UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

The Pathway to Refugee Integration: A Study focusing on the Processes and Dynamics to Culture Integration into the Swedish Society (the case of the Somali Community in Gothenburg)

Author: Nnyombi Aloysious
Supervisor: Lars Ronnmark

Acknowledgement

Dedication

I dedicate this academic writing to my parents Joseph and Josephine Kyambade, my siblings Jane, Josephine and Simon. For whatever I achieve in life, credit goes to you my dear ones.

Abstract

Culture integration implies culture change on the part of the refugees as well as the native population. This change is inclusive of learning thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior of the native population on the part of the refugees. The periods of transformation constituting this change present varying processes and dynamics. It is against this background that the researcher found it necessary to explore the processes and dynamics to culture integration into the Swedish Society. Focus was put on the Somali refugee community within Gothenburg city. In this manner constituent parts of the pathway to refugee integration specific to the Somali community were unearthed.

This was a qualitative study, the researcher used a descriptive multiple case study research design. The design was descriptive in nature so as to enable the exploration of the culture integration process and associated dynamics and thus questions relating to how and what constitutes this process were answered. The design also took multiple case approach so as to explore the difference within and between cases. The research subjects were first generation refugees from Somalia who had lived in Sweden for at least five years. Semi structured interviews were held with the research subjects and these were processed and analyzed through qualitative means of coding and thematic development.

The respondents described the Swedish culture as one that was wholly different from their own. From the study results, the breakthrough to learning the Swedish culture was associated with learning the Swedish language. It was reported that learning the language facilitates interaction with the native population which further enables the learning and acceptance of other elements of the culture. The respondents reported various aspects of the Swedish culture that they do relate to; consequently those that they do not relate to were reported. This information represented the period of transformation within the respondents life highlighting aspects of culture adaptation and culture shedding. A continuum of experiences were shared with regard to culture integration processes, concerns were raised on the structuring of the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) program, issues of residential segregation were aired out, and also the negative construction of Somali people was raised. With regard to culture position of the respondents, positive and negative concerns were raised with regard to membership and acceptance within the Swedish society. On positive note the respondents had received Swedish citizenship, had reunified with family, had social relationships with the natives and also could practice the Muslim faith. On the contrary refugee acceptance and membership to society was in doubt because of the discriminatory tendencies, hardship in using own language and non acceptance of Somali dress codes thus concerns of mutual accommodation were raised.

Key Words: Refugee, Culture, Integration, the Somali People

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CHAPTER ONE Introduction

This chapter covers the introductory part of the thesis; it explores the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study and lastly provides a disposition to the study.

1.1 Background

Refugees in Sweden
"When an individual holds a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion and yet that individual is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, that person is referred to as a refugee" (The 1951 Refugee Convention).

The refugee question is not a new phenomenon to Sweden; it dates way back to the period 1938-1948, the period before and after World War II. Asylum seekers who later on received a refugee status consisted of a new wave of immigrants. Before World War II it's known that the Jews from Nazi Germany sought asylum and the few that were accepted did constitute the refugee group. During the war, more and more individuals sought asylum within Sweden, notable are the Finnish children that were hosted within Sweden during the 1939 Soviet attack. As World War II ended thousands of Estonians and Latvians fled their countries to Sweden, it's known that approximately 30,000 Estonians and about 5,000 Latvians remained in Sweden after the war (Westin, 2006).

The refugees were at first labeled as foreigners, the nationals were reluctant to accept them, but all changed when tens of thousands of Swedish men were called up for the national defense service which created a job gap which was later on filled in by the refugees. Even though thousands of individuals moved into Sweden, the government did not come up with an integration mechanism but as earlier noted the employment opportunities that existed at a time enabled the integration of these refugees into the Swedish Society (Westin 2006).

The year 1972 saw the new wave of asylum seekers, those from developing countries. The first non European native refugees that were accepted by Sweden were Ugandan Asians that were persecuted by then President Idi Amin Dada, about 1,000 of these then stateless persons were provided with refugee status. In the year 1973 till 1989, a total of 18,000 Chilean refugees were also provided with refugee status, the coup against Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973 sparked off the fleeing from the country. In general between the years 1970s and 1980s many individuals were granted asylum on humanitarian grounds, worth noting is the Christian Orthodox Syrians who sought asylum on grounds of religious persecution (Westin 2006). After the year 1985, the number of people seeking asylum increased tremendously reaching a peak in 1992 with about 84,000 asylum seekers and this was most attributed to the Yugoslavian conflict. After 1992 the numbers of newly arrived asylum seekers fell rapidly, however in 2006 and 2007 the numbers rose yet again, in 2007 the migrationsverket registered a total of 36,207 asylum applications, around half of the applications registered were from Iraqis, the authorities granted

72% of these applications (Bernd, 2009). As of January 2012, Sweden hosted 86,615 refugees and 18,138 asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2013).

Somalis have been and still leave their country to seek asylum and better living conditions in other countries for a number of reasons and these include the civil war, breakdown of law and order, difficult economic conditions, drought and famine, and others. Somali refugees and asylum-seekers comprise of one of the largest refugee populations within many countries in the world. The majority individuals left their country as refugees at the outbreak of the civil wars, starting in late 1988 in the northern part of the country, and from 1991 in the rest of the country when the end of Siyad Barre's regime resulted in a devastating civil war (Moret et al. 2006). In the early 1990s, Somalis constituted a new group of refugees within Sweden. As of 2011, around 40,000 Somali refugees were living within Sweden (Svenberg et al 2011).

Refugee Integration in Sweden

It is reported that Sweden was one of the first countries that made strides towards immigrant integration. For more than 30 years the Swedish state implemented integration measures before announcing a shift from immigration to integration policies, Dingu (2007) notes that by the year 1965, the first courses in Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) had been launched. In the year 1996 there was transition from immigration to the integration policy and basing on the government bill entitled "Sweden, the future and diversity from immigration politics to integration politics" a new integration policy was introduced. The objectives of the new policy were equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for everyone, irrespective of their ethnic and cultural background, social cohesion built on diversity and social development characterized by mutual respect within the boundaries of a democratic society, in which everyone should take an active and responsible part (Wiesbrock, 2011).

The apparent change from immigration to an integration policy was based on the idea of engaging in broader integration policy aimed at the whole population (Wiesbrock, 2011). Wiesbrock further notes that ethnic diversity was seen as the starting point in treating immigrants and the new policy emphasized the existence of rights, duties and opportunities of all members of society and the importance to combat racism and ethnic discrimination. To further concretize integration efforts, the Swedish state (in November 2009) presented a Bill (Prop. 2009 / 10:60) proposing reforms to the national integration policy, the reforms targeted newly incoming immigrants. The reform aimed at speeding up the introduction of newly arrived immigrants into working and social life by encouraging them to become actively employed, clarifying the division of responsibilities between governmental agencies and improving the use of skills of new arrivals (see Section 1 of the Law). It does not, however, alter the underlying mantra of Swedish integration policies of equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background (Wiesbrock, 2011).Sweden thus pursues a liberal policy towards its immigrant population based on the principles of diversity and multiculturalism.

The Swedish government has thus actively shown commitment towards integration of refugees through a continuum of ways relating to being signatories to human rights instruments that have later being domesticated into laws and policies, as explained in previous section. However concern could be raised on the Government's commitment to the integration process as it has in

place reservations on particular provisions within the human rights instruments. This is explored more in the subsequent paragraph.

The Swedish state has reservations with regard to particular articles and subsequent paragraphs of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugees. "Sweden has a general reservation that states that application of those provisions of the Convention which grant to refugees the most favorable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country shall not be affected by the fact that special rights and privileges are now or may in future be accorded by Sweden to the nationals of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway or to the nationals of any one of those countries; Article 8 which stipulates exemption from exemption measures, is not binding within Sweden. A reservation to article 17, paragraph 2, to the effect that Sweden does not consider itself bound to grant a refugee who fulfils any one of the conditions set out in subparagraphs (a)-(c) an automatic exemption from the obligation to obtain a work permit; a reservation to article 24, paragraph 1 (b), to the effect that notwithstanding the principle of national treatment for refugees, Sweden shall not be bound to accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals in respect of the possibility of entitlement to a national pension under the provisions of the National Insurance Act; and likewise to the effect that, in so far as the right to a supplementary pension under the said Act and the computation of such pension in certain respects are concerned, the rules applicable to Swedish nationals shall be more favorable than those applied to other insured persons; a reservation to article 24, paragraph 3, to the effect that the provisions of this paragraph shall not be binding on Sweden; and a reservation to article 25, to the effect that Sweden does not consider itself bound to cause a certificate to be delivered by a Swedish authority, in the place of the authorities of a foreign country, if the documentary records necessary for the delivery of such a certificate do not exist in Sweden" (UNHCR 2011 p. 12).

The above stated reservations pose concern with regard to Swedish government commitment to the process of refugee integration into society. The general reservation limits access to special rights and privileges to the nationals of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway thus favorable treatment to refugees envisaged within the convention is not applicable within Sweden, the reservation that stops Government from according refugees the same treatment as accorded to nationals in respect to possibility of entitlement to national pension, the reservation that stops Government to provide refugees that have been in Sweden for three years and those that have one or more children with Swedish nationality a work permit all pose threats to refugee integration within Swedish society. This also undermines the principles under which the Integration Policy was built on. It undermines its commitment to equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all within the Swedish society.

1.2 Problem Statement

Of recent cultural diversity has been a core political debate within Western countries and this is wholly associated to the political pressures associated with immigration flows. This is true for Sweden as it struggles to deal with ethnic and cultural heterogeneity. Much of the western government's attention has been put on the perceived cost and benefit of cultural diversity as historically pursuing cultural diversity has altered the design and political economy of public policies on the host community. Cultural diversity has thus received much attention in the political arena though the debate has been on its perceived benefits to the host community; less attention has been put on the effect of cultural diversity on the immigrant population (Algan et al. 2012).

When governments embrace diversity, culture integration occurs. Culture integration relates to the social and cultural sphere, issues of concern under this aspect of integration is cultural habits, values and beliefs, religion, and language. Algan et al. (2012) note that often the cultural habits, values and beliefs, religion and language of the host society are different from those of the refugee community. Benedict (1934) explains that in the process of cultural integration, individuals do accept particular elements of foreign culture though at the same time reject others and integrate them according to their own ever changing meaning systems. Benedict goes further and explains that the elements thus selected are shaped and reshaped according to the worldviews of borrowers which ultimately implies that selected elements are integrated into the pre existing yet slowly changing cultural forms. Benedict goes on to explain that the integrated elements are given new meanings and are used for culturally specific purposes (Benedict, 1934 cited in Baltali, 2007).

Culture integration thus implies culture change on the part of the refugees as well as the native population. This change is inclusive of learning thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior of the native population on the part of the refugees. The periods of transformation constituting this change however present varying processes and dynamics. It is against this background that the researcher found it necessary to explore the processes and dynamics to culture integration into the Swedish Society. Focus was put on the Somali refugee community within Gothenburg city. In this manner constituent parts of the pathway to refugee integration specific to the Somali community were unearthed.

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

General Objective

The study unraveled the processes and dynamics to cultural integration into the Swedish Society. In this manner constituent parts of the pathway to refugee integration specific to the Somali Community were found out.

Specific Objectives

1. To find out culture integration processes of Somali refugees

2. To find out refugee experiences with culture integration processes

3. To explore the culture position of refugees within Swedish society

4. To provide culturally specific recommendations for the integration policy

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study serves as an empirical add on to the existing scientific explanations to the pathway to integration of refugees. It specifically explains the processes and dynamics to culture integration of Somali Refugees into the Swedish Society, Gothenburg region to be specific. It provides the culture integration processes of Somali refugees; it documents refugee experiences with culture integration processes, it documents the culture position of refugees within Swedish society and also provides culturally specific recommendations for the integration policy. The study is also significant as it provides a basis for further research into the area of refugee integration; the study identifies gaps for further research which researchers could focus on more in subsequent inquisitions into the research area.

1.5 Disposition

In writing this thesis, chronology guided the structuring of the whole thesis. It was my intent to see that the constituent sections have a chronological flow to make it easy for the reader to not only follow but also easily understand the thesis. This thesis has also been structured on the basis of theoretical/previous literature and empirical content, thus it's worth noting that the thesis constitutes two parts, one part based on theoretical/previous literature content and the other empirical content. The preceding paragraphs provide an introduction and background to the study and this constitutes chapter one of the thesis. The second chapter constitutes the review of relevant literature to the envisaged study, the third chapter reviews theories and concepts related to the envisaged study and the fourth chapter covers the methodology of the study. This covers the first part of the study hereby referred to as the theoretical/previous literature part of the thesis. The second part of the thesis, hereby referred to as the empirical part, is constituted by the fifth chapter which presents the findings. It is also constituted of the sixth chapter that covers the analysis and discussion of the study results and also the conclusion to the study.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides an overview and critical evaluation of existing literature related to research topic under study. This review of literature is viewed as the foundation for this research study, it provides the broad context of the study, clearly demarcates what is and what is not within the scope of the investigation, and justifies those decisions. This examination thus allowed the researcher to synthesize existing literature which enabled construction of new perspectives on the study topic (see Boote & Beile 2005).

2.1 Culture

Culture has been narrowly defined to explain western civilization; Jandt (2012) explains that the concept culture in the 19th century was synonymous to Western Civilization. However the concept culture has also been broadly defined, Jandt (2012) finds culture to be "the totality of that group's thought, experiences, and patterns of behavior and its concepts, values, and assumptions about life that guide behavior and how those evolve with contact with other cultures". Cognitive anthropologists bring into light yet another aspect of culture as they argue that culture consists of psychological structures by means of which individuals or group of individuals guide their behavior (Geertz 1973). To add on Jandt (2012) and Geertz (1973) definitions, Swindler (1986) finds culture to consist of such symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms and ceremonies as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories and rituals of daily life.

Jandt definition of culture provides the varying elements that constitute culture for example thought, experiences. These elements have been categorized into four namely symbols, rituals, values and heroes (Hofstede, 1994). Hofstede finds symbols to be verbal and nonverbal language, finds rituals to be socially essential collective activities within a culture; values are referred to as feelings not open for discussion within a culture about what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, normal or abnormal, which are present in a majority of the members of a culture, or at least in those who occupy pivotal positions. Heroes are the real or imaginary people who serve as behavior models within a culture. Cultural elements thus explained above are learned through interaction with others in the culture (Jandt, 2012). What is learned consists of whatever one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members (Goodenough cited in Geertz 1973).

