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ACCULTURATION PREFERENCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION AMONG IMMIGRANT WOMEN

A research on contemporary third sector service users

This study seeks to explore the different preferences of acculturation strategy employed by immigrant women and discuss what could be learnt from adaptation experiences of senior immigrants. It is conducted in close cooperation with two third-sector organizations, namely WahvaNainen and African Care ry, from which the data is collected. In order to explore the said strategies, this research employs both an acculturation framework and the framework of psychological adaption. The data is collected using both social surveys and focus groups interviews. Thus, being both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Results indicate that the most preferred acculturation strategy is integration, followed by assimilation as the second-most preferred by participants. However, there is a large variation in choice of strategies depending on different categories, rather than examining the individual results in isolation, it is thus argued that it is highly beneficial to combine these with focus group interview results.

Keywords: acculturation framework, psychological adaptation

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s when immigration had first time outnumbered emigration, the number of immigrants has been steadily increasing during the past 40 years in Finland. Majority of the immigrants residing in Finland are in their working age, with around half of them being women immigrants. Many of those suffer from difficulties in integrating into the society. As the first generation of immigrants have slowly paced to their retirement age, my main research question is: What is women immigrants' preference of acculturation strategy? In addition, what could we learn from the senior women immigrants' acculturation experiences to tailor and benefit the current working age migrants?

This research is conducted in cooperation with WahvaNainen and African Care. Both WahvaNainen and African Care are third sector organizations specializing in integration and social inclusion of immigrants. The idea of conducting this research, raised up originally during my conversation with WahvaNainen's coordinator. During literature review process, I have eventually settled down with acculturation framework and psychological adaptation as key concept of this research. The aim of this research is to discover immigrant women's preferences of acculturation strategy as well as to have a better understanding on their journey of psychological adaptation. Social survey and focus group interviews are used for collecting relevant information.

2 BACKGROUND

Modern transportation has made it easier, cheaper and faster for people to move in search of jobs, opportunity, education and quality of life. At the same time conflict, poverty, inequality and a lack of sustainable livelihoods compel people to leave their homes to seek a better future for themselves and their families abroad. (United Nations, 2017.) Migration is a global phenomenon that creates domestic issues of cohesion, national citizenship and integration (Carling 2006, p131). Finland has gradually turned from being an exporter of labour into a country receiving immigrants. The direction of migration only changed as recently as the beginning of the 1980s, when the number of immigrants exceeded the number of emigrants for the first time. (Pehkonen 2006.) Since the 1980s Finnish society has transformed from a relatively monocultural and closed society to a substantially more international and multicultural society, especially in the Metropolitan Helsinki region (Vit 2012, p429).

Over the last quarter of a century, Finland's foreign-born population has been growing at a compound annual rate of 6.8%; where the foreign-born accounted for just 1% of the Finnish population in 1990, in 2016 they accounted for close to 6.5% (OECD 2018). Additionally, OECD (2018) contributed in another report stating that, in 2017, 86% of the foreign population were constituted by people aged 15 to 64-year-olds. Furthermore, a report published by Ministry of the Interior Finland (2018) states that, most of the residence permit applicants were 18-34 years old between 2017-2018, whereas the second biggest age group was 35-64. In order to be able to cope with such great proportion of working age immigrants relocating in Finland, the Finnish government along with many third sector organizations provide integration services available for those in need. NGOs and businesses have an important role to play in supporting public authorities in integration of immigrants. They can provide immigrants with support at an early stage of integration and help them to network with labour market and other social actors. (Kyntäjä 2015.)

2.1 Finnish integration policy

Until the 1990s, the Finnish immigration and refugee policy was shaped by legislation, ministry directives and authority practices rather than a politically sanctioned policy with long-term goals (Nordberg 2004). During the 1990s, the understanding that Finland's legal responsibilities were restricted to its own citizens started to be challenged (Lepola 2000 & Pyrhönen 2015, as cited in Palander & Pellander 2019). Finland had in 1989 become a member of the European Council and signed the Human Rights Convention, which required legislators to reconsider the treatment of foreigners in relation to immigration control. In 1991, Finland passed a new Aliens Act (378/1991). (Palander & Pellander 2019.) The first government act on immigration and refugee policy was launched in 1997. Today, Finnish policy is, to an increasing extent, affected by EU membership, international agreements and conventions. (Nordberg 2004.)

Finnish legislation, in the form of the Nationality Act, Aliens Act and Non-Discrimination Act (Finlex 359/2003, 301/2004, 21/2004), has followed the increased immigration. The basic act of law regulating the status of immigrants in Finland is the Aliens Act (301/2004). The document is designed to define the rights and obligations of foreigners in Finland with respect to a variety of basic issues. (Lobodzinska 2011.) The Act for the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (Finlex, 493/1999) recognized new rights and responsibilities for foreigners. The aim of integration measures is to ensure that immigrants can contribute to Finnish society in the same way as other residents. (Janhonen-Abruquah 2010.) It is remarkable that in the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers (439/1999), Lobodzinska (2011) noticed that an immigrant's original culture and language are perceived as particularly valuable. According to Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) section 11, the Finnish government will offer an integration plan in order to support an immigrant's ability to acquire a sufficient command of the Finnish or Swedish and other skills and knowledge required in society and working life and to promote his/her opportunities to play an active role in society as an equal member of society.

The integration policy formulated by the Finnish government in the 1980s assumed a dispersion of refugees and returnees to smaller towns and sparsely populated areas. However, immigrants have tended to settle in certain places, especially the capital region of Helsinki (Heikkilä & Peltonen, 2002, as cited in Lobodzinska 2011). The student volume of integration training implemented as labour force training has in recent

years been some 13,000 – 14,000 students a year, and decisions on supporting integration training implemented as independent study have been made for some 6,000 people annually. As immigrant numbers have grown, the offer of integration training has not been able to meet the demand regardless of increases in appropriations, and the extended waiting times for integration training remain a critical point in the integration process, especially in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and other growth centres. The average waiting times vary by region from a few months to up to six months in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016.)

Furthermore, the integration programme can be problematic for the integration of women. Often, the problem has been that they were outside the labour market caring for children during their period of eligibility. Integration training is mainly designed as a full time activity, so more flexible options should be considered to ensure that parents with very small children who are temporarily out of the labour market can attend some form of official integration training. The time limit to integration training is in general the first 3 years of living in Finland which can then be prolonged for various reasons to 5 years. (SIRIUS 2019.) With such limitation, there's a growing need for alternative options which should be available to immigrant women, for instance, integration services offered by third-sector organizations.

