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The Role of Ethnic Enclaves on the Integration Process of Modern Immigrants: Case Studies in Columbus, Ohio and France

Caitlin Ziegert McCombs

The College of Wooster, chiegertmcombs17@wooster.edu

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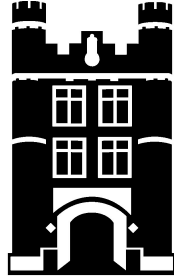
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The Role of Ethnic Enclaves on the Integration Process of Modern Immigrants:
Case Studies in Columbus, Ohio and France

by: Caitlin Chongyang Ziegert McCombs

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of Senior Independent Study Thesis

Supervised by: Dr. P. Nick Kardulias

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

Today's modern world is experiencing a great exchange of people, which has implications for the immigrant identity as well as the national identity of the countries to which they move. Ethnic enclaves are neighborhoods in urban areas that have a high ethnic population and/or a specific cultural identity. Enclaves are predominately composed of immigrant populations and can provide them with networks of social capital, knowledge, economics, and culture and may impact their integration process into a new host society. This research study explores the influence of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant integration process and immigrants' navigation of personal and national identity through case studies in Columbus, Ohio and France. The research focuses on the degree of immigrants' integration based on six factors of the immigrant life experience: level of language proficiency of the host country, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachment to certain racial and/or ethnic groups, and amount of time spent in the host country. This study seeks to understand the diversity of the immigrant integration process and critically analyzes the differences of this process between the United States and France. By utilizing data collected through seven interviews, the present study indicates that not all immigrants need to rely on ethnic enclaves for such support, specifically those immigrants with high levels of educational attainment or skill as entrepreneurs.

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I love you more than all the stars in the sky, more than all the blades of grass on the earth, and more than all the grains of sand in the beach – more than just about anything imaginable.

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To my dearest, Ponton, you will always be my person. Thanks for listening to me ramble endlessly about everything and nothing, for hugging me even when you don't want to, and for reminding me to enjoy the little things. One day we'll look back and remember they were the big things, right?

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The Question

This research study is motivated by the personal experiences of immigrants, myself included. During my sophomore year at The College of Wooster, I went to Lowe's to get some bolts to fix my futon. I went by myself. I quickly found what I was looking for and went to stand in line at the cash register. Spontaneously, the man in front of me turned around and looked me up and down before asking, "Where are you from?" I told him Granville, Ohio, since this is where I have spent the majority of my life, 17 whole years. "No, no," he said, waving my answer away with his hand, "Where are you *originally* from?" Of course, this was not a new question, I have heard it before and I know many others have too. I answered honestly, explaining that I am adopted from China. His eyes seemed to brighten and he exclaimed, "Oh, you're one of them throwaway babies, aren't you?" I was completely, deeply shocked. I just stared back at him while his son continued to load two by fours onto the register. Nobody said a word and it was the most painful thing, I have never felt so alone.

It is hard to identify with a place, group of people, or even a nation after such hurtful and disorienting interactions. This moment, although probably less than three minutes in total, has stuck with me for years. Navigating identity is not just the burden of individuals, but whole nations. In an increasingly globalized world, immigration is becoming more common. As nations become more diverse, it becomes imperative for them to be inclusive of such diversity, or risk creating deep inequality and segregation. It is unhealthy and dangerous for members of the same society to be fearful or apprehensive of one another. Ultimately, I hope that someday, when an Asian American girl says she is from Granville, Ohio, that such an answer is enough. That we, as a nation, can believe her reality.

Problem Statement

Recent globalization trends have created an exchange of ideas, culture, language, and people on a scale that the world has never seen before. As humans shuffle from place to place, they bring with them their own heritage and identity, effectively diversifying the new environments in which they settle. This influx of difference has led many nations to examine their sense of national identity, as immigration is often conceptualized as a threat to homogeneity. Immigrants themselves face the most daunting task of all, and that is to navigate their own personal identity alongside a new national identity. In 2015, the United States had a total of 43.3 million immigrants, representing the largest foreign-born population of any country in the world (American 2017:1). In total, 94% of America's foreign-born population lives in urban areas (Chiswick and Miller 2004:6). The high-density nature of the urban environment has led to the formation of ethnic enclaves, areas with high concentrations of an ethnic population, which create unique cultural identity, social networks, and economic activity. Therefore, it is only natural that the existence of these ethnic enclaves is one of the main indicators of where new immigrants choose to settle.

Ethnic enclaves typically form in or directly adjacent to the central city of an urban area. There are many important characteristics of immigrant populations that influence the creation and effects of ethnic enclaves, including their level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachment to certain racial or ethnic groups, and the amount of time they have spent in their new host country. These various factors have both advantages and disadvantages to those people that live within ethnic enclaves as they provide a safe haven for culture, language, religion, and community, but one that can be isolating from their host country at times. There are many sources (Alba and Foner 2015; Iceland 2009;

Musterd 2011; White and Glick 1999) that present ethnic enclaves as a generally positive, temporary environment for immigrants to begin their integration process into a new society. These sources also demonstrate that immigrants will move to new areas once they have the social, cultural, linguistic, and economic skills to allow them such mobility. In order to track the success of immigrants, studies assess the movement of second- and third-generation immigrants out of ethnic enclaves through census data and use intermarriage as a major indicator of immigrants' integration into the host society. However, there are theories that argue the opposite, such as the *ethnic disadvantage model*, which reasons that insurmountable systemic and structural barriers prevent immigrants from ever attaining full integration (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008:80). Current literature supports both of these outcomes and nearly all scholars combine their understanding of ethnic enclaves with the impact of enclaves on the immigrant identity.

Identity formation is perhaps the least studied component of immigration as it is the most difficult to quantify, especially through mass surveys, which are the standard method of census data collection. Ethnic enclaves play a critical role by shaping the perception of immigrants' personal and national identity during the integration process. The plurality of the immigrant identity is very hard to study and define since ethnic enclaves can lead immigrants to develop different forms of identity. Zhou (1999) cautions that enclaves can completely shelter immigrants from internalizing the American identity and stunt the second-generation's integration process as well. However, others such as Iceland (2009) suggest that all people in the United States are able to 'blur' their identities between multiple ethnic and racial groups while still maintaining their 'Americanness.' Alba and Foner (2015) reinforce this idea by noting that identity is fluid and can change within different contexts and situations. The process of *becoming American* is complex, and ethnic enclaves have a fundamental role in shaping the immigrant

identity.

Through the lens of different social theorists, we can begin to unpack the various influences that ethnic enclaves have on the process of integration and identity formation among immigrants. Using *world-systems theory*, we can understand the context of the racial and ethnic divides that exist in society today by studying the historic flows of people and power between core and peripheral countries. Theorists, such as Zhou (1999), Massey (1996), and Portes (1993), argue that once immigrants arrive in a new country, enclaves create important networks for them to exchange language, culture, knowledge, and goods, thereby integrating them into society while providing an ethnic haven. Other theorists, for example Sanders and Nee (2003), argue that ethnic enclaves further perpetuate the marginalization of minorities as the forces of Capitalism limit them to minimum wage jobs and stunt their access to upward mobility. Portes and Zhou (1999) note that the positive effects of ethnic enclaves may diminish by the second generation, at which point *segmented assimilation* can explain certain outcomes for an ethnic population. Waters (1990) builds on existing literature explaining the choice of racial and ethnic identity that second-generation immigrants face when choosing a racial and ethnic identity. Despite their differences, each of these theorists would argue that ethnic enclaves play a critical, distinct role in immigrants' integration process, a role that differs by variables of time, people, and location.

In order to examine the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' integration process in an urban environment, I interviewed members of various communities in Columbus, Ohio to gain a holistic, critical view of immigrants' perception of ethnic enclaves and their own identity. According to U.S. Census Bureau data, the Columbus metro area had a foreign born population of 133,400 in 2012, with 54% of this total arriving in the United States after 2000 (Columbus 2014:12). The influx of immigrants to Columbus has spurred the creation of dozens of nonprofits

and community-based organizations to meet the new demands for social, cultural, and economic resources. Specific ethnic enclaves have emerged, with Asians in Upper Arlington, Somalis in Hilltop, and a Nepali-Bhutanese population near Minerva Park. By directly asking members of Columbus' immigrant community about their understanding of these topics, we can explore the true influence of enclaves on integration. Furthermore, we will better understand the navigation and formation of personal and national identity of immigrants in the United States.

I also interviewed one immigrant in France to further contextualize the dialogues on race and ethnicity that occur on the international stage today. In France, ethnic enclaves manifest themselves under the terms '*banlieue*' and '*quartier sensibles*'. Both the United States and France have specific, but distinctly different, approaches to defining their national identity, labeling race and ethnicity, and creating immigration policy. The United States, a nation founded by immigrants, has always been acutely aware of its own diversity and unafraid to attribute labels to its citizens accordingly. In contrast, France has deeply embedded notions of heritage, language, culture, and history that form their perception of national identity. This larger national identity overshadows personal and cultural identity as France's universalist approach holds stricter views on race and ethnicity. The United States' immigrant policy is more exclusive than that of France, although the former seems to have a wider acceptance of difference than the latter. Investigating these two models provides insight into the factors crafting the ethnic enclaves that, ultimately, shape how immigrants form their own identity.

In the present research study, I posit that immigrants who live in ethnic enclaves in Columbus and other areas experience higher levels of integration to their host country by the second generation. I also hypothesize that immigrants in Columbus perceive their national and personal identity in a multifaceted way that encompasses both an American identity and unique,

racial-ethnic identity. The individuals interviewed for this study have given personal insight on the influence of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant integration process and navigation of personal and national identity.

Few studies have examined immigrants' sense of connectedness and belonging to their new host country. This can best be done at the meso-level where individual case studies allow for deep analysis of the impact of local ethnic enclaves within a specific city. I maintain, however, that it is still important to study ethnic enclaves on the national, and even global scale, where systemic and institutional trends are more apparent. In acknowledging and analyzing the insights of immigrants in Columbus, Ohio at the local level, discussing the existence of these structures in France, and considering existing literature on ethnic enclaves, I hope to gain a holistic perspective on the different ways that ethnic enclaves influence the personal and national identities of immigrants in modern American and French society.

Literature Review

There are various sources that examine the influence of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant experience in the United States and abroad. Many sources study the principal factors that affect the type of influence that ethnic enclaves have on immigrants, these are: immigrants' level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachment to certain racial or ethnic groups, and the amount of time they have spent in their new host country. Scholars have outlined the different advantages and disadvantages for immigrants living in ethnic enclaves, although most agree on notable benefits, such as networks of social capital, language, culture, knowledge, and goods. There is, however, a disjuncture between scholars' perceptions on the degree of integration that immigrants experience as a direct cause of living in an ethnic enclave.

Ethnic enclaves can greatly shape the identity of immigrants, and sources are split as to whether they will either reinforce or disallow a ‘blurred’ identity between immigrants’ host countries and their racial and ethnic identities. Identity is important to study as an immigrant’s sense of belonging and connectedness to their host country increases their likelihood of integration. Broadly, the successes of second-generation immigrants within the socioeconomic, political, educational, and cultural spheres are used to indicate high levels of integration. Other, more quantifiable measures, such as rates of intermarriage and residential patterns, are also used to track immigrants’ movements away from enclaves.

The majority of sources (Alba and Foner 2015; Iceland 2009; Chiswick and Miller 2004) study these ethnic enclave trends at the macro-level by utilizing available census data to track immigrants’ progress. These sources analyze national and international data through statistical analysis, with a majority of scholars utilizing a *dissimilarity index*¹ to measure integration levels of immigrants. Included in this review are two local reports (US Together 2015; Columbus 2014) by nonprofit coalitions in partnership with the local government that investigate immigrant and refugee populations in Columbus, Ohio. The two reports utilize U.S. Census Bureau data along with locally sourced data to provide a fairly comprehensive summary of immigrant populations in Columbus. A case study of Franklin County in Columbus, which has a notable refugee population, also helps visualize the immigrant population of the city. Scholars that investigate the existence of ‘*banlieues*’ and ‘*quartier sensibles*’ in France have done so largely in conjunction with a comparative study between Europe and the United States. These sources

¹ The *dissimilarity index* examines the spatial distribution of people within a metropolitan area and “measures the percentage of a group’s population that would have to change residence for each neighborhood to have the same percentage of that group as the metropolitan area overall. The index ranges from 0.0 (complete integration) to 1.0 (complete segregation)” (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002:119).

(Alba and Foner 2015) tend to highlight the differences in educational, political, historical, religious, and cultural systems between the two countries. Since French census data on ethnicity and race is practically nonexistent and based largely on estimates, the discussions on France tend to be more theoretical.

The literature reviewed in this section examines the current discourse on the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' identities and levels of integration. The principal goal of this review is to critically unpack the understanding of ethnic enclaves' influence on immigrant integration and identity through various models that can be applied to Columbus, Ohio and France.

A Settler Society – The Brief History of Immigration in the United States

A prominent perspective supposes America as a *settler society*, in which “immigration is a fundamental part of the origin myth, historical consciousness, and national identity” (Alba and Foner 2015:11). The United States is a country that was settled, founded, populated, and developed by immigrant populations. Besides Native Americans, the whole population of the United States is composed of peoples that, at one point or another, left their homes and came into American society. America's historical context as a *settler society* assumes that “*settler societies* will thus extend a warmer welcome to immigrants and be more confident about their integration – and more comfortable about bringing immigrants and their children into the national fold” (Alba and Foner 2015:12). However, Alba and Foner (2015) note that many of the white immigrants of European-descent, the majority population in America, have been living in the United States for multiple generations and consequently have less of an attachment to this concept of the *settler society*. The active applications of this perspective are debated, as the very existence of ethnic enclaves suggests that the *settler society* is not as inclusive as previously

thought. However, the recent national policy model has continued to allow and encourage immigration to the United States on a grand scale, which reinforces the *settler society* perspective.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 has significantly encouraged contemporary immigration into America by eradicating old policy rooted in ethnic and racial exclusion. The law also repealed national-origins quotas that limited immigration from certain areas of the world and allowed families to immigrate more easily (Alba and Foner 2015:26). In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act helped to legalize nearly 3 million previously undocumented immigrants (Alba and Foner 2015:27). Most recently, the Immigration Act of 1990 doubled the employment-based visas awarded per year to encourage immigration of skilled laborers (Otiso 2005:136). It also increased the legal allowance of immigrant populations per fiscal year, which shows that despite mixed public opinion, little has been done to formally reverse or restrict immigration policy since the enactment of the original 1965 law (Alba and Foner 2015:26). The vocabulary surrounding immigration has also transformed over time to become more inclusive of the increasingly diverse populations coming to America.

Previously, terms such as *assimilation* and *acculturation* characterized the experiences of immigrants, but these terms have since been replaced by other words such as *integration* (Iceland 2009:27). Zhou (1999:976) asserts that the term *assimilation* characterizes the immigrant experience as a “natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture...[by] gradually deserting old cultural behavioral patterns in favor of new ones.” In this way, *assimilation* inherently requires the destruction of racial and ethnic identity in order for immigrants to become American. Zhou (1999:980) notes that *acculturation* is largely determined by immigrants themselves, who “construct their own...[identity] in response to environmental

pressures” in order to become a part of “nonethnic” America. The term *acculturation* also implies a loss of ethnic identity in order to become American by societal standards. Musterd (2011:363) realizes the multifaceted nature that *integration* entails by stating that it includes social participation, income level, level of unemployment, and level of education. Alba and Foner (2015:5) have coined the term *full integration*, which “implies parity of life chances with members of the native majority group and being recognized as a legitimate part of the national community.” Using the term *integration* in the place of *acculturation* or *assimilation* allows for the multiplicity of the immigrant identity without sacrificing components of racial or ethnic identity in order to become American.

Over the course of this project, Donald Trump has been elected to the Presidency. Trump’s campaign platform was based in promises to increase immigrant vetting, with a temporary ban on Muslims, to build a wall between the United States and Mexico, and to generally decrease the number of immigrants the United States accepts. This widespread ideology could have negative implications for America’s notion of a *settler society*, as a growing sense of nationalism from majority groups seeks to protect its homogeneity by excluding immigrants.

The Movement of People – Who, Why, and Where?

There are many and varying reasons behind the movement of people from one country to another, and many of them are out of the control of immigrants themselves. In order to organize these reasons, Alba and Foner (2015:28) have created a list of the five major types of immigration that include labor migration, postcolonial immigration, high-skilled immigration, refugees and asylum seekers, and family reunification. The authors argue that labor migrations import workers who usually arrive with “low status” and are distinguished by their low levels of

education and by visible ethnic, racial, or religious differences from the native population. Alba and Foner (2015:29) cite undocumented Mexican and Central American workers in the United States, and North Africans in France, within this category, and note that these immigrants and their children face the largest barriers to integration.

The second major type of immigration is postcolonial immigration, which occurs between countries and their colonies or former colonies. Immigrants within this category may experience varying levels of integration, depending on the relationship of the colony with the metropole. The authors reference the nearly one million Algerian immigrants to France in the years after the colony's independence in 1962 as an example of this (Alba and Foner 2015:31).

High-skilled immigration is often encouraged through policy and seeks to recruit "foreign scientists, computer programmers, and engineers, among others...to meet the needs of a global economy" (Alba and Foner 2015:31). The United States created the H-1B visa program that allows 85,000 new visas a year to foreign workers with a bachelor's degree or higher to work for six years in a "specialty occupation." As of 2012, 1,268 H-1B work visa holders lived in the Columbus Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) (Columbus 2014:33). France has a similar program that awards "skills and talents" visas to encourage foreign students to work in France (Alba and Foner 2015:32).

The fourth type of immigration includes refugees and asylum seekers, which Alba and Foner (2015:33) define as follows:

A refugee, according to the 1951 UN convention...is someone who cannot or will not return to his or her country of origin because of 'a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.' Asylum seekers are generally defined as individuals who have migrated to another country in the hope of being recognized as refugees there.

These people tend to immigrate in smaller numbers, but are not prepared to enter the labor market upon their arrival and require a period of economic readjustment. Columbus has a significant population of this type of immigrant. Franklin County, included in the Columbus MSA, “had, by far, the highest number of refugee arrivals in Ohio between 2002 and 2014, accounting for nearly half (48.4%) of all refugees resettled in the state during that period” (US Together 2015:2). Similarly, France has experienced large waves of refugee migration since 2011 as the Syrian Civil War, which began in 2011, continues to displace millions of people.

Finally, Alba and Foner (2015:35) list family reunification as the last type of immigration that “allows immigration on the grounds of close kinship ties”; this category is estimated to include “two-thirds or so [of yearly legal entries] in the United States.” In 2003, the European Union created the Family Reunion Directive to protect the familial rights of immigrants. A phenomenon called *secondary migration*, which refers to the largely untraceable movement of immigrants within their new host country, could contribute to this type of immigration (US Together 2015:20).

Once any immigrant arrives into their new host country, it becomes critical to study where exactly they choose to live. Chiswick and Miller (2002:2) have defined three typical areas of settlement that immigrants gravitate towards; they are ports of entry such as airports, and historically harbors, the existence of co-ethnics such as friends and family, and the level of employment opportunity. Nearly all sources cite the importance of co-ethnics as an indicator of where immigrants will choose to settle, and many scholars highlight the importance of urban areas as areas with economic viability. Understanding the types of immigrants and their motivations for movement provides the context needed to understand the important role that ethnic enclaves play for immigrants during their integration into a new host society.

Furthermore, it helps us realize why cities such as Columbus would create reports intended to welcome, study, and to an extent, flaunt the immigrant populations that contribute to their local economic sector.

Important Components of Ethnic Enclaves

Many scholars investigate the principal factors that affect the type of influence that ethnic enclaves have on immigrants; these are immigrants' level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachment to certain racial or ethnic groups, and the amount of time they have spent in their new host country. In order to unpack the immigrant identity, it is critical to understand the various factors that contribute to the existence of ethnic enclaves, as well as the different levels of integration that immigrants may or may not experience due to such factors.

Language Proficiency

There are many debates among scholars on the importance of language proficiency for immigrants living in ethnic enclaves. Chiswick and Miller (2002:4) argue that language proficiency is not necessary for all immigrants living in an ethnic enclave since earlier arrivals and those who learn the language quickly will “serve as either direct or indirect translators for communication between the enclave and the host society.” They note that low levels of language proficiency are due to the “communication costs” associated with the time, money, and mental strain required to learn a new language (Chiswick and Miller 2002:3). Furthermore, they posit that although enclaves may hinder language acquisition, immigrants will be able to better maintain “their mother tongue and ethnic culture” in subsequent generations (Chiswick and Miller 2004:1). However, this is by far the minority perspective, as most other scholars put a strong emphasis on language proficiency as a quantifiable indicator of successful integration.

Iceland and Scopilliti (2008) perceive a direct correlation between language acquisition and integration. They note, “as immigrants make gains in socioeconomic status, such as through increases in income and English language ability... they translate these gains into improvement in their spatial location” (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008:80). This is largely because the level of language proficiency that immigrants have not only allows them to connect with social networks of the host society, but also allows them access to their local job markets. Lack of language proficiency can lower immigrants’ efficiency within the employment sector and can lead to “discrimination in the labor market by the native population” (Chiswick and Miller 2002:9).

Employment Status

As immigrants improve their employment status and income level, they gain greater socioeconomic mobility, which eventually may afford them the power and independence to move out of their ethnic enclaves. However, this can be a slow process as many immigrants face barriers when entering into the labor force or increasing their income level. Alba and Foner (2015:47) describe the *immigrant bargain*, “the initial willingness to accept low-level jobs, such as cleaning floors, in exchange for the possibility of future advances, even when immigrants arrive with education and professional qualifications that brought significant status in their home societies.” Others call this the *taxi driver syndrome*, and most economists would label this ‘immigrant bargain’ as underemployment (Alba and Foner 2015:61). First-generation immigrants tend to observe the *immigrant bargain* with the hope that following generations will succeed more in the economic sector. However, immigrants’ lack of social mobility tends to confine them to ethnic enclaves, so that they still have access to other social, cultural, and economic resources provided by the enclaves in lieu of economic dependence.

Many first- and second-generation immigrants are greatly involved in the entrepreneurial sector of business. In the Columbus MSA, there are an estimated 974 foreign-owned establishments (Columbus 2014:40). The scholars “call *ethnic goods* the consumption characteristics of an immigrant/ethnic group not shared with the host population, broadly defined to include market and non-market goods and services” (Chiswick and Miller 2002:5). They also have created the *ethnic goods hypothesis*, which reasons that *ethnic goods* encourage ethnic enclave development. This is because co-ethnics will want to sell and buy these goods at a low cost, which requires that the consumer base of these goods be in close proximity to the producers. Thus, “*ethnic goods* can create different patterns of immigrant enclaves” (2002:6).

Alba and Foner (2015:64) remark on the benefits of entrepreneurship for immigrants as “an escape hatch from the condemnation to the bottom of the employment ladder,” but they caution that these trends should not be “overdrawn” as a solution to all immigrant populations’ problems in the labor market. While immigrant entrepreneurs can rely on family and other co-ethnics to help operate their small business, they “tend to put in long hours of hard work, [while] profits are often low, and the failure rate is high” (Alba and Foner 2015: 64). The risky nature of entrepreneurship and many barriers in the labor market have systemically disenfranchised immigrants and hindered their integration into mainstream society. Thus, many immigrants have turned to education as a way to gain social mobility and, eventually, to move outside of ethnic enclaves.

Education Level

Educational attainment has widely been used as an indicator of immigrant integration, and Bartel (1989:390) cites a correlation between the increasing level of immigrant educational attainment and decreasing level of geographical concentration with co-ethnics. Musterd

(2011:377) agrees, observing that higher educated immigrants' "spatial behavior does not generally reflect efforts to strengthen [their] own ethnic identities in ever-stronger enclaves." This supports the common understanding that education is linked to the likelihood that immigrants would reside in an ethnic enclave. However, just as easily as education can lead to a way out of enclaves, its lack can equally restrict immigrants to permanent disenfranchisement.

Public education is crucial in preparing the next generation, including immigrants, to occupy positions in society. Unfortunately, public education can "play a major role in generating, indeed perpetuating, inequalities in a new generation" by allowing systemic marginalization of immigrant children through school (Alba and Foner 2015:170). Since public school systems in the United States are funded locally through property tax, the quality of those public schools is dependent on local community wealth. This has caused "stark inequalities among U.S. primary and secondary schools," with even greater effects on ethnic enclaves (Alba and Foner 2015:173).

Income Level

Zhou (1999:27) warns that these economic struggles and low-income levels can lead to "permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass" of society. Iceland (2009:27) would agree as his '*ethnic retention*' and '*ethnic disadvantage*' models also warn that low levels of income, power, and opportunity are influential enough to hinder integration, despite "increasing knowledge of the language of the new country and familiarity with its culture and customs." Based on this model, structural barriers, institutional disenfranchisement, and discriminatory practices by the native population create insurmountable barriers for immigrants to ever attain full integration (Iceland 2009:28). Therefore, socioeconomic success and increases in income levels are extraordinarily important for immigrant integration. Sometimes, living in an ethnic enclave creates economic disadvantages that can delay such progression. Ultimately, this can

differ from one immigrant enclave to another, which is why it is imperative to study ethnic enclaves at the meso-level instead of creating broad assumptions.