Ember & Ember (2011) finds culture to be a set of learned behaviors and ideas; including beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideals that are characteristic of a particular society or other social group. Ember & Ember identify culture with a continuum of characteristic features namely culture being commonly shared, being learned and culture being patterned. Ember & Ember explain that culture is learned which implies that it is not inherited. Human ideas and behaviors are learned from others with the aid of spoken or symbolic language. Sewell (1999) further explores culture as a learned behavior. Sewell explains that the elements of culture, practices, beliefs, customs, habits, myths are built by humans and passed on from generation to generation. Sewell further brings into light that the narrower conceptualization of culture as a category of learned behavior

that is concerned with meaning, he finds this conceptualization more meaningful. Culture is concerned with the production, circulation and use of meanings.

Ember & Ember (2011) go on and state that what is learned is further shared among individuals within society. They explain that a thought or action can only be cultural if it is commonly shared by a given social group. However they highlight that within society there is always individual variation which implies that not everyone shares a particular cultural characteristic of that society.

Another feature of culture highlighted is that culture is patterned, the behaviors and ideas one identifies with him or herself are related, adjusted to or consistent with one another. However Ember & Ember highlight the fact that not all aspects of culture are consistent (Ember & Ember, 2011). Culture has patterns or clusters of traits. They tend to be integrated for psychological or adaptive reasons. Culture adaptation plays a role in culture patterning; one's adaptation to the environment is one of the reasons why culture traits will cluster. The frequency of a new learned behavior will increase overtime and become customary in a population if the people with that behavior are most likely to survive and reproduce (Ibid 2011).

Sewell (1999) in addition finds culture as a system and practice, Sewell explains that to engage in cultural practice means to utilize existing cultural symbols to accomplish some end. Individuals employ symbols in expectation to accomplish a particular goal since such symbols have more or less determinate meanings which meanings are specified by their structured relations to other symbols, therefore practice implies system. However system could also imply practice since the system has no existence apart from the succession of practices that instantiate, reproduce or transform it. Therefore system and practice constitute an indissoluble duality (Sewell, 1999).

Culture has also been conceptualized as semiotic which implies a particular notion of cultural practice. For one to engage in cultural practice, he or she makes use of semiotic code to accomplish something. Individuals who have membership to particular semiotic community not only have the capability of recognizing statements made in semiotic code but also have the ability to use the semiotic code as well. Use of the code literally implies attaching abstractly available symbols to concrete things or circumstances and thereafter positing something about them (Ibid 1999).

To be able to use a code means more than being able to apply it mechanically in stereotyped situations it also means having the ability to elaborate it, to modify or adapt its rules to novel circumstances. Sewell (1999) thus understands culture as dialectic of system and practice, as a dimension of social life autonomous from other such dimensions both in logic and in its configuration, and as a system of symbols possessing a real but thin coherence that is continually put at risk in practice and therefore subject to transformation.

White (1959) inquired into the locus of culture and explains that the things and events that comprise culture have their existence, in space and time, White goes on and breaks it further that such things and events are within human organisms that is concepts, beliefs, emotions, attitudes;

are within processes of social interaction among human beings and are not only within material objects lying outside human organisms but within the patterns of social interaction among them.

To further our understanding of the concept of culture, let's explore Raymond (1989) conception of culture as ordinary. In this conception Raymond explains that every human society has its own shape, its own purposes and its own meanings. Raymond goes on and explains that every human society expresses its shape, purpose and meanings in institutions, in arts and in learning. Thus what proceeds within society is for its members to find common meanings and directions. The process of finding common ground is an engagement in active debate and amendment under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery (Raymond, 1989).

What are seen therefore are not only a growing society but also the making and remaking of such society in individual minds. Growth in individual mind at first constitutes slow learning of shapes, purpose and meanings which enables work, observation and communication. The process of testing these shapes, purpose and meaning follows the learning process and through this, new observations, comparisons and meanings are reached at. Deducing from the above explanations, Raymond (1989) goes on to clarify on the conception that culture is ordinary. Raymond notes two aspects of culture, one the known meanings and directions which individual members are trained to; and two new observations and meanings which individuals test. These two aspects of culture represent ordinary processes of human societies and human minds and individuals see through them the nature of culture which is always both traditional and creative, and also represent both the most ordinary common meanings and the finest individual meanings (Raymond 1989).

2.2 Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1986) introduces other forms of capital other than economic capital and these are social capital and cultural capital. In the preceding text, the concept of cultural capital as conceptualized by Bourdieu is explored. To Bourdieu cultural capital exists in three forms, in the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. The embodied state represents cultural capital as a form of long lasting disposition of the mind and body. It consists of consciously acquired and passively inherited properties of one's self. Bourdieu explains that cultural capital is acquired though at a varying extent among individuals and this is dependent on the period, the society and the social class. Accumulation of this kind of capital is also dependent on the appropriating capacity of individual agent thus it declines and dies with its bearer. The objectified state represents cultural capital in the form of cultural goods. Bourdieu states that cultural capital is objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments and it's transmissible in its materiality. The institutionalized state is seen as part of objectification though it is handled separate. Bourdieu finds it to be an institutional recognition, in form of academic credentials or qualifications and this plays an important role in the labor market (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.3 Culture; Action and Culture Change

Refugees go through periods of social transformation as they move into a new society with a culture often unknown to them. Within such instances culture plays a significant role in shaping the actions of the new group as they move from living unsettled lives towards having settled lives within the new society. Swindler (1986) explains that earlier established cultural ends are dropped easily and yet explicitly articulated cultural models such as ideologies play a powerful role in organizing social life. In such periods, ideologies explicit, articulated, highly organized meaning systems both political and religious establish new styles or strategies of action. When people are learning new ways of organizing individual and collective action, practicing unfamiliar habits, until they become familiar then doctrine, symbol and ritual directly shape their actions (Ibid 1986).

Periods of social transformation present difficulties on the part of the individual as he or she experiences competing ways of organizing action, these ways are either developing or competing for dominance within an individual's life. Within such process individuals formulate, flesh out and put into practice new habits into action which implies that culture in such instance is directly shaping action. In such periods individuals developing new strategies of action depend on cultural models to learn styles of self, relationship, cooperation and authority. These models provide a unified answer to the question on how an individual should live within that particular society; they dominate the world view, assumptions and habits of their members (Ibid 1986).

Swindler (1986) further provides a deeper explanation on culture and its influence in unsettled cultural periods. Swindler explains that culture has independent causal influence in unsettled cultural periods because it makes possible new strategies of action constructing entities that can act, shaping the styles and skills with which they act, and modeling forms of authority and cooperation. Swindler goes on to explain that strategies of action are cultural products, the symbolic experiences, mythic lore, and ritual practices of a group or society create moods and motivations, ways of organizing experience and evaluating reality, modes of regulating conduct and ways of forming social bonds, which provide resources for constructing strategies of action (Ibid 1986).

The process of change in social environment not only results into culture influencing action (see Swindler 1986) but also sees a change in culture itself (Ember & Ember 2011). It's known that culture is changing from time to time as it consists of learned patterns of behavior and belief which implies that cultural traits can be unlearned and learned again as individual needs change. How and why there is a change in culture is explored in the subsequent paragraphs.

Ember & Ember (2011) explore this issue in great detail and they argue that culture change occurs when there is discovery and invention, diffusion and acculturation. When society accepts an invention or discovery and sees to it that its oftenly utilized then the process of culture change is underway. Ralph Linton (cited in Ember & Ember 2011) simplifies the concept of discovery and invention, Ralph explains that a discovery is an addition to knowledge and an invention is a new application to knowledge. However there have been questions on who really adopts the

innovations, Ember & Ember (2011) explain that it's those that are educated, high in social status, those upwardly mobile that adopt such innovations early enough.

Instances where cultural elements are borrowed from another society and incorporated into culture of the recipient group is referred to as diffusion. Diffusion is three dimension, its either through direct contact where elements of a society's culture may first be taken up by neighboring societies and then spread further, it might also be through intermediate contact which occurs through agency of third parties, and lastly stimulus diffusion where knowledge of a trait belonging to another culture stimulates the development of a local equivalent. Important to note is the fact that diffusion is a selective process, not all cultural traits are taken up especially those that do not satisfy psychological, social and cultural needs (Ibid 2011).

Acculturation on the other hand is the change that occurs when different cultural groups come into intensive contact; anthropologists' use the concept acculturation in which one of the societies in contact dominates the other. It's then seen as a process of extensive culture borrowing in the super ordinate subordinate relations between societies. Members in the subordinate society identify with the dominant culture in hope that they will share benefits of doing so (Ibid 2011).

2.4 Acculturation

Before I could go on and explore the cultural integration concept, I deem it necessary to explore more the acculturation concept; this is because cultural integration is one of the strategies of acculturation.

The immigration process presents the immigrants with a challenge of living in two different worlds and cultures, they find the behavioral modes and values of the host community to be foreign to them, and nonetheless they are in a situation where they are also separated from their own culture. They thus live in uncertainty as they are unfamiliar with many aspects of life within the host community. This uncertainty is probably highest at the initial stage and reduces gradually with time (Lakey, 2003). Marden & Mayer (1968) explain that as time goes on, most immigrants get to understand the new world around them, familiarizing themselves with the new norms and values of the host community; the adjustment process is what is referred to as acculturation. Marden & Mayer highlight further on this process and explain that it's the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture (Marden & Mayer, 1968).

The Acculturation concept has also been viewed from a communication perspective. Lakey (2003) explains that acculturation occurs through the identification and the internalization of the significant symbols of the host society. Lakey explains that with the communication competence central to the acculturation process, one learns to acculturate by communicating. Therefore the acculturation process is found to be an interactive and continuous process that evolves in and through the communication of an immigrant with the new socio cultural environment, the acquired communication competence, in turn, reflects the degree of that immigrant acculturation (Lakey, 2003).

Lakey (2003) emphasizes the importance of communication in the acculturation process, Lakey argues that individuals are acculturated into the host society through communication, a multitude of the acculturation process is adapting to and adopting central rules and patterns of communication of the host culture. In concluding remarks Lakey states that communication competence facilitates all other aspects of adjustment in the host environment, communication is thus a major underlying process as well as an outcome of the acculturation process.

The process has also been conceptualized from a psychological understanding. Graves (1967) is known to have introduced the concept of psychological acculturation. Graves (cited in Berry 2005) explains that psychological acculturation relates to the changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture contact situation, being influenced directly by the external culture, and by changing culture of which the individual is a member.

Berry (1980) brings into light yet another view of acculturation, Berry views acculturation as adaptation and a reduction in conflict. The adaptation and reduction in conflict process is conceptualized in three modes that is; adjustment, reaction and withdrawal. Berry goes on and lays out a three step process towards acculturation and these are contact, conflict and adaptation. Berry finds contact as the main process towards acculturation, the nature; permanence, purpose, and duration of contact contribute to acculturation. Berry adds that the least acculturation could take place where there is no purpose, where trade is mutually desired or where contact is short lived and the greatest acculturation will take place where the purpose is a deliberate takeover of a society or of its skills or beliefs (Berry, 1980).

In yet another perspective Berry (2005) further brings into light the multidimensionality of the acculturation process, Berry finds acculturation as a dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. Berry goes on to explain that at group level, the process involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices and at individual level, there are changes in a person's behavioral repertoire. The process entails various forms of mutual accommodation which in the end results into longer term psychological and socio cultural adaptations between both groups. Contact and change occur and the change process goes on in culturally plural societies where ethno cultural communities maintain features of their heritage culture. The change process brings about evolving mutual adaptations which could take place easily through culture shedding and culture learning though it could also result into culture conflict and acculturative stress during the intercultural interactions (Berry, 2005).

The Social Science Research council (cited in Berry 2005) explains that acculturative change could result from direct cultural transmission; alternatively it could result from non cultural changes like ecological or demographic modification that is induced by an impinging culture. It's further brought into light that the change could be delayed as internal adjustments occur upon acceptance of alien traits or patterns or it could take a reactive process of adaptation of traditional modes of life.

Berry (2005) explains that the acculturation process has a number of outcomes and explains that these outcomes take a dual conceptualization. Berry looks at the first conceptualization as behavioral shifts which are changes in an individual's behavioral repertoire that take place rather easily and are usually non-problematic. Behavioral shifts take triplet sub processes of cultural shedding, culture learning and cultural conflict. Culture shedding and culture learning involve selective, accidental, or deliberate loss of behaviors and consequently there is replacement of behavior that allows the individual a better fit with the society of settlement. This could be viewed as an adjustment process and such adjustments are made with considerable ease. The third sub process of cultural conflict emerges when the process of mutual accommodation between the dominant and non dominant group fails (Berry, 2005).

Berry (1994) further looks at the dimensions of acculturation, one dimension looks at the fact that one will maintain the original culture and the other dimension looks at maintenance of relations with other groups. Berry goes on and suggests four acculturation strategies namely: integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization. Under integration, individuals value both cultural maintenance and intergroup relations. Separatists however advocate for cultural maintenance but do not value intergroup relations. Assimilation in yet another angle implies rejection of cultural identity and the adoption of host culture and individuals that adopt marginalization value neither cultural maintenance nor intergroup relations. Berry (2005) finds those that adopt the strategy of integration to experience the least difficulties in adaptation, they experience less stress and achieve better adaptations than those pursuing marginalization; the outcomes for those pursuing assimilation and separation experience intermediate levels of stress and adaptation.

In yet a more detailed view of integration as a strategy of acculturation, Berry (2005) emphasizes that this strategy is taken up by individuals that have an interest in maintaining their heritage culture while in daily interactions with other groups. Under such instances there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained as one struggles to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Berry further highlights the fact that integration can only be freely chosen and successfully pursued by non dominant groups; and this is only possible when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Therefore it is of ultimate importance that there exists mutual accommodation among both groups to attain integration, group members should accept that members affiliated to these groups have a right to live as culturally different people. Integration strategy demands that non dominant groups adopt basic values of larger society and in a similar manner the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions to better meet the needs of all groups living mutually in a plural society (Berry, 2005).

Thus integration could be viewed as a dual process that involves the selective adoption of new behaviors from the larger society and retention of valued features of one's heritage culture (Berry 2005).