2.2 National debates over immigration

With the steady increase of immigrants in Finland during the past decade, lots of debates over immigration issues have arisen in this quiet Nordic country. In Finland's mainly neutral press, immigration is now rarely off the front pages. Articles concentrate largely on the plight of migrants and the work being done to help them. Online, the voices speaking on behalf of immigration in Finland are more in evidence than those against. (BBC.)

A growing number of experts have identified immigration as the solution for the Finnish aging society. Sami Pakarinen the chief economist at the Confederation of Finnish Industries believes that Finland should turn its attention to immigration to alleviate the problems caused by its shrinking work-age population (Helsinki Times). In aging societies, complementing reproduction of the population by immigration has been

considered an option. Finland will need immigrants to compensate for the labour deficit. (Nordregio Magazine.)

Reported by Yle (2019), Foundation for Municipal Development KAKS has conducted a poll concerning Finnish people's attitude towards immigration. It reveals that 47 % of the respondents consider themselves to be pro-immigration while 41% are opposed to immigration. The poll suggested that attitudes toward immigration tended to be more open in the Helsinki region, as well as among backers of the Greens (79% are pro-immigration). Yet 96% of Finns Party supporters identified themselves as anti-immigration. The Finns Party gained an electoral victory in municipal elections in 2008, and later in the parliamentary elections of 2011 (Palander & Pellander 2019). In general, it became more common to express quite restrictive views on migration issues in the 2000s, and the debate on immigration intensified (Pyrhönen 2015, as cited in Palander & Pellander 2019). Furthermore, incidents such as Turku stabbings occurring in 2017 certainly fueled up the national debates.

In addition, there are lots of debates over the immigrant's integration status. In BBC News (2015), Finns Party MEP was cited for the comment "Some members of society were not integrated well enough". In contrast, in OECD's national report (2018), it is believed that the Child Home Care Allowance system is the one to blame for difficulties and slow progress of integrating immigrant women. Yet Li Andersson the left Alliance Chairperson finds it hard to understand how one can come to the conclusion that if integration does not work well enough, the solution is to shorten integration instead of trying to improve it (News Now Finland).

2.3 Organisation in cooperation

2.3.1 WahvaNainen

WahvaNainen means strong women in Finnish. It is a department working under Nice-Hearts. NiceHearts of Vantaa is a non-governmental organization that aims to support the community's self-reliance, equality and promote multicultural activities for both girls and woman. All NiceHearts' activities target to create long-term networks and

create a place where girls from difference backgrounds can meet each other. Gender equality and women's active participation in the society are key values that Nicehearts aims to achieve. (Nicehearts 2016, as cited in Rönkkö 2016.)

My research is implemented in cooperation with the WahvaNainen project. It is a project which provides cultural and gender sensitive support to those immigrant women who are at risk of being socially excluded from the Finnish society. It is remarkably beneficial especially for those who are motivated to learn Finnish language and culture, or else are seeking for solution for further education or employment. This project offers group activities throughout the week. In additional to personal counselling sessions, the most signed-up courses include Finnish language courses, peer support, computer course and personal finance course. All the groups and courses are tailored with immigrant women's needs and expectations. WahvaNainen works in co-operation with different authorities as well as third sector organizations, such as R3, Monikanaiset, Martat, Lions Ladyt and Luetaan yhdessä.

2.3.2 African Care ry

African Care ry is a third-sector multicultural organization located in Helsinki. Their target groups are immigrant women especially stay-at-home mothers might face social exclusion from the society. It was established in 2001 and its main mission is to promote women's and girl's rights as well as wellbeing in Finland and Africa. Emphasis is placed on work within the field of global education and integration at home, and development cooperation abroad. (Kasvio.) Through its domestic activities, African Care aims to strengthen the role of immigrant women as well as eliminating social exclusion in Finnish society.

African Care organizes weekly peer group activities in Helsinki for immigrant women. In addition, they offerhelp to coordinate Finnish language course for stay-at-home immigrant parents. African Care also runs a global education project for youth called "Uncovering power structures – the impact of global power structures on women's lives in the developing world". (African Care.) Finally, they offer internship opportunities to women who are eager to gain work experiences. In recent years, employees of African Care have been delighted with the growth of the organization: they have

offices in Meri-Rastila in addition to a working office, new projects have been launched and staff numbers have increased. Diversity is their asset. (Kasvio.)

Third sector organizations such as WahvaNainen and African Care are distinctive, because they comprise individuals or groups of individuals coming together to take "voluntary" action. In other words, the sector comprises people who choose to help other people to resolve issues or concerns. "The essence of voluntary action is that it is not directed or controlled by the State and that in the main it is financed by private, in contradistinction to public, funds. It embodies the sense of responsibility of private persons towards the welfare of their fellows; it is the meeting by private enterprise of a public need" (Nathan, 1952, as cited in Sargeant & Shang 2010). The non-profit corporation exists solely to provide programs and services that are of benefit to the public. (Sargeant & Shang 2010, p6-7.)

3 KEY CONCEPTS

3.1 Acculturation framework

As individuals migrate from one country to another, they inexorably bring their herit-age cultures into contact with the destination culture in which they have settled (Schwartz et al., 2010, as cited in Cobb, Branscombe, Meca, Schwartz, Xie, Zea, Mo-lina & Martinez 2019). The changes that occur as result of such intercultural contact is known as acculturation (Berry 1997; Yoon, Langrehr & Ong 2011; as cited in Cobb et al., 2019). The term of acculturation has always been mentioned in numerous em-pirical studies about immigrants. Likewise, in this research I wish to implement accul-turation theories into practice.

Similar to many other sociology or anthropology notions, the term acculturation has several definitions. The concept of acculturation has a long history in the social and behavioural sciences particularly among anthropologists and sociologists (Chun, Or-ganista & Marin 2002). The concept of acculturation was first introduced by an Amer-ican anthropologist Powell already in 1880, in order to describe the psychological changes caused by cross-cultural imitation (Yijälä 2012). A formal definition of accul-turation was proposed by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in 1936. They defined ac-culturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having dif-ferent cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, which subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al., 1936, as cited in Sam & Berry 2006.)

Teske and Nelson (1974) offered the first complete psychological perspective on ac-culturation (Padilla & Perez 2003). Furthermore, Graves (1967) defined psychological acculturation as changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture-contact situ-ation—a person who is being influenced directly by the external culture and by the changing culture of which the individual is a member (Chun et al. 2002).

