, etc.). A manager (SP13) employed at the organization since 1983 in different positions witnessed the birth of services/programs and/or directly impacted their creation. He noted that even the "name [of the organization] has been changing". He also observed self-alterations: "After so many years, I believe I became more patient (…) Sometimes, they [service users] don't need to open their mouth. I can *read* them." At the same time, he expressed, after a brief pause: "I believe I haven't changed (…) I cannot believe I changed. I still help refugees plus I worked in a refugee camp". SP17, an employee who resided at the reception center in 1998 as a GAR underlined: "Reception house is the same; *nothing* different. I saw [manager] – same staff." His employment at the same place where he began his Canadian life speaks to other endurances in his life. On a micro-level, informants stressed that "no two days are exactly the same" (SP3) but their routinized/habitual actions were noticeable (hours of work, morning coffees, checking emails, bathroom breaks, etc.).

While the specifics concerning the organization's histories of emergence are limited (lack of accessible/existing documents), it was possible to map some trends which allow to shed light on the present/future. It was converted, over time, through encounters with prior structural and cultural circumstances and complex interactions between different interest groups, from a loosely designed religious and civil society initiative to a distinctly organized secular Service Provider Organization (SPO). It is now one of the several hundred SPOs in Canada financed and

[218] Guided by Archer's M/M Framework presented in chapter 2.

administered by IRCC [CIC][219]. It was altered from a fairly altruistic platform steered by "pro-social values and action orientations" into a third sector form as it began "negotiation" and "formal relations with the political and economic actors" (Donati, 2008, pp. 3-4). In other words, as the state cornered powers and resources, social care became a matter of negotiation. It operates at the meso-level typified by direct formal social relations. It resembles the public sector in that it is also "relationally communitarian", or "structurally open" to "strangers and anonymous and distant individuals" (2015, pp. 253-254). Yet, while it started as an expression of a more horizontal social relationality, or one that was informal/volunteer-ran, it is now trapped in a vertical/hierarchical one. In many ways, it evolved out of the failures of the economic market and the constraints of primary networks to offer lasting social care to those in need. Its micro-story echoes a macro-one: the corrosion of social solidarity that took place with the growth of late capitalist globalized modernity (Archer, 2013; Fine & Davidson; 2018; White, 2017).

Religious monopolization of social care and caring

The organization's religious genesis and influences are currently ingrained in its branding, constitution and centrality of religion for many service providers and service users. The pedestal for its manifestation surfaced in the nineteenth century – a period of great expansion of Christian institutions in Canada[220]. Its "historical antecedents" are anchored in the "colonizing Christian missionaries and the Indian agent" (Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2018, p. 2). It then coincided with a major growth of market economy in North American and European nations which was altering human social life (Fine & Davidson, 2018). Specifically, the organization derives from the Roman Catholic monopolization of social care in Upper Canada, the precursor to modern-day Ontario. It was influenced by the Latin-Catholic model and was thus more communitarian in focus than the Anglo-Saxon approach (Bruni & Zamagni, 2013). It is traceable to a diocese erected in mid-1800s,

[219] "Settlement and integration services are offered through a network of over 500 service provider organizations (SPOs) across Canada" (IRCC [CIC] 2016).

[220] An ambitious study would have to delve into the generalities and the particularities of Indigenous and Canadian histories and how they affected social care efforts. It would require a mapping of organized efforts for the benefit of 'the needy' since Pre-Confederation – a period of nearly 400 years, or "from the time of first European contact (1497) to Confederation (1867)" (Kelley & Trebilcock, 2010, p. 22). It is then that the institutional apparatus pertaining to social care began to sprout. Since the first settlers were mainly French and British, it included portions of Europe's laws, ideologies, etc. (Daenzer, 2014; Elson, 2009; 2011). It was part of a "violent colonial project" with "gender, religious, ethnic, and cultural divisions" (O'Connell, 2013, p. 1, p. 17).

then elevated to an Archdiocese. Based on documented organizational facts, their members began to voluntarily offer basic aid to new settlers, in the early 1950s. This was a period of intensified industrialization in the Canadian economy, especially in Ontario. Between the 1940s and 1950s, there was a "new wave of immigrants", mostly of European origin; it differed from that of earlier decades in that they were "more heterogenous" and with a "greater diversity of skills and training and widely intended occupations, which were by and large more urban than rural in character" (Knowles, 2007, p. 177).

The religious lineage continues to be more or less relevant today: a fairly recent celebration of its 60th anniversary commemorated these beginnings. SP3 confirmed: "That goes back to our roots. The Catholic Church believed that, as Christians, they have an obligation to love their neighbour and to help the less fortunate and that's at the base." SP12 voiced: "One guy [service user], he says: "That's *my Christian* Community Center"". He noticed a higher prevalence of religiosity among the youth that he serves[221]:

> People talk unselfconsciously about God and prayers, religion...more perhaps than Canadian people the same age would (…) If I had thirty of the youth I work with and thirty Canadian youth of the same age (…) as a guess, my clients would be more religious, like attending religious services on a regular basis.

The reception center was offered to the organization by a female religious order. SP13 shared:

> When we approached the [female religious order], they agreed; they liked the project. They bought the building; they gave it to us. We paid rent; we became their tenants. We are a non-profit organization – we had no capital, no money to buy the building (…) three, four years ago, they donated [the building] (…) They sold it to us for one dollar.

This symbolic, if not selfless, deal is embedded in its name which carries a reference to a female personification of wisdom in religious worship. This exposes a gendered character of social care but also a leading role of faith groups in endorsing social care initiatives. In addition, a plaque in the entry hall depicts the spirit of the place via a biblical passage: "I was a stranger and you welcomed me." The main organizational site is also a building baptized after a female religious

[221] This reflects the findings of other researchers who engage with newcomer populations. For example, Jane Hurly (2019) found that religion is significantly present in the meanings of leisure of African women who entered Canada as resettled refugees. Muruthi et al. (2020) document the role of religion among resettled Karen refugees.

order created in the mid-nineteenth century and devoted to the care of the needy. Moreover, a religious reflexivity was not only visibly expressed by some staff (crucifix pendant, *hijab*) but the organization engaged religious representatives in its Board of Directors. It also delivered a Pastoral Program that links newcomers with their chosen faith group. Some workers even collaborate with religious institutions: "There is a church that gives them [service users] space every Sunday from 1-3 (…) And, if we [the program] have a celebration like Christmas, New Year (…) they give us space. [They are] very supportive" (SP5). The organization can then be contoured as a faith-background organization: it presents itself as secular but carries a historical attachment to religion (Sider & Unruh, 2004). An employee (SP3) stressed historical conservation but also an awareness of the unintended effects that this carries:

> We kept the name out of respect for the history of the organization (…) And it has been discussed, because, in some ways, it is a bit of a disadvantage having the word Catholic (…) This building was donated by one religious order and the reception house was donated by another religious order. We have a big debt to the Catholic Church but *it's just history*.

Secular institutionalization and marketization of social care and caring

The preliminary organizational structure was created in the 1970s: it entailed a Board of Directors, a coordinator (female religious order member) and volunteers. It was incorporated as a non-profit community organization in the mid-1980s. This followed an expansion of the welfare state in the second half of the twentieth century (Fine & Davidson, 2018). This officialization was propelled by an intense demand for help driven by the arrivals of asylum seekers from Vietnam ('Boat People'). At that time, public policies began transitioning from a nation-building strategy in terms of 'un/desirables' to one aligned with the economic market[222]. The state acknowledged that gainful economic inputs from newcomers depend on an access to newcomer-centered aid that is "supported in a coherent manner" (Vineberg, 2012, p. 27)[223]. Its interest in the community level

[222] Some momentous events occurred in the 1960-1970s: The Canadian Bill of Rights was introduced in 1960 and the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Citizenship Act were created in 1966. Cultural diversity was institutionalized in the Multiculturalism Policy Statement of 1971 which became the Multiculturalism Act of Canada in 1988. New immigration legislation appeared in 1976 and outlined categories of persons eligible to enter Canada.

[223] Hawkins (1988) noted that the newcomer-serving sector is "very difficult to classify and to describe because it is a scene of great diversity, very unequal performance, and constant change and fluctuation". It is also "collectively

was thus deepening as it enabled it to easily reach targeted populations (Loxley, 2007). Hence, the current post-migration service design is a prolongation of the nation-state apparatus and its welfare system, that is, of the efforts made for the benefit of 'the unfortunates' which have culminated in "a hodge-podge of programs"[224] (Ismael, 1985, p. xi). So, the state-backed newcomer-serving sector is an "extension" of the Canadian welfare regime "with a degree of innovation to cater for the particular situation of immigrants" (Valtonen, 2008, p. 3). Service-based relations were thus undeniably changed by a more pronounced linkage with the public sector. SP10 who is employed at the organization since 2007, recounted that, settlement work used to be "more basic: doctor appointments, just basic help, client would call, ask for some direction, some help. It was not as *intense* as it is today. It was more needs-based."

"Treat it as an investment" and "play the game of helping people"

In 2015, post-migration service delivery was shaped by economic and political trends that surfaced under Harper Conservatives (2006-2015). They aimed to "re-enchant national myths of Anglo-conformist nationalism, militarism and loyalism" to the Crown (Nesbitt-Larkinga & McAuleyb, 2017, p. 317). They also became notorious for border securitization and hostility towards people seeking asylum and/or engaging in 'barbaric cultural practices' (Nesbitt-Larking & McAuley, 2017). Yet, it was impacted by developments that preceded 'Harperism' and that exceed it[225]. The conversion of public policies into services relies upon managerial decision-making. In the last four decades, it uses logics of NPM which mimics the private sector via its corporate managerialism and regulatory methods. It is assisted by information and communication

unorganized and without direction or leadership" as well as under-funded. Moreover, it has lacked an efficient interaction between the government and the voluntary sector (pp. 293-294). Federally financed programs were approved at a Cabinet discussion on June 6, 1974. The Minister of Manpower and Immigration was granted the authority and funds to launch the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP); he was also asked to establish bonds with organizations serving newcomers. In the upcoming years, other well-known programs were created: HOST Program, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program and Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP).

[224] They "vary across political jurisdictions (federal, provincial and municipal), categories of people (the unemployed/ unemployable, young/old, high risk/low risk, deserving/undeserving), and categories of need (financial assistance/ service provision, maintenance/incentive, protection/rehabilitation)" (Ismael, 1985, p. xi).

[225] Harper Conservatives inherited a neoliberal bureaucracy. It was "normalized" under the Liberal governments of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin: "That was Harper's starting point". While the political epoch under Harper acquired depictions such as 'Harperism', it was so due to Harper's unique ways of promoting it. Despite the compatibility of neoliberalism with the Harper regime, it exceeds it: "Its role is to change the climate of ideas to such an extent that it doesn't matter *who* forms the government" (Gutstein, 2015, p. 76).

technologies (Evans, Richmond & Shields, 2005; Johnson, 2017; Rhodes, 2016; Roy, 2013). Fieldwork recognized the workings of NPM in the newcomer-serving sector. A manager (SP13) who emphasized that he gives "a lot of presentations" to government officials spoke of an increased use of financial/economic persuasion when discussing newcomer-centered social care: "All I say to them for the newcomer file: "*Treat it as investment*. You are investing your capital; you have to look at the long-term." He also shared, in an informal talk: "It's under the Mulroney Government that we got most funding" (fieldwork notes). Harper Conservatives enacted a radical reform of the national migration apparatus (legislations, regulations, policies, programs, etc.) to better meet Canada's economic and labour market needs[226]. "Il y a beaucoup de changements. Une journée tu peux avoir une façon de faire qui est totalement différente et dans un mois ça va encore changer", declared a social work intern (SP24). The case/youth worker (SP6) suggested a rise of a 'chopping culture' under Harper:

> I wouldn't call it [Harper government] extremely immigrant-friendly. So, there has been a lot of cuts (…) It has been (…) discouraging a lot of my colleagues, and not just my colleagues within this organization (…) seeing positions getting axed, some programs getting cut, seeing programs that I personally felt were extremely useful, and it is not making any sense as to why it is cut.

An employee disclosed in a talk about activism: "They [government officials] are not allowing the organization to do any advocacy" (fieldwork notes). SP13 spoke of living a chronic uncertainty: "Even though the funding uses cycle for three years, there is a clause in the Contribution Agreement, in the contract, that 'we reserve a right to reduce the amount as the government sees fit'". This paralleled with a global financial crisis, the use of austerity measures and surges in global forced migrations. The modernization of the newcomer-serving sector was achieved during this period (Modernized Approach to Settlement). SP6 unveiled with hesitation:

> There has been an atmosphere that has been created, you know, everyone is fighting for the same thing (…) it's a little bit cut-throat out here because the government is asking for collaboration. They want to (…) fund less because they want organizations to work with each other, you know, to achieve the same goals. But they are *only* going to give funding to a few organizations. Everyone is

[226] "Since 2006, the Government has pursued much-needed reforms to focus Canada's immigration system on fuelling economic prosperity for Canada" (Government of Canada, 2012, p. 151).

> fighting for the same thing, but they need to show they can work together. But if you can work together that means that government can cut more!

She added: "It's hard because it's like *walking on eggshells* all the time, you know, watch those toes you are going to step on!" She stated with nostalgia about the pre-Harper period: service work was "a lot more relaxed, *a lot* more." SP19 restated: "I think anybody in government or social services right now has reasons to wonder whether they will have a job next month or next year." He emphasized the superficiality of social care: "We are able to make use of our experience to stay in the game and *play the game* of helping people." Overall, organizational dynamics indicate 'necessary incompatibilities' (Archer, 1995): the ideational responsibility for generously/freely provided social care conflicts with a systemic/institutional necessity for expanded managerialism and greater control over it. Service execution is then a battlefield for this contradiction. It intrudes on service participants' capacity to generate social care that is "locally conceived, [locally] controlled and rich in distinctive content" (Ritzer, 2007, p. 136). The contradiction grants the situational logic of correction; corrective action tackles inconsistencies what results in ideational syncretism, or a merger of different/conflicting ideas (Archer, 1995). Since the market-state is a more powerful player, it more strongly corrects collective/individual service providers though not without negotiation[227].

3. ORGANIZATIONAL FACES IN ACTION

The next two sections delve into each of the emerging two organizational/service faces (i.e., the market-state face and the associational face) in more detail. They focus on how they arise from the service protagonists' direct engagements with the structural and cultural circumstances at the time of fieldwork, but which were inherited from a more or less distant past; they also extend into the near and remote future though they will take different forms (Archer, 1995).

Market-state face: Inside the assembly-line of post-migration social care and caring

> They say it's 'people-centered services'. No! It's *stats-centered* services'! (SP1)

[227] While state officials engage in consultations with the newcomer-serving sector, Evans and Shields (2014) found that employees felt that they were "largely predetermined" (p. 122).

> Jason Kenney[228] came here [the organization] (…) had a speech, shook hands with [Executive Director], took photos. (SP12)

A social work intern (SP24) observed: service providers are "des personnes qui sont dans leurs bureaux". This includes community workers who organize group events "de temps en temps, la fin de semaine". Publicly-backed post-migration social care is then work that is largely carried out inside enclosed spaces[229]. It is a formal paid front-office-based labour that entails 'people-processing'; it implies doing work that is not too far off to that "of an employee of a hamburger restaurant" (Hupe, 2019, p. 490; Ritzer, 2007). The organization involves multiple units (division of service and administrative/managerial activity) that are vertically and horizontally combined to ensure information transfers; they are also stretched across two separate physical locations due to differences in the services provided and the people being served. Service work is performed in an 'office culture' that has roots in corporate capitalism which intensified in the nineteenth century and included a transfer of the factory ethos to the office space (e.g., rows of desks that imitate assembly lines). It is also inspired by a 'social work office culture' that emerged in the early twentieth century and replicated professions that used case records or filing methods for liability purposes (e.g., law or accounting) (Gad & Holdsworth, 1987; Lohmann & Lohmann, 2002; Saval, 2014). While most staff members are desk-bound, frontline workers who serve GARs are more desk-free; they spend a large portion of their service time outside the office: "Our position is such a desk-free job (…) settlement counsellors are more for the desk service", affirmed the case/youth worker (SP6)[230]. This echoes the initial, or non-office-based, approach to social work[231]. The extent of an external service mobility then correlates with the degree of penetration into the everydayness of service users; it is justified by their precariousness. Hence, only the 'neediest' receive home visits. The same employee clarified: "If you don't have the life skills or the language or the capability to find out who your settlement counsellor is or what kind of help to ask for you

[228] Under Harper, Jason Kenney acted as the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity and then as the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration.
[229] According to public financial reports, the physical spaces/buildings impose major expenditures: rent, utilities, realty taxes, maintenance, insurance, etc.
[230] This mirrors the mandate of the GAR Program which aims to resettle the most vulnerable refugees as referred to Canada by the UNHCR.
[231] "Social work was not in any of its multiple points of origin an office-based profession. The friendly visitors of the charity organization society were more inclined toward home visits than to asking clients to visit them in the office" (Lohmann & Lohmann, 2002, p. 47).

are going to fall through the cracks." At the end, however, even the most mobile workers return to the office. Below is a more detailed description of each of the two organizational sites.

Reception center: Not a hotel, not a social service

> "By providing for the basic needs of newcomers in their flight from starvation, violence or political turmoil and by creating an educational and supportive environment, [name] dramatically cuts the time needed by newcomers to become settled and self-sufficient in their new community." [organizational brochure]

The reception center is situated at the edges of a quiet one-way street but is integrated into a residential zone. It is a dull looking dark crimson brick structure with a flat roof which can hold about hundred people. "There were too many people there", stated a young man (SU13). Some of its windows have outdated air conditioners and vertical vinyl blinds and the walls urgently need a fresh coat of paint. A young woman (SU14) noted: "The employees there [reception center] are *very very* good people but the building is old and it's really hard to take the bus." It is found in a historical part of town which, at the turn of the twentieth century, was the poorest and most densely settled community in the city, or one with the worst living conditions. Today, the reception center is surrounded by religious and secular institutions: it is nested near the largest and oldest standing Roman Catholic Church in town and faces, from a distance, an archipelago of state-owned buildings inhabited by bureaucrats. It is a site that intersects cultural, domestic and commercial hospitality (Lashey, 2015). More concretely, it is a temporary housing solution for GARs and, at times, homeless newcomers, or populations who are set apart by their economic hardships and/or incapacity to partake in the neoliberal capitalist host society/culture. Like a home setting, it provides meals; it also engages in economic transactions such as grocery shopping. Access to this unsightly building is regulated: the doorway is equipped with a buzzer and camera surveillance; there is also a note that donations are unsolicited (mainly due to a lack of storage). Only service providers and pre-selected/screened by state officials residents are permitted inside. Employees do not reside on the premises; a security guard monitors the premises at night.

Not too far from the entrance, a small room crams three desks – those of a receptionist, also an administrator and frontline worker, and two 'life skills' workers – and a manager's office – a tiny section with a glass divider. A vital feature of the room is a Magic Marker whiteboard

where the personnel keep track of the number/categories of arrivals[232] in order to stay in control of service operations. A long narrow hallway adorned with bulletin boards and children's artworks runs through the ground-level. It gives access to another small room dedicated to a non-state funded Transitional Learning for Children Program[233], a coin-operated laundry room, an industrial style kitchen and a cafeteria with UNHCR posters on its walls. The general lack of wall décor and plants is rationalized by a logic of practicality: "Children drop them because they are left on their own". The walls are also painted white "because children write on them" and "it is easy to fix white walls" (SP13). This gives the locale some sterile vibes. Yet, Harper's portrait hung on a wall of a poorly lit corridor of the second floor. The upper floors host the RAP, rooms used for post-arrival orientations and other scantily furnished rooms for the tenants. While they used to be equipped with stoves, they were removed over time for safety and sanitation reasons (fires, bug infestations). A young man (SU7) who resided at the center reminisced: "Most of the time, I didn't stay there. I just walked (…) I exercised outside, ran." While efforts are made to keep it clean[234], it is not always up to the standard of its dwellers. A trendy young man (SU11) disclosed: "Oh, I think about Canada, it's very nice but it was [reception center] very dirty! This house – not the city – this house!" The manager (SP13) noted that the place cannot be luxurious to prevent dependence, and thus control expectations. He stressed that it is neither a hotel nor a social service. So, its general repulsiveness is pragmatic and premeditated. The logic of 'cost-effectiveness' permeated discussions among frontline workers:

> They [manager and frontline service provider] spoke about buying hygiene products for a family and how Dollarama is getting expensive and Wal-Mart is cheaper. They seemed to be looking for the cheapest deals to buy toothpaste. (Fieldwork notes, August 24, 2015)

The reception center's food arrangement reveals residents' precariousness and experiences of conditional welcome (Terragni, et al., 2018). People depend upon the food served at the center three times per day (breakfast, lunch, supper). The menu is planned weekly. Specific items such

[232] On my first visit, there were 57 residents; a few days later, there were 80. In 2014-2015, 553 people were served (476 GARs; 77 homeless immigrants, largely from Iraq, Congo, Bhutan, and Somalia). In 2015-2016, there were 1,537 (1,421 GARs; 45 Secondary Migrants; 71 homeless immigrants, mainly from Syria, Iraq and Somalia). Three hotels were also used during this period.
[233] Supports children in their transition into the Canadian school system.
[234] In 2015, it spent $37,068 on linen; in 2016, $114,790 (public documents).

as *halal* meat are excluded; eggs used to be served for breakfast[235] but are now "too expensive" and seen as a "health hazard". The free provision of food is then based on the values and tastes of the hosts though it is also strongly contoured by financial constraints. Yet, residents do not share the same appetites what frustrates the cook (SP17): "Sometimes, I don't understand, they don't taste the food, they just look at the food and they just throw it." People are not allowed to bring food to their rooms – "but they don't listen". At times, they sneak in food supplied by external networks or purchased from nearby restaurants. While dishwashing relies on a rotation of residents, the rule is rarely respected: "Most of the time, they ran out, they don't want to do it (…) I do it myself". Food is among the highest expenses[236] and a main source of anxiety for the manager (SP13): "Make sure I have enough food because, sometimes, the food we order for 10 days lasts only for 4-5 days because of the increase of the number of arrivals." Employees are permitted to consume cooked meals but only after the residents (I was welcomed to join in the lunches). Daily life at the center is ordered: "From the time that GARs arrive, everything is organized (…) a framework of what to expect. The rooms are ready, lunch...there is a structure to things. It gives them a routine that they can follow" (SP9). So, everydayness is distinctly routinized. A 'good resident' is one who dutifully respects these routines:

> We tell them: "Breakfast is 8 o'clock.' And advise them that 'by 7 o'clock, you have taken your shower, have adjusted your clothes, 8'oclock go for breakfast, if there is a workshop, 9 o'clock, go to room 1 or 2, if not workshop, maybe you are going to apply for SIN". You just give them the program one day ahead so that they know. Most of them want to abide by the rules but some of them, 9 o'clock, they are still sleeping (…) 88% will abide by the rules and they will understand, especially if they are educated; 20 percent – won't." (SP18)

Main organizational site: Decentralized regulation

The main site is a medium-size building emplaced on a lovely street linked to a vibrant district. It is encircled by commercial, recreational and governmental facilities as well as a historic church. Upon entry, the 'service menu', printed on a metallic plaque, is mounted on a wall near

[235] Breakfast consists of honey, margarine, peanut butter, bread and hot milk.
[236] $89,821 in 2015; $1,020,319 in 2016. Financial Statement 2015-2016 does not distinguish between sites. While the reception center serves food on a daily basis, it is possible that these funds were spent in other programs.

the elevator. It distributes programs across five floors and a basement. Service and other social relations occur in material arrangements which use distinct modes of spatial-temporal structuring: physical enclosures for service work, partitioning or positioning of service providers, classification of service functions, and ranking or hierarchical ordering of personnel (Burrell & Dale, 2014; Foucault, 1977). They are impacted by defined hours of service operations and closures during state-sanctioned holidays. The Youth Corner is part of an open-plan office design that unifies workers from various programs[237] in a forced co-presence. They participate there in direct service provision, service/client documentation, phone and email communications, formal and informal discussions, etc. It is populated by workstations/cubicles that uphold autonomy, flexibility and expendability (Saval, 2014). They include desks – the bureaucratic element *par excellence* (Burrell & Dale, 2014) – furnished with generic office supplies and equipment such as stationary phones and computers. Workers personalize them with meaningful artifacts such as family photos. These individual units border windows and the middle is carved out by the elevator, gender binary washrooms, a kitchenette, a copy room and two small rooms used for private meetings. Although separation is possible, it is a porous one given the restricted use of walls/doors. Each bureau uses a low partition that only extends to seated height. While bookshelves act as separators, the computer screen is the chief optical obstacle. It allows them to partly enter/exit the shared stare by simply lifting/lowering their head. Yet, no worker is ever fully barricaded, and thus unavailable. Since the scene is removed from the direct gaze of management, it appears convivial. It was common for workers to engage in spontaneous exchanges. SP3 underlined: "Management is great in that they give us...they have a lot of confidence: "Okay, we gonna trust you, you'll be doing your job." And there is very little management or supervision going on." Yet, she also decried: "We sometimes lack some leadership. Sometimes, I think, some of us could use a kick in the pants! To say: "Hey! You should raise the bar. You could be doing more, *work a little harder*."" This set-up then appears as one of decentralized control: everybody regulates everybody; supervision is general and individual. This speaks to the neoliberal framing of work and governance (Roderick, 2016).

The material and social limits enable a functional classification and a division of labour. The frontline is positioned into areas with same/similar operations to reduce needless movement

[237] Career Transitions Program, Matching Program, Settlement Online Pre-Arrival Program, Pastoral Program and Administration and Corporate Services.

or optimize service production. Office spaces are divided into regions which act as people sorting tools, reinforcers of social positions and codifiers of appropriate social conduct (Eräsaari, 1994; Goffman, 1959). There are 'front regions' where formal service situations occur and 'back regions' which allow casual interactions (e.g., kitchenette). Cubicle space shifts between front and back regions, depending on the occurrence or not of service encounters. There are also 'waiting regions' orchestrated by a front-counter; a service host sifts arrivals, mainly on the floor of the main site which tackles settlement matters. On the second floor, visitors are asked to sign-in, provide a motive and wait for the worker's availability. This inflicts the need for patience or a command to be a subservient client. It also hints that service users' time is less important than that of service providers (Auyero, 2011). Despite spatial horizontality at the frontline, a "hierarchical ordering of space" exists (Baldry, 1999, p. 537). This ranking places workers into a hierarchy of knowledge/ skills but also a more pronounced access to market-state officials. Those whose positions grant more control/prestige (ED, managers) worked in detached rooms. SP3 noted about the ED: "The best way to talk with [name] is to accidentally bump into him at the coffee machine (…) If you get him at the right time, he loves to share (…) He is an *idea* person." Ideas thus emerge on top or behind the walls of 'important people'. A manager (SP13) asserted about CSS:

> I'm the one who created that program (…) It evolved from the Karen people (…) they were falling through the cracks, moving from RAP to Settlement. The Settlement – they don't react: "You don't call me; no news is good news." (…) The Program, they couldn't attach it to Settlement (…) At that time, only me and [ED], nobody else (…) we create it through CIC [IRCC]. They wanted us to create something. We had the frame – they took it and adjusted it. They gave a framework, make sure to meet criteria, make the rest our own.

Neoliberal bureaucratic processes

The market-sate face enmeshes people with similarities[238]. In this case, they are people who have experienced migrantization[239] (Iosifides, 2017). Nearly all informants were migrantized; some workers were even ex-service users/clients. SP12 declared: "If you look at our office, the

[238] "There is no bureaucracy without classification, without the invention of categories of inclusion and exclusion" (Handleman, 1995, p. 280).
[239] It refers to the political, economic and social processes of categorization which turned them into 'migrants' (Iosifides, 2017).

majority of people were not born in Canada". SP18, who works at the reception center, indicated: "Most people we work with are people from Africa (…) I can speak six African languages. So, the manager refers them to me (…) If there are no Africans, the manager sends me Iraqis." Employees habitually use concepts of nations/nation-states/ethnicities as ideas about territorial and social belonging. Frontline workers also ensure that people obtain governmental and financial identification documents (health card, SIN card, bank account, etc.). So, they engage in an un/willful proliferation of market and nation-building projects. Accordingly, the organization appears as an extra-ordinary place which handles people who upset the national order, or who are seen as not yet belonging to the host society/culture. Service providers usually equated their work with 'integration'. When asked about its meaning, the youth worker (SP12) mentioned the incorporation of clients into dominant Canadian society/culture and stressed their individual capacity to operate within in:

> They can work, they can volunteer, they can have friendships, they can have a relationship, they can interact with the bureaucracy, the law enforcement, they can shop, they can go to the doctor. I don't know all of the traffic rules, but I can find out; I know how to do that.

He, as other interviewees, uncritically summoned the management of cultural boundaries by referring to multiculturalism, or the political and policy ideology as well as a shared imaginary which includes minoritized cultural differences into Canadian citizenship, where 'culture' is seen as an unchanging heritage. It gives "political equality to all cultural differences" (Donati, 2009a, p. 56). SP12 specified that it is about:

> Finding the balance, where somebody (…) can feel completely Canadian, completely at home, while retaining the essential facets of their cultural identity. You hear people talking about hyphens and Canada is a country where *it's okay* to be a hyphen: to be Lebanese-Canadian or Haitian-Canadian.

The market-state face then sees difference/diversity via binary semantics: it draws a split between the in-group and the out-group; cultural distinctions seem incompatible or with no prospect to swap reciprocal contributions. The adoption of Canadian multiculturalism in 1971 then overlapped with neoliberalism and reforms of the welfare state. It birthed a 'neoliberalist multiculturalism' which expands equality to migrants/minorities but reframes it as a project of market inclusion (e.g.,

commodification of cultural products). It cherishes "ethnic immigrant entrepreneurship, strategic cosmopolitanism, and transnational commercial linkages and remittances but silences debates on economic redistribution, racial inequality, economic restructuring, and labour rights" (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 112; 2015; Mcelhinny, 2016).

The market-state face also clientizes and problematizes: it alters "people and troubles into clients and problems" (Gubrium & Järvinen, 2014, p. i). These alterations start early for GARs: immigration officers supply "pre-arrival information" (familial and biomedical facts) prior to their arrival at the reception center (SP6). Other screenings monitor social contact all over the service web: "In order for them to join our program, there is an intake [process]" (SP2). All service providers referred to those they serve as 'clients' and to their labour as 'client-centered': good service work thus departs from a client's subjective needs; bad service work objectifies the client. Yet, these needs have been largely pre-structured by the post-migration service design and the funding application. Social caring is then instrumentalist: resources must be well-handled to evade adverse economic and social effects. Service provision must cultivate self-reliant and calculating individuals who should proposer. It can thus be said that service providers operate as 'street-level neoliberal bureaucrats' (Lipsky, 1980); they are also very much aware of it. SP12 divulged: "My salary is paid by public money (…) you have that sort of consciousness: What's going to happen when there is an election?" A social worker (SP1) insisted: "Canada is a very bureaucratic society" and "the purpose of the government is to have a better economy". SP6 praised her high productivity esteemed by neoliberal capitalism:

> A really busy day is a really good day for me! I love having back-to-back-to-back things done and feeling productive at the end of the day and knowing that I have three clients doing something positive (…) if I have a very unproductive day, it's hard to get out of it, it's like, I feel I should be doing more, or I should be doing better for these people.

Factorization of social care and caring

Publicly-supported service provision for new settlers can be said to have been 'factorized'. If service delivery resembles a fast-food chain restaurant, then the organization presents as a 'fast service chain service organization'. This McDonaldization of help delivers homogenizing, disenchanting and dehumanizing services and experiences (Dustin, 2016; Ritzer, 2007). The

manager (SP13) accentuated the commodifying and commanding approach of neoliberal bureaucracy: “When they [market-state representatives] give you a project, they don’t give you a reason ‘why’: “Okay guys, *start working*! You will get the project””. He highlighted that service work is a “receiving end” of “government policies”. SP19 who serves GARs via case management divulged: “I feel it’s like working for the government. And you are not *actually* doing the work; you are making the program look good by providing progress.” Internally, service users pass from one service and worker/workstation to another as on an assembly-line. The manager was alarmed, for instance, by the ‘people clusters’ sent to the reception center; this overwhelms the staff:

> Now, 65% or 70% of operations are funded by Citizenship Canada and the rest, by the city. But the city is not the same; city pays per usage. They send the client, they will pay. Immigration – they send us 100 people!

GARs are “assigned a [resettlement] counsellor” upon admission. Once their stay ends, their records move forwards: “The worker informs us: “we are done with this family”. And then, the file will be sent from reception house to our program [CSS]” (SP5). Once CSS workers are done, files and clients are transferred to the SP. Service work occurs within a short cycle, usually lasting a few weeks/months. The intended final service outcome/product is an autonomous client. A worker (SP19) disclosed:

> I do intensive case management for a period of one year. And it involves: needs assessment, some check-ins, accompanying them [service users] to appointments and giving them orientations and workshops – information related to their needs to integrate (…) so they can become more independent.

Service work expects a quick/smooth client turnover. In the case of slow-downs, managers and government officials are used to discipline the trouble-makers. SP18 explained:

> Another family, they didn’t want to move. We told them: “You have to stay here three-four weeks maximum, time for us to prepare, find accommodation”. The family saw three-four houses, they don’t want to move (…) because we don’t force the family to pick a house, we show them, and they choose. The family would say: “No”. You explain to them: “You cannot stay there, the government is giving you money, you have enough money, take this house. If you stay here waiting for subsidy house, you will stay here a year and your RAP will be finished by that time. You are the loser.” (…) They have friends in subsidy houses, and they don’t

> understand the system and they believe them: "If you stay here, it's like shelter, you are going to have subsidy house for which you will pay less." I don't like that (…) I had to call my Manager. He had to re-explain the same thing. Sometimes, they say: "No" and Immigration gets involved. It's sad but that's how it is (…) Because lots of people got involved, the clients moved. We had to find out who the friends are, call them, explain them: "This is RAP, these people are not on Ontario Works".

The social work intern (SP24) also narrated unpleasant pressures for speedy service delivery:

> Une grosse journée, c'est peut-être cinq-six personnes. Moi, on me disait que je prenais *trop de temps* avec les gens. Je passais comme deux heures par personne. On me disait: "[Name], tu passes trop de temps, tu vas te brûler." La directrice m'a dit: "On est pas payé pour être des travailleurs sociaux mais pour êtres des agents d'établissement." Moi, j'avais de la misère à faire ça. Moi, j'ai une formation en travail social (…) je comprends le fait que notre rôle c'est vraiment de l'aiguillage, de l'orienter vers les différentes ressources puis l'idée: "Est-ce que t'as un voisin qui peut t'aider à remplir ta demande?" (…) Eux, c'est leur vision d'*empowerment* – c'est d'utiliser les ressources dans ton entourage. Mais moi, je suis là, je peux t'aider. En plus, je ne fais pas tout pour toi, je t'accompagne dans ça (…) moi, je voyais ça comme mon rôle à moi – d'accompagner la personne – tandis qu'eux me disaient: "Non, vous allez vous brûler, il faut que ça soit VITE. Vu qu'il y a beaucoup de volume, il y a beaucoup de personnes qui rentrent, il faut que ça soit *vite*.

This factorized service work heavily regulates the social conduct of service participants. SP19 stressed the necessity "to make the program *look good* and to respect the contributions agreements". He underlined that it is all about "objectives to reach (…) short and long-term goals". The youth worker (SP12) explained that activities must always be justified and quantified (e.g., workers use sign-in sheets at events to monitor the numbers of partakers):

> Something like skating is a good example because, on paper, it says: 'he went skating' (…) but in terms of the value of the activity, well, I can say: "Somebody arrives in November, and, if they don't leave the house much between November and March, then, they are 6 months behind their integration" (…) If they come to a skating rink activity, you know, they are using the public transport, they are meeting people, they are, you know, being physically active, making new friends, they are learning to adapt to the cold, hopefully, and, I think, perhaps most importantly, the people they are interacting with are either newcomers like themselves or volunteers who are giving their time to show someone how to skate for free.

Service delivery also utilizes narrowly specialized workers who must stay informed of the latest 'assembly-line' practices. When asked about his typical week schedule, SP12 declared:

> I'll do two or three activities, meet with potential volunteers, answer about a thousand emails, monitor what is going on with our social media, address any need of extra support (…) we have team meetings, team check-ins every week, long-term planning.

Service relations are then overtaken by procedural tasks. He comically summarized: "We can't just have a party!" Yet, he also affirmed: "I have a lot of flexibility (…) if I wanted to take them to the movies, and then have a discussion (…) I'm allowed to do those things." This indicates a paradoxical situation: flexible/market-responsive service products originate from an inflexible arrangement. Moreover, the case/youth worker (SP6) uttered: "There is always training to use new forms, new database...and it's always because we need stats. We need *the stats* to show that we are doing work". She then expanded:

> You spend a lot of the times, not just doing paperwork, but the training. So, you are sitting there with your team doing webcam training on this new system which is going to change probably in four months. So, you have to do it again. And not only that. You are sitting in training on how to do filing, what color of ink to use, not to have stains on your paper...you are thinking: "I can be spending my time doing something else" (…). There is always something that we are keeping up to date with.

A formalization of service procedures stresses low-cost/high-volume production and secures predictability. Since service provision is easily/quickly learned, workers are then also treated as exchangeable/expendable parts.

Contemporary service delivery depends on database systems to organize/document service relations. "We have two databases to report to – one is the organization's (…) that is the one that we share within the organization. So, whatever I input, a settlement counsellor can see, the reception house can see", stated SP6. Many informants found it obsolete; it is also vulnerable to malicious or misleading alterations:

> I can go and tamper with it...I won't...but the CSS database is *really* well done. It is available online, so we need a password. We can access it anywhere. Ideally, you can access it while you are with the client so that you can conduct your

> questionnaires and intakes in real time (…) The database involves the demographics and then all the forms: the intakes and the check-ins and the exit interviews.

CSS uses Efforts to Outcomes (ETO) database – a case management software used to measure different program outcomes. Workers in RAP and SP use the Immigration Contribution Agreement Management Environment, or iCARE: an "online tool" which gathers service data to "better manage planning, funding, and identification of areas for improvement". It allows "consistency of data collection for measuring performance" (Government of Canada, 2018). The youth worker (SP12) observed: "iCARE is obviously state of the art." I was not permitted access to it. A social work intern (SP4) confirmed: "Les stagiaires et les bénévoles n'ont pas le droit à ces bases de données pour des raisons de confidentialité". SP12 clarified in more detail:

> iCARE is the most important reporting system that we have which is a direct interface between myself and the Government of Canada (…). Each Permanent Resident has a digital identification number which we feed into the computer and there is a drop-down menu to talk about what activities and what services that client is receiving. And each staff member has a different, slightly different, drop-down menu according to their role because we are delivering different services.

Databases facilitate objective service evaluations to enable greater program success; they ensure accountability and display triumphs to funders. Employees were under constant pressure to provide 'success stories' compatible with the ideals of the market-state. SP12 was expected to do a regular "narrative report" for his manager. Positively framed service work is then exploited to publicize its alleged worth:

> So, every month, I'll say: we did this number of activities, this many clients came, this many volunteers came, here are some of the gaps where I think, you know, I am not doing well and need some help, here are some of the things that went great. (…) Then, if I also have any large expense that I incur, I'll explain what they are, and then, also, success stories. So, if something particularly good, or particularly memorable happened, or if we get feedback from clients (…) it's kept so different team members can access it. So, I know that my manager used it to give some examples of the value of services.

Associational face: Inside non-institutionalized social care and caring

> It becomes a relationship. So, it means it's hard for me to say: "Oh, I won't be here, and my colleague will help you." It's *not* the same thing for people. (SP3)

As epitomized in the excerpt above, the associational face acknowledges the significance of social relations and operates on the idea of 'inter-linked lives'; it basically values associations. It emphasizes the worth of primary and secondary social ties and those found in civil society/third sector. It re-conceptualizes the organization as a secondary social network of civil society that accentuates pro-sociality (cooperation, sharing, caring, etc.) (Donati & Archer, 2015). Historically, it emerged from the limited caring of people from more privileged social groups. So, it is seen as arising from a shared/common life with others. More precisely, social relations are the ways in which material, ideational and relational goods are supplied, and needs are fulfilled; they are crucial to the makeup and experience of wellness. The social relations created between service providers and service users are of high significance to both sides. They often subsist, even if disrupted: interactants orient themselves to them when apart; they are clearly deeply influenced by them[240]. The associational face moves beyond self-interest and the idea of 'social support' to individual subjects. It attributes meaning to social care for others as a critical philosophy for a better world; it praises interdependence, mutuality, etc. Service work is then reframed as a form of social care/caring that can generate socially transformative practices. The service relation is seen via a non-instrumental social relationality, or one that recognizes the ethical, affective, aesthetic, etc. values of social relations. It cherishes social care in terms of relational goods: 'good life' is aligned with the flourishing of others. In other words, it is deeply interwoven in social relations surfacing from "trust-based cooperative networks" animated by people who act as "facilitators of reciprocal life projects", providing that they uphold "a cooperative, rather than competitive, attitude" (Carrà, 2019, p. 79). Unlike the market-state face, it is not institutionalized; it is thus reduced to triviality/peculiarity/abnormality. It only confronts, not overturns, commodification and command (Archer, 2013; Bruni, 2008; Donati & Archer, 2015; Pease, Vreugdenhil & Stanford, 2017; Stanzani, 2017; White; 2017). It has been shown that the identities of people working in the

[240] This relates to the debates on the notion of 'social relation'. According to Donati and Archer (2015), it "cannot be reduced to its communicative content, since the former is the context of the latter" (p. 28).

meso/third sector are attached to the "notions of altruism and caring"; many see their work as a "resistance against an increasingly alienating society" (Baines, 2004, p. 267). SP19 narrated:

> So, what inspires me? Life, I guess. Life...our human camaraderie, being there for one another...It is easy to get up in the morning if part of your job is to help people. And...maybe there could be days when it's harder to get up in the morning because, you know, that for the next three days you have to meet the deadline to finish your reports (…) but for the most part, yah, it's just inspiring.

So, the associational face can be defined as a place where "the pursuit of alternative philosophies of care and political activism" is achievable (Williams, Cloke & Thomas, 2012, p. 1484; p. 1479). It is a place of subversion, not sheer compliance: its partakers are "potential incubators of resistance" (Williams et al., 2014, p. 2805). At best, it can be portrayed as a 'post-secular space', or one where the religious and the non-religious intersect and breed assemblages which react to market-state harms by negotiating/converting religious and non-religious fervour to inform a 'dissenting agency'. Stated differently, the associational face leads to a distinct "fragrance of care" which diverges from "professionalised uniformity" (Williams, et al., 2012, p. 1489). As indicated in the previous section, informants denounced the damages caused by the market-state, particularly its "assault upon solidarity" (Archer, 2013, p. 16). The mix of "market exchange relations" and "political command relations" then corrodes social relations (2011, p. 205). While the market sustains "*action for utility or profit*" and the state calls for "*action for command or obligation*", the associational face is animated by "*action for reciprocity, action for free giving*" (Donati, 2015d, pp. 248-249). Overall, while no service provider would deny the economic and political oppressions, there was also an emphasis on hopefulness (Lindroth & Sinevaara-Niskanen, 2019). The manager (SP13) underlined an urgency to confront 'dark social sciences', or those strictly preoccupied with the brutality of the human social condition (i.e., only with the suffering/ victimized social subject) (Ortner, 2016; Robbins, 2013). He voiced:

> It keeps you motivated (…) especially when you have an ex-client, when they come to you and say: "You remember five years ago, you helped me...you are the guy who helped me and now, I'm doing well." And, sometimes, they bring their children. I say: "Why you bring your children along?" "I want them to know here is my first home in Canada. These people helped me to set up my life in here." And, sometimes, they ask me to see their room...that energizes you. Yes! I'm making a difference in someone's life! As human beings, we tend to highlight the most

> difficult pieces (…) "Wow, you guys are so good!" *That's rare in social studies* (…) *We also have to look at that side*.

What follows delves deeper into more concrete manifestations of the associational face.

Resistance to the marketization of everyday life and social care/caring

Since pro-social social relationality relies upon "balanced and fair set of free, helpful acts" known to deepen affective connections – not on job contracts – it exposes the failures of the market-state (Törrönen, 2017, pp. 26-27). SP19, who called himself an "urban guide" (see the opening of this chapter), not a service provider/expert, insisted:

> I'm a strong believer in the natural services. To me, you are going to get better services from your neighbour (…) but in a big city, that's not always available (…) so, we [organization] are a part of your family (…) it's important to have organizations like us...building a welcoming community.

He also exposed his anti-capitalist stance:

> Canada is no different than other countries who suck in the *crème de la crème*. Global, competitive, capitalist system that is doing this (…) I think the governments are trying to get the balance to meet the labour needs because there are not enough coming (…) I'm a different guy. I'm a zero-growth economy. I don't see the need for population growth (…) I don't buy into that, that's the premise of the status quo. I'm disappointed by it.

SP5 exclaimed about his work: "Tiresome job but *rewarding*!" He emphasized: "This is 'life problems service', not a thing that can wait for you!'" Another frontline worker (SP10) valued his ability to "open doors for some families to get where they want (…) Okay, I have done something good." He affirmed: "I *love* what I'm doing. Every day I'm going to make some change in somebody's life." SP3 spoke of her thoughtful social relational dedication which exceeds instrumentalism:

> Probably my greatest skill is helping people *feel* welcome (…) It's when a person feels like I know them as an individual, that I have looked at them, I tried using their name. And, for people, it's very big. It's a small thing but for people it really

> matters if you remember their name, use their name, and when I meet them the second time, I remember their name and I remember the name of their children, if they have children, or their family members or some other specific thing about them – "Oh, you said that you like soccer, did you have a chance to play soccer? You said you want to go do swimming; did you have a chance to go swimming?" (…) because I ask what's important, I remember that. *Taking the time* to listen to people, talk about what their dreams are – that very much helps them to feel welcome. And, a lot of the time, you know, service providers have to focus on the essentials of life, right? You know: "where is your apartment, your bank account?" But, when somebody is interested in: "what makes you happy or what are you hoping for here, starting a new life?" (…) That is *huge* for people.

This resists the marketization of the 'good life' and exposes the possibility of satisfying social relations even in the face of injustices (McKenzie, 2016). It re-imagines social interventions meant to create/improve the 'good life' as operating via social relational webs embracing a mutual orientation towards reciprocity (Folgheraiter, 2004). They intend to change the social networks of those involved. SP3 recounted this potent anecdote:

> I recently matched a refugee family from Mexico with a volunteer. The family was still living at the reception house. They were about to move out (…) the parents came here [main site] and met with the volunteer who happened to speak Spanish (…) The volunteer understood that they were going to be moving into their own apartment soon and, with a very limited budget, had to furnish it. So, he asked me about resources, and I was very pleased to be able to give them a list of places that he can take them for shopping, where they can get free or inexpensive household supplies (…) When the match meeting had finished, he said he can drive them back to the reception house. And they send me an email the next day (…) "we sat in the parking lot for two and a half hours talking" (…) To me, you know, that's amazing...that these people who have been *complete strangers* until just a few hours before had spent an hour talking here and then another two and a half hours sitting in a car in a parking lot talking (…) And then, my colleague [name] bumped into the family at one of the community services that gives out free supplies and he said: "Oh, I saw the family there and they had a big pile of stuff next to them that would be going to the volunteer's car and taken to their house." (…) So that was something that (…) I felt really happy about (…) I think that it was really on two levels – it was working on the practical level but also on the social, emotional side.

People produce social cohesion to the extent that they act as subjects who reflect on their social relations as emergents and can build WE-ness (without holding the same preferences, views, etc.). This is palpable in the narration of the case/youth worker (SP6):

> I was just having a lunch meeting with [manager]. And we were reflecting on how amazing our team is and how unique that is within our organization. I think we have the opportunity to have that because we are smaller. We are a team of seven plus admin staff. And we all kind of just get it. We all work a little bit differently with our clients but, generally, we have the same ideal for them, we have the same outcome, we get the program. We get what it's for...and, we are very supportive to each other.

SP3, who often engaged in unconditional gift-giving (e.g., bringing snacks for the staff or flowers from her garden for an event), praised small but meaningful moments:

> More than half of my soccer team were refugees under the age of 30. And I made a sandwich – cheese, lettuce and a little bit of salad dressing. Gave it to this young man and he looked at me: "I never had this before".

She stressed: "I *love* having potlucks. I like just the one-to-one meeting and talking and being face-to-face with people." She also reported:

> I continue to be amazed. My first match that I met (…) when I was a volunteer, a Rwandese refugee, she is living out West now. She calls me every Mother's Day which is, you know, I never thought of myself as being a mother to her (…) She was in her 30s, so it wasn't like she was that much younger than me (…) She lost her mom (…) She phones me and thanks me (…) And then, the Iraqi family I was matched with (…) we still get together every month. We are good friends.

The discourses of informants providing services disclose that they *work for* relational goods which grant non-pecuniary rewards: they have a generative tendency to fashion social ties which are meaningful in themselves. SP9 shared:

> When you see the families, you just want to do as much as you can for them! Getting to know these people. And now, they are *part of my life*. They call me at work, they ask me to come to their house. So, forming these relationships. I would have never met these people if I didn't work here (…) being a part of their life as much as they are a part of my life. *That changed me.*

SP19 underlined: "It's like a lot of places in social services – people enjoy what they do because it is helping people." SP6 also situated the origin of her motivation for service work in non-economic terms:

> It's the daily interactions with my clients. It's, you know, them dropping in, needing help, and leaving satisfied. It's them not knowing how to do something one day and them knowing doing it the next day. I think that is what inspires me and keeps me going.

