

”It is a long process and it will take time but it does not mean that it is impossible – it is possible!” -

experiences of workers from three projects in prevention of honour-related violence
among patriarchal immigrant communities in Finland

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Abstract

In this study the focus is on examining the ways and methods to prevent honour-related violence among patriarchal immigrant communities. The phenomenon is proved to appear in Finland and hence it is important to find preventative solution-centred tools for it. The study also aims at addressing the challenges concerning the work as well as finding the developing points for future work in Finland. The data was collected from the main workers of three projects which focus on their work on prevention of HRV. The research is qualitative and semi-structured thematic interviews were used to collect the data.

One of the key findings of the study is the use of dialogue, whether using some functional method or a more traditional method. Through the dialogue and knowledge increase the thought patterns can be challenged as alternative ways to think and act can be offered. These are hoped to be activated in mind when some honour issue appears. The study results speak for an indirect way of addressing the issue among the target group so that people would not be driven away. Cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity seem to be good approaches in work. It is highlighted that the real change will only start from inside of communities which should be kept in mind at work.

Certain challenges stand out in results like unreachability of some people, the uncertainty of the work, integration problems as well as power and position changes inside families. These challenges point out also how the work could be developed in future like establishing more channels for reaching people and strengthening the integration process of different family members. The awareness and training for professionals and impact on the authorities to be able to develop the work is strongly recommended.

Keywords: honour, honour-related violence (HRV), honour violence, prevention, preventative work, culture, multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity, gender, gender sensitivity

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1 Introduction

Immigration has increased considerably during the last years. In the 2000s foreign population almost doubled in Finland. (Official Statistics of Finland 2012.) The refugee crisis this year has, of course, also accelerated the migration. Even though the amount of foreign nationals is relatively low in the international context (Official Statistics of Finland 2013), cultural diversity is growing with a good speed as the population of foreign background people is increasing (Hammar-Suutari 2009, 22).

One phenomenon that has risen up alongside immigration is honour-related violence (HRV). Suvi Keskinen (2009, 262) brings out that the discourse on the phenomenon started in Finland after the media report of a death of a young girl in Sweden who was murdered by her father because of honour reasons. The phenomenon, hence was introduced in relation to this extreme form – honor killing – to the public audience. (Ibid.) The phenomenon, however, contains many other forms that are more common than the extreme one. Even though it could be said that it has been quite an unknown form of violence in Finnish society, Pia Holm (2009, 147) reminds that if going back a couple of decades in history, the moral perceptions and the position of women were very different compared to those in present Finland. Also Satu Lidman (2015, 199) argues and shows that in the history of western violence culture and attitudes, unquestionably confluences to HRV can be found. I see that Holm's and Lidman's notes are good to keep in mind when taking a look at the topic. Sometimes it seems like we tend too easily to categorize some phenomenon as totally strange that do not have any connections to our society.

Eeva Suomenaro (2012), who gathered the central results together concerning the Human League of Rights' questionnaire research about HRV, found out as one of the central conclusions that HRV appears in Finland. The majority of the respondents recognizes the phenomenon and its' existence in their own community. HRV is not only

concerning the foreign background population, but also those who have already integrated into Finland and Finnish people through multicultural marriages (look e.g. van Dijken 2009, 152; Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 33). Thus, for instance, Marjo van Dijken (2009, 152) emphasizes that honour conflicts can not only be seen as a marginal problem but an issue that touches the whole society and that requires good prevention models. In addition, Keskinen (2009, 262,268) argues that the understanding of the phenomenon in the Finnish society contains problematic as it is often drawing stigmatizing lines between minority and majority groups when it comes to, for example, ethnicity, gender and religion.

At the beginning of the year 2015 I did a five week internship in Helsinki in a shelter for immigrant background women and children who are under a serious threat because of a partner or close relationship violence, forced marriage, honour-related violence or human trafficking. There I had a chance to get a little glimpse concerning the factors that are connected to the violence against immigrant women living in Finland. The phenomenon of HRV caught my attention during that time, even though there was only one case connected to that during my internship time. I read some information about the phenomenon and participated in couple of seminars. During my internship, I reflected back the social work studies that I had had so far and I realized that we had not dealt with this phenomenon at all in any point. When I was in the shelter it seemed to me, however, that social office was one of the main coworking partners with them and that it is not that uncommon that social workers, in addition to other actors, may meet people whose life honour related issues touch in a way or another. All this made me think about how important it would be, for social work students, to know about this phenomenon and I got more eager to choose this issue to my topic. I had a chance to work in the same shelter, where I did my internship, three months in summer 2015 that I found as a benefit when talking about violence among immigrant women.

After pondering different perspectives for my topic, I chose a solution centred, preventative approach. The girls and women who come to that shelter, where I worked, because of HRV can often be seen to be already in that kind of situation where no other

options are left, the situation is serious. Coming to the shelter often can be a huge step as that kind of act can show to the family, relatives and the whole community that you are turning your back to them and you do not know if you have a chance to go back anymore. Because of that I would see that the shelter is not a solution to stop the phenomenon, but it would most likely require intervention at an earlier stage – primary prevention – and that is the thing I want to focus on in this research.

One aim of my research is to raise awareness and knowledge about honour thinking and the violence connected to it especially in the sphere of social work. The central aim is to search answers for the question how HRV can be prevented. I want to become aware of some of the ways and methods that are used to prevent the phenomenon so far and what kind of experiences there is about them. I am also interested in knowing what kind of challenges there is in preventative work and what are the developing points and aspects in Finland. During my internship in the shelter I got to know about three projects whose work focus is prevention of HRV. I collected my empirical data from the workers of these projects - SOPU, DIDAR and KITKE.

I will use culturally sensitive and gender sensitive approaches as a theoretical context in my research, as well as researches concerning multiculturalism. I find these approaches as relevant in the prevention work of the phenomenon. After the introduction I will present some central literature I have used in my paper as sources. Then I will introduce honour thinking and the roots and meanings at the background of it. I will also bring up some discussions on religion in the light of the phenomenon as well as a woman's and man's life related to it. I will continue by addressing the issue of honour-related violence with its different forms and the prevalence of it in Finland. I will also show some differences between HRV and other forms of violence. After background information I will present the approaches that I use in my paper and then move on to explain the methodologies I used in my research data and data collection. I will present and reflect the results of my research in four different analysis chapters after which I will make the final conclusions.

2 Literature review

2.1 The main sources for background chapters

The background information in this research has its own important role because it creates basis for understanding the honour-related violence. Satu Lidman's (2015) book *Väkivaltakulttuurin perintö* (Inheritance of violence culture) examines violence from historical perspective. It discusses gender and power from 1500 century to the present day. In spite of the historical point of view, the book addresses the gender based violence in today's world. Lidman works as a researcher doctor in the faculty of law in the university of Turku. In her previous researches she has addressed issues of crime, punishment and shame in addition to violence and gender. In her book *Häpeä! Nöyryyttämisen ja häpeämisen jäljillä* (Shame on! In the footsteps of humiliation and shame) (2011) there is also a small section concerning honour, shame and violence to which I referred couple of times in my research. Lidman's interest lays in the connections between historical phenomena and today's societal problems. This factor, in my view, makes her work interesting and meaningful.

In the second section of her latest book, Lidman examines quite comprehensively honour-related issues. She has named the section as "*Sinä häpäiset meidät*" (You shame us). She takes a look at an individual in a collective culture addressing also racism and cultural sensitivity. She considers honour ethics and participates in discussion on defining HRV as well as notices its multidimensionality. Lidman also deals with the phenomenon from the viewpoint of both men and women. She describes the ideals of daughter, wife and mother as well as the responsibility of father, brother and husband. Female circumcision as well as arranged and forced marriage have gotten their own chapters in Lidman's work. At the end Lidman also discusses if and how the cycle of honour-related violence can be broken.

Rebwar Karimi, who is Master of sociology, has worked as an educator and developer of action models in several organizations. He supports comprehensive approach that

aims at attitude change in his work. I have used Karimi's input from different sources to my research. Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto (The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare) has published a release in 2009 on honour conflicts by presenting different perspectives to the recognition and prevention of the phenomenon as a part of Amoral-project. The project was held between 2007 and 2009 and it offered advice and support for the ones who have been experiencing or been under the threat of HRV, their families and also for the officials who have been facing the phenomenon through their work. In the second section of the book different approaches are given for defining and recognizing the phenomenon. Karimi has been one of the writers in this section as well as in the third section of the book concerning the keys for working with the phenomenon. In that section Karimi, among other things, discusses the recognition of risk signals and background factors.

Karimi's recent publication is a guidebook called *Rozanan vanhemille. Kunniallinen ratkaisu perheiden ristiriitoihin*. (To Rozana's parents. Honourable solution to the contradictories of families), which is targeted to the parents who face contradictories inside their family because of honour reasons. Karimi does not consider his book as a scientific release but he brings out that it has been supported also by scientific knowledge. The major basis for the book is his ten years work experience in the projects of Mannerheim League of Child Welfare and Human League of Rights among immigrant families who have been struggling with internal contradictories. Even though I have referred only few times to this book, I see it as an important source especially for professionals in different fields for understanding the phenomenon and particularly the point of view of parents. The book seems to be the first guidebook targeted to parents and I see that Karimi has been able to use his experience and insight maybe in a bit different way than what usually has been discussed on the topic. There is also a chapter in the book which deals with misunderstandings between officials and immigrant parents that I see useful for any officials to read, who work in places where they meet immigrants.

Sopu project has been one of the three projects participating in my research. One of the previous project workers, who is in charge of the project again from the beginning of

the year 2016, Johanna Aapakallio, has written a publication in 2014 in which she delivers basic information on honour-related conflicts and HRV. I used her work especially when opening the concept of honour and honourability. She brings up different ways of understanding honour in diverse cultures by presenting and explaining the words that are used in those countries. I find she has been able to open up the concept and its different views well. When I was doing my internship in Mona shelter I got a handbook which is meant for those working in reception centres for asylum seekers and refugees. Nnenna Allinen-Calderon, Marianna Kanervo and Reet Nurmi (2011) have edited the handbook that provides information how to help the victim of violence in those centres. I used mainly the section that deals with harmful traditions and special features of violence among immigrant women. HRV, forced marriages and female circumcisions were some of the things touched. I considered this handbook as a good basic information package on the issue.

2.2 The main sources for approach chapters

One of my main sources when discussing multiculturalism is a chapter in an edited book, published in 2005, called *Suomalainen vieraskirja, kuinka käsitellä monikulttuurisuutta* (Finnish guestbook, how to examine multiculturalism). Laura Huttunen, Olli Löytty and Anna Rastas who are also editors of the publication discuss Finnish multiculturalism and the relations that are both local and which go beyond limits. They find the concept of multiculturalism hard to define in a simple way as there are so many viewpoints to it. They discuss culture and then multiculturalism and deal with the topic, in my view, comprehensively and from many points of view. At the same time they present their own stand when it comes to the concept and understanding of it. They do not relate themselves with those who see cultures and multiculturalism in a narrow way connected to stereotyped features of different ethnicities but rather they emphasize the process nature of culture and individuality as well as and different dimensions and understandings of multiculturalism. They also emphasize the locality of multiculturalism presenting that it usually have various forms depending on the country and one way cannot be adapted to another country because of historical connections etc.

In addition to locality they highlight the nature of multiculturalism as something that goes beyond limits referring, for instance, to the connections immigrants maintain to their home countries even though living in a new country. My view of multiculturalism was much likely connected to the way Huttunen et al see the issue. I liked the comprehensive way they discussed the issue bringing up different perspectives to it.

I also want to mention a book, published in 2011, called *Kulttuurien kohtaamisja arjessa* in which I found an interesting chapter concerning multiculturalism and cultures. Mika Raunio, Minna Säävälä, Sari Hammar-Suutari and Pirkko Pitkänen discuss on multiculturalism and the arenas of interaction between cultures. I found their contribution to the definition of multiculturalism and culture talk as a good add as well as their points of cultural diversity. They shared the same view with Huttunen et al that no culture gives a ready manuscript for people to follow.

When addressing cultural sensitivity, I used Wynetta Devore's theoretical framework on ethnic sensitivity to get into the topic. This topic was published in 2010 in a book *Beyond racial divides* edited by Lena Dominelli, Walter Lorenz and Haluk Soydan. I see Devore's input meaningful when it comes to the work done with people from different backgrounds. The living context of clients should be paid attention as well ethnicity or self-awareness of worker himself/herself and the impact of it on work. Devore has written in 1999 another publication with Elfriede G. Schlesinger in which also ethnic-sensitive practice is discussed. Devore uses the concept ethnicity a lot which of course is natural as the perspective she presents contains the term.

Merja Anis (2013) discusses social work and immigrants in a publication concerning the meeting of newcomers in professional work. She addresses many important factors what the workers should reflect in their work, at some point similar of what Devore also brought up. She also presents how multicultural skills are needed both, for the benefit of clients and workers. As Anis focuses on social work field in her writing, I find it particularly useful here.

Sari Näre, in her part, contributes to the discussion on cultural sensitivity as well as to gender sensitivity from the point of view of youth work, particularly girls. Her contribution is part of the youth work book published in 2007. She brings up the girls' role in a new country as middlemen between two cultures and tensions concerning that. She discusses the support in sensitive girl work through which the girls are helped to find the relation they want to have between these two cultures. When it comes to gender sensitivity she sees that both boys and girls have special needs and problems that should be recognized and they should be supported to handle them.

John R. Graham et al (2010) input to the gender discussion comes from the research done for Canadian social work practitioners. The understanding of gender roles and influence of them on individuals are emphasized. Veronika Honkasalo (2011a) in her part interviewed youth workers and young multicultural background people for gaining knowledge of girls, multiculturalism and gender equality in youth work. Her findings concern the youth workers' different interpretations on gender sensitivity and a criticism of stereotyping the youngsters on the base of their cultural background.

In my analysis chapter I reflect the data in the light of the literature sources of my approach chapters and some sources that I used in background chapters. However, to complement that, I make connections with the data to some other sources like three research articles which touch the cultural sensitive approach in social work practice.

What I want to lift up to the end of this literature review is that books and researches have been written and done concerning multiculturalism. Also cultural sensitivity as well as gender sensitivity are touched in sources. Both immigrants' and officials' views have been researched in my understanding. However, as I collected my data from the workers of certain projects of which aim is to prevent honour-related violence, I would see that this factor is a new kind of input to the ongoing discussion. The workers who are kind of in a front line in daily basis in concrete way with the issue, express their views on approaches discussed and the experiences about prevention work and I see that their contribution should be paid attention.

3 Honour thinking

“I rang Uncle Tariq. I told him what I had done.--I told him I had punished Mum for her illicit affair. From now on she’d never do such a thing again. I said her wound wasn’t too bad but it would take some time to heal. I had stabbed her once on the right side of her chest. That would show her how grave her sin was. It would give her time to think about her mistake, to repent. And the man would be scared out of his wits. He would leave us alone. Our family’s honour was cleansed.” (Shafak 2012, 376.)

To understand the phenomenon of HRV, it is necessary to take a look at what kind of thought system lies at the background of it. Otherwise the actions like the one in the example above can go way beyond understanding. Raija Ala-Lipasti (2009, 21–22) who has a long history working with immigrant background women brings out how the thought patterns concerning honour are learnt in communities. They are not chosen by people but they have a close connection to the identity of people who live in these honour communities. Honour based thinking is an ancient system that has been existing all over the world. (Ibid.)

Also Pernilla Ouis (2009, 452, 454) sees honour ideology as a tribal, premodern phenomenon. She has chosen to use the term honour ideology when talking about honour values instead of more commonly used term honour culture. She sees that this is workable, as ideology is related to mental constructions – traditions, values and ideas – that are connected to power. Ouis points out that ideology is the factor which oppresses certain groups by giving power in the basis of gender and sexuality. According to Ouis, when looking at the sexual violence against female children, the honour ideology of the culture is the factor that would need to be questioned and scrutinized. Ala-Lipasti (2009, 21–22) brings out that honour based system is created to keep the society in order and in honour based communities honour is the basis of life. She continues that according to honour thinking the family should always be put to first place in priorities and the head of the family, father, should have the final power.

3.1 Roots and meanings of honour

Johanna Aapakallio (2014) brings out that one of the most important values that the human community has had along the times is honour and honourability. As Pierre Bourdieu (1995) says, it still functions as a symbolic and social capital. Through honour, which is an abstract value, the trustworthiness and value of a person, family or community is being defined. When it comes to social capital, honour refers to the ability to function within the community in a way that one receives respect and trust from others. One aspect of honour is cultural capital which refers to the ability of a person to function according to the expectations and set values of a culture or a society within the community and society. When functioning like this, a person receives trust and respect from the community and society. Honour concepts do not have only one meaning or they cannot be expressed only through one word. There are different values connected to them which also contain strong attitudes and feelings. The concept has many different kinds of nuances as in different cultures it can contain different meanings. (Aapakallio 2014, 1.)

When thinking about honour in western countries, it can be seen to be a personal quality/feature of a person. One can either deserve or destroy it by own actions. It is not impacted by other people or community's actions. (Härkönen 2004, 232.) When it comes to Finnish language and culture the word "honour" refers to values like honesty, willpower, perseverance and a good work moral. Thus, the word in Finnish language does not perhaps mean the same thing than in some other languages and cultures. (Karimi 2015, 66; Lidman 2011, 20, 24, 27.) In Eastern countries the concept of honour is strongly connected to communal culture and community. The honour of a whole family, kin or community can be destroyed by the actions of one person. (Härkönen 2004, 232.)

In western countries people use one term to express honour but in those countries and regions where HRV is appearing, people have many words and meanings for honour. Some of these words are *namus*, *sheref* and *aip*. If talking about *namus*, it is connected to woman's sex morals and the untouchability of a woman. If a woman does not have

namus, she is honourless which means that she has broken the rules that are set for women in sex morals. Sheref, in its part, is more connected to the western concept of manhood, the role of provider and pride. If a man lacks sheref, he can be seen to be honourless because he has not been able to provide for his family, he is a coward or in other way he has failed in his life. Namus has a direct connection to a woman but an indirect to a man through a woman. If a man does not have namus, he has not been able to keep the female members of the family clean and untouchable when it comes to sex morals. (Aapakallio 2014, 2.)

Namus among the men is also expressed when talking about the homeland. If a woman loses her honour it brings the same kind of feeling as if an enemy had come to fight against the homeland. That is the reason why men try to protect it. The Greek word *nomous* is the original body of a word namus. It means norms and regulations. (ibid.) There is also a word *izzat* that means the honour of a woman that is bound to sex morals (HM Government 2014). To get namus back, if it has been lost, requires that the one causing the loss of honour should be removed. There is a strong stigma if namus is lost – it will follow you through whole life and the next generation will inherit it. It also affects the reputation of other female members in the family as well as their chances to get married. To avoid the chain reaction of honourlessness, the honour is tried to be cleansed or brought back publicly as soon as possible. This also is done so that the community will know that there are actions that have been taken concerning the loss of honour and to show that the collective honour has been cleansed and hence the community can continue its normal life in honour and dignity. (Aapakallio 2014, 2.)

The concept of honour is not always related to honour conflicts or HRV in all cultures. For example, in Turkey there is another concept – *töre* – which means tradition and concepts of "korttelipainostus" (city block pressure) and "yhteisön painostus" (pressure from the community)¹ (Aapakallio 2014, 2 according to Mazhar and Aysan 2008). These terms would show that HRV is more about following traditions and not about honour. They also let us understand that the pressure from outside has a strong impact on the

¹Mazhar, Bağlı & Aysan, Sev'er(2008): Töre ve /veya Namus Adına Cinayet İşleyen Suçlu ve Zanlıların Sahip Odukları Toplumsal Değeryapıları, Aile İlişkileri ve Kişilik Özellikleri ile Bunların SosyoEkonomik Analizine İlişkin Bir Araştırma, TÜBİTAK, Proje Yürütücü 106K360 Nolu Proje.

appearance of HRV. (Aapakallio 2014, 3.) In the context of Pakistan a concept *karo-kari* is used which refers to the honourlessness of both women and men. Another example from India is the burning of widows (*sati*) or destorying the face with acid (UN 2006, 40). These seem to show that the matter of a woman's honour is intertwined to her husband or to the way she looks. Also the encouragement of women to commit a suicide or raping the women of the enemy during the time of conflicts, can be seen as forms of HRV (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 14; See also UN 2006, 39, 44–45). Violence against women and HRV can appear in the ways mentioned above also despite the geographical regions or cultures. There are also other concepts like *iffat*, *onur* and *arz* that are related mainly to manly honour. (Aapakallio 2014, 3.)

3.2 Honour and religion

There has been different debates whether Islam has a meaning when it comes to honour violence or not. The media may also declare its own kind of message about it. Because of all that, I see it is important to raise the topic up here. Kirsti Härkönen (2004, 20) says in her report concerning the sexual violence in Turkey that the honour is very heavy burden in Eastern cultures: a man may be crushed because of it in the war or a woman may be killed by it through honour murder or suicide. Härkönen says that the women in Turkey are mainly the ones carrying the burden of honour that is related to sexuality even though both genders are told to behave honourably and decently in Koran. Härkönen brings out that in many Muslim countries men are also expected to behave decently. Thus, she sees that the Koran cannot be blamed for sexual violence or the cruelty of honour concept because the roots are in the tribal cultures that emerged before Islam was even born. (Ibid.)

Different sources have similar views as Härkönen. Tuuli Tammissalo-Savolainen (2009, 36) sees that the religion does not cause honour violence but she finds that Islam plays a central role when it comes to the existence of honour violence through the fact that it is the bearer of the control of woman's sexuality. Satu Lidman (2015, 52) brings out features of violence that can be found in many places in Islamic world. However,

Lidman underlines that these features do not define all the Muslims in the world. Lidman sees that usually there cannot be found a serious basis from religion to violence. She sees that the similar violence may appear among several religious, ethnic and cultural groups. Lidman finds that religion is not the reason for violence but the cultural interpretation of religion may enhance the attitudes that accept violence. Also certain aims may be tried to achieve by using the violence because the cultural interpretation of religion may provide encouragement for that. (Lidman 2015, 52.)

In Tahira Khan's view the reason why most honour violence takes place in Muslim communities is a consequence of enhancement of unequal position of Muslim women in which Muslim men and especially religious elite have their role to play, for example, by the doctrine, interpretation and misinterpretation of it.² (Tammisalo-Savolainen 2009, 36 according to Khan 2006, 288.) Ouis (2009, 453) wants to clarify, in her part, the fact that not all honour cultures are Muslim – some Muslim cultures do not adhere to the honour ideology. She brings out that honour ideology can also be found among Hindus, Christians and other religions. Nevertheless, she finds that Islam can serve like double-edged sword – it either encourages conservative, honour values with reference to Islamic sexual morality or combats the honour tradition by referring to be un-Islamic, not prescribed in the holy texts.

Katja Luopajarvi (2004) addresses honour killings and discusses if they are to do with culture or religion. At the end of her discussion she claims that in a simplifying way it could be said that the honour killings are a product of culture. When it comes to continuousness of honour killings she finds that it, at least, partly has a connection to religion. She also sees that the impunity of the acts concerning honour killings have a link to religion. However, Luopajarvi does not see the confrontation of culture and religion as the core of the problem but the confrontation of women and men as well as conservative and reformist cultures. She finds that, for instance, human rights perspective, when it comes to cultural background, is central when aiming at preventing the honour killings. The human rights standards offer a good tool for the work. (Ibid., 195.)

2 Khan, Tahira 2006: *Beyond Honour. A Historical Materialist Explanation of Honour Related Violence*. Univeristy Press, Oxford.

3.3 Honour and gender

When talking about HRV, gender seems to be a central factor in it. As we have come to understand, in honour thinking the roles of women and men look very different. These roles contain different expectations and tasks and because of that I will address some of these, first concentrating on women and then taking a look at men.

3.3.1 Honourable women

“We had been very close, me and my mother, but all that changed the moment my breasts started to bud and I had my first period. The only thing she was interested in now was my virginity. She was always preaching about the things I should never/ever/not even in my wildest dreams do. Not once had she told me about what was possible and permissible; her powers of communication were reserved solely for rules and prohibitions. My mother warned me about boys, saying they were after one thing and one thing only. At this age most boys were selfish, and pushy, and many would never grow out of it. Yet she didn’t impose the same rules on my brothers. Yunus was still too little, perhaps, but with Iskender she was totally different, open. Iskender didn’t need to be careful. He could just be himself. No holds barred.” (Shafak 2012, 284–285)

Tammisalo-Savolainen (2009, 33), who is writing her doctoral thesis concerning the installation of honour violence phenomenon in Finnish society, says that when she started her research, she found out quickly that honour violence is closely related to the sexuality of woman. From the citation above we can notice some ways how a girl's sexuality is started to pay attention at a young age. When looking at the sexuality of woman in historical context, it is found that the men wanted to make sure that their genes would have continuity and the thought of honour was built up on top of this fact³ (Tammisalo-Savolainen 2009, 33 according to Brandon and Hafez 2008, 3–4; Hussein 2009, 101; Sarmaja 2003; Khan 2006, 45). This genome was guaranteed by the virginity

3 Brandon, James & Hafez, Salam 2008: *Crimes of the Community: Honour Based Violence in the UK*. The Cromwell Press, Wiltshire; Hussein, Rana 2009: *Murder in the Name of Honour*. Oneworld Publications, Oxford; Sarmaja, Heikki 2003: Ihmislajin perheenmuodostuksen evoluutiopsykologinen perusta. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka* 68 (3), 223–243; Khan, Tahira 2006: *Beyond Honour. A Historical Materialist Explanation of Honour Related Violence*. University Press, Oxford.

of woman before getting married and continuation of modesty also after getting married⁴ (Tammisalo-Savolainen 2009, 33 according to Brandon and Hafez 2008, 3; Husseini 2009, 101; Sarmaja 2003).

In the communities where women's untouchability is valued, sexuality often refers to sexual intercourse and hence it is thought that all the contacts with opposite sex will inevitably lead to sexual intercourse. Parents cannot even imagine an option where two people from opposite sex could enjoy friendship and closeness without sexual act. Sexuality is seen as an uncontrolled power that is really difficult to defeat. (Aapakallio 2014, 8.)

Lidman notes (2015, 209) that in patriarchal cultures the differentiated gender roles and the communal expectations related to them lead typically to the subordinate position of women and highlighting of the idealistic of virginity and modesty. Many times they become aims that lead the life of a girl who is growing to be a woman. As stated before, behaviour, social life and particularly sexuality of women are controlled and ruled in different ways. “A good girl” preserves her untouchability and innocence for her becoming spouse and “a good wife” gives children to her husband as well as takes care of the home and remains faithful. (Ibid.)

The central task of life of woman is to take care of her modesty and to fit to the role of a decent woman (Härkönen 2004, 89). The honour of a woman is combined with modesty and her identity to heteronormative sexuality which refers to the relation she has to a man – if she is a virgin, wife, widow or a bad woman. If this does not fit to the ideal role or if the limits have been crossed, a circle of violence towards a woman may be launched. This is especially likely to happen if things have happened publicly or if they will reach publicity. (Lidman 2015, 212–213.) In the cultures of honour ethics the modesty of girls cannot be emphasized too much. All sexual contacts before marriage and outside of marriage may be experienced extremely shameful for the family. “Sexual” in this context does not mean only sexual intercourse but it has a wider meaning. It contains some social forms of life that in western culture are kept innocent

4 See the previous Brandon & Hafez; Husseini; Sarmaja.

and non-dangerous. An example could be a simple thing like talking with a boy. (Wikan 2008, 17.)

In cultures where family and kin are the first priority and woman's sexuality is related to control, shame, honour and violence, the attitude of life cannot have its starting point, especially when it comes to women, in achieving own desires and making independent decisions. The life of girls and women is built on honourability which is defined by modesty. In practice it means, first virginity, followed by faithfulness in marriage and motherhood. This principle that structures life is learnt at an early age and it is strongly linked with honouring the parents, valuing own culture and doing decisions rationalized by moral. When looking at the western, individual lifestyle where you are allowed to dress in free, revealing way in public places, the free sexual relationships among young people and adults, plentiful alcohol use and irreligiousness, this all can seem vicious and immoral from the perspective of other culture. It may seem that the old people and family values are not shown respect. In collective culture the behaviour of an individual matters because it is seen to affect the whole community while in western society everyone has a right to make their own decisions and hence carry out their individuality. (Lidman 2015, 181–182.)

If looking at it from different viewpoints, gender related attitude concerning woman can contain both respectful and limiting elements (ibid., 290). An Iraqi woman, born in 1939, stated that *“a girl is like a diamond, something valuable of whom should be protected”* (Lidman 2011, 200). The aim of self-determination, however, cannot contain that kind of protection where the starting point is to hinder the own voice of a girl or a woman. Still, this is very common especially in countries where woman's position is weak in many other ways, too. The girls may get into a harmful circle because of the restrictions. The women cannot go and work outside home if, for instance, day care services and social security are almost non existing. They are needed at home to take care of the siblings and help in other ways. The consequence is that the girls are not able to attend school and hence cannot get a profession or learn the abilities that would help them later in adulthood to break the harmful circle. They are married off at a young age even because of financial reasons. Women may also not be able to influence in the

political sphere and they may feel very unsecure in the public space. Thus, the place that is shown to women is home and taking care of production of offspring. To influence on society or a salary work that takes its place in public space, as well as independency related to them, is considered as men's things. (Lidman 2015, 291.)