A fundamental issue in all acculturation research and theory relates to dimensionality of cultural change (Yijälä 2012). Initially, acculturation was viewed as a unidimen-sional process in which immigrants were assumed to abandon the values and ideals of

their country of origin and to adopt those of the new receiving culture (Redfield, Linton, & Hershkovits, 1936, as cited in Sullivan, Schwartz, Prado, Huang, Pantin & Szapocznik 2007). Szapacznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde (1978) proposed that acculturation involves changes in two dimensions: behaviours and values. According to Szapocznik et al, the behavioural dimension of acculturation includes language use and participation in other cultural activities, and the values dimension reflects relational style, person-nature relationships, beliefs about human nature, and time orientation. (Collier, Brice & Oades-Sese 2007.) From the bidimensional perspective, the assumption is that it is possible to identify with or acquire the new culture independently, without necessarily losing the original culture (Berry, 1980, as cited in Sam & Berry 2006).

In 1997, Berry devoted a chapter to the contemporary development of acculturation studies. Berry presented the theory of acculturation which is the most well-known framework for the topic. This framework presents two main issues facing acculturating individuals. The first of these is how important or valuable it is for the individual to maintain their own cultural heritage while in the host society. The second issue relates to the importance or value of participating in the larger society's culture. From these two concerns,
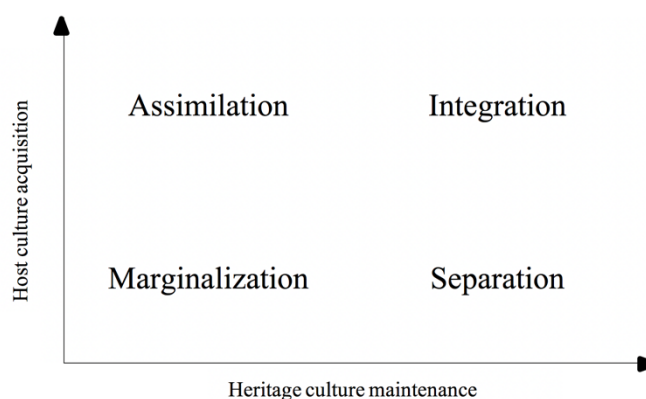

FIGURE 1 Berry's (1997) Acculturation Strategy

four acculturation orientations can be derived. (Demes & Geeraert 2013.) The importance of Berry's model was that it recognized the importance of multicultural societies, minority individuals and groups, and the fact that individuals have a choice in the matter of how far they are willing to go in the acculturation process (Padilla & Perez 2003).

In Finland, until the late 1990s, the predominant ideology underlying the policy regarding immigrants and foreign residents was assimilationist. Instead, today, pluralism is being viewed as the goal for integrating immigrants. (Pitkänen & Kouki 2002.)

3.2 Psychological adaptation

Acculturation outcomes refer to the degree of success of the acculturation process (Sam & Berry 2006). Simply stated, two forms of adaptation (psychological adaptation and socio-cultural adaptation) respectively deal with "feeling well" and "doing well" (Van de Vijver & Phalet 2004, as cited in Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis & Sam 2011).

TABLE 1 Acculturation Outcome (Sam & Berry 2006)

Acculturation Outcomes
• Psychological wellbeing (psychological distress, mood states, feelings of acceptance, and satisfaction)
• Socio-cultural competence in the ethnic culture (interaction with co-nationals, maintenance of ethnic skills and behaviors)
• Socio-culural competence in mainstream culture (interaction with hosts, acquisition of skills and behaviours of the majority culture, academic and job performances)

Successful emotional adaptation is seen as a result of successful coping with the acculturative stress that stems from the loss of one's habitual environment (including mother tongue and social networks) and the difficulties in adjusting to the receiving country (e.g., Masgoret & Ward, 2006, as cited in Yijälä 2012). Behavioural adaptation refers to socio-cultural adaptation and it is based on the culture learning approach. This approach emphasizes the processes involved in acquiring the specific social skills needed to "fit in" or accomplish effective interactions in the new cultural context. (Ward, 2001; see also, Masgoret, 2006; Swagler & Jome, 2005; Ward & Kennedy, 1999; as cited in Yijälä 2012.)

Psychological adaptation is an important factor which could affect immigrants' acculturation outcome or even acculturation speed. The adaptation cycle is a psychological model presented by Swedish psychologist and psychotherapist Binnie Andersson. It considers the length of time the individual has been in the new country and its effects. It is a way of determining how well he/she has become part of the new country, its influence on other aspects of the framework, and present difficulties. (Andersson 2001.) Completing all three stages may integrate in such a degree, that he or she could be a part of the new country on a psychological perspective.

Andersson identified the three stages of adaptation cycle to be (1) arrival, (2) confrontation and (3) flashback. In the arrival stage, immigrants perceive the new country (namely Finland) as unknown, on both physical and emotional level. While their familiar heritage country is acting as absent. In order to move on to the next stage, Andersson (2001) argues that, one has to "accept the emptiness of the absent, and be able to work through its personal meaning, so as to be able to open oneself to the unknown". Immigrants would evolve to the confrontation stage only when their cognition towards Finland changed from unknown to new, while their perception towards heritage country changed from absent to obvious. During this stage, immigrant might appear to be in rather emotionally vulnerable situations since they would be constantly comparing and questioning both countries. When immigrants learnt to confront and accept both the new and the obvious, they would be able to successfully move on to the third stage—flashback. In flashback stage, an immigrant's cognition towards Finland changes from new to different, while their perception towards their heritage country changes from obvious to missed. They would be occasionally or constantly thinking about their heritage country and those family and friends they have left behind. In this stage, immigrants might have acquired Finnish skills or even characteristics, yet they might not feel fully accepted by or belonging to the new country. Andersson (2001) explained that they could always feel a lack of acceptance, from a banal comment or by being stared at on a subway to serious acts of discrimination. Contrasts, comparisons and conflicts of immigrants' cognition between the new country and their heritage country, might exist throughout all three stages of adaptation.

3.3 Immigrant women in Finland

The research target group of this paper is immigrant women residing in Metropolitan area who benefit from WahvaNainen and African Care's services. Hence, it is crucial to have understandings on immigrant women, their acculturation status and psychological adaptation, in order to conduct in-depth research.

Migrants have different reasons for moving to Finland. The most common reason is family ties, typically a spouse who is Finnish or permanently resident in Finland. At minimum, one third of all residence permits have been granted on the basis of family ties each year, while the share of permits issued for work and studies has been less

than a third. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland 2016.) Remennick (2015) pointed out that men and women experience migration differently due to their unequal statuses and personal resources; migration, in turn, affects the roles men and women play in every society.

