

AN EXAMINATION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION OUTCOMES  
OF SWANA (SOUTHWEST ASIA & NORTH AFRICA) REFUGEES TO THE  
UNITED STATES: EVIDENCE FROM THE ANNUAL SURVEY OF REFUGEES

A Thesis

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Samir Zaka Qayoumi

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Department of Sociology

Abstract

of

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Resettling in the United States poses unique challenges for refugees. Radicalized labor markets, educational systems, and housing markets present hidden and overt obstacles, especially for SWANA refugees who endure radical prejudice and discrimination. Refugees, especially SWANA refugees, flee war torn and repressive regimes in their homelands, yet many are forced to resettle in the same country that has had direct involvement in the destabilization of their homelands. This creates double-consciousness among refugees from countries such as, Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan, who must reconcile the United States' involvement in their home countries' political and military affairs yet rely on the US for a new beginning. Radicalized experiences in their new host country further complicate their experiences of double consciousness. Using data collected by the Urban Institute that examines the experiences of refugees who have lived in the US for the last five years, I examine the relationship between ethnic origin and income among SWANA and Non-SWANA refugees. In addition, I analyze the relationship between education level and income, and English proficiency and income. Results show that despite higher levels of education, SWANA refugees have less income

than Non-SWANA refugees. Among all sampled refugees, education is significantly associated with income. College education, in particular, shows a significant relationship with income. This study reveals that further analysis of the experiences of refugees, especially SWANA refugees warrants further investigation, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

\_\_\_\_\_, Committee Chair  
Jacqueline Brooks

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements .....	vi
List of Tables .....	viii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW .....	6
3. METHODOLGY .....	21
4. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS .....	26
5. DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS .....	30
Appendix A: Ethnic Origin and Dependent Variables .....	39
References .....	42

## LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Page
1. Demographics.....	22



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Though not a new social phenomenon, today's political climate has become especially polarized and divisive, culminating in the election of Donald J. Trump to the US presidency in 2016. Trump's infamous victory over Democratic opponent Hillary Clinton has had adverse effects on our society. Racism, misogyny, and xenophobia predate the Trump presidency, yet, he capitalized on these ideologies to gain political support creating a divisive campaign based on fear (Jacobson 2017). In 2015 when he first announced his campaign for the Republican nomination, it seemed unfeasible to most political analysts and lay people alike that he would actually win the nomination, let alone the presidency. According to Jacobson (2017) a key reason Trump was able to win the presidency, was through running a divisive campaign based in anti-immigrant sentiment:

Trump found a theme and, with it, an enthusiastic constituency that enabled him to take over the Republican Party and thereafter succeeded in bringing most Republican voters who had opposed his nomination into the fold. Trump rose to dominate the crowded primary field (17 candidates at its peak) by mobilizing and exploiting the anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican, anti-Muslim, anti-Obama, and anti-globalization sentiments common among a large faction of ordinary Republicans and not a few independents. His bullying, vulgar, hyperbolic trash talk, unleashed against detractors in both parties and the media, tapped into a rich vein of right-wing populist disdain for cultural, corporate, and political elites, most emphatically including Hillary Clinton. That Trump's statements were often self-contradictory, wildly misinformed, or flatly untrue, that his fantastic promises were untethered to any discernible reality (for example, to build a 30-foot wall on the entire U.S.–Mexico border and make Mexico pay for it), did not seem to faze his supporters in the least. They were immune from fact-checking by mainstream news sources they did not trust. Indeed, criticism of Trump by the media as well as establishment politicians and intellectuals across the

political spectrum probably strengthened his appeal to the angry, disaffected voters susceptible to his message. (2017:14)

This “anti-immigrant” rhetoric of Trump and his base of loyal followers has given many throughout the republican party a sense of freedom to openly express their racist ideologies. Where as before many in the republican party might have used dog whistles and more subtle racism, many have become emboldened and have normalized overt racism. This especially true when it comes to the types of policies encouraged by many in the republican party that negatively impact specific immigrant groups. Two notable executive orders that were been signed by Trump were his travel ban that targeted all forms of travel and immigration from seven Muslim majority countries, and the attempted repeal of president Obama’s DACA program that gave protection and rights to undocumented early arrivals (Goodman 2017). Within his first two months in office, Trump’s administration signed many executive orders that further marginalized immigrant communities. These policies heightened tensions within immigrant communities, discouraging hopeful social groups from considering emigration to the United States (Goodman 2017). The Trump Administration’s push towards anti-immigrant policies, that targeted the most vulnerable of immigrant communities, has been critiqued by authors and researchers (Goodman 2017; Rogers and DeParle 2019). Reportedly, Miller espoused anti-immigrant sentiments long before he became Trump’s chief immigration advisor (Rogers and DeParle 2019). Miller sought to advance restrictive immigration policies that mirror those of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, Miller cited articles that approved highly of Calvin Coolidge era immigration

policies, in leaked emails. These policies, enacted during Coolidge's tenure in the White House, specifically targeted individuals from South and Eastern Europe, as well as laws and policies that prevented Asian immigration during the same era (Rogers and DeParle 2019). The Trump administration's immigration policies furthered anti-immigrant sentiment to target undocumented early arrivals, individuals from Muslim majority countries, and refugee and asylum seekers. These are exactly the type of policies and rhetoric that Trump promised during his 2016 campaign and unfortunately he was attempting to fulfill them. According to the New York chapter of The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), hate crimes against Muslim Americans increased by 74% in New York statewide when compared to the 10 months prior to Trump's election (CAIR 2019). These policies, and the Trump presidency in general, have been associated with a growth in hate crimes amongst many communities of color.

The Trump administration had been enforcing a "zero tolerance" policy when dealing with individuals who have crossed the border without documentation without taking each individual account into consideration. When laws are enforced this way, the system does not allow judges, or law enforcement to take certain aspects of each case into consideration, but rather forces the justice system to generalize all individuals who may be in violation of said laws. "Under the zero tolerance policy, DOJ prosecuted 100% of adult aliens apprehended crossing the border illegally, making no exceptions for whether they were asylum seekers or accompanied by minor children" (Kandel 2019). Since the Trump administration had limited the number of asylum cases they would review, many people were forced to cross over without proper documentation. These legislative

limitations had ultimately created an even longer wait to gain entry for individuals fleeing extreme poverty and violence in their home countries (Kandel 2019). These actions led to a crisis on the southern U.S. border, with more and more individuals being detained and placed in detention centers. With the detention of so many individuals who only seek safety and a chance at prosperous life, we as a nation had a serious situation of family separations that had become widely publicized. Since the enforcement of “zero-tolerance” up to 3,000 children had been separated from their parents, this number does not include the countless other children that were separated prior to the policy becoming public (Kandel 2019). According to Kandel (2019), under this administration, family unit apprehensions had grown from 11,000 in 2012 to 99,901 in only the first four months of 2019. As a result of a “zero-tolerance” policy, the U.S. created a problematic and insensitive way of dealing with immigration in our society and have allowed the most extreme of measures to be enacted.

