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Religion in Crisis:
Exploring Muslim Refugee Coping Strategies

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Introduction

The UN refugee agency finds that there are around 26 million refugees spread throughout the world today. Furthermore, 67% of forcibly displaced individuals are coming from five countries: Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar (Refugee Statistics, n.d.). Syria and Afghanistan are both predominantly Muslim countries, and the majority of refugees coming from Myanmar are Rohingya Muslims fleeing genocide. This means that a significant portion of today's refugee population is either practicing or ethnically Muslim. The refugee experience provokes significant stress and resource loss, and refugees must utilize a range of coping strategies in order to regain their mental and emotional well-being. A crucial avenue through which one develops coping tactics is through their religious beliefs or other ideological/value systems (Moons et al., 2019). Religion is a resource that informs both one's general perspective on life and the development of coping strategies, and through studying an individual religion we can begin to describe and understand the coping strategies of its adherents. Muslims draw upon a wide variety of religious coping resources provided by the Qur'an and other Islamic teachings and practices, and Muslim refugees use these this unique arsenal of techniques to survive and thrive in their host countries. This is important because these unique religious coping strategies may reveal broader religious and cultural truths which, when exposed, can guide more effective communication between host country support programs and their refugees. The research proposal aims to explore and describe the unique coping strategies that individuals develop and use throughout the Muslim refugee experience, in the interest of facilitating better relations between refugees and their host countries.

Refugee Programs and Religious Coping

Several recent studies over refugee programs cite a need for more culturally-informed methods and employees in order to adequately connect with and administer to refugees. A United States Domestic Violence support program finds that cultural nuances in the perception of domestic violence victim's needs led to a diminished ability to communicate with and assist refugee women (Wachter et al., 2019). A study on a program addressing the mental health needs of refugee youth suggests that intervention strategies and tools developed in Western cultures may be entirely culturally inappropriate for use with refugee youth (Forrest-Bank et al., 2019). Overall, research is showing the importance of an enhanced understanding of the cultural assumptions that refugees hold when coping with a variety of stressors. Key informants of one another, religion and culture are intertwined. In research, religion has been established as a fundamental infrastructure that manifests through cultural expression (Udoh, et al., 2020). It has also been observed that religion both determines and is determined by culture, articulating a need for religious understanding in order to fully grasp culture (Beyers, 2017). Thus, to provide this much-needed cultural reformation within refugee programs, it is important to study how religion, as a concept tangential to culture, informs the refugee experience and coping strategies.

Interestingly, previous research has shown that Islam's influence on a Muslim's coping strategies may be even stronger than that of other faiths on their adherents (Abu-Raiya et al., 2020; Abdel-Khalek & Lester, 2012), and yet relatively little research has been done on the unique aspects of Muslim religious coping strategies. Even less has been done on the religious coping strategies of Muslim refugees. The present study aims to utilize the Conservation of Resources Theory (COR) as a backdrop from which to explore and describe the unique origins

and expressions of religious coping strategies, both positive and negative, that individuals develop and use throughout the Muslim refugee experience, in the interest of facilitating better relations between refugees and the programs that support them.

Conservation of Resources Theory

Resources, Personal Traits, and Religious Beliefs

COR is a stress model that focuses on how individuals utilize their existing resources to react to the stress of resource loss and gain. It begins with the basic idea that individuals seek to obtain, retain, foster, and protect the things that they have and are important to them. It then expands into a series of four principles and three corollaries connected with those principles. The four main principles assert that resource loss is more impactful than resource gain, resources must be invested in order to protect against, recover from, and reverse resource loss, resource gain is more impactful in the context of resource loss, and individuals enter a defensive and often aggressive state when their resources are exhausted. (Hobfoll et. al, 2018). In this model, stress is defined as a reaction to an environment in which there is a threat of a loss of resources, an actual loss of resources, or a lack of resource gain following a period of investment of resources (Hobfoll, 1989).