During the year of 2018, according to statistics published by Finnish Immigration Service, 27 815 permits were granted to women immigrants, contributing to 47.6% of positive decisions granted for the whole year. However, according to statistics published by OECD (2018), labor market participation rates among foreign-born women fall over 10 percentage points behind those of their native-born peers and disparities are particularly stark among those from outside the European Union. While Estonian and Swedish nationals have fairly similar unemployment rates to the Finnish nationals, the employment population ratio among Russian, Iraqi, Somali and Afghan population conversely, standing at 37%, 12%, 11% and 15% respectively. The longer the distance from the immigrant's country of origin, the higher the unemployment rate – among some refugee groups it is almost 100% (Statistics Finland 2015; Ministry of Labour and Economy 2015; as cited in Kyntäjä 2015).

Costa-Lascoux (1995) believes that lack of qualifications in addition insufficient language skills would be the primary reasons behind such contrasting statistics. Moreover Costa-Lascoux explained that difficulties with language are always a fundamental feature: language is a problem especially for primary immigrants and first-generation women – mothers – who stay in the home and little contact with the outside world. Their daughters, on the other hand, go to school and do not encounter the same difficulties, but are unable to achieve full rapport with their mothers. The generation gaps widens with difference in language. Despite that, a rural background, illiteracy and a lack of job qualifications, create obstacles which are difficult to overcome in urban industrial societies where there is keen competition for jobs.

4 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Both qualitative and quantitative methods are utilized in this research for the purpose of understanding immigrant women's acculturation strategy as well as acculturation outcome. Methods applied for data collection are social survey with a followed-up focus group interview. The social survey is designed based on bidimensional measurement and Likert scale, while focus group interview data is analyzed by coding and exploring themes. At African Care, 16 surveys have been conducted on 7th October 2019. Furthermore, 11 surveys along with 2 focus group interviews have been conducted at WahvaNainen on 15th, 16th and 17th October 2019. All the processes that involves either survey conducting or focus group interviews had been carried out with organization personnel's assistance and supervision.

The original plan was to collect 40 surveys from each organization, which would sum up to 80 surveys in total. Then acculturation outcome would be analyzed applying multivariant analysis to identify potential correlations in-between variables. Due to resource limitation, I was only able to collect 27 surveys consisting of participants with varied backgrounds. Unfortunately, the quantity of the sample is not large enough to make the result significant. Thus, due to unexpected circumstances, the choice of data collection method and analyzation method had to be reconsidered.

4.1 Social survey

The survey consists of two sections. Section A acquires basic data from respondents, such as age, country of birth, reason for immigration, length of residence, time period using third-sector organization's service etc. Those could be used for categorizing data into different groups based on similarity to analyze patterns and trends. Section B includes 19 closed-ended questions with a 7-point Likert scale measuring respondent's acculturation strategy and outcome. In section B, 6 questions indicate the participant's acculturation strategy, and 12 questions indicate the participant's acculturation outcome.

Social survey has been selected as research method for various reasons. First of all, it is relatively easy for making generalizations (Bell, 1996, as cited in Glasow 2005). Surveys can also elicit information about attitudes that are otherwise difficult to measure using observational techniques (McIntyre, 1999, as cited in Glasow 2005). Additionally, it maintains the anonymity of the respondents, to ensure genuine answer and accurate result. David & Sutton (2004) asserted that it is essential to protect the privacy of storage and usage of any data collected by the means of anonymity or confidentiality. All the questions are rephrased in simple, clear language in order for participants to understand easily. Survey questions should be stated in a very simple language, preferably in active voice, and without complicated words or jargon that may not be understood by a typical respondent. (Bhattacherjee 2012.) Furthermore, this survey is conducted on voluntarily basis, and survey questions are designed as culturally sensitive as possible. Good survey questions must be feasible to answer, and respondents must be willing to answer them (Fowler, 1995, as cited in Glasow 2005).

4.2 Bidimensional measurement and Likert scale

In Section B of the social survey, the aim is to measures acculturation strategies and outcome using bidimensional measurement and Likert scale. The bidimensional approach establishes preference for home and host culture independently; each aspect is assessed separately for both culture (e.g., Dona & Berry 1994, as cited in Demes & Geeraert 2013). Two items are formulated per domain. One refers to adopting the mainstream culture and the other to maintaining the heritage culture. It is important to formulate the two items in such a way that they differ only regarding the dimensions and not in using words or in another way. (Sam & Berry 2006.)

For instance, Question 12 "I think it's important to teach my children Finnish culture" and Question 13 "I think it's important to teach my children my heritage culture" build up a domain together. Question 12 represents participant's attitude towards acquiring mainstream culture regarding childrearing topic, while Question 13 represents participant's attitude towards maintaining heritage culture regarding childrearing topic. Participant's acculturation strategy could be revealed using Berry's (1997) acculturation framework as instrument. Furthermore, as for participant's acculturation outcome, it could be classified into 4 categories: main-culture acquisition, heritage-culture

maintenance, psychological wellbeing and attitude towards the organization in question. For example, Question 21 "I consider myself part of Finnish society", Question 22 "I have positive thoughts about my future in Finland" & Question 23 "I often feel calm or happy living in Finland" constitute outcome about participant's psychological wellbeing.

Recent reviews assessing these different methods recommend the bidimensional approach (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver 2007; Rudmin, 2009; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; as cited in Demes & Geeraert 2013). In addition, these types of questions are easiest for respondents to answer and for researchers to analyze the data (Glasow 2005). It is therefore also my intention for designing this survey in a way such that it would be easy for participants to answer regardless of their age or educational background.

All the items are equipped with a Likert scale to respondent's attitude towards the item in question. This method is used to measure attitudes, which involves respondents indicating their degree of agreement or disagreement with a series of statement (Singh 2007). The responses are coded by the interviewer, in the field, to one of five or seven mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories (Sapsford & Jupp 1996). Although 5 points Likert scale is more widely adapted by social researchers. In the research of Likert scale analysis using parametric based SEM, Awang, Afthanorhan & Mamat (2016) believe that 10 points of Likert scale is more accurate in determining the respondent's attitude and it is more successful in determining the construct validity. However, 10 points of Likert scale could be potentially confusing for my participants with its wide range of choices, and such a 7-points of Likert scale was chosen eventually. The 7-point Likert scale categorizes fully agree, mostly agree, slightly agree, don't agree or disagree, slightly disagree, mostly disagree and fully disagree.