The United States is a diverse nation comprised of many different immigrant groups. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, “In 1960, there were 9.7 million foreign born in the United States, representing 5 percent of the total population. By 2010, the population had grown to 40 million, representing about 13 percent of the total population” (Grieco et al. 2012). With such diversity in our nation it is an obligation of academia to bring forth more research and literature about the many different heritages residing in the U.S., including refugees from South West Asia and North Africa or the SWANA region for short.

Understanding our current political climate is important when examining vulnerable populations in our society, such as our refugee population. Refugees leave everything they hold dear behind in an attempt to survive. They leave their homeland, many leave extended family and friends, their belongings, and ultimately their entire livelihood that they may have built in hopes of finding refuge in safer lands. How are they welcomed? They are used as political pawns and scapegoats by the current administration, in hopes of curbing their arrival. It is important for sociologists to keep this in mind when conducting research on these populations, in order to combat these negative stereotypes and rhetoric. Academia as a whole has an obligation to society to analyze facts and ease the fears that the general population might have due to our divisive politics.

In this paper, taking information that has been gathered by the Urban Institute from a sample of refugees after their first five years living in the U.S., I will focus on factors that affect the social integration of refugees living in the United States, primarily looking at refugees that identify as Arab, Syriac, and Chaldean. These are three different racial and ethnic groups but are all SWANA refugees. For the purpose of this study, I examine four hypotheses, 1) Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher income per hour than SWANA refugees. 2) On average, Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher total income than SWANA refugees. 3) On average, refugees with more education have higher total income. 4) On average, refugees with higher English proficiency have higher total income.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

From its conception, the United States of America has prided itself as a nation of immigrants. European immigration from the time of the colonies has been a cornerstone of the American experience, however, the experience of the immigrant differs significantly based on race, religion, and country of origin (Richmond 1988; Saxton 1990; D'Agostino 2002). Despite a diversity of immigration narratives, the experiences of the first Anglo-Protestant immigrants to the continent has become the norm, against which all other experiences are deemed as lesser. (Sanchez 1999). This framework overlooks the difficulties that members of different racial and ethnic groups face, while also overlooking the contrasting reasons for migration. For instance, many early settlers that arrived from North-Western Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries came to North America in search of religious freedom. This is a sharp contrast from the Irish of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that came to the U.S. primarily because of financial and food insecurities, or the Southern and Eastern European peoples who emigrated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in search of economic prosperity (D'Agostino 2002). When immigration experiences are considered outside the dominant narrative and include their reasoning for migration we begin to see the flaws in an over simplified narrative of the “immigrant experience.”

When more immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe began to reach America's shores the previous groups that had been here for longer began to ostracize the new immigrants as inferior. Resentment and hatred towards these new immigrants helped to grow the ideologies of nativism. Nativism is the idea that members not part of the

dominant group in society are inherently lesser people that should be held aside from mainstream society as marginal. (Friedman 1967). Nativism are views that focus on groups cultural, racial, and religious differences and ultimately label these individuals as “foreign” when compared to “nativists.” Nativist are individuals that mainly see anyone not of Anglo-Saxon decent as people who should not be in the U.S. (Friedman 1967). These “new” immigrants were stereotyped as criminals and inferior to the “old” immigrants that were of North Western European descent. Nativist ideology helped push forward racist legislation that aimed to restrict immigration based on race and ethnicity. According to D’Agostino (2002) it was the controversial, yet popular practice of race-based pseudoscience of the time that gave credibility for these restrictive laws to be passed. This led to the further development of racial categories and gave credibility to racial hierarchies. Race-based pseudoscience was the push by early scholars to use physiology, biology and other forms of scientific research as a justification for the inhumane differential treatment of people of color.

Over time though, these “new” immigrant groups from South and Eastern Europe began to assimilate and today are thought of as the old immigrants. Within two to three generations many of these former “new” immigrants from Europe began to be incorporated into the dominant group and have the economic resources that made them equal to other Whites of North-Western European decent. While many of the European immigrants from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries faced many hardships and discrimination at first, within a short time they were generally accepted in society and became part of the dominant group (Saxton 1990). This is due in large part to the racial category of “White”

and while these Europeans may be of many different ethnicities, the one thing they all have in common is that they are categorized as White (Sanchez 1999). Following the logic of Gordon's "stages of assimilation" the "new" and "old" immigrants from Europe were able to assimilate so easily due to the amount of "Anglo-conformity" they were willing to accept (Feagin and Feagin 2004). As such, achieving whiteness is directly related to this notion of Anglo-conformity. Gordon (1964) highlights seven types of assimilation:

Cultural assimilation, meaning the minority group changes their cultural values and norms to mirror those of the dominant group.

Structural assimilation, is when the minority group incorporates and participates in social institutions of the dominant group.

Marital assimilation, intermarriage with the dominant group.

Identification assimilation, having a sense of identity that is linked to the core culture, such as "Whiteness."

Attitude-receptional assimilation, meaning members of the dominant group lose prejudice and stereotyping of said minority group.

Behavior-receptional assimilation, is when there is an absence of intentional discrimination from the dominant group to the minority group.

Civic assimilation, meaning the minority group is now part of the dominant group and there is no difference in power or social status.

Of these different types of assimilation, the most important one that helped many different ethnic Whites assimilate within two or three short generations was identification assimilation whereby ethnic whites had to give up parts of their ethnic heritage and cultural norms in order to become part of the dominant group in society. Leaving behind their identification as Irish, German, Polish, or Italian, and adopting the more accepted



identity of White American. The self-identification of White helped these groups become part of the American core society.

However, this was not the case for people of color in the United States whether they were born here, or an immigrant, their race has contributed greatly in keeping them as part of the subordinate group (Saxton 1990). Immigrant groups also faced different structural barriers to their integration that made it more difficult for some groups to assimilate. For instance, during the same time that ethnic Whites emigrated in masses, the American government began to implement laws that discriminated against immigrants based on their race and nation of origin. For example, Asian immigrants during this time period had to deal with exclusionary laws such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Immigration Act of 1917, the Gentleman's Agreement, and the Immigration Act of 1924 all sought to bar the entry of Asian immigration to the U.S. These laws also prevented Asian Americans from attaining U.S. citizenship. It was not until these exclusionary acts were overturned in 1952 that Asian Americans were granted pathways to citizenship (Sanchez 1999). These different forms of racialized immigration have had adverse effects on how immigrants are viewed in our society.