2.5 Cultural Integration

Previous paragraphs have somewhat explored the concept of cultural integration. It has been argued that cultural integration is one of the strategies for cultural acculturation and is often taken up by individuals who have an interest in both maintaining their original culture while in daily interactions with other groups. It could thus be observed that there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained as individuals participate as an integral part of the larger society (see Berry 2005, Berry 2011). The subsequent paragraphs however take a wholly and much deeper analysis of this concept.

Writers (Lafromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Benet- Martinez, Lee, Lee & Morris, 2002; and Veronica Benet-Martinez, Jana Haritatos 2005 and Phinney and Alipuria 2006) have further explored the integration concept and they have broken down integration to a continuum of sub varieties. Lafromboise et al (1993) refer to the integration concept as biculturalism, Martinez et al (2002) & Martinez et al (2005) down size the integration concept to bicultural identity integration and Phinney et al (2006) down size integration to multiple social categorizations.

Biculturalism refers to a way of living with a set of cultural knowledge and competencies (Lafromboise et al 1993). Lafromboise et al (1993) further introduce five different models that explain how individuals manage to live with a double set of cultural knowledge and competence. The models thus devised are explained in the subsequent paragraphs.

One of the models thus devised is the assimilation model. Under this model it is explained that an individual takes up an ongoing process of absorption into the culture that is perceived dominant and more desirable. The underlying assumption of this model is that an individual loses his or her original cultural identity as he or she acquires a new identity in a second culture. The assimilation process is seen to constitute various stages or more or less sub varieties. It could be cultural or behavioral assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identification assimilation, attitudinal receptional assimilation, behavioral receptional assimilation and civic assimilation. Ruiz cited in Lafromboise et al (1993) highlights the goal of the assimilation process, Ruiz emphasizes that the individual takes up the process so as to become socially accepted by members of the dominant culture (Lafromboise et al 1993).

Johnston & Sung cited in Lafromboise et al (1993) hypothesize that individuals assimilating will not only suffer alienation but isolation until that moment when the dominant society will accept the individual and also till that moment when the individual perceives that acceptance in the new culture. In the process of assimilation the individual is set to live a much stressful, more anxious and also set to live a life coupled with a number of social problems. The gradual loss of support derived from the original culture, combined with the initial inability to use the assets of the newly acquired culture, will cause stress and anxiety (Lafromboise et al 1993).

Lafromboise et al (1993) come to a conclusion that assimilation is a process by which an individual develops a new cultural identity. They add that taking up a new cultural identity not only comprises some loss of awareness of own culture but also loyalty to culture of origin. However individuals that do opt for the assimilation process do face quite a number of dangers,

the first danger is the possibility of being rejected by members of the majority culture, the second danger is the possibility of being rejected by members of the culture of origin and lastly there exists a likelihood of experiencing excessive stress as the individual attempts to learn new behaviors associated with new culture and to do away with behaviors associated with culture of origin (Lafromboise et al 1993).

The second model thus devised is the acculturation model. The underlying assumption of this model is that the individual does not lose identification with the culture of origin. Under this model the individual focuses on the acquisition of the dominant group culture, there exists unidirectional relationship between the two cultures and also there exists a hierarchical relationship between two cultures. It could however be noted that the individual in effort of becoming a competent member of the dominant culture is always identified as a member of the minority culture. The acculturation process just like the assimilation process is stressful since the individuals status as a second class citizen is reinforced and also because there exists alienation of the individual trying to grasp to a new culture (Lafromboise et al 1993).

Yet another model that could explain the way in which individuals live with a set of culture knowledge and competence is the alternation model. Lafromboise et al (1993) explain that the alternation model of second culture acquisition assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures. Yet another assumption of this model is that an individual can alter his or her behavior to fit a particular social context. Furthermore the model is laid on an assumption that there is a possibility for an individual to have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity. It has been argued that it is possible and acceptable to participate in two different cultures or to use two different languages most likely for different purposes, by alternating ones behavior according to the situation. In quite similar context it has been argued that there is a possibility of using different problem solving, coping, human relational communication, and incentive motivational styles depending on the demands of social context (Ogbu & Bianchi; Ramirez cited in Lafromboise et al 1993).

The adoption of alternation processes imply that the individual shall experience less anxiety and stress compared to that person employing assimilation or acculturation processes. This could be explained by the unique processes that differentiate alternation from assimilation and acculturation. Alternation requires a bidirectional relationship between the individual's culture of origin and the dominant culture within the new society. This could imply a possibility of maintaining a positive relationship with both cultures without having to choose between them. This differentiates this process from assimilation and acculturation which demand a linear and unidirectional relationship between the two cultures. The alternation processes unlike the assimilation and acculturation processes, does not assume a hierarchical relationship between two cultures. There is thus a possibility for an individual to attach equal status to the two cultures, even if the individual does not value or prefer them equally. Thus an individual can choose the degree and manner to which he or she will associate with either second culture or his or her culture of origin (Lafromboise et al 1993).

The multicultural model also explains ways in which an individual manages to live with a set of cultural knowledge and competence. Lafromboise et al (1993) explains that this   model promotes a pluralistic approach to understanding the relationship between two or more cultures. It brings into light the possibility of cultures maintaining distinct identities and subsequently a possibility exists that individuals from one culture work hand in hand with those of other cultures to serve a common national or economic need. It could thus be noted that there exists a manner of multifaceted and multidimensional institutional sharing between cultures. Multicultural societies are seen to maintain and develop their group identities, develop other group acceptance and tolerance, engage in intergroup contact and sharing and also learn each other's language (Berry cited in Lafromboise et al 1993).

The multicultural processes are based on the hypothesis that an individual can maintain a positive identity as a member of his or her culture of origin while at the same time developing a positive identity by engaging in complex institutional sharing with the larger political entity comprised of other cultural groups. Lafromboise et al (1993) explain that "in this model it is assumed that public and private identities need not become fused and that the tension of solving internal conflicts caused by bicultural stress need not have a negative psychological impact but could instead lead to personal and emotional growth".

Biculturalism could also be explained by the fusion model. The model lays on the assumption that cultures that share an economic, political or geographical space will fuse together until they reach a moment that they can no longer be distinguished thus forming a new culture. Therefore there is a respectful sharing of institutional structures that will eventually result into a new common culture. Worth noting is that each culture brings its strengths and weaknesses that eventually take new forms through interaction of cultures as equal partners, thus there is no necessary assumption of cultural superiority (Lafromboise et al 1993).

The above paragraphs explain the notion of biculturalism, a sub variety of cultural integration. The explanations thus put forward introduce yet another concept, bi cultural competence which refers to the attainment of cognitive, affective motivational qualities that permit successful functioning in both cultures in contact (Lafromboise et al 1993). Lafromboise et al (1993) explain that bi cultural competence comprises of six components namely positive attitudes towards both the majority and minority groups; bicultural efficacy; communication ability in both languages; knowledge of culturally appropriate behaviors; and having a well developed social support system.

Martinez et al (2002) & Martinez et al (2005) introduce yet another sub-category of cultural integration. This sub category is what is referred to as Bicultural Identity Integration which to a large extent was built on the concept of cultural identity. It's often applied to situations where an individual tries to sort out two or more cultural identities. Bicultural identity could thus be defined as the degree to which a bicultural individual perceives his or her two cultural identities to be compatible or conflictual (Benet Martinez & Hariatos in Berry 2011). Berry (2011) goes on and identifies bi cultural identity integration as a non uniform phenomenon with two distinct components; perceptions of distance (vs. overlap), and perceptions of conflict (vs. harmony) between a person's two cultural identities.

Martinez et al (2002) sees Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) as framework for investigating differences in bicultural identity organization. Focus under this framework is put on the biculturals' subjective perceptions of how much dual cultural identities intersect and overlap. Individuals high on BII tend to see themselves as part of a merged culture or emerging culture and thus find it easy to integrate both cultures in their everyday lives. Thus these individuals have developed compatible bicultural identities which imply that that they do not perceive the two cultures to be mutually exclusive, oppositional, or conflicting. Biculturals low on BII in a different manner find difficulty in incorporating both cultures into a cohesive sense of identity; these individuals are particularly sensitive to specific tensions between the two cultural orientations and see this incompatibility as a source of internal conflict. Moreover, low BIIs often feel as if they should just choose one culture (Martinez et al 2005).

Another sub variety of the cultural integration concept is multiple social categorization which was developed by Phinney and Alipuria (2006). Phinney & Alipuria (2006) refer to multiple social categorization as a common experience of simultaneously being and identifying with two social groups of different kinds. Crisp et al (2007) in a similar manner find multi social categorization to be any intergroup context that involves perceiving more than a single basis for social classification. Phinney and Alipuria (2006) note that the issue faced by these individuals is not that of balancing the importance or relevance of two distinct characteristics of the self, but rather that of integrating or otherwise managing an internal complexity involving two potentially conflicting, often enriching, parts of one's ethnic, racial, or cultural self, these individuals can claim membership in two or more groups but are sometimes not accepted by others as a member of either.

Phinney & Alipuria go on to identify ways in which individuals might identify themselves. First, an individual may identify with only one of the two possible groups and in this context the individual might seek either to assimilate or to separate. Second individuals might identify themselves by creating a new category, in which individuals develop and name a new mixed way to refer to themselves. Third, individuals may claim membership in both groups and switch between them and fourth individuals may think of themselves, not mainly in group terms, but as individuals. Phinney & Alipuria further note that the setting in which people operate may have a strong influence on how individuals multiply categorize themselves (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006).

Inference

The literature reviewed explains the concepts of culture and integration and its constituents in detail; however this literature hardly explains the path towards integration, the information is scanty on the different processes and dynamics that are part of the path towards integration and therefore the study at hand set out to bridge the existing gap.

CHAPTER THREE THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

This section outlays the theories used in this study. Borrowing from Kerlinger (1979), a theory is found to be a set of interrelated variables, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with a purpose of explaining natural phenomena. In simple terms, theories are important because they provide a lens that shapes what is looked at. In this study the theories thus used are multifaceted as they provide an argument for, lay out a discussion or provide a rationale and also explain on how phenomena (in this case cultural integration) occurs in the world. The subsequent paragraphs thus explain the different theories used in this study and the intent hereby is to provide an interpretation to these theories that could provide due guidance to the study at hand.

3.1 Social Constructivist Theory

In this quest I hereby use the social constructivist theory to explain culture as a learned phenomenon, thus treating this theory as a learning theory; I also use the social constructivist theory to explain cultural integration as a social construct that comes into existence because of human interaction. The subsequent paragraphs therefore present the relevant tenets of the theory and subsequently a relation is made to the study at hand. The first paragraphs however are focused on the learning aspect of the theory and the next paragraphs focus on the social construction aspect of the theory.

Social constructivist is a theory about how individuals learn and the thinking process thus involved (Lui & Chen 2010). Hruby cited in Brooks (2002) in quite similar manner finds constructivism as being about the way knowledge is constructed by, for, and between members of a discursively mediated community. In due process of learning, the learner is not only directly impacted by certain individual but also other things around the learner could influence his or her learning in his or her learning environment. Lui & Chen (2010) further highlight that from Vygotsky's perspective, learners construct meaning from reality but not passively receive what are taught in their learning environment. To make it more clearer on constituents of the theory, Lui and Chen emphasize that Social Constructivist means that learning involves constructing, creating, inventing, and developing one's own knowledge and meaning (Lui & Chen, 2010).

Individuals that learners interact with are referred to as facilitators and these facilitators provide information and organize activities for learners to discover their own learning. Marlowe & Page (1998) refer to this kind of learning as the cycle of questioning, interpreting, and analyzing information, combining information and thinking to develop, build, and alter meaning and understanding of concepts, and integrating new understandings with past experiences. This definition implies that learners in such a setting are not passive beings but they do rather demonstrate their learning and understanding through different means such as developing critical questions, and summarizing ideas by their own words (Marlowe & Page, 1998; Lui & Chen 2010).

It has been highlighted in the previous two chapters that culture is a learned phenomenon and never inherited (see Ember & Ember 2011). The social constructivist theory however could

explain how culture is learned within the society. From the above explanations it could be seen that learning a culture could be facilitated by an individual or groups of individuals in a learners vicinity, the learners environment is also key in this learning process as it a direct influence on the learning process. It could also be noted that in learning a culture, individuals are active beings constructing, creating, inventing, developing own knowledge and making meaning of the cultural elements. These individuals are also involved in a series of questioning, interpreting, analyzing, and thinking to develop, build and alter meaning and understanding of new cultural concepts. Its however important to note that the individuals past experience with own culture influences a magnitude in this process. These individuals try to integrate new cultural understandings with own culture and this process involves a lot of questioning, interpretation and analysis.

It's important that socialization as an aspect of learning is explored more; this provides a deeper understanding of the culture learning process. Brooks (2002) in explaining social constructivism emphasizes the role the social plays in the construction of knowledge. In exploring the meaning of social, Brooks not only limits it to the nature of interaction between the learner and facilitator but also finds it to include the cultural and historical aspects of the social contexts. To provide a clearer picture, Brooks argues that in any learning context, the relationships between the social, the cultural, and the historical aspects inherent in forms of communication combine to influence not just what is learned but also how it is learned. Cultural and social structures also influence the way one thinks, the logic one uses and the methods used to go about the problems one faces (Brooks, 2002).

To Sinam (1986) social constructivism could imply socialization, a process of acquisition of skills, knowledge and dispositions that enables the individual to participate in his or her group or society. This socialization process consists of reciprocal interactions and joint construction of meaning by the individual and others in the social context. In a wider context, social constructivism is not only means cognitive development, but it is also a means whereby an individual learns the needs and motives underlying human relations and the modes of action necessary to interact with people, objects, and ideas in the environment. Replacing the individual as sole meaning maker, social constructivists see developing cognitive activity achieved by the internalization of cultural knowledge and norms and the use of tools and signs of the culture through the assistance of more mature members of the society (Sinam, 1986).

Socialization as an aspect of learning a culture relates well and explains the argument put up by Ember and Ember (2011) that culture is shared. The above two paragraphs explain this process. It's explained that in the process of learning a culture, the social context is important. The nature of interaction between the learner and facilitator matters a lot in this learning process. The kind of relationship between the two should be reciprocal. The cultural and historical background of the learner also constitutes his or her social world and this influences how culture is learned. Through socialization culture is shared and through assistance by natives of particular society individuals internalize cultural knowledge, norms and associated tools and signs and other cultural elements.