COR theory defines resources as items that are valued and can be invested in hopes of gaining further resources. The four types of resources include 1) objects, such as homes or other assets; 2) personal traits and characteristics either physical or psychological, such as optimism or hope; 3) conditions, such as marriage; and 4) energies, such as money or time. This study focuses on the second category, personal traits. Personal traits are considered resources to the extent that they generally aid in providing support to alleviate stress (Hobfoll, 1989). Religious beliefs are a form of personal trait that can be employed to gain resources. For example, trust in

God during a crisis may build previously lost resources such as optimism or hope. According to the inclusion of personal traits as resources, then, religious beliefs are considered resources that can be invested to pursue resource gain. Thus, as personal traits with potential for investment towards resource gains, religious beliefs will be studied as a form of resource subject to the principles of COR theory as outlined below.

Resource Investment Principle

COR Theory presents a series of principles aimed at describing the stress processes surrounding resource loss and gain. This analysis will focus on the Resource Investment Principle, which states that resource loss can be remedied through resource investment. This can be direct, such as investing cash to purchase a new home after a fire, or indirect, such as increasing language skills to regain communicative ability in a new country (Hobfoll et. al, 2018). Religious beliefs as a resource will be mobilized by those experiencing resource loss (in the form of a loss of homeland, loss of communication capabilities, loss of family members, and loss of identity among various other forms of loss experienced by refugees) in an attempt to stimulate resource gain.

Trauma, Loss and the Primacy of Loss Principle

The Primacy of Loss Principle of COR theory argues that resource loss is much more salient than resource gain (Hobfoll et. al, 2018). Furthermore, the theory explains that resource loss tends to result in resource spirals. Resource spirals refer to the process in which those who have lost significant resources continue to sustain further loss of resources with increasing impact and momentum. These resource spirals are often prompted by some sort of loss or traumatic event, that then sets off a reaction of increasingly resource-draining events (Hobfoll,

1998). Depending on their individual conditions, refugees often experience increased amounts of trauma, which can result in this spiraling loss of resources.

The prevalence of trauma within refugees of all ethnic and religious backgrounds is well documented. A recent study on the comparative prevalence of different types of trauma among Yazidi, Muslim, and Christian refugees finds that 100% of the 150 refugees interviewed sustained exposure to at least one traumatic event, (with or without developing PTSD) (Richa et al., 2020), and another study on Kosovar refugees finds that upwards of 90% of those surveyed had experienced at least 10 traumatic events (Ai et al., 2002). The high percentage of refugees experiencing multiple traumatic events may reflect resource spirals spurred by an initial loss of resources. Further perpetuating the resource spiral, an increased prevalence of traumatic events in the lives of refugees can translate into increased rates of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). A study of Syrian refugees living in Lebanon shows that around 17-24% of refugees included in the study met the criteria for PTSD, while a study of refugees in Africa sees a higher level of PTSD at an approximate 79% of refugees receiving a probable diagnosis (Barbieri et al., 2019; Vallières et al., 2019). Additionally, loss can happen through negative communicative experiences in host countries. Racism, scapegoating, and language barriers are significant causes for “personal trait” resource loss (Renner et al., 2020). According to the Resource Investment Principle explored in the previous paragraph, COR argues that in order to recover from these spiraling losses, individuals will engage their remaining resources, including religious beliefs, in order to recover.

Pursuit of New Resources

According to COR, when a loss of resources occurs, individuals will use their remaining resources to offset this loss. It states that individuals will try to invest their resources either to

replace the resources lost, or to symbolically replace them if literal replacement is not possible. However, the investment of these resources can create additional stress if the individual is unable to gain more benefits than expenditures in the use of these resources (Hobfoll, 1989). In the refugee context, religious faith is a resource that can be used to try to offset loss. The study of gains and expenditures in the use of religious coping, therefore, can give us important insight into how adherence to an individual religion (such as Islam) lends itself to both effective and ineffective strategies for resource investment with the goal of resource gain. COR asserts that individuals who have more resources are likely to continue to gain more when compared with others who have less resources (Hobfoll, 2018). Therefore, refugees who utilize their religious beliefs in a way that increases their "personal traits" category of resources will regain resources such as satisfaction with life or optimism more quickly. For this reason, it is important to study how systematic expressions of religion present a variety of coping strategies. Whether and to what degree these strategies lead to resource gain can be important indicators both for refugees themselves and for those organizing community outreach and social programs geared towards refugees.