The reality of immigrant experiences shows that there are clear differences between the experiences of groups, and that not all immigrant experiences are a monolith. When examined side by side each group of immigrants have had differing sets shared experiences based on ethnicity, religion, nation of origin, and skin color. Clearly the immigrant experience is ever changing group by group (Saxton 1990; Sanchez 1999; D'Agostino 2002; Feagin and Feagin 2004). Another thing that is wrong with

generalizing immigrant experiences as all the same is that this notion of an immigrant experience overlooks the plight of African Americans and the Black experience. From their kidnapping and forced enslavement in the United States, African Americans have been on this continent as long as White Europeans. Yet, like many other immigrant groups of color, they have experienced a long history of being excluded from citizenship and have had to endure long battle for freedom and equal rights (Saxton 1990). Gordon's assimilation theories focus primarily on the trajectory of European immigrants, ignoring the experiences of immigrants of color. This Eurocentric view of assimilation overshadows the racism and discrimination that many race and ethnic immigrant groups endured (Feagin and Feagin 2004).

When considering the more recent immigration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we see more asylum seekers, many of whom were forced to flee their homelands due to political unrest and violent wars, such as Vietnamese and other South East Asians in the 1970's and Central Americans in the 1970's and 80's (Conner 2010). For many of these immigrant groups, especially those that we would classify as refugees, the deciding factor is more "push" than "pull." The United Nations defines *refugee* as follows:

Someone who is forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. (United Nations 2019)

Richmond (1988) describes this push-pull factor as "proactive migrants" and "reactive migrants." Proactive migrants willingly choose to migrate to a new country for a number

of different reasons, whereas, reactive migrants are refugees, stateless persons, and or forced labourers (Richmond 1988). Understanding the differences in the reasoning behind the immigration of certain groups helps us to better understand the unique experiences attributed to their overall acculturation and assimilation in their new host society. Research shows that many immigrants that take willing steps in their migration, such as proactive migrants, usually take steps to ensure their success in their host nation such as; education and English proficiency (Richmond 1988; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki 1989; Feagin and Feagin 2004). Refugees on the other hand, do not take these premeditated steps prior to migrating since their migration is almost always a result of some form of threat to their safety in their homeland (Stark and Bloom 1985; Taylor 1999). This does not mean that refugees do not succeed in their host society, on the contrary, they actually have much more room for growth as education and English proficiency grows (Connor 2010).

There have been numerous amounts of research conducted on the different immigrant and refugee populations that reside in the United States (Richmond 1988; Berry et al. 1989; Sanchez 1999; Buddington 2002; D'Agostino 2002; Schnittker 2002; Schwartz et al. 2007; Kimbro 2009; Lazarevic et al. 2012; Umaña-Taylor et al. 2014). Many of these studies focused on either Latinx or East and Southeast Asian immigration (Schnittker 2002; Schwartz et al. 2007). Even though according to the UN, the majority of refugees across the globe are from the SWANA region (United Nations 2019), next to Syrians, Afghans make up for the second largest population of refugees across the globe. However, the majority of literature on Afghanistan, Syria and other SWANA nations has

to do with the geo-political role the region has played in recent history and not on the experiences of the immigrants themselves. There have been few works of literature on the people from this region who have been displaced from their ancestral home, and even less that focus particularly on how these individuals deal with the challenges associated with acculturation and cultural identity. Acculturation or the process by which immigrant groups assimilate into the culture of the host society (Buddington 2002) is not well understood for this population. I was born into a family of displaced refugees and consider myself part of the Afghan Diaspora. My parents fled Afghanistan in the early 1980's, due to the political conflict at the time, along with the six and a half million other Afghans that escaped the violence of war into neighboring Pakistan and Iran (Lipson and Omidian 1997). I was born in Peshawar, Pakistan in 1988, just one year prior to my family gaining refugee status which granted them political asylum in the United States. Prior to this influx of people with Afghan-heritage escaping violence across the globe, the majority of Afghans that left the *Watan* (or Homeland) only left for education abroad, most would return back to the *Watan* (Sadat 2008).

#### Theoretical Framework:

The dilemma of hyphenated identities that many living in Diaspora face makes for even greater complications when it comes to acculturation (Buddington 2002) for refugees in the Diaspora. Acculturation is a necessary function for any immigrant group in order to thrive in their new host society (Buddington 2002). For many SWANA refugees this is a difficult process; they come from a society where the culture is collectivistic with a strong emphasis on family ties. This is different from the

individualistic Western cultures, such as the United States where many in the Diaspora reside (Sadat 2008).

The issue of hyphenated identities that these refugees have struggled with can be better understood through the theoretical framework set forth by W.E.B. Du Bois in his work *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). The struggle for social integration differs greatly when race becomes a disadvantage rather than an advantage for immigrant groups. Although *Souls* was published over a century ago and focused primarily on the African American experience post Emancipation, it is still relevant today and can be used to help us better understand the refugee experience. Du Bois understood that in order to overcome the dilemma of a double consciousness one must first gain an understanding of their racial consciousness. Double consciousness is the feeling that an individual may have more than one social identity, which makes it difficult to develop a sense of self (Du Bois 1903). In order to do this one must first understand how racial and ethnic divisions have impacted history in our society. Du Bois' theory of double consciousness is a description of a feeling that many individuals belonging to minority communities have.

To better understand the social construction of race, we must understand the socio-historical context in which colonization and capitalism played a major role in forming the racial categories of today (Eze 2011; Omi and Winant 1994). With the formation of racial categories, scholars trace the development of concepts such as racial identity, racial consciousness, and double consciousness (Du Bois 1903; Omi and Winant 1994). The term "racial formation" explains the processes by which racial categories are formed based off social, economic, and political forces (Omi and Winant 1994). The history of

racial formations is different depending on the society or time period in history (Omi and Winant 1994). Du Bois understood that it was because of the idea of race that African Americans were the unfortunate recipients of exclusion and exploitation in U.S. society. “The Problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea” (Du Bois 1903:13). Through the tool of racialization, society has been able to force individuals to look at not only themselves in a racialized manner, but everyone around them. Researchers have given Du Bois credit for his work on race and the problems that develop from it (Eze 2011; Itzigsohn and Brown 2015) as well as utilizing Du Bois’ theory of double consciousness (Wang 1997) in order to better understand how this feeling of two-ness overlaps to other races. With the constant change in demographics of the U.S. it is important to keep building on what Du Bois first began in order to explain what he saw as something that was unique to the African Americans in the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, —a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two war-ing ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (Du Bois 1903:5)