In conclusion therefore the learning process of culture could be summarized by what Sinam (1986) identified as the three key elements of a social constructivist theory. Sinam identified the key elements as cognitive activity, cultural knowledge, tools and signs and lastly assisted learning. These are explained in the subsequent paragraph.

Cognitive activity element implies that the learning of a new culture involves constructing, inventing, creating, questioning, analyzing and obtaining new cultural elements. Cognitive development from a social constructivist perspective is co-constructed with another individual within a particular society. Another key element is culture which is seen as a source of tools, signs and knowledge that facilitates psychological processes. Accordingly the development of man and woman's psychological and cognitive processes is enmeshed, created by, defined by and limited by the opportunities that culture provides (in this particular treat this would imply previous culture knowledge). Lastly assisted learning as a key element of the Social Constructivist Theory is a means of socialization that transfers the elements of culture by structuring information in such a way and with the aid of a more knowledgeable member of society, as to develop independent functioning (Sinam, 1986). According to these three elements it could be concluded that learning a culture is a co-construction between a learner and another individual, also inclusive is the environment which could include own culture knowledge and other historical experiences like education, and also the culture learning process should involve reciprocal relationship between the learner and the facilitator(s).

3.1.1 Cultural Integration Phenomenon as a Social Construct

With use of the tenets of the social constructivist theory, in this section I explain cultural integration as a social construction.

Diez (2001) highlights the fact that cultural integration come into being through social constructivist articulation. This articulation towards cultural integration implies the reconstruction of an existing societal order and identities, the way social agents understand this process, and the wider situational context in which societal order and identities are reconstructed. From a social constructivist perspective therefore cultural integration could be viewed as a process of reorganization caused by social agents who seek to reconstruct an existing societal order on basis of their specific understandings. From this point of view cultural integration is examined in terms of social constructions and associated cultural responses to this process. It refers to the dynamics of cultural change and societal transformations (Romona, 2006).

The social constructivist perspective brings to light the fact that cultural integration implies cultural change and societal transformations through social reconstructions to the existing societal order and identities. These social reconstructions to existing societal order and identities could be explained by the features of the social constructivist theory put forward by Delanty and Rumford (2005). Rumford and Delanty identify reflexivity as one of the features of social constructivist approach. This is related to the reflexive nature of social science as a self questioning endeavor. Strauss (1956) explains that the reflexivity enables the social nature of being human, the formation of the individual resulting from the constant interaction with others. Strauss (1956) explores the concept more as he explains that it is by means of reflexiveness, the

turning back of the experience of the individual upon himself, that the whole social process is thus brought into the experiences of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself, that the individual is consciously to adjust himself to that process, and to modify the resultant of that process in any given social act in terms of his adjustment to it (Strauss, 1956; Salzman, 2002).

Reflexivity provides theoretical guidance to the pathway to cultural integration. It highlights a crucial aspect that is socialization, through socialization cultural integration could be achieved. Within this process an individual is expected to adjust him or herself to the ongoing process and in the end modify the resultant of that process so as to move towards cultural integration. A low level of reflexivity therefore would imply a low level of socialization on part of the individual, possibility for this person to integrate into society shall be minimal. If an individual has a high level of reflexivity, the possibility for integration is higher as his or her social nature will provide a gateway into familiarizing with the culture of the host society. Socialization enables contact with the host society which introduces the individual to the acceptable way of living and also learning other essential cultural elements like language.

Yet another key feature of social constructivism that guides my study of cultural integration relates to the argument that agency and structure are mediated in cultural contexts (Delanty & Rumford 2005). There has been an ongoing debate among scholars (Talcott Persons, Bourdieu, Berger & Luckmann) on whether its structure or agency that has a greater influence on human behavior. Barker (2005) differentiates the two as he finds agency as the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices, and Barker finds structure to be the recurrent patterned arrangements which influence or limit the choices and opportunities available. The path to cultural integration comes with several dynamics. The refugees often have their own culture which comes with own roles and responsibilities within society. However when these refugees come into a new society, they are introduced to a new structural arrangement that demands quite different though at times related roles and responsibilities.

Thus a situation comes by when earlier roles and responsibilities are no longer compatible within new society for example in some instances patriarchal societies offer men a role of head of the household, when families from such society move to countries like Sweden built on gender equality, then the role of man being a head of the household might wither. Observation could be made that the roles and responsibilities thus change as individuals move into a new structural setting. The move towards new roles and responsibilities represent a process that could present itself with several dynamics. Therefore in the study of cultural integration it is important to understand how the concepts of agency and structure influence the integration process. It's also important to note the new roles and responsibilities that individuals are expected to take up and to find out the associated dynamics that come by within this new structural arrangement. It's also important to note the extent to which the structural arrangement influence or limit the choices and opportunities to culturally integrate within society.

Another feature of the Social Constructivist perspective that explains the cultural integration phenomena is the view that social reality is susceptible to change. Delanty & Rumford argue that social reality is the product of becoming and is open to new designs. It is however important to

note that the due process of construction of social reality involves conditions of contestation and negotiation (Delanty & Rumford 2005). The fact that this study is concerned with the pathway to cultural integration is an indication of change towards familiarization and adaptation with the culture of the host society. The integration process could involve learning culturally appropriate behavior, learning new language, relating with particular aspects of foreign culture, shunning away from particular cultural aspects, and shedding off certain aspects of own culture. This process presents itself with a lot of contestation and negotiation which represents the dynamics present in the cultural integration process for example the process towards cultural shedding of certain cultural elements could involve a lot of negotiation and contestation on the part of the individual and his or her family.

Last but not least, Delanty & Rumford identify the socio-cognitive dimension as yet another feature of social constructivism which explains the occurring change and societal transformations; this also guides my inquisition into cultural integration. Delanty & Rumford refers to the socio-cognitive dimension as the creation of frames, imaginaries, worldviews and cultural models, which go beyond the immediate discursive context and express emergent forms of social reality (Delanty & Rumford, 2005). A socio-cognitive approach entails an analysis of the frames, symbolic structures and codes of social discourses with a view to uncovering their contested claims and possibilities of resistance. The constructivist process also entails the creation of such socio-cultural frameworks that is the evaluative frameworks that people use to imagine their social surroundings (Taylor 2004; Delanty & Rumford 2005). These socio-cognitive frameworks play a role in shaping social reality while at the same time is continuously constructed (Delanty & Rumford 2005).

In relation to the cultural integration process, it could be noted that individuals create or are indulged into existing cultural frames, imaginations and world views and what they do create or indulge into is learnt from observing or watching what other persons are doing. Individuals watch and learn the culture of the majority in society and in the process analyze the various cultural elements with an aim of uncovering the importance of these cultural elements and also discover the points in time when these cultural elements serve intended purpose. This process also provides possibility for resistance towards particular cultural elements as individuals might find no importance to such elements or they opt to do away with them for the good of maintaining relations with individuals with similar cultural heritage.

3.2 The Functionalist Theory

In order to understand the rationale or the need for cultural integration, the researcher used the functionalist theory to provide theoretical guidance into this inquisition. The Functionalist theory is founded on a conception of societies as systems of interrelated and interdependent parts and these parts having an inbuilt tendency to adapt to each other so that the society as a whole is in a state of equilibrium (Elliot, 1988). This body of knowledge is used to conceptualize and explain that the roles and functions that one plays in societies are functional and are based on a consensus for the well being of host societies.

Functionalists argue that social phenomena can best be explained in terms of the functions they fulfill or contributions they make to the stability and continuity of society. Cultural factors and practices are therefore regarded as functional for the wellbeing of the society.

In similar manner Talcott Persons (1951) explains that in order for a society to survive, the subsystems must function in ways that promote the maintenance of society as a whole. Parsons further explains that the key to societal survival are the shared norms and values held by its individual members. Deviation from those norms leads to disorganization, which threatens the survival of the system. Therefore to act morally according to the functionalist is to act in terms of collective interest (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985).

The social process towards cultural integration is therefore intended for complementing and maintaining society as a whole. This involves performing functions that contribute to the maintenance, integration and continuity of society. This social arrangement is accounted for in terms of functions it is presumed to serve and contributions it makes to society.

When refugees get into a host society, they are viewed as part of society and therefore as members of society they are interdependent or interrelated to other parts thus need to adapt to each other arises. Unfortunately with regard to integration, most of the adaptation is done by the refugees. The functionalist theory does not view this as inequality but rather view the refugee's role in this process as complementary and of equal value in maintaining society as a whole. The refugees learn norms, values and other constituents of culture of host community to ensure societal survival as any deviation from such norms could lead to disorganization of society for example if refugees hold onto gender inequality within their families, then this will counteract with the norm of gender equality of the host society, that is if the host society is built on this norm. This may lead to increases of domestic violence within the society which will result into a dysfunctional society; it could be true to say that this could amount into a new social problem in society. In conclusion therefore the refugee's rationale to integrate could be explained in the need to maintain society in a state of equilibrium.

3.3 Definition of Key Concepts

The following paragraphs provide operational definitions to the concepts of culture and integration. It's important that these concepts are given operational definitions so that the reader gets a clear and specific idea on what the researcher is referring to.

Culture

Within this study, culture implies learned and shared thoughts, experiences, and patterns of behavior within society. These learned and shared thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior are inclusive of beliefs, attitudes, ideals, norms, rituals, arts, language particular to a given society. These thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior are shared through human interaction.

Integration

Within this study, integration implies cultural change on the part of the refugees as well as the native population. This change is inclusive of learning thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior of the native population. Adaptation on part of the refugees to these thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior however does not imply losing own thoughts, experiences, and patterns of behavior. Own thoughts, experiences and patterns of behavior however greatly influence the integration process.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

This section covers the research methodology used in this study. It explores the research design, the research subjects, the data collection method, data analysis and processing technique, ethical issues considered, covers issues of validity and generalizability of data collected and lastly explores the problems encountered in the research process.

4.1 Research Design

In selecting the research design I put into consideration the fact that the design should ensure that the empirical data collected provides an answer to the research questions as unambiguously or as specific as possible (see David 2001).

In this particular study I therefore used a descriptive multiple case study research design. The design was descriptive in nature so as to enable the exploration of the cultural integration process and associated dynamics and thus questions relating to how and what constitutes this process were answered. The design was also a multiple case so as to explore the difference within and between cases (Yin, 2003). A case under this research design was an object of study that provided a unit of analysis about which to collect information. Therefore in this design it's the unit I intended to understand as a whole (see David 2001).

The case study design provided the researcher with an opportunity to engage with and report the complexity of the cultural integration process which further enabled rightful representation of the meanings that individual social actors attach to the cultural integration processes. The design also provided the researcher with an opportunity to identify and describe before trying to analyze and theorize and further provided the possibility of understanding the case rather than generalization (see Stark & Harry in Somekh et al 2005).

4.2 Research Subjects

The research subjects were individuals that once held a status of a refugee. It was not only that the research subject had to be a refugee but also that person had to have hailed from Somalia thus a first generation refugee. A first generation refugee in this study was an individual who had a lived experience in his or her mother country that is Somalia and later moved on to live within Sweden. Selection of first generation refugees was important because of the need to interview individuals that are not only conversant with the Somali culture but also having the Somali culture as their first lived culture.

The research subjects also had to have lived within Sweden for at least the last five years and presumed to have integrated into the Swedish society. The presumption of being integrated into the Swedish society was important because the researcher assumed that its such individuals that could provide a clear description of the pathway to cultural integration and the associated dynamics as they each one of them had their path to integration and thus presumably met various dynamics along the way. It was also important to select those individuals that had presumably

integrated into society because the researcher assumed that they were conversant with not only the Somali culture but also the Swedish culture.

Consideration was also made to ensure that both male and female respondents were selected for interviews. Representation of both genders was important because of the need to explore if the path to cultural integration among female and the male was somewhat different and also to find out the associated similarities and also to see if it's because of one gender that this occurs or it happens because of other associated factors. Further consideration for selection of particular respondents was the spoken language. The researcher specifically looked out for respondents who could not only understand but also express themselves in English. This was because the researcher desired to conduct interviews himself so as to first handedly understand the explanations put forward by the respondents and also to be able to put forward probes incase a certain issue is not clearly understood. Even though English speaking respondents were sought, one could not freely express herself in English thus an interpreter was used but this did not change the earlier intent as in instances where the interpreter wrongly interpreted the respondent stepped in to correct the interpreter.

Further consideration was made as the researcher sought for respondents that had an earlier academic background. Such a consideration was put in place because apart from the respondents providing a lived experience of their own path to integration, the researcher also tasked the respondents to provide known experiences of other individuals that have also integrated into the Swedish society. The researcher thus presumed that individuals with an education background were best suited to provide such experiences. The respondents thus selected were asked to present their ideas and lived experiences on a number of issues concerning the Somali culture, the Swedish culture, the integration process, the dynamics involved in the integration process, thoughts on the integration process, their own conception of ideal integration programs and also recommendations for policy were asked for.

Basing on Nigel (2001) argument that where the researchers aim is to generate a wider understanding of social processes or social actions, the representativeness of the sample may be of less importance, the researcher also did not put much focus on the representativeness of the study sample. Much of the emphasis was put on achieving data saturation. Therefore six respondents were selected for the study. The respondents selected represented a purposive sample as they were specifically selected because of the characteristics they do hold for example lived in Sweden for at least five years, a refugee, a native of Somalia and others as earlier explained. In order to establish contact with the Somali refugee population, an official of Megan Welfare Organization was contacted who introduced the researcher to a workmate who happens to be from Somalia. This person fully met the requirements for the respondents being sought and thus first interview was conducted with this person. Utilizing a snowball sampling approach, the researcher asked the first interviewee to identify other individuals that met the selection characteristics. The interviewee identified other respondents that were later contacted for interviews; the same approach was used as they were also asked to identify other respondents. In the end the researcher was able to get into contact with six respondents.

4.3 Data Collection Method

In the collection of data, the researcher utilized qualitative research interviews so as to understand the study subject from the point of view of the respondents and the subsequent meanings that they do attach. Kvale (2001) argues that such interviews are not only merely about tape recording but the researcher actively follows up on the respondent's answers seeking to clarify and extend the interview statements. Stark & Harry further highlight the researcher's intention in using qualitative research interviews as they explain that they offer insight into respondents' memories and explanations of why things have come to be what they are, as well as descriptions of current problems and aspirations (Stark & Harry cited in Somekh et al 2005).