Specific Racial or Ethnic Group

The specific racial or ethnic group that characterizes an ethnic enclave has a large effect on the perception of the enclave by native populations and can significantly hinder the integration process. This is especially true when groups have visible differences from the native population, such as variations of skin color or cultural and religious expressions. Historically, African Americans and immigrants of African descent have faced the most severe difficulties of integrating into mainstream American society. Massey (2007:110) coined the term *hypersegregation* to refer to these “extremely high levels of residential segregation between whites and blacks” that are “reinforced by racism and discrimination in the real-estate industry, banking institutions, and the everyday acts of individuals.” Zhou (1999:988) notes that the skin color of immigrants often defines how native populations treat them and “may become a handicap, creating additional barriers en route to upward mobility.” These visible differences can also severely limit immigrants to ethnic enclaves as native populations, seeking to maintain homogeneity, bar immigrants from residing in their neighborhoods.

Amount of Time in the Native Country

Over time, all immigrant populations increase their levels of integration with their host country. Typically, this is viewed largely as a natural process that occurs gradually. U.S. Census Bureau data suggests that African Americans in the United States have experienced substantial declines in residential segregation from whites between 1980 and 2000 as evidenced by their 0.13 decrease of *dissimilarity index* (Iceland 2009:49). There is widespread consensus by various scholars (Alba and Foner 2015; White and Glick 1999) that view ethnic enclaves as temporary

way stations that give immigrant populations the support and access to resources that they need to eventually leave their ethnic enclaves and integrate into the native population.

Musterd (2011:376) argues that the ethnic enclaves give immigrants initial support from kin and co-ethnics, many of whom speak their mother tongue, and provide culturally familiar stores and institutions. However, Alba and Foner (2015:69) counter that the ethnic enclaves that immigrants tend to live in are largely disadvantaged due to isolation, poverty from lack of access to economic resources, and an “inadequate” supply of “basic communal institutions, such as supermarkets, banks, and safe play areas for youngsters.” The authors reason that these disadvantages give immigrants strong motivation to “leave the ethnic enclave for other areas when they have economic resources and mainstream language skills to do so” (Alba and Foner 2015:68).

White and Glick (1999:363) used a *dissimilarity index* to study *vintage groups* of immigrant populations by oldest to youngest ethnic groups to compare levels of integration. Generally, they found that the longer an *ethnic vintage group* has resided in the United States, the smaller their *dissimilarity index*. Most immigrants of European descent, specifically the waves of Irish immigrants during the early 1900s, had low indexes of 0.2 and 0.3, while newer *vintage groups*, from Mexico, Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic had much higher indexes of 0.6 and even 0.9 (White and Glick 1999:360). However, White and Glick (1999:361) realize that this method of analyzing immigrants’ integration levels is flawed, by noting that African Americans, who were forcibly relocated to the United States before the Irish, maintain an index of 0.6, which is similar to those *vintage groups* who arrived less than 20 years ago. African American populations, while still *hypersegregated* compared to immigrant populations of similar *vintage*, have nonetheless become less so over time. These scholars reinforce the notion that all

immigrant populations increase their levels of integration over time as they gain power and independence to, ultimately, move out of their ethnic enclaves and integrate into their native population.

The Second Generation – *Segmented Assimilation*

Perhaps the most important indicators of successful immigrant integration can be found by studying second-generation immigrants. Alba and Foner (2015:90) note the importance of studying inter-generational immigrant trends by questioning, “if the [first] immigrant generation often stays within enclaves, we have to ask whether the next generation is able to leave them.” As we have learned, the developments of the second generation can be measured through immigrants’ level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachments to certain racial or ethnic groups, and the amount of time that they have spent in their new host country. Other, more quantifiable measures, such as rates of intermarriage and *dissimilarity indexes* can also be used to measure levels of immigrant integration (Iceland 2009:125).

Utilizing *dissimilarity indexes* can be particularly useful, as investigating residential segregation between immigrant populations, native populations, and other immigrant populations can yield significant insight onto the influences of ethnic enclaves. Iceland (2009:40) cites Massey and Denton’s (1988:75) five dimensions of segregation that help to unpack the complexities of residential segregation; they are evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, and clustering. *Evenness* measures a population’s distribution across neighborhoods; *exposure* measures the homogeneity of a neighborhood; *concentration* measures population density; *centralization* measures the distance of a neighborhood from the city center; and *clustering* measures the closeness of neighborhoods with similar populations (Iceland

2009:40). It is critical to study these dimensions simultaneously, as each ethnic enclave is different; some enclaves are mobile, and whole communities may relocate within a city. A sudden influx of one population could either increase the *concentration* of an ethnic enclave, or contribute to increased *clustering*. Studying the differences between the developments of ethnic enclaves allows us to better understand why some immigrant populations experience different inter-generational outcomes than others.

Zhou (1999:984) introduces one of the most popular, contemporary theories by explaining these various outcomes as *segmented assimilation*. In studying individual- and structural-level factors, *segmented assimilation* recognizes the “divergent destinies” of immigrants’ integration process and “attempts to explain what determines into which segment of American society a particular immigrant group may assimilate” (Zhou 1999:983). In essence, this theory can explain why some immigrant populations remain in ethnic enclaves and why some do not. *Segmented assimilation* is largely applied to second-generation immigrants, who can selectively decide to retain or reject various components of either their racial/ethnic or American identity. For Zhou, these outcomes “can be a matter of smooth acceptance or of traumatic confrontation,” which is why studying the immigrant identity can be so telling of their ability to integrate into their host society (Zhou 1999:999).

The Navigation of Identity

The immigrant identity is significantly influenced by the ethnic enclave in which it is created, with the second generation being particularly sensitive to this transition. Iceland (2009:17) comments that the “[e]thnic identity is more likely to be reinforced by living in a region with many...co-ethnics than by living in one with few.” While this may be true to some extent, it is difficult to verify since surveying the immigrant identity can be challenging. In

contrast, Iceland, White and Glick (1999:350) offer that the immigrant identity can be “fluid” since their experiences with the host country can “spur the evolution of ethnic identity” and cause immigrants to identify themselves more broadly. The authors consider the multiple categories and subcategories of race and ethnicity by the U.S. Census Bureau as an inclusive measure of a new American identity (White and Glick 1999:351).

Alba and Foner (2015:199) also believe in the fluidity of the immigrant identity and add that it can be “hyphenated, that is, combined with other ethnic labels in socially acceptable ways.” Additionally, they understand that the immigrant identity “can be fluid and situational, often shifting from one context to another” (Alba and Foner 2015:198). These scholars explain that in the United States, merging a racial/ethnic identity with “Americanness” is acceptable and even encouraged. Iceland (2009:133) provides good examples of this by referencing a clumping and ‘blurring’ of the immigrant identity among second-generation Chinese and Korean populations. He observes that some of these youths live in close proximity to one another and more broadly label themselves as Asian American, while still retaining their specific ethnic attachments to China and Korea (Iceland 2009:134). Thus, second- and subsequent-generation immigrants typically embrace a multifaceted identity with a unique plurality. This allows them to integrate into their host society without sacrificing components of their racial or ethnic identity. The inclusivity of the immigrant identity is a distinctive component of the United States that enables just about anyone to become ‘(insert racial/ethnic identity)-American.’ This, however, is not the case in France, where deeply entrenched notions of national identity have made it more difficult for immigrants to integrate into mainstream French society.

The Universalist, French Model

Unlike the United States, France has never been known as a *settler society* and, until recently, has never experienced any type of mass, international immigration. Immigration is not a core component of the French, or even European, identity, and their model for immigrant integration differs from that of the United States in many distinct ways. For example, the French census does not collect any data on race or ethnicity and instead, strongly emphasizes that immigrants integrate into the French national identity by adopting the French language, culture, customs, lifestyle, and habits. In large part, this Universalist model of understanding the French identity is in rejection to Nazi Germany's elitist ideology concerning 'race' (Alba and Foner 2015:103). However, by distancing themselves from any discourse surrounding race and ethnicity, new immigrants have fewer ways to identify themselves, and the immigrant experience has become more assimilationist and less integrative. Alba and Foner (2015:218) have even remarked that the European "ethnic and national identities tend to be cast in a competitive, or zero-sum, situation" where immigrants must choose between their ethnic or racial identity, and the national identity of their host country.

Although it could be argued that integrating into the French identity is more difficult than integrating into the American identity, France is less residentially segregated than the United States. Immigrants in France experience "extreme regional concentration" and tend to locate themselves in big cities; Paris is home to 40% of the nation's immigrants and an additional 20% reside near Lyon and Marseille (Alba and Foner 2015:72). Yet within these cities, French immigrants live in '*banlieues*' that are "quite diverse and home to many poor and working-class native French...[and] they are by no means as impoverished in institutional terms as some inner-city American neighborhoods" (Alba and Foner 2015:84). Alba and Foner (2015:85) go on to

note that Paris is surprisingly unsegregated, as only 14 of their over 1,000 neighborhoods are characterized by a non-European immigrant majority. However, the data to support these claims are largely speculative, and most independent French data collection groups do not consider second-generation immigrants, which could significantly change our understanding of the racial and ethnic makeup of French *'banlieues.'*

Because of France's comprehensive welfare system, French immigrants are not as institutionally disadvantaged compared to American immigrants, since France has fairly comprehensive welfare systems. Low wage work only comprises 11% of the French employment sector, while in the United States it is 25%, and France's *salair minimum inter-professionnel de croissance* protects these laborers by maintaining a relatively high minimum wage (Alba and Foner 2015:51). While France is somewhat lacking in job creation, their immigrants tend to fare better than American immigrants in the economic sector. Furthermore, immigrants have access to France's universal healthcare system, whereas American immigrants receive next to no healthcare support. France also begins public education at age two and a half with *école maternelle*, which can help immigrant children greatly with their language proficiency skills (Alba and Foner 2015:175). Yet to this day, prestigious secondary-education systems, such as the *grandes écoles* that are the equivalent of Ivy League educations in the United States, remain largely unattainable for immigrant populations in France. This is because students must complete two years of specialized study after passing the *baccalauréat*, the mandatory university entrance exam, before even attempting the entrance exams for the *grandes écoles* (Alba and Foner 2015:186). The United States does not have national qualifying exams for university entry, and affirmative action programs allow underrepresented populations further access to post secondary

education. Therefore, the American post-secondary education system is more diverse than that of the French.

In France, *laïcité* is a core component of the French national identity, Constitution, and of the public's expectations. The concept of *laïcité* in France extends beyond secularism, or the separation of religion and state, and many would argue that *laïcité* represents the freedom from the influence of religion. Recently, France has experienced an influx of immigrants who practice Islam. Some Muslim women wear headscarves, hijabs, and burkas as visible expressions of their religious identity, and this has been met with widespread criticism and controversy from French policy makers and the French public (Alba and Foner 2015:122). In 2004, French law banned "conspicuous religious symbols and dress in public schools" that targeted Muslim populations, and a 2005 survey found that 89% of the French population agreed that "a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in their respective countries was a bad thing, with many worried that it would prevent integration and lead to violence" (Alba and Foner 2015:123). This law demonstrates France's institutional discrimination against certain religions and shows the parallels between France's divisiveness on religion and America's issues with race.

The French identity demands that "[a]t a minimum, ethnic characteristics are supposed to be muted in the public sphere; individuals are expected to become part of the French nation as individuals, not as groups defined by a common ethnicity or religion" (Alba and Foner 2015:201). These notions have only been compounded following high profile, terrorist attacks in Europe that have fueled the popularity of leaders, such as Marine Le Pen, who belong to right-wing movement. This resistance to a 'blurred' ethnic/racial identity along with a national identity is characterized by assimilation theory, which requires the destruction of certain portions of the racial or ethnic identity in order to fully integrate into a new host society. Native French

populations are very unwilling to accept new immigrants into their mainstream society unless certain linguistic, cultural, religious, and educational qualifications are met; thus it can be argued that France has a stricter notion of national identity than the United States.

Conclusion

It is important to understand the various contexts that create and characterize the ethnic enclaves that modern day immigrants inhabit. There are many different historical, political, social, cultural, economic, educational, religious, and linguistic components of a country that frame the impact that ethnic enclaves have on the immigrant experience. By studying the intersectionalities of these various components, we can unpack the ways that enclaves influence immigrants' navigation of personal and national identity. Ultimately, this discussion will allow us to better understand the immigrant integration process.

CHAPTER II. THEORY

Introduction

Immigration is a broad term, used to describe the movement of people from one area to another. There are a whole variety of situations that motivate people to immigrate, which in turn creates undeniable diversity of the immigrant identity. Thus, it becomes critical to understand the larger, systemic trends that motivate people to immigrate, as these trends contextualize the immigrant integration process into a new host society and influence a host society's receptivity to new immigrants. In order to explore this complex phenomenon of immigration, this research study utilizes the theoretical lenses of social theory at two, different levels of theoretical analysis. Beginning at the macro-level of analysis, theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) devised the world-systems approach to study the history and social developments of the world, an approach that Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas Hall (1997) developed further. Next, at the meso-level of analysis, is *segmented assimilation* theory by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993), which delineates three outcomes for immigrants as they integrate into their new host society: assimilate into the underclass, adapt through a bicultural identity, and assimilate into middle-class, mainstream society. By implementing this theatrical framework, I hope to better understand the movement of immigrants before they settle into a new host society, as this contextualizes the immigrant integration process once people arrive to a new host country.

Targeting the meso-level of analysis allows us to follow the movement of people around the world and their interaction with different societies, cultures, and nations. World-system theory analyzes the interactions of Capitalism between actors within the world-system (Wallerstein 2011:348). This theory was originally conceived to understand the rise of the modern, Capitalist system, which Wallerstein tracks from the 16th century to modern day.

Through this lens, we can discern the various influences and motivations for the mass movement of people within the world-system. Once people arrive in a new country as immigrants, refugees, or asylum seekers, they begin the process of integration into their host society.

Portes and Zhou (1993) provide a modern, complex, and inclusive theory that examines the immigrant integration process through *segmented assimilation* theory. This theory is widely cited, as it effectively combines existing literature and theory by other authors to explain the varying levels of integration that immigrants experience after arriving into a new host society. Previously, theorists would focus their theoretical analysis on one type of immigrant, a specific ethnic group, or a specific generation of immigrant. Yet these theories failed to encompass the diverse experiences of modern day immigrants and made it difficult to study larger immigrant populations, as a whole. The framework of *segmented assimilation* theory has been cited and expanded by many subsequent scholars, notably by John Iceland (2009) and Herbert Gans (2007). This meso-level of analysis helps us interpret the plurality of the immigrant identity once immigrants arrive into a new host country.

By drawing from several different theories at various levels of analysis, I have generated my own theoretical framework for the present study to ground and analyze the modern immigrant integration process. The process of immigrant integration begins with the sociocultural, economic, religious, and political contexts of the world-system that influence their movement and settlement into a new host society. Immigrants' levels of integration can be determined by various factors of life experience and may change through trends in subsequent generations. As such, it is imperative that we follow the various influences at the macro- and meso-levels of analysis to holistically explore the diverse outcomes of the immigrant integration process.

World-Systems Theory

Wallerstein presents the world-system as a dynamic, bounded system in which various, and often conflicting, forces interact to create advantages for themselves. All interactions in this model of the world-system are framed by Capitalism, which characterizes the world-economy and has only grown with the continued incorporation of actors into the system. Wallerstein (2011:348) argues “Capitalism as an economic mode is based on the fact that the economic factors operate within an arena larger than that which any political entity can totally control” and has allowed for “constant economic expansion of the world-system.” Unequal development between actors in the world-system has emerged due to relatively uncontrolled Capitalist and market-driven forces. According to Wallerstein (2011:348), the only way to sustain the Capitalist world-system, while still maintaining productivity, would be to institute “a socialist world government” to reintegrate “the levels of political and economic decision-making.” However, for the present and foreseeable future, this does not seem to be possible.

Together, there are three types of actors who create a power hierarchy within the world-system: they are core-states, peripheries, and semiperiphery areas (Wallerstein 2011:349). Core-states are the most powerful forces within the system; peripheries are weak and exist with little to no autonomy; and semiperiphery areas exist between these two in terms of the “complexity of economic activities, strength of the state machinery, [and] cultural integrity” (Wallerstein 2011:349). As these actors are constantly searching for ways to increase their revenue, Kardulias and Hall (2007:8) note that “[t]ypically, once [a] core-periphery differentiation has developed, core areas tend to exploit peripheries, with semiperipheries being exploited by core areas, yet exploiting peripheries in turn.” Since there is an incredible amount of competition amongst these actors, class groups, typically in the form of nationalism, emerge to build on the interests and

homogeneity of dominant core-states.

Wallerstein (2011:351) calls this emergence of class groups “class-consciousness,” which is when groups within the world-system begin to construct a cohesive identity and “operate...in the politico-economic arenas and even to some extent as a cultural entity.” What Wallerstein calls the “Capitalist class,” or “bourgeoisie,” begin to organize themselves to pursue their agendas, typically against other actors in the system. During the development of class-consciousness, we see groups defining their cultural traits through language, lifestyles, and religion. He emphasizes however, that this phenomenon is a social construction, and thus subject to change over time. Furthermore, he argues that groups’ identity constructions become strengthened and more exclusive in the face of conflict or threat (Wallerstein 2011:353). This mirrors Émile Durkheim’s understanding of society as *sui generis*, that the *collective consciousness* of a population will bond it together through shared beliefs, norms, ideas, and morality.

In order to explain how actors are brought into the world-system, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) invented the *continuum of incorporation* to map the interactions between core-states, peripheries, and semiperipheries. The *continuum of incorporation* measures the importance of the economic, political, and social interactions between these various actors. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997:61) explain that the varying “degree[s] of economic articulation” that impact incorporation are “the quality of goods transferred, the type of goods... the degree of centralization of the exchange process, and the relative importance of the transfer to each economy.” This highlights the impact of globalization and the free market economy’s influence to bring more actors into the world-system as producers and consumers. As the impact of actors on one another increases, so does their incorporation into the world-system, which in turn, allows certain dominant groups to exploit others within the system. Wallerstein (2011:357) ends his

description of the world-system by noting that “[e]xploitation and the refusal to accept exploitation as either inevitable or just constitute the continuing antinomy of the modern area, joined together in a dialectic which has far from reached its climax in the twentieth century.” Historically, we have seen instances where colonialist powers forcibly move people to exploit their human labor. Additionally, as the world has become increasingly globalized, there have been massive movements of people towards areas with more economic opportunity and viability than their own. These interactions within the world-system preface the large movement and displacement of people in the modern reaction to these structural disadvantages.

Segmented Assimilation Theory

Once people arrive into a new host society, they begin the immigrant integration process. Portes and Zhou (1993:82) describe this experience through their theory of *segmented assimilation*, which outlines three general outcomes that immigrants experience during their integration process. The outcomes are explicitly defined as follows:

One of them replicates the time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the middle-class; a second leads straight in the opposite direction to permanent poverty and assimilation into the underclass; still a third associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s values and tight solidarity (Portes and Zhou 1993:82).

The authors cite that the most important things that influence this process are government policy, the values and norms of the host society, and the specific characteristics of the ethnic enclave in which immigrants reside (Portes and Zhou 1993:83). By defining three distinct, different outcomes of immigrant integration, *segmented assimilation* provides a dynamic and universal method to analyze this process.

The first outcome explains the “straight line” assimilationist model that leads immigrants into middle-class, mainstream society. Generally, this trajectory encourages immigrants to shed

parts of their racial or ethnic identity in order to become accepted by the native population. In this way, portions of the immigrant identity are destroyed as immigrants abandon components of their original heritage in order to pursue economic and social success. The second outcome describes immigrants' permanent disenfranchisement and movement into the "underclass" of society. This outcome is in accordance with the *ethnic disadvantage* phenomenon, which argues that structural barriers, institutional disenfranchisement, and discriminatory practices by the native population are insurmountable, resulting in immigrant populations that are never fully able to integrate into their host society (Iceland and Scopilliti 2008:80). The final outcome is the most ideal and optimistic; it recognizes the plurality of the immigrant identity in conjunction with a newly formed national identity.

Gans (2007) expands this understanding of *segmented assimilation* by discussing the differences between *acculturation* and *assimilation*. He notes that *acculturation* often occurs unintentionally as immigrants adapt to their new, cultural environment (Gans 2007:154). This tends to happen with second- and subsequent-generation immigrants, as they grow up surrounded by various influences from the mainstream culture; these can include the media, education, and social influences. On the other hand, *assimilation* is virtually "impossible without the immigrants being formally or informally accepted by the non-immigrants whom they seek to join" (Gans 2007:154). This is a slow process that requires the native population to have "reasons or incentives to accept the immigrants" (Gans 2007:155). Gans (2007:154) remarks that immigrants' gains in assimilation do not necessarily translate to their mobility, or increases "of income, wealth, education, employment status and standard of living." However, increased mobility directly leads to acculturation and assimilation as immigrants develop their skills in the native population's language, cultural practices, leisure activities, and workplace norms (Gans

2007:158).

Portes and Zhou (1993:76) state that immigrants today differ from immigrants in the early and mid-twentieth century in two fundamental ways; the first is that modern waves of immigrants have visible differences of skin color, and the second is that in the post-industrial world, there are fewer opportunities for immigrants to join the working class and experience upward mobility in entry-level jobs. The authors also explain ethnic enclaves as a double-edged sword that can both support and isolate immigrants during their integration process. Since ethnic enclaves tend to be situated in lower-income residential areas, native populations begin to identify “the condition of both groups – immigrants and the native poor – as the same” (Portes and Zhou 1993:83). This can lead to resistance of the native population against the immigrant integration process. Conversely, there are vast amounts of resources that are “made available through networks of the co-ethnic community” (Portes and Zhou 1993:86). Immigrants in ethnic enclaves have access to important networks that allow them to exchange language, culture, knowledge, and goods, thereby integrating them into society while providing an ethnic haven.

Theoretical Framework for the Present Study

By merging world-system theory and *segmented assimilation* theory, I have developed a theoretical framework to trace the various influences that affect immigrant integration. This begins with the *continuum of incorporation*, which explains how different areas and states are pulled into the world-system. The impact of the world-system on actors increases through modernization and globalization. This in turn is what allows Capitalist forces to infiltrate into peripheral and semiperiphery areas and for core-states to exploit these areas for their resources and human capital. Ultimately, as areas are incorporated into the world-system, certain groups with power disproportionately benefit from the revenue generated from the world-economy and

this creates large disparities between actors within the world-system. A direct result of this world-system has been the movement of people from peripheries and semiperipheries to core-states in order to resist exploitation or in an effort to take advantage of certain benefits in the core.

As people immigrate to core-states, native populations fight to maintain their dominance and power by exerting influence on these people from peripheral and semiperiphery areas. Dominant groups develop class-consciousness, which defines strict boundaries of national identity regarding language, culture, and even religion. As immigrant groups from peripheral and semiperiphery areas are unlikely to share many, if any, of these aspects of identity with the native, dominant group, they develop ethnic enclaves, which provide them with important networks of economy, support, culture, and language, as well as access to resources and knowledge from other co-ethnics.

However, immigrants experience varying levels of integration into their host society based on the six factors that were outlined in the literature review section: immigrants' level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachment to a certain racial or ethnic group, and amount of time they have spent in their host country. Based on these six factors, immigrants can generally experience three different outcomes according to *segmented assimilation*. These are to assimilate into the underclass, adapt and integrate with a bicultural identity, and assimilate into the middle-class, mainstream culture.

I have created a *continuum of integration* that builds on Portes and Zhou's existing theories on the diverse outcomes of immigrants during the integration process. As immigrants achieve success with the six factors of the immigrant life experience, their strength of integration into their host society will increase. On the continuum, I argue that immigrants who experience assimilation into the underclass have "none to weak" levels of integration, as these populations

tend to remain isolated by components of their language, culture, economy, religion, and/or enclave. I suggest that immigrants with the outcome of a bicultural identity experience “moderate to strong” levels of integration into their host society, as the retention of the immigrant identity in conjunction with a newfound national identity is perhaps the most desirable outcome. However, some immigrants may still be viewed as “others” by the native population for this lack of total homogeneity. Finally, immigrants who assimilate into the mainstream middle-class culture of their host society experience “strong” levels of integration as they succeed in all six factors that influence the immigrant life experience. However, these immigrants may experience a loss of ethnic or racial identity that is sometimes viewed as a negative consequence resulting from the immigrant integration process. Below is a depiction of these interactions and the theoretical framework that this research study employs.