This identity struggle, or double consciousness can be prevalent in any group that is not the majority in the society they live in. For instance, Wang (1997) found that double consciousness can be found amongst Asian Americans through his content analysis of Asian American literature. Wang (1997) took five pieces of literature that were written by

either Chinese American or Japanese American writers and explained how double consciousness impacted their creative writing. According to Wang (1997), Asian American writers used their feeling of two-ness and war-ing ideals in their novels to develop characters that resembled a common Asian American experience.

a) The Veil

Du Bois theory of double consciousness poses three key concepts: the veil, feeling of two-ness, and second sight (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). The first one, the veil, which Du Bois mentions early on in *Souls* deals with the issue of the color-line:

—the Black World beyond the Veil. Today it makes little difference to Atlanta, to the South, what the Negro thinks or dreams or wills. In the soul-life of the land he is to-day, and naturally will long remain, unthought of, half forgotten; and yet when he does come to think and will and do for himself, —and let no man dream that day will never come, —then the part he plays will not be one of sudden learning, but words and thoughts he has been taught to lisp in his race-childhood. To-day the ferment of his striving toward self-realization is the strife of the white world like a wheel within a wheel: beyond the Veil are smaller but like problems of ideals, of leaders and the led, of serfdom, of poverty, of order and subordination, and, through all, the Veil of Race. (Du Bois 1903:66)

The “Veil” is a symbol for what is a key element in our racialized nation that prevented Whites in the U.S. from actually seeing African Americans as equals, and kept them as others in the eyes of Whites (Du Bois 1903). The veil is how White Americans see individuals through racialized projections, and for African Americans it was their self-identification that developed through living behind the veil (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). The “veil” explains how members of the dominate group are able to make members of a subordinate group as others and how Whites were able to overlook the subjugation and deliberate unjust treatment of African Americans. According to Itzigsohn and Brown

(2015) the veil creates not only the lived experiences of the subordinate group but also the dominate group. Du Bois (1903) acknowledged that because of the veil Whites were not bothered by the racialized system that kept African Americans as an inferior second class citizen and Whites could choose to completely ignore African Americans as humans deserving of a place in society. In Du Bois time this was primarily between White and African Americans, African Americans were the invisible subordinate group that lived behind the “veil” and were other-ed based solely on their race. With the change in American demographics, now we have a U.S. that is more diverse and there are more individuals of different races and ethnic origins other than that White and Black dichotomy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With this change in demographics, now it is not only African Americans who live behind the “veil” but rather any persons of color living in the U.S. have to learn to navigate a society that does not fully recognize their humanity. These refugees are part of the subordinate group alongside African Americans and other people of color. Refugees living in the U.S. also now have to deal with living behind the veil. DuBois concept of the veil not only described the plight of being Black and American then but also can be used to describe being any persons of color and American. This expanded veil now seems to include ethnic sounding names, speaking English with an accent, and people of color. Many refugees have ethnic and foreign names than the average American name, also many older refugees speak English with an accent since English is most likely their second or third language.

b) Two-ness



The feeling of two-ness that Du Bois mentions comes from what he explains as living behind the veil. The creation of a culture within a culture, a sub-culture. For instance, in America there is the mainstream U.S. culture, that has its' own set of identities and norms. Then there are those that live in the U.S. that have other identities that do not fit within the confines of that mainstream U.S. culture; those are the individuals that live in the margins and end up with the feeling of two-ness. Du Bois describes being an American but also being Black in America and what that entailed:

—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face. (Du Bois 1903:5)

For Du Bois it was not merely the gaining of acceptance of White America by assimilating to their notion of an “American,” it was also keeping in mind that African Americans have their own unique culture that cannot be “bleached.” Similar to what Du Bois spoke of about how African Americans “would not Africanize America,” refugees do not wish to force their culture onto America, they simply want it possible to keep their heritage and culture alongside being an American.

#### c) Second-sight

Next to the importance of the concept of the veil, Du Bois' concept of “second-sight” is crucial in understanding the issue of double consciousness. The veil explains the feeling of invisibility or the unrecognition of individuals based on their race or color in a

racialized society (Du Bois 1903; Eze 2011; Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). Second-sight explains the ability to become aware of that invisibility caused by living behind the veil. In order for one to understand themselves and their position in society, one must understand how they are viewed by others in society. Second-sight gives an individual the power to lift the veil back and see themselves not only how they see themselves, but also how the rest of society sees them. It allows the Black subject to become aware of the world that is beyond the veil (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). When any group such as African Americans, or in this case refugees begin to gain second-sight they can start the process of becoming racially conscious and hopefully overcome the dilemma of a double consciousness. Eze (2011) cites the strength of *Souls* comes from the idea that African Americans have a “second-sight”. It is through this notion of second-sight that the psyche of the racialized subjects can be better understood (Eze 2011). A psyche that has been birth out of African Americans having been the subordinate group that had been subject to racialized policies of slavery and segregation, and coming to an awareness of their racial identity as it relates to the space they live in (Eze 2011). For the refugees from the SWANA region this psyche has been birth out of stereotypes and caricatures of individuals from the region and members of the Islamic faith. The misconceptions and false narratives that individuals from this region are “backwards” and or “uncivilized.” Similar stereotypes were used to perpetuate the notion that individuals from the African continent were “uncivilized,” even though it is widely known that Africa was home numerous civilizations with rich history. By creating these false narratives about certain

groups, the dominant group in society can create the world of the veil and justify its' creation.

*Research question:* What factors affect the social integration of SWANA refugees?

### *Hypotheses I and II*

*H<sub>1</sub>: Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher income per hour than SWANA refugees.*

*H<sub>2</sub>: On average, Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher total income than SWANA refugees.*

I expect a positive association between ethnic identity and level of income. I am expecting that SWANA refugees will have higher incomes than refugees from other ethnic backgrounds. Even though the political climate currently has labeled many of these individuals with very negative stereotypes, and could make it harder for them find well paying jobs. I believe because these are people from collectivistic cultures they are going to have more family members that will contribute to their total family income.

### *Hypothesis III*

*H<sub>3</sub>: On average, refugees with more education have higher total income.*

The ASR examines refugee's first five years living in the U.S. individuals that have completed more years of schooling will be in jobs with higher incomes. Individuals with higher levels of education will either be able to incorporate their previous education to finding higher paying work, or they will be able to further their education here in the U.S. I believe that these individuals will have the necessary education needed to advance their education and work here. This will lead to an all around more socially integrated individual.