The qualitative research interviews were semi structured in nature. Semi structured interviews are interviews with a purpose of obtaining descriptions of life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of described phenomena (Kvale 2001). The interview guide was used as the data collection instrument in this particular case and it consisted of standardized open ended questions. This therefore implies that the study participants were asked identical questions and there open endedness allowed the participants to provide detailed information and also provided opportunity for the researcher to ask probe questions to enable follow up on the explanations or information thus provided. The interview questions were developed with reference to the study purpose, study objectives and associated research questions. Worth noting also is that a particular set of questions represented a particular study theme. In developing the research questions care was taken to avoid developing of leading questions, care was also taken to see that the questions were clear, focused and not double barred.

Prior to the interviews, the researcher and the study participants agreed on the interview environment however it should be noted that the researcher at all times provided the participants with the opportunity to choose the interview environment of their own liking. Even though the study participants always asked for the researcher's suggestion, the final decision on the place where the interviews should be held was made by the study participant. The interviews with the study participants on average lasted between 35 to 45 minutes. Interviews that lasted more than hour were those where the interviewee asked to take a break in between the interview sessions and those that lasted to about 35 minutes were those interviews where the study participants explored multiple and overlapping issues when a particular question was posed. In instances where the interviewee provided a response that was not connected to the question asked the researcher allowed the interviewee to finish up with his or her explanation and again rephrase the earlier posed question. For all interviews, all questions were explored therefore there was not any interview that the interviewee requested the interviewer to end the interview session along the way. Lastly it could be noted that within the interviews the researcher was so flexible which paved way for proper adherence to emerging demands within the interview. Subsequently as put by Layder, the individuals own interpretations and meanings were allowed to surface in the interview data (Layder, 1993).

4.4 Data Processing and Analysis

For all interviews done, audio recordings were done and also the researcher ensured that a transcription is made within the interview sessions. Therefore the first step in the processing of the data collected was to relate the transcripts done within the interview sessions with the audio recordings. This meant careful listening to the recordings and at the same time making a relation with the script. The second step was to come to a conclusion of whether the script is a representation of the audio recording. Instances where much difference was found between the script and audio recording, the researcher decided to transcribe the audio recording, instances where the script and the audio recording shared a lot of similarities, additions and in some instances subtractions were just made to the script. This therefore enabled the correcting of the interview transcripts.

The next step in the processing of the data was to check for the completeness of the interview transcripts. Instances where the researcher thought that particular information was lacking in the interview transcript, contact was made with the interviewee and such information was sought. It's however important to note that in such instances no face to face contact with the interviewees was made. Thereafter the researcher developed a grid which consisted of all interview questions and probes plus the associated responses from all respondents. After that the researcher concentrated on reading and re reading the interview responses in order to familiarize with the interview data, consequently the researcher begun to code the interview responses which enabled the transformation of the big amounts of information into data forms that can be easily handled. In the meantime as the researcher was coding the responses, care was taken to write side notes on what was uncovered during the interviews, these side notes were also inclusive of the researchers interpretation of the information uncovered and where necessary the researcher explored the theoretical framework employed to see if it could explain the information provided by the interviewees.

After the processing of the data the researcher embarked on the analysis of the processed data. This essentially entailed making sense of the information which had been collected. Data processing enabled the coding of the data, the next step therefore was to analyze these codes so as to come up with or identify relevant themes that represent the study objectives, the study purpose and the research questions. After the identification of themes, the researcher went on to find out the patterns that these themes present. The identification of themes and associated patterns presented the need to identify the coherence of the themes and patterns, as earlier noted this is important in letting the reader easily and correctly understand what the researcher is writing or presenting. After establishing the themes, associated patterns and existing coherence of the data, the researcher set out to select quotes from the information that could best represent the study themes. All quotes presented were verbatim in nature which represented a voice and real life experiences of the interview participants in the presentation of the study results. To further analyze the data care was taken to use the theoretical framework of the study. Theoretical explanations therefore were found which furthered the proper analysis of the information.

To summarize the whole data processing and analysis process let put forward Nigel (2011) explanation with regard to qualitative data analysis. Nigel (2011) argues that the analysis

involves systematic and rigorous consideration of the data in order to identify themes and concepts that will contribute to our understanding of social life. Themes and concepts identified and coded in one interview are then compared and contrasted with any similar material in the other interviews.

4.5 Validity, Reliability & Generalization

In the bid to understand the validity, reliability and generalization of interview data, the researcher is guided by scholarly writings on these concepts and later on a relation is made to the study at hand to give a reader an understanding on how the interview data is valid, reliable and generalizable.

Validity

Maxwell (1992) puts in place a continuum of ways in which the validity of qualitative data could be analyzed; these include looking at descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, generalizability and evaluative validity.

Descriptive validity is concerned with the accuracy of the data, the data must reflect what the participants have said and also its reporting must reflect the same accuracy. Interpretive validity captures how well the researcher reports the participants' meaning of events, objects and/or behaviors. Theoretical validity is the validity of the researcher's concepts and the theorized relationships among the concepts in context with the phenomena. Generalizability' refers to the ability to apply the theory resulting from the study universally and evaluative validity moves away from the data itself and tries to assess the evaluations drawn by the researchers (Maxwell, 1992; Thomson, 2011).

Therefore in this particular study, care was taken to ensure that the data transcriptions accurately reflected what the study participants talked about in the interviews sessions. This was ensured through reading the data notes taken during the interviews together with the listening to the recordings that were recorded during the interview sessions. Care was also taken during the interpretation of data collected; the researcher was tasked to ensure that meanings that the respondents attached to their explanations were rightly reported. This therefore also meant that the interpretation of the data was not based on the researcher's perspective. Further care was taken when selecting particular theories to guide the study at hand. The researcher was tasked to search and read related studies to find out the theories and concepts used; this gave the researcher an idea of the kind of theories and concepts relevant to the study. Last but not least the researcher set out to review own evaluations made from the data. The intent was to find out the relevance of the evaluations made with regard to the study at hand.

Reliability

Reliability is conceptualized as the trustworthiness and dependability of the data generated from the interviews during the qualitative paradigm (Golafshani, 2003). Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) further explain that reliability could imply whether study participants could respond to same questions differently at some other time and also if they could respond differently if some other interviewer interviewed them with the same set of questions. In the quest to ensure reliability of the data, the researcher ensured that from the start he familiarizes himself with qualitative research interviewing thus Kvale text book on qualitative research interviewing was read and re read, the researcher proceeded to carefully develop research tools which were later sent to the supervisor for approval, pre-testing of these tools was also made to see if they serve the intended purpose, therefore instances where questions were somewhat leading to particular answers, the researcher decided to rephrase such questions. Before the research interview care was taken to explain to the study participants the objective of the study and associated questions raised were responded to in order to ensure that the study participant is fully aware about what is to be discussed in the interview. Instances where the interviewee did not understand the question, care was taken to rephrase the question without changing meaning. The questions were also open ended thus the respondent had a chance to fully express him or herself. The interview settings were also favorable for interviews thus the respondents were free to express themselves. Therefore with regard to reliability of the data, the researcher took up necessary measures to see that data collected is reliable.

Generalization

Yin (2003) refers to generalization in a qualitative inquiry as analytic generalization. Yin explains that analytic generalization is not generalization to some defined population that has been sampled, but to a theory of the phenomenon being studied a theory that may have much wider applicability than the particular case studied. Thus in relation to the study at hand, the researcher finds that the data collected generalizable to the theoretical framework used.

4.6 Ethical Issues

Bulmer cited in Nigel (2001) find ethics to be a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others, Bulmer goes on to explain that ethics say that while the truth is good, respect for human dignity leaves one ignorant of human nature. This study adhered to all relevant ethical requirements for undertaking research among human subjects. The following measures were undertaken to fulfil ethical requirements:

Informed Consent
Informed consent was a key ethical issue put into consideration, borrowing from the first principle of the Nuremberg code, the researcher ensured that persons involved had legal capacity to give consent, were situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, overreaching or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion; and had sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the

subject matter involved that enabled involved parties to make an understanding and enlightened decision (see Nuremberg Code cited in Macklin 1999, see also Nigel 2001).

Upon contact with selected informants, the researcher introduced himself, explained the purpose of the visit, outlined the major purpose of the study and how the results shall be used and also explained how and why the respondents were selected to participate in the study. The participants were informed that their participation is entirely voluntary, so that they could choose whether or not to take part. They were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time during the time of the interview. They were further informed of the consequences of taking part in the study. Thus possible harm and possible benefits were discussed but in general the risk of harm to the participants was least possible thus the ethical guideline of beneficence upheld. Consent of the participants was also sought to tape-record and take notes of the interviews.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The study participants were informed about the confidentiality clause. Issues explored included who will have access to the interview, possible access to the transcriptions and analysis, researcher's right to publish the material and also things to do with non disclosure of private data identifying participants was also explored. All responses given by participants in the study were treated with utmost confidentiality. Raw information obtained was not at any time revealed to or shared with other people. All personal information relating to the participants, such as their names and age, as well as other identifying information was either completely removed or encoded to make them anonymous.

Privacy of Participants

Nigel (2001) explains that privacy emphasizes the control by an individual of information about him or herself, deciding on what to release and to whom. The privacy of participants was protected as far as practicable as it could be. Participants were informed of their freedom to withhold information they considered sensitive or that made them uncomfortable to discuss. Thus, even where participants had already consented to being interviewed, they were informed that they could choose not to answer particular questions. All interviews also took place in venues that offered privacy.

Also a continuum of other ethical issues was put into consideration. These are explained in the following paragraph. The role of a researcher in this study was put into consideration, the ethical capabilities of a researcher, the ethical decision capability, the researchers' integrity, sensitivity and commitment to moral issues and action, the researcher being familiar with value issues and ethical theories were all put into consideration during this study. Yet another ethical issue was power asymmetry during the interviews. As an interviewer the researcher gave great concern to role of power in the production of interview knowledge, therefore creation of a rapport before the interviews was important to ensure that the respondent feels at ease within the interview sessions. Also since the interviewer was interviewing subjects with a foreign culture, initiative was taken to familiarize himself with the Somali culture, the researcher went ahead to learn

verbal and non verbal factors that may have caused tension within the interviews. In instances where an interpreter was used, the researcher carefully selected someone who he presumed was culturally acceptable and proficient in the Swedish or Somali language.

4.7 Challenge Faced

The earlier intent of the researcher was to have a study population that consisted Somali refugees that cut across all statuses for example those with an academic background, those with no academic background and other status. Unfortunately language failed this possibility as a few people could speak the same language as the researcher, what made it worse was the fact that those that could speak the same language with the researcher constituted the same status group. With this in mind the researcher set out to see how he could get views of other people constituting the Somali refugees, during the interviews therefore care was taken to ensure that at times and where necessary the researcher sought for the different views Somali people had on a particular topic. With such the earlier intent was somewhat achieved.

CHAPTER FIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This section presents the study results and subsequently an analysis of the study results is done. Different themes were developed and under each study theme, related study results are presented, the themes include the Somali cultural practices, culture integration processes, experience with culture integration processes, culture positioning of refugees within society and culturally specific recommendations with regard to Integration.

5.1 Somali Cultural practices

When asked about the Somali culture, all interviewees' first response was related to the collectivism of the Somali society. It was reported that the Somali society is built on the value of communal responsibility to each individual person. A respondent went on to explain that when an individual has a problem that he or she cannot manage on his or her own, the community will intervene to help. Other responses captured further exemplify the act of collectiveness within the Somali society, some reported that the family is responsible for taking care of the elderly and in cases where the family fails, the community takes responsibility, another respondent explained that a child is a responsibility of not only the parents but the whole community and thus other community members share considerable amount of responsibility for the child.

A respondent stressed the importance of collectivism and further stated that it's the highest value held within society.

"Our highest value is to take care of each other, we live as a community and we still hold this within Sweden, I have only 3 kids but stay with other family members, some stay temporarily and by temporarily I mean more than a few months, some come because they are troubled, so they can stay around until they are out of their troubles"

Religion was yet another cultural practice reported. All respondents reported that they were Muslims, one went on to emphasize that she is not only a Muslim but also an active one. When asked of the difference, she explained that an active Muslim is one that follows and put in practice the doctrines of Islam like praying five times a day. When asked of other religions that the Somali people practice, it was reported that the Somali community is a Muslim community, therefore there is not any other religion practiced. However a single respondent noted that before the civil war, the whole population was Muslim but afterwards some individuals started practicing Christianity. It was further noted that the Somali Muslim community belongs to the Suni Muslim sect and not the Shia Muslim sect.

Also captured is the fact that Muslim faithful are required to dress in a particular way. It was reported that the Muslim doctrines require women to cover the whole body and not to put on clothes that show the shape of the body. A respondent further echo that inclusive of the clothes that cover the whole body is the Hijab which women use to cover the head and part of the face. When asked if men were also required to dress in a particular way, the respondents note that Muslim religion requires men also not to put on tight clothes and also not to put on clothes that go beyond their ankles.

Subsequent discussions further brought to light that the clothing style of the Somalis is not only dependant on religion but also dependant on their traditions. It was noted that traditionally the Somalis dress differently depending on the occasion, one respondent explains that weddings call for a different traditional dressing from the one put on a daily basis.

"But also as Somalis we have our own traditional clothes, and these differ depending on the occasion and existing condition, in house it depends on who is around, if we have visitors then I have to cover myself, I do not cover myself if its only my kids and my husband around, at the wedding, I put on a specific dress meant for wedding occasions"

The respondents also pointed out and explored language as yet another culture practice. The respondents had varying knowledge on the language or languages used within Somalia. Some explained that there is only one language used within Somalia and that is Somali. Others brought to light that Somali was not the only language used within Somalia, it was noted that Somali was the national language but other languages notably Benaadir and May were used by Somalians. One respondent went on and said that Arabic was commonly used among the Somali population and it was common to find schools teaching the Arabic language. The respondent also brought to light that some of the elderly people within Somalia speak Italian language since the country is an Italian colony, and also since some have migrated to English speaking countries, some speak English.