3.3.2 Manly men

“Not everyone would understand this, but their honour was all that some men had in this world. The rich could afford to lose and regain their reputation, buying influence as perfunctorily as ordering a new car or refurnishing their mansions, but for the rest of the world things were different. The less means a man had, the higher was the worth of his honour. The English didn't understand these ancient rules. Their wives could kiss other men, drink and dance with strangers, and they would look on smiling. A man who had been cheated of the honour that was his due was a dead man. You could not walk on the street any more, unless you got used to staring at the pavement. You could not go to a tea house and play a round of backgammon or watch a football match in the beer house. Your shoulders would droop, your fists would be clenched, your eyes would sink into their cavities, and your entire being would be a listless mass, shrinking more and more with every rumour. No one would pay heed to you when you spoke; your word would be no more valuable than dried dung. The cigarette you offered would be left unsmoked, the coffee you drank bitter to the end. You would not be invited to weddings, circumcisions or engagements, lest you bring your ill luck with you. In your own corner and surrounded by disgrace, you would dry up like a desiccated fruit.--” (Shafak 2012, 239)

The text above describes in one way what kind of meaning honour can have in a man's life. Patriarchal system does not only guide and limit women – men are not totally free either because the expectations of the community apply to them in certain way, too. Men are responsible of leadership and protection task is part of it. It can contain both positive and negative effects. The honour of a man is very closely connected to the expected behaviour of the wife but a man is also expected to behave “manly” enough. (Lidman 2015, 224–225, 228.) Rebwar Karimi (2015, 63) also points out that a man lives in contradictory situation in a culture where honour is cherished. He clarifies that on the surface men have more power in relation to women but in practice the power of a man is not unconditional. The community has a strong ability and power to take the

whole power away from a man. A man has a right to decide about everything concerning the women of the family including their sex life. However, at the same time a man is forced to live in a continuous fear and worry so that the honour will not be lost. (Karimi 2015, 63.)

Karimi emphasizes how important it is to understand the honour in a comprehensive way from the viewpoint of men. He compares the surrendering of the honour to as if a carpet was pulled off from under the feet. He sees hence that it should be done by an honouring way so that the man does not fall at the same time. (Ekholm and Salmenkangas 2008, 60.) Unna Wikan (2008, 16) sees, when looking at the Swedish Fadime Sahindal's case, who was murdered by the name of honour by her father, that also the father of Fadime was a victim. He was demanded to be in power, to rule, control and punish. He was not allowed to tolerate questioning of his honour because he was not the only one who owned it. He was only someone in the side who had to take care of his part of the honour of his tribe for the benefit of tribe. Thus, as Lidman and Karimi, Wikan also highlights that the group has a hold over an individual. (Ibid.)

In the patriarchal culture where the genders are strongly splitted, it is a great shame for a man that a woman acts sexually in a “wrong” way. In addition to that a great shame is also experienced if a man himself fails sexually. When a woman is demanded virginity before marriage and the proof of bloody sheets afterwards, the husband, for his part, can also be under certain kind of pressures. A man may have to be able to be successful in penetration in a certain short period of time and then give a public proof of that so that a woman becomes his wife. If this is not done, it may happen that the marriage will be cancelled with all the financial losses. (Lidman 2015, 234.) Rana Husseini (2014, 4) also brings out that HRV concerns boys and young men, for instance, by them being forced to get married, too, and they are forced to observe and control the behaviour of their sisters. In extreme cases an underaged boy is forced to kill his sister because of the milder judgment he will get. Also homosexual boys and men have a high risk to be the target of HRV. (Ibid.)

In the patriarchal family the one having the power is important. Usually patriarchal family structure prevails in the communities, which means that the father of the family is responsible of the whole family. Men own the women and children who are expected to be subjected to men. A girl belongs to father and after getting married, to her husband. The honour of the family is dependent on how the women of the family behave and the honour of the family is seen to mean men's honour. The moral behaviour of girls and women are a sign to the whole community that the whole family and kin are honourable and reliable. A man who ends up doing an honour crime is not considered a mad or jealous monster but a man who sees the honour crimes as only possible way to act – based on the learnt tradition. (Ala-Lipasti 2009, 21–22.)

4 Honour-related violence

The concept of honour-related violence has been internationally stabilized. However, the term contains problematic aspects: the thought of honour is connected to the violence and hence the connection between violence and honour is implicitly confirmed. The phenomenon has also been called in other ways like *cultural violence*, *honour violence*, *shame violence* and *honourless violence*. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 14.) Lidman (2015, 21) also adds *honour crimes* to this list of concepts. She says that different concepts have their supporters but there has not been found an agreement packed in one concept in juridical discussion or violence research. Lidman has decided to use the concept *honour-related violence*. In the Istanbul Convention (2011, 15) it is talked about the so-called “honour” but Lidman sees that she prefers skipping the word “so-called” and just talk about honour because it is real (Lidman 2015, 22).

Karimi (2009, 159) brings up also the challenge concerning the definition of HRV. Among both professionals of violence work and ethnic minorities, discussion is going on about what can or cannot be linked to the phenomenon. Karimi, however, says that we can talk about HRV when a person is pressured physically or psychically because there is a doubt that she/he has done something which according to patriarchal worldview cause public shame. This kind of act concerns usually insult of communal principles of moral. (Ibid.)

HRV is about direct or indirect obligation of community to use violence to restore the honour. Other members of the community usually accept the violence and see the violence user as a hero. For example, when young girls' freedom is limited with psychical or physical violence, other members of ethnic group do not usually see it as a negative thing. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 35.) Lidman (2015, 198) defines HRV, in shortly said, as an extreme tool to defend the ideal of good life, where honour is central, which is communally defined. Karimi (2009, 159) brings out that when structuring HRV, it has been seen to concern only certain nationalities and immigrants, having also a connection to Islam. In addition some have seen that the phenomenon concerns only the poorest and least educated citizens. According to Karimi, these kinds of conclusions

or so called truths cannot be done. He sees that there are certain background factors which link to the cases of HRV more often than averagely but according to him the phenomenon should not be structured so hastily.

Also Allinen-Calderon et al (2011, 33) discuss the misconceptions concerning the HRV. They state more directly than Karimi, for example, that HRV surpasses religious limits – phenomenon is not seen to appear in all Islamic regions. They also bring up that the phenomenon is not only a problem among uneducated, poor and those living in countryside but the morality principles may touch everyone despite their social class. They also remind that women themselves have an own role in maintaining the harmful traditions and that sexual minorities as well as Finnish men who want to get married with a woman belonging to honour culture, suffer from the consequences of HRV. As Karimi and Allinen-Calderon et al, also Tammissalo-Savolainen (2009, 31–32), finds honour violence as a difficult concept to define. She sees that clear limits and meanings to this historical, sociocultural phenomenon that concern gender, sexual and moral questions, are hard to find.

When defining honour violence, we cannot make strict limits concerning the geographical regions, cultures, religions or communities because of the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon. Honour violence should not only be simplified as a cultural issue but rather culture should be seen as a part of the context where honour violence happens. When talking about prevention of honour violence, the central thing is to question the cultural background. (Tammissalo-Savolainen 2009, 33; Luopajarvi 2003; Siddiqui 2005.) However, according to organizations that work among the phenomenon, HRV and the extreme form of it – honour killing – are appearing in certain cultures which geographically are located in Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, Asia, North Africa, parts of East and West Africa as well as certain regions in South America (Allinen-Calderon 2011, 33).

4.1 Prevalence of HRV in Finland

In the introduction it was said that the results of the Human League of Rights research showed that HRV appears in Finland (Suomenaro 2012). I will discuss the prevalence of HRV in Finland through that research in this chapter. The amount of respondents, in this questionnaire research, who all belonged to some ethnic minority, were 110 – 51 female and 59 male. Some of them had been living in Finland long time and some had recently arrived. According to this research honour related conflicts appear to be a problem in Finland. Most of the respondents seem to recognize the phenomenon and also admit the existence of it in their own community. The results show strongly that honour has a meaningful place in the lives of families. The majority of the respondents, 80,5 %, found honour to be important in their families. There were no meaningful differences when it comes to the views of men and women. (Ibid., 2, 14.)

When the respondents were asked to express their opinion if the Finnish way of life is a threat to the honour of the family, the answers divided almost fifty fifty. 44,2 % of the respondents find it as a threat while 44,6% do not. One explanation to this kind of division could be the unclarity of the concept “Finnish way of life”. One can connect it to the overconsumption of alcohol, another one may associate it with women's rights while for a third it talks about Christianity. The respondents find that both men and women have a role when it comes to protection of honour – 29,8% see that men are responsible while 61,5% think in opposite way. When talking about the premarital sexual experiences of girls, both women and men mainly see it as a negative thing which reflects the importance of traditional honour codes. When it comes to marriage and honour, these two are seen to be closely intertwined. Over half of the respondents found at least partly that by arranging a marriage to a young person, honour can be protected. Men are more willing than women to arrange a marriage for a youngster. According to the respondents honour is not lost if a woman divorces. However, there is a strong difference between the answers of women and men as 55,6% of men partly find divorce and women's honour, related, while only 10,9% of women see it that way. (Ibid., 15–16.)

If talking about studying and working of women, the majority of the respondents see that these are not a threat to honourability. However, from the answers it is seen that the women are more open when it comes to them being in the study or work field. In the research the respondents were also asked about their views concerning authorities and their ability to act in honour conflict situations. 61,8% of respondents find, at least partly, that authorities can help different parties. What stood up was the answers of 22 to 39 years old respondents: they find that authorities are not capable and this causes concern because these age groups are in central position when it comes to the honour related conflicts. (Suomenaro 2012, 16.)

Suomenaro brings out at the end that according to the results we can say that even if a person integrates to a new homeland, the attitudes concerning honour may not necessarily change. The inward attitudes require time and continuous processing. If the community does not have own motivation, prevention work concerning HRV is impossible. Suomenaro finds that the positive thing seen in the results of this research is the admission concerning the existence of this phenomenon among the respondents. In addition, the fact that the respondents seem to see the help from outside positively in honour conflict situations is a good thing. The lasting solution requires that it starts from the inside of a community and when developing the solution model, the experiences and know-how of community should be used as an advantage. (Ibid.)

4.2 Different forms of HRV

A conflict concerning honour can appear also in situations where physical violence has not been occurred. The scale of honour related violence is broad – it can appear in different forms from threats to honour murder. Most commonly HRV concerns restrictions that are to do with strict control of different things. Some recognized characteristics of HRV are threatening that refers to woman's honour and honourable behaviour, restrictions concerning, for example, clothing, friends, moving, use of time or school going, isolation that refers to limitation of coming and going, pressure or

force when it comes to, for instance, forced marriage arranged by parents or relatives or other violence that is justified by protection of honour or restoration of it. Women's circumcisions can be added to this category. The extreme forms of honour related violence are actions leading to death that can include forcing into suicide or staging it and honour murder. (Karimi 2009, 159; See also Lidman 2015, 198–199.)

Forced marriages are seen to go under the category of HRV. Especially when talking about Europe, it is the most common form of HRV. Forced marriage refers to a marriage where both or the other spouse has not wanted to get married but has had to do that. Usually parents or relatives have arranged and discussed about the marriage and often the ones forced to get married are relatives or family friends. It is not uncommon that a youngster is pushed into marriage by using psychical and physical violence. It is good to be aware that also boys can be forced into marriage. The reason for forced marriages being part of HRV is that if a young person refuses to get married it can be interpreted often as shaming the family honour. A child may even be sent sometimes abroad to get married against her/his own will. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 15; Salmenkangas 2006, 6–7; See also Lidman 2015, 255–269.)

There are found different reasons at the background of forced marriages: a man with good income and education can be found to be a potential spouse, young people's behaviour is often wanted to be controlled so that the traditional honour definitions, habits and values would be saved and the relationships outside the community of own ethnicity and religion would be blocked. In addition, a wish to enhance the financial situation of the family can be at the background. That wish can be achieved if the family of fiancée pays the dowry for the family of bride. Through forced marriage also the social status and relations to community can be tried to strengthen. Some other motives also can concern family resources in the home country which are wanted to keep inside the kin or a residence permit that is tried to get for the people abroad like uncles or cousins. The only common way to avoid forced marriage is to run away from home which means that a person steps outside the whole ethnic community and social network. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 15; Salmenkangas 2006, 7; See also Lidman

2015, 266–267.) In the light of this we can understand that if a girl or a woman goes, for example, to search help from a shelter, it has been a huge decision for her. It is also good to keep in mind that forced marriages and arranged marriages are not the same thing.

Female circumcision or female genital mutilation or cutting is one of the most serious form of HRV (Lidman 2015, 239). It refers to female genital cutting, partly or wholly, or violation of them in some other way like incising, stabbing, burning or sowing closed. Many times this operation is done by unclean tools and hence it increases the risk of woman to be contaminated by chronic virus infections like HIV, AIDS, B- or C-hepatitis. The experience that is painful and shocking can cause lifelong anxiety, depression, fear and traumas. After the cutting, there appears continuous infections and pains. For example urination and periods are really painful not to mention sexual intercourse or delivering a baby. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 184.) In its worst, the cutting may, for example, lead to physical and psychological inability to enjoy sex and closeness as well as it may make the girl closed and submissive (Lidman 2015, 246). Female circumcision is often tried to justify with religious reasons even though there cannot be found an explanation from Koran or Bible for that. Explanations concerning culture and women's position are common. There is a thought prevailing that a woman who is not circumcised cannot get married. (Allinen-Calderon et al 2011, 184.)

Härkönen (2004, 101–102) brings out that female circumcision culture has also its roots in honour thinking. If a wife is guilty of adultery or if a daughter has sex before marriage, the whole kin will be under the shame. Apparently destroying sexuality decreases the temptation to destroy the reputation of the kin. The purpose of circumcision is to protect women from their own sexuality. In many countries this is seen to be necessary so that the reputation of community and social order would not be crushed because of woman's lust. Koran does not tell to mutilate women. Instead this habit has its roots in African tribal cultures from Stone Age. From there it was spread alongside with Islam to other parts of the world. (ibid) Female circumcision leans on patriarchal practices but in practice it is also violence accepted and practiced by women

(Lidman 2015, 239).

Karimi (2009, 186–187) brings out that when talking about youngsters, there are different factors which can refer to the risk of becoming a target of HRV. Despite youngster's wish, a family member may accompany him/her to school or hobbies. A youngster may stop going to school or hobby or her/his motivation to study or participate in leisure time activities suddenly weakens. Alongside with this she/he may seem depressed, suicidal, withdrawing or she/he acts in another way exceptionally. The older siblings of a youngster may have gotten married at a young age and the arranged marriages or forced marriages have not been uncommon in the family. The decent dressing of young girls in the family may be paid extra attention and violence is used if the rules are not kept. The family may have a thought of going against a girl if the community has heard things or rumors about her that in the sight of family are shameful. If a girl is dating or there is a doubt that she is dating with someone who in the eyes of family does not get support, the risk of HRV is present or if there has been honour related cases also earlier in the family. Some other risks concern girls who have been sexually abused or if it is common that people get married inside family and there are financial contracts or contracts between tribes concerning the marriage arrangements. It is also a risk if a girl wants to marry someone else than the one she may have been promised to. (Ibid.)

Often the overall situation where the family is, also affects the way how the family reacts. The behavioural models of the family may become more traditional because of possible disappointments when moving or because of sudden changes inside the family. The position of parents can also be connected to the risk of honour conflicts. The risk gets higher if the parents are excluded in the society and if they do not have positive view of Finnish culture. If the parents have central role within their community the risk grows, too, and Karimi also says that if the parents come from countryside the risk is higher because there the honour conflicts are more common. It is also good to acknowledge as outside helpers that the family members have greater pressure to react to the lost of honour and act to get the honour back if many people from immigrant

community will get to know about the shameful thing that has happened. (Karimi 2009, 187.)

4.3 Differences and similarities between HRV and other forms of violence

The difference between other forms of violence and HRV is that the own family of the victim accepts the use of violence. It can be said that the criteria of HRV is fulfilled when, for example, the own relatives of unmarried daughter do not accept the spouse that the girl has chosen and, thus, cause psychical or physical threat on her. A central thing in HRV is that often the actions are explained or put into action according to the expectations that the community has set. (Holm and Van Dijken 2009, 159–160; See also Lidman 2015, 201.) I would also note that even though usually the own family of the victim accepts the use of violence, it may be that sometimes some family members do not accept that.

There are similarities when we are talking about domestic violence and HRV. Both concern subjugation of a woman and their position in the society and they are linked to the use of power as well as both may lead to the violent death of the victim. There are similar elements concerning control and the use of psychical and physical violence. In both the acts of violence are tried to hide even though the message of HRV is public. Both domestic violence and HRV demand same kind of work to end the violence – in an international and national level the work to do with setting the laws and having shelters, in the community and family level to break the silence and raise up discussion and in the individual level to empower girls and women. A difference between domestic violence and HRV is that the latter one is always linked to sexual morality. Another difference concerns public approval. When it comes to domestic violence this factor is lacking whereas at the background of HRV there is often some public justification in honour cultures. Lastly HRV strives for maintaining the status of the perpetrator outside the family when in turn, the power relations are fought inside the family usually when

talking about domestic violence. (Holm and Van Dijken 2009, 160.)

Lidman argues that HRV is a collateral form of close relations violence (lähisuhdeväkivalta) and it has connection to that kind of cultural norms and habits that have mainly disappeared among the western original population. Some of these norms and habits are close communality, strong differentiation of gender roles and some more specifically limited harmful traditions like admiring virginity or underestimating the education of girls. (Lidman 2015, 193–194.)

5 Approaches to basic dimensions of cultural understanding

5.1 Culture and multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is nowadays a word that is used generally a lot by different actors and you can hear it even in daily discussions of ordinary people. It also seems to be a word that can raise both negative and positive thoughts and emotions among people, depending on how the concept is understood. All this naturally has an influence on how multiculturalism is seen in the society. As the topic of my thesis concerns immigrants, I see it necessary to address multiculturalism in this research as the immigrants are the ones who generally clearly are connected to this concept.

Also those ones working with people who are originally from other nations are often seen as doing multicultural work – multicultural social work, for instance. In fact, multicultural social work often refers to the fact that the clients have different kinds of cultural backgrounds and the social workers, being aware of the cultural things, apply their working methods. It can be also said that the social work is becoming more multicultural little by little as some workers have immigrant background or they bring minority groups' cultural perspective along. Earlier multiculturalism has been referred to discussion on refugees but at present time the people moving to Finland do that more commonly because of studying, working or family reasons. (Anis 2013, 160.)

5.1.1 Defining culture

When talking about multiculturalism, I see it necessary to bring up discussion on definitions and views concerning culture as it is so strongly involved in the concept. Laura Huttunen et al (2005, 26) bring out that when considering culture, it is common that people understand it as something that structures the whole lifestyle of people, not only high culture. Culture is referred to visible things like people's daily practices, food,

drink, dressing, music et cetera but it is also referred to more unvisible things like values and norms, perceptions concerning women, men and family to name but a few. A conclusion from that is that culture is structuring and defining our daily life and the way how we see the world. It is important to note, when we talk about multiculturalism, that we talk both the little daily things and the value questions penetrating the whole world view. This makes it, in its part, difficult as a concept of research and dimension of human life, that should be taken into account in political decisions. (Huttunen et al 2005, 26.)

Devore and Schlesinger (1999, 26) articulate, in their part, culture as the way how different human groups structure their behaviour, what kind of world view and perspectives on the rhythms and patterns of life they have as well as how do they see the essential nature of the human condition. They also note that the members of ethnic groups have a common history which draw them together alongside with the present shared experiences. A common culture, religion, language and similar physical features or some kind of combination of these, are things that ethnic groups usually share⁵ (Devore and Schlesinger 1999, 26 according to Marger 1996). An ethnic group can also serve as a comfort zone⁶ (Devore and Schlesinger 1999 according to Blauner 1992). When Devore and Schlesinger looked at different definitions for ethnic groups, they found common themes like consciousness of kind, a sense of identity based on a shared social history and sense of being like the others in the group (Devore and Schlesinger 1999, 27).

Huttunen et al bring up a view that sees cultures as unchangeable systems. In those systems people who have socialized to certain culture, behave in a particular way according to that culture. Multicultural society, in this scenario, would appear as separate mosaic of cultures that is likely to be a stage of different collisions, misunderstandings and conflicts. (Huttunen et al 2005, 27.) Also Mika Raunio et al (2011, 32) use the concept *mosaic of cultures*. They share the view of Huttunen et al and

5 Marger, Martin N. 1996: *Social Differentiation and Inequality*. Second edition. McGraw Hill Book Company.

6 Blauner, Bob 1992: 'Talking past each other: Black and white languages of race'. *The American Prospect*, vol. 10.

also add another angle to it by explaining that in this kind of thinking culture is seen as an abstraction, set of features and it is unleashed from the social and politico-economic structures. Heini Paavola and Mirja-Tytti Talib (2010, 27) see, as Huttunen et al and Raunio et al, this kind of stereotypical thinking that is related to multiculturalism, problematic. They see that the cultures as phenomena are in this way considered as if they were unchangeable and bound to a certain time and place.

In addition to this view of culture, Huttunen et al (2005, 28) want to bring up other kind of perceptions of it. They want to discuss these other ways of defining the culture that they see very important when talking about multiculturalism. One thing that they discuss is culture as a process. This view goes along with the view of seeing cultures as changeable as, for instance, Paavola and Talib see them (Paavola and Talib 2010, 27). Cultures are changing and no culture offers a ready manuscript through which the members, when following it, could live life in its all abundance. Life is more likely as people trying to find solutions to contradictories, continuous interpretation of cultural models, improvisation and sometimes even braking the rules and letting go of them.⁷ (Huttunen et al 2005, 29 according to Rosaldo 1989; Abu-Lughod 1991.) Also Veronika Honkasalo and Anne-Mari Souto (2007, 118) put emphasis on the process nature of culture. They find that cultural processes concerning change can usually be quite slow but the cultural meanings may change even quickly according to the circumstances. As an exmple they bring up that a girl with a Muslim background may veil herself as a way of self-definition even though in the country of origin she would have not used a veil at all and even though the family would not require the use of it.

Raunio et al (2011, 21–22) mention that culture talk in daily life has become a challenge because the concept is used particularly and eagerly as an explanation to the difference when it comes to comments like *they use veil because it is important in Islamic culture* or *they are hardworking because they are Chinese*. They find that in the daily talk culture is often mixed with ethnicity, nationality and religion as well as different kinds

⁷ Rosaldo, Renato 1989: Culture and Truth. The Remarking of Social Analysis. Beacon Press. Boston; Abu-Lughod, Lila 1991: Writing against culture. In a book Fox, Richard G. (eds): Recapturing Anthropology. Working in the Present. School of American Research Pres. Santa Fe.

of stereotypes. They emphasize that as a scientific concept it is necessary to specify and distinguish it from the daily talk. Even though we all are representatives of our cultures, the culture itself does not make people to do something but instead, people are the ones creating culture by their own choices and actions. That will cause negotiations, quarrels and demarcations inside the communities as people try to figure out what customs are our customs to act and think. The view of Raunio et al share the idea mentioned earlier about cultures not offering a ready manuscript for people to follow.

On the contrary to fundamentalist perception of culture, Huttunen et al (2005, 29) discuss cultures as units that do not have clear lines. There are many individuals, like immigrants and offspring of foreign and Finnish parents who cannot be identified solely members of only one group. A natural thing to all cultures is also to borrow, combine and adapt influences. When it comes to Finnish culture, it is also difficult to find things that would only be Finnish. By this they mean habits and traditions that would have not been influenced in any way by other cultures. Huttunen et al see that maybe combining things in the times of quick changes is particularly typical and then when new groups face each other like an immigrant group settling to a new environment. As people will come to the area of new influences, every individual has to ponder and face new kinds of things as well as often also change thoughts and ways of acting. These processes, however, are different to the members of majority and minority cultures. (Ibid.) Johanna Lasonen et al (2009) remind that it is good to keep in mind that nobody is monocultural: when a Finn deals with another Finn who comes from another part of Finland and who perhaps makes his/her living and eats his/her bread in a different way than the other one, we can also talk about interculturality.

In addition to fundamental view and process view of culture, Huttunen et al present a view that suggests that multiculturalism goes beyond limits. The idea in this view is that the same shared scene produces common understanding. They find this interesting when thinking about multicultural society. This view kind of promises that we can see and experience same kinds of things if we live in same place and scene. We would also have possibility, at least, to start discussion concerning the meaning of our common

experiences. However, the same scene may look and feel different, for example, for men and women or for highly educated and low educated because differences and similarities between people are not only defined by language, religion or other things like that. Thus, the possibility to get influenced in our lives as a part of that scene and in relation to other people who live under same scene, differs. Also the borders between states complicate the continuousness of scenes. They also control people's lives and their mobility in many concrete ways. (Huttunen et al 2005, 32.)

However, for example, many immigrants keep the connection lively to their country of origin or friends and relatives around the world after settling in a new country. Thus, the borders of the new state do not necessarily define the scene where they are living and hence social and cultural practices are not cut off just like that. Huttunen et al see that Finnish multiculturalism is going beyond limits in many sense as multiculturalism generally is. The limits between cultures are porous and intermittent. That means that individuals can identify themselves to more than one cultural group or they can combine different cultural practices when living their own life. On the other hand, more and more people who live in Finland have many kinds of relations to places, cultures and people outside the borders of Finland. (Huttunen et al 2005, 33–34.)

The problems of multicultural society, in their most exacerbated stage, show up in situations where the human rights are threatened by the demands of having right to cherish own culture. Both in Finland and in many other countries, for example, certain dressing rules and circumcisions have raised lots of discussion on the relation between the cultural traditions and human rights. Very often these discussions concern women and children. These questions and the different statements that have been raised up concerning them, have made it visible that the perceptions of different genders and generations vary. There are differences when it comes to what is important in culture, what is worth preserving and what is changeable. (Ibid., 35)

5.1.2 Defining multiculturalism

There does not exist an overall theory of multiculturalism⁸ (Payne 2005, 271 according to Rex 1997.) When Huttunen et al (2005, 16, 21) discuss Finnish multiculturalism and different aspects of it, they find it obvious that the concept is unclear as it can at the same time refer, for example, to the amount of growth of immigrants or declaration of goal-directed politics. Also, for example, Eila Rantonen and Matti Savolainen (2010, 18) mention the contentiousness of the concept. They bring up that the concept is problematic because it seems to define cultures as homogeneous inwardly and communities as clear limited when it comes to their ethnicity. Lasonen et al (2009, 10) referring to Willet (1998) see multiculturalism as a multifaceted phenomenon of which aims and consequences are political, social and cultural.⁹ Raunio et al (2011, 31) use the term *amoeba-likeness* to describe the concept of multiculturalism because in one way the term is descriptive as it refers to factual ethnic multi-ingredientality of the society. On the other hand, it has ideological-normative nature describing the desired state of affairs. My aim, when I talk about multiculturalism, is not to try to explain the concept comprehensively. I strongly see that it would not even be possible for me to do that. However, I want to bring up some discussions and perceptions connected to it.

Huttunen et al (2005, 19–20) state that multiculturalism is in no sense limited to speech but it also contains deeds, actions, political decisions, encounters, differences as well as life in its all diversity. In spite of this, language has a meaningful role when it comes to interpreting the world. It has a meaning whether we talk about ethnic or cultural differences. There can also be a big difference in the level of practice whether we talk about disparity or otherness or if we are against racism or if we defend tolerance. The discussion about multiculturalism is also affected by the manner of speaking concerning the dominant nationality and national feeling. We make perceptions by the lead of the concepts we use and they also have an effect to conclusions we make out of them. It is good to note also that depending on the context, same concepts are understood differently. It is typical in Finland that many concepts find their way quite quickly to the

8 Rex, J. 1997: 'Multiculturalism in Europe and North America'. In a book Isajiw, W. W. (eds): *Multiculturalism in North American and Europe: Comparative Perspectives on Interethnic Relations and Social Incorporation*. Canadian Scholars' Press. Toronto, 5–33.

9 Willet, C. 1998: *Theorizing multiculturalism: A guide to current debate*. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.

spoken language from the field of science and it can cause some challenges as the ordinary meanings may differ often from the way how scientists and authorities understand them. (Huttunen et al 2005, 19–20.)

