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SETTLEMENT PROCESS OF AFGHAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN BASED ON CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN FINLAND

Pro gradu-thesis

CSW Master Degree Programme

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ABSTRACT:

The study examined the settlement issues of Afghan immigrant women from a cultural perspective in Finland. The study explores the process of Afghan women settlement and focus on the cultural causes, aspects and the issues which make the settlement challenging and difficult for them. It also considers how these women face with these challenges during their settlement.

The theoretical frameworks of this study are Frames for understanding settlement process and immigrant settlement experiences. The immigrant's settlement experiences explain immigrant's cultural challenges and the coping strategies which they use to deal with the cultural challenges. It also studies the services which immigrants receive during the process of their settlement such as social work services and migrations services during their settlement process which can make the process easier for immigrant women.

This study is qualitative research where data was analyzed using content and thematic analysis. The data was collected from interview with six respondents. Participants in the study included six adult Afghans immigrant women who have resided in Finland more than 3 years .They were interviewed separately with open –ended in-depth interviews.

The thesis explains the main cultural aspects which bring issues for Afghan women settlement (religion, language, discrimination, family…) and the cultural aspects which immigrants use in order to overcome their challenges (Religion, individual attributes, social support). The analysis of the interviews resulted in three core themes (1) cultural challenges (2) Personal coping strategies (3) Satisfaction level from receiving social services.

The central argument of this study is about immigrants who face different challenges as soon as they left their countries. Beside self-awareness and having positive attitudes, immigrants need different kind of support in order to overcome these challenges and reach to a balance in their new lives. There is lack of knowledge about immigrants in between the people of countries which immigrants migrate and even between the service providers. There is a need for more comprehensive and multicultural knowledge about immigrants. People and service providers need to be more educated about immigrants in order to ease the process of their settlement after migration.

Keywords: Settlement process, cultural challenges, coping strategies, social services for immigrants, Afghan women, immigrant's experiences, Qualitative method

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1. INTRODUCTION

Central to any discussion of settlement is the nature of migration. Migration involves change. To a varying extent, immigrants face changes in many aspects of their lives, with the change in physical environment come changes in language, culture, socio-economic system as well as in their personal situations, their family lives and working lives. The reasons for migration are many and diverse; the diversity of reasons for migration underlines the differences among immigrants: differences of gender, ethnic background and social class outline the broad parameters but the differences are multiple and they influence settlement. All the aspects of the immigration experience, the diversity among immigrants, the diversity of their reasons for immigration and the different societies and cultures (and subcultures) encountered, lead to the infinitely variable nature of the migration and settlement experience (Burnet 1998, 2.)

From the late 1960s migrants, academics and officials in some countries began to consider assimilationism as a fitting context or even the most important goal in migrant settlement. Many migrant groups in Australia, Canada and the United States seem not to be assimilating properly in order to achieve to similar social and economic outcomes. Moreover, the concept of cultural assimilation was increasingly being seen contrary to human rights (Fletcher 1999, 7.)

The concept of migrant settlement is less simple, and more subject to change, than might at first be thought. Over the past half-century, changes in the way settlement is thought of, have bring changes in the relationship between the host society and migrant groups and changes in the character and forms of migration itself. The common approach to settlement in the post-war period was the notion of assimilationizm. The objective was that migrants should assimilate into their new society, without remarkable change or needing for active change on its part. Successful settlement was ‘the achievement of reaching to impossibilities by the migrant,’ that is neither migrants as a whole or individual national groups should remain visible in the sense of having special needs beyond the initial period of arrival (Morrissey et al, 1991, 25.)

According to Fletcher (1999, 8) one difficulty in defining settlement is the open-endedness and irregularity of the process. Definitions range from 'securing a permanent footsteps in a new country as Holton and Sloan (1994) argue to 'full participation on the economic and social opportunity structure of the society' as Neuwirth, (1997) argues. Whatever the definition is, for some migrants it will be a quicker process than for others.

Various writers have attempted to identify phases or stages of the settlement process. For example, settlement issues can appear after a time when migrants become elderly and have new health and social needs. Also, migrants may be well settled in one dimension of their life (finding a new job) but poorly integrated in other aspects. On the other hand, some members of the migrant family may be well integrated while others are not. Current concepts of settlement therefore recognize that it is a multi-dimensional process involving all aspects of the migrant's (and migrant family's) life. Typically, 'settlement' usually being defined as the early parts of the longer integration process, but it should be considered that settlement and settlement needs may also vary with the migrant's life cycle (Fletcher 1999, 7.)

Thus the main goal of this research is to focus on Afghan immigrant women and the process of their settlement in Finland. Based on the main goal of the research, we are willing to study the challenges and issues that these women face after leaving their countries and how they are dealing with these challenges during the process of their settlement. We want to know how they manage the process of their settlement in new country, if they face with social problems such as cultural differences, language, discrimination, family problems, and lack of integration and so on. Our respondents in this research include the whole below definitions such as asylum seekers, refugees or immigrants (legal/illegal).

There are different terms which can be used for immigrants but in general, there are different terms which can be used for immigrants but in general, immigrant is a person who has settled permanently in another country. Immigrants choose to move, whereas refugees are forced to flee. On the other hand, migrant is a person who is outside their country of origin. Occasionally this term is used to cover everyone outside their country of birth. More often, it is used for people currently on the move or people with temporary status or no status at all in the country where

they live. It tends to be applied to people at the bottom of the economic ladder. For example, we don't often hear of migrant businessmen. Besides, economic migrant is a person who moves to a country in order to take up a job or seek a better economic future. The term is correctly used for people whose motivations are entirely economic. However, migrants' motivations are often complex and may not be immediately obvious, so it is dangerous to apply the "economic" label too quickly to an individual or group of migrants. Or person without status (Undocumented) is a person, who doesn't have the permission to stay in the country, or has overstayed their visa. The term can also include a person who falls between the cracks of the system, such as a refugee claimant who is refused refugee status but not removed from the country that they come to, because of the recognition of the dangerous situation in the country of origin (Canadian Council Refugees (CCR) 2010).

We also have Asylum-seeker, who is a person seeking for asylum. Until a determination is made, it is impossible to say whether the asylum-seeker is a refugee or not. Refugee claimant is a person who has made a claim for protection as a refugee. This term is more or less equivalent to asylum-seeker and is standard in Canada, while asylum-seeker is the term more often used internationally. Illegal migrant/illegal immigrants are the terms which considered problematic because they criminalize the person, rather than the act of entering or remaining irregularly in a country. Using the term can also have the disadvantage of prejudging the status of the person. If a person is fleeing as a refugee, international law recognizes that they may need to enter a country without authorization and it would therefore be misleading to describe them as an "illegal migrant". Similarly, a person irregularly in the country may have been coerced by traffickers: such a person should be recognized as a victim of crime, not a wrong-doer (CCR 2010.)

Afghanistan is a country that has a lot of refugees in different parts of the world. The people of Afghanistan experienced much hardship and suffering, especially over the last 30 years and especially for women. When the Soviet troops left in 1989 after its 10 year invasion in Afghanistan, civil war broke out among the mujahidin forces, one of which is Taliban. This fighting destroyed much of the capital city of Kabul and surrounding areas but worse the restrictions and repression destroys the daily life of Afghans, especially the women.

When the Taliban were in power between 1996 and 2001, women were no longer allowed to go to school or work or even leave their homes without a male relative escort. Other women have been beaten for making noise when they walk or move about without an explanation suitable to the Taliban. People were tortured and executed during this period while women lived as prisoners in their own homes. Afghanistan is a traumatized nation and each Afghan has his and her own story of personal trauma. Refugees from Afghanistan are coming to live in Finland. It is important to understand the background they are coming from and the challenges which they are facing with after their migration in the new country. Six Afghan women have been interviewed for this research. The names of the Afghan women have been changed to protect their identity and the stories are from Afghan women living as refugees in Finland (Soini 2009, 4-5.)

Since we had our practice training in Finnish Red Cross (Punainen Risti) we had the opportunity to get familiar with Afghan women and gain some knowledge about their experiences, memories, attitudes, traumas, lifestyles and many aspects of their lives. We found out that many of them left their countries and move to Finland after going through the most difficult and horrible incidents just to reach to a peaceful and safe life somewhere else. These experiences motivate us to start our research about Afghan women and the challenges which they have been facing since the time that they left they countries until now, which can lead us to the process of their settlement. We decided to consider these challenges from a cultural perspective and to focus on the cultural dilemmas which they are facing on their everyday life.

On the other hand we found out that Afghan women have different ideas about the services which they are receiving during the process of their settlement from immigration services. They have different expectations from social services and social workers. As they were receiving constant help from social service (financial aid, food, accommodation, health care services), since the day that they enter Finland, most of them were totally satisfied from these services. But as they need the assistant of social workers too because of their emotional and spiritual problems, they explain to us that how they feel about social workers helps and how satisfied they are from their services. During our practice field we found out that women have both positive and negative ideas about the help that they are receiving from social workers.

We believe that the cultural perspective included many aspects of Afghan immigrant women such as family life (shift in family roles), social life (discrimination), and community life (lack of integration). Beside, most of women try to find a way to deal with the cultural challenges that they have been facing each and every day. They try to cope with these challenges and use some other cultural strategies to overcome their challenges (Such as religion, social support) which we are going to talk about in next chapters. Also we will talk about available social services and social work services which can bring satisfaction for immigrant women.

There have been studies in many countries of immigration that have attempted to examine the concept of settlement of immigrants. In 2000, the department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) commissioned a study to develop a set of indicators to measure the settlement success (Khoo and McDonald 2001.) A study by Canadian researchers (Neuwirth et al 1989) also suggests examining immigrant settlement outcomes in terms of multiple dimensions or spheres of social life. These include linguistic, economic, occupational, social and cultural adaptation and physical and mental health (Khoo 2012, 2-3.)

There have been number of researches and studies on settlement issues of immigrants. The studies by Burnet (1998), Ho & Cheung (2000), Martikainen (2013), Nash & Trlin (2004), Wilsmen & Gifford (2009) indicates the issues of immigrants' settlement in different countries from different aspects such as cultural (Religion, family) , economical (employment) and health care perspective , or social work assistance in the process of immigrants' settlement.

We referred to the book: Social Work and Migration (Immigrant and Refugee Settlement and Integration) by Kathleen Valtonen (2009) so many times in our research because we find so many useful and comprehensive texts which were relevant to our research. Valtonen book is a response to the challenge of immigrant and refugee settlement which is emerging in many receiving countries. Valtonen believes this book incorporates conceptual frames salient to immigrant settlement and integration as well as material from studies in the migration field and the reader is offered the opportunity to explore the capacity of the discipline/profession to play a primary role in the course and outcome of settlement, and to influence the integration and multicultural processes taking place at many levels in our modern societies of settlement. She got the idea for writing this book from a series of studies on refugee and immigrant integration

which she conducted in Finland and Canada from the mid1990s onward. One of these was a longitudinal study of refugee integration in Finland in the 1990s.

The study report has been divided into eight parts. Frames for understanding settlement process, social services for immigrants during settlement process as theoretical frameworks are discussed in chapter two followed after this chapter. Information on immigration background in Europe and Finland are discussed in chapter three. Likewise purpose of the study; research questions; data collection; Ethical consideration of the research; and data analysis are discussed under research process in chapter four. Similarly, findings of the study about the cultural challenges, coping strategies and satisfaction level from social services are discussed in chapter five, six and seven respectively. Chapter five to seven tries to answer each research question. And chapter eight has discussion and conclusions over the findings of the research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Settlement Process

As Morrissey (et al 1991, 32) argues, formulating a definition of settlement raises various theoretical issues which have direct policy implications. There are several pertinent questions about the term settlement and its use. The first and key question is whether settlement is a period of time after immigration or the achievement of a number of objectives.

The difficulties of the initial settlement period are generally recognized but there is less agreement about the causes of later difficulties or the measures that should be taken to meet needs. However, the question of the relative effects of social class, gender and ethnicity on the disadvantages frequently experienced by immigrants is beyond the scope of this discussion (Burnet 1998, 3.)

This chapter will present a selection of some of the main theoretical and conceptual frames relating to settlement. The building of frames for understanding, interpretation and explanation is a dynamic process in the field of migration and settlement. The variance in the features of settlement processes, settlement policies and settlement services, as well as the diversity across settling communities, all generate rich patterns. The field is studied from many disciplinary perspectives, such as cultural studies, sociology, social work, psychology, social psychology, law, geography and economics.

Conceptual frames outline interconnected ideas to facilitate our understanding of the social world. Theory facilitates communication among those working or having an interest or a stake in the field, from settling individuals and communities to professionals and researchers. Knowledge of a range of settlement and integration approaches and models provides the tools for analyzing the design and content of one's own national model or any particular model. Models that are adopted in societies are not, and indeed cannot be, implemented as pure types, but feature within the main special profile, make a combination of methods for organizing activities in the different areas of settlement (Valtonen 2008, 59.)

2.1.1 Acculturation and culture

Acculturation (adoption of a foreign culture) is a central process which refers to the newcomers' adaptation to the culture of the new society. Individuals adjust to or adopt behavior patterns or practices, values, rules and symbols of the new environment. People can become acculturated along some dimensions while choosing not to become acculturated along others. By cultural retention, we mean that individuals or groups do not give up valued aspects of their original culture. They retain selected intrinsic aspects, the giving up of which would be equal to losing their distinguished features as a group. These generally relate to institutions such as the family; language; forms of social association and affiliation; behaviors; customs and traditions (Valtonen 2008, 60.)

Pierik (2004, 524) distinguishes three aspects of the culturalistic fallacy. First, the reification of culture: to regard something abstract as something material or concrete. Second, the compartmentalization of culture: the tendency to view cultures as separate entities with sharp borders. Third, the essentialising of culture: the tendency to see culture as an independent and unchangeable entity, in which its individual members are regarded as only the passive bearers of culture. Over time, we have seen a shifting emphasis from 'natural' to 'cultural' descriptions of groups, phrased in terms of 'blood' via 'race' and 'ethnicity' to 'culture.' It is generally accepted now that culture is a socially constructed concept.

Acculturation is generally assumed to be an immigrant-centered activity, with the main emphasis on immigrants' process of adaptation to the majority culture. It is often held to be prior for other styles of settlement, such as integration or assimilation. The rationale, from a structural perspective, is that settling persons are indeed free to engage in acculturation on their own, while those processes defined as integration and assimilation. An understanding of acculturation is incomplete without taking into account the changes in the receiving society, which evolve as a result of interaction among groups and their co-existence over time. Acculturation is at base a two-way process. The majority society possibly takes a stance of resistance to changes brought about by in-migration (Valtonen 2008, 61.)

According to Valtonen (2008, 61), Berry's (1998) acculturation model is based on analysis of the encounter between minority groups and the larger society. It gives us a social psychology perspective on acculturation. This model uses selectively the two variables of identity maintenance and links to out-groups to portray the acculturation process, and features four outcomes: assimilation, separation, marginalization and integration.

Assimilation takes place when relations to out-groups are so enveloping that immigrants melt into surrounding society and do not retain their own identity. They merge into the majority society. Separation denotes a state in which a group has minimal relations to other groups and retains its own cultural identity. When a group loses or gives up its original identity, yet does not become part of the wider society, marginalization occurs. Marginalization signifies a break in linkages to one's own group without forming connections to other groups or the majority society in place of these. Integration is the term applied to the situation in which a group is able to maintain its identity and also relate to and participates effectively in the surrounding society (Valtonen 2008, 62.)

2.1.2 Integration

Integration is understood as the situation in which settling persons can participate fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of a society, while also being able to retain their own identity. The term integration has not been static. Previously it carried overtones of compulsion on the part of the receiving institutions for immigrants to match to majority society. However, as it is currently interpreted, the 'integration' concept proves to be very useful. It is very close to policy frames, and it has a comprehensive participatory thrust. The central idea of participation also emphasizes an active mode of settlement. Integration, as it is defined above, can help us to understand the scope of settlement processes. Integration can be understood in terms of immigrants' relations to the institutions of the state, the market and civil society (Valtonen 2008, 62.)

The process of immigrant integration into a society is not as one-dimensional. It is a many-faceted phenomenon in which we should at least make a distinction between the institutional and the normative dimension. The former refers to an increase in immigrant participation in the major

institutions of a society (e.g. labor market, education, and health care system), the latter to changes in the immigrants' cultural orientation and identification. Changes in the former do not necessarily imply changes in the latter, and vice versa. When we refer to growing institutional participation we will use the term integration, when referring to cultural change we use the term acculturation (Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003, 8.)

Integration as a concept may be defined as the stability of relations among parts within a system-like whole, the borders of which clearly separate it from its environment; in such a state, the system is said to be integrated. Integration, in a sociological context, refers to stable, cooperative relations within a clearly defined social system. Integration can also be viewed as a process – that of strengthening relationships within a social system, and of introducing new actors and groups into the system and its institutions (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006, 2.)

Integration is alternatively conceptualized as full membership in a society, and thereby associated with the social citizenship frame. Integration is understood as entailing the creation of a shared political framework which embodies institutional mechanisms for ensuring that those who see themselves as belonging to distinctive groups or communities can nonetheless participate effectively in all aspects of the political, economic, social or cultural structures of the society in which they live (Valtonen 2008, 62.)

Kallen's (1995, 154) structural integration model also describe different aspects of the settlement and integration process. Integration is seen as taking place along cultural and structural dimensions. Structural integration refers to institutional participation, and actual assimilation processes into the formal institutional structures (most frequently the economic and political/civil arenas) of the receiving society, while cultural integration refers to cultural exchange or acculturation. This approach corresponds to the matrix of economic, social, cultural and political spheres presented in the definitions of integration.

Cultural integration on the other hand, refers to the process of learning cultural ways of an ethnic collectivity to which one does not belong. The corresponding concepts of 'enculturation' or 'socialization' refer to the process of learning the cultural patterns of the ethnic collectivity to which one does belong. Settling persons may eventually adopt new cultural attributes. Indeed the

existence of a majority or dominant culture in the society will exert pressure for the main direction of change in the process of acculturation to be toward the norms, values and patterns of the majority (Kallen 1995, 154.)

Structural Integration also occurs when relations between members of different ethnic collectivities result in the participation of these individuals in ethno cultural institutions other than those of the ethnic community in which they were raised. Structural integration is broken up into three sub-processes: Secondary structural integration refers to formal participation in the secondary institutions of the society, such as the economic, political, legal and educational institutions. It is in this process where many of the more difficult challenges of integration are encountered, and where equity mechanisms are especially critical for settlement. Primary structural integration refers to participation by individuals and ethnic collectivities in the private institutions of other collectivities (for example, religious and social, friendship and kinship networks; family and marital alliances) (Valtonen, 2008 64.)

Identificational Integration is a function of both cultural and structural integration. It refers to the process whereby an ethnic group other than one's own eventually comes to provide one's primary source of expressive symbolic ties and roots, and also becomes one's primary reference group (Kallen 1995, 156.)

In the above situation, individuals do not necessarily become integrated along all three dimensions. They might be well integrated into primary structures but less so into the secondary structures, and might yet exercise free choice regarding how they self-identify. Alternatively all three areas can be seen as inter-related, with individuals shaping for themselves the most functional option by selecting areas of emphasis along the three dimensions. Thus there can be marked variation in individual styles of adaptation and integration. Many personal and structural factors contribute to the overall style and outcome of settlement. The model of structural integration is helpful in capturing the width of processes involved in settlement. These processes are inter-related and indeed mutually reinforcing (Valtonen 2008, 65.)

2.1.3 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is an official approach to the organizing and managing of ethno cultural diversity. It is affected through policies, programs and strategies that are shaped for this purpose as part of the state's recognition and accommodation of distinctive groups and communities within the broader policy framework. Multiculturalism policy is developed and implemented in many forms to reflect the settlement priorities and plans of the society. Multicultural approaches and principles have evolved in several advanced industrial societies, including the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, Germany, France, Finland and Sweden. However, while these countries are multicultural in the descriptive sense, Canada, Australia and Sweden have adopted 'multiculturalism' as explicit government policy. The multicultural model was first introduced in Canada states that the policy was founded on a 'politically charged vision' of the society (Valtonen 2008, 68.)

According to the integration act of 1999, the main instruments for the implementation of the Finnish integration policy have been the individual integration plan for immigrants, financial support for participants in integration activities and the local integration program. The integration plan usually does not include measures related to maintenance of one's own language and culture. The right to an integration plan was previously limited to those immigrants living in Finland who were unemployed, dependent on income support or are under 18 years old. The purpose of local integration programs is to support the integration planning in the municipality and to coordinate the provision of integration services. In 2006, almost all municipalities that had a significant immigrant population had such a program (Saukkonen & Wahlbeck 2013, 277.)

A mistaken impression is one which holds multiculturalism as functioning solely to 'enrich' settlement cultures. Valued and desired as this is, multiculturalism is indeed a critical question of newer groups' access to full membership in the citizenry on a par with other citizens. Multiculturalism is different from the other models; it requires state commitment to the legislation and implementation of its prescriptive policies. Formally stated policies need to be substantiated in programs, institutional measures and practices. The dimension of relevant policy and policy implementation are integral to the model. The idea in multiculturalism is the formal extension of value and respect for the diversity of cultures in society and a clear visualization of the place of minorities in the national public space (Valtonen 2008, 68-69.)

The emphasis in the integration program is usually on the challenge and activities related to the narrowly defined integration process of immigrants. Most attention is paid to the participation of a new comer on an equal basis in local community and Finnish society and to the conditions for that participation such as linguistic knowledge of Finnish or Swedish and general knowledge of Finnish society. In these programs, multiculturalism and cultural diversity are concepts that appear in general terms, but the meaning of these nations is rarely much specified. Therefore, immigrant's right to maintain their own language and culture plays a secondary role, and in some cases it is almost non-existent. The possibility for children to receive native language instructions at school is usually mentioned, however. The rest of the preservation of one's own culture is often considered as belonging to immigrants' and minorities' voluntary association which can apply for funding from municipality (Saukkonen & Wahlbeck 2013, 278.)

Multiculturalism on its own, however, spread out the responsibility for bringing about more equitable conditions and for removing barriers to settlement, as it shifts the responsibility to citizen's initiative and resources. The efficacy of multiculturalism is measured by the level of representation of minority groups in all sectors of society and at all levels. This holds as well for the range of models for managing diversity in society. Multiculturalism is recognized for its acceptance of diversity. The outstanding question concerns whether and in what ways the model can be applied as a more powerful instrument for bringing about equal citizenship (Valtonen 2008, 69-70.)

2.2 Immigrant's Settlement Experiences

2.2.1 Cultural Challenges

Within the new environment immigrants face a series of challenging experiences which they can frame either as threats or as opportunities. These challenging events can include racial or other forms of discrimination like job related discriminations, or need to learn the local language. Other challenge includes learning the local culture which includes cultural values, social norms, and cultural attitudes, cultural that prevail and rewarded within the new environment (Reich et al 2010, 395.) However, migration includes a complex and important process of cultural adaptation or mutation, as a result of grappling with the new experiences associated with establishing a new life in. For new settlers, the process of cultural adaptation is implied in the social and economic

tasks associated with settlement. The tasks of obtaining employment, housing, health care, child care; learning the new language, linking into a social support network; getting qualifications assessed and recognized; accessing financial institutions and other 'formal systems'; these involve processes of cultural re-composition just as much as the more usually imagined 'cultural' tasks of becoming familiar with dominant values and customs of the new country (Fincher 1993, 107.)

Studies of immigrant settlement and adaptation often analyses the experience as a process that is dynamic interaction over time and described in terms of movement through stages. Learning a new language is always difficult even for a non-immigrant person but it can be much more difficult for immigrants because they have to learn it to be identified as a part of society and will be integrate in different levels of community. As we can see by not knowing the language, immigrants can be labeled as a definite stranger in society and in some cases receives less respect from people of the society. So it has been expected from immigrants to know the native language and as a reward, they can be a part of that society (Burnet 1998, 11.)

Some immigrant Women choose to adhere to the traditional roles dictated by their culture, most particularly young women, find these dysfunctional and unsatisfying in the new environment. Culturally based conflicts may develop in families as women try to reconcile the traditional gender roles of their home culture with the demands of participating in the new environment. This is particularly true for women who encounter greater access to paid employment and educational opportunities. These new economic, social and emotional options create an imbalance in the traditional power structure for the family. What is appropriate behavior for women in the host culture may be unclear and confusing for the immigrants. Especially it is more difficult for women than for men to negotiate acceptable behavior. The need or desire to adapt to the host culture is easily interpreted as disrespectful of the home culture's value and those people usually, the older generations, who represent them more ardently (Espin 1999, 22-23.)

Valtonen (2008, 75) also believes discrimination invariably forms one dimension of the settlement experience, which is coped with in different ways. The effect of discrimination is also disempowering when the vulnerability of the targeted group is passively reinforced on a social level.

Coming from cultures in which the extended family and community have played a significant role in their lives, there is a concern about reduction or even absence of parental and community supervision of the guidance for their children. In doing so, they may be the possibility of radical changes in family structure and the responsibilities for family members. Some families cannot overcome these challenges and will end up separating once more or returning to their countries of origin or the challenge will go on in the family for a long period of time (Grillo 2008, 106.)

For adolescent girls and young adults women as immigrants the transition created by immigration present additional tasks. It is easier for them to adjust to the new way of life since their identity is not yet solidified. On the other hand, they might lose peers and other emotional guideposts that would have informed their identity development in their former cultural context. But the older generation's attempt to preserve old ways increases intergenerational and gender role conflicts in family. Further conflicts may also develop because women may become increasingly employable in the host country while their husbands or fathers experience a loss of status and authority (Espin 1999, 24.)

Cultures are not 'bounded, static entities that are also somehow portable from place to place. In immigrant's resettlement, immigrant's needs should be considered for self-esteem, confidence and emotional security. While cultural and national identity may constitute a more important need for refugees and other immigrants who have been displaced, such issues are relevant to most immigrants. The 'identity model of multiculturalism' which respects cultural differences similarly 'facilitates the processes of migrant adaptation by providing much needed social support, self-respect and dignity for the culturally differences (Burnet 1998, 22-23.)