Interviewees recognized a need for post-migration support in the civil society/third sector to prevent/alleviate relational evils. SP3 declared that, in the absence of the organization, "there would be a lot more suffering, there would be more abuse (…) people taking advantage of people." She specified: "I have met people (…) "I'm volunteering", "Where are you volunteering?", "I'm volunteering in a pizzeria. If I work there enough, I will get paid."" She also insisted on the urgency "to educate the larger public about the challenges of refugees" and "calling out Canadians to be patient, to be open, to be understanding, and give people a chance". All young interviewees appreciated the support received. A young Christian man (SU1) born in Congo who arrived at the age of twenty-eight as a GAR and was involved in a refugee youth project led by the case/youth worker stated: "People here are *the best*". For him, the contact with frontline workers carried a quasi-sacred meaning (he attributed a similar sense to our interview: that we are meeting 'for a reason'):

> These people [service workers] are people who come indirectly and define the path of your life (…) Me and [service provider], we work very closely. I will wake up in the middle of the night and will text [service provider]: "Hey, can we have a meeting tomorrow?" (…) I believe everyone is important, you never know why we meet.

The acknowledgement of something meaningful (e.g., in social encounters, activities) speaks to a/n re/enchantment of everyday life; it refuses a push for disenchantment, or an excessive rationalization (Ritzer, 2007).

Humanizing and contouring people as experts

The youth worker (SP12) asserted: "bureaucracy is essentially dehumanizing, both for the user and for the worker". Since service relations are basically "human encounters", they can be viewed as "sites that challenge state-based definitions, boundaries and lines of power" (Rozakou, 2016, p. 188). The notion of 'human' adopted here is neither a return to a universalizable theory

of the human subject nor a dissolution of humanity in discursive/linguistic subjectification. It departs from the idea that "the most fundamentally human way of experiencing life in society" is sociologically detained by the tension between structure/culture and agency/reflexivity. People are "partly free, autonomous and enabled by structural circumstances" and "partly restricted, constrained and even conditioned by them". The 'human' is located in the "powers of reflexivity and internal conversation as they become the unique and specific contributions of our humanity to life in society" (Chernilo, 2017, p. 182, p. 184). This concurs with the fact that service work is criticized (though not abolished) by its implementers. They do so from "their understanding of the conditions that shape lives" – theirs and those of the people they are serving (Dzenovska, 2014, p. 285). They tend to consider their clients as "'normal people' striving to obtain a 'normal life'" (p. 271). SP3 noted:

> People will ask things like "what would people do when they want to get married?" (…) when people feel comfortable enough to ask questions about things that are currently mysterious to them (…) So, we get into talking (…) [These are] opportunities to share your day-to-day life – what my life looks like and what your life looks like.

The frontline worker serving GARs (SP19) referred to his clients as "99.999% are *beautiful human beings* trying to make a life like the rest of us". He emphasized a de-centered stance which treats the people he works with as experts of their lives and needs:

> I never say that to anyone: "*All* refugees have PTSD". *I don't believe that they all do*. I think everybody's experiences are individual and unique and they themselves are experts for themselves. And, you know, they will have their understanding of what it is. If they say they are troubled in some manner...then they are, that's what they are saying...if they want to receive help, then we'll see what kind of help is available that would help...what will be comfortable.

The associational face thus encourages a reciprocal recognition of other human persons, that is, of their common human worth, but also of their individual person/personal identity. SP3 asserted: "[Organization] believes very much that everybody who comes in has something to give." This is echoed by those using services:

> I think one of the things that amazes me with the refugees that I meet is how much they *want* to give back (…) "some day, I will give back what I'm receiving now"

> (…) The refugee couple, an older couple, they know that there isn't a place in the workforce for them, but they want to volunteer *all* the time, you know (…) I was talking yesterday with a young mom who came as a refugee and, I mean, she is just like "where can I volunteer with my daughter who is 9 years old?"

Acknowledging lived experiences, social relational inclusion and heterogeneity

The Canadian-born female social work intern (SP24) noted: "Ce que je trouve intéressant c'est que ce sont des gens qui ont passé par le processus d'immigration donc ils ont le vécu pour plus outiller les gens qui viennent les voir." The youth worker (SP12) disclosed:

> I really like working with volunteers who were once clients, or, even if they weren't clients, who were once new immigrants (…) During summer activities, I had 7-8 volunteers and 15-16 clients, and they were just chatting over lunch. One guy, he came here when he was 9 or 10 from Lebanon and he just basically said: "Don't worry. Everything is going to be fine". And they understand that it's not easy and they just want to help out (…) I think working with volunteers (…) that's probably the most humbling experience.

SP18, a male frontline worker who identified as Christian, affirmed: "Myself being a refugee before, I understand much better these people than any other person that can work with them but has not been a refugee." He added: "Most Canadians, I think, they don't know refugees. They don't have a huge knowledge about refugees." At the same time, he recognized: "This job (…) serving people is what you should have in your heart (…) have that *spirit* of helping other people. That's what is *most* important in this kind of job." SP9, a female frontline worker, voiced:

> I came here with my parents over twenty years ago, but I still remember how it was to be new. I appreciated all the people that helped me (…) That inspires me to show [people] here [reception center] as much as possible so that they know what their options are (…) where I came from, and what I didn't have, and what I could of have, and what people introduced me to, I want to pass that on to [people].

A Canadian-born frontline worker (SP19) with significant international experience called for the inclusion of Canadian people:

> Anybody who wants to help can do it, unless it's an asset to have multiple languages, or there is something specific or sensitive (…) There are a lot of people here who put a lot of time and volunteer time and so they have the experience of the people they are going to be helping. To be honest, to have people who are Canadian born, who *really* understand systems, it's good to have them. Diversity in the workplace. *Don't exclude the white male wasp* (…) be all inclusive, have a combination of different cultures, language, and some Canadians too. People who say that "they went through their own experiences" ...nobody knows what someone else's experiences are. Torture is different from seeing someone visually being killed or whatever. Everyone's experiences are different. If you have compassion and empathy, and if you are interested in making a difference in someone's life and you have the skills and the tools and the training to do that, you are doing to be just as helpful, I think, most of the time.

Informants were all strongly aware of the heterogeneity of the people they worked with, even if they were not from a given social group. "This young man, he was from a minority in Iran but still, was from a Muslim background. And that's when people are a minority inside a minority, it's very complicated", stated SP3 (with different sociodemographic characteristics). She stressed that matching based on expected social attributes can be deceiving: ""Let's plug you in with your own community", "Oh, I don't share a language with my own community"". SP18 highlighted: "All the families or all people coming here are not the same". Moreover, service providers recognized their own diversity: "Everyone has their approach, and it's best to keep it that way. Each counsellor has their strengths and their way of working that works for them" (SP19). The case/youth worker (SP6) demonstrated the use of relational reflexivity:

> Try to develop programs and activities based on the needs of the clients (…) It's a fine line between what I think is good for them and imposing something on them, a program on them, and what they come to me and say they need.

Contesting service norms and personalizing service positions

A male Canadian-born service worker (SP19) with many years of practice in social services in and outside of the newcomer-serving sector acknowledged battling against bureaucratic structures:

> Because of my years of experience – and because I *don't fear* my supervisor or my ED – I feel the liberty. And, sometimes, I'll get eyes: "Maybe you shouldn't say too much". But I pretty much speak my mind, like when CIC is in the room, with

> the hope that, you know, the one that is overlooking, or has any power in any changes in what we are talking about, has some form of leadership skills to implement that. That's a problem – most people are educated in how to manage, very few know how to lead (…) I have seen it, I used to sit in meetings with Executive Directors (…) And you can see, they are in their bubble boxes, with all of their trying to figure out what they can do with all of their limitations and constraints and regulations (…) You do not have thinking out-of-the-box people, and these are the so-called leaders, yet, they are not able to know how to deal with the more pressing issues!

The manager (SP13) shouted during the interview: *"You cannot do by the book!"* He insisted on insubordination to top-down prescriptions:

> If you go by the book, you will suffer. It has to be flexible enough to meet the needs of the client (…) You play all the roles in here! In the client's eyes – you're the manager, you're the pastor, you're the banker, and you're a friend. You're *everything*!

Frontline workers serving GARs also highlighted the need for flexibility that exceeds the service norms. SP5 commented about his work schedule:

> It sometimes goes beyond 5, yah, because the needs are high. Sometimes, you end up going to emergency or hospital or whatever on the weekends. Once, one of my clients broke her arm in the snow, so, I worked during the weekend.

The one-year service cycle is not always sufficient. SP5 asserted using discretion:

> One year is not enough for high needs populations (…) Many clients told me: "Can you keep me longer?" (…) I keep one, two, three, four families because of their disability. So, one family – a couple with three young children, both of them are deaf and speech impaired (…) So, I keep them – now it is four years.

A young female informant with a master-level education (SP2) was seriously tormented by being "the bearer of bad news". While assisting a young woman in finding "dignified" employment, she kept running into barriers as her legal status (refugee claimant) disqualified her from many opportunities:

> When I first started the position, I didn't understand how bureaucratic it was. So, I was a little too positive with her, leading her to think "yah, we gonna do

> this, we gonna achieve this!" (…) Then, she would get upset with me because I didn't know prior to that, that we would have all these obstacles (…) She was in my cubicle at one point and started getting upset with me, yelling at me, and just saying like: "Why did you even help me, your whole Program was not useful, you guys try to help but you can't!". So, she got really upset and then I didn't know what to do. She left (…) I emailed her afterwards apologizing and saying that I wish it wasn't like this but it's not my fault, like, it's *so bureaucratic*. I wish I could have done more. Let's think of other ways because I don't want to stop, we can find a way (…) So, I didn't hear from her for like 2-3 months and then, she emailed me again. So, I was happy to see her again but during that period, I felt that I really let myself down, let her down.

The location of her torment rested in the gap between the demands of the position enthused by a market-state rationale and her personal concerns:

> I came in this position, and it was all about the previous people in my position (…) I had a completely different personality than them. They were *really business oriented*, very like: "we have to get these people jobs", like cut-throat (…) When they trained me, I was very nervous because that's not my personality. I'm someone who loves to meet people and get to know them. I didn't know if I would excel in this position.

She also pointed to a fissure between standardized and actual requirements. It is also the zone where she has found a certain freedom to act. Although she refused passive subordination, and thus demonstrated agency, she could not fully escape bureaucratic encroachment (obligation to collect program statistics, demonstrate efficiency, etc.):

> I came in and I thought "okay, like, that's not me" and I was just about getting the job. But it turned out (…) that it is not really about the job for them [clients], it's *more* than that. They need someone there to listen to them, they need someone there to not only find them a job, or like try to work on finding a job, they need someone who helps them learn how to network, to help them learn about the community, they need someone who helps them like in little things (…) I realized that (…) my position is more of a counsellor, someone who advocates for these people. So, it's not just saying "okay, let's get them a job and that's all I focus on". It turned out that my method worked, that it wasn't *just* the job, that it was more than that, because we had the best stats since the program started.

The same person admitted that refusal of refugee claimants felt improper what justified resistance: "We didn't have thing for refugee claimants. However, we did let them in the program because

you can't just tell them: "You *can't* join"." This occurs even if institutional mechanisms discourage it: "You have to see a certain amount of clients, and you couldn't count the asylum seeker. There was a pressure to see more permanent, eligible clients, so that you could keep your funding" (SP1).

SUMMARY

This chapter introduced the reader to the organizational fieldwork and presented the complexities of defining the research site. It explored its two major 'faces' – the market-state face and the associational face – in light of its complicated social-cultural historical origins and developments. It then tapped into each one in order to better grasp its articulations in everyday service-based practices and relations. Broadly, this chapter showed that service provision-use is not an arrangement for simply reaching pre-given outcomes, where means-ends are explicit/linear/constant. Instead, it involves tensions and contradictions; it is also deeply emotional. So, frontline service delivery cannot be reduced to mechanical processes that simply execute rational logics and procedures. Formalized services thus proffer an incomplete view of what they "'are' and look like in practice, and what they 'do' with the people at which they are targeted" (Caswell et al., 2017, p. 1). The next two chapters, or chapters 5 and 6, delve into the structured, cultured and peopled biographies of service providers and service users, respectively.

CHAPTER 5: BECOMING AND BEING A SERVICE PROVIDER IN THE SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION SECTOR IN ONTARIO/CANADA

INTRODUCTION

The lives of the people working in the publicly-backed settlement and integration sector in Ontario/Canada are hardly ever documented by researchers; little is known about how/why/etc. they end up employed in this area, or who they are beyond their service provider position/role. If they have experienced international/forced migration, as it is often the case, they tend to be reduced to mere 'contributors' to the cause of migrants/newcomers, and especially to that of their respective ethnicized, culturalized and racialized groups[241]. If they have no prior global migratory experience, and/or were born in Canada in a non-migrant family, they can be, at times, approached with distrust/dislike[242] by otherized individuals/groups who seek to legitimize their struggles (Ku, 2011). So, work in the field of post-migration strongly accentuates lived/authentic experiences of migranthood/newcomerhood[243]. While required, it can, however, ignore other critical facets of human personhood and social-cultural realities; it can also trap people in rigid/binary and groupist identities/identifications (Brubaker, 2004; Ang, 2014; Hwang, 2014)[244]. It can be seen as a form of migrantization, where the migratory experience is harnessed by the market-state and organizations as well as other collectivities for the "legitimation, normalization and naturalization of exploitative, exclusionary and discriminating social relations" (Iosifides, 2017, p. 140)[245]. Most relevantly here, those working with new re/settlers are most commonly consulted on the needs of service users/clients, impact/appropriateness of services, and challenges associated with service delivery (e.g., Kulwicki, et al., 2010; Robinson, 2014; Salami, Salma & Hegadoren, 2018;

[241] It has been argued that a focus on 'cultural competence' can be seen as "new racism" (Pon, 2009, p. 59).
[242] Martinez, Martin & Marlow (2014) argue that "individuals may be subject to oppression by certain mechanisms whilst benefiting from privilege because of others" (p. 456).
[243] This stands in opposition to initiatives that intentionally relate migrant populations and locals; see, for example, the article on 'intercultural communal living' (Mahieu & Van Caundenberg (2020)).
[244] Groupism "risks producing accounts too deferential to discursive categorisations ill-equipped to deal with the lived realities and subjectivities that typify social relations" (Rhodes, 2012, p. 491).
[245] This is also linked to academics who research their own migrant/newcomer communities; this has situated "the politics of representation and authenticity" at the center of contemporary migration research (Kusow, 2003, p. 591). The simplistic insider/outsider dichotomy is now vastly challenged by many scholars (e.g., Amelina & Faist, 2012; Carling, Bivand & Ezzati, 2013; Kusow, 2003; Nowicka & Ciesklik, 2014).

Tastsoglou et al., 2014). Many researchers also interview them about the people they are serving (e.g., Li, Que & Power, 2017). They are thus forgotten or simply relegated to the background.

Service providers employed in the newcomer-serving sector cannot be reduced to mere victims of a marketized-bureaucratized post-migration system, or to passive/powerless sufferers; they are also not mere agents of structural and cultural oppression/liberation. Such stances fail to capture the complexity/depth and hybridity/heterogeneity of their lives which span across different spaces/places and times. Since the service provider position/role is understood here as separate from the human person who animates it (i.e., service providers enter a predefined job description in a material and ideational location), service provision/role entails an ongoing tension between professional/organizational/institutional conformity and un/conscious or un/intended individual and relational contributions channelled into it (Donati & Archer, 2015). Overall, informants did not become service providers simply because they purely wanted to or because they absolutely had to. Their decisions to come into and remain in this formal un/paid labour (unpaid for interns/ volunteers) reveal structured, cultured, agentic and reflexive influences. This speaks to meta/ theoretical disputes in career scholarship about the conceptualization of careers, that is, between structuralist/culturalist (objectivist/determinist) and individualist (subjectivist/voluntarist) standpoints but also between 'boundaried' and 'boundaryless' career approaches (e.g., Cuzzocrea & Lyon, 2011). What follows sees the concept of career/occupation/profession/ as an interplay between structural and cultural constraints/enablements/motivations as well as agency and reflexivity (Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005; Inkson et al., 2012; Mrozowicki, 2009).

Chapter directions

This chapter taps into the embodied/situated biographies of those working with newcomer populations in publicly-backed post-migration services. It focuses on what preceded and drove their immersion into this professional domain. Stated differently, it investigates the ways in which people became and stayed service providers in the settlement and integration sector. It relies upon data collected from semi-structured interviews with 26 service providers working in various capacities with newcomer/refugee populations. While most were employed or interning at the research site, some (n = 5) collaborated with it but were employed elsewhere though also in newcomer-serving programs/organizations. This divergence was imposed by research access

troubles; they also emerged from the introductions/recommendations made by the on-site supervisor who had a considerable influence on my research whereabouts. Hence, the selection of interviewees was externally constrained. It must also be noted that only a portion of the interviews with service providers concentrated on biographical aspects (unlike those with young people – chapter 6). More precisely, there was partial to non-existent data on their natal/familial milieus (this a limitation; see chapter 8). What follows is divided into **two parts**. The **first part** paints a portrait of research informants; it allows to infer some features of post-migration services as a site of employment. The **second part** maps the emerging four career types based on available social-cultural biographical data. It first makes some analytical specifications and then presents each configuration in more detail.

1. PORTRAIT OF RESEARCH INFORMANTS

The sample of interviewees (see Table 6[246]) involved 26[247] participants: 14 female-identifying and 12 male-identifying. Their average age was 40.8. More than half (n = 14) were between 26 and 40 years old; the rest were between 41 and 67. The youngest participants were 26 years old (3 employees; 1 intern); the oldest one, a Board Member at the organization in the 1990s, was 67 years old. Most (n = 18) were born outside of Canada and arrived in the country between 1979 and 2011; 8 of them disclosed that they came as resettled refugees (government-assisted or privately/church-sponsored). Informants migrated from different parts of Asia (n = 9), Africa (n = 5), Europe (n = 2), South America (n = 2) and the Caribbean (n = 1). Except for one person who arrived in 2011, all informants were Canadian citizens. While these characteristics confirm that the emblematic worker of the newcomer-serving sector is a person with a history of migration, 8 interviewees were born in Canada: 3 were of Asian, South-American and Caribbean background and have parents who immigrated to Canada. Out of the 5 Caucasian participants, 2 were first-generation Canadians and 3 came from families who were settled in the country for a long time. Most of the younger Canadian-born people (SP2, SP6, SP7, SP21, SP24) intentionally sought

[246] Since the data that emerged in the interviews contain personal elements which can potentially identify the participants, information is presented in ways that attempt to safeguard confidentiality. Certain details are purposely omitted (country of origin, names of positions, etc.).
[247] While the intention was to interview 25 service providers, an additional opportunity presented itself. Moreover, one of the interviews (with SP17) was cut short due to language problems.

travel abroad for study and/or work purposes. One older participant (SP19) had an impressive history of international adventures. SP3 was connected to the experience of newcomerhood via close family members and local volunteering. SP22 became exposed to it through her employment.

All interviewees speak more than one language (min 2; max 8). The majority of them (n = 21) were full-time employees working at/with the organization; SP17 was a part-time employee. Two (SP13; SP20) had managerial positions; the remaining were frontline service workers. The sample also included 3 master-level social work interns. For those working or interning at the research site, their length of engagement varied from a few months (interns) to over three decades. Some of them volunteered at the organization prior to obtaining employment. The educational background of the interviewees ranged from college-level (n = 3) to master-level degrees (n = 7). Three informants were in the process of finishing a Master's in Social Work; for SP4, this was a second master-level degree. Only 2 full-time employees have a fully completed graduate degree in social work; one of them worked indirectly with the organization. A manager (SP13) had an incomplete undergraduate degree in social work; he was also one of the most senior employees. SP19 was in the process of finishing a formerly abandoned Bachelor's degree. Eight interviewees had non-Canadian diplomas. Some completed Canadian education post-arrival; others attempted to do so but were unsuccessful and some did not seek further education. Except for four college or undergraduate degrees in medical, natural and applied sciences, the obtained diplomas, or those which were in the process of obtainment, were in human and social sciences.

Service Provider	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Year of arrival in Canada	Labour market status	Formal education
SP1	F	28	S. Asia	1994	Intern	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Psychology
SP2	F	26	N. America	N/A*	Employee	Master of Anthropology Bachelor of International Development
SP3	F	47	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Intercultural Studies
SP4	M	27	W. Europe	2002	Intern	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Master of Sociology Bachelor of Sociology
SP5	M	62	S.E. Asia	1999	Employee	Certificate in Electronics Bachelor of Zoology (*not Canadian*)
SP6	F	30	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of History and English

SP7	F	32	Caribbean	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Law
SP8	F	67	S. Asia	1969	Ex-Board Member	Bachelor of Political Science (incomplete) Bachelor of English Literature and Politics (*not Canadian*)
SP9	F	30	E. Africa	1991	Employee	Teacher's College Bachelor of Science
SP10	M	55	W. Asia	1989	Employee	Bachelor of Linguistics (*incomplete*) Bachelor of English and Translation (*not Canadian*)
SP11	F	26	E. Africa	1993	Employee	Bachelor of Criminology and Police Administration
SP12	M	31	N. Europe	2009	Employee	Bachelor of English Literature (*not Canadian*)
SP13	M	59	S. E. Asia	1982	Employee	Bachelor of Social Work (*incomplete*)
SP14	F	42	S. E. Asia	1996	Employee	College Diploma – Dental Assistant
SP15	M	60	S. E. Asia	1979	Employee	College Diploma – Electronics
SP16	M	40	Caribbean	2011	Employee	Bachelor of English Translation (*not Canadian*)
SP17	M	42	S. E. Asia	1998	Employee	Undisclosed**
SP18	M	39	C. Africa	2006	Employee	Bachelor of Mechanical Engineering and Computer Science (*not Canadian*)
SP19	M	47	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Recreation and Leisure Studies (*in progress*)
SP20	F	57	S. America	1981	Employee	Master of Educational Counselling Bachelor of Science (*not Canadian*)
SP21	F	27	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Human Rights and Law, Minor in Gender Studies
SP22	F	44	N. America	N/A	Employee	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Social Work Bachelor of Politics and Health
SP23	M	52	C. Africa	1997	Employee	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Administration (*not Canadian*)
SP24	F	26	N. America	N/A	Intern	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Bachelor of Social Work
SP25	M	38	W. Asia	2005	Employee	Master of Clinical Psychology Master of Clinical Psychology (*incomplete and non-Canadian*) Bachelor of Psychology (*non-Canadian*) Bachelor of Political Science (*interrupted*)
SP26	F	26	C. Africa	1990	Employee	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Bachelor of Social Work

Table 6: Selected sociodemographic data - service providers

* N/A means that the person was born in Canada. ** This interview was ended earlier than expected due to linguistic limitations.

Surfacing trends in the newcomer-serving sector

While the research sample is too small for firm conclusions, it is possible to deduce some general tendencies. The newcomer-serving sector in Ontario/Canada employs populations with certain sociodemographic characteristics. There was a fairly equal representation of female- and male-identifying service providers. This confronts the depiction of the social care sector as dominated by women. Moreover, the sample consisted of a relatively young workforce. The youngest people, or those under 30 years of age, were in the process of gaining practical work experience through internships. During the interviews, some of them expressed other career plans though still related to work with migrant populations; others were no longer interested in remaining in this area of work. The more senior employees reached a stagnation in their professional trajectory and did not seek change. Since the majority of interviewees lived through migration, employment in the settlement and integration sector represented a transition from their personal past experience of newcomerhood to the support of people dealing with it in the present. Hence, most participants were insiders, or ex-migrants/newcomers and compatriots; some of them were even resettled refugees and ex-clients of the organization. So, post-migration service provision engages migrantized and ethnicized/culturalized/racialized populations (Ku, 2011).

Since the sector can be portrayed as a precarious form of employment (ongoing fears of budget cuts, contractual work, little career development possible, etc.), it regroups materially or socioeconomically disadvantaged populations. Employees find themselves in a profession that is underpaid, undervalued/devalued, and under constant pressures; in fact, they work in a realm that is notably invisibilized, or relegated to the margins by dominant society. More precisely, the settlement and integration sector has been defined as "a separate, parallel, and marginalized sector of publicly-funded social services" (Lee, 1999, p. 97). This suggests that they have lower prospects for upward professional and social mobilities. The newcomer-serving sector also contributes to the perpetuation of precariousness in the lives of service users[248] (Survarierol, 2015). Further, for many informants, this form of employment appeared as a quick/easy way to get into the job market.

[248] Senthanar and colleagues (2019) conducted research on the experiences of women with employment services in the settlement and integration sector and found that they were "pushed into long-term trajectories of low-waged, low-skilled, precarious, and feminized positions that did not reflect their education and experience. These positions were often leveraged by settlement agencies who had pre-existing relationships with employers centered on funding partnerships" (p. 280).

In order to get in, they channelled their migratory experience much more than their academic credentials and/or their Canadian work experience (i.e., Canadian-born workers had international traveling experience which they used as a 'self-marketing tool'). Some older interviewees disclosed that they transitioned into this career from 'survival jobs'; so, for them, employment in the newcomer-serving sector was an upward mobility. In terms of education, the sample entailed relatively highly educated people. This shows processes of professionalization affecting settlement and integration work (Türegün, 2013). For the majority, their schooling was in the human and social science fields, and thus aligns with human social care/work.

2. EMERGING CAREER TYPES FROM THE LIVES OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

To make sense of the interplay between structural/cultural and agentic/reflexive aspects in the lives of the interviewees, a typology of careers was produced, where the concept of 'career' refers to the materially and ideationally circumscribed relation between people and their education and/or employment[249]. More concretely, the identification of career types involved a synthesis of available information for each informant; cases that appeared similar were clustered. While some social-cultural biographical trajectories fit into one type more explicitly than others, some do so less obviously. Figure 33 presents the four emerging career ideal-types. They surface from an overlapping of two dimensions: (1) objective contextual continuity and discontinuity in structural and cultural circumstances, and (2) subjective/reflexive interpretation of the latter as intended or unintended/conditioned. The horizontal continuum tackles the observable/verifiable material and ideational situations, positions, statuses, etc. which act as markers affecting a person's movement through life as well as educational and/or professional contexts. It allows to detect tendencies of stability/immobility/uniformity or instability/mobility/inconsistency, and thus grasp the extent to which the entry into service provision is part of a relatively contextually continuous or discontinuous biographical history. The vertical continuum addresses subjective/reflexive aspects. It considers informants' perceptions/interpretations of their academic and/or professional histories. It pays attention to the extent to which they are aware of the relation between their attitudes, beliefs,

[249] A full review of the concept of 'career' is beyond the scope of this chapter. What follows uses the sociological concept of 'career' with roots in the Chicago School of Sociology; it is adjusted to the conceptual framework adopted here. Chicago sociologists distinguished between objective and subjective aspects of careers (Becker & Carper, 1956).

values, etc., structural and cultural contexts in which they operate and their educational and/or professional practices but also of how they take this relation into account when choosing particular actional paths. Accordingly, their responses can be seen as either intentionally or unintentionally steered. The former reveals an understanding of life and study and/or work as undertakings that can be largely managed individually; the latter denotes them in terms of limited control and an overwhelming structural and cultural determination. Informants thus appear as people who either possess a more active or a more passive agency, respectively (Archer, 2007a; 2003; Mrozowicki, 2009).

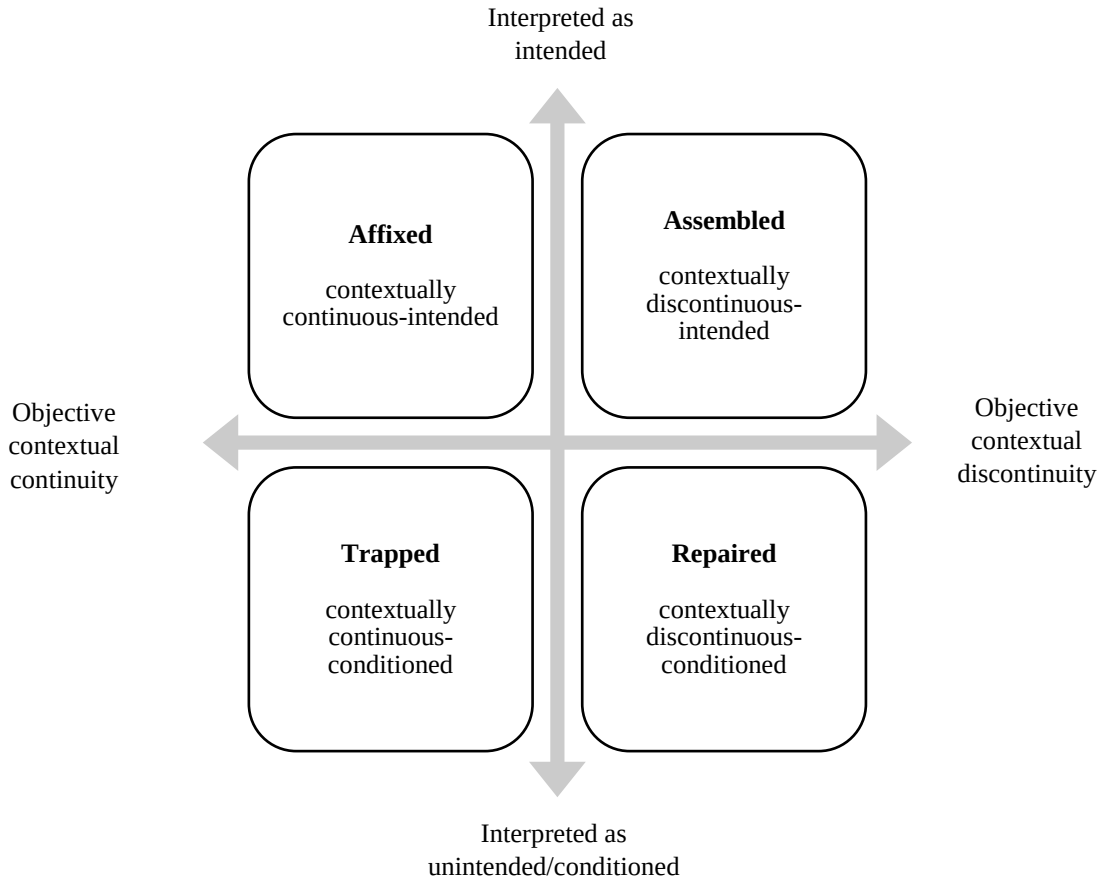


Figure 33: Typology of emerging career patterns among service providers

The intercrossing of the two continua generates four configurations (never uniformities) (Figure 33): affixed, trapped, assembled and repaired career patterns. Affixed and assembled careers are defined by perceived intentionality, even if illusory/inaccurate. It indicates a subjective/ reflexive reading of study and/or work in terms of a development and management of career

projects. Conversely, trapped and repaired careers involve the perception of structural and cultural determination, that is, they denote a view of study and/or work in terms of limited/dictated career opportunities. Affixed and trapped careers, on the other hand, display contextual consistency which indicates a safeguarding of material and ideational situations, positions, statuses, etc.; they are thus characterized by an ongoing immersion in similar/familiar contexts. In opposition, assembled and repaired careers entail contextual irregularity, that is, they are typified by structural and cultural ruptures, and thus suggest multiple career paths throughout life. What follows presents each career pattern in more detail by engaging with the lives of service providers.

Affixed careers: Continuity and Intentionality

Service Provider	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Year of arrival in Canada	Labour market status	Formal education
SP1	F	28	S. Asia	1994	Intern	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Psychology
SP7	F	32	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Law
SP9	F	30	E. Africa	1991	Employee	Teacher's College Bachelor of Science
SP11	F	26	E. Africa	1993	Employee	Bachelor of Criminology and Police Administration (double major)
SP18	M	39	C. Africa	2006	Employee	Bachelor of Mechanical Engineering and Computer Science (*not Canadian*)
SP21	F	27	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Human Rights and Law; Minor in Gender Studies
SP22	F	44	N. America	N/A	Employee	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Social Work Bachelor of Politics and Health

The affixed career pattern regroups seven informants; they are mostly female-identifying interviewees who come from ethnicized/culturalized/racialized social groups. All are university educated, mostly at an undergraduate level. Their study and work trajectories reveal an established or enduring commitment to a specific educational and/or professional area which pertains to the human social condition. Some of them also carry an impressive record of carefully selected un/paid investments in initiatives linked with human social matters; in fact, they have volunteered a lot throughout their lives what showcases their dedication to 'people-centered' projects. Broadly, they did not experience many interruptions in their educational and/or professional domains, that is, they seem to have been seeking a well-contoured career; their accounts thus reveal a fairly actively,

if not tirelessly, fashioned professional niche. They exhibit features of 'communicative reflexives' whose ultimate concerns consist of interpersonal relations, especially familial/communal, in their social milieus; they tend to surround themselves by people who understand them and seek social reproduction (Archer, 2003; 2007).

Contextual conservation and purposeful career shaping

SP11, a married 26-year-old woman, came to Canada with her mother in 1993; they were GARs from East Africa. In Canada, she grew up in a community which was inhabited by a large number of people who were 'refugees'. Her educational and professional paths reveal a contextual continuity which has presented to her fairly stable 'similars'/'familiars'. This was not an outcome of a passive stance; it was actively or intentionally selected by her. In fact, SP11 spent a great deal reflecting upon her familial and social milieus. Her undergraduate studies, a double major in criminology and police administration, were deliberately chosen in view of her structural and cultural experiences:

> I grew up in very rough neighbourhoods myself and I used to read a lot about crime statistics, and I used to do a lot of school projects on crime and youth. When time came to decide what to do in school, I knew it would have to be in the policing field, but I didn't necessarily want to be a cop. So, I did criminology to get a better understanding of everything.

This led her to an addiction counsellor position at a shelter for homeless people. It was work that she described as "very rewarding". She especially enjoyed running "safety groups": "It was nice to see (…) if my client could just take one thing or two things that we have discussed during those groups then apply it to their lifestyle." She highlighted the deep impact that the social relations with the service users had on her:

> I guess, in school you learn to desensitize yourself, but a lot of their background stories, some of them were just...hard to stomach. But they would touch me a lot, so, you know, I would take a lot of time to stop and reflect but it also gave me, the understanding of the client, their situation, and why they were here. It was one of those bittersweet type of thing.

In fact, the intensity of these interpersonal encounters pushed her to change employment. Yet, she emphasized that her desire was to remain in the same field: "I knew that I wanted to do some form of social work". She then obtained a position at the reception center, also a form of shelter, where she assists temporarily homeless refugee populations by engaging in both, frontline work and administrative duties. When comparing these work experiences, she now described herself as "a lot happier", since this employment has a less adverse influence on her family life:

> My husband told me that I used to come home from my other job, and I would be very quiet, very distant, very closed, and that was because I saw a client overdose, you know, or I heard some traumatic story that day. I needed to take some time for myself, to you know...because I try not to bring anything home (…) He says that I come back smiling a lot more. So, I guess, in that sense, there is a lot less negativity in my life even though I enjoy helping...the traumatic dealings are different, I suppose, here [reception center].

SP9, a married 30-year-old female has immigrated to Canada with her parents in 1991 from the Horn of Africa. Her study and work pathways are relatively one-directional and coherent. She holds a Bachelor's in Science with a Major in Statistics and has completed Teacher's College with a Major in Math. Her career interests have strong roots in her early social relational experiences, and thus mirror her need to nurture similarity/familiarity:

> I didn't know that I wanted to be a teacher, but I grew up with kids, taking care of kids. I was the oldest, even at my church, I was the oldest. So, I just started off with kids, being responsible since a young age (…) So, over time, I became good at it, people started, you know, had confidence in me, giving me their kids to watch.

Her passion for math also has social relational origins. They entailed a meaningful bond with a teacher with whom she identified, especially with his commitment to the wellbeing of others in the micro-world:

> Math wasn't always my strongest skill but when I was in high school and I had a grade nine teacher, my math teacher, I'll never forget him, he *really* inspired me. He made math enjoyable. He cared about the students. I have never seen that before, like a teacher having compassion for their students, not even just in class but outside of class, helping...like 'how is your day?', 'do you need any help, any assistance?' ummm, that *really* inspired me. So, if I ever become a teacher, I would want to be

> like this. So, the fact he was a math teacher, he helped me understand math and gave me a desire to help other people, to understand.

Throughout her life, SP9 developed an extensive repertoire of volunteering in communal spaces and the schools were she completed her teaching practicums. She has been involved for close to fifteen years at her church and continues to work there from Friday to Sunday. Her ultimate concern is to help others which, according to her, derives from her natal/familial milieu as well as ideational background: "Back home, everybody is family. Everybody values families, values people. Um, so maybe it comes from my culture. Also, my church has a lot to do with it, my faith." In fact, family is of great value to her: when she was offered a job as a math teacher, the locality was unappealing to her husband; she thus refused it.

SP21 is a 27-year-old female born in Canada to parents who migrated from a South American country. Her educational and professional trajectories display a consistent development: "My dream was pretty simple: I just wanted to help people. I didn't know in what capacity; I didn't know how it would look like. This is what I wanted." When probed about the influences that affected her pro-social aspirations, she underlined her advanced relational reflexivity:

> I'm a naturally curious person. I like to talk to everyone. I like to learn about people and understand how they came to be who they are. Um, obviously, your friends and your family influence you to some degree but I think the socialization and those interactions come shape what you think, how you see the world. But it's just part of who I am, it's an intrinsic thing.

She also specified that her educational and career choices were consciously aligned with her familial and social background:

> I'm born of immigrant parents, first generation in Canada. Growing up, I saw a lot of social and racial discrimination (…) and it defined how I viewed the world...and so, when I finished high school, I decided to study human rights. That was natural. I went to [university] and I did a B.A. in Human Rights and Law with a Minor in Gender Studies. Being a woman of color, I thought this is appropriate for me to take an interest in that. And then, after I graduated, I kind of didn't know what realm of human rights I wanted to work in. So, I wanted to explore different areas, where human rights activism, where human rights work, was being done. So, I explored working in international development and that took me to a rural village where I worked with women specifically.

Another case of an affixed career pattern is the study and work pathways of SP1, a 28-year-old married female informant who has immigrated to Canada from South Asia as a child with her family. She has done two Master-level internships in social work at the research site as settlement worker. She expressed an intense desire to secure permanent employment at this location post-graduation; this was not, however, possible "due to the cuts" in the newcomer-serving sector. She was then hired elsewhere to work with newcomer populations; she now holds a settlement worker position at this location. Her educational path was underpinned by a concern for people. While she acquired an undergraduate degree in psychology, which, at that time, resonated with her values and beliefs, but also familial experiences, she then decided to continue in social work at the graduate level:

> I first went into Psychology thinking that I could help people with this but it was very individualistic (…) Social work, you can also refer people, advocate on their behalf, there is a bigger mandate, you can support social justice. So, I felt social work was a better choice.

She specified: "I had a passion, you know, for social justice, and to help people who are the most vulnerable, and among these are newcomers, and, especially, asylum seekers". Throughout her university studies, she immersed herself in un/paid positions in community-based initiatives and research assistantships which especially focused on Muslim youth and women, that is, those that reflected her own identities and experiences.

SP18, a 39-year-old informant who has arrived in Canada as a GAR from Central Africa and was once a service user at the research site, works with GARs at the reception center since almost a decade. Although he studied mechanical engineering, his professional trajectory is uniformly defined by work in organizations serving refugee populations:

> Since I left school, I started working with NGOs, like Médecins sans Frontières. I worked with World Vision and then the U.N. So, with such experience with refugees, with the displaced people, that was my field...and, up to here, I worked with refugees, newcomers and so on (…) And I love it since I jumped in. I love it!

SP22 is 44 years old and Canadian-born; she did not specifically focus on newcomer populations throughout her education and career but was heavily dedicated to social interventions. She completed two Bachelor's degrees: in Politics and Health and in Social Work. She also obtained a

Master's degree in Social Work and Law. She attributes her interest in social work to her natal/ familial context:

> My cousin is a social worker. And, also, my family, my immediate family and my extended family were quite involved in the community in general. So, I always grew up in a family where social justice is...and, community, church, has always been part of my surroundings, my upbringing.

Fuelled by her interest in mental health, she has completed an internship at the Ministry of Health with a focus on psychiatric patients. Then, her second internship was at a provincial organization that administered a legal aid program. Subsequently, she worked at two law firms before returning to social work and securing a position at a community health center. It is mostly there that she became exposed to the realities of newcomer populations:

> My interest in working with refugees and immigrants comes from my work as a frontline social worker at [organization], where I was doing general social work practice and, as it turned out, there were many newcomers in that practice (…) I realized there was a great deal of overlap in the issues that newcomers came with. Of course, they had specific mental health issues. Also, the barriers to accessing services, accessing justice, were very similar. So, I developed an interest.

She eventually secured a position at another community non-profit organization which partners up with the research site. She conducts case consultations with settlement workers on legal matters.

Preserving contextual continuity via social relational networks and insider knowledge

Informants were able to maintain contextual continuity in their study and/or work trajectories through an active utilization of their social relational networks as well as their practical knowledge acquired through an 'insider' position. SP11 was informed by an ex-colleague from the shelter about an opening at the organization: "So, I applied, I went for the interview and got the job". Since she has lived through the 'refugee experience' herself, she feels a special connection to the people that she is serving:

> Being a refugee, I know a little about it. I saw my mom miss family, I saw her feel lonely, so, when I came here...they [service users], they all go through that,

> they all go through that, you know, that sense of being abandoned, feeling they don't have anyone here, feeling alone (…) I didn't even know this existed, to be honest, I didn't really know that we had a settlement shelter for refugees.

For SP9, her dedication to support refugee populations emerged from her constant engagement in her community: "I think it began with my church because a lot of people that come from my church are sponsored (…) they were in refugee camps so, I had exposure to that from the beginning." Like in the case of SP11, a friend informed her about an opening at the organization and she immediately jumped on it: "When this opportunity came, I just felt this was perfect!" She thus secured the frontline position at the reception center through which she coordinates an educational program for children who recently arrived as GARs among other responsibilities. In addition, she continues to teach math part-time in an After-School Program at a different organization. The linearity between her occupational past and present is striking:

> I was a Sunday School teacher (…) and then, at the church, we started sponsoring more and more people, it became bigger and bigger, and I had been there the longest so, I just started coordinating it and recruiting other youth to volunteer and started planning events, like summer activities, summer camps.

The conservation of her work opportunities is linked to her earned privileged via this long/intense service. At the time that she was offered a job as a math teacher, her position shifted at her church from a volunteer to an employee: "I let my pastor know, he was devastated. He was like: 'We can't lose you. We will pay you to stay'." SP21 was also able to obtain a relevant work opportunity relationally: "So, a friend of mine was kind of...noticing how unhappy I was. He said, you need to start looking for something else. And he was always looking at job postings, and he came across the job positing for [organization]." She applied and got the job as a frontline service provider at a shelter for female refugee claimants which engages with the research site. For SP1, her career interests were fuelled by her "experience as a newcomer", especially a feeling of being "kind of stuck between two worlds" as a young person. Reflecting on her own familial history, she asserted:

> There is a lot of struggles for youth, because (…) well, for the next ten years as a newcomer, you are going to live in poverty, generally…and you are too busy to survive and then, the parents become too preoccupied keeping the traditions alive so they become more strict than maybe they would have been back home…more religious…*umm*, so, the teens, the youth are in a society that is quite different than

> the original…but I'm talking about immigrants from third world countries, such as Muslims from Africa or South Asia.

Instead of discarding such experiences, she subjectively embraced them as assets for the employment opportunities she secured. She spoke, for example, with great pride about of a "cultural competency workshop" that she organized and delivered.

Accepting constraints or returning to the base and self-effacement

Informants clearly prefer educational and/or professional stability and resemblance than change. Their largely passionate occupational allegiance might lead them to self-restrict their ambitions, that is, to hunt for new or alternative career directions. SP11 has a strong sense of belonging to the organization: "I told my boss that he is stuck with me for a lifetime [*laugh*]!" SP9 worked for some time in the government sector in a position which allowed her to use her quantitative skills, but she did not enjoy it due to the disconnect 'from the people' and came back to frontline service work. The challenging work experiences that SP21 has lived through while working at a shelter for refugee populations pushed her to abandon the work and transition into the business sector. Specifically, she described the employment with 'refugees' as a "roller coaster of emotions" and specified: "At every point in time, we encountered so much discrimination so much racism." Yet, her immersion in her new job did not last too long: a lack of meaning eventually manifested itself and made her return to where she initially began her career:

> So, I took a break. After [organization], I wasn't sure, I wasn't sure that I was emotionally strong to continue this kind of work. So, I went to a field that was completely different. I went into business; I did that for about a year. It was something that was so different that I have been working in. And it made me realize that I was still working with people, but I wasn't working in the capacity that I wanted. I was very limited, and I wasn't able to create those bonds, or have those intimate relationships with people anymore and it started to bother me because I'm not giving all of myself to my work. And, I guess, this is who I am as an individual, I love to dive into it. So, I was really just unpleased and unsatisfied in my work. And I was feeling really unfulfilled. And, I was just looking to do something again, do something that was meaningful. Working with refugees, as draining as it was, was very meaningful and it's scary but still worth it.

The above resonates with the path of SP7, a 32-year-old female informant born in Canada to parents who migrated from the Caribbean, who worked as a lawyer with asylum seekers at a community legal clinic. One of her law internships took place at a private firm located in the same building than the research site and where she served clients referred by settlement workers: "On avait beacoup de demandes de réfugié donc j'ai passé 85% de mon stage sur l'obtention de l'asile et c'était ma première formation en tant que stagiaire en droit." While she enjoyed the experience, she emphasized that it was difficult: "C'est *beaucoup* le droit des réfugiés, c'est beaucoup moralement parlant aussi". Her passion for her work took her to complete an internship with Red Cross as well as travelling abroad for six weeks to help people from her ethno-cultural group with no status: "ça m'a tojours intéressé, des gens comme ça qui se réfugiaient dans un autre pays mais qui n'avait pas vraiment la citoyenneté." While she took a break from her frontline legal job to work for the government, the yearning to be 'close to the people' eventually reappeared. When an opportunity presented itself, she applied: "Je me suis rappellée que j'ai toujours aimé travailler avec les gens. Donc j'ai postulé. C'est parce que mes parents sont immigrants aussi donc tout ce qui est immigration, pour aider les gens, c'est un intérêt pour moi." She underlined the social relational dimension of her employment: "Je rencontre souvent des gens dans la rue que j'ai aidé. Ils fonctionnent bien dans la vie, et c'est ça qui me fait du bien." She insisted that her work exceeds professional labels: "C'est *plus* qu'un travail. J'ai pu aider *la* personne."

For SP18, his career is contoured by his religious convictions; they drive him to engage in social care:

> In my country, there were refugees coming from neighbouring country which was Rwanda. That was 1994. People were dying without help. I started thinking about it. I felt passionate to help these people. And I applied for the job for Médecins sans Frontières and that's when I started helping people (…) It comes from my beliefs. Actually, I'm a Christian; I'm born again. The Bible tells us that we have to help others as much as possible.

SP1, who identified as Muslim, also justified her dedication to others via a metaphysical lens. She ascribed an autotelic meaning to her work. In fact, she has completed her final graduate assignment in social work on the intersection of spirituality and social care. She saw the constrictions faced by service providers as driving them to adopt a more instrumentalist approach to service work:

> When you just leave university, and you just graduate, you are so full of hope to contribute in a way but, over time, because the system can be so negative, over time, people lose part of themselves and they lose compassion, and it seems that they are at the job to do the job and pay their bills; they're not at a higher purpose. So, when you come with all this enthusiasm, you seem like an alien, someone abnormal, with *too much* compassion and that might also increase the work. I would sometimes go out of my mandate to help out.

This concern to assist 'the needy' impinged so intensely upon her in her recent job that she was accused of possessing an "exaggerated compassion" by some colleagues from a non-migrant background – a remark which had a profound emotional impact on her. Despite the latter, she continues to work in the settlement and integration sector, mainly with asylum seeking populations.

Assembled career: Discontinuity and Intentionality

Service Provider	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Year of arrival in Canada	Labour market status	Education
SP2	F	26	N. America	N/A	Employee	Master of Anthropology Bachelor of International Development
SP3	F	47	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Intercultural Studies
SP4	M	27	W. Europe	2002	Intern	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Master of Sociology Bachelor of Sociology
SP8	F	67	S. Asia	1969	Ex-Board Member	Bachelor of Political Science (*incomplete*) Bachelor of English Literature and Politics (*not Canadian*)
SP16	M	40	Caribbean	2011	Employee	Bachelor of English Translation (*not Canadian*)
SP19	M	47	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of Recreation and Leisure Studies (*in progress*)
SP24	F	26	N. America	N/A	Intern	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Bachelor of Social Work
SP25	M	38	W. Asia	2005	Employee	Master of Clinical Psychology Master of Clinical Psychology (*incomplete and non-Canadian*) Bachelor of Psychology (*non-Canadian*) Bachelor of Political Science (*interrupted*)
SP26	F	26	C. Africa	2006	Employee	Master of Social Work (*in progress*) Bachelor of Social Work

The assembled career pattern regroups nine informants; there is nearly an equal number of female- and male-identifying participants. All are university educated and most have a master-level degree or were in the process of obtaining one. More than half are Canadian-born though most of them come from an immigrant background. Many come from a middle class, and thus have begun their study and work trajectories with wide-ranging resources. Their narrations exhibit autonomous reflexivity or a meta-reflexivity; they are thus more preoccupied with social productivity/mobility ('social entrepreneurs') or social reorientation ('religious or secular idealists'), respectively (Archer, 2003; 2007). While the former ones demonstrate more individualism or autonomy, there is always a collective orientation as they preserve some of their communitarian values and beliefs. Objectively, they reveal more multifaceted study and work trajectories, that is, those with more career experimentation, flexibility and/or creativity. More precisely, they engage in a subjectively/reflexively premediated contextual discontinuity between educational and/or occupational situations, positions, etc. Hence, they knowingly downplay structural and cultural conditioning influences and replace them by the notion of self-determined development or self-construction. Unlike for the affixed career pattern, there is much less consistent and collectively shared ethos among the informants.

Purposeful movements and risk-taking

SP19 is a 47-year-old informant born in Canada in a non-immigrant family; he openly recognized his socio-economic privileges:

> I was lucky. I had a very decent upbringing. I came from a lower middle-income class family. And, throughout the years, for some reasons, I was drawn to people who had an interest in arts and culture (…) So, being exposed to people with differences, people interested in the arts, and everything else, this leads you to interesting, beautiful paths.