Figure 1 – Theoretical Framework for Present Study

Figure 1.1 - Continuum of Incorporation into World-System (Hall 1986, 1989; Chase-Dunn 1997)

Strength of Incorporation	None	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Impact of Core on Periphery	None	Strong	Stronger	Strongest
Impact of Periphery on Core	None	Low	Moderate	Strong

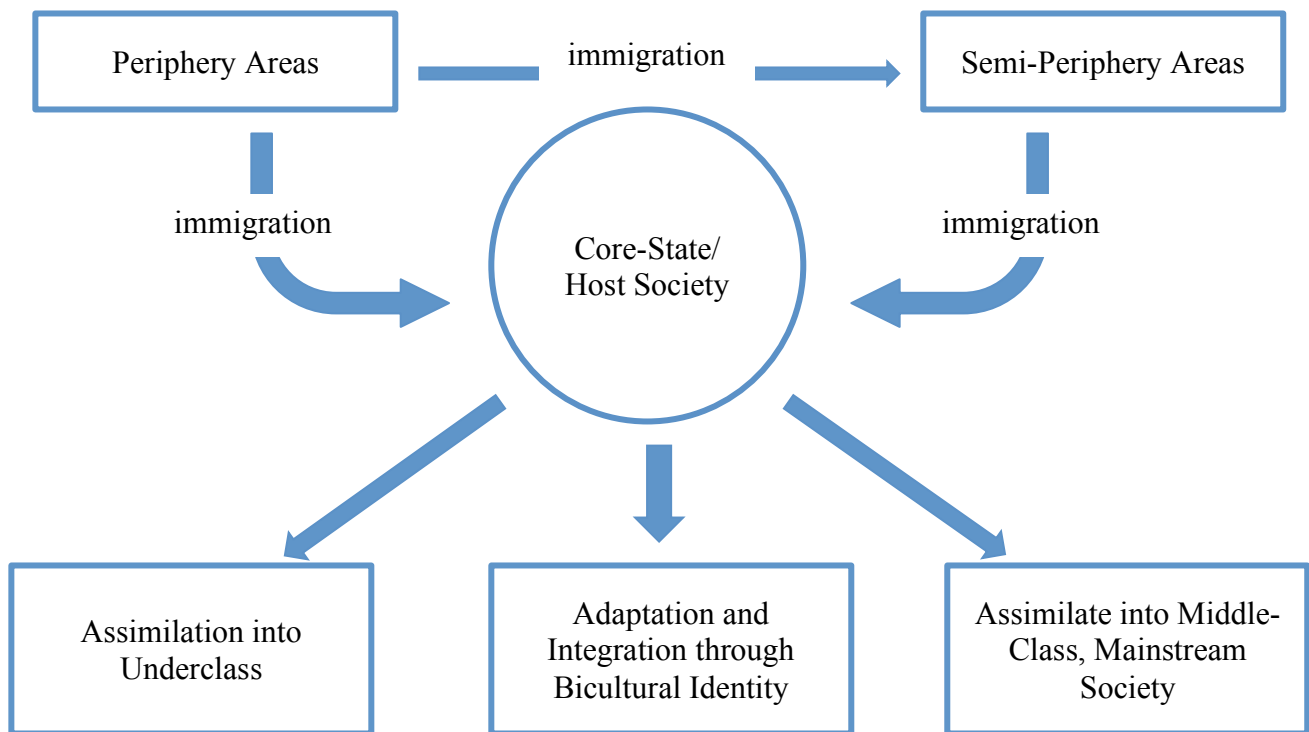


Figure 1.2 - Continuum of Integration into Core-State/Host Society (adapted from Portes and Zhou 1993)



Strength of Integration is Based on 6 Factors of Immigrant Life Experience:

1. level of language proficiency of the host country
2. employment status
3. education level
4. income level
5. specific attachment to certain racial and/or ethnic groups
6. amount of time spent in the host country

Conclusion

Incorporating these theories into one, comprehensive framework to examine the immigrant integration process provides a uniform method of analysis. World-systems theory allows for a macro-level analysis of how societies interact with one another through Capitalism, which creates the influences that motivate or displace people from their counties of origin. Understanding the dynamics between such large world actors helps us better conceptualize the structural influences on the immigrant integration process. *Segmented assimilation* theory works at the meso-level of analysis and allows for a complex understanding of the diverse outcomes that immigrants may experience during integration. In realizing the intersections of the six factors of the immigrant life experience, we can create a comprehensive explanation for all immigrant populations. In this way, we avoid the drawbacks of many past theoretical approaches that too often broadly generalized the immigrant experience and failed to account for the plurality of the immigrant identity. As people continue to move around the world, it becomes critical to create a system of analysis that can be used to understand the experiences of all immigrants across different variables of time, people, and location.

CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In order to examine the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' integration into an urban environment, I interviewed members of various communities in Columbus, Ohio to gain a holistic, critical view of immigrant perceptions of ethnic enclaves and their own identity. By directly asking members of ethnic enclaves about their understanding of these topics, we can better understand the true influence of enclaves on the immigrant integration experience. Furthermore, we can trace the navigation and formation of personal and national identities of immigrants in the United States.

Before I began my research study, I submitted a proposal to an Institutional Review Board: The College of Wooster's Human Subjects Research Committee (HSRC) and was approved to begin interviews on October 20, 2016 (see Appendix A). I applied to The Henry J. Copeland Fund to travel to France to conduct supplemental interviews of French specialists and immigrants, but did not receive funds. I was still able to conduct one interview with a French refugee via Facebook Video Chat, however, and successfully conducted six interviews with immigrants living in Columbus, Ohio.

The Participants

I specifically intended to interview immigrants across different variables of age, gender, race, and ethnicity in order to gain a comprehensive analysis of the function of ethnic enclaves in the Columbus area. In order to find participants for my research study, I contacted various non-profit organizations in the Columbus area that provide refugee and immigrant services. Unfortunately, after my initial contact with them, many organizations seemed disinterested or too busy to engage in my research study. I consulted with a professor at Denison University, who has

worked with similar populations in Columbus, and she told me that this disinterest on the part of nonprofits could be because they know that many refugees and immigrants feel “over studied” by academics, the city, and other organizations. I was unable to maintain contact with these nonprofit organizations, such as US Together and Columbus Refugee and Immigrant Services (CRIS), and devised a new plan to recruit participants for my research study.

I utilized the search engine, Google, to locate ethnic shops in the Columbus area. I felt that immigrants who owned ethnic shops would be easy to approach as potential participants in my research study, and I compiled an initial list of 21 shops to visit. I was only able to visit 17 stores in total, some of which were not on this initial list, as I would occasionally drive past a shop that was not on the list and spontaneously approach it. During these shop visits, I walked in by myself and asked the nearest cashier if I could speak with a store manager. If the store manager was not present, I would talk to the cashier or leave, depending on the demeanor of the person to whom I was talking. I would then explain my project and ask if they, or someone from their shop, would be interested in participating in my research study. I handed each person with whom I talked an Information Sheet (See Appendix B), which included my contact information, the abstract for my study, and the Consent Form. In total, I had nine positive interactions, which I define as a continual contact by phone, email, or a secondary shop visit, from these locations. From this pool of participants, three formal interviews were conducted, and one informal interview was conducted.

In order to increase the number of participants in my study, my advisor, Dr. Kardulias, connected me with Aileen Heiser, the Budget Management Officer for the City of Columbus and an alumnus of The College of Wooster. I spoke with Aileen over the phone to introduce her to my project, which led to further email correspondence. Aileen was very helpful and gave me the

contact information of some of her coworkers and friends who live in the Columbus area and may have been interested in participating in my study. In total, she gave me the information of five individuals. I had positive interactions with three of these people and was able to successfully interview all three via telephone interview.

The one participant who I interviewed via Facebook Video Chat is a refugee who I met in France while I studied abroad. I corresponded with him via Facebook Messenger, which is our primary mode of communication. I introduced him to my research project and gave him the same Information Sheet that I gave to prospective participants in Columbus. He agreed to participate in my research study and we arranged a time that worked for both of us, given the challenge of negotiating two time zones.

The Interviews

Once I found people to participate in my research study, we agreed upon a time and place of their choosing to meet, as I wanted them to feel comfortable during the interview. For those interviews conducted via phone call or video chat, we agreed upon a time to speak based around our schedules. Before conducting each interview, the participant was asked to read and sign, if possible, a consent form (see Appendix B). The consent form gave participants a description of the research study, and explained that participants could discontinue their participation at any point during the interview process. By signing this consent form, and by agreeing to participate in my research study, participants agreed to discuss their ethnic, racial, cultural, and national identity, other information pertaining to ethnic enclaves, and, broadly, the immigrant integration process. Participants also affirmed that they were at least 18 years old when they signed the consent form. At this time, pseudonyms were created to maintain the confidentiality of participants. I created these pseudonyms to identify each participant, and they were labeled in the

order in which I interviewed them. Each participant was given a code that described his or her ethnicity, race, and/or nationality. For example, the first person I interviewed identifies as Nepali-Bhutanese and their pseudonym is “Participant #1 – NP.” In this way, I feel the pseudonyms represent an important aspect of each individual’s identity, while also remaining unbiased and consistent across all participants.

I began every interview with basic demographic and background questions to inquire about each immigrant’s individual identity (Appendix C). Subsequent questions were open-ended and can be grouped into three categories: discussion of ethnic enclaves, non-profit involvement, and identity construction. These latter questions often led to broader discussions that were outside the scope of the original question, but still generated important insights for the interview. I first asked if participants perceived the influence of ethnic enclaves as particularly advantageous or disadvantageous to either them or the people living in those communities. Then I explored their involvement with local non-profits and the services and resources that they have access to through these organizations. Finally, I asked participants to discuss their own racial, ethnic, and national identities.

This format was followed for each interview. All interviews were recorded with a recording device, my iPhone 5s, and labeled under a pseudonym to protect each participant’s confidentiality. However, there was one participant who did not consent to audio recording of the interview, and I took written notes that guided my write up of that interview. Another unintended obstacle presented itself upon the completion of my interview with the French refugee. As I moved to save the audio recording on my iPhone, my device froze and saved a file that was a mere five seconds long. Unfortunately, I lost my audio recording from this important interview,

but was able to complete a write up of the conversation to send to the participant for data verification. The participant made mild edits and returned the document to my possession.

I fully transcribed all the interviews and immediately destroyed audio recordings upon the completion of the transcriptions. I selectively chose to incorporate portions of each interview into my data and analysis sections based on their relevance to my theoretical model, which is detailed in Chapter 2. This method of data collection allows for a qualitative analysis of complex topics such as ethnic enclaves and identity, which are both dynamic, intangible, and variable. Through interviews, participants were able to share their personal narratives and, as an interviewer, I was able to expand upon relevant topics as they arose.

Quantitative Data

To contextualize the various ethnic communities that exist in the Columbus area, I have also incorporated quantitative data into my research study. In recent years, the City of Columbus, in conjunction with several large nonprofit organizations, such as US Together, CRIS, and Columbus Council on World Affairs, have funded reports that study the immigrant and refugee populations in Columbus. In my data section, I utilize two such reports. The first, *The Global Report 2014-2015: Measuring global fluency in Greater Columbus*, was funded by the Columbus Council on World Affairs and the City of Columbus and examines the size of the city's immigrant population, as well as the economic impact of these immigrants. The second, *Impact of Refugees in Central Ohio – 2015 Report*, was funded through US Together, CRIS, World Relief Columbus, and the City of Columbus and provides a profile of various refugee populations and their social and economic impacts on the city. I also utilized United States Census Bureau data to supplement these findings.

The specific data set that this research study utilizes was generated through the American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS is part of the “the Census Bureau's Population Estimates Program that produces and disseminates the official estimates of the population for the nation, states, counties, cities and towns and estimates of housing units for states and counties.” (United States). It is important to include this meso-scale, quantitative data to help supplement and situate the personal narratives collected through the interview process.

Conclusion

Through these methods of data collection, I have gathered useful information to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant integration process. This data fits within the theoretical framework developed in the literature and theory chapters to provide a comprehensive study of the impact of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant experience. These personal accounts directly supplement and explain the systemic trends outlined by current scholars and allow for a fresh viewpoint on the immigrant identity.

CHAPTER IV. DATA

Introduction

In an increasingly globalized world, it is critically important to study the exchange of culture, language, knowledge, and people, and how these exchanges influence the modern immigrant experience. Many immigrants choose to live in ethnic enclaves, as these neighborhoods may provide them with networks of social capital, language, culture, knowledge, and goods. In order to study the influence of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant experience and identity, I have collected interviews to voice the insights of immigrants living in the Columbus, Ohio area and France. Additional quantitative data was collected from two Columbus reports on immigrant and refugee populations and some data collected from the US Census Bureau to contextualize these interviews within the broader narrative of Columbus' diverse population. This data allows for a deeper exploration of the diverse experiences associated with the immigrant integration process.

This chapter begins with a short summary of Columbus' immigrant and refugee population to preface the data collected through interviews. Following is an introduction to the seven participants and an explanation of their attributed pseudonyms. Many themes have emerged from the interview data and they have been organized into the subsequent sections: historical migrations to Columbus, the role of ethnic enclaves, the importance of ethnic shops, education as uplifting, language as crucial, a discussion of nonprofits and other organizations, the functions of religion, encounters with prejudice, an exploration of the current political climate, and insights on identity construction.

Findings

City of Columbus – Census Data

According to data from the ACS, Columbus was estimated to have a total foreign-born population of 93,985 people in 2015, representing 11.4% of Columbus' total population (United States 2017). Of this foreign-born population, 27.6% identified as “White,” 31.9% as “Black or African American,” 30.3% as “Asian,” 20.8% as “Hispanic or Latino,” and 8.5% identified as “Some other race.” However, these numbers do not account for second, third, or subsequent generations. In a report, the Columbus Council on World Affairs does note generational populations, estimating that in 2013, the Columbus MSA had an almost equal number, 150,297, of first-generation immigrants, as there were second-generation immigrants (Columbus 2014:13). This report also notes that the top foreign country of birth for Columbus immigrants was India, followed by Mexico, China, and then Ghana, but notes, “if the Census Bureau reported all countries of birth, Somalia would likely rank 3rd or 4th” (2014:10).

Columbus' immigrant population has experienced rapid growth in the past couple of decades, which many attribute to the city's vitality and economic success. By some estimates, “half of Ohio's foreign-born population came to the United States in the last 15 years” (2014:3). A large number of those, about 16,500 between 1983 and 2014, have been settled as refugees (US Together 2015:20). Of the total refugee population, 53.5% are Somali and 16.8% are originally from Bhutan (2015:22). Both of these populations have experienced secondary migration, which was reported as the reason for resettlement by 37% of all refugees from a refugee household survey conducted in 2015 (2015:20). Thus, many immigrants have intentionally moved to or resettled in Columbus.

Refugees in Columbus have a strong rate of entrepreneurship, about 13.6%, which is over double the native born rate of 6.5% (2015:3). The Columbus Council on World Affairs (2014:40) projects that there are 974 foreign-owned establishments in the Columbus metro area. With regards to education, immigrants tend to be either undereducated or professionally educated. According to ACS data, 23.1% of Columbus' foreign-born have less education than a high school graduate compared to 9.7% of the native born. However, 17% of foreign-born have attained a graduate or professional degree compared to 11% of the native born (United States 2017). Furthermore, ACS data suggests that both foreign-born and native born experience very similar rates of employment. For example, 69.7% of native born and 69.5% foreign-born are in the labor force, 64.2% of native born and 64.6% of foreign-born are employed, and 5.5% of native born and 4.9% of foreign-born are unemployed (United States 2017).

The following maps help depict the narrative of immigrant populations in Columbus. Figure 2 (Reece et al. 2012:84) explains the neighborhood trends and boundaries of Columbus, Ohio. Figure 3 (Reece et al. 2012:35) presents the changes in Columbus' foreign-born population in vignettes from 1970 until 2005/2009. As shown, there has been a considerable increase in the city's foreign-born population between 2000 and 2005/2009. Columbus' modern, foreign-born population tends to reside in the "Eastside," "Northeast," "Northside," "Inner West," and "Outer West."

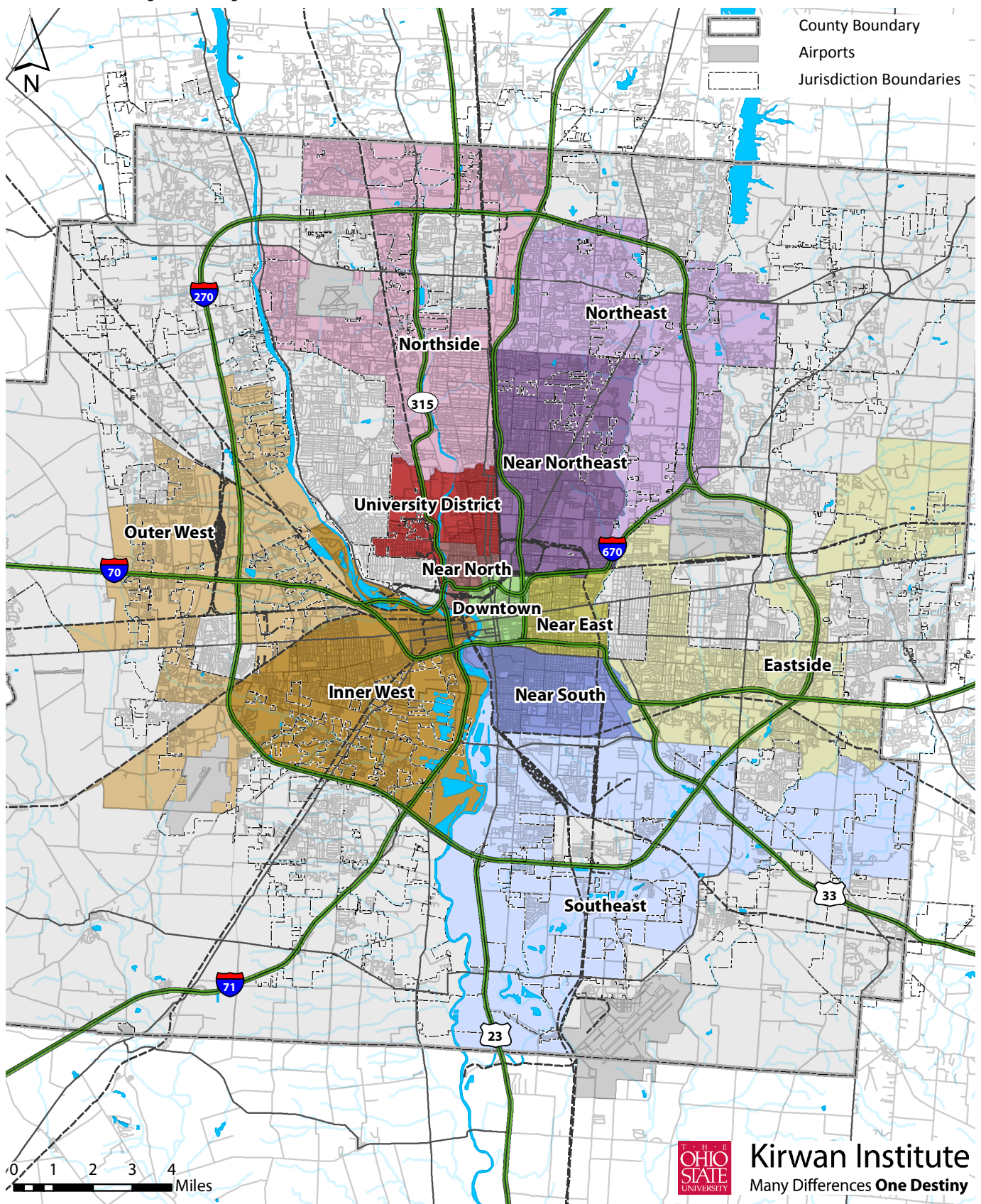


Figure 2 – Columbus Neighborhood Region Map (Reece et al. 2012)

Foreign Born Population 1970 to 05/09

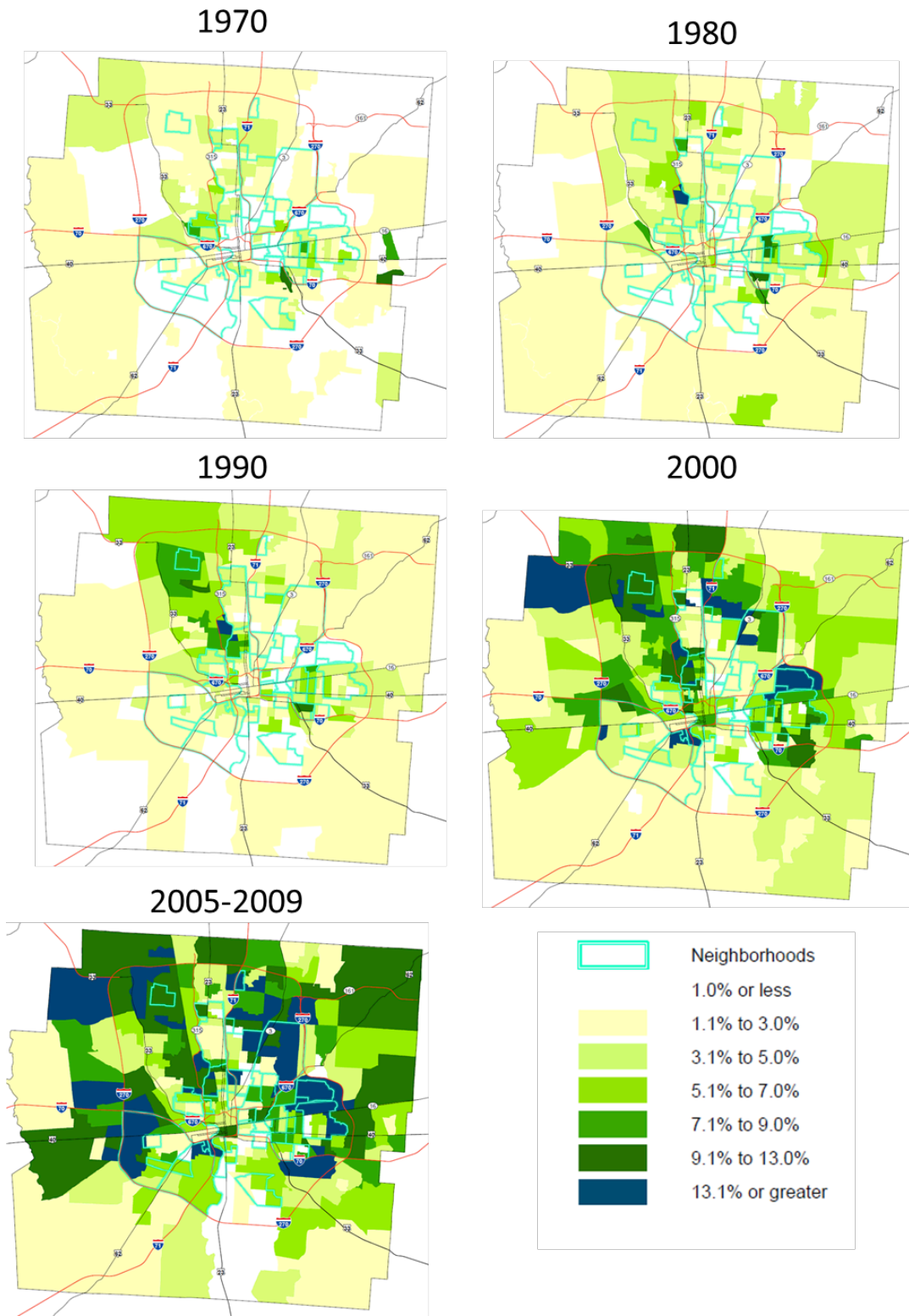


Figure 3 – Columbus Foreign Born Population Distribution 1970 to 2005/2009 (Reece et al. 2012)

The Participants

In total, there are seven participants in my research study. All of the participants were male and first generation immigrants. They were also all over the age of 35, with a median age of 45. Together, they represent six different countries – Bhutan, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ghana, and Somalia – and three different religions – Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism. Three of them have lived in their host country for less than 10 years, while four have lived in their host country for at least 17 years. Four of the participants cited immigration as necessary to flee ethnic and/or religious persecution in their country of origin. Three participants are ethnic shopkeepers in Columbus and five have attained post-secondary education. The United States presidential election of 2016 occurred over the course of my interviews, and two participants expressed either support for or interest in Donald Trump. Only one participant currently lived in an ethnic enclave at the time that the interview was conducted.

Participants in this research study have been given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. Pseudonyms follow the same format: Participant #(chronological order of interviews) – (coded representation of ethnicity, race, and/or nationality). In this way, I feel the pseudonyms represent important aspects of each individual's identity, while also remaining unbiased and consistent across all participants. Participant #1 – NP is 44 years old and came to the United States eight years ago as a refugee fleeing ethnic persecution. He is originally from Bhutan, identifies as Nepali-Bhutanese, and is Hindu. Participant #1 – NP currently owns an ethnic shop in Columbus and is on the executive board of the Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus, a community-based nonprofit. Participant #1 – NP and Participant #2 – BA are very similar. Participant #2 – BA is 41 years old and came to the United States seven years ago, also

as a refugee fleeing ethnic persecution. He, too, is originally from Bhutan, owns an ethnic shop in Columbus, identifies as Bhutanese-American, and is Hindu.

Participant #3 – PA is 37 years old and came to the United States 25 years ago “to get a better life” with his entire immediate family. He is originally from Palestine, identifies as Palestinian American, and is Muslim. Participant #3 – PA owns an ethnic shop in Columbus.

Participant #4 – S is 42 years old and has been living in France for one year and four months as a refugee of war and political violence. He is originally from Syria, identifies as Syrian, and is Christian. Participant #4 – S is highly educated and skilled in medicine as an orthopedic doctor.

Participant #5 – AA is 62 years old and came to the United States 37 years ago to earn his undergraduate degree, and later acquired a Masters in Public Administration. He is originally from Ghana and identifies as African American. Participant #6 – EA is 50 years old and came to the United States 20 years ago to escape religious persecution and for a better life. He is originally from Egypt, identifies as Egyptian American, is Christian, and has earned an undergraduate degree. Participant #7 – SA is 37 years old and came to the United States 17 years ago after his mother successfully petitioned for family reunification; his family had been fleeing civil war in Somalia. He is originally from Somalia, has earned an undergraduate degree, and identifies as Muslim and Somali-American. I have organized this information into a chart for quick reference (Figure 5.1). All of the subsequent data has been collected through interviews with these seven participants and organized into sections.