2.2.2 Coping Strategies

Beside the challenges that immigrants are dealing with, they are using some of their own beliefs, behaviors and attitudes as a coping strategy during the process of their settlement. Although the immigrants are facing with so many challenges and difficulties even after many years of migration, but some of their attitudes and beliefs are helping them to survive in this harsh path which they are stepping in. These coping strategies mostly rooted in the personal attitudes and cultural resources. Basically the first person who is helping immigrants to cope and adapt with the challenges in their settlement process are immigrants themselves. Of course, they are other services, people and organizations that are helping them in this process, but beside, they are using some of these strategies in easing their settlement as much as possible. Differentiated coping strategies that alert the situation, modify the meaning of the situation, or control the stress of the situation. Coping can include instrumental, affective and avoidance based strategies. Coping strategies are widely recognized as important buffers between stressful life events and adverse mental or physical health function (Kahana et al 2007, 7.)

Individual honor, a positive pride in independence that comes from self-reliance, fulfillment of family obligations, respect for the elderly, respect for women, loyalty to colleagues and friends, tolerance for others, openness and a dislike for displaying themselves , is a cultural quality most Afghans share. Eggerman and Panter-Brick (2010, 74) have identified six key cultural values in responses to the question about how “life could be better” for people in Afghanistan. Their study identified faith, family unity, service, effort, morals and honor as coping mechanisms in dealing with the challenges of living in a war torn nation. Evidently, there are many cultural values that shape and guide how Afghans cope.

Some immigrants such as Afghans come from a collectivist society, there is greater importance given to family qualities such as warmth and unity. Also collective cultures like that involve role based obligations and fulfillment of group needs with a great emphasis on prioritizing relationships, familial dynamics and holistic views (Dwairy 1999, 912.)

Eggerman & Panter-Brick also (2010, 75) indicate, religion is a source of individual strength in the face of adversity because it constitutes the strong conviction of an individual. Therefore religion can shape cultural values and beliefs of Afghan women and it is one of the cultural heritages which they bring with themselves and use it in the process of adaptation. To believe in something real and be proud of who they are because of their religion, can give them an identity, self-stem and power that can empower them and introduce them to new society as people who own a productive personality.

As Simich (et al, 2011) argues social support contributes to improve coping skills and it is influenced by differences between families, friends, or community service settings. All new comers come with cultural knowledge of social support that may shape their expectations of giving and receiving help. Social support among Afghans consist a form of interaction within family, friends and professionals that provide practical and emotional help.

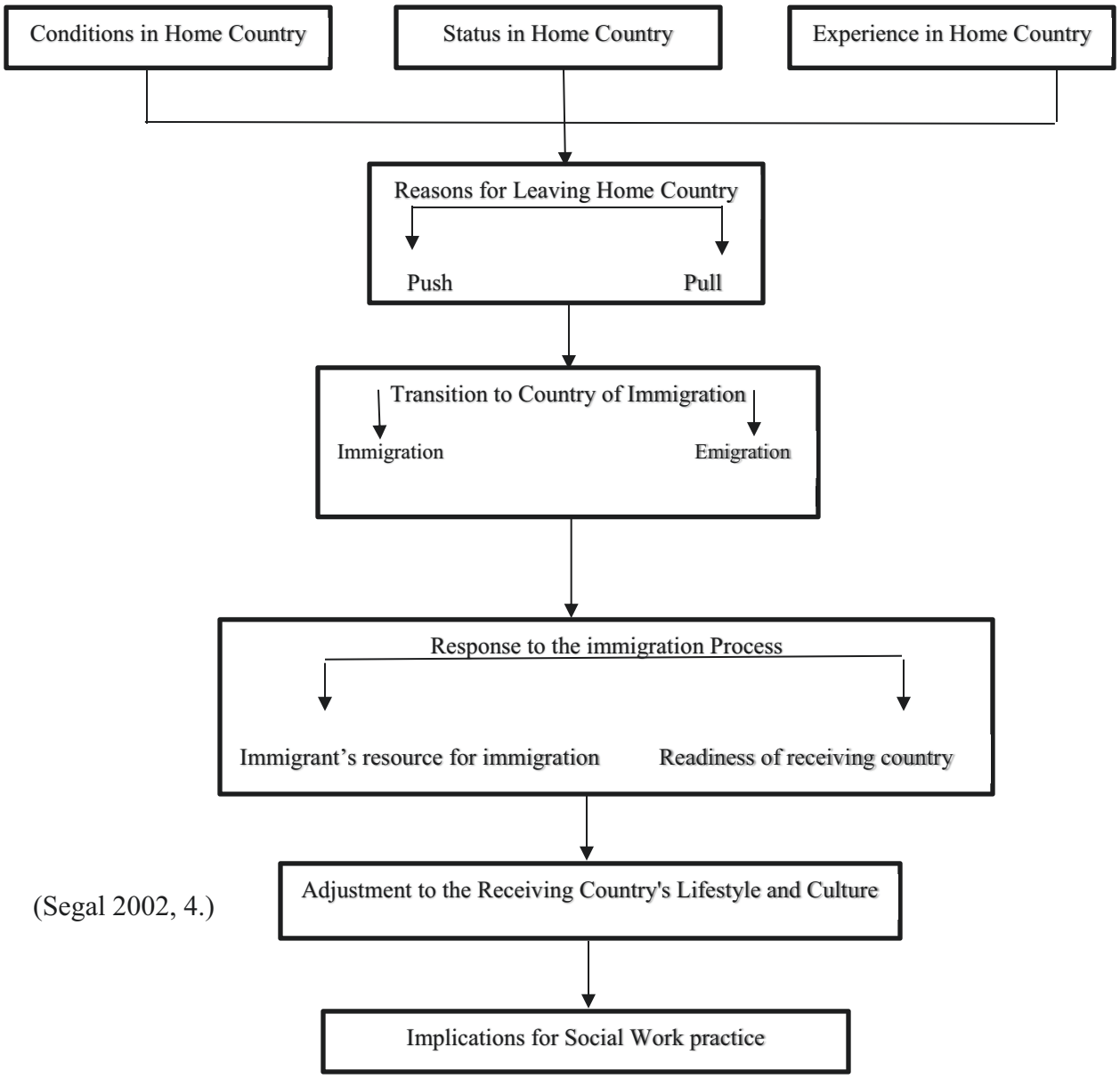
Some immigrants have a positive outlook through their life experiences. They believe that the difficulties and challenges that they have been facing since the first day of their migration can make them stronger and all these traumas can give their life a meaning. These immigrants have a strong sense of identity, they know what do they want from life and what is their goal in future. According to Kohistani (2012, 42) Afghan immigrant's active preservation of their cultural heritage gives them a sense of confidence in their self-identity, and enhances their ability to make a cultural transition. In this context they are able to overcome the challenges that come along the settlement and adaptation process. They made an effort at creating opportunities for improving their situation in the host country by attempting to learn the new language, finding a job, face with discriminative behaviors and reach to a high sense of identity during the process of settlement. Therefore immigrants also bring the strong belief of looking at life experiences positively. Positive outlook reduces the impact of stressful events. Afghan women in the study have shown an ability to integrate and negotiate the difficulties that come along settlement, to the extent of looking at negative experiences as learning opportunities. Their positive outlook is associated with their strong achievement orientation.

2.3 Social Services Received by Immigrants during Settlement Process

2.3.1 Social Work Services

Immigrants are facing with many dilemmas and difficulties form them moment that they enter the new country. In most of host countries there are different organizations that will help and support immigrants to make their settlement process easier. In this process, social workers have an extend role in supporting immigrants from different aspects due to their problems and difficulties. Social workers use different skills and methods in order to ease the settlement process for immigrants. But before starting anything, they need to have comprehensive knowledge about the settlement process framework and immigrant's experience in their home country. Usually social workers start their framing due to below figure.

Figure1. Framework for immigrant's experience



(Segal 2002, 4.)

After considering the information about immigrant's expectation and observation their situation, social workers will start the process of resettlement of immigrants based on these steps: i) cultural competency, ii) developing the professional relationship, iii) problem identification and assessment, iiii) assessment and intervention.

Culturally Competent assessment is comprehensive by definition and requires cultural knowledge, credible practice skills, and supervised training experiences with multicultural clients. Cultural competency invokes and recognizes the uneasy and fluctuating balance between the relative importance of professional understanding derived from research as well as the affective dynamics of practitioner-client practice (Malgady 2011, 9.)

Segal (2004) argues that, when immigrants have the psychological ability of coping with these and other stresses of resettlement to an unfamiliar culture, they are more likely to adjust and control the direction of their lives. On the other hand, they may experience post-traumatic stress disorder. Without sufficient and appropriate social and emotional support, including possible therapy, they may fail to find the sufficient immigration experience, remaining unhappy, adjusting their lives in the new land, pining for their familiar homeland and culture, and, occasionally, engaging in socially inappropriate and dysfunctional behaviors (Segal & Mayadas 2005, 568.)

Cultural competence requires cognitions (recognizing differences based on values/beliefs), affects (positive emotional response to differences), and behaviors (culturally appropriate responses) competencies. These competency domains represent motivations, skills, and knowledge in a dynamic multicultural perspective identified by personal development in learning how to learn about cultures and understood them. Cultural competency recognizes cultural differences, respect for these differences, reconciliation of differences, and realization of actions necessary for reconciliation (Malgady 2011, 13.)

It is also important to understand the worldview of immigrants and **develop a Professional Relationship** with them. Thus, researchers interested in learning about the immigrant experience should obtain basic content knowledge regarding the immigration process and their intention for migrating. This includes an understanding of participants' pre-migration, migration, and post-

migration contexts, reasons for migrating, immigration policies and different types of immigrant's status (Flores et al 2011, 188.)

The culture of privacy and silence is spreading among most immigrants. Mostly those immigrants who influenced by the Western European tradition, seek assistance look for an authority with the knowledge and skills to guide them. Sharing personal experiences similar to those of the clients should be done carefully. A focus on personal experiences that express an empathic understanding of the client's situation may cause suspicion and concern that the social worker is struggling with similar issues and may not be in the best position to provide direction (Segal & Mayadas 2005, 571.)

Balgopal (2000) discuss that the relationship between the social worker and the immigrant is not seen as an equal partnership by the latter. Immigrants regard social workers as the ones with authority, status, and knowledge who can help and provide answers; but in this regard, directness, advice, and instruction can be most appropriate.

Some immigrants have a negative attitude through making a relationship with social worker because they think, social workers have connections with government because of a government-issued vehicle, and this understanding may prevent them from speaking with the social worker. Unfamiliarity with environment, prior experiences of being misused or deceived for research or consultant purposes, concerns about language fluency, or fears that information they provide will be reported to "immigration" may avoid from developing a relationship (Flores et al 2011, 189.)

Also **Problem identification** is the process of creating a definition of the problem that is mutually agreed upon by the client and the worker. Assessment is the analysis of personal and environmental stressors that contribute to the problem, and personal and environmental strengths that can be used to help resolve it. The first step in this phase is to facilitate the client's disclosure of the problem. In many cultures, disclosure of personal problems to anyone but immediate family members is strongly discouraged. Clients from such cultural backgrounds may feel hesitations and shame about discussing the problem with worker. The worker needs to

exhibit patience and give the client time. The client may disclose the problem indirectly, by describing a friend's problem and seeking advice for the friend (Potocky 2002, 158.)

Significant individuals, family members, the community, social and formal organizations, and the larger society affect individuals in a variety of ways. Each factor in social environment should be explored within both the new country context and the immigration, cultural, and cross-cultural experience. Level of family and community involvement may also be different due to culture, with high levels representing healthy and mutual dependence or dysfunction (Segal & Mayadas 2005, 573.)

Sometimes the client's problems will appear obvious, for example when a client is referred for a specific service such as employment assistance. However, even when the problem seems to be obvious, it is important to get the client's perspective, since it may well differ from the perspective of the referring agency. Additionally the problem definition should identify the levels of the problem (Potocky 2002, 159.)

Understanding immigrant and refugee experiences and cultural competence are fundamental in the **assessment and intervention** process. Through assessment, social workers must evaluate immigrant and refugee families' resources and backgrounds for social, economic, and cultural integration; distinguish between realistic and unrealistic immigrant and refugee expectations; evaluate families' problem-solving abilities, both in the past and present; explore family performance within the context of the immigrants' and refugees' heritage; identify the exchangeable work skills; and most importantly, evaluate families' learning capabilities and motivation for adaptation (Segal & Mayadas 2005, 576.)

In working with immigrants and refugees, assessment and intervention processes must occur both within the context of the host country as well as in the context of the immigration and cross cultural experience. Hence, although behaviors that are exhibited should be assessed appropriateness, it is also necessary that the service provider determine whether appropriateness is culturally bound. Level of involvement of the family and the community may also differ based

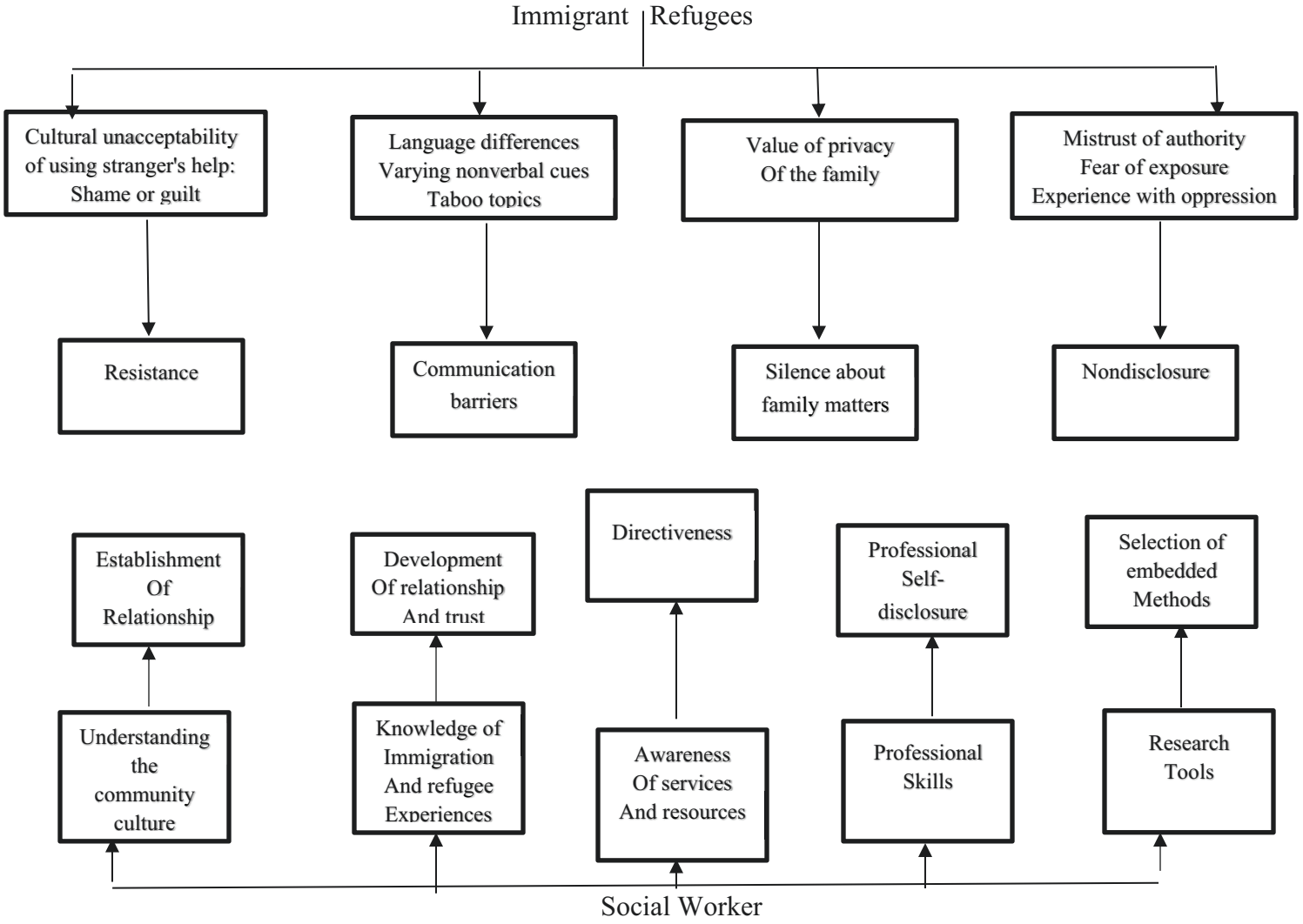
on cultural background, and high levels of involvement could represent either healthy interdependence or dysfunction (Healy & Link 2011, 77.)

Segal (2004) points that, any evaluation of the skills of immigrant or refugee is essential. Many immigrants and a large majority of refugees have skills that are not directly transferable to western industry, business, and technology; they lack the necessary capability to adjust to life in a computer oriented society. Any assessment, therefore, must closely evaluate both evident manpower skills as well as evaluating abilities (ease of learning, persistence, attitudes) that are not clear by sociocultural difference (Segal & Mayadas 2005, 577.)

The measures in intervention should include quantitative and qualitative indicators of the client's problems (e.g., depression) or intervention goals (e.g., improved relationship with parents, reduced alcohol use), so they can be used to monitor client progress and determine (to some degree) whether the intervention was successful. Interventions are combinations of skills applied by practitioners, their clients, and collateral participants (e.g., family members, teachers) and implemented for the purpose of reducing symptoms, resolving problems, enhancing adaptive capabilities, and improving the overall psychosocial well-being of the client. Interventions include skills and combinations of skills that help clients achieve important intervention goals (e.g., lower depression, enhance couple's communication, increase pro-social behavior, reduce symptoms of psychosis) (O'Hare 2009, 25.)

Based on Segal and Mayadas (2005, 570) figure below, we can understand how is the process of working with immigrants in practice. For example, immigrants might resist in front of receiving a stranger help because of cultural unacceptability. It is possible that because of the attitude and traditions in immigrant's culture, they are not able or they are not allowed to trust any stranger because of having the feeling of shame or guilt.

Figure 2. Working with immigrants and Refugees



(Segal and Mayadas 2005, 570.)

There might be a language differences between immigrant and social workers which can make a communication barrier for immigrants to talk and express themselves. It might be possible that even the non-verbal cues are different and there can be some Taboo topics which can cause immigrants avoid from talking or communication. In this case, social workers need to develop a relationship based on trust and have enough knowledge about immigrant's experiences.

Congress & Chang (2009,84) debate that the experiences of immigrants and their families are filled with examples of personal, social, economic and political issues that require coping, adjustment and adaptation. These events can be experienced as traumatic or may be worsen as past traumas. As an example in some cultures it is a Taboo to talk about sexual relationship of wife and husband. Therefore, social workers should be aware of these very sensitive subjects.

Also some immigrants might prefer to stay silent about their family problems because of the value of their privacy. Even if they had a huge fight with their spouses or children, there is a lot of possibility that they try to remain silent about the matter just because of the attitude of holding their family privacy and respect in front of everyone. As Balgopal (2000, 55) believes, an important issue in the relationship between social worker and the client in self-disclosure. It may be difficult for immigrants to accept an equal status in the relationship as they regard the social worker as the one with authority and power and thereby to be addressed as somebody with ah higher status than themselves. The social worker must be comfortable with the issue of self-disclosure. Since immigrants mostly are hesitant to discuss their personal problems with strangers, they will ask social worker personal questions and it is important that the social worker not become defensive.

There is also a possibility that immigrants have the feeling of mistrust to authority, or have the fear of exposure because of the oppression experiences that they had. They don't trust social services and authorities because they still don't feel safe even if they are far from home where lots of dangers are treating their lives. Based on what Roberts (2009, 944) discuss, refugees live in politically oppressive conditions or in the midst of war, they may have been subject to discrimination, violence, rape, torture, death of family members or imprisonment. Therefore, there is not surprising that it is difficult for them to establish a trust.

2.3.3 Migration Services

Applications for asylum are submitted to the police or to the passport control officer. Asylum seekers are then transferred to reception centers located in different parts of Finland. If the identification of the asylum seeker or his/her travel route is unclear, the police may detain the asylum seeker upon arrival in Finland. Also asylum seekers who have received negative decisions can be detained before deportation. The detention center is located in Helsinki. In other parts of Finland asylum seekers are still kept in police properties. Usually detention lasts from a few days to some weeks but can last up to a few months. Detention cases have to be taken to a District Court which proceeding every two weeks. The District Court decides whether the asylum seeker should be released or kept in detention (Refugee Advice Center 2010.)

After being continuously resident in Finland for four years with an A-permit, immigrants and refugees can apply for a permanent residence permit. As for "B-permits", these are only meant for temporary stay. B-permits involve more restrictions than A-permits. For example, the right to work can be restricted to a specific employer or industry. When an immigrant who has been granted protection is issued a residence permit, he/she is relocated to a Municipality. Refugees must be residents of a Municipality in Finland in order to receive welfare benefits (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 12.)

The police or the Frontier Guard investigates the applicant's identity and travel route by making finger print investigations to other European countries in order to establish whether the applicant has arrived to Finland via another EU country (or Norway, Switzerland, Iceland). The Finnish Immigration Service manages the actual asylum interview. The Finnish Immigration Service makes the asylum decision based on the written asylum protocol. The Finnish Immigration Service makes the asylum decision after the asylum interview. If the decision is positive, the applicant is usually granted either a refugee status or a residence permit based on subsidiary or humanitarian protection. A negative decision can be made either in a normal or in a quickened procedure. The choice of the procedure has consequences for example in the manner that the asylum seeker can be expelled after having received the decision (Refugee Advice Center 2010.)

As Forsander (2002, 23) discuss, the selections of immigrants are usually based on interviews conducted in refugee camps, during which the grounds for granting a residence permit are examined. A representative of the Security Police also participates in the interviews. Finnish immigration policy has traditionally been built on a homogenous national population, and immigration to Finland has, thus, generally required biological or family ties to Finland. The Finnish Nationality Act also makes it possible for foreigners to acquire Finnish citizenship, provided they fill certain criteria. For refugees and stateless persons, special rules are applied and the period for obtaining Finnish citizenship may be shorter. The rules for applying Finnish citizenship are not definite.

Lepola (2004, 416-417) and Salmenhaara (2002, 61) studies shows that, the integration policies and policies concerning foreigners living in Finland have changed since the beginning of the 1990s because of increased migration to Finland, membership of the European Council and EU membership. The Finnish integration law is extensive and in a comparative perspective a fairly. The Finnish Integration Act came into force on 1 May 1999 and aims to provide immigrants with knowledge of Finnish, information about Finnish society and culture, and possibilities of education and work. The law requires all municipalities to have an integration program. A three-year individual integration plan is drawn up for every immigrant. All unemployed immigrants or immigrants living on social welfare are required, within a year after coming to Finland, to draw up an individual integration plan together with the authorities, and to participate in the education and other measures stated in the plan.

Salmenhaara (2002, 61) argues that, in addition to education and language education the plan might also include work training and support. The Finnish anti-discrimination laws are fairly extensive. The main anti-discrimination provisions have been laid down in the Constitution, the Equality Act and the Penal Code. In addition, there are many individual acts dealing with labor life and prohibiting discrimination in their particular sphere of application. Discrimination based on sex is specifically dealt with in the Act on Equality between women and men.

The right of foreigners to participate in associations and political parties has increased during recent decades. According to the association law of 1919 (Association Act 1/1919) foreigners were not allowed to participate in political organizations or organizations with political purposes. With the revision of the association law in 1989, foreigners were granted the same rights as

Finnish citizens to participate in organizations (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007, 106.) This also made it possible for immigrants to join, or establish their own, associations with political goals, such as youth parties and labor unions. Immigrants nowadays also have similar rights to Finnish workers to join labor unions. The political rights of foreigners have also been extended.

The state and NGOs have developed projects aiming at improving the situation of refugee women and other refugees in a vulnerable position. The Ministry of the Interior, for example, leads a project called "HAAPA" to support vulnerable groups amongst resettled refugees when they relocate to municipalities and providing them with the services they need in these localities. Under the "HAAPA" project, in Jyväskylä, a sub-project supports female refugees who have suffered from violence. Altogether, the "HAAPA" project operates in 11 Finnish municipalities, and many of the activities are related to women. The project is funded by the European Refugee Fund (ERF). The Finnish League for Human Rights also has the "KokoNainen" project ("the Whole Woman"), which aims at protecting girls from female genital mutilation (FGM) (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007, 107.)

A Multicultural Women's Association called "Monika-naiset" operates as the umbrella organization for several associations for women of ethnic minorities. The organization supports the wellbeing of migrant women in different forms. It encourages migrant women to participate actively in social issues, provides services and guidance to victims of domestic violence, lobbies actively decision-makers, and provides training for social and health professionals (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 14.)

Immigration to Finland is well regulated, as in most European countries. The legal system is quite similar to that of other Nordic countries. The 2004 Aliens Act is a wide-ranging piece of legislation, which regulates residence, immigrant's settlement procedures, the right to work and study, responsible authorities etc. The public sector has the main responsibility of financing and handling matters related to immigrants and refugees. Several ministries are connected to immigration issues: the Ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Employment and Economy, education, and Justice. Several entities under these Ministries, such as the Finnish Immigration Service, Border Guards, and the Police, work on these issues (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 10.)

The state funds the municipalities for the reception of resettled refugees and of those who are granted a residence permit after seeking asylum in Finland. There are 15 such centers in total. They promote regional competitiveness, well-being and sustainable development. Finland has had an established resettlement program since the early 1980s. Within its resettled refugee quota, Finland agrees to accept refugees for resettlement. The refugee quota is confirmed in the state budget every year, and since 2001 it sits at 750 refugees per year. Most resettled refugees in 2007-09 were from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar and Iraq, and had been staying in Rwanda, Syria, and Thailand. In 2006-07 many were also resettled out of Turkey. In 2011, the quota comprises 300 Afghans from Iran, 200 from Thailand, 150 Congolese from Rwanda, and 100 emergency cases (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 11.)