This led him to adopt an alternative way of life: "I lived a pretty nomadic lifestyle for most of my life, and different circumstances led me to being more settled". He avidly pursued travelling abroad:

> I spent, well, over a year travelling thirteen countries of Western Europe. And, backpacking, low budget, that type of thing, meeting and living with people (…) So,

> other than that, travels all across North America, had a Volkswagen van with over 400 000 km, Alaska to New Orleans and East and West, Nepal, India...India six months, Morocco, Mexico. Since, I have children, introducing them to travels, it's a different way of travelling, but you know...Portugal, Jamaica, Mexico, and the U.S., California, etc. with the kids as well.

He was motivated by an active rejection of western values: "I mostly enjoy cultures which have a different value system that is a lot less commercial and just a whole other spiritual way of living." During these adventures, and prior to having children, he held "a lot of different jobs in these countries" and spent three years working in one country of Northern Europe due to a romantic tie. While he never finished his Bachelor's in Leisure Studies, he is greatly invested in informal instruction:

> Educational background – a lot of it is self-educated, to be honest. I'm one who listens a lot to these ideas, programs on the radio, you know, workshops and conferences and training. I didn't finish a Bachelor's degree because I (…) refused 'How to write an essay' [course] to complete my degree. I had As in all of my essays so why should I do it? So, I'm just stubborn that way. And I found university education kind of limited. And I might still go back but anyway...

His process of seeking education, rather unconventional, reveals a self-assembly:

> You know, an example of how I want to educate myself, I ask for sabbaticals from my workplaces. I once left for three months to volunteer in the U.S. and in exchange for the volunteering at this conference center, I had access to numerous conferences that were of interest to me, on leadership, nature. So, I have a very alternative way of educating myself.

He volunteered at the organization and obtained a position in 2008 but worked with people with disabilities in-between. He was motivated to do so after growing some roots in one location:

> I wanted to volunteer, reach out and help out some newcomers. I thought this was a way of travelling while being settled. And, so, my first contact with [organization], I volunteered in the Host Program and I enjoyed the experience so much that I ended up getting into two employment opportunities. I started working with the Host Program, and then, shifted to another organization, and then came back eventually and I'm now working with GARs.

Similarly, the path of SP16, a 40-year-old male born in the Caribbean who arrived in Canada in 2011 with his spouse, has been punctured by multiple work opportunities. His passion for sports took him around the world:

> My university degree is in language. I'm an interpreter and translator but I have a huge passion and background in sports journalism, and I did some journalism studies as well. And, as a former athlete myself (…) track and field, long distance, running, this was a big piece, I enjoyed, you know. I still do it for a hobby. And I knew this was a great opportunity to discover the world and travel, to meet other people which I love...that's my personality too. So, I think it's a combination of both, personality and my drive to discover places.

He travelled to a Southeast Asian country where he worked as a reporter "for a couple of years". Next, he "landed a job in a sports related field" in a neighbouring state. Yet, eventually, the migratory question came up: "My wife and I, what are we going to do next...and my brother was over here in [city] so, I said, no brainer, I speak English and French, let us give it a try! And, so far, so good. I enjoy the ride!" Upon arrival in Canada, a former professor from his home country introduced him to the research site as well as to "the rules of the game". He volunteered at the organization in a sports-related initiative while working in other places:

> In whatever job I had in the past, I was always volunteering for [event name]. And then, an opportunity was presented to me as Community Connections worker, I applied, and I really enjoy what I do right now. So, I have been a staff member here since April 2015.

The study and work trajectories of SP3, a 47-year-old female born in Canada in a family with some migratory background as well as married to an immigrant, also reveal some intended discontinuities: "You could say I changed careers. I mean, I had been focused on being a stay-at-home-mom. And, I had a home business." She began as a volunteer at the research site to gain some practical experience:

> I was matched, and I was sitting in this actual room, talking to a woman from Rwanda and her telling me about her life story (…) and just being amazed by her courage…ah…and feeling like…boy, it just puts things in a different perspective when you realize it…the incredible hardships that people go through and they come here and start life over again and they still have hope and they are still optimistic and they are still, you know, working to make things better for their children (…) So, I

> think that is, you know, one of the things that made me want to be able to work with refugees.

Moreover, SP3 returned to school, this time as a mature student, to complete a Bachelor's in Intercultural Studies:

> When people would say: "What are you studying?". I would say: "Intercultural Studies". And people's general reaction would be: "Oh, you will never get a job in that field, you know, it's a kind of useless degree". So, for me, getting a job that was related to what I had studied and that was directly in the field that I was really passionate about, that I wanted to be working in, which was sort of building bridges between the newcomer community and the established community, was really huge for me and being able to meet with refugees face-to-face, hearing people's stories and knowing that I could do something that was actually going to have an impact on their day-to-day life through my work here...that was very significant.

SP25, 38-year-old male who arrived in Canada from Western Asia in 2005 via a spouse sponsorship, worked in his home country in a psychiatric department of a hospital. He served veterans and their families who experienced "trauma". While he was initially invested in political science, he purposely opted to study psychology which became his long-term career path, even post-migration:

> When I started studying, I went for political science and I studied for one year and then, I changed into clinical psychology. And then, the reason why, I always had an interest in psychology, understanding human nature it's something that interests me. And yah, I finished my B.A. there and then I went to do my Master's degree but I didn't finish my thesis, so when I came here, I re-did everything from scratch again. And that's how I ended up focusing on [mental health] counselling.

He actively rebelled against what was popular in his natal/familial context and pursued his personal interests:

> You know, they in [country of birth], everyone is a politician, because it's a part of life there, there is a lot of freedom but no democracy, so, I was politically involved, *too* involved at a certain age. Now, I'm not that involved, like I was involved because of my dad who was involved with a party. And I think I picked up after him, and that's how I decided for political science but then I changed because

> I said that's not going to lead me anywhere, and then, I went into clinical psychology and then counselling psychology.

In Canada, he completed a Master's in Counselling Psychology and interned at an organization which serves newcomer populations. He obtained the mental health counsellor job through a friend. He recognized the ability to actualize this career because of his social relational resources:

> I think what made it easy is the network. My first job was through my ex, because she was established here. And, then through my…I don't want to disqualify my skills, but there is always that linkage, you get a job because of a friend or someone you know. That's how I was employed in Canada. But I think all immigrants need that hand at the beginning of their journey.

SP8 is a 67-year-old female informant who arrived in Canada in 1969 from South Asia with a strong educational and/or occupational vision for herself:

> My ambition has always been to go overseas and do post-graduate work (…) So, when the offer of marriage came, I said: "Oh my god, this is my ticket, what the heck, kill two birds with one stone'. So, I accepted (…) Unfortunately, I didn't have the knowledge of dealing with the family aspirations of my ex. So, I ended up having children very quickly. So, that ambition of doing future studies got a little frustrated.

Although she began studies in political science with an international focus at a Canadian university, she was unable to complete them:

> I must have done about ten units of the semester. And then, when I got pregnant the second time, I couldn't carry on. At that time, I had an old mother-in-law living with me, with us, and she was totally dependent on me. So, I had two children, a mother-in-law. So, I did some small courses when somebody would look after my kids, to keep myself current. I took these business courses, it was Canadian Studies, Canadian law and everything. I think it was a high school diploma thing that I did.

She eventually divorced her husband (from the same ethnocultural and religious group) and moved to the city where the research site is located. While she secured employment at Canada Post, she has a long history of community engagement starting in her previous place of residence: "I was active in the Muslim community there (…) but I knew that this was not enough for me. I didn't

find satisfaction in that kind of work, which was, you know, very inward looking. I found myself at odds with the thinking there." While she continued to connect with her religious community after the relocation, she expressed feeling out of place:

> I thought that I would start at the mosque because I was most familiar with it. So, I went to the mosque and I immediately found that I was coming from a blue-collar worker surrounding, and here, [city], there were more affluent people, more educated people, even at the mosque level.

This led her to actively search for other opportunities:

> So, I met some people (…) I heard that the Police was having an advisory committee on race relations, they wanted to do some sensitivity training for their officers. This is going back to the 1989 or 1990. So, I wanted to be part of that. So, I remember going to that meeting (…) I wore a scarf on my head so they would know. *Hijab* was becoming more and more visible and there were people who were noticing and there was some discrimination.

She became a Board Member at the research site in 1991: "I was sitting in that Board and I remember thinking: "What have I gotten myself into?" It was intimidating." She was motivated to join by the fact that she comes from a "very multiethnic background" and has "sensitivity" to "issues of poverty" and "issues of being a minority and being looked down on". She described her involvement with the organization as a "natural fit". While her "academic background was not relevant", her "values were compatible":

> [Organization] somehow appealed to me because it was ran by [religious order], and I had somehow connected because I got educated in a Covent (…) Also, I had the language to communicate, I just was naturally drawn to working in the community, as a volunteer and being able to make a difference. It was a learning process too, for myself, to get to know about the workings of our system, that Canada accepts refugees.

Most importantly, she very consciously refused to "restrict" herself to a "little ghetto" and yearned for interactions with "people of different backgrounds and different faiths." Even today, she feels strongly about denouncing groupist initiatives:

> I don't subscribe to those. Maybe at one point I was part of that culture. That was my entry level into the Canadian mosaic, but we cannot operate on those models because they segregate you too much, they keep you aloof, they make you withdraw into your own [group]. It might be very comfortable to just go and have your own type of food and your own spirituality discussed. But we must, if we are to continue to make Canada a very vibrant and multicultural society, we have to come together and we have to not only dialogue with each other, but we have to accept each other's differences and celebrate them and the only place where we can do them is outside...the four walls.

Unsurprisingly, she spoke about a strong desire to be a participant in the broader community:

> I was very interested in reaching out, being part of the community, because for 19 years, living in [another city], I had not felt part of the community, larger community, because I was restricted because I had children, small children, I worked full-time, I chose to work full-time. I first pursued education. When I could not afford to go to university full-time, I chose to work. All these choices I did *deliberately*. Then, I wanted to be part of this new country that I had really dream about coming to and being part of (…) I had this very strange thought. I would say that I would forget who I am, what color I am. I would be walking: "I'm part of the people". I would come across the mirror and be like: "Wait a second, I'm not like everyone else, I'm brown from [country]! I'm different than all of these people'. This was many years ago, I would laugh about this kind of thing (…) Others, they look at you, they are talking to you in a way...'wait a minute, this person is talking very carefully to me, they think, I, the way they are talking to me, I'm the Other in their eyes'.

Entrepreneurial career-making or deliberate mobility

The younger and highly educated informants (SP2; SP4; SP24; SP26) demonstrated subjective tendencies of an entrepreneurial assemblage of their career pathways: they showed a strong capacity to identify and seize opportunities that presented themselves to them. Objectively, they focused on an accretion of various resources. SP2 is a married 26-year-old female informant born in Canada to parents who came from Eastern Europe. Prior to starting her university studies, she had deliberately travelled to France for one year where she observed "a lot of immigration issues". This was one out of many other adventures across borders since her childhood which have led her to develop an appetite for migration-related matters:

> I have always had a strong interest in different cultures and travel. Like, growing up, I spent all my summers in [parental home country]. I got to travel in Europe and then,

> from there, I started travelling outside of Europe (…) I spent some time in Turkey; I spent some time in Tanzania. So, just getting to know different cultures and, like, learning about international migration and how it works through courses in university, I think that triggered my interest.

She has, of course, witnessed some newcomer realities "firsthand" through her parents but also her husband – a Muslim immigrant from a North African country. She shared that she attended a Catholic high school with a large population of newcomers, including refugees from Latin America. She recalled an impactful event: "There was a young boy where I went to school. At one point, he was deported back to Mexico". She has carefully crafted her academic directions so as to advance her occupational concerns: a Bachelor's degree in International Development and globalization followed by a Master's degree in Anthropology with a specialization in International Development. During this period, she held teaching assistantships and worked for the government where she dealt with passport applications. She also invested time in volunteering: "I was matched with a refugee student from Burundi, and, for one year, I was basically her buddy." She then secured employment at the research site – her first real job post-graduation. She declared that the position coincided with her career aspirations:

> After finishing my Master, my ideal was to get some experience, like in the field, so getting to work with individuals like, as some sort of Program Coordinator at an NGO that was always my dream.

SP2 also emphasized that she was hired due to the amassed international experiences:

> My manager told me that the reason why [I was hired], even though I didn't have all the experience they were looking for, it's because of my international experiences and like, I guess, helping at the [organization] at one point…that may have helped. He said that he was really impressed.

She hopes to continue her studies at the doctoral level:

> I'm still deciding whether to continue with, like, research I started with my Master's on women's empowerment in Tanzania but looking at how international NGOs project this onto different cultures, or, because of this experience here, I'm seeing a lot of things that I can see research on in the field of immigration.

SP4 is a 27-year-old male who, in 2002, immigrated to Canada with his parents from Western Europe. At the time of the interview, he was not only volunteering with international students at the university but was also doing an internship at the research site – a requirement of a Master's in Social Work. Having done his first internship in the area of food security and community development, he was now hoping to gain new experience: "J'avais envie d'avoir une expérience un peu plus pratique. Je voulais vraiment parler aux gens, travailler avec le travail sale". His long-term career objective is to work either in international development or in social policy – he was not quite sure yet. He already holds a Master's in Sociology with a thesis that focused on women from a Southeast Asian country married to Canadians. He also has a Minor in International Development. He travelled to another country of Southeast Asia to complete an internship. He underlined that the concern for newcomer populations not only comes from his lived experiences but also from this familial context which has been shaped by migrations:

> Mes parents, ils ont habité vraiment à l'étranger. Mon petit frère habite à l'étranger, ma grande soeur aussi habitait à l'étranger à un moment donné (…) Nous avons beaucoup voyagé quand on était jeune, puis quand on est parti [pays d'origine], c'est une grosse ouverture. Tu vois, tu sors de ton petit cocon. On était dans une ville un peu bourgeoise (…) Je trouve qu'il y a quelque chose de bon à voyager.

For SP4, the interest in international experiences is linked to self- and other-discovery:

> J'ai toujours voulu aller à l'étranger et puis, les pays en développment, c'est intéressant mais, récemmment, je commence à m'intéresser à vivre ailleurs que dans les pays en développment pour faire du travail social aussi mais je pense que j'ai toujours eu l'envie de voyager...puis, aussi, bon, accessoirement, tu viens aussi pour apprendre beaucoup sur les autres et sur toi même, et partager les choses.

For SP26, a 26-year-old female who immigrated to Canada with her parents as a baby from Central Africa in 1990, her current employment also presents itself as an ideal match. She works at a prominent community-based association in a program which offers pre-arrival services to young refugees selected for resettlement in Canada. It partners with the research site. While she started a Bachelor's in Science with the objective of becoming a medical doctor, she abandoned this direction due to a strong realization: "I guess it was the people aspect that I was really

interested in but not so much science." Then, during her university studies, she volunteered on campus with an organization supporting the integration of refugee youth. She was also a devout volunteer at an international development organization affiliated with a church; it is where her "interest in social justice issues started". This led her to transition into a social work degree: "I decided to completely switch from science and went to social work and focus on refugee issues with the goal of eventually moving towards international organizations." While still under parental roof, she was also engaged in her community of origin. This has, nonetheless, changed after she has moved away what exemplifies an active stance:

> My parents were involved. And, so, I grew up around that community. But now, I'm here in [city] without a family, weirdly enough, I don't see the need to integrate that group because we have different experiences at the end of the day. I don't feel I can fully relate, yah, my identity is *extremely* different to the ones that are in those groups.

She is now in the process of finishing a Master's in Social Work and her final assignment focuses on the integration experiences of refugees through ethno-cultural groups:

> I chose the research that I did because my parents were part of those small ethnocultural groups which provide help with [community] (…) they were heavily involved, in like, you know, volunteering for events, for children, yah, fundraising (…) and, of course, you know, I was seeing my parents getting involved (…) Immigration issues, at the end of the day, it sort of relates back to my own experience. So, I think, that's where my interest is.

SP24, a 26-year-old female born and raised in Quebec in a non-immigrant family, was a master-level intern in social work at the research site in the settlement department. She got involved with the organization in light of a growing public/mediatized interest in the social representations of Syrian refugees. She was especially displeased by the psychological discourses:

> C'était un sujet actuel et il n'y avait pas beaucoup de travailleurs sociaux qui savaient vraiment se prononcer sur ça. C'était plus les psychologues qui parlaient du risque. Je voulais avoir plus la perspective des travailleurs sociaux. Donc, c'était du côté des médias actuels mais en même temps c'était quelque chose que j'ai toujours trouvé super fascinant et maintenant avec la recherche de voir comment est-ce qu'on instrumentalise l'image, surtout des personnes arabes immigrantes...ça me fascine beaucoup et de voir la réaction des gens.

An important social capital, that is, her father's career in international development, allowed her to construct and experiment with an interest in international issues:

> Depuis que je suis super jeune, mon père travaille à l'international donc j'ai voyagé beaucoup. Il travaille dans le développment. J'ai voyagé en Haiti avec lui récemment donc ça a toujours fait partie de ma vie. Je me suis toujours sentie mieux avec des gens d'autres pays, en relation avec des personnes immigrantes. C'est venu assez naturel. J'ai été beaucoup exposé à ça et c'est vraiment juste naturel pour moi.

Trapped career pattern: Continuity and Unintentionality

Service Provider	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Year of arrival in Canada	Labour market status	Formal education
SP6	F	30	N. America	N/A	Employee	Bachelor of History and English
SP13	M	59	S. E. Asia	1982	Employee	Bachelor of Social Work (incomplete)
SP15	M	60	S. E. Asia	1979	Employee	College Diploma – Electronics
SP17	M	42	S. E. Asia	1998	Employee	Undisclosed

The trapped career pattern regroups four informants; they are some of the oldest as well as less formally educated interviewees. Except for SP6, all three male-identifying service providers arrived in Canada as GARs and had to re/invent themselves occupationally (Türegün, 2013). Objectively, their study and work trajectories indicate contextual continuity; subjectively, there is an experience of professional arrest or confinement, and thus a more compliant acceptance of structural and cultural constrictions. More precisely, various obstructions have decreased the interviewees' ability to sculpt their career life in more personally satisfying ways. In contrast with affixed and assembled career patterns which entail more capacity to act with purpose, the trapped career pattern reveals a much narrower determination. The accounts of informants project a rather limited control over their lives; in other words, they self-present much more through passivity than agency/ intentionality.

Sense of walking the wrong career path

SP6, a 30-year-old female informant, was born in Canada to parents who migrated from East Asia. Her account reveals that her educational trajectory was initiated with no clear direction/ purpose; she rather compliantly responded to external demands:

> I'm sure, as many students now are still doing, they are pressured to go to university right after high school. And, at 18, you really still don't know what you want to do...but you have to go to school because your parents want you to go to school. So, you go. And you decide you to choose something right away. So, you choose something right away, so you choose something that you have been enjoying all this time in high school. And, so, I was like why not take, you know, the subjects that I enjoyed, and, you know, I worked with kids, I like kids, I'll become a teacher...I thought I would be a teacher...until the time I travelled abroad.

She convinced herself that teaching is perhaps the right path. This led her to an experience of occupational disillusionment which induced unemployment:

> I initially went to university and I did my Honor's in History and English and then, afterwards, I decided to do what I always set out to do – to teach abroad. I wanted to do that after university, no matter what. So, I went to Ecuador. So, I went over to Ecuador, situated myself in a little town of 300,000 people and taught pre-school there and...as much as I loved the entire experience, I realized that the classroom setting is not for me. So, when I came back to Canada, I needed a job. I wasn't going to go to Teacher's College and so on, then, I chanced upon this position that works exclusively with government assisted refugees...because they needed somebody with youth experience and I have an extensive background with youth, working for [city] community centers for over six years before that...*umm*, so I got hired.

She now works with young GARs at the organization, a position which she acquired after a friend told her about the opening. She recognized that she had no intention to become a service provider in the newcomer sector and suggests a feeling of being 'stuck'. Yet, she also identified that the only way for her to break away from the latter is to enact a drastic change such as going back to school:

> I kind of fell into this role, umm, settlement, newcomers, refugees, you know. It is rewarding but it has never been my path or dream. I would eventually like to study again, something new. I'm always up for new learning.

Obstructed by circumstances and accepting things as they come

The trajectories of SP15 and SP13 reveal extensive careers in the newcomer-serving sector; in many ways, this suggests that they took things as they presented themselves to them and that they have possibly lost the capacity and/or the will to mould their professional lives. SP15 is 60-year-old male who arrived in Canada as a privately/church-sponsored refugee from South-East Asia in 1979 – a particular time in history, that is, "the first time that the number of refugees from South-East Asia appeared in North America and different places in the world". Upon arrival, he attended adult high school and then secured his first employment: "Soon, after school, a few months after, I decided to go to work. And when I was working in a restaurant, I got this call from the [organization] because they needed people. It was the Chairman of the Board who called me (…) he said: "We need someone who speaks [language], are you interested to work?"" The interest was not hard to find for him due to his financial situation: "The motivation was that you need to work. If you go to work with the refugees, it's better than working in the restaurant." He began his career in the newcomer-serving sector as a settlement worker. He eventually moved to this current role in the RAP in the late 1980s. At that time, it was a newly created position; he is working there ever since.

Similarly, SP13, a 59-year-old male, also arrived in Canada as GAR from Southeast Asia in 1982; he was himself a client of the research site (called differently back then). In 1983, he became a settlement worker there. It was a time when the organization obtained funding to establish a reception center: "I just applied. I knew I'm going to get it as not too many people applied because they specifically required [languages]. So, I'm not sure how many people applied, but they gave me the job." Yet, he emphasized: "I didn't have any better opportunity. And then, it became my career. I had no idea! At the beginning, just okay, new to Canada, don't have a job, no specific job yet. Just entry level, somewhere else. I just got myself in there, after a while, I love it." His occupational trajectory has been punctured by uncertainty:

> At the beginning, in the plane to Canada, I said: "okay, what am I going to do?". Then, I said: "Jesus Christ!" I was in shock! "What am I going to do in Canada!?" And then, I know nothing about snow, cold weather, climate, I come to Canada in a short sleeve, no boots, nothing. How am I going to survive? But, just let it be destiny, just let it go there and we will see. I had a lot of experience; I was a medical student in the refugee camp. I was helping the doctor. I worked as a surgeon assistant. And then, when I came to Canada, ok, we will see...but then, I found out, this would cost so much and at that time, I had no funding, no money to continue my studies. Also, to be a medical doctor takes long and too much money. And then, when you just arrive, you have to set up priorities. So, I said, get something first. Sometimes, you don't have first step, you don't have a second one. I'm stuck in the organization for thirty years or something.

While there is little information available about SP17, he arrived in Canada from a refugee camp in 1998 as a GAR; he was also a service user of the reception center where he is now employed part-time in the kitchen, or as a cook. He disclosed that he held multiple seasonal jobs in various restaurants across the city. His linguistic limitation (including during the interview) is an important barrier.

Repaired career pattern: Discontinuity and Unintentionality

Service Provider	Gender	Age	Place of birth	Year of arrival in Canada	Labour market status	Formal education
SP5	M	62	S. E. Asia	1999	Employee	College Certificate – Electronics Bachelor of Zoology (*not Canadian*)
SP10	M	55	W. Asia	1989	Employee	Bachelor of Linguistics (*incomplete*) Bachelor of English and Translation (*not Canadian*)
SP12	M	31	N. Europe	2009	Employee	Bachelor of English Literature (*not Canadian*)
SP14	F	42	S. E. Asia	1996	Employee	College Diploma – Dental Assistant
SP20	F	57	S. America	1981	Employee	Master of Educational Counselling Bachelor of Science (*not Canadian*)
SP23	M	52	C. Africa	1997	Employee	Master of Social Work Bachelor of Administration (*not Canadian*)

The repaired career pattern regroups six informants. Their study and/or work pathways demonstrate objective discontinuities and a subjective unintentionality, that is, career changes which are seen as strongly contoured by structural and cultural aspects, and thus much less deliberately designed than in the case of those who fit into the affixed and assembled career

patterns. It joins mostly older informants. All participants experienced migration; some lived through refugeehood and even service userhood/clienthood at the organization. Moreover, except for SP14, they all have non-Canadian university degrees which are not close to social care professions. Except for SP5, SP10 and SP12, the interviewees have successfully completed new degrees in Canada in order to reorient their careers out of necessity. The majority of them are working in the newcomer-sector for a long time now. In many ways, this career configuration portrays a damaged/ruptured/interrupted career life, and thus one which required 'repair'.

Impeded career dreams

SP10, a 55-year-old male born in Western Asia, arrived in Canada as a GAR in 1989. He completed university education in his country of origin in English Literature with a focus on translation and interpretation: "I love languages", he asserted. At that time, he aspired to be an English teacher "but the circumstances didn't allow it." Upon arrival, his goal was to find any form of employment in order to avoid public social assistance; this job hunt was, however, impeded by his lack of experience in the Canadian labour market:

> When I first came, I started looking for a job. I didn't want to stay on government assistance for long. I think I took one or two cheques. And I spoke English, I wanted to start a job, I wanted to build my life. I didn't want to just sit and do nothing. So, I was looking through newspapers, at that time, there was no Internet. At that time, there wasn't many communications, and you don't have a lot of Canadian experience. So, you want to start with something that is getting you somewhere. I was reading through newspapers, the classified, and look and look…

He eventually secured his first job at a community center working in collaboration with the reception center, in a recreational program for children. He then obtained a part-time position as a settlement worker at the research site. He also began working as a supplement teacher, yet he did not progress in this area: "One thing that made me not pursue it again is, one day, I went to the offices of the [school board], and I asked somebody: "I have been working as a supplement teacher for a while, show me the way to get my Teacher's License". They never called me again." Feeling unfulfilled, he attempted to reconnect with his passion for languages; he thus began a Bachelor's degree in Linguistics. Yet, he was unable to complete due to an accumulation of stressors:

> I didn't finish it. Third year, I left. It was because of personal stress and stuff and what was happening back home in [country]. And it was very stressful working and studying and I had to work and study. And, all these things together made me, forced me I should say, to leave school.

At some point, he travelled to his home country to work with the U.N. during elections. Upon his return to Canada, he became an Assistant Manager at a men's clothing store. It is then that he was recontacted by the manager of the reception center: "Then, all of a sudden, I got an email from [name] if I was interested because we knew each other from back then. And, I applied, went for an interview. Then, I came back [to the organization] in October 2007." While he did not succeed at securing a teaching career, he compares his current role to that of a teacher: "In a way, it's close to teaching. Instead of teaching a language, it's teaching a new person how to adapt to the way of living here." He is particularly motivated "to help people who cannot express themselves or communicate what they need".

In the case of SP14, a 42-year-old female informant who arrived in Canada as a GAR in 1996, a period of unemployment was a decisive factor in her becoming a service provider in the newcomer-serving sector. After migrating to Canada from a refugee camp, she finished a college diploma in dental assistantship. She worked in that career for nearly a decade; it was then disrupted by her boss' retirement, and thus a closure of the office. She went on to invest her newly found free time in her religious community: "I was on EI [Employment Insurance], and that's the time that the [name] community started arriving. I was unemployed at that time. I started volunteering at the church." A friend told her about an opening at the research site; she applied and now works with GARs since 2007, helping them with 'life skills'. This work strongly resonates with her context of origin which she aimed to escape: "I was doing interpretation in [country] with the UNHCR and also, I grew up in a refugee camp. So, I was involved a lot with, you know, teaching children, Sunday school, and kindergarten. I was a refugee myself." She indirectly acknowledged the many hurdles she faced on her journey:

> Sometimes, clients are complaining that "Ohhh, this and that". I say: "You guys are so lucky! You have this opportunity with so much help [Life Skills Program]. When I first arrived, there are so many people who are like me, when we first arrive there is nothing…there were things we wanted to do, wanted to apply, but we didn't have help, enough support.

At the time of the interview, she worked close to a decade with GARs. She identified being influenced by her faith and family members:

> It's my religion, I would say. My religion plus my grand-parents and my parents (…) My grant-parents left everything behind (…) and they just help people in whatever way they can. Both, my parents and my grand-parents, they are all educated but they left their homes and their possessions to help (…) It inspired me a lot, not only me. When we came here, we wanted to go back and help as much as we can. But now, I'm thinking, if I couldn't go back, there are newcomers that I could help out.

SP23, a 52-year-old male born in Central Africa, migrated to Canada in 1997 with a family member. Prior to this, he lived in Western Europe where he studied administration. His career plans were heavily disrupted by political events:

> J'avais commencé l'administration. J'ai fais une partie en Afrique et puis une partie, la dernière partie [pays européen]. C'était plus pour retourner en Afrique et puis j'avais quelques projets, notamment dans le domaine hospitalier, ou à travailler beaucoup plus à la reconstruction du système hospitalier [pays natal]. J'avais travaillé avec un organisme qui s'appelle Fonds National Médico-sociaux qui avait une mission qui tourne autour des équipements hospitaliers, problèmes de médicaments à l'hôpital...tout ce secteur là. Dans ma tête c'était de repartir et travailler à reconstruire, reconstruire c'est un grand mot, travailler à redynamiser ce secteur là qui, à mon sens était en train de décroître, jusqu'à disparaître aujourd'hui. J'étais en [pays européen], après mes études, il y a eu beaucoup de bouleversements en Afrique, notamment [pays natal], la crise qui a eue, et les guerres qui se sont suivies. Alors là, il y a un oncle qui venait par ici, qui a terminé son doctorat, qui a trouvé du travail ici.

The relocation has jeopardized his professional continuity:

> J'ai fait des recherches et puis, les recherches se sont basées à partir du constat que dans mon domaine, je risque d'avoir un tout petit peu de problèmes, des difficultés. Alors, quel domaine où je peux avoir le moins de difficultés, m'inserrer et faire quelque chose?

He was led to do a Master's in Social Work and completed internships at the research site where he is now employed since 2002:

> Lorsque je suis arrivé ici, avec tout ce qui a comme difficultés d'accéder à la position que j'avais, pour laquelle j'ai étudié et puis assez longtemps, je me suis dis: "Bon, qu'est ce qui est proche de ce que moi je me sens capable de faire?" Bon, c'était le service social. Je suis allé à la faculté, à l'école, et je me suis inscrit (…) Parce que je me suis dit qu'avec mon diplôme de [pays européen], j'aurais de la difficulté de trouver un emploi dans ce domaine-là. Quoi faire? Rester à ne rien faire ou refaire la même chose à l'univeristé? Je me suis dis: "Je vais faire quelque chose d'autre". Et, pour ce qui était proche de ce que je faisais ou ce que j'avais dans ma tête, c'était le service social.

His initial career direction was that of becoming a priest which was also interrupted for undisclosed during the interview reasons. He partly believes that the choice of social work was motivated by his earlier religious inclinations:

> J'étais plus lié au milieu religieux catholique. Bon, j'étais destiné à la prêterie, puis ça s'est arrêté (…) Il y a c'est-à-dire, cette prédisposition pour apporter de l'aide, la prédisposition à secourir. Je crois que c'est la foi qui est derrière, peut-être inconsciemmentdoing to d.

Falling into a career with newcomer populations

SP20 is a 57-year-old female who arrived in Canada as a GAR from South America in 1981. While she worked, at the time of the interview, at another organization serving newcomer populations as a manager and clinical counsellor, she clinically supervised an employee at the research site. In her home country, she was a science teacher. When asked what inspired her to choose this career, she disclosed external pressures: "Because it was very popular there. My father is a doctor, so biology, science was always talked about (…) but I didn't see myself in this career." She emphasized challenges: "In [country of birth], it is difficult in terms of a career. You don't have a lot of choice, so the idea was just to get into any career at the university". This exposes a strong sense of conditioning. In her early years in Canada, she was employed as a Spanish teacher and then worked at the Embassy of a South American country for about six years. She managed to complete a Master's degree in Educational Counselling; a teaching degree felt unattainable due to her linguistic limitations and was not something she found satisfying:

> I never liked the science base of teaching. I liked the contact with the students, the orientation of the students, talking about their problems (…) Then, I came here, I said, okay, it is very difficult to get the teaching degree. I didn't have the language as much. Um, okay, what is the university offering, and they were offering this Master's degree in Counselling, it really fit with what I wanted to do.

More than two decades ago now, she secured a clinical counsellor position and worked with Spanish speaking newcomers. This was conditioned by a high demand for such professionals:

> I started in 1993 with a contract. Then, I left. Then I came back when the Program was getting bigger. At that time, were just starting the Counselling Program. And then, I have been here since. I was counselling first for about eight to nine years and then I started doing a bit of the management. So, it has been a long time.

She recognized that the opportunity found her more than she found it: "I kind of fell into working with newcomers because of the language thing. So, it came together, the need for the language and the need for the counselling skills".

Disoriented career path

A typical case of a repaired career pattern is the occupational trajectory of SP5, a 62-year-old male informant born in Southeast Asia, who simply voiced that he had "no dream" – professionally. While he finished a Bachelor's in Zoology, he said that he "didn't get anything out of it". He then worked in a refugee camp in Burma as a logistician: "Because in Burma, if you speak English, then you are able to get into a foreign organization, foreign missions, stuff like that. So, I ended up working for the U.N." This was followed by various other jobs:

> I started working in 1979, and then, I worked for the Food and Agriculture Organization, it's nothing to do with the refugee stuff. It's Food and Agriculture, United Nations developed a Program and then I moved on to, when my contract finished, I switched to American Embassy as a Club Assistant Manager and then I switched to a German Company...my stuff is all over the place.

Subsequently, he moved to Africa where his wife was working as a field officer:

> I stopped working there...there was a lot of cheating among the refugee population and the service providers. So, I didn't want to get caught in that because I had a lack of language because they speak French, I don't. So, then, we had to come to Canada because of the sickness, malaria, stuff like that, and my mother-in-law was sick. We quit; we didn't want to continue with the contract.

He arrived in Canada in 1999. He began working at "odd jobs" and felt like there is no future:

> When I came to Canada, I couldn't find anything that I wanted. I ended up in survival jobs. I hooked up with fellow [country of origin] in [city] and they got me a job in the kitchen. I worked in cooking, so, until now, I'm still studying cooking stuff, as a hobby.

He remained employed there for a few years but then decided to pursue additional training:

> This place is not for me. And then, I went for the training in electronics at [institution]. It was a crash course. Then, I got a job, but it was like you are a robot, right, so 8-4, you have half an hour lunch or 15 minutes break two times. I was working there and one of my friends who is working here as a [settlement] counsellor, he told me: "[Name], there will be a [name] population coming from [country], so I want you to work with them because you know the language." (…) So 2006, I think in September, the refugee populations arrive and then I was called by the Manager (…) "you start working" and…I'm like: "okay".

SP12's, a 31-year-old male informant born in Western Europe immigrated to Canada in 2009. His study and work trajectories are also tinted by career shifts and limited intentionality. He comes from a family with extensive international experience: "Both, my grand-parents and my parents and my brother have all worked and lived overseas. It didn't seem like a forbidding thing to do. It seemed very normal. Both of my parents were born outside of [country of origin]." He travelled and resided in an African country where he was engaged in a grassroots education-related initiative. He also worked in a country of East Asia as a facilitator in the welcoming of foreign workers. Back in his home country and equipped with a Bachelor's in English Literature, he worked at a non-profit organization which assisted children from low socio-economic situations. When asked about his career objectives, he evoked occupational uncertainty:

> When I was very young, I think, I just wanted to be...there is a Robert Louis Stevenson poem 'The Vagabond'. And I just wanted to roam around and not do anything. And, I think, when I was a little bit older, and I realized that it was not

> possible to be a cowboy, I think, I wanted to be a police officer. And then, I was a little bit older, I wanted to be a teacher...and when I was in university, I wasn't really sure what I wanted to do.

Following his relocation to Canada, his career path was dictated by the ambiguity surrounding his immigration status:

> When I arrived, I arrived on my passport...you can be here for six months. Then, I got what is called a Working Holiday Visa (…) so that's good for one year from the time they issue it but I had to wait a bit for them to send it to me. So, when I got it, it was good for nine months. So, I had a variety of part-time jobs because most people won't give you a job.

He held numerous and dissimilar positions:

> I was working in a bar, I worked in a restaurant, I was painting houses, I worked for a moving company. I did a variety of part-time jobs. And we weren't quite sure if we are going to stay here long-term or what's going to happen. And, the visa expired, I had a period when I didn't have a SIN number, and then, I eventually got my PR. That was in 2012, I think. Then, I started job hunting more properly, quote on quote, and then, eventually, I was lucky to find a job here.

A previous boss recommended that he visits the organization in order to obtain assistance with his paperwork. This led him to the current opportunity – his position as a youth worker:

> I was put on a mailing list, of various things here, various activities, and eventually, somebody sent me a job opportunity for which I applied. The work that I do here is aligned with other jobs that I have had. So, I started working here in 2013.

SUMMARY

This chapter aimed to fill a gap in social science scholarship on the lives of people who performed un/paid labour with newcomer populations in the settlement and integration sector in Ontario/Canada in 2015. It has demonstrated that the ways in which they entered and remain in this occupational sphere is far from straightforward and homogenous: they have joined it at various

moments in their lives, for different reasons and with different expectations or aspirations; they may or may not stay in it in the long-term. Moreover, their educational and/or professional but also their social relational paths reveal convergences and divergences. Specifically, this chapter has delineated four different career types (affixed, assembled, trapped, repaired); they variously configure structural and cultural, or objective, and agentic and reflexive, or subjective, aspects expressed during the interviews. Broadly, they show that those who work in post-migration services are neither fully determined by material and ideational impersonal forces nor are they in total control of their lives and choices.

CHAPTER 6: YOUNG REFUGEES ENGAGED AND ENGAGING WITH THE WORLD

INTRODUCTION

Service models/protocols do not, and perhaps cannot, deal with whole/complex people; they leave most/many aspects about their users/clients hidden. Post-migration service delivery typically reduces new settlers to lives that are 'starting anew'; their primary focus are settlement and integration stages/processes in the 'here' and the 'now'. Yet, post-migration realities are only one facet of an enduring structured, cultured and peopled movement of being and becoming in which many spaces/places and times (past/present/future) are involved and cannot be easily disentangled. Moreover, a sole emphasis on the return to 'normal life' sets people's experiences "in relation to the extraordinary" and obscures their "intrinsic human normality" (Espinoza, 2019, online). So, to better understand the people who experienced refugeehood, youthhood and service userhood/clienthood in their complexities, this chapter considers their social-cultural biographical trajectories as created by multiple and varied relationalities. They were also, to various degrees/ intensities, their creators – "by accident, by choice, and by force of law or domination". More concretely, the contexts and social relations they involuntarily and objectively accessed at birth implanted them in real and/or imagined social categories (age, gender, race, class, religion, nationality, etc.). They affected their destinies by imposing on them benefits or costs, including rights/duties/burdens. They placed them in dealings with people from other social positions (vertical, horizontal, un/caring, etc.). They also, more or less voluntarily, formed new social bonds (friendships, romantic unions, ties with recreational, educational, religious, political, etc. groups and institutions) in/through their participation in social and natural realities (Haley, 2018, p. 180).

Their conceptualization as individual/singular relational subjects assumes that their 'relational I' performs and participates as a self in these diverse relations; it also expands in the social sphere as a primary agent (Me), a corporate agent (We) and an actor (You) in/through/with them (Donati & Archer, 2015). Their socialization is grasped as "an active process of engagement with the world that works through relational reflexivity". Hence, their cultivation as 'socialized subjects', or people who have acquired personal and social identities, is relational. Yet, immediate

social relations are not entirely porous membranes as this would turn their caregivers[250] into "executors of society's normativity" and them into its "passive absorbers" (Archer, 2015, p. 125). Instead, they are "active socializants" who knowingly choose and/or discard ideas, rules, values, etc. obtained from their bonds with socializers. As human persons in social relations, that is, social agents, they are partly generated by social relations and partly able to reproduce or transform them. While their personal identity, or "the self as the being-with-this-constellation-of-concerns", helps them to mould a life around what they care most about and devote themselves to, they do not enact that under material and ideational conditions of their own choosing (2003, p. 20). The surfacing of social identities, or "the capacity to express what we care about in the context of appropriate social roles", depends on their involuntary positioning as social agents and how this impacts their voluntary becoming as social actors (p. 23).

This conceptual framing relies on the concept of reflexivity (see chapter 2). Structural and cultural constraints/enablements/incentives are mediated through agents. Reflexivity is the channel via which the young people strive to form their lives by making personally pertinent choices or reaching some power over their lives. It is via 'internal conversations', or ongoing reflexive self-confrontations (self-self relation), their dialogical contacts with actual/imagined/undeclared others/otherness as well as shifting structural and cultural circumstances, that they 'discern', 'deliberate' about and 'dedicate' themselves to what is of greatest meaning to them[251]. They intentionally form actional plans which they undertake to try to realize these concerns and generate a personalized mode of life. They also assess emergent relational outcomes (goods/evils) which they have experienced in their original and later social relations. Detectable divergences among interviewees indicate that reflexivity is heterogenous. Moreover, as noted in chapter 2, reflexivity itself must be contextualized: "reflexivity has a history" (2009, p. 31). Since all informants matured in late modernity – 1980s and beyond – they grew up in a world typified by global connectivity and diversity, a decline in authoritative practices, etc. They are then compelled to engage in constant learning. Although customary beliefs, practices, etc. still occur, they must be intentionally constructed and preserved. Contemporariness then confronts the exclusiveness of established socializers (family, gender, class, community, etc.); they also challenge the view of socialization

[250] The family is not the only contributor to socialization; peers, friends, the media, including social media, are of major significance. Yet, parents/caretakers are typically present from the onset of life; they are positioned as an inevitable social relational influence. This was recognized by all informants though in various ways.
[251] This refers to Archer's (2015) "DDD scheme of reflexive deliberation" (p. 129).

as an inert internalization of normativity: "there is less and less to normalize". Yet, while benchmarks are now less firmly allocated, more varied and rapidly transmuting, structural and cultural influences continue to maintain their grip (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2009).

Chapter directions

This chapter relies on social-cultural biographical data from 15 semi-structured interviews with young people who entered Canada as refugees before 2015 and were past or present service users/clients at the publicly-supported newcomer-serving organization in 2015. They were recruited with the help of two service providers/'gatekeepers of youth' (SP12 and SP6). Interviews used the Tree of Life metaphor (see chapter 3; Appendix C) which allowed to frame informants as being produced by social relations (even prior to their birth) and as producers of social relations in space/place and time, or in shifting structural and cultural circumstances (relational webs) (Donati & Archer, 2015). Moreover, each person completed a short sociodemographic questionnaire (see Appendix D). The content of this chapter is divided into **three parts**. The **first part** paints a portrait of research informants so as to introduce them. The **second part** illuminates the ways in which the interview data was sorted out and interpreted. It presents four types that emerge from intersecting two analytical dimensions: the quality of social relational outcomes in the natal/ familial lives of the young people with their need of selection/choice related to the processes of preserving or modifying their dis/continuities with their natal/familial backgrounds (Donati & Archer, 2015). The **third part** delves into each of these types in more detail.

1. PORTRAIT OF RESEARCH INFORMANTS

The majority of interviewees were between 21 and 25 years old. The youngest one was 15 years old[252] and the oldest two were 30 years old. Out of the 15 participants, 6 identified as female and 9 identified as male. Out of these male informants, 3 identified as transgender. One young man identified as "gay". While all other interviewees participated in the interview alone, he came with his older boyfriend because of his limited English skills. Informants were born in countries facing various types and degrees of structural and cultural turmoil: 6 were born in Africa (Democratic

[252] Parental consent was obtained prior to the interview.

Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Burundi) and 9 came from Asia (Iraq, Iran, Syria, India). While geopolitical borders affixed them in official identities, some interviewees contested them. Those from Iran all refused the 'Iranian' identity: they proudly defined themselves as 'Persian' or 'Kurdish'. Others loosened them: "Je dis que je suis Congolais mais je suis ouvert" (SU5). Moreover, all informants were polyglots. SU1, born in D.R. Congo, asserted that he could communicate in as many as 7 languages. SU5, a refugee claimant from the Republic of the Congo, spoke Mandarin: "Avant de venir au Canada, je voulais aller étudier en Chine. Il fallait passer par apprendre la langue, passer des tests pour décrocher la bourse". Not everyone expressed a high English proficiency level (evident in the interview excerpts). Only 3 interviewees (African origin) requested to speak in French; one young girl (SU12) mixed English and French. Further, 7 young people were openly practicing Christians (Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist); one of them was a convert to Christianity from Islam via her mother. Seven others were affiliated with Sunni or Shia Islam: 3 were practicing Muslims; 4 (who self-defined as transgender or gay) were born in non-practicing Muslim families. One of them came from a religiously mixed family – a Muslim father and a Bahá'í mother. While this sub-group's family celebrated *Eids*, they perceived them as cultural, not religious, holidays: "We had *Eid* but *Eid* not from Muslims. We have *Eid* from Iran, like very old…this is Iranian *Eid*" (SU13). One informant identified as a Buddhist.

Informants were raised in various familial sizes and all had at least one sibling. SU5 and SU8 (African origin) disclosed that their fathers had children with more than one woman (3 for SU5). In fact, SU5 grew up around some of his half-siblings – an experience that entailed familial tensions. For some young people, extended family members were of great significance; some co-habited in the same dwelling or resided in close proximity to one another. The quality of familial relations also varied: some informants spoke of tight bonds with family members; others mentioned distance and/or frictions. Some were raised by a single parent at some point in their biography (due a parent's natural or violent death or parental separation). One informant was married (SU8) and 4 young people were in romantic relationships (2 were long-distance unions). All informants experienced interruptions in their schooling due to sociopolitical troubles followed by their departure. They all carry memories of their early education which ranged from distaste to praise. SU6, a young man born in Baghdad/Iraq noted: "Even if the situation wasn't good, and the facilities were not as good as here [Canada], education was strong, I have to say." Some attended university in their home countries but did not graduate due to migration. Others had a chance to

be employed. SU14 completed her studies in Arabic Literature at Damascus University, the largest and oldest university in Syria, and worked as an Arabic teacher. A young man from Iraq (SU7) worked in his "father's bakery store".

Social class, or socioeconomic status, was challenging to determine for some informants. Two can be assuredly situated in lower social class. The first one includes a young man (SU2) born in Bujumbura/Burundi who came as a GAR; he and his siblings were orphaned and struggled in a refugee camp. The second one is a young woman (SU15) of Tibetan origins born in Uttar Pradesh/India who made her way into Canada with a group of privately sponsored refugees. She spoke of the poverty endured by her family and community and mentioned having sponsors from humanitarian organizations. SU5 expressed discontent with his inherited social standing – a working class milieu which generated many hardships for him and his parents with some secondary level education. Yet, it is more difficult to locate two female informants from Africa. One (SU4) noted that she lived in a pleasant neighbourhood in Bujumbura/Burundi – a gated area with houses "comme ici". Her mother finished one year of university in administration. In the case of SU8, her mother ran a small business. Both could be situated either/or in working class or lower middle class. The context of SU1 is harder to identify; he spoke favourably about his early life (e.g., had domestic workers), or prior to an unfortunate overturn of circumstances. The class situation of the youngest interviewee (SU12) was unclear, partly due to her refusal to talk about her familial past. The parental separation left her mother materially vulnerable; she spoke of financial problems in Uganda, the country of transition. All informants from Western Asia can be positioned in the middle class though internal variations[253] exist. SU13 made it effortless: "My family is not very rich, not every poor. We are in the middle." Others much less so. A young woman from Iraq (SU3) emphasized being born "in the best hospital" and that her maternal grandparents owned "big stores".

Interviewees arrived in Canada between 2009 and early 2015; most came in 2014. Specifically, 11 entered as GARs, 1 as a PSR (SU15) and 3 (SU4, SU5, SU8) as refugee claimants[254]. Some were clearly bothered by the 'refugee' label: "I'm not [a] refugee because I have PR [permanent residence]" (SU11). SU13 asserted: "I *don't* see myself as a refugee." SU15 was one of the "one thousand people" who made their way out: "Luckily, I got selected." She

[253] The middle social class can be further divided into lower, middle and upper middles class.
[254] They were not refused to by the youth program and some other services at the organization in question.

arrived with a group via a specific project for Tibetans approved but not funded by the Canadian government. SU5 stayed three days at a detention center: “Mon visa était valable, j’avais six mois, mais mon invitation avait expirée (…) bon, il y a eu certains soucis, je ne veux pas en parler.” SU8 also experienced problems at the Canadian border: “On voulait me retourner au pays (…) Je suis arrivée avec un visa. Puisqu’on était en groupe, je crois que c’est ça qui a causé problème. Si non, le visa était correct (…) je n’ai pas compris jusqu’à aujourd’hui.” Her destiny was uncertain at the time of the interview: “J’ai fait ma demande d’asile et c’était négatif mais j’ai fait l’appel et je suis en attente.” Similarly, SU4, who came as a refugee claimant with her mother and siblings, was unsure but hopeful about their legal future. All those who arrived as GARs spent some time in a country of transition. The length varied from a few months to a few years. The shortest period was experienced by transgender youth and/or the religiously (non-Muslim) persecuted; the longest time was faced by Muslim populations. For SU6, a Muslim refugee from Iraq, the process took years. GARs had to engage in interviews conducted by UNHCR officials: attitudes towards this process varied. SU30 disclosed: “We had to face two hard interviews, *very hard* interviews (…) they ask us the same questions many times and they separated us, and they asked each person the same questions.” Some interviewees shared their reactions about the acceptance of their claims. The same person stated:

> I cried *so* much because we were not sure about anything, nothing (…) We just wanted to leave Lebanon because we knew, as Syrians, we couldn’t stay a long time in Lebanon. We wanted to come to Canada but, at that time, we wanted to go anywhere – just leave Syria, leave Lebanon, and *all* Arab countries.

SU13 uttered: “I remember that day. I took a picture for myself exactly at that moment. It was one of *the best* days.”