	Participant #1 - NB	Participant #2 - BA	Participant #3 - PA	Participant #4 - S	Participant #5 - AA	Participant #6 - EA	Participant #7 - SA
Age	44	41	37	42	62	50	37
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Race	Indo-Aryan	Asian	Middle Eastern	Arab	Black	Egyptian	Black
Ethnicity	Nepalese	Bhutanese-American	Palestinian-American	Syrian	African	Egyptian	African
Religious Identity	Hindu	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	N/A	Christian	Muslim
Place of Birth	Bhutan	Bhutan	Palestine	Syria	Ghana	Egypt	Somalia
Parents' Place of Birth	Bhutan	Bhutan	Palestine	Syria	Ghana	Egypt	Somalia
Time in Host Country	8 Years	7 Years	25 Years	1 Year, 4 Months	37 Years	20 Years	17 Years
Reason for Immigration	Refugee fleeing ethnic prosecution in Bhutan.	Refugee fleeing ethnic prosecution in Bhutan.	"A better life."	Refugee fleeing civil war, violence, and political instability.	To pursue high education.	Refugee fleeing religious persecution and to seek a better life.	Family reunification after fleeing to Kenya as a refugee of civil war.
Educational Attainment	1. Degree in Accounting with CPA 2. Degree in Software Engineering	Lower than high school	High School	Doctor of Medicine with Specialization in Orthopedics	1. Undergraduate Degree in Agriculture 2. Masters in Public Administration	Post Secondary Education	Post Secondary Education

Figure 4 – Participant Information for Quick Reference

Historical Movements to Columbus

Some of the participants have been part of historical immigration movements to the Columbus area or have observed these trends since living in the city. Beginning in the 1990s, Columbus experienced an influx of Somalis, a fact that has been noted by four of the participants in this research study. Participant #3 – PA commented that “you’ll find a neighborhood that’s just for Somalis,” which indicates that Somalis tend to live in ethnic enclaves. When asked if ethnic enclaves exist in the Columbus area, Participants #1 – NB, #5 – AA, and #6 – EA each mentioned the Somali population. Participant #7 – SA, who is Somali himself, has never lived in an ethnic enclave, but knows of their existence. He arrived in the year 2000, which is after the majority of Columbus’ Somali population arrived. Participant #7 - SA explained, “Certain communities tend to bond and gather in the same place because of their faith, the location where they want to pray, or to buy food. And you know, you see some of the Somali community in Columbus, in the Northeast side...or the West side.”

Still, other participants have been a part of these mass migrations. Participant #1 – NB described that when he first arrived in Columbus in 2012, his neighborhood was predominately Somali, “more than 20-30%” he postulated. At this time, he estimated that the Nepali-Bhutanese population was “only around 2,000 [or] 2,500.” This number began to grow exponentially and today, Participant #1 – NB says that the Nepali-Bhutanese population is around 30,000 strong. He cites three reasons for why people began to move to Columbus and how, by word of mouth, secondary migration was instigated. First, he said that Columbus has “really accessible benefits,” noting welfare, healthcare, and social services. Second, that “it’s a booming place. There are very limited number of cities, inner cities in America, where business is booming. This is one of

them.” Third, that “most of the people around other states, they had some kids and kin in our community, so they wanted to move here.”

Participant #5 – AA also described a similar phenomenon within the Ghanaian community in Columbus. He explained that about 20 years ago, “there was an influx of Ghanaian communities from New York area to Columbus area...because friends were here, family members were here, they had the part of town they could get...rent that is inexpensive.” He continued, “They all speak the same language – and usually are coming from the same area, so that’s how the message gets around and people settle in that area.” Again, secondary migration seems to be largely attributable to social and familial relations, as well as the broadcasting of a city’s vitality by word of mouth.

These stories are contrasted by Participant #3 – PA, who described the movement of his family and other Palestinians to the United States as “a slow trickle.” He explained his family’s visa application process; “[Y]ou have to apply for a visa and then wait and stuff like that...First, my dad and brother came, and then my other brother and sister, and we, me, my mother, and my brother, had to wait ‘till we got our paperwork done.” Participant 3 – PA remarked that there is a Palestinian presence in Columbus, but it is small and members of the Palestinian community do not tend to reside in ethnic enclaves.

The Role of Ethnic Enclaves

Only one person in my research study, Participant #2 – BA, currently lived in an ethnic enclave at the time that the interview was conducted. The majority of participants in my research study do not live in ethnic enclaves; four of them actively frown upon their existence, two support them, and one was relatively indifferent. During the interviews, participants listed comfort, language, preservation of culture and heritage, and safety as some of the advantages to

living in ethnic enclaves. Conversely, participants noted disadvantages to living in ethnic enclaves, such as low levels of integration into the host society, lack of cultural exchange, low acquisition of the host language, and general isolation from the host society.

Participant #1 – NB is a strong proponent of ethnic enclaves and sees them as a “soft strength” of the Nepali-Bhutanese community in Columbus. He explains that, “the very strength in our community is that we want to get along with neighbors,” and continues by noting that people in his community “get along with neighbors very fast, very easy.” In his experience, ethnic enclaves provide a place for immigrants to express their ethnic and religious identities freely with coethnics, while also maintaining positive relationships with those in their host society. Participant #1 –NB comments that a critically important advantage to ethnic enclaves is that it protects new immigrants from suicide. He explains that:

[Suicide] is the highest in the United States among new ethnic immigrants...and why it is happening is because of the cultural shock. Feeling of dealienation. Suffocation. They feel like they are not being heard or that they don't have a lot of people to talk to. Language barrier. Cultural barrier.

In this way, Participant #1 – NB argued that ethnic enclaves can function to “protect and preserve our tradition” in a way that provides a safe, supportive community, one that is able to maintain cultural heritage.

Participant #5 – AA echoed this sentiment, but did not mention suicide at all. He said that ethnic enclaves provide “a comfort zone, these are people you know, these are people you know how they act, these are people you can be very good friends with and relate to.” Participant #2 – BA mentioned that it is possible to learn more from the “local group” of Americans when ethnic enclaves afford this secure environment of cultural expression. Participant #6 – EA was hesitant to list any advantage of ethnic enclaves, but came to the conclusion that “the only advantage may be for elderly people, where they can maybe have easy access to other people who could

understand them or can maybe help them with transportation or translation, stuff like that.”

Participant #7 – SA also realized the benefits of ethnic enclaves for the elderly by citing that it is useful for the elderly to live around younger coethnics who speak their language and the host country’s language to help them when they go to the doctors, courts, or stores. Participant #1 – NB made this connection as well, going further to say that the elderly help preserve his group’s heritage.

First, Participant #1 – NB explained the importance that the Nepali-Bhutanese culture places on kin relationships. “We help them, we serve them,” he stated, “it’s the duty of the children to look after their parents in old age.” He clarified that this duty to support elderly kin is further intensified here in the United States, since “people above 60, 75, they have never been exposed to any kind of education. They’re illiterate, illiterate in even their own language.” In a new host country where they do not speak the language, the elderly rely heavily on younger kin or coethnics to assist them through daily life. Participant #1 – NB did state that, at times, his parents can feel like “baggage,” because he cannot advance his career in accounting as he would like. However, he does praise the benefits of their presence for his children, aged four and eight, by saying; “having to stay with their kin parents is one the biggest kinds of education that one can gain in the early, formative years.” Continuing, he explained, “there’s a tradeoff... I’m sacrificing my American Dream, but they’re also getting a valued education that I can’t give.” In this way, Participant #1 – NB gives the notion that ethnic enclaves can serve to preserve ethnic language, heritage, and knowledge across generations.

Opposite of the arguments in favor of ethnic enclaves, are those participants who discussed their various drawbacks. Participant #5 - AA presented some of the disadvantages to ethnic enclaves, such as isolation from the host country and lack of cultural integration. “[S]ome

of the disadvantages is that you do not assimilate easily with the home country,” he said and went on to describe that the acute disadvantage is that “you fall behind with, you know, educating yourself culturally, with other cultures. And then, getting some of the advantages of work and schooling and all that comes along with being part of a big society.” Participant #6 – EA agreed by stressing, “I believe the main disadvantage is people will not speak English, so they will continue to speak among each other with their own language and this will not help them get in with the country.”

Participant #7 – SA also argued that ethnic enclaves can be isolating for immigrants by saying it “becomes an obstacle for them to be fully integrated with the mainstream community, so you have some kind of parallel society that lives in their own, you know, bubble.” He went on to explain that this is further compounded by immigrants’ lack of involvement with local decision-making. Participant #7 – SA remarked that some immigrants “don’t have participation of civic association or area commission. They’re not part of the discussions of how to make the community better or safety related issues, so there is a lack of participation within the larger neighborhoods of the areas where they live.” He also commented on the general disadvantage of the urban terrain for immigrants originally from tropical climates, such as regions in West and East Africa. “In their homeland, people would travel on foot and walk miles, tens of miles everyday,” Participant #7 – SA described, “Here, they don’t have that, there is not a lot of sun, the weather is cold.” This, in addition to cars, has led many such immigrants to lead more sedentary lives, which has led to health related issues for some, such as diabetes and blood pressure problems.

Participant #4 – S, who lives in France, presented the most critical viewpoint of ethnic enclaves and believes that there are no advantages to living within them. In order to better grasp

his critique, it is first important to understand his situation. Participant #4 – S specifically chose to avoid living near other Arabs when he moved to France; he feels that some Arabs have brought their bad habits to France and does not want to associate with such behavior. Furthermore, he hoped that by immersing himself in French neighborhoods, he would learn the French language and customs quickly and efficiently. Participant #4 – S argued that there is “no point” of moving to a new country if you do not learn their language and customs and that you cannot integrate if you live in an enclosed area. He explained that immigrants may feel protected by ethnic enclaves, but that they will never be exposed to anything new or different.

Before he came to France, Participant #4 – S had an encounter with a medical client in Syria, which he thought encapsulated his critique of ethnic enclaves. A man approached his office, saying that he needed help with a prescription. This man had been living in the United States for 10 years, but had come home to Syria to visit family and needed to refill his medicine. However, the man could not read his own prescription and consequently requested that Participant #4 – S translate it from English to Arabic for him. This appalled Participant #4 – S, who was disappointed that after 10 years of time in another country, his client had not learned a functional level of English. Participant #4 – S remarked that of course, immigrants should not give up their ethnic or religious customs, but should surely expose themselves to their host country and especially their host country’s language. Ethnic enclaves, he concludes, isolate immigrants from achieving either of these goals.

Participant #5 – AA explained that ethnic enclaves are not necessarily permanent and that immigrants’ ability to “upscale, upgrade, and move out” is contingent on their “economic condition.” He observed, “because most of these enclaves really are not in your high class suburbs...once they [immigrants] are able to develop themselves and they’re able to get

jobs...they tend to move away.” Participant #3 – PA took a neutral stance on ethnic enclaves saying that there are no real advantages or disadvantages to living in ethnic enclaves that he could think of. However, Participant #3 – PA has experienced relative economic success as an ethnic shopkeeper and did not need to rely on the support of coethnics to the same degree as other participants.

Ethnic Shopkeepers

It is interesting to note that two of the three ethnic shopkeepers in this research study do not live in the same neighborhood where their shop is located. Participant #1 – NB lives near the neighborhood of Parkview, which is about eight miles away from his shop. Participant #3 – PA lives in Hilliard, Ohio, which is also about eight miles away from his shop. I also conducted one informal interview with a man who identified as Asian American, Informal Interview #1- AA. Informal Interview #1 – AA lives in Delaware, Ohio, while his shop is located in the Hilltop neighborhood about 30 miles away. Only one person, Participant #2 – BA, lived in the same neighborhood as his ethnic shop. I have created a map to aid in the visualization of the distance between ethnic shopkeepers’ homes and shops (Figure 5.2).

These shopkeepers have experienced economic success and can afford to live in more expensive residences than their coethnics. Some shopkeepers, such as Participant #1 – NB, are also leaders in their community and highly skilled in other sectors of work, which has contributed to their affluence. Participant #3 – PA described his living situation as an “upgrade” from a rented apartment to a leased house. Informal Interview #1 – AA was straightforward in saying that his shop was in a “bad part of town with crime” and that he chose to live in Delaware to be farther away from violence. Participant #5 – AA commented on this phenomenon by saying that some immigrants “may have their business there [in the ethnic enclave] because they are

associated with other people in that area,” but will nonetheless move away once they themselves experience upward mobility from the success of their ethnic shop. These data suggest that immigrants tend to move out of ethnic enclaves if they are economically able.

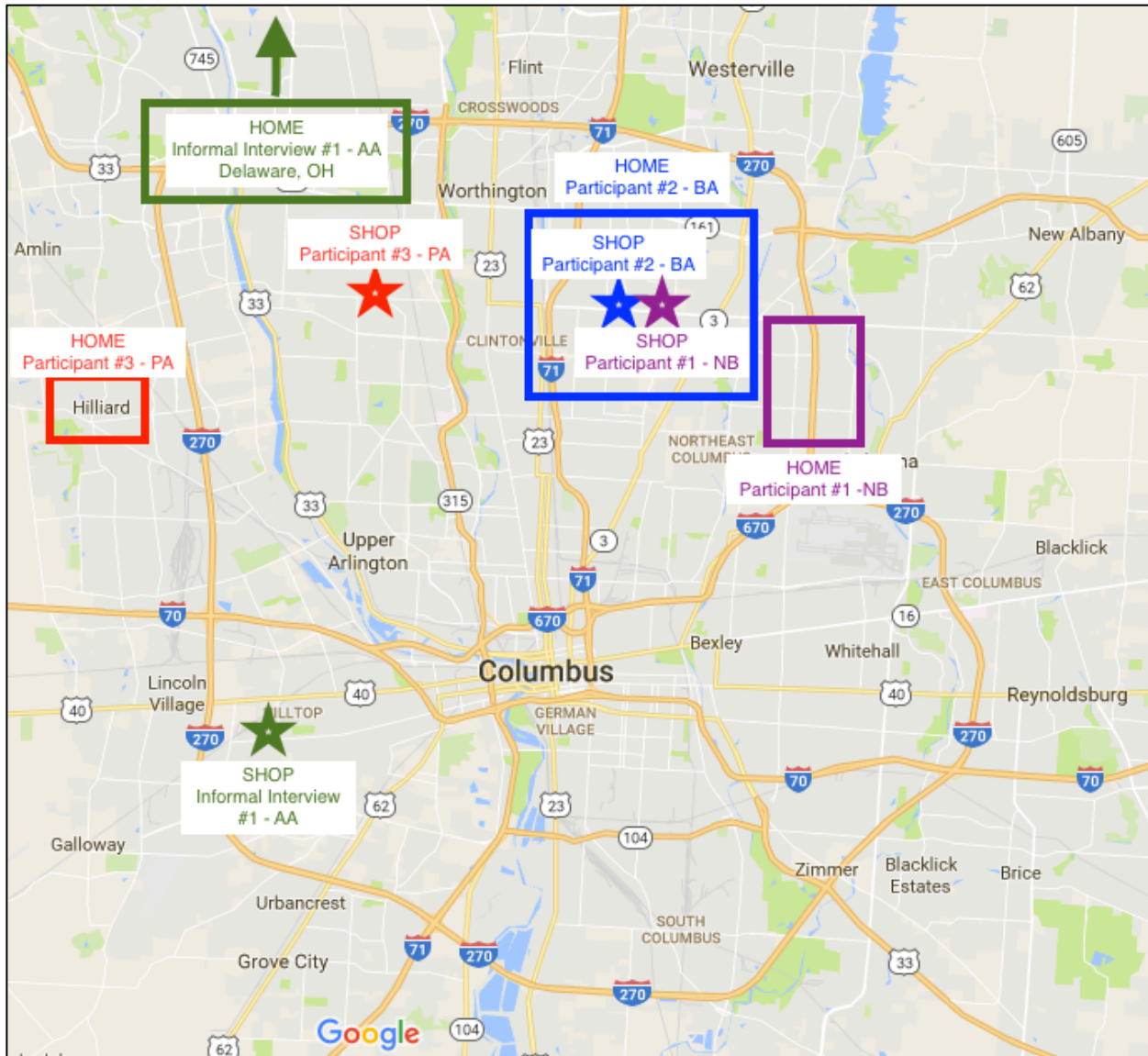


Figure 5 – Map of Ethnic Shopkeeper’s Shop Location Compared to Home Location

Two of these shopkeepers emphasized the importance of their shops for both other immigrant populations and the native born. Participant #3 – PA explained that his store is one of three locations that his family has helped establish in the Columbus area. He observed that his High Street location, near The Ohio State University, receives a diverse range of customers;

“college students, Persians, Turks, Greeks, Europeans, Middle Easterners, et cetera.” While at his location on Godown Road, where I interviewed him, the customer base is predominately Middle Easterners, “with the occasional Persian or Turk.” Participant #3 – PA noted the importance of these shops, remarking that “when we first came here 25 years ago, it was hard to find” the products that his shop offers. Participant #2 – BA also underlined this point by noting that when he arrived seven years ago, it was hard to find Bhutanese food or clothing. He explained that owning an ethnic shop is more than “turning a profit,” that these shops are necessary; they provide immigrants with specific goods, clothing and food, that allow for direct expressions of ethnic, religious, and cultural identity.

Education

Five of the participants in this study either came to their host country with an education or with the intent of attaining education. Participant #1 – NB was highly skilled when he arrived in the United States. He finished his public schooling in Bhutan and then received his first degree in accounting while in North Bengal, Bangladesh. Participant #1 – NB also received a degree in software engineering from the National Institution of Information Technology in India. Following this degree he returned to accounting to become a Certified Public Accountant and began his own accounting practice in 2002 in Kathmandu, Nepal. This education served Participant #1 – NB well, as he is a freelance accountant here in the United States and provides his services pro bono to members of the Nepali-Bhutanese Community of Columbus. His education has given him the opportunity to thrive in the United States.

Participant #5 – AA, Participant #6 – EA, and Participant #7 – SA have attained post secondary education. In the case of Participant # 5- AA, he first came to the United States with the intent of completing his undergraduate degree in agriculture and then returning to Ghana.

However, he decided to stay in the United States and went on to pursue his Masters in Public Administration from The Ohio State University. Participant #5 – AA believes that his education has “absolutely” contributed to his integration process into the United States. Noting his own experience, he remembered that “once in school you were with mostly Americans. And once you come out, finding a job, especially the higher you get up, the more people you can reach and the more avenues open up for you.” In essence, he argued that education provides access to opportunity.

Participant #4 – S has had the exact opposite experience that Participant #1 – NB has had, although they are quite similar. Participant #4 – S was educated as an orthopedic doctor in Syria and had been practicing in his country of origin until political unrest prompted him to leave. For a time, he worked in Saudi Arabia, but moved to France once he received a work visa. However, since his arrival to France, there have been numerous problems with his paperwork and he is unable to work in his chosen field. Thus, Participant #4 – S is highly skilled, a professional in his field, but unable to practice medicine as his qualifications and previous education have not been recognized by the French government. This negates the impact that his previous education could have had for both his welfare and integration process into French society.

Importance of Language(s)

All participants in this research study are at least bilingual and perceive host language acquisition as very important for immigrant integration. They all also stress the importance of maintaining their mother tongue and passing language skills to their children. Consequently, the question of how immigrants navigate the two arises. Participant #1 – NB emphasized that “[English is] not only important, I think it is, it’s life you know?” He suggested that “[o]ne may work in a warehouse, entry level job without good knowledge of English, but that is not

ultimately what American Dream means.” Participant #2 – BA cited English as crucial for immigrants to gain citizenship in the United States.

Participant #5 – AA sees host language acquisition as a way to also exchange knowledge between cultures and people. On this topic he stated, “I think it’s very important for your own development and for the country you’re going to. For them to also gain something from you, you’ve got to speak the language.” This viewpoint holds that immigrants who are proficient in their host country’s language live in harmonious cultural exchange with their new host society. Participant #6 – EA believes host language skills are important while dually highlighting that immigrants should retain their mother tongue. He and his wife speak a mixture of English and Arabic in their home so that their children can maintain part of their heritage through their ethnic language. Participant #7 – SA also speaks a combination of Somali and English in his home, citing a sort of hybrid language known commonly as “Somalenglish.” However, he still concluded that speaking English is especially important for the younger generation, “if anybody wanted to be successful in the schools and go to college.”

Participant #4 – S also believes that transferring language to younger generations is a way to preserve heritage and culture. He speaks Arabic with his niece, who also lives in France, to help her remain aware of her heritage through language. Participant #4 – S maintains that French is the only language that he speaks when outside of his home. He is very strict with this rule and even speaks with other Arabs in French. “There is nobody forcing me to do this,” he explained, “it is just the way it is because I am living here.” During his time working with other Syrian doctors in a French hospital, Participant #4 – S said that they conversed in French, even when they were alone, solely because French was the official language of the place in which he was conducting work. This suggests that there is a strong sense of integrity for those immigrants who

do learn their host country's language, they embrace the language fully and speak it proudly.

Participant #4 – S emphasized that he, and other immigrants, conduct themselves this way because they want to learn, not because they are forced.

Nonprofit Affiliations

Four participants from this research study have been affiliated with either nonprofit organizations or similarly structured groups. Participant #1 – NB is the Chairman of the Nepali-Bhutanese Community of Columbus, the largest nonprofit of its kind for this ethnic community. This organization was established in 2009, but Participant #1 – NB remarked that all the resources and activities that it provides today were nonexistent until around 2013. Participant #1 – NB has helped partner the Nepali-Bhutanese Community of Columbus with other nonprofits in the Columbus area, such as CRIS, US Together, and The Columbus Foundation. This collaboration provides the Nepali-Bhutanese community with resources such as paperwork assistance, translation and interpretation services, healthcare, ESL courses, citizenship classes, ethnic language services to preserve language and traditions, sporting events, and more. Participant #1 – NB put great emphasis on the importance of nonprofit organizations and their responsibility to their local community.

The other participants are not as involved in nonprofits as Participant #1 – NB. Participant #2 – BA is involved in the Vedic Welfare Society, a religious nonprofit, the Universal Manav Dharama Center Corporation, also a religious nonprofit, and stated that he is an informal member of the Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus. He said that he does not hold positions in any of these organizations, but is still active in all of them. Participant #5 – AA acknowledged that he used to participate in the Ghana Association of Columbus, but that he left as younger members with different values began to join the organization.

Participant #4 – S is somewhat similar to Participant #2 – BA in that he, too, is a member of certain groups, but holds no positions within them. Participant #4 – S mentioned the existence of Syrian social groups that host events together. However, he said that these groups “don’t support you,” and instead act by connecting people to one another. For example, many Christian Syrians will celebrate holidays and go to church together as a group, but this does not happen formally under the oversight of an organization. Religion, just like nonprofit organizations, serves to provide immigrants with resources and support through their integration process into a new society.

Religious Functions

Participant #1 – NB spoke the most extensively on this topic of religion as it is very important to his community. He estimated that about 90% of the Nepali-Bhutanese population is Hindu. Participant #1 – NB explained that Hindus follow the Lunar Calendar and that many of their festivals and holidays tend to occur between September and November. These events tend to be so large that people will either host house parties or rent large spaces, like school auditoriums. Smiling, he told me that together they will dance, sing, and eat in cultural clothing. “The Hindu religion, of course being the oldest...has a lot of tendons and ligaments that goes into the religious fabric and comes out into a social fabric,” he said, noting the connection between religion and the social sphere.

Participant #6 – EA is Christian and celebrates all the normal Christian holidays. However, in Egypt, they celebrate Christmas on January 7th instead of December 25th, which he said causes some confusion to some Americans. Participant #4 – S is also Christian, which itself is confusing for many of the French people that learn of his religious affiliation. He described how some individuals ask him multiple times during the same conversation if he is Muslim or

not. This deeply entrenched ignorance has been encountered by many of the participants in this study.

Encounters with Prejudice, Racism, and Xenophobia

Participant #4 – S is not the only one to be misattributed a religious identity. For example, Participant #2 – BA explained that many Nepali are mistaken for Indian because their religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, are similar, as is their skin color, but that they are different nonetheless. This story was paralleled by Participant #1 – NB, who also mentioned that Nepalese people are frequently mistaken as being Indian. Participant #6 – EA remarked that many Americans “think the whole population of Egypt are Muslims. Not many people in the US, here, know that about 10% of population there are Christians,” which he said leads them to be initially confused when he tells them he himself is Christian.

Many participants have also had stereotypes imposed on them, often by complete strangers. Participant #3 – PA stated that he has felt prejudice when people repeatedly say, “Go back to your country!” or, “They’re all the same,” about Muslims. “Many people here [in the United States] still think that people in Egypt ride camels,” Participant #6 – EA said while chuckling to himself. Continuing, he explained that people are under the misconception that Egyptians “still live in the desert, [that] they’re not living a modern life.”

Participant #7 – SA remembered a specific encounter that he had had with a fellow American while in the Istanbul Airport. A complete stranger asked him, “Where are you from?” to which Participant #7 – SA answered Ohio. The stranger commented, “You don’t sound like you’re from Ohio,” which he understood as the stranger pointing out his accent. Further questioning ensued with the stranger asking, “Where are you originally from?” which upset Participant #7 – SA, who recounted, “I was so defensive, trying to convince him. ‘Yes, I am

Ohioan. Yes, I'm a citizen. And an American. You don't have to be interested in where I'm from originally.'" He concluded after this encounter, that:

Yes, people have different backgrounds, but once you are here, nobody is going back. Because of the opportunities, because of the freedom we have because of...we work hard, how we can make life better here. Of course, some people still have roots and interests in their respective nations...But the reality is, majority of immigrants... you're here, you are a US citizen.