In the simplest way Huttunen et al (2005, 20) see that multiculturalism refers to many culturally different groups in society which are living side by side. That is at least what the word claims. This definition mainly is a describing concept or a concept that notes the state of affairs. However, the concept is also used as a tool to debate about what kind of society would be good or desirable and hence it gets a normative and political nuance (ibid) as earlier mentioned, too. Thus, multiculturalism defines also relations between different groups. Problematic in the concept is that in addition to describe a particular state of affair, it also defines the consequences of that state of affair. At the end, it is also a word that is future oriented and it sets goals and ideals. (Ibid.)

When Malcolm Payne (2005, 271) discusses multiculturalism, he brings out that it is seen to be connected with the actions that try to incorporate people or groups from other than dominant population into a nation or community. These attempts include valuation of their cultural contribution to the whole and emphasis is put on the value of diversity and pluralism. Separatism is strongly opposed in this. Payne (2005, 271) also presents a definition that Sanders (1978) has given for multiculturalism *as affirming the reality of cultural diversity, allowing individuals to keep much that is distinctive about their cultural traditions and integrating diverse cultural traditions into society, thus opposing a single, dominant culture.*¹⁰ Mason sees multiculturalism as a societal movement that finds cultural differences something to praise and demands just and respectful treatment for the representatives from all cultures¹¹ (Lasonen et al 2009, 10 according to Mason 2003). In their article concerning impact of multicultural ideology on struggles for equality in the spheres of gender, race/ethnicity and sexuality, Clare Beckett and Marie Macey (2001) use multiculturalism *in its contemporary British sense* to refer to theory,

10 Sanders, D. S. 1978: 'Multiculturalism: implications for social work'. In IFSW Social Work and the Multi-cultural Society. International Federation of Social Workers. Geneva, 33–41.

11 Mason, M. 2003: Ethics and intercultural education. In a book Lasonen, J. & Lestinen, L. (eds): Intercultural education: Teaching and learning for intercultural understanding, human rights and a culture of peace. UNESCO Conference Proceedings. [CD-rom]. University of Jyväskylä, Institute for Educational Research. Jyväskylä.

policy and practice which are part of the struggle for racial justice.

Annika Forsander (2001, 44–45) points out that multiculturalism, in an indirect way, is referred always in some way to the relations between groups and hence, when defining the concept, both – relations between majority and minority groups and mutual relations between minority groups – should be addressed. She mentions that relations between individual people concerning attitudes and behaviour as well as agreements between states are also examples of important factors. She also notes, as many others, that when talking about multiculturalism, issues concerning racism, prejudices and tolerance are also often part of the discussion.

Paavola and Talib (2010, 26–27) underline the importance of defining clearly, when considering multiculturalism, if we are talking about migration and questions related to immigrants or if there are other phenomena that can be added to multiculturalism. In their book concerning cultural diversity in children's day care and school, Paavola and Talib, have wanted to look at multiculturalism as many cultures, the relations between them and the continuous interaction between them, as well as to understand what kind of impact they have on Finnish society and educational institutions. They come to a conclusion that actually only a small part of the whole population does not belong to any minority group. They bring up that, at least, immigrants and issues related to them, questions concerning different languages and cultures, religions and world views, gender, sexual orientation, social class, exclusion and disablement are areas that can be connected to multiculturalism.

This kind of understanding about multiculturalism seems to have link to pluralism. Raunio et al (2011, 31) find that in a normative meaning of multiculturalism there is a connection to pluralism as ethical attitude towards cultural diversity is promoted. They see that pluralism may contain a thought of valuing and finding difference equal. That could mean, for example, in their view, that the groups that have a weak starting situation and who suffer from discrimination have a right to equal treatment. They find that multiculturalism as a political agenda, in this meaning, has an effortless connection to welfare society and liberal tradition of thinking.

Huttunen et al (2005, 22) see that even though the material for discussion of multiculturalism come in a great amount from outside Finland, each society produces, after all, their own kind of multiculturalism. This speciality is influenced by the history of each society and the actors and cultures that are seen to built that society's multiculturalism at each time. They bring up that every now and then it has stated, when talking about Finnish discussion concerning multiculturalism, that its young age is one feature of it. They, however, do not agree with this statement by saying that according to their understanding Finland has not been earlier only monocultural. In addition, they see that this kind of view is easily followed by an interpretation that the Finnish multiculturalism would become along the years, when getting older and more mature, same kind of as English or Swedish multiculturalism. Huttunen et al argue that every local variant of multicultural society will become always special and particular in certain historical situation. (Ibid.)

Honkasalo and Souto (2007, 117) have similar thoughts on this as they underline the importance of understanding that the multicultural model of some other country is not directly applicable to Finnish society as histories of different countries vary. Petri Hautaniemi (2001, 29) also brings out that different countries have different models when it comes to multiculturalism and the extremities of these move strongly in assimilative and/or strongly differentiative structures of society.

Many times the themes of multiculturalism, in both societal discussion and research literature, concern either the praise of cultural diversity and richness or problems. The latter one is maybe even more common. Multiculturalism can be also seen to mean new kind of daily challenges where there is a need to be able to act in new kind of situations. These challenges touch entire institutions like schools, police or health care services and the professionals of different spheres who are working in them. (Huttunen et al 2005, 23.) I would say that social sphere is not the least of these. Even though the institutions with their workers face these challenges, also an individual may have to handle questions connected to multiculturalism, for instance, through immigrant background coworker, neighbour, son-in-law or daughter-in-law. On the other hand, for

those who move to Finland from somewhere else and start to live as members of this society, these same situations raise different kinds of questions. (Huttunen et al 2005, 23.)

Sometimes the concepts *multicultural skills* or *capabilities* are expressed in the context of how individuals may learn these skills and are able to react and act in a right way when it comes to different types of situations. Huttunen et al, however, see that the idea of learning these skills could bring to someone's mind a thought that multiculturalism is about learning some tricks with which new situations will be able to be handled smoothly and in control. When it comes to complicated societal questions, offer of these kinds of ready answers or manuals for behaviour are impossible. The daily life in multicultural society rather challenges to continuous, open dialogue when it comes to principles and practices of living together. (Ibid., 23.)

Honkasalo and Souto (2007, 117) find that in the political discussion in Finland, for instance, when it comes to discussion of officials, multiculturalism appears often as a way to manage members of the society that are culturally different. The increase of cultural knowledge is highlighted in the discussion and ways of action so that the minority groups and the members of them would be understood better. However, Honkasalo and Souto see a certain kind of threat in that: people groups may be wanted to describe with identical cultural features. This kind of generalisation does not pay attention to individual differences and needs and is more likely to produce a stereotypical picture of a community. Huttunen et al (2005, 23), in their part, see that from the perspective of authorities multiculturalism is, above all, management of different processes. When it comes to Finnish multiculturalism, one typical feature is that the authorities have the role of central actors or they are the ones expected to solve all problems. This is not how it necessarily is everywhere. For example, when talking about the actors of multicultural politics in Britain, the authorities are likely to have smaller role compared to Finland. (ibid.) There the meaning of immigrant's own communities is emphasized¹² (Huttunen et al 2005, 24 according to Wahlbeck 1999, 64–

12 Wahlbeck, Östen 1999: *Kurdish Diasporas. A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*. Macmillan. London.

87).

The changes in the population structure impact on the practices of different institutions according to the chosen politics concerning multiculturalism. In the daily practice of many professions new kinds of problems and questions are appearing because of multiculturalism and practical solutions are tried to find for those. (Huttunen et al 2005, 24.) When it comes to, for example, social and health care field and other service fields, special sensitivity is required as the society is getting multicultural so that the cultural differences could be understood and paid attention in customer work (See for example Clarke 2004; Launikari and Puukari 2005). This culture related sensitivity is addressed in this paper after discussion on multiculturalism.

Huttunen et al see that the multiculturalism is often appearing as a certain stage that should be achieved when it comes to political rhetorics and orations. They say that if exaggerating by generalising the issue a bit, the existence and cohabiting of different cultures is presented in a positive light if the dominant culture is not required to change. It seems that the multiculturalism that is tried to achieve in Finland often clearly separates private and public. Private here refers to the area where “own culture” is practiced and public, in turn, to a common neutral area without culture and where the ideal thing is the equality of all the members of the society. Huttunen et al see the interpretation of this model too simple. They see that private and public overlap and the cultural penetrates all the areas of life. (Huttunen et al 2005, 24–25.)

At the end here I have collected different dimensions and themes that stood out from the text in this chapter when it comes to the literature sources that I used. They are the things that the sources dealt with when talking about multiculturalism. In the data analysis chapter where I will bring out the interpretations of the respondents about multiculturalism, I will use this frame to reflect how similar the dimensions and themes are. I will also do same kind of figure to the end of next chapters about cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity and later will also reflect the data chapters concerning them in the light of these figures.

From the figure 2 we can see that issues like ethnicity, minority groups, religion and gender are addressed and the possible stigmatization concerning them. Also racism and oppression are mentioned as well as politics concerning multiculturalism. In addition equal treatment, interculturality, tolerance, beyond limits and pluralism are dealt with. I would see that all these themes show how multidimensional the concept and understanding of multiculturalism is, so many different approaches to it can exist.

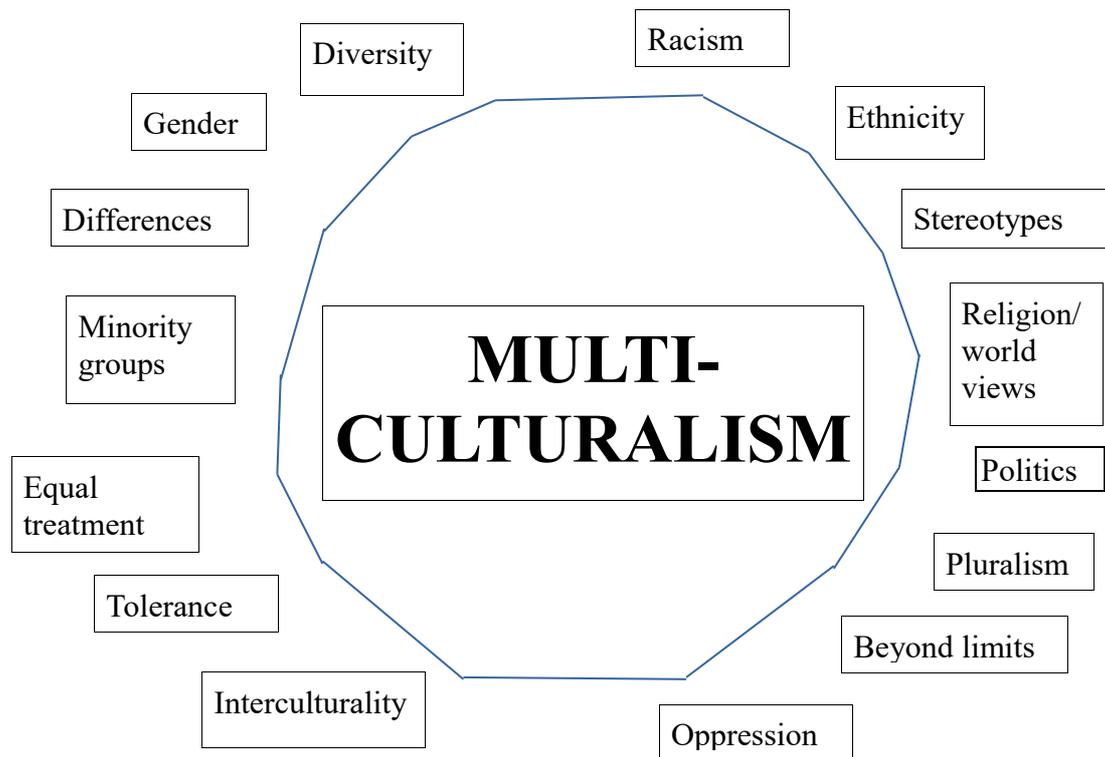


Figure 2. Dimensions of multiculturalism in the used literature

5.2 Cultural sensitivity

As I found discussion on culture and multiculturalism necessary to address in the context of the research topic, I also see the discussion on cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity in connection to the phenomenon important. In my view the phenomenon

that could be located in multicultural field, requires cultural sensitive and gender sensitive understanding and perspective because of the certain characteristics it contains.

First I would like to discuss ethnic-sensitive perspective. It has been developed in stages in the history of US as Wynetta Devore (2001) shows in her writing concerning ethnic sensitivity. She brings up, when it comes to the model of ethnic-sensitive practice, that two main perspectives were developing it. The first perspective sees that ethnicity and social class are strongly and closely involved in the shaping of life's problems and they also give aspects on problem resolutions. According to the second perspective, social work is also seen as a problem-solving determined effort to respond problems but to be effective it must pay attention both to micro and macro problems.¹³ (Devore 2001, 32 in according to Devore and Schlesinger, 1981.)

These perspectives are also all the time in need of refining because ethnicity requires more attention to different factors like social relationships and employment (Devore 2001, 32). Earlier it was presented that culture has a changing nature. Also ethnicity is seen ever changing. Devore brings out that it seems to have an impact on ethnic identity and this leads to add to or revise the model for ethnic-sensitive practice. She also notes that the immigration policy in US often lacks sensitivity when it comes to ethnic group membership. (Ibid., 33.)

When Devore is talking about ethnic-sensitive practice, she talks about *layers of understanding* that are formed through values, knowledge and needed skills for practice merge. According to the first layer, workers should be aware of and have positive response to social work values. The core values of social work are found in the National Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics (NASW): social justice, dignity and worth of the person, service, importance of human relationships, integrity and competence. The second layer underlines the basic understanding of human behaviour

¹³ Devore, Wynetta & Schlesinger, Elfriede G. 1981: Ethnic Sensitive Social Work Practice. The C. V. Mosby Company. St. Louis.

when it comes to individuals, families, groups and communities. It is brought up that competent ethnic-sensitive social workers would pay attention to the universal theories explaining behaviour but having an understanding at the same time that these may not always apply to all individuals from childhood to adulthood. The third layer presents the importance of knowing and having skills concerning social welfare policy and services. (Devore 2001, 34,36.)

The fourth and fifth layers put emphasis on insight when it comes to worker's own ethnicity and the possible impact of it on practice as well as understanding how the ethnic reality impacts to daily life of individuals, families and communities. If talking about own ethnicity, self-awareness is required. The workers can ask themselves, for example, if they have been the recipient of the racial attacks or a racist themselves. They can also ponder what kind of privileges their own ethnicity or gender produces or if they are religious or what kind of ethnic dispositions influence their identity. Important thing to think about is what they can do to be able to increase the knowledge of people in other ethnic groups. The sixth layer refers to knowledge concerning the various routes that the social worker may take and the seventh layer highlights the adaptation of strategies, skills and procedures for ethnic-sensitive practice. Devore sees that the layers of understanding work as a guideposts for practice as ethnic-sensitive social workers are asked to examine their values, own ethnic sense and to make adaptations to practice responding to the ethnic reality of clients. (Devore 2001, 34, 36–37.)

When Devore (2001, 38) discusses the future of ethnic-sensitive practice, she mentions that the individuals and families, when arriving in a new country, may feel grief in connection with having a need to give up the comfortable ethnic lifestyle and adapt new customs, rituals and traditions. She finds that a threat may be created because of these personal challenges but an ethnic-sensitive social worker could help in identifying and resolving it. Devore and Schlesinger (1999, 34), however, remind that when people migrate, whatever the reason for migration would be, they do not necessarily reject their customs, traditions and the ways they have learned to do problem solving in their home

country. Maybe Devore was referring to this when talking about the personal challenges of people in new country.

Devore sees that the impact on immigration process on immigrants and immigrant families should be paid more attention. She finds, when it comes to the history of immigration policy of US, that the message of welcome and rejection still continues until today. (Devore 2001, 38–39.) Thus, she finds that the social workers, in their part, should hold on to principles of practice referring to accountability, confidentiality, access to services, self-determination, objectivity, non-judgmentalism, individualization and acceptance.¹⁴ (Devore 2001, 39 according to Miley et al 1998.) In addition, Devore (2001, 39) points out that ethnic-sensitive social workers should be aware of biracial relationships referring to dual identities of children whose parents are from two different ethnic groups and note that in some amount this may cause anger and stress in society.

Devore and Schlesinger underline that the social workers should be aware of people's living context and also of the pressures and burdens that affect when seeking a job, raising a family, resolving the problems of living related to illness, having marital strife, caring of the elderly and having problems in child rearing. When they explored the sense of ethnicity they came across with the sense of protection from the outside world. The so called outside world many times acts suspiciously and also racist ways towards ethnic groups. From the ethnic group a person can get comfort and help to put ethnic slur into perspective. Much of the comfort comes from group's rituals and strengths. (Devore and Schlesinger 1999, 35, 38.)

According to Sari Näre (2007, 544) cultural sensitive approach creates possibility to listen to a culture that is not very familiar. The aim is a dialogue between the cultures. In this kind of intercultural setting where cultural sensitivity is emphasized, the connection is wanted to be reached instead of isolation. Assimilated integration has been trying, to its own part, to reach connectedness even though cultural sensitive hold has not necessarily been present. Cultural sensitivity may also lack even though

¹⁴ Miley, K. K. & O'Melia, M. & DuBois, B. L. 1998: *Instructors' Manual and Test Bank for Generalist Social Work Practice – An Empowering Approach*. Allyn and Bacon. Boston.

multiculturalism would be emphasized if the aim is not the dialogue between cultures. (Näre 2007, 544.)

When Näre discusses cultural sensitive girl work (tyttötyö), she brings out that the dialogue between cultures, indeed, has a central role. It is important to recognize those practices in the other culture which harm the childhood and youth, like HRV and women's circumcision, but also those factors in our own oversexualized culture that are threatening childhood and youth. In both cultural ways of acting children are dependent on adults as they produce the feeling of being rejected and violated. According to Näre, multicultural girls usually live in a tense situation because they have to many times be the middlemen of two cultures and they have to cover up from their parents that kind of features from our culture that would insult their religion. (ibid., 544.) Maybe these tense situations could be connected to what Devore mentioned about children's dual identities and the anger and stress that the functions related to it may cause in society.

In sensitive girl work the girls are helped to discover for themselves what kind of relation they want to take between these two cultures that have tension towards each other. When pondering this, functional methods can be useful because sometimes it may be difficult to speak aloud about things especially if there are some traumatic memories involved. When pondering about own relation to the culture of parents, building a kin tree, maps or lines in relation to things experienced and wished for, could, for example, be helpful. Role play can also be used as it gives a possibility to try different role positions and guide what kind situations different options may bring along. When it comes to the meeting point of culture and gender, it could be said that also personal and political meet there. (ibid., 544.)

When considering multiculturalism and ethnic sensitivity, Payne (2005, 280) notes that according to his own experience, it is more respectful to ask the clients about their possible culturally specific requirements than just assume things based on the broad generalisations in texts. Payne (2005, 280) also adds referring to Seeley (2004) that when working short-term with people coming from cultural minorities, the focus would

be important to put on their own interpretations when it comes to their cultural experiences. By doing this, the important issues to client could be grasped.¹⁵ Kieran O'Hagan (2001, 222, 253–254), who has researched cultural competence in the caring professions through the eyes of minority group clients, brings out that the minority groups put high value on workers who show interest and effort in asking how the clients would want to be dealt with instead of just being dealt with on the basis of majority conventions or stereotypes of the minority. These kinds of questions show respect even though the workers would not have the knowledge to assess these needs accurately without asking. Some examples could be that the clients from a different culture would be asked how they want to be addressed or a child who is in residential care is asked how she would want to be dressed in terms of respecting her religion. (ibid.) Payne (2005, 281) brings out that the sensitivity theory focuses on inclusion and empowerment strategies. In connection to that, awareness and acceptance of structural explanations that lead towards an empowerment approach, are encouraged.

The collective culture that respects communal values can be seen all over in negative light because of individual and law centred prejudices. That can cause stigma over the representatives of an ethnic or religious group when it comes to supporting certain values. Lidman sees that these kinds of interpretations do not support the dialogue between cultures or prevention of violence. In the contrary, they can support confrontation, victim centred thinking, blaming, racism, prejudices and isolationism. Another danger, in addition to stigmatizing, is over-carefulness when seeing that the violence has a connection to cultural or ethnic background. (Lidman 2015, 186–187.) In that case the violence of minority groups may have been explained by saying that in some situations the use of violence is part of cultural practice. These kinds of arguments are used in cultural relativism.¹⁶ (Lidman 2015, 187 according to Niemi-Kiesiläinen 2004a, 57.)

Sometimes the use of violence of a minority group or an individual is not dared to criticize because of the fear of being accused by racism. The thought at the back could

15 Seeley, K. M. 2004: 'Short-term intercultural psychotherapy: ethnographic inquiry'. *Social Work* 49 (1): 121–130

16 Niemi-Kiesiläinen, Johanna 2004a: *Rikosprosessi ja parisuhdeväkivalta*. WSOY. Helsinki.

also be that it is better to avoid the unnecessary blaming of other members of a group and the extra suffering that it would cause to the victims. Thus, the silence is chosen. (Lidman 2015, 187.) Merja Anis (2013, 150) also addresses cultural relativism when talking about social work and immigrants. She has similar thoughts with Lidman when saying that an overemphasized cultural relativism may lead to problems if the workers are not willing to intervene to the harmful habits for the reason that they see them as habits that belong to the client's culture and they want to understand and allow this kind of diversity of cultures. Thus, she finds it good to discuss how the disparity is handled and understood and what kind of disparity is societally acceptable.

Veena Meeto and Heidi Safia Mirza (2007, 197) also discuss the same issue and see that the climate that multiculturalism has produced when it comes to racism, promotes respect for cultural differences often without questioning different habits because of fear that communities and ethnic groups would be offended. Beckett and Macey (2001, 311) argue even stronger that multiculturalism can contain an oppressive nature. When talking about domestic violence, they point out that multiculturalism does not cause it but it has a role in letting it continue because its strong respect for cultural differences, the emphasis that minority lifestyles should not be intervened and its' demand of community consultation that is mainly done with self-defined community leaders that are men. I see this aspect is good to bring out when talking about cultural sensitivity which, however, in my understanding, is not at all to support cultural relativism nor stigmatize the minority groups.

On the other hand, Anis sees that when creating confidential and working relationship with clients, a worker may face a challenge if he/she thinks that our own cultural values and behaviour is in principle always natural and right and assumes that the clients would follow them, too. The clients may have used to interact in different way and their value system may differ from the one that is familiar to us. Both social workers and clients may see that the different cultural background is a problem and in addition to that, an obstacle to work. (Anis 2013, 150.) Thus, Anis underlines that when working in a multicultural operational environment, it is very important as a social worker to be aware of own cultural background and values connected to that, as well as the meanings

that are given to different things. By doing that the worker can critically evaluate those and if needed, to change the ways of acting so that they do not have a harmful effect to the client relationship, the ways of doing the work and the contents of it. (Anis 2013, 157.)

Also Karimi (2015, 53) addresses this issue when he is discussing the possible misunderstandings between officials and immigrant parents. He is bringing up four risks of which the issue of “we are always right” is one. He clarifies that often it can be that the problems are not appearing due to the cultural differences but because of everyone considering their way of thinking the only right one. I would see that the insight of own ethnicity and the possible impact of it on practice, self-awareness, that Devore discussed, is strongly connected to what Anis brings up and also what Karimi says.

According to Anis, many social workers act consciously in culturally sensitive way. They pay attention to the backgrounds of clients and the possible ethnic discrimination that the immigrants may have experienced. However, others emphasize the similarity in the questions concerning the life and upbringing the children and young people. The different cultural background is not always seen as meaningful or something to be noted. After all many social workers consider that the work in their field is done according to general ethical and operational principles which contain essentially the multicultural know-how. (Anis 2008.)

Anis talks about multicultural skills that I would see are to a great extent related to cultural sensitivity. She sees that there are a variety of aspects why multicultural skills are seen to be needed in social work. When it comes to ethics, everyone should be treated equally as it is stated in general human rights. To put equality in practice means many times that the special needs are also noted. One reason for paying attention to multiculturalism is the need of strengthening professionalism – when different backgrounds of clients are noted as well as different meanings they give to the things concerning them, the work and interaction is progressing often better. When thinking about effectiveness of social work, the cultural awareness may contribute to solutions

and results that apply better to the clients. Anis also looks at multicultural skills from another angle: if talking about well-being at work, strengthening the intercultural interaction skills contribute to that also – the workers are not that likely to get tired because of too difficult client cases if they have tools to manage the tasks. (Anis 2013, 148–149.) That is important note to bring up as the well-being of social workers, I would see, is most likely affecting the effectiveness of the work.

When Anis discusses child protection and immigrants, she brings up that even though the native Finns and immigrants have mainly same kind of reasons for having the clienthood, there are also special kind of background factors which have a stronger effect in the lives of immigrant families, children and young people. One of these factors, which was referred earlier at some point, can concern western habits that the young people may adapt and which possibly are not that acceptable from the point of view of parents. This can cause conflicts between parents and young people. (ibid., 149.) I would see that to recognize these factors and pay attention to them when working with the clients is cultural sensitivity.

Lidman emphasizes that when we are working with the aim of ending the violence, cultural sensitivity is the requirement to prevent the violence. It means, according to her, to become sensitized when it comes to the notability of the background of the key persons. It does not mean that someone learns and studies an unknown culture perfectly. Lidman sees that cultural sensitivity may help to notice that an individual who has been growing up in a collective culture is often having an immigrant background but not all the immigrant background people come from collective culture and HRV is not appearing in all collective cultures. In addition every human being is an individual, not only a representative of some culture. (Lidman 2015, 191.)

The figure 3 shows the themes dealt with in the sources concerning cultural sensitivity. We can see that some of the themes are similar to those of multiculturalism. Oppression, racism and discrimination are some of those. Also ethnicity and gender that were discussed in multiculturalism are brought up here. When talking about ethnicity in this

chapter, it was referred to both worker's and client's ethnicity as well as as a lifestyle and as a sense of it (ethnicity). Cultural differences are discussed here like when talking about multiculturalism. Some different topics standing out when it comes to cultural sensitivity are intercultural skills, harmful traditions, sexuality, inclusion/isolation, immigrant process, biracial relationships and cultural relativism.

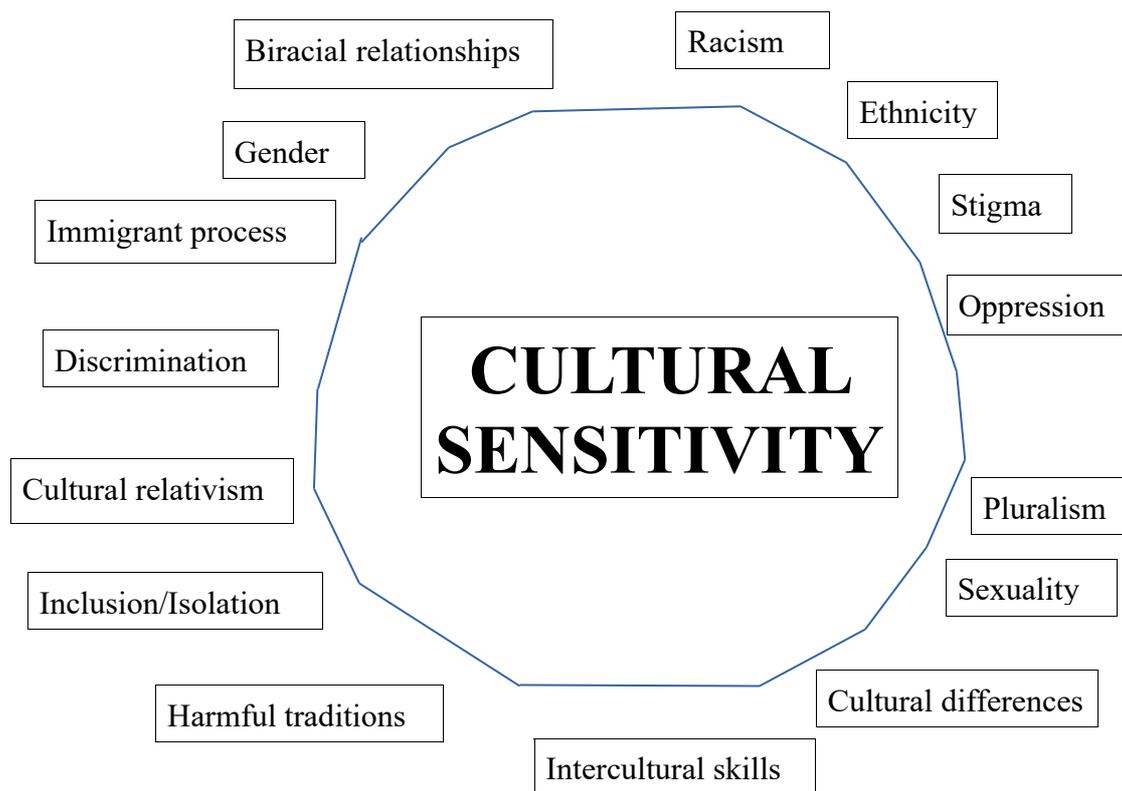


Figure 3. Dimensions of cultural sensitivity in the used literature

5.3 Gender sensitivity

In their book about feminist social work, Lena Dominelli and Eileen McLeod (1989) address the importance of recognition of gender when it comes to, for instance, the problems of client groups. They claim that the structures and reasons behind gender

oppression should be dismantled. One note, when talking about the origins of gender oppression is that of social feminists who see that men should not be excluded when trying to deal effectively with gender oppression. As they find that the men are primarily responsible of creating conditions – capitalist and patriarchal – which produce gender oppression, they see the importance of getting into dialogue with men. For social feminists capitalism has been shaping patriarchy and vice versa and hence for them the question is not that men control society but of the detrimental interests concerning both men and women because of the organization of the society. (Dominelli and McLeod 1989, 27,29.)