4.3 Focus group interview

As explained in chapter 4 on methodology and methods, due to resource limitation, it was impossible to collect the expected amount of surveys. Thus, during my scheduled collection dates at WahvaNainen, we have conducted focus group interviews as backup plan to fulfill the research aim. Two focus group interviews were arranged with

3 to 5 participants joined for each session. 8 interviewees in total participated in focus group interview, all of them in their 50s and above. Each participant was asked to take turns and share their stories about relocating in Finland, this being any thoughts relevant to the topic. They were also allowed to make comments on other participant's stories. Here, it is important to have in mind that focus groups may be relatively unstructured to enable exploration rather than strict comparability. Focus group interviews also hold out the possibility of giving the interviewees greater control of the talk as they bounce off each other, rather than simply with the interviewer. (David & Sutton 2004.)

This discussion, it is hoped, will be more detailed and wide-ranging than would result from a one-to-one interview (David & Sutton 2004). Moreover, considering participants potential negative past experiences, it is hoped that focus group would provide a safe ground (familiar environment and familiar clients) for them to open up and share their stories.

In addition, David Morgan (1993) suggests that focus groups are an excellent device for generating questionnaire items for a subsequent survey (Babbie 2008). To make sure that we get the whole range of opinions or feelings about a topic, they suggest to always ask participants in focus groups to complete a short questionnaire about the topic we plan to discuss before we begin the discussion. This gets people thinking about the topic and provides data on the variation in people's beliefs and attitudes about the topic we're studying. (Bernard & Ryan 2010.)

4.4 Transcript coding

Conversations happening during focus group interview have been written down on transcripts. In order to explore themes, focus group interview transcripts are coded first to minimize the amount of qualitative data. Stated in Bernard & Ryan's (2010) book Analyzing Qualitative Data: Morris Opler, an anthropologist, identified themes as a key step in analyzing cultures. Bryman & Burgess (1994) also believes that coding represents a key step in the process. Coding provides the link between data and the conceptualization.

Techniques applied during coding transcripts are highlighting repetitions, transitions and contents which interviewee stated as important. Repetitions refers to how frequent interviewees select the similar wording to express themselves. If you want to understand what people are talking about, look at the words they use (Analytictech). According to Bernard & Ryan (2010) transition stands for pauses, changes in tone of voice, or the presence of particular phrases. In addition, all emotional changes such as laughter, crying have been marked down as well. Wang & Park (2016) explained that one should engage in layers of analysis about how each code or theme is related to another, in order to truly interpret the meaning of the data you gathered.

5 RESEARCH ETHICS

Collecting information about people raises ethical issues in the focus of attention chosen, the methods adopted and in the form and use of findings (David & Sutton 2004). Relevant ethics issues have been consulted and discussed with both the thesis supervisor and NiceHearts personnel, as well as African Care personnel.

Considering that respondents should be participating in the survey voluntarily. The information shall be provided in a neutral manner to avoid inappropriate pressure, and subjects shall be informed that participation is voluntary (National committees for research ethics in Norway 2006). A respondent should understand the general purpose of a survey. This criterion can often be satisfied by a simple explanation at the outset. The respondent should be told how the data will be used and who will have access to them. (Jowell 1978.) Furthermore, research subjects are entitled to a guarantee that all information they provide about their private lives will be treated confidentially (National committees for research ethics in Norway 2006). The general purpose of the survey along with application of the data collected, anonymity and confidentiality would be explained first and foremost both verbally and in writing.

According to National committees for research ethics in Norway (2006), the term 'personal data' refers to information that can be traced to an individual, directly or indirectly. Directly identifiable information includes, for instance, name, personal identification number; while indirect identifiable information could be municipality of residence, institutional affiliation, combined data on age, sex, profession, diagnosis, etc. In order to secure respondent's personal data, all questions that might lead to identifiable results have been modified during the survey designing phase. Additionally, I expect that with anonymity and confidentiality assured, respondents would perform the survey with more honesty.

6 RESULTS

6.1 Acculturation preferences

A total of 27 surveys have been collected. Participants' countries of birth include Iraq, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Honduras, Philippines, Russia, Somali and Syria. Majority of the participants are able to communicate in simple Finnish. Participants age range from 24 to 66 year of age (M=45,3; SD=13,3). 56% of the participants are in their 50s or above. Participants' residential period in Finland range from as short as 3 months to 35 years of period (M=12,7; SD=7,4). 89% of the participants have immigrated to Finland for asylum or as a family member of a person holding asylum status. Most of the participants have strong commitment to the organizations' service in question, 85% of the participants join the sessions at least twice per week. Their history of active participation range from 7 years to 1 month (M=12,7; SD=7,4).
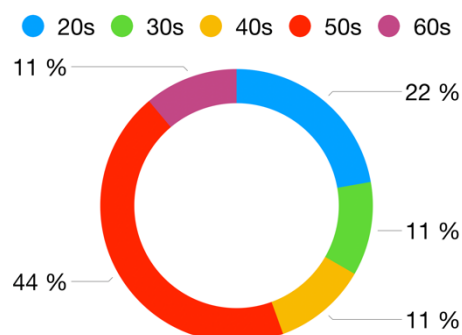
FIGURE 2 Age groups of the participants

The most popular acculturation strategy preferred by participants is integration, followed by assimilation as the second most preferred strategy. More specifically, integration has been indicated 55 times, assimilation has been mentioned 14 times, while separation and no attitude has been identified 6 times respectively. Marginalization has not been mentioned at all. Further looking into the strategy selections, those assimilation choices are not necessarily related to participant's range of residential period nor length of participation third-sector organization's service. However, participants who selected separation as preference, are mostly (80%) having a short history of participating in third-sector organization's service (less than one year), while at the same time their satisfaction feedback of the third-sector organization is relatively low compared to those who prefer strategies other than separation.

As can be found in TABLE 2 below, all the responses have been classified based on participants' age groups as well as question categories for better understanding. Interesting patterns have been revealed. For strategies that concern language acquisition

and maintenance, all participants regardless of their age agree on the importance of acquiring Finnish language skills.

TABLE 2 Acculturation strategy rate by age groups & categories

		Assimila-tion (%)	Integra-tion (%)	Separa-tion (%)	Margin-alization (%)	No attitude (%)
Language skills	20s	-	100	-	-	-
	30s & 40s	-	100	-	-	-
	50s & 60s	13,3	86,7	-	-	-
Social participa-tion	20s	33,3	16,7	50	-	-
	30s & 40s	33,3	50	-	-	16,7
	50s & 60s	33,3	53,3	-	-	13,3
childrear-ing	20s	-	83,3	16,7	-	-
	30s & 40s	16,7	50	33,3	-	-
	50s & 60s	20	66,7	-	-	13,3

As for social participation, millennials' attitudes appear to be rather divided. Half of the millennials prefer to make friends with those who shares similar culture backgrounds, while one-third of the millennials would rather have Finnish friends than having friends from own heritage culture. As for participants in their 30s and above, over half of them chose to actively interact with both Finns and their own heritage friends. The rest prefers to either fully assimilate into Finnish society or did not have a strong opinion over the topic.