All informants experienced problematic events at different moments of their biographies. Their migration was driven by various reasons: sociopolitical conflict and violence, gender-based and/or religious persecution, familial disputes and a search for better economic and educational opportunities. SU14 moved to Lebanon with her family for safety; she shared: “After the [onset of the] war, it was very dangerous, including during Christmas and Easter. The army was standing beside the door of the church and they were ready to just shoot at anyone.” For SU4, it was the

absence of a father, or patriarchal attitudes, that were difficult: “Au Burundi, une maison sans père, ce n’est pas respecté.” SU6 stressed the dangers created by war in Iraq:

> There was a lot of murdering, kidnapping, it became like a trend – people just kidnapping for money. There was no more control left. I think about 50 or 60 percent of the people left…the people who stayed are just desperate, low life people…I mean, around 2003, it got to the point where poor people would burn like dozens of 10 000-dollar bills just to start fire so they can warm up. The infrastructure was completely dead. And even though it started to go up a little bit in 2004, there wasn’t a lot of law enforcement agencies…plus everyone in the villa, where we used to live, left (…) The house itself started to fall apart. There was no more water, there was no more electricity in it and we just couldn’t stay there anymore. So, we had to go to UAE [United Arab Emirates]. We were planning to start our life there.

So, diverse sets of occurrences pushed informants to relocate alone or as a familial unit. Some of those seeking asylum came in a group; they pursued departure by any means possible. GARs stressed experiencing the need but not necessarily a desire to depart: “We don’t want to leave our countries (…) people want to stay in their country, because it is their country, but they are forced to move” (SU10). SU7 declared: “It was a *long* journey – leaving from back home, going to Syria, then coming here. This is where I really started my life.” Nearly all chose Canada and the city in question due to the availability of financial support and social networks as well as its perceived reputation. SU1 stated: “I was working with the UN. I used to give cultural orientations, so I knew quite a few places.” The processing time was also considered. For SU10 and his family, Norway was the first choice; yet they were told that the procedure will take “two and a half years”. They encountered a similar scenario for the United States and Australia. They finally chose a city in Ontario: “We had family friends, they told us it’s a good city.” SU6 captured the decision-making process quite well:

> We heard that the assistance that we would get from the U.S. is just around six months and is very minimum. And they told us that the Canadian assistance is much better – it’s for a year or something (…) So, we changed from the U.S. to Canada. I think that’s one of the reasons we got delayed because we got accepted to the U.S. In the U.S., there was just a small family, and they wouldn’t probably be able to help us a lot. But, here, we have a lot of family. I have my aunt, my father’s sister, and both of her kids, and both of them have families of their own. They are very much established. They have been here for almost twenty years. We felt like they are more established and can help us a lot.

Linguistic aptitudes also played a role: “We are really good at English. We are really bad at French” (SU6).

2. RELATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS: TWO INTERSECTING AXES

In order to trace the interlinkages between social relationality, the process of choosing of what is and/or is not meaningful from social encounters and the leading type of reflexivity, interview data analysis intersected two axes: (1) the quality of social relational outcomes (i.e., relational goods/evils), mainly those generated by the social-cultural/natal/familial milieu, or the settings from which a given person obtained socialized routines/habits; and, (2) the necessity of selection/choice of aspects from social-cultural/natal/familial milieu in light of contemporary contexts (low vs. high). Specifically, migration to Canada, but also prior relocations, produced a confrontation with ‘contextual discontinuities’ in the lives of informants in that their everyday conditions changed. It also entailed ‘contextual incongruity’, as the shift included, to various extent, a confrontation with opportunities which the initial milieu has not/could not have prepared them to tackle in a routinized/habitual manner. More precisely, contextual transformations removed them from, and modified their rapport with, the original setting; they also intensified the incidence of mixed messages what urged them to make choices. It changed the duration/scope of their educational and/or occupational paths, established new openings related to learning a new language, meeting diverse people, expanding social networks and developing different abilities, etc. Hence, their biographical formation encompasses active individual and relational processes of preserving or altering their dis/continuities with their social-cultural/natal/familial backgrounds (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003; Cairns, et al., 2017).

To gain insight into how young people think about action and how some actions lead to replicative or transformative outcomes, this analysis uses a typology of reflexivity. It draws on the concept of reflexivity theorized by Archer (2012; 2009; 2007; 2003). As a reminder, she has identified four ideal-types in her empirical studies: communicative reflexives, autonomous reflexives, meta-reflexives and fractured reflexives (the characteristics of each were described in chapter 2). Specifically, the junction of the two abovementioned axes generates a relational matrix

with four types [255]; each one is linked with a dominant reflexive type, or a distinct way of thinking about the self in relation to structural and cultural circumstances and social relations:

The Disconnected	**The Connected**
Relational goods + High selectivity ***Meta-reflexivity***	Relational goods + Low selectivity ***Communicative Reflexivity***
The Unconnected	**The Exconnected**
Relational evils + High selectivity ***Autonomous Reflexivity***	Relational evils + Low selectivity ***Fractured Reflexivity***

Table 7: Four configurational types (borrowed and adapted from Archer, 2015, 2012, 2007a).

Interview data was examined with an emphasis on these two dimensions; it also zoomed in on intra-/inter-individual dis/similarities via a thematic development. The analysis is only suggestive of trends; it is not prognostic/absolute. Since informants were young, and some more than others, they were still shaping their stances towards their selves, others and the world; they were also unaware of many things. In addition, it was assumed that, given their short life in Canada (at the time of the interview), most of their socializations occurred elsewhere. So, their dominant reflexive tendencies travelled with them across borders though they may be changing, are changing and/or will change. They were interviewed as they were met, or with no predetermined sequence, and at a specific situated moment in their lives. They were invited to disclose only that which they were comfortable to voice. So, interviews did not investigate their interpretations of the quality of their original backgrounds if they opted to remain silent about them. In fact, they did not deliver an equal depth of detail about their natal/familial lives. Some displayed heightened emotionality during the interview when speaking about the loss of family members; their limits were respected for ethical reasons. Their accounts were retrospective. Since they were no follow-up interviews, some missing or less clear aspects could not be expanded upon; it was also impossible to witness reflexive changes. Table 8 condenses the sociodemographic features of the research informants and associates them with a type.

[255] The types are inspired by the research work of Archer but re-phrased to better capture the relational aspects. While 'Exconnected' is not a dictionary word, it aims to preserve terminological consistency (with the 'connected'); the prefix 'ex' means 'out of, away from, lacking, former'.

Service User (SU)	Age[256]	Gender[257]	Religion	Social class of origin[258]	Country of birth	Ethnocultural group (as expressed)	Year of arrival in Canada/ Legal category	Major reasons for forced migration	Analytical type
SU1	30	M	Christian	Unclear	Democratic Republic of Congo	Tutsi	2013/GAR	Father killed; imprisonment with mother; refugee camp; political persecution	**Disconnected**
SU2	19	M	Christian	Lower	Burundi	Burundian	2014/GAR	Parents killed; refugee camp	**Exconnected**
SU3	16	F	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2010/GAR	Father killed; mother harassed; war	**Disconnected**
SU4	18	F	Christian	Unclear	Burundi	Burundian	2013/RC	Father killed; safety	**Connected**
SU5	26	M	Christian	Working	Republic of the Congo		2014/RC	Limited opportunities	**Disconnected**
SU6	19	M	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2014/GAR	"Better life"	**Unconnected**
SU7	24	M	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2009/GAR	Father killed; religious persecution	**Connected**
SU8	25	F	Christian	Working	Republic of the Congo	Congolese	2014/RC	Familial tensions; limited opportunities	**Disconnected**
SU9	23	M (T)	Muslim; not practicing	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013/GAR	Dangers linked to transgender identity	**Connected**
SU10	23	M (T)	Ex-Baha'i	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013/GAR	Religious persecution	**Disconnected**
SU11	23	M	Muslim, not practicing	Middle	Iran	Kurdish	2014/GAR	Familial tensions related to sexual orientation	**Disconnected**
SU12	15	F	Ex-Muslim; Christian convert	Lower	Democratic Republic of Congo	Congolese	2015/GAR	Familial conflict, conversion to Christianity; limited opportunities	**Unconnected**
SU13	25	M (T)	Muslim; not practicing	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013/GAR	Transgender identity	**Connected**
SU14	30	F	Christian	Middle	Syria	Assyrian	2014/GAR	War/safety	**Connected**
SU15	23	F	Buddhist	Lower	India	Tibetan	2015/PAR	Limited opportunities	**Unconnected**

Table 8: Selected sociodemographic features of service users/clients

[256] Age refers to the chronological age based on the disclosure of the informant.
[257] T indicates 'transgender'.
[258] This refers to the social class prior to migration and in the country of birth; the social class represents a strong guess on the part of the researcher.

3. EMERGING CONFIGURATIONAL TYPES

Trends between informants' narratives were mappable. This made it possible to position them into one of the four patterns: 5 informants were Connected, 4 were Unconnected, 5 were Disconnected and 1 was Exconnected. The rest of this chapter delves into each of the four configurational types in light of research informants' structured, cultured and peopled biographies.

The Connected: Relational goods and Low selectivity

Service User	Age	Gender	Religion	Social class	Country of birth	Ethno-cultural group	Year of arrival in Canada/ legal category	Major events for migration	Career goals
SU4	18	F	Christian	Unclear	Burundi	Burundian	2013 RC	Father killed; Limited opportunities	Pediatrician
SU7	24	M	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2009 GAR	Father killed; religious persecution	Business owner; Police officer
SU9	23	M (T)	Not practicing Muslim	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013 GAR	Gender identity	Network Administrator
SU13	25	M (T)	Not practicing Muslim	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013 GAR	Gender identity	Dentist
SU14	30	F	Christian	Middle	Syria	Syrian ("not Arab")	2014 GAR	Safety due to war	Childhood Educator

Relational outcomes in the natal/familial context

Presence of relational goods

The 5 informants had objectively thick and durable familial relations which produced positive relational goods. All were socialized in normatively consensual households led by two parents with no major relational crises or hostilities. While SU4, SU7 and SU14 lost their fathers by violent/natural death, they did so much later in life (compared to other interviewees). All participants were thus included for some time in the breeding of prosocial relational outcomes: "the family does not remain a couple plus a child but widens the dyad into a triad (plus)" (Archer,

2012, p. 99). All participants crossed borders with family members (SU9 and SU13 are cousins and migrated jointly). SU4 (16) and her four younger siblings were born in Bujumbura/Burundi in a united Catholic family – a form of relationality which she claimed distinguished them from others in her natal setting: "Ça dépend des familles (…) on a beaucoup d'enfants orphelins ou qui sont dans la rue." She was exposed to the value of nurturing a familial lifeworld, and social relational care in general, via the daughter-mother bond: "Ma mère disait: "Il faut prendre soin de tes frères, il faut prendre soin de quelqu'un qui a besoin d'aide."" She praised the relational goods received: "C'est une bonne mère. Elle est toujours là pour nous, les enfants. Elle nous aide. Elle nous accompagne dans notre cheminement." Her father was assassinated for political motives prior to their arrival in Canada.

SU9 (23) was born in Shiraz/Iran in a non-practicing Shia Muslim home: "Maybe this is not really good to say but we are not religious at all." This differentiated them from the extended family: "My mom's side, they are more religious, I can say. My grandma and my aunts are more religious." He disclosed an intense contact with them: "Every single day I am talking to my family. So, we really have enough time to explain about what's going on with the whole family, even the country…I can say that I know ninety percent of what is happening in Iran." He exclaimed with amusement: "Every single day she [grandma] is finding a girl for me back home!" He branded his family as "friendly, warm and strong" and valued familial travels across Iran. He also prized the sacrifices made by his mother: "My mom, she did a lot for me, even for going to school (…) maybe she just said no to things that she liked and gave those to me…and that's why I really appreciate it." He referred to his father as his hero: "I really appreciate that he is trying to keep the family, working hard." Yet, he revealed attitudinal variations between his parents; the family was thus integrated but differentiated:

> Because she [mother] had more time to spend with us, she was more calm than my dad. My dad, he is good too but he never risks…he thinks everything should go by the way that it is (…) My mom thinks like this: "I have to tell you this and this is this and then you can decide." My dad's thinking was different than my mom's.

Similarly, SU13 (25), another interviewee who identified as transgender, was raised in a religiously flexible household: "My parents are Muslim, but they don't push me to be Muslim. Today, when I think about religion, I don't care about that stuff." He recalled engaging in familial

cultural celebrations such as "Iranian *Eid*." He remembered enjoyable family visits and outings: "We used to go outside the city every week for picnics." He also spoke of supportive relationality: "I never worked in Iran. My father always supported me." He considered his father as an important influence: "He's a gentleman. He's always quiet. I like his personality. We were always close. We didn't speak too much but I knew what he wanted to say." He shared: "When I argue with people, my father always said: "Don't argue, be quiet, be gentle."" He esteemed his mother: "She always look at me as a guy who wants to lead the family." His older sister's relational contributions were particularly special: "She came to see me in Turkey. She bought everything I need by herself. She doesn't care about herself too much. She always do it like this." Like the previous informant, SU13 was also really invested in maintaining a bond with his parents at the time of the interview: "We speak every night, *every single night*…we are close."

SU14 (30) was born in Damascus/Syria in a cohesive Catholic family. Compared to others, she was less detailed about her early familial experiences, possibly due to her older age but also intense separation anxiety: "I have old feelings. I need more time to forget everything." She specified: "I miss my friends and my home and my church. And old Damascus." She recalled happy family times: "We used to go on vacation to Lebanon. We used to spend one month [there] every summer." She admired her mother's occupational sacrifice for her children: "She was an English teacher. She had to leave her job to take care of me and my brother." She lived with her parents and sibling all her life: "I was happy because we had our own apartment. We didn't have to rent. In Syria, rent and buying a house is very expensive." When the war in Syria worsened, they moved to Lebanon and completed procedures with the UNHCR; they aimed for Canada because her uncle was there. A few months prior to relocation, however, her father passed away: "I cried *every day* that's why I can smile now. I cried *every day*." In her post-migration life, she resided with her mother and brother. The informant included in her natal/familial context her religious community and identified with its deep roots:

> The history of Damascus is Assyrian. Assyrians are the Aboriginal people in Syria. The name Syria came from Assyrian (…) Assyrians, all of them, are Christian. But everything has changed when Arabs attacked Damascus (…) But some people refused to change their religion.

She declared this heritage as her social relational anchorage: “I present myself as Syrian but not as Arab. I like to be Syrian because really, like, I’m proud of my history, the history of my country.” She was also engaged in the community of Girl Scouts: “We used to go every summer camping. We actually discovered all Syria. We could see all Syrian history.” Her connection to her birth country was alive while in Canada: “I always follow the news in Syria”. She dreamt of an embodied reconnection with her homeland: “I hope, one day, to visit Syria after the war.” SU7 (24) was born in Baghdad/Iraq in a closely knit family of business owners: “My grandpa had his own store, a bakery – bread and desserts. My father had the desserts and two other bread baking stores. My uncle had a restaurant. It was all in one area.” He benefited from such an upbringing. He worked at his father’s bakery store day after day as of 4AM: “I used to work a lot. I have experience. It’s good. It’s something I learned back home. I can do it here.” He spoke of enduring familial contact: “Everyday I see my family back home because we lived on one street. My grandparents’ house was one kilometer away, my aunt’s house was just fifty kilometres away and my uncle’s house too.” Social relationality extended into the natal locale: “We used to all play soccer, do stupid things in the streets, play (…) marbles. This [game] is number one, actually. Always played that with neighbours, friends.” In 2006, his father was kidnapped and killed while they became targets because of their Sunni Islam. The family moved to Aleppo/Syria where they had relatives. Original familial bonds were preserved: “My family – five people – and my grandma, grandpa, and my cousin and my uncle, we lived in one house.” The informant also arrived in Canada with his immediate and extended family; they chose the city in question because of the presence of other closed ones. He stressed the worth of the familial unit: “Most important thing is family, spending time with family. I had so many experiences with people. It’s *just* family that is important.” The son-mother tie is of particular relevance: “My mom – she has my heart. She’s very nice, she’s very important. This home without her is nothing.” SU7 also praised his older sister for her hard work and for motivating him in the educational domain. He recognized the influences of his deceased father and home friendships on his biography: “I had my dad at the beginning. He inspired me with work, school. Some friends…each person has something that inspired me…something related to school, work. It’s all related to success at the end. It’s something that keeps me going.”

Agony from separation from the original domestic milieu

All informants experienced anguish generated by the departure from their natal/familial context. SU13 found the physical distance from his family excruciating: "This is hard for me. It destroys me *every day*." The reduced opportunities for social support was also a source of emotional distress: "Back home [Iran], everybody cheers you up but here [Canada], nobody cares." SU4 disclosed that she missed everything about Burundi, but especially her family: "Depuis que nous sommes partis, on ressent l'absence." She also reminisced about local social ties: "Ici, tu ne connais même pas la personne qui habite en face de toi!" She added: "Les gens sont froids ici." This impersonal relationality was new to her: "Pour nous, c'était impossible! Tu connaissais la personne qui est ici, là, qui est là-bas!" Moreover, she decried bureaucratization in Canada what exposed her distaste for the institutional: "C'est difficile de rencontrer quelqu'un quand tu as en besoin. Tu trouves toujours la secrétaire mais elle ne te donne jamais l'information que tu as besoin…n'importe où tu vas." In the case of SU9, the source of his happiness was that of his family: "My family's happiness makes me happy. Even if I'm in very bad situation and I'm not happy but I see them – they are laughing, they are really happy – I feel happy." He highlighted with deep sorrow the struggles linked to their separation:

> Living with my family is much easier than here. Here, I'm alone and I have to take care of all the responsibilities (…) I have a lot of things to do. But, back there, I was just sharing all of my things and maybe my mom, my dad or my sister, or even my friends, could help me.

He repetitively spoke of family life he left behind and performed comparisons between the past and present with a focus on loss: "In Iran, I was on the right path. I was getting better and better and I just lost everything. I feel bad but I don't want to just look back. I always look what I can do in the future." He then uttered: "I don't like to look back but, sometimes, when I think about what I had and what happened to me, and right here, again starting over, it makes me feel tired." His time in Turkey – the first place of relational fragmentation – was particularly harsh:

> In Turkey, it was so hard because I left my family and I loved them. I was alone and we didn't know the language. We didn't have any experience living alone because in Iran, we had a family and we had their support, whatever it is. So, I was really sure that it was like there is a hand behind me, they really can support me…in Turkey,

> my family was away. I was alone. I had my cousin but like both of us were new and we didn't have any experience. It was super hard. And, we had to start working early, we had to learn the language. And the hard part is that I could see my friends in Iran – they were finishing their school, they were going to real jobs, and then for me…I just…left everything behind…I went to Turkey.

Migration disrupted his settled way of life; it was also draining: "I already moved to Turkey. In Turkey, I started from nothing and built something. And, again, come to Canada, I have to start all over." Upon arrival, he worked with an uncle in his "building company." This proved to be difficult: "Imagine, my first winter, I'm working with metal. That's kind of hard (…) I wanted to work. So yah, but I found it very hard. The next day, I had to go to school, and I had backaches." It is only later that he managed to find less painful jobs: "I'm working as a bartender. And then, Tim Horton's (…) If I have a busy week with my studying, I'm just working three days a week." In addition, given the value of communication in his life, his main challenge was its shortage:

> I saw groups of people [newcomers], they are together, and they don't want to communicate with others (…) Some Canadians are like that too, they don't really want to find new people for their group. It's hurtful…I try to feel this country is my country but in my own country something like that won't happen (…) I feel like, okay, it's good if everyone is all together, like united, you know, country (…) Whenever they know I'm a foreigner, as long as they don't know, everything is cool, and they are just talking with you, everything is fine, and after they realize I'm not Canadian, everything cut, shut down.

For SU14, it is the separation from her homeland that brought her severe pain: "I hated Lebanon (…) like dealing with people there wasn't easy (…) It wasn't easy for us to get jobs. Lebanese people cannot find jobs, so they weren't happy to accept when Syrians come to Lebanon." Her displeasure was further palpable upon arrival in Canada: "I cried when I arrived. I didn't like it at first at all…I don't know, I hated it. The employees there [reception center] are very very good people but the building is old and it's really hard to take the bus." Once in their apartment, her torment continued: "I felt really scared because we were alone, and our English wasn't perfect. And I was scared if something happened, we didn't have anyone to ask (…) During two weeks, I couldn't leave my apartment." Her suffering thus correlated with the commotions in her established way of life: "Now, I cannot stand my life! It's very hard. I can't sleep well." She engaged in relentless contrasts between the past and the present during the entire interview:

> I feel sad because I always remember how I lived, and I look how we live *now*. But every day I ask myself why that happened…why we have the war, why…why in Syria? We lost a lot of people in the war, we lost people who we knew. It wasn't easy. Until now, I don't find the answer to my question.

She elaborated – again:

> Before the war, we had *good* life. We had many benefits, the government, even if it was not the best, it gave people some important benefits (…) My life in Syria wasn't perfect but it was better than here. At least I could work in my field. I was happy in my job. But here, it's very hard. I never worked and study at the same time.

She concluded about her new everyday realities: "My life now is like between jobs! I don't have a lot of activities." She attempted befriending people at church but encountered obstacles: "All the people are busy here. They live far from each other, so it's not easy. Because we live in a small apartment, it's not easy to invite people." In the case of SU7, he was troubled by the split from family when he took a job in Alberta: "I moved to Alberta – *no family*. That's why I came back right away. It's not just family, some friends are like family too (…) I couldn't really stay there longer than three months." He then came back to live with his family and accepted less prestigious work at a local restaurant: "Yesterday was hell! I couldn't handle it. I *hated* that job yesterday. It was so busy…because I'm alone at the grill (…) and it's busy from 10am to 10pm, one shot, non-stop." In fact, he quit it many times: "I quit, came back, quit came back (…) I quit in the restaurant like ten times…work problems. And I'm the best at what I do there so he [boss] always calls me back."

Forming a life and outlining personal concerns

Need for familiar/similar interlocutors and their inputs

Informants grew up in natal/familial contexts that granted them contact with conversationalists upon whom they could depend "to complete and confirm the distinctive reflexive pattern of 'thought and talk'" (Archer, 2012, p. 130). Hence, they exhibited a communicative reflexivity: their ruminations are guided by the inputs from familiar/similar talkers before they make choices, largely because "they mistrust their lone internal dialogues" (2003, p.

207). So, they enhanced their "intra-subjectivity with inter-subjectivity (or internal with external conversation)" (Archer, 2007a, p. 102). This suggests that "the membrane between the life of the mind and the life of the group is highly permeable and there is a regular two-way trafficking between them" (p. 167). Further, friendship for the *Connected* is "multi-faceted", or "covers a plurality of dimensions". It is based on commonalties, or with people who can grasp and infiltrate their fixations to such an extent that they can confirm them (2012, p. 147). They opt for bonds characterized by "extensive sharing plus generous reciprocity" (p. 148). SU4 affirmed that the most vital people in her life were her family and friends "parce qu'ils sont toujours avec moi, ils m'influencent." She stressed: "J'ai besoin des gens qui m'accompagnent, des gens qui me soutiennent – mon entourage (…) qui sont prêts à m'aider dans les difficultés, dans les moments difficiles, qui sont toujours là pour moi." In Canada, she created friendships with newcomers: "J'ai rencontré beaucoup de gens qui traversent ou qui ont traversé des mêmes problèmes d'immigration que nous. On s'entraide." She preferred Burundians: "Je les rencontre facilement: "Oh, t'es Burundais ou Burundaise?" Ok, on est ami(e) tout de suite!"

At the heart of SU9's relational world was his mother – his conversationalist of choice. Their bond has produced abundant trust and shared concern. He depended upon her to conclude his internal dialoguing:

> I think maybe the good thing my mom has, she is looking forward. She can see what will happen later: "These are your choices". She is explaining every single thing and then she makes everything easy for me. Okay, right now, I'm here and I have to decide for something, and she explains that: "Okay, if you go this way, you will be at the end, you will be like this, or like that."

As previously mentioned, his migratory journey was organized with his cousin who also identified as transgender; this offered him access to a familiar/similar. They chose the Canadian city in question because of relatives: "We have two uncles here, that's why we came here." He specified: "We are really close, but the problem is that they are working a lot, a looot. So, we can't really see each other…in winters, there is less jobs, they have more time. We go for birthdays, for Christmas, for New Year." He saw one of the uncles as a guide: "My uncle here is one of the persons that I'm looking at…see what he is doing, how he is doing." In this original context, SU9 had many social relations: "I had a lot of friends like from school, and, of course, from university. We had a special place – it was a coffee shop. It was *our* place. Like every single night we were going there." At

the time of the interview, he noted that most of his friendships are with people facing similar gender-related realities and "who left Iran." He also forged links with people from Iran in Canada: "I'm not trying to communicate with every single Persian person but I'm trying to make the environment easier for myself." He favoured relations with older people as he saw them as more mature and family-oriented:

> Right now, the regular friends that I'm going out with, they are older than me, families even. If I go out with friends that are same age as me, I don't feel comfortable with them because…maybe I look like kind of stupid in front of them. I'm calm, I don't like the kind of things that they do, these kinds of jokes. For me, I feel like those jokes – I hate that – like kicking your friend and running away…

This fondness for maturity also manifested in his romantic relations: "I never had a girlfriend that was younger than me. All my girlfriends were older than me, all of them". He specified that it is tied into his need for commonalities:

> The people, when they see that, they say: "You are a kid, and you need someone to take care of you". But you know what I say? "I'm not a kid." The thing is when we are in relationship, we don't have any problems because we have a *common thinking*, you know, because I'm thinking older than what I am.

He was dating and cohabiting since about a year with an older female of African background (prior to that he lived with his cousin). He ardently spoke about the onset of their bond – an account which, once more, prioritized the value of communication:

> She was in my class and I hated her. She was sitting in front and she was speaking very low level. I was trying to hear something, and it was making me mad and I was like: "Can you pleeease…" and she was just with herself, talking on the phone, sitting in a corner. And, I just hated her…I don't know what happened but after that we started to talk, *I really like to talk to people*, like different people, because I like to get experience from different ones, I thought that I just have to go see what's going on, why she is like that…I just start talking to her…we started going for lunch together. So, we were friends and every single day I was waiting for her to finish class (…) I was waiting for her, we meet at Starbucks in college, and every single day we were seeing each other. In January, we moved in together.

She was deeply anchored in his internal space: "When I think about future, I'm thinking…she is always there in my imagination, in my dreams." His family accepted their togetherness:

> My family knows she is living with me. Every single day I'm talking about her. It is very clear…I have never said the words: "*She is my girlfriend*". Every single day they are asking me how is she doing…they are not going to talk about it clearly…but my dad about this stuff is more close to me.

While he sought the conclusion of his thoughts by others, he also completed others' reflections – in a reciprocal fashion:

> I think my friends, they are all happy with me because they are coming and they talk to me: "I experienced this, I experienced that." Yah, even one of my friends, she is close to me. She calls me every day and she says: "What should I do?" I'm just, I don't know, I'm sharing what I know, my experience, with her. When I'm making her feel better, I think that's valuable…like helping people...Sometimes, I feel like I don't have to harm myself because I'm trying to help other people but I'm trying as much as it's not bothering me.

When asked what he has received from others, he identified trust – a vital relational ingredient for communicative reflexives who rely on what others would do in similar situations:

> The trust…when you see someone is trusting you, it's beautiful, you know. When you see that, you feel like you are a really trustful person. When they are kind with you, when they are laughing at you, smiling at you, these are the things I got from my friends.

SU13 also left Iran with a familiar/similar – SU9: "As a feeling, we supported each other." Once in Canada, they first resided at the reception center which felt overwhelming to him: "There were too many people there." He then shared an apartment with his cousin for about a year and then moved in with five roommates in whom he perceived more similarities: "They are very quiet – like me. I don't like very noisy." He was a member of an "Iranian transgender group" on Facebook and socialized only with people from Iran: "That's my problem, I have too many friends from Iran!". He added: "I don't have any Canadian friends (…) it's easier to speak Persian. I'm lazy." He even obtained employment at a pizzeria through a compatriot: "I found a man from Iran and he said he needs someone." SU14 identified her mother as her closest interlocutor: "My mother – she's my friend. I can tell her anything I want. She helps me a lot. She understands me. When I feel stressed and, like, sad, she can talk to me." She also maintained contact with 'home friends'

via Facebook and assisted them: “Sometimes, I try to help my friends. I can listen to them; I try to support them. When someone tells me about his or her problem, I try to help them. I think how I can help them.” She became friends with “Arabs from Egypt” and “Syrians” and noted that relationships with Canadians are too difficult: “I cannot express my ideas, what I want to say.” She clarified: “We cannot understand the Canadian culture well (…) We mean something, but they understand it in a different way.” In fact, communicational problems were a main concern for her: “We [Syrians] are very direct but Canadians, when they speak, they are indirect. We are very direct, we say the truth (…) We don’t mean to hurt someone, but some people can’t understand that.” She also observed: “I feel people [Canadians] don’t go deeply. We used to speak about complex subjects like religion, politics; here, they avoid it.”

SU7 considered the time he spent in Syria as relationally memorable given the availability of familiars/similars:

> I remember a lot in Syria, more than Iraq, because I lived there for three years and a half. It was the best. The people there were nice (…) other than the government, people in the city make you feel like you are inside, like you are in your home, mostly friends. That’s why we didn’t feel we are different. We escaped…there were lots of Iraqis. So, most of my friends were Iraqis, there were Syrians too; they were mixed.

He was invested in these ties: “We used to go to café-internet a lot, go from city to city, like different cities with friends…there is a city where there’s a beach. Basically, we would just go see friends.” He saw the inclusion in Syria through cultural resemblances and declared: “It’s more about the feelings, you know, things you cannot express.” After nearly a decade in Canada, his friends were still largely from Iraq: “I don’t have Canadian friends with whom to I chill every day.” When asked about his sources of sustenance in life, SU7 spoke of inputs from significant others, or “some people that make me grow and grow.”

Active replication of domestic way of life

Since informants cherished natal/familial relational goods, they worked to retain them; they also aimed to reconstruct their original circumstances. To do so, they opted for actional routes, in conversation with others, which gave rise to structural/cultural reproduction (Archer, 2012; 2007). SU4 practiced the moral teachings she received at home: “Depuis que je suis jeune, j’aime aider,

j'aime faire quelque chose pour quelqu'un." She stressed her community engagement and perceived herself as a social helper: "J'aide beaucoup les gens, je suis prête à aider et servir." She indicated that others perceived her as "acceuillante, chaleureuse." She also primarily identified as Burundian which, to her, embodied a prosocial relational stature: "politesse, respect envers les autres". Moreover, she continued to see her faith as a source of strength: "Je sais qu'il y a un être supérieur qui est toujours là pour moi, qui me protège." She intended to work with children, preferably as a pediatrician. This aspiration stemmed from her direct experiences with siblings but also early events. She not only often had bronchitis but saw many children suffering in Burundi. Her favourite volunteering at the time of the interview was thus in daycares.

SU9 recognized the impact his family had on him: "My family taught me how to live. They taught me how to be a good person." He spoke of normative influences that fashioned his conduct and that he now highly valued:

> Right now, I'm living with my girlfriend. What I see in myself compared to her, there are a lot of rules that I have, rules for anything: rules how to sit, how to eat, how to treat others, how to do this, do that, like everything. If I want to compare myself and her, I see a difference. This difference is because of my family…as I said, they were so…I don't want to say we had a formal family, but we had rules, and still, I can see that…those rules are really back in my life, as much as right now, I have a good quality of life, I can say, it's because of those rules I learned from them.

He depicted his mother as a "person who likes going out" and admired her interpersonal abilities: "Because my mom's communication is so good, and because she is easy going, everyone could very easily connect to her…doesn't matter if the other person is very different than my mom." When asked what he believes others appreciate about him, he mentioned his interactional skills and non-condemnatory stance: "my communication (…) it doesn't matter if the person is bad, good. I'm matching with people really fast." He confessed that he acquired these attitudes from his mother whom he saw as a mentor: "I learned this exactly from my mom because she is exactly like this (…) but my dad, he is not really like that. He has to find someone exactly like him." Additionally, the proclivity to "look forward" conveyed to him by his mother was central to his constant ruminations:

> As long as you are growing so you can go to a better life. And then (…) what you want from your life will be more, like I want more now, you know what I mean? At first, it was very tiny [apartment]…right now, I feel it's time to go to a better place.

SU9's career aspirations also demonstrated some continuation with the domestic realm. At the time of the interview, he was completing his "last semester" of adult high school and hoped to pursue a college degree in network administration. He completed two years of computer science in Iran. He traced his interest in technology back to home: "I was maybe 11 or 12 years old when we bought a computer. And, I really loved the computer and was working with it a lot, not just the software. I was taking the case out and throwing everything else." He mentioned his father's applied scientific inclinations: "My dad was working with a group of engineers and he didn't study to be an engineer, but he was engineer by experience." He ran a business for some time. While still in Iran, SU9 was motivated by his entrepreneurial spirit: "I was printing business cards. I was repairing people's computers in their house. I started from there. I was in the right path…and I had to move." It can also be speculated that his commitment to education was solidified by his lower middle-class background. His parents "got married very young" what hampered their ability to study. His father talked about the anguish a lack of an official engineering degree created in his life: "That's why he was always saying that "I'm missing something, you don't have to be like that"". The interviewee was also immersed in maintaining a link to his natal/familial context via a dedicated interest in its cultural traditions:

> I'm reading poems mostly, I like poets…they are Persian. We have a huge background for the poets. These days, young people, there is a lot of new stuff to think about, no one wants to be…when I think about myself, I feel like I'm an old guy in a young body. When I'm with my friends, when I see them, I feel like I'm just like a grandpa in front of them because, yah, because what I'm thinking, it's just grandpa…my girlfriend tells me too: "You are just like my grandpa." Yah, I'm listening to music style that is really old, like really old poets.

Unlike other participants born in Iran who criticized the country, he defended it against public misconceptions what suggests some deep-rooted attachment to it: "I really really want to tell them [Canadians], don't judge the people by the news you are hearing from your TV, you know." He went on:

> I feel like they are just judging us on the way that they think we are. Even my cousins, they are born here, and my uncle, he left Iran many years ago. He doesn't have any imagination for the new Iran which changed a lot. My cousin told me: "Do you have email?" I was like: "Yah, sure". And: "Do you know what is Facebook?" And I was like: "What do you think about me?! I came from a jungle?!" I came from a country that is maybe in some points, it's much better than your country. And other people are like this too. I really experienced that sometimes when I tell people that I am from Iran, I feel like they think that I don't know anything, and I'm just like blank.

One of his key objectives was to recover a stable mode of life, or the one he lost:

> In five years, I'm still in Canada but I'm not alone here…I hope I have my regular life; I don't have to worry about getting used to something. I wish I live like the way I used to be in Iran. It was my life, I was living my life, I didn't have to run after my life to catch it, you know what I mean? I really need to be like here is my country, here is my life, here is my family.

He believed that he has begun experiencing some successes:

> Something I feel proud of, when I see the people that just arrived…when I see them, I see myself. I can say that I am in higher step. They are still struggling with their language, they are struggling with how to find a job (…) then I see myself, I feel like I moved faster (…) I feel like I did something.

SU13 saw his father and his uncle as his heroes and aimed to emulate them: "My uncle, he had a very hard journey, and he came here [Canada]. And my father too, he had a hard situation. If they did it, I can do it too." He identified with his social origins and actively pursued the link with them:

> I love to be Persian because, you know, too many countries are new, and they don't have too much culture (…) my culture has roots. So, I'm proud of that (…) 250 years ago, Iran had a country (…) people had freedom. So, it shows how people were modern during that time.

He was absorbed in history: "I don't listen to music anymore. Because music and movie are now changed. They kind of try to be modern which is not like before. It doesn't make sense anymore. I like historical music. I like to read books from my country but old. Some of them, I read on Facebook. I have pages from Iran." He also made social comparisons: "Some of them [people] come to my work, they don't say "hello", "thank you", or "please". They just point to the pizza

and not even one word! In my country, it's *very* rude, it's *very* rude." He also defended his people: "It's not busier [in Canada]. People act busier. I think, in Iran, people are busier because they work harder and take less money. But here, you work harder, you have more money." At the moment of the interview, he expressed financial need: "I like to be a dentist here because I think it's more successful here than architect. So, when I finish my dental hygienist or dentist, I'm not sure, I would like to continue my architecture as a hobby. I'm thinking about money first. I need to make money."

In an attempt to distance herself from 'Arabs' (Muslims), thus imitate her Christian origins, but also because her mother was an English teacher, SU14 took English courses: "In Syria, we couldn't practice English at all. We just learned basic. People in Syria just focus on Arabic, Arabic." While she finished university studies in Arabic literature, it's not something she dreamt about: "I didn't choose it. In Syria, everything depends on our marks. I get good marks, but I had to get better marks in English. That's why I had to go to Arabic literature." This led her to employment as an Arabic teacher. In Lebanon, she worked in an "international consulate for Arabic language" where she performed editing. She disclosed: "I preferred working as a teacher." After arriving in Canada, she worked as an Arabic teacher – an opportunity she received via her religious community: "I volunteered in the church and I met the principal and because she knew my history (…) she asked me to work with her. I was happy. I worked for the first year." She also volunteered as an interpreter for Arabic-speaking clients. She also intended to study Early Childhood Education in order to reconnect with her professional past:

> I want to really study well. I want to improve my English so I can go to college. I don't want to work in this kind of Tim Horton's (…) I spent a long time studying, I focus on my school. So, I just come here very tired, but I don't care. I was successful. I want to become successful again.

Yet, she envisioned to do this at her own pace: "[Assigned service provider name] tried to push us to study at [adult] high school but I refused because for me, it's not easy to go back to high school because I already graduated from university." She praised her father's willpower – something she herself adopted: "I'm a person who doesn't give up easily (…) I'm stubborn. My father was very stubborn. I'm like him." Given her investment in home life, she desired to make her mother satisfied: "I hope that we can be successful – that would help her to be more happy." She also

aspired to create her own familial unit: “I hope one day I can have a son or daughter. I don’t have any boyfriend. In Syria, we don’t have boyfriends.”

SU7 was willfully devoted in his religion: “It always was like this – I prayed time to time. I don’t drink, I don’t smoke, do drugs, any alcohol. I never did in my life until now. It’s not something I need. I feel good not doing it.” He aimed to copy the socio-economically successful familial background in which he was nurtured. He admired his father for “working hard, just being successful.” He adopted a similar method: “If I need something or I want to make something true, I just have to work hard for it. I have to run after it.” He emphasized: “He [father] always wanted me to finish school. If I get good degree, he would buy me something big. My brother finished high school and he bought him a car, a very expensive car in our time…that’s how big school was for him.” The informant attempted to follow in his footsteps:

> I liked sports. I went wrestling for several months (…) My dad was a wrestler. He even came to Canada in 1987, in Vancouver. He was like a wrestling champ. And then, he stopped (…) in the 1990s. Then, he opened his own business.

He saw himself as “passionate about success, being successful – in school and work, together.” He underlined: “School and work are the most important things to me right now.” He defined ‘success’ as “finishing school, finding a job, buying a house, always going up, moving forward, reaching your dreams.” At the time of the interview, he worked at an Afghan restaurant but desired more: “I don’t really like working in restaurants. I’m good at doing the food but I like a clean job. Me and my friend, the other day, we were talking about opening a moving company. It’s easy making money, you just need muscles (…) we are planning to do it this summer.” He was accepted in college in police studies as well as in university in criminology and had to make a choice. Given his past, he was pulled towards the former: “I like being a police (…) it’s something that I really want...applying law, safety…back home, in Iraq, I saw people getting killed in the streets…lots of my cousins just got killed when a car just came and just open the guns on them.” He mentioned that his mother saw him as the pillar of the family: “She described me always like the skeleton of the house, like a building has a foundation.” SU7 took that seriously, especially that his mother’s health has deteriorated: “I’m trying to buy a house for my family (…) I spoke to a mortgage broker two days ago, she gave me some steps because, you know, with my credit. I have two loans on me of cars.” He hoped to get married to an Iraqi woman: “It’s my own culture, it makes me feel good.”

Investment in people and moral communitarianism

The personal concerns of the *Connected* are significantly situated in interpersonal relations – with family and friends. They are "investors in people". They also practice a "moral communitarianism" (Archer, 2014, p. 12). Inspired by her Roman Catholicism, SU30 helped the poor by assisting a charitable woman in Damascus: "She has family, but she opened her house to accept food and everything to help people. She helped around 300 families. That's why we went to her and we helped her." Alongside Mother Teresa, she saw this woman as her hero: "I never met a person like her. She is an angel. I think I was always looking for a person like her and I found her." She added: "I feel like when I do good things for others, I feel happy." SU9 attempted to sponsor his parents. While he already researched the process, this is not yet possible due to his unstable situation. Since his parents had financial struggles in Iran, he helped them out from Canada:

> My dad had a business and the person they were doing business with, the person ran away. And, they had to start all over. And they start and again, everything lost…that's why, when I see my dad trying this way…no one is working like him. So, when I see him working like this, I don't feel good just being here and spending my money, having fun with my friends…that's why…even sometimes, I need that money but when I see that money works for them, I feel more happy.

The informant was incredibly devoted to making his family proud of him: "My hope is to finish my college and start working and be someone and make my family happy (…) I really want to show them that if you did something for me, this is the result." This yearning was connected to the parental disappointment he felt he provoked by his departure: "I remember how I hurt my mom."

SU13's post-migration daily life was also fuelled by an ambition of familial reunion: his dream was to bring his loved ones to Canada. In fact, he did not prioritize himself: "I should bring them [parents] here first and then think about myself." He reaffirmed numerous times during the interview: "When I'm thinking about the future, I want to bring my family here." His long-term vision was to build a familial house: "When I sit, I think of my family – *always*. I can imagine them in a house which I created." SU7 was dedicated to helping newly arrived Iraqis: "I always help people, doesn't matter from where, but most of them are Iraqis. My uncle has an organization, it's the [name], it's for the Iraqi community." He observed about himself: "I think of people more

than myself – that's my problem. It's a problem when they don't appreciate it (…) I always give but don't receive." He traced to his familial socialization: "My dad was like that, always gives, helping people with all types of things – time or money or anything. I believe it comes from my dad and mother – they are really nice, and they give and help. They don't care about receiving."

Self-adjustment to dominant structures/cultures

Given the centrality of relationality with family and friends in their lives, informants were apolitical without being ignorant of social injustices: "they have succeeded in carving out a micro-life world whose intrinsic satisfactions outweigh any difference that extrinsic macro-political intervention could make to them" (Archer, 2003, p. 184). SU4 claimed: "Il n'y a rien de difficile. Il faut juste s'adapter (…) aux changements." She clarified: "On essait de ne pas se stresser parce qu'il y a le stress, tu risques de ne pas aller de l'avant." SU9 avoided socio-political matters and community-based initiatives, charitable activities, etc. He affirmed that what helped him in Canada were "people explaining everything how it works here, it's not all about language, it's about the culture." For example, he appreciated the attention he received from his accounting teacher:

> OH MY GOD, he is just super good. And I feel a real success from his face…he offered me some kind of help that none of the teachers could. He said: "My brother is working at IKEA. He is Manager and if you want, he can…if you want to go there or something." When I am talking with him, I feel like just to hear, I don't want to talk…I just want to look at his eyes and waiting for him to talk.

Instead of focusing on macro-politics, SU9 thus stressed on the impact of the interpersonal; he depreciated the institutional. When questioned about the history of this attitude, he reinforced the dependence on others in his inner ruminations:

> I can say…my family and other thing is I'm really paying attention to other people's lives, you know. Sometimes, I'm trying to look at my life with another view, you know…and then, I can see that what are my strengths and what are my weaknesses. So, I think this comes from my mom (…) it's like I'm using other people's experiences. As I said, sometimes you can experience something by yourself or sometimes other people's experiences, you never have to just wait and see what will happen for yourself, you can see what other people they experience, that will be a lesson for you.

Similarly, SU13 was displeased with LGBTQ+ support: “Most of them were gay. *It’s not my problem*. I need more information about, like surgery”. He had no interest in “reflecting”; he only needed practical information. He also expressed frustration for not finding venues that offered immigration advice: “There should be a counsellor who knows your language who can tell you how to bring your family.” SU14 stressed the reliance on the micro-world: “We didn’t call [assigned service provider] too much. We tried to depend on ourselves.” They even found their apartment on their own. She sternly devalued the institutional:

> I cannot depend on social assistance. I don’t want to depend! Actually, I get welfare but I’m not happy with that because it’s not easy, they push us. They ask us questions, too much questions, like “why you left that job”, “why don’t you go to that job”, “what do you do”, I don’t like this kind of questions. I don’t like anyone to push me more. I’m working hard. I don’t want anyone make me more stressed.

What she saw as helpful was also direct interpersonal connection: “Teachers at school help me so much because thy really helped me to improve my language.” She divulged: “Like sometimes, I feel very tried, very sad. I know people cannot help me – just listening is the best thing they can do.” She remembered one particular teacher who encouraged her: “One day I cried. I cried too much because I felt I was not good enough in English. So, she talked to me. She supported me. I love that teacher.” When questioned about the most and least helpful aspects of post-migration support, SU7 declared: “Everything is helpful to be honest (…) I’m here [in Canada] today.” He stressed:

> It’s a big gift that I’m right here (…) whether it’s from Canada, from God, or it’s luck, whatever (…) I lost my dad there, but we have now – it’s a gift. We have a new life here. We are safe and we can do anything we want to be successful.

He was pleased with the services he got: “I really didn’t feel I needed something else.” He recognized the potential of newcomer-centered youth services to shield young people from destructive tendencies via constructive relationality:

> When I came here, I got involved with all these activities. I knew friends and had school. I didn’t go on the street, knew bad friends (…) I have seen some Arab newcomers, they are really away from, you know, being on a straight path. It’s great

> to be involved for young people who come here, to spend time with them because if you just let them out, they don't know where to go, what to do.

He identified as an "immigrant" and did not recalled experiencing discrimination in Canada: "Not in real life, I saw online." He added about his post-arrival social encounters: "I don't remember bad ones. If I had bad ones, I don't remember. If I don't remember, the good things are more than the bad ones."

Loosening of communicative reflexivity

Some informants exhibited certain changes in their communicative reflexivity. SU4 affirmed with conviction: "C'est ma famille qui me préoccupe le plus, leur bien-être" but then added: "Ce qui me préoccupe *encore plus* c'est les études." While she still helped her mother with childcare, she dedicated increased attention to her education. She not only stayed in school after hours but limited her religious practices such as choir though she still wished to engage in a prayer group. Although she aspired to have a family, she was now open to a non-Burundian partner since sticking with one's own group would be "trop discriminatoire." She noticed a harmful relational impact of social insularity: "quand tu restes avec la même culture, tu ne changes pas!" SU7 was also preoccupied with moving forward thus noted about his past: "It's good to have those kind of experiences for the future, you know. I'm here, I'm appreciating a lot things that we didn't have there." When speaking about future marriage, he expressed some detachment from the natal/ familial milieu: "In religion, I cannot marry…but still, it's my own decision. It really depends, I might find a girl who is not Muslim, but I love so…it depends."

SU9 expressed a desire to be able to freely manifest his preferred gender identity: "I was trying to just keep myself in the true path (…) by force it was coming in front of me. And, I had to just go." While he considered a sex change surgery essential for his happiness, it is also a source of severe anxiety (unlike for SU10 who literally lived for it): "I have to get it done. And it's kind of hard to do that. It's something that is really bothering me whether I'm happy. Once I think about that (…) I don't feel good about that." In any case, it is during the arrival of danger that his communicative reflexivity became a hurdle that constrained his necessity of selection. He was confronted with an incompatibility between his natal background and a range of opportunities. He

was thus pulled into two opposite directions: to stay vs. not to stay in Iran. He still found a way to finalize his decision to leave via his mother and others in a similar situation:

> There were sort of things that happened and I had to move…not family, it was all about me (…) it was something risky (…) I had to move…maybe I had a choice to stay but, as I know, sometimes, you have to – you by yourself – you have to experience something to understand something, and sometimes, you have to use other people's experience. *So, what I did, it's the second one: I used other people's experience.* And, as I said, my mom – she just said to look forward. And she explained to me what may happen in the future.

The movements from Iran to Turkey and from Turkey to Canada, or the contextual discontinuities they caused, made SU9 face new opportunities. He was challenged by two ensembles of relational networks and their interlocutors; they produced some disruptions in his communicative reflexivity. This was noticeable in how he spoke about his 'home friends' at the time of the interview:

> Even if, right now, I go back and sit with them, I don't have really much to say but back in the time, we had mutual subjects to talk about. But, right now, the way I'm living really changed, everything, even the way I'm thinking, really changed…the life here is different from Iran.

He also perceived the replication of his natal context in Canada as a struggle:

> In Iran, it's different. The kids are…they don't think like the way here, they have less headaches than here. The people are more free, yah, they really have time to enjoy their life, to just think what they really want to think. Right here [Canada], because we are just really busy, we don't have time to think about the things we really like.

He was ever more preoccupied with the development of a mode of life which would allow him to achieve his personal identity and obtain social identities that personify it:

> I'm 23 years old. In my country, the person already knows what they are doing. But, right now, I'm still running. I am trying to get somewhere. And, everyday I feel like I'm trying to do my stuff and I feel like I'm still behind (…) like, the school, every morning I have to go to school, I have to work as well, okay, I have to go for my driving license. I'm trying to change my name. Okay, you go home, this thick envelope in your mailbox…trying to go for useful additional courses because I'm

> still not satisfied because after 23 years old, I shouldn't be like here. I have to go much faster. I don't want to hurt myself; I feel like I need more.

SU13 was also awakened by a quest of self that suggested a normative differentiation:

> In my childhood, I was searching for myself. So, when you are transgender, you are always: "Why am I different?" You are looking for yourself. So, when I'm thinking about the past, I'm remembering myself thinking about who I am what I want to do.

Residing in a religiously conservative society, he lived through temporary familial tensions:

> My mother, she didn't accept at all at first. It was very hard for her. But, after a few years, she came here [Canada] for one year before I come here. So, my uncle spoke with her. And, after that, she said: "Oh, it's not a big deal. So, why do I take it to heart?"

This drove him to leave Iran – a society with two formally recognized genders, each possessing its distinct attributes: "I could change my city. If I changed city, nobody knew me. But you are always afraid that somebody knows (…) So, I said: "No, it's kind of risky if I live here."" Anyone who confused this delineation was viewed as disordered: the public sphere assessed trangenderism via a non-criminalizing but mental illness-oriented framework (Ardebili, 2018). This was clarified by SU13:

> In Iran, they say that they accept transgender in government, and they do, really. But they don't say it to the people (…) So, when they see us in the streets, we are weird to them. They look at us strange. I think now, society is very dangerous for people who are transgender. Too many people I know run away because of society, not because of government.