*Hypothesis IV*

*H<sub>4</sub>: On average, refugees with higher English proficiency have higher total income.*

While there is no official language in the U.S., English is the unofficial language and is a crucial skill needed to become a thriving member of U.S. society. Those individuals with more English language skills will have more options when looking for work and education. Low English proficiency hinders immigrants from accessing employment opportunities and contributes to social isolation.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### DATA COLLECTION

This analysis used the 2016 Annual Survey of Refugees (ASR) data set collected by the Urban Institute. By making the distinction between immigrants that had more choice in their decision to emigrate versus a refugee that has fled their homeland due to violence or persecution, this survey gives access to a refugee sample and highlights the plight of refugees. Due to this difference in “push and pull” factors between refugees and immigrants, it is important to note that their experiences and ultimately level of social integration will be different. For example, individuals who emigrate willingly might have completed some sort of language and cultural training prior to their arrival, whereas refugees usually do not intend on leaving their homeland. Rather they are forced to leave under circumstances out of their control, and do not take the same extra steps in order to have an easier transition in their new society.

Since the 1980s, the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) has conducted the ASR and it “is the only scientifically-collected source of national data on refugees’ progress toward self-sufficiency and integration” (Urban Institute 2017). The ASR has been conducted over the past 50 years in order to help the ORR understand and analyze the level of progress made within the first five years of live in the United States for refugees. The 2016 ASR surveyed a national sample of refugees, measuring their experiences adjusting to life in the United States. Respondents were asked to reflect on

their first five years in the United States. The 2016 ASR used a stratified probability sample design first selecting households and then persons within households.

#### SAMPLE POPULATION

Of the 4,776 respondents, 1,600 self-identified as Other. The second largest group of respondents' self-identified as Arab with 1,171 individuals. That makes up 24.5% of all respondents who are of Arab ancestry. There was also a total of 441 respondents who self-identified as Chaldean, an ethnic group of Assyrian Chaldean Catholics. Also 118 of the respondents' self-identified as Syriac, another Assyrian ethnic group. With 110 respondents answering "don't know" or 26 respondents that refused. Adding up all the different ethnic groups from the SWANA region, we have a total 1730 respondents who are of some type of ethnic identity from the region. That is 36.2% of the total respondents, identifying as being from the SWANA region. There are also limitations as we are not given a full explanation as for ethnic origin, the category "other" comprises 33.5% of the sample can include many different ethnic origins. Many of these individuals could in fact be from other ethnic groups of the greater SWANA region, such as Iran and Afghanistan. According to the ASR, in another variable that asked about country of origin, 1,567 or about 33% listed Iraq as their country of origin. While 556, roughly 12% listed "Other" as their country of origin. Again, we are not given any further details as to what country of origin these 556 respondents are from originally. Please see Table 1 below.

<b>Table 1 Demographics</b>		
<b>Respondent's Demographic Characteristics</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>What is your Ethnicity?</b>		

Arab	1171	24.5%
Chaldean & Syriac	559	11.7%
Cuban	212	4.4%
Asian	1098	23.0%
Other	1600	33.5%
Missing	136	2.8%
Total	4776	100%
<b>What is your Sex?</b>		
Male	2510	52.6%
Female	2264	47.4%
Don't Know or Refused	2	0.0%
Total	4776	100%
<b>What is your Education level?</b>		
No School	309	6.5%
Primary School	774	16.2%
High School	1272	26.6%
Undergraduate	500	10.5%
Graduate School	324	6.8%
Missing	1597	33.4%
Total	4776	100%
<b>What US Region did you resettle in? (Coded into Census regions)</b>		
North East	744	15.6%
South	1402	29.4%
Mid West	1382	28.9%
West	1155	24.2%
Don't Know or Refused	93	1.9%
Total	4776	100%
<b>How well do you speak English now?</b>		
Little - None at all	1436	30.1%
Well - Very well	1723	36.1%
Missing	1617	33.9%
Total	4776	100%
<b>What is your Total Income?</b>		
\$0-\$10,000	349	7.3%
\$10,001-\$20,000	368	7.7%
\$20,001-\$30,000	305	6.4%
\$30,001-\$40,000	116	2.4%

\$40,001-\$50,000	25	0.5%
\$50,001-\$60,000	10	0.2%
\$60,001-\$70,000	2	0%
\$70,001-\$80,000	1	0%
\$80,001 & up	981	20.5%
Missing	2619	54.8%
Total	4776	100%

## VARIABLES

### *Dependent variables*

This study uses four main dependent variables: respondent's earnings, and respondent's income. Respondent's earnings are measured using the question: "How much money per hour did this person receive at his/her primary job?" Respondent's income was measured by asking: "What was this person's total income?" This study asserts that SWANA refugees will have lower earnings and incomes than Non-SWANA refugees.

### *Independent variables*

This study uses one main independent variable. Ethnic origin is the main independent variable, which measures each respondent's region of origin. Ethnic origin was recoded into the following categories: Arab, Chaldean, Syriac respondents, and "other." I am mainly looking at Arab, Chaldean & Syriac respondents, because they are all from the SWANA region and have some similar cultural customs. Education is measured by these categories: No school, Primary school, High school, Undergraduate,



Graduate school or Higher. English Proficiency is broken up into two groups: Little-None at all, and Well-Very well.

## ANALYSIS

### *Bivariate analysis*

Chi-Square tests were used to test the significance of the association between ethnic origin and income per hour. Cross tabulations show the within-group percentages for the independent variable (ethnic origin) and the dependent variable (income per hour). Overall, the bivariate analysis tests the association between specific characteristic of the sample refugee population and earnings. I expect is significantly associated with income per hour.

An independent samples T-Test was performed using English proficiency as the independent variable, and total income as the interval-ratio dependent variable. I hypothesize that the mean income for refugees with higher English proficiency will differ significantly than the mean income for refugees with lower English proficiency.

Two ANOVA tests were run, to test if there were any statistically significant difference between the means of the independent variables of Ethnic origin, and Education level against the dependent variable of Total income. I expect both independent variables to show statistical significance. Assuming that with higher education comes higher income. As well as with greater English proficiency comes higher income.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

#### BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

First, a Chi-Square Test was performed to determine if income per hour significantly differs between ethnic origin of refugees. The findings reveal a bifurcated effect. There were more respondents represented in the low-income and high-income categories, with fewer respondents represented in the middle-income category. This Chi-Square test is significant:  $\chi^2 (32, N= 2118) = 93.3, p = .001$ . The relationship between ethnic origin and income is statistically significant. Non-SWANA refugees earn more than SWANA refugees. For this reason, we can reject the null hypothesis, and accept that Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher income per hour than SWANA refugees. (See Appendix A).