Regarding childrearing strategies, the majority of the participants would like their children to acquire both Finnish culture and heritage culture. One-third of the participants in their mid-ages decided their children should focus rather on heritage culture learning. Overall, it is interesting to discover that among all age groups, participants in their

50s and 60s have the strongest motivation to acquire Finnish culture and get integrated into the society.

For acculturation outcome among 27 participants, full score is 21 points for each category. The average heritage maintaining score is 17,9 (SD=3,8), average mainstream acquisition score is 16,6 (SD=2,1), average psychological adaptation score is 20,0 (SD=2,8) and average attitude towards hosting organization is 19,3 (SD=2,4). On general level, the average score of acculturation outcome passed mid-point regardless of the categories. Participants have shown rather high level of psychological adaption and appreciating attitude towards the organizations in co-operation. When analyzing the results on individual level, the choice of acculturation strategy is not consistent with the performance of acculturation outcome. For instance, as for those who have chosen assimilation as strategy, their results of acculturation outcome do not guarantee a high score in Finnish culture acquisition nor a low score in heritage culture maintenance.

6.2 Four themes in psychological adaptation

8 interviewees participated in focus group interview, all of them are in their 50s and above. The interviewees' residential length in Finland range from 2 years to 35 years. Their history of being in the service range from 2 months to 7 years. 7 out of the 8 interviewees came to Finland on asylum status or as a family member of someone holding asylum status. All of them participated in the survey before the focus group interview. Their average acculturation outcome is: heritage maintain 14,1 (SD=3,98), mainstream acquire 17,2 (SD=2,25), psychological adaptation 19,1 (SD=1,89) and attitude towards organization 20,75 (SD=0,707). Due to the language ability differences between participants, some of the focus group interviews are conducted in English, some are conducted in Finnish then translated into English, yet some are conducted with a native heritage speaker translating.

As for focus group transcript coding, the most frequently repeated words are alone, worried, children /daughter /son, Finland, Finnish, didn't, speak, first time, different, war, learn, got, body language, can't, married /divorced, grandchildren, miss. And contents which interviewee thinks it is important are want to, by myself, police, church, work, referring to third-sector organization's service and school. Emotional transitions

include relaxed tone when starting to talk about before or at early stage of immigrating to Finland; hyper mood tone and laughter when starting to talk adaptation; upsetting and shedding tears when starting to talk about children staying in heritage country; proud tone when starting to talk about children's education or work; confidence and smile when starting to talk about work, children or adaption. I have selected and categorized them into themes based on change of tone/emotions and connections in-between the topics. Four themes (immigration, adaptation, family and achievement) have been created and can be found in the TABLE 3 below. Each theme includes concept wording, and emotion transition. Emotional transitions have been marked with asterisk symbols.

TABLE 3 Focus group coded themes

Theme	Codes	Relatable psychological adaptation stage
Immigration	War; alone; different; police; community (including "church", "NGO"); *relaxed tone	Arrival
Adaptation	Body language; Finnish language; learn; by myself; *hyper tone; *laughter	Confrontation
Achievement	Work (similar mentions "job"); first time; want to; *confident tone; *smile	Confrontation
Family	Children (similar mentions "daughter" "son" counts); married; divorced; grandchildren; worried; miss; *shedding tears; *sad tone; *proud tone; *guilty tone	Arrival Confrontation Flashback

For themes about immigration, notable sentences are, for instance, "My country (country name) was in war" "there was war"; "I came to this country alone"; "Everything is different here"; "It was in the winter, very cold, Finnish church gave me warm clothes, they always have so many free clothes to offer"; "Police told me I can't stay in Finland because I lost my job". It is one of the easiest themes to identify, since interviewees generally start sharing their stories with this theme. In immigration theme, interviewee discuss about their first encounters with Finland as a new country. All of them referred

to Finland as "different". Contents which the interviewees think are important includes those encounters with the community (church, third-sector organization) or authorities (police). Regardless of whether it is a pleasant encounter or unpleasant encounter, interviewees repeated and emphasized the words. That proves these experiences are important parts of their arrival in Finland. This theme can be recognized as arrival stage in Andersson's (2001) theory: "uncertainty lies in the unknown (Finland), while the absent contains the security of the known (heritage country)".

For adaptation theme, interviewees generally do the storytelling with hyper tone and occasional laughter. Notable stories are, for example, "I stayed at home to take care my children for 13 years, I couldn't spoke much Finnish. Then I found a job in ***, and I worked there for 20 years". "I have learnt Finnish at work, because at home I don't have chance to speak Finnish. I'm good at spoken Finnish because I have worked with only Finns, they use body language to communicate with me when I don't understand". "In my country women are not allowed to go out by themselves. I came to Finland, I went to street, shopping mall by myself (*laughter* *celebration hand gesture*)". "I couldn't speak Finnish. But I can understand, because I like this country so much, I can read what people are trying to say by their body language and feeling"; "We came as immigrants and we should learn Finnish culture, because this is Finnish people's home, we shouldn't expect them to allow us to bring Quran into a church. They welcomed us; we should do our parts as well". In the adaptation theme, interviewees share various stories about Finnish language and living in Finland. Although not all of them are able to speak conversational Finnish, "Finnish language" has been repeated and emphasized by almost all participants. This theme can be identified via change of tone/emotions.

When talking about achievement theme, interviewees mostly transit into confident tone or put on smile. Notable stories are: "I worked 20 years in Finland"; "When I started studying Finnish, I was trying to speak with everyone, my son and husband were laughing, they told me to stop. But I said no I want to speak Finnish"; "First time I ride a bike, first time I took a bus is in Finland". Not all of the interviewees mentioned codes relating to achievement theme, some skipped and started talking about family theme directly. Some interviewees might respond in a rather inferiority state when discussing about previous asylum or schooling experiences in the immigration theme. Yet when they start mentioning codes such as "work", "first time", there is the

noticeably change of tone. This theme appears to be rather centered for those who do not have children residing in the heritage country.

Lastly, Children /daughter /son is extremely centered in family theme. Speaking of children, interviewee's emotional transition is pretty divided based on the topic. For example, interviewees transit to proud tone when stating "My daughter studied XX (academic major)"; "My children went to study and work everywhere in the world"; "My son got married"; "I have grandchildren". However, interviewees could quickly switch to sad tone and start shedding tears when stating "I'm worried for her"; "I miss her"; "I'm not a good mother". This quick transition appears when interviewees start talking about children living in their heritage country. For interviewees who have children living in their heritage country, they talk about family theme as the last topic yet the most emotional one. It is very interesting to discover that "husband" has only been rarely mentioned in all 4 themes, maybe we can assume that for these sample groups, children receives more attention and emotional care from the immigrant mothers.