Meetoo and Mirza (2007, 190) bring up that multiculturalism fails to recognize the power divisions concerning gender when it comes to ethnic groups. They see, referring to Mirza (2003) and Samantrai (2002), that the liberal multiculturalism prioritize race and ethnicity over gender in its many and shifting manifestations.¹⁷ Women will remain invisible in gender-blind multicultural discourse and in that way have no way out from the private sphere of gender oppressive cultural and religious practices that are taking place. Beckett and Macey (2001, 311) see that when it comes to honour killings of women, this kind of privatization is strongly linked to the problem.

John R. Graham et al (2010, 341) bring up that when it comes to antioppressive and culturally appropriate practice in literature, gender is seen as an important construct related to it. They interviewed fifty social work practitioners in four cities in Canada to gain knowledge what would be appropriate practice methods, in cultural sensitive sense, when meeting with Muslim clients. Gender and social roles of individuals seem also to be more clearly defined in that kind of places where the culture is more specific about values, beliefs, interactions et cetera. This is common in Muslim societies, for instance.¹⁸ (Graham et al 2010, 341 according to Florian and Mikulincer, 1993.)

17 Mirza, Heidi Safia 2003: 'All the women are White, all the Blacks are men – But some of us are brave': Mapping the consequences of the invisibility for Black and minority ethnic women in Britain. In Mason, David (eds): *Explaining ethnic differences: Changing patterns of disadvantage in Britain*. Policy Press. Bristol, 121–138; Samantrai, Ranu 2002: *AlterNatives: Black feminism in the post imperial nation*. Stanford University Press. Stanford.

18 Florian V. & Mikulincer M. 1993: Does culture affect perceived family dynamics? A comparison of Arab and Jewish adolescents in Israel. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 24, 189–201.

In the research data of Graham et al, the respondents found, when it comes to gender, that the personnel at social service agencies would need to understand these gender roles and note the influence of them on the circumstances of an individual. Respondents also saw that it may not be effective to use such interventions that make the individuals to operate outside of their traditional roles. Respondents mentioned that through the way a client responds to a service provider, one may see the emergence of gender roles. One respondent clarified it by saying that he/she has found that, for instance, many Muslim men behave unfriendly towards the worker, when coming to the office as if it was humiliating for them to be there. In addition the obligation to speak about the issues or problems with a female worker, may pose difficulty. (Graham et al 2010, 341.)

Also, when it comes to female Muslim clients, the respondents have noticed that there may be extra challenges if there is a male present as they are not used to associate with the opposite sex outside the family structure. This can cause that the woman client is passive and not willing to speak if men are present. Thus, female workers should be available and accessible to those women. (ibid., 341.) I guess the availability of male workers for men would be good, too, but maybe more difficult to carry out as social work is female-dominated field. However, the cultural considerations concerning gender that was one topic brought up in the research show that gender sensitivity is good to pay attention and seems to be part of cultural sensitivity.

When talking about gender sensitivity, Näre (2007, 542) states that gender and generation are central elements of culture. In traditional cultures the cherishing of limits between genders and generations have been vital. On the contrary, the inner limits of these elements in Western countries, through modernization, have become faded. When it comes to gender sensitive youth work, gender and generational differences are paid attention. (ibid.) According to Varpu Punnonen (2007, 521), when defining the gender-aware approach, we should see what kind of impact the gender has on person's life and the solutions he/she makes. With gender-awareness or gender sensitivity she also refers to the awareness of the expectations that the society has for men and women. To

recognize and identify these expectations is important so that the diversity can be started to change and that both genders can be offered several options to more permissible direction. (Punnonen 2007, 521.)

Näre (2007, 542–243) see that gender sensitive youth work is about the recognition of the special needs and problems of girls and boys so that they can be supported in life management, participation and empowerment as well as the discrimination could be prevented. The strengthening of emotional, social and cultural capital of boys and girls are in the centre of the work. When it comes to youth work field, the gender sensitive approach means the development of multiprofessional work methods. One way is to deepen the self-knowledge of young people by applying psycho- and sociodrama related methods. When intertwining gender sensitivity and interculturality to this work approach, both the individual and societal empowerment can be supported. One can try to feel about the relation to own and other gender by taking different roles with different chair techniques. One can step into different roles and change roles and at the same time see how it feels to have a position of different role, other than what one was born. (Ibid.)

Punnonen (2007, 532–533) says that one example of general gender sensitive youth work is that gender-specified groups are arranged. In those groups young people learn to recognize their own voice and encourage to use it. In addition, in the confidential environment it is hoped that they will also learn to share things and listen to each other. Some other aims are to learn to appreciate different genders – own gender and the gender of other people, to recognize inequality and attitudes as well as practices that are derogatory. The enhancement of gender equal thinking and ways of acting are strengthened. (Ibid.)

Veronika Honkasalo (2011a) interviewed youth workers and young people from multicultural backgrounds to her research concerning girls, multiculturalism and gender equality in youth work. She found out that youth workers defined gender sensitive work in different ways which were also overlapping and duplicating with each other. Four main categories were created: identifying gender sensitive work only as girl work,

gender sensitive work as noticing the power structures that are in need of deconstruction, gender sensitive work also as boy work and gender sensitive work as paying attention to many kinds of differences simultaneously. The first categories were more common than the last ones. One meaningful difference between the first and the last category was that in the first one the need for gender differentiated work was defined by the different religious and cultural background of the immigrant background girls. In turn, in the last category, notice was put to the sensitivity concerning the differences of mutual needs of girls in youth work as well as avoidance of categorizations related to cultural background. (Honkasalo 2011a, 91–92, 94, 98.)

Honkasalo mentions that in the researches concerning immigrant families it has been brought up that negotiations inside the family are in many ways influenced by the new societal situation. Many times these negotiations are coloured by gender and generation issues. In immigration situation and also after that child upbringing, internal trust relations in family and questions concerning authority are challenged. When Honkasalo had been doing her ethnographic field work she had noticed that the meaning of parents and families seemed to be meaningful when it comes to youth work and multiculturalism. Also other research spoke for that. Parents can complicate the participation of youth, and especially that of girls, when it comes to leisure time activities. Also some of the youth workers that Honkasalo interviewed saw the role of parents as a meaningful challenge in youth work especially when talking about participation of girls and parenting the young people. (Ibid., 115, 117–118.)

However, Honkasalo's data also, with the voices of few, brought up criticism for different cultural background and family control as an explanation for non participation of immigrant girls to the youth work activities. It was claimed that youth work in itself is still lacking equality when it comes to girls and boys. It was seen that the activities are still more boy oriented and hence the girls may not be so interested in participating. (Honkasalo 2011b, 261.) I would think that in a way there is piece of truth in both views: some girls may be controlled when it comes to participation but on the other hand the activities may not be always so attractive to girls.

Figure 4 shows what kind of dimensions were mentioned in the used literature when talking about gender sensitivity. This figure again has some same themes as the two previous ones: gender, ethnicity, sexuality and religious/cultural background as well as issues of oppression and discrimination. In addition power divisions and societal expectations are discussed. When discussing gender things like gender roles, gender blindness and female/male workers are considered. Inequality and patriarchy are themes dealt with, too.

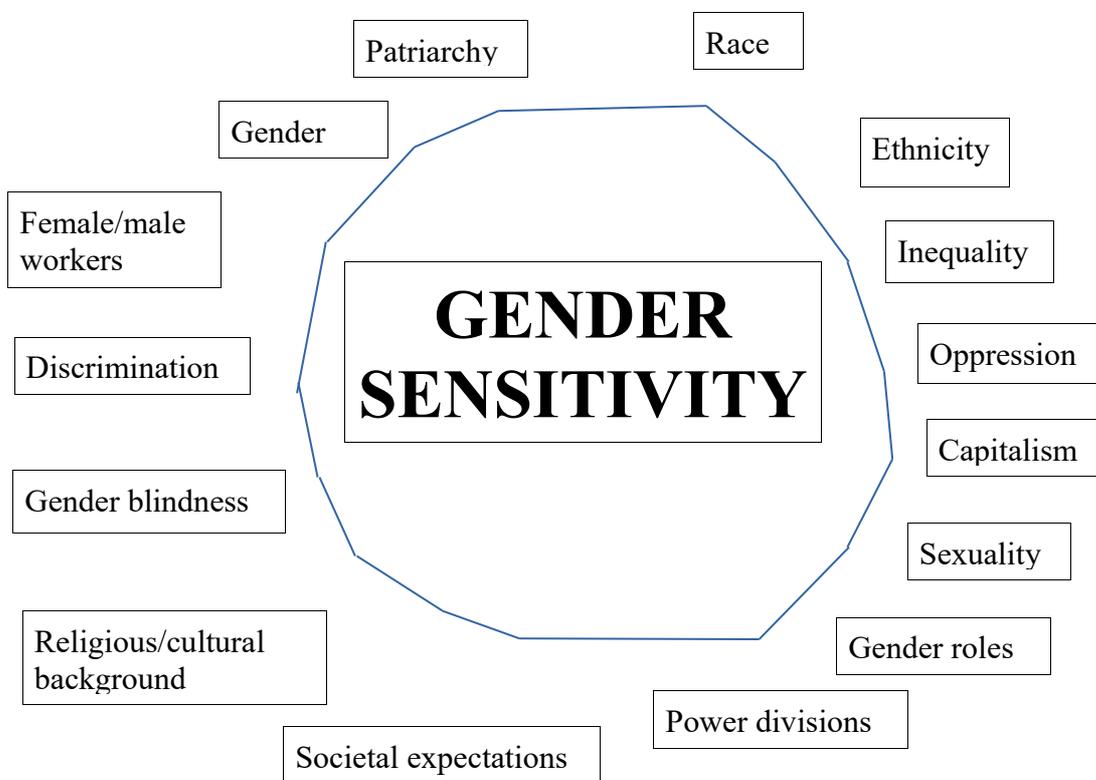


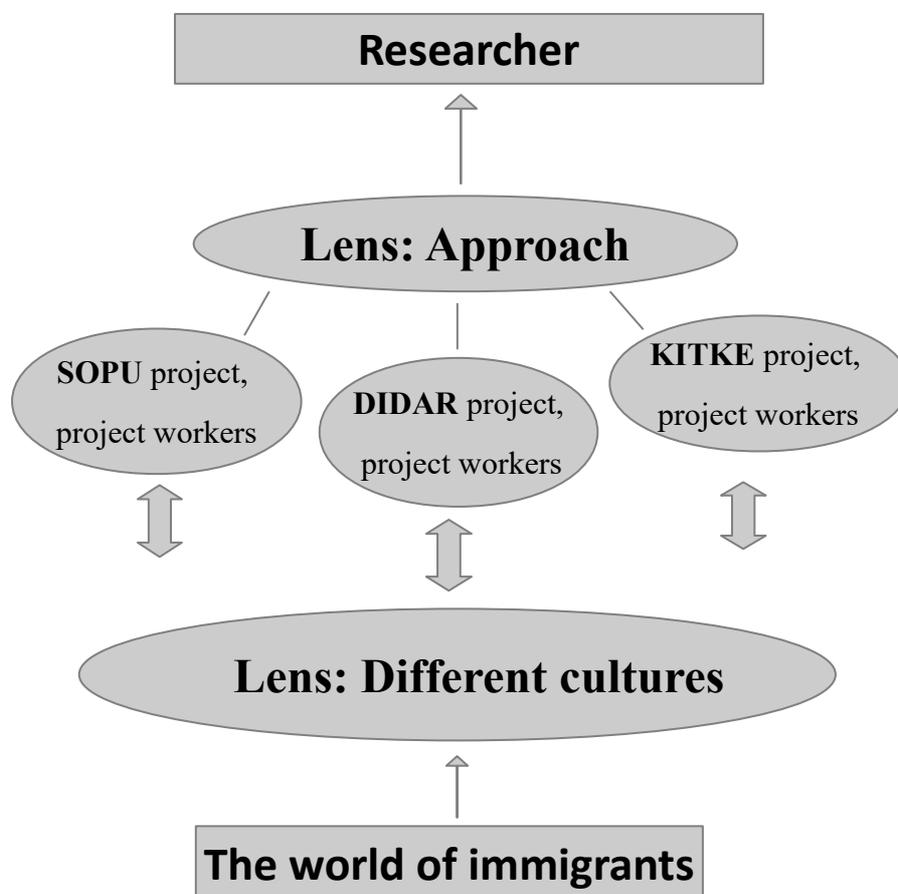
Figure 4. Dimensions of gender sensitivity in the used literature

6 Research methodology and research process

6.1 Research framework

In this research data things are looked through the lenses of workers of three projects – SOPU, DIDAR and KITKE. I as a researcher still look things through my lenses. Thus, I am doing the analysis by looking at the project workers through my outsider lenses. Project workers, in their part, look at the different cultures and the world of immigrant through their lenses. To make the research layout more illustrative there is a figure below to describe it.

Figure 1. Research framework



6.2 Data and data collection

6.2.1 Data source

When I had got the idea of choosing prevention of HRV as the topic for my thesis, when I was doing my internship in women's shelter, I came to know about two projects that were doing work among the issue. I contacted worker from one of the projects and went to meet her and told about my idea and they were interested in being part of the research. From them I also came to know more about the third project in Finland and I contacted them and asked their interest of being part of my research. The answer was positive from all three projects which motivated me to continue with the topic. I approached all the projects first through e-mails and I was able to meet or see all my respondents face to face in a way or another before traveling back to my study city. I found this was important and useful for the becoming interviews because when going back to meet with them after about a half a year, it was easier for me to do the interviews as I had already met or seen most of the respondents once. If it had been the first time I meet them, maybe I had been a bit more nervous when doing the interviews.

I collected my interview data from the main workers of three projects (SOPU, DIDAR and KITKE) that are focused on honour issues in their work. Prevention is the strongest goal at their work. A respondent from **DIDAR** said that their main aim is to lift up questions concerning honour culture and to develop preventative work methods. There is also three objectives in the project: development of customer work methods, co-operation with learning institutions and sharing the knowledge. DIDAR is a development program managed by the Setlementti Naapuri ry (DIDAR) in Tampere. One respondent from the project told that the project got started as a part of Tyttöjen Talo (Girls' House). Observations had been made that the girls are allowed to go to school but all the other places are prohibited from them. In the worst case the father or brother would even walk the girl to school and would wait already outside when the school day finishes and hence the girl does not have any freedom. The respondent says that the project has started by creating possibility for the cultures to encounter and to

ponder how to maintain the own culture but also how to get rid of the harmful traditions that clearly are against human rights.

First the idea was that the work would be done with the girls but quickly when the project got started it was noticed that the orientation was wrong – it was even tend to increase the threats when leaving the men totally out. The project was reoriented as it was understood that in a way the whole family is the victim of honour culture as the men are expected to practice some old traditions. Thus, the involvement of fathers and brothers is seen important so that their understanding would widen and they would be given tools to see. The girls are still worked with but it is more like *putting off fires*, the real work should be done somewhere else according to the respondent.

Another project **SOPU**

“is Kalliolan Nuoret ry 2012-2015 development project, which aims to prevent honour related conflicts and violence in families and communities. We utilise a gender sensitive and reconciliatory approach. In supporting both, the youth and their parents, we offer means for a respectful interaction. Our target group are youth, families and communities, which face honour related challenges, but also those who work together with multicultural youth and families.” (SOPU.)

One of SOPU respondents said that as they are a youth organization they mainly work with young people but the project got started when understanding that if they only help youth with a social youth work, it will never be enough when it comes to immigrants because the family plays such a big role in their life. Thus, the whole dynamics and interaction of the family should be tried to impact on when it comes to questions concerning honour. The target group, however, is youth and their things are promoted. Both respondents from the project underline the importance of working with all groups – women, men, girls and boys. The men and boys are seen particularly important groups as they are acting as guards for women and girls. Sopus project received funding for the period of 2016-2017 also. (Ibid.)

One of the projects, **KITKE**:

”aims to prevent human rights violations caused by harmful traditional practices such as honour-related violence. Focusing on preventive work, it offers information, advice and training. The project works closely with various migrant and religious organisations.” (KITKE.)

KITKE is a project under the Finnish League of Human Rights. A respondent from the project says that preventive work is done so that people would learn to discuss even on difficult topics with each other before the conflicts appear. Kitke project is national and due to that it has a bit different nature and role than the two other projects that are local and impacting more in grass roots level. In turn, Kitke has a strong emphasis on impacting authorities when it comes to this phenomenon.

6.2.2 Background information of the respondents

During the test interview and also during the official interviews some respondents mentioned the name of their colleague few times. It made me to ponder in what way I will analyse my data material. It was obvious that I would not mention names. Arja Kuula and Sanni Tiitinen (2010, 452) are discussing the basic principles of analysing. The information that makes someone identifiable is to remove but the interviews are good to keep as original as possible for the future researches. The direct identifiable information like the name of the respondent, date of birth and other specific contact information must be deleted. Several things that refer to someone in indirect way are usually also appearing in data. These could be, for instance, working place, gender, living place and educational background. The topic of the interview has a crucial meaning of which indirect identifiable information is going to appear alongside the interview and in what amount they should be anonymized. (Ibid.)

In my data the respondents were the only full-time workers in the projects, which in any case are quite special kind of projects. Thus, I would see that the workers can be

identified already when it comes to their workplace, among some circles. Before running the analysis I thought that at least I could make sure, when analysing the data, that a certain project will not be identified when I am referring to them. On the other hand I already foresaw that even though the projects do same kind of work, they are a bit different, for instance, when it comes to the forms of action and hence I was not sure how it was possible to succeed in that. After finishing the analysis I noted that from certain information and comments that the respondents brought forth, one can guess which project is discussed. Anyhow, I would believe that it is not a problem for respondents.

When it comes to other identifiable information I actually find it meaningful to mention that two of the respondents are women and three of them are men. In addition the men are the ones having an immigrant background and they all come from different countries where HRV also appears. I see this as important to mention because I find it gives more value to this research when thinking about the topic. The ages of the respondents are between 36 and 47 and all of them have higher than basic level education. The Finnish ones have university degree as well as some of the foreigners. Everyone has education that contain suitable elements for the field. I will use abbreviations when quoting the respondents in the data. I have given each a number and I will use them with the following way: respondent 1 as R1, respondent 2 as R2 and so on.

I asked the immigrant background respondents if their view concerning HRV has always been the same or if it has changed at some point. Two respondents answered very similarly:

"I cannot say that I am born with this opinion that I have now.—I can say personally that I have changed from what I was as a teenager, I have pondered a little bit." (R4)

"As a teenager I did not agree at all with what I think now--during the teenager years I was totally involved in this." (R5)

Both of these respondents let me understand that before they started to question their

thoughts, the honour thinking was part of their life and identity. The other one mentioned how he was guarding his sister's comings and goings. According to the other one, the thought grows with you and then when you reach adulthood and get education as well as other things, little by little you start to question all these things which you have practiced as a child. Both mentioned the surrounding as an impacting factor when it comes to maintaining the thought patterns or questioning them. The other one told that when he got into university, there was political action and also social issues, like human rights, were brought up and discussed. That made him to think that this could be true.

One respondent told that when he was living in his home country he did not face situations where he would have had to explain or justify his actions. In Finland, in turn, he got into great situations where he had to start pondering things and question his beliefs. He tells:

*”you are able to reflect yourself and ponder why am I actually believing in this and if you will not find answers enough, why should you continue like this but in *(country name) I did not actually think about those.” (R1)*

All three immigrant background respondents let me understand that it is easy for them still to understand those people who see things through honour thinking as they all have been in a way or another involved in it before. It is great to think that they can in a way give themselves as an example of how things can be thought or done differently.

6.2.3 Interviews, recordings and transcriptions

I did all the interviews, except the test interview, at the end of the summer when my summerwork had ended and I was still in southern part of Finland. With all the respondents I agreed with the day and time when I would go and meet them and do the interviews. I met all of them in their workplaces and there we went to a room, silent enough, to be able to record the interviews in peace. In those projects where I

interviewed two workers, I did the interviews at the same day for both, right after each other. I understood that was the wish of the respondents and I see that it was also easy for me because I could go only once to their workplace and get everything done even though I would have not minded to visit there several times.

My aim was to get two interviews from each project but at the end I came to lack one because of the busy schedule of one worker. Thus, I have five interviews in addition to one test interview which I use as an extra material to supplement the interview I did for the same person. The length of the interviews differed from each other – they lasted from 40 minutes to 1 hour and 45 minutes. I did the interviews in Finnish because I thought that I, and maybe they, too, would get more out of the topic if we spoke in Finnish. I did not even give English interview as an option to my respondents. Two of my respondents were native Finns and three were foreigners whose mother language was something else than English. However, all the foreigners were used to communicate in Finnish and I figured out that their Finnish language skills were good enough to be able to make fruitful interviews in Finnish. I do not know how the English language skills would have been among my respondents. Perhaps I could have asked that from them and maybe if it had been possible to do the interviews in English, I would have saved time when not having to translate the data I use in my research. However, I see that I got good interviews in Finnish.

Before going to do the interviews I tested the recorder if it works and always at the beginning of the interview I tested it also with the respondent to see if the voice is heard well enough. I have to say that the recorder that I had, was not the best at all. It took quite easily the background noise and you had to put it to its full volume to be able to hear the voices. Afterwards when listening one of the interviews, I had a bit hard time to hear at some points what that person had said because he/she spoke at some points not in that loud voice and hence the recorder did not catch the voice very well. With very careful listening several times, however, I was able to understand what was said. When I did my test interview I had a better recorder. Then I did interview through skype talk which succeeded quite well, when it comes to quality of voices and things like that. Also the test material gave me tips for the official interviews. I did not change my

interview frame that much but I added some things, however.

For the interview method I chose semi-structured thematic interview. Certain central themes that are chosen beforehand and the more specified questions run the thematic interview forward and this can be called semi-structured interview. People's interpretations of things and the meanings they create for them as well as the meanings that are born in interaction, are highlighted in thematic interview when talking about methodology.¹⁹ (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 75, according to Hirsijärvi and Hurme 2001, 48.) Jouni Tuomi and Anneli Sarajärvi (2009, 75) underline that the aim of thematic interview is to try to find meaningful information and answers that are valid when it comes to the purpose of the research, problem layout or task of the research. Thus, the themes that are chosen beforehand should be based on the framework that the research contain. I divided the themes of my interview to the following themes: background information, HRV as a general phenomenon, the preventative work of the project (the approaches of work, forms of work, results), challenges and possible developing points.

According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2009, 73), the interview questions or themes are good to give to the respondents early enough beforehand if the aim is that the information will be gained as much as possible of the wanted topic. Already when it comes to ethics, this is important so that the respondent would get to know what is the theme of the interview. People do not necessarily promise to take part into research if the topic if they are not aware of the topic. (ibid.) When I did my test interview I did not realize to send the themes to my respondent early but only the previous day before making the interview. Even though it seemed not to harm the respondent or the interview material, when doing the official interviews, I decided to send the interview frame for the respondents a good time beforehand by email so that they could see what the big five or six themes would be. I also had informed them, based on the experience from the test interview, that the interview maybe would last about an hour. However, for example, when doing one interview I noticed at some point that one hour is not enough

¹⁹ Hirsijärvi, S & Hurme, H. 2001: Tutkimushaastattelu. Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö. Yliopistopaino. Helsinki.

at all. The respondent had said before the interview that he/she has to leave for some meeting after the interview and as I still had quite a lot questions left at some point, I suggested that if it was possible we could continue another time. However, the respondent gave me a lot of extra time and eventually we were able to get everything done at once and I guess he/she still was able to get into the next meeting but was a bit in hurry. I was thankful for the extra time.

I had written questions to myself under all the themes. I noticed that it was good because as this kind of interview setting was not so familiar to me, I do not know how well I would have remembered to ask the crucial questions. I would say that at the beginning of the interviews I was maybe a bit nervous but as the interview went on I was able to free myself from the interview paper that made it possible to leave also space for the unplanned things. Sometimes the respondents answered to my questions before I had even asked them or they had referred to them somehow which gave me possibility to ask more specified added questions concerning them. During the interview I sometimes did extra questions based on what the respondent had told and few questions I sometimes skipped. Johanna Ruusuvuori and Liisa Tiittula (2009, 29) bring out that interviews can be seen as interaction situations despite their form or type. All the interview data is situated to the verbal material that has been produced in interaction between parties. The meaning of interaction is hence important. (ibid.) This somehow came into reality in my interviews because even though the respondents were producing information, I also had in a way an important role as an interviewer to fetch the information that was happening in interaction.

Ruusuvuori and Tiittula (2009, 29) mention, when talking about interaction in research interview, that a certain goal is aimed when interviewed. Because the interviewer wants to get information, he/she is active in presenting questions, leading the conversation, supporting people to answer and concentrating into certain themes. Generally the role of interviewer as a collector and asker of information is seen in interviews as well as the respondent's role as a giver and answerer of information (ibid.) When I think about my role in making the interview and influencing on data, I would say that as I had chosen

the themes by myself and made a bunch of questions, these factors were leading quite much the interview and the respondents in a way also expected that questions are addressed to them. The influence of researcher is seen, in my view, in the themes and questions which are handled in data collection and the way how the questions are formed and what kind of interpretations are made afterwards out of them. Here I could again refer to the lenses through which the researcher is looking at things and the impact of it in the research and analysis.

I did not transcribe the interviews right after when finishing them. After the last interview I had maybe one week break before I started to work on with that. I decided that I would focus on doing the transcriptions during one week. I had altogether 56 transcribed text with a spacing of one. One frustrating thing was that I was not able to find out how I would have been able to rewind and listen again something with the recorder, it either rewinded all the way to the beginning or to the end. I was able to put a slow tempo on or the fast tempo when listening but still it was not the same as to be able to rewind. I found that it was a bit easier to listen to the interviews of the native Finns and transcribe their interviews than those whose mother language was not Finnish. This was of course natural. I used to transcribe everything in a way the respondents expressed things even if it was not correct in Finnish. However, when I first was planning to use citations in this research, I sometimes corrected the Finnish language a bit so that things would be more understandable. Eventually I was instructed that maybe I could only leave the translated citations and I deleted the Finnish ones because double citation took a lot of space. I have tried to translate as well as I can the comments of the respondents but of course I am not a native English speaking person or an official translator.

Johanna Ruusuvuori (2010, 424) brings out that if one is interested in research of knowing how and when something is said and in what way the thing that are said are related to the former speech, the transcribing should be done as detailed as possible. This means, among other things, that the length of the breaks between sayings, stoppages inside the sayings and the way and the tone of speaking are paid attention. (ibid.) I transcribed the spoken things quite in quite detailed way first even though it probably

would not been necessary in this research. However, the tones of voice, breaks, body language or other things like that, I only wrote down few times because I do not see those very meaningful when it comes to my data. On the contrary, I see the minimum feedbacks, that Ruusu vuori and Tiittula (2009, 26) mention, in a way meaningful in the interview situation because they, in my view, are essential when it comes to interaction. Ruusu vuori and Tiittula, among other things, say that with the help of the minimum feedbacks the parties may, for instance, make sure if the discussion can be ended about a certain theme and to continue to the next one.

6.3 Analysis and classification

After transcribing, I had a long break, maybe two months, before going back to the interviews. Then I decided to print them for myself leaving wide marginals on the sides. Before starting to do any kind of analysis, I read through the interviews several times and alongside the analysis I continued reading them. I used the simple content analysis with my data. When discussing the content analysis, Ruusu vuori, Nikander and Hyvärinen (2011, 19–20) see that the theoretical choices and interpretations done by the researcher are already part of the preliminary classification as well as arrangement and collection phase. According to them it is impossible in practice to have a research that is purely based on data. When talking about qualitative analysis it is often divided to inductive and deductive (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009, 95). However, there is another kind of division presented in which the leading factors of analysis are able to take into consideration better. This division consists of three different kinds of analysis models: data based, theory binded or theory lead and theory based.²⁰ (Ibid., according to Eskola 2001.) I would locate my analysis somewhere between data based and theory binded analysis. I mostly analysed the data before writing the approach chapters about multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity. However, I already had

²⁰ Eskola, J. 2001: Laadullisen tutkimuksen juhannustaiat. Laadullisen tutkimuksen analyysi vaihe vaiheelta. In a book Aaltola, J. & Valli, R. (eds): Ikkunoita tutkimusmetodeihin II. Näkökulmia aloittavalle tutkijalle tutkimuksen teoreettisiin lähtökohtiin ja analyysimenetelmiin. PS-kustannus. Jyväskylä, 133–157.

decided to use these approaches and reflect the data in the light of them and hence I also see the theory bindness in my analysis. When interviewing the respondents I also asked all of them to define those three basic concepts/dimensions – multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity.