Case Study: Syrian Refugees

An on-going civil war within Syria has led to the displacement of millions of Syrian citizens both internally and externally. Most Syrian refugees are now living in Syria's neighboring countries, specifically Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt (UNHCR, 2020). Syrian refugees continue to constitute one of the largest groups of displaced people worldwide. In 2016, six of every ten Syrians had been forcibly displaced from their homes, and many still remain away from their native country and homes today (UNHCR, 2020). This initial loss, manifesting in the form of a loss of home and homeland, can quickly spiral into further loss

within refugee host countries. Outside of their home countries, refugees are often marginalized and dehumanized throughout their communications with host communities, leading to sustained resource loss in the form of personal traits such as identity or communicative ability. Syrians, settling across many different countries, have experienced this loss in a variety of ways depending on their location. A study of Syrians living in Lebanon finds that many individuals routinely deal with pervasive public stigma as many Jordanians believe Syrians to be taking jobs from the native community. To deal with this, many refugees engage in forms of identity-suppression such as attempting to change their accents or other characteristics (Thorliefsson, 2014). Mirroring the findings of this study, Syrian refugees living in Germany also describe experiencing racist comments combined with a loss of ability to find work (Renner et al., 2020). Additionally, a 2018 study of Syrian refugees living in Toronto, Canada finds that the main concerns of Syrian refugees living in Canada include a lack of English skills, high cost of housing, difficulties continuing education, and barriers to finding employment. Thus, Syrian refugees are documented to be experiencing resource loss through loss of identity, communicative ability, housing, educational opportunity, employment, and income (list not exhaustive). According to COR theory, individuals will cope with this loss by deploying their remaining resources. Syrian refugees largely identify the Islamic faith as being the primary way with which they cope against this resource loss, citing acceptance, community, and wise money management as examples of resources they gain by relying on their Muslim faith. (Qasim & Hynie, 2018). These findings regarding the Syrian refugee experience suggest that refugees need to be prepared to deal with resource loss beyond that which occurs before and during the migration process. They must additionally be prepared to deal with a loss of personal trait resources, such as identity or confidence in the face of racist attitudes and language barriers

within their new countries of residence. Issues such as racism and scapegoating for economic problems may be common themes regardless of host country location, and a component of resource spirals within the refugee experience. Finally, Islam provides a variety of both positive and negative coping strategies available for those dealing with these challenges.

Religious Coping Strategies

Definition

Religious belief systems have been established in the previous sections as resources that can be utilized to spur resource gain. Religious coping, therefore, is the process of engaging those resources in pursuit of gains. More specifically, religious-spiritual coping is defined by Ai et al. (2003) as a “process that people engage in to attain significance in stressful circumstances”. An alternative definition is “ways of understanding and dealing with negative life events that are related to the sacred” (Pargament & Raiya, as cited via Qasim & Hynie, 2018, p.14) An indicator of the employment of this process, research has shown that religion/spirituality is an important social determinant of health (Moons et. al, 2019). At the core of this statement is the manifestation of versatile coping strategies through a religious lens. Religious coping techniques can present themselves in a variety of ways depending on religion, demographics, and other factors. Examples of religious-spiritual coping strategies among female Muslim refugees include trusting Allah to solve problems, relying on prayer and other religious practices, and an underlying fear of persecution that limits external religious practice (Shaw et al., 2019). Similarly, Taufik and Ibrahim (2020) describe sense of control, building self-esteem, and giving meaning to disaster impact as key coping themes arising from their study on Muslim refugees coping strategies. The various methods of engaging religious beliefs as coping strategies can be described as either positive or negative, which will be discussed further in the following sections.

Positive Religious Coping

Positive religious coping refers to religious coping strategies that demonstrate a secure relationship with God, and a belief in a higher meaning to cope with a stressful incident (Abu-Raiya et al., 2020). Positive religious coping strategies are more likely to lead to resource gain than negative religious coping strategies. Thus, positive coping strategies are generally considered to be efficient methods to employ when faced with resource loss, due to the high likelihood of resource gain. Supporting this, research generally shows a link between positive religious coping and increased well-being. In a multinational study on Muslim religious coping, Abu-Raiya et al. (2020) find that positive religious coping strategies correlate with a higher satisfaction with life. A separate study by Abu-Raiya et al. (2019) comes to the same conclusion. Furthermore, they note that post-traumatic growth and positive spiritual growth show a high correlation with positive religious coping strategies as well. A study by Ai et al. (2003) on Muslim refugee religious coping strategies reveals that optimism levels are predicted directly by positive religious-spiritual coping, and that optimism levels have a positive association with hope. Remembering that satisfaction with life, religious beliefs, optimism, and hope can be considered resources through COR theory's inclusion of "personal traits" as such, these studies provide sufficient evidence that positive religious coping can help to stimulate resource gain. Diving into which specific techniques can be considered positive, Taufik & Ibrahim (2020) find that Muslim refugees who maintained a stronger relationship with Allah gave more positive meaning to disaster and loss within the context of a large 7.7 earthquake in Central Sulawesi. The presence of a strong and secure relationship in combination with the bestowal of positive meaning to the destructive earthquake demonstrates one way in which positive Muslim religious coping is successfully utilized to initiate resource gain. Positive religious coping can also include