This interaction stuck with Participant #7 – SA, who thought that it could have been avoided if society did not make so many assumptions or stereotypes of immigrants.

The data has shown that Participant #4 – S has experienced the most 'othering' by his host country, France. He explained that, essentially, French society tends to group all Arabs together and does not know the difference between people who come from different countries. Participant #4 - S recalled that many French people assume that he is Tunisian, Algerian, or Moroccan, all of which are former French colonies, but that they do not typically expect to hear that he is Syrian. He said that he must often explain to them over and over again where Syria is, and that it has a culture different from other Arab countries, because of course, all countries have their own, unique heritage. Participant #4 – S remarked that common French people constantly stop him on the streets to interrogate him on where he is from and why he is in France, which he thinks is unfair. It makes him upset that he has to constantly explain himself, although he does state that he would rather answer questions than have people make assumptions about him. For these reasons, Participant #4 – S feels that he will never be able to become "French."

The American Identity vs. The French Identity

Participant #4 – S explained that while there is not an official French person to tell immigrants that they are or are not French, the whole of society does this job with fervor. People blatantly tell him that he is not French and never will be French. Participant #4 - S described

some of his friends who have French husbands or wives, but still do not consider themselves French. He clarified that being French requires you to “have a French father, grandfather, great-grandfather, et cetera.” People always compliment Participant #4 – S’s brother, who has been in France for six years now, on his language skills. Participant #4 – S said that this is silly because of course he would be practically fluent in French after living there for so long. It further irks him when native French speakers consistently point out his accent, which he thinks is inconsequential considering he is still speaking their language. Ultimately, Participant #4 - S thought that the United States is better than France at integrating immigrants into its society, because America has history as a settler society, while France is only now attempting to incorporate new immigrants in large numbers.

The remaining six participants expressed confidently, proudly, and definitely that they were American. Towards the end of my research study, I felt rude asking the question, “Do you think of yourself as American?” because participants seemed almost hurt that I would even ask such a question. Participant #1 – NB explained his opinion on the topic by saying proudly, “I think being an American is not so much to be born here, than the attitude one must have to be an American. I think I am practically, very much American, more American than many Americans here.” Participant #2 – BA, who came as refugee, identified as “very American,” and explained that it was “a dignity and honor to be invited by the government of the United States...to be protected by The Constitution,” which provides such resources to its citizens like education and healthcare.

Participant #3 – PA said that he is also “very American,” as does Participant #6 – EA. However, Participant #6 – EA also noted that his American identity coexists harmoniously with his ethnic identity. He remarked, “I’m America. I have my citizenship and came to this country

by choice. I like it, proud to be American, and I'm still proud of my heritage as Egyptian as well." On his American identity, Participant #5 – AA said that, "I am very American now. I have an American passport, I have an American life, I have American kids. Yeah, I am American now and I think that I don't regret it at all." Participant #7 – SA answered that he is "proud" to be an American and explained that, "I am American first, because I have chosen to come here and I will be Somali second... because Somalia has nothing for me." He did note the challenges of conveying this part of his identity to other Americans, as evidenced by his encounter at the Istanbul Airport and by his critique of the American melting pot.

Participant #7 – SA said that the "reality [of the melting pot] is, yes, that worked, for only certain communities," and went on to explain that those of European background were predominately Christian and all the same color skin. If you learned the language, Participant #7 – SA said, you would assimilate into the American identity easily and nobody would be able to tell the difference between a Frenchman and an Irishman. "[B]ut that never worked for African Americans," he explained, "who came here as slaves, because the way they look...they cannot be part of that melting pot." Participant #7 – SA posed the question, "Why don't you say *An American?*" as opposed to African American or Mexican American; but countered himself remarking that first generation immigrants do not have the choice to label themselves as, "American, because of their accent...something with their original nation that will always stay with them." In this way, Participant #7 – SA commented on the pushback from their host society that many immigrants feel during their process of integration.

Current Political Climate

Immediately after stating that he felt more American than many Americans, Participant #1 – NB said, "You know, I voted for Trump this time...If we have to preserve America as an

American Dream, then we've got to be going towards a kind of Republican way, or whatever they say, conservative way. That way, we can better preserve our ethnic identities better."

Participant #1 – NB expanded by saying that "the democratic way of making America a melting pot, by assimilation and by forgetting our own cultures is not conducive to us. We must inculcate in us being a core American, but at the same time, we should be able to preserve our own culture and tradition. We should not assimilate." Participant #4 – S also mentioned support for President-elect, Donald Trump. He noted that Trump supports many policies that are favorable for Syria and that the world should "wait and give him a chance." For example, Participant #4 – S cited Trump's promise to collaborate with Russia to end the Syrian Civil War and his promise to remove American soldiers from Syria as positive actions that he supports.

Participant #5 – AA, who works for the City of Columbus, however, has remarked the exact opposite. He affirmed that his city has been attractive to immigrants not only because it has interpreters and accessible welfare programs, but also because it is a safe and welcoming city. In response to a mention of President-elect, Donald Trump, Participant #5 – AA pulled up a declaration by the City Council President of Columbus and read it aloud verbatim:

As Columbus City Council President, I'm proud to represent one of the most diverse cities in Ohio. Everyday we see how inclusive and welcoming policies positively transform our neighborhoods and make Columbus a strong community with a vibrant economy. That is why the immigration related Executive Order by President Donald Trump is so troubling and disheartening. Not only is this policy likely unconstitutional, it undermines safety, separates families, and pits people against one another. Equally as important, it runs contrary to our country's values and strengths at the heart of our fundamental humanity. Columbus policy should always continue to support a community where all residents and visitors feel safe and welcome.

After he finished reading the declaration, Participant #5 – AA voiced, "that's the type of attitude that has brought people here."

Conclusion

The data organized in this chapter was compiled from seven separate interviews that I conducted with one refugee in France and six immigrants from the Columbus, Ohio area. These insights, experiences, and personal narratives help us better understand how immigrants navigate the role of ethnic enclaves and identity construction in a new host country. The following Analysis Chapter traces participant's unique immigrant experience through the theoretical model outlined in Chapter 2 and integrates their insights into the broader discussions surrounding the immigrant identity in today's modern world-system.

CHAPTER V. ANALYSIS

Introduction

This analysis chapter interprets the insights and experiences of seven immigrants through the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2. Beginning with Wallerstein's (2011) world-system theory, I analyze the various interactions between core, semiperiphery, and periphery areas that motivate or displace people within the world-system. It is critical to study these interactions within the world-system, as they influence how immigrants define and understand their own movement. Therefore, the immigrant integration process is framed well before immigrants arrive in their new host country. For instance, what country they choose to settle in prefaces their integration process, as evidenced by the United States' history as a *settler society*. I then examine where immigrants have chosen to live upon their arrival into their new host country. It is important to consider the *continuum of integration*, which denotes six factors of the immigrant experience as indicators of immigrants' strength of integration into their host society: their level of language proficiency, employment status, education level, income level, specific attachments to certain racial or ethnic groups, and the amount of time spent in their host country. The role of ethnic enclaves can be different for each immigrant depending on these six factors, and many have never lived in them at all, as indicated by the participants in the present study.

Using *segmented assimilation* theory, we can trace each participant's experience to the three outcomes defined by Portes and Zhou (1993); assimilation into the underclass, adaptation and integration through a bicultural identity, and assimilation into middle-class, mainstream society. These categories have a significant impact on immigrants' identity construction and can affect the identity of subsequent generations. Many participants in this study fall into the category of adaptation and integration through a bicultural identity, with components of

assimilation into middle-class, mainstream society; many have realized their identity in a multifaceted way that encompasses a new component in conjunction with a preserved ethnic element, but live in predominately white neighborhoods. However, it is important to remember the perspective and scope of this project. The data collected through this research study falls within the broader immigrant populations of Ohio, the United States, and the world-system. Ultimately, each immigrant has their own unique story, their own distinct identity, which is why discussion of the immigrant integration process needs to be considerate and inclusive of such diverse experiences that span across people, time, and location.

Revisiting the Original Hypotheses

At the beginning of this research study, I presented two hypotheses about the immigrant populations of Columbus, Ohio. First, I postulated that second-generation immigrants who live in ethnic enclaves experience higher levels of integration to their host country than their parents. Unfortunately, I was unable to interview any second-generation immigrants for the present study. Thus, this analysis is unable to speak to the perspectives of second- and subsequent-generation immigrants. Second, I hypothesized that immigrants living in Columbus perceive of their national and personal identity with a plurality that embodies an American identity and a unique, racial-ethnic identity. All six of the participants who lived in Columbus energetically confirmed their multifaceted identity.

Analysis Through Theoretical Framework

The participants in this research study originate from varying backgrounds and countries and came to their new host country for a variety of reasons, yet they all still experienced similar identity constructions. We must revisit the theoretical model for this present study to understand the various factors involved with this distinct outcome.

Employing World-System Theory

Participants in this research study represent six different countries, all of which have been incorporated into the world-system. In Wallerstein's (2011:349) world-system theory, there are three types of actors within the world-system: core-states, peripheries, and semiperiphery areas. According to the definitions attributed to each actor, I classify all the countries of origin for my participants (Bhutan, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ghana, and Somalia) as periphery countries. A couple of the participants temporarily lived in other countries before settling in the United States. For example, Participant #1 – NB acquired higher education while in India, a semi-periphery, before immigrating to the United States, and Participant #7 – SA fled to Kenya, a periphery, before his mother filed for family reunification to bring him to the United States. The two host countries in this study, France and the United States, are both considered core-states.

All of the participants have moved in succession from either periphery areas to a core-state or from periphery areas, to semi-periphery areas, to a core-state, and they all list various reasons for their movement. Alba and Foner (2015:28) list the five major types of immigration as labor migration, postcolonial immigration, high-skilled immigration, refugees and asylum seekers, and family reunification. The participants in this study fit the definitions of four of these types, the first, Participant #3 – PA came to the United States seeking “a better life” where his family opened up ethnic shops and entered the job market. Second, Participant #5 – AA came to the United States to pursue higher education, and Participant #1 – NB and Participant #4 – S, both came to the United States with prior education and professional experience. Third, Participant #1 – NB, Participant #2 – BA, Participant #4 – S, and Participant #6 – EA all came to their respective core-states as refugees. And finally, Participant #7 – SA came to the United States under a successful petition for family reunification.

The Continuum of Incorporation

To further explain this movement of people, Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) created the *continuum of incorporation*, which maps the interactions between core-states, peripheries, and semiperipheries. By mapping the interactions of actors within the world-system, important economic, political, and social trends can become more apparent. As the impact of these actors on one another increases, a hierarchy begins to emerge within the world-system. Kardulias and Hall (2007:8) argue that in this hierarchy, “core areas tend to exploit peripheries, with semiperipheries being exploited by core areas, yet exploiting peripheries in return.” In recent history, we have seen this hierarchy manifest in the form of colonialism, with core-states exploiting colonial territories, periphery and semiperiphery areas, for their human labor and natural resources. In the modern era, we still see core-states exploiting periphery and semiperiphery areas for their human capital, but under a new form of incorporation.

Today’s modern immigrants represent a new, more mobile form of incorporation where core-states exploit human capital in the form of people’s abilities, such as through labor and education. Core-states continue to benefit from the hierarchy of the world-system by profiting domestically from those immigrants that originate from peripheries and semiperipheries. These modern immigrants are often received into their core-state with few rights, little protection, whether it be from the government or otherwise, and are sometimes met with retaliation from members of their new host society. To further compound these difficulties, the United States no longer has an abundance of entry-level jobs that afford relative socioeconomic mobility; the jobs that have historically drawn many European immigrants and allowed them to flourish. In the absence of this opportunity, many modern immigrants enter into the *immigrant bargain*.

The *immigrant bargain* describes “the initial willingness [of immigrants] to accept low-level jobs, such as cleaning floors, in exchange for the possibility of future advances, even when immigrants arrive with education and professional qualifications that brought significant status in their home societies” (Alba and Foner 2015:47). Modern immigrants who arrive without their host country’s language, visible differences from the native population, and potentially limited education are often unsupported or unprotected by their core-state’s government. Thus, this phenomenon hints at the development of a permanent underclass in society, unless the structural disadvantages met by immigrants from periphery and semiperiphery areas are mitigated. This situation can be particularly heinous for illegal immigrants. Through this disenfranchisement, many modern core-states benefit from human capital that by way of the modern world-system, has moved from periphery and semiperiphery areas directly into the core-state.

Similarly, we see the same pattern of human movement, but on behalf of the phenomenon of *brain drain*, which describes the migration of people with high levels of skill or education towards a country that is perceived to be more viable. Participant #5 – AA fits into this pattern of migration as he came to the United States from Ghana with the original intention of obtaining a degree in agriculture in order to return to Ghana with his knowledge. However, circumstances changed and he pursued his Masters in Public Administration, which led him into a permanent job for the City of Columbus. Participant #5 – AA reminds us that many highly skilled and educated immigrants leave their country of origin for countries with better socioeconomic prospects. This means that their new host country, in this case the United States, benefits from their human capital, while their country of origin endures a loss of that same human capital. This instance highlights that the immigrant experience is diverse and while systemic

disenfranchisement is a reality for many immigrants, it is not the case for others; especially those with high levels of educational attainment or skill.

Ethnic Enclaves as *Way Stations*

Many immigrants who have never lived in an ethnic enclave choose not to because they do not need to rely on the networks of social capital, language, culture, knowledge, and goods that enclaves provide. Chiswick and Miller (2002:2) define three typical areas of settlement that immigrants tend to gravitate towards: ports of entry, for example airports; the existence of co-ethnics such as friends and family; and the level of employment opportunity, which is reliant on the economic viability of the ethnic enclave. While only one participant lived in an ethnic enclave at the time that the interview was conducted, many explained that Columbus' immigrant populations tend to gravitate towards the northeast and southwest portions of the city. The northeast population, which is right next to the Columbus Airport, is significantly large and encompasses multiple ethnic groups, including Nepali-Bhutanese, Hispanics, Somalis, Ghanaians, and more. None of the participants cited why this is the location of the ethnic enclaves, but I posit that it is due to the relatively affordable housing, preexisting ethnic populations, existence of ethnic shops, and the natural cycling of urban neighborhoods, as majority populations continue to move away from the inner city and even some of the original suburbs.

All three of the immigrants in this research study that have either lived or currently live in an ethnic enclave supported or were indifferent towards their existence. Participant #1 – NB has lived in an enclave, Participant #2 – BA lived in an enclave at the time of the interview, and both cited the many advantages of ethnic enclaves for immigrants. They praise them as a “soft strength” for immigrant populations that provide protection and preservation of ethnic heritage.

Specifically, they have mentioned ethnic enclaves as a haven for immigrants to express ethnic language, religious and cultural traditions, culinary practices, and maintain kin relations. Conversely, the remaining four participants, all of whom had never lived in an ethnic enclave, opposed them. These participants were vocal advocates of the many disadvantages to ethnic enclaves, most notably, that they isolate immigrants from the native population. Participant #7 – SA remarked that enclaves can act as a “bubble” that detaches immigrants from involvement with local decision making and separates them from broader community discussions. Participant #5 – AA noted that immigrants “do not assimilate easily with the home country” and “fall behind with, you know, educating yourself culturally.” Additionally, Participant #6 – EA explained that immigrants who live in ethnic enclaves are not adequately exposed to English. He continues, arguing that without the language of a host country, you cannot learn the customs of mainstream society, and therefore will never be able to integrate. In Participant #6 – EA’s viewpoint, ethnic enclaves act as a stiff barrier to the immigrant integration process.

As the only immigrant who lived in an ethnic enclave during this research study, Participant #2 – BA said that he lived amongst the Nepali-Bhutanese community because it was near to his ethnic shop. It is also important to note the amount of time he had spent in the United States, because, of all the domestic participants, Participant #2 – BA, had spent the least amount of time in the country, seven years. Two of the other participants, Participant #1 – NB and Participant #3 – PA, who also own ethnic shops, did not live in ethnic enclaves at the time of the interview, but had said that they did live in an enclave at one time. Participant #1 – NB and Participant #3 – PA have been living in the United States for eight and twenty-five years, respectively. The amount of time immigrants spend in their host country has a strong effect on their level of integration, as it affords the opportunity to strive for economic, cultural, and social

success. Participant #5 – AA made a similar observation, remarking that an immigrant’s ability to “upscale, upgrade, and move out” is contingent on their “economic condition.” These examples reinforce the existing literature on ethnic enclaves as temporary *way stations* that give immigrant populations the support and access to resources that they need to eventually leave their ethnic neighborhoods and integrate into the native population (Alba and Foner 2015; White and Glick 1999). However, certain immigrants do not need to rely so essentially on ethnic enclaves, if at all, for these networks of support as they may come to their host country with established language skills, professional experience, and/or education.

Critical Importance of Education

It should be noted that Participant #1 – NB only spent one year longer in the United States than Participant #2 – BA, yet Participant #1 – NB was able to move out of the ethnic enclave that he was living in. This difference can be attributed to Participant #1 – NB’s educational attainment since he is highly educated and skilled. In addition to owning his ethnic shop, Participant #1 - NB also works as a freelance accountant; a skill that he obtained through his education in India. This level of education has afforded him an extra avenue of income and increased his ability to move out of an ethnic enclave compared to Participant #2 – BA, who has less than a high school level of education. These contrasting experiences highlight the influence of education on the immigrant experience, as it can significantly affect an immigrant’s socioeconomic mobility, their family’s wellbeing, residential preferences, and the experiences of their children.

In the context of this research study, it was shown that immigrants, who come to the United States with prior education or the intent to acquire education, hold advantages as they have experienced considerable social and economic success as a direct result of their educational

attainment. This also explains why all of the participants who had attained higher education from their core-state, such as Participant #5 – AA, Participant #6 – EA, and Participant #7 – SA, had never lived in an ethnic enclave. Thus, I argue that education level is one of the most indicative factors of the immigrant life experience to an immigrant’s success and strong level of integration into their host society. It is important to reevaluate the *continuum of integration*, which explains immigrant’s strength of integration as based on the six factors of the immigrant life experience. In the context of the presents study, education level holds a higher degree of influence than other factors, such as specific attachment to certain racial and/or ethnic groups and amount of time spent in the host country.

Immigrants who attain post secondary education in their host country automatically experience “moderate to strong” levels of integration into their host society because a solid understanding of native language is implicit and there is a direct correlation between success in educational attainment and success in employment and a higher income level. These findings support previous literature, which regards educational attainment as an indicator of immigrant integration (Bartel 1989; Musterd 2011; Alba and Foner 2015). Another indicator of immigrant integration similar to education level, although not as influential, is level of skill within a trade. Three immigrants in this research study are ethnic shopkeepers; this emphasizes the importance of entrepreneurship for individual success, as well as the supply of *ethnic goods* to immigrant communities.

Role of Entrepreneurship and *Ethnic Goods*

In 2015, a Columbus refugee impact report found that refugees have a strong rate of entrepreneurship, about 13.6%, which is over double the native born rate of 6.5% (US Together 2015:3). Alba and Foner (2015:64) explain entrepreneurship as “an escape hatch from the

condemnation to the bottom of the employment ladder.” Participant #1 – NB and Participant #3 – PA have demonstrated success as ethnic shopkeepers since they were able to move out of ethnic enclaves with the economic stability that their professions afford. While Participant #2 – BA still lived in an ethnic enclave at the time of the interview, he explained that he was happy and comfortable with his life in the United States. Participant #1 – NB and Participant #2 – BA differ in their levels of integration, despite their similar amount of time spent in the United States; however, this has been explained by their dissimilar levels of educational attainment. However, the economic successes of Participant #1 – NB and Participant #3 – PA could foreshadow similar movement out of the ethnic enclave for Participant #2 – BA.

As indicated through the maps from the data section, the majority of Columbus’ foreign-born population resides in the Northeast, Northside, Inner West, and Outer West neighborhoods. Participant #1 – NB and Participant #2 – BA owned shops in the Northeast, Participant #3 – PA owned a shop in the Northside, and Informal Interview #1 – AA owned a shop in the Inner West. It is also noteworthy that all 17 ethnic shops that I approached as potential participants for this research study were within the bounds of these four neighborhoods. These data suggest that immigrant entrepreneurs consciously nestle their ethnic shops within ethnic enclaves and that immigrant residential patterns tend to concentrate around these ethnic shops. Immigrant entrepreneurs supply to their co-ethnics’ demands for, predominately, *ethnic goods*. This correlation between the location of *ethnic goods* and ethnic enclaves supports the *ethnic goods hypothesis*, which reasons that *ethnic goods* encourage ethnic enclave development (Chiswick and Miller 2002:6).

Ethnic shops equip immigrants with *ethnic goods* that are fundamental for expressions of the immigrant identity. *Ethnic goods* can include, but are not limited to, “food they eat, the

clothing they wear, the holidays they celebrate, the religion they practice, the media they read or hear (e.g., newspapers), ...among other characteristics” (Chiswick and Miller 2002:4). Many of the ethnic shops that I visited supplied a vast assortment of products including food, traditional clothing, imported beauty and health products, books, religious items and clothing, international phone services, and even medicine. As Participant #2 – BA explained, owning an ethnic shop is more important than simply “turning a profit,” these shops provide immigrants with necessary and specific goods for immigrants to feel comfortable and express their ethnic, religious, and cultural identity. Since ethnic shops are often the only place for immigrants to buy *ethnic goods*, it is only natural that immigrant populations tend to gravitate towards these shops. While the existence of ethnic shops is a good indicator of immigrant residential patterns, the existence of co-ethnics, and especially kin, has proven to be stronger.

Secondary Migration and the Magnetic Effect of Co-Ethnics

The existence of co-ethnics and kin was cited multiple times as a reason for immigration and for living in an ethnic enclave. Many participants, regardless of their stance on ethnic enclaves, explained that living near co-ethnics is comfortable and safe. The existence of kin further compounds these sentiments, and is one of the main reasons given for secondary migration. As immigrants experience relative success in a new city, they will signal an area’s economic viability to other co-ethnics and kin. This was the case with Participant #1 – NB, as he originally resettled in Cincinnati, Ohio before moving to Columbus, along with a mass influx of other Nepali-Bhutanese immigrants beginning in 2012. New immigrants will move within their host country to join in economic, cultural, and social success, which is why ethnic enclaves can be established quickly and spontaneously.

A similar phenomenon was described by Participant #5 – AA, who remarked that the Ghanaian community of Columbus was established about 20 years ago after there was an influx of people from New York. He cited family members, friends, inexpensive housing, and shared language as reasons for the Ghanaians to move to Columbus. Participant #7 – SA was in a slightly different situation. Although his mother did not have a choice in moving to Columbus, she did play a role in bringing him to the United States by filing a petition for family reunification. This example highlights the importance of the family not only for the motivations of immigrants' residential patterns, but also the political recognition that many governments give of the family in order to protect it. Thus, the existence of co-ethnics, and especially family members, are substantially important when studying immigrant residential patterns and domestic movement.

Analysis Through *Segmented Assimilation* Theory

Although ethnic enclaves have been known to provide a wealth of resources to their residents, there was a surprising amount of pushback to them from the participants in this study. Many of the participants saw ethnic enclaves as isolating since they decrease the level of immigrants' host language acquisition, lessen their participation in neighborhood discussion, and make it difficult to interact with those in the mainstream host society. It is important to note that this viewpoint is very specific, as it predominately comes from immigrants who have not had to rely on ethnic enclaves as a supplement to their integration process. Within the framework of *segmented assimilation* theory, I claim that the majority of the participants in this research study could fit into two outcomes – adaptation and integration through a bicultural identity and assimilation into middle-class, mainstream society.

Navigating one's identity is a complex and ongoing process, yet many of the participants in this study have done so with ease. They have quickly and willingly developed their American identity while selectively choosing to retain components of their ethnic heritage, such as language, cultural and religious practices, clothing, and cuisine. However, because these participants have experienced considerable economic success, all of them, except one, live in neighborhoods with a majority white population. The immigrants in my research study have consciously chosen to prioritize their integration with their host society by both creating a bicultural identity and assimilating into middle-class, mainstream society. For all seven participants, host language acquisition was critically important to this process and many explained language as a tool to interact with and integrate into their host society.

For instance, Participant #2 – BA listed English as necessary for immigrants to gain citizenship in the United States, a status that he says legitimized his American identity and gave him protection under the Constitution. Participant #1 – NB noted that language skills give immigrants access to the job market, which he suggests can lead to the American Dream. Finally, Participant #5 – AA saw language as a vital mechanism for immigrants to connect with mainstream society, to exchange knowledge between cultures and people. These participants echo Iceland and Scopilliti (2008:80), who also perceive a direct correlation between language acquisition and immigrant integration since language gives them entry to the job market and connects them with social networks of the host society. Language skills also give immigrants the opportunity to pursue education and higher education, which have been proven to significantly impact the immigrant integration process. This research shows that on the *continuum of integration*, immigrants with host language acquisition experience, at a minimum, “moderate” levels of integration into their host society.

This dual outcome was unanticipated and underlines the complexity and diversity of the immigrant integration process, since many immigrants in this study fit the criteria of two outcomes in Portes and Zhou's (1993) *segmented assimilation* framework. Since many of my participants were highly educated, skilled, and have spent much time in their host country, they have been able to transition through different outcomes in one generation. These data suggest that the immigrant integration process can be expedited when immigrants experience success in the six factors of the immigrant experience. However, the reluctance of the mainstream host society to accept these immigrants has been a barrier to their integration.