He stressed the need for conformity: "You have to be same as the people. If you are not, you have to leave. You cannot change everybody; there are too many people. So, you have to leave them." He rebelled what aggravated his parents: "Me and my cousin, we were always trying to go out without *hijab* because we are transgender. So, we didn't accept *hijab*. So, my family was really afraid for us."

The Unconnected: Relational evils and High selectivity

Service user	Age	Gender	Religion	Social class	Country of birth	Ethno-cultural group	Year of arrival in Canada/ legal category	Major reasons for migration	Career goals
SU3	16	F	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2010 GAR	Father killed; mother harassed; war	Doctor with private clinic
SU6	19	M	Muslim	Middle	Iraq	Iraqi	2014 GAR	War; "better life"	Electrical Engineer
SU12	15	F	Ex-Muslim; Christian	Lower	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Congo-lese	2015 GAR	Familial conflict; religious conversion; limited opportuni-ties	A good job; Actress
SU15	23	F	Buddhist	Lower	India	Tibetan	2015 PAR	Limited opportuni-ties	A good job; dancer

Relational outcomes in the natal/familial context

Deficiency in/absence of relational goods

Informants experienced more troubled natal/familial dynamics, or a shortage of relational goods, than both, the *Connected* and the *Disconnected*. They lived in less stable or secure natal/familial milieus though with less acute relational harms than the *Exconnected*. Despite some duration of their marital bond, their parents did not lean towards (or were unable to) their relationship and its relational outcomes. So, they were "parented by *two individuals, rather than by a couple*" (Archer, 2012, p. 168; italics orig.). SU3 (16) was born in Baghdad/Iraq and raised in the district of Adhamiya until grade three where they continued to own property. Her grandparents also had "big stores". She mentioned that her parents were "from the same town but not related"; their union thus defied the tradition of intermarriage between cousins. She also disclosed that her mother was 14 when she got married. She barely knew her father: "I don't remember him much because he died in 2005, the night before my birthday. I was turning six". He was fatally hit by a bullet in his kidney on his way to the mosque. This tragedy brought her family closer to a maternal aunt's household: "We were like a big family". It also began a "dark journey" which led to a one-year stay with maternal grandparents in Anbar, a town in Iraq, and a transitory

stay (2006-2010) in Syria "because it [Anbar] was so different from a city place – there was not much water." While she did not enjoy the rural Anbar, she appreciated Syria: "Syria was amazing. We lived in a city where it's like Vancouver. You know how beautiful Vancouver is? That's like the place we stayed at. Every summer we could go somewhere new." Specifically, the initial move was prompted by an unsolicited romantic proposal targeting her mother after her father's death:

> Terrorists, I guess that's what they call them here, one of them, the leader, in the neighborhood where we lived, he wanted to marry my mom after my dad passed away. And my mom was refusing. She didn't want to get married. She was like: "I want to take care of my kids." He tried to get to my cousin, he tried to convince him to join him. So, my cousin was in danger because my mom said "No" to that guy. My family, my aunt's family – we were all in danger. They once kidnapped my cousin. The other time, they threatened him; they sent him a bullet. And it was just so dangerous to stay there – it was war plus those people. So, it was hard. My uncle, he lives with my grandparents, he sent us a car from there, so they wouldn't know we are actually moving. Half of us left. It was like 4AM so that nobody sees us. Me and my mom, my uncle and my sister, we stayed so it doesn't look like we are actually moving. And, after two weeks, the same thing happened. At 4AM – we took the car, and we went there.

She pointed out: "I've lost my dad but I'm so thankful to have my mom. She is like two persons – my dad *and* my mom." Yet, she recognized feeling his absence: "Not having him with me is really difficult, not having like a mom and a dad. My mom is great but still…sometimes, you just go like: "What if he was here? How would he see this, you know?"

SU6 (19) was also born in Baghdad/Iraq but in an inter-sect Muslim household: a Shi'a[259] father and a Sunni mother. He thus engaged with distinct people, or, in his words, he was "raised in both houses" what evokes relational bounds. This was possible because "back then, there wasn't this much conflict that happened between the beliefs." He recognized normative distinctions between his two familial sides thus treated them separately:

> My father's family were more liberal, more science oriented. They were doctors, engineers, these kinds of stuff, whereas my mother's family were conservative, they were, most of them, army generals, lieutenants…and…so, I was raised by both of them, you know, I had a taste of both worlds.

[259] Shi'a Muslims formed the majority of the Iraqi population but not of the global Muslim population (Jafar, 2017).

His paternal family has emplaced him in a comfortable social class: “My grandfather used to be one of the first doctors in Al-Basra which is a place in the North. And so, he was pretty famous and wealthy.” His father succumbed to cancer in 2003 after seeking medical treatments in Jordan; he was about seven years old. Moreover, he spoke of rocky familial dynamics and an inability to depend on other male influences: “My uncles were kind of grumpy, grouchy”. When he was about ten, he relocated with his mother and younger brother to Sharjah/United Arab Emirates (UAE) because “things got really bad” in Iraq because of the war. They lived with an aunt for about one year but eventually had to leave: “There used to be this law during the war that Iraqi women cannot have residence without a male.” So, they moved to Syria with the help of an uncle who was in Saudi Arabia. They stayed there for nearly a decade, initially with family members – an unpleasant relational experience: “They just helped us stand on our two feet, but they were really distant. They weren’t the ones you could really rely on. So, after a while, you know, we distanced ourselves from them. We didn’t like them a lot.”

SU12, a 15-year-old female born in Congo, stated early in the interview that she disliked talking about her father what immediately suggested difficult familial relations. She disclosed that she is neither in touch with him nor his side of the family. She finally revealed: “One of the hardest things that happened to me was the separation of my parents, like when they got separated, I was really hurt.” She expressed a negative view of marriage: “The experience I have with married people is not really good. I have never seen a happy ever after.” The informant was born in a Muslim household; her mother eventually converted to Christianity. This led to marital dissolution and a cut-off from the natal/familial context. They – SU12, her mother and younger sisters – relocated to Uganda where they stayed for nearly three years prior to coming in Canada as GARs in 2015: “C’est ma mère, c’est elle qui a décidé mais je crois que c’était pour chercher une meilleure vie…ma mère nous en parle pas mais des gens parlaient…des gens ont dit beaucoup de choses.” She added: “Les premiers mois, on vivait avec notre grand-mère et après on a trouvé notre maison.” She was thus also raised by an individual – not a pair: “Everything I do, my mom taught me since I was young. She shows me what’s wrong and right.” Moreover, she condemned relational harms and voiced gratitude for her mother’s parenting strategies:

> If I am surrounded by people like family, what I need is love and affection. I don’t really love people who are strict, who scream loud, who are always arguing. That makes me uncomfortable. I love people who are easy, who understand and if I did

> something wrong, tell me but don't scream at me. I also hate people hitting me because my mom, she doesn't really hit me. She talks to me. Sometimes, I am grounded if I did something really bad but doesn't really hit me, like get a stick, she doesn't do that.

SU15 (23) was born into poverty in Uttar Pradesh/India, in a "separated area for Tibetans". Her mother was illiterate, and her father was a Buddhist monk. He passed away when she was in primary school:

> On that day, me, second sister, older sister, we went to neighbor's house to see a movie. Suddenly, we got a call (…) "Hey, hey, your father has passed away!" On that day, I was very shocked. We believed that father would stay with us. We were very shocked. I didn't know what sadness was…on that day, without knowing anything, I had tears. I cried a lot after seeing my father's dead body (…) He was sick because he fell down from the roof, not that high. He fractured his leg. From that day, he become weak, but we didn't expect he would die soon. The same with my brother.

She disclosed domestic tensions, largely caused by the paradoxes in her father's conduct and relationality:

> He used to drink a lot too…he was not a pure monk. We have different kinds of monks. So, he can get married. Some monks cannot get married or drink…he drank a lot! Whenever he drank, he abused my mother. And I don't like him for what he did…When he was not drunk, he was very sweet; whenever he got drunk, he became horrible. He told me he loves me too. I am the youngest. He used to tell me interesting things about life. For that, he always asked for alcohol. Whenever I asked him to tell me a story, I used to go buy for him.

The interviewee also lost a beloved older sibling in a tragic event: "One day, he came for holiday. After vacation, he went back. In the middle of travelling, he had a train accident and he passed away. We didn't see the face; faces were burnt already. We didn't get his dead body." She stressed with sorrow that "people remember him" for his kindness. He also left a mark on her: "He inspired me to do the right thing, not wrong thing. He always shared what is good to do. Whenever you can, you should help other people."

Early imposed independence

Informants' natal/familial domain involved normative dissensus, or the presence of mixed messages, which drove them upon themselves (like in the case of the *Disconnected*). All four lived through their parents' fragile or shattered relationships: they endured parental separation – enforced by a parent's death (SU3, SU6, SU15), or a choice to leave (SU12). So, they saw their mothers recreate a new mode of life during their childhood/early teens. Except for SU3 (too young to remember parental dynamics prior to her father's murder), SU6, SU12 and SU15 noted normative differences within their domestic sphere which confronted them with a necessity of selection. Moreover, SU3 and SU6 endured more geographic mobility, or contextual temporariness, than others. Broadly, the informants experienced an independence that was pushed upon them. SU3 expressed incongruencies in her depictions of her natal/familial context. She noted that "Iraq is a place where you find all religions" and that she was born in "the best hospital" which was Christian. She described her mother, her sister and herself as "not very religious" but still observant of basic religious duties and her brother as a "practicing Muslim". After her father's death, her mother was obliged to wear *hijab* but no longer wore it post-migration. She also refused to live near familiars/similars: "[Service provider] took us to a lot of houses. But my mom didn't like the area because there were a lot of Arabs. She said that she doesn't want to get into problems with Arabs." Beside the absence of a father, SU3 remembered playing alone with toys "in a corner", not only because she was the youngest at home but also because of danger: "It was hard for me to go outside because there was war…it was hard to go outside and play. They were shooting all the time." She had two older siblings of which one is disabled due to a neurological problem in his legs caused by premature birth. He requires constant care thus was always given greater relational attention. She asserted: "All his life, he is 24, he is in a wheelchair. She [mother] has to take care of him all these years. She is such a strong person, an independent person. *I think I got that from her too*." She recalled a significant event which left a profound mark on her, or strengthened her sense of autonomy:

> I was 7 years old; my mother would send me to do groceries by myself – that was a *big thing* in Iraq. All the shop knew me. Even though it's 6pm, she would have her trust in me. Even one time, I was getting bread, I was wearing earrings, they were gold earrings, and then a lady, she grabbed my earrings, and she took them. So, I

> started screaming at her in front of everybody: “Give me back my earrings, give my back my earrings!” And so, she was running away, I held her so bad, she couldn’t even move. So, everybody just came, and she gave them to me.

SU6 not only perceived normative differences between his maternal and paternal sides but he was then parented by his mother: “Most people learn everything from their father, especially if you are a boy. And, I didn’t have a lot of that orientation.” He thus lamented a lack of a male role model. This forced him to use his own mental resources (thus not cling on to familiars/similars like the *Connected*):

> I have learned the most from TV, the internet, just seeing different lives, different people. You can say that I learn one different thing from every person that I have met. So, I’m the kind of guy who likes creativity and difference (…) I like the way my brain operates (…) I was always interested in English and I learned a lot from movies. Right now, people tell me I have good English (…) I was very much interested in math and I’m pretty much good in math (…) If I’m interested in it, I think I could do a lot of good things.

He saw himself as embracing obligations linked with adulthood and taking control of his personal needs:

> Ever since my father passed away, I have thought myself as taking responsibility of my family. And the luxuries of laying around and being the kid was just not very much offered to me. I had to take charge really soon (…) I think the idea that I have to think of myself as much as I have to think of others just got me through it.

SU15 was left to herself in her familial setting: “I didn’t have that kind of influence because I stayed with my mom. And my mom had no idea about politics, about the social because my mom is illiterate, she has never been to school.” This provoked loneliness: “When I was young, I had few friends.” She then experienced familial splits because of education: “Since childhood until eighth standard, I stayed with mom. After that, for four years, I stayed with classmates and teachers.”

Forming a life and outlining personal concerns

Autonomization, responsibilization and mastery of the self

Informants' natal/familial contexts promoted a hasty emergence of their autonomization and responsibilization. Their internal dialogues were then animated by an autonomous reflexivity: they appeared convinced by their mental assessments and supplied answers imbued with independence. All expressed self-directed remarks about their personal normativity; they also avoided the herd, that is, they were indifferent to others' opinions. They also seek "to master the controllable, to minimize the uncontrollable and to live with the unavoidable" (Archer 2012; 2007, p. 202; 2003). SU3 asserted that her father's early death has notably contributed to making her "strong". She saw herself as resilient and self-directed:

> So, sometimes, people my age are like: "Oh, that's okay, I can't like go there. I'm just so scared to go outside, do this, having new experiences." *But I'm not like that*. I became a responsible woman because of him – because he is not here. Like, some people would be so dependent on their parents, like their dad, to like back up their plans, save them from something, but he is not here. *So, I'm just on my own*.

She demonstrated boundless self-confidence. She found approaching strangers, thus the unknown, easy: "So, everyone likes to talk. You can just go on the streets and people just want to talk about anything." She appeared as a person who takes control over external circumstances instead of one to whom things happen:

> It's what's *inside* that matters. Even though you have the most positive people around you but from the inside you are so negative, you can't be positive, you know. *It's you who makes you*. If you want to be beautiful, you have to make it yourself. *It all comes from the inside of you*.

She added: "The experience might be negative, but you have to look at the bright side (…) It's for you to choose what you want to be." She used her personal experiences to assist other young newcomers (during summer vacation). She transmitted to them the importance of self-reliance in the face of unfamiliarity:

> Well, since I started YAC [Youth Advisory Council], that's all I have been focusing on: helping newcomers. I would go to reception and talk to new people (…) *I don't want them to be scared!* I was *so* excited to go to school. We came in May, so school was almost over. I couldn't get registered. [Service provider] booked an appointment to do my test. We went there, I was like: "Mom, I don't want to be late!" I was *so* excited. All summer, I was like: "Mom, when am I going to do my test?" I was just *so* excited. The first day of school, I was just *so* excited to go. *So, I want them to be excited too because they seem to be so scared. I wasn't.*

Yet, this spoke to the opportunities she had in her natal/familial milieu to extend her range of experiences beyond those of familiars/similars.

SU6 noted that others often see him as adult-like:

> I have been told that I'm mature for my age. And I think that's partly because I had to mature pretty early. That's the thing I didn't like much about the students in high school – none of them were mature enough (…) So, that's one thing that people like – that I'm mature enough.

He stressed experiencing personal growth through past experiences:

> I know a lot of bad things happened, a lot of tragedies. There were some risks in our lives as well, but I learned a lot from them. I met a lot of people and learned the good things probably, yah. You don't really make a stand in this life unless you see both good and evil and if you don't see the evil, you are naïve, you don't know what's good and evil. So, I believe this experience humbled me. I know it benefited me in that way and the friends and the people I have met. I even met someone that I love so…I'm not complaining at all about it.

His worldview was oriented by a principled individualism:

> I believe in freedom of speech. I believe in freedom of a person's religion. I don't believe in disrespecting any religion, even if I don't believe in it. Even if I believe in freedom of speech, I believe that there are certain lines that people should not cross (…) people have freedom so that they can know they have responsibility to make the right thing, not just freedom to do whatever they like. So, that's how I think of things…I mean, I think of things I believe in. I like what I believe in.

When asked about mentors, the informant affirmed that they include people who are capable of self-monitoring:

> I like people who stay true to themselves. I believe in being good even if it meant compromising oneself, even if I had to relinquish some of my freedoms or something. I believe in doing good and anyone who does that to the maximum is just an idol to me. I believe in Gandhi who relinquished his own personal freedoms, basic freedoms, which is eating and drinking, to do good. Also, I like people who can discipline their body. I know they are movie actors, but Jason Statham, maybe, Jackie Chang. I like those people because you see them training for five to six hours a day and that's just a discipline that I would like to have.

SU15 disassociated from some social norms: "I loved roaming with boys. I used to play cricket, sports. I used to play with boys, not girls." The departure from home to attend secondary school pushed unplanned situations upon her: "I used to hesitate a lot before I talk to people. You won't believe me. For the first time I went to school, 9 to 12[260], the senior [teacher] started to introduce us. You know what I did? I cried! I was so nervous." Yet, the imposed independence led her to develop self-reliance: "I filled out forms for biological sciences. When I was 10 standard, I got to know what science subject is (…) In my family, no one has this kind of inspiration." She now values independent talk. When faced with hardships she stated that she tells herself: "It's okay, it's okay, everything is going to be fine, everything is going to be fine. You should trust yourself, take a deep breath. Difficulties come and you should face them, and you can do that." She also affirmed: "I love people who speak frankly and who share opinions without hesitating…because I think I am like that. I like that! (…) I was kind of boring before. I think I'm changed." She is especially inspired by good public speakers. In fact, she developed so much self-confidence that she participated in singing competitions, back in India. This way of thinking continued post-migration. She underlined the necessity for self-discipline and autonomy:

> What they [helpers] did was sufficient for us. After that, it is our responsibility to do what we want to do. Their responsibility is to bring us to Canada and give us shelter until we get employment. After that it's our responsibility to take further steps. They cannot do spoon feeding.

[260] The interviewee referred to the Indian education system – 9 to 12 standard (secondary school, average ages 14-18).

Selective normative replication and its mixture with newness

Given the limited accord in their early natal/familial milieus, their original context could not be easily replicated; it had limited relational goods to reproduce. Informants thus picked aspects from their domestic realms by assessing them as worth maintaining; they also merged them with an examination of the opportunities in broader contexts. They started to devise personal concerns which began to carry them away from their original backgrounds (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003). SU3 identified as a Sunni Muslim but defied the conventional Islamic dress code: she not only did not wear the *hijab*[261] but came to the interview in a mini-skirt. She emphasized her self-determination and desire to uphold to her individualism:

> My cousins actually chose it [*hijab*] when they were young but, at that time, I didn't want to wear it. Nobody ever told me: "You have to wear it". Even if they did, it's *my own* decision to make. I never wore it. I guess I'm not ready for it because when you wear *hijab*, you have so much responsibilities – you can't do this, you can't do that, you are representing the whole religion.

She also stressed, with a certain pride, that people tell her: "Ever since you were born, you seem like a Christian person." She attributed this to early friendships with Christians. She took Qur'anic classes in Syria with cousins but lost the knowledge: "I just don't remember it." Yet, she adopted an active stance towards her religious background: "Every decision I take…what would God say about that? Or my religion. I'm not going to drink alcohol because it's against my religion, eat pork. Those things that are against my religion, I don't find them attractive." She also conveyed a religiously fuelled motivation to help others:

> Because I feel like what if it was *me*? I would want someone to help. So why not help others? God asks us to help others and…the Golden Rule…not judging people is a great thing too. What if it was you who was in that position?

She displayed a conscious relational separation from her original context:

> Every time my mom talks to my grandparents or my uncles, I'm always busy. I'm not that close with anyone. My dad's side…I'm not even close with them. I don't even talk with them actually. I'm just so busy, everybody has their own life. I guess

[261] The mandatory nature of *hijab* is debated by scholars.

> they do too. So, we don't really talk to them. But my mom's side, I'm just "Oh hi". For *Eid*, we call each other, we talk. But it's such a short talk because I don't know them. It's awkward. It's really awkward.

Yet, she continued to value the daughter-mother bond:

> She [my mom] is super kind. She would help anybody. She would even help people who wronged her. I think that's what I got from my mom. She has a big heart. If you met her, you would love her! Another thing: she is really strong after all that she has been through – my dad, my brother (…) I want to make my mom proud. Actually, that's my goal! Making my mom proud. Because my brother couldn't graduate, my sister couldn't – she got married before she graduated.

Her disconnection was also palpable in her relation to school: "Back home, the teachers were strict. You would do something, and they would hit you…I never liked my teachers." She presented a certain infatuation with North America: "I was looking for a new experience because U.S. and Canada – their schools are so cool!" She intentionally chased normative difference (she attended a Catholic high school):

> When people come here [Canada], they look for people from their own race. If I'm from Iraq, I will look for someone who is Arab or born in Iraq. But I got here…and I have three people from Iraq; they were siblings. I never spoke to them for like the first year. I literally wanted my English to be good. So, I found a girl from Philippines. She came a week after me. Her English was the same as mine, so we were like friends to practice. We were just talking in English. If I was just speaking in Arabic, I would never learn English.

Given her inclination to experiential openness, she revealed that her current friends are multi-cultural/religious: "I have Columbian friends and an Iraqi friend. I have a Portuguese friend, a friend from Rwanda. They are all from around the world. They are from Europe, Asia, South America". She thus denounced social segregation and pursued inclusion: "In the cafeteria, you will see there is a table for Black, Filipinos are sitting all by themselves. You go to my table: There is Arab, Black, Columbian, White – there is everything, I guess. Some people are different, they don't want to be other people." Her friendships were mediated via her interests and mainly restricted to them:

> My friends – we all have *the same* goals. We are all trying to succeed and get good grades. We even have the same classes. We spend a lot of hours studying because we *actually* want to do good. So, they help me, I help them. They are my heroes! My friends are really great. You can't find really good people who are trying to succeed *that* much. Like, a lot of people have dropped out of my school or just don't come…You have to choose the right people.

SU3 denounced traditional action and oriented herself to a moral abstract knowledge: "People with no education don't understand (…) if there is something that seems really really right, they just think: "No, this is wrong." They need education to understand the world better."

SU6 stated with great clarity:

> I don't want to be in the same place that when I used to be a kid – a place of having suffered financially. I'm not blaming it on my father or my family, there was no jobs, there wasn't a place to get money, but I just don't want to end up in that situation. I just want to have enough financial stability to do whatever I want and not ever suffer the feeling of "OH MY GOD, I don't have enough", you know. I hate that. Like I'm humble, I don't want to be that luxurious and have palaces and something like that, but I want to have enough resources and enough financial assistance that I can do whatever I want. I want to feel obligated, maybe even after I'm done, start helping other people with it, like I want to branch out to that place…I don't want to be the person who just wastes a paycheck at the end of the month.

He chose to identify with his paternal side: "I believe in Shi'a [Islam], which is, you can say, we are a minority in Islam (…) it's not that we are different from Sunni or anything, it's just we can think of ourselves as more hard workers in prayers." This was not a blind social propagation: he vigorously engaged in a process of reflecting on his social roots:

> It [Islam] provides meaning to my existence (…) Beside Abrahamic religions which I believe to be true, I mean, there are some other religions that I don't believe to be true regardless of who believes in them, but, even then, people have always tried to explain their existence in this world (…) so, I believe this one way is quite real and quite understandable. I believe this way about all Abrahamic religions – Judaism, Christianity, all of them. I just believe that Islam is more sustained. It hasn't changed a lot since it was first created. I believe other religions have changed a little bit to cope with the world.

He consciously accepted that the religious group into which he was born was not an imposed duty but a way towards a 'good life': "It's a lifestyle, it's nothing that you feel obligated to do. The

whole thing about it is to teach us how to live right." This informant also sought out new relational experiences after arriving in Canada: "I was friends with Canadian, Chinese, Pakistani, Indian – a lot of different backgrounds. I like different cultures." He desired to preserve reasonable autonomy in the life he envisioned for himself: "It's not very healthy to stay close to family when you get married. So, I don't want to be as close, but I still want to be close to my mother and brother." His leisure activities also divulged his penchant for novelty. He not only enjoyed trans music because of the "rhythm" and wanted to "make music and learn the piano" but aspired to "learn a lot of languages". SU6 also fell in love with a girl while in Syria (in grade eight). At the time of the interview, she was moving from Turkey to Germany. They were in close touch: "You get to chat every day, almost all day, every week. We do calls, video chats, it's easy." This confronts his religious upbringing which frowns upon pre-marital dating.

In the case of SU12, her parents' religious dissonance presented her the necessity of selection: in Congo, she celebrated *Eid*; in Uganda, she went to church three times per week. She opted to follow her mother: "Ma mère, c'était elle qui s'est converite la première. Je me suis rendue compte qu'être Chrétienne c'est mieux qu'être Musulmane. Et puis, je me suis convertie et les trois soeurs." Yet, she disclosed a normative defiance: "I'm not really really *that* religious parce que I also love other stuff that are not religious." The interviewee admitted that coming to terms with her new familial structure was a gradual process. Yet, it is now one that she values:

> As time passed and I was living with my mom, I realized that I don't need a father. Like, right now, I am good with my mom. I really don't need it. I realized that you don't need two parents to survive in life. I'm fifteen now and I'm living with my mom since I'm ten and my life is good. I don't lack anything. I have everything. If I need anything, I just need to tell her, and she gets it for me. So, as to what helped me to go through it is time and the love I got from my family. So, I realized that I'm better…I was thinking that I'm going to die or something like that but…it doesn't make a difference, you just have to get used to being with one parent (…) I'm good with my mom and sisters.

In addition, she distanced herself from the natal context in terms of her likings: "Moi, je n'aime pas les films Kalingala, la musique Kalingala (…) je n'aime pas mais ma mère, elle aime." She added: "J'aime, j'aime, j'aime beaucoup regarder des films indiens et aussi les films en espagnol, Mexican movies." In fact, she is strongly attracted to a career in the film industry:

> Quand j'étais toute petite, quand j'avais six ans, je voulais être docteure mais maintenant, je veux être une actrice. Pour docteure, quand je voyais ma mère travailler – elle est une nurse – quand elle était en train de soigner les gens, j'aimais tellement ça mais quand j'ai commencé à regarder des films, like Disney Channel, I really loved that. When acting in school, I really loved it…avec la volonté de Dieu, I will be an actress.

When asked to clarify influences, she stated: "Pour être actrice, je ne pense pas que quelqu'un m'a poussé vraiment." She thus offered the idea that her career aspiration had nothing to do with contextual replication (though she lived with an aunt in Uganda who had some film experience). In fact, she invested time in chasing this dream: "Je me suis rendue compte qu'il y a plus d'opportunités ici qu'en Afrique. Comme ici, I just go online and search for 'Acting Schools' and they bring out a whole list of them."

Desire for social mobility and focus on performative achievement

Informants self-presented as remarkably active agents who prioritized educational and/or occupational obligations; they also exhibited strong aspirations. Their accounts thus exposed intense investments in their working lives. They yearned for social upwardness: their personal identities centered on practical worldly results; they especially received pleasure from their performance (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003). When asked about her long-term life goals, SU3 fearlessly affirmed: "In ten years, I will hopefully have my own clinic, my own house, my own car. I don't want to get married so I'm not looking forward to that." So, a prestigious career – not family – was her fixation. She affirmed: "I want to become a pediatrician. I like working with kids and kids love me." This contradicted how others saw her:

> A lot of people tell me: "You should be a teacher, because you really help people and you would be strict when you have to, like you know when is the right time to do something." (…) A lot of people tell me I should be a social worker too. I love working with people.

Her aloneness at home when young allowed her to submerge herself in practical activities: "I would always have a bag with me, and I would just take everything in the washroom if you get hurt. So, I would always take that and put it in my bag and pretend I'm a doctor. I had the stethoscope." She also traced this career interest in her personal health issues but also those of her

brother: “When I was really young, until I was three years old, I was always in the hospital because I was always sick. So, my brother is in a wheelchair – so that kind of has an effect on it too.” She was avidly dedicated to her education: “I love, I *really* love my school. Education is really important for me.” Her investment was rewarded: “Grade 8, I got this award…I wasn’t even expecting anything, right, but it was ‘Best English Learner’…when I got it, I actually felt proud of myself, I actually learned English, that’s a hard thing to learn in a year.” At the moment of interview, her grand objective was to obtain a scholarship: “I think I can do it. I mean, my grades are pretty good! I just want to *work harder* so that I can get a scholarship.” This hard work is manifesting itself daily: “She [mother] doesn’t even see me at home! When I get out of my room, she says: “Do you need to go to the washroom, or you need food?” The informant complained of doing additional work in group projects what made her feel exploited:

> I stayed up the whole night just finishing the paper! My friend was like: “Oh, can I borrow it because I have some questions?” I said: “Yah, sure.” So, she takes the information, and she gives it all the class, like people ask for it. Everybody just gets the grade. It wasn’t fair at all!

She espoused a pro-active stance towards this injustice: “Like if they stab me in the back, I’m not just going to be like: “Ok, you won.” No, you’re not just going to hurt me, and expect me to just die. You get it? You can’t let people step over you!” Hence, she saw a lack of sincerity among people as one of her post-migration struggles: “Some people are just so *not* honest. It’s hard to trust someone so much because you never know what happens.” SU3 sustained her aspirations in difficult times through perseverance: “I think working hard is *the most* important thing. And I do a lot of volunteer hours (…) If I go to medical school, I need to volunteer at a hospital or clinic. I filled out my forms.” She already volunteered at the Canadian Blood Services.

Given her age, SU12 was also fixated on education: “Education here is way better, waaaaay better than in Africa.” She affirmed: “Ici, j’aime les mathématiques. C’est ma troisième période. It’s the one I really really love…en Afrique, je détestais les maths (…) I wonder how come I am now loving it maybe because I am now doing well in math.” She expressed putting social life on hold: “Maintenant my life is so busy with stuff.” She desired social mobility for herself and her immediate family: “I want to live, get done with high school, go to university, have a good job, have a good life. I want to give my mom a good life because she deserves it.” She hopes the same

for her sisters: “So that their dreams come true…they all have different dreams. So, what I wish for them is choosing the right path – not go do wrong stuff like drugs, alcohol, all that bad stuff (…) they have to finish high school, university, get a job.” She reflected on the meaning of ‘good life’:

> People say a good life is not all about money. I want to give my mom happiness (…) because when you are raising a child, and you are paying for the school fees, you are paying all this money, using all this money on this child, because I want her to be something great in life. So, I want to do for her something really nice and special and for those little ones [sisters] of mine…all of them…I want to help my mom like…I love her very much. I want to give my mom a good life, have a good job, give my sisters a good life. I want to have a good job myself. I want to enjoy life.

She added: “I wish for her [mother] to have a long life. I want her to live and live and live because (…) the day I will become an actress, I really want to do that: “Mom, you are still alive to see me on TV acting.”” She greatly admired bravery, inner strength and the surpassing of the self.

SU6 displayed an affinity with “pious neoliberalism”, or a mix of religion and economics, which fosters “individualism, self-improvement, productivity, and entrepreneurship”. Pious neoliberals appreciate “science, efficiency, wealth, and accountability” (Atia, 2012, p. 811). He had an immense respect for discipline and productivity; this manifested in his intense disapproval of idleness. He remembered his time in UAE as a “more spoiled experience” than that in Syria: “Life in UAE is too luxurious (…) it would make people lazy. It’s a luxurious place, it’s like going to the mall and living in the mall (…) I didn’t like it that much.” While he saw Syria as “more natural” and “more calm”, he complained that there was a “lack of opportunities”, or limited investments and employment possibilities. When asked about his life in Canada, he mentioned frequent family visits: “Mostly, we go to our family. We meet every week. We see a lot of people.” Yet, he instantly denounced this routine: “I’m more focused on work. I like having a long working day. I believe that I can taste my meal after that.”

He stated that the most important things for him are: “my family, my studying and to get a *really* good job.” He conveyed fierce ambition: he pointed out multiple times during the interview that he is a “goal-oriented person”. He frequently underlined the significance of hard work and referred to himself as a “hard worker”. He shared:

> I'm very proud to me Muslim. I very much like it. I believe…like…the idea of Islam is to be peaceful and to work as hard in anything you do even if there is stuff you don't like. Just work hard and opportunities will present themselves. And, that kind of mentality, I love. Plus, I believe there is afterlife, there is judgment after that…because taking matters into someone's hands doesn't always give you the right solution. And it's good to know that there is some entity, or whatever, that just takes care of these things after a while in the right direction, not the direction I see fit.

He not only engaged in disciplined self-monitoring but had high expectations from himself in relation to his performance. He mentioned about his friends from Iraq who found themselves in Germany: "Most of my friends are young, *they are like me*, they are guys, you know, people who can withstand these things. I mean if they were families, with kids, and wives…it would be hard…they got through it." When talking about his post-migration history, he uttered: "I believe that I bring my own standards to the game which is good. I mean, my standards are *pretty high* in working. I mean, I coped really well with the working experience here and I was appreciated." He aspired to enroll in a university-level electrical engineering program:

> I know that it's going to be really hard work and I know it's going to be demanding but I want to push myself to that limit because back in Syria, especially during the 10 or 11th grade, I was so into the sciences – the physics, math, chemistry. It just felt so normal to me. It felt easy, quick but then I came here…and I stopped for 3-4 months and you feel your brain is rusting. So, I want to push myself to that limit because I know I can reach them.

These performative inclinations are also fuelled by his romantic relationship:

> I'm in love with a girl (…) The thing is we are an Arabic family. You can't just go and ask for a girl unless you are worthy. I guess, what I say by *worthy*, is you finish university, you have a good job, you are dependable, you can actually provide for, provide a good life, not just any life. So, that's my goal. I want to get to that place.

He affirmed about volunteering opportunities that were presented to him at the organization: "I want to help other people who have been in the same case as me. I just can't afford to do it on my own time, you know." SU6 disclosed about his social relational experiences: "I made friends but, honestly, I wasn't much interested in them." He explained:

> Life here is…*easy*, especially for students and other people. I mean, a lot of them, they are much more concerned by partying and weed and stuff like that, and you would see maybe 10 or 20% of them who have a goal in their lives. And, back home, even though there wasn't much to do…you would see many, they had inspiration and the slightest chance, they would take it. And I think that kind of, that transition, that speed, I just couldn't accommodate lot of people who would just, you know, not that interested in life. I can't accommodate with their lifestyle. The lifestyle was too un-understanding, too easy for me.

The Disconnected: Relational goods and High selectivity

Service user	Age	Gender	Religion	Social class	Country of birth	Ethno-cultural group	Year of arrival in Canada/ legal category	Major reasons for migration	Career goals
SU1	30	M	Christian	Unclear	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Tutsi	2013 GAR	Father killed; imprisonment; refugee camps; political persecution	Doctor
SU5	26	M	Christian	Working	Republic of the Congo	Congo-lese	2014 RC	Limited opportunities	Engineer
SU8	25	F	Christian	Working	Republic of the Congo	Congo-lese	2014 RC	Family tensions; limited opportunities	Doctor
SU10	23	M(T)	Ex-Baha'i	Middle	Iran	Persian	2013 GAR	Religious persecution	Undecided
SU11	23	M	Not practicing Muslim	Middle	Iran	Kurdish	2014 GAR	Familial tensions	Hair-dresser

Relational outcomes in the natal/familial context

Presence of relational goods

Informants received certain relational goods from their natal/familial milieus for which they expressed appreciation. All were, at least in early childhood, raised in dependable/caring contexts led by two parents. In some cases, extended family members were also relational contributors. SU10 (23), born in Isfahan/Iran, carried pleasant memories from travels with his parents and sister across the country: "In the summer, we were going to the South [of Iran] (…) having fun, staying there for two months, one month." He recognized his father's influences on him: "I know how to do construction because I learned construction from my father." He also

deeply cherished a bond with his older sister: “I love her. She just supports me every time. And she loves me also. Why I’m here and what I’m doing – it’s because of her. I’m transgender so I just changed my sex. My sister *really* supports me.” He truly admired her: “She is really calm. This why I know how to be a calm guy. She just teach me.” Moreover, he developed his athletic side via other familial ties: “I grew up with my cousins, they were guys, all of them loved sports, especially soccer.” After departing from Iran for reasons related to religious persecution, he, his parents and siblings spent more than a year in Kayseri/Turkey with maternal family members: “We were with my uncles and aunts and my grandma in Turkey. They moved to U.S. [United States]; we came to Canada.” He found this period enjoyable; it is there that he met his “Persian girlfriend” (now living in the U.S.): “We were together for five months (…) We were out all the time.” He aspired to eventually offer financial help to his parents given their modest livelihoods – his mother worked in a hair salon and his father was employed in construction: “I hope they don’t work, and I work for them because they really worked hard for us.” Similarly, SU11 (23), born in Iranian Kurdistan[262], spoke favourably of initial familial experiences: “My cousin, my uncle, my aunt – we had parties together (…) no party like here – no alcohol, just for fun, speak together, coffee or tea.” His father financed his education; his mother granted him extra-ordinary attention because of his gender: “I was just one boy in the family. I have two sisters. So, she liked me. If I do something, she was always agreeing with me.” He stated that she showered him with compassion, even during his rebelliousness: “She is wonderful, very nice woman (…) I was bad to her, but she forgets my bad thing and she always speak about my good thing. She is like an angel.”

SU1 (30), a Seven-day Adventist Christian male born in D. R. Congo, shared: “My dad kept saying that we should be in school because it’s for our own benefits and we can help other people who never gone to school – financially or just giving that knowledge to other people.” He also asserted: “Dad was very generous and very funny and a fighter.” He considered his parents as mentors and applied their moral teachings later in life: “They taught me to respect everyone. And respect helped me live through all the countries without them.” SU8 (25), born in the Republic of the Congo, also appreciated her early socialization:

[262] Iranian Kurdistan is the unofficial name for the parts of northwestern Iran inhabited by Kurds (borders Iraq and Turkey).

> Je suis toujours reconnaissante envers mes parents, même si ma mère n'est plus là. *Je suis toujours reconnaissante, pourquoi?*[263] Parce qu'ils m'ont montré, ils m'ont éduqué d'une façon un peu spéciale…parce que quand on éduque les enfants c'est…il faut avoir la base pour élever l'enfant jusqu'à l'âge donné. Un enfant devient peut-être responsable, oui, mais ma mère m'a montré la voie de l'Église – ça c'est très important pour moi, je trouve, parce que prier c'est important. Oui, c'est quand tu montres à ton enfant la voie de l'Église – ça c'est la première chose et la deuxième chose que je suis vraiment reconnaissante à mes parents c'est qu'ils m'ont mis à l'école parce que l'école c'est aussi important, ça fait parti de l'histoire de la vie. Oui, c'est ce qui montre que demain on sera quelqu'un. Aujourd'hui, on part à l'école, oui on peut dire: "Ah, c'est pénible tous les jours aller à l'école!" Mais, demain, quand tu seras bien, quand tu vas travailler, c'est toi qui va jouir, c'est toi et ta famille sera bien, c'est les deux choses que je reconnais dans la famille qui, en tout cas, je ne peux pas oublier jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

The daughter-mother bond was deeply meaningful in her narrative:

> Ma mère, c'était une femme très forte, qui se battait. Elle m'a appris beaucoup de choses. Tout d'abord, c'est l'affection qu'il y avait entre nous et quand tu es seule, tu sens ça, comme si elle était avec toi, mais après tu te rends compte que non, elle n'est pas là – ça fait quand même mal. Et, après, je suis restée avec les soeurs, comme je suis l'aînée de la famille, la plus grande, dons je dois aussi me battre pour les soeurs.

She credited her mother, a small business owner, for exposing her to a strong work ethic:

> C'est la manière que j'ai été éduquée, c'est ma mère, c'était une femme aussi battante, donc tu vois, la personne qui fait le commerce, se réveille très tôt, elle se réveillait souvent à 4h, elle va acheter la marchandise…cette habitude là, elle m'a donné cette habitude là et moi aussi je suis comme ça.

Domestic normative dissensus and contextual strangeness

Informants were met with some challenging[264] natal/familial realms which granted them little normative consensus. This sharpened their analytical abilities. They presented themselves as fierce evaluators who disclosed a "critical detachment" – not an "enforced independence" – from

[263] Meta-reflexives tend to implant an "extra loop" into their declarations, that is, the reason why they have expressed what they did (Archer, 2003, p. 255).
[264] They did not explicitly speak of familial relational harms like the Unconnected.

their domestic spheres fuelled by their discontent with the way of life in which they were raised. Hence, they engaged in the problematization of the social order – a major indicator of meta-reflexivity which symbolizes the "conscience of society" (Archer, 2012, p. 210; 2003, p. 274). SU10, who identified as transgender, was born to a Muslim father and a Baha'i mother thus in a household with normative variation. In addition, he was socialized in external oppressive circumstances towards followers of Baha'ism[265] which strongly shaped his life:

> Because we were Baha'i, my mom was Baha'i, it was really really dangerous, you won't believe it! We just moved in one night. We didn't sell anything, we just moved. They told her they want to kill her (…) the government because they don't believe in other religion than Islam. When I was in Iran, my sister was not accepted to go to university because she was Baha'i, and my brother couldn't go to some classes because he was Baha'i (…) then they told me you have to go do those classes that teach you how to be Muslim…they were forcing me to be Muslim.

He developed a critical attitude towards politico-religious authorities: "I like Iran, I don't like the government." He drew a demarcation between Persian and Iranian identities: "Everyone, long time ago, called themselves Persian but Islamic country came and call themselves Iranian." He connected with the former what was evident in his references ("Persian girlfriend", "Persian food"). He exhibited an unsettled distance towards his maternal religion: "I was not Baha'i; I was *kind of* Baha'i when I was in Iran." He also lived a complex conflict: between his anatomy and his preferred gender and between his self-perceptions and social norms. This affected his disjunction from the natal/familial context:

> When I was like 3-4, my parents were putting boy clothes and short hair and they were calling me [name1], my real name was not [name1], it was [name2]. They call me [name1] all the time, especially my father's side…In Iran, they love boys more than girls…it's stupid.

His experiences were contoured by a gender binary structure and his failure to neatly fit into it:

> In Iran, and sometimes in Canada too…when they don't believe who I am, they make fun of it. They are just saying: "Who are you?" It bothers me a lot…on the streets,

[265] The Baha'i community is "the largest non-Muslim minority in Iran" and experienced "systematic religious persecution under the current Islamic regime" (Zabihi-Moghaddam, 2016, p. 124). Seen as adherents to a "post-Islamic religion" by state authorities, they are not considered as followers of a divine religion (p. 125).

> I'm pretty sure when I was in Iran, it was in school too. I had a problem with that, because in Iran, boys and girls have different schools (…) It was bothering me a lot…I never cry…I'm pretty sure two times I was crying about that, once I was in Canada, two years ago.

He added: "I didn't like school there and this is why I don't like school here."[266] His maturational journey thus involved distress. His desire of a sex change surgery generated relational frictions: "My parents were really not agreeing for me to change sex (…) I'm in transition for one year and a month (…) they were not agreeing (…) that was most challenging." This led to his withdrawal from his natal/familial milieu and an integration in the social order in terms of his own interests:

> They are really important. They make my life (…) If my parents would agree, I would not be like this…I'm working now, I do all the stuff for myself. I'm really responsible now. I learned how to live without them. If there were no problems, I wouldn't be like this.

SU11 grew up in a non-practicing Sunni Muslim family residing in a religiously devout small locality: "We have strong religion, we are Muslim, but my family wasn't very strong. My sister was free, me too. My father was not very strong about religion. My mom doesn't care about religion. But my city – it was a Muslim city." His Kurdish ethnic identity took priority: "If someone tells me I'm Persian, I say I'm not, I'm Kurdish...sometimes, if I'm really angry: I'm *not* Iranian, I'm Kurdish!" When asked what 'Kurdish' meant to him, he affirmed: "For me, it's like independent or proud." He justified this via political argumentation which captured the current condition of the Kurds – "the largest nation without a state in the world" (Romano, 2018, p. 256):

> I have a lot reasons for this, but I think 45 million people[267] and we have no country. And we are between four countries and our people is so poor people, and they don't have any power…poor not like they don't have any money, they don't have power to go to government, they cannot speak Kurdish in the capital.

[266] Such social experiences are confirmed by Ardebili (2018).

[267] "Estimating the number of Kurds in the world today remains a tricky task, given the politicized nature of the question and the lack of a reliable census in any of the countries in which they predominantly reside. Somewhere around 30 million is a common estimate today" (Romano, 2018, p. 256).

He disclosed experiencing familial discord and a heartfelt desire for his parents to forgive him. At the time of the interview, he joined over the phone with his mother and one of his sisters – only during celebrations. His boyfriend, who also attended the interview, divulged that he recently spoke to his father – "for almost 15 min…for the first time in three years". He shared: "He was very strong, nothing like "how are you?", nothing friendly." The informant emphasized divergence between them: "He teach me, but he is not my symbol now. I know about family and everything and I know my father is very good for the family, but I think my way is *so different*". Familial tensions and his disconnection were triggered by his sexual orientation and education. His homosexuality fuelled conflicts at home: "I go to psychologist because my father told me everyday: "Why don't you like women? Why aren't you like your sisters?" (…) I went to a psychologist for four years." He also pressured him to study chemical engineering: "My father chose for me because I liked other things…like play music or hairdressing, something with hands. But my father…because we don't have university for this, I had to go to other cities. He don't accept I go to other city." While he did well and intended to finish the degree, he reviled it. He thus left at nineteen for Turkey where he resided for about two years prior to relocating to Canada. The journey was difficult: "I didn't have passport because I didn't go to military. In Iran, you have to go to military. After then, they give you passport. I go walking near border for three days." He indicated:

> I go to Turkey because my family, they don't accept me…because I'm gay. My father knows I'm gay and he saw me with my boyfriend, and he told me you can't go to university, no gym, just stay at home. You have to stay at home. I cannot accept something like that because I want to grow up.

He added: "My father was sure that I go back to Iran because I had no support from my family (…) The string was *really* cut for me."

SU5 also spoke of familial tensions; they were generated by his father's multiple unions. More precisely, he mentioned discord between siblings from different mothers: "Il n'y a pas trop d'amour, ce n'est pas trop soudé. J'aimerais qu'on puisse être comme les enfants nés d'une même mère, you know, l'amour qui règne." He also described his early life experiences as unstable due to his parents' restricted financial means. Unable to secure a family home, they were forced to reside in numerous modest houses:

> Les gens achètent des terrains et ils construisent des maisons et quand tu construis une maison, tu payes rien comme taxes, comme rien quand tu l'as construit, c'est à toi, c'est à toi. Personne va te venir et te dire quelque chose et...construire une maison ce n'est pas facile, ça demande beaucoup d'argent (…) certaines familles n'ont pas la chance d'avoir une maison – c'est des familles qui louent des maisons et quand tu loues une maison, elle n'est pas à toi (…) nous n'avons pas eu la chance d'avoir une maison. C'est pour ça que nous avons passé de maison en maison.

This awakened in him an extreme dissatisfaction with their socio-economic class and an urge for a different mode of life. He lived with his parents until the age of eighteen then moved to a different city where he resided with an aunt for five years. He did that for a university education which he saw as a way out of his social misery.

SU1's trajectory was severely moulded by sudden disruptions in his natal/familial context due to hostile events. His childhood was touched by an extreme form of sociopolitical violence: he tragically lost his father when he was barely ten and was exposed to direct threats. This generated objective breaks/shifts in his domestic realm which shaped his critical view of the world. He lived through socio-economic change in that he was cut-off from more comfortable living conditions. Specifically, his father and relatives were killed because of their Tutsi background. His mother and him were then imprisoned by the state: "The reason why they wanted to kill me, and my mom was only because we are Tutsi people and we owned land." He defined Tutsis as the most "hated tribe in the world", one which "always has been killed and hunted, being called different names." He fervently contested these depictions: "Tutsi people are people who are proud"; they "have integrity" and "are rich people". They are "not involved in such things are abusing people or dishonest stuff." They finally escaped to Rwanda where they survived in a refugee camp; he saw this as a demotion: "We had to leave everything behind and become nothing – to live in a tent when you have your own house and workers hosting other people." He declared that his family of origin was linked to the "king's family" and owned "thousands of cows". Next, he relocated alone to Uganda due to safety concerns because of his political activism: "Rwanda used this camp. It was the main source of military to fight Congo for their own interest." In Uganda, he lived with a journalist who was assassinated; he began writing his autobiography but received death threats. He was then assisted by the UNHCR. He eagerly problematized the social order. He emphasized that Tutsis were the original rulers of the land and that colonialism divided Africa. He also

lamented the unfair position in which D.R. Congo finds itself: “My country is very rich…but the first poorer in the world.” His responses also included many evaluative opinions: “In Africa, if they don’t like you, they will kill you”.

Forming a life and outlining personal concerns

Evading normative replication

Informants nurtured a desire to disjoin themselves from their natal/familial context and discover alternative courses of action based on their personal concerns. This implied an interrogation of where/with whom they belonged and a cultivation of an individuated way of thinking. Hence, they appeared less affected by collective pressures and hoped for their future lives to be distinct. They were then not seeking normative replication; instead, they chased difference though they accepted some specific facets of their original domestic life (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003). SU1 deliberately refused to imitate the conflict-ridden domestic milieu. When asked about his preferred self-reference, he affirmed with conviction: “I’m a person who doesn’t like injustice.” His pursuit of difference was indicative of a subjectivity impacted by introspection and self-awareness: “I never had problems with anyone. For example, if I live with you, we will live peacefully (…) I learn you – if I know what you like and what you don’t like, I will never do that and that’s it.” This self-development was refined by his religious faith. He identified David – a biblical figure – as his guide because of his moral character: he was “good at fighting”, “good at loving” and “good at being humble”. He insisted: “He is a guy you can wish to be like because he had all in one…most important thing I love about him is [him] having the ability to kill his enemy and he doesn’t kill him.” He spoke of forgiveness towards his oppressors:

> I have people who killed my family, but I felt like I forgave them because I felt like if you kill a person, you don’t solve the problem. I think you should have power over that so that these people can be guilty for themselves not you being guilty again.

He praised the importance of morality in his future romantic partner and that of familial values – something he lacked in his early life:

> I think the heart is the most important to look at. You can be beautiful – I don't really care. You can be ugly in the looks but your heart maybe, something precious (…) So, it doesn't matter whether poor or green…as long as you believe in what I believe…I mean, in family orientation.