The four themes identified in focus group interviews could be understood with Andersson's (2001) adaptation cycle as well. Immigration theme represents the arrival stage, when one's heritage country is unreachable, yet uncertainty lies in the new country (Finland), that everything is back to starting point. Adaptation theme and achievement theme could be identified as confrontation stage when one compares and struggles to accept similarities and differences residing in Finland, as well as those efforts they have spent on acquiring skills. Last but not the least, family theme could be identified as all three stages. Andersson (2001) stated that feelings of missing are reported to be experienced to lesser or greater extent during different periods of life in the new country. Life in exile may be more difficult and complicated for the refugee who does not have the choice to visit, or finally return to the homeland.

7 DISCUSSION

In the survey collection, integration has been identified as the most preferred acculturation strategy, while assimilation is rated as the second favored strategy. Further looking into Table 2, the specific strategy preference changes depending on the age group or categories in question. Chun et al. (2002) proposed similar theories: although integration is typically the most frequently chosen strategy, differences in how people go about their acculturation are evident. Not everyone has the same goals or follows the same path. Yijälä (2012) further explained that individuals may adopt different acculturation orientations in different areas of life. For example, a person may actively seek assimilation in the work environment while favoring separation or integration (e.g., by choosing to use one's native language) at home (see e.g., Navas et al., 2005; as cited in Yijälä 2012).

Separation strategy has been identified 6 times regarding topics over social participation and childrearing, mostly (80%) by those who have a short history of participating in third-sector organization's services (less than one year). Yet their length of residence could be much longer than 5 years. This phenomenon could be understood when combining Andersson's (2001) theory of adaptation cycle with other scholars' findings within the field. MacIntyre and Augusto (1999) identified that female immigrants often experience a supercoping phase prior to immigration and a collapse phase after arrival to the new country because of a pervasive loss of sense of self and an inability to negotiate their identity in the new culture (as cited in Berger 2011). Markovizky & Samid stated that, the first years after immigration are associated with poorer physical and psychological well-being, followed by a later rise in acculturation and accumulation of resources needed for well-being (Anson, Pilpel & Rolnik 1996; Semyonov, Epstein & Davidov 2003; as cited in Markovizky & Samid 2008), as well as decrease in social difficulties over time (Westermeyer, Neider & Callies 1989; Zlobina et al., 2006; as cited in Markovizky & Samid 2008). In addition, Andersson (2001) believes that if the refugee/immigrant avoids encounter with the unknown (Finland) he/she may remain at the arrival stage, never to ascend to another. This explains why some have be residing in Finland for many years, yet their psychological adaptation remains on the beginning stage. In addition, the traditional role expectations for women in a

particular culture may foster their isolation from the mainstream culture, thus stalling the acculturation process (Espin 1998).

As for childrearing preference, a majority of the participants have chosen integration as their strategy, while the rest is almost evenly divided towards assimilation and separation. This unique result could be explained with Berger's (2011) theory that immigrant women relocate to secure a safer life. While they may want their children to acculturate but at the same time fear that they acculturate too much and become strangers to the family's culture of origin.

The focus group interview results are consistent with the acculturation strategy analysis. It is surprising to find out that when looking into individual participant's result, the specific choice of acculturation strategy does not necessarily guarantee a significantly high performance in certain categories of acculturation outcome. However, once taking into account the focus group interview results, a clearer picture can be revealed: for example, there is participant who has been staying at home to take care of her children for 13 years, and there are also participants who have never been to school. One participant even stated: "I'm sorry that I am writing slow, I have never been to school before. Finishing this survey is a big thing for me, it makes me feel strong". Berger (2011) emphasized in his book that there are two factors which shape the experience of immigrant women: motivation and circumstances. Women often immigrate based on their husbands' will instead of their own. Furthermore, the majority women immigrate under the principle of family reunification. These factors create a situation of dependency for these women. Most of the times, women immigrants are facing more challenges than men. For a woman who has never been to school, learning to read and write basic Finnish would be an enormous step for her. Similarly, for a woman who has never been out without her husband or brothers, doing things by herself and remembering service points would be a huge achievement for her.

It is thus important for us to be more understanding and to not assume based on so called "common sense". When we are appreciating our life resources, there are others out there who might be struggling to survive. Considering those participants' backgrounds and experiences, they are already making impressive acculturation outcome. Furthermore, Costa-Lascoux (1995) confirmed the struggles among women immigrants: women immigrants are in a paradoxical situation as they are those from whom

one expects the most, particularly in maintaining family stability, bringing up the children of the 'second generation' and transmitting values and, at the same time, hardly any attention has been given to their own education and socio-economic integration. This failure to consider their socio-cultural and political role goes hand-in-hand with ignorance of their status and their projects.

8 CONCLUSIONS

8.1 General results

In this research, it has been confirmed that integration is the most preferred accultura-tion strategy among immigrant women participants using third-sector organizations' services, while assimilation comes as second. Immigrant women's preference of strat-egy might largely depend on their age group and the categories in question. Mean-while, as for topic concerning acquiring Finnish language skills, participants regard-less of their age agree on the importance of it. Among all age groups, those in their 50s and above are recognized as most motivated for acquiring Finnish culture. Neverthe-less, those who have chosen separation as acculturation strategy are mostly new to the third-sector services, yet their length of residence in Finland could be rather long.

In this research, participants' acculturation outcome on individual levels does not show correlation with neither the choice of strategy, length of residence nor the history of being in-service. On average scale, participants' psychological adaptation score (20,0) is fairly high when comparing with heritage maintaining score (17,9) and mainstream acquisition score (16,6).

Four of the most important themes during interviewees' psychological adaptation pro-cess are immigration, adaptation, achievement and family. Emotional loneliness, un-certainty, community/authority encounters are dominant in immigration theme. While adaptation and achievement themes are composed by Finnish language, struggles, work and independency. Family theme is built up by all the emotions a mother could have towards their children: proud, worry, guilt, happy. For those interviewees who have children living in heritage country, they show higher anxiety and guilt towards own children than others, while for those who do not have children living in the herit-age country appear to value achievement theme and family theme as equally important. It could be understood as a sign that taking care of one's own children approves their role as a mother, while achievements such as work approves them as an individual.