When the previous Nationality Act was passed in 1968, the immigrant population was small, and it was mostly foreign spouses of Finnish nationals who were naturalized. In the 1990s, the picture had changed and more often foreign families took up residence in Finland and wished to be naturalized. The number of foreigners residing in Finland had increased a remarkable 56 per cent between 1995 and 2003. In 1995, there were 68,600 foreign nationals residing in Finland as opposed to 107,100 in 2003 (Statistics Finland 2005).

The increase in the number of applications for naturalization and resulting acquisitions of Finnish nationality has directly reflected this increase. Between 1991 and 1995, on average only 854 foreigners were granted Finnish nationality each year, whereas in the year 2000 alone 2,977 foreign nationals were naturalized in Finland (Directorate of Immigration 2005). It was evident that the rules on acquisition and loss of Finnish nationality had to be adapted in order to reflect this change in the immigration pattern (Bauböck 2007, 160.)

Based on Valtonen (1997), historically, migration to Finland has been very limited. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Finland received refugees from both Russia and the Central Europe countries. At that time Finland did not have a migration policy, and attitudes towards refugees where generally reserved. In the decades after World War the Finnish borders were tightly controlled and migration was very limited. After the breakdown of Soviet Union Finland quickly converted into a receiving country for immigrants.

Forsnader (2002, 23) and Similä (2003, 99) argue that, Finnish migration is closely related to its history and its external location. There has never been great pressure for migration and neither has there been a labor shortage. We can assume that two of the drivers for increased immigration are the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Finland's joining the EU in 1995. The first legislation regarding immigrants and immigration was the Aliens Decree that entered into force in 1919. It was broad and manifested the role of the state in controlling immigration through passports, visa and residence permits.

Similä (2003, 99) points out that, the Finnish Government took a cautious position towards Central European refugees, in view of its good relationship with the Nazi regime. Even though the Aliens Decree of 1942 redefined the grounds for asylum, there were very limited attempts during the inter war years in developing Finnish asylum policy. Until 1983 immigration and the rights of foreigners was governed through Decrees. The first Finnish Aliens Act entered into force as late as 1983.

Similä (2003, 4) also mentions that, the Finnish refugee quota is small and very few refugees are given a Convention status. There has also been a reduction in asylum applications, especially from the Eastern European countries after the introduction of accelerated asylum procedures with the possibility of rapid rejection in 2001. The introduction of the rapid rejection came as a reaction to the increasing number of Roma asylum seekers from Romania, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. This procedure has been highly criticized. The Directorate of Immigration and the Ministry of labor select the refugees who are admitted to Finland within the annual refugee quota. The refugee quota will be confirmed in the State budget each year (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007, 101.)

2.3.2 Finnish Red Cross and Third Sectors: A Path to Immigrants' Settlement

In Finland, social workers follow the same steps in working with immigrants and refugees in order to help immigrants during their settlement process. Beside, in some organizations such as Finnish Red Cross, some extra services are provided for immigrants during their settlement process with the aim of supporting immigrants in their new cultural environment. Valtonen (2001, 957) describes Finnish (re)settlement work takes place in an advanced welfare state where social service entitlements are available to all citizens and permanently residing

residents. The state has full responsibility for comprehensive programs administered at national level by the Ministry of Labor and implemented locally by official and public organizations. The level of benefits is relatively high owing to the comprehensive system of redistributive economic and social service mechanisms'

The Finnish Red Cross was founded in 1877 and is a part of International Federation of Red Cross, which is one of the biggest and well-known international organizations in the world and on the field of humanitarian aid. The Finnish Red Cross is based on volunteering and has branches in almost every municipality in Finland. It is one of Finland's largest non-governmental organizations. While drawing up the new legislation, the Committee on Immigration suggested that, because of its ageing population, Finland should be aiming for a more active immigration policy. The reform of the Aliens Act led to the adoption of a new Aliens Act in 2004. The Aliens Act defines the rules for long term residence of foreigners in Finland. Foreigners are usually first issued a temporary residence permit that is valid for a limited period. A permanent residence permit can be issued to a person who has resided in Finland on a temporary residence permit for two consecutive years. Any permanent residence permit may be refused on specific grounds such as being guilty of a crime or some other reprehensible conduct (Finnish Red Cross, 2013.)

Finnish Red Cross (2013) reception Centre takes care of reception, registration, accommodation, subsistence, health care and waiting time in support of the work and study activities of immigrants. The reception center has a director, a social worker, a public-health nurse, a refugee advisor, and other staff. The social work office in Finnish Red Cross helps immigrants for mental and social issues, child welfare, consulting, and even the income support for the clients. Social worker gives the appointments to clients and takes care of economic, financial and mental issues of immigrants.

As Finnish Red Cross (2013) describes, settling in a new culture requires adopting to many new things. In the first steps of integration, it is essential to get in contact with local people and learn more about the town where the immigrant is living as well as the everyday life in Finland. The Red Cross organizes a great deal of activities that help immigrants in the first steps of the integration. These activities included: visitor Services which through these service immigrants can get a friend with whom they can do activities together and ask advice on things that might feel unfamiliar from the social worker. Language clubs: The aim of the language clubs is to

offer an open opportunity to practice Finnish or Swedish language skills needed in everyday life. Language clubs represent the courses which provided by the authorities.

Homework clubs: At a homework club the Red Cross volunteers help children with homework after school. The aim is to prevent marginalization and improve children motivation at school. International Club: The International club is open for everyone and provides a meeting place for people from different backgrounds. It brings people together across language obstacles and provides an opportunity to gain new experiences and learn new things. Camps: At multicultural family camps migrants can enjoy Finnish nature and have fun together and of course practice their language skills. Orientation service: The service tries to provide support in the first phase of the integration. Volunteers help newcomers to settle in their new homes and get to know the people and services in their new neighborhoods.

Finland's third sector working with refugee issues is active and competent. Cooperation between NGOs, the government of Finland and ministries is broad, and takes many forms. For example, NGOs offer services ranging from legal advice and assistance to activities to support refugee integration and general advisory services covering a wide array of topics. NGOs also work closely together. NGOs working with refugee issues, including the Refugee Advice Centre, Amnesty International - Finnish section, the Finnish Refugee Council, the Finnish Red Cross, the Central Union for Child Welfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland's immigration workers, meet once a month to discuss current topics and plan common efforts (Jastram & Achiron 2001, 42.)

NGOs are also often invited by the Government to comment on different practices in refugee policy and on questions regarding domestic and international legislation. Many Finnish NGOs also engage in close cooperation with other European and international organizations. The Refugee Advice Centre is an official partner of UNHCR in Finland; the Finnish Red Cross and the Finnish Refugee Council also cooperate with UNHCR, as does the inter-governmental International Organization for Migration (IOM) (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 15.)

The United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) also is a humanitarian and non-political organization, and is mandated by the United Nations to protect refugees and help them find

solutions to their difficulties. As the problem of displacement has grown in complexity over the past half century, The Unite Nation Refugee Center (UNHCR) has also grown to meet the challenge. The Office, founded in 1950, has expanded from a relatively small, specialized agency with an envisioned three-year lifespan to an organization of over 4,000 staff members with offices in nearly 120 countries and an annual budget of US$1 billion. In addition to offering legal protection, UNHCR now also provides material relief in major emergencies, either directly or through partner agencies. In its first fifty years, UNHCR has protected and assisted more than 50 million people and its work has earned two Nobel Peace Prizes (Jastram & Achiron 2001, 21.)

The United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) also assists NGOs and asylum lawyers. An integral part of UNHCR's activities is putting refugee and asylum issues on the agenda, raising awareness and providing correct and updated information about the situation of the world's millions of refugees and other persons of concern. The Regional Representation organizes public information campaigns, exhibitions and events together with governments, local authorities and NGO (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 16.)

At the international level, the United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) promotes international refugee agreements and monitors government compliance with international refugee law. UNHCR staff promotes refugee law among all people who are involved in refugee protection, including border guards, journalists, NGOs, lawyers, judges and senior governmental officials. At the field level, UNHCR staff work to protect refugees through a wide variety of activities, including responding to emergencies, relocating refugee camps away from border areas to improve safety; ensuring that refugee women have a say in food distribution and social services; reuniting separated families; providing information to refugees on conditions in their home country so they can make informed decisions about return; documenting a refugee's need for resettlement to a second country of asylum; visiting detention centers; and giving advice to governments on draft refugee laws, policies and practices (Jastram & Achiron 2001, 21.)

The United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) is also concerned by the increase in xenophobia and racism, which renders refugee integration more difficult; the implementation of the new integration legislation will remain a challenge. In particular, difficulties with the municipalities

must be addressed in order to avoid long waiting times for resettled refugees. As for family reunification, UNHCR encourages the Government of Finland to consider ways of improving existing provisions. Finding durable solutions for refugees remains a key focus for RRBNC (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 16-17.)

Persons of concern to United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) are all persons whose protection and assistance needs are of interest to UNHCR. They include: refugees under the Refugee Convention, persons fleeing conflict or serious disturbances of the public order, returnees (i.e., former refugees), stateless persons and internally displaced persons (in some situations). UNHCR seeks long-term solutions to the plight of refugees by helping refugees repatriate to their home country, if conditions are conducive to return, integrate into their countries of asylum, or resettle in second countries of asylum (Jastram & Achiron 2001, 23.)

Finland is a European Union (EU) Member State and is actively engaged in the efforts of the EU to build a Common European Asylum System. International human right standards and provisions aiming at equality between women and men are embedded in Finnish legislation. The Government has also acknowledged the need for a more efficient and faster asylum procedure, and an end to the detention of asylum-seeking children (Pittaway & Stort 201, 17.)

3 IMMIGRATION BACKGROUND

3.1 Immigration Background in Europe

Migration in, out and across Europe has been a multifaceted and diverse phenomenon with a long history. The current migratory landscape of the European Union (EU) reflects some of this history. Migration trends and patterns have undergone a series of profound transformation in recent decades. These transformations have been triggered by internal and external factors to the European continent such as, Post-World War II reconstruction, forced population movements as a result of the cold War, labor migration, decolonization and migration waves from the former colonies to western European countries, the creation of a single market and a union that, in principle, encourages free movement of labor, the Schengen agreement and cross-border travel made easier for EU citizens, post-communist and post-transition migration since 1989, war and ethnic conflicts in Africa and economic and political instability in Asia and Latin America.

This list does not completely cover the factors that have influenced migration trends. These trends, in turn, are dynamically altering Europe's demography, its society, its economy and its politics. Any description of the EU's current social reality highlights the diversity that characterizes the immigrant population across Europe. Europe's immigrant population is a mosaic of backgrounds, cultures, religions, ages, legal statuses and economic situation. Economic migrants first originated from southern Europe and North Africa (Vogel, et al 2008, 33.)

Violence, tension, total disregard of human rights, poverty and ecological degradation continue to feed refugee flows. The sudden uprooting of thousands of people has become a frequent and major focus of international humanitarian assistance in this decade. A significant number of these refugees are woman and their dependents, many having lost husbands and fathers in the chaos of fight. There are over 20 million refugees in the world today, and 20 million displaced within the borders of their own countries. Most live in developing nations whose already fragile resources and infrastructure can barely sustain the needs of their own nationals. Many stay for extended periods in the country of first asylum before they can safely return home. Some may

never return home and have little choice but to rebuild their lives in a new country (Martin 1995, ix.)

Member states on the EU's geographic rim have experienced significant economic grow over the past fifteen years. Much of this growth is related to their EU membership and has had two migration-related consequences. First, it has halted immigration; second, it has encourages immigration. These have been combined with a number of other factors, such as, gradually restrictive immigration measure on the par of traditional host EU countries, migration patterns caused by the end of the Cold War, n need for low-cost, unskilled labor to support their own (and rather recent) economic growth and a growing concern of an increasingly ageing population (Vogel, et al 2008, 36.)

Greece, Italy, Ireland, Finland, Portugal and Spain, have, thus, recently become migration-receiving countries. This category can be further divided into two sub-groups. The first consists of the southern European member states characterized by delayed, inconsistent, reactive migration policies usually consisting of ad-hoc measure. Large segments of their immigrant populations have lived and worked in irregular or clandestine conditions. Governments have responded through repeated regularization programs and have focused a large part of the public debate on the need to improve border security in order to limit illegal migration. Only recently have integration priorities entered the public debate. The second category consists of Finland and Ireland, which have not been faced with significant illegal immigration. They more proactively formed integration policies for the flowing in of newcomers and, in particular, for the integration of asylum seekers and refugees. Therefore, all these explanation can be referring to the countries, which are the most recent receiving refugee countries (Vogel, et al 2008, 37.)

Because refugee status inherently implies movements across international borders, a joint responsibility between international organizations and national governments has existed for some time and has been codified in international law. Primary responsibility for refugee protection and assistance rests with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In addition, the UN relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) provides education, health relief and social services to Palestine, refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank

and Gaza strip, and the Un Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) has responsibility for providing assistance to Cambodians displaced along the Thai Cambodian Border (Martin 1995, 1.)

Between the end of World War II and the collapse of communication in Eastern Europe, major streams of people fled from communist or authoritarian regimes to Western Europe. In addition, since the 1970s, people from Turkey (particularly Kurds) came into Western Europe in rising numbers when the labor migration opportunities were restricted. Countries had different reception schemes for people who fled from these countries, usually involving an asylum-seeking status at the beginning with limited rights. Since 1989, the collapse of communism and the disintegration of Yugoslavia have been the major source of origin of intra-European asylum-seekers. Moreover, non-European asylum seekers have also significantly increased in numbers mainly from Latin America (Chile, Columbia, Ecuador), Africa (Ghana, Congo, Nigeria, and Somalia), the Wider Middle East (Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Algeria, and Morocco) and Asia (Vietnam, Silence, and Afghanistan) (Vogel, et al 2008, 42.)

Other UN agencies, such as the World Food Program (WFP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Development Program (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the international labor Organization (ILO) are also called upon to provide expertise in matters related to their areas of interest. In addition NGOs have traditionally played an important role as patterns in the implementation of programs for refugees. The international Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) has limited responsibility, its mandate extending to people internally displaced because of non-international armed conflict. Refugees and displaced persons are not just of concern to international organizations.

They are and should be of concern to us all. Refugee situations, if left unresolved, can have serious consequences. First of all most refugees have moved from one developing country to another, with a large proportion coming from and going to countries that are among the least developed in terms of per capita income. Often settling in the poorest areas of their host countries, the refugees can adversely affect local services, job markets, food costs, water supplies and environment. Second, refugee situations can become explosive. Refugees are people with skills to offer and contribute to make. They contribute in countless ways to the communities in

which they settle and are a resource for the reconstruction of their home countries. Yet, too often, refugees remain in temporary arrangements, dependent on international assistance, and their potential remains unrealized. Maintaining refugees in camps costs more than the US$750 million spent per year in contributions to international refugee organizations. Bilateral agencies, NGOs and host governments spend untold millions more in the same effort. The greatest toll of unresolved refugee situations falls upon the refugees themselves, with women and children bearing the greatest costs, in the form of deprivation and unproductive lives (Martin 1995, 4.)

3.2 Immigration Situation in Finland

Finland joined the European Union in 1995. The EU is still developing an immigration agenda and cannot intrude on the sovereign right of nations to determine their own immigration policies. The main impact of EU membership on Finnish migration policies has been on asylum policies. The Finnish system for dealing with immigration issues is different from many other European counties because there are multiple factors involved (local police, the Immigration Authority, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, etc.) in developing policy rather than a single agency (Clarke 2009, 13.)

Migrants as a whole nonetheless remain a very small proportion of the Finnish population (approximately 2.5%) and are largely resident in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Migrants in Finland are enormously diverse and represent over 150 language groups and nationalities. Russian is the largest single language group (28.5%) among migrants, with English coming in a distant second (6.8%) (Institute of Migration 2003.)

Historically, migration to Finland has been very limited. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Finland received refugees from both Russia and the Central European countries. At that time Finland did not have a migration policy, and attitudes towards refugees where generally reserved. During the Second World War, many Ingrian Finns moved to Finland from the Soviet Union but in the peace treaty Finland bound itself to send them back. This still has an impact on immigration to Finland today, since Ingrian Finns are presently regarded as return migrants with special status to return to Finland.

In the decades after the Second World War the Finnish borders were tightly controlled and migration was very limited. During the 1970s and 1980s small groups of Chilean and Vietnamese refugees moved to Finland, while immigration in general remained modest. After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, Finland quickly converted into a receiving country for immigrants. The main immigration flows that have targeted Finland came from the former Soviet Union areas. The war in Somalia and former Yugoslavia and other restless areas in Africa and Asia are other big sources of immigration (mainly refugees and through family reunification). Finnish migration is closely related to its history and its peripheral location (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007, 98-99.)

Immigration to Finland has increased in 2007 and in 2008. The year 2008 was a top year for migration in Finland with the largest net immigration figures since the country attained independence. In 2009, the numbers dropped noticeably as a result of the recession first felt in Finland in autumn 2008. After the peak years of 2007 and 2008, immigration has declined to levels of first years of the past decade. Preliminary figures from statistics Finland indicate that 16950 persons moved to Finland from abroad from 1 January to 31 August 2009 (21555 in 2008). The number of residence permit applications from countries outside the EU/EEA has also decreased: in 2009, a total of 18200 applications were lodged (22200 in 2008).

Applications for residence permits for employment decreased the most, by about one third, while the number of applications on other grounds (family ties, studies) remained largely at 2008 levels. In 2008 the number of Asylum applicants increased against the previous year. In 2008, 4305 people discovered as asylum in Finland. The number of applicants nearly trebled compared with 1505 applicants in 2007. The rise has continued during 2009, to 5988 (International migration outlook 2010, 202.)

There has never been great pressure for migration and neither has there been a labor shortage. Finnish migration policy has also traditionally been rather restrictive because of the country's geopolitical location. The main reasons for increased immigration to Finland are to be found in allowing return migration, in having larger refugee quotas and in increased labor migration especially from neighboring countries. We can assume that two of the drivers for increased

immigration are the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Finland's joining the EU in 1995. The rapid increase in migration at the beginning of the 1990s occurred simultaneously with the economic depression, which led to an increase in racism and xenophobic behavior (Triandafyllidou & Gropas 2007, 99.)

The majority (87%) of the asylum seekers were Iraqi and Somalis. Other big groups came from Afghanistan, Russia and Serbia. Approximately every fourth applicant was female. The number of unaccompanied minors increased even more rapidly: in 2008 their number totaled 706, whereas in 2007 their number was 98. About 80% of unaccompanied minors were boys, and the largest groups came from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2008, authorities made 4917 decisions on residence permit applications filed by students, whereas the number of decisions was 4051 in 2007. The increase in decisions was about 21% compared with 2007 (International migration outlook 2010, 202.)

And nowadays, Finland will mainly admit Afghan, Burmese and Congolese asylum seekers in its refugee quota. The 2012 quota stands at 750 persons, a level unchanged since 2001. On 2012 Finland resettled 200 Afghan refugees from Iran, 150 Burmese refugees from Thailand and 150 Congolese from Rwanda. About 150 people will also be admitted from Iraq, Iran and Somalia. Finland is also prepared to take in an additional 100 emergency cases. Finland began readmitting Afghans in 2010 after blocking their entrance to the country as refugees in 2005. At the time Finnish officials believed conditions in the country would rapidly improve. Within its refugee quota, Finland accepts for resettlement persons defined as refugees by the UNHCR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and others who are in need of international protection (Yle News 2012.)

3.3 Muslim Immigrants in Finland

There were about 50,000 to 60,000 Muslims in Finland in 2009. If Muslims were to be seen as a single religious group, which they are not, they would be among the three largest minority religious communities in Finland along with the Finnish Orthodox church (59,000 members) and Pentecostalist (45,000 members). No single ethno-national group dominates the national Muslim population. Based on registered mother tongue data collected in 2010, the largest groups are

Somalis, Arabs, Kurds, Kosovo Albanians and Turks, who altogether constitute four out of five Finnish Muslims. The remainder consists of smaller groups from Iran, Bosnia, and Afghanistan, sub Saharan Africa, the Far East, Tatar Muslims and Finnish converts. The number of Afghan immigrants is increasing every year as one of the largest Muslim groups of immigrants. The majority Finnish Muslims live in the capital region consisting of the cities of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa. On the other hand most of Afghan immigrants will be sent to Rovaniemi refugee camps as soon as they enter Finland and they will be sent to bigger cities after a while. Other large centers for Muslims are the cities of Turku, Tampere, Lahti and Oulu. About 24% of people born in Afghanistan live near Tampere (Martikainen 2013,113.)

Freedom of religion was added to the Finnish constitution in 1919. The freedom of religion act (1992, revised 2003) provides more detailed regulation on the matter. All other religious organizations are dealt with under the freedom of religion act as recognized religious bodies or under the Association Act as volunteer associations. Muslims are organized in both ways, and there also are informally organized groups. In January 2010, there were 20 Muslim communities registered as religious organizations, but not all of them were active. As an example there are some Afghan communities in Rovaniemi which bring Afghan families together for especial Afghan occasions but these communities are not so active in bigger cities like Helsinki because, in cities like Rovaniemi all Afghan families know each other and they invite each other or inform each other about these meetings and occasions but it is not the same way in Helsinki or other big cities. Altogether there are about 40-50 mosque associations and 20-30 other Muslim associations focused on specific issues, including women, youth and charity. The Muslim umbrella organization Suomen Islamilainen Neuvosto, receives its funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture and member Organizations (Martikainen 2013, 238-239).

Of course nowadays some effort has been made for immigrants in Finland, so that they can have access to places like mosque or having some organization, but still it is not enough and it is not spread in all states and cities of Finland. For example there are lots of Muslim immigrants in Rovaniemi that don't have access to mosques in the city but there are participating and celebrating religious events (like Eid) and do their prayers all together, and organize these events by themselves like a volunteer task by renting some places and giving some food and try to

spend some time inside the Muslim community and share their feelings and ideas in this environment. And as we said earlier there are lots of barriers in this way like so many Finnish people are not agree of having mosques or Muslim communities around because of the noise or traffic. And there is not always enough budgets for making all of these needs happen. And beside there is the attitude of the host country that sometimes can be in the middle of the way for organizing these religious programs.

Finland has long been regarded as a quite homogeneous nation, most of its population belonging to the Lutheran church. When awareness of Islamic presence in Finland awoke in the 1990s, it was considered alien and threatening. Furthermore, Finland was coping with an economic crisis and Muslim immigrants have been very dependent on the Finnish welfare system due to the difficulties in integrating them into the Finnish labor market and this has make attitudes and public opinion negative towards Muslim (Rissanen 2014, 89.)

Muslim organizations have little national public visibility, although they are often consulted public authorities on many issues. Since the early 1990s, several new prayer rooms have been established. New Shia mosques are to be found in Helsinki, Lempäälä, Tampere and Turku. Some of the mosques have had problems with neighbors, including complaints of noise and increased traffic, and have moved to new locations. Generally mosque communities have positive relations with municipal authorities. There have been plans to establish new purpose-built mosques in several locations, but so far these have failed because of lack of funding (Martikainen 2013, 240.)

3.4 Background of Afghan Women

Women and children constitute 80 percent of the refugee population is a widely used statistics, yet it's implications for programming and policy development have not been fully integrated into decision-making. This is not to say that there has been no progress in improving responses. During the past decade, greater policy attention has been brought to the issues of refugee women within both the UN system and many NGOs (Martin 1995, 5.) For many Afghans, the first flight

out of Afghanistan in the late 1970s and early 1980s took them to Iran and Pakistan, the two neighboring countries that opened their borders to them. These countries become home to one of the largest groups of refugee population worldwide as nearly 7 million were displaced by the war following the Soviet Union. Several years later the region witnessed one of the largest returns of refugees to their homeland as many Afghans made the journey back to the homes they had abandoned at the height of the war. Repeated displacements create disruption in the uniform meaning of home, which impact upon the manner in which these groups define and redefine home (Gaur Singh 2010, 4.)

The United Nation high Commissioner for Refugees has now adopted a policy statement on refugee women, providing a framework for continuing improvements. The international NGO Working Group on Refugee Women, which organized an important conference in 1988, continues to focus attention on the work still to be done. In individual countries, organizations devoted to advocacy on behalf of refugee women have been established, helping to ensure that governments and the private sector do their share to respond to the women's need. Yet, much needs to be done, particularly in implementing policy (United Nation 2009.)

Through assessment of the needs of refugee and displaced women in specific countries and camps have not been made, and, consequently effective support programs await design and implementation in most locations. Relative to men, refugees and displaced women, still experience difficulties in gaining access to important service, such as income-generating projects and education programs. Perhaps most important, the significant contributions that refugee and displaced women can bring to bear in asylum situations have not been fully utilized. Without greater attention both to their needs and potential contributions, finding durable solutions to what in many places have become seemingly intractable refugee situation will be still more difficult (Martin 1995, 6.)

Often traditional societies like Afghanistan, define women in relation to male members of the household, father, husband or son. What happens to the women's identities when there is no male figure to derive identity from or when women fail to fulfill their pre-assigned roles?

In traditional cultures and societies such as Afghanistan, almost every women face displacement. Marriage uproots her from her ties to family and kin, placing her in an environment that is not only alien but often also hostile. This new place is what she has to start calling home. Added to this already scenario is the presence of conflict and violence in the nation which necessities flight from home and the constant destruction and setting up of the households. As a consequence of this recurring displacement brought by ruthless conflict, what is perceived as the uniform meaning of home- a place of safety and security can change into something less stable and more fragile (Gaur Singh 2010, 8.)

Afghan history is one of gender politics. Women's rights have always been highly politicized terrain, reinforced by twenty-three years of conflict. Attempts at modernization have been made in several critical stages throughout modern Afghan history. Each time, these modernizations carried the perception that reforms were imported and naturally imposed. And each time these reforms, especially those relating to women's rights, were met with strong resistance. In the 1880s the Afghan ruler Amir Abd al-Rahman Khan (and later his son Amir Habibullah) launched one of the earliest attempts at women's emancipation and social reform in the Muslim world. Women's emancipation thus began to play a prominent role in the nationalist ideology of modernization (Shirazi 2010, 77.)