First I did a simple descriptive preliminary analysis that was very concrete and pragmatic. I read the text thematically and found topics that generally stood out from the text. As I could call my interviews thematic ones, that factor helped me to find relevant themes concerning my research questions. I also used different colour markers to find similar themes from the texts. I wrote the citations to a text document after each other and then started to code and analyze them one by one. After I looked at what kind of similarities or differences there was found from the themes and if the opinions were positive, neutral or perhaps negative. I examined what kind of interpretations the respondents had made and wrote them down.

When going deeper in the analysis, I started to add to the text my own interpretations of respondents' views and interpretations. I aimed at putting myself into the text like that and also by expressing my own thoughts, views and comments about different topics and discussions. I also wanted to make the respondents to discuss with each other in the text. After analyzing the data and interpreting it I went back to write the chapter concerning the approaches to the topic – multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity. After finishing those approach chapters, I came back to data and started to reflect it in the light of them. I tried to find again possible similarities and differences and I added some things that were said in approach chapters to data chapters to show how they are connected. I also used, for instance, some research articles that contained related or unrelated findings with my data as well as some literature sources. I also created figures, to chapter five, concerning different dimensions in the discussion on multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity. Then I created similar figures to chapter eight when presenting respondents' interpretations on those approaches. I compared the figures of chapter five and chapter eight with each other to see if similar/different dimensions came up. After doing all this, I made my final conclusions to the last chapter.

6.4 Ethical considerations in research

I have already addressed some ethical questions earlier when dealing with the anonymity of the interview respondents and the impact of a researcher on the research results. In addition to these ponderings I would like to add some questions of which some may be in a way related to these also. As I chose to interview workers of the projects for my data instead of, for example, the service users of the projects, there was not that great ethical problematic when it comes to, for instance, sensitivity. If I had interviewed the service customers, I would have categorised the theme as really sensitive and I would have had to think more profoundly how to ask about the issue and different topics concerning it.

One factor, that I have been pondering, is the title of my research. What would be the best way to name the study so that it would not give a wrong picture of the people whom it concerns. Is it too stigmatizing if the title refers to patriarchal immigrant communities in Finland in connection to the phenomenon as there are already so many prejudices and, I would claim, hatred towards immigrants? However, as those communities are the main target of the projects, I came to a conclusion that I should not change the title keeping in mind that this research is mainly supposed to produce knowledge and give tools for the professionals who meet immigrants through their work.

Erik. S Rasmussen et al (2006, 116–117), in connection with trustworthiness of results, remind about the openness and transparency that is required in science. They see that when using qualitative methods, this is even more significant as the involvement of a researcher is greater in it than in quantitative methods. Thus the research process should be presented very transparently if possible so that the ones reading can make their own view if the study is credible. One specific factor Rasmussen et al lift up is the frame of reference in the study in relation to the research problem of the work. They clarify this by explaining that there should be precise formulation of the problem which also would

require in frame of references theories that are seen to be relevant to examine the issue satisfactorily. (Rasmussen et al 2006, 116–117.) I actually began to ponder this factor when coming to the end phase of my reserach. The literature and researches I use and refer to are the mirror to which I reflect also the data results. Thus, I see that my choice of frame of reference, that Rasmussen et al speak about, has had an impact on this research. Thus, those ones reading the research can make their own conclusions if the study has been transparent enough and if the frame of reference fits to the research questions and of course if the data collection, results and data analysis show trustworthiness.

7 Approaching the life world of immigrants

In this chapter the life world of immigrants is approached through the experiences the project workers have faced alongside their work and through the methods they have used in action with their target group. At some points the voice of the immigrants themselves can also be listened to as some of the workers share comments they have heard. Work aimed at communities, increase of knowledge, group method and functional methods as well as dialogue, as a basis of everything, were the things that stood out from the data material.

7.1 Reaching communities

In every project they have used a method that each project call with a different name but which seem to be similar to each other – yhteisöfoorumit, dialogityöpajat, yhteistyö [community forums, dialogue workshops, community work]. All of them are aimed at the whole community. Increase of knowledge and especially dialogue can be seen very useful when it comes to this kind of work among communities. If taking a look at the *dialogue workshops*, a respondent from the particular project tells that it actually is the *crown jewel* of their project. She tells that they have got positive experiences of that and the method seems to work. The idea of dialogue workshops is that more than just few people will be invited to gather together and dialogue is ran about the chosen topics. They will be eating between and then people are divided to small groups and have discussion and later on they tell what they discussed with the big group. This respondent tells an example of one positive experience of dialogue workshop that they arranged together with Somali organization:

”There was clearly a kind of tension and a lot of suspiciousness that what is this about but during the couple of hours and as the discussion went on the atmosphere got free and the questions we wanted to be dealt with were dealt with

and at the end of the day everyone wanted that there would be continuousness for the dialogue workshop.” (R5)

As I have understood, when it comes to HRV, one big aim of preventative work is to help people to discuss and have dialogue on certain topics and I see that this aim is achieved in the cases like the one cited above. The wish to have continuousness for that kind of dialogue workshop shows a positive sign for the future work, I would say, and that is what I understood from the comment of the respondent also. Another respondent (R4) from the same project says that they have been also coworking with immigrant office. They started dialogue workshops in the immigrant office's premises for the quota refugees that came from Syria. Through discussion they try to bring up questions that may come up from their life as they arrive in a new culture. They are trying to create a living dialogue so that everyone is able to discuss the topics that they have and that is the core in this. He tells that there are different tools how the discussion is waken up. For example, one tool is cards which contain different questions and those questions are discussed in groups – different topics in different groups and afterwards the discussions are shared with the big group. An example of a topic could be dating and the questions could concern why a person gets married or what does love mean and what does it mean to you and so on. Another tool is board game cases where there also are some questions concerning some specific cases and the participants are to give their own opinion about the case. It seems that using and trying different kind of tools the issues concerning HRV are tried to address, indirectly.

A respondent from the project that does *community work* finds that one extremely positive thing that seems to work in preventative work among communities are the comments of some ordinary people that have been participating in meetings or groups themselves. He tells an example of a big Arabic group meeting when there were 40 to 50 participants, women and men.

”Well suddenly one man opened up that he has been using violence and his wife was next to him--I have used violence, my wife is here next to me, we went to get help and I have received it, I have not used violence for one year. My wife has

helped me.” (R3)

The respondent sees that these kinds of moments when someone opens up about personal life are most impacting. The other ones in the group saw that the man was not ashamed but proud of getting rid of violence. The respondent also notes that if someone has not been able to get rid of it, usually they would not be able to talk about it to a big audience. The wish of the respondent is that these kinds of brave people would speak out when different kinds of meetings are kept and he says that many times someone does that. He tells another example from a seminar that was kept in different languages and where there were many kinds of people:

”Then a man again spoke up that he has a 14 years old girl who is dating and then he said aloud when everyone heard that if someone is honourless, it is the one who puts his own girl behind the lock. He is not an honourless man - he is here to be proud of that his girl is dating and he as a father knows with whom she is dating and what she is doing.” (R3)

The respondent brings up that these kinds of brave comments that come from the ordinary people are more effective than if someone just came there for a couple hours to talk. It has an impact when a fellow person says that I act like this, I am proud of it, I am not ashamed of it and I do not care about what the other ones think because the way I act is right in my opinion. All this, from my perspective, supports the thing that the most of my respondents brought out during the interviews - the real change gets started from inside the communities. It seems like those who, themselves, are part of the communities are the ones who really can bring the critical change forth. It is great to get to know about these kinds of processes and results in people's lives and I am sure it encourages to continue the work. Lidman (2015, 320–321) brings up also the importance of working with the whole community to be able to succeed in prevention. She clarifies that through all the research and practice knowledge that we have concerning HRV, we can see that effective prevention is based only on that kind of solutions where the whole community is intended to attitude change. She continues that in this kind of work it is wise to use the collective elements of culture so that the benefit of community serves non-violence. In addition, she states that if the community will not

see that the change would lead to something that would be valuable enough to aim, things most probably will not change. Finally she reminds that the aim is only to cut the elements of violence culture, not to undo the remaining habits that have been there over generations and centuries.

In the same project they have noticed that there are key persons in the communities who are in special positions. Key persons are usually the ones whose knowledge about Finnish society is good. They usually are in working life or people know that they are the ones knowing what is happening or what the law says or what should be done. The key persons are asked solutions to problems and through them a lot of unofficial customers are contacting the project. Coming to know all this, the project arranged a pilot training called "*lähettiläskoulutus*" (emissary training). The idea is that the key persons from different cities are called together. They chose eleven persons, men and women, from seven different cities, at least.

They planned three different training days with three themes: first theme concerned children's matters and rights as well as the practice of child protection workers. The second day addressed equality and equality law. Those actors were also brought up to whom people can turn to and what kind of services there are offered in society. Third theme which, in the moment of interview, had not taken place quite yet handled sexual rights and sex education. The respondent told that the third theme has not been touched before as so sensitive topic but now they had included it in the training. He was curious to see how it would go.

The idea behind the training package is that the key persons could themselves share the knowledge in different occasions and hence the knowledge concerning services and rights would be increased. I see there is a huge potential in this kind of method if keeping in mind what was said about the change starting from inside the communities. The same respondent tells that the community work in their project refers to different discussion meetings. They have, for instance, arranged seminars one or two times a year. The advertisement of different meetings goes through communities, they have

been coworking with different actors like organization of Kurd community, Persian church, Arabic church and with some Muslim communities, Arabic partners as well as culture centre. As this project is national they have also tried to reach out wider inside Finland.

Laura Vääntinen (2008) has put together the interview report of honour related violence through the eyes of authorities. Twelve interviews were made in Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa areas for the social office, police, individual health care workers and shelters. One founding of the research was that it would be important to grasp the problem through the immigrant communities instead of doing it by Finnish authorities. The real results can be reached, when fighting against honour violence, only by approaching immigrant communities and training some their key persons to be those who can raise discussion and who can impact on the attitudes of their communities. (ibid., 17.) It sounds like the emissary training presented earlier is answering quite well to this regard.

A respondent (*R1*) from a project that has arranged *community forums* tells that in those they have listened to communities and their present situation or what they think about it. However, at the moment they have not had resources for arranging those. Another respondent (*R2*) from the same project tells an example of a community forum where Somali people from a couple of areas were invited to discuss the problems concerning their community. Some professionals were also present and the aim was to run discussion with a bigger group in community. However, the respondent tells that the experience is that the change will happen if there is a group that will be met several times because then the trust is built and people are more courageous to talk even about the difficult topics.

The thoughts and experiences of this respondent seem to suggest that one time events or gatherings are not yet enough when thinking about the long run goal of preventive work. I see the point in that but I would maybe see that one time event can also be the first seed that can stir up something inside someone's mind and that seed can start growing. However, possibility to get more water on that seed would make it possible for

the seed to grow more and create a chance for it to start producing something. With that I mean that when someone's thoughts are waken up with the questions concerning HRV, there are more possibilities that a person seriously start questioning certain thoughts if they are challenged several times. Maybe the respondent also meant that. The best outcome could be that the thought patterns change and that change is also put into action. When this kind of questioning and challenge is given to a whole community, it in best case, can have an effect on more people. On the other side, I could imagine that some people in the community would not maybe like this kind of challenge and probably would resist it. I would guess that the thoughts of the most respected and most authoritative people in community can have a huge impact on people in the same community – either in good or bad, depending how open they are for the dialogue concerning the issue and how they relate to it. When keeping this in mind, I see that the emissary training can serve this goal. If those people who are chosen to participate in the training are the ones whom people turn into when they, for instance, have problems, I can see that the views they have can have a big effect on other people in the community.

7.2 Increase of knowledge

If you do not have knowledge about different ways how things can be done, it is difficult to reflect your thoughts and actions as well as change them. All the respondents mention increase of knowledge/awareness as one way to decrease HRV. Even though the knowledge that is tried to increase is among the so called target group, also the knowledge of the other people seems to increase because different prejudices are staying in the society concerning, for example, the immigrants. When the respondents were asked what makes the HRV to decrease, one respondent commented like this:

”Awareness because people many times act spontaneously and many also do not

have that kind of encounter that they have to check their own values that in certain situations will be activated.” (R1)

The comment above seems to suggest that if things are not brought to the mind of people, they may not ponder if the things they think or do are good or not. They just may go along how they are used to. Lidman (2015, 314) asks if the prevention of violence is based on the decisions of individuals, the action of community or the responsibility of society or state. She admits that the changes in legislation and the way the present laws can be applied are, without no doubt, very important when it comes to prevention of violence. They show that certain actions are not accepted in the society and court system. Despite of this, the judicial tools are staying limited and even though many kinds of violence is forbidden in both national criminal laws and international human rights conventions to which majority of the world countries are committed. Lidman sees that if the one acting violently or possible becoming actor, instead, awakes to ponder how his/her actions have really impacted on his own life and the life of his close people, usually he/she has difficulties to find sustainable grounds for them. (ibid.) Seems like Lidman has similar thoughts with the respondent about making people to check their values and actions.

One respondent brought up that when it comes to increase of awareness and impacting attitudes, it is essential that the issue is not personally close, referring to a person who is not in crisis, because then usually he/she acts reasonably. Also another respondent (R2) mentioned that the best results are gained when there is no actual situation on. The former respondent described it in a way that if you have some situation on, your emotions may overcome and you act on the basis of your emotions. All this makes sense because I also would see that people are more willing or open to ponder different kinds of options when not in the middle of the crisis.

The respondent gives an example of a men's group where dating, starting a family and parenting were dealt with. He told that he knew that all the participants had peaceful and stable situation in their life. He said he wanted to come up with something that would

raise strong feelings and was related to the topic. Then he asked the participants to say how they would act in that situation and everyone seemed to be acting wisely because the topic was not so close to them and they could look at it from outside. Then he asked if the men knew anyone who had acted in a different way in that situation, for example, sending their own child into the middle of war, from where they themselves had left due to the unsafetiness. He asked them if they knew someone who had done it so that the honour could be maintained because the girl had behaved badly or she had been wearing too few clothes and in that way had publicly criticized their own community. Every participant knew someone who had acted that way. The respondent see these kinds of discussions important:

"In my opinion these are golden moments because I believe that if those men would face a similar situation, I, at least, hope that this discussion would be activated in their memory that how to act." (R1)

The respondent talks again about activating of something as also in the previous citation. It sounds like the goal when raising awareness is that knowledge is brought to the minds of people and the hope is that it will be activated in their minds later when perhaps a situation or issue occurs concerning honour-related questions. When the situation perhaps occurs, I would see that in addition to the thought pattern people are used to, they also have this alternative path to choose if the memory of that option will be activated. I find that the goal of preventative work in these projects aims to that – that people who perhaps have not yet faced honour conflicts would choose the alternative path in the future and pass by doing that the possible conflict.

One respondent says that she has noticed while working in the project that there are quite many prejudices between immigrants and native Finns. She mentions that it is typical among immigrants that when they see a group of drunken Finnish youngsters in the city centre, they think that all the Finns live like that. They may think that Finnish children do not have any limits but they can do whatever they want. That often makes the immigrant parents to want to protect their own children from that kind of behaviour and the children are wanted to keep tightly among own family circles:

"they want to keep them [children] very tightly in own family circles and to bind and close them to that so that they will not become like those unlimited and careless and immoral Finnish youngsters and not to get impact from them." (R5)

When talking about the forms of HRV, limiting, in different ways, was mentioned as one form of violence. In one sense it sounds a normal parental care that the children are wanted to protect from harmful behaviour, like drinking alcohol and getting drunk, but I guess in many cases, and as the respondent expressed, the protection can take extreme forms so that the child is really bound too tightly and his/her life circles become very limited. Same respondent tells that she has used her own life as an example to increase knowledge in some of their dialogue workshop:

"my children are not allowed to be in city centre on Saturday evening, my children are not allowed to smoke and they are not allowed to use alcohol when they are underaged, they are not allowed to." (R5)

This respondent says that this kind of everyday discussion shows that in Finnish culture or western culture, children are also given limits to protect them and they are not free to do whatever. This kind of knowledge makes those parents to realize that even here the children have to live according to certain norms which in a way are connected to the honour norms. Another respondent also brought up a similar example about parents who only see the smoking and drinking youngsters in Finland. He says that parents who are a bit withdrawn from the society, easily only see this kind of dark side of the society and they may not be present in the reality, in the new society, but only follow actively the events of their home country where it is not safe. They may be all the time worried about their children because they are not aware of the whole reality. He gives an example:

"a youngster wants to go to a camp with the school but parents say absolutely no because they do not know about these things with school, if it is safe and if there is control. Specifically they think that there is no control and that people will drink and have sex, everything is free." (R3)

In the light of all these comments and thoughts the respondents shared, the knowledge increase sounds really important so that the children, I would say, could live their childhood more freely. For example, the school camps in Finland, I would say, are kind of part of childhood or youth and usually everyone attends those. If I think about my childhood and camps arranged by schools, those were the times we got to know each other more in a different context and made memories for the future. It is a pity if someone is forbidden to join all that and miss out. When pondering about the increase of knowledge I keep on thinking how important it would be that the newcomers would get to know some Finnish people and the culture so that the worries like these would get more realistic picture. However, I have to say that when it comes to Finns, the children in some families sometimes seem to lack a bit limits in a bad sense and hence sometimes the worry is not that unrealistic, I would see. In any case, I guess, mostly the parents in Finland also put limits like the respondent who told about her own life example.

One respondent brings up how important it is that a person is able to apply the knowledge to his/her own life, it is not enough to say that violence is wrong. She does not see it helpful if the knowledge is just poured down:

"it has to be like internalized knowledge. A person has to ponder through himself/herself why honour is important to me and why the other ones are important to be able to maintain honour and, in a way, to ponder in a bit deeper way the attitudes." (R2)

I guess the easy way would be to just pump up knowledge from above on people but as this respondent brings up, it probably would not have the most effective results. It all seems to come back to the fact again that people need to think and ponder about these things themselves, as also Lidman brought out, so that the change of attitudes could happen and that was exactly what stood out from the data several times. One respondent said that if a native Finn went and told to the immigrant group how they should live and how things should be done, it does not have a meaningful effect – *it is like water off a duck's back*. She sees that somehow the change should start from the people and

communities themselves.

Zulema E. Suarez et al (2008) surveyed critical consciousness and cross-cultural/intersectional social work practice through a case example of a refugee Muslim family from Pakistan. From the working strategy there can be found also method of increase of knowledge as the husband had been violent and a male worker when meeting with him had let him know the laws concerning child protection pointing out that whoever could have contacted and made the report in this kind of case. However, some respondents in my data pointed out, as mentioned earlier, that the knowledge should be internalized and not just poured down. One of the respondents said that it does not help if just presenting that the law says like this and that – it has to be tried, at the same time, to show how following the law would make their life better, to find reasons.

Lidman brings up presents a method used in Africa promoting renunciation of female genital cutting that has been succesful. One part of the method is transfer knowledge concerning human rights and health. The knowledge transfer is not done in a pushy way and the own language of community is used. Also possibly the local story telling traditions or other discussion culture's special features are utilized. The method has proved that when the knowledge of men increased concerning the female genital cutting operation and its consequences, they questioned the need of using it – after that it was possible to give up the habit. In many cases the women who had got their income through cuttings became the ones teaching about sex and health education. They went around in the communities telling about health topics concerning about sex life and childbirth. By doing so, they could have an alternative source for income and their position as respected women sustained. (Lidman 2015, 318–319.) I see that this kind of examples are encourageing when talking about the increase of knowledge.

7.3 Groups and functional methods

Attitudes can be tried to challenge in big meetings but that kind of method may not work for everyone and hence alternative ways to address the topic would be good to find. Some may be more open for the challenge if discussing things in a small group or if doing something concrete that challenges to think. I would assume that sometimes the atmosphere, for instance, in some hobby groups can be more relaxed to discuss things. Different kinds of groups are a strong part of the work of two projects and in third one they have also ran groups. Groups are arranged for girls, boys, men and women. One respondent tells that one group method in *discussion groups* is to make the participants to settle themselves to the position of someone or where ethical choices have to be done. For example in adults' groups the topics are handled through imaginary conflict situations.

"what if in your family happened, for example, like this and then constructively we would discuss that how would we help this kind of youngster who has gotten into this kind of situation.--" (R6)

This respondent says that they, in a way, assume when discussing with parents that as they are parents, they will support the youngster. They, kind of, do not give an option for the slandering of a youngster but talk about what we as wise parents would do in this situation to help the youngster. I think these imaginary situations are in a way or another repeated in all the approaches of the life world of immigrants in this chapter. It seems that it is the basic way how to approach the issue and make people to ponder their thoughts and attitudes. At the end of previous sub-chapter it was mentioned that people should be able to apply knowledge to their own life to internalize it better. I find that the imaginary situations mentioned here seem to be a good method because they force people to ponder things and maybe question things they have not questioned that much before. The same respondent told about women's group where also the life history of women was used in addition to imaginary conflict examples. She says that going through the life history with women is very fruitful because they have experienced a lot. Forced marriage is one that kind of topic of which they have a lot to tell.

"They go through how has it been to get married without own will, for example, with an older man or they talk about the wedding night – through these kinds of things and always at the end I ask if this is what you want for your own children or would you perhaps want something else and how could we offer something else." (R6)

Apparently the way that people are used to think is challenged in this kind of situations quite concretely because the women are taken back to their painful experiences and then they are asked if they want the same for their children. I would use the same phrase here as I used earlier somewhere – alternative path is showed and offered. This respondent also tells that with young people the emphasis is on future and the decisions and choices are practiced together. Also another respondent (R5) tells that the themes in groups could be the future wishes, future work career et cetera. With the small girls in one of the projects they also had done treasure maps where the girls were to put what they are expecting from summer or next year. The idea is to start making it visible that one can have own wishes. I would interpret that the reason why things that are practiced with young people and children concern decisions and future is that in patriarchal communities they are not given so much freedom concerning own choices when it comes to their life. The girls, for example, may be expected to get married at a young age, as the background information and data have presented.

I would see that the gender based groups are likely to be an example of gender sensitive work that was addressed earlier and in chapter five. Näre said that in gender sensitive youth work the aim is to recognize the special needs and problems of girls and boys so that they could be supported in different ways. She also mentioned some functional methods like psycho- and sociodrama as well as role play to deepen someone's self-knowledge. At least the role play was a method that had been used in a way or another also in the projects where the data was collected. Punnonen also talked about gender-specified groups where young people have a possibility to recognize their own voice and learn to use it as well as listen to others and share things with each other.

One respondent in fact tells about one girl who had got in touch with them when having a situation that she was about to be forced to marry. She had stopped going to school and had stopped all the help sources. With the workers she, then, started to go through things concerning the study right and freedom to study what she wants and not the thing the family has wanted her to study. Finally they found out what she was good at and interested in and with the help of the workers she applied to that school and the workers were supporting her in every stage, a bit like parents. The girl got into that school and the respondent said she just called the girl and the news of the girl sounded good:

"she just joyfully was at a break at school and said that the Math and Finnish language do not matter now that I get remedial instruction, as she was nervous how she would succeed. It is going well and now she is joined on something and she likes it and she is away from home. She has also succeeded to negotiate with her parents that she will now first study and then later they will look into the marriage thing so that is great in a way." (R2)

The story of this girl, in my view, shows that preventative work in her case succeeded in a way that forcing the girl to get married was prevented or, at least, postponed. Maybe without the help of the workers the girl would be in a different path in her life at the moment. A story of a girl is also told who was in difficult situation and she had been supported as she was quite not ready for the change. She had had a conflict at home and she came to meet the workers as she was really afraid. When the workers had discussed with her for some while she said:

"always when I come here I dare to think about my future and feel that I have like hope." (R6)

The respondent says that feedbacks like this makes to think that the work is important and that people really have received help. The situation of this girl, even though it is not told very in every stage, somehow speaks for the fact that she did not, so to speak, see any light at the end of the tunnel when it came to her situation and life. However, when she had spoken with the workers the light was again set on fire.

One respondent (R5) also mentions their *functional groups* in which people gather together to play, for example, football and volleyball or to dance, play music and do handcrafts. The background idea behind the functional groups is the same as in all other activities: to have discussion on honour topics alongside activities. Also another project has these kinds of hobby type of groups offered for people. I see that these kinds of groups have a doorstep low enough for people to participate and maybe eventually through participating some hobby group they will also get interested in participating some other kinds of groups like discussion groups. One respondent has experienced that the *school visits* have been very fruitful because the young people have seemed to be extremely open when expressing things.

"in a way these moments can be very impacting like some five minute moment can be really groundbreaking somehow." (R2)

She mentions that in junior high this openness is still seen. I understand by this that it is good to try to influence on thoughts and attitudes at a young age. I would see that this is how it is in all the things among all people, the older the people grow, the harder it is to change their thinking patterns. This respondent tells an example of the positive feedback they have received from students when visiting schools:

"it was lovely to tell why I cannot hug boys as no-one has ever understood or some Kurdish girl says that because my big brother goes to this school, I cannot hug." (R2)

This feedback shows to me that the work really has filled some needs and gaps of some students in their daily school life. Another respondent also finds school visits as a good way to approach young people about honour topics. He sees that the arrangement that the visits are for all together – native Finns and immigrant background youngsters – and not only for immigrants, is good:

"if there were only immigrant youngsters...well either the eyes would be closed right away that we do not have any that kind of problematic or they would

become labelled. Because of that this is one thing that works.” (R1)

The idea sounds great to me and it gives possibility at the same time for Finns to learn things about other kind of thinking, their awareness is raised also. The immigrant youngsters also do not have to feel that labelled, as the respondent brought out, because everyone is together. The respondent also sees that in school they can offer a forum for young people to talk about things that they do not have anywhere else. He mentions sexual minorities as an example. At school they ponder with young people, for example, the possibility of friendship with some Finn who belongs to a sexual minority and usually everyone comes to a conclusion that the sexual orientation does not have to impact on friendship. However, when a new angle is added to the topic by bringing up that what if the one having different sexual orientation was someone from the same culture as them, the discussion usually goes to another level as this kind of orientation is not allowed there where they come from. Offering discussion forums on different topics support, I would see, the openmindedness in attitudes and hence I see it also supporting the prevention of HRV.

Another respondent (R2) tells that one new thing they are about to try is evening chat concerning honour after those school visits. The aim is to reach also that way the young people better and they also have an idea to develop it nationwide so that youngsters from outside capital area could participate in it. I could imagine that in this kind of chat some young people would dare to say things or ask things even more openly especially if they can remain anonymous. That is why I see it could be a good forum for discussing the honour topics.

One of the respondents (R3) mentions that some functional methods they use are movies, theatre and role play. When it comes to showing a movie, the theme of the movie somehow touches honour/HRV. After watching the movie, a room for discussion is made. When it comes to theatre, he mentions how in one Women's day a women's organization developed a small theatre where few people were acting and the participants made the manuscript themselves concerning honour related conflict and

afterwards everyone discussed about it. The role play they have used once so far. The roles of a father, mother and child were given and a situation was described and they had to made decisions how to act in a particular situation. The other ones could then comment what should be done or what should have not been done. After according to the comments the play was played again and then the opinions were asked again if the audience had seen that the situation was handled better or not. Other functional methods, question cards and board game cases, were also mentioned earlier when discussing the community work.

It looks like all these functional methods have the same goal as other methods – to challenge people to ponder and discuss on the HRV themes and to make solutions in imaginary situations. Methods can be many but the goal seems to be the same. One respondent sees that all forms of methods are needed in this work because people, backgrounds and needs are different. He even mentions that more methods should be invented so that more tools could be used in different situations. He says that what works for someone does not necessarily work for the other one. Once he was showing a quite strong and sad movie concerning the HRV to a group of youngsters and his experience was this:

”It took about half an hour and then I noticed that this does not work. Everyone is doing something with their phones under the table. That movie was so serious and the topic was so heavy that they just were not able to handle it and I asked if it was enough for them that we do not have to watch it until the end and everyone was happy, yay, we will not watch it anymore, let us continue with something else.” (R3)

On the contrary when he was showing the same movie in Oulu library where professionals and different immigrant groups were present, everyone watched the whole movie until the end and afterwards there was lively discussion based on it. Seems like there can be place for every kind of method and as this respondent suggests, would be maybe good to do some background work to make sure what kind of method possibly could work with certain people or groups.