SU5 was the first one in his family to have attended university: "Je suis le seul qui est allé à l'université et c'était la Faculté la plus dure au Congo. Et, je suis allé et je m'en suis sorti. Mes parents étaient contents de me voir réaliser ça." He explained about the genesis of his interest in hard sciences: "Ma passion pour les sciences est venue au collège (…) parce que j'aime les chiffres (…) Personne m'a influencé pour les sciences. C'est juste que je savais que j'étais fait plus pour les sciences." Feeling crushed by the lack of professional opportunities, however, he fled Congo to Canada (after first considering China): "Surtout avec les études que j'ai fait – les mathématiques – il faut pas espérer d'avoir un boulot." He clarified: "C'est comme un diplômé sur cinq qui a du travail (…) Il y a des gens qui vont à l'école, qui finissent, qui ont un doctorat et ne travaillent jamais dans leur domaine, font des petits commerces." He arrived in Canada as a refugee claimant – a journey that was orchestrated by a friend of an uncle who organized faith-based seminars across the world:

> Il y avait un prêtre qui devait venir avec des gens du Congo-Brazzaville à Montréal pour ce séminaire et il était au courant que moi je voulais sortir du pays et m'a aidé à sortir avec ce moyen-là. *So*, il m'a inclus dans la liste des personnes qui devaient venir au séminaire à Montréal. *So*, j'ai fourni tout ce qu'il fallait à fournir et tout et il a réussi à m'avoir un visa. C'est pour ça que je suis venu comme visiteur. Quand je suis arrivé à l'aréoport, comme mon but n'est pas de venir au séminaire, mon but c'est pour immigrer au Canada comme réfugié, quand je suis arrivé à l'aréoport, j'ai fais ma demande. J'ai dis que je suis demandeur d'asile.

The informant was animated by a dream of becoming an engineer. At the time of the interview, he was enrolled in undergraduate studies in this field: "C'est un rêve que j'ai depuis longtemps que je n'ai pas pu réaliser quand j'étais au pays. Et là j'ai la chance de le réaliser. So, je me suis lancé." Hence, he was very busy constructing a divergent life from that in his natal/familial context: "Maintenant tout ce que je fais dans mes semaines c'est aller à l'université, revenir, aller à l'université. Je quitte ici [campus] pratiquement le soir. Et, quand je rentre à la maison, j'étudie, je dors et demain je refais la même chose." He also attended conversational English sessions and was invested in expanding his social network: "J'ai des amis de partout – Rwanda, Burundi,

Nigeria, tout ça…des Coréens, des Chinois, des Brésiliens. J'ai pas mal d'amis – pas seulement des Africains. Je suis ouvert." He re-emphasized: "Moi, je ne suis pas quelqu'un qui est seulement dans la communauté noire. Je suis ouvert à tout le monde." He found employment in an Indian restaurant.

Similarly, SU8 decided to leave her country of birth to pursue an alternative mode of life – by any means possible: "Je voulais juste sortir du pays mais je ne visais pas le Canada. Je n'avais pas l'idée sur le Canada." The choice of Canada manifested in 2013 via a close friend and her network:

> J'avais une amie, on était proche elle et moi, elle est en France maintenant, elle m'a dit par rapport aux problèmes que j'avais, des problèmes personnels, elle m'a dit: "Je connais quelqu'un qui peut t'aider pour ton voyage, faire les démarches pour avoir le visa." Et, elle m'a contacté avec la personne et j'ai parlé avec la personne et elle m'a dit: "Il est possible que je te trouve le visa pour le Canada." C'est pour ça que j'ai visé le Canada. Donc, il m'a aidé pour les démarches parce que je ne connaissais pas ces choses-là (…) L'asile, je ne connaissais pas l'asile. Depuis que je suis au Congo, je ne suis jamais partie aux pays développés.

Her stance towards the family she left behind exposed an intended distance from the natal scene: "Mes soeurs me disent toujours: "Tu sais qu'on t'aime. Tu es la grande soeur, très gentille, tu es toujours là près de nous quand on a le besoin". Elles disent toujours: "Il ne faut pas nous oublier…tu es partie au Canada."" They communicated irregularly over the phone because of her busy schedule: "J'aime bien avancer dans mes études, oui, je veux aller à l'université. C'est pour ça que je me donne, je force là-dessus…aller à l'université, finir, avoir un boulot plus tard, je sais que ça va arriver mais ça va prendre du temps." She was determined to chase her initial educational dream in the health sciences which was made impossible by her mother's death. This represented a break with the familial lifestyle: her father worked in accounting and her mother ran a small business. She explained:

> J'ai toujours révé être docteure. C'est pourquoi j'aurais dû…c'est vrai que j'ai fais la comptabilité au pays mais quand je suis arrivée, j'ai trouvé que je peux faire ce que j'ai rêvé depuis l'enfance. C'est pour ça que je suis en train de compléter les crédits pour faire la santé.

SU11 remembered his early self-exploratory quest: “I had a lot of friends...we used to go to the sea or jungle and buy beer…sometimes, we go for two nights, three nights (…) camping.” He mentioned having his first boyfriend – a teacher – at the age of sixteen. His physical departure from his natal/familial sphere provoked an intense multifaceted transformation: “I changed my way of life in ten days, all of my life…my everything changed in ten days. And I never forget these ten days. And it was *really really* hard for me.” He specified:

> If I changed my life, it was my mistake (…) I tell myself: “I never do something like *that*, changing my life like this…big mistake.” I never forget this (*pointed to a scar on his arm from a self-inflicted cigarette burn*)…it’s secret. If I go to Turkey, I didn’t have any way, if I wanted better life. I had to stay in Turkey, I cannot go back to my country because they don’t accept me.

He declared: “In Turkey, it was very hard, and I think I was a child. And, after Turkey, I was man. And I go to Canada.” At the time of the interview, he expressed no regrets and was in the process of re-constructing his life: “Now, I go slowly, slowly for normal life (…) it was for good thing, not bad thing.”

Dedication to an ideal/cause

Informants were invigorated by an ideal/cause, or a value-commitment, largely fuelled by political, religious, and/or moral convictions. Living up to it was an endless orientation for them. This was accompanied by an apathy to normative conventionalism which in turn came with a proclivity to think about their own stance in relation to the social order. It surfaced from their study of the cultural/ideational system and socio-cultural experimentation. They exposed a gradual development of personal qualities – not quantifiable performance abilities – that were communicative of it. While they might have been mistaken for individualists, their aspirations were hostile to individualism: they were idealists and outsiders (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003). SU1 was devoted to making a prosocial difference in human social affairs. This can be traced to his activism against forceful repatriation in Rwanda which revealed a deep concern for ‘the oppressed’:

> They surrounded the camp every evening and took young people to the military and used them in Congo. I started to fight against that injustice. "You, Kagame, you have a son, you should send him to Congo not our young people!" I was young back then…it was hard to arrest me. I was sixteen years old. I was with a group of people, we started to fight against it…but we stopped when 80,000 people have gone already to Congo. I went to see how they were taking them…this place had no toilet, had no water, had nothing…and I came back with questions. I said: "You repatriated people, how can you repatriate people because repatriation means to take someone to his hometown or his village…these people are living in the settlement like they have been living here. What's the point to take them to that place where (…) they are going to die…if they are not going to get killed by the genociders that are hiding in the forests?"

His intense preoccupation with the underprivileged has transformed into an attraction for the caring professions. He stated with a deep gaze:

> I always valued the skills of this type of work *you* are doing [social work]. Being humble. I give a lot of respect to people who know that the world can change upside down and they can be the people they never thought to be and I'm the living witness. I also give much respect to teachers who can help the country develop through their knowledge and also doctors who can stand there and heal people who are sick.

He intended to pursue the science of healing others: "I always wanted to be a doctor because I love interaction of public services because otherwise, if we are not working for people, there is no point." Employed as a security guard and working night shifts at the time of the interview (*he came to the interview even if exhausted*), he attended adult high school from morning to early afternoon: "I'm getting my last credits so that I can start my university. I take (…) only sciences because I want to be a doctor." His commitment to society persisted: "The number one thing for me is completing my education. Of course, I will be involved throughout my journey. I will not be in only education. I have always something to do with other people." He underlined: "I'm good at public services (…) I like to see people be involved in conflict solving." He was seriously engaged in his post-migration everydayness: "OY MY GOD, I always have full appointments! For example, I'm Youth Ambassador in Canada". He was co-leading an initiative which helped newly arrived young GARs. He emphasized the degree of his involvement:

> I have a lot of friends and I help *a lot*! And, if I'm assigned for anything, I will do it on time and good (…) I'm told I'm hardworking. And, I never had problem in my

> workplaces whether back home, in Uganda or here. And, always, I think I have chances too because whatever I want to achieve, I achieve.

SU1 continuously sought to surmount the restrictions of his individual self but also social transcendence to better attain his ideals:

> It's the perception in your mind that can change you from one place to another place, from who you are to something else and it doesn't require education or skills. It requires (…) the in-built ability to encounter the problems you have (…) I never become a beggar. I never become someone who does crimes. Why don't you start from yourself instead of making other people the victims of your own problems?

SU8 articulated a vigorous reliance on the transcendental:

> Aujourd'hui, je peux avoir un problème, quand je pris, je sens comme un soulagement. Oui, parce que je ne peux pas aller voir quelqu'un, c'est vrai je peux venir te donner mon problème et tu vas m'encourager: "Ça va aller!" Oui, ça va aller mais la douleur reste dans mon coeur toujours. Mais, Dieu, lui il sait. Il met la paix dans le coeur malgré le problème (…) Tu sais de la tête que j'ai un problème qui est grave mais Dieu il vient et met la paix parce qu'il le contrôle de toute façon. C'est ce qui fait ma force même si je suis devant un problème qui me bouscule de gauche à droite. Mais je prie…je me mets à genoux, je prie, je pleure devant mon Dieu…il est là pour me soutenir.

She underlined her devoutness to becoming a physician and showed an awareness of the struggles:

> Je veux percer dans les études parce que j'aimerais être docteure. Je ne vais pas devenir médecin comme ça…il faut que j'aille à l'école, que je donne ma force à étudier, c'est vrai que ça va prendre du temps mais le temps passe vite. Et, je sais que ça va se réaliser parce que c'est un rêve que j'ai depuis mon enfance. J'ai dis que je dois être dans la santé, je dois faire de la santé (…) J'aime soigner…ce que j'aime du domaine c'est faire accoucher les bébés, j'aime ça! Quand je vois d'autres personnes le faire, je dis: "Wow!" J'ai aussi hâte de le faire.

Her interest in health is linked to her value of social care:

> En fait, je n'ai pas connu ça de quelqu'un. C'est venu comme ça. J'aime bien, parce qu'au pays, quand j'étais là, tu vois, j'aimais quand une personne se blesse, j'aime bien soigner, j'aime bien, je mets le médicament, ça m'intéresse. Je trouve de

> l'amour, j'ai de l'envie envers ce que je veux faire. J'aimerais bien le faire mais c'est vrai que ça prend du temps, mais, si non, dans ma tête c'est ça que je veux.

It also surfaced from her role of caretaker: "J'ai vécu avec mes soeurs longtemps. Elles peuvent tomber malades." While her mother financed her education prior to her death, the eventual lack of funding hindered her vocational dreams:

> J'ai fait de la comptabilité à l'école. J'aime bien faire la science mais…c'est maman qui financait mes études. Puisqu'elle est décédée…j'ai fait la comptabilité parce qu'au pays, la comptabilité est un peu plus facile pour trouver du boulot mais quand tu fais la science c'est, il faut aller à l'université. Il faut aller loin dans les études. *Bon, moi j'ai réfléchi, j'ai dis: "Moi, je ne peux pas payer tout ça."* J'ai suis allée faire la comptabilité. Je sais qu'avec ça je peux trouver du boulot pour aider la famille, oui, c'est pour ça que je suis partie travailler comme secrétaire. J'ai aussi fais de l'informatique. On m'a dit que l'informatique c'est bien.

She strongly values hard work:

> C'est comme une habitude. Je suis habituée par ce rythme depuis le pays. Quand je sais que je me réveille et la journée est longue, il faut des forces, il faut travailler, parce que si je prends la fatigue ou bien la paresse, je ne vais pas advancer donc il faut donner la force. J'ai des points pour ça qui m'aident à réussir comme la prière, je vous ai dis, c'est ma force à moi. Quand je me réveille le matin, je demande toujours la protection et la force: "Protège-moi parce que je vais me déplacer de là, là, là, je ne sais pas ce qui m'attend en route. Quand tu me protèges, là je fonce."

She emphasized that she is not bothered by the lack of friendships:

> Je trouve qu'on est correct comme ça parce que je ne connais pas encore les gens ici. Quand tu as trop d'amis, des amis qui t'introduisent dans les erreurs et...peut-être tu peux trouver des amis qui ont des problèmes avec la police, tu es aussi à l'intérieur. C'est vrai, ce n'est pas mauvais d'avoir des amis. Je peux avoir une amie mais je ne serais pas trop collée. On n'aura pas trop comme sortir tout le temps. Je n'aime pas trop sortir, aller boire, s'amuser. Je ne trouve pas ces trucs bien.

She mentioned that her husband is similar: "il est comme moi – aussi pas d'amis." They enjoy each other's company: "On n'est pas tout le temps enfermé, on peut sortir mais pour nous ce n'est pas une priorité."

SU10 identified his proto-commitment – his gender transformation – at a young age:

> When I was nine actually, I was playing with my friends, I was really not happy with who I am right now. I just want to change everything…when I was in grade seven, I had friends, we were just talking, and they said: "What if you just plan to change?" I just changed.

He affirmed that his central life problem was "just my gender". When asked about past and present life struggles, he reaffirmed: "My transition, *that's it*. It's the only thing that was *really really* hard." His favorite aspect about Canada was "freedom": "I can do my process for my transition here which I couldn't do in Iran." A youth worker directed him to relevant support: "She found me this psychologist for my transgender. She was really helpful. She introduced me to this guy called [name]. I met him, I find my doctor, I'm on testosterone now." His objective was to complete his transition in two to three years – one which costs nearly $10 000 and which he wants to fund independently. He intended to work long hours at a pizzeria to finance it. In fact, he attended Adult High School for one year and a half after his arrival in Canada but stopped to save money: "I need four more credits. I had to work for my surgery, because I'm not going to waste two years for my surgery. It's a long process." His dedication to this personal concern dominated his everyday life to such an extent that he lacked other aspirations: "When I was talking to my best friend, she told me: "What do you want to do for future?" And, I said: "Not sure yet". She suggested that he joins the army, and he submitted an application. The informant was dedicated to the cultivation of qualities supporting his cause and the removal or suppression of those that did not:

> I'm just really changing this year. This year and a half, I was just acting like a baby. I was really…I didn't like myself at all when I was younger. Now, I'm just becoming serious in my life (…) Before, I didn't know what I was doing. For example, I had a credit card. I was spending all of my money in one week and work hard to put it back…but now, I'm saving. I know what I'm doing.

He clarified: "I just changed everything. I was talking with my friends…[name], he just teaches me all this stuff: "Come on, you are 23, you have to start one day, become a man…not a little boy." So, I just did it."

Critics of the state-market and disciples of solidarity

Informants expressed fondness towards caring/helping practices and were largely apathetic to power-based or material gains. Hence, they can be framed as critics of the state-market: they indirectly or directly demonstrated a resistance to the state/power or market/money aspirations; instead, they were oriented to solidarity. In other words, their actions were informed by pro-sociality, or norms of reciprocity (Archer, 2012; 2007; 2003). SU11 openly declared: "In my country, you to go to work everyday, everything is not hard like here, *everything is not about money* like here [Canada]. He appreciated the prosocial posture that he experienced in his natal/ familial context: "My city, it was very green, and people were kind. Here, it is different culture. But, in my city, if you had any problems or something, you can ask someone on the streets." SU1 accentuated the relational goods he obtained over the years: "I received love from many people." He especially expressed gratitude towards those who helped him make his way to Canada: "When I was in Uganda, there were many people that wanted to have an opportunity that I had to come here. I didn't pay anything. These people have been struggling on my behalf until I left Uganda." His post-migration social commitments were energized by the relational warmth he received upon arrival; they also demonstrated a truly reciprocal stance:

> So, this love helps me understand that I need to stand in someone's gap as well if they need me. That's why I'm doing this. When they assign me to something, I book off the work I do for money and I come to do this voluntary work because I know why I'm here, because someone put some willingness to help me.

His disregard for monetary gains/rewards exposed his value rationality which stimulated an eagerness for free giving:

> I will give money, if I find someone needs it. I will always give what I have. It doesn't matter when and how and where. If I see you and you need my help, I will sit and provide it. I also give my time to the community that I live in. So, most of the time, I'm with these young people. I'm in Toronto meetings. I don't get paid. Maybe some will understand like I understood before and can help other people carry on to make better communities.

He stressed the importance of being "honest, to have integrity, to be dependable." He specified: "You need to fulfill what you promised and if I disconnect that from me, then I'm a different person and there is no meaning to life to my understanding." He underlined: "We work because we want to live. We should work to let others live too." He highly respected those who sacrificed themselves for a humanitarian cause:

> I played karate for so many years and also loved military history on the battlefield because I found that someone who can decide to die for others, it's a very good and big decision. They deserve my honor and my recognition as the people who give their lives for others. And, I have always read those stories because they inspire me to live in harsh times.

SU10 also showed a posture of solidarity:

> I had a friend in Iran. He did suicide. He was trans too. He didn't believe himself…He was trying to talk to me. And, one day, I was really busy, I remember (…) I feel bad I didn't talk to him that day. He just suicided. Now, I'm just helping everybody, whomever I can…I send testosterone to my friends in Iran so they can start doing their transition. In Iran, it's really hard…I can easily send from Canada to Iran but Iran – there is a lot of problems with that.

He also disclosed: "My goal is to be like a *real* guy, *nice* guy. So, I'm just trying to be a nice guy, I don't know, I don't know how to explain that." When asked about the relational gifts he has received, he affirmed that his parents "never hate anybody" and elaborated:

> The only thing I really like about myself is I *never* hate anybody, I like everybody…I don't care who they are. I just accept, like them…I really like them. I'm not just saying I like them; I'm just *talking with my heart* (…) I like that part of me.

When asked how he contributed to the lives of people who were close to him, he stated: "I was talking to my friend… "because you are always smiling, and you are really funny. When I'm sad, I'm beside you, you are really happy…you make me happy." He portrayed himself as someone who valued peacefulness: "I never fight with anybody. I'm a pretty calm guy. I make jokes all the time…people just know me by my smile."

SU5 voiced a concern to help other newcomers: "J'aimerais faire de bénévolat pour aider les nouveaux arrivants. Pourquoi c'est important pour moi? Parce que moi aussi j'ai été nouveau

arrivant, j'ai rencontré des difficultés et s'il n'y avait pas des gens pour m'aider, je n'allais pas m'en sortir." He treasured people who demonstrate selflessness such as his close friend:

> Il s'appelle [nom] (…) Il m'a beaucoup marqué, parce qu'il ne vit pas seulement pour lui. Il vit pour tout le monde qui est autour de lui (…) Si la chose qu'il a, s'il y a une personne dans son entourage qui la veut plus que lui, il va la libérer pour cette personne.

He attempted to imitate such relationally beneficial inclinations:

> J'essais de faire la même chose, par exemple, en donnant ce que j'ai à tout le monde. Par exemple, ce que je fais maintenant: j'étais pas obligé de le faire, *you know*, mais je me dis que toi, Magda, t'es dans une recherche, tu veux la participation de gens. Moi, j'ai du temps, *you know*, pourquoi pas t'aider à ta recherche et avancer? Je donne ce que j'ai.

The Exconnected: Relational evils and Low selectivity

Service user	Age	Gender	Religion	Social class	Country of birth	Ethno-cultural group	Year of arrival in Canada/ legal category	Major reasons for migration	Career goals
SU2	19	M	Christian	Lower	Burundi	Burundian	2014 GAR	Parents killed; Refugee camp	Unclear

Relational outcomes in the natal/familial context

Presence of relational harms

SU2 (19) a young man of small physical stature self-presented as curiously silent and reserved; he spoke softly and very cautiously. If not for the interview questions, his biography could have stayed unknown. Upon some probing, he described his family as "small": he had two older brothers and two younger sisters. He also disclosed: "I was born in a Christian family. So, for us, we believe God can help you (…) myself, I believe that God put me where I am today." He did not recall, or justifiably refused to articulate, memories from his original background, except for "playing with children" and "visiting family". In fact, he was the only informant who did not

refer to his parents: they were ghosts in his narrative. This was so for good reasons: his biographical trajectory involved brutal ruptures with them and his social origins. While the quality of his immediate familial social relationality is then impossible to describe, it is possible to affirm that he and his siblings have experienced relational harms in his natal/familial milieu. His childhood was interrupted, if not stolen, by civil war: "*Everything* went wrong", he emphasized. He was born in Bujumbura/Burundi – one of the poorest countries in the world, referred to as 'the hungriest nation on earth'. Its people lived through "successive episodes of genocidal violence (1972, 1988, and 1993) and civil war (1993-2009)" which forced many to live in exile (Daley, 2013, Introduction, online). Most significantly, SU2 voiced with fragility that his parents and some relatives were killed in an ethnic-based violence. His siblings and him became "orphans" thus ceased to have durable and caring familial relational resources. They were taken to an orphanage in Burundi where he stayed until "grade six". Next, he was cut-off from his natal context: in 2005, with increasing danger, they were driven by nuns to Malawi, another African country struggling with poverty. They were left at a refugee camp founded by the UNHCR in 1994 where they lived for nearly a decade, or until their arrival in Canada in 2014 as GARs. He stated about the process which evoked powerlessness: "You apply – you make application to the UNHCR. Then, they decide whether they are going to help you." He specified: "I was sponsored by the government. They helped me and my family to get there. You cannot choose the city – they choose it for you."[268] SU2 received, however, some social support from two uncles. He mentioned that the most important people in his life (at the time of the interview) were his siblings, an uncle with whom they were residing and his friends.

Forming a life and outlining personal concerns

Socialization of dependence

SU2 stressed the precariousness of everyday life that he endured at the refugee camp which invited a strong preoccupation with survival: "I lived in Africa; life was not easy. It was not easy like over here...people had to sometimes sleep without eating." This produced a permanent need for external rescue:

[268] This opposes some other accounts: some informants mentioned that they had some choice over the city.

> My life was not good...was not *thaaat* bad or not good, I can say medium...like when I was living in refugee camp, like, sometimes, we had to sleep without eating, like, you know, in refugee camp, you don't have a job, you just go to school (…) there are organizations which provide food (…) sometimes, rice.

Beside humanitarian assistance, an uncle living in Australia also offered help and even visited the camp: "He has been there [Australia] ten years, so he could send us money to buy some food there. It was not bad, we had support." In addition, he developed, largely by necessity, lasting friendships at the orphanage and the refugee camp which replaced the familial bonds that were so violently removed from him at an early age. So, references to friends from Burundi and Malawi dominated the interview; he remained connected to them via Facebook. He expressed great enthusiasm that four friends were making their way to Canada through the World University Service. He highlighted the reliance between them: "My friend is coming next month. So, he was asking me if I can help him with $50 to buy some stuff...clothing...here clothing is expensive...if I give him $50 (…) he can, in Africa, buy many things." When asked what stimulated him to offer support, he declared: "I like to help because I was helped". He also stated about the ties with his brothers and sisters in his post-migration life: "We are friends, we kept like we were in Africa." In his post-migration life, service providers from the organization in question were exceptionally meaningful to him: "These people help me a lot!" He added:

> [Service provider], she really helped me, she helped me a lot, she helped me a lot, like how to apply to college, what it is about, she taught me about the program which I'm going to…she is really good. Even [service provider], he teaches me a lot of things.

Indifference towards natal/familial context

SU2 did not convey any attachment to his natal context, partly because he forcefully left Burundi at a young age. Not even a single time did he mention a desire to reconnect, or stay connected, with Burundi/Burundians. While he hoped to "visit Africa" in the distant future, it was to see his friends, mostly in Tanzania and South Africa. He attended school at the refugee camp until grade 12 where he met "white teachers", including Canadians: "One of my teachers, he lived in New Brunswick; he taught me in grade 11. He told us about Canada." His education at the camp

was mostly conducted in English and partly in the mother tongue of Malawi – Chichewa: "You *have* to learn their mother tongue". He also participated in dance clubs (hip hop, salsa) as well as sports (soccer, basketball) and was able to travel within Malawi to perform or compete. These experiences have potentially solidified his withdrawal from his natal/familial milieu. Moreover, he identified with American entertainers: "I like to watch Chris Brown, Michael Jackson. I like dancing since I'm like 10." He also considered Obama as his personal hero: "Obama worked hard to become President. Yah, he worked hard and became a President." Further, as an escape from his post-migration everydayness, he enjoyed trips to the museums. He also immersed himself in reading drama and romantic books at the public library, after school. During the interview, he proudly showed a romance novel written by a female Caucasian author. As to his prospective romantic relations, he uttered: "I don't know whom I'm going to marry....one my heart will like. *I don't care*." This opposed the replies of other informants who were clear about their desire to stay connected with familiars/similars.

Use of passive agency

While most informants demonstrated an eagerness to share and reflect, the flow of the interview with SU2 was not as animated. He exhibited a much thinner life of the mind or exhibited features of 'fractured reflexivity' which entails "distress and disorientation" (Archer, 2003, p. 333). He mainly appeared as a person to whom "things merely happen", or a passive agent, that is, one "whose subjectivity makes no difference to the play of objective circumstances" upon him. So, his ruminations, though present, carried out little "mediatory role"; they struggled to engender an "intentional relationship between self and society" (pp. 299-300). This was not surprising given the oppressive circumstances of his early life. Specifically, his account involved a disheartening affect, a modest actional direction and no strong commitment to personal concerns. Largely circling in his spoken thoughts, he did not furnish many conclusions. When asked about the vision he had for his life when he lived in the refugee camp, he disclosed: "To be honest, I had *no dream* there. I go to school like for the sake of going to school but I had *nothing* in my head." This displayed an absence of purposeful orientation. Given the instability and material scarcity he was exposed to, it is unsurprising that his favorite subject at that time was "Life Skills", or "what young people face growing up, how you prevent stress, what causes stress, it's about people". He also

became interested in writing poetry – a therapeutic activity he continued to engage in his post-migration: "There is a guy – this friend in grade 12. He got a scholarship to go to university in Canada. So, he is the one who inspired me to like poetry." He revealed that he wrote poems about "life" and "poor people". In relation to his future aspirations, he affirmed: "For the next few months, my hope is to finish high school, graduate, and then go to college, take my courses, then, hopefully, get a job after graduation." When asked what career appealed to him, he unveiled an unconvinced interest in social work at the college level: "It just came to my mind". Unable to justify this career penchant in more depth, he asserted that he was simply moved by those who worked with him. He thus largely presented himself as a 'peg' for the convictions or commitments of others. When asked what significant people would say about him, he affirmed: "I'm easy...they feel free to talk to me."

SU2's post-migration inner conversations were also characterized by a felt deviance from others which seemed to be connected to feelings of shame or low self-worth. It was accompanied with self-effacing, or staying out of the spotlight thus shunning public attention:

> I don't like to be in the news, but it just happened. Oh, this reporter from [local newspaper name] (…) yah, she wanted to know about me, how was my life in refugee camp (…) No, I don't like it...I don't want people to know my story...because, I don't know...I don't want people to know my story (…) if they like show you... "this is [name]...see, he's in the newspaper" ...I don't like it!

He divulged: "I don't have a lot of chance to talk…like the way I used to." He did not enjoy Adult High School and found it peculiar to see people who are 50 years old in school. His main difficulty, however, was the inability to create depth in social interactions:

> You pass people, people are serious! I see the difference – here and Africa. They don't greet each other. They are always serious, but, in Africa, they come say "hi" to everyone. It's normal to greet someone, here it's different.

He shared that he had many experiences when people debased him because of his language skills – something that he was hyper-sensitive about:

> The young people that come to Canada, they are new (…) they don't know the language. So, like, when they speak, they should not laugh at them because they are

> practicing their language (…) some people say *'whaaat, whaaat?'*...they look at you as if you are not a human being (…) people born here (…) when they see you speaking, like making some mistake, instead of correcting you, they laugh at you or they look at you in another way.

Autonomous reflexive openings

While SU2 stayed at the reception center for two weeks upon arrival in Canada, at the time of the interview, he resided with an uncle and his siblings in a high-rise building located in a low-income area of the city. "It's not bad", he commented. He worked as a dishwasher in a restaurant and attended Adult High School to earn his high-school equivalency and prefect his English; he only occasionally had time to go to church. Although his internal conversations seemed to have been augmenting anguish and confusion, rather than initiating focused courses of action, his ponderings on the post-migration objective conditions were making space for more strategic actional orientations: "I can set my goals here [Canada], I can go to school. I can say that I will do this because I'm here but when I was there...no life." He was influenced by his uncle and his achievements: "He went to college, he worked hard. I think *that* pushes me. He wants me to have a good future." The informant also appreciated the opportunities that were given to him:

> The good thing I like in Canada is education...for poorer families...you get a chance to go to college...but as long as you work hard...you can get a loan and you continue your study. But, in Africa, you are poor, you are poor...you don't put yourself through education.

His lonely quest for survival at the refugee camp, even if not fully alone, have possibly stimulated an emergence of autonomous reflexivity. He yearned a way out of his past thus move up socially. He revealed some sprouting instrumental rationality: "I prioritize my time...making a schedule, schedule, schedule (…) I do make my timetable...I feel like I don't waste my time." He noted about his relations with friends: "I like to give good advice (…) like work, work, work, don't go that way (…) I can tell you: "You go *this* way, if you go *this* way, your life *will* go right."" He recognized the transformations of his situation since his entry into Canada:

> I can say my life changed when I came here...like, when I came here, I got support from government to buy some things...some things that we need (…) I can say my life is getting better, better as compared to where I was.

SUMMARY

This chapter attempted to grasp the complexities implanted and implanting themselves in the social-cultural biographies of diverse young people who re/settled in Canada as refugees and were past or present service users/clients at the newcomer-serving organization. Specifically, it aimed to show that they are singular/individual relational subjects who enter into relations with plural/collective relational subjects throughout their lives – not just upon or post their arrival. The interview data was interpreted via four configurational types which joined the quality of social relational outcomes in their early socializations and their necessary selections in their structural and cultural contexts which allowed them to develop personalized ways of engaging with the world. It was also suggested that these young people use various modes of reflexivity to sculpt their structured and cultured individual lives and that this process is profoundly relational (Donati & Archer, 2015; Archer, 2012, 2007a). This examination opened up new analytical possibilities since the notion of reflexivity continues to be "underused" in migration studies (Saar, 2019, p. 688). It departs from the overlooked fact that "all migrants are reflexive, but not all migrants reflect in the same manner" (p. 693). More precisely, migrant/newcomer populations have commonly been, and often continue to be, portrayed as homogenous/unchanging groups/communities (via feminization, culturalization, ethnicization, racialization, migrantization, etc.). The next chapter, or chapter 7, comes back to the structural and cultural influences in publicly-supported post-migration under study. Along with chapter 8, it establishes some connections between chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 7: EMERGING SOCIAL RELATIONAL CONFIGURATIONS AND SOCIAL CARE OUTCOMES

INTRODUCTION

It was established that the organization articulates two overlapping but different 'faces' in everyday post-migration service work. They are filtered via the agency and reflexivity of service providers and service users who are/do/think/relate much more than their service positions/roles-practices express (chapters 4-6). The emerging combinations of these features give rise to distinct social relational configurations and social care outcomes or effects. As a reminder, it is possible to delineate three scenarios of post-migration assistance. The first two converge to form marketized-bureaucratized support. They can be decoded in the official/public mission statement which is seen as the only/best option for current social care. The third one is relational social care and pertains to the associational face. It redefines the organization as a space/place with a purpose and an identity grounded in pro-social ideals/values/motives (Bruni & Smerilli, 2015; Donati & Archer, 2015). It recontours the helping relation from professionalized expertise to an "ethic of care" and the use of "critical consciousness" (Dybicz, 2012, p. 271). As a manifestation of the third sector, its existence cannot be reduced to that of the market-state; in fact, it does not have to relate to it in order to exist (Donati, 2008). It is, nonetheless, invisibilized by it; it can also be demeaned by it when tied, in this case, to its non-secular flavours.

These three articulations echo the trends captured by the Model of Modernity's Man, the Model of Society's Being and the Model of Relational Subject, respectively (chapters 1 and 2). Each stimulates a distinct mode of reflexivity that sustains a certain ethical stance. The market and the state foster, though differently, an autonomous reflexivity. For the former, it is "functional in so far as it performs a specialized role within a social system which is an 'open society' based on acquisition/achievement'"; for the latter, it is "stratified (i.e., it is exercised within the provinces of meanings corresponding to the strata of a hierarchical society = autonomous reflexivity (within the borders of each stratum)." Instead, the associational face nurtures a relational reflexivity, where "reflexivity is a relationship to the self through the other, or to the self as 'other' (within circuits or networks of reciprocity = 'meta-reflexivity')" (Donati, 2009b, p. 26). It is a recognition that the

creation of a social bond necessitates a double process: it involves both, differentiation and identification as well as separation and unification (Diguanide, et al., 2012).

It was also made clear (chapter 4) that service modernization solidified under Harper Conservatives was differentially beneficial/detrimental to various collectivities. To the nation-state and its political-administrative apparatus, it was seen as an improved way of helping newcomers (or itself). It was also advantageous as it created competition among collective/individual service providers based on service quality and cost, with the former increasing and the latter decreasing (Harris, 2014; van den Akker, 2019). It was obvious that while service providers are enticed by the market-state, they do not always fully react to this enticement, or react to it in ways that are fully expected of them (Evans & Harris, 2004). The social-cultural historical developments that shaped the organization in question reveal varied loyalties which include faith-based connections (chapter 4). Moreover, given the variety of social-cultural biographical trajectories of service providers and service users/clients (chapters 5 and 6), it is evident that individual responses to the market-state are diversified. The ways in which they enter into a relation with post-migration service design, the organization that implements it, and each other are intricate. This heterogeneity arises from their mixed locations in material and ideational circumstances and the nature of their social ties across spatial-temporal dimensions; it also originates from their different dynamic modes/degrees of reflexivity linked to their personal concerns/life projects (Archer, 2007a). This means that they always make individual and relational inputs to service/social care outcomes. So, while the market-state agenda was usually seen by informants as an invasion on their freedom of expression, it cannot be assumed that all service partakers express the same stance towards it. In fact, some were more or less openly/covertly conforming to the status quo. Similarly, not all young people were equally invested in services. The associational face is also not uniformly enacted; it is presumably much less vital to the more detached from the frontline executive and administrative staff with a business education and experience and a closer contact with the market-state agents.

Chapter directions

This chapter has **two parts**: the **first part** focuses on the market-state face of post-migration social care; the **second part** one explores its associational face. Specifically, each of the aforementioned three scenarios generates distinct social relational outcomes with particular

repercussions for post-migration support : (1) atomizing social relations; (2) paternalizing social relations; and (3) solidarizing social relations, respectively. What follows examines each of them in more detail. Broadly, what follows tackles the third research sub-question: *How did the interplay between structural and cultural conditions and agentic/reflexive inputs affect service relations and outcomes?*

1. MARKET-STATE FACE OF POST-MIGRATION SOCIAL CARE AND CARING

The marketized-bureaucratized post-migration social care offers both, an economic solution, where the latter sees the social relation as "made up of an infinite number of mostly implicit contracts concluded within the framework of commercial exchange", and a political solution which esteems "political authority (the State)" so as to create "the unity of the politic body" (Le Bot, 2013, pp. 7-8). Loïc Wacquant (2010) argues that the 'neoliberal state' surfaced from "*struggles over and within the bureaucratic field*, aiming to redefine the perimeter, missions, priorities, and modalities of action of public authorities with respect to define problem territories and categories". They generated competitions that set civil society organizations and state agencies in opposition; they also involved those between various divisions of the bureaucratic sphere which fought "to gain "ownership" of the social problem at hand and thus valorize the specific forms of authority and expertise they anchor" (p. 217). This formed a deregulated 'workfare state', or a "*centaur state*, liberal at the top and paternalistic at the bottom, which presents radically different faces at the two ends of the social hierarchy: a comely and caring visage toward the middle and upper classes, and a fearsome and frowning mug toward the lower class" (Wacquant, 2010, p. 217). This liberal paternalism ""invests" in human capital and "activates" communal springs and individual appetites for work and civic participation through "partnerships" stressing self-reliance, commitment to paid work, and managerialism" (p. 214). This argument helps to contextualize contemporary post-migration assistance. It demonstrates that it turns social care into a product, and thus eradicates its *raison d'être*, and curbs its creativity (Bazzano, 2016). Publicly-funded and regulated post-migration service design has been, over the years, ever more subservient to the logics of liberalism, capitalism and a governance regime which maintains and rewards the replication of distinct material and ideational conditions and their aims (chapter 4). Yet, prior to the rise of neoliberalism, post-migration social care had the capacity to be separated from market

dynamics since they were seen as operating in a different social realm than that of social welfare (Ferguson et al., 2005).

A case is made here that the market-state face provokes the emergence of atomizing and paternalizing service relations, or ones which merge individual freedom and collective control, respectively. Service providers signaled a constant need for an alignment with top-down deals and ideals: "We are *always* adapting to the changes to work with our funders and meet *their* norms" (SP19). An engagement with this manifestation then entails a reproduction of service and social status quo. It was revealed in interviews that a pressured performance of service benchmarks can lead to jeopardized social relations. For example, the youth worker (SP12) voiced with deep desolation:

> I was frustrated when we made specific efforts to enroll this lady in school. We thought she was ready, and we pushed a little bit to get her accepted there. It didn't work out well. She didn't do well. She was asked to leave the class (…) I met her afterwards and she was *very* frustrated and *very* sad (…) I felt, perhaps, we made the wrong decision, supported her to try to get into that class when the teacher said: "Maybe she is not ready". So, you kind of re-examine your decision-making process a bit.

What follows delves into emerging tendencies from service-based social relationality. In order to facilitate the discussion, the first section focuses on neoliberal capitalist workings/market; the second one centers on bureaucratic workings/state. In reality, however, they operate jointly.

Neoliberal capitalist/marketized post-migration social care and caring

The neoliberal capitalist facet of post-migration social care aims to enhance individual newcomers' ability to act in the Canadian society and allow them to reach their 'full potential' (without ever defining what that means). It makes itself known at the street-level via the operations of at least "three propositions", considered as vital to its makeover (i.e., modernization) and "three processes" that covey them: "markets are efficient and effective (*marketisation*); individuals should be responsible for themselves and run their own lives (*consumerisation*); and the private sector can supply management knowledge and techniques to the public and voluntary sectors

(*managerialisation*)" (Harris, 2014, p. 7)[269]. They are perceptible in various areas of social welfare at a global scale though they are always expressed in dynamic and heterogeneous ways across settings (e.g., Ilcan, 2009). Its operations are business-like or based on financial not critical social scientific thinking. Hence, it disregards "how, and for what purposes, we do the work we do" (van den Akker, 2019, p. 27). This leads to the commodification of the social realm, or its re-configuration "in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption". Prior to that, however, its preoccupation was not to deliver commodities (as in goods for sale/consumption). Specifically, marketized social care is seen as an upgraded version of social help. Since there is a limited monetary support available to organizations, service outcomes need to be of certain quality to compete for public funds. Organizations thus develop an individual 'brand' and advertise their 'niche' services. Next, the rapport between public and third sectors is contractual (as in business exchanges), where 'contracts' are used as a device to grant funding to organizations (Lovell, Kearns & Prince, 2013). As it was described by interviewees, this 'contractual bond' between the funder, mostly the federal government, and the organization, is anchored in the organization's accomplishment of particular measurable targets in exchange for funds. Further, the market face weakened the welfare state's prior prioritization of collective rather than individual pursuits; so, economic interests overtook social and political goals (Vineberg, 2012). Moreover, it is not bothered by social justice matters: "market outcomes can be presented as the result of impersonal forces that are neither fair nor unfair". So, it redirects responsibility for the effects of harsh policies and cuts (Harris, 2014, p. 10).

The market face redefines people using social care as 'clients' (offshoot of consumers/ customers) in social service markets but also in broader society shaped by everyday expressions of neoliberal capitalism. This clientization proclaims that the market can free service users from their positions as submissive service receivers and/or passive victims of services, and convert them into "active, rational, self-interested, choice-making customers" (p. 11). This facilitates the responsibilization of people for their personal and social wellness; it also emphasizes that freedom lies outside the constricting state. This obscures the fact that service use is not automatically a 'customer choice' but a reaction to hostile structural and cultural conditions and social relations. Many people, including young people, connect with post-migration services because of reduced or restricted personal choices/opportunities. In any case, earlier forms of post-migration social care

[269] The author uses British English.

are now seen as obsolete as too inflexible. In addition, since those 'consuming' services are not 'producing' them, they can arrive in post-migration social care with elevated anticipations. This was the case for some young informants such as those who felt repulsed by the reception center. In light of their biographies (chapter 6), they learned to be consumers; this learning was sited in a social class which overlapped with other social positions. Most notably, marketized social care is out of sync with the complexities of social relationality that often develops between people in social care: "There is a fundamental conflict between the impersonal and formal relations of contract which prevail in the market and the relationships which prevail in social services and which place a high premium on personal and informal contacts" (Langan, 2000, p. 163). Clientization then views people as independent despite the fact that their lives, actions, choices, etc. are rarely, if ever, fully autonomous (chapters 5 and 6). Service providers are also constantly engaged in dealing with intricate matters of interdependencies in their daily work. Since marketized post-migration social care puts a heavier burden on individuals, it intends to deal with a 'culture of dependency'. So, as many informants repeated, a lengthy reliance on services is deterred. In addition, problems encountered in services are grasped in terms of individual flaws: 'clients' hold/engage in inadequate values, attitudes, behaviours, emotions, etc. This leads to the blame of clients; uncooperative clients are restricted, if not dismissed (chapter 4).

Neoliberalized post-migration social care relies on managerial models from the private sector. Service delivery uses performance management via which service goals are outlined and performance indicators are advanced to mirror them; targets are then set regarding the latter and progress is assessed in view of these objectives (Harris, 2014). This omits occurrences which were not detained by these goals. It also sucks out social solidarity and replaces it by flexible but standardized service work, where 'standardization' is a "ideological foot soldier of managerialism" (Baines, 2004, p. 273). The market uses an instrumental rationality and an extrinsic motivation; market social interactions ignore the internal value of social care practices and the intrinsic motivations of social care contributors (Bruni, 2008). The market face then aligns with a hedonistic approach to 'good life' driven by individual pleasure attainment and avoidance of pain. Individual happiness, or self-fulfillment/realization/actualization, is achieved via self-efficiency/productivity; this promotes the satisfaction/maximization of individual predilections. So, a marketized post-migration social care aims to release individual subjectivity from structural and cultural constraints; service partakers are urged to be self-interested. Social relations among them are

hindrances/improper (e.g., friendship with service users and, to some degree, coworkers, is discouraged, especially outside of work); at best, they can be a source of pleasure/pain. Overall, the market face of settlement and integration services dissolves 'relational subjects'. For most interviewees, this form of social care felt meaningless as it intends to minimize deep human social bonds. Paradoxically, it leads to a hyper-dependence on individual service providers (Donati, 2017; Donati & Archer, 2015). The section below presents in more depth the kind of service-based social relations that arise from a marketized post-migration social care and an autonomous mode of reflexivity enacted by service participants.

Atomizing social relations: Active and voluntary agents with freedoms or rights

Marketized settlement and integration service work promotes the emergence of atomizing social relations in that they adopt an individualist social ontology (Archer, 2000). The latter fosters "a system of self-centered egos" (van den Akker, 2019, p. 27). SP18 who serves GARs asserted:

> Even though they have assistance for one year from the federal government, they have to make sure they are *self-sufficient*, even before the end, if they can...if they are able to speak the language, they *have* to look for a job. If not, they *have* to go to school.

This form of social care takes the 'individual newcomer client' as a unit of service action and moves in the direction of responsibilization/autonomization (Houston, 2010). It intends to generate individual agentic change of a neoliberal type: it aims for service users to depart from services with a different actional capacity than with which they have arrived. This means that people have to accept/admit that they have a certain problematic situation; yet, in some instances, they cannot, or will not, do so. SP5 who assists GARS with "complex needs" prefers assisting people who are less autonomous, and thus overlooks those who score higher on autonomy (defined by apparent indicators such as official language skills):

> I mainly target 'high needs' families where there is no language (…) So, population who speak the language, I don't do home visits much, maybe once or twice and then close-off the file because they are all *independent*. So, I mostly deal with ones still struggling with daily lives.

SP2 creates a "Career Action Plan" with each client during a 90-min session: "It's basically a template. We have a template for it; it's step-by-step, for the client to reach their career goals or educational goals." While she mentioned a certain degree of cooperation, the bulk of the work falls on the service user:

> It's *their* job to look for this job and I'm there to support them. We work in partnership, so I don't do the work for them. We want to encourage them to be *independent* and try these things on their own.

While choice and flexibility are given to service users, they are illusory in that they are indirectly enforced; they also put more pressure on 'clients'. SP19 spoke of the way social care operates:

> You *want to* be self-sufficient. Let's figure out a Plan that you are comfortable with, you agree with...yes, it might change, and we can adapt. And I will give you some advice and recommendations and options and you will make the choice. I tell them: "You are *my boss*. You tell me what you want and what you need and I'm going to help you get that.

This 'neoliberalized person-centered approach' is based on "utilitarian purposes of compliance and externally imposed direction on the service user". It does not grant choice/power at structural and cultural levels; it only provides individual choices and rights (Murphy, Duggan & Joseph, 2013, p. 717).

Public funding is tied to service/social outcomes for specific individual clients with some space for their autonomy and the right to exit. It favours uncomplicated methods and narrow objectives. SP6 affirmed:

> They *don't have* to work with us, but we have an agreement with Immigration. So, Immigration does not send any other Program pre-arrival information for GARs, they send it to us (…) We want our clients to go out and access as many other services as they can that are pertinent to what they want to do. But, no, we definitely don't hold on to them.

In fact, service users are confronted with a 'service marketplace', or a vast arena with multiple service suppliers targeting their individual needs. A young person (SU9) felt overwhelmed by an excess of services; this generated confusion, especially that he received conflicting guidance:

> One thing that is specific for Canada, when you are new here...there are tons of opportunities for you (…) I imagine myself at the center of it and there are tons of lines, mazes (…) There are lots of associations, organizations that are helping you. There are saying: "You have this way, that way, you have this to do". And, you are at the middle, and *you are shocked*! It is good, you know, there are lots of things to do to get somewhere but having *too* much of them is not good too (…) A simple thing is school. When you are coming here, someone says: "You have to go to adult high school"; another one says: "You have to go to college"; another says: "No, go take ESL. And then, you can do the exam"; someone else says: "No, directly go to college". And, at the end, you *don't know* where to go!

Moreover, atomizing service relations generate detachment/disaffection towards others, including service workers who self-present as 'too attached/affected'. As a reminder from chapter 4, a manager reprimanded SP24, a social work intern, that settlement work is *not* social work; SP1, also a social work intern, and then a social worker, was scolded by some colleagues for caring 'too much'. While the former decided that post-migration social care is no longer for her, the latter stuck to it (and is working in the settlement and integration sector until today). Interestingly, the former was situated in the affixed career pattern (continuity and intentionality) which is expressive of communicative reflexivity; the latter was located in the assembled career pattern (discontinuity and intentionality) which is indicative of autonomous reflexivity.

Bureaucratized post-migration social care and caring

Post-migration social care is funded by the state/government and managed by public administrators/technocrats who are now ever more oriented by evidence-based (i.e., neo/positivist) science. They implement polices and have secured the modernized post-migration service scheme. Although the inclusion of newcomer populations in national welfare agendas can be seen as a success, it empties social care of critical content. It also focuses on the short-term, and thus excludes the long-term. While the market face is driven by "as much demand and consumption (and profit generation) as possible", for the social welfare state, the link between needs and funds is rather tense (Harris, 2014, p. 13). Post-migration services can be accessed by people whose needs are pre-specified/screened. So, bureaucratized post-migration social care is a segmented form of support, that is, between deserving/eligible and underserving/ineligible clients. This allows

the public sector to curb its expenditure. The management of scarce financial resources was, for example, a central fixation for the reception center manager. Further, government bureaucracy is also implicated in post-migration service design and supervision. It acts as it knows, even prior to newcomers' arrival in the country, what they need/want to do. Although it speaks of partnership, it handles local people as postscripts, or, at best, as service providers/users; it reserves for itself the key decisions and evades any actual answerability to those directly influenced by them. So, post-migration services are done *for* newcomers (though to some extent with the help of ex-newcomers), not *with* them (Barnett & Pavel, 2015). This is solidified in the standardized service programme which is an enactment of overt social control but also of homogenization of human social life experiences. It conceals a neo/colonialist proclivity: it redescribes the identities of 'the colonized' so as to persuade them to see themselves in need of nation-state support; this fosters an aid that is correlated with the ways of structurally and culturally dominant groups. 'The colonized' are urged to modify their ways of thinking/acting/relating/etc. to imitate the ideational commitments of the nation-state; only this can grant them some recognition in mainstream society. These processes naturalize their powerlessness and gradually corrode the ability for critical thought on both sides (MacGillivray, et al., 2006). Broadly, bureaucratized post-migration social care, as a "mix of care and control", can be seized as an expression of "paternalism" (Barnett, 2016, p. 24). While this a loaded concept, it denotes a situation which involves "the substitution of one actor's judgement for another's on the grounds that it is in her interests, happiness, and well-being". It hinges on a "job description that includes some form of intervention for the good of others". It presumes that its targets are more or less unable of making proper decisions; so, decisional directiveness is in their best interest (Barnett, 2015, p. 221).