During the 1920s King Amanullah sought to transform gender relations by enforcing Western norms for women, measures that were in turn met with violent opposition and swiftly replaced by more conservative policy. King Nadir Shah's brief reign (1929– 1933) saw the closing of girls' schools and the revival of veiling. Indeed, although modernization attempts were made by rulers that followed, these attempts were invariably met with strong opposition from conservative forces. Despite increased changes, women's rights vacillated between enforced modernization and conservative backlash (Shirazi 2010, 77-78.)

Among the women who had migrated as a consequence of civil war or during the Taliban regime in 1990s, not all were educated, professional women and their move had been an act of desperation. Migration for them meant experiencing new and different forms of social stratification. Of those women who have been educated, they had not been exposed to an upper

western education. For these women, migration completely de skilled them as their education and language skills were in Dari or Pashto. Their primarily task on moving to the host nation is to learn the local language, a necessity to engage in even basic daily tasks (Gaur Singh 2010, 12.)

Following the Saur (April) Revolution of 1978 and its program for social change, Afghan women once again found themselves at the center of a conflict between Western concepts of modernization and Afghan codes of culture. Opposition to Soviet occupation– enforced reforms for women fueled the fundamentalist movement that took hold in refugee camps. This in turn served as grounds for the Mujaheddin opposition to expel the Soviets and regain control both of Women and Afghanistan.

Until the fall of Kabul on September 27, 1996, the so-called international community and the Western media hardly took notice of Afghan women. Ironically, it was the Taliban that first brought attention to the need for Afghan women to be "liberated." The general agreement was that once the Taliban had been replaced, their restrictions and demands would vanish as well. Such flexible assumptions reflected the lack of attention to obvious abuses of basic human rights suffered by Afghan women under previous regimes and ignorance of Afghan women's history in general (Shirazi 2010, 78-79.)

Education for the children was almost always in a foreign language, which isolated parents specially the women from any active participation and engagement. These women thus found themselves in an environment that trusts a sense of inadequacy and helplessness upon them. In Afghanistan, when the towns are bombed, the women created their own embattled identities and saved their children, negotiating mountains and borders and living in horrible conditions in under resourced camps. As a result, refugee women were often the decision makers, a task that normally would have been undertaken either jointly with men, or by men alone (Gaur Singh 2010, 16.)

Despite all movements, the international aid community and the Western media's attention turned to Afghanistan and Afghan women only when the Taliban secured control. The Taliban's crimes against women became well documented and acknowledged, yet Afghan women suffered

under all the regimes in Afghanistan. Today the country enjoys a democratically elected government and relative stability (mostly confined to Kabul). In this period of alleged liberation, history repeats itself. Once again Afghan women face another period of imported and imposed social change (Shirazi 2010, 78-79.)

For Afghans who left their country over the last three decades in hopes of leaving behind the incessant violence, fleeing meant leaving behind everything that had defined their lives up to that point. As men plays the role of protectors of women from the brutality of war, women are reduced dependent migrants, it is the male members who have power and control over the citizenship and identity of their dependents, their wives and children (Gaur Singh 2010, 11.)

In any postwar region, it is not unusual for aid agencies to be under great pressure to achieve immediate results. Unfortunately, in the case of Afghanistan, aid programs were designed and instituted before gender analyses could be thoroughly conducted. As a result, these aid programs have been unable to adequately integrate women and men in their efforts. A report to this effect states that Afghan "women have traditionally been viewed as a target group distinct from the socio-political, economic and cultural context, and humanitarian and development programs are often based on unfounded assumptions and preconceptions" (Shirazi 2010, 79.)

Afghan women see themselves as an integral part of the family unit shaped by Afghan tradition and culture. And yet, femininity crosses paths with war and violence. Against this background of violence, traditional gender relations in the context of afghan culture take on added complexity. Thus some women even as the move from a traditional conflict riddled home might provide a path towards equality, it can also cause a further decline in status. Leaving home has its own deep seated psychological consequences.

When the home, the most sacred and safest of place can no longer guard against the outside, it becomes symbolic of a large insecurity and the actual abandonment of home become symbolic of that insecurity. Identity re-articulation becomes particularly traumatic when people come from a completely different cultural context such as those who have moved to the West from traditional backgrounds. Arranged marriages are inherent to the social fabric of traditional societies like

Afghanistan as in the institution of marriage itself. Often this choice, if made independently, it representative of crossing the sacred threshold between rebellion and dishonor (Gaur Singh 2010, 20-22.)

During the post-Taliban period, some attempts at reform have been made. It has been aided in part by the media and its images of Afghan women. Afghanistan presents an especially interesting case in media. An analysis of the media's perspective on Afghan women reveals a specific rhetoric that has informed public perception and in turn has informed the design of aid interventions for Afghan women. Select images of Afghan women in the media have served different purposes at various stages of conflict and afterwards (Shirazi 2010, 80.)

Women in Afghanistan in the past two decades have been the victims of one of the most retreating interpretations of the sharia law. Such interpretations have paused them out of hospitals, clinics and universities into the back rooms of their own homes. So clinical and brutal was the obsession, began even before Taliban rule that even today they struggle to recover. The controversial Afghan Muslim personal status law passed just before the election in 2009 is just one example this spreading attitude and of the manner in which invasive laws impact women and their position in society. For Afghan women, the timing of their migration, the circumstances under which thy migrated, the countries through which they made their journeys, where they belonged in the social hierarchy in Afghanistan and the level they occupied in the host nation determine the constitution of identities and their heterogeneity. Thus, women's identities have to be understood and a multi layered construct, wherein the relationships and positioning of each layer in its specific historical context affect and even construct one's identity in collectivities in the different layers (Gaur Singh 2010, 39.)

For most of the Afghan women, the return to Afghanistan is a reminder of what they had lost when they left, a part of their life, memories of that life and people who were part of it, their homes where they grow up, neighbors, friends and family. Their home city is no longer the city they lived in or left behind and in saying this they do not merely refer to the physical destruction of the city. Again what they remember are the happier times and not the circumstances under

which they left. What they remember is the hope they had at the time of leaving, of returning soon to their homes.

Hence, what they saw on their return after decades was a complete loss of that time and those years of their lives. Since most left with nothing, they have very few objects and photographs to even clarify their memories and are wholly reliant on their individual and collective memories. Afghan women attempt to negotiate their identities however, what also has to be recognized, particularly in the context of Afghan women, is the collective history of their multiple traumas and the individuality of their personal narratives. And it is somewhere in the spaces within these multiple layers that simple solutions to complex discourses evolve, as in the ways these women have managed to negotiate a voice for themselves in the course of their daily tasks in their varied contexts (Gaur Singh 2010, 40-41.)

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Purpose of Study

The study aim is to explore the settlement process of Afghan immigrant women from a cultural perspective. The main point is to study the process of Afghan women settlement and consider the cultural challenges which make the settlement difficult for them and also pay attention to cultural strengths which can help immigrants to confront these challenges. Therefore, we are going to focus on the cultural background of Afghan Women and the cultural indicators of settlement process. The objective of the research is moving forward through the below questions.

1. What kind of cultural challenges does Afghan immigrant Women face during their settlement process?

2. What are the coping strategies of Afghan immigrant women during their settlement process?

3. How satisfied are Afghan immigrant women from receiving social services (Social work services and Migration services)?

The study will explore i) the main cultural aspects of which bring challenges for Afghan women settlement (language, family, attitude of host country, pre migration experiences…) and ii) the cultural aspects which bring strengths for Afghan immigrant women as their coping strategy during the process of their settlement (religion, social support, individual attributes..)

Another point is to focus on iii) the Satisfaction level of Afghan immigrants women from social services which includes financial supports such as receiving accommodation, food, money, medical expenses, finding a job and non-financial supports such as receiving spiritual, mental and psychological supports from service providers (social workers, psychologist..).

The research also pays attention to the policies and legislation which are available in Finland for Afghan women integration. In this way the study can find out about the practicality of these policies for immigrants in Finland. The research is conducted by making questionnaire and choosing a groups of Afghan women immigrants who are living in Finland and came here as immigrants during recent years. The Afghan women are chosen based on their background and their situation as immigrants in Finland.

4.2 Data collection

Since we were doing our training in Red Cross office in Roveniemi, when it comes to choose the topic of our thesis, both of our topics were really close to each other because both of us were interested in working with immigrant women and this was our first challenge. When we talked to our professor Tarja Orjasniemi she told us that one of you has to change your subject or both of you have to work on the same subject together. So as both of us share the same Middle eastern Culture and there are some similarities between Iran and Pakistan in cultures and traditions after that we start talking and sharing our ideas we found out that we can start working with each other because there was a bridge between us that could connect us together on start working on out thesis and we were agree on most part of the research than being disagree.

When it comes to choosing the subject for the research we decided to work on Afghan immigrant women and their settlement issues. At first we decided to consider the impact of social issues on settlement process of Afghan immigrant women but after we move forward a bit we found out that this is a very comprehensive topic we need to consider main aspects so that we can reach to a result because there were a lot of factors that could conclude in social issues and social aspects of Afghan Women settlement.

After doing more research we decided to study on settlement issue of Afghan immigrant women but just from a cultural perspective. Because when we focus just on culture we can still talk about a lot of issue and factors that are affecting Afghan women settlement in Finland. As we became sure about our subject we start thinking about how should we collect our data for the research and as we knew many Afghan women from our practice field and we went to their houses and met their families, they wouldn't see us as strangers anymore because during our practice their share their feelings, emotions, attitudes and ideals with us and we could reach to very clear result but interviewing them and using open ended question so that they can be free in giving us answers and we were sure that they have a lot to say.

Basically, it was decided that 6 Afghan Women who were living in Rovaniemi will be chosen as the respondents of the interviews. As we know most of these Afghan women since the year that we started doing our training in Red Cross refugee center, we considered that it would be much easier to communicate with them and go deep down with them through the interviews and in this

way we will reach to clear and reliable results from our interviews. But as the time came for doing the interviews, unfortunately most of them was moving out of Rovaniemi to other cities and it was difficult to reach all of them because each of them were in different cities by that time. Therefore, we couldn't reach them and it was a big disappointment for us because we were counting on them for our interviews for receiving clear data.

There was only one Afghan family left in Rovaniemi which we used to well enough and there was a good communication and even trust between us with that family but unfortunately the more we tried to the mother of the family to schedule a meeting, the less we were successful and we got rejected by them with different reasons in order to arrange a meeting. So we reached to the conclusion that for some reasons that we didn't know what was it exactly, the family didn't want to do the interview even though we explained for them this interview is for university research and we are asking for your ideas and there won't be any name or information of you mention in the research we just need you real ideas and attitudes about the research subject. And we didn't want to make the interviews against the will of the respondents because it could prevent from reaching to their real and honest ideas about the research subject. Our guess was that the level of this family trust to us wasn't as high as we expected and they don't to be a part of this research for many possible personal or family reasons because both the mother and the daughter of family didn't show any enthusiasm for expressing their ideas and thoughts about their situation during their settlement in Finland and they didn't want to talk about neither the positive or negative points of being and settling in Finland.

But one of us got the opportunity to travel to Helsinki for about two weeks so we decided to do our interviews with Afghan women in Helsinki because many of Afghan women are living in Helsinki. Most of the families that we knew moved to other cities like Tampere, Oulu and other cities therefore, we couldn't reach to any of families that we knew from before. But we knew some Iranian families and had some Iranian friends who knew lots of Afghan women in Helsinki so by the help of them, it became possible for us to be introduced to some Afghan women from these Iranian families and when there is someone in the middle to introduce you to Afghan families things can go on easier, of course on the other hand it can bring some limitations or difficulties too.

The big challenge was that, it was possible that many of Afghan women won't accept our request because they don't know us and of course Iran and Afghanistan culture are so close to each other but Afghan people will trust you as hard as their culture is close to you.

As Afghanistan and Iran culture are too close to each other and there are a lot of similarities in social, cultural or religious attitudes between two cultures, one of us as being an Iranian, knew many points about choosing the respondents. About 9 Afghan women were introduced to us by Iranian families, we tried to asked about some information about their background like the reason that they moved to Finland or the duration that they are staying in Finland or if they are a religious family or not and based on these small, but important and sensitive information we choose 6 Women to interview among these ladies and 2 of ladies rejected our request for interviewing.

There are some sensitive ethical issues in doing the interviews to Afghan women and you need to have enough information and knowledge about Afghanistan culture, religion, traditions and attitudes before deciding to make an interview with a person who is from Afghanistan specially if there are Women because there were always living in a more restricted environment and under more pressure because of the situation of their country and it can affected on their attitude very much. Therefore, the interview topics revolve around migration and adaptation challenges, as well as how individuals respond to the challenges and find out about their settlement issues (overcoming difficulties). The research guided the questions into many aspects of settlement (values, social relations or cultural practices perceived to help or provide overcoming their issues). Lastly, the participants were given an opportunity to reflect what they think is needed from society to achieve to a better settlement.

As the first step, we asked the our Iranian friends to call to Afghan Women and explain to them what is this interview for and what are the reasons that we are doing this interview. We asked the Iranian family to explain to them that this research is conduction for university and the purpose is to find out Afghan Women ideas and attitudes about Finland and it is going to be asked from them just to express their feelings about what they like or don't like about Finland so that this research can be used for improving the situation of Afghan women in future and there will be no name or information of them in the research.

After we make this bridge for the connection we start calling the respondents ourselves and talk to them so that we can have a short 2 minutes talk before seeing them and explaining again by ourselves that what is the main purpose of this interview and research. The good point is that because one of us knows how to speak Persian, we have no problem in communication or translating the communication and the interviews. Then we arrange the meeting, each woman in a separate day. We met in a nice quite café and start the interview. Each interview took about an hour to two hours with pre organized open ended, in depth questions so that the respondents will be free for answering the questions. They could answer the question in one sentence or give a long story for each question.

We try to make the questions in a way that the respondents need to go deep down to the question so that they can answer them because it was an in depth interview and as we had the opportunity to interview in just one session we needed to get the most details in all answers so we organized questions in a way that most of the answers began with a story and when the story ended we got the answers that we need.

One of us who could speak the Afghan women language started the interview by introducing herself and give some information about the research and its purpose and explain that the results of this research might be able to help Afghan Women in the future to make their settlement easier and we tried to build up a friendly and trustful relationship with the respondents in a very short time. But the good point was that because one of us as an Iranian could share many similarities in between culture and attitudes it was possible to make this friendly relationship in a short time so that the respondents will feel comfortable during the interview and answer to the questions like it was a friendly chat not an official interview so that they need to feel they have to watch for what they are saying.

The biggest obstacle was that, when we were doing the interviews, because it was an in depth interview, we needed to go through the details in their lives and it was hard to make that trust and relationship just in the first time meeting and we had just about two hour to make that trust and relationship and also do the interview because, Afghan people are kind of people that if they

accept to do something for you without seeing you for the first time it would be much more difficult to convince them to meet you for the second time and do another interview.

Therefore, we couldn't count on more than one time meeting with each person but we tried to get some information about their history and their background from the people who knew them and then start the interview with them. We tried to get close to them during the interview by listening to their thoughts and don't judge them because of what they did or didn't during their settlement in Finland. We tried to be open-minded and be aware about their culture, traditions, thoughts, attitudes and their emotions so that we will be able to encourage them to go through the details that we wanted.

We did our best and we did a god job but in some points, we couldn't get the exact answer that we wanted. For example if one of the women talk about her relationship with her husband and tell us about her divorce or her problems with her husband she didn't go that far with the issue that, what was the main reason of the divorce or what happened that she had to divorce. When we tried to asked and found out, they change the subject so wisely that you couldn't ask any more questions about that because you wouldn't get an answer and of course we couldn't push them for answering one of our questions because in this way we lost the trust in the rest of the interview and it would made our work more difficult.

Therefore, the most difficult challenge of the research was to make a connection with these women and gain their trust in a short time in order to reach the most clearly, reliable and valuable data. But we tried to make the questionnaire in a way that they will be satisfied from the conversation that they are having and will enjoy sharing their ideas and thoughts with another person and not to be judge because of expressing their feelings and thoughts. As Stelter (2010), also argues, qualitative interviewing gives participants, an opportunity for self-expression and people experience a level of satisfaction from having had the chance to express an opinion in an area of interest on their own terms.

The questionnaire consist of 23 open-ended questions asked from 6 (30 years+) females which included some personal information about the respondents like age, level of education family members and then it started from the reason of their migration and how and why did it happen at the first place, then the next part of the questionnaire ask questions about their ideas and attitudes

about social services and social workers help and the level of their satisfaction from these services. The next part of the questionnaire contains questions about their attitude toward Finnish culture and the similarities and differences that they think does exist in the cultures and totally it asks about how they are dealing and adopting with the whole new situation. And the last part consists of the challenges that they are facing during their settlement like the new language, weather, education system and many other factors. The study of Afghan women settlement requires an in-depth qualitative research method that tries to examine perception and experiences of the participants in a social context. For this reason, the current study on identifying settlement issues of Afghan refugees included in-depth interviews with community members and qualitative analysis of interview transcripts.

The sampling procedure in this research included snowball sampling. Snowball or chain referral sampling is a method that has been widely used in qualitative sociological research. The method is well suited for a number of research purposes and is particularly applicable when the focus of study is on a sensitive issue, possibly concerning a relatively private matter, and thus requires the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study (Biernacki & Waldorf 1981, 141.)

A number of Unknown potential participants who were introduced to us were contacted by phone requesting their participation and/or recommendation for other eligible participants. The phone call included an explanation of the purpose of the study, eligibility criteria, potential risks and benefits, as well as the confidential and voluntary nature of participation. The participants also informed that after the phone call they can decide independently if they are interested in participating and call back the researcher. The criteria for participants approached was that they have to be residing in Finland for over one year to ensure familiarity with the Finland social environment with enough time to reflect on migration and settlement experiences. Since the study revolved around adult Women refugees, all participants had to be over the age of 30 and under the age of 75. The interviews were conducted in an interactive manner to acquire narrative text of the participants' personal experiences. Valdz & Kaplan (1999) argue that, Snow ball sampling or chain-referral sampling is a separate method of convenience sampling which has been proven to be especially useful in conducting research in marginalized societies. This method is commonly used to locate, access, and involve people from particular populations in

cases where the researcher predict difficulties in creating a representative sample of the research population. It has been suggested that SSM is probably the most effective method to access hidden or hard to reach populations. Snow ball sampling is used in both qualitative and quantitative research. In the former, Snowball sampling is mainly used to access potential interviewees. In the latter, the method is used to find participants for surveys (Cohen & Arieli 2011, 427.)

Participants were informed that the interviews would last for about an hour and were to be conducted in a setting where the participants felt most comfortable. The 23 open-ended questions asked of each participant were digitally recorded with the consent of the participants. Each interview began with the researchers introducing themselves and explaining that the objective of the study was to learn about the Afghan culture and their experiences after migrating to Finland. The interviewing process was facilitative, thus permitting the participants to share anything while being respectful of the emotional and deeply personal nature of the experiences being shared. Each participant was identified with a name which is not their real names. It means that we choose a name for each of our participants so that it would be easier for the reader to communicate whit the personality while reading the data analysis. Transcript was then read closely for the purpose of facilitating a meaningful understanding of the topics explored within each of the interviews. The respondent can be represented through the table number 1 which is presented below.

R. N.*	Age	Sex	Profession	Number of children	Marital Status	Education Level
Zinat	45	F	Working	4	Divorced	Low educated
Maryam	45	F	Unemployed	3	Married but leaving separately	Diploma
Rahele	45	F	Unemployed	4	Married	Diploma
Fatima	60	F	Unemployed	7	Widow	Low Educated
Razie	46	F	Working	5	Married but leaving separately	Diploma
Tahmine	60	F	Working	4	Divorced	University Graduated

Table 1: Tabular representation of the respondents
*=Respondent Number

The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to test hypotheses and not to evaluate as the term in normally used. At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. Being interested din others is the key to some of the basic assumptions underlying interviewing techniques. It requires that we interviewers keep our egos in check. It requires that we realize we are not the center of the world. It demands that our actions as interviewers indicate that others' stories are important. At the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals' stories because they are worth. That is why people whom we interview are hard to code with numbers, and why finding pseudonym (assumed names) for participants is a complex and sensitive task (Seidman 2013, 9.)

The first key feature of the in depth interviews is that it is intended to combine structure with flexibility. Even in the most unstructured interviews the researcher will have some sense of the themes they wish to explore, and interviews will generally be based on some form of topic guide which setting out the key points and issues to be covered during interview. A second key feature is that the interview is interactive in nature. The researcher will ask an initial question in such way as to encourage the interviewee to talk freely when answering the question. Thirdly, the researcher uses ranges of probes and other techniques to achieve depth of answer in terms of penetration, exploration and explanation. The interviewer will use follow up questions to obtain a deeper and fuller understanding of the participant's meaning. Fourthly, the interview is generative in the sense that new knowledge or thoughts are likely, at some stage, to be created. Participants may be invited to put forward ideas and suggestions on a particular topic and to propose solutions for problems raised during the interview (Legard & Keegan & Ward 2003, 138.)

In depth or unstructured interview is one of the main methods of data collection used in qualitative research. Interviewing research takes a great deal of timed and, sometimes, money. The researcher has to conceptualize the project, establish access and make contact with participants, interview them, transcribe the data, and then work with the material and share what he or she learned. Sometimes a new researcher is choosing one method because he or she thinks it will be easier than another. Any method of inquiry worth anything takes time, thoughtfulness,

energy and money. But interviewing is especially labor intensive. If the researcher does not have the money or the support to hire secretarial help to transcribe tapes, it is his or her labor that is at stake (Seidman 2013, 11)

But there are some obvious differences about between normal conversation and in-depth interviews, their objectives and the roles of researcher and participant, are quite different. Interview data needs to be captured in its natural form. This means that interview data is generally tape recorded, since note taking by the researcher would change the form of data. The interview is an intense experience, for both parties involved and physical encounter is essential context for an interview which is flexible, interactive and generative and in which meaning and language is explored in depth (Legard et al 2003, 139.)

4.3 Ethical Considerations

It is important to consider ethical issues from the early stages of a research project. From the beginning of the design process, provisional decisions are usually taken about the nature of the research sample, and of the methodology. Inevitably these decisions imply certain ways of interacting with the people involved in the research project. Researchers often try to express the anticipated goals of the research in terms of research aims, and the latter often highlight potential ethical issues. The aims of a piece of research may involve making large-scale comparisons between groups of human beings or between a numbers of organizations at the same time. Where this is so, the ethics of the situation may be a little less demanding, since data can be combined, and thus individual identity obscured. However, if in a piece of ethnographic or field research, the aim is to explore the life histories of a relatively small number of individuals, then it may be more important to ensure that they understand the purpose and function of the research, before agreeing to take part. Certainly, when researchers write the aims of a project, those aims do tend to imply certain forms of methodology and of data collection. In turn, these raise particular ethical issues. In other words, it is at the stage of preparing the aims of a research project that the researcher could be well advised to first consider research ethics (Oliver 2010, 9-10.)

Ethical sensitivity in research practice develops in contexts of uncertainty and through a relationship that depends both on the researcher and the research subjects. On this basis an assessment of the nature and level of sensitivity and vulnerability can only be temporarily accomplished in a general ethical code. In practice there may be a risk of harming the subject even if the researcher seeks to respect the ethical code. Such probability to harm becomes particularly important in research areas such as migration where harm ranges from, fear of the subjects as a consequence of conducted research to violation of the privacy of the person (the research discloses private experiences, knowledge or feelings of the subjects which were not meant to be known by others, and were not made for a public audience.) (Duvell et al 2008, 7.)

When research projects are conducted across cultures, researchers need to design ethical guidelines for the responsible execute of research in a way which ethical issues are viewed by the culture of the community being studied. The different cultural understanding of the investigator may bring different perceptions of what issues can establish ethical dilemmas. Lack of familiarity with participant cultures can bring particular challenges with respect to assessing research risk/benefits, procedures to obtain instructed agreements, concluding appropriate incentives in research and avoiding enforcement, and maintaining confidentiality.

Migration as a subject of research shares common features with criminology and political science; this is because immigrants engage to a lower or higher degree in unlawful behavior. They may only violate migration laws regarding the entry and residence in a given territory but they may also be involved as perpetrators or victims in activities of organized criminal networks to the extent that they use the services of human smugglers and traffickers (Birman 2005, 164.)

On the other hand, migration research may involve people who are ill or in psychological distress due to the harsh conditions in which they live and work. Thus, the question of compassion is also relevant in terms of the research ethics to be respected. Last but not least, research on migration may at time become unpleasant and interrogative when research is trying to extract information regarding for instance the mode of travel and the networks of the subject with a view to understanding better the mechanisms and processes of migration (Duvell et al 2008, 7-8.)

On a general level, the kinds of ethical issues raised by the research process involving human beings are no different from the ethical issues raised by any interactive situation with human beings. All such situations demand that other human beings should be treated with respect, should not be harmed in any way, and should be fully informed about what is being done with them. Many of these general ethical principles can be applied to a research context, but there are more specific situations which illustrate the importance of ethics. There are, first of all, a range of situations where the participants in the research project may not be in a position to understand fully the implications of the research. For example, there may be research situations where adult participants, for a variety of reasons, may not understand the nature of the research process, and hence cannot consent to their participation in the research from a position of understanding. Such situations may involve adults who have had relatively little formal academic education, or participants who have a different mother tongue from the researchers; although they may have second language competence, it may be insufficient to help them understand the research context. Clearly such situations do not remove the responsibility from the researcher to ensure that all participants fully understand the programme of research before taking part (Oliver 2010, 22-23.)

By the very nature of its subject, research into migration inevitably deals with sensitive issues. Qualitative fieldwork on migrants involves individuals who are violating the law. As a consequence, any information produced by social scientists may involve risks for the research subjects as well as for the researchers. If migrants themselves are the subjects of study, such information might potentially be of relevance to enforcement agencies and some information, if becoming known to enforcement agencies could potentially have far-reaching consequences for the subjects of such research. Research in this area might discover places that could be of interest to enforcement agencies and reveals patterns and strategies that could inform combating migration. Thus, ethical challenges arise when research could harm subjects in the research area in question or when ‘social knowledge’ might be used or misused for investigative knowledge. Therefore, the researcher needs to consider carefully whether the knowledge that she/he produces can be of immediate use to enforcement agencies and if this is the case to consider whether such use is ethical for her/him and justified (Duvell et al 2008, 8-9.)