those strategies that encourage other positive coping methods. Çetin (2019) found that Muslim religious participation had a positive connection with social inclusion and well-being, suggesting that commonplace Muslim practices such as regularly attending a Mosque lead to a smoother adaptation process for refugees in new host countries. These studies provide strong evidence that positive religious coping strategies within the Muslim faith enhance well-being and resource gain for Muslim refugees across many contexts.

Negative Religious Coping

In contrast with the positive religious coping strategies found in the paragraph above, negative religious coping strategies are those which promote an “ominous” view of the world, and in which the religious person struggles to find and preserve significance in life (Abu-Raiya et al., 2020). In the context of COR theory, these techniques represent a mobilization of religious beliefs resources that ultimately fails to initiate resource gain, at times even resulting in further loss. Exploring common forms of negative religious coping, then, may help refugee support programs to identify factors in resource loss spirals within refugee communities. An example of negative coping could include the belief that one’s sufferings are a form of punishment. While research shows that positive religious coping tends to preserve well-being in times of need, it shows that negative religious coping can have negative effects on one’s physical and mental health. In a study on the religious coping strategies employed by Jews and Muslims in Israel, Abu-Raiya et al. (2020) found that in both groups, negative religious coping is associated with a greater likelihood for depression symptoms and a lower satisfaction in life. The connection between negative religious coping and diminished mental health in Muslim communities is echoed in a study by Ai et al. (2003) which shows a link between negative religious coping and a loss of hope. Within the healthcare setting, Moons et al. (2010) find that religious congenital

heart disease patients tend to have higher satisfaction with life, but lower levels of physical/mental health and more anxiety than their nonreligious counterparts. The causality of this relationship is undetermined, but the authors hypothesize that perhaps those with poorer health are more likely to seek refuge in religion than those with satisfactory health. It is possible that negative religious coping strategies also play a role in the large number of unhealthy religious patients. Identifying unique manifestations of negative coping strategies stemming from religious belief is equally important as identifying positive strategies, because it helps to show which methods are ineffective for provoking resource gain.

Muslim Basis for Coping Techniques

Qur'an Memorization, Recitation, and Listening

The unique coping experience inherent to practitioners of Islam stems from the religion's unique cultural background, practices, and sources of teaching. One unique aspect of the Muslim faith in regard to religious coping may include beliefs surrounding the causes of events which result in loss or trauma. According to Taghiabad et al. (2015), the Qur'an suggests that anxiety stems from religious missteps including negligence to the remembrance of Allah, obedience to Satan, lust, a lack of belief in Allah, and impurity due to sin. Reference verses for this assertion include Fatih verses 4 and 26, and Tawbah verse 26. Understanding whether a refugee sees their circumstances as random chance or a punishment for their or others' mistakes provides important insights into categorizing their outlook as encouraging positive or negative religious coping techniques. While it will certainly vary by individual, these particular verses seem to lay the groundwork for possible negative coping strategies, as refugees may begin to believe that they are at fault for what has happened to them, resulting in loss of confidence or identity. In addition to the unique perspective nurtured by the Qur'an, traditional memorization and recitation of the