These dynamics can turn well-intentioned service providers, appointed as the emissaries of the nation-state at the street-level, into patronizing 'know-it-alls' on settlement and integration matters/needs. These expert logics are utilized in a "cookie-cutter" manner "without any nuance or attention to local conditions" (2016, p. 26). Service workers must, for example, use impersonal/ preformulated mediums of online platforms that can act as a form of surveillance. Further, since human ideals/values/meanings cannot be measured by neo/positivist science, they are neglected. So, bureaucratized post-migration social care does not deal with 'whole people'; it homogenizes them prior to service encounters. It uses patterns that aim to enable the reproduction of settlement and integration services and status quo on a wide scale or technocratic solutions based on expected

reoccurrences. Support is codified into rationalized programs, or those rooted in logic models. This treats people's issues in isolation as they must be discernible. It also conceals non-predictable aspects of human social life and shrinks the capacity of social care to rely on situational/contextual knowledge and nurture social innovation (Järvinen, 2014; Martinez-Brawley & Zorita, 2007). The majority of interviewed service providers decried the pressures created by bureaucracy; many conveyed suspicion and despair. They felt compelled to be fixated more on what is measured (e.g., number of attendees) than on intended service outcomes. This can lead service providers to intentionally distort service data; so, what is reported differs from what *actually* occurred. It also induced constant vigilance, or, as SP6 expressed: "walking on eggshells". Broadly, bureaucratized post-migration social care seeks to occupy social care participants' viewpoints, aspirations, etc. While it entails a shared bond (i.e., service provider-service user), it is hierarchical and prone to misunderstandings: "Hierarchy (the tool for the creation of *immunitas*) without reciprocity (*communitas*) creates vertical and hostile companies" (Bruni & Smerilli, 2015, p. 10). Hence, 'troublesome clients' are delegated to the 'higher-ups'. Moreover, all parties must suppress their personal concerns/life projects for the sake of the nation-state. The section below decodes in more detail the kind of service-based social relations that surface from a bureaucratized assistance.

Paternalizing social relations: Passive and determined agents with plans and obligations

When they strictly adhere to their publicly funded-regulated positions, service providers self-present as 'authority figures' who know what is best for the people they serve. They can thus approach them as if they were 'empty vessels'. SP10 who works with newly arrived GARs stated that the orientation to Canadian life is crucial as "they don't know what they need". SP13 affirmed: "My priority is the safety of the clients (…) make sure the clients are well protected, in terms of security." Employees also expected social relational dynamics to follow predictable steps. Client disobedience was then perceived as a disturbance to service logics. A social work intern (SP24) recounted:

> Il y a une fois, une agente a dit: 'Oh [nom], j'ai une famille difficile'. J'ai dis: 'OK, c'est quoi une 'famille difficile'? Elle a dit: 'Ils sont, oh, vraiment difficile. Peux-tu les prendre?','Ben oui, pas de problème'. C'est pas parce qu'ils étaient 'difficile'; c'étaient des personnes qui étaient un peu passionnées et qui voulaient que ça fonctionne comme ça. J'avais juste une attitude calme avec eux, puis j'étais là pour

> les aider eux, je les écoutais, j'étais empathique et tout ça. Et, à la fin, ils sont partis et ils ont dit 'Oh mon Dieu, tu étais tellement gentille. Tu nous a tellement aidé'. Juste avoir la relation humaine avec les gens. Je ne les ai pas vu comme des personnes 'difficiles'.

SP5 depicted the 'perfect client' as docile or submissive:

> It was a first bus strike at the time. I had to transport her [service user] to the hospital because there is no taxi available (…) we can't afford a taxi, no bus, we cannot walk and it's wintertime (…) when the bus strike was over, I told the family: "Now the bus is on and you are on your own". "No, you have to bring my wife to the hospital and back". I said: "No, you have to learn how to do things by yourself. I will send out somebody who can show you how to get there and I will provide you an interpreter". He said: "No". So, the family complained (…) So yes, sometimes, you are getting into trouble because of the clientele (…) *ideal* clientele is very humble and simple but, sometimes, you come across more difficult [people].

A different staff member serving GARs (SP10) confirmed: "Challenges with the clients – that's what I *don't* like sometimes (…) you give them instructions about certain things, and *they don't listen*." The 'perfect service user' is also one who is thankful to institutional powers. When SU1, a young man/GAR, was asked about important influences in his life, he instantly replied: "Number one is government who received me in this country and trusts me." Such clients are the 'superheroes' of post-migration services; their stories make it to internal/external publications and newsletters, and, occasionally, public news that tend to serve the interests of a political party.

Bureaucratized post-migration social care leads to the emergence of paternalizing social relations that replicate social hierarchies. They can infantilize newcomers and disregard their agency, and thus limit their choices or transform them into obligations. SP13 divulged about the rapport with government officials in the context of funding:

> 'Negotiate' – that's the word they use. In reality, there isn't much negotiation because *they know ahead* (…) they use 'negotiation' to make it sound better but, actually, it's NOT a negotiation. And, the funding, they call it 'contribution' because sometimes your cost may be $100 but they will pay only 80% for it.

Managers extend this paternalization to those below them. SP13 declared: "Another priority is that staff provide *good* service to the clients." He also holds the power: "Staff sometimes ask me to do some signatures, ask to cover the allowance, or the cheques."

Emerging relational effects (goods/evils) from the market-state face

Given their controlled prioritization of autonomous/rational individuals and their pursuits (satisfaction with one's position in service relations, self-interest, quest for career mobility, etc.), atomizing-paternalizing social relations are creating more relational evils than goods. SP13 called for self-protective strategies: "You must know *where* to draw the line; you cannot let the people abuse your good heart." SP19 shared that paternalization can lead to social relational deceit:

> My supervisor came to me last month: "How come this one [client file] is not closed yet and this one has been a long time?" And that's her job. And it's my job to listen to her. "Yah, okay, if you tell me I need to close it now then it is time". She is making sure we are being respectful in our agreements with CIC [IRCC]. So, yah...I will have my excuses – lack of time, or whatever. There might be more honest answers than others.

Given the service models' focus on 'personalization of service needs', limited partnership *does* occur in service relations. Yet, this social relational configuration reduces people to fixed service positions/roles and denies them non-service identities; they also encourage social relational inflexibility/narrowness. Service users also exhibit a hyper-reliance on individual workers; in fact, informants disclosed that culture-/language-based matching was discontinued for that reason. In addition, relational evils include separateness between service partakers, accusations and a diffusion of trust. SP3 compared her experiences as a volunteer to those as an employee at the same workplace: "When I become friends with the clients, you have to be *a little more* careful now". In other words, service workers are warned to avoid "dual relationships": "one cannot be both a professional and a friend to the client" (Dybicz, 2012, p. 271). Frustrations with the market-state abounded among frontline workers. SP19 uttered with revolt: "You are not (…) allowing [settlement] counsellors with ten years or more of experience to do their jobs!" All expressed some degree of distaste for imposed procedures. They viewed them as constricting their agency/ reflexivity or leaving little room for joining their personal concerns/life projects with their service positions/roles. SP12 (situated in the repaired career pattern (discontinuity and unintentionality)) stated about various administrative formalities: "It's hard to get motivated to do it, even if it's one of the most important parts of the job (…) I'm not the most methodological guy in the world in terms of work procedure". Some workers raised ethical concerns. SP2, a young female employee

avowed: "It's *very* invasive. I didn't really know why we had to record their personal immigration information (…) Weekly report, tracking what these people do, I was *not* comfortable with that." Participants condemned bureaucracy using a Kafkaesque imagery (Munro & Huber, 2012), or as an imperious/debasing apparatus: "There is *way too much* bureaucracy, *way too much* red tape, *way too many* obligations to document, of duplications of documentation" (SP19). SP12 rationalized: "I totally understand why we *have* to do it: because we *need* funding. The federal government is our biggest funder". Yet, many, like him, questioned their worth: "It's frustrating because a couple of hours spent here, looking at the activities and speaking with the clients would be just as valuable as reading hundreds drop-down menus." Irritations were most intense among younger, social justice-oriented and/or new to the sector recruits. They entered service work with romanticized views of 'the community' or yearned for people uniting in hardships (Loxley, 2007). This was even more prevalent among those who completed or were enrolled in a social work program with an anti-oppression lens. A young male graduate intern (SP4) declared: "Je voulais vraiment aller parler aux gens, travailler avec le 'travail sale' (…) Il me semble que c'est une partie de ce travail là [travail social]." Another apprentice (SP24) felt crushed by a lack of meaningful contact with, or an alienation from, 'the people': "C'est beaucoup de 'paperwork', ce que je ne m'attendais pas au début. Moi, je voulais plus aller avec des populations réfugiées." She then observed with grief: "Il n'y a pas une vision du travail social". The disappointment impacted her decision not to seek this work in the future[270]:

> L'établissement, ce n'est *vraiment* pas pour moi! (…) être dans mon bureau, faire de l'administration (…) ce n'est pas pour ça que je suis allée en travail social (…) Moi, je suis plus avec les groupes, les commaunautés!

SP1, another young female social worker, offered a social diagnosis – a mix of fatalism as to what is feasible or a limited knowledge of what is possible and a fear of punishment[271]:

> Maybe the workers are discouraged but I don't see enough initiative to change the system. It's as if the people just gave up and they are just following the system like sheep (…) Organizations like [name] cannot take the political stance because they are going to lose funding. That's *very* problematic because you are in a profession

[270] This has been documented among social workers. See: Hansung (2011); Zeira & Schiff (2014).
[271] As Evans and Shields (2014) have demonstrated in their research: "NGOs are very hesitant to bite the hand that funds them" (p. 124).

> where, to my understanding, because I come from social work, you are fighting for social justice, but you are not going to say that something is wrong because you can lose funding.

While the youth worker's role (SP12) is not helping young people to write résumés, he does it anyway since he sees the need: "the clients – they all want to work (…) finding employment is probably *the* biggest single thing". Aggravations with the market-state were also found among service users, especially those from natal/familial milieus with ample relational goods (chapter 6). For SU9, a young man/GAR, the encounter with neoliberal bureaucracy was distressing: "Every day, early in the morning, we had to wake up and go do different kinds of papers [official documents]". He added: "It was really hard at first. The lifestyle is very different here (…) I saw tons of papers that were coming to my house, I didn't know what to do with these!" While he could have resided with an uncle at arrival, he chose to stay at the reception center as "it was more convenient for paperwork".

2. ASSOCIATIONAL FACE OF POST-MIGRATION SOCIAL CARE AND CARING

The associational face collides with the individualist-collectivist social ontologies of the market-state according to which a concoction of constant self-improvement with the help of a measured involvement of 'expert help' will produce desired life outcomes. Instead, it is premised on a relational ontology, or a lens of interdependence which conceives the human person always and already-in social relations. It highlights the experience of togetherness which sustains the relational subject (chapters 1 and 2). It departs from a "relational vision of society" which indicates that "social problems arise from specific contexts that generate relational evils" and that "the morality for combating these must be inspired by relational work on these networks". In other words, it advocates a 'relation-centered social care'. It pertains to an emergent and processual cooperative accord, or 'We-ness'. Parties are jointly "framing a common goal and the continuing dovetailing of intentions" (Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 76). It seeks to alter the structures and cultures that generate human social troubles, or alter people's relational settings (Donati, 2017). It carries the capacity to uncover social relationalities that sustain un-caring practices since its core concern is the quality of social care (i.e., social care is a relational way of being/thinking/acting, etc.). So, it relates to a way of social relating that is 'other-including': "it expands the boundaries

of the self rather than tightening or strengthening them" (Williams, 2008, p. 7). It was discovered that some research informants were not simply interacting but were deeply relating to each other in ways that recognized the need to act beyond their self-interests. Service partakers used, for example, affective relations that turned them towards each other (trust, humour, etc.) rather than those that turn them against/away from each other (shame, anger, etc.) (chapter 4). Moreover, social relations that generated relational goods played a crucial part in the personal and social wellness of research informants throughout their social-cultural biographical trajectories; conversely, those that produced relational evils have created/added to their suffering (chapters 5 and 6).

Solidarizing social relations

The associational face is neither consumed by benefits of the market nor of political citizenship but is energized by "criteria of reciprocity" (p. 7). It thus generates solidarizing social relations. Reciprocity is a "mutual helping", or "help concretely given by ego to alter in a context of solidarity (that is, one of common responsibility and recognized interdependency)" (Donati, 2009c, p. 225). An older male frontline worker (SP5) emphasized: "If I get stuck, I will ask: 'Okay guys, how do we do this stuff?' So, *we share*." The younger than him youth worker (SP12) asserted: "There is a couple of people at the organization that I look at as mentors (…) "What would X do in that situation?" I try to learn from those who have been here longer than me." Solidarizing social relationality also entails the principle of gratitude. SP19 highlighted the reciprocal exchanges that take place which are tied to what he loves the most about his work:

> I enjoy that *connection* with people and being able to give that information that they need to keep moving forward in life. I do enjoy hearing the successes. Sometimes we get too many '*Thank you-s*'. There are so many benefits and things to like about it: when you are helping and making a difference and they are acknowledging that as well, to be there for somebody who feels they don't have anyone else to go to, to be strong with somebody who is weak, and that strength provides them with hope.

SP13 noticed that people frequently revisit the staff and the reception center, sometimes *much* later post-service to express their relational appreciation: "They stay here [reception center] only four

weeks; the success is when they come back to us (…): "I'm successful, I'm okay, *thank you*!"' He is also commonly met with thankfulness outside of work. He stated with great joy: "Sometimes, I walk in the mall, and some malls, I try to avoid! People recognize me!"

Informants providing social care spoke of a reduction in social relational distance and close affect. They described internal organizational dynamics in favourable ways; many praised a sense of social cohesion/unity. The general organizational atmosphere[272] evoked affective warmness. SP3 who works at the main organizational site noted: "We function in a *friendly* way; we don't function in a professional way." This was also echoed by the youth worker (SP12) who confirmed about the same location: "It's *very* flexible. I think the staff retention is for good. We are of course a very diverse workforce, and I think, it makes a fun atmosphere." He also disclosed:

> There is a high tolerance for joking (…) I can joke with my coworkers freely about pretty much whatever (…) People say 'Happy Christmas' to each other (…) we don't have to tiptoe around those things although we wouldn't like decorate the place.[273]

Further, the reception center was often described as "friendly, very family-oriented, we all feel like we are a *family* together" (SP10). Another younger employee (SP9) from the center specified:

> The counsellors here have been working here for fifteen years. They know each other, they know each other's families, they know each other's kids, grandkids (…) the cook who used to work here, she was here for twenty-six years. She unfortunately retired. She's like a *mother,* or was a mother, to...even the residents here. They called her "mom". [Manager] is like a father to me. So, I feel very comfortable here. For me, it's like family. And even clients too. I feel like this is a family (…) I have the supports (…) it takes the stress off and this is why I enjoy coming to work because I know that I can talk to anyone here.

Many service providers spoke about their work using the 'heart imagery'. In many cases, they provide a 'heart-filled' social care which comes with social justice concerns. They get deeply emotionally affected when they encounter injustices. The case/youth worker (SP6) reported:

[272] 'Atmosphere' is variously defined. It denotes "the sensuous and emotional feel of a place" but also "the social intersections of people, places and things that unfold through the staging of more or less explicit power struggles and affective manipulations" (Bille et al., 2015, p. 31; p. 37).
[273] This alleviates what Zizek (2008) calls "an obsessive fear of harassment" sustained by the imposition of extreme political correctness – "the exemplary liberal form of the politics of fear" (p. 41).

If they are not coming with a big family, their monetary allowance is barely enough, barely enough, they receive $780 a month and that's to cover rent, food, and transportation, clothing, or any additional unforeseen expenses (…) They barely manage, that's why everybody is scrambling for a job, anyone who speaks any kind of English (…) One of the first things that they come back to me after a month or two, even if they don't speak English: "I want a job". And it *breaks my heart*. *It breaks my heart* because I have been trying, alongside with [name] to find the appropriate employment resources for them, for this very particular group, right? So, they have very little experience, work experience, 0 Canadian experience, little language. Who is going to hire them? So, we refer out to employment agencies but the employment agencies who deal with youth, they have to go by their government funding as well, and their funding for some reason doesn't go beyond 4:30pm... that's when schools are finished (…) They claim that they are a youth employment center, but they are a center that is opened Monday to Friday between 8:30 and 4:30! (…) They are trying only to serve those youth between that age that is currently not in school. But that's *not fair*, of course as (…) most of my clientele are trying to learn English, trying to get by in school and at the same time support themselves to have a decent living. So, that has been the main challenge.

Organizational face	**Social relational configurations**	**Effects of social relational dynamics**	**Personal vs. social relational concerns**	**Production of relational goods and evils**	**Reproduction or transformation of service/ and social status quo**
Market-State Neoliberal capitalist-government bureaucracy Modernized service delivery	Atomizing	- Human person as hypo-socialized - Marketization of social care -Managerial-ization - Clientization of service users - Atomization/ individualization of service user's troubles (pathogenic or salutogenic in focus) - Service users seen as active and voluntary agents with freedoms or rights - Tensions in negotiating service-based social relations	- Emphasis on individual, rational and autonomous achievement, fulfillment, satisfaction, potential, etc.	*Relational goods:* - Unplanned preoccupation for service users *Relational evils:* - Inability to recognize needs/wants of service users - Reduction to standard service positions - Interactional strictness and sporadic allusions to the discontinuation of the service relation - Hyper-dependence on individual service providers - Obstruction of the service provision that can improve relational outcomes	Some loosening; more reproduction

	Paternalizing	- Human person as hyper-socialized - Service providers as technocrats/ experts - Service users as passive and determined agents with plans and obligations - Patronization - Standardization/ homogenization - Restrictions in social relations due to lack of decisional capacity - Reproduction of service positions/roles - Determinizing embeddedness in structural and cultural context	- Emphasis on functional service positions in the service relation: 'I' the service user; 'You' the expert service provider	*Relational goods:* - Some partnership in social care *Relational evils:* - Separateness, dispersion of trust, blame, accusation, etc.	Some loosening; some reproduction
Associational	Solidarizing	- Human person as a relational subject - Solidarity, reciprocity, gratitude - Reduced social distance; incorporation of affect	- Relational negotiations in social care -Collab-orative stance	*Relational goods:* - Trust, mentorship, emotional support, etc. between social care participants *Relational evils:* - None identified (in this research project)	Loosening; some transformation (i.e., cannot fully overturn marketized-bureaucratized support)

Table 9: A synthesis of emerging social relational dynamics in post-migration social care and caring.

SUMMARY

This chapter explored the social relational processes/mechanisms/tendencies that surface from the structured and cultured service-based social relations in publicly-backed post-migration support offered at the organization in question. It identified three key social relational dynamics (Table 9): atomizing, paternalizing and solidarizing social relations. The first two are coupled with a marketized-bureaucratized post-migration assistance. It weakens social solidarity and mutual values, or the 'social relational glue'; it is thus anti-social. The last one is linked with relational post-migration social care which is generally pro-social. While the former is institutionally

preserved and rewarded; it is also strengthened by the conviction that there is no other alternative. Hence, the associational face is seen as secondary/incidental, if not redundant. Yet, as a non-marketized and non-statist articulation of social care, it represents an option in that it generates relational goods that are immaterial, intangible and non-aggregative. The next chapter, or chapter 8, interweaves the various aspects covered in the last four chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND OPENINGS: DRAWING THE THREADS TOGETHER

INTRODUCTION

People re/settling in Canada, a settler-state, meet "an entire industry around immigration, settlement and integration". It includes a myriad of protagonists: "service providers, educators, academics, advocacy groups, lawyers, employers, recruiters, real estate agents, and entire bureaucracies" (Tolley, 2011, p. 8). This realm has been made possible through historical and enduring social-cultural arrangements and processes as well as overlapping colonial and imperial pasts and dynamics (Fobear, 2014; Fortier & Hon-Sing Wong, 2018). It now belongs to a vast network of humanitarian and communitarian relief, most notably, to the "rescue and rehabilitation" subfield of the migration industry/regime (Hernández-León, 2012, p. 25; Saillant, 2007). The national settlement and integration sector aims to accelerate the incorporation of newcomers into dominant society; this is enacted via policy-driven social services/programs and produced in daily service practices (Valtonen, 2008). In the last decade, and especially under Harper Conservatives, the Canadian newcomer-serving sector saw major changes which included service modernization (Neudorf, 2016). It has thus been strongly shaped by neoliberal settler-colonialism and a neoliberal capitalist bureaucratic framework (Lowe, Richmond & Shields, 2017; Kidman, 2020; Mukhtar et al., 2016; Veronis, 2019; Zhu, 2016). While the service restructuration in question expanded newcomer-centered services, it also modified the nature of social care, that is, it altered the ways in which people relate to their selves, each other, society and the world (Atkinson et al., 2017).

This doctoral research project explored the complexities emerging in modernized publicly-funded and regulated post-migration assistance delivered at an organization located in Ontario/ Canada. Although the modernized service plan was imposed in 2010, and data collection occurred in 2015, it persists today, or under Trudeau Liberals. So, a neoliberal capitalist bureaucracy is still very much alive (Dangoisse & Perdomo, 2020; Dobrowolsky, 2020; Klassen & Engler, 2018). All research activities were informed by a critical realist relational sociological lens and research data was gathered through an organizational ethnography (participations, observations, interviews, document analysis). It involved diverse service providers and service users/clients. More precisely,

service users/clients were people whose lives were contoured by refugeehood and youthhood. This research effort departed from the insight that what transpires in the relationships between service providers and service users/clients consists of an interplay between structural, cultural, agentic and reflexive aspects. Most notably, it aimed to bring attention to the bonds that link and animate the organization/service design as a material and ideational configuration shifting across time. To do that, it considered service-based social relations, not just the individuals that they relate or the contexts in which they are immersed. In other words, it ventured into a level of social reality (relational order) that carries distinct features and powers. This research endeavour thus began from the premise that the social relations arising from service-based encounters are the heartbeat of organizational/service life; they act as sites of multi-faceted/layered/directional transmissions (Figure 34). Broadly, this investigation greatly contributes to our understanding of local post-migration social care and caring. It disturbs the deceptively a-historical/political market-state service agenda and shows that service participants are/do/think *much more* than their service positions/roles-practices. Overall, what occurs at the organization/in service delivery is complex because it is peopled. People are differentiated from the structural and cultural circumstances they occupy and enliven. While they are constrained/enabled/motivated by them, they are never totally determined by them: they exercise agency and individual and relational reflexivity in various ways. Hence, they show inventiveness/rebelliousness though always within certain limits. Accordingly, they imitate or modify the service and social status quo without ever wholly overturning it (Archer, 1995; Donati, 2011; Donati & Archer, 2015).

Chapter directions

This closing chapter, which opens many opportunities, makes sense of this doctoral research project in its totality. It is divided into **four parts**. The **first part** returns to the overarching research question to make important connections. The **second part** considers the multidimensional impact of this research work by exploring various research contributions. Since no research project is flawless and never unfolds as intended, the **third part** focuses on its various limitations. The **fourth part** maps some possible future research directions.

1. SHEDDING LIGHT ON THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This section offers a broad response to the general research question in light of the content unpacked in the previous chapters:

- *How did the individual and relational inputs of service providers and service users mediate the constraining/enabling/motivating structural and cultural conditions they faced and the service and social outcomes in publicly-supported settlement and integration services at an organization located in Ontario/Canada in 2015?*

In order to handle the presentation of research data, this general question was broken down into three research sub-questions. This was oriented by the meta/theoretical framework, and, more precisely, the Model of Relational Subject and the M/M Framework (Donati & Archer, 2015). These lesser questions were tackled in chapters 4 to 7. The Prolegomenon and chapters 1 to 3 situated this research work in my biography and introduced the directions taken. Table 10 offers a synthesis of each chapter and aligns it with the associated research sub-question.

Chapter	Content
Prolegomenon: A personal account and an overview of the structure of the doctoral thesis	- Emergence of the research project from the researcher's social-cultural biography across space/place and time and social relations - Overview of the structure of the doctoral thesis
Chapter 1: At the crossroads of research possibilities	- Structural and cultural conditions of social scientific knowledge re/production - Intellectual context of social scientific knowledge re/production - Direction adopted in the doctoral thesis
Chapter 2: Conceptual framework: Critical realist relational sociology	- Metatheoretical and theoretical foundations of a critical realist relational sociology - Conceptual framework applied to the research project
Chapter 3: Methodological framework: Critical realist relational organizational ethnography	- Research design and methodology from a critical realist relational sociological lens - Securing access to a research site
Research sub-question 1 (T1-T2) ***What were the structural and cultural conditions shaping individual actions and service relations?***	
Chapter 4: Diverse faces of publicly-supported post-migration social care and caring	- Review of organizational ethnographic moments - Emerging faces of the organization/research site - Presentation of two dominant faces: the market-state face and the associational face
Research sub-question 2 (T2-T3) ***How were the service protagonists mediating the structural and cultural constraints/enablements/motivations in service relations?***	

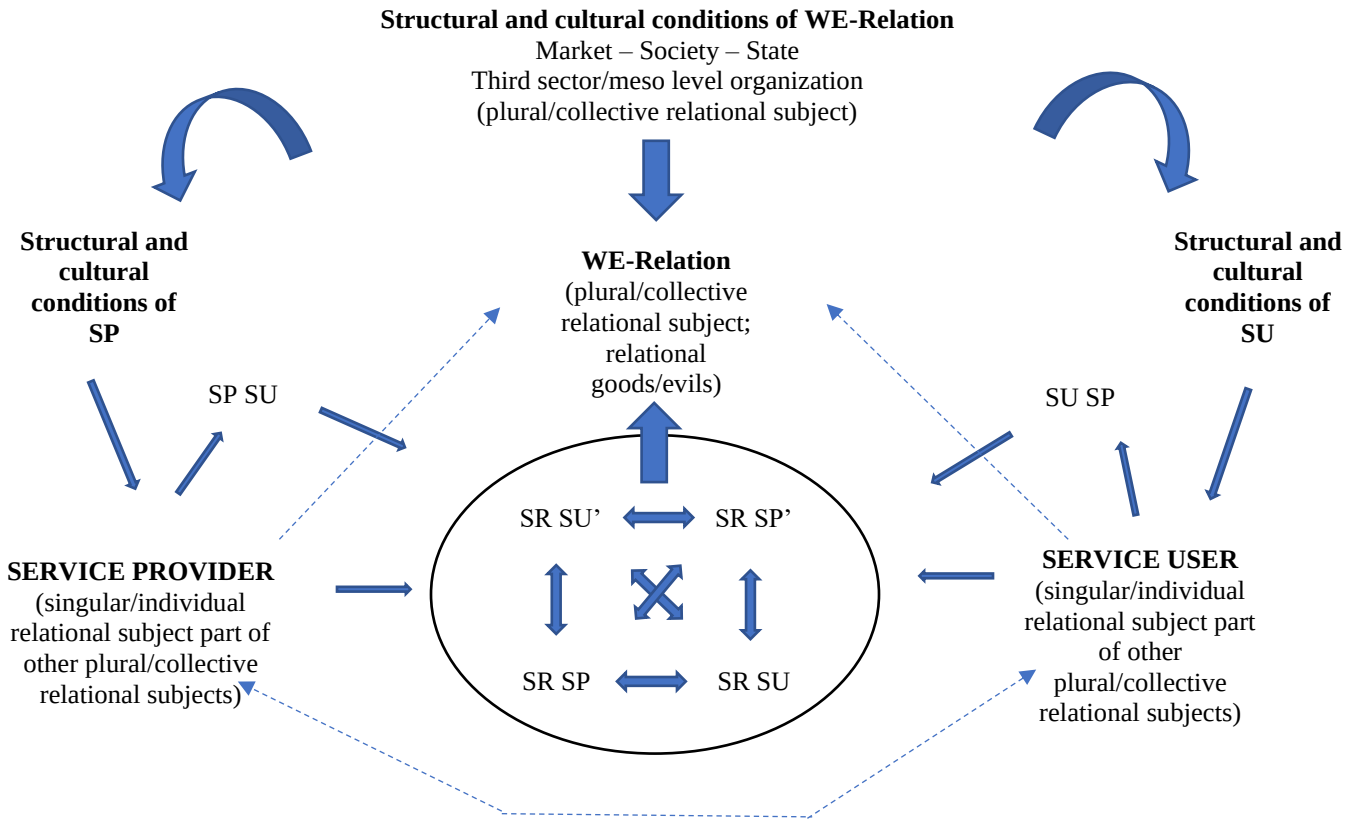
Chapter 5: Becoming and being a service provider in the settlement and integration sector in Ontario/Canada	- Portrait of research informants - Emerging career types: Affixed, Assembled, Trapped, Repaired
Chapter 6: Young refugees engaged and engaging with the world	- Portrait of research informants - Emerging configurational types: Connected, Disconnected, Unconnected, Exconnected.
Research sub-question 3 (T3-T4) ***How did the interplay between structural and cultural conditions and agentic/reflexive inputs affect service relations and outcomes?***	
Chapter 7: Emerging social relational configurations and social care outcomes	- Emerging social relational configurations and social care outcomes: atomizing social relations, paternalizing social relations and solidarizing social relations and their effects

Table 10: Synthesis of the content of the doctoral thesis by chapter.

In order to respond to the general research question, it is necessary to consider the three research sub-questions (orange sections). They invite an exploration of the following aspects:

- Structural/material and cultural/ideational conditions shaping people's service positions-practices/relations (T1-T2) (chapter 4).
- Service providers' and service users' agency and individual/relational reflexivity influencing structured and cultured service positions-practices/relations (T2-T3) (chapters 5 and 6).
- Emerging social relational configurations and social care outcomes/effects from structured and cultured service positions-practices/relations as well as agentic and individual/relational reflexive mediations (T4) (chapter 7).

To facilitate the response to the general research question, the latter is approached from two angles: (1) how the modernized or marketized-bureaucratized post-migration service design influences service partakers, their relations and social care outcomes; and (2) how service partakers and their relations influence the modernized post-migration service design and social care outcomes. Figure 34 illustrates the remarkable intricacy of what is going on in publicly-supported post-migration services. It indicates that any expression of social care is neither straightforward nor entirely benevolent or malevolent. Not all influences were investigated, and many were not done so exhaustively due to various limitations (Donati & Archer, 2015; Donati, 2011).



Legend:
SR = Service Relation (the pair as a We-Relation in action that generates relational goods/evils)
SP SU = Service user as seen by service provider
SR SU' = Service relation as service provider thinks that service user sees it
SR SP = Service relation as seen by service provider
SU SP = Service provider as seen by service user
SR SP' = Service relation as service user thinks that service provider sees it
SR SU = Service relation as seen by service user

Figure 34: Visual depiction of the emerging complexity in publicly-funded post-migration services (modified but adapted from Donati & Archer, 2015, p. 71).

Conditioning influences of modernized/marketized-bureaucratized post-migration service design on service partakers, their relations and social care outcomes

The organization was analytically depicted as 'Janus-faced'; this depiction surfaced from its dynamic social-cultural histories across different peopled spaces/places. It speaks to its multifacetedness, that is, its communal-institutional and religious-secular aspects. The *communal-religious face* and the *institutional-secular face* were the most salient structural and cultural manifestations in 2015. Each face is more or less in/visibilized in front of different audiences and

for different purposes; so, the organization/service provision-use imparts varied meanings for its participants. The intricacy in question shows a tricky but resourceful merger between social care – an essentially non-economic/capitalist pursuit – and nation-state building, that is, a strategy that entails social-cultural goals. In its current expressions, the organization/service design is caught in a compromise between the market and the state, or a "market-state duopoly" (Peeters, 2016, p. 71). The dominant *institutional-secular face* aims to deregulate-regulate and promote materialist interests[274]. The *communal-religious face* shields service partakers from a persistent contact with the latter. Instead, it nurtures community-building, or association, within the limited interactional sphere it establishes; it also stimulates non-materialist motives. This Janus-facedness reveals the convoluted ways in which post-migration social care interfaces with the advancement of a socially caring citizenry, and how Canada uses the newcomer-centered social care industry/regime as an avenue to build itself (e.g., instilling national pride, stressing economic input over other aspects) (Poteet & Nourpanah, 2016). Yet, it also exposes a contestation/deformation of these nationalist-statist objectives. Accordingly, publicly-supported post-migration service design is a material and ideational arrangement that simultaneously embodies links with the market-state and the life-worlds (civil society, families, informal networks). Since its initial informal inception, largely by volunteers from a faith group, it has undergone numerous and various shifts in its internal makeup, operational philosophy, physical location, budgets, types and extent of social care provided, number and kind of personnel and populations served, issues addressed, etc. These changes were endorsed as they acted as practical solutions to tackle shortcomings in the face of a rising demand for assistance. So, the organization evolved from a fairly freely arranged, faith-inspired, charitable and non-professionalized help into a secular, publicly funded-regulated and professionalized service delivery. This metamorphosis was strongly propelled by the nation-state's interest in newcomers' economic capacity (Donati & Archer, 2015).

This research project confirms the dominance of a neoliberal bureaucracy in the Canadian newcomer-serving sector that imposes demands for an effective and efficient use of resources. It thus joins existing scholarship which shows that "in recent years, the nature of settlement service delivery has changed considerably" (Flynn & Bauder, 2015, p. 546). This affects service partakers

[274] Aalbers (2016) indicates that "there is a complex relation between regulation, deregulation, liberalization and neoliberalism". Most importantly: "In reality, state intervention is a necessary condition for markets to thrive. Neoliberals do not seek to completely eliminate the state, but rather to redefine the nature and functions of the state" (p. 569).

by implanting distinct service and social preferences and possibilities. Marketized-bureaucratized post-migration services aim to produce autonomous, responsible and rational citizens (see chapter 7). The lives of new settlers, but also of service providers, are then extracted from space/place and time: this "radical abstraction" is a leading aspect of neoliberal capitalism (Adams, et al., 2019, p. 192; Mirkowski, 2013). Since their past and local knowledges (values, beliefs, etc.) are omitted, their lives are seen as starting anew and at will with every individual decision/choice that appears as a robotic process of 'cons and pros' thinking. At best, these knowledges are seen as largely problematic (i.e., obstacle to autonomy/responsibility/rationality). Service providers must also be productive, cost-efficient and accountable. Frontline service workers must dutifully keep accurate (online) records of their management of individual client cases (see chapter 4). Since they are emplaced by the service design in a hierarchical bond with service users/clients, they are put in a higher/better place to help them resolve post-migration issues; so, they have the power to assess/ advise/etc. their needs and performances. This leaves little/no opportunity for the consideration of their complex biographical accounts and for co-creating meaning out of individual and relational circumstances and processes. Yet, filling out institutional/organizational/service forms is seen as a *useful* service. In other words, instead of building deep bonds with people in social care, service providers work as technocrats/experts/case managers. This begs the question: is marketized-bureaucratized post-migration social care in the best interests of the new settlers? The occasional eruptions of defiance towards services/service providers (e.g., not respecting norms/rules, elevated demands, low program attendance) speaks to these structural and cultural problems. They can be grasped as a form of resistance to oppressive situations/contexts.

Marketized-bureaucratized post-migration help alienates people from the relationality or interconnectedness that constitutes their lives. It omits that they are never entirely autonomous since they are in/direct social relations that they always consider. It thus overlooks that their rationality is restricted by complex realities; it also negates that there are always various irrational aspects involved, or that emotionality is a potent influencer in decision-making. Moreover, it depicts a misleading/distorted view of social care/caring: "It would be simple if youth work, along with other human services, could be reduced to a discrete skill set that produced easy benchmarks and outcomes. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case." Social caring hinges on relational dynamics: "This fact makes it difficult for those who yearn for evidence and accountability to be comfortable with this seeming chaos" (Fusco, 2012, p. 42). Most noticeably, modernized post-

migration help has transformed the organizational/service space, seen by informants as a relatively safe space, into a space safe from critical thought. While many service participants questioned the powers via which their lives were/are structured and cultured, they often had to self-censor (see chapter 4). Yet, since they wrestle with various injustices, the site implicates social justice matters (e.g., Baines, et al, 2014; Ngo, 2009; Suvarierol, 2015). Marketized-bureaucratized post-migration aid assumes, nevertheless, that, as long as service workers are individually invested and obediently follow its top-down directives, services will somehow generate social welfare for all.

The modernized service approach generates constant pressures for service providers: they juggle more administrative tasks, heavier caseloads, and have less time to carry out the kind of work they imagined themselves doing when hired. Some of those who can (e.g., interns) decide to leave. The colonization of the third sector by the market-state has weakened the production of relational goods, and thus social cohesion. Hierarchization, standardization, managerialism, quantification, etc. are assaults on the 'We'. More concretely, people who entered the newcomer-serving sector as devotees to relational care notice a disappearance/shortage of relational goods. Modernization reduced social care from a vocation/calling, or meaningful work, into a form of street-level public administration. The interactions with colleagues also changed: people are opposed against one another in a market-style competition, afraid of evaluations, nervously awaiting the next round of funding, etc. In view of this, the quality of social care relations (not easily measurable) has been substituted by an urgency to invest in service and social facets that satisfy public administrators, managers and clients. Marketized-bureaucratized support can thus be seen as a production on an assembly line (Dustin, 2016) (see chapter 4). This imagery detains the quasi-mechanistic ways of servicing: similar to parts moving on a production line, service users are expected to move from one service/service provider to another in a largely pre-defined sequence (from the reception center to the settlement program). Frontline staff are expected to 'assemble' self-sufficient individual future citizens – the 'end-products'. They must also ensure a constant in-flow of people to in order to preserve their employment; this demands a speedy production and gap-filling. Informants' accounts made it clear, however, that social care must be commodious and consider a wide range of issues, and thus avoid constricted processes and goals. Dealing with troubles in a post-migration context demands nuanced responses that consider social care at the level of individuals-in-relations and minimize top-down cookie-cutter solutions. This urges the use of local values, skills, talents, hopes, dreams, memories, etc.; it advocates for the

creation of relational opportunities to experience a heightened agency and reflexivity but also a deep pro-social connectivity.

Agentic and reflexive influences of service partakers and their relations on modernized/ marketized-bureaucratized post-migration service design and social care outcomes

Since the organization emerged/emerges from the communal/not-for-profit, or for social benefit, it shows an associational face – a key feature of the third sector. Its localization leads to the intensification of structural and cultural sharing. Yet, there is no accord on the rapport between the public sector and the third sector. To some, the latter is subjugated to, or co-opted by, the public sector, and thus endures total isomorphism with it. It is also described as "apolitical, exploitative, or reinforcing inequalities" (Darby, 2016, p. 977; Donati & Archer, 2015). To others, it is "quasi-independent of the current governance structure" and a "*space of care*" (DeVerteuil, 2016, part 1, chap. 3, p. 2; p. 8). Moreover, while scholarship on settlement and integration often presents it as "a passive victim in the face of neoliberal restructuring and austerity measures", it has been shown, however, that it has the capacity "to exert agency by developing initiatives and devising strategies that are rooted in the local context" (Veronis, 2019, p. 391). The organization can also be seen as a blend of "religious, secular and humanitarian motivations" (Williams, 2005, p. 192). This research work confirms that even if its domination by the public sector is unquestionable, its impact is always filtered by local contexts as well as people's agency and reflexivity. Service partakers' "subversive practices" which "lurk beneath apparent co-option" have the power to alter market-state dynamics on the ground (Darby, 2016, p. 977). Instead of the negative designation of the third sector according to which it is neither that of the market nor that of the state, it is seen here as a "distinct sector of society" (Donati, 2008, p. 10). This rejects the simplistic view of society only in terms of the market and the state. More precisely, it is the most organized sphere of civil society, where the latter is "related to, but not a creature of: the state, the market and the nation. It cannot be reduced to the level of the (state) political, to the (market) economic, or the (nation) cultural. It stands in contradistinction to these even though at any one point it might appear to be their creature." It can also be said to "precede rather than derive from the state and political realm, and can unmake political authority and refashion it" (McCrone, 2009, p. 191). Unlike the market-state face, the associational face is not institutionalized. Social care has not been able to adequately

legitimize itself in a prevailing managerialist culture (e.g., Weick, 2000). Under current conditions, it does not overturn it but only confronts/distorts it (Archer, 2013; Bruni, 2008; Donati & Archer, 2015; Pease, Vreugdenhil & Stanford, 2017; Stanzani, 2017; White; 2017). At the same time, it is most aligned with the ambitions of many service partakers. The identities of people working in the third sector are often attached to "notions of altruism and caring"; many see their work as a "resistance against an increasingly alienating society" (Baines, 2004, p. 267). This was clear in many of the service providers' accounts, especially of those who fit in the affixed career type and partly in the assembled career type (i.e., those who exhibit meta-reflexivity) (see chapter 5). Yet, marketized social care, fixated on self-interest as the key driver of action, and thus on instrumental sociality, does not recognize selfless forms of behaviour: "all the other forms of sociality have been regarded as a sort of 'background'" (Bruni, 2008, p. 1).

Although the market-state face has a robust grip on services, *so much more* is transpiring on the ground. So, evaluations of services in official reports (e.g., in terms of number of attendees per event) cover patterns of participation that offer partial/thin/inaccurate descriptions. Observable service operations/outcomes (e.g., creating/attending a youth group) are impacted by structural and cultural constraints/enablements/motives and people's agency/reflexivity. Hence, the organization is a "space of deliberation, interpretation, and potential subversion of the intended processes and outcomes of government policy" (Cloke, Williams & Thomas, 2012, p. 1487). The findings from this research work echo other scholarship on frontline service delivery that demonstrates "how agencies of resistance produce outcomes that are uncertain, fragile and contested, and whose effect can be the subversion of formal policy intentions" (Prior & Barnes, 2011, p. 264). Additionally, the organization's religious origins and service participants' regular use of "religious reflexivity" (Martí, 2015, p. 1) can "enable subtle but significant shifts in moral and ethical politics from within" (Cloke, Williams & Thomas, 2012, p. 1489). Accordingly, surfacing social care outcomes are always more heterogenous than it is initially assumed, and hoped for, by the public sector. The third sector cherishes a pro-social sociality that intends to defy commodification/market and command/state. Organizations like the research site are then not merely "co-opted as inexpensive resources providers into the wider governmentalities of neoliberal politics" (Cloke, Williams & Thomas, 2012, p. 1479). Instead, they carry the ability to be an "*emergent space of resistance*" (p. 1487). The third sector then promotes a sociality that is closest to social solidarity. While the latter is an intricate concept, it "seems to point to the brighter side of human nature, to common sharing,

fellowship, care for others, perhaps even altruism" (Smith & Sorrell, 2014, p. 239). The associational face thus nurtures a relational reflexivity: relationality is the value pursued regardless of its utility/efficacy/efficiency. Moreover, while for marketized-bureaucratized social care ethics are seen as restrictive, for the third sector, they are a moral and social resource (Donati & Archer, 2015). In fact, the obligation of the associational face to partner up with the market-state tends to be perceived as an important source of personal and social ills by the service providers. Research findings show that some informants' aspirations for pro-social conduct seem to give rise to their commitment to pro-social engagement; upon doing so, however, anxieties stem from sensed challenges linked with pursuing bureaucratic *and* relational missions at once (e.g., following the heart vs. following the regulations/norms).

The public sector sees reactions to structural and cultural conditionings largely in terms of compliance/non-compliance. Yet, there are reflexive responses of a different type: they surface from active relational subjects who decide that service/social effects generated by publicly-supported post-migration services are not appropriate. In other words, they recognized who/what operates in service-based relations and elicits relational evils. Service workers use a relational reflexivity that mediates the constraints/enablements/incentives generated by wider contexts encroaching on service delivery. This allows them to align their concerns with those of service users and jointly extend their agency towards a shared objective; this shapes the quality of social care outcomes. So, it is the commitment from individual interactants to participate together that is of greatest significance in meaningful post-migration social care. Research informants often deliberated on service-based relations and evaluated them as beneficial and/or damaging. They not only conveyed a purposeful benevolence towards people but also a duty towards the social bond that their actions backed. Such an ethical relational stance considers the ethics of actions in view of how they configure social relations; it exceeds individual likings and nameless systemic processes. While workers have their rapport to post-migration social care in mind as they intermingle with their selves and others, they do not have identical views about it; their intentionality was not the same (see chapter 6). Yet, their relational reflexivity in which they engage affects what they do/do not do in service delivery and how they do it. Further, some young informants openly voiced an appreciation for the help they received. This did not concern the faceless/impersonal publicly-backed service design; instead, this gratefulness targeted the caring social ties they co-established with distinct social carers. It is thus the quality/depth of face-to-

face/personal social relations that *actually* mattered. Hence, the associational face alters ascriptive service role identities under a homogenous/homogenizing service framework and urges to engage in relational social care; it also sees the troubles experienced by newcomers in terms of social relational effects (Archer, 2013; Donati, 2017; Donati & Archer, 2015; Folgheraiter, 2004).

The organization, as a plural/collective relational subject, or a 'We', is a site of collision between compatibilities and incompatibilities that arise from relations between relations. This occurs because people belong to multiple and diverse collective/plural relational subjects outside of services (family, couple, friendships). This was evident in chapters 5 and 6, or in informants' biographies. They were/are immersed, during their lives, in numerous and variously structured and cultured social relations; these social networks have expanded since their birth and exerted notable influence over their makeup. It was also shown that social relations can act as suppliers of relational goods/evils. In many cases, they offered young people the resources which facilitated their departures from their original milieus (compared to others who did not depart – more or less un/willingly). Moreover, certain choices to migrate resulted from their internal dialogues in which they weighed their concerns in their social relational order and formulated a life project which circled around the need to depart from their social-cultural/natal/familial milieu. Since informants used varied and dynamic modes of reflexivity, any group of 'young refugees' is always diverse. Young people thus respond differently to services. Most of them also defied the prevalent imagery of refugees as "damaged, destitute, disturbed" victims (Marlowe, 2010, p. 186). While they have endured painful events/circumstances, they also experienced joyful times and, in some cases, even led more socioeconomically affluent lives than the people who welcomed them in Canada. Further, not all young people use publicly-supported post-migration services to the same extent and not all want to use them. Those of them who had fewer material and ideational resources were more dependent on such services; those who had other established social webs relied much less on them. Yet, their decision to engage in services is also shaped by considerations that go beyond individual benefits; they included reflections on their rapport with service providers/the organization. So, service encounters which produce relational goods might be a vital criterion for a young person's recurring participation in activities; they included companionship/mentorship, emotional support, sense of belonging, ability to experience one's history, etc. Social interactional dynamics that produce the latter can be said to de-otherize/de-migrantize and de-clientize/de-individualize people; they contribute to their re/humanization and re/enchantment. In view of the above, the

absence of service outcomes as defined by the marketized-bureaucratized post-migration service agreement, does not constitute ineffective social care. The latter can be deemed as effective when the focus is not solely on its service results as measures of success but rather on the process of social care and the quality of social relationship building.

2. RESEARCH PROJECT CONTRIBUTIONS OR TRANSFORMATIVE POTENTIALS

This doctoral research project was not of a "predictive type", that is, one that delivers "suggestions, proposals, and recommendations concerning how the phenomena can be changed, improved and the implications of these suggestions". Instead, it consisted of "an explanatory analysis" which aims to elucidate "why the phenomenon has developed in certain way", locate "hidden causes of this development" and tackle "the main reasons" (Jeppesen, 2005, p. 4). It was animated by "the metaphor of digging deep" which urges to investigate ontological realms beyond those that are visible/observable (Banfield, 2004, p. 58). In fact, "it is because critical realism holds to a depth ontology that it can be transformative" (p. 59). This research work then brings contributions in four key areas: (1) social science and social care/work scholarship; (2) social science and social care/work practice and policy; (3) social science and social care/work pedagogy; and (4) everyday human social life. This multifacetedness derives from the fact that a critical realist relational sociology is not only a meta/theory of the relational subject, but it is also a blueprint for a reconfigured civil society driven by relational ethics (Bielecka-Prus, 2017).

Social science and social care/work scholarly contributions

Social science scholars confront rising pressures to make their research labour applicable/ relevant to the real-world even though the concept of 'research impact' is debatable (Wiltshire, 2018). Since I conducted this project fairly independently (it was not co-designed and no one is eagerly awaiting the results), it was not approval-motivated. Moreover, the intellectual freedom granted to me by my research supervisor allowed me to explore and reach a personally meaningful and comfortable intellectual space. Yet, it also led me to an unpopular/unknown territory: "Notwithstanding its intellectual force and its conceptual traction, it was not meant to join the mainstream of academia. Critical realism thrives in the margins of the system" (Vandenberghe,

2019, p. 322). Porpora (2017) recounts an anecdote from a lecture on critical realism attended by students from "elite schools": ""Critical realism is all well and good," they said, "But we have our careers to think about."" (p. 123). In any case, this research work sides neither with scholarly works anchored in hyper-naturalism/positivism/empiricism (naïve realism/ hard essentialism) nor with those animated by anti-naturalism/interpretivism and strong/radical constructionism/relativism (anti-realism/anti-essentialism). The most significant scholarly input of critical realism is its recognition that there cannot be a philosophy-free science: "The alternative to philosophy is not no philosophy, but bad philosophy. The "unphilosophical" person has an unconscious philosophy, which they apply in their practice – whether of science or politics or daily life" (Collier, 1994, p. 17). The merger of relational sociology with critical realism is also less popular/known in the movement of North American relational sociology. Yet, its use permits to 'dig deep' at the social relational level without loosing sight of human personhood. This is crucial as contemporary society immunizes people against social relations; it also de-humanizes them.

These meta/theoretical directions engage with a social ontology that rejects flatness and a hyper-focus on the observable. Instead, they examine the interplay of structure, culture, agency and reflexivity across spatial-temporal dimensions; they also consider their emergent properties and powers. They allowed to move away from models of human personhood in social life that dominate social science scholarship on refugeehood, youthhood and social care: a hypo-socialized model that underestimates people's sociality (Model of Modernity's Man) and a hyper-socialized model that overestimates it (Model of Society's Being). Hence, they challenge scholarly works that concentrate on atomized individuals and/or the contents of their minds or on those that give determinist powers to structures/cultures. The adopted Model of Relational Subject sees people as singular/individual relational subjects endowed with first-level agency/reflexivity; they also join and create plural/collective relational subjects (family, couple, friendships, etc.) endowed with second-level agency/reflexivity. In addition, an organization of the third sector can be seen as a plural/collective relational subject that generates relational goods/evils (Archer, 1995; Donati, 2011, Donati & Archer, 2015). Moreover, Archer's (2012; 2007a) theorization of reflexivity offers a rich and nuanced outlook on agency/subjectivity. This knowledge can empower service partakers by supplying a greater awareness of their degrees of freedom/agency.