One type of ethical dilemmas in research with refugees and immigrants involves balancing potential differences in the ways ethical behavior is defined by the culture of the researcher and the research community versus the culture of the research participants. There are situations when cultural norms with respect to what is ethical may be contradictory, making ethical behavior, as defined by one culture, unethical in the other, and vice versa. Existing ethical guidelines do not provide sufficient guidance to help the researcher define how to adjust such conflicting perspectives. The complexity of these dilemmas means that researchers studying refugee and immigrant populations must develop a worldly-wise understanding of the underlying issues so that they can negotiate creative solutions to resolve them (Birman 2005, 156.)

The cultural aspects of research need also special consideration. Research in migration ultimately is research in a group that is to some extent alien to the host society; this inevitably brings about issues of cultural sensitivity. As a consequence, in order to gain access to individuals researchers must first learn about their research subjects' lifestyles, believes and values and to communicate in ways that the individuals understand. Thus in order to attain cultural sensitivities, researchers must make a special effort to understand the participants' basic assumptions about their experiences and the context within which these take place. For instance, the needs and fears of the participants, including their views, norms and values need to be understood and responded to in a constructive manner. Concerns about control, autonomy, and exploitation will always emerge in any research, which involves the attempt by one group to study or influence the characteristics of another group. Therefore, it is essential to establish a relationship between the researcher and the participants built on mutual respect and on trust that the informed consent reached is kept. Similarly, it is also important that the researcher keeps in touch with all opinions circulating in the community in relation to the research. These may include views about the researcher's motives and the risks or benefits of participating in the research (Duvell et al 2008, 11.)

As Fisher (et al 2002) believes, another particularly complicated issue in research with immigrants and refugees involves cultural differences in determining what may constitute coercion. These issues require particular attention when in often most cases, power differentials exist between the researchers and the research participants. For example, when the research participants are known as undocumented aliens, they may want to avoid participation in research projects but may also not fully trust that they are free to refuse participation. Refugees who are

being held in refugee camps constitute a particularly vulnerable group, as their rights are significantly restricted, and to some extent they are a "captive" population. Thus, what constitutes voluntary participation in research project is not always clear is, when they are sponsored by powerful organizations (Birman 2005, 167.)

Therefore, based on the ethical considerations, our interviews were conducted following strict guidelines in informing consent and confidentiality. It was stressed for participants that participation is voluntary and that the participant can withdraw at any time either temporarily or permanently. The participants and transcripts are protected by just interviewers, considering that the interviews could have drawn upon emotional material that might cause discomfort, the interaction with the participants was constructed based on trust and understanding because as Omidian (2000, 47) believes, as refugees, the individuals may have had experienced with violence/war and maybe vulnerable. Although, none of the participants, fortunately, expressed any form of discomfort.

4.4 Data analysis

Qualitative research is characterized by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis. Qualitative methods generally aim to understand the experiences and attitudes of patients, the community or health care worker. These methods aim to answer questions about the 'what', 'how' or 'why' of a phenomenon rather than 'how many' or 'how much', which are answered by quantitative methods (Shaw & Gould 2002, 2-3.)

Qualitative research can best help us explore or assess culture, phenomena, structural processes and historical changes. In more detail, culture could involve anything from investigating the behaviors and rituals of a particular tribe or group of people in a particular setting (street kids, patients or an individual in a particular cultural context). Phenomena involve detailed investigations over time of a particular experience (for example marriage, breakdown, illness etc.). As we said before, the question focus is usually the what, how, when and why aspects of the chosen topic. One important issue the qualitative researcher needs to consider prior to commencing research is the choice of research paradigm to work within (Grbich 2012, 5.)

Text can be analyzed as a proxy for experience in which we are interested in individuals' perceptions, feelings, knowledge, and behavior as represented in the text, which is often generated by our interaction with research participants. Even when utilizing text as a proxy for experience, there is an important broadness in the ways data can be collected and analyzed. Elicitation techniques that generate data can be relatively systematic and structured, as in free listing or pile sorting, depicted in the far left of the diagram. Data elicited with these types of techniques require a different type of analysis than doe's free-flowing text typically elicited in less structured data collection events such as unstructured or semi structured interviewing or document analysis. Because most qualitative data collected or available are in the form of free-flowing text (i.e., focus groups and in-depth interviews), we narrow in on this dimension and follow this branch of the tree, where we see the divide between analysis of words and analysis using themes and codes (Guest et al 2011, 9.)

Qualitative interviews "form the basis for the creation of meaning, and meaning expresses the relationship of the individual to specific material, social, and cultural contexts". Experience-based qualitative interviewing is pivotal in the "participant's experiential, embodied involvement in the issues of research interview". In this sense, the open-ended question of a qualitative interview has the potential to strengthen the participation of the participant in the interview process by allowing them to attain an in-depth inside into their experiences. This way, the "participants gain access to themselves and their world in a way that goes beyond representational and reflective knowledge". Consequently, participants are generating personal meaning, which is the main purpose of using qualitative research interviews. In creating meaning, the participant creates a personal reality that arises from previous experiences and history (Stelter 2010, 861.)

In the context of studying settlement of Afghan Women, qualitative research in the form of interviews is essential because is allowing participants to gain access to themselves and generate personal meaning, they are given an opportunity to describe specific values and purpose to their experiences, actions, and interactions so that they can identify the source of their stable settlement. The study of Afghan Women requires an in-depth qualitative research method that

seeks to examine perception and experiences of the participants in a social context. For this reason, the current study on identifying settlement issues of Afghan refugees from cultural perspective, included in depth interviews and qualitative analysis of interview transcripts.

The design and plan for a particular analysis depends a lot on the general approach taken and the type of outcome expected the analytic purpose. For analyzing our data we decided to use a thematic approach based on an exploratory analysis. Thematic approach is often employed in social/behavioral researches. For an exploratory study in a thematic approach, the researcher carefully reads and rereads the data, looking for key words, trends, themes, or ideas in the data that will help outline the analysis. Research questions are better suited to exploratory research in thematic analysis (Guest et al 2011, 7-8.)

In the beginning of the research we were decided to use narrative analysis because we were considering that as Kaasila (2007) argues narration is a major way in which people make sense of experiences, construct the self, and create and communicate meaning. Narrative is a story with a beginning, middle and an end; and is held together by a series of organized events, called plots. Narratives are chronological (sequences of events). Also, through qualitative interviews, we often get data in the form of a story.

And as Polkinghorne (1995) debates, analysis of narratives is produced using paradigmatic reasoning that uses classification systems to bring order to various elements in the world. Analysis of narratives, which emerges from paradigmatic reasoning, reduces stories to their common elements thus producing general knowledge. Collected data is in the form of stories and researcher carefully examines the data to discover categories describing common themes that appear across the stories. Through further analysis researcher draws relationships between the categories.

Because we were thinking that, narrative analysis is the most related method for analyzing our qualitative data which looks like a story of participant's life with beginning and an end. And we can make categories based on the themes that we find out in between our data. But after doing more reading and research we reach to different conclusion. As in identifying settlement issues

of Afghan women from a cultural perspective, the role of identity, social support, strong religious orientations and opportunities for social inclusion in family, work and community contexts and how individuals function, enact and overcome challenges in settlement, are explored, we decide to choose a method for analyzing the data through an interpretive method of analysis.

Exploratory studies in thematic analysis generally are based on non-probabilistic samples of research participants and generate primary data. Exploratory analyses are commonly used to generate hypotheses for further study. Also, applied research initiatives, although intended to address a practical problem in the world, are based on theory. Theory, however, gives direction to what we examine and how we examine it. If we had no idea at all about what the key issues for a participant might be, it would be difficult to find a starting point for questioning. We get guidance as to what's important to study from existing literature, our own knowledge about a topic, or from someone else (funder, boss, client, professor, etc.). Whatever the source, there is some reason to believe that what and who you are going to study is important. (Guest et al 2011, 7-8.)

Thematic analyses require more involvement and interpretation from the researcher. Thematic analyses move beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes. Codes are then typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis. Such analyses may or may not include the following: comparing code frequencies, identifying code co-occurrence, and graphically displaying relationships between codes within the data set. (Guest et al 2011, 10.)

Sandelowski (2000) argues that a thematic analysis requires a continuous engagement with the data. Once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed into a written form for the purpose of analysis. Each transcript was then read closely for the purpose of facilitating a meaningful understanding of the topics explored within each of the interviews. Once the familiarization process was completed and the textual data was thoroughly understood, the next

step involved identifying the initial set of significant issues in the text will begin (Kohistani 2012, 15.)

Thematic analysis is still the most useful in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set. It is also the most commonly used method of analysis in qualitative research. A text, for example, can be something as simple as a single-word response to an open-ended question on a survey (e.g., "In what city were you born?") or as complex as a text thousands of pages in length. Due to this, analytic strategies will likely vary, so the length of items for analysis needs to be taken into account when planning an analysis. That being said, most qualitative researchers work with transcribed data generated from in-depth interviews and focus groups that are typically 1 to 2 hours in length. Transcripts for these data collection activities may range from 10 to 40 pages per individual or group. Complexity of a study involving qualitative data can also vary dramatically, ranging from just a handful of focus groups to multiple data types generated from hundreds of data sources. (Guest et al 2011, 10.)

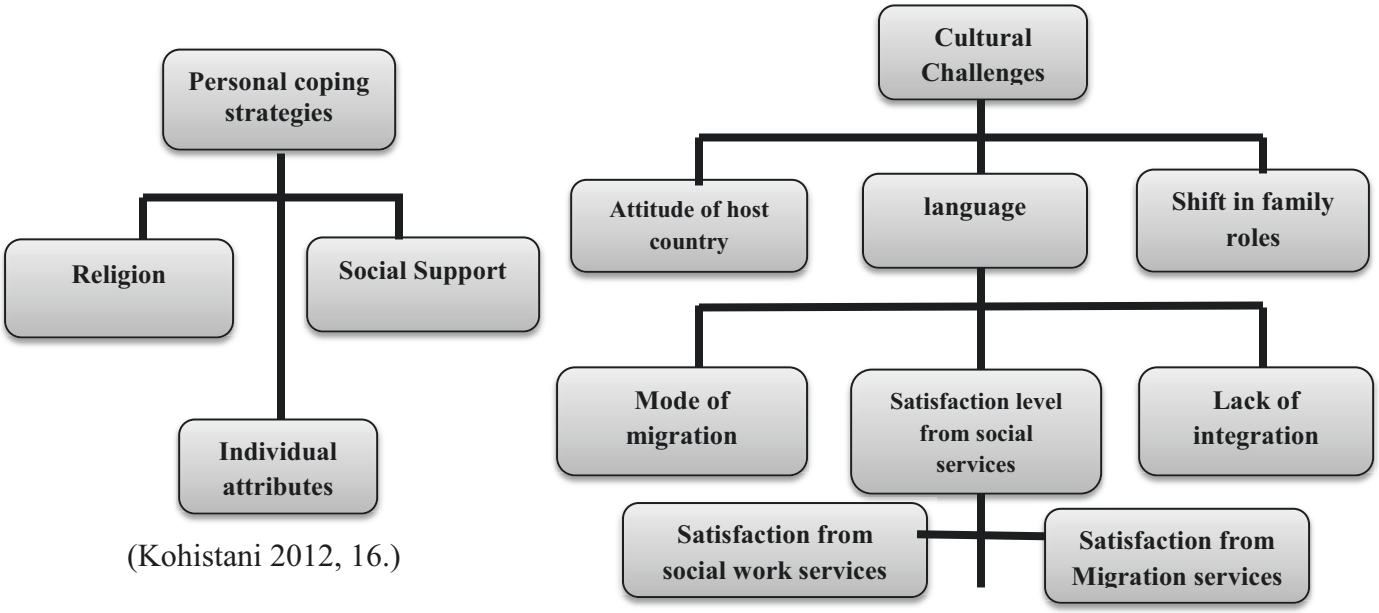
Thematic analysis also includes applying codes so as to organize the textual data into meaningful and manageable parts. The codes explored pathways, context and mechanisms of settlement and the role of culture. In addition, the codes referred to any meaningful factors which applied by Afghan culture and affect the experience of settlement in Afghan refugees will be considered. These codes were then sorted in an attempt to generate potential themes. While analyzing the codes and themes, it is also important to think about the relationship between the codes and between the themes. For this reason a qualitative thematic coding appeared more appropriate in an attempt to organize data based on their importance (Kohistani 2012, 16.)

Usually, though, when we talk about qualitative research in the social or health sciences, we are referring to textual data generated from in-depth interviews and focus groups, which are often transcribed word to word from audio recordings and, to a lesser degree, participant observation notes. And, in the vast majority of cases, thematic analyses, rather than word-based approaches, are used for the reasons already indicated. (Guest et al 2011, 11.)

Thematic analysis retains the connection of the data to their original context. However, the relationships among thematic categories are generic relationships, mot ones between actual data, and thus substitute a single understanding for the original variation in relationships that existed in the data. Thematic analysis is also a categorizing strategy. Thematic analysis is a data reduction and analysis strategy by which data are segmented, categorized, summarized and reconstructed in a way that captures the important concepts within a data set. Thematic analysis incorporates connecting as well as categorizing strategies (Flick 2013, 26.)

While analyzing the codes and themes, it is also important to think about the relationship between the codes and between the themes. For this reason a qualitative thematic coding appeared more appropriate in an attempt to prioritize settlement factors. A thematic map was generated to examine if they fit the entire data set. The dominant themes were then organized into subthemes (Kohistani 2012, 16.) These different levels of themes were important in examining the scheme of meaning within the text. For instance, Personal coping strategies and Cultural resources as coping strategies were identified as main themes that represented the subthemes and codes within the data (see Figure 3)

Figure3. Thematic Map of the Main Themes and the Sub Themes



(Kohistani 2012, 16.)

This thematic map is based on Kohistani (2012, 16) paper. Her study is about identifying Cultural strengths of Afghan Refugee as a Source of Their Resilience in Canada. She also used in-depth, open-ended interviews for collecting her data and used thematic analysis, for analyzing her data. She generated this thematic map to examine if they fit to her entire data set. Her studies explore the integration process of Afghan migrants as a way of gaining insight into their cultural values, beliefs and characteristics that play a role in facilitating their resilience.

There are many **similarities** in the context of Kohistani (2012) research and our research. She is also concentrating on cultural strengths of Afghan migrants and the cultural resources which help Afghans as a coping strategy. But her focused is on Afghan's culture resilience. Resilience is the ability to return to original shape after migration. She is trying to find out how resilience can help Afghan migrants to ease their settlement process. Therefore, her theoretical framework is based on resilience concepts which include personal, cultural and contextual aspects of people's lives. She is trying to find out what are the factors (culturally, personally) that helps Afghan immigrants resilience. She used Cultural resources (Religion, social support...) as tools which can help Afghans to reach to their resilience (Kohistani 2012.) The main difference between Kohistani (2012) and our research is that, She is trying to find out the cultural strengths which can help Afghan women easing their settlement. But we are looking for cultural challenges which make the settlement process difficult for Afghan women and we try to find out how they deal with these challenges. In our research, participants are just Afghan Women in Finland but Kohistani (2012) both interviewed Afghan men and Women in Canada.

As we can see, there are a lot of similarities between our paper and Kohistani (2012) paper but each of them are keeping a different direction and using a different perspective for looking at Cultural strengths and challenges of Afghan immigrant women. And this is the amazing quality of doing research that, you can look at the same page with different perspectives and reach to similar or even different results. On the other hand, applied thematic analysis comprises a bit of everything, grounded theory, positivism, interpretivism, and phenomenology combined into one methodological framework. The approach borrows what we feel are the more useful techniques from each theoretical and methodological camp and adapts them to an applied research context. Thematic analysis can be used in conjunction with various forms of qualitative data such as in-

depth interviews, focus groups, and qualitative field notes. These are by far the most common forms of textual data encountered by researchers doing qualitative research. (Guest et al, 15.) We were considering using coding and analyzing by some known qualitative soft wares. But after some reading and searches we found out that most of these soft wares are taking so more time to learn than to use them. And you need to spend days or weeks to be able to work with them professionally and without mistake. So we decided to use the regular method of coding and analyzing without any software.

Coding in data analyzing in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a remarkable, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. The data can consist of interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, drawings, artifacts, photographs, video, Internet sites, e-mail correspondence, literature, and so on. The portion of data to be coded during First Cycle coding processes can range in extent from a single word to a full paragraph to an entire page of text to a stream of moving images. In Second Cycle coding processes, the portions coded can be the exact same units, longer passages of text, analytic memos about the data, and even a reconfiguration of the codes themselves developed thus far (Saldana 2013, 3.)

The central idea of coding is to move from raw text to research concerns in small steps, each step building on the previous one. That way you do not have to immediately see the connection between the raw text and your research concerns; you only have to see as far as your next step. Having taken that step, you will be able to see further and take the step after that one. You can think of the steps of coding as a staircase, moving you from a lower to a higher (more abstract) level of understanding. The lowest level is the raw text and the highest level is your research concerns (Auerbach et al 2003, 35.)

In qualitative data analysis, a code is a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual fact for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building, and other analytic processes. Just as a title represents and captures a book, film, or poem's primary content and essence, so does a code represent and

capture a fact's primary content and essence. With bringing some examples from our interviews about coding we can make in more clear how does it work for qualitative data:
It was war every day and night, it was bombing and

People got killed all the time. You wouldn't know what will happen for you in next seconds. We just wished we could survive. ⟶ INSECURITY

Here is an example of several codes applied to data from an interview transcript in which a high and immigrant women is talking about her feelings during her staying in Finland. The codes are based on what outcomes the immigrant woman receives from the new situation which she is dealing with. Note that one of the codes is taken directly from what the participant herself says and is placed in quotation marks:

1 *I wished that I never came here or stayed in my country* *1 FRUSTRATION*
2 I just don't believe I survive; I have to thank god for saving me *2 PROTECTION*
I have been through a lot of pain and I got depressed, *"LONLINESS"*
Because I was alone, totally alone. I had no one by my side.

As Charmaz (2006, 43) believes, coding is about naming segments of data with a label that at the same time, categorizes, summarizes and accounts for each piece of data. Coding begins directly as researchers first gather data for study. Throughout the research project, they engage in this interplay between data collection and coding. By coding, researchers analysis carefully and interact with the data as well as ask analytical questions of the data. Researchers create their codes by defining what the data are about Coding helps researchers to see the familiar in a new light, gain distance from their own as well as their participants' taken for granted assumptions, avoid forcing data into pre-conceptions and to focus further data collection, including the potential of leading the researcher in unforeseen directions (Flick 2013, 156.)

Coding is not an exact and strict science; it is primarily an interpretive act. Also a code can sometimes summarize, distill, or condense data, not simply reduce them. In fact, such analytic work does not diminish but "value adds" to the research story. The introductory examples above were kept purposely simple and direct. But depending on the researcher's academic discipline,

ontological and epistemological orientations, theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and even the choice of coding method itself, some codes can attribute more evocative meanings to data (Saldana 2013, 5.)

In the excerpt below, an Afghan woman describes her experiences before and after migration. The codes emerge from the perspective of both difficulties and happiness in the memories related to her the past and present days. They are not specific types of codes; they are "first-impression" phrases derived from an open-ended process:

Well I think if there is a job available *the priority is with Finnish people.* *This happened for me that is why I am telling you*	*1. PRIORITY RIGHTS OF FINNISH PEOPLE*
2 You know that we are not like Finnish *people we will control our children and* *even tight their hands if it is necessary*	*2. TAKING CONTROL OVER CHILDREN*
3 There are not enough organized community for women and I don't understand what the point of having other kind of community is	*3. NOT ENOUGH ORGINIZED COMMUNITY FOR WOMAN*
4 I want to be like a friend to my children. *I trust my children and they trust me too* *I am always the first one who can help them*	*4. TRUST OF CHILDREN*

The founded codes which categorized under their specified themes and subthemes can be finding in appendix 2.

Many actual coding categories can be seen as involving aspects of more than one type, or as being intermediated between two types. During gathering, coding or analyzing of data, researchers will raise new questions for which they seek answers as well as having ideas and thoughts about their codes and relationships between codes. Researchers write down these questions and ideas to remember them. The categories generated through coding are typically linked into larger patterns, this subsequent step can be seen as relevancy-based, but the connections are made between the categories themselves, rather than between segments of actual data (Flick 2013, 25-26.)

Note that when we reflect on a passage of data to interpret its core meaning, we are decoding; when we determine its appropriate code and label it, we are encoding. For ease of reference throughout this manual, coding will be the sole term used. Simply understand that coding is the transitional process between data collection and more extensive data analysis (Saldana 2013, 5.)
The analysis of the transcripts resulted in 10 themes relating to culture and settlement of Afghan immigrant women. These themes were organized within 3 higher themes. The dominant themes were prioritized for a deeper analysis in illustrating any relations between aspects of Afghan women culture and the experience of their settlement. Table 2 lists the themes formed.

Cultural Challenges	Mode of Migration
	Attitudes toward host country
	Language
	Shift in family roles
	Lack of integration
Coping Strategies	Religion
	Individual Attributes
	Social Support
Level of Satisfaction from social services	Satisfaction from Social Work Services
	Satisfaction from Migration Services

Table 2 Higher Order Themes and Subthemes

5. CULTURAL CHALLENGES OF IMMIGRANTS

The main question was about to consider the challenges which would difficulties in immigrant's settlement process and how this difficulties could effect on the settlement process of Afghan immigrants. The current data highlighted some a number of these cultural challenges for Afghan immigrant Women. Among Afghan Women learning the new language, the discriminative attitude in host country, the lack of participation and integration were recognized as factors which could influence their settlement process. These factors can be based on the contexts in the host country as it can structure the experiences of immigrants. These are the factors which Afghan women are dealing in the meanwhile which they are trying to shape their settlement frame work.

5.1Mode of Migration

The mode of migration and the background of immigrants is one of the factors which can cause difficulties in their settlement process. The experiences before migration and the transformations which have happened to immigrant's life before, during and after migration can make their settlement more complicated. The significance of pre migration and post migration events for cross-cultural transitions and adaptation is widely recognized. Pre migration stressors can include traumatic experiences such as death of family members, threat, separation from friends and homeland. While pre migration stressors such as war are responsible for strong and lasting effects, it is generally agreed that these experiences exert a greater influence in the stages of settlement. It is also recognized that some pre migration stressors exert more permanent influence over subsequent adjustment than other. For example bereavement because of losing a member of family had more enduring and long term consequences in the settlement process (Ward et al 2005, 228.) A participants share her experience on stressful pre-migration separation:

> *When we moved because of war, we heard that my husband was murdered by Taliban. So I was handling the family alone. After we moved to Finland we found out that my husband was alive all these years. So it is still difficult for me to deal with that. My husband is separated from family now. It is so painful; I was trying to be a mother and father for my children… (Maryam)*

Based on our personal experiences in Finnish Red Cross (Finnish Red Cross 2012) immigrants in Finland are facing many barriers and conflicts during the first years of their migration to the new country. We all know that each immigrant have their own reasons for leaving their country and

moving to another country. First of all they are looking for a better life in future. They are looking for safety, peace, respect, health and basically to be able to reach the basic human rights in order to gain a high quality of wellbeing. As Elovit and Kahn (1997, 25) say, adjustment is a painful attempt to function in a life predicted on different principles, and operating with different patterns that the ones which molded the immigrant's personality.

In considering the import of background factors, the element of change should be recalled since, immigrants have 'already moved on beyond that background situation' and been affected by the migration experience. The mode of migration and the circumstances surrounding it can also influence the settlement experience. A key factor affecting settlement is the way in which the decision was made, the reasons for emigrating, and whether there was adequate knowledge and preparation beforehand (Cox 1987, 19-20.)

Some women who migrate as a dependent spouse have little or no say in their partner's decision to migrate. Cevik (1996, 2) a Turkish women's health worker, reports that: There is much anecdotal evidence that … in many cases [Turkish women] were unaware of where they were migrating to and they had never been asked by their partners if they wanted to migrate (Burnet 1998, 25.)

During our interviews with immigrant women we found out that most of the immigrants and asylum seekers don't know where their destination is when they left their countries. They just make a decision which can cost them their lives, so they accept the risk; no matter what it takes they just want to left everything behind and start a new life elsewhere. Many times we heard from news channels that a boat which includes more than hundreds of people tried to enter to some country illegally and just crash down in sea and all people were dead so it is really terrible that for the sake of a good life and basic rights they just lost their lives. It is difficult to imagine that how hard and painful their lives are in their own countries that now they are ready to put lives of themselves, their families and children in danger so that they can reach to a better place and be a little bit close to their wishes. As one of women believes:

> *After so many years of moving finally we reached Finland I mean we didn't know that we are going to be in Finland one day. First we moved from Afghanistan to Tajikistan then Azerbaijan and after that Russia and finally my husband left Russia alone he didn't know where was he going and he just reached Finland without any predictions and then I moved there with my children. Immigrants like us never know where the final destination is…! (Rahele)*

There are reasons that may push those considering migration towards certain destinations. But this does not imply that particular destinations are freely chosen. Rather, the concept of migration always involves a selection from a limited range of choices, while in some cases the selection in made by others. For example in some cases, refugees most flee to the nearest safe boarder to where they reside. They may undertake a lengthy journey on foot, during which they may face starvation, dehydration, hypothermia, or other physical ailments. Some of them leave their country by boat. Often these boats are in poor condition and overloaded. Sinking, drowning, and illness or deaths due to sun exposure are not uncommon (Mckay 2009, 19.)