Muslim Holy Book has been shown to serve as a catalyst for religious coping and resource gain. A 2015 study shows that memorizers of the Qur'an have lower levels of anxiety, sleeplessness, and depression, and higher levels of physical health and social functioning than non-memorizers (Taghiabad et al., 2015). Additionally, a systematic literature review conducted in 2019 shows that listening to recitations of the Qur'an leads to improved clinical outcomes in many studies of ICU patients, possibly due to the melodic voice in which recitations are typically given. Music therapy is largely proven to be effective, and the "musical" qualities of Qur'anic recitations may mimic music therapy's stress-reducing properties (Mat-Nor et al., 2019). Interestingly, the Brethren of Purity, a controversial secret society of Muslim philosophers in the 8th or 10th century, wrote extensively on the therapeutic benefit of music therapy and Qur'an recitation. Although this teaching would not be considered mainstream Islam, it serves to show that this practice as a positive coping strategy been acknowledged as effective for quite some time (El-Bizri & Wright, 2010). The unique memorization, recitation, and listening experiences associated with the Qur'an suggest that this deeply traditional Muslim practice provides distinct and effective positive religious coping resources that may be exclusive to faith practices associated with Muslim the Holy Book.

Salah Prayer & Ablution

Salah is the second pillar of the Muslim faith, and involves prayer undertaken at five prescribed times throughout the day. Before praying or engaging in any other act of worship, one must first perform physical cleansing and spiritual preparation. This practice, roughly translated as "ablution", helps the individual to put away their stress to focus on the act of submission to Allah (Ahmed Sayeed & Prakash, 2013). The act of ablution within itself can be used as a coping mechanism, allowing the individual to cleanse away stress to focus instead upon his or her

relationship with Allah (Abdel-Khalek, 2011; Ahmed Sayeed & Prakash, 2013). After this process has occurred, one can proceed with prayer or any other act of worship. Salah prayer is distinct from prayer practices employed by other major religions, as other prayer traditions do not typically specify a necessary amount or time for prayer. Salah, additionally, is not only a time of prayer but is an act of submission to Allah which includes a specified physical expression and mindfulness (Ahmed Sayeed & Prakash, 2013). Some integral mental components of mindful Salah prayer include the individual imagining that Allah is in front of him, and having thoughts of talking with Him. Studies have found that the practice of mindful Salah prayer focused on visualizing and speaking with Allah leads to a higher level of mental health than those who do not practice mindful Salah prayer (Ijaz et al., 2013). Physically, full expression of Salah prayer may include the use of most of the muscles and joints in the body as the practitioner completes the physical portion of the prayer. During this process, the head is at one point placed lower than the heart, leading to a blood rush that can increase cognitive functions such as memory and concentration (Sayeed & Prakash, 2013). Salah prayer and the practice of ablution before acts of worship are unique from prayer practices of the other major faiths, and combined with the unique teachings and reading/listening practices connected with the Qur'an, provide a reasonable basis for a hypothesis that Muslim religious practices lead to the development of a distinct stress-coping experience.

Rationale

Muslim refugees are a strikingly large group. Large percentages of refugees worldwide come from areas such as the Central African Republic, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and South Sudan, many of whom's population base is largely Muslim (Refugee Statistics, n.d.). Additionally, many of these groups are experiencing large amounts of resource loss through loss of homes, income,

and family members, and loss of identity due to racism and marginalization within their host countries. Refugees may utilize their religious beliefs to cope with the high frequency of trauma and stress associated with the refugee experience. Religious resource investment is an important vehicle through which many Muslim refugees are able to obtain resources such as mental health improvements, optimism, and positive well-being. That said, religious coping comes in both positive and negative varieties. Currently, refugee support programs largely operate based on an assumption that refugees will deal with stress in similar ways to citizens of their host countries, and the ineffectiveness of this strategy has led to a call for cultural reform in a variety of programs. By exploring the lived experiences of Muslim culture and the practices that inform Muslim coping strategies, researchers can gain a better idea of the challenges Muslim refugees will face and the ways in which they will deal with these challenges when adapting to their home cultures. This is valuable information for public policy makers and refugee outreach programs seeking to incorporate such insights into more effective connections with those they seek to support. The positive strategies can be distinguished from the negative ones using COR theory, with positive strategies including those which lead to the gain of new resources or preservation of current resources, while negative strategies include those which lead to a further loss of resources. This information is valuable in its ability to give policy-makers, non-profits, and other program leaders a fuller view of the needs and strengths of Muslim refugees. The author seeks to describe and analyze the religious coping strategies of Muslim refugees through an interpretive study in order to gather information that can be used to improve refugee outreach programs through a reformed understanding of refugee coping.