Yet another cultural practice reported is nomadic pastoralism. It is captured from the discussion that almost half of the Somali population is nomadic. It was reported that they rear mostly goats, sheep and camels and from time to time move from one area to another in search for water and pasture. One respondent noted that these pastoralists are not bound by Somali country boarders thus some move past the Somali boarders into some neighboring countries. It's important to highlight that one respondent noted that this kind of lifestyle is carried on by some persons when they come to Sweden. The respondents cites incidences where these persons are on the constant move from one area to another, from one relative to another and also notes that the nomadic lifestyle is reflected when some individuals decide to live on social welfare benefits, it was brought to light that the nomads always live on the minimum.

"When some people with a nomad background come into Sweden they tend to reflect their nomadic behavior as they tend to visit their relatives so oftenly, they also tend to rely on social welfare and this also reflects the nomad behavior as their concern is always the minimum and nothing more than that"

Division of roles and responsibilities among women and men was yet another culture practice captured from the discussions held. It was reported that men and women hold different roles and responsibilities at both family and community level. Respondents cite that men hold a role as a family head and this comes with a responsibility to provide for the family members. One respondent interpreted this to imply that it is the man to engage in gainful employment. Women on the other hand were responsible for taking care of the home and according to the responses

got this entailed cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of the children and taking care of the elderly. When asked what brings about such ascription of roles, the responses indicate that the Muslim religion requires man to look after his wife and also this was attributed to tradition norms. When asked if these roles and responsibilities have changed as time has gone on, the respondents agree that indeed some but not all have changed. It is captured that women have come out and engaged in gainful employment however one respondent notes that this has not changed the fact that the man is still the head of the house, another respondent agrees with this and adds that there are instances where the woman engages in gainful employment but still decision on what the money shall be used for is made by the man.

When asked if the view of man and woman changes when they move on into Sweden, a respondent explains that man as a head of family does not change, however the roles of man and woman often change within Sweden.

'This doesn't change when we come to Sweden, always man is the head of the family, but the problem is you do not have a house keeper or own mother to help you out, you only have a husband, there is need to take kids at school, have to cook, woman has to go to school, so man has to help out in the house, man has to help out with work at home''

Further inquisition into cultural practices also brought to light the cultural practice of female genital mutilation. A respondent explains that this is a traditional cultural practice common among women within Somalia. The respondent goes on and explains that the clitoris is wholly removed in this case and then after blockage of almost the whole vagina is made, with a small hole left. It's explained that the intent hereby is to avoid premature engagement in sex. Another respondent emphasizes that the practice of female genital mutilation is wholly traditional and not religious and argues that there is a misconception that it is religious and that is why most individuals engage and agree with it.

When asked about education and literacy within Somalia, several views were held by the respondents. It was noted that before the civil war, children used to go to school as early as seven years of age. Therefore a good number of people were going through the education system and were literate. This was partially confirmed when the education background of the respondents before they came to Sweden was sought, all respondents reported that they had gone through school within Somalia. It was however noted by one respondent that when it came to girls, not many were enrolled into school; most were expected to stay home so as to learn house chores. When asked to explain the situation after the beginning of the civil war, most of the respondents agree that the school system was dilapidated, the children could not go to school as war intensified, and the respondents thus cite lower education and literacy levels unlike before.

Other aspects of culture reported by the respondents are explored in the following quotes.

"We have our own traditional food for example plantains, rice"

"We respect the elderly so much; we always seek wisdom from them"

"Most of our marriages are arranged by the elderly within the families and often individuals from other clans are sought"

"We treasure the family a lot and most of our families are extended families"

Analysis

The above paragraphs explore the culture practices of the Somali people which provides a firm background into the exploration of the concept of learning a new culture and associated integration with a cultural framework inclusive of own and foreign culture. From a social constructivist view, own culture is crucial in the learning of the foreign culture. It is a source of tools, signs and knowledge that facilitates psychological processes. From the researchers understanding individuals thus do accept particular elements of foreign culture and reject others basing on own cultural knowledge. In conclusion such background information provided an understanding of the respondent's behavior, motivation and interpretation of the processes and associated dynamics regarding the culture integration process.

5.2 Culture Integration Processes

Description of Swedish Culture

When asked to offer a description of the Swedish culture, the immediate response from most of the respondents offer an impression that the Swedish culture is different from own culture.

"They do have their own religious and cultural heritage"

"Their personality, tradition and morals are different"

The Swedes have their own traditions, moods and culture that does not reconcile with own culture"

Another respondent describes the Swedish culture as a complex culture. The respondent explains that there is no clear cut point to enable the understanding of the Swedish culture. He further notes that most times one needs to read between the lines in order to understand the unwritten cultural codes.

"Well the Swedish culture is so complex; it takes a lot to have a clear understanding of the culture itself"

Another respondent offers her first impression on the Swedish culture; the respondent explains that at first in reference to own faith, she found the Swedish culture to be that of non believers.

"When I came to Sweden I could not really understand why someone has to put on dress that showed one's body shape, it came to me that these were non believers"

In quite similar manner another respondent referred to the Swedish community as a secular community.

"I find this society to be secular; behaviors such as drunkenness are easily accepted within such a community"

Learning the Swedish Culture

It was reported by all the respondents that they learn the Swedish language through a program called Swedish for Immigrants (SFI). One respondent however added that the SFI program is usually the first step towards the learning of the Swedish language, with the basic knowledge of the language; the respondent asserts that individuals devise other ways of mastering the language. Yet another respondent adds that the SFI program not only provides ground for learning the Swedish language but also provides an opportunity for the refugees to be taught other cultural elements of the Swedish society.

"We are not only taught about the Swedish language, we have courses on the values and norms of the Swedish society, in some places like Mangkulturella Folkhogskolan much more is done as the refugees are taught Math and Computer skills"

A respondent also brings to light that during the Swedish language course, each individual is placed in a work environment where he or she is expected to practice the language. The respondent adds that from own personal experience she was able to interact more with the Swedish people when she was taken to the practicum and concludes that with this she was able to learn the Swedish culture more. In a related aspect another respondent noted that during this practicum and subsequent interaction, the Swedish persons get to know more about the Somalians.

"Before I was placed with the organization, I had heard a lot of false rumors with regard to us, Somalians, when I got a chance to interact with the Swedish at this organization; I was able to explain to them our culture"

A respondent that went through the SFI program in the early 1990s explains that by then the program did not include practice of the language. He explains how they got to practice the language;

"Those days the Swedish people were not as open as they are today, but we realized that when they drink some beers they tend to open up, therefore we would move to the town center in the evening and go to such places and interact with these people, in this way we practiced the Swedish language"

The respondent adds that;

"This not only helped us to practice the language but we learnt more about Sweden, for example there were many sculptures around but we did not know what they meant, through this interaction we got to know"

Another respondent notes that since the practice for the language was nonexistent by then, he decided to move to a smaller city where he could easily interact with the local community.

"Well I had the basic knowledge on Swedish but I could not practice it, opportunity for interaction with the Swedish was hard as our neighborhood consisted of mostly foreigners, I thus decided that I move to a smaller city, Gallivare, where I could easily interact with the community"

When asked if this helped him learn other Swedish cultural elements and practices, the respondent replied;

"Definitely I did, fortunately while in that city a family decided to take me up as a family member, I was thus able to attend many gatherings where the Swedes were, learning the language was easier, understanding the Swedes was easier, I learnt a lot"

It was also reported by yet another respondent that going for language practice in an organization was not enough, he adds that to master the language he started reading the daily free newspaper Metro and also started watching television programs that were in Swedish. He however notes that watching the television programs was not only for mastering the language but also seeing how the Swedes dress, what food they take, and the kind of music they listen to.

In a similar aspect, another respondent notes that;

"the practice of the language within the organizations was not effective therefore I decided to look out for a contact person within the Swedish community that could guide me through mastering of the language and also take me through some other things, I was interested in further getting to know how women get to be independent; when I got this contact person she helped me understand how I could be independent"

Other responses captured highlight that non government organizations and formal social networks were also involved in helping the respondents learn the Swedish culture.

"The Somali Intellectual Banadir Organization helps the new ones, we orient them about Sweden, obviously issues to do with culture are explored"

"We do have the Somali Network in Hjalbo which is really concerned with working with the new Somalis, we try to explain to them how things work in this country, we also go out and help children with their homework and also help those that are willing with learning the Swedish language"

Aspects of Swedish Culture related to

Similar thoughts were shared by all respondents when it came to language as they referred to it as being the most important cultural aspect related to. The respondents identified that they found it important to learn the Swedish language. One of the respondents exemplifies the importance of language as she states that with knowledge and competence in the Swedish language one easily breaks through into the job market. Other respondents also exemplified the importance of learning the Swedish language as they noted that knowing Swedish enables communication with service providers, in similar manner another one noted that knowledge of the language enables use of the services available. It was also reported that with knowledge of the Swedish language one makes a break through towards understanding other cultural elements.

Responses from female respondents heavily echoed that they much relate with the existing gendered social structure. One respondent explains that within the Swedish society equality of man and woman exists to a greater extent. She exemplifies this by relating to the social welfare benefits she earlier got with the husband.

"When we had just got to Sweden, my husband and I used to receive the same amount of welfare money, this was really surprising, man and woman being seen as similar, totally surprising"

The respondent goes on and explains how this served as a stepping stone towards living an independent life as time went on.

"With the little money I used to get, I started living an independent life, this encouraged me to get a job and start earning my own money, right now am independent and do not need a man to provide for me"

When asked the effects of living an independent life on her relationship with the husband, the respondent explains that the change in roles eventually bring about conflict in the family but she was quick to add that in most cases such cases are resolved when the man realizes that meeting the cost of living within Sweden may require an extra hand to bring an income into the family. In instances where conflict pursues, the respondent highlighted that some separate from their husbands and live an independent life, others heed to the husband. When further asked why some still heed to their husbands, she explains that religion plays a major role and women are expected to be loyal to their husbands.

Through probing, male respondents opened up on the issue relating to the existing gender social structure. One explains that adjusting to other roles earlier presumed as feminine was hard; he goes to note that but as time passed by acceptance of such roles came by. Yet another respondent was so negative about the existing gender roles and attached them to failing Somali families within Sweden. Another respondent encourages women to take up existing roles but cautions the women to always strike a balance between the new roles and the older roles they held.

Unlike women who echoed much on relating to existing gender social structure, the men noted that they related much to the work culture of the Swedish people. The respondents referred to the work culture as one based on effectiveness and efficiency.

"They are so effective, when you do provide them with an assignment; they offer you something of good quality"

"They are so organized at their work places and those that are employed are so competent"

One respondent also noted that he relates much with the time keeping culture of the Swedish people. The respondent explains that people within Somalia are bad at keeping time thus always late for appointments; he notes that through interaction with the Swedish people he got to know the essence of keeping time and how effectively one can keep time and appreciates that he relates to this culture aspect. In related aspect the respondent adds that also he relates much to the culture of having a daily, weekly and monthly plan. The respondent notes that this enables him to manage a very tight schedule.

Aspects of the Swedish Culture Shunned

All respondents referred to the Swedish people as not social. They went on and commonly said it is one cultural aspect that they do not want to relate to. One respondent went on and explained that the Swedish people are un-open, not only to the foreigners but also to their fellow Swedes. Another respondent cited the eventualities that result from this un-openness. He notes that this fails possibility for socialization with the nationals; he further notes that it makes it hard to get to know the values, norms of the Swedish society since one cannot easily interact with them. A respondent exemplifies the situation and he explains;

"It's hard to make friends with the Swedes, one day my Swedish neighbor had locked himself out of the building, I was on my balcony and I could see him stranded, he eventually saw me on my balcony but still he refused to ask for my help, in the end I decided to leave my house so that I go

down and open for him but still he was hesitant to get in and I really did not get to understand what was going through his mind"

A number of respondents also observed that the society was so much individualistic. The respondents explain that everyone is concerned about his or her own issues. One respondent added that when an individual gets a problem and approaches someone, however much need that person may be in; the individual approached will always refer him or her to the concerned authorities.

"I once approached a Swedish friend of mine, I was in need of some money, and he told me that he has the money but I should try the social benefits office"

Another respondent related the individualistic behavior to elderly care within Sweden. The respondent asked herself;

"How can someone who raised you for about 20 years be catered for in an elderly home yet you have a big house that can accommodate him?"

The respondent added that she totally disagreed with individualism as she found it to be a way of disconnecting family members.

One respondent also noted that the Swedish community was so secular and asked herself if there were any Swedish believers. She associated the secularity with the drinking of alcohol, moving out on the streets half naked, putting on clothes that show the body shape, and also embracing practices of homosexuality.

It was also captured from the responses that a respondent found the culture of offering social benefits un-acceptable. He explains that social benefits are necessary when someone has just come into society trying to fit in, but after sometime he argues social benefits should be removed so that someone engages more in constructive and paying work. In own words the respondent explains that;

"This tendency of continuing to give people free money makes them lazy; they find no reason to get work I think it should have a limit so that such people become more constructive"

Analysis

The experiences of the study respondents with regard to learning the Swedish culture can be explained by the tenets of the social constructivist theory. The theory explains that culture is learned through facilitation from an individual or group of individuals. This explains the existence of programs like SFI and other informal programs that provide mutual ground for facilitators who help the refugees to learn the Swedish culture. The learning environment is also identified as key in this learning process as it directly influences the learning process. This explains the respondents urge to find appropriate environment to help master the Swedish language. One decided to shift to a smaller environment within another city which he presumed

would provide better ground for mastering the Swedish language. The theory also identifies the socialization process as key within the learning process. This process is found to consist of reciprocal interactions and joint construction of meaning by the individual and others in the social context. Respondents reported that they sought for ways of socializing with the natives and believed it was a way they would learn the culture better. One sought for a contact within the community; another one moved to another city which he presumed would enable easier interaction with the natives. The importance of reciprocal interactions could explain why one would seek for individuals who were willing to interact with them. This is exemplified by the fact that individuals sought for natives who were under the influence of alcohol, the interactions with these individuals were found to be reciprocal.

The social constructivist theory could also provide an explanation for the respondent's relation to particular cultural elements and disposition of other elements. The theory explains that learning a new culture involves cognitive activity which comprises of constructing, inventing, creating, questioning and analyzing. The eventuality of this process is selective adoption of cultural elements and retention of valued cultural heritage. This is thus manifested when respondents adopted particular cultural elements and also shunned away from other cultural elements.

5.3 Experiences with Culture Integration Processes

All respondents raised concerns with regard the SFI program intended for language learning. One of the respondents describes the program as one developed with no care for difference between refugees. He explains that all refugees are expected to go through the same language learning program.