7.4 Difficulties and possibilities in HRV dialogue

In the interviews of all respondents one thing was underlined and brought up several times when talking about the prevention of HRV: the importance of dialogue. It seems to be the key factor in the prevention work of each project and we can see it was intertwined into all methods mentioned earlier. When reflecting back to the chapter five, dialogue was also addressed there. For instance, Näre brought up that the aim of cultural sensitivity is to create dialogue between cultures to reach connection. However, before processing dialogue more I will bring out how the respondents saw and defined HRV as it is the topic or the concept of which the dialogue kind of should be run.

All the respondents had converging interpretations of HRV even though the produced definitions had variations depending which angle the concept was looked at. Three of the respondents mentions different forms of violence in touch with the definition like physical and psychical violence as well as more concrete examples like limits concerning clothing. It was mentioned that the scale of violence is wide when it comes to HRV – from limiting to honour murder. Other things brought out when defining HRV concern defending the honour norms, restoring honour or block the shame, using violence to keep the community rules and woman's modesty referring to the honour of the family. One also defines it as a strong tradition that is not tied to culture or religion but both culture and religion confirm it as the practice of HRV is many times justified by them.

When looking at these definitions they seem very similar to the things that were brought up in the background information part of this research – they go along with them. Also when looking at the definitions, I would see that the ideas behind HRV are based on quite fundamental and strong principles and hence, at least, I would get a thought that the approach of questioning those ideas/principles would need some wisdom so that the result would be good. In Finland, I would say, we are quite used to that things are addressed directly – the dialogue can be direct. In turn, the data showed that that kind of dialogue does not seem to be the best option when it comes to prevention work of HRV.

In fact, when the respondents were asked if they use the concept of HRV when working with the target group, all of them brought up that mostly they use indirect approach. One tells that the dialogue can start by itself without bringing forth the concept of honour, for example, by asking and having a discussion why a person does not let his daughter to date but for boys it is allowed to. At the end it will turn out that the reason behind is to do with shame and honour. Several respondents mention that if the topic would be addressed directly it could drive people away. One also see that HRV is a kind of western way to define the phenomenon. She brings up that if we speak directly to someone that they have an honour-related issue, they may feel that the other person is putting himself/herself above them and it will most probably drive them away.

One respondent (R3) says that they approach the theme sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. He clarifies that when they work with communities they negotiate with those who are organizing the meeting and ask them how they see what would be a good approach. They also have used a material where basic rights and equality are discussed and approached the topic through that. Another respondent says that they speak indirectly about the theme, for example, through parenting. It could be that in a men's group, an issue is brought up – their seventeen years old daughter has come to tell that she is pregnant and they are asked what would they do in that case. In the light of this I would understand that in all those imaginary situations mentioned earlier the approach has been indirect. One respondent sees that there may also be a strong community pressure that can come up at the end. The respondent says that it is necessary to challenge people to think:

"We will get to that point that what is more important to you – to satisfy the outside people/viewers or to act how you feel is right way to act." (R1)

I could imagine that this kind of challenge is not easy for someone who has been growing up in that kind of communal culture where people are expecting you to think and act in certain way. However, I see that someone has to be the challenger. One respondent says that she prefers using the same terms as those people she meets in her

work:

"I speak about those things with those terms that the young people use, for example, that I am not allowed to be outside after school, to use those words--or then I may say that it sounds to me that you have been pressured if someone says that father wants, before he dies, that I will get married and then I may say that it sounds that you are pressured a bit to get married here now.--I do not use the honour-related violence because it is so huge but instead I prefer the concrete."
(R2)

Using the same words sounds useful because I could think that if the worker suddenly started to talk about HRV to some youngster, he/she could close up but when talking in a way the respondent described, it kind of comes close to his/her experience world. In two research articles, that I read about cultural sensitive approach in social work, the use of language was brought up. Tova Band-Winterstein and Anat Freund (2013) who examined cultural sensitivity in social workers' encounters with Jewish Ultra-Orthodox clients in Israel interviewed social workers who work with the Haredi clients who have very different kinds of cultural codes and lifestyle. One finding was that social workers should use conventional Haredi language and the content of the therapy session. Many times the workers have to learn to follow conventional cultural hints. One, for example, brought out that a client may come to a treatment and say that he wants to win the battle over his *evil inclination*. The worker says she should be willing to cope with this and not make the client to realize that the Id and Super Ego are the things between which he has to solve the conflict. She also says that theological tools can be used in social work – *an allegory or a religious teaching works a lot better* than making someone to realize in a usual way what he/she should do. The worker should understand the importance of using the language that is familiar to the client so that the message would go through better. (Ibid., 11–13.)

Khawla Zoabi and Riki Savaya (2012), in their part, ran a research concerning cultural intervention strategies that some Arab social workers use in Israel. Those social workers worked in municipal social services departments in both Arab and mixed localities in Israel. The study found that one strategy aims at reframing the terms and concepts that

are used so that they would be more familiar to the culture. One worker had said that he/she expresses those concepts that he/she has learnt in university in other ways that are more understandable among clients. Another respondent also said that he/she uses cultural concepts that speak better to the world of the clients. That helps in creating dialogue between the worker and the client. An example was given of a client who had been raped. The worker had set an appointment with a Sharia court judge who told that an issue of husband raping her wife does not exist. The worker, then, presented the issue by using cultural concepts that would be close to the worldview of the judge. Religious sources were cited concerning the treatment of the wife. The result after several meetings was that the woman got a permission to get a divorce. (Khawla and Savaya 2012, 258–259.) I see that these examples from Israel have the same idea/strategy than what the respondent brought out from her work practice – the language familiar to the clients is used.

I would see that this kind of indirect approach is cultural sensitivity. It seems that as the workers understand the long-term goals of their work they have found that there are better chances to meet the goals by using indirect path instead of direct one. Thus, in my view, to be careful does not mean that there was a lack of courage to talk about things that are wrong but to talk about them in a way that make people to question their thoughts. This seems to be the expertise of the workers in the projects and is based on what they have experienced.

One respondent brings out that when he has been coworking with different communities and denominations, nobody has said directly, so far, that the violence would be acceptable or would give some positive explanation to it. He sees that this would be a good starting point to go forward and discuss – that everyone is against violence. This thought, it seems, would suggest that a good thing in dialogue would be to find a thing that everyone can agree on and then continue go deeper to the topic. When talking about the purpose of preventative work, this respondent sees that the work is done so that the people would be able to discuss even on difficult topics with each other before the conflicts appear. Another respondent talks about *”tosi ystävällinen dialogi”* (very

friendly dialogue) which he sees as important because usually the one who is limiting and putting obstacles does not want anything bad to his/her own child but all the family is a victim of the system of honour culture. Some respondents also mentioned same kind of view on the whole family as a victim. This same note was also brought up in the background information part of this research. I interpret that *the very friendly dialogue* would mean that no-one is accused directly but in good spirit the topics would be approached sensitively.

When addressing the prevention of HRV, Lidman (2015, 306) also sees that the “teachable” talk from above would most likely just make the listeners feel insulted or amused. Instead, she suggests that if the approach was more sensitive and less blameful towards the doers, the message would perhaps have more potential to be received. The approach could, for example, contain the general level discussion on humanity, wellbeing and happiness. All in all, the man who uses the patriarchal punishment right, would need to find a new kind of masculine role for himself. In addition, the community where he belongs should also find another way to accept him as a man. Lidman sees this as a huge challenge when trying to prevent HRV. (Ibid.)

The same respondent sees that mutual listening and respect, when having a dialogue, are important in families between parents and children when it comes to preventing HRV. Helping the communication between parents and children seems to be one working area of the project workers. This respondent still brings out that the dialogue should have an equal starting point where everyone can express their own thoughts on why something is good or bad so that agreement could be born:

“if that kind of agreement will not be born and an equal dialogue between two people or between few people, it must be very difficult to say that changes can be born.--Dialogue is the solution, I think.” (R4)

It looks like the workers try to help creating a space for different parties, in this case parents and children, to express their thoughts and feelings freely. Another respondent

also mentions how they have been in situations where they try to help parents and children to communicate with each other. He says that the communication in families is often one-sided and it is tried to make more mutual:

R1 "There have been also many that kind of situations where adults try to buy, for example, through working and in that way try to bind...that I am working seven days a week and my aim is that you would get a good life. And then [I say]...that do you want to know now what your girl thinks – she feels you are a stranger, does not know you and the only thing she wants...she does not want money now but that you would have time together. Somehow to pour out the thoughts that a man, a father and a girl could not be direct." (R1)

This respondent sees that if there are discussions then it is already a positive sign. If there is a direct connection so that someone knows how the other one feels and is interested in his/her life, many other things will go away that would stay if they would stay in a way as strangers to each other. Someone may be someone's father but if the bond has not grown between your child and you, you cannot know how he/she feels when you try to arrange something. For example, a father may start arranging a husband for his daughter and sees it a good thing but if there is no bond between a father and a daughter, the father may not know at all how the girl feels about that. The respondent says that they try to make the parents to think how, for example, the child is feeling and also they help the children to understand why their parents think the way they do. Another respondent clarifies the latter side like this:

"also that we have in a way brought the other side of the parents more out for the youngster. We think over that the parents are not bad and they do not only want like bad but we talk about why parents have worries and this is the way they have lived—it may be hard to adapt a new way as they maybe are not that involved and have not seen other models. We make the youngster's understanding to grow concerning why the parents act the way they do... that makes the interaction at home better; the situation is not then so extreme. That is also like an important part of this work that we maybe do not bring up so often." (R2)

It sounds like the workers are in a way translators between parents' world and children's world helping both parties to understand a bit the other party's life world and experience

world. Devore and Näre brought up also the dilemma of children with dual identities and the conflicts it may cause between parents and children. I would see, that the workers are dealing with an important thing when helping the communication and understanding between those two parties. Holm et al (2009, 191–192.) also address counseling/negotiation work. They see that if wanting to prevent honour related violence, this sector would require more resources. With counseling/negotiation work Holm et al refer to the work that aims at achieving a peaceful solution when it comes to the victim and threatful parties. If there is not found an optional solution model that pays attention to the views of all parties, peaceful and lasting solution is very difficult to achieve. They see that the negotiation is smoother if certain kind of cultural sensitivity is kept.

Holm et al also want to remind to keep in mind that things can be interpreted in many ways even though the starting point would be the human rights and equality. There is, for example, no right answer to a question how the children should be brought up or whose view about equality is the best. Even if understanding the unfamiliar culture, violence should never be acceptable. However, it is necessary to try understanding the viewpoint of another culture and the starting points of another person to be able to achieve a compromise. This negotiation model seems to have connections to the model that has been used in other parts of Europe in honour related conflicts. (Ibid., 193.) I see that the views of Holm et al go along with the perspective that some respondents expressed.

One respondent brings out that when they talk about rights, they also talk about responsibilities at the same time. He uses as an example a girl who wants to date. The aim is that a solution will be achieved through discussions - the concern of the parents is heard concerning why they would not want her to date and, on the other hand, why the girl, in her side, wants to do that. Then some kind of an agreement is tried to make that can bring satisfaction for every party:

"what are the limits, the rules where it is allowed to meet, where it is allowed to go--" (R3)

The respondent finds that if there is no explanation why parents forbid something from their child, it is wrong, and on the other hand, if a youngster does things in secret without letting the parents know, it is not good either as it can cause conflicts. The aim is hence that people can discuss about those things and that in opening that connection they try to help.

From what the respondents bring out we can see that the aim is not only to defend someone one-sidedly but find ways how different parties can come to an agreement or compromise that will produce something good for both of them. I would see the package of rights and responsibilities is a good thing because sometimes I see that it may happen that if a young person will not be given any limits it can also cause other kinds of problems. I remember when I was doing my practice in the shelter for women and children and a young girl, maybe eighteen years old, came there. As she was not anymore under the eyes of the family she started to try different kinds of things when going out with friends what she, most likely, would had not been allowed to do if she had lived home. Of course it is natural that youngsters want to try new things but somehow it worried a bit, especially in the case of someone who has had very strict limits and suddenly she is free from them.

Two of the projects have also individual and family customers and one does consultation work. The work under these cannot mostly be put under the category of preventative work. Many times in those customerhips some conflicts may already have happened or are about to happen and the workers will try to find a peaceful solution with the parties involved and in cowork with other professionals. As I am about to end this chapter I still want to tell one example of this kind of crisis work case in one project. In this case we can see again the importance of dialogue that finally brought solution. It concerned a case of a girl to whom was done an urgent placement. After two months it was possible to undo it because a peaceful solution was found and discussed.

One respondent from this project says that the girl and the parents had had communication problems because the girl had not behaved the way the parents wanted and the connection had been lost. The other one also mentioned that at the beginning there had also been some kind of violence towards girl. One of the two respondents told that he contacted the father and they had several meetings with the father and the girl separately and so on. During two months the placement was possible to undo and the relation between the family and the girl had got closer. The workers also kept calling the girl and family after certain periods of time to check how things were.

“They experienced that his was a clear knot that had opened through this – we somehow softened the thing because we understand the sharaf [honour] that is important to yourself but now we are here. Somehow the father trusted us that we understand him.” (R1)

It seems like the experience of being understood contributed in a way that the trust and openness were able to be born and it also brought a peaceful solution to the situation. I would also see that one part of this case and the task of workers, as it was talked about earlier, was to make the communication and understanding between parents and their child better so that the solution could be found. One worker of this project said that the knowledge they have gained in their work has been able to be used in this kind of crisis and conflict situations. In crisis the results can be seen more easily when something that has already happened will be solved. As we have come to know, in preventative work these kinds of crisis and conflicts are tried to avoid before they even take place and hence the results are not that visible.

8 Interpretations of approaches to basic dimensions of cultural understanding

In chapter five I brought up some approaches through which we can find basic dimensions when trying to understand cultural things. In this chapter I come back to those concepts – multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity and gender sensitivity – by presenting how the workers of the projects interpret them and what they understand by them. My aim is also to reflect those dimensions that rose in chapter five and reflect them to the themes that the respondents bring out.

8.1 Interpretations of multiculturalism

As we came to know in chapter five, there is no simple definition for multiculturalism and people may interpret it in many different ways. The respondents of my data also defined multiculturalism in different ways even though there were also found similarities in answers. Two respondents have quite similar thoughts on the concept:

”it is that kind of state of mind where people are equal--” (R1)

”an immigrant is not necessarily present so that the society would be multicultural--I think that multicultural is that kind of place where all the colours fit and all kind of thought worlds can walk there and they can be accepted – difference will not become a big show – it can be multicultural either a dark coloured person walks on a street or not.” (R4)

These respondents do not kind of connect the concept of multiculturalism to immigrants or foreigners that differed a bit from the view of one other respondent (R5) who in a way does that by saying that there is no homogenous culture or nation state with one

culture in Finland anymore. The last word – anymore – in a way tells me that the respondent thinks that there was earlier a homogenous culture. The comment may also mean that the culture earlier seemed to be more homogenous compared to the present time, and not that the culture actually would have been homogenous. What I understand from the two citations above is that multiculturalism, in their view, would mean tolerant attitude towards all kinds of differences in a society in a way that everyone would have the same equal starting point. When thinking about this, I would see that this kind of acceptance is not always taking place in practice as people have different kinds of attitudes towards difference. Also when it comes to accepting different ways to think, I would see that it would require also that those ways to think that do not accept all the things the way some other thought worlds do, should be tolerated, too.

Anyhow, the way how these two respondents, cited above, define multiculturalism seem to have confluences with the view that, for instance, Paavola and Talib are concerning multiculturalism. They saw that different areas, like social class, immigrants, disablement, gender and sexual orientation, to name but a few, could be connected to it. Thus, they and these two respondents from my data seem to have pluralistic related view on multiculturalism that Raunio et al were talking about – cultural diversity is promoted and difference should be valued and found as equal alongside with equal treatment, whether it concerned, for example, cultural background, sexual orientation or disability. In chapter five Huttunen et al and Lasonen et al found that Finland has never been monocultural even though some see it that way as also the respondent who referred to the past homogenous culture in Finland.

One respondent finds that multiculturalism should be seen as a process of interaction where everyone has their own culture and that we should be aware of that every individual has many subcultures. She looks at the concept through her view of the ideal multicultural society:

”the real multicultural society would be that kind of where everyone can express themselves freely without harming others and things that are important to

themselves like also traditions if they are not harmful. I would see multiculturalism like that, as this kind of ideal.” (R2)

She seems to interpret multiculturalism as something that allows you to be also different as long as it will not cause harms for others. I would see that the type of this interpretation resembles the two first ones where the concept is not necessarily referring to immigrants or foreigners. She also talks about *real* multiculturalism in society as an ideal. I see that this kind of ideal view of multiculturalism links to what Huttunen et al brought up – multiculturalism referring to future orientation, goal setting and idealism. They were discussing how multiculturalism is used as a tool when debating what kind of society would be good or desirable. Thus, I would say that the view of this respondent has the normative and political nuance in it, what Huttunen et al were discussing.

One of the respondents views the whole concept of multiculturalism and its use very critically:

”In my opinion it is so annoying and non defined word. It has no limits. Everything is referred to multiculturalism but no-one knows what is talked about. It is more like a political card which is used and no-one wants to get to know the content of it better or what is looked for through it.” (R3)

I would see this comment brings out the complexity of the concept that also sources that I used to chapter five showed. I would understand that this respondent sees that the concept is kind of misused to achieve certain kind of things. The sources also brought up the political aim and nuance connected to multiculturalism and it was also brought up that different countries can choose different politics concerning it. The respondent also brings up that even those people with whom they work in the project come from the same family, same kin and same country and even if they have same language and they have been raised similarly, they still think in different ways and even the family members have different ways of thinking. He wonders, if thinking about all this, how some group or some society can be seen as homogenous. Also few other respondents

expressed criticism on the general use and interpretation of the concept in the society. In chapter five it was brought up by Honkasalo and Souto that multiculturalism often appears as a way to manage members of the society that are culturally different. They saw that a threat in that is creation of a stereotypical picture of a community which would not pay attention to individual differences. I see there is a link between these thoughts and what the respondent said about individual differences even between family members.

I find the views of respondents very interesting concerning multiculturalism and connections to some views presented in earlier chapter concerning it were found. It seems like, through my interpretation, that especially the views of the respondents differ from the general view of multiculturalism in the society which, I would see, concerns mainly different nations inside Finland that are born through migration. The criticism also brought out good points like, for example, the one concerning how people who have same background in many ways, can still think differently. It speaks for the fact that we cannot automatically assume that a person from certain country thinks in particular way. This kind of critical thinking was found in literature sources as well.

The figure 5 shows which dimensions the respondents touched when they were interpreting multiculturalism. Under the figure 5 there is added a smaller version of figure 1 and I will compare these two figures to still show what kind of similarities and differences in discussion the concept multiculturalism brought forth. Similar themes that both deal with are equality, stereotyping, tolerance, diversity, differences and politics. In interpretations immigrants, cultures and sub-cultures as well as interaction process are addressed. These were not touched in approach chapter on multiculturalism even though the theme immigrant could be maybe put into the category of ethnicity or minority groups in figure 1. In workers' interpretations topics like gender, racism, oppression, beyond limits, religion or interculturality are not mentioned.

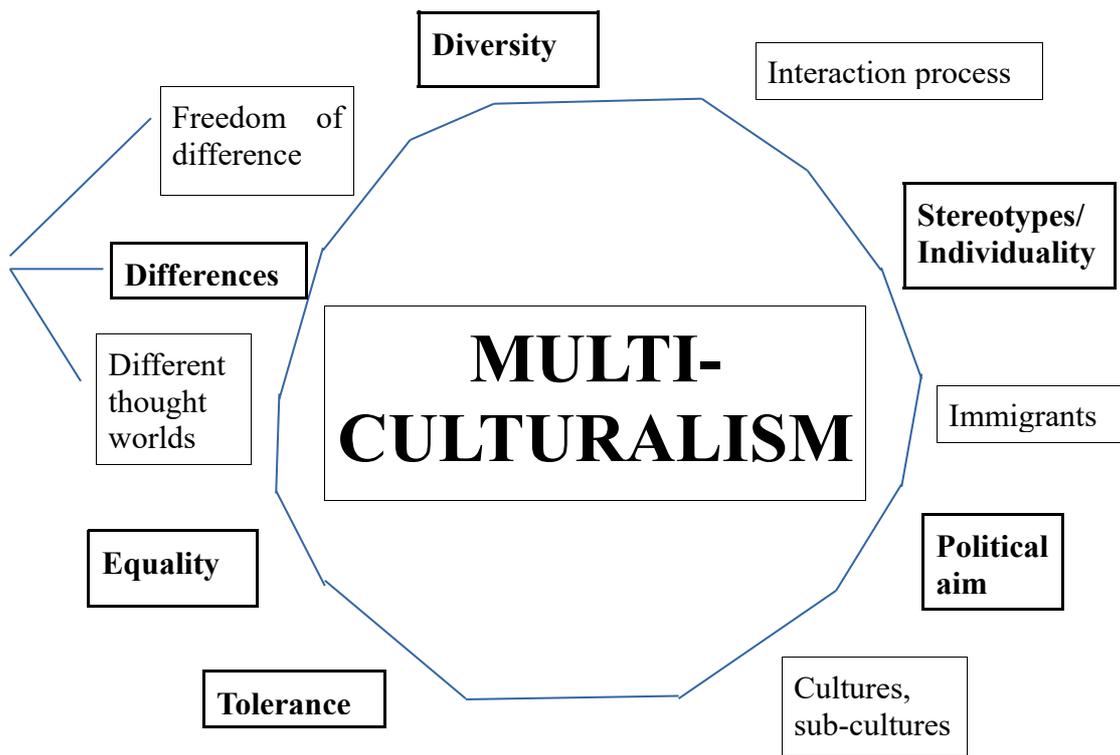


Figure 5. Dimensions of multiculturalism in the eyes of respondents

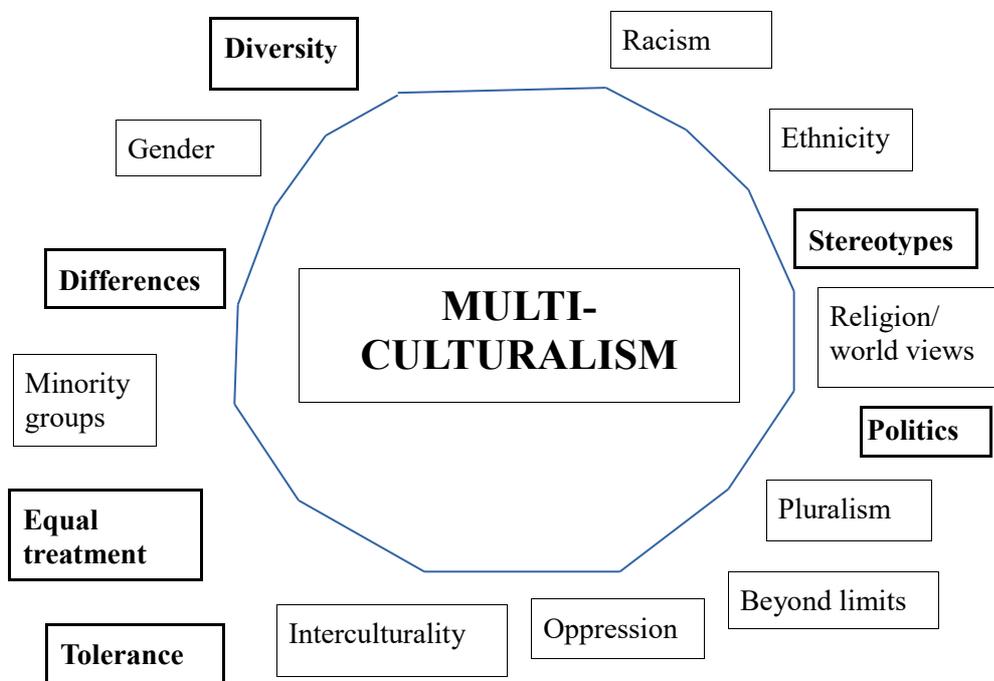


Figure 2. Dimensions of multiculturalism in the used literature

8.2 Interpretations of cultural sensitivity

The concept of cultural sensitivity is understood by the respondents mainly in positive way but also a bit different ways and one looked at it from a bit negative point of view. The one seeing it in a negative light said:

“Personally I don't really like cultural sensitivity because this is like...I don't want all the time when I am talking about culture that I should watch out, do you understand?--this is a bit like a taboo or a kind of sacred topic that is not allowed to touch – that kind of view should be removed from our minds but on the other hand, how we will start approaching it is with braveness and propriety.” (R4)

It sounds like the respondent understands cultural sensitivity in a bit different way than how most of the sources that I used for chapter five saw it. However, the same respondent who does not like the concept also makes clear that you have to be in a way careful because if being too direct, it could drive away the people who you are wanting to reach. Perhaps there could be found a link between the negativity towards cultural sensitivity, that the respondent expressed, and over-carefulness, that was brought up earlier when discussing cultural sensitive approach. Over-carefulness was linked to cultural relativism. Maybe the respondent connects and see cultural sensitivity more in the light of over-carefulness and that is the reason he does not like it. Other respondents have a different, more positive perspective, to cultural sensitivity, seeing it more like an important and relevant approach when dealing with questions concerning HRV. One respondent approaches the concept by first explaining how in Finland people are highly educated and they tend to follow different kinds of rules in a very detailed way giving no room for flexibility. After drawing this context, he says:

“this cultural sensitivity means that we have to tolerate, at least for a while, that someone does things differently.” (R1)

From this comment it is understood that cultural sensitive approach contains flexibility at work. The respondent gives an example of a mother who has seven children and who comes to the youth centre and it is said to her that you cannot come here with little

children. Cultural sensitivity, in his view, in this occasion could mean that you let her know the practice of the centre but however, you ask her to come in and encounter her so that she will not leave without an encounter. That would need a bit flexible attitude, the respondent sees, but it may be worth it in the long run. I would see that an important thing to pay attention, from this example, is the word "long run". I think that when understanding that point it is easier to see why cultural sensitivity would be a useful approach – it is long-sighted. The data shows that getting rid of HRV is a long process and I would see that in the long process you need to have tools that support this long-sightedness.

I see that the flexibility that the respondent brings up can be also seen in the research of Band-Winterstein and Freund (2013). It was found out that when the social workers prepare for meeting the Haredi clients, it includes that they pay attention to the general cultural codes of the community but also the singular codes of the specific client. One respondent described her preparation as a try of neutralising herself and, for instance, to leave the door open if the client is a man because closing it, would be inappropriate according to their cultural codes. Another respondent mentions that even though she is a secular, when working with Ultra-Orthodox client, she pays attention what she will be wearing and, for example, what colour her clothes are because red in their cultural codes is inappropriate. She is also aware of the cultural code that the men are to avoid eye contact with a woman. She also lets the client organize the room in a way he wanted so that he would not feel that uncomfortable. (Band-Winterstein and Freund 2013, 8–11.)

Social workers also said that they have to prepare themselves for the thoughts and opinions that differ from their own perspectives. A secular social worker and a Haredi social worker may have to act a bit differently. For example, one Haredi worker expressed that she should show the girls who have gone through some uncomfortable experiences that they can tell her even things that are not accepted in Haredi community. She has to show that she is not so narrow-minded that they could not tell her. Instead, as the examples above showed, a secular social worker may have to speak in the accepted Haredi style to gain the trust of the clients and make them open up. All

these examples seem to show that the flexibility of the social worker is important so that it will be possible to have potential encounter and treatment with the clients. (Band-Winterstein and Freund 2013, 8–11.) These examples, in my view, talk about the importance of tolerating that someone does things differently, what the respondent also mentioned.

One respondent defines cultural sensitivity as a sensitivity to realize that people act in different ways based on their own background and situation or things like that. An example from practice is given:

”we will never reach those girls if we do not start reaching them through parents so it could be like a kind of cultural sensitive work method.” (R2)

This respondent brings up that the Finnish youth could be approached without approaching parents but it does not apply to all immigrants. Thus, cultural sensitivity is needed so that good work methods can be found and to be able to reach the goals. Devore and Schlesinger underlined the importance of being aware of people's living context and, for example, Anis emphasized understanding when it comes to different value systems and ways that people have gotten used to interact. I see that these points in other words speak about the same matter that the respondent brings out. I would say that because of these different kinds of interaction ways, the girls should be reached through their parents.

Sometimes good work methods seem to be found after making some mistakes as in one of the projects where the work was reoriented after noticing that it should touch both men and women instead of only girls. One respondent (R2) also tells that cultural sensitivity in a customer work means that you are willing to be interested in knowing and asking the customer how they usually do things or how do they see them, feel about them and are used to do them in their family. These kinds of questions, I would see, make the customer feel that he/she is respected as someone show interest in hearing about their thoughts and way of doing things. What the respondent said about cultural

sensitivity in a customer work, goes along with what Payne noted about the importance of putting focus on interpretations of clients themselves when it comes to their cultural experiences. Payne suggested that clients could be asked about their possible culturally specific requirements and O'Hagan also brought up that those workers are respected by the clients who show interest and effort in finding out things from clients themselves.