For the many refugees who have experienced torture and trauma the effects of these do not necessarily end with settlement. One of the factors that increase vulnerability [to mental illness] is a pre-migration history of torture or major trauma. Even apparently successful early adjustment may be followed by a high rate of subsequent physical and mental breakdown. Advancing age, personal bereavements, and social isolation may promote a renewed sense of exile and thereby reactivate the trauma of the original uprooting (Burnet 1998, 27.) Here is a participant experience about her traumatic migration to Finland:

> *….I went to Turkey by smugglers and they supposed to take us to Greece but they just left us in the middle of the sea and we had to take a boat but the boat sank and it was so close that me and my little baby drawn into the ocean. We were walking in woods for days. Now I've been in Finland for 5 years I got depressed, I have a lot of diseases (crying…) so what is the point of being accepted into a country when you are depressed, sick and lonely what kind of life is that? (Zinat)*

We have no idea how much these people are in shocked and terrified during the travel time, and how much physical and mental pressure they have been tolerated. Besides the disasters that may happen to some of them on the way of reaching to other country, most of them never ever talk about those incidents because that hurts too much and they don't want to share it with anyone.

Based on Roberts research (2009, 945) refugees often leave hurried, chaotic, and dangerous conditions. They may be victims of violence, rape, torture or killing. Mostly they do not know when, if ever they will be able to return to their countries. Thus, leaving behind family and friends is particularly painful because they know they may never see them again. Refugees may pass through areas of armed conflict and may be subject to or witnessed some tragedies in order to get to the destination. In many cases, they are placed in refugee camps in neighboring destination countries before they sent to permanent home. These camps are often overcrowded, and have poor sanitary conditions. Disease and violence are not uncommon in camps. Some Refugee might stay in these camps for years. An Afghan women share her experience about family separation:

> *We ran from War and move to Iran but my husband died in a car accident I had no one there I was with 7 children that I didn't know how to feed and raise them. I suffered a lot to survive. I am still suffering because my sister is in Afghanistan and Taliban threatening her family day and night she can get killed at any moment. I am just thinking and thinking every day and night and feel worried for her that I can't even eat and sleep after all these years. (Fatima)*

Many Afghan women experience high levels of torture and trauma before the arrival in the new country. These experiences included rape, sexual torture, being forced to witness the rape of family members, including their children, being forced to engage in survival sex, having borne one or more children as a result of rape, and having suffered rejection, violence and isolation from their own communities. Many refugee women and girls have experienced more than one of these traumatic incidents. The effect of multiple abuses can make women more vulnerable to future violence and have an impact on their wellbeing. Some experience further problems in their new country, including gender-related violence, which negatively impacts on their wellbeing and settlement outcomes. Many of them are feeling the destroying impact of the shame associated with past and current experiences and the impact of sexual and gender-based violence on their relationships with family and community. Some refugee women can face problems in finding affordable and suitable housing, employment and education, and can also experience discrimination and exploitation which all of them creates barriers to a successful settlement (DIAC 2013, 16.)

Prior to migration refugees are often exposed to human rights violations, torture, and systematic violence. The traumatic experiences of refugees tend to be interrelated and generally cumulative, unlike single-event traumas. These experiences can challenge their sense of empowerment, identity and meaning in life. The relationship between trauma, coping strategies, and outcome is complex. Past traumas may also have ongoing indirect effects by increasing the vulnerability of individuals to future stressors. For example, a refugee who has experienced torture and has been able to pursue normal day to day functioning in the resettlement environment, may, when faced with acute stressors during resettlement develop symptoms of posttraumatic stress (Schweitzer & Melville & Steel & Lacherez 2006, 181.) It is shared by a participant as below:

> *We stock in the middle of war in a basement for 40 days with not enough food and water. Some people died in front of my eyes. When we reached to Finland, police took us into a basement. I was thinking I will never see peace in my life. Now after 10 years of being in Finland I still feel frustrated and depressed. I just want to be in peace but I feel like this suffering will never end…. (Rahele)*

For families adjusting to the process of resettlement, along with the legacy of conflict, persecution and flight, trauma impacts on their ability to deal with the challenges and stresses of adapting to a new environment. Family relations are altered by the aftermath of displacement and the impact of torture. Many women experience anxiety, guilt and shame, feelings of helplessness in an unfamiliar environment, fear and insecurity, and cultural dislocation. Resettled refugee families are simultaneously struggling with the complex challenges of settlement into a new and often very different culture (Zannettino et al. 2013, 10-11.) The participants share their experiences about their family relations affected by stressful mode of migrations:

> *We moved to Iran during war but my husband got arrested by Taliban. I was with my 4 children I had to work day and night. Finally we moved to Finland without my husband now my husband is released after many years but he is living in Pakistan. Well he doesn't want to be in Finland….. Now my life is here and his life is there. It took a while for me and children to deal with the situation. It is still difficult but we don't have any choice this is our life now. (Razie)*

> *….I tried to apply for UN and I got rejected so many times, my husband didn't like to leave. He told me to apply as a widow to apply easier but I wanted all the family to be together and finally we made it after 8 years. Even though I tried so hard but we got divorced after coming to Finland. We were fighting day and night and the children was hurt and stressed. I don't know maybe if we were in Afghanistan, we wouldn't get divorced… (Tahmine)*

Thus, it can be said that, the mode of migration and the incidents which women were facing before and during migration can effect on the process of their settlement. They might face difficulties in settling into the new environment, managing the family relationships, and dealing with emotional and mental problems. The quality of the settlement environment plays a significant role in enabling trauma to be overcome, and can subsequently impact on women's experiences of traumas. Lack of a strong social network or community, lack of close family, or other forms of social isolation, can all contribute to the vulnerability of women (Zannettino et al. 2013, 11.)

5.2 Attitudes toward host country

Some Afghan women also indicate that they have been facing with discrimination and anti-immigrant attitudes during their settlement in Finland. Especially the women who were having a work experience face with different discriminative behaviors. Some of them have been humiliated, assaulted and disturbed from Finnish people .But the Afghan women who didn't have a work experience in Finland didn't face any discriminative behaviors.

Recent surveys indicate that negative attitudes towards immigrants, xenophobia (fear of strangers) and even racism are widespread across Europe. 81 percent of Belgians, 78 percent of Finns and 75 percent of the French identify themselves as racist at least to a certain extent. A majority of Europeans voice concerning minorities, fearing that these group of minorities (immigrants) are threatening social peace and welfare (Scheepers 2002, 17-20.) One of women shares her idea about Finnish people attitudes as below:

> *I think Finnish people know about how they should behave with us. For example when I am outside and ask some people about an address they take my hands and take me to the address. They don't let a refugee feel bad in their country. But when it gets to looking for a job or having a job their behavior just change! You don't know them anymore! (Maryam)*

We can reach to this attitude according to Byrne (2007, 111-112) research: anti-immigrant attitude is often directed specifically at illegal immigrants. Due to their illegal status, many people feel that they are not entitled to the same rights and government services as citizens or their legal counterparts. Moreover, illegal immigrants will have more difficulty adapting to the

new culture, they will have a tough time learning the new language, participating in the political system and have less opportunity to gain legal citizenship beside the anti-immigrant attitudes. In general, symbolic racism, labor market threat, partisanship and ideology are important predictors of more negative attitudes toward illegal immigrants. As one of women share her experiences about discrimination towards herself at workplace:

> *I faced different kind of racist behavior. Like I was working as a cleaner and one day I woke up one of employers who stayed the night there. She told me very bad words which were so insulting. I just told her is this a sin that we as immigrants are here to clean your work place? I never forget the way she treated me. (Rahele)*

Of course we have to consider that in many cases, many of immigrants or asylum seeker step out of their limit and cause problems for themselves or for native people. For example some of them do robbery from other people or start lifting in shops and sometimes they got caught and sometimes not! Therefore, because of the acts of some refugees, native people will change their attitudes to all of them. Especially if a refugee from a specific country do something wrong, the native people will have a negative and hateful attitude towards all the refugees from that specific country. We believe in this kind of situations, both immigrants and native people need to be more and more educated about each other, so that both side attitudes can be directed to a more positive way

Cultural aspects have been subjected as an important factor accounting for the existence of prejudice. According to this view, the roots of prejudice are related to cultural tensions between ethnic groups: foreigners are viewed as a potential threat to national identity and social order and, most importantly, to the values which are nurtured by the original majority population. Many examples illustrate that cultural misunderstandings can lead to ethnic prejudice and hatred. Value component may have a special importance in the Finnish context. People all over the world relate foreigners to such issues as rising crime rates, drug problems, diseases like AIDS, and the fear of losing traditional elements of the national culture, work ethic, religion etc. Thus, it may be the case that the fear of these problems is relatively strong in Finland, a country with an unusually low number of HIV positive persons, practically non-existent organized crime and a comparatively moderate level of drug problems (Ervasti 2004, 28.) One of participants shares her idea about discriminative attitude of Finnish people:

> *In one of my workplaces once I heard my colleagues were saying Finnish people work a lot and foreigners like her just want to eat and do nothing they are just consumers. I cried a lot that day. Even once an old woman spited on my daughter's face in a bus. My poor girl! They always say they don't make any differences between Finnish people and other nationalities but when you get inside them you can feel the difference. (Razie*)

In Finland "multiculturalism" has been considered to be an issue directly related to immigrants: Firstly as being a consequence of their presence, and secondly as giving them the responsibility to learn Finnish customs and the Finnish language while preserving their own culture. According to Similä (2000) whether foreign residents will ever actually be regarded as "Finns" will depend on whether Finnish identity stresses ethnic origins or Finnish citizenship, residence in Finland and participation in the Finnish society. Perhaps there will be a need for a new term like "New Finn" - in Finnish "suomenmaalainen" (a person living in Finland).

It is no secret that Finns exhibit notable guardedness regarding Muslim immigrants. Any Muslim immigrant who hopes to integrate into Finnish society will have tolerated prejudices on two fronts. Firstly, Muslim immigrants will be subject to all the prejudices that Finns have about immigrants in general. Additionally, a Muslim immigrant will also have to deal with the specific concerns that Finns might have regarding Muslim immigrants. many Finns have reservations concerning immigrants. Particularly older Finns who have personally experienced war or times of economic plight are likely to argue against immigrants. Younger Finns who have not known similar hardships or been forced to defend Finland against hostile behavior are somewhat more receptive to the idea of immigrants (Jaakkola 1989, 68.) As it is shared by one of participants:

> *Some Finnish people don't like immigrants because they think they are the ones who are working and paying the taxes and these taxes will be spent on immigrants. Once I went to doctor, there was a Somalian family with an old Finnish couple. The doctor first called Somalian family then the old Finnish men start saying bad words about immigrants. He thought I didn't understand Finnish but I did. I felt bad and I was upset… but it is what it is..! (Tahmine)*

There are at least three reasons that may account for the indifferent feelings many Finns have toward immigrants. Firstly, more than one third of Finns suspect that immigrants will bring unrest, riots and terrorism to Finland. Given that this is exactly what has happened in other European countries, one can hardly fault Finns for such suspicions. Secondly, there is concern that more immigration will mean more crime. This a fear based on fact. Some five years ago immigrants were responsible for 1.8 times more than the number of crimes which would have

been normal considering their proportion of the population. Since then, that figure has not shown any signs of decreasing, but has in fact grown alarmingly. Thirdly, over half of the Finnish population fears that foreigners will spread various drugs and the HIV-virus into Finland (Jaakkola 1989, 61.)

Immigrants in Finland already commit more crimes than their proportion of the population warrants. In a strange twist, the prejudices that Finns seem to possess could in fact be responsible for the large number of crimes committed by immigrants: the type of treatment immigrants receive in their new homeland significantly impacts their integration and welfare, meaning that if they are treated poorly, they will more likely also integrate poorly. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the notion that Finns are ultimately at fault for the crimes committed by immigrants, it is clear that for Finns to have prejudiced notions about foreigners is a problem which can easily lead to racism and discrimination (Pohjanp & Paananen & Nieminen 2003, 65.)

The more different immigrant's culture of origin is, the more difficult it will be for him to integrate into Finnish society and culture. A number of aspects of the religion of Islam seem to be at odds with Finnish values. On some level, Finns seem to recognize this, as their attitudes regarding Islam and Muslims are more negative than their attitudes regarding other religions (Hallenberg 1996, 120.) As one of participants believes that:

> *Well I think if there is a job available the priority is with Finnish people. Even if you find a job they will ask you about work experiences and of course immigrants don't have work experiences in Finland. Maybe they have it in their own countries. I mean if you had the best job experience in your own country, they don't accept it from you because you are not qualified here in Finland. (Maryam)*

Finns are generally regarded as being tolerant and well aware of cultural differences, due to their high level of education and strong interest in travelling and while Finns might hold some undesirable sensitivity towards foreigners, the result is that this sensitivity can be decreased through education, which will make Finns more receptive to immigrants. As established, foreign workers in Finland will likely experience hidden discrimination and prejudice, perhaps even open racism and occasional violence, as they have in other countries. Nevertheless, the single-biggest challenge to successful, comprehensive integration seems to be the ability of foreigners to accept and adjust to western values and customs. If immigrants lack the ability or the desire to

integrate, no amount of education or enlightenment on the part of Finns can bring about integration (Jaakkola 1989, 71.) On the other hand some women shared their different ideas about Finnish people behavior:

> *Well I think Finnish people are so kind, I mean anytime that I was so sad and alone they were next to me just like my mother, and taking care of me for example sometimes I have a lot of groceries in my hand they come and help me. They are so kind and they have sympathy. (Zinat)*

> *I just think sometimes they are racist, they judge you many times because of your nationality or they accuse you and other people will believe them because you are foreigner. For example once a Finnish boy was so drunk and he punches my son. After we complain they just charged the boy but I am sure if my son bit him, he would go to prison because he is Afghan not Finnish. (Fatima)*

On the whole, Hallenberg (1996, 113) states that the most troubling questions arise from crashing value systems and differing ideas of justice. Just as oil and water don't mix, many beliefs of Islam, on a very basic level, simply do not seem to be compatible with western values. The point here is not to pick on Muslims, but to demonstrate how difficult it will be to combine radically different belief systems. Integration is not just a simple matter of overcoming unfounded prejudices; it is not just about somebody having a different skin color or speaking a different language. The real issue is the challenge involved in combining different peoples and different belief systems, which, on the surface of things at least, do not appear to be compatible.

As a result, because of all this cultural and religious differences between Finns and immigrants (especially Muslims), immigrants will face many problems for their settlement and integration in the new country. They will face with barriers for finding a job, even if they know the language, in many cases they will be rejected because of their nationality, religion or color of skin even if they are as qualify as a Finnish person. Many of them face difficulties in renting a convenient place to live and not all the landlords willing to rent their place because of the attitude that they have. Women immigrants may be rejected in many Finnish communities or events because of their beliefs, they might seem strange or even dangerous to other women.

5.3 Language

In dealing with challenges as newly arrived, Afghan women find language as one of the main challenges. Some participants believe that it is necessary to adapt to language in order to adapt to new culture and environment but they still find it so difficult. Some other participants indicates that it will take a lot of time to learn a new language and you can never be as good as native people and you will face problems in some situation in your daily life.

Language has a particularly significant role to play in the process of individual and social integration. It constitutes both the medium of everyday communication and a resource, in particular in the context of education and the labor market. In addition, languages and accents can act as symbols of belonging or foreignness and give rise to discrimination. Inequalities in terms of access to education, income, central institutions, social recognition and social contact are significantly, determined by linguistic competence in the relevant national language. This alone gives rise to a strong interest among immigrants in the acquiring the respective national language. The acquisition of the national language as the immigrants' second language' is influenced by a range of factors. These include conditions in the country of origin and immigration country, the existence and structure of an ethnic community and in particular, individual and family living conditions and the specific circumstances of migration. Age at migration and the duration of stay in the country of migration are particularly significant factors; the parents' age at migration and language skills also play an important role in the case of immigrant children (Esser 2006, ii).

Bianco (1987, 87) believes that learning another language as a second language is not a language learning task alone. Along with language, learners acquire knowledge, sociocultural knowledge and behaviors, and the conventions of language use the view of language put forward. In this regard a participant shares as:

> *Well I think learning a language is a talent, someone who wants and who has the condition for learning, can learn a new language, if you want to have a better understanding from life you have to learn language and you can learn it when you are in community between people. But I still think immigrants face problems because of language. (Rahele)*

A higher level of education of immigrants or their parents constitutes a clear advantage when it comes to second language acquisition. Comprehensive skills in the national language are so important for the labor market integration of immigrants. A lack of language skills clearly reduces their chances of actually finding work and attaining a higher position and is related with significant reductions in income. Anyone who does not have a comprehensive domination on the national language will be unable to make full use of their valuable occupational experience and knowledge (Esser 2006, ii.)

For the immigrant the process of acquiring another language is complicated and ambivalent, as Chambers (1994, 25) describes: 'None of us can simply choose another language, as though we could completely abandon our previous history and freely choose another one. Our previous sense of knowledge, language and identity, our particular inheritance, cannot be simply rubbed out of the story or cancelled. What we have inherited as culture, as history, as language, as tradition, as a sense of identity is not destroyed but taken apart, opened up to questioning, rewriting and re-routing. Learning a second (or subsequent) language in settlement involves not a different instrument to express oneself, but an opening and challenging of one's sense of social identity and culture, which allows new possibilities where 'other stories, languages and identities can also be heard, encountered and experienced'. Here is one of participant's ideas about difficulty of learning a new language:

> *Language was the most difficult thing for me because I couldn't communicate with people and I couldn't understand them. It has been 7 years since I am in Finland and I still can't speak very well. I cannot read any letter. I can just do my own shopping and my routine stuff. (Fatima)*

The experience of learning and using a new language in the new environment is at the same time an exciting and threatening experience. To understand the relationship between immigrant settlement and language learning, it is necessary to have a theoretical framework which integrates the language learner and the social environment (Burnet 1998, 43.)

Teaching of the dominant language for immigrants is not a goal in itself but an instrument to attain something that is important for the integration process, such as to create opportunities for individuals to support themselves and to participate in social life (Delander et.al 2004, 24-25.)

This is particularly relevant for the settlement process; people can act as agents and negotiate changes to the way they have been positioned in a particular discourse. As will be seen, this affects their use and learning of the target language in settlement. As well as being central in the construction of social identity, language and discourse are central in its reconstruction, which takes place in processes of cultural change, of which immigrant settlement, of course, is a prime example (Burnet 1998, 43.) A participant mentions as below:

> *At first language was not a big challenge for me because I knew how to speak English but anyway you need to learn Finnish here. It is still difficult for me that I have some problems at work. It took some years for me to start speaking. When I started my first job I was mostly listening. Even once I received a wrong prescription from doctor because he didn't understand what is wrong with me…! (Tahmine)*

During the last decades, many countries of the European Union have experienced a heavy emigrational inflow. Acquisition of the host language determines, to a great extent, the immigrant's integration into the reception country. The dominant attitude towards immigrant integration in the phrase 'work, work and work yet again' has now been replaced by the following: 'language, language and language yet again', because capability in the second language can lead to more rapid and effective occupational and social settlement (Glastra and Schedler 2004, 54.) One of women also mentions that:

> *Language was the biggest challenge for me. I was able to adapt with most issues easily but not the language. Still I am not perfect with Finnish; I had problems for learning for about 2 years. I mean after two years I started to use Finnish language little by little because I had to not because I was motivated or something… (Maryam)*

Failure to complete the compulsory education of their country of origin and, sometimes, poor writing ability in their native language are among the additional preventing factors to learning a second language. It is also difficult to disengage many immigrants from their experience of traditional teaching techniques and to engage them instead with the communicative method of contemporary language learning programs. Consequently, in order to achieve effective teaching and learning of the second language in immigrant classes, it is necessary to meet some basic principles; social inclusion, provision of support and consideration of the additional difficulties encountered by the specific learners. These parameters need to be considered by those in the host country who design language learning programs addressed to adult immigrants, in order for

effective targets to be set and achieved and also for the learners' expectations to be met (Magos & Politi 2008, 98.) A participant shares her feeling about difficulties in learning a new language:

> *The most difficult thing for me was always the language. I didn't understand anything and because of that I couldn't meet anyone or go anywhere. Yet after all these years I still can't learn it because it is even difficult for me to read on my own language. (Zinat)*

Financial difficulties, unemployment, fearing of strangers, racism and discrimination, as well as their children's adjustment to the new learning environment, are additional inhibiting factors to the teaching process and the learning of the second language. Being exhausted due to many hours of work, along with the excessive psychological stress that immigrants often experience in their new country due to the radical changes occurring in their lives, both play an important role. All the above can lead to reduced attention span and slow progress in the learning of the second language (Magos & Politi 2008, 97-98.) As it is shared by one of participants:

> *I still make some mistakes when I speak but I try to do my best. Even I face bad behavior at work because of not being perfect. One day the place of my work was changed and I didn't know when I asked my colleagues why didn't you tell me they said we told you but you didn't understand because you don't understand the language and this is your problem..! (Sad face) (Razie)*

As a result we can understand that, learning the language of the new country is very important for the immigrants because of so many reasons. First of all, they have to be able to communicate with other people especially native people of the new country so that they will be able to do the simplest daily jobs like shopping because if they are struggling all the time to understand and be understood, then even the simplest, everyday task can turn into a nightmare.

Therefore, they have to try to stick around others who speak the new language. Even someone who speaks a foreign tongue to a more or less good level can still struggle to relax enough to make new friends using their new language. For example immigrants in Finland should try to participate in free Finnish classes and communicate with people who speak Finnish specially other immigrants who can speak better Finnish language. On the other hand finding work when you don't speak the language fluently, or at all, can be very frustrating. If immigrants don't know the language of the country the only option is to tend to do limited working in the immigrant community with others who speak their mother tongue language which means accepting lower

paid jobs which doesn't involve a lot of talking. This is one of the reasons why highly educated immigrants often end up working in small jobs and gaining small salaries when they are capable of doing much more. Learning the tongue used in the country as quickly as possible is absolutely essential for progressing and earning more money after immigration.

5.4 Shift in Family roles

UNHCR aims to respect the culturally diverse interpretations of family members, as long as they are in accordance with human rights standards. For any person beginning a new life in an unfamiliar country, the presence of a supportive family promotes settlement and longer-term integration. In the specific case of refugee resettlement, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states the family unit has a better chance of successfully integrating in a new country rather than individual refugees.

When families are separated, as is the case for many refugees fleeing conflict or political strife, the meaning of family is not altered. When individuals reach relative safety, reuniting with family is the key priority. More recent research found that intergenerational conflict can occur when after resettlement as parents and children negotiate their new environment. This is a common scenario as the role of parent and child can be renegotiated during settlement. There is great variation in the configuration of Afghan families (Wilmsen & Gifford 2009, 2-4.) As it is shared by one of participants about the change of mother and children role in family life:

> *It is difficult for me to accept when children turn 18, they have the right to leave family and become independent and this is a part of Finnish culture which affected my children, while we don't have such a thing in Afghanistan and children stay with their parents until they get married. Now they are completely independent and I am not a part of their decision makings like before anymore… (Maryam).*

Also role reversal can bring family conflict. Birman (2006, 568-569) thinks Children typically learn the host language more easily and quickly than their parents. As a result, it is often children rather than parents who negotiate with officials and bureaucracy, and who speak for the family, thus taking on leadership roles in their family that would normally be taken on by parents.

Broadly speaking, traditional Muslim families commonly regard extended family as part of the core and often span three or more generations.

Based on our interviews with Afghan women, we found out that, in Afghan families the power is in the hand of the father or the husband in the family. He makes rules, orders for the wife and for children, as example Afghan women as a wife are not allowed to continue studying if they husband won't let them to or they are not allowed to meet any stranger men and have a physical contact with them (like hand shaking) except their husband. And also they are not allowed to take off their Hejab. Afghan wives should be committed to their husband sexually and physically but as we said, the husband is allowed to take another wife or even more. On the other hand some Afghan women in Finland are not allowed to go to swimming or do other activities because of the existence of stranger men in those places and they are banned going there from their husbands. This is a traditional rule that has been going on for many decades. Because as Robson (et al 2002, 24) debates, in most Afghan immigrant's families, traditional role relationships have been disturbed. Although traditional Islamic cultures view the woman's proper place as in the home, many Afghan women must work outside the home to contribute to the family income. Husbands whose wives earn salaries and have economic freedom suffer a loss of paternal leadership as the family's sole breadwinner. As it is shared by one of women:

> *After my husband died in Iran I started working in a factory. I was never working before when my husband was alive. But since we arrived to Finland I am working and I teach my children that they have to respect the family roles. I make it clear for my daughters that they have to stay with family until they get married and my sons know that they have to work hard. (Fatima).*

Many children believe that their parents did not trust their ability to make decisions for themselves, and did not understand their needs or intentions. They attributed this problem to cultural norms about parent-child relationships, which may have acted as barriers to families openly communicating about differences in expectations, challenges and values. While some children states that their parents needed to be educated in order to better understand their children. As for many adult children a key area of disagreement was around their freedom and parental authority. Some of them disagreed with their parents' authority and defended their right to freedom. Some children in the Afghan community spoke of other children taking the "wrong path." They attributed this to choosing the wrong friends, or the temptations and dangers of

living in a country that offers too much freedom. These children spoke about the negative consequences of not respecting parents' values and not abiding by parents' authority (Hynie & Sepali & Shakya 2012, 22-24.)

Parents may try to compensate for their feelings of lost status by demanding complete control over their adolescents. Difficulties in communicating of refugee children with their parents could make it challenging to solve problems or disagreements (Hwang 2006, 397-398.) It is shared by participants who are trying so hard to take control over their children:

> *I don't really like the freedom that children have in Finland. For example when my son was 16 he was hanging out with some bad guys. I tried to make him stay at home, locked the door on him, I even tied his hands and legs. But it didn't work. So I tried to go wherever he goes with him. I had to control him (Rahele).*
>
> *My daughter is now 11 years old. I want to take her to Iran or Afghanistan when she get older so that she can engaged to someone and when she reached legal age she will get married and then I don't have to worry about her having a boyfriend or hanging with strange boys. You know we can't let our children to do whatever they want we will control them and even tight their hands (Zinat).*

In general, settling in a new country can be stressful time for families. Parents are faced with many life changes and often struggle to meet their family's basic needs and help the family settle in the new country. Many parents experience different conflicts. There is an expectation from parents that their children will adopt the traditional values and rules of their country of origin while young people face pressure from their friends to adapt to the values and roles of the new country. Families may fear that their children will lose their traditional values and culture.