Of the 549 total respondents that reported making between \$0-\$10 per hour, 27.5% (151) of them were Arab, and 11.7% (64) were Chaldean & Syriac. Of the 398 total Arab respondents 37.9% of them reported earning between \$0-\$10 per hour. While out of the 189 total Chaldean & Syriac respondents 33.9% of them reported being with in this hourly pay range. A total of 886 respondents said they make between \$10.01-\$20 per hour, 19.8% (175) of them were Arab and 9.6% (85) were Chaldean & Syriac. Out of all the Arab, Chaldean & Syriac respondents this was the pay range that the majority of them fell under, 44% of all Arabs and 45% of all Chaldean & Syriac respondents reported making between \$10.01-\$20 per hour.

The next pay range of \$20.01-\$40 had only 2.3% (9) of all Arabs and 2.6% (5) of all Chaldean & Syriac respondents. Since the pay range \$30.01-\$40 per hour had 0 Arabs and 0 Chaldean & Syriac I collapsed categories \$20.01-\$30 with \$30.01-\$40. However, when compared to the other ethnicities within this same pay range, Arabs accounted for 29% of all respondents that made between \$20.01-\$30 per hour. The final pay range was for those respondents that reported earning \$40.01 and up per hour. Within that pay range 22.3% (63) were Arab, and 12.4% (35) were Chaldean & Syriac. Arabs were second to the Other ethnicity group which had 41.7% (118) of those earning 40.01 or more an hour.

Along with the Chi-Square test, a one-way analysis of variance, was performed. For this test the independent variable used was still ethnic origin, and the dependent variable was the total gross income from all jobs worked by an individual. The hypothesis for this ANOVA was: *On average, Non-SWANA refugees have significantly higher income than SWANA refugees.* The findings were ( $F(4,1164) = 5.669, p = .001$ ). There is a significant difference in mean income between Asian and Arab refugees. Also there is a significant difference in mean income between Asian and Chaldean & Syriac refugees. These findings were statistically significant with a  $p < .001$  and a  $F$  score of 5.699. See Appendix A for ANOVA results.

An ANOVA was performed to assess the differences in income between levels of education. The hypothesis for this ANOVA was: *On average, refugees with more education have higher incomes.* The dependent variable used was total gross income from all jobs worked and the independent variable was highest level of education prior to arrival. Education level of years of school completed was recoded into categories

follows; No school ( $M = \$13,126.23$ ), primary school ( $M = \$17,318.59$ ), high school ( $M = \$19,120.78$ ), undergraduate ( $M = \$20,764.67$ ), graduate school or higher ( $M = \$19,168.42$ ). The relationship between education and income was statistically significant with a  $p$ -value of 0.036 and a  $F$  score of 2.582. For refugees it seems that their earnings may not differ significantly based on education until you reach the college level. This could have been due to the fact there were some outliers on the total income variable. The post hoc test revealed only one with a statistically significant mean difference were the “No school” group and the “Undergraduate” group. Those with an undergraduate degree earned on average \$7,638.44 more than those individuals that had “No school” listed as their highest level of education. The major significance was between the respondents in the “No school” and “Undergraduate” categories, this is due to the fact that it is common knowledge that an individual with an undergraduate degree is more likely to have higher income than an individual without any schooling. Where there was no significance was between respondents in the “No school” and “High school” categories. This may say something about the earnings of refugees, that their earnings may not differ significantly based on education until past the college level. This means that their return on the investment of education does not happen until they achieve at least a college education. See Appendix A for ANOVA results.

To test the hypothesis that Little-None at all English speakers and Well-Very well English speakers were associated with level of income, an independent samples t-test was performed. The Little-None at all English proficiency group ( $N = 461$ ) had a mean income of \$18,326.52 ( $SD = \$20,649.48$ ). Compared to the Well-Very well group ( $N =$

724) had a mean income of \$19,022.10 ( $SD = \$15,894.85$ ) This independent samples  $t$ -test was not associated with a statistically significant effect. From the results of the Levene's  $F$  test,  $F(1183) = .68, p = .408$ , we used the results from Equal variances assumed since  $p > .05$ . The  $p$  value = .514 and we fail to reject the null hypothesis since  $p > .05$ . Thus, there was not a significant difference in level of income between those respondents that had Little-None at all English proficiency and those respondents that had Well-Very well English proficiency. See Appendix A for results.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION/CONCLUSIONS

The data examined did show that SWANA refugees on average have fairly higher levels of education, yet they are not the highest paid. The majority of Arabs, Chaldean and Syriac respondents made between \$0-\$20 per hour. Also all on average respondents that had higher English proficiency skills had higher total incomes than those that had little to no English proficiency. There are several possible reasons for these findings. Although the survey was conducted by The Urban Institute, many of the questions that were asked were of a bureaucratic nature. This could be due to the fact that the survey was conducted for the government and only focused on income, education, and amount of government assistance being used. In order to get a true understanding of how refugees cope with living in a new foreign land, a more in-depth analysis is needed. Questions relating to the feelings of these refugees are needed. We must get a better understanding of these resilient people, many of whom are made refugees by U.S. and European intervention in their homelands. We have seen that throughout the United States' history there has always been an underlying level of nativism and racism against any new immigrant groups that can lead discriminatory practices in the hiring processes. It is academia's responsibility to educate the public on forced migration and displacement, in order to see the humanity in refugees. Their stories are important ones and it is difficult to try and understand the plight of refugees based solely on such a bureaucratic survey.

The purpose of this study was to explore how well refugees integrate in to U.S. society, because we have seen from previous data and work that all immigrant groups

have certain obstacles they have to overcome when relocating. The quantitative analysis shows that Ethnicity has a significant effect on total social integration. Even when SWANA refugees are Higher educated many of them either work more hours or have lower income than Non-SWANA refugees.

We can see that applying Du Bois' theory of Double Consciousness can help us better understand some of these obstacles that face new arrivals to the U.S. Similar to the barriers and obstacles faced by African Americans throughout the history of our nation, who experience discrimination, unequal treatment, and racism all whilst trying to find a place in society where they can thrive and be fully accepted. Although the data from this quantitative analysis does have its shortcomings and does not ask questions that show how respondents are acclimating to life in the U.S. a qualitative analysis could deepen our understating of the refugee experience. We have a population of Americans that have an origin linking back to the capture and enslavement of Africans that have and in turn having to somehow reconcile the fact that their new home is also a place that was forced upon them. Something similar can be said for ethnic immigrant populations, especially those from SWANA region. In the same ways Du Bois (1903) studied African Americans post Emancipation, we must take a sociological lens and study refugees. While the circumstances of African Americans are not exactly the same as that of refugees, the case can be made that African Americans too were trying to find a place in a society that kidnapped their ancestors, traumatized their descendants, and still made them outsiders of the dominant culture (Du Bois 1903). Refugees are ostracized and did not choose to come to the U.S., rather they came out of necessity and fear. Both groups experience forced

migration, one through enslavement, the other through war and other socio-political crises.