One respondent (R6) reminds how we can be differently organized culturally. For example, if coming from a patriarchal culture the communication may work in a way that the children talk to mother and not directly to father. This would be good to note and to be openminded and realize that people do things differently and not only one way is good. She sees that it is important to show respect in all ways and not, for example, in this case to start putting pressure that someone should go to talk directly to father or things like that. These thoughts are supported by what Anis said earlier about the importance of the workers to recognize if they see that in principle their own cultural values are natural and right and assuming the clients to follow them, too. I think that if we do not pay attention to cultural differences, we may start insisting that kind of things from clients that would not necessary be in need of that. I would see that is the reason why cultural sensitive approach gives good tools to work, for example, with people who come originally from outside Finland. Another respondent has similar thoughts with the previous one about cultural sensitivity:

"to understand and to be able to see how some cultural habits and traditions have an effect on how people act, think and solve things - ability to pay attention to them." (R5)

I would see that we all, whether Finn or some other nationality, have things from our history, culture, family culture et cetera that affect our thoughts, actions and ways of handling things. I think it is obvious. Maybe some things have a stronger impact than the others and also as the life goes on, the impact can decrease. If someone comes from totally different society and culture, probably the ways of thinking, acting and dealing with things can differ more from what we are used to. What I understand by this comment is that the workers who have adapted cultural sensitive approach are able to

see the influence of certain kind of cultural habits or traditions and pay attention those when working with the client.

When it comes to handling things in culturally sensitive way, one respondent tells an example of a situation where the workers were able to help that the information of something that had happened did not spread to a too big group, and hence the reputation of a girl was not lost in the community. The girl received the help she needed but the male relatives did not get to know about what had happened. The respondent says that their expertise concerning taking a notice of honour comes up in this kind of situations. Many times in law enforcement this kind of expertise lacks. The respondent says:

”that if something happens we have to take notice of that kind of things that the information will not be spread to wrong places, for example, that the police will not send a letter to home that the outsiders can open as there is no understanding of secrecy of correspondence. Contact will always be taken personally. They are like these kind of small things but they may be meaningful from the point of view of someone's life.” (R6)

Being aware of this kind of even small things would be good in different spheres and hence it is good that the work contains also training of professionals. Actually the mother of the girl, in the example told above, had given this kind of feedback afterwards:

”every time when I pray I give thanks of you in my prayers.” (R6)

This comment shows that the way the workers were able to help in a cultural sensitive way, was a huge thing from the point of view of the mother. Something serious had been prevented which is great and which is the aim of the projects. In the research of Zoabi and Savaya (2012) there were different cases mentioned that, in my view, were similar to the example what the respondent here brought up, when it comes to dealing with things in cultural sensitive way. The example of Zoabi and Savaya, belonged to a strategy that was to protect the safety of the client and well-being when they face threats

or dangers from the community. The specific strategy was called *al-sutra or al-satr* which refers to cover the intimate body parts. It is about hiding the information that could endanger person and the strategy is usually used with female clients, to their benefit. An example of a young woman was told, who had lost her virginity before she had got engaged with another man. That was not religiously or socially acceptable. When the wedding day came closer the girl was afraid of what her becoming husband would do if he figured out that she was not a virgin. The worker helped her to get funds from a Muslim committee doing charity work for people who have been acting in a way that would cause them death. Thus, the girl was able to go and get repairment of hymen. (Zoabi and Savaya 2012, 257–258.)

One respondent brings up an example that when working in a culturally sensitive way, it is not enough that you say that the law in Finland says like this or that. It may not mean anything and may be a bad grounds when explaining things but people need to get different kinds of grounds why something cannot be done:

"It has to evolve somehow from the own life, that your life will become better if you do this or if you would do this...instead that you would say that you cannot do this because the law says so." (R6)

This comment brings us back to the importance of internalized knowledge that was mentioned earlier. One respondent tells that sometimes she startles, when coworking with the authorities, how cultural sensitivity is lacking or that things are taken care in a same way as with Finns. She sees that even for Finns, for example, some social welfare concepts are not that easy to understand let alone immigrant background or multicultural families. Sometimes it amazes her how strongly cultural sensitive touch is lacking but also she mentions that maybe learning it requires a bit experience of work among multicultural groups. She sees that everyone can learn that:

"It is not some secret science but you just would have to notice so that you would choose the way of speaking a bit differently." (R5)

I guess that it requires that you recognize the different need in your usual work so that you can choose different kind of approach that works better. The same respondent also tells that she has been pondering the differences between the Middle Eastern languages and Finnish as they use those languages in their project.

"the use of language is different, there they speak in a long way and the concepts that create friendly spirit are used. Our Finnish language is quite "halki poikki ja pinoon" type of language. Things are said pithily and clearly and that may sound like very rude, when the translator interpret it, for example, straight to Arabic--when someone is used to the descriptive way of speaking--the language in itself creates a different way of perceiving things and world." (R5)

I found this point interesting even though it may be difficult to change the style of speaking suddenly if you are not used to do that. One of the respondents said that he understands cultural sensitivity in that kind of positive way that everything is not connected to the culture – the starting point are not the cultural differences or cultures but human rights and conventions that have been done and hence everyone has to respect these conventions.

"The starting point are human rights and those are the ones that we bring up...we are not talking about Finnish or European cultures or confrontation when it comes to their culture...Muslims or other Middle East or African cultures but we talk about that we have human rights that is an achievement of the entire humanity – because it is the achievement of the entire humanity and everyone should hold on to that. That is our starting point and this precisely is cultural sensitivity." (R3)

In my view the perspective of this respondent somehow differed a bit from the other ones who had same kind of view with each other. The comment of this respondent shows that he is not so keen on talking about cultural things but rather on human rights. He also see the human rights as a starting point for cultural sensitivity. I would see that the nature of the specific project and organization under which this respondent is working explains this angle to the concept. Also when defining gender sensitivity, I would note the same thing. In the literature sources that I used in chapter five, human rights perspective was not coming out very strongly even though many other things that

were mentioned could be seen to have relation to it like racism, discrimination and equal treatment. However, Anis used the word human rights when saying that ethically in social work everyone should be treated equally as the human rights state. Also Beckett and Macey (2001, 316) concluded their article on the oppression of multiculturalism by saying that *there are limits to cultural diversity in democratic societies that seek to extend human rights on an individual basis* as it is clear that some cultural and/or religious traditions cause direct conflict when it comes to the long and ongoing struggle for achieving justice and equality. When addressing honour and religion in chapter 3.2, Luopajarvi was speaking for the human rights perspective which I see to have connection to the view of the respondent.

When comparing the figure 6 and figure 3 we can see that several more dimensions are dealt with in the literature sources, which of course is natural as the workers were only asked to define the concept. However, some themes are handled in both like harmful traditions, cultural differences, cultural relativism and gender. In the interpretations of workers the dimensions touching those who are doing the work are mentioned more clearly like intercultural skills, respect, interest, tolerance and on the other hand lack of cultural sensitivity. When it comes to literature sources more wider and larger themes and dimensions are brought up like racism, ethnicity, stigma, oppression, pluralism, sexuality, inclusion/isolation, immigrant process and biracial relationships.

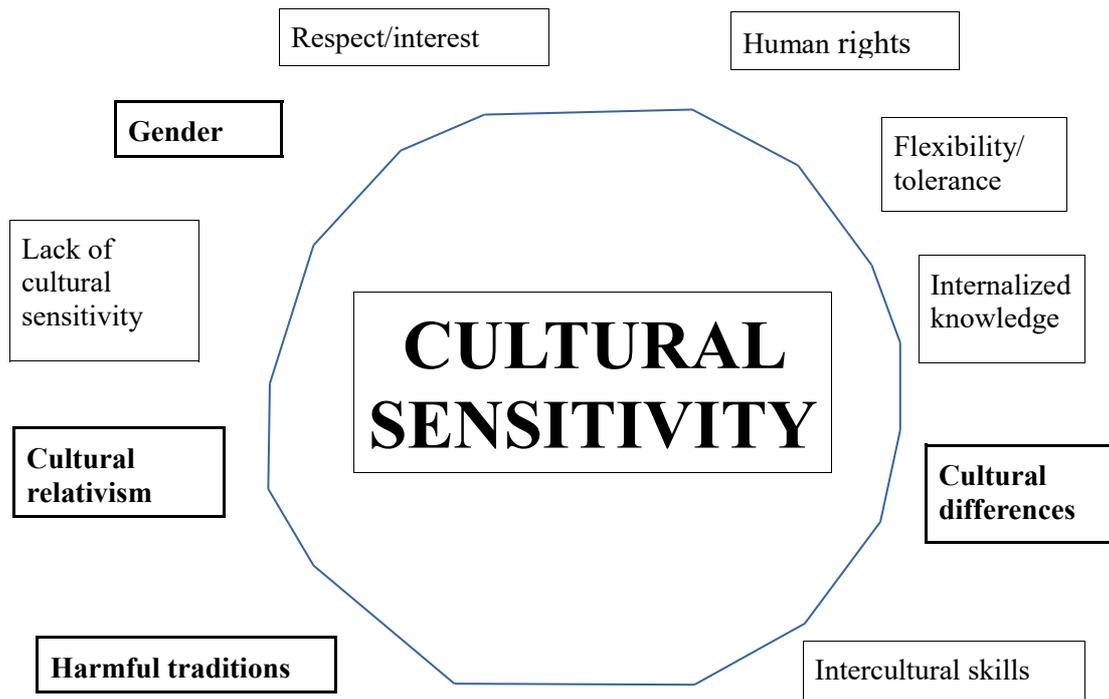


Figure 6. Dimensions of cultural sensitivity through the eyes of respondents

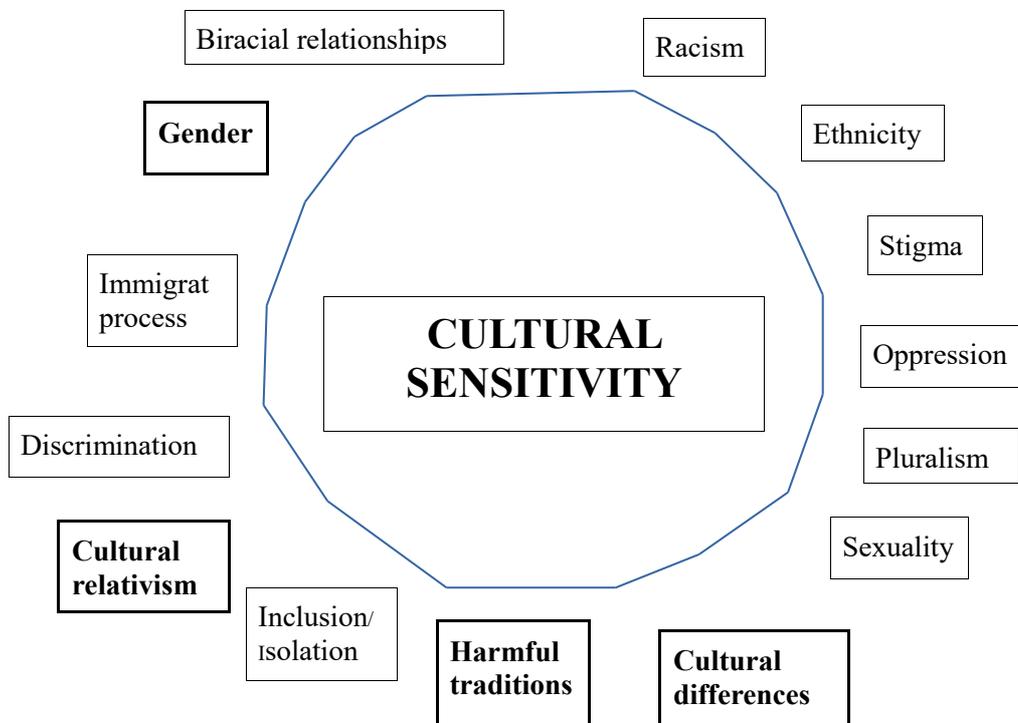


Figure 3. Dimensions of cultural sensitivity in the used literature

8.3 Interpretations of gender sensitivity

When talking about gender sensitivity one respondent (R3) says that they do not use this concept a lot but they do talk about gendered violence which, he sees, in a way has a connection to this. However, they do not focus too much on the fact if someone is a man or a woman or something else but who is the experiencer or the victim, for example, when it comes to violence. Nevertheless, he sees that in some sense the gender should be paid attention if violence or discrimination, for example, is many-sided. By that he means that the reason why someone has ended up as a target of violence could be that in addition that she is a woman, she is a disabled woman, a foreign woman and a Muslim woman.

This respondent brings up that sometimes in their dialogue workshops they have given an opportunity for people to be divided into groups of women, men and youngsters but the experience has been that the participants do not necessarily want it. He gives an example of few occasions where the people who have come to participate have said that there is no sense to talk separately but together. The respondent sees this as a positive and good achievement – people want to talk about things directly and not in divided groups. All the other respondents understood the concept in a way that gender should be taken into account, as women's and men's experience worlds are different and hence it is good, for example, to arrange different groups for both genders where even sensitive topics can be more freely discussed. One respondent clarifies the idea behind gender sensitivity and practice of it like this:

”When we are doing school visits, we separate into girls and boys and those classes are a bit different which means that we take the gender into account and I think in the problematic related to honour this is like pretty important because the roles of women and men are like more defined and different.” (R2)

I see that this respondent said an important point when mentioning the more defined and different roles of men and women related to honour. I could assume that, for example,

girls would not dare to express their own thoughts or feelings so freely about the topic if there were boys around, especially if they were from same culture. Actually one respondent says that they have received this kind of feedback from the school visits:

“it was nice to be with girls, I have received [this kind of feedback] as I have been with the girls. It was nice that the boys were not with us and we were able to speak more freely.” (R6)

This comment speaks for the importance of gender sensitive work. Some other respondents clarify the importance of gender sensitivity and practice of it this way:

“I as a man, I cannot like deal with or talk about the issue in a way as someone else – some things belong to the women's life or something is a feature of women – it is also mental thing that some things can be dealt better with a woman, some with men--” (R4)

“when we worked with those parents, our groups were gender sensitive. There were own discussion groups for women and men just because many times it is easier to discuss on sensitive topics between women. If there are male participants, the discussion does not succeed and also the other way around.” (R5)

These two citations let understand that men and women would be in a need of a place where they can discuss on things only with people from same gender. I see that the reason behind is that especially in honour questions, for example, the women may have sensitive and hard experiences of forced marriages etc. One respondent also emphasizes the importance of having man and a woman as working partners so that in different situations they can choose from which worker a particular person or people are more likely able to receive information. She says that, for example, it is easier to open the discussion with the fathers of immigrant background families if the one who does that is a man. Then the discussion is more likely to succeed. I can imagine that it can be like that as some men from patriarchal communities may feel odd to discuss on issues with a female because of his cultural background.

If reflecting these points that the respondents bring out in the light of information from the literature sources some connections can be found. One respondent mentioned the roles of women and men that seem to be more defined and different and she saw that because of that the gender should be taken into account better. When discussing gender, the different roles of women and men were also addressed. For instance, Graham et al brought up that gender is an important construct when talking about antioppressive and culturally appropriate practice in literature. They mentioned like one of the respondents that gender and social roles of individuals are more clearly defined. They pondered that it was like that in places/societies/cultures where, for example, values, beliefs and interactions are more specified. Graham et al also had found in their research that the roles of men and women would be good to pay attention in a way that, if it is possible, male clients could have male workers to discuss and the women could talk without the presence of men to open up more. If reading the thoughts of the respondents above we can see that they brought up similar things like, for example, the accessibility of male workers.

In the research article of Suarez et al (2008, 413) it is seen that before meeting the client family the worker met with the agency where the family was and a white male colleague from the university who also was giving consultation to the agency. They shared the knowledge and insights of the family. Considering and discussing the relation between men and women in the culture of the family and their knowledge concerning the violence against women as well as concerns when it comes to maintaining safety made them to decide to arrange same-sex interviews. I found this was connected to what Graham et al said above about female and male workers and also related to what one respondent above said about importance of both female and male workers.

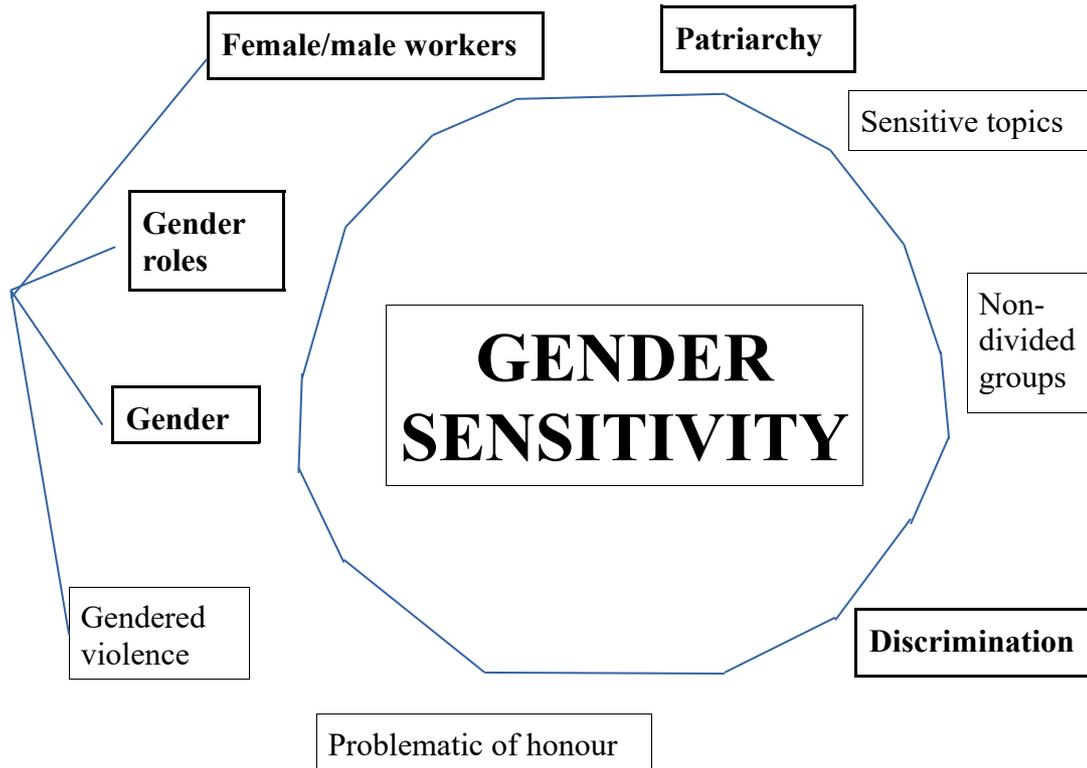


Figure 7. Dimensions of gender sensitivity through the eyes of respondents

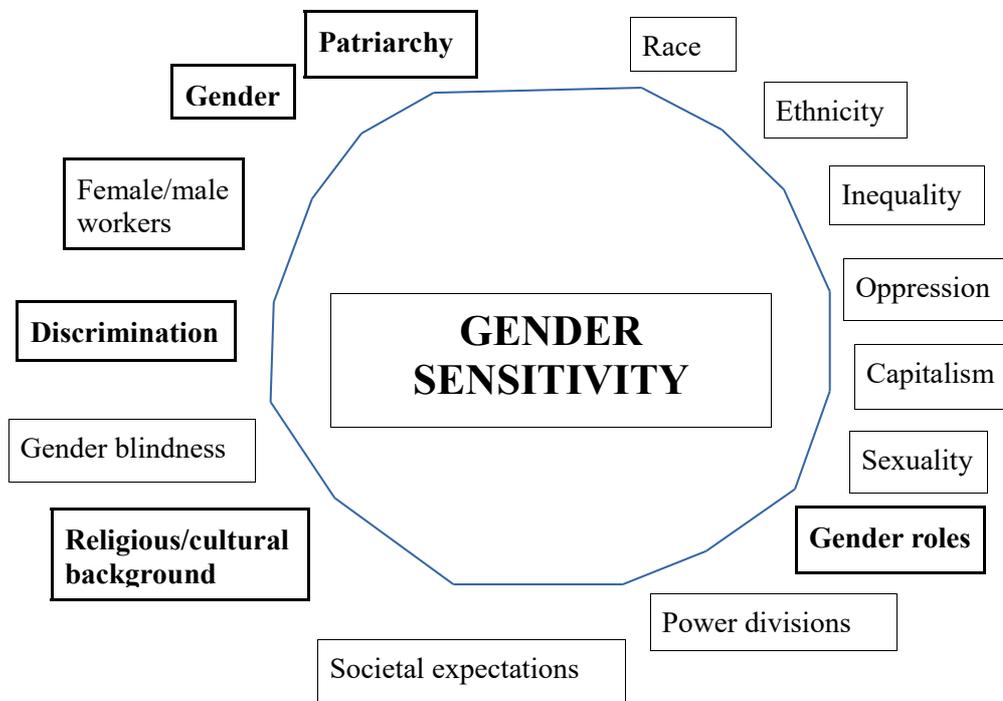


Figure 4. Dimensions of gender sensitivity in the used literature

Figure 7 shows what dimensions the workers bring up when defining gender sensitivity and figure 4, in its part, what was discussed in approach chapter about it. In both, patriarchy is brought up as well as different gender-related themes like the use of female/male workers and the gender roles. Workers also mention a concept of gendered violence which was not discussed in literature sources. In turn, literature sources lifted up a concept of gender blindness. The same topics, as in cultural sensitivity and multiculturalism were again mentioned also in the literature sources of gender sensitivity: ethnicity, race, inequality, oppression, sexuality and religion. Also societal expectations and capitalis were mentioned. In the interpretations of workers themes like problematic of honour and non-divided groups as well as sensitive topics were discussed.

9 Faced challenges

Every work has its challenges and the work of these projects does not make an exception to that. In this chapter I will discuss some of the challenges that stood out when going through the data material. They are also good basis for the next chapter where some developing points concerning the work are lifted up as there can be found links between some of the challenges and developed areas in the society.

9.1 Unreachable people, limited channels and uncertainty of the work

Several respondents mention that one challenge they have faced concerns reaching people who would be the most in need when it comes to their services. One respondent tells:

"It is, in my opinion, pretty sad that we are not able to do that [to reach those people] because the people who are most in need are the ones who are totally excluded, excluded from this society and even we are not able to reach them. When I have been there in the shelter [for immigrant background women and children], when I have moved a bit there and gotten to know these women, it can definitely be seen that most of them are exactly from this group. It was not possible in any way [for them] to be able to participate in these kinds of functions." (R3)

This challenge sounds serious – the most in need are not reached. The shelter to which the respondent refers is the same shelter where I did my internship and where I worked the previous summer. That factor makes it even more interesting for me to hear this comment. The respondent says that he has seen that those women he has met in the shelter belonging to this unreached group and I understand here that he is talking about those women in shelter who are there because of HRV. If belonging to the unreached group I would interpret that most likely they do not have had contacts to any kind of preventative work. I would see that probably they have come to the shelter because that

has been the only help source they somehow have come across in their serious situation. What I learnt during that time when I worked in that shelter is that usually the doorstep to the shelter is not very low to enter in so it requires a lot of courage to take that step. For someone who comes from honour culture it could possibly mean that she cannot necessarily go back home anymore. One other respondent mentions especially young people when talking about the challenges of reaching people. She sees that they are in most vulnerable position:

"they are not among those who come to participate in some activities and because of that reaching them can be like difficult and it may be that they do not have access to internet or services or knowledge.--this is like the constant dilemma of social work, like probably in all areas." (R6)

This comment presents that those young people who are not seen in activities are part of the unreached. I guess that in many cases their comings and goings are limited by family. Earlier, in chapter five, it was mentioned that sometimes the parents could be the ones not letting their daughters to go and participate in activities. If this is the case or not, this respondent sees that their school campaign for ninth grade students is one tool for reaching more people because everyone usually goes, at least, to school. It is great to notice that even if reaching those young people is a challenge, there are already some tools, like school visits, through which the challenge is tried to meet. One respondent generally sees it challenging, in their project, to reach people and make them participate in the functions. They have also experienced in the project that some nationalities are extremely hard to reach:

*"for example these Afghan communities in *[certain county] we have not been able to get to come and participate despite of many effort." (R5)*

She does not know the reason why getting them into functions has failed. That remains to be a mystery for myself also when thinking about it. I would think that at least some people even from those communities would attend to some activities. Maybe it still requires more time or different tools to be able reach them. One of the respondents brought up that one very challenging thing, when it comes to preventing HRV, is that we do not have tools that would make it possible to impact on bigger audience here in

Finland. He sees that the channels that we have are small and limited.

"We do not have any kind of mainstream media in use--" (R3)

He tells hearing about big campaigns against femal circumcision in northern Iraq and it is stated that in ten years they have been able to reduce a bit over 50% the circumcisions for those who are born. He says that they have had the power in use that we lack like radio channels, tv, newspaper etc. The respondent sees that when it comes to traditional issues, it would be important to be able to impact so that the majority of people would participate in discussions. He explains this by saying that thoughts always live and people are always afraid of other people's opinions. He sees that when a bit bigger audience is reached, it is possible to impact on the atmosphere concerning topic. I wonder if this kind of tool would help reaching for example those communities that had been difficult to reach. When this respondent was pondering what could be the best channel in Finland, he said:

"We need something that is still a bit more old-fashioned than facebook." (R3)

He clarifies this by saying that many may be illiterate and hence radio channel or web radio could be a good tool. I also would see that the information concerning the phenomenon in media, so far, has mainly created certain kind of attitude towards it and people who come from certain countries. By that I mean the reportage that has brought up mainly the extreme forms of the phenomenon like honour murders.

A big challenge, mentioned at some point by each respondent, is that the projects have only short-term funding. One says:

"All your thoughts should fit inside two or three years, longer than that you cannot plan, it is totally useless." (R3)

This respondent who also talks about the lack of mainstream media tool, sees that, for example, starting a radio channel is a bit complicated because if that kind of channel would be started and people would start to listen to it, it is a big process. It does not fit inside couple of years if then you have to give up on it. It seems that because of the

short-term funding the projects cannot establish tools that would require long-term funding. I would consider it unfortunate because then it is not possible to see if that kind of tools would have a crucial effect or not. Also some other challenges are related to uncertainty of the work:

”you are not able to gain trust from the other side if you start a project and some results are achieved and after two years it ends. People will not have energy to follow every month in that case, what will come next. In that sense it would be very important that the authorities would take a catch of this.” (R3)

This comment presents that creating trust takes time and it does not help the builded trust if people see that the work is not long lasting. When thinking about all this uncertainty of the work, I would see that the short-term funding may in a way somehow weaken the effectiveness of the work. The respondents have let to understand, one by one, that this kind of work in itself is a slow process that requires perseverance. I would see their wish to have more sustainability to be more effective as projects is very much of noteworthy. Lidman (2015, 320) also mentions how violence work is a long-term work and when Anis (2013, 159–160) is discussing the necessity of integration services she sees lack in arrangement of appropriate and adequate services. She sees that the services should be stabilized to municipalities as a cowork with organizations and immigrant communities. She brings up that nowadays the services are leaning still too much on time-limited project financing. I think the participator projects in this data could be also seen as one of those time-limited projects. In Vanttinen's (2008) research a wish of one respondent was also that there would be an organization or some kind of a unit from where it was possible to get consultation concerning honour violence questions. It is said that the projects are tend to finish at their time and that this kind of work should be made stabilized.

9.2 Power and position changes and problems in integration

One challenge mentioned by some respondents concern power and position changes in families arriving in Finland and the problems in integration. One respondent sees that

even though the honour seems to cause problems, battle of power inside the family may often be the real problem. He explains how men, when they move to Finland, start in a way to lose their own position as a father of the family. Maybe before coming to Finland a man has had a good position in the family with financial power and many other kinds of power. It may be that in his home country everyone used to come to ask advice and help from him and then when he came to Finland he experiences very opposite things:

"then when you go to a supermarket, you will necessarily not recognize how much a tomato costs and you have to ask from your son or daughter how much it costs and that can cause you to crash totally. You cannot oversee at school what is happening there, what he/she is doing there. He/she will bring you a letter to home and you have to sign it. It is like the carpet would be dragged from under your feet, he is an insignificant guy and then he starts to show it in other ways that I am the father." (R3)

The description in this citation of possible experiences of power changes show well, in my view, what kind of process can lead to violence. When the respondent mentions the other ways of showing fatherhood, he refers to limiting what, for example, someone can wear or where someone can go. The respondent sees that fundamentally the problem is not the comings and goings but that the father does not have any other tool to show that he is the father and the man, someone who has something to say. Honkasalo mentions that in the researches concerning immigrant families it has been brought up that as the children grow up the questions concerning authority are challenged (Honkasalo 2001a, 115).