Parents may decide to limit their children's autonomy because they do not trust the new country social values. Historically many services for young people have focused in them as an individual and have had very limit contact with parents. Refugee and migrant families may not allow their children to attend such services because these services do not exist in many countries so parents can be suspicious of their role and the values they will give young people (Yapa 2006, 126.) It is shared by women who are worried about their children freedom in new country as below:

> *I think in Finland children have unnecessary freedom. We don't give this much freedom to our children we try to give them more love. I tried to be my children's father, mother and best friend. I try to make a peaceful environment at home so that they feel safe and prefer to stay at home. I let them to choose what kind of life they want. Anyway I never let them to have so much freedom (Razie).*
>
> *I tried to protect my children and keep them next to me and it was difficult. Because I had to both let them to be free and not to be free. I give them some limitations and some freedoms. Like I am strict about drinking alcohol I ask them never be too drunk but, I let them to choose if they want to move out or not. So I will give them enough freedom and ask them not to ruin it (Tahmine).*

Based on our personal experiences with afghan families, we can see the same conflicts and problems. Afghan parents want their children to keep their culture and traditions. Therefore, they believe that when their children become more familiar with the culture of new country they are more attracted to that culture and in this way parents cannot control their children's believes and attitudes. Because Afghan family believe in Islam, they try to ban their children from drinking alcohol because this is what they believe in, but they cannot always control the situation and children wants to experience the culture of the country which they are living in right now.

Therefore, there will be a struggle between children and parents, and they might not get along in many cases and as a result children want to leave the house. This is one of the first steps that the family can feel the loss of family cohesion. It will be a difficult situation for parents and children both. Thus both parents and children will need to reach to a balance so that they can keep their family together and not to let it keep apart. In order to reach this goal, they will need the help of social services and organizations to prevent from future damages in between the family.

5.5 Lack of integration

Another difficulty of Afghan women in their settlement process is the lack of integration. This integration includes social, community and cultural integration. When they don't have the opportunity to integrate and be a part of society they will face loneliness and feel marginalized in society. They feel as strangers in a whole new environment that they are still trying to adapt with. Sometimes the deficiencies of necessary organizations and programs will make immigrant women to stay at home and prefer not be outside in society in order to feel as a part of society. Sometime these women are not aware or don't have enough knowledge of the programs and

organization which are available for them. Some women avoid participating to some events because of the existence of contradictions between the atmospheres of the events with their own culture.

When social bonding and integration are weak, commitment to institutions and social affiliations is also likely to be weak. As strangers in a highly diverse cultural system, immigrants as a social group are expected to become acculturated and, if possible, assimilated into the dominant culture. An alternative view is that immigrants will retain their separate cultures, forming an enclave whose beliefs and norms may or may not be contradicted by the norms of members of the dominant culture (Arthur 2000, 87.) Some women share their experiences about lack of integration as below:

> *I think there should be some programs to be Provide to Afghan women. We always have limitations. For example we have some women who doesn't go to gym or go to swimming because of the men who are exercising there I think there should be a separate place or separate time for these women so that they can spend some time outside home. (Maryam)*

> *I participated once in some Finnish events but not after that because there are always a lot of drunken people and I am afraid to go there and I don't enjoy if I go. But beside Finnish events there is not such a kind of organization or group for Afghan people so that we can go and spend some time there. (Fatima)*

The Finnish state has recently taken some legislative measures in order to lower the threshold for participation and to incorporate immigrants in the decision-making process both at the national and the local level. In general, foreigners and immigrants have not been very visible in Finnish politics. Some immigrants and foreigners have used their right to establish associations publish newspapers and organize demonstrations, but their activities have mainly targeted their own nationality or language (Lepoa 2004, 8.) Women mention the lack of opportunities for social activities as below:

> *Well there are some communities which are for Afghan women. These communities are not well organized. There should be someone in charge who will guide women. If we want to gather some where we have difficulty in renting a place there are lots of difficulties for us. (Rahele)*

> *...I don't usually participate in Finnish events I think these ceremonies are interesting for Finnish people because they try to be happy with alcohol but we want to be happy without alcohol. Most of us live in apartments and we cannot have parties inside or play music because Finnish people wants quite buildings. We cannot have parties outside because it is difficult to rent a place for ourselves. (Razie)*

Integration is resisted by older and first generation immigrants and even by those who stand to gain most from integration, well-educated immigrants holding professional jobs. Among the older and first generation immigrants, integration is problematic due to linguistic barriers, strong intra ethnic ties and cultural isolation (Arthur 2000, 88)

Different frames of immigrant integration can focus on different groups or categories (foreigners or minorities), they can tell different stories to explain what is going on (discrimination or inadequate citizenship) and they can make different normative leaps from is to ought (preserving social cohesion or facilitating cultural diversity (Scholten, 2011 33.) In this regard one of participants believes:

> *In Rovaniemi there was no place like mosque that we could gather for our praying so I always did it alone at home but there were some gatherings for some ceremonies like New Year or Eid time for Afghan people that we were celebrating, cooking some food and having good time.(Tahmine)*

According to the immigrants, the problems related to integration are two-sided. Oftentimes immigrants prefer to keep in contact only with other immigrants and, on the other hand, Finns usually take distance towards immigrants. The motivation for integration is usually high with an immigrant who knows he will live in Finland and has relatives here. Again, an immigrant who would like to return to his home country and to attach to Finland only for a short time usually lacks the motivation. For an immigrant, the lack of motivation can become one of the strongest obstacles to his integration. Some immigrants have a hard background, and if they still meet hardships and resistance in Finland, they easily become introvert and give in (Korhonen 2006 84.) As it is shared by one of participants:

> *During these years of being in Finland I felt totally alone. I had no idea where to go or what to do or who to talk….I don't enjoy my life. I don't know so many people so I prefer to stay at home. Once I went to a Finnish church and I ate some food and then I found out the food wasn't Halal, I feel sick after that. Sometimes when I met an Afghan or Iranian person I think a miracle just happened because there is someone who I can talk to. (Zinat)*

International migration, even in this age of instant communication and inexpensive travel, can be a traumatizing experience. Immigrants become strangers in a new land with loss of familiar sounds, sights and smells. The expectations of customary behavior, hearing one's native

language, and support from family and friends can no longer be taken for granted. Even the most routine activities of everyday life, shopping for food, working, and leisure time can be alienating experiences for many new immigrants who find themselves in strange setting that require constant mental strain to navigate and to be understood. It is no wonder that most of the immigrants attracted to the familiar residence in ethnic neighborhoods, employment in ethnic community and social pursuits in the company of family and friends with similar backgrounds (Hirschman 2004, 1210.)

6. IMMIGRANTS' COPING STRATEGIES

After analyzing the transcript data we found out that beside the challenges that Afghan immigrant women are dealing with, they are using some of their own beliefs, behaviors and attitudes as a coping strategy during the process of their settlement. Although these women are facing with so many challenges and difficulties even after many years of migration, but some of their attitudes and beliefs are helping them to survive in this harsh path which they are stepping in. These coping strategies mostly rooted in the personal attitudes and cultural resources which Afghan women believe in them. Basically the first person who is helping Afghan immigrant women to cope and adapt with the challenges in their settlement process are Afghan women themselves. Of course, they are other services, people and organizations that are helping them in this process, but beside, they are using some of these strategies in easing their settlement as much as possible.

6.1 Religion

For many people, religion is one of the parts of their personal identities; and a part of a person's life. The teachings, traditions and habits of a specific religion will influence these people in their behavior, approaches to situations and relations to each other. A person's value is often based on religion. Religion can be an important part of the culture for an individual, and if a person migrates to another country he or she will carry these elements of faith. Religion can become an important part of the identity of a migrant, even if she or he had little interest in religious matters before leaving home country. When found in new situations without family and social links and when individual migrants feel the need to defend their identities, religion becomes essential (Dupre 2008, 8.)

Churches, mosque, temples and other worship communities can contribute to immigrants' incorporation as source of social capital as civic actors in their own right, and by training members in civic skills, promoting a sense of identity to guide civic participation, and mobilizing individuals to act civically. Religion for immigrants may shape the organizational culture of a worship community. And it also influences the role of lay people in community, the character of

the obligation they are taught to feel toward the larger community and the resources for alternative interpretations of the tradition that might affect these impacts (Foley & Hoge 2007, 23-24.) Some woman shares their interests towards religion as below:

> *…We are Muslims, we have to read Quran, and we have to do our prayers every day. There is a mosque in Helsinki which we go there for prayers. We gather every Sunday in mosque and we also raise some charity money, even women gather in the mosque without any occasion just to be together, we also go to mosque in Ramadan beside when someone dies we held a ceremony for mourning. (Fatima)*

> *I am a religious person myself. I like my religion a lot. I don't drink, I dress right and I try to transfer all these things to my children. Sometimes I go to mosque but if not I will do my prayers everywhere. I always tell my children God can show you the way and give you things that you can't even imagine. If my children wants to forget their religion one day I will never forgive them for that. (Rahele)*

Over the past few decades, the number of Muslim immigrants has increased in Europe. These immigrants are seeking a better life for themselves and their families. However, religions and cultural differences have made it more difficult for Muslim immigrants to integrate into the new European society. The terrorist attacks in many parts of the world have caused many European to view Islam and Muslim immigrants negatively. On the other hand, many Muslim immigrants feel much pressure to sacrifice important aspects of their religion in order to become full citizens in their new society (Dupré 2008, 7.) As one of women mentions:

> *I think Finnish people are just trying to give strange ideas about Muslim people. Finnish people always ask me if I am a Muslim why don't I wear Hijab while some Muslim does. Well it is really difficult to explain it because the importance of being a Muslim is to believe in your God that is why they are wondering who the real Muslim is and sometimes they become confused and transfer the wrong information to other Finnish people (Maryam)*

Religious values can also provide support for many other traditional beliefs and patterns, obligations, gender hierarchy and customary familial practices, that are threatened with adaptation to the seemingly amoral new culture. Customary religious practices, such as attending weekly services lightening candles and reciting prayers are examples of communal and family rituals that were brought from the old country to the new (Hirschman 2004, 1211.) As it is shared by one of participants:

> *...I will go to mosque for praying it will help me calm down when I am stressed. My daughter always prays and takes fast in Ramadan with me and we read Quran together. We participate in some religious events but my sons don't pray or respect their religion, they told me people attitude will be bad towards us if we say we are Muslim but I tell them you always have to defend from your religion... (Tahmine).*

Depending on what the person will find in the host country, religion will become a positive or negative element in the personal integration process. Religion may play a role in many parts of daily life; religious convictions and rules influence the life of a believer, even health and health care are affected. For example, migrant women may find it difficult to access health services because of their religious education. Religious laws influence the working conditions, the rhythm of the workday and free time; clothing and food rules may not allow people to work in certain places. The question of equal rights for men and women may create critical situations (Dupré 2008, 7.)

However, some activities often take on new meanings after migration, The normal feeling of loss experienced by immigrants means familiar religious rituals learned in childhood such as hearing prayers in one's native tongue, provide and emotional connection, especially when shared with others. These feelings become important from time to time with the death of a family member or some other tragedy. For these reasons, Herberg (1960, 12) and others believe that religious beliefs and attachments have stronger roots after immigration than before. It is shared by some of participants:

> *I like my religion a lot. In my idea if someone doesn't have a religion he or she doesn't know god, someone with no religion is no one on earth because you need to be dependent on a religion so that you know who you are. I always tell everyone that I am a Muslim so that they know who I am. (Rahele)*

> *Religion is so important to our family. I am sure that my children never ever be deviant from their religion because they know it is their duty and responsibility to follow their family's religion and they are not going to turn their back to it because it is only god who helps us survive in the most difficult situations now and then. Religion is our tradition and we continue it where ever we are. (Fatima)*

However, religious faith and religious organizations remain essential to many persons in the modern world. It is only through religion, or other spiritual beliefs, that many people are able to find relief for the unavoidable human experiences of death, suffering, and loss. Churches, and other religious organizations, also play an important role in the creation of community and as a major source of social and economic assistance for those in need. Upon arrival, immigrants need to find housing and employment, enroll in their children in schools, learn or improve their language skills and begin to create a new social life. Churches, mosques and other religious institutions are one of the most important sources of support for the practical problems faced by immigrants. Helping others in need, including new immigrants and the poor, is considered as one of the missions of many religious places like churches and mosques (Hirschman 2004, 1212.) As participants share their feeling towards religion as below:

> *I believe it was only God who saved me in most horrible situations. Even when I came here I had a very bad pain in my leg I couldn't even walk but I am sure it was only God and our prophet who helped me start walking again. I know that the God will hear me where ever I am (Zinat)*

> *I always tell my children that you have to search and study about how good and perfect Islam is and if there are something that makes people hates Islam is because of some attitudes that Europe or America or people like Taliban create. Islam is a free religion. And that's comforting. For example I don't wear Hijab and Islam never says that you have to do this. (Razie)*

Therefore, we can understand that religion is an important element of immigrant's settlement and it will assist them for better and easier adaptation to their new environment and new country. This aspect has even much more importance for women immigrants and it can play an important role in their empowerment. The need for religious fellowship is sufficient for women immigrants to come together to practice their faith. Numerous researches show that how women create new religious spaces for themselves inside and outside of religious organizations and creatively adapt to their new positions in religious communities or organization (Predelli 2008, 244.)

Spirituality or a strong religious orientation is within the framework of cultural strengths because culture frames the values and social rules that inform worldview, guide reasoning and conduct, and provide shared meanings and traditions. In this context, Spirituality provides the universal and fundamental aspect of what it is to be human-to search for a sense of meaning, purpose, and

moral frameworks for relating with self, others, and the ultimate reality (Timberlake et al 2003, 77.) As some women mention religion as the most powerful assistant during their settlement:

> *I always tell everyone that I am a Muslim and my only honor is that I am a Muslim. I and my children always miss religious events. Of course we go to mosque in Helsinki but it is not same as home. But there are some opportunities that can remind people about their religion by going to mosque and this is something that you will never forget about yourself. (Maryam)*

> *I am proud of my religion. My children also believe in Islam and they also like their religion. I always tell them that you have to go and study about how good and perfect Islam is, Islam is a free religion. It is always next to me when I face with difficulties. (Razie)*

Thus, religion can shape cultural values and beliefs of Afghan women and it is one of the cultural heritages which they bring with themselves and use it in the process of adaptation. To believe in something real and be proud of who they are because of their religion, can give them an identity, self-stem and power that can empower them and introduce them to new society as people who own a productive personality.

6.2 Individual attributes

Afghan women used their positive attitudes as a weapon in front of challenges and traumas that they have been facing before and during settlement. Some of Afghan women have positive outlook of their life experiences. They believe that some experiences can make them stronger and they are as signs for a fresh start which assist them to overcome difficulties and move forward. Also some Afghan Women have a high sense of identity. They know themselves and find themselves in a way that they know what do they want from life and who they want to be. This self-stem among Afghan women act as a coping strategy in their settlement process.

Attributes and stages of the immigrant's life cycle such as age, family and marital status, and reproductive status at the time of migration can affect the settlement experience. This can be seen in the settlement experiences of women where the conjunction of major reproductive and child rearing years with the urgent economic needs of the settlement period can result in significant

disadvantage. Other stages in life, in particular childhood, adolescence and advanced age, can engender specific difficulties in settlement (Burnet 1998, 24.)

Immigrants bring differing resources and strategies (also subject to change) to business of everyday living and this exercise of agency is a central element in the process of settlement. While immigrants are facing with an existing social context which condition[s] the opportunities for such strategies to succeed or fail, the capacity of immigrants to act upon, adapt and resist, will structure circumstances' (Fincher & Campbell & Webber 1993, 107.) One of our optimistic participants shares her experiences as below:

> *Believe me or not, I believe the first people who are going to heaven are Finnish people, because they are kind and they just do their own life. For example if they see a little child in street they take a chocolate out of their pockets and give it to the child but we don't do these kind of things we prefer to give this chocolate to our own child. I think it is better to look at this side of Finnish people. In this way you can find more people who are nice with you (Zinat)*

It is a significant factor in influencing the way in which settlement tasks are carried out. This becomes apparent in the subjective accounts of immigrants' diverse settlement experiences, experiences which are as various as both their backgrounds and their hopes and desires for life in the new country (Bottomley 1992, 17.) As it is shared by one of participants:

> *Sometimes in life when you got hurt you become stronger and you won't give up easily and try so hard to not to lose yourself. I tolerate any kind of suffer, hunger, thirst or even not having a house but I won't tolerate if anyone wants to hurt my children. Because I am a strong person I can adapt myself to any situations. (Rahele)*

All immigrants, whatever their differences, have to 'face another nation–state, and another dominant culture. They are confronted by a society and language which are, to varying degrees, unfamiliar, and which can make the main initial settlement tasks of finding employment and housing difficult. The society that they enter as a refugee may be culturally diverse but it can also be largely monocultural in terms of the major social institutions and the structures of power. At the same time, however, there are a range of subcultural identities possible, based on characteristics such as age, religion, sexual orientation or occupation, to mention a few: ethnicity, too, can be seen as a site of identity (Fincher et al 1993, 109.)

Successful adaptation among immigrants is a function of both individual attributes and environmental migration related variables. Relevant individual attributes include hardiness, gender role, sense of identity, attitudes and strength of ethnic identity and environmental stressors include acculturative stress, changes in economic status and changes in the levels of social support that are available to the family. The immigration experience provides special insight into how people learn to let go of what used to be in order to embrace the new. Also the positive outlook to life experiences by immigrants can be linked to many aspects of immigrant's cultural heritage and in can be defined in terms of immigrants being adaptive, appreciative, flexible and persistent to life experiences and use these feeling as a strategy to cope with the new situation (Marte 2008, 74.) It is shared by participants about the effect of their positive outlook on their settlement process:

> *....if you want to gain something you have to lose something else. I went through a lot in my life but I never got disappointed because I had hope and I had a goal. I believe you have to be hard working; difficulties in life can give your life a meaning. (Razie)*

> *I think everything depends on women courage and their efforts for reaching what they want these are the only reasons which can help women to find a job or find friends and be successful and proud in their lives. I believe a woman herself is the only one who can provide everything for herself. (Tahmine)*

The concept of Self-Selection for immigrants implies some deterministic process to select who does, and who doesn't do something. There are many factors that determine whether people decide to migrate or stay home, so self-selection is likely to result in a group of migrants whose individual attributes are distributed differently from the way the individual attributes of the whole source and destination country populations are distributes. Because immigrants self-select, they are unlikely to be unbiased sample of either the origin country's population or the destination country's population (Bodvarsson & Vandenberg 2013, 81.)

The cultural adoption process in a new country necessarily influences women's ideas of their gender role identity as well as their ethnic identity. Traditional family models are often challenged by the new society and the earning power of the female immigrant. Many researchers observe that marital power increases with acculturation. Self-awareness and sense of identity of a

dependent role or feeling of helplessness may cause depression or anger. Although many batteries of tests have been applied to immigrants to determine their mental health, in general the best predictors of a healthy mental situation seems to be a familiarity with the new culture, a belief in self and in identity, a supportive family and involvement in community activities and education (Hofstetter 2001, 325-326.) As it is shared by some self-aware women:

> *I think we cannot make Finland like Afghanistan for us because we are living in Finland now and we have to accept Finland the way it is. We follow our cultures and traditions but we also accept Finland the way it is. Because Finnish people do their own business and we do ours. We are immigrants we have to accept Finland the way it is otherwise we have to go back to our country. (Fatima)*

> *I think maybe this is our own behavior which can effect on the way that Finnish people behave with us. Maybe because we don't understand the language very well they don't trust us so, we have to try harder. If you respect them they will respect you. You just have to do it in their way. (Maryam*)

The new role of immigrant women in family reinforced women's position in families and they began to share decision making with their husband especially if they are acting as a single mother they have to do the decision making on their own. When working jointly with their spouses, immigrant women generally had more input in family affairs and decision making. Historians have found that immigrant men generally experienced a decline in status and power within their families as a result of migration, which paused women into more authoritative roles than they had experienced in their home country. When women were both practically and emotionally involved in the family economy, their power in the families increased. The overlapping of family life and work life made a wife's or single mother's involvement in family business inevitable. Meanwhile the expansion of the female sphere enhanced immigrant women's sense of self-stem and self-confidence. They consequently become more comfortable in sharing family decision making with their husbands (Ling 1998, 86-86.)

6.3 Social Support

Another coping strategy for Afghan women is having social support. Afghan women seeking for support by participating in different social events and sharing their feeling with family members, friends and having social interactions even with native people in Finland. This participation and

engagement with others make them feel like they will be able to overcome their challenges and frustrations in their settlement process so that they can move forward and adapt with the new environment. They respond in differently about what was helping them in dealing with their challenges.

Modulating the damaging effects of the refugee experience on mental health and wellbeing is often one of the first challenges that new arrivals face when resettling. Pre-migration experiences can take their toll and make settlement in the new country seem impossible. Family and social relations can play a positive role in recovery (Wilmsen & Gifford 2009, 3.) As women share their experience as below:

> *When we were in Iran we faced with so many privations about children's school but as soon as we came to Finland my children started going to school and studying Finnish. Teachers held a meeting every month in school and they give us necessary information about children's situation and studies and help us to engage in our children's study process. Thanks to them, now my children are now started going to university! (Maryam)*
>
> *When I was studying Finnish language the teachers always took care of me. I had bad headaches at class and when my teacher asked me why do you always look tired I told him about my headaches so the teacher called social service and let them know about me and they took an appointment for me for the doctor and I found out I had high blood pressure so my teacher kind of save my life! (Razie)*

Family plays a pivotal role in providing support and nurturing problem solving strategies. This occurs on a number of levels: financially (money), physically (care or assistance), emotionally (love, understanding, counsel), legally (guardianship) and spiritually (performing religious duties) (Batrouney & stone 1998, 13-15.)

Collins (1998, 12) and Jamrozik (1995, 95) argues about the significance of the family as providing support in the settlement process in their study of the family in the settlement process. Morrissey (1991, 79) found that the family and informal networks were 'the most important and frequently utilized services for most immigrants'. For any person beginning a new life in an unfamiliar country, the presence of a supportive family promotes settlement and longer-term integration. In the specific case of refugee resettlement, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states … the family unit has a better chance of successfully …

integrating in a new country rather than individual refugees. Modulating the damaging effects of the refugee experience on mental health and wellbeing is often one of the first challenges that new arrivals face when resettling in Australia. There is a rich body of literature that relates recovery from physical and emotional stress with a supportive family (Wilmsen & Gifford 2009, 3.) Some women mention family as the most important social support in their settlement:

> *My children are so friendly with me. They are really the children that I always wanted. Whenever they go somewhere or they do something I am the first person whom they talk to. I always felt like a person who is drowning in water and trying to survive, not everyone can help me; but my children. They are only ones that give me hope and make me feel stronger. (Rahele)*

> *I trust my children and they trust me too. I told them even if the worst things happened to them, don't hide it from me because I am the first one who can help you and thank God they always do! I am the first person whom they call if something good or bad happens to them. I am so proud of them. (Tahmine*)

Many women do not have families in Finland, who in their country of origin would often provide this support to them. The participants also mentioned the need for tailored Finnish language programs, adapted to different age groups, including elderly women, to varying past education levels, and to different purposes (employment, education, daily life). While language classes are available, they are often not suitable to the special needs of the refugee communities, who may be preliterate, or traumatized, or unused to western models of schooling and education (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 33).

Social relationships may influence ways of coping in a number of ways. One way is through the use of social referencing. That is, people turn to others for a sense of what is considered to be appropriate coping in a given situation. Social relationships also influence coping through the direct provision of information about the likely efficacy of particular coping strategies. Those individuals who report greater satisfaction with support also report greater use of adaptive ways of coping with stressful situations. Social networks can also act as an invaluable coping resource. At the same time, social networks can serve as an impediment to adaptive coping (Holtzman & Delongis 2005, 12-13.) As it is shared by participants about receiving support from friends and other social networks:

> *I have a very good Finnish friend she is on old women. She helped us a lot and I met her in social service office now she is like a family member for us. She even helped me to learn Finnish and help me when I was sick or one of my children was sick so that I won't be panic or alone. She really guides us through everything which was new for us and make everything really easier for us. (Fatima)*

> *The teachers in my daughter's school were so helpful. As I didn't understand the language teachers always take care of everything at school. They even pay to give Halal food to my daughter. When I was in Vassa sometimes teachers called me and ask my permission to take my daughter to their house so that she can be with other children. It was nice having them around. (Zinat)*

Social support provides the most important and significant environmental resources. It is defined as a mutual systme of caring that enables one to cope with stress better. Social support from friends and family plays an important role in almost every aspect of stress and coping. In addition, social support refers to having a group of family and friends who provide strong social attachments; being able to exchange helpful resources among family and friends; and the feeling of having supportive relationship and behaviors (Tam 2011, 76.)

7. SATISFACTION FROM RECEIVING SOCIAL SERVICES

7.1 Satisfaction from Migration Services

As we discussed before, Immigrants' basic needs are provided during the settlement procedure. The most important service provided is accommodation in one of the reception centers, which are managed by the state in cooperation with the municipalities concerned, the Finnish Red Cross and the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare. Reception centers only accommodate immigrants awaiting a decision. Furthermore, immigrants are provided with a living allowance, essential social welfare and health services. If all daily meals are served by the reception center, the allowance is €60-90 a month. If the meals are not provided, the amount goes up to €200-300 a month. If the applicant has children, the allowance is higher (Finnish Red Cross, 2013.)

Legal aid and interpreters are also available, if necessary, during the application process. Reception centers also provide the possibility of working and studying during the application process. Immigrants have the right to work after three months if they have a valid travel document (Pittaway & Stort 2011, 12.)