Many scholars have warned that immigrants who face disenfranchisement by their host country could develop into a permanent "underclass." Iceland and Scopilliti's (2008:80) *ethnic disadvantage model* reasons that insurmountable systemic and structural barriers prevent immigrants from ever attaining full integration. In this model, low levels of income, power, and opportunity are influential enough to hinder integration, despite "increasing knowledge of the language of the new country and familiarity with its culture and customs" (Iceland 2009:27). Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that surges in a core-state's sense of nationalism and increases in xenophobia, racism, or prejudice can further compound this phenomenon of the *ethnic disadvantage*.

A Settler Society in Limbo

The United States is a nation settled, founded, populated, and developed by immigrant populations. This supports the prominent perspective that America is a *settler society*, one that "will thus extend a warmer welcome to immigrants and be more confident about their integration – and more comfortable about bringing immigrants and their children into the national fold" (Alba and Foner 2015:12). In 1883, Emma Lazarus was asked to write a poem to help fundraise

for the construction of the Statue of Liberty. The poem was entitled, “The New Colossus,” and written with the intention of creating a work that was meaningful to immigrants first arriving to the shores of New York’s harbors. It is forever memorialized at the base of the Statue of Liberty and stands as a symbol of American hope, freedom, and prosperity. It reads (Lazarus 1883:1):

Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

This poem embodies the notion of the United States as a *settler society*, where those who have suffered, those who need a home, and those who want to live free can feel welcome and safe. However, since many immigrants have now been living in the United States for multiple generations, the sentiments behind the *settler society* have begun to lessen.

A growing sense of nationalism from majority populations in the United States has endangered this notion of the *settler society* to the extent that most of the participants in this research study could recall their troubling experiences with ignorance. Wallerstein (2011:351) remarks that “class-consciousness” creates a cohesive identity for the majority population by defining a society’s cultural traits through language, lifestyles, and even religion. He argues that in the face of conflict or threat, such as an influx of new, different people, this notion of “class-consciousness” strengthens to become more exclusive (2011:353). The participants in this research study have listed their interactions with “class-consciousness” under the forms of prejudice.

Many cite their visible differences such as skin color, accents, expressions of religious identity, and stereotypes as challenges to their integration process. Participant #4 – PA stated that he has felt prejudice after multiple strangers said to him, “Go back to your country!” Participant #6 – EA explained that many Americans believe Egyptians still ride camels everywhere and are under the misconception that “they’re not living a modern life.” While in an airport, Participant #7 – SA was spontaneously questioned on his geographical origins and national identity after a stranger could not accept Participant #7 – SA’s assertion that he was from Ohio. These experiences reflect larger, systemic trends that impose such stereotypes and prejudices against immigrants and the countries that they come from.

Most recently, the current political climate, set by President Donald Trump, has aggravated this “class-consciousness” further. He is creating a sense of hyper-nationalism among majority groups in the United States by portraying immigrants as one of the greatest threats to the United States. President Trump’s campaign platform was based on promises to increase immigrant vetting, with a temporary ban on Muslims, to build a wall between the United States and Mexico, and to protect American citizens from domestic terrorism, largely terrorism committed by immigrants. Since his election, he has issued a series of Executive Orders to fulfill these promises. Many have interpreted these orders as an important national call to protect America’s core values, while others have perceived them as blatant discrimination and profiling through policy instituted by the government.

On January 25, 2017, President Trump issued two Executive Orders, Executive Order 13767, “Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements,” and Executive Order 13768, “Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States.” The first order mandates that a wall be built between the border between Mexico and the United States. The second,

Executive Order 13768 (2017:1) delineates illegal immigrants as a danger to national security through its “Purpose” section:

Interior enforcement of our Nation's immigration laws is critically important to the national security and public safety of the United States. Many aliens who illegally enter the United States and those who overstay or otherwise violate the terms of their visas present a significant threat to national security and public safety. This is particularly so for aliens who engage in criminal conduct in the United States.

Through this statement, Trump asserts that many immigrants are illegal, commit crimes, and pose a threat to citizens of the United States. In another Executive Order that he issued two days later, President Trump made a more pointed statement on which immigrants he perceives as the most dangerous.

On January 27, 2017, Trump published Executive Order 13769, “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States.” This order sought to suspend the entry of citizens from seven countries, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, for 90 days, suspend the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days, indefinitely ban the entry of Syrian refugees, amongst other mandates (The White House 2017). In the hours following Executive Order 13769’s release, hundreds of travelers were detained by government officials and denied admission into the United States, numerous lawsuits were filed to argue that the order violated the U.S. Constitution, and there was swift international outcry and condemnation of its release. In a decision by *State of Washington v. Trump*, portions of Executive Order 13769 were restrained. However, the Trump administration sent a striking message to precedent the United State’s attitude towards immigration and foreign policy.

If the President of the United States, one of the most powerful core-states in the world-system, deems a group of people as a “threat,” people within the United States and around the world will begin to fear and exclude that group of people. The fact that this group of people is

comprised of mobile immigrants aggravates this issue as the states that have previously accepted modern immigrants, like the United States, are now closing their borders and pushing for immigration reform. The stigma attached to immigration has worsened as a result of President Trump's rhetoric and policy, created a sense of hyper-nationalism amongst majority groups across the world-system, caused domestic immigrants to become fearful of their native populations, and has left the fates of those immigrants in transit as equally undetermined as the national identity of those states unwilling to give them aid. The notion of America as a *settler society* has become deeply disrupted, which has unforeseeable implications for future immigrant populations and may pose a threat to their integration processes.

If the current political and social trends continue, it is likely that the United States will lose its image as a *settler society*. The United States' sense of hyper-nationalism will continue to grow as policy encourages domestic growth without the influence of new immigrants. Today, in March 2017, President Trump is currently working to restrict the number of H-1B visas and the requirements to obtain them. This has economic ramifications for industries in the United States that rely on highly skilled immigrant workers, such as the high tech industry based in Silicon Valley. As restrictions on immigration into the United States continue to tighten, immigrants will no longer perceive of the United States as a viable country and move elsewhere. This goes against many of the founding ideals of the American, as a nation, and jeopardizes the diversity of the American identity.

America, the "Hyphen-Nation"

Most modern scholars (Alba and Foner 2015; Iceland 2009; White and Glick 1999) support the fluidity and plurality of the American identity in conjunction with specific racial/ethnic identity. These categories are institutionalized by systems such as the U.S. Census

Bureau, which collect data on categories and subcategories of race and ethnicity on the national level (White and Glick 1999:351). Thus, it is socially acceptable in the United States for immigrants to have a “hyphenated [identity], that is, combined with other ethnic labels” (Alba and Foner 2015:199). For the participants in this study, their navigation of both personal and national identity came easily. There was some resistance by the native population to accept these identity constructions, although such resistance did not seem to affect the participants’ understanding of their own identity. All six of the participants from Columbus, Ohio expressed faithfully and resiliently that they were American. Many expressed that they are “very American” and “proud” to be so despite their prior encounters with racism, xenophobia, and prejudice. As evidenced by the pseudonyms used for each participant, it is clear that they are comfortable with their multifaceted identity.

While the participants in the present study felt positively about their American-ness, this is not the same sentiment felt by all immigrants. Many immigrants face the struggle of navigating an identity between two cultures and heritages, when they feel they do not belong completely to one or the other. However, in spite of the deeply entrenched ignorance and political upheaval connected with immigration in the United States, Americans have the vocabulary to discuss and engage the topics of identity and race/ethnicity that other states in the world-system lack. Other people within society may be in conflict with a person’s identity, but this ability to navigate identity, endowed through language, allows Americans the freedom to present themselves exactly and precisely as they understand their own identity. Thus, we can be hopeful that just as the participants in this research study have declared, the national American identity will continue to coexist harmoniously with the various racial and ethnic identities that created such a nation in the first place.

France Without Hyphens

Participant #4 – S immigrated to France as a refugee, like many other participants in this research study. However, his subsequent experiences in his core-state, France, exist in stark contrast with those of the Columbus, Ohio participants. Like Participant #1 – NB, Participant #4 – S came to the United States as a highly skilled individual as he has professional certifications as a Doctor of Medicine, which he obtained in his country of origin, Syria. The data from the Columbus participants would suggest that Participant #4 – S should experience “moderate to strong” levels of integration into his host country given his professional qualifications. However, the French medical system does not recognize his prior education, which was obtained from a periphery area and not a semi-periphery area, like Participant #1 – NB. Thus, Participant #4 – S’s paperwork has been suspended and he is currently unable to practice medicine or obtain employment.

France’s reluctance to accept Participant #4 – S into the workforce acts as a massive barrier to his immigrant integration process and reflects French society’s uneasy disposition towards today’s modern immigrant populations. As described in existing literature, the French notion of identity is stricter than the United States’ since, until recently, they have never experienced any type of mass, international immigration. Furthermore, France’s Universalist model of understanding the French national identity lacks the vocabulary to attribute labels and understanding to individuals with diverse heritage, which limits the ability of French immigrants to express themselves. Alba and Foner (2015:2018) remark that European “ethnic and national identities tend to be cast in a competitive, or zero-sum, situation” where immigrants must choose between their ethnic or racial identity, and the national identity of their host country. Participant

#4 – S encountered France’s deeply embedded notions of French-ness through prejudice, which supports this idea of the European immigrant identity as a “zero-sum situation.”

Participant #4 – S clarified that being French requires one to “have a French father, grandfather, great-grandfather, et cetera.” He recounted multiple stories of complete strangers approaching him to blatantly reiterate that he is not French and never will be French. Many French people have stopped him on the streets to interrogate Participant #4 – S on where he is from and why he is in France. Participant #4 – S expressed that these incidents where he has to constantly explain himself upset him, but that he would rather people engage him in discussion than make assumptions about his character or identity. Although he has resigned that he will never be able to become “French” to the standards that French society demands, Participant #4 – S has undertaken numerous means to learn the French language and culture, expose himself to the native French population, and, ultimately, to make France his home.

Alba and Foner (2015:201) note that the French identity demands that, “[a]t a minimum, ethnic characteristics are supposed to be muted in the public sphere; individuals are expected to become part of the French nation as individuals, not as groups defined by a common ethnicity or religion.” In France, host language acquisition is held to a higher degree of influence than in the United States, as is amount of time spent in the host country and specific attachment to certain racial and/or ethnic groups; this is due to their strict notions of identity. In reaction to this, Participant #4 - S has taken intensive French language courses, decided to live amongst the majority population, and is resiliently attempting to join the French workforce as a medical professional. Furthermore, he rejects the idea of ethnic enclaves and argues that they hinder the immigrants’ ability to expose themselves to their host country and especially to learn the native language. Essentially, he has made as many changes as possible to integrate into French society.

While we were both in France, Participant #4 – S explained to me that Syria is a beautiful place, but that for now, it is no place to live. He said that, unfortunately, that means he would have to live the rest of his life in a country that he knew would not accept him as their own. “I would rather live as a second-class citizen anywhere in the world than return to Syria, it is no longer an option for me,” he said definitely. This perspective supports the ideas behind the *immigrant bargain*, as Participant #4 – S was willing to accept a life of an “other” in society as better than the alternative of living in war torn Syria. Participant #4 – S’s situation underscores just how undeniably varying the immigrant integration process can be between core-states in the world-system. Even though he knows French society will never effectively accept him as one of their own, he has made significant modifications in his life to attempt to integrate into his host society at the greatest degree that he can. Participant #4 – S’s resilience in the immigrant integration process highlights the true complexity of identity constructions. Accordingly, we are reminded that navigating the immigrant identity is a necessary, ongoing development and one that must have implications for the nation identity of actors within the world-system.

Conclusion

In the following chapter I present my final conclusions on the impact of ethnic enclaves on the immigrant integration process, specifically the navigation of personal and national identity. I also discuss the challenges of this research study and present my insights for future explorations of the immigrant identity.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSION

The Impact of Ethnic Enclaves

The immigrant populations of today's modern, world-system are extraordinarily mobile, diverse, and driven. These immigrants tend to settle in urban areas and bring their own heritage and identity to a new country, effectively diversifying the environments in which they settle. Many new immigrants tend to gravitate towards one another to create ethnic enclaves, neighborhoods with a high ethnic population or specific cultural identity. These ethnic enclaves can provide immigrants with networks of community support and act as a safe haven for culture, religion, language, and an expression of ethnic identity. However, the data from this research study suggests that not all immigrants need to rely on ethnic enclaves for this support.

Those immigrants with preexisting advantages in the six components of the immigrant life experience are not as reliant, if at all, on ethnic enclaves to aid in their integration process. The participants in the present study demonstrate that immigrants in the United States with high levels of educational attainment and skill, notably in entrepreneurship, have the most advantages in the immigrant integration process. Three of them had never lived in an ethnic enclave and two out of the remaining three had already moved out of the ethnic enclave where they had originally settled. This also supports the idea that ethnic enclaves can act as temporary *way stations* that give immigrant populations the necessary aid and access to resources that they need to eventually leave their ethnic enclaves and integrate more with the native population. The trends of participants in this research study parallel the experiences of older generations of immigrants to the United States, which could give insights into the integration processes of modern immigrants.

The impact of ethnic enclaves can endure over decades for some populations, as evidenced by the famous and lasting influence of Chinatowns. These are some of the largest

ethnic enclaves in the United States and many were established at the turn of the twentieth century, such as the Chinatown in San Francisco, Manhattan, and Seattle. Many cities remember their historical immigrant populations through these neighborhood identities. For example, Columbus has neighborhoods called German Village, Italian Village, and Hungarian Village, which reflect older vintages of immigrant populations. While these immigrant populations are more integrated with mainstream society today, their neighborhoods have been able to retain components of their original heritage through the name of the neighborhood, architecture styles, and ethnic shops. The experiences of past immigrant populations underscores to what extent the immigrant identity can change over time.

The Ever Dynamic Immigrant Identity

Ultimately, all of this data emphasizes how truly, intensely diverse the immigrant identity is, has been, and will continue to be. It is incredible that every single participant from Columbus definitely and enthusiastically embraced his identity as an American. However, the experiences of the Columbus participants differ from that of Participant #4 – S, who lives in France. Participant #4 – S had more difficulties integrating into his host society, which shows that different actors in the world-system have different immigrant integration processes. Thus, this study has found that each individual actor in the world system must study the six factors of immigrant life experience in order to understand the varying degrees of influence that each factor has for their nation. For example, although Participant #4 – S is highly educated and skilled as an orthopedic doctor, his certifications and degrees are not recognized by the French medical system. Subsequently, the data implies that his level of educational attainment affects his ability to integrate into France to a lesser degree than it would in the United States.

It is clear that the immigrant identity has a unique plurality and diversity across different peoples, places, and times. The modern world-system has created a globalized world where the exchange of people is becoming increasingly common. However, in response to this increased immigration, many nationalist movements have emerged to protect the homogeneity of powerful core-states. In turn, many immigrants today face a different form of resistance to their integration processes than in generations past. This can make the immigrant identity difficult to navigate as immigrants struggle to balance two cultures and heritages, both of which they feel they do not belong to completely. However, even in the face of deep opposition from their host countries, all of the immigrants in the present study resoundingly and resiliently acted to further their integration processes. Each Columbus participant passionately declared that they were American, but also happy and proud of their ethnic heritage. Even Participant #4 – S, while he encountered the most resistance from his host country, made numerous efforts to integrate into France despite thinking that he would never be viewed as conventionally “French.”

The ability of immigrants to adapt and to create an identity that retains their ethnic heritage and develops in conjunction with a new national identity is a skill that is currently being developed in this modern world-system. The narrative of the immigrant identity is one that remains dynamic and diverse. The testaments of the participants in this research study reflect their enduring determination to better their immigrant integration process; thus, giving hope that the plurality of the immigrant identity, especially for the United States, will endure as well.

Limitations of the Present Research Study

While the findings of this research study are useful, I do realize its limitations. One of the greatest challenges of this study has been its focal point, since I think that this project tried to encompass too many topics. By studying six factors of the immigrant life experience, the study

sought to understand more than its capabilities. The Independent Study project is conducted over the course of about seven months, which is not enough time to adequately analyze so many components. Therefore, it would have been more beneficial to have a more specific focal point, such as researching only one or two factors of the immigrant experience for a more in depth analysis. This extra attention would allow for more quantitative analysis using more statistical data pulled from the United States Census Bureau, another limitation of the present study.

This study has been qualitatively based in seven interviews. If there was more time, or if I had had a narrower focus, I would have been able to supplement these data with empirical data. Specifically, I would have preferred to include data on racial identity, income, literacy rates, educational attainment, or employment status for immigrants in Columbus. Another large limitation to this study has been the demographic makeup of the participants. The present study should have had more participants across different variables of gender, immigrant generation, country of origin, and age. Although, it also could have been beneficial to hone in on one vintage of immigrant generation, focusing on one gender, and one country of origin. Again, this could have allowed for a more in depth analysis.

I have largely focused on immigration within the United States and there has been little discussion on France. Throughout this study, I found it challenging to cross culturally analyze between two countries, when my knowledge is disproportionately greater on one than the other. A more explicit cross-cultural analysis could have provided more insights on the differences between immigrant integration processes between core-states. In conclusion, a smaller focal point for this research study would have allowed for more in depth analysis.

Insights for Future Research

The scope of the present study was too large, an Independent Study project requires a more concise hypothesis. However, I would encourage future research on ethnic enclaves and their influence on the immigrant integration process across core-states to further develop the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2. The limitations of the theoretical framework when applied to different core-states highlights the important of understanding how influential each component of the immigrant experience is. For example, through this research study conducted in the United States, it was found that immigrants' level of educational attainment and time in America were the most significant indications of their strength of integration into host society. Yet Participant #4 – S has shown that in France, even with notable educational and professional experience, he has been unable to integrate to the level of other immigrants in this research study from the United States. Furthermore, current literature and social trends indicate that immigrants with visible differences in France and other European countries face more deeply entrenched notions of prejudice than in the United States.

Accordingly, it is critical to evaluate the applications of this theoretical framework to other nations outside of the United States. Furthermore, it would worthwhile to reevaluate the theoretical framework in a comparison between President Obama's administration and President Trump's administration. The current, hyper-nationalistic tone of America's immigration policy could change the degrees of influence for the six factors of immigrant experience that have been outlined in this research study.

Final Thoughts

The present research study shows how varying and complex the immigrant identity is. However, we need to remember that immigrants are not the only ones who need to confront and

navigate this concept of identity. Whole nations, especially the United States, which has historically been defined as a *settler society*, need to confront their national identity as well. As the modern world-system is increasingly globalized, we need to take another look at how we define national identity and why. Continuing to *other* new immigrants will force them into ethnic enclaves and, possibly, create a segregated and permanent underclass in society.

The participants in this research study have advocated for and proved how knowledge, culture, and heritage can be shared between immigrant populations and native populations. The world-system needs to realize these flows and integrate them into the very strength of its apparatus. Immigration represents an important circulation and exchange of human experience and is a phenomenon to be celebrated, not repressed.

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APPENDIX A: HSRC MATERIALS

An Examination of Ethnic Enclaves' Influence on Immigrants' Acculturation Process in Columbus, Ohio with Discussions From France

Protocol ID	2016/09/37
PI	Caitlin Ziegert McCombs
PI Type	Student
Faculty/Staff PI	Paul Kardulias
Faculty/Staff PI Acceptance Status	Accepted
Department	
Submitted By	Caitlin Ziegert McCombs
Co-PI's	
External P.I.'s	
Review Type	Full Review
Approval Status	Full Board Approved Pending Revisions
Date Received	10/14/2016
Date of Completion	
Date Approved	10/20/2016
Approval Expires	10/19/2017
Proposed Start Date	11/01/2016
End Date	01/16/2017
Date Closed	
Funding Source	Copeland Fund for Independent Study
IRB Review Fee	
Consent Waived	Not Requested
Waiver of Documentation of Informed Consent	Not Requested

Full Board Review Requested Questions

Date Last Updated: 10/14/2016 4:08 PM EDT

Age range of participants --- select the response that best describes your study:

Answer:

- ✓1. Adults only (defined in the U.S. as 18 years of age or greater)
2. Minors only (defined in the U.S. as < 18 years of age)
3. Minors and adults

Please describe the age range of participants (using "years" and/or "months" as appropriate to be precise; Example A: 18 months - 36 months; Example B: 18 years - 36 years).

Answer: 18 years - 65 years

Describe the population to be studied (e.g., College of Wooster sophomores, children at The College of Wooster Nursery School, voting age citizens walking on the sidewalk in downtown Wooster).

Answer:

First and second generation immigrants in who live in Columbus, Ohio and native specialists on immigration in France.

How will potential subjects be contacted initially? (You must also upload copies of e-mail recruitment letters, ads, phone scripts, etc. --- these forms can be uploaded after you click on "SAVE" below)

Answer:

I will first contact nonprofit organizations, such as Columbus Refugee and Immigrant Services and US Together, in order to connect with immigrant populations in Columbus. I will then ask individuals, in person, if they would like to participate in my research study on their experience with ethnic enclaves. If they show interest in my project I will provide them with a copy of my HSRC Consent form, my contact information, a copy of my abstract, and I will explain the purpose of my research study, which is "To learn about the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' understanding of their personal and national identity." I will use a snowball sampling method to connect with other immigrants in Columbus after my first few interviews.

In order to contact native specialists on immigration in France, I will e-mail recruitment letters to individuals I hope to include in my research study. The recruitment letter will introduce me, detail my project, and inquire about the specialist's level of interest in participating in my research.

Anonymity: Will your study be **COMPLETELY** anonymous?

Check "YES" if you will never know the names of participants at any point in your study.

Check "No" if you will know know names of participants at some point in your study.

Answer:

1. YES
- ✓2. NO

Anonymity & Confidentiality: Please select the option that best describes your study.

Answer:

1. I will never know names of anyone who participates in this study. Examples may include naturalistic observations or anonymous online surveys.

- ✓
2. I will know the names or other identifying information of participants during recruitment and/or sign-up, and/or I will test/interview participants individually so that I know their data during the study, but names or identifying information **will not be** paired with data. (Data will always be anonymous)

 3. Data will be paired with names or identifying information during the study, but the data will be stripped of all identifying information before analysis --- and then the data will never be able to be paired with identifying information again. (Data will NOT be anonymous for a while, but they will become anonymous at the time of analysis)

 4. Data will not be anonymous, but I will do everything I can to protect the identity of participants during all phases of the study, including reporting of results. (i.e., data are not anonymous, but I will keep data confidential)

 5. Data are neither anonymous nor confidential.

If you answered Question 13 with Option 3, please explain how you will deidentify the data.

If you answered Question 13 with Option 4, please explain how you will keep data confidential.

If you answered Question 13 with Option 5, please offer a rationale for using participant names in your study.

Answer:

What direct or indirect benefit to the research subjects may result from this study?

Answer:

There are no direct benefits to the research subjects participating in this research study. However, participants may feel indirect benefits of positive emotions that occur as a result of discussing their experiences and relationships involving ethnic enclaves.

Is any deception involved in your research?

Answer:

1. Yes
- ✓2. No

If you selected 1-"Yes" to question 16, then you are using deception. Please explain and justify the deception.

Answer:

Please select the option that best describes the financial support for this study:

Answer:

1. This research is unfunded and will be conducted even if there are no funds
- ✓2. Funding is pending, but the research will be conducted even if the funding is not approved

3. Funding is pending and the project will not begin until funds are available.
4. The research is funded.

Are you recording data with audio or video recording devices ?

***If so, you must upload a description regarding these procedures (Please see info in "Notes" at bottom of page).

Answer:

- ✓1. YES
2. NO

Additional Documentation	10/14/2016 Interview Questions for Immigrants.pdf 10/14/2016 Interview Questions for French Specialists.pdf 11/04/2016 HSRC Consent Form FRENCH SPECIALISTS - AMENDED.pdf
Protocol Description	10/14/2016 Audio Recording Device Procedure.pdf
Consent Form	10/14/2016 HSRC Consent Form IMMIGRANTS .pdf 10/14/2016 HSRC Consent Form FRENCH SPECIALISTS .pdf
Notifications	10/23/2016 Full Board Approved - Pending Revisions - IRB ID: 2016/09/37.pdf
CF Revisions	11/04/2016 HSRC Consent Form IMMIGRANTS - AMENDED.pdf
Recruitment Materials	10/14/2016 Recruitment Email for French Specialists.pdf 10/14/2016 Information Sheet to Pass Out to Immigrants .pdf
Abstract	This study will examine the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' acculturation process and navigation of personal and national identity in Columbus, Ohio and France. Through this study I will develop a critical understanding of the role that ethnic enclaves play for immigrants across different ethnic populations and generations. Specifically, I will focus on the networks of social capital, knowledge, economics, and culture that emerge within ethnic enclaves. I will also study host language acquisition of immigrants, and its ability to shape immigrants' perceptions of their personal and national identity. In order to better understand the relationship between ethnic enclaves and immigrants' conceptualization of identity, I will conduct the majority of my interviews with immigrants living in Columbus, Ohio and then a few with specialists on immigration in France. The interview questions for immigrants participating in this research study will explore individual identity, the influence of ethnic enclaves on perceived importance of ethnic culture and language, and survey sentiments of connectedness with their host country. Interview questions for specialists on immigration in France will inquire about the existence, structure, and influence of ethnic enclaves in France, the resources available to aid immigrants in the acculturation process in France, as well as their perception of the influence of French national identity on the formation of personal identity among immigrants. My research study's discussion of ethnic enclaves in France by native specialists will give supplemental context to the different ways that another country understands ethnic enclaves and the immigrant identity. Involvement in this study is purely voluntary and participants will not have any direct benefits from this study. However, this thought-provoking research will provide an enhanced awareness of the complex, ever transforming influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' acculturation process and hopefully enlighten different perspectives of personal and national identity for all.