Also Suarez et al (2008, 414) in their research analysis bring up that when the worker was reflecting the roles of the client family, she had understood that the husband had a role of oppressor but that he also was a victim of oppression. When he had been in Pakistan, he had had an authority over his household which was given him through his gender privilege but as he was a member of a persecuted religious minority, he did not have power outside his home. He had escaped with his family to the West, primarily white continent and by doing that had become vulnerable to xenophobia, racism and further religious persecution. Now he had faced a situation where the Western professionals were telling how he should relate to his wife and daughter which

continued powerlessness. Suarez was pondering if Mr. Salam was using violence at home to win back a sense of power. I would see that there is something similar in this example as what the respondent mentioned about the power changes.

One respondent sees that a thing that could impact a lot on these internal problems of families, would be that people would get something to do that is worthy of a human being and hence they would not lose their human dignity and self-worth.

“that they could somehow go along to the society, they could do some work, they could learn the language—now when looking at these processes, they are lousy – if someone come as an asylum seeker here, well the process takes time...the average was a year, almost a year or a bit over a year so there you are...there is nothing to do, nothing is happening. After that you will still wait in a line to get into a language course...well then the language course starts but you have kind of lost the excitement during those couple of years.” (R3)

This comment already kind of shows a developing point - through strengthening the integration process and supporting people's capacity to act this challenge could be tried to answer. Also another respondent has same kind of thoughts when it comes to connection between human dignity and decreasing of HRV:

“when a person succeeds in other areas of life – work, receiving a job, studying...then in a way it is at least easier...then you do not feel that you have to suffer--somehow the worst option is that a person who already otherwise has been discriminated in the society...you go to tell that what you have been believing or how you have acted is wrong--somehow a person has to be in that kind of state of mind that he/she has something else that supports the positive thinking...” (H1)

These challenges seem to be connected to the system in the society that I will address more when talking about the developing points in Finland. One respondent (R3) also has noticed that the women are offered more action and activities and he sees that the reason is that Finnish women are more active than men. Usually the male volunteers are few and thus, the world of Finnish men will not become familiar to them. He reminds that the wellbeing of a man, after all, has an effect on the whole family. That is a really meaningful point, I would see, especially when thinking about the patriarchal communities where men are used to have more power. It would sound great if those men could interact more with Finnish men and get to know their world.

Some respondents say that when moving to Finland, the sustenance of harmful traditions can become stronger. One (R6) sees that a reason could be that when coming to Finland own identity is wanted to maintain and that may mean that some old harmful traditions, like HRV, are activated even if in home country those were even not that much in use. Another respondent (R5) mentions that people want to cherish more carefully their own culture in its good and bad if the integration process will fail. One respondent (R1) finds that when a person has a strong feeling of being outsider, he/she more easily grabs a hold on to the habits learnt earlier and will hold on tight on them. In his view, this is logically understandable that a person wants to keep something with himself/herself – it creates a feeling of continuity. He mentions:

”in certain situations a family living in Somalia can be a lot of more free than then when they come to Finland and own position changes, suddenly you are an immigrant/refugee and you can experience for the first time that someone perhaps does not like you or harm you because you are different” (R1)

The change of status may, thus, affect the way people live their life. I guess when things get unfamiliar and uncertain it is comfortable that you would have something to hold on as one of the respondent kind of expressed. Anyhow, it was brought up that people may hold more tight even on the harmful traditions if the integration process fail or if they have a strong feeling of externality. Thus, I would see that the natural counter force for that would be that the integration process would be done more carefully and with greater attention as well as the feeling of acceptance and belonging would be created. One respondent (R1) says that for some the integration goes better than for others. Some understand the function and they want to get quickly involved somewhere while, in turn, the other ones cherish only their own things and are not able to have encounters and hence integration fails. Anis (2013, 157) discusses the same issues that the respondents here address. She says that when it comes to cultural meanings, to some people those of their home country and traditions are important while others want to focus on adapting Finnish culture and learn the language and culture. She sees, as the respondents, that it can happen that the cultural features and traditions of the home country may be underlined in a new country even if they were not given that big meaning in the country of origin.

At the end I just want to mention shortly that in addition to power changes and integration problems things like gaining trust and commitment of men were brought up in data. One respondent talks about gaining the trust in the context of difficulty of getting permission of a young person to talk to the parents about the issues and work with them because a young person can think that the parents are not able to handle that. I guess it requires some time to gain this kind of trust as the youngsters can be afraid of how the parents would react. When it comes to commitment of men, a couple of respondents mention it challenging because as men in patriarchal cultures are the ones in power positions, it may look for them that they do not gain anything from this kind of work. I can imagine that it is challenging to try to change the perspective of someone on this topic if they see that they benefit more when continuing the old path. A couple of good notes from one respondent was that young men are a special group to reach out because they are the ones who can make the decision to continue the traditions or end them in their family. However, the respondent also reminds that women also have a meaningful role as keepers of honour.

In the data of Vanttinen, the workers had said that one way to impact is through integration work because the phenomenon is seen as a part of other society. She brings up that many see the position of young people meaningful when thinking about the little by little decrease of negative cultural traditions. In addition parents, especially men, are seen to be a group to whom to affect because it is seen that their authority is connected to young people's life. (Vanttinen 2008, 17–18.) All this goes along with what some of the respondents said about influencing on men.

10 Developing points for future

When the respondents were asked how the present work has reached the target group in Finland one said that he sees that all three projects probably have succeeded in a way that it is possible for them, with the resources they have. (R3) Another one brought up that the field is still young but he has positive picture of each project and sees them meaningful. (R4) One (R2) found that three projects are not enough and she also brought up the lack of knowledge in the society and among professionals when it comes to the issue and mechanism of honour. One respondent (R5) said that the organizations are fully taking care of the whole preventative work in Finland and she saw that only the first steps are taken but they are taken well and future will show how things will develop. She found that the role of third sector is very important but somehow some responsibility should be added to the public sector also.

Another respondent (R1) mentioned that the wish would be that HRV would be considered part of the violence work like family violence and intimate relationship violence so that the concept would not be strange among authorities but anyone could recognize it. He saw that something is recognized as important thing when resources are put into it. Even though he did not see this happening very well yet, he found that the HRV work, in any case, is going forward. The thoughts and experiences from data material show that there would be things to develop in Finland so that the work could be more effective when it comes to HRV. Already the previous chapter concerning the challenges made it clear.

10.1 Work aimed at authorities

One form of work in all projects, in a way or another, is work that is aimed at authorities. In one of the projects it is quite strong due to the nature of the organization and the project. They train professionals in the social field like social workers, school

social workers, school psychologists and nurses and co-operation is done with polytechnic where students have been trained. Also work is aimed at political ministry and other that kind of authorities who would be able to take more responsibility concerning this phenomenon. One concrete thing that was done in 2012 was a self-study material concerning HRV which is available for all authorities or professionals. However, the experience, so far, is that many have not got familiar with it or they have even not known about it. Thus, training in action is still very important. The work contains also active participation when it comes to promotion of law changes. Recently the project was actively part of the Istanbul Agreement concerning forced marriages canceling and criminalization. They also give statements and stay very much in tune concerning actual issues.

Positive feedback has been given from those professionals who have been trained:

”those people then come to tell that they have come across with this phenomenon but they have not been able to handle it anyhow, it has been totally unknown to them that why this guy had acted in this way, what is the problem. Now--they, at least, say that they would be very interested in knowing more.” (R3)

This respondent sees that one tool to decrease HRV is precisely to try to impact on authorities so that they would recognize this phenomenon better. A danger, however, according to him, is that the phenomenon would be started to see as a common problem among immigrants and too easily different problems would be connected to it. One thing that the respondent wishes that the authorities would see is that a conflict can escalate in quite quick schedule and become very violent. He emphasizes that the safety should be taken into consideration:

”you cannot think that well now something has happened in this family, let us give them time to ponder – the time does not necessarily make it better; in that time something totally unexpected may happen.” (R3)

When thinking about this comment, I see the importance of training the authorities. Of

course different conflicts that are not touching HRV can also escalate quickly but I see a certain concern in this comment when it comes to HRV. Respondents (R1, R2, R6) from other projects also tell that they train, for example, school social workers, youth workers, social workers, child protection workers, women shelters' workers and police. Sometimes the projects may be contacted, for example, by school social workers and are asked to be part of a family customership. One respondent (R6) says that many times, in this kind of case they in a way have a role of a cultural translator. I would see that the cultural translator refers very much to cultural sensitivity as the project workers seem to be experts in approaching things through that. One respondent tells an example about herself when she was a recently graduated social worker and was not so aware of this phenomenon yet. With her own example experience she wanted to show how important it would be to train professionals to recognize the phenomenon:

"I had an IraqiKurd family as a customer and the son, he had also otherwise difficulties at school, but then the situation culminated to that kind of thing that one of his schoolmates said that you have a goodlooking sister and he took and pulled to the muzzle right there in the school yard. That guy did not understand at all that what in the world, I praise your sister and you pull to the muzzle, what is happening here. I was also like why did he do so until he said that my task is to protect. In a way he was chaperon and then I was like, aha, ok and why and what. Those parents have said that my task is to look after my sister during the brakes at school and in leisure time. This is how it started to be dismantled that there was no awareness. Now probably there is more but it is still needed." (R6)

The respondent says that training concerning these kinds of things would be very important so that there would, at least, be awareness. She sees that all tools are not needed right away because they can be searched for but to be aware of the possibility of these kinds of effects when looking at the situation of a family etc., would be good. Seems like this respondent has same kind of thought with Lidman who said that one does not need to learn and study an unknown culture perfectly but would be good to notice different factors of it. If thinking about, for example, the experience of the respondent at the beginning of her work career, we can see that she was first as confused as the other ones and was not able to connect the incident to this phenomenon. She would see that it would be good to add knowledge about this phenomenon to the education of professions that are to do with helping people. She also mentions that there

would be space for more academic research in Finland concerning the issue.

In the data that Vääntinen put together it was found that some kind of knowledge of honour violence cases has been started to pile up at least in certain areas and districts where the amount of immigrant background population is big. Thus, non-arranged knowledge can be found among authorities and this knowledge could be used beneficially in these kinds of cases. At the moment honour related violence comes out only by chance and hence almost all respondents see that the know-how of authorities should be strengthened in general level. They also see that the phenomenon should be recognized in the whole society level – it would be important to raise awareness about it among all service fields like in child health centres, children's day care, schools, health and social services. (Vääntinen 2008, 13–14, 17.)

One respondent sees that one essential tool we lack in Finland is an authority organ under which honour related work could be done more effectively:

“let us hope that the development would take that kind of direction that these functions would become under the authorities, there would be an enduring body that would be able to act in the long run – would be able to plan long-term.” (R3)

In addition to the fact that the work could be planned with more sustainability, as mentioned, he claims that if the projects would be under an authority, information could be collected and the work could be done based on that. He brings out that as NGOs, the projects cannot register anything or collect that much information because the law comes against in that. One big challenge based on all this, is that they cannot follow what will happen in customer cases. He tells a sad case of a sixteen years old girl as an example:

“a girl who left for summer trip, who has not returned and I cannot get information at all of how much the child protection has put effort on this. I have been in touch with the police, child protection, school, this and that, all the way to the level of ministry of foreign affairs but as we are only an NGO, no-one gives us certain amount of information.” (R3)

This comment describes the limits the workers have and frustration related to that. He says that if there was a governmental organ that would do this work, it could have demanded the social worker to give information about what he/she has done and what not. He said that he himself cannot go to Social Security Office and ask if the father has come back let alone that he could go to the family's door. Thus, he has done what he can referring to police notification, disappearance notification and child protection notification.

The frustration of not being able to gain the information so that the customer could be maybe helped better is strong. The respondent sees that this kind of case brings up the fault in the system:

"it is sorrowful. One person disappears, he/she drops to the hole that this system contain and no-one is interested in his/her destiny, he/she just went there.--and I do not want to blame in vain them but when you do not see results, it feels like enough has not been done." (R3)

Even though the respondent strongly criticizes the system and the holes it contains, he also at the same time sees how it could be fixed referring to the authority organ which would be able to follow what is happening. He sees that in that case if there is a found a hole in the system, it would be possible to fix it. However, a challenge is to make politicians interested in this matter so that they would take it further with their authority. He sees that among authorities no-one has any responsibility on this. When listening to this respondent and his thoughts and experiences and suggestions concerning the system, it truly sounds like this kind of authority organ could make the work more sharp and people could be helped better.

He continues saying that there may be some individuals among officials who know better about these things but as people are these days often relocated, it can happen that the information will disappear and maybe the next person is not necessarily that interested in and does not want to know more. He mentions that, for example, in UK and Sweden they have an authority unit in charge of these kinds of things. When it comes to Finland, as the respondent said, the authorities' attention on it should be first caught to make them to see the importance of supporting this kind of work in Finnish

society. I would see that as this kind of issue is probably seen as a marginal or secondary issue in Finland, this kind of developmental achievement can be hard to get through.

The phenomenon seems to be strongly related to immigrants in Finland and hence maybe it is not seen that important that resources would be put into it as the society all the time, anyhow, tries to save money. It would be good to keep in mind, however, what was brought out in the introduction that the phenomenon is not only touching the foreign population but also Finnish people through multicultural marriages and through those who have already integrated not forgetting the children of immigrants who have grown up in Finland or those who are born in biracial relationships. That is the reason it should be seen as an issue that touches the whole society. I would also see that the wellbeing or lack of it in a society consists of all that is happening in it. HRV does not in any way enhance wellbeing. During the last year Finland received many more newcomers from abroad because of the refugee crisis and probably people outside Finland keep on coming. Even though it is good to remind here that the honour related issues should not be connected to all immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and foreigners, I would still see that, for example, the suggestion of creating an authority organ to be in charge of the phenomenon would not be a bad idea in the present age.

10.2 Upkeeping and supporting the capacity to act

When addressing the challenges, the problems in integration and power and position changes were brought up and I would see that this chapter concerning support and upkeep of capacity to act presents one respond to the challenge. One respondent criticizes the Finnish system for swallowing people after they are in that point of their integration process that they go to labour force bureau where they are interviewed and listened to:

”other ones who are smart and whole...they start rolling and somehow get a place for themselves and strive forward but many, after that [when they have had the labour force bureau visit], drain to that system.” (R1)

When talking about this, the respondent, however, brings up the feature of natural independent initiative of Finnish people that is already taught for young children. He sees that this should be also applied to the newcomers because in the long run it is not the interest of new people that things are just done on behalf of them. He sees that supporting the capacity to act is important:

"who in reality would want to be dependent on if there is an option--" (R1)

Even in the labour force bureau, in his view, would be good that people would be challenged by asking them about their expectations concerning future, profession and their own know-how. By doing that, he sees, something real and executable could be created. I would see that the Finnish system sometimes, even though people are taught to be independent from childhood, supports dependency when it comes to certain things and perhaps this reflects also to new people who come here. I would interpret also the point of the respondent like this.

When talking about development of social integration, the respondent shares his knowledge concerning a new thing that will be tried in future. In couple of years the aim is that few people would go to those locations where the newcomers will start their journey, for example, to Ethiopia or Turkey. The idea is to start to telling about vital and important information already in the location of people's country of origin and in that way to show what is important. The respondent says that the idea behind is that it is thought that in that situation people are more receiving. He tells that Americans have already done this kind of work. I guess it could, in a way or another, help the integration process when coming here if, as they say, people are more receiving at that point. When coming to a new country and societal and cultural system, there may be so much new things to face and experience that internalization of the new information or knowledge can be challenging. Would be interesting to know the experiences of this attempt in the future if integration will move on somehow more smoothly for those who have been receiving information already in the location where they arrived.

One respondent sees that getting into Finnish courses does not happen fast enough and hence the integration moves on too slowly:

”those people should immediately get into language course, the integration into this society should be started immediately and it can happen particularly, at first hand, through learning the language.” (R5)

The same thing – the slowness of getting into language courses – was mentioned earlier by another respondent also when talking about the internal problems in families. The data seems to suggest that the system should be changed in a way that newcomers would be able to have a chance to participate in language courses quicker than at the moment. All this in the long run, I would see, also contributes to the preventative work of HRV if keeping in mind the factor that concerned about how the feeling of belonging or ability to function in the society may prevent the need of holding tight to the harmful traditions from home. Learning the language is an important factor which helps to integrate into the society as the latest citation of one respondent presented.

When the internal family problems were addressed, it was also brought up that if people get something to do that support their self-worth and human dignity, it perhaps could decrease the problems concerning HRV. Based on that, the developing point could be that activities that contribute positively to people's lives should be tried to develop. Some weeks ago I read news where it was told that some asylum seekers would have been more than willing to help on city streets to do some snow work when it had snowed a lot but the initiative was died to the fact that they would have needed some kind of a street security card (HS 1.17.2016). When reading about, it made me think how the system can be so rigid.

However, recently I saw news that were concerning the same topic but this time the difference was that the asylum seekers had finally been let to do the snow work in Vantaa in place where security card was not required. I listened a video where one asylum seeker who had been participating said that they were happy to be able to participate in this kind of voluntary work because it gave them a possibility to show thankfulness to Finland. In the written news article below it, another asylum seeker said that when they wait the decision of asylum all kind of doing is a welcome alternative to the daily life because waiting is boring. He also brought up the desire to belong to this

community, referring to Finland. (HS 25.1.2016.)

The volunteer worker of Red Cross who was supervising the men in their work said that the men felt good as they were able to be useful (HS 25.1.2016). In another news article concerning the same topic, the head of the snow work committee expressed that she believes the voluntary work would bring nice activity for asylum seekers and at the same time it could contribute to their feeling of worth as well as it could made them feel as useful members of the society (HS 12.1.2016). My purpose when telling all this, is not in any sense to say that these particular asylum seekers would have some kind of honour related issues. Instead, I found it as a good example of how activities can be developed that would affect in a positive way in someone who has come to this society as a new and whose integration is tried to support, as this was brought up earlier. I would see that these kinds of activities would support and upkeep the human agency of people.

The research proves that integration into the society prevents HRV (Lidman 2015, 323). Anis sees that the social, psychical and health problems of immigrants could be prevented by offering enough services and support that ease the integration. At the beginning the guidance and advice in mother tongue, language school and development of societal skills are important. The cultural sensitive support offered for parenthood and upbringing children would be meaningful to prevent and accomplish difficulties connected to moving process, integration and upbringing children. Integration and its enhancement is a broad societal task that is not only connected to offering services. However, integration services are necessary and, thus, they should be arranged appropriately and adequately. The services should be stabilized to municipalities as a cwork with organizations and immigrant communities. (Anis 2013, 159–160.)

One respondent (*R6*) criticizes the Finnish service system as too much build on individuality. She sees that even the Finnish families are difficult to face as an entity. She sees that there would be room for communal social work among all. Also, for instance, Lidman (2015, 308–309) emphasizes the importance of paying attention to

communal elements in the context of HRV. I would see that communal perspective could be taken into account more as Finnish social work does have experience of it. Of course the system that is strongly built on individuality may block some initiative towards this but, from my point of view, everyone, at least, could keep in mind this aspect in their work and maybe it would help them to use some different approach instead of what they are used to use.

11 Conclusions

The phenomenon of HRV has proved to appear in Finland among some patriarchal immigrant communities and it touches the whole society as it appears inside of it. The history also seems to show that the western violence culture and attitudes have confluences to HRV and hence it should not be only seen as some distant phenomenon. Today it also touches Finns through multicultural marriages, different immigrant generations as well as children born in biracial relationships. The phenomenon among the public audience in Finland contain different nuances already when looking at it through multicultural, cultural sensitive and gender sensitive approaches. Certain kind of dimensions colour the discussion on these approaches causing, for instance, stigmatization between minority and majority groups when talking about ethnicity, gender and religion, to name but a few.

The main purpose of this research was to find answers to questions concerning how HRV can be prevented, what kind of challenges are linked to it and what would be the developing points for future through the eyes of workers in these projects presented. One central factor that comes to the fore from the data is the importance of dialogue and discussion on the issue inside the patriarchal immigrant communities. The data shows different forms of work that are used by the projects but the aim seems to be always the same: to stir up discussion on topics that are related to honour issues. The discussion can be stirred up by using imaginary situations close to people's life on topics concerning, for instance, dating, marriage and parenting or the discussion could be started by going through, for example, the basic rights and equality. The data shows that this kind of indirect way of approaching the issue of HRV usually works best as it will usually not drive people away so easily. In that kind of indirect approach people's thought patterns and attitudes are still able to be challenged and alternative path can be offered in the future choice making.

The purpose of making people ponder things is that the pondered thoughts would be activated in mind when some situation arises and some kind of path needs to be chosen. According to data the pondering is better to do in a peaceful, stable state and not in the middle of the crisis when emotions can take more easily over. Increase of knowledge that also stands out from the data as one way of preventing HRV is also intertwined in challenging the thought patterns. Knowledge can make people to question reasons and values behind their actions and to realize the impact of them on certain situations. When it comes to increase of knowledge it is also noted that different kinds of prejudices lay between the immigrants and Finns that may encourage, for instance, the immigrants to rely on some harmful traditions. Thus, these prejudices should be discussed.

The data shows that different tools like cards, board games, role play, theatre, movies and so on, can be used to stir up discussion. It is also mentioned that it is good to have several tools available as people are different – what works for some people or some group does not necessary have the same impact on others. Throughout the whole data one thing is emphasized: the real change starts from inside communities and hence that is something to be seriously noted when doing preventative work among the phenomenon. All three projects have one form of work that is aimed at whole communities in which the dialogue have the most important role. An experience mentioned in data is that the brave comments of ordinary people from inside communities, concerning decisions of choosing an alternative path, are more effective than if someone from outside would just talk about the topic. One project also, not that long ago, started a pilot training for the so called key persons from inside communities so that they could be the ones sharing the knowledge and in that way impact their own communities. If still considering increase of knowledge, one thing that is highlighted in data is that the knowledge should be somehow internalized and not just poured down from above. People would need to be able to connect it to their own lives and understand what kind of effect it could have.

The data presents that when it comes to life worlds and experience worlds of some immigrant parents and their children, difference between these can be deep. Thus, the communication and understanding between the parents and children should be helped.

There are good experiences when this is done in peaceful setting where both parties are listened and agreements and compromises are made based on the needs of both parties. When meeting communities, families and members of those it is also good to keep in mind the individuality of people. Stereotyping should be always avoided and the best way to discover how a certain family or an individual think, comes from the people themselves.

If addressing the cultural sensitive approach, the data proves that this perspective is useful when working with immigrants and I would note that not only in HRV cases. One thing that comes up from data concerns the tolerance of workers to stand different ways of doing things. Those who work with people from other countries should be aware of their own ways of thinking and perhaps the thought patterns that they consider to be the best so that they could be able to reflect them in the light of different ways of doing things. In the work one needs to be long-sighted and that may need flexibility in the way how the work is usually done. The tolerance of difference, however, does not mean that harmful traditions should be accepted but rather that the approach and ways of encountering people may require the worker to be flexible so that the best results in the long run could be better achieved. The data also shows that knowledge and understanding about the background of people and connections between different things in their living context may help to handle things for the benefit of everyone. If talking about gender sensitivity part of the data shows that this approach is beneficial when working in certain situations with the target group even though the data also shows that sometimes good experiences have also come from the gender mixed settings.

There are certain things that stand out from the data concerning the challenged experiences in preventative work of HRV and the developing points for the future work in Finland. One of the challenges is continuous unreachability of some people who could benefit from the work. The data mentions that this challenge is in a small part tried to overcome by the school visits for ninth grade students as everyone usually has to go to school even though they otherwise would not participate in activities outside school circles. However, many other unreached people are somewhere out there. Another challenge concerns the limitation of channels referring to mainstream media

like radio, tv and newspaper. The data suggests that more people could be reached if a channel like this would be in use because the more people aware of factors concerning the issue the more impacting it can be. Thus, this kind of channel could be one tool to connect those unreached people.

One underlined factor coming forth from data is the uncertainty of the work. It is shown throughout the research that attitude change, that is seen to prevent HRV, is a slow, long-term process. Thus, it requires perseverance and support in the long run. However, this factor is not paid attention if looking at the case of the projects participated in data. All of them have short-term funding which does not allow them to make long-sighted plans for future. Every couple years the decision on the continuation of funding the work is made. This uncertainty may lessen the effectiveness of the work as sustainability lacks. For instance, it is mentioned that gaining the trust from the target group might be slower and new ways to do the work may be hard to establish like, for example, a radio channel.

One challenge in the work seems to be the power and position changes inside families when moving to Finland as well as problems in integration. Especially the role and status of men may change a lot when arriving to a new country. When facing a new societal situation with a new language, unemployment and so on, a man who before has been powerful in different areas of his life may suddenly feel quite powerless and this may make him to rely on other ways of showing his power as acts to do with HRV. I have to also bring out that relying on some harmful traditions in a new setting can also get a support of women so it is not only men of whom it can concern.

I see that one emphasized developing point that stands out from the data concerns this challenge. I named it as upkeeping and supporting the capacity to act. The long waiting for getting into language courses when arriving to Finland is one thing that is suggested to change. Getting a work, study place and factors like that also support the positive functioning of people. The data shows that as newcomers may feel outsiders and feelings of uselessness, some activities should be arranged for them that support the feeling of self-worth and human dignity. It is said it would be good for them to get

something to do worth human being. One note from the data is that usually women are offered more activities as the amount of female volunteers are higher than the male ones. The increase of male volunteers would help the immigrant men to understand the world of Finnish men and society better and that could support the integration process to a new society. Integration process is encouraged to pay more careful attention completely because it can have beneficial effect on preventing HRV. Communal work approach is also suggested instead of individual one as the communal elements could support the integration of the families.

For the future development the data also sees stronger training of professionals on the topic so that they could recognize the phenomenon in their work and in that way find more useful tools to find solutions to situations of their clients in HRV cases. When it comes to authorities one big suggestion comes forth from the data: establishment of authority organ. It would be a head organ under which the whole work of HRV could be done. It is seen that this kind of organ would make the work more effective because as an authoritative actor it would have access to relevant information that at the moment is unreachable among the project workers.

I see that in the field of social work, where I will also work in future, the awareness of HRV is important as the phenomenon appears in Finland. I would claim that without knowing about the different factors concerning the phenomenon and without cultural understanding and different dimensions linked to it as well as the awareness of cultural sensitive approach, it may be easy to work in a way that does not support the best solution in honour-related situations. However, as data shows, it is not necessary to know everything beforehand but being aware of the possibility of effects to do with honour in some family situations, is beneficial so that good tools can be searched. I would see that the cultural sensitive methods that the project workers are using are applicable among social workers and in other professions, too. I find them as useful tools when working with people who have different kind of backgrounds compared to something similar to ours.

I find prevention of HRV important in the Finnish society as it contributes to the wellbeing of people inside of it and maybe it may also have effects on outside of Finland. I would see that the notes of the data concerning the challenges and developing points should be taken into consideration so that they could contribute on building a safer society for everyone living in this country, no matter what the background. At the very end I want to remind us about the words of one respondent which were already presented in the title of this research. Let those words motivate in continuing and investing in prevention work concerning HRV:

”it is a long process and it will take time but it does not mean that it is impossible – it is possible!” (R3)

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Appendix: Interview frame

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

- gender
- age
- nationality
- mother tongue
- educational background
- how long has been working in the project
- what made to apply this job
- is HRV appearing in your country of origin (if immigrant background)

GENERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PHENOMENON:

- How would you define HRV in your own words?
- Why, in your view, is important to have action models to prevent HRV?
- Which factors, in your view, decrease HRV?
- Which factors, in your view, are obstacles in ending the HRV?
- Do you find that culture and HRV are connected?
- Do you find that religion and HRV are connected?
- Has your personal attitude been always the same when it comes to HRV or has it changed at some point? If, how and why?

PREVENTATIVE WORK:About approaches and ways of acting

- How do you understand/how would you define *multiculturalism*?
- How do you understand/how would you define *cultural sensitivity*? What does it mean in practical level?
- How do you understand/how would you define gender sensitivity? What does it mean in practical level?
- Is there difference when working with men/women/boys/girls? What should be taking account?
- When talking about HRV, is it important to impact on all levels or do you see that one of the parties (men/women/boys/girls) is the most important target group?
- How big meaning the immigrant background workers have in your project? Why?

Forms of work, work methods and results

- What kind of different forms of work do you have in your project?
- How are you approaching/referring the themes of HRV, in your work, for instance, in groups?
- What concrete work methods are you using?
- Are you able to say which work methods have proved to be the most workable so far when thinking about the aims of your work? Which of those you have most positive experiences? Why do you think it is like that?
- Could you tell some concrete example situations of how you have been able to prevent HRV – does some certain situation come to your mind?

CHALLENGES:

- What kind of challenges you have faced in prevention work of HRV in your project?
- Could you tell some examples/situations where the challenges of work have stood out concretely?

DEVELOPING POINTS:

- How well you see that the present preventative work has reached its' target group in Finland? (What should be done to reach them better?)
- What do you think about the work of professionals among immigrants?
- How integration work looks to you? Is it supporting the prevention of HRV?
- Would it be possible to include somehow those prevention methods of which you have had positive experiences?
- How is the coworking with professionals?