"We, that is the Somalians and other refugees from various parts of the world, attend the same classes, we are treated the same way yet we are different"

One respondent however goes further to not only look at the categorization with regard to the whole refugee population but also look at categorization on basis of youth and the elderly. The respondent explains that the program is not considerate to the learning differences that exist among the youth and the elderly. He adds that some people are too old with no interest in going through the kind of learning provided by the SFI program.

Quite similar response was raised as the respondent asked himself how the Government expects refugees with no educational background to go through a program that in his own thinking was developed for persons who are literate.

"Well I have been through the SFI program, clearly this is a program that was developed for people who have an education background, the refugees that are coming in now, especially the youth have not been to school, they cannot write and read, for them going through this program is a waste of time"

The respondent adds that;

"To make matters worse the teachers themselves are not motivated to teach these youths, this also discourages the youth"

Another respondent raised concerns with regard to the individuals who attend this language learning program with no educational background. The respondent notes that most of these youth have no interest in learning the language and thus they just attend the program so as to get the monetary benefits that come with attending it. The respondent goes on and airs his concerns that in such instances such individuals will not pass the language tests and thus asked by the teachers to repeat the course from the start.

The respondent however finds fault in the repetition process;

"When one fails he is expected to reapply for the course and take the course level again, and reapplication does not mean that that person will get a place in the next intake, this might take him another 6 months to get a place, so even the little language he has learnt will vanish and by the time he goes back, it will like teaching a new person that has never learnt any Swedish"

It was also raised by one respondent that the program is a full time commitment; she explains that the program runs for eight hours each day yet there are other commitments that require ones attention. She provides an example;

"I had a family that I had to look after, the children needed to eat after school, the children needed to helped with their homework and so many other things, so committing myself for eight hours a day to learning the language was such a challenge"

Another respondent was also concerned with the program being a full time commitment. She explains;

"The time I enrolled onto the SFI program was about the same time I had my first child, there was no way I could commit myself to attending the program since it required me to stay the whole day, I thus decided to stop learning and look after my child, I started learning the language after four years because in between I had two more children"

Quite different from earlier responses, a respondent raised concern with regard to residential placement. The respondent explains that the residential areas that refugees stay comprise of mostly immigrants with a few Swedish people. He notes that one might even think that such residences belong to a separate country other than Sweden. He raises concern with this kind of arrangement; he notes that this kind of arrangement fails interaction with the Swedish community and also results into the native population leaving such areas. He relates this to integration as he says that;

"Where ever you go you find fellow foreigners, in cases where you find a fellow Somali you get to interact in own language, this does not in any way help to practice the Swedish language, if really we do not interact with the Swedes how shall we understand their values, beliefs, how do we master their language, and by the way how can we establish ourselves into a country that keeps us in a quite smaller 'country'?"

In related aspect another respondent emphasizes that interaction among the refugees and the Swedish people is very minimal especially at the beginning of the refugees stay within Sweden. The respondent explains that Sweden is a country with a totally different language un-known to the Somali, there is no way one can interact with the Swedes, she adds that what makes it worse is that the people are not social which makes the interaction efforts fail, she also raises concern of the various misconceptions that the people have on the Somali population, she says;

"Some Swedish people have a bad image on blacks, they think a black person is not capable of doing anything, they view us as people who are taking away their money through receiving social benefits, what makes it worse is we are also Muslims, that makes it worse, some people think that all Muslims are terrorists and they believe that one day we shall bring harm to the Swedish people"

She goes to explain the danger of such misconceptions;

"When people have such an image of us, they get even more un social especially to us, it really makes the interaction between us and the Swedes very hard, in the end we find ourselves oftenly interacting with fellow Somalis"

Concerns were also raised by some respondents on the existing mistrust among parties concerned with the integration of the refugee population. The respondents report that government bodies, non government organizations and Somali Communal Networks are involved in the integration of the refugees. It's however noted that there exists mistrust among these parties especially among non government organizations and the Somali Communal Networks. One respondent notes that some non government organizations have a wrong perception on the Somali Communal Networks especially the one in Hammarkullen. He adds that the organization officials view the members of this communal network as radicals. Another respondent brings to light that the existing mistrust also exists between government bodies and the Somali Communal Networks. He explains that government refuses to offer financial help to such networks since they do not trust them.

One respondent comes out to explain the implication of such mistrust;

"The integration of refugees is complex, it cannot be handled by government alone, even though non government organizations are involved, these organizations are not so conversant with the Somali population as the Somali networks are, I think they is need to involve the networks more, with this integration process shall be better, but now it's not that good"

Analysis

From a social constructive perspective, the existing experiences with regard to integration process are detrimental to reflexivity. Reflexivity enables the social nature of being human; it's viewed as the formation of the individual resulting from constant interaction with others. Low levels of reflexivity imply low levels of socialization on part of the individual thus possibility for the person to integrate into society shall be minimal. The low levels of motivation, the relation of attending the SFI program to social benefits, the misconceptions among natives on who a Somali person is, residential segregation are all detrimental to the socialization process thus foil reflexivity. The structural and social difficulties experienced and or noted by the respondents therefore are an impingement to the socialization process which could result into failure for someone to integrate into society.

Social constructivism also brings into light the interplay of agency and structure. From the interviewees responses it could be seen that the structural arrangements limit their capacity to act independently and make their own free choices that they believe would facilitate the integration process better. This is clearly manifested when the residential placements made later resulted into residential segregation which limits the respondent's possibility to interact with the native community.

5.4 Culture Positioning of Refugees within Swedish Society

All respondents reported that they were endorsed as citizens of the Swedish state. When asked if becoming Swedish citizens enabled the culture integration process, most of them agreed that it indeed helped with the process. One of the respondents explains that receiving the citizenship status made him feel at home. Another respondent interpreted the receiving of the citizenship status as a way of being accepted into the Swedish society. Yet another respondent noted that with such a status, together with his children, they could easily have access to learning institutions.

One of the respondents explains that becoming a Swedish citizen enabled her reunification with her children. She explains;

"When I left Somalia, I moved to Kenya, when I was in Kenya I gave birth to two children, fortunately I was able to come to Sweden but left my children with my relatives, after about four years, I received citizenship, in the next years I worked hard to see that my children join me and in the end they indeed joined me, it was a moment of joy, I felt peaceful at last"

When asked how she managed the family reunification process since it is reported that most Somali refugees fail to reunify with their families because of tight government rules on such a process, she explains;

"My children were born in Kenya so the birth certificates they have are from the Kenyan authorities, so this made it easy, but those individuals that have Somali birth certificates have problems, they are not so much trusted"

Another respondent raised another issue with regard to cultural positioning as she reported that as time went on she was able to form social relationships with some Swedish people. She explains that the Swedish people are nice people even though they are not so open. She adds that when one forms a relationship with one of them, they actually open up.

"When I become friends with the Swedish people, they started to open up, and by the way one thing I realized they are so much interested in trying to know the Somali people, they often ask me why I dress like I do, they ask the kind of food we take, actually at my work place I at times prepare our traditional food and they really like it"

Further inquisition in what these kinds of relationships mean to the respondent, she explains;

"When I made my first Swedish friend, she took me all around Sweden, we went to the Islands, we went to movies, at first I was hesitant to go to a bar since I am Muslim but she explained that we could go and I would take water or soda within a bar, I thought there were only beers in bars, so to answer your question, they mean a lot to me, I was able to visit various areas because of my Swedish friends"

When asked if she still have social ties with her family and friends within Somalia, she says;

"Yes I do, I think about them everyday especially my parents, I call them from time to time to see how they are, I send them money from time to time especially at the end of the months, I feel really bad that I cannot be with them, especially my parents who are in old age now"

Another respondent had this to say when asked about his external social ties;

"I cannot do without my relatives, I work hard to see that they also have a better life, once in a while I send them money, I am also involved in some charity work within Somalia, every year I go back like twice and see that some school buildings are rebuilt and many other things, I cannot do without them"

Another issue reported with regard to cultural positioning was about practicing of Muslim faith. All respondents acknowledged that they are able to practice their faith. One respondent goes on to explain that they do have mosques around where they go for prayers; he also appreciates the government efforts to see that the Muslim leaders are recognized by the authorities and also facilitated in doing their jobs.

However one respondent raises concern with the way the Muslim believers are construed;

"Even though the government sees that we practice our faith, individuals have a bad image of Muslim people, they view us as a threat to the Swedish society, this really is a poor view of the Somali community"

Also captured were worries with regard to the cultural positioning of Somali refugees. It was reported by some of the respondents that they really had doubts with refugee acceptance and membership to the Swedish society. One of the respondents explains that he finds it hard at times to use own language especially in social gatherings. He adds that when some Swedish people hear someone speaking a foreign language, they get irritated. When asked if he is confronted by such people, he explains;

"Not in a physical way but someone's face changes to a sad and may be angry one when he hears me speak my language, also lets say am in a bus, some decide to look for other seats far away from me when they hear me speak my language"

Concerns with regard to refugee acceptance were further raised in reference to refugee dressing. One of the respondents explains;

"In the first months I asked a friend who had been around for some years to take me to the employment office, when I reached there we found another group of Somali women, who did not know Swedish so I guess because of this the officials decided to backbite them in Swedish, they said how can someone with such long dress and all face covered up be able to work, it's best if they just stay home and wait for social benefits"

Another respondent airs out her concerns with regard to the people's attitude towards the Somali clothing style and she says;

"Our kind of clothing is easily noticeable by all people, there is some kind of resentment to the Somali women who really cover their whole body, at times I hear people whispering to each other on how they dislike our clothing, they keep asking themselves how someone can possibly dress in such a way"

Complaints were also raised with regard to refugee children acceptance within schools. A respondent notes that there have been instances where refugee children have been discriminated within schools. When asked for the basis of the discrimination he explains that it's because the children are viewed as foreign. He further notes that the worrying bit is that the teachers have at times been engaged in such discriminatory practices.

"A few years back there was an incidence where a teacher told a child that he did not see why he strives to study because he will not make it in life"

Another respondent raised concerns with regard to the education system. He explains that when he came to Sweden, he had education qualifications though when presented to the authorities they argued that such qualifications were not equivalent to Swedish standards. He goes on and explains;

"I was requested to begin with learning the language, after the SFI program, I joined a higher learning institution but the worst experience was that it took me ten years to join university, by the time I came into Sweden I was in my thirty's so the time I joined university I was in my forties, I found it humiliating"

He adds;

"Well passing through the education system was a nice experience but seriously at times I wonder why I wasted my time, I was hoping that afterwards I would get a job, but up to now I have got one, I have now resorted to opening up a retail shop"

Similar concerns were raised with regard to the securing of employment among the Somali people. All respondents agreed that it is hard for the Somali population that has gone through the Swedish education system to be employed in their line of qualification. One respondent explains that it is easy for one to be employed as a personal assistant yet his academic qualifications are those of an engineer. When asked why this is the case, one respondent explains;

"Well when one is a foreigner or refugee he or she will remain a foreigner even though he is granted citizenship, when we are granted citizenship, there is no name change so when you send an application, it will be easily put aside since you are not a native of Sweden, priority is given to the natives"

Another respondent explains the implication of such;

"This really discourages the youth in society, seeing someone struggle with studying but in the end working in a coffee shop, something needs to be done, these kids see their once role models fail"

Analysis

The social constructivist theory brings in the aspect of social reality being susceptible to change. This could explain the existing changes that come by in the lives of the respondents. Notable changes include formation of social relations with the natives and receipt of citizenship. Delanty & Rumford (2005) in explaining the process of construction of social reality however note that the process involves contestation and negotiation. This could explain aspects of the respondent's culture position that relate to non acceptance and non membership to society. Therefore from the researcher's perspective it could be asserted that such aspects like non acceptance of Somali language is undergoing processes of contestation and negotiation and probably shall be accepted in the future.

The functionalist perspective could also explain yet another aspect of the culture position of the respondents. The functionalist perspective explains that societal systems are interrelated and interdependent parts and these parts have an inbuilt tendency to adapt to each other so that society as a whole is in a state of equilibrium. When mutual accommodation or adaptation among the Swedes and the Somali population fails, society falls into a state of disequilibrium thus norms and values against acts like discrimination are no longer held within society which results into social tension within the society. This has far reaching consequences to the cultural integration process, it fails the process.

5.5 Culturally Specific Recommendation with regard to Integration

When asked to provide recommendations with regard to culture integration, each respondent had different views on the issue;

"I know this is so not an easy task but the SFI program should be developed in such a way that to a great extent each refugee is treated as an individual, this is because each refugee has his own background, own history, let me try to explain this more, usually people have different learning abilities, so if u categorize people as a whole, you will only realize that someone is lagging behind at the end of the course"

"For all programs developed, there is need to ensure that there is a component of interaction with the Swedish people, if one wants to learn the culture of the Swedish, he must interact with them; I also think the government should think about transferring some refugees to the smaller cities within Sweden, this will enable easier interaction with the Swedish people, it really helps one master the language easily, and it helps one to learn other culture elements like music, art"

"The government should also embark on finding families that are willing to adopt Somali children or the youth, this enables one to easily integrate, I was taken up by some family and I was able to go to soccer games, hockey games, and music concerts, was able to master the language easily, so I think such families could really help, I also think a program should be developed that helps refugees get contact persons that could help them to learn the language and also help them understand the Swedish society, its values, morals, I think these contact persons can really help"

"There is need to involve the Somali Communal Networks more, I think these networks can do more, especially this can be the right place to pick some contact persons to help out the new refugees; there is also need for further efforts to sensitize the Swedish people about the Somali culture, they have several misconceptions about us, it's important that they get to know about us, they will accept us more"

"It's important that our academic qualifications that we got before we came here are respected, it should be at least an equivalent of a meaningful level not SFI, it should be that we spend less time going through school again, this will speed up the integration process and also for those that have attended schools and universities within Sweden, efforts should be made that they get jobs on their line of qualification, we really need models for the Somali youth and really such people should be, but they will not if they working in coffee shops after studying so hard and for many years"

"The issue of children and other family members re-uniting with the refugees should be taken seriously because it brings peace to them and easily settle within the Swedish society, apart from that the refugee population should be involved in the development of policies that affect them; at least they should be consulted first before coming up with such policies"

CHAPTER SIX DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter covers the discussion and conclusion drawn from the study results. The last paragraphs of the chapter provide recommendations for policy and also areas for further research are provided.