Social benefits and social services for immigrants are based on residency and not citizenship. A person migrating to Finland can be considered to be residing in Finland and have access to social security immediately after entering the country if the purpose is permanent residence and the person is holding a residence permit that is valid for at least one year. Even though Finnish legislation has eased up, Finnish migration policy can still be judged as restrictive (Finnish Red Cross 2013.)

From analyzing the transcript data we reach out to interesting results. The obvious point was that all Afghan women were really satisfied from services that they received from the beginning of their settlement such as financial helps, accommodation, health care services and etc. The reason of their satisfaction is that, they have never been receiving these kinds of supports in their home country. There was never any organization or institutions to help them and support them in different aspects like accommodation or health care. They were always trying to take care of these matters themselves. Therefore, they were really satisfied with all the assistance that they

were receiving from social services and there couldn't be anything more to ask for. As it is shared by satisfied women:

> *If there wasn't social services help everything would be much more difficult for us. Now I can understand how complicated is everything for people who are new here and don't know what will happen to their lives. Social services gave us financial help, a house, enough food and they always took care of us so that we won't be confused and be aware of everything. I was always satisfied. (Razie)*

> *Once I asked social office to pay half of my rent it was difficult for me to pay that but they told me don't worry we will give you another house and we will pay the whole rent so that you and your daughter will be comfortable because you went through a lot lately. You just have to rest and think about your health. So they did really help me, all of them since the day that I arrive here until now (Zinat)*

But some of these women who were satisfied from migration services were unsatisfied about some specific issues. The reason is that when they always received migration assistance and services, the level of their expectation was increasing from services and they were asking for more and more help from service workers about some matters which were really out of the migration services hands and maybe some higher authorities and international organizations could do some actions about the problem. Maybe the reason is because they were receiving help since the moment that they enter to Finland, so their expectations was increase during the time and they believe that the migration services can provide all of their needs even if they seems impossible. Maybe it can be possible if migration services have a more broad and comprehensive connection with some international organizations like United Nations, United Nation Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and some other organization which have the power to intervene in many incidents which are out of service services hand and also explain to immigrants about the limitations and framework which these services have. Some women share their expectations from social services as below:

> *We always received so many help from social services. I had thousands of problems and I went to talk to migration services for that. I asked the office to help me about my sister who is in Afghanistan and is in danger. I took all necessary documents about my sister and her situation but they just said they cannot do anything; they didn't even try to help me. I am sure they can do something. It is driving me crazy and no one can do anything for me... (Fatima)*

Since we came to Helsinki our problems just started. The rents are so high here and social office don't help me to find job I just receive 500 euros from social office per month. I have to pay a part of rent myself while I don't have a job can you imagine how difficult it will be? They don't accept to give me more money so, how should I manage my everyday life like that? (Maryam)

7.2 Satisfaction from Social Work Services

Generally, immigrants themselves must decide whether to adapt the new values, norms and ways of thinking. Dignity and self-worth are acknowledged by allowing each immigrant the opportunity to make responsible choices regarding their cultural heritage. By recognizing and acknowledging each immigrant's culture and ethnic heritage, including differences in lifestyle and upbringing, social workers can create a solid foundation for their right to be treated as unique beings.

In social work, people are seen interacting with their environment. As the environment changes, so too may the people. And as they adjust and cope with the changing environment, they can learn new skills and modify old ones. This adjustment must be made in different areas such as language, culture, social relationships, norms and values. But the environment may have to make adjustment as well. In other word, the citizens of the new country may also have to learn to accept immigrant's differences in coping styles, language, ethnic and cultural upbringing and general perspectives (Balgopal, 2000, 23-24.)

Ho (et al, 2000, 11) argues that, from the viewpoint of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers (re)settlement is a complex post-migration process of adjustment to a new environment that involves all aspects of their life (e.g. finding accommodation and a job, learning the new language, finding their way around the new society) and typically entails change in both themselves and the host society. Moreover, in the course of this adjustment process they face emotional, cultural and other difficulties which often call for support from established ethnic communities and the host population (via appropriate policies, programmers and social services) as well as self-help. A commitment to integration from new settlers and the host population is crucial to the successful outcome of the process which can bring them satisfaction from their settlement process. (Nash et al 2006, 356.)

When it came to satisfaction of Afghan women from social workers services in our research, the results were different and of course interesting. Most of the women, who were uneducated or didn't have a job during their staying in Finland, were satisfied from social work assistance. They believe that social workers gave them enough time to talk about their problems and it was so nice to have someone professional to listen to their problems and feelings. They also indicate that social workers were available at the time which they needed to talk.

As an example social workers in Finnish Red Cross arrange some meeting in each week or each two weeks for immigrant's home visiting to figure out how is the mental, social and financial situation of the family or person by paying attention to the situation of their living, their behaviour with other people or other member of family and their social and mental balance. If an immigrant get married, gets divorced, begins to receive salary, other income or assets, the change has to be noticed to social worker at the reception centre. The reception centre of Finnish Red Cross even arranges interpreting and translation services for asylum seekers who cannot speak Finnish or Swedish which is free of charge. There is also an emergency duty in the office which means that there is a social worker on call who is available by phone even after office hours for emergency calls. As some satisfied women shared their experiences from social work services in Finnish Red Cross:

> *During all the time that I was sick and depressed social workers and even doctors came and check on me at home. Once I asked them it is difficult for me to talk to social worker because of the language after that they introduce a translator for me since then everything is much more easier I talk to social worker by translator and she is available every time that I asked for her. I feel much better since then (Zinat)*

> *In Rovaniemi, we were completely satisfied it was amazing. Social workers were always available and whenever we had problems they just gave us appointment soon so we went there and talked about our problems they were always there for us (Maryam)*

As the immigrants learn the ways of their new environment, they are also expanding their competence and well-being, by adding new skills and values to their already existing supply. Coping with and adopting to the new environment is a skill that may be easier for one immigrant group to learn than another, But being able to maintain the values of the home country and adjusting into the new ones, can be quite challenging. Social workers may need to identify these issues and discuss them with their clients. The conflict of adjusting or not may prevent from

some immigrants' growth and ability to function productively. Add to this a language barrier and conflicting ethnic customs, it becomes clear how stressful this adoption can be (Balgopal 2000, 25.)

For instance, one of the aims of social workers in Finnish Red Cross is to work against racism and discrimination and promoting tolerance against problematic circumstances through all of this action. The goal is that immigrants and local people get to know each other and work together for a multicultural society. Another target is to encourage immigrants to participate in activities as volunteers. Volunteering is an excellent way to meet people and integrate (Finnish Red Cross, 2013.)

Both Valtonen (2001, 2002) and George (2002, 468) have suggested that community development and self-help policies are effective in the pursuit of successful (re)settlement. They emphasize the importance of self-help and support from established ethnic groups for new settlers as they adapt and integrate into their new communities (Nash et al 2006, 358.)

Based on our research, the women who were more educated and had the experience of working in Finland were less satisfied or not satisfied at all from social workers services. These women believes that they have many issues in their personal lives because of what they have been through before and after migration and they needed someone for not just talk to them and listen to them but also give them feedbacks, solutions, suggestions and instructions which can make them one step closer to the process of solving their problems. It is shared by one of woman:

> *...I received lots of mental and emotional help. There was someone to talk to and it helped me to feel young again. But after some years I got depressed I found out my son is using drug so I went to social workers and asked them to send someone to follow my son. I cried, I begged but they didn't do anything. They didn't even tell me how I should deal with the situation. And finally worst things happen to my son and no one helped me… (Rahele)*

These women believed that social workers are the one who has the responsibility to just listen to you and do nothing. They were expected to receive a plan from social workers due to the information that social workers receive about their personal problems. They believe that when they share the most personal details about their life with social workers, they expect to receive something instead of valuable information that they handed to social workers about their

experiences, feelings, memories, traumas and so on. Therefore these women were not satisfied from social workers services and they believed if they could receive some help about many important issues, their lives could go through a different and even better path because what they needed at that time was a little advice and sympathy which they didn't receive and that could give them hope and empower them in their settlement process.

Skills in interviewing such as active listening, understanding, meeting differences, reframing and mutual empathy are key ingredients in the practice. Also respect is critical to establishing rapport. It is important to respect client's dignity and worth, uniqueness, capacities to talk about the problems and etc. Also being punctual, attending to the clients' comfort, listening attentively, remembering client's name and assisting a client who has limited mobility for understanding the message that the social worker values the client and esteems his or her dignity and worth. (Hepworth et al 2010, 42.) As it is shared by one of unsatisfied woman:

> *I have been in Helsinki for 4 years and I was able to talk to social workers just two times in 4 years. Each time that I call them and told them that I have a problem and I need to talk, they tell me to write down my problems and send to them. Well my language is not that well and I need someone to listen to me and talk to me not just read my problems. Even when I went to social office they don't let me go inside social worker's room. (Maryam)*

Some Afghan women were wondering what are the duties and responsibilities of social workers in this system and what can they really do to help people like immigrants to overcome their challenges and difficulties. They were wondering about the real concept of social work and what they understood about it was a person who is able to listen to them and let them go. Maybe the point is that social workers who are working with immigrants are facing with lack of cross cultural knowledge that we already discussed about. Because in working with populations like immigrants and refugees having cultural knowledge about different aspects of immigrant's life is completely necessary.

Asking question is only one part of worker's activity. At the same time, the worker is engaging with the client in a nonverbal manner through a range of behaviors, gestures and expressions. Furthermore, the worker is listening carefully to what the client is saying and how is he or she transporting information. The term attending refers to the nonverbal stance that practitioner use to orient themselves to their clients. Active listening involves hearing and attempting to

understand the verbal and non-verbal substance of the client's messages. The practitioner attempts to grasp both the specific and more general essence of what the client in trying to communicate by incorporating the client's feeling, meanings, and the context in which the situation occurred. Attention in paid to what client says, how it is said, and what feelings are expressed, directly or indirectly, in relation to whatever is shared. This type of listening begins to build toward identifying themes and patterns. Attending and active listening is very important in the early phase in the interests of building an effective relationship (Bogo 2006, 241-242.) As one of women believes:

> *I was never satisfied about social workers services. When I and my husband faced some problems we decided to see a social worker. I was hoping seeing a social worker will give us a solution, so when I met the social worker I explain everything for her and when I finished she just said, I can't tell you what to do you have to decide yourselves for your life, so this finally leads us to get divorced. I was totally disappointed. I just wanted to know what the social workers job is, what are their duties and responsibilities? Is it their job just to listen to you and not to say anything? Not to give you any solutions? Well this is disappointing..! (Tahmine*)

Social work practice, in order to be culturally relevant, requires attention to the practices, beliefs, aspirations and cultures of individuals, families, groups communities and nations and to the spirit, the values, the philosophies, the ethics and the hope and ideals of those with whom social workers work and at the same time to social workers own values. Central in this process is an appreciation of the cultures, acknowledgment of the importance of cultural differences, and awareness of personal biases and prejudices. It is suggested that without a cross cultural understanding we are likely to base our knowledge on stereotypes and neglect to identify diversity within the unfamiliar culture (Lundy 2011, 194.)

The satisfaction level of Afghan women has a significant role for the adaptation of Afghan women's settlement process. Social services and social workers assistance can help Afghan women to adapt with the new environment, culture and even policies. Social Services can assist them in accommodation, health care, transportation and providing them financial aid in order to guide them in the framework of their new life. Also social workers need to provide necessary meetings and consults to Afghan women because as we discussed they were experiencing a stressful procedure before reaching to Finland therefore, they need someone to listen to them about their feelings, problems, thoughts and give them some solutions in order to put their lives into a stable condition and help them to reach to a high level of well-being.

8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study explores the process of settlement in Afghan women as immigrants and their adaptation process in Finland. The goal was to consider refugee experience in Finland in order to identify the challenges which they are facing during the process of settlement. The focus was also on factors which could help Afghan women during their settlement process that can lead them to a more adaptive and balancing life in the whole new environment. The research also considered if social services (including migration services and social work services) can bring satisfaction for Afghan Women and show them a lead for finding their way in this process. The new immigrant's participants faced many challenges such as culture shock, depression, homesickness, loneliness, sense of being as alien, and difficulty adapting to society (Langary 2010, 83.)

However after interviewing the participants, a number of cultural strengths have been identified among Afghan women that may help them during their settlement as an adaptation strategy. In order to reach to a clear understanding, the existence of some knowledge about the cultural background of participants in home country and about policies and situations in the host country would be necessary. Within this framework, the process of adjustment involves a conjunction of two cultural worlds. Considering that Afghans are seen as racially different from mainstream Finnish society, as are their distinctive religious (Islam) dependency, practices and the holistic and collective orientation to life (Kohistani 2012, 38.) it was necessary to mention how Afghans use cultural understandings of adaptive functioning to manage the process of adaptation and development in Finland.

Through interviews, the attempts of Afghan women to adjust to their environment and build some opportunities to express their identities were clearly evident. It was also obvious that what kind of difficulties and challenges these women will face in order to reach to a reasonable status in the new country of migration. The more Afghan Women face cultural challenges and difficulties in between their settlement process, the more they tried to use their cultural resources, traditions and heritage in order to stand in front of the challenges. Therefore, their settlement process would include the protection of their identities as Afghans as well as facing with challenges from cultural aspects of the host country and also deal with the process of adaptation with the host culture.

The results of this study also have its limitations. The sample for this study was obtained using a snowball sampling method, where a number of individuals were introduced to author by people who knew them. Because the Afghan women group which was targeted before research for interviewing were not available at the time of interview and we have to find a new group of Afghan women for interviewing. Considering that the people who have been chosen for this study was randomly and accidentally been picked, the study group is not a representative sample of the larger Afghan population. Furthermore, the results of the analysis in this study were based on a sample of six Afghan immigrant women living in Finland. The extents to which experiences within this study are common to other ethnic immigrant groups from Afghanistan need to be explored further.

Finally in considering the overall data in relation to some of the question which presents at the beginning of this paper, it is apparent that there are a number of cultural challenges that Afghan immigrant women will face during the process of their settlement in Finland. These cultural challenges such as learning the new language, facing with discrimination, pre-migration experiences, lack of integration and shift in the roles of the family members, will stand in front of them like a wall and they need to step through this wall in order to reach to a better life in their new living environment. These barriers are inevitable for these women because of their different cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, traditions and also expectations. They try to push these barriers one by one so that they can reach to the satisfaction that they need from their lives which is challenging to accomplish.

They try to learn the new language which is one of the most challenging parts for them because as many of participants acknowledge Finnish language is not a flexible language but they have no choice to learn it because they need it for communicating with people, reaching to their rights as a citizen and so on. Discrimination is an attitude that does exist in every part of the world and people from different nations, races and communities are facing with it when they are known as aliens or strangers in that community. The notion of Finnish people about paying the taxes which directly goes to the pockets of immigrants can be seen as one of the reasons for the existence of discriminative attitudes towards immigrants. It is difficult for Finnish people to understand the experiences and traumas of immigrants like Afghans and mostly judge them because of who they are. Most of the times these judgments are coming from lack of knowledge and information

about refugees and immigrants situation which can explain for what reasons they just moved to a country like Finland or in better word what made them to come here as immigrants. As participants indicated, they tried to introduce their identities to the people of host country by showing themselves as hardworking people and as people who come here to find peace and safety and reach to the basic right that they deserve, and this is something that they have been deprived from, in their own country. Afghan women introduce themselves as strong and independent women who prefer to work and make their own money instead of sitting down at home and wait for money to come to their bank accounts.

Afghan immigrants are coming from a collective society with many cultural values and heritages which family can stay in top of the hierarchy of their heritage. The meaning of family for Afghan people is beyond what family means for many other nations. They believe in family as the only powerful weapon which can protect from their heritage, values, beliefs and traditions. That is why family is always staying in a very sensitive spot for Afghan people. The first thing which they want to protect after leaving home is their family. Because they know that breaking apart family from inside is the end of their cultural heritage and nothing will be left for the next generations.

The only members of the family who can pass the heritage to the next generations are children therefore, when Afghan immigrants move to another country it will be so difficult for them to keep the family and especially children in the context of their own culture. Because children are always eager to learn new things, meet with new people and this can make them to step away from their own culture. This is the biggest concern of Afghan women that their children will be more interested in Finnish culture instead of their own heritage. This is the challenging part. The difficult part for participants is that getting familiar with new children, new language and learning new things about the host country in inevitable for their children but they still try to keep children inside their own family contexts. On the other hand, some Afghan women have the role of a single mother and beside taking care of children give the financial aid to the family by going to work and having a job as the father of family and this is something that most of women didn’t experience in their home country because of the limitations for women in Afghanistan.

Also the mode of migration and the experiences which Afghan women had before migrating to Finland will bring some issues for them during their settlement. As the analysis of data showed, most of Afghan women experienced harsh traumas and incidents before coming to Finland. Of course these traumas happened before their migration but the consequences of those experiences will reveal when the process of their settlement started. These consequences can include psychological and mental dysfunctions. They are still trying to deal with the complicated experiences of their lives. Therefore, it will be challenging to reach to a stable status even after a long period of time.

When immigrants especially women step into a new country, they need to be known as a member of society so that they can adapt to the situation easier. For maintaining this goal immigrants need the opportunities for participation and integration in different layers of the society. They have to have the same opportunities as other citizens of the country so that they can feel equal instead of feeling pushed away and marginalized. But it is a challenging for them to reach to these opportunities and of course sometimes there are not so much opportunities to integrate in and even if they do exists, some of the cultural differences will make them to avoid from participation. When they have the chance to participate in different social, cultural and political events they can reach to the possibility of being familiar with the new cultural, social and political contexts. But there are not so many opportunities for Afghan women to be as a member of community or social group from their own culture and they are not really interested in participating in most of Finnish communities because it doesn't match their ideals and goals or it is too far from what they really enjoy.

On the other hand beside all these challenges, in balancing the process of adaptation to the host culture and maintaining the culture of origin while working out on the differences, Afghans use some of their cultural strengths as coping strategy to the new environment that come along with being from a culturally collective society (religion, social support, individual attributes). In maintaining their identity, they use cultural values such as spirituality, sense of identity, positive outlook to life experiences and their strong family and friendship relationships as a path for successful coping. These cultural strengths as coping strategies provide Afghan women with unique resources that allow them to meet their goals.

Religion was the most powerful coping strategies which were indicated by Afghan women. Spirituality is a part of heritage which they carry it all the time and it is one of the factors of cultural strengths which they bring it from home country. Religion also can assist them to cope with challenges which they are still facing as the consequence of their migration, believing in God and having God always next to their side is an attitude which can feel them empowered and inspire them for not to lose hope even in the most difficult situations. It can be said that religion can be the most powerful medicine for Afghan women who are dealing with many physical and mental dysfunctions.

As we mentioned the priority and importance of family for Afghan women, we can imagine the significance of supports which these women will receive from members of family specially their children. This support can include respect, appreciation, trust, friendship and attention. They mostly tolerate the discriminative attitude because of their family. Beside family, the support that Afghan women are receiving from friends (especially Finnish friends) and from social institutions and organizations, will help them a lot to adapt with the challenges in the host country. As participants indicates, the whole package of social support (family, friends and social institutions) helped them a lot during their settlement process and guide them to find the right path in this challenging road.

Afghans have a strong sense of belonging, of wishing to establish and are highly appreciative of the way life is available to them. They believe of taking lessons from the harsh and difficult experiences that they had and they believe on the bright future which might have come one day, sooner or later. They have a strong sense of self identity and their positive outlook to life experiences is helping them to cope easier with the situation.

From policy perspective, of course Finland brings the multiculturalism framework for constructing cultural differences of ethnic immigrants to the system but there are some obvious deficiencies in this system. Finland multicultural system provide different facilities to immigrant like accommodation, financial helps, health care services so that these people will have the same right as citizens of the country and can access to their basic needs which is the right of every

human being in all around the world. Of course Afghan immigrants don't access even to these basic rights in their home country and when they move here they will receive all of these services for free, but it is not a logical reason to questioning the citizen's right of immigrants when it comes to real life in society.

According to participants, most of them don't have the equal right to access to job opportunities which they are qualified in due to their experiences. They believe that all the priorities for job opportunities and even for education will dedicated to Finnish people. Therefore, if these women won't be able to access to job which they qualified for or if their children can't accept in a field in university because of not having Finnish language as their mother tongue but being perfect at it, we are not able to say that Finland is a multicultural country and there is a clear conflict in ethnic and cultural tolerance as a result of such contradiction in the Multicultural context.

It is evident that the principle of nondiscrimination and equality requires the promotion of immigrant's identity in every aspect of Finnish society; people need to be educated more and have more knowledge about the consequences of having judgmental and discriminative behaviors towards immigrants. When government, people, institutions and finally society will be informed about their cultural differences, there will be an opportunity for spreading awareness, understanding and acceptance in between the society. In addition, supporting cultural practices have a significant role in adaptation of immigrants; there should be some policies which would let immigrants to celebrate their important religious and cultural events without limitations or punishment. All minority groups like immigrants will bring cultural strengths to the host society, and there is need for appreciation and attention to these cultural strengths.

In addition, immigrants need someone to share their problems, feeling and traumas and for people like Afghan immigrants it can be difficult to trust someone who is not from their own culture and who is known as a stranger but if they trust, they will need someone to listen to them and besides listening have the feeling of sympathy for them. As it was shown in the data analysis Afghan immigrant women were not so satisfied form social workers services. Their main reason of their dis satisfaction was about, not to receive any feedback from social workers about their problems and emotions. They needed something more than just listening. They wanted to be the

next person who is listening after talking. When they didn't receive any idea or solution from social worker, they got disappointed and they feel like not being understood by social worker.

It is clear that social work has its specified principles in working with minority groups like immigrants. It is a complicated job to assist someone from different nation or different country. This is the place that social workers need to step in and use the professional package of their skills, knowledge and practice. It seems that social work system in working with immigrants is not still ready for practice and for dealing with many complicated situation which immigrants bring with themselves to social work table. Social workers who are working in immigration offices or social institutions related to immigrants have some limitations in their framework that sometimes won't let them to act as an independent social worker and they have to let higher authorities to do the rest of the job and hand them the most important decision makings in the process. We, as people who had experience in spending time and working with Afghan immigrants think that, first of all, social workers who are dealing with minority groups like immigrants need to be educated as a professional social worker so that they will be qualified while making decisions about so many complicated life situations of immigrants.

Second, social workers need to have a more extended knowledge about the nationality that they are working with. They need to be aware about every aspect of their cultural, social, economical and even emotional life. Especially there are really sensitive spots in every cultural dimension of immigrants' life which sometimes needs to be talked about and sometimes not. For example there are some issues which can be considered as taboos (sexual relationships) for some cultures like Afghanistan and social workers always have to let the immigrants to start talking about these kind of issues first otherwise, it will much more difficult to continue the relationship which was based on the trust that social worker had made it.

Third, the hand of social workers needs to be more open in making decision and participation in immigrant's settlement process. Because social workers are the one who can make the best professional relationship with immigrants and they can reach out to some details about immigrant's life that no one else can't and sometimes even the minor details can save the life of these immigrants and put their lives into a much more fortunate direction.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Appendix 2: Sample of Categorized Codes and Themes

Appendix 1

1. What is your Age?
2. What is your Education level?
3. What is your marital status? If married how many children you have?
4. Do you have Family here or you are alone? How many family members you are here?
5. What is your Religion?
6. What was that powerful reason which leads to migration from your home country?
7. How long you had been in Finland? Why you choose Finland for migration is there some important reason behind this?
8. What was the biggest difficulty you faced in the early days of your arrival in Finland?
9. How much and in what ways social worker or receiving organization helped you?
10. Did the social workers assistance or organization services make the process of settlement easier for you? In which ways you find their help useful for you and your family?
11. How long you had been waiting for your decision of living in Finland? How was that waiting period (feelings, expectations and hope) ?
12. How was the behavior of Finnish people towards you in beginning and now? Have you ever face with any discriminative behavior in Finland? How?
13. Have you ever have any difficulty because of Finnish people for housing, children education or finding a job because of your nationality?
14. How much different is the culture of Finland and your home country?
15. If your children are adopting the culture of Finland is it alarming for you? Would this new culture adoption create conflicts in between your family?
16. What difference you felt in your children before and after arriving here? What do you think about the change you see in your children? Is it good for your family or not? If not what is the reason behind this?
17. What you think about education system ? Did you participate in the process of your children education?
18. What about Finnish language? Do you speak or understand now? Where do you learn Finnish language? And how long did it take for you to start speaking?
19. Is it good for your children to go in Finnish schools and learn their language and other things?
20. What about religious events? Have you missed them? And how do you celebrate here? Is there any place that you can go for your religious events or prayers?
21. What about your children religion? Would you think they will now accept your own religion or want to choose another? If they want to leave parents religion, how you feel about that and would you allow them to choose independently what they want?
22. Have you ever participated in any social or political events in Finland (participate in political and social events)?
23. Have you ever been a member of a social or political organization/ association related to your country in Finland?

Appendix 2

Cultural Challenges					Coping Strategies			Satisfaction level from social services
Language	Mode of Migration	Attitude of Host Country	Shift in Family Roles	Lack of integration	Religion	Social support	Individual attributes	Satisfaction from social workers/ migration services
Lack of Communication	Frustrated	Feel unequal in Finnish society	Independence of children	Lack of group work	Receive protection from God	Children's respect	Sense of identity	Confusion about social work duty
Feeling Marginalized	Felling insecure	Priority rights of Finnish people	Take control over children	Lack of cultural events	Feeling empowered by praying	Support of family friends	Positive outlook to life experiences	High expectation from social services
Loneliness	depressed	Feeling humiliated	Children deviation	Lack of community support	Proud of being Muslim	Support from children's teachers	Having a goal in life	Trust to social work system
Low self confidence	Physical problems	Being judge as an outsider	Protect family relationships	Lack of unity between Afghans	Transfer religion to children	Being proud as a mother	Optimistic toward future	The need for receiving feedback from social workers
Motiveless in learning a new language	Mental problems	Difficulty in find a job	Making roles for family	Lack of supportive women organizations	Religion as a responsibility	Trust of children	Learn from bad experiences	The need for face to face conversations