We can learn from the four coded themes along with senior immigrant women's ex-periences that community is an important fragment during their arrival stage

(immigration theme). Cobb et al., (2019) also identified community contexts as one of the factors that performs positive contribution to immigrant's adaptation and behavior. Community networks represent important resources for well-being among immigrants (Hull, Kilbourne, Reece & Husaini 2008; as cited in Cobb et al., 2019). Interviewees receive necessary physical or emotional support from communities when they arrive in Finland. However, many also stated in the interview that they did not know about the community until after some time. Thus, it is suggested that when an immigrant woman relocates in Finland, if she could receive necessary information including community recommendations (e.g. church, third-sector organizations, adult education) faster acculturation and psychological adaptations would be achieved.

Secondly, we could also note from the results that children's wellbeing is significant for an immigrant mother. Some mother could sacrifice 13 years of her time taking the role as a staying-at-home mother to take better care of her children. The presence of young children in the household has been shown to inhibit migrant women's participation in the labour market (Condon 2000 as cited in Giovanni 2014). Women remain principally or solely responsible for childcare and other domestic responsibilities, particularly in the African context. (Giovanni 2014.) Of course, this phenomenon is to some degree affected by one's cognition of heritage norms. Perhaps, if more work/school environment could be children friendly, it could encourage more immigrant women to step out from home and take on a more active role in Finnish society. From other perspective, immigrant men should be exposed more under Finnish gender equality education. Both genders should take responsibility for matters such as childrearing and house chores.

Last but not the least, I would like to mention immigrant women's (asylums in particular) language learning progress. Considering their educational background and personal experiences, it would be rather unfair to not recognize their hard work. Being in a vulnerable situation in a foreign country is not simply a choice, we should be more helpful instead of criticizing.

8.2 Limitations of the study

Due to resource limitations, not as many samples have been collected as expected. The original intention of conducting purely quantitative research had to be changed by adding qualitative methods. For the same reason, correlations between variables could not be identified. Secondly, over half of the participants taking part in the social survey are in their 50s and above, while samples collected with participants in their 20s, 30s and 40s are relatively small. That makes it harder to generalize results of those participants younger than 50 years old.

Another limitation would be the accessibility of research questions. Most of the participants are not familiar with neither surveys nor interviews, and every question was delivered in more descriptive explanations. Originally, there was an integration timeline question listed, for which the participant should draw a curvy line indicating their mood swings for the period of residing in Finland. It is an excellent tool for understanding one's journey of psychological adaptation, as it has been practiced with rich results on working immigrants. Unfortunately, most of the participants in this research could not understand the instruction, and thus, considering participants' varied backgrounds, the question has been removed.

8.3 Suggestions for further research

Given the above stated limitations, further research is needed to fully illustrate the preferences in terms of acculturation strategies. And as such, the current study shall be seen as a preliminary study and hopefully inspire more research on the topic. As this research is conducted mainly on participants who were lacking opportunities to pursue education in their heritage country, it is suggested that further research could be carried out on highly educated immigrants. Finland is a country that favors the term equity, and therefore attention should also be given to those immigrants who are highly educated yet experiencing long term unemployment.

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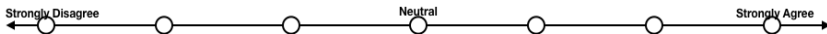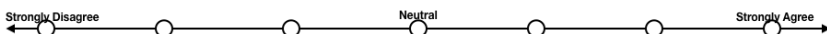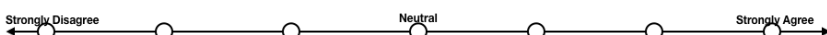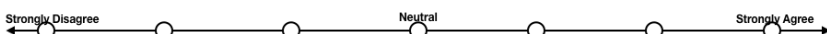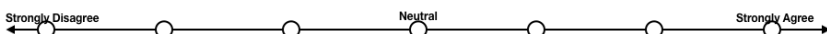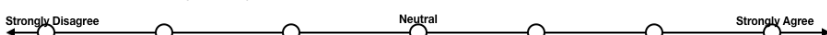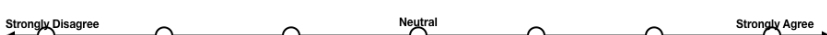
APPENDIX 1. ACCULTURATION SURVEY
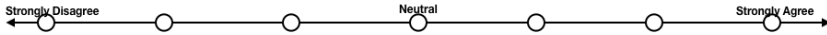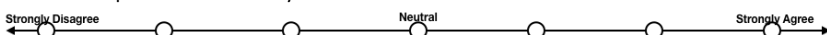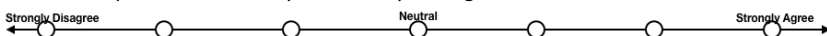
Acculturation Survey

The answer gathered in this survey will remain anonymous with confidentiality. Please answer as honestly as possible so it will help us gather accurate data for the acculturation research. All the data collected in this survey will only be used for the purpose of this research. Thank you for your cooperation!

Section A

1. Age: _____

2. Country of birth: _____

3. Type of migration: ☐Marriage/Family   ☐Asylum   ☐Study   ☐Work   ☐Other

4. Length of residence: _____(years)

5. Education received:

   ☐None ☐Basic education(1-6 years) ☐Basic education(3 years) ☐Lukio /vocational School

   ☐Bachelor ☐Master or above

6. How long time have you used NGO's services? _____

7. How often do you use NGO's services?
   ☐Almost everyday   ☐2-3 times per week   ☐once per week   ☐ twice per month
   ☐once per month ☐Less than once per month

Section B   Indicate how strong do you agree with the statement

8. I think it's important to understand daily conversation in Finnish

9. I think it's important to maintain my skill of communicating fluently in my native language

10. I think it's important to have Finnish friends

11. I think it's important to have friends from my heritage culture

12. I think it's important to teach my children Finnish culture

13. I think it's important to teach my children my heritage culture

14. I know basics of Finnish social/health care system (e.g. Kela, TE service, hospital)

15. I remember how social/health care system works in my heritage country (social support/ hospital)

16. I would like to find a job or pursue further education in the future in Finland

17. I feel comfortable when I'm around Finns

18. I feel comfortable when I'm around people from my heritage culture

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

19. I have developed Finnish characteristics (habits, behavior, way of thinking)

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

20. I hold on to my heritage culture characteristics (habits, behavior, way of thinking)

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

21. I consider myself part of the Finnish society

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

22. I have positive thoughts about my future in Finland

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

23. I often feel calm or happy in Finland.

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

24. I feel welcomed when I'm at NGO

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

25. I feel happier after start using NGO's services

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree

26. I found new friends after starting to use NGO's services

Strongly Disagree   Neutral   Strongly Agree