6.1 Somali Cultural Practices

Study respondents shared similar thoughts on the constituents of the Somali culture which confirms with Ember and Ember (2011) conception that for anything to be cultural it has to be shared among a group of people. A number of elements comprising the Somali culture were identified and these were collectivism, religion, dress code, language, pastoralism, gender based roles and responsibilities, education and literacy.

Within the cultural elements and practices mentioned there were individual variations as not all Somali people shared similar cultural practice. Ember and Ember (2011) highlights about such cultural traits and explains that even though a thought or action can only be cultural if it is commonly shared; there are instances where individual variations exist, in that not everyone shares a particular characteristic of that society. This is true with the practice of nomadic pastoralism as it was reported that almost half of the Somali population was involved in nomadic pastoralism.

With the cultural practices reported, it could be noticed that there exists interrelations among certain cultural practices. This rhymes with Ember & Ember (2011) argument that culture is patterned which means that the behaviors and ideas one identifies with him or herself are related, adjusted to or consistent with one another. An interrelation was found between religion and the dress code of the Somali people. The study results show how the dress code of the Somali people is influenced by the doctrines of the Muslim faith.

From the study results captured, it could be seen that culture influences ones behavior. Scholars such as Jandt (2012) highlight this issue; Jandt argues that one's thoughts, patterns of behavior, values, and assumptions about life guides ones behavior. Within the study results it could seen that culture influences ones behavior as it was noted that individuals with a pastoralist background always reflect pastoral behavior in their daily practices within Sweden. They prefer to live on the minimum, a trait common among nomadic pastoralists.

Borrowing from Bourdieu (1986) conception of cultural capital, it can also be deduced that the Somali people boast of a cultural framework consistent of varying elements inclusive of embodied capital, objectified capital and institutional capital. Embodied capital refers to culture consciously acquired or passively inherited over a period of time. Objectified capital implies physical objects owned and institutional capital implies institutional recognition. With regard to study results embodied capital includes language, collectivism, and gender based roles and responsibilities; objectified capital includes dress codes or clothing and institutional capital includes education and literacy, religion and pastoralism.

6.2 Culture Integration Processes

The respondents described the Swedish culture as a culture that was wholly different from their own. This rhymes with Lakey (2003) argument that the immigration process places the immigrants in a situation where they find the behavioral modes and values of the host community to be foreign to them. The Swedish culture was also described as complex which is an indication of the prevailing uncertainty about how to live within the cultural setting. Lakey (2003) explains that this uncertainty is due to the fact that one is unfamiliar with many aspects of life within the host community. Lakey adds that this uncertainty is highest at the initial stage, which is also true to the study results as the respondents description sought was that when the respondents had just got to Sweden.

From the study results, the breakthrough to learning the Swedish culture was wholly associated with learning the Swedish language. Ember & Ember (2011) emphasize the importance of language as they argue that human ideas and behaviors are learnt from others with the aid of spoken or symbolic language. The SFI program was identified as the start point for learning the language however mastering of the language required the respondents to devise a continuum of ways. These include; interacting with workmates during job practice (job practice is part of the SFI program), finding contact persons within the community, moving to smaller cities where interaction with the natives is much easier, reading local newspaper, watching television telecasting programs in Swedish language and going to entertainment places to find natives to interact with. It was found that the natives under the influence of alcohol were easier to interact with.

Other parties that facilitated the learning of the Swedish culture were non government organizations and informal social networks which provided a forum for further interaction and orientation on the Swedish culture. The study results indicate that learning the Swedish language facilitates interaction with the native population which further enables the learning and acceptance of other elements of the culture. Lakey (2003) highlights the fact that language further facilitates learning and acceptance of other culture elements as he writes that communication competence facilitates all other aspects of adjustment to the host environment.

The respondents reported various aspects of the Swedish culture that they do relate to; consequently those that they do not relate to were reported. The respondents shared similar ground on language which they not only relate to but also found it important for their breakthrough into the Swedish community. The female respondents were found to relate much to the existing gender structure yet the male respondents were found to relate much to the work culture. This could explained by the earlier experiences with own culture, women were solely responsible for the household chores, relating with gender structure that encourages equality implies shared responsibility and man relating more with the work culture echoes his earlier role as a bread winner in the family. This could also be explained with Ember & Ember (2011) assertion that members in the subordinate society identify with the dominant culture in hope that they will share benefits of doing so. Most of the cultural elements that the respondents shunned away from emphasize the importance of socialization in cultural learning. The respondents could

not relate with aspects of being unsocial and being individualistic. Socialization implies reciprocal interactions (Sinam, 1986) thus being unsocial and individualistic fails socialization.

The discussion in the previous paragraph is a representation of what Ember & Ember (2011) refer to as culture change. Ember & Ember go on to explain that this change occurs when there is discovery or invention, diffusion and acculturation. The respondent's familiarization with Swedish language is an addition to ones knowledge thus a discovery and its use to make a breakthrough into society defines an invention. The extensive cultural borrowing from the Swedish culture, that is time keeping culture, work culture represents the acculturation process. In a whole this is a representation of cultural change.

Berry (2005) introduces behavioral shifts as yet another conceptualization, this involves sub processes of cultural shedding, culture learning and cultural conflict. Culture shedding and learning involve selective, accidental or deliberate loss of behavior to better fit within society. Responses captured represent such behavior loss, male respondents for example report taking on work culture of the Swedish people which implies that previous work culture is dropped. The existence of cultural traits that the respondents do not relate to brings into light that there is a selective adoption of new behaviors and retention of valued features of one's heritage, Berry (2005) refers to this as integration.

6.3 Experiences with Culture Integration Processes

The respondents shared quite similar or related views on the SFI program intended for learning of the Swedish language. Concerns were raised with the structuring of the program. It was noted that the program categorizes all refugees as one thus difference that exists among individuals is not taken into consideration, concern was further raised in regard to the repetition process which was identified as one that does not foster learning of the language.

Still with regard to the structural arrangement of the program, it was raised that the SFI program has a strong correlation with social benefits thus often individuals attending for the sake of earning social benefits. A motivation concern of both the learners and the teachers was raised; it's questionable if learners and teachers are motivated to fully take on expected roles. The structuring of the SFI program further raised concerns with regard to respect for the time, space and discipline norms as respondents struggled to strike a balance between family commitments and learning commitments.

Experiences with residential placement were also raised as respondents explained that this resulted into residential segregation which further downsized possibility for interaction and or socialization with the natives. Negative construction of the Somali refugee population was also raised by the respondents particularly on the basis of their ethnicity and faith. Varying misconceptions on viewing a Somali person are existent among some natives. Institutional pitfalls were also noticed as there is mistrust among parties concerned with integration of refugee population.

Berry (2005) explains that the integration process is only possible when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity; Berry adds that it's important that there exists mutual accommodation among both groups to attain integration and this is inclusive of national institutions that meet the needs of the non dominant society. Residential segregation fails openness and inclusiveness of the non dominant population into society, the negative construction of a Somali person fails mutual accommodation, the existing structural concerns also point to the fact that the institutions in place do not wholly meet the needs of the Somali population. Berry (2005) explains the consequence of such arrangements, Berry states that when the process of mutual accommodation between the dominant and non dominant group fails, cultural conflict exists which from the view of the researcher can result into social hostility, discrimination, xenophobia .

6.4 Culture Positioning of Refugees within the Swedish Society

The respondents revealed that they had received Swedish citizenship and they all agreed that it was a big step towards integrating into the Swedish society. The status was seen to imply acceptance into society. Other responses captured show how attaining citizenship enabled reunification with their families. The respondents further noted that they had managed to forge social relationships with the natives and explained that these kinds of relationships were important as it enabled intercultural appreciation among the parties. These kind of social relationships were also related to cultural integration as respondents noted that they enabled the cultural integration process. Even though social relationships were forged with some Swedish people, social ties with the family and friends within Somalia were never broken. This further confirms the element of collectivity among the Somali people. Even though the respondents were miles away, they still intervene to ensure that their family members and friend's needs are met. More responses captured revealed that the Somali population practices their faith that is the Muslim faith, praying places that is mosques are in place and also Muslim leaders existed and are fully recognized and also assisted to carry out their roles by Government.

However concerns were raised with regard to refugee acceptance and membership to the Swedish society. Responses captured revealed that there was non-acceptance among some natives with regard to refugee use of own language. Similar concerns were raised with regard to the dress codes of the Somali people. From the responses captured it could be seen that language use and dress codes is a basis for refugee discrimination within society. Quite related concerns were raised in reference to institutional settings like academic institutions and the job market. Concerns were aired on existing intolerance of refugee children within schools. Other concerns were on the educational qualifications attained from Somalia which were not recognized by academic institutions in Sweden which result into academic achievement delays. With regard to the job market responses raised note that there exists discrimination in the job market on basis of ethnicity thus resulting into refugees taking up jobs that are not in line with their qualifications. Such experiences were noted to be detrimental to the integration process especially to the newly arrived as they do not have model persons that could inspire them towards own achievement of integration. The above concerns questioned the perceived membership of refugees within the Swedish society.

The two sides of the coin with regard to culture positioning of the refugee population brings to light the necessity of the process of mutual accommodation in the integration process. UNHCR (2002) describes cultural integration as a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and ongoing process which requires preparedness to adapt to lifestyle of the host society and on part of the host society, willingness to be welcome and responsive to refugees. The social relations forged with host society, the intercultural appreciation existing among refugees and natives point to the fact that there exists mutual accommodation. However the existing gaps with regard to acceptance and membership of the refugee population within the Swedish society is an indication of failed adaptation on part of the members of the host society. This has far reaching consequences as it foils the integration processes not only of individual members that experience such but also those refugees that get to learn of such acts.

The cultural position of the respondents is also a representation of a way of living with a set of cultural knowledge and competencies which Lafromboise et al (1993), termed as biculturalism. A part of the cultural position of the respondents depicts the respondent's absorption into the Swedish culture for example through civic assimilation as respondents had received the Swedish citizenship. However absorption into the Swedish culture did not imply acceptance into the Society as it was reported that acts such as discrimination existed. It could also be deduced that the respondents did not lose identification with their culture of origin as it was reported that they continued to embrace their language, their dressing and their faith. The respondent's knowledge of their own mother tongue and also the Swedish language exemplifies the possibility for the respondents to participate in two different cultures or to use two different languages most likely for different purposes. This situation could also be explained by what Phinney & Alipuria (2006) termed as multiple social categorization, the common experience of simultaneously being and identifying with two social groups of different kinds. Phinney & Alipuria (2006) however notes that this has implications as one may eventually identify with only one of the two groups, others might identify themselves by creating a new category and others may identify themselves with both groups. From the researchers view, this has implications on the social formation of the society as it might further worsen instances of social isolation and discrimination.

6.5 Conclusion

From the study results, it could be concluded that language learning and consequently its mastering is the most crucial aspect of the culture integration process. Language learning facilitates all other processes of culture integration. It takes both formal and informal ways, formal ways are those related to government led programs like the SFI and the informal ways are largely related to the mastering of the language and these include finding contact persons within the community, reading local newspapers etcetera. The language learning process is however marred with several difficulties and these are largely stemming from the structuring of the SFI program. This calls for the immediate restructuring of the program so that it becomes more responsive to the learning needs of the users. The process of language learning and its mastering also represent a beginning to periods of cultural transformation in the lives of the respondents as the respondents were led into the learning elements of the Swedish culture that they later related to and or in other instances shunned away from. This represents culture adoption and shedding and this transcended in both the Somali culture and also the new learned culture. Elements of the Swedish culture were adopted largely because of the perceived benefits that one would get, this meant shedding own culture elements. However shunning particular culture elements also represented retention of those cultural elements that were considered of more value than the foreign ones. Thus the respondents borrowed only those cultural elements that they perceived to be of more value than their own cultural elements. The period of transformation highlighted above later shaped the cultural position of the respondents which is a representation of acceptance and membership of the respondents within the Swedish society. It can be concluded that acceptance and membership is to a great extent nonexistent, thus mutual accommodation between the Swedish society and the refugee community is hardly in existence, most of the accommodation is on part of the refugee community.

6.6 Recommendations for Policy

Drawing from the study conducted, the researcher came up with the following recommendations for policy.

Culture integration processes should pay attention to difference and individuality. This shall curb the growing discrimination resulting from categorizing refugees.

Integration programs should prioritize socialization processes between natives and the refugee population. Consideration should be made to roll out programs that ensure that refugees get contact persons within communities and also build on the informal practice of families taking up refugees as family members.

Programs should be devised that encourage dialogue on the refugee population; this will enable the native population to appreciate the culture of the refugee population and also foster mutual accommodation.

There should be efforts to involve and develop the Somali informal communal networks. These are crucial to the newly arrived refugees as they could easily forge relations with the members of the informal communal networks.

Efforts should be made to ensure that the Somali natives that have gone through Swedish academic system get jobs in line of their qualifications. Such an initiative will build on the model system within the Somali communities which further cements the integration processes.

Areas for further Research

There is need to explore the impact of the integration processes on the refugee family systems

There is need to explore the integration process from the point of view of the host society

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INTERVIEW GUIDE

Please take me through the different aspects of the Somali culture? (Seek for values, beliefs, norms, symbols)

How are "man" and "woman" viewed within Somalia?

Within Sweden, does this view of man and woman change? (Probe for eventualities if there change occurs)

What is your normal day like within Sweden? Are there any differences from how you spent your day back home in Somalia?

How would you describe the Swedish culture? (Probe: What's your take on Swedish culture? Are you conversant with the culturally appropriate culture within Sweden?)

What aspects of the Swedish culture do you relate with? (Seek for the general view of Somalis on Swedish culture)***

What aspects of the Swedish culture do you shun away from? (Probe: Why do you shun away from these cultural aspects)

Are there any aspects of the Somali culture that you have done away with in order to integrate within Society?

What are the different challenges faced as you try to adapt to a new culture?

What's your experience like as you try to integrate within the Swedish society? (Seek for interviewees view on his or her position within society, social relationships within society and with who (probe for both internal and external relationships); seek for interviewees view on his or her identity)

Are there any programs thus instituted to help you integrate within the Swedish society? **Focus on culture integration (Seek for programs from NGOs, Government and other actors)

What has been your experience within such programs? (Draw pro and cons)

In your own view, how would an ideal program to do with cultural integration be like?