When we specifically focus on refugee groups, we look at groups of individuals with a unique story of migration. Many of whom have left their homelands in order to flee persecution and or war. Especially those refugees fleeing from Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan, we have another layer of dilemma that can compile on to their double consciousness. For the simple fact that many of these individuals are now residing in the U.S. because of the United States direct involvement in the wars in these nations. So we have groups of individuals that would probably not have left their homeland had it not been for instability and war, coming to a new land in seek in refuge. Now these individuals are trying to make a new life and home for themselves in new land and host society just so happens to be the same new land that has been in direct or indirect conflict with their homeland. This is similar to the decedents of enslaved Africans, they must try and reconcile the fact that their new home is a place that was somewhat forced upon them due to war and violence.

What we can say is that, not only do refugees have to acknowledge and come to an understanding of having a double consciousness, they have to deal with the possible resentment they may have to their new host society, based upon the damage done to their homeland. On one hand these refugees may be grateful to their new host society because of the relative peacefulness and opportunity afforded to them. On the other hand, they may harbor resentment and anger to their host society due to the involvement of the U.S. government in the region. This can cause individuals in these groups to have a new form



of double consciousness, a “conflicted consciousness”. Conflicted because they have been blessed to have escaped war and the devastations of war, unlike many of their fellow countrymen. Yet, they are now in the same country that had some part in their reason for leaving in the first place. Having to reconcile these two aspects of identity can be very hard for individuals and can cause identity crisis, especially for the first and second generations.

The research did show certain trends amongst refugees. The data showed that education and ethnic origin had an affect on the total gross income of respondents. This study was based on phone survey questions that were conducted by the Urban Institute. The questions primarily dealt with demographic and economic questions to examine how refugees first five years in the U.S. were progressing. Although there were limitations to this study due to the use of secondary data, it was used to best portray how socially integrated refugees are. Using different income variables, along with questions on education level and English proficiency, we can determine that how socially integrated an individual is to society. With higher incomes and higher education come more free time to acclimate to society.

#### FUTURE RESEACH

A recommendation for future research would be to use a sample of refugees from Afghanistan and to have in depth interviews with these individuals with questions specifically about their cultural and ethnic identifications in context of their new home. In order to better understand the conflicted consciousness of this group of refugees. The Afghan Diaspora is one of the largest and has the most complicated history. They have

been caught in the middle of conflicts between superpowers over the last four decades. The fact that much of the Diaspora lives in the U.S. makes their situation even more unique. First generation Afghans can remember a time when the majority of Americans had no real understanding of where Afghanistan was or who Afghans were, and if they did have some knowledge of Afghanistan it was based on a level kinship based solely on the anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiment many Americans had. While many second and even third generation members of the Diaspora had to navigate their role in society post September 11<sup>th</sup>. The view of Afghans shifted from that of ‘freedom fighters’ and anti-communist heroes, to ‘terrorists’ and ‘enemies of the state’. These experience are unique and should be given the academic attention it deserves.

For the Afghan Diaspora I would recommend examining topics such as *Afghanity* or “Afghan-ness”, the generational differences amongst the Diaspora, between first and second generations and how a sense of reconnection to the homeland could possibly help the Afghan Diaspora come to grips with their possible conflicted consciousness. Also examining hyphenated identities and how it can be different for refugees. Hyphenated identities can be an obstacle that immigrant groups, especially immigrant groups of color must negotiate. Another obstacle many of those in Diaspora face is the attempt to preserve their native culture while living in a host country that has different societal norms than those of the homeland. I will examine how well refugees are socially integrated into U.S. culture. Refugees did not choose to come here, yet, they are still a part of our society and it is important to examine the difficulties they face while integrating into U.S. culture.

Refugees not only have hyphenated identities while in their host country, but also they have to deal with being referred to as a foreign when they are back in the homeland (Sadat 2008). This leaves refugees in the Diaspora in a position where they are seen as different in their host society, and when they return to the homeland, surrounded by individuals that look like and speak like them, they are still not accepted as part of the greater society. For instance, in the case of Afghans in the Diaspora, they are seen as *Afghan-e khar-ijee* meaning a foreign Afghan (Sadat 2008).

This notion of *Afghaniyat* is the idea of closeness to one's Afghan heritage and cultural norms (Sadat 2008). Maintaining *Afghaniyat* is a difficult task when living in a host country with cultural norms that are a polar opposite to that of the *Watan*. Many Afghans in the Diaspora, especially youth, have to master both Western culture and that of their parents. This means speaking English for those living in the US when they are outside the home, and Dari inside the home (Sadat 2008). Research has shown that adolescents and youth have the cognitive capacity to explore ethnic and racial identity (Umaña-Taylor, Lee, Rivas-Drake, Syed, Seaton, Quintana, Cross Jr., Schwartz, and Yip, 2014). This can be applied to youth in the Afghan Diaspora, which begin to form their own identity at times around the belonging to said Diaspora (Sadat 2008). This can mean Afghans living in the United States begin to consider themselves Afghan-American, they form a new culture out of Americanizing *Afghaniyat*. This Americanizing of *Afghaniyat* is what Du Bois (1903) spoke of when he spoke of “two warring ideals in one dark body”, we have person who is of Afghan decent, from an Afghan background trying to find a way to feel accepted by an American culture. This can be problematic leading to

friction between older members of the Diaspora who try to preserve as much of *Afghanityat* as they can, and younger generations who want to be closer to their host culture in order to make their acculturation simpler. Most of the older members of the Diaspora may not have the same dilemma of double consciousness, they may be residing abroad and not in the *Watan*, but to them their *Afghanityat* comes first.

Research on other immigrant populations have examined the differences in the challenges that different generations face (Schwartz, Zamboanga, and Hernandez Jarvis 2007). Afghan parents in the Diaspora attempt to preserve as much *Afghanityat* amongst their children as possible. Maintaining strong family ties is one way that individuals in the Diaspora protect their *Afghanityat* (Sadat 2008). Research has shown that stronger ties to one's ethnic culture can foster exploration of ethnicity by adolescents (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2014). The more Afghans in the Diaspora hold on to their native tongue and customs while living in the host society, the more likely it is that following generations will maintain *Afghanityat*.