Annual Reports

Year	Status	Due Date	Date Received	Date Approved	Submitted By
1	Due	09/21/2017			

Total # Subjects Enrolled Since Last Annual Report:

Total # Subjects Enrolled in Study to Date:

Total # Subjects Who Have Died: 0

Total # Subjects Who Have Completed Study:

Total # Subjects Still Active:

Continuation Status:

Unforeseen/Adverse Events: None

Describe Unforeseen/Adverse Events:

Additional Comments:

Amendments

Adverse Events

Event / Date	Status / Comments / Files	Submitted By
No Adverse Events Found.		

Protocol Deviations

Event/Date	Status	Deviation File/Comments	Submitted By
No Protocol Deviations Found			

DSMB Reports

Report / Date	Status / Comments / Files	Submitted By
No DSMB Reports Found.		

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION SHEET (INCLUDING CONSENT FORM)

Caitlin Ziegert McCombs
The College of Wooster
Sociology Major
Cell: 740-618-3115
Email: cziegertmcombs17@wooster.edu

An Examination of Ethnic Enclaves' Influence on Immigrants' Integration Process in Columbus, Ohio with Discussions from France

This research study will examine the influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' integration process and navigation of personal and national identity in Columbus, Ohio and France. Through this study I will develop a critical understanding of the role that ethnic enclaves play for immigrants across different ethnic populations and generations. Specifically, I will focus on the networks of social capital, knowledge, economics, and culture that emerge within ethnic enclaves. I will also study host language acquisition of immigrants, and its ability to shape immigrants' perceptions of their personal and national identity. In order to better understand the relationship between ethnic enclaves and immigrants' conceptualization of identity, I will conduct the majority of my interviews with immigrants living in Columbus, Ohio. The interview questions for immigrants participating in this research study will explore individual identity, the influence of ethnic enclaves on perceived importance of ethnic culture and language, and survey sentiments of connectedness with their host country. Involvement in this research study is purely voluntary and participants will not have any direct benefits from this study. However, this thought provoking research will provide an enhanced awareness of the complex, ever transforming influence of ethnic enclaves on immigrants' integration process and hopefully enlighten different perspectives of personal and national identity for all.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

COLLEGE OF WOOSTER

An Examination of Ethnic Enclaves' Influence on Immigrants' Integration Process in Columbus, Ohio with Discussions from France

Principal Investigator: Caitlin Ziegert McCombs, Sociology/Anthropology Department: The College of Wooster

Purpose

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The goal of this study is to develop a critical understanding of the role that ethnic enclaves play for immigrants across different ethnic populations and generations. Specifically, the goal is to examine the networks of social capital, knowledge, economics, and culture that emerge within ethnic enclaves, as well as host language acquisition, and their ability to shape immigrants' perceptions of their personal and national identity.

Procedures

If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked a series of questions regarding your racial and ethnic identity, your opinion on the perceived importance of ethnic culture and language in relation to ethnic enclaves, and your sentiments of connectedness with your host country.

Risks

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to stop your participation at any point and have the right to not answer any research question. Withdrawal of your consent or discontinued participation in this study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you would otherwise be entitled with any agency, such as [insert agency that created connection between myself and participant] in Columbus. Some people who participate in this study may experience negative emotions or feelings as they recount their experiences and relationships involving ethnic enclaves, which could cause some discomfort.

Benefits

There are no direct benefits for those who participate in the study.

Confidentiality

Any information you give will be held anonymous. I will know name and other identifying information during recruitment and I will personally conduct interviews with all participants, but names or identifying data will not be paired with any data. I will utilize an audio recording device to capture data during the interview process of my research, although all data and information collected will be held confidential, as unique number codes will be assigned to each interview. Both the codes and interview data will be stored on a password-protected external hard drive. The interview recordings will be destroyed once all the data is transcribed, thus, all data will become anonymous at the conclusion of this study.

Costs

There is no cost to you beyond the time and effort required to complete the procedure described above.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

You may refuse to participate in the study. If you decide to participate, you may change your mind about being in the study and withdraw at any point during the process.

Questions

If you have any question, please ask me. If you have additional questions later, you can contact me by email at chiegertmcombs17@wooster.edu. If there are further questions or concerns, you may contact my advisor, Dr. P. Nick Kardulias by email at pkardulias@wooster.edu.

Consent

Your signature below will indicate that you have decided to volunteer as a research subject, that you have read and understand the information provided above, and that you are at least 18 years of age.

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

You will be provided a copy of this form upon request.

APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic and Background Questions

- What is your age?
- What gender do you identify with?
- What race do you identify with? For example, I identify as Asian.
- What ethnicity do you identify with? For example, I identify as Asian American.
- Where were you born?
- Where were your parents born?
- How long have you lived in the United States?
- Why did you move to the United States?

Perceived Influence of Ethnic Enclaves on Participant's Life Experience

- Does a particular ethnic group characterize your neighborhood? If yes, what group?
- Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity (i.e. through holidays, festivals, parades, etc.)? If yes, does your entire neighborhood participate in these events?
- Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?
- Conversely, do you think that there are any particular disadvantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?
- Are you part of an ethnic organization or non-profit organization?
 - Does this organization provide any resources to you, your family, or your community?
 - Do you have any specific responsibilities or positions/roles within this organization?
- What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people in your neighborhood?
- Do you think that it is important to know English if you live in the United States?
- Do you feel that the way you personally identify racially/ethnically is different from the way your racial/ethnic identities are perceived by others? If yes, in what ways?
- Has your racial or ethnic identity changed over time? If yes, in what ways?
- If you were born in the United States, what differences, if any, can you identify in terms of how your experiences with American culture compare with those of your parents or other relatives abroad?
- Do you think of yourself as American?

APPENDIX D – INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Participant #1 – NB

Conducted on December 19, 2016

At 11:00 am in Ethnic Shop

Transcribed on December 30, 2016

Caitlin: The first question – the first couple questions are about you – so what is your age?

Participant #1 - NB: I'm roughly... I was born in '72, means I'm 44.

Caitlin: And then, what gender are you?

Participant #1 - NB: I'm male.

Caitlin: What race do you identify with?

Participant #1 - NB: I am, um, Indo-Aryan. What do you call that? (laughs)

Caitlin: And what ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #1 - NB: Nepali.

Caitlin: Where were you born?

Participant #1 - NB: Bhutan.

Caitlin: Where were your parents born?

Participant #1 - NB: Bhutan.

Caitlin: How long have you lived in the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: 8 years.

Caitlin: And you said that you moved to Cincinnati first?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, we were originally in Cincinnati. Moved to Columbus in 2012.

Caitlin: Why did you move to the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: It was a part of a, um, program by seven nations, all over the world, to give us a new life for us refugees. We were living in Nepalese camps administered by the United Nations. And our host country, Bhutan, how do you say – the country we belong to – didn't want to take us back. Political things. So we were living in political asylum in Nepal. Finally these seven countries came up and said, "Hey guys, you are hardworking, why not come to different countries and live a good life?" So we accepted that.

Caitlin: Did they disperse you guys around the world or mostly in the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: Most of us were in the United States, of the 100,000 people that have resettled, 80,000 have been in the United States.

Caitlin: Wow, so the majority of them moved here?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, so – others have gone to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, UK.

Caitlin: Everywhere. And you came with your family?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah. Yeah. I came with my Mom and Dad. I have two sons, wife.

Caitlin: Nice, so your whole family? That was – lucky and nice. (Participant #1 - NB laughs). Now I have some questions about ethnic enclaves and that kind of influence on your experience, I guess. So I define ethnic enclaves as neighborhoods in an urban area that have a strong cultural identity and a high ethnic population. Does a particular ethnic group characterize your neighborhood? And if so, what group?

Participant #1 - NB: This neighborhood particularly belongs to, well; when we came it was predominately Somali community. Of course, when I say predominately, it does mean that there are more than 20-30% in this community. Um, the rest of the population used to be native, you know, mainstream American. And when we came here, that was the main new immigrant community that was Somali community. Other than that, we Bhutanese started filling the gaps. Now we are, I can't say exactly what percentage of the population we belong to, but we are around 30,000.

Caitlin: That's a pretty big percent, I'm sure. And so did that all happen recently – within the past couple of years or since you moved here in 2008?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah. You know, in 2012, when I moved to Columbus, I started this business, so I moved here. That time our population was only around 2,000, 2,500. [incomprehensible] And a lot of /tails/ moving in. So, most of the population that we have here are secondary migrant.

Caitlin: Yeah, no! I've heard about that – post secondary migration. So, you guys heard about Columbus and this neighborhood.

Participant #1 - NB: So, um, most of our people from other states – California, Oregon, Arizona, Texas, Georgia – the started moving in droves.

Caitlin: To Columbus. Who started it? Or did somebody just say, “This is a good place with a viable community?”

Participant #1 - NB: It happens like this: Once I moved in, I’m kind of a highly appreciated person in the community. Not to brag, but other people. (phone rings, Participant #1 - NB silences the call) And um, once I moved here, they asked me, “Why have you moved particularly to Columbus?” I told them, just a business. Wait ‘till you start a business in a new place. I thought, I saw that it was going to be a big place – most of our people are going to be here. So I told them [incomprehensible], “We’re good.” But, that is a miniscule part of the reason. The reason is, number one, Ohio, and particularly Columbus, is really accessible benefits. Number one. Number two, it’s a booming place. There are very limited number of cities, inner cities in America, where business is booming. This is one of them. And thirdly, since a sizeable population started to live here, around 5,000, 6,000, then most of the people around other states, they had some kids and kin in our community, so they wanted to move in here.

Caitlin: So family reasons?

Participant #1 - NB: Yes, it’s a magnative factor and a cascading effect. So that is why, we find now really the largest concentration of our people in the States, in Columbus. (Participant #1 - NB chuckles)

Caitlin: So the next question is: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity, for example, through holidays, festivals, or parades – and if so, does your entire neighborhood participate in these events?

Participant #1 - NB: Our community, specifically, is a Hindu community. We are 90% Hindus, 5% Buddhist, and some of our people are in Christianity, of late. So, the 90% Hindus, their festivals, big festivals, they fall in the month of – we follow the Lunar Calendar, so that doesn’t specifically align with the Gregorian Calendar – and usually moves between late September and early November. So in between that.

Caitlin: And so you guys have a lot of events during that time then, your community?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, we have two big festivals, and our community does a lot of, you know, cultural get togethers and we come together, we do a lot of, you know, partying and you know (mumbles).

Caitlin: Do you do it at someone’s house or in a public space?

Participant #1 - NB: No, it happens in homes also and there is social /format/ in that also. So we come together in some kind of hall, usually we book school auditoriums. And we get together and we do some [incomprehensible] and, you know, dances, singing competitions, what not. And some of our members have their own language, linguistic provenances, and too they have dances. There are some poets. Lots of things around. So, uh, we do it in a social format, in the sense that we (pauses) showcase our cultural identity. Specifically wearing cultural clothes, costumes. And we call the local movement officials, our other philanthropical organizations, peoples from those organizations and all that. So we celebrate that way. And at home, it has a very religious as well as social background – going back to several million years. The Hindu religion, of course being the oldest, we have lots of baggage from the past. So it has a lot of, um, tendons and ligaments that goes into the religious fabric and comes out into a social fabric. So, one of the festivals – we seek blessings from our elders. We go to our elders, our elder brothers, our uncles, dad/mom, and seek blessings. And the other festival, we honor our sisters. And we seek blessings from our sisters. So, these are the two great festivals that we celebrate. Women, when we honor our sisters, we have high regard for women in our society. We worship them in fact! So we have a high regard and, um, that has come as a kind of continuum from several thousands of years and we go celebrating them.

Caitlin: So deeply rooted in religious and spiritual traditions. That kind of transition into the, like you said, the social fabric of the community? That’s so neat! So the second or third question is: Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population? Or with a large population of, like you said, 30,000 strong of Nepali people?

Participant #1 - NB: You can say any... What was your particular question?

Caitlin: Are there any particular advantages? So you had said, like you know, there are religious and spiritual support from them...(Participant #1 - NB interrupts)

Participant #1 - NB: Of course there are advantages, as well as disadvantages. The advantages are that, you know, going back to some of the incidences in our community. Our community, one particular instance of, um, statistics is [incomprehensible]. That is society. It is the highest in the United States, among new ethnic immigrants. Now, they’re the highest, and why it is happening is because of the cultural shock. Feeling of dealienation. Suffocation. They feel like they are not being heard or that they don’t have a lot of people to talk to. Language barrier. Cultural barrier. So, lots of people have – say quits! And just last year there were two people who committed suicide. One in Vermont and the other in Georgia, I think. So these things have been happening. The advantages of being around in a big community is that, it is very much evident, in lots of the cities around the United States, but, interest in Columbus has been two items. But there is only one incident that happened only two to three months ago. Uh, there was only one suicide that happened and people, you know, that person died. So, there’s well established that when people, lots of people around, people don’t commit suicide.

Caitlin: There's lots of support?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah. Not necessarily like a people support, but they can talk to and assure their problems and they are... when people have ways of, you know, venting their anguish, that part subsides. So that is one of the advantages. The other advantage is that we can still protect and preserve our traditions. So when there's a big community around, there's easier to make it feasible to people, for people to get together and do those kinds of activities, where people don't feel they are alone. (trails off)

Caitlin: And then, the next question is... So you had said that you're a leader of a community organization and so the next question is: Are you part of an ethnic organization, or nonprofit organization?

Participant #1 - NB: Yes, I'm the chairman Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus. It's very interesting name, Bhutanese-Nepali (laughs). Bhutan and Nepal are two different countries. Ethnically we belong to Nepal, politically and by virtue of birth and /citizenship/ we are Bhutanese. Our forefathers were taken to Bhutan some hundreds of years ago by the then ruler of Bhutan for development. And we, in the course of time, came up with lots of development and what not, and our society became a part and parcel of Bhutan. By virtue of hard work and - our people, they are workaholics. They don't sleep, they want to work! And it so happened that they were controlling the fertile and the most prestigious of all the jobs in the country. Fertile lands. So the ruling elite, which belonged to the minority Bhutanese, Ngalop race, they hatched a plan and we were politically victimized and expelled from the country. Fearing that they would be minority after some time. So, it's um, a political movement, and so we were kicked out of Bhutan. Nevertheless, we preserved our identity as ethnically Nepalese. We used to carry on the same festivals that the Nepalese did in Nepal. And Southern Nepal, even if you go today, it is still preserved, despite the Bhutanese government having gun hoe on "one nation, one people policy." That means, ethnically, religiously, culturally, everything has to be homogeneous. That is their brand...slogan. But our people have not given up their customs and traditions, yet. So what I hear right now, the news is that the monarch of Bhutan has finally said, "We don't want to kill your traditions, we want you guys to be here, let us protect your traditions." He has realized finally that it is not good. So, he has started to constructing and giving Sanskrit education, Sanskrit is the language of our religion. And uh, also (phone rings - he silences it once more) lots of uh, lots of schools, places for learning and importing our cultural, social, and religious knowledge, have started coming up in Bhutan also. Because he has realized that is, you know - in fact, Buddhism came out of Hinduism. It is nothing... the Northern Bhutanese people did follow Buddhism. The same religion as the Japanese and Thai people follow. And Buddhism and Hinduism, they are one in the same thing, in fact the same dogmas, the same principles. So he has finally realized that it is not good to... Developing diversity is good for the country so, things have come up good now. But we lost our country.

Caitlin: Do you think that you'll ever go back?

Participant #1 - NB: I want to go back, even if they give me a thousand Americas, I love my country better. (laughs). Um, such a beautiful country, you know? So lush green and you go to the Himalayas, the northern peaks, the tallest mountain peaks in the north.

Caitlin: Have you seen them, the Himalayas?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, I used to live there. I was educated in Northern Bhutan. There's a very strange system in Bhutan - used to be, I don't know what it is now. But, even then, at that time. I passed my sixth standard in 1986 and the system in Bhutan. The children in Southern Bhutan have to go to Northern Bhutan and people in Northern Bhutan used to be sent to Southern Bhutan so there's a cultural mix, they'll try to understand each other. Yeah, it was very early system. Very early system, there used to be hundred percent free education. The government used to give hostel facilities for outsiders, means people who are out of their hometown. So I was one of those recipients of those kinds of things and I used to study up in the Himalayas, you know? Terribly cold (laughs). There's no air conditioning facility there, so imagine how cold it is. So, anyway. People have lived through centuries, it's very good country. Beautiful, beautiful country. I long to go back. I'll go back once or twice during my lifetime. The place where I was born, I want to see that! (chuckles).

Caitlin: Of course! So, the next question is: The organization that you're apart of, The Bhutanese-Nepali Community, does that organization provide any resources to you, your family, or any of your neighbors?

Participant #1 - NB: The Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus was established in 2009 by some of the people who were resettled early in this city. But, that activity, the activities organization did not pick up till 2013. Once I became the chairman, we started working on different spheres. We expanded our partnership with local philanthropical organizations like CRIS, US Together, we talked with The Columbus Foundation. So lots of activities we are doing. The activities that we do are number one, we help the people in benefits accessibility, means advocacy for them. We also have done paperwork, translation, interpretation services. We have English classes for people who are ill-equipped with language services. We have citizenship classes for people who are, who want to be immigrant citizens. We also have ethnic language services for people who are aspiring not to forget their language and traditions.

Caitlin: Is that for young people mostly?

Participant #1 - NB: Uhhh, yeah. School-going kids. We have dance classes also for our cultural thing. People want to know our culture and dance and whatnot. Then we have also partnered with the local healthcare organizations and we have healthcares for our community members. For health awareness and wellness. Also, we have sports within the organization. And uh, different sports like basketball, football, volleyball – our people like soccer and volleyball very much. So we have tournaments during summer vacation. And people, kids from around the United States, from out of the community, they come to Columbus. Fifty to sixty teams come around and they compete! It's a big event. We sponsor that, we do a lot of, you know, preparation for that. So these are the things that we do. We have elders come in in different times, maybe twice or thrice a week. And we talk to them, what their problems are, at least they don't feel alienated. So that they feel they are within the community and they feel okay.

Caitlin: Yeah, everybody's integrated! That sounds very comprehensive, all the resources that you guys provide to this community.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, so right now we have a grant from ORR, that is Office of Refugee Resettlement, federal grant program, they give us for three years. We are in the final year. So, every year we are provided with \$150,000 or something and we can have those programs with that money. And we have three full time staffers, one is an educative director, the other is a program manager, and the third one is a case worker, case manager.

Caitlin: And then there's you, right?

Participant #1 - NB: I'm not employed, I'm a volunteer. So I'm on the delegative party, we meet every month, sometimes in two months, and we try to monitor what is going on, what is to be done. We give direction to the people.

Caitlin: Yeah, because you can't pay for all those staffers. I'm sure it's mostly led by volunteers from the community, leaders, like yourself, who step into those roles.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, BNCC has a big board. A general board of 25 members. And from that board, we have 5 elected people for the Executive Board. So, we, executive board meet very frequently and general board meets every... twice a year. So the general board gives us broad guidelines and we follow that into small pieces for the staffers to implement.

Caitlin: So it's a nice system so that everyone can have their voice heard – it's very organized.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, it's been a learning process. The learning curve is very steep. I don't know, still I feel that we haven't been able to do a lot. The youngsters who are very interested in getting leadership, we are training them. So the next election, next Thanksgiving – every Thanksgiving – we have an election. So, um, once we have the next election, we'll have the youngsters come in, for leadership and all. (laughs and trails off)

Caitlin: So the next question is: What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people in your neighborhood?

Participant #1 - NB: Interesting, um. Most of our people, 100% of them speak Nepali. Some of them speak their own, you know, we have different ethnicities within us, so there are sub-ethnicities. Like Tamangs, Gurungs, Rais, you know, those are Nepali people, but of Mongolian race. Chinese, origin. Now they have their own language, dialects, that they speak at home. One, Nepali's first, second Damang, third Gurung, fourth Rai, and some of our people speak, Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. Fifty percent of them speak Hindi, the Indian language, because well, they're in the camps for two decades. They used to live in India and work in India, so they have learned the language.

Caitlin: People were in the camps for two decades?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, a whole generation you know. Many were born in the camps and they have children now.

Caitlin: How long were you in the camps? Were you in the camps at all?

Participant #1 - NB: I lived in the camps very very minimally. I was educated outside, in India, so I'm an accountant. My degree is from India.

Caitlin: Wait, where did you get your education?

Participant #1 - NB: Till 1992, say 1991, till the end of 1991 I was in Bhutan. So I did my 10th standard, 10th grade from Bhutan. And thereafter I was not educated, we were expelled. So no question about getting education in Bhutan. So I came to India and Indian and Bhutanese education systems are almost the same, so very well, I was accepted into the Indian system and I started studying in India. I started where I left in Bhutan, you know. So, um, I did my graduation from North Bengali, in the city, and I taught in the city, I was a gold medalist.

Caitlin: Wait, so you taught at the university?

Participant #1 - NB: No. I got educated in the city! So I was a gold medalist there. So those days, I just become nostalgic. Terrible. Working hard all the time. I used to sleep at midnight and get up at 6 o'clock. So, with hard work, I did my graduation, at the same time I'm a software engineer. I did my software engineering degree from

NIIT, the premier software institution in the world. National Institution of Information Technology from India. And with those two degrees, accounting and information technology, I started my CPA education in India, Certified Public Accountant. They call it charter accountant in India. So, even then I passed in 2002 and started practicing as an accountant.

Caitlin: In India?

Participant #1 - NB: Nepal. In Kathmandu. In that process, the US started doing the census and all these things, they started the “you have a new life in the United States” program. So people came up and we just grabbed that opportunity (laughs).

Caitlin: So that’s when you came over here. And you’re an accountant here, right? You provide services for people in the community?

Participant #1 - NB: I do tax return and accounting for them.

Caitlin: Wow, that’s so amazing that you have a skillset that you can provide for your community and help.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, moment I came to the United States in Cincinnati, um, I went around a couple of accounting firms and I told them, “Hey, what do you do here, what do you cook? They said well we cook books! (laughs) And, do you outsource some of your services to India?” They said, “Yes.” I’m a real Indian accountant, I know that you ship them there, I can work there. If they just give me the work. I started work the very week I landed in America. So, it’s a kind of hands on experience that I have. Um, it’s a good skill I think. These kinds of skills you get jobs anywhere.

Caitlin: Um, so the next question is back to language: Do you think it is important to know English if you live in the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: What is the question?

Caitlin: Um, do you think that it is important to know English if you live in the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: Not only important, I think it is (laughs), it’s life you know? Without English, how can somebody eat. One may work in a warehouse, entry level job without good knowledge of English, but that is not ultimately what American Dream means. One has to be really good in English and, you know, the local way of speaking English, way of understanding people. English, as spoken in the United Kingdom or in Asia is different than what they speak in America.

Caitlin: Do you think that the majority of your population speaks English?

Participant #1 - NB: Around 30%. Rest, around 60% they know manageable English, but the 10% extra are older people. People above 60, 75. They have never been exposed to any kind of education, they’re illiterate, illiterate in even their own language. They only speak. So there’s no way they’re going to know English. There’s no way. We need to support them. The biggest institution that we have, that has been very supportive to these kinds of guys, above 65, is the family institution that we have. You know, joint family system. We don’t have any problem living with our parents, in fact we encourage them to live with us. We help them, we serve them. And, uh, in our tradition and culture. It’s the duty of the children to look after their parents in old age. It is not good for a parent to be kept in a nursing home, they should be kept at home. Being served by children. That’s one of the biggest baggage that we carry. At times, it is, um, roadblock, also. It has been a roadblock for me. You know, I have to serve my parents, or else I would be working for some multinational community somewhere out in Hawaii or somewhere. Being a very good accountant, I could be working in England. So, um, it is a tradeoff.

Caitlin: Yeah, career, versus family values.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, had it been that way, my little boys, one is 8, the other is 4. Um, they’re enjoying their grandparents.

Caitlin: Oh yeah, I’m sure. The relationship that they have with them.

Participant #1 - NB: And having to stay with their kin parents is one of the biggest kinds of education that one can gain in the early, formative years. So, it is such a big education, that no one can give. So there’s a tradeoff I think. I’m sacrificing my American Dream, but they’re also getting a valued education that I can’t give.

Caitlin: And especially one that’s so deeply rooted in Nepali-Bhutanese history, tradition, yeah...

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, so it’s a tradeoff... I’m happy. I am happy.

Caitlin: Um, so let’s see. The next question is: Do you feel – this is kind of interesting – do you feel the way you personally identify racially or ethnically, so as Nepali-Bhutanese, um, do you think that this is different from the way that your racial or ethnic identity is perceived by others? So people in the United States or other people in this neighborhood or community, that maybe aren’t from your community necessarily. So do you think that they kind of perceive you differently than the way that you identify with?

Participant #1 - NB: You mean to say? Let me see your question. (Participant #1 - NB reads question) Okay, yes. I have come across some instance here. Most of our people, they look like, and they speak like, and the traditions as such, they identify...most of the Americans are (unclear) as Indians.