Methodology

Interpretive Approach

I will be conducting my research using the interpretive approach, and this research proposal highlights the research perspective and methodology I plan to use for this investigation. The interpretive approach aims to gather a comprehensive description of the intersubjective reality of a particular cultural community's lived experience. It focuses on and seeks to define the distinctive methods of communication, interaction, and valuation within a large national culture. Rather than encouraging comparison with other cultural groups, this approach highlights the nuances of its subject group by garnering a holistic view of what it is like to be an insider within the given community. The ultimate goal of this approach is to gain a sense of what it *feels* like to be an insider existing and interacting within the target culture. Rather than focusing on quantitative data, the interpretive approach values long descriptions, stories, deep meanings, and the exposure of cultural subtleties as they relate to the experience of the whole. This approach operates excellently in conjunction with qualitative data collection methods such as focus groups, case studies, and semi-structured interviews. These options tend to generate and highlight the integrated experiences and feelings sought out by the interpretive approach.

Data Collection

In order to gather descriptions and stories regarding the religious coping strategies of Muslim refugees, a series of semi-structured interviews will be conducted. Semi-structured interviews typically begin with open-ended questions which can be followed up with clarifying questions to further explore important topics or confirm understanding. Advantages of this method of data collection include that conversation can feel more natural, and that it is easier to gain fuller descriptions and stories by tailoring follow-up questions to the individual participants.

These interviews will be conducted with Muslim refugees recruited for the study through the Columbus Children's Hospital Global Patient Services Department. Global Patient Services participates in a variety of community outreach programs in order to communicate and bond with local immigrants and refugees in the area so that they will feel comfortable using the local healthcare systems, and because of this, the Global Patient Services Department is in contact with many members of the target community. Additionally, many patients at the hospital travel there from different areas inside and outside of the country, so participants from a variety of areas can be recruited to participate in the study. The interviews will be conducted in the participants' native languages in order to minimize misunderstandings and encourage the fullest descriptions possible.

Following the interviews, the author will analyze the interview transcripts to identify the major themes present throughout the discourse. Research questions the author aims to explore using these major themes include the following:

RQ1: What are the lived and existential experiences of Muslim refugees?

RQ2: What are the unique coping strategies that Muslim refugees utilize to offset resource loss?

RQ3: How are religious coping strategies helpful (or unhelpful) for coping with life stressors and negotiating identity and quality of life among Muslim refugees?

RQ4: How can communication between host country leaders and Muslim refugees be improved using a fuller understanding of the Muslim refugee perspective?

Analysis will seek to emphasize a fuller view of the Muslim refugee experience and highlight the unique aspects of Islam that lead to the coping strategies present within the participants.

Conclusion

To conclude, while studies surrounding the field of Muslim refugee religious coping can be pieced together for a brief description of the workings of Islam in connection with the refugee condition, at present there has been little research into generating a deep understanding of how Islam is used as a resource to deal with stressors in the refugee context. This study will shed light on the specific ways that Islam uniquely equips its adherents with religious coping strategies that can be used to pursue resource gain in any instance of stress. The significance of this research lies in its ability to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of a refugee psyche informed by Islam as an ideological background, and therefore could be monumental in not only understanding the lived experiences of this expansive demographic, but also in identifying settings and programs in which host countries can invest to facilitate better lives for Muslim refugees worldwide.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

(Questions Adapted from study by Counted, 2019)

1. Tell me about yourself.

Prompts:

- (a) Past experiences
- (b) Family background/history of relationship with parents
- (c) Religious background/self-identified level of religiosity
- (d) Has being in (host country) affected your relationships?
- (e) How?

2. Tell me about your experience living in (host country) as a (origin country) refugee.

Prompts:

- (a) Why?
- (b) Past experiences
- (c) Perceptions
- (d) Did [X] affect that decision?
- (e) How?

3. Tell me about the difficulties you face as a refugee living in (host country)

Prompts:

- (a) How do you cope with these difficulties/what is your coping mechanism?
- (b) Why?
- (c) Past experiences
- (d) Did [X] affect that decision?
- (e) How?

4. Does your relationship with Allah help you deal with the challenges you face in (host country)?

Prompts:

- (a) If yes, how?
- (b) If no, why?
- (c) Give examples
- (d) How?

5. Is there anything else you would like to tell me before we end the interview?

Prompts:

- (a) Positive or negative experiences
- (b) Emotions or feeling