Overall, this vision understands that "human personal and social life is multidimensional and complex" (Smith & Sorrell, 2014, p. 221). In fact, a close engagement in daily organizational/

service realities indicates that human persons and their lives are way too intricate; they cannot be reduced to mere service users/clients or troubles to be serviced/clientized (Gubrium & Järvinen, 2014). The framework in question gives a more sophisticated portrayal of the complexity found in post-migration social care. It thus allows to critique taken-for-granted views of the newcomer-serving sector which can be suspected of being part of a largely uncritical market-state agenda. Linking post-migration social care with the demands of the market-state risks that social care and carers embrace its aspirations and conduct it without critical judgment, and thus normalize/naturalize/legitimize it. The adopted framework also offers insights into how differently situated people experience their social bonds in publicly-supported post-migration assistance. The inclusion of service provider *and* service user positions/roles is also uncommon in scholarship on the settlement and integration sector. In other words, few investigations tap into this social relationality at an ontological level and define 'social relations'. Last but not least, the use of concepts such as 'relational subject' and 'relational goods/evils' gives a new vocabulary to describe certain occurrences (Donati & Archer, 2015).

Social science and social care/work pedagogy contributions

The adopted meta/theoretical framework brings various pedagogical contributions. Most obviously, it urges an explicit incorporation of critical realism and/or relational sociology into social science and social care/work curricula. It can help educators and students illuminate dense realities – not only those under research and study in the classroom but also in their own lives. That said, Christian Smith who teaches a course entitled "Critical Realism and Human Personhood" warns in his course outline (2013-2014) that an affiliation with critical realism can create a sense of alienation from the mainstream. He cautions his prospective students:

> If your goal is to be optimally and economically trained to fit successfully into professional sociology as it is currently conceived and practiced, then you should <u>not</u> take this course. If, however, you are interested in thinking creatively and being part of an intellectual scholarly movement to push sociology in better, more ambitious, satisfying, and useful directions – even at the risk of complicating your own career – then this course is for you. Consider yourself well warned (p. 3).

Moreover, it advocates for more attention to social science philosophy in university coursework and much earlier than the doctorate. In doctoral education, this challenges a fixation on hyper-expertise which risks losing sight of a bigger picture: "Instead of pursuing larger questions, Ph.D.s are trained, as the joke suggests, to study more and more about less and less, to become authoritative specialists on some niche issue (…) the disincentive to pursue larger questions means that larger questions go unanswered". In addition, a "mutual nonaggression pact leaves each other's paradigmatic assumptions unchallenged" (Porpora, 2017b, p. 124). In view of this, while the focal point of my research was refugeehood, youthhood and publicly-supported post-migration aid in Ontario/Canada, I did not allow myself to get trapped in it; I asked many questions about the human social reality in general. Further, critical realism can help elucidate debates on 'social work science' (e.g., Brekke & Anastas, 2019). It can also assist social science and social care/work educators and students to contemplate more thoroughly on "the socially constructed and non-solipsistic dimensions of reality". It invites reflections/discussions on the resolutions "between naïve realism and radical relativism, and between qualitative and quantitative methodologies" which must first consider the interplay between structure, culture and agency (Scott, 2005, p. 634). Critical realism then offers an option to people who are uncomfortable with the current hyper-focus on strong/radical social constructionism/relativism. The adopted meta/theoretical framework arouses various questions such as: *What would a social care/work curriculum of social relational good life look like? What does it mean to live a 'good life' as an educator/student?* In addition, it encourages to explore what occurs when educators and students relate their responses to questions such as: *Why teach/study social work/care? How should I/we live?* Further, if social care/work is fundamentally relational, a social care/work curriculum needs to consider much less technical/ expert rationality and much more the ways that foster uplifting, just, etc. social connections. Broadly, this is a call for "education as compassionate transformation": "Compassion, articulated with a degree of criticality, can become a transformative educational catalyst for channelling creative human passion and energy to facilitate justice, solidarity and upholding human dignity" (Sahin, 2017, pp. 127-128).

The adopted framework fosters a distinct understanding of university teaching and student learning. This calls for the same analytical logics applied in this thesis. Hence, for a given social work program/course, it is vital to track the prior cycles of structural and cultural modifications in order to grasp the conditioning that is currently in effect; the latter enables/constrains/motivates

educators' and students' agency/reflexivity. This requires an unpacking of global, national, institutional and disciplinary/professional contexts (e.g., hyper-specialization/fragmentation of knowledge) and how they intersect with people's daily work and personal lives. This exposes the neoliberalization of higher education and a globalized spread of marketized university education. This analysis can sensitize those participating in higher education to the economic imperative encroaching upon a non-economic institution as well as the materialism and audit culture that it fosters (Acker & Webber, 2017; Shultz & Viczko, 2016). More concretely, "an education that is truly 'higher' should look beyond an economic agenda alone towards a broad-based human flourishing in society that also addresses the sustainability in the environment" (Kahn, 2017, p. 369). The framework also allows to understand that there is a richness in teaching and learning: educators and students are not fully determined by material and ideational conditions. Their decisions to engage in university education can be said to stem from internal conversations that involve personal and social concerns as well as life projects; since they use various reflexive modes, their rapport to it and each other also vary (Archer, 2007a). Further, at the core of education, and social reality in general, lies human social interaction. While structural and cultural circumstances that influence teaching and learning mould experiences, the role of educator-educator(s), educator-student(s) and student-student(s) encounters, and their emerging bonds, are central. Their quality/depth could become an emphasis for organizing higher education and classrooms: *How can university education ensure the cultivation of relational goods and the reduction/eradication of relational evils?* (Kahn, 2014). Such musings might suggest transformative opportunities such as a non-individualist doctoral degree[275] as well as the use of truly cooperative approaches between seasoned and novice researchers, researchers and non-researchers, etc.

Social science and social care/work practice and policy contributions

A view of human social interdependence inspires a re-reading of social science and social care/work practices and policies. It critiques mediations that are underpinned by hypo- and hyper-

[275] Kirchherr (2018) argues for a 'team-based' Ph.D. which "would permanently support, but also challenge, the student, boosting the efficiency, quality, and impact of the work"; it would also be "a necessary departure from the isolating culture that is proving detrimental to so many students" (online).

socialized models of human personhood. While it sees social bonds, it acknowledges "tensions, conflicts, and also contradictions" (Donati, 2011, p. 19). So, a focus on social relationality comes with its challenges. It embraces 'relation-centered' (not person/client-centered), or "networking interventions". While they are compatible with communal initiatives, they are incompatible with atomizing and paternalizing approaches. It also opposes de-contextualized evidence-based practices/tools. Such methods assume that descriptive/empiricist 'evidence' offers adequate grounds for making professional judgements; they fail to recognize that these are indirect effects of structural and cultural dynamics creating the conditions for agency/reflexivity. Relational social care/work intervenes "*on the relational web*" in which a given phenomenon occurs and in which it is sustained, that is, it focuses on relationality as the basis for change[276] (p. 18). From this stance, social care/work activities would concentrate on supporting networks of relations "to produce changes in both context and in behaviour through the modification of existing relations (…) activate the natural potential of social networks and make use of innovative forms (…) of relationality" (2011, p. 95). Relational social care/work is also mindful of "the dynamic relationship between those helping and those needing help" (Folgheraiter, 2007, p. 265). It is "not a theory about the technical procedures of social work (…) It is not an 'expert' and authoritarian manipulation of social relations" (p. 267). This confronts the conventional service role division in which service users are seen as less powerful; instead, both sides are active contributors. This asks to go beyond market-state intrusions and to stimulate the engagement of informal networks, or initiatives prefaced on the notion of solidarity, reciprocity, mutual aid, free giving, etc. They hold the potential to assist people to realize their ultimate concerns which emerge in/from social relational contexts and via which appropriate supports can be established/maintained. The formation of relational reflexive webs might use powers dwelling in peer support networks; they could be boosted via peer-mentoring, peer-led groups, etc. Relational social care/work sees power/ empowerment as evolving from social networks; it does not advocate an 'apolitical compassion' (Folgheraiter, 2007). In the case of young newcomers, they could involve initiatives in which every person is given an opportunity to be both, a mentor and a mentee; they would also need to include broader networks of social care and allow to grasp the situatedness of social care practices in a wider social relational field (Smith et al., 2016).

[276] See Folgheraiter & Raineri (2012) for a re-interpretation of the social work definition according to a relational paradigm.

A social relational ontology carries implications for social policies. Social policies can benefit from being designed in ways that do not tackle people as isolated individuals or abstract collectivities. Instead, they should inspire social bonds, or a generation of reciprocal connections reinforced by shared duties (e.g., models of social enterprise, mutuals, co-operatives). Social policies which only emphasize individual/collective harm reduction tend to be unproductive in altering structural and cultural contexts that generate troubles since they do not change the social relational webs where people live/act/etc. The meta/theoretical framework thus also invites to re-think co-existence; this includes the public policy approach to and ideology of multiculturalism. The latter has induced negative social relational effects such as social division, separateness of minority groups, culturalization, radical relativism, etc. According to Donati (2013) it involves "*the loss of the relationality between different cultures*", or "the relations between cultures are neutralized or made indifferent". This is done by merging the liberal notion of tolerance and the social-democratic notion of socio-political inclusion; it "completely forgets the meaning of solidarity and brotherhood" (pp. 141-142). Instead of using "dialectic semantics" or "binary semantics"[277], it calls for "relational semantics" which see "difference (the distance that separates Ego from Alter) as a social relationship (neither a simple border, nor a slash)". This is a sited and qualified social tie where "Ego's identity is shaped through the relation to Alter, and vice versa". The space between them is an area "of conflict, of clash, of negotiation, but it is also a mutual belonging". It occurs between "two uniquenesses (and not two reflections), keeping their impenetrability without synthesis"; they unmask themselves by invoking the social relational reality between them (p. 152). Donati speaks of a "relational social state" which is a "new configuration of freedom, equality, and solidarity that does not make social solidarity residual because it does not understand the latter to be charity or compensation for the weakest or marginalized members of society but places it on the same level as freedom and equality of opportunity" (Donati & Archer, p. 227). Overall, social policies should focus on the interdependencies between people and nurture relational reflexivity. They should not only concentrate on those in need but include *all* people. This could address groupist tendencies: while people often engage in morally admirable acts, they often/solely do so with same/similar others: "their own family, kin, village, ethnicity, religion, social class, ideology, and so on". In other words, "rarer it is for people to be good in a sustained way to "the other", much less to strangers

[277] See Donati (2013) for a more in-depth understanding of these terms.

and enemies" (Smith & Sorrell, 2014, p. 240). Stated differently, people hardly ever pursue social solidarity with *all* human and non-human beings. Social policies might then opt to assist webs of social relations to engender changes in pre-existing social relational configurations. Further, they should become more focused on the participation of people in the design and delivery of initiatives, including social policies; this may increase their legitimacy with the people in need of support. The idea of engaging ex/migrants, volunteers, families, community groups, etc. in social care/work is congruent with notions of civil society and local co-production.

Everyday human social life contributions

The idea that humans have altered the planet as if it they were separate from each other and nature with catastrophic effects is now widely accepted. A fixation on the mastery of the world, by some individuals/groups more than others, and at the expense of others, has trapped Earthlings in multiple and entwined calamities (Russell, Harris & Brown, 2010). It is possible to delineate four sites of this planetary "polycrisis" that spawns "wicked or hypercomplex problems" (Hedlung et al., 2015, p. 5). It manifests itself in our relations with: (1) nature as an ecological/environmental crisis; (2) each other as crises of conflict, violence and morality/ethics; (3) structures and cultures as economic and political crises and crises of social justice (unequal allocation of wealth, resources, life opportunities, etc.); and (4) our selves as identity crises and crises of ego/ethno/anthro-centricity[278] (Hartwig, 2015b). They are all located at the base of contemporary migrations. The young people who participated in this research project were driven out of their natal/familial milieus, alone or with family members, due to economic, political, social, moral/ethical and/or identity-related situations/contexts[279] (chapter 6). During their transitory migration, and then in post-migration, they continued/continue to engage with the "crisis system" (Næss & Price, 2017). They did/do not do so in isolation: they interacted/interact with people who were/are also impacted by it though in different ways and to various degrees such as service providers (and me). More fundamentally, a world dominated by 'carelessness' speaks to a 'crisis of care'. If we are all

[278] 'Centricity' refers to any dimension of ego-ethno-anthro-centrism (nationalism, Europism, orientalism, etc.). They come under the umbrella of ethnocentrism which speaks to an outlook of individuals/groups who take themselves to be at the centre of their/the world/cosmos (Hartwig, 2015)

[279] While this was not the case here, there are also 'environmental migrations': many people flee their homes, or countries, due to sudden natural disasters or worsening ecological conditions.

interconnected, it is then crucial to nurture these interdependencies. This means putting social relational care at the heart of daily practices and foster an expansion of kindship and hospitality. This invites questions such as: *What does a caring social co-existence look like?* In order to create a post-neoliberal capitalist social care, there is a need to change the ways in which we relate with our selves, each other, structures and cultures, as well as nature. Transformative potentials could be enabled via "the development of the virtue of compassion" or "politics of compassion" (Horsell, 2017, p. 966).

This research project evolved from my concern with human social mutuality and personal and social thriving[280]. Coming from clinical counselling into the doctorate, I was also preoccupied by human social pain. Given our interconnectedness, suffering is generated *between* us, not just *inside* of us. So, the ways in which we relate to one other and nature in everyday human social life are the reason for our suffering *and* its remedy. While the latter can never be entirely eradicated, it seems urgent to contemplate the ways in which structures, cultures and people – actively and passively, consciously and unconsciously – produce relationalities within which suffering is likely to dwell/prosper. It is equally crucial to consider those under which wellness is/can be cultivated and sustained. More precisely: "when we assume that something is wrong in the world, we also assume that something else is possible in the world" (Bhaskar, Danermark & Price, 2018, p. 56). Bhaskar (1993) spoke of concrete utopia (not abstract), or "the exercise of constructing models of alternative ways of living on the basis of some assumed set of resources, counterbalancing actualism and informing hope" (p. 395). Critical realism sees concrete utopias "as 'possibilities' that are real because realizable"; they "allow for new novelty, such as de-growth, giving hope for reshaping global society" (Archer, 2019, p. 239). It calls for a consideration of structural and cultural constraints and of agential/reflexive inventiveness in their transformation; it thus speaks to a reconfiguration of social relational webs, which includes the creation of innovative social relational occasions (Archer, 2019). So, the adopted framework encourages to think about a societal re-configuration rooted in the notion of 'common good' that surpasses market-state views (i.e., principle of individual freedom and principle of equality of individual opportunities): "If the good is a common object, it is because the individuals who share it also have certain relationships among them". A good is a 'common good' because it can only be re/produced and relished by

[280] This ties into my preoccupation with social justice. While social justice is conceptualized in various ways, "most if not all characterizations are rooted in ideals of human flourishing" (Williams, 2008, p. 6).

everyone who participates in it: “the good resides within the relationships that connect the subjects” (Donati, 2009c, p. 218). This is linked to the notion of the ‘good life’: it is not strictly about attaining pleasure and avoiding pain but also a pursuit of the common good. It is deeply interwoven in social relations that surface from “trust-based cooperation networks” animated by people who act as “facilitators of one another’s life projects” (Carrà, 2013, p. 143). Accordingly, this meta/theoretical vision denounces the moral obligation according to which people should be individuals who are autonomous/rational cost-benefit calculators seeking to maximize their own utility. It exposes other aspects of human personhood; it indicates that human social life cannot be merely upheld by self-interested exchanges or rights-respecting relations (Smith & Sorrell, 2014). In the case of this research work, whoever helps newly arrived people has an impact on them *and* is helped by them as well as by the relationality that emerges between them. So, the self must recognize itself as a relational subject (Donati & Archer, 2015). This also pertains to the ethics of social care; an ethical social conduct is one which attends to the particularities of the other and the context instead of merely obeying to norms/regulations: “Moral codes which consist of do-s and don’t-s serve mainly to excuse their adherents from thinking about how they should treat this particular being in this particular situation” (Collier, 1999, p. 91). So, beneficial social carers, and people in general, deal carefully with difference/diversity without discounting similarity/unity.

3. RESEARCH PROJECT LIMITATIONS

All research projects have shortcomings. This particular study involves multiple limitations which can be arranged into three major areas: (1) research project design, execution and analysis; (2) empirical and practical; and (3) (not so) personal.

Research project design, execution, and analysis limitations

The research project design, in terms of its anchorage in critical realist relational sociology, did not come together in ‘one shot’; it was a bumpy learning curve. Although my interest in and engagement with relational sociological thinking emerged prior to fieldwork, a more coordinated understanding was established when confronting the research data. An earlier solidification of the conceptual programme would have surely helped to construct the research project more suitably.

In my defense, however, a doctoral journey entails exploration. Moreover, many seasoned scholars speak of a gradual entry into critical realism – sometimes decades after working in a particular area. Priscilla Alderson (2013) asserts: "the challenge of rethinking my past research in relation to DCR [dialectical critical realism], and of writing this book, has helped me, and I hope the readers, to see how DCR enlarges research theory and analysis. Since learning about DCR, I have revised some of my former ideas and discarded others, on the continuing journey of learning and changing" (p. 8). Additionally, while I knew my area of interest (refugeehood-youthhood nexus in the realm of social care), I did not enter the Ph.D. with a rigidly predefined project (some doctoral students recycle prior graduate work what drastically speeds up the process; others partner with a professor/ organization/institution and/or rigorously adopt their framework). Further, critical realism, and by extension, a critical realist relational sociology, are not 'everyone's cup of tea'. They are certainly not without their critics/criticisms; some scholars align with one or both but rework it/them to their taste. This was touched upon in chapter 2 (see notes on Giddens and Archer). David Pilgrim (2017) who identifies with critical realism, notes, however, that psychology and psychoanalysis are underutilized in its literature (compared to sociology). He also points out that Archer attaches too much weight to conscious reflexivity (to feature its continuity, etc.) but lessens its unconscious facets. More precisely, she has been criticized for downgrading habitual action (e.g., Decoteau, 2016; Elder-Vass, 2007a; Sayer, 2009). Others see a conflict in her view of the self as pre-social and pre-discursive and the critical realist principle of emergence or that reflexivity is essential for social change (Decoteau, 2016). In any case, a critical realist relational sociology sees itself as a framework-in-evolution. Furthermore, since I was the only researcher (and a novice), I have surely affected the qualitative nature of the research design, execution and analysis. I tried, nonetheless, to remain loyal to the research data as much as possible. In any case, my analytical processes were solitary, and I would have benefitted from a team-based experience.

In retrospect, I should have applied the same interview questions that I used with service users with service providers. This would have allowed to get a deeper understanding of their structured, cultured and peopled biographies. So, there is a certain imbalance in the interview data collected from both groups. At the same time, I had to respect the limited availability of frontline workers, and thus use the interview time wisely, that is, to obtain as much information on the service provision as possible. It is also apparent that the research project included a greater focus on the perspectives of service providers on services than those of service users. Chapters 3 and 4

indicated the problem of the absence of young people which forced me to branch out of the YP. Then, although every young informant was dutifully asked during interviews on their rapport with workers, services, the organization and the government, not many ventured into detailed analyses for various reasons (e.g., discomfort, linguistic or memory limits, personal values/ethics). Hence, some limits come from research participants or their un/conscious concealment of information. Next, it might have been advantageous to incorporate interviews with service partakers immediately after specific service encounters. This, however, was not possible. In fact, such a design could have been seen as problematic by managers who are concerned by a productive use of time, organizational reputation, etc. So, more temporally and spatially distanced interviews were less threatening. Moreover, a possible bias in the results from the interviews with service users may have originated from service providers' assistance with the recruitment of service users. It is likely that they have selected the most articulate young people; more vulnerable ones may have been omitted (e.g., there was only one 'fractured reflexive' (chapter 6)). This, however, speaks to the gate-keeping practices enacted by organizations and their workers.

Empirical and practical limitations

No researcher/research project can fully detain the density of the realities under study due to various empirical and practical constrictions. The scholarly knowledge of state-supported post-migration service provision in Canada is limited by at least three aspects: scarcity of data, features of existing data and heterogeneity of manifestations. First, scholars notice many knowledge gaps. The examination of scholarship on refugeehood in the context of settler-colonialism is "an unruly task" for at least two reasons: it continues to be a "largely unstructured and diverse collection of work that span several disciplines" and "relatively few studies connect intersecting theories and historical processes of colonialism to processes of forced migration". It is undeniable, however, that the phenomenon of refugeehood is affected by the social-cultural legacies of the empire (Fobear, 2014, p. 48). Next, Myer Siemiatycki and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos (2010) observe: "Settlement services have garnered far less scholarly and media attention than other immigration-related issues." They add: "Even less attention has been devoted to the mechanics and nuances of how federal states handle immigrant settlement" (pp. 2-3). There are also deficits in the documentation of the rapport between public and third sectors. Peter R. Elson (2007) investigated

the latter from pre-Confederation to the twentieth century and stresses that it is a "rich history, which is often overlooked and chronically underappreciated" (p. 38). Second, many Canadian studies are rooted in "older models of "national" history" that omit human agency and social conflicts. They also embody a "political-economy calculus" which has elevated "the centralizing projects of political and business elites" and coalesced them with Canadian nationhood (Gauvreau & Hubert, 2006, p. 6). Additionally, historical accounts are packaged into "linguistically separate "national" compartments that privilege exceptionalism" what complexifies the detection of similarities (p. 5). Third, the expansion of aid for newcomers involved an irregular regional appearance and occurred under various governments as well as shifting institutional arrangements. It was also trapped in intricate federal-provincial dynamics. At first, the federal government was the single contributor to settlement and integration services; provincial participation appeared in the 1990s. Further, in the earlier days, service provision often targeted particular groups, and thus differed from current services which are directed at entire categories of newcomers (Türegün, 2013; 2012). Next, Kelly Dean Schwartz and colleagues (2008) detect that "accurate data" on faith-based social services in Canada are "hard to find" (p. 136). Yet, they continue to address "specific needs that extend beyond the capacities of government agencies" (Reimer et al., 2016, p. 495). The pervasiveness of religious participation in the newcomer-serving sector is especially hard to dismiss. These efforts involve "small-scale, very local initiatives to the nation-wide work of advocacy, and from personal relationship-building and faith sharing to collective community development" (Centre for Community Based Research, 2015, p. 1).

Further, it is now widely documented that the infiltration of contemporary social services to conduct an organizational ethnography is peppered with obstacles. Chapter 3 exposed my access problems. Organizations are closed sites to which access as an ethnographer is often tricky to obtain. I was not allowed to freely explore the research site: I had an on-site supervisor, and thus was restricted by his movements. It was also difficult to get an invitation to home visits as case workers engage in them fairly spontaneously; they are also dictated by time. Hence, I could not participate and observe in various daily activities. I was, for example, never invited to a staff meeting. It was clear to me that service workers not only prioritize service delivery over advanced critical/philosophical interrogations (unlike employed academics, they are neither granted the time nor rewarded for them), but there is some mistrust, if not repulsion, towards researchers who want to examine organizational dynamics, particularly in the long-term. For some, this comes from their

hostile personal rapport to formal/higher education (as a reminder, I was belittled by one frontline worker for liking to read; see chapter 3). In addition, an ongoing presence of an investigator can be seen as risky/intimidating: "Being left alone, the ethnographer might discuss *taboo* issues, raise tricky questions or invite workers to raise unwanted problems" (Buscatto, 2008, p. 32). This is intensified by a 'culture of fear' that stems from an affiliation with the market-state; this was particularly the case under Harper Conservatives and entailed anxieties related to funding. The most 'easy-going' workers, or those who attributed the least importance to the status quo – but who happened to be extraordinarily dedicated to the people they served – were the warmest and most helpful towards me. Moreover, any work outside of paid service can be seen as a hindrance/ annoyance, especially on busy days; so, a researcher is not 'useful'. The participation of some service providers in the interviews felt like a favour, a nice gesture and/or an opportunity for them to vent/chat[281]. In other words, it was done much less out of a sincere devotion to knowledge production. This narrow 'seriousness' has possibly impacted the depth of collected research data. I also sensed self-censorship: not many service providers wanted to be critical of the organization or the government (one informant asked me to turn off the recorder when speaking about upper management). Further, research work centered on a single case (this was challenging enough; see chapter 3) which involved an organization with a distinct social-cultural history. While this arouses reflections on the generalizability of research content, from a critical realist stance, it is possible to generalize some trends to other sites serving new settlers (e.g., market-state face, associational face). As a reminder, critical realism focuses on processes/mechanisms/tendencies. In other words, an excessive faith in case numbers (in terms of the validity of research data) informed by hyper-naturalism/positivism is denied here (Easton, 2010).

(Not so) Personal limitations

The process of piecing together this doctoral thesis involved some personal shortcomings. It must be re-stated that the chosen meta/theoretical framework is a complex affair. Its application to social science research is complicated and there are not many research examples to follow. So, this doctoral thesis surely includes confusions/misunderstandings on my part. As indicated earlier, I am neither a philosopher of social science nor a sociologist. I have educated myself largely alone

[281] Rosenthal (2003) writes about the healing effects of storytelling in social science research and counselling.

during my free time in those areas; I faced regular disorientation/frustration[282]. While I take some responsibility for the distortions found in this contribution, in my defense, no university course has ever clearly introduced me to critical realism and/or relational sociology. Although our doctoral courses tackled some relevant meta/concepts, I felt that the pedagogical approach was too piecemeal. I also did not meet anyone who was openly invested in these currents. Moreover, as an ex-clinical counsellor in the newcomer-serving sector immediately prior to the Ph.D., my knowledge base was rooted in mental health theories-practices. I had no knowledge of settlement and integration policies and knew little about public administration. Further, I have conducted an organizational ethnography for the first time and alone. Although the doctoral student is not institutionally alone, research work is typically contoured as an independent venture. This imposed social isolation can adversely affect its progress/scope/originality; the doctoral researcher can also internalize problems as personal flaws. While I resisted such internalizations, I surely felt an overwhelming sense of anguish, especially pre-fieldwork (see chapter 3).

Moreover, it is often stated that "earning a doctorate is a complex process, and a critical success factor is the supervisory relationship". In reality, this social bond is intricate, dynamic and emotional (Sambrook, Stewart & Roberts, 2008, p. 71). Its navigation is far from simple from the standpoint of the supervisor: "Too much control threatens the originality of the PhD and the autonomy of the novice researcher; too little can delay completion and even lead to total failure" (Delamont, Parry & Atkinson, 1998, p. 157). It is just as complicated from the standpoint of the supervisee. There is no doubt that I was given ample intellectual freedom from my supervisor for what I am grateful. Some of my setbacks came much less from 'too little control' and much more from my increasingly hard to contain disillusionment with neoliberalized higher education and society. The social scientific knowledge that I developed throughout this multi-year degree was not for social status. A Ph.D. in Social Work – a field driven by a concern for others – is, in principle, non-egocentric. In my understanding, the pursuit of academic knowledge should not be about an accumulation of marketable information and diplomas; it should contribute to a personal and social transformation (Ucan, 2019). So, it was rather difficult for me not to grow disheartened by the rising disintegration between knowledge transmission (pedagogy), knowledge generation/

[282] A professor noted about his journalism students: "I was surprised to note that students explicitly referred to their confusion about ontological issues, linking this to feelings of de-motivation, anger and disillusionment" (Wright, 2011, p. 157).

expansion (research) and personal-social thriving (everyday human social life); for me, they must feed one another.

4. POSSIBLE FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Any research effort births new curiosities; they depend on the interests of the researcher and on what is structurally and culturally realizable at a given space/place and time; it also hinges on existing social networks. Since I am not sure whether I will find or be given another opportunity to do social science research, it is difficult to project myself into the future. The "PhD employment crisis" in Canada is now increasingly documented (e.g., Torunczyk Schein, 2019). Although many new research paths are possible based on this endeavour (e.g., investigation of other post-migration organizations/services so as to map structural, cultural, agentic and reflexive dynamics under new social-cultural realities, or post-Harper), I am now preoccupied by social care forms-practices that surpass those that are acquiescently affiliated with the market-state. From a critical realist stance, influential social scientific knowledge must be both, critical and emancipatory. The "emancipatory project" promoted by a critical realist relational sociology esteems "'free-giving', reciprocal relations rather than exchange or command relations, the 'social-private' (third sector), and the complex of friends and family (fourth sector) as the planks building up a robust civil society" (Archer, 2011a, p. xii). Critical realism also invites hopefulness that stimulates a contemplation on viable improved futures. So, while it is important to engage with the harshness of human social life, it is just as crucial to venture into its brighter side (Ortner, 2016; Robbins, 2013). So, I am interested in the "fundamental human need for non-alienation, that is, unity, union, identity-in-difference or the coherence of love". Specifically, "love, trust, sharing and solidarity" are the basis of all human social life, or "what makes it possible". Most importantly, "love does not calculate, barter or seek to control or shape its object. Love loves to let the other be, to flourish in their concrete singularity ←→ universality"; lovers live a "transcendental identity consciousness, as their awareness of separate selves dissipates" (Hartwig, 2015a, pp. 207-208). Although some scholars consider acts of love, solidarity, etc., they focus on their bleak sides: a "happy" social science is often seen as "cheesy" (Kelly, 2013, p. 215). So, I am now interested in pro-social initiatives (e.g., gift economy, mutual aid, self-governance, etc.). This overlaps with my interest in anarchism, or "mystical anarchism" (Ladha, 2015). Although anarchism is hard to define (since

broad and misunderstood), it can be seen as "an ethics of relationships". An "anarchist ethic of care" accentuates "equality, mutuality, embodiment and interdependence" (Heckert, 2010, p. 186; p. 194). This partly rejoins my prior graduate studies in community economic development/social economy. It speaks to the notion of "free forming associations of people" centered on their needs/ wants (Landauer, 2010, p. 71). It is, however, also connected to the notion of the 'good life' (McKenzie, 2016). I thus feel animated by topics such as "happiness and life satisfaction, meaning and purpose, character and virtue, and close social relationships" (VanderWeele, 2017, p. 8148).

These interests are nourished by my relational work in social services. While I began this Ph.D. as a dormant practitioner, I returned, in 2019, to mental health counselling (on a part-time basis; not entirely by choice) in a different organizational setting than before (i.e., not newcomer-centered though I still, at times, work with people with a migratory past). This re-joining brought many new insights[283]. My work is now not only informed by understandings gained from a critical realist relational sociological framework but my service-based relations with diverse adult populations, but also colleagues, give me a unique access to contemporary personal and social troubles. I continue to approach my work 'ethnographically' (Baczkowska, 2017). Most crucially, I came to appreciate the observation made by the Italian scholar Antonio Gramsci who reflected on the role of intellectuals in society. He famously affirmed: "All men are intellectuals, in that all have intellectual and rational faculties, but not all men have the social function of intellectuals" (Forgacs, 2000, p. 304). It would not be an exaggeration that the people that I encounter in my work are 'natural' social philosophers. Many end up in clinical counselling because they are/feel socially deserted and/or have no outlet for their meditations; others struggle with their social ties (in their family, couple, friendships, at work, etc.). Below is a piece from a person's reply to my narrative therapy letter; it beautifully illustrates some of the concepts discussed earlier:

> The sessions with you feel more like a conversation than medical treatment (…) [they are] rewarding when we reach a discovery (…). Although I don't believe they [bullies] are entirely to blame, I know there are many factors, I wish I could regain confidence – I don't know that I ever had any – but bullies helped bring my self-confidence to zero and allowed the depression to settle in (…) *I have a heart, I care about people*. I know I don't want to feel like this, and I don't want others to ever feel like me. Everyone is "too busy", too involved in their own lives to care about others. I can reach out to others, just to talk, to have a distraction, and even at my

[283] I continue to be perplexed by the relationship between academics/academia and practice (Bartunek & Rynes, 2014).

> worse moments, even when they know, they don't have the heart or the time to even reply.

Some people also use mental health services because they are 'sold' the idea that they can be fixed (so they ask for formulaic/practical solutions). Many arrive with psychological/psychiatric jargon and 'self-diagnosis'; some even say that they were given a 'wrong diagnosis' by a psy-expert. Most noticeably, nearly every person is medicated by their family doctor or psychiatrist to cope with their anxiety and/or depression. Those who have been providing therapeutic care for decades confirm the changes in the 'kind of person' seeking help: "Throughout my professional career, I have conducted approximately 30,000 counselling sessions (…) The average individual I encounter in the clinical situation today is not the same as the person who sat with me 30 years ago. Sometimes the changes are subtle. Often they are obvious. But they are pervasive and apparently widespread" (Rogers-Vaughn, 2016, p. 1). This new type of person is an "individual" who is experiencing one's self "as a commodity in a world of commodities" (p. 2). This is accompanied by "a process that is rapidly and effectively dismantling human collectives, particularly those cherishing values that may threaten the hegemony of the market" (p. 211). It is also linked with a "Cognitive Behavioural Tsunami" (Dalal, 2018) and 'McMindfulness' (instead of critical mindfulness) (Walsh, 2016).

Figure 35: Mindful vs. Mindfooled, collage, Ottawa/Ontario, 2021

Below are other fragments from my counselling sessions (from my reflexive practice journal):

- "I'm disappointed with the world."
- "My generation has fucked the world."
- "No one cares about one another anymore."
- "I don't have a sense of purpose."
- "I'm not good enough."
- "I'm such a loser."
- "You're the most consistent person I had in my life."
- "You accepted my situation right away; you didn't challenge it."
- "You're taking time to understand me."
- "I'm feeling very lonely."
- "I have no one left in my life."
- "My biggest fear is to be alone."
- "When I die, my daughter will be left by herself."
- "My family is too busy for me."
- "No one cares about others' problems these days."
- "I cannot stress enough that I don't want to be stressed!"
- "I have suicidal ideation."
- "I feel guilty because I'm not productive enough."
- "I'm working like a machine and the whole year is gone."

While I fantasize about bringing all these people together, and thus encouraging social interactions that are not on the basis of service provider/expert and service user/client positions/roles, I am, of course, not permitted to do this under dominant structural and cultural arrangements. So, I am now fascinated by helping possibilities where "every member is an equal protagonist in the group's action, performing an active role in the solution of his/her own personal problem and at the same time in its collective projection" (Folgheraiter & Pasini, 2009, p. 255). Some relational thinkers also speak of 'conviviality' that surfaces as "an alternative to 'autonomy'" (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, p. 342). Accordingly, I envision my prospective research-practice developments to circle around the following question: *How can we organize for a more caring social relational future at this time in human social history?* (Elder-Vass, 2014).

SUMMARY

This final chapter considered various facets of the doctoral research project. It first focused on making sense of the broad research question in light of the previous chapters. It then explored research contributions and limitations; it also exposed my current interests and some potential future research-practice directions. Overall, this contribution tapped into structural and cultural conditions of post-migration services offered at a publicly-backed organization of the settlement

and integration sector with a distinct social-cultural history. It also mapped some agentic and reflexive inputs from service participants which stem from their complex lives. While these dimensions were at the core of this research effort, this doctoral thesis is so much more: it surfaced from and inserted itself into my biography and the biographies of people in my personal, professional and research networks at particular spaces/places and times. It is also part of much wider contexts and their complicated histories, that is, those associated with the *École de service social* [School of Social Work], University of Ottawa, academia, the third sector in Ontario/Canada and beyond, the market-state as well as their multiple and convoluted relations. All in all, it arose from and embedded itself into the Great Drama of Human Social Life, which is now, more than ever before, in peril, and calls for a re/awakening to our relationship with the whole.

We are all in this together.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guide – Service provider

Interview Themes
Narrative of practice Conceptions of intervention Concrete experiences Framework of practice
Average duration: 1.5 hour (maximum: 2 hours)

1. NARRATIVE OF PRACTICE

We will start the interview by focusing on how you have arrived at working at [organization]as well as young/refugee populations.

How did you come to work at OR in collaboration with [organization]?

How did you come to work as a *service provider working with refugee populations*?

What are the most significant milestones of your *academic trajectory*?

Areas to explore:

- Educational institutions attended, fields of study, degrees successfully completed/abandoned
- Educational ambitions/dreams/hopes and their history
- Significant relational influences on academic choices
- General attitude towards education

What are the most significant milestones of your *professional trajectory* since your graduation and your first employment?

Areas to explore:

- Professional titles, key responsibilities, locations (city/country)
- Means of obtaining employment
- Reasons for changes
- Favorite/least favorite professional experiences and why
- Past and present professional ambitions and their histories

2. CONCEPTIONS OF INTERVENTION

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about how you think about your work with refugee populations.

Can you describe your current professional role as a service provider at OR in collaboration with the [organization]? What do you do in your everyday life as a service provider?

Areas to explore:

- Professional title, key responsibilities, daily tasks/routines
- Reason(s) for engagement in this professional role
- Means of obtaining this professional role
- Future professional plans/ambitions

Why and how are young/refugee populations in contact with you in your work? Why and how do they come to you?

Areas to explore:

- The nature of the work with refugee populations (mission, frequency, duration...of encounters).

Can you describe young/refugee populations in your everyday work? Who are they? Why are services provided to them?

Areas to explore:

- Sociodemographic characteristics (age, gender, country of origin, status...)
- Tracking mechanisms

What are, in your opinion, the problems (challenges, difficulties, barriers...) that they are experiencing? How are these problems manifesting themselves concretely in their daily lives? What do you do about it?

What is missing in your work with young/refugee populations? If you had an opportunity, what would you do differently and how?

What is your preferred and least preferred professional activity/ies with young/refugee populations and why?

3. CONCRETE EXPERIENCES

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about some of your concrete experiences with refugee populations.

Tell me about two specific situations which you have experienced in your service delivery with young/refugee populations: an intervention, program, activity or any other interaction or relationship which you consider successful and one which you think have failed. (*Give the interviewee the choice to start by with either one. Minimal interference by the interviewer*).

Tell me about some concrete contributions made by young/refugee populations in your life? How did your work with them change you (or not)? (*Encourage the interviewee to provide examples*).

What are, in your opinion, your greatest professional skills, abilities, talents and what do your colleagues and service users tell you that you are doing well?

4. FRAMEWORK OF PRACTICE

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will talk about your framework of practice- that is, the broader contexts in which you are doing your work as a service provider.

Tell me about the organizational context in which you are working? How does it affect your daily work?

Areas to explore:

- Departmental services/activities
- Organizational rules and norms to be respected, general atmosphere
- Definition of the approach of the department/organization
- Type of documents structuring service delivery
- Most significant references/sources of inspiration and support for the organization and self
- Frequency and kinds of and reasons for organizational changes

Why does an organization like [organization] serve young/refugee populations?

Tell me about the socio-political context in which you are working? How does it affect your daily work with young/refugee populations?

What are the major challenges (obstacles, constraints, limitations...) encountered in your work at [organization]? How do you manage these issues? Do you foresee more or less of such challenges in the future (or no change)?

What are the most significant professional, relational or other resources that help you in your work with young/refugee populations at and outside of [organization]? What is lacking and how?

What, in your opinion, would be the ideal conditions (organizational, socio-political...) for service delivery for young/refugee populations?

Is there anything else that you would like to discuss that concerns your professional practices at [organization]?

Conclusion: *The researcher will thank the participant for his/her contribution and will remind him/her of the possibility to withdraw at all time his/her interview from the research (before its publication), in case of regret. A moment will also be reserved for free discussion (not audio recorded) at the end of the interview allowing him/her to express any concern or discomfort.*

APPENDIX B

Sociodemographic data: Service provider

Date of interview		**Code of interview**	
Location		**Pseudonym**	

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Sex: F M

2. Age: _____

3. Language(s):_____

4. Place of birth (city/town/village, country):_____

5. Nationality (for Canada, indicate if citizen or permanent resident):_____

7. Place(s) of residence/transit:_____

8. Year of arrival in Canada:_____

9. Reasons for arrival in Canada: _____

B. ACADEMIC TRAJECTORY

10. Highest diploma obtained: _____

11. Details of secondary and postsecondary education (start with the most recent):

From y/m	To y/m	Name of institution	City/country	Level completed/ in progress

C. PROFESSIONAL TRAJECTORY

12. Current professional situation:

Professional title at the organization:_____

_____ Part-time _____ Full-time _____Employee_____ Volunteer_____ Intern

From (*y/m*):_____

Means of obtaining employment/volunteering/internship:_____

Reason(s) for choosing this organization:_____

13. Previous professional experiences:

From y/m	To y/m	Title	Type of industry	Frequency

14. Professional development events attended in the last month(s) (up to 24 months):

Focus of training	Offered by	Reason for attending

15. Professional memberships (groups, associations): _____

D. PROFESSIONAL PRACTICES

16. Key professional responsibilities:_____

_____

17. Services/activities offered:_____

_____

18. Refugee populations served:

Age	Gender	Country of origin	Socio-economic status	Legal status

Other relevant characteristics:_____

19. Intra/Inter-organizational collaborations:

Internal	External

20. Referrals:

_____ Governmental sources
_____ Social worker
_____ Mental health counsellor
_____ Career/Guidance counsellor
_____ Psychologist
_____ Psychiatrist
_____ Nurse
_____ Specific Community organizations(s):_____
_____ Other(s): _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide – Service user

Tree of Life Interview Themes	
Roots	Fruits
Ground	Nutrients
Trunk	Animals
Branches	Storms of life
Leaves	Forest of life
Average duration: 2 hours (maximum: 2.5 hours)	

GROUNDING ACTIVITY

Before we start the interview, I would like to invite you to do a short activity where you imagine yourself being a tree. Would you like to do this? If no, that's okay. We can start the interview right away.

If the participant agrees*: I would like you to close your eyes. Imagine that you are a "tree". See your body as a large tree. Pick any tree that you like or care about. You are a tree with a solid trunk, long branches with beautiful leaves and fruits and deep strong roots in the Earth. Feel this tree as your body, they are one.*

It is a warm sunny day. Feel the heat of the sun on your tree. The heat feels like the sun on your face and arms in the summer. See this heat as a golden light and let it fill your leaves and branches. Let this light fill you completely- your branches and fingers, your trunk and back, your roots and legs. When you are ready, open your eyes.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the interview, we will be talking about different parts of the tree in relation to your life experiences (The interviewer shows a picture of a tree and its different parts).

I. ROOTS

We will start talking about the roots or where you come from.

Can you tell me about your place of birth (village/town/city/country) and the place(s) you have lived in (village/town/city/country)? (*Explore reasons for relocations and personal experiences in each location*).

Can you tell me about your family history and traditions as well as linguistic, cultural and religious practices?

Can you tell me about the people who have influenced you the most in life (family members, friends, teachers, mentors...)?

Can you tell me about your favorite places, activities, stories, games and songs/dances, clubs/associations you belonged to, sport teams you supported?

Can you tell me about your schooling experiences? How did you feel about school? What were your hopes and dreams at that time?

How important/significant are these roots today? Are you still connected with them? How do they influence you in your everyday life?

2. GROUND

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the ground in which the tree is rooted, that is, your current experiences in Canada.

Can you tell me about how did you end up in Canada/Ontario/Ottawa? Who did you come with?

Can you tell me about the activities that you *choose* to do in the course of a week (regular things)? What are your favorite things to do in Ottawa/Canada?

Can you tell me about the people that you see the most in your everyday life? How would you describe them? What do you do together?

Can you tell me about your residential experiences in Ottawa/Canada? What is/are your favorite places in Ottawa/Canada and at home?

Can you tell me about your schooling experiences in Ottawa/Canada? (Explore obstacles, successes, involvements in student life, relations with teachers and peers, relation to languages of instruction).

Can you tell me about the things you find difficult in Ottawa/Canada? Can you tell me about the things you find easy? What would make things better?

How did you come in contact with the Catholic Immigrant Centre? What kind of services did you receive or receive right now? How do you feel about it?

3. TRUNK

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the trunk- the part of the tree that makes it stand or the things you care about and the things you are good at.

Can you tell me about the things you care the most about? What is important/significant in your everyday life?

Can you tell me about your skills, abilities and talents and their histories and meanings in your everyday life (accomplishments, areas of practical experience...)?

What do other people tell you that you are doing well/you are good at? What would someone who cares about you say about you? (Include what a community or group s/he belongs to cares about).

What kind of skills, abilities and talents do you value in other people?

4. Branches

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will start with the branches- your hopes, dreams and wishes and those for your family, community and others in your life.

Can you tell me about your hopes, dreams or wishes for the near future (e.g., next few months, next year, etc) and distant future (e.g., five years, ten years)?

Areas to explore:
What are their histories (how long did you have them for; where did they come from)?
How have you held on to them?
How are they connected to important people in your life (did anyone introduce you to them or help you hold on to them)?
What do you think needs to happen for them to come true?

What hopes, dreams and wishes do you have for people in your life?

5. Leaves

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the leaves- the people who are important to you.

Can you tell me about the people who were and are important to you- people who are close to you or who have influenced or influence you right now? Who are your heroes?

For important people who have passed away: Did you have good times with this person? Can you tell me about one of those times? What was important to you about this person? Would this person like that you remember them?

6. Fruits

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the fruits- the gifts that have been passed on to you or contributions others have made to your life.

Can you tell me about the gifts (material, non-material) that you have received/are receiving from other people in your life? How did these gifts help you or are helping you?

What gifts are you giving to others and how in your everyday life?

7. Nutrients

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the nutrients that the tree or you need to stay alive and happy.

Can you tell me what makes you feel good in your everyday life? What would like to see/have more of?

8. Storms of life

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the storms that can affect the tree or the problems that you are experiencing.

Can you tell me about the storms that you have experienced in the past and that you are experiencing right now? What did you do or are doing to address them? How do you hold on to your hopes, dreams and wishes during these times?

Do you expect more or less storms in the near and distant future?

Can you tell me about the times when your life is free from storms?

Do you ever help others with their storms? How?

9. Animals

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the animals that interact with the tree.

What services and professional people are helpful to you during storms of life? Less helpful? What kind of services would you like to have?

10. Forest of life

We will now change the theme of discussion. We will now talk about the forest- a place where there are lots of trees or many different people living together.

What do you think about Canada/Ottawa so far? What is helpful to you and less helpful? What would you like to see more of and less of? Any changes since arrival?

Conclusion: *The researcher will thank the participant for his/her contribution; remind him/her of the possibility to withdraw at all time his/her interview from the research (before its publication), in case of regret. A moment will also be reserved for free discussion (not audio recorded) at the end of the interview allowing him/her to express any concern or discomfort.*

APPENDIX D

Sociodemographic data – Service user

Date of interview		**Code of interview**	
Location		**Pseudonym**	

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Gender: F M Other: _____

2. Age: _____

3. Grade:_____

4. Language(s):_____

5. Place of birth (city/town/village, country):_____

6. Nationality:_____

7. Place(s) of residence/transit:_____

8. Year of arrival in Canada:_____

9. Reasons for arrival in Canada:_____

10. Legal status in Canada (sponsored refugee (government/privately)/refugee claimant):_____

B. ACADEMIC TRAJECTORY

11. Number of years of school successfully completed:

Elementary/primary school _____	Secondary/high school _____
Interruptions in schooling Y N	If yes, age and duration_____

12. Details of secondary/high school (or postsecondary) education:

From year	To year	Institution	City/country	Diploma completed/ in progress

C. PROFESSIONAL TRAJECTORY

13. Currently employed: Y N If yes, from (*y/m*):_____

Title and type of industry:_____
Frequency of employment (e.g.: part-time, occasional, seasonal):_____
Reason(s) for employement:_____
Means of obtaining employment:_____

14. Previous employment:

From year	To year	Professional title	Sector	Key Responsibilities

15. Currently volunteering: Y N If yes, from (*y/m*):_____

Professional title:_____
Frequency of volunteering:_____
Reason(s) for volunteering:_____
Means of obtaining volunteering:_____

16. Previous volunteering:

From y/m	To y/m	Title	Sector	Frequency

D. FAMILY BACKGROUND

17. Current marital status of parents:

Together: _____

Single: Father _____ Mother _____

With new partner: Father _____ Mother _____

18. Level of schooling of parents:

Father:

Primary education _____

Some secondary education _____

Secondary diploma _____

Some postsecondary education _____

Postsecondary diploma _____

College _____ Field of studies _____

University _____ Field of studies _____

Mother:

Primary education _____

Some secondary education _____

Secondary diploma _____

Some postsecondary education _____

Postsecondary diploma _____

College _____ Field of studies _____

University _____ Field of studies _____

19. Professional situation of parents:

	Father	Mother
Employed	Title:	Title:
Unemployed	Duration: Previous title:	Duration: Previous title:
Studying	Field of studies:	Field of studies:
Other situation		

20. Sibling(s) (including half-sisters/brothers):

Total number of siblings: _____

	Number	Age
Brother(s)		
Sister(s)		

21. Level of schooling of siblings:

	Primary	Secondary	Postsecondary
Sibling 1 F M			Diploma and field of studies:
Sibling 2 F M			Diploma and field of studies:
Sibling 3 F M			Diploma and field of studies:

22. Professional situation of siblings:

	Employed	Unemployed	Other situation
Sibling 1 F M	Title:	Duration: Previous title:	
Sibling 2 F M	Title:	Duration: Previous title:	
Sibling 3	Title:	Duration:	

F M		Previous title:	

E. RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND

23. Current place of residence:

_____ With parents/legal guardians
_____ Apartment
_____ House or condominium
_____ Other: _____

24. Type of occupancy: _____Boarder _____Tenant _____Owner

25. Number of persons living in the household (excluding interviewee):_____

26. Persons living in the household (e.g.: extended family):_____

27. Contributions to household (e.g.: groceries, rent): Y N
If yes, type of contribution(s) and amount (per month):_____

F. SOURCES OF SOCIAL SUPPORT IN CANADA

28. Types of social support:

Informal sources:
_____ Parents/legal guardians
_____ Friends
_____ Romantic partner(s)
_____ Immediate family (identify relationship): _____
_____ Extended family (identify relationship): _____
_____ Teacher(s)
_____ Community member(s):_____
_____ Other(s): _____

Formal sources:
_____ Governmental resources
_____ Social worker
_____ Mental health counsellor
_____ Career/Guidance counsellor
_____ Psychologist
_____ Psychiatrist
_____ Nurse
_____ Community organizations(s):_____
_____ Other(s): _____

29. Most used social services in Canada (up to date):

Social service	Reason(s) for use
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

30. Most needed social services in Canada but unavailable and/or inaccessible:

Social service	Reason(s) for need
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	