In his research on the Diaspora, Sadat found that many older first generation Afghans had the inability to conform to their host society which led an increase of depression amongst this group (2008). Leading many of in this group of the Diaspora reject the popular culture of their host country and reminisce about life in the *Watan* (Sadat 2008); this rejection of their host culture and association only with their native culture follows the separate type of acculturation (Berry et al. 1989). Of the previous literature only 1 looked at a refugee population, Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia that fled persecution, war, and other atrocities in their homeland (Lazarevic, Wiley, and Pleck

2012). The study had a sample size of 77 Serbian refugees, and the respondents ranged in age between 18-30 years old. The findings of this study were similar to many other research findings on the topic of acculturation in that youth that had less ties to their native culture acculturated at a much faster pace than those that had strong bonds to their native culture (Kinket and Verkuyten 1997; Lazarevic et al. 2012; Schnittker 2002).

Amongst second generation Afghans in the Diaspora, there is more assimilation in the way they acculturate into their host society (Sadat 2008). Many younger Afghans in the Diaspora yearn for acceptance by their host society, for them their host society is the only home many of them know (Sadat 2008). Unlike the first generation who have memories of the *Watan* and the way of life there, second generation individuals in the Diaspora only have stories they hear of the *Watan* with no personal experience. Sadat found that with higher levels of assimilation to one's host culture, the lower the levels of *Afghanity* (2008). In hopes of assimilation many Afghans in the Diaspora take on American or Christian sounding nicknames instead of using their Afghan names (Sadat 2008). Such differences in levels of acculturation between the generations will surely cause friction between first and second generation individuals in the Diaspora. According to Sadat's research, this has been the case, Afghans in the Diaspora end up facing inter-generational conflict (2008). Other immigrant populations are able to preserve their native culture while still integrating into their host society. Why is the same not prevalent for Afghans in the Diaspora? With such little research on this particular population, there must be more research conducted in order to move closer towards answering this question.

Although Sadat's research emphasizes that younger generations that grow up in the Diaspora lose their *Afghaniyat* (2008). I believe that younger generations like myself actually grow up proud of their heritage and aim to reconnect to the *Watan*. This is the second generations' ability to integrate, by accepting aspects of their host culture while simultaneously maintaining characteristics of their native culture (Berry et al. 1989). This is the younger generations' understanding of their host society and ability to navigate through it (Sadat, 2008) while integrating finding their own way of loving the *Watan*. Even though this is place they have most likely never been to or lived in, I believe that this need for culture is inherent of us all. I myself have never stepped foot in the *Watan* and have no memories of there, only the stories I have heard from my parents and other elders. Although I have never been to the *Watan* I pride myself on my *Afghaniyat* and is my sense of self and how I choose to identify.

## Appendix A: Ethnic Origin and Dependent Variables

### Chi-Square Ethnic Origin and Income per hour

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	93.336 <sup>a</sup>	32	0
Likelihood Ratio	95.56	32	0
Linear-by-Linear Association	0.239	1	0.625
N of Valid Cases	2118		

### Crosstabs Ethnic Origin and Income per hour

			Ethnicity					
			Arab	Chaldean & Siryac	Cuban	Asian	Other	Total
Income per hour	\$0-\$10 per hour	Count	151	64	46	103	185	549
		% within income per hour	27.5%	11.7%	8.4%	18.8%	33.7%	100.0%
		% within ethnicity	37.9%	33.9%	42.6%	24.6%	29.0%	31.4%
		% of Total	8.6%	3.7%	2.6%	5.9%	10.6%	31.4%
	\$10.01- \$20 per hour	Count	175	85	30	272	324	886
		% within income per hour	19.8%	9.6%	3.4%	30.7%	36.6%	100.0%
		% within ethnicity	44.0%	45.0%	27.8%	64.9%	50.9%	50.6%
		% of Total	10.0%	4.9%	1.70%	15.5%	18.5%	50.6%
	\$20.01- \$40 per hour	Count	9	5	4	5	10	31
		% within income per hour	29.0%	16.1%	12.9%	16.1%	25.8%	100.0%
		% within ethnicity	2.3%	2.6%	3.7%	1.2%	1.6%	1.9%
		% of Total	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%	0.6%	1.9%
	\$40.01 and up per hour	Count	63	35	28	39	118	283
		% within income per hour	22.3%	12.4%	9.9%	13.8%	41.7%	100.0%
		% within	15.8%	18.5%	25.9%	9.3%	18.5%	16.2%

	ethnicity						
	% of Total	3.6%	2.0%	1.6%	2.2%	6.7%	16.2%
Total	Count	398	189	108	419	637	1751
	% within income per hour	22.7%	10.8%	6.2%	23.9%	36.4%	100.0%
	% within ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of Total	22.7%	10.8%	6.2%	23.9%	36.4%	100.0%

### ANOVA Ethnic Origin and Total Income

ANOVA: Income differences by Ethnicity:

		<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
total income	Between Groups	7.19E+09	4	1797298714	5.669	0
	Within Groups	3.69E+11	1164	317031810.4		
	Total	3.76E+11	1168			

### Descriptive

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>
Arab	267	15705.27	15373.18	940.82
Chaldean & Syriac	104	16274.95	12159.49	1192.34
Cuban	58	22294.38	17991.78	2362.44
Asian	308	22049.18	22578.91	1286.55
Other	432	18640.92	16403.35	789.21
Total	1169	18839.18	17947.18	524.91

### ANOVA Education and Total Income

ANOVA

		<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
total income	Between Groups	3285679217	4	821419804.3	2.582	0.036
	Within Groups	3.75669E+11	1181	318093721		
	Total	3.78954E+11	1185			



Descriptive				
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>
No school	56	13126.23	10705.58	1430.59
Primary school	258	17318.58	23458.24	1460.44
High school	562	19120.77	15151.13	639.11
Undergraduate	220	20764.67	17337.78	1168.91
Graduate school or Higher	90	19168.42	19351.35	2039.81
Total	1186	18754.24	17882.74	519.26

**Table 6: Independent Samples T-Test English Proficiency and Total Income**

Descriptive					
		<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SE</i>
	No school	56	13126.23	10705.58	1430.59
	Primary school	258	17318.59	23458.25	1460.45
	High school	562	19120.78	15151.14	639.11
	Undergraduate	220	20764.67	17337.78	1168.91
	Graduate school or Higher	90	19168.42	19351.35	2039.81
	Total	1186	18754.24	17882.75	519.27

Independent samples t-test: Total Income differences based on English proficiency:

	English Proficiency	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>SEM</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Total Income	Little-None at all	461	18326.52	20649.48	961.74	-0.652	1183	0.514
	Well-Very well	724	19022.10	15894.85	590.73			

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