Caitlin: Oh, they think that you guys are just Indians?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah. But, being Nepalese is altogether different from being an Indian.

Caitlin: Right, completely different country!

Participant #1 - NB: Not only a different country! No, our cuisine, our eating habits, we incorporate some of that from the Chinese, because border, in being in border with Chinese, and the Indians, when they come here to shop in my store, they say, “Oh you are kind of an Indian store, but I don’t see anything for me!” (laughs) And when the Chinese people come in and say, “Ah, you are our neighbors, but I don’t find anything very substantial for me.” So it’s kind of jumbled up now. We incorporate both their things and, um, nothing is full. So being a Nepali is completely different from being Indian, so I explain that. Nepal is a country of Mount Everest. It is completely different from India, our traditions, our values, are a little bit different. But not completely different. We share the same history, but not the same culture altogether. And we have borrowed some things from the Chinese – but enough is enough, we don’t want ALL of that. So, it’s a kind of mix and we explain to them and finally, after years there’s difference. Religiously we are absolutely the same thing.

Caitlin: Right, Hindu you said, 90% of your population you’d said.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, but culturally we’re a little bit different. A little bit different. Because we celebrate Losar, the Buddhist festival also. And Indians, they don’t celebrate that. And, those Buddhist people, they also celebrate our Hindu festivals.

Caitlin: Oh, okay, interesting! So there’s a mix between the two?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah!

Caitlin: Okay, so the next question is, this might not apply to you, but it is: Has your racial or ethnic identity changed over time? (Participant #1 - NB nods head no) No? Pretty much remained the same over time, Nepali-Bhutanese?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah.

Caitlin: Next question is, um, I guess this doesn’t apply to you, since you were born outside of the United States, but the last question is: Do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #1 - NB: I think being an American is not so much to be born here, than the attitude one must have to be an American. I think I am practically, very much American, more American than many Americans here. You know, I voted for Trump this time.

Caitlin: Oh wow – really?

Participant #1 - NB: Yes. I felt like, I don’t know whether you like it or not, some of our people didn’t like it. I told them, “If we have to preserve America as an American Dream that we have – in America as whatever America embodied. Then we’ve got to be going towards a kind of, um, a little bit, um, you know, more republican way, or whatever they say, conservative way.” That way, we can better preserve our ethnic identities better.

Caitlin: All the different ethnic identities in the United States?

Participant #1 - NB: Yes. Yes. Um, the democratic way of making America a melting pot, by assimilation and by forgetting our own cultures is not conducive to us.

Caitlin: Right, so you want to preserve your identity, in addition to becoming American.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah. We must inculcate in us being a core American, but at the same time, we should be able to preserve our own culture and tradition. We should not assimilate.

Caitlin: Yeah, I know! There’s a big problem with that word, “assimilation” and “acculturation,” because it kind of implies, like you said, a loss of your own identity or culture and traditions. Yeah, I agree.

Participant #1 - NB: So that way, many people didn’t like me, but they have understood now. Having learned the different news that have come up after the election, they say that, “We misread you,” that, “your way of seeing things was better. We miss the real kind of voting advantage that we had.” So many people are remedying that. I told them, “That’s not the last vote!” (laughs) We have things come up, we have local elections, state elections, even in four years we have another election, so we have a way to get our voice heard.

Caitlin: Yeah, you’re right, the democratic way. Yeah, it’s so important to vote, so, so important. That was my last question! But do you have anything you want to add?

Participant #1 - NB: Um, what I want to add, particularly is... um, I don’t know you’re maybe doing this for other communities also, for the Somali community, the Burmese community, we have a Cambodian community, we have a Vietnamese community, but the Cambodian and Vietnamese community now have been well settled. It’s a long time. Uh, it’s not that we are a pretty different kind of community, we don’t want to make big ghettos – you know ghettos? We don’t like ghettos. And we don’t want to make enough regions around. Some of the communities may like to, I don’t know. Our community, the very strength in our community is that we want to get along with the neighbors, very strong. They get along with neighbors very fast, very easy. Very nice people, very hardworking

people. And the biggest threat in doing that is losing their culture. That has happened - through the Hindu community around the world. So, um, there is a soft strength that we have, you know, soft strength. The softest strength is that we are not very assertive on our culture and tradition, but we always strive to keep it alive. We don't want to preserve it at the cost of somebody else's life. So, that has happened over time in different countries, where Hindu population has been turned in because of threats. So that is the biggest challenge that we have. We are very peace loving people. So, that is not very comparable with different communities, different ways of life, and different parts of the world. Too much peace loving is not good also.

Caitlin: Right, so you have to stick to your ground a little bit.

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, so we are not too assertive, that is one problem we have.

Caitlin: Sounds like a hard balance.

Participant #1 - NB: (laughs) That is one big problem which I want to bring up to your knowledge. That's it.

Caitlin: Awesome, thank you so much! This has been amazing, I've learned so much!

Participant #1 - NB: Have you been to another country, any other country - to South Asia, anytime?

Caitlin: So, I'm adopted from China, like I told you. Um, but I went back in 2007 to adopt my youngest brother. So we were there for 2 months, we got to go all through China. I went to Hong Kong, but that was it, so I didn't get to go to Southeastern Asia, or India, or Nepal, or anywhere else. And then I've been to France, that's where I studied abroad for one whole semester of school, but those are the only places I've been. I want to go to more, I would love to go to South Asia, Southeastern Asia, and Africa, and of course India and Nepal I just want to go everywhere (both laugh). But, no, there's so much to see, you know?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, yeah. Finally, I'm going to take my boys to India. Someday. My mom wants to go to pilgrimage.

Caitlin: Oh, when would she do that? Probably in, like you said, the Lunar Calendar, probably in September or November?

Participant #1 - NB: Yeah, so she wants to go some places for pilgrimage. I want to go at that time. It's an amazing place. Amazing place. Right now, it's developing like hell! India is jumping!

Caitlin: I have a question also, did you want to be identified by name in my study?

Participant #1 - NB: No problem, no problem.

Caitlin: Do you mind writing that, that you don't mind?

Participant #1 - NB: (writing)

Caitlin: Thanks, Participant #1 - NB. And then I have my card, which has my name, my email, and my phone number. So you can call me or email me if you have questions or follow up. Or just to keep in touch, because I'd love to hear from you! And I can send you my project when I'm done with it, it'll be pretty long, but I can send it to you if you want!

Participant #1 - NB: Thank you.

Caitlin: Thank you for talking to me, I really do appreciate it. You have amazing insights and I've loved learning about you and your community. Thank you so much!

Participant #1 - NB: Thank you, Caitlin.

Participant #2 - BA

Conducted on December 20, 2016

At 10:00 am in Ethnic Shop

Transcribed on December 23, 2016

***Note: This participant was uncomfortable with me recording the interview, so all data was collected through written notes.**

Caitlin: What is your age?

Participant #2 - BA: 41

Caitlin: What gender do you identify with?

Participant #2 - BA: Male

Caitlin: What race do you identify with? For example, I identify as Asian.

Participant #2 - BA: I'm Asian.

Caitlin: What ethnicity do you identify with? For example, I identify as Asian American.

Participant #2 - BA: Bhutanese-American

Caitlin: Where were you born?

Participant #2 - BA: Bhutan

Caitlin: Where were your parents born?

Participant #2 - BA: Bhutan

Caitlin: How long have you lived in the United States?

Participant #2 - BA: 7 years, moved here in 2009.

Caitlin: Why did you move to the United States?

Participant #2 - BA: Migrated through the networks and services of the United States Government.

Caitlin: Does a particular ethnic group characterize your neighborhood? If yes, what group?

Participant #2 - BA: Nepali community.

Caitlin: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity (i.e. through holidays, festivals, parades, etc.)? If yes, does your entire neighborhood participate in these events?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, there are lots Nepali Hindus, about 21,000 in Columbus. Many others are Buddhists or Christians, but they all live in one community. Different religions, but one community. Many people have moved from Reynoldsburg to New Albany because the first is a cheap area. Many people express their holidays.

Caitlin: Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, there are advantages such as the diversity, learning from the local group (Americans), and generally learning from different people who have different knowledge.

Caitlin: Conversely, do you think that there are any particular disadvantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #2 - BA: Not particularly. Everywhere there are good and bad people, but Columbus has good neighborhoods and good communities.

Caitlin: Are you part of an ethnic organization or non-profit organization?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, member of the Vedic Welfare Society, which is a non-profit, religious (Hindu) organization. I know of the Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus, but am not a direct member...but really everyone is a member of this organization. Part of the Universal Manav Dharama Center Corporation, which has a chapter in Columbus. This is a holistic, religious organization that originates in Florida. Manava means 'human.'

Caitlin: Does this organization provide any resources to you, your family, or your community?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, resources like an open place to be yourself.

Caitlin: Do you have any specific responsibilities or positions/roles within this organization?

Participant #2 - BA: No.

Caitlin: What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people in your neighborhood?

Participant #2 - BA: Nepali

Caitlin: Do you think that it is important to know English if you live in the United States?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, 100% important to know English. It is critically important for citizenship.

Caitlin: Do you feel that the way you personally identify racially/ethnically is different from the way your racial/ethnic identities are perceived by others? If yes, in what ways?

Participant #2 - BA: People mistake our people for Indian all the time. Our religions are similar, our color is the same, or at least similar. However, there are actually two distinct races within the Bhutanese community, half of the population are Mongolian and half are Aryan and each has their own local dialects.

Caitlin: Has your racial or ethnic identity changed over time? If yes, in what ways?

Participant #2 - BA: No change of identity over time.

Caitlin: Do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #2 - BA: Yes, completely American. It was a dignity and honor to be invited by the government of the United States, to be protected by The Constitution. Here, we have access to education and other resources, I am happy to be a citizen.

*Note: Informal interviewing began afterwards.

Participant #2 - BA: There are two great expressions of identity and community for the Hindus of Columbus. The first is the celebration of Dasara, the greatest Hindu festival where people seek their elders' blessings. This occurs during November through October. The second is Diwali, the Festival of Light, this is one of the largest Hindu festivals and celebrates victory over evil. Money and gifts are exchanged between brothers and sisters. The Hindu people celebrate their sisters and give money to them, we love their women. Also, owning a store is more than just turning a profit, owning a store gives the community more access to goods and expressions of their identity. When I

first came to Columbus, there were no stores, it was hard to find Bhutanese food or clothing, but now there are many stores. This is good and helps us to express ourselves.

*End Notes: This whole conversation was about 30 minutes, it happened quickly. The man wishes to be anonymous and did not consent to me recording information with my iPhone. Very friendly and loved to share his culture and traditions with me, he even brought up pictures on his phone to show me some of the customs and was careful to give me the correct spellings of religious organizations.

Participant #3 - PA

Conducted on December 20, 2016

At 10:00 am in Ethnic Shop

Transcribed on December 23, 2016

Caitlin: Okay, so the first question is: What is your age?

Participant #3 - PA: 37.

Caitlin: And then, what gender are you?

Participant #3 - PA: Male.

Caitlin: What race do you identify with?

Participant #3 - PA: Middle Eastern.

Caitlin: What ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #3 - PA: I guess the same, I don't know. Middle Eastern?

Caitlin: Well, I'm Asian American, but I'm Chinese American as well, if that makes sense.

Participant #3 - PA: Oh, um, I mean. Palestinian American I guess. That would be it.

Caitlin: Where were you born?

Participant #3 - PA: Palestine.

Caitlin: Where were you parents born?

Participant #3 - PA: Same, Palestine.

Caitlin: How long have you lived in the United States?

Participant #3 - PA: 25 years.

Caitlin: And, why did you move here, 25 years ago?

Participant #3 - PA: Well, I moved with my parents I guess to... get a better life.

Caitlin: You were, how old?

Participant #3 - PA: 12.

Caitlin: Really young! Did you just start into high school right away?

Participant #3 - PA: Middle school, started in seventh grade.

Caitlin: Was it hard initially?

Participant #3 - PA: First couple years, yeah, cause the language. Once I got the language, it was okay. And the transition, getting used to a different life.

Caitlin: Yeah, and middle school's a hard time!

Participant #3 - PA: So that was basically it, just a new, whole new, environment and new country. I didn't know nobody, it was kind of hard the first couple of years.

Caitlin: Did you have any siblings with you?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah! I had my whole family, three brothers and a sister.

Caitlin: Oh wow, cool! Are you the older, or younger?

Participant #3 - PA: I'm the next to youngest ones.

Caitlin: Oh, so you were one of the babies! (both laugh) So the next questions are kind of looking at your experience living in Columbus and in different neighborhoods. So the first question is: Does a particular ethnic group characterize your neighborhood? So like, the area in which you live?

Participant #3 - PA: Uh, Caucasian I guess, mostly. (pauses) I haven't been their long, where I live now, I've been there for about 6 months.

Caitlin: Oh, so you're new there?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, but from what I notice, it's mostly Caucasians?

Caitlin: How come you moved?

Participant #3 - PA: Well, I was renting a condo and then I decided to buy a house so...

Caitlin: Like to upgrade?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah.

Caitlin: Nice, congrats!

Participant #3 - PA: (laughs) Thank you.

Caitlin: So the next question is: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity? So do you have any holidays or festivals or?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, umm, we're like Muslim, so we have two holidays a year. They're called 'Eid.' They're like two months apart and they come at a different time each year, they don't come at the same time.

Caitlin: Do you celebrate with your family?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah.

Caitlin: Cool. And, do you think that there are any advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population? So maybe not the one that you're living in now, but maybe one that you grew up in or?

Participant #3 - PA: I mean here, not really, back home, yeah, but here not really. Not here cause it's mostly different, like, religions. Uh, it's not the same.

Caitlin: It's not as advantageous? It doesn't matter as much?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, it doesn't matter.

Caitlin: I guess, conversely, just, if you have an opinion on it: Are there any disadvantages to living in a neighborhood that's all one ethnic population?

Participant #3 - PA: Eh, no, it doesn't really bother me, no.

Caitlin: And especially in Columbus, like you were saying, it just, there's more a mix.

Participant #3 - PA: Mmmhmm. Yeah.

*Customer comes into store and the interview pauses for a moment.

Caitlin: Is your store really busy in the mornings?

Participant #3 - PA: Not really. Steady, not busy.

Caitlin: Yeah, I work at a grocery store too, at home, and we're always so busy in the afternoons, once people get off work.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, yeah. On the weekends, we might be busy, but not in the mornings.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next question is: Are you apart of any ethnic organization or nonprofit in this area of Columbus?

Participant #3 - PA: No.

Caitlin: Um, and then the next question is: What language or languages do you speak at home and with people in your family?

Participant #3 - PA: Arabic.

Caitlin: Is there any dialect that you specifically speak?

Participant #3 - PA: Mmm, no just standard. All Arabic is the same, just, different countries...it's the same thing just where you, like different accents or something. But uh, yeah, just regular Arabic.

Caitlin: And then: Do you think that it's important to know English if you live in the United States?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, of course.

Caitlin: Do you think that you could get away with it though, not knowing?

Participant #3 - PA: I mean, if you're gonna live here for the rest of your life, I don't think so, it would be hard. But if you're just coming here for a short period of time, I think you could find translators or somebody to help get you by, but, if you're going to stay here, it would be hard.

Caitlin: The next question is, uh, this is kind of a complex question, but it is: Do you feel that the way you personally identify racially or ethnically, so as Palestinian or somebody who is Middle Eastern, is perceived differently by other people, so like not people in your neighborhood, or people that you've just met, or people that just live in Columbus and see you out and about?

Participant #3 - PA: Mmm, I don't know, sometimes. You would think like sometimes, that, I don't know, something happens to you because of your ethnicity or something. Maybe if you say that you're American, they would say that you're (uncomprehensible). Sometimes, it hasn't happened to me much, recently. It's just um, if something bad happens, you think that it's cause of your ethnicity or something. Like you don't get a job, or something like that. "Go back to your country," or something like that.

Caitlin: Yeah, and little comments too, cause like, people always tell me, "Oh you must be so good at playing the piano," or, "You must be so good bad at driving," because I'm Asian. And people always think that I'm Korean or Japanese, and not Chinese. They always misidentify where I'm from.

Participant #3 - PA: And then like, sometimes, other people who you don't really know, they'll say something like, "They're all the same," from your country or your religion or something.

Caitlin: Right, because there are many countries in the Middle East!

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, so that's...they judge everybody I guess, so. One or two people's bad actions are, you know, it's just that way.

Caitlin: So the next question is: Has your racial or ethnic identity changed over time at all? Or have you always been...

Participant #3 - PA: The same, the same.

Caitlin: Next question was, oh, this doesn't apply to you since you weren't born in the United States. But the next question, and the last one, is do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #3 - PA: Yes.

Caitlin: Well, I don't have any more questions, but I was wondering if you had anything else that you wanted to add or?

Participant #3 - PA: Um, no. You say this is for a school project, which school you go to?

Caitlin: The College of Wooster, it's up by Akron and Cleveland.

Participant #3 - PA: Oh, so you come from there?

Caitlin: I'm actually from Granville, Ohio, which is like half an hour to the east of Columbus, so pretty close.

Participant #3 - PA: So, what made you come to Columbus?

Caitlin: Um, because Columbus has more diversity than like up north, or...

Participant #3 - PA: But you don't live in Columbus?

Caitlin: No, I live outside of it.

Participant #3 - PA: Oh, so you guys on break right now or?

Caitlin: Mmmhmmm, on Winter Break.

Participant #3 - PA: But you still have project to do?

Caitlin: Yeah (laughs), just a little bit of school to do. It's okay though, I think it's really cool. It's nice to talk to people and hear about their stories and their experiences, because everyone's different. Like, I talked to some people and they're like, "Oh, I've lived in a neighborhood surrounded by my family and other people from like, India or something," but you seem a little bit different.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, everywhere I've lived, it's mostly white Americans.

Caitlin: Is it just because there aren't a lot of Palestinians in this area?

Participant #3 - PA: Uh, I mean, there is a few, there is a big population, it's just that we're all spread. I live in Hilliard and there is a lot of Palestinians there, but they don't live in my neighborhood. And I have heard that there are a few families living in the same neighborhood or something like that, but, like I said, I've never lived in a place like that. Just how it is.

Caitlin: When did you start this shop? Is this yours?

Participant #3 - PA: Uh, family business, actually, I run the one on High Street, I just come to help them out. Cause they're short on workers, I just come in the mornings to help them out. So, we've had this one for going on 5 years now, and we've had the other one for 10 years now. So that one, originally my dad is the one that started it, well, he bought it, it was already there. And then like, my dad retired and I took over there. And then my brothers and cousins, we actually have three locations, we had one in Hilliard and we just sold that one like a couple months ago. Now it's two. So like, that was the first one and this one was already here, we just bought it. The one in Hilliard we started from scratch, yeah. It was hard.

Caitlin: It's cool though, it seems like you have a lot of things here. It's a big store.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, you get different kind of... here, not as much a different ethnicity, not a lot of different people come here. The one over there, on High Street, because it's close to campus. So we get there lots of college students, Americans, Persians, Turkish, you got Greek, you got European, you got Middle Eastern. So there gets a lot of different mix of customers. Here, we do get a few...but mainly it's Middle Easterns that come here. But there's, sometimes we get Persians or Turkish, or something like that you know.

Caitlin: Just because you guys carry products that you can't get anywhere else?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, I mean, when we first came here 25 years ago, it was hard to find this stuff. Stuff that we had back home. Actually, the first store, the one that we have now on High Street...I mean, we didn't have it back then, but the guy that did, people used to shop there because it was the only store had Middle Eastern products. And then now you got lots of stores everywhere, so...

Caitlin: Some competition? It seems like you guys are pretty big though, if you have like three stores, or at least two.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, the other one, starting a business from scratch isn't easy. You have to build a customer base and...

Caitlin: And get all the imports and stuff...

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, exactly. No, it's not an easy thing to do.

Caitlin: No that's cool, that's neat. And there are so many shops, not just Middle Eastern shops, but like Korean shops or like Nepali shops.

Participant #3 - PA: African markets...

Caitlin: Yeah! Lots of African markets. I've been trying to talk to the people from Somalia, but they don't really want to talk at all.

Participant #3 - PA: Really? Well, Somalians, are like, you'll find they're always kind of – you'll find a neighborhood that's just for Somalis. I know that there's a few of them. I think that Columbus has the second biggest population of them. Second to Minnesota.

Caitlin: Yeah! Minneapolis-Saint Paul, yeah, you know!

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, there are lots of Somalis. And like I said, in some areas you'll see in concentrations, the whole neighborhood. There's that, but they may have different experiences, so.

Caitlin: Yeah, it's hard to talk to them though, or harder I guess.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, I think they're like afraid or something, I don't know.

Caitlin: Yeah, I was talking to some people and they were saying that Somalis have been here for longer and so they feel over studied I guess. Like people keep on wanting to talk to them and they're like....

Participant #3 - PA: You say they've been here longer?

Caitlin: Yeah...

Participant #3 - PA: No, not really! They, I mean, within the past 10 years, that's when they've come here. There were some here already, but the population grew, ten to 12 years ago.

Caitlin: Did the Palestinians, did you guys come 25 years ago, like when you came?

Participant #3 - PA: We, the way we came was different than the way that they came. They came as refugees, because of civil war. How we came is like, you have to apply for a visa and then wait and stuff like that. So, um, it was a slower trickle. First, my dad and brother came and then my other brother and sister, and we had to wait for... me, my mother, and my brother had to wait till we got our, like our paperwork done.

Caitlin: Was it hard to get everyone over? Like with all the paperwork and everything?

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, just waiting, time. Wait a couple years, it was like 2 years till we all got back together. Um, but I mean, we have, I wouldn't say a big family, but like a couple uncles here, cousins, and other family. Like me, three brothers, one of them lives back home a couple years ago. But he's thinking about coming back. And I have a sister. So like when there's like a holiday or something, like in your question, we do gather. You know, we go to my house or we go to my sister's house, or, something like that. We have a, like an event like a wedding or something, we come together. Yeah, so, something like that. How long have you been living here?

Caitlin: Oh me, well, I was adopted from China when I was 7 months old. So I've lived here the majority of my life, but I was like, yeah, peewee. But I wasn't born here in the United States.

Participant #3 - PA: Oh, so your parents, your adoptive parents, they're American?

Caitlin: Yeah, they're white. And then my other siblings and I, I have three of them, one sister and two brothers, they're also from China, but we're not blood related at all.

Participant #3 - PA: Oh, oh, I see. And how long have you been here?

Caitlin: I'm 22.

*Note: Another customer comes in and the interview pauses for another moment.

Participant #3 - PA: So, you haven't been back since you came, right?

Caitlin: Um, my family went back in 2007 to adopt my youngest brother. He was 6 when we adopted him, so he's like 15 now.

Participant #3 - PA: 6 months, or years?

Caitlin: Years, so he was older. So we all went back to China for two months and like, traveled around the country, which was cool because we got to see it. We'd never been back.

Participant #3 - PA: So your brother, he's living with you now?

Caitlin: Mmmhmm. All four of us.

Participant #3 - PA: Wait, so only one of them is your blood brother?

Caitlin: None of them are!

Participant #3 - PA: Ohhh. I see.

Caitlin: Yeah none of us are related, we're all from different parts of the country. So, it's kind of confusing and weird.

Participant #3 - PA: No, I thought you said when you went back to adopt your brother, I thought you meant your blood brother!

Caitlin: Yeah, no, because we all look really, really different.

Participant #3 - PA: So you don't know your original family?

Caitlin: No, because we were all abandoned when we were little, so. But we've been so lucky you know, being adopted and getting to have a wonderful life, here in the United States. Like, I think that I'm very fortunate. But I've found that, I've found in my life that there are many different kinds of immigrants. Because I'm like an immigrant too.

Participant #3 - PA: Do you speak Chinese?

Caitlin: No, I wish I did. I speak a little bit of French! But no, no Chinese. I tried when I was younger, but it was hard and like, growing up in rural Ohio, it was kind of weird and I didn't want to be associated with it. So, it was hard. I'm sure you found it kind of hard to navigate like, your culture versus like, American culture, because it's so different sometimes.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, yup.

Caitlin: But, everything turned out fine! You have your own shop, I'm going to college! (both laugh) But, thanks so much for talking to me. I really appreciate your input.

Participant #3 - PA: Yeah, no problem.

Participant #4 – S

Conducted on January 15, 2017

At 9:00 am via Facebook Video Chat

Transcribed on January 15, 2017

*Note: The audio recording for this interview did not save on my iPhone, thus information has been retrieved from my memory and is not verbatim. Upon completing this write up, I sent the document to Participant #4 – S over Facebook Messenger and he returned the document with edits made in red.

Caitlin: What is your age?

Participant #4 - S: 38 ~~42??~~ Approximately?

Caitlin: What gender do you identify with?

Participant #4 - S: Male

Caitlin: What race do you identify with?

Participant #4 - S: Arab

Caitlin: What ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #4 - S: Syrian (after reviewing this I would rather say just Syrian)(or Caucasian). Had a hard time answering because Syria is fairly homogenous, there are different religions, but most people are ethnically Syrian. Some immigrants from Albania (Armenia) and other surrounding countries (the kurds), but they are but few, very few minority within the Christian minority.

Caitlin: Where were you born?

Participant #4 - S: Damascus, Syria

Caitlin: Where were your parents born?

Participant #4 - S: Homs, Syria

Caitlin: How long have you lived in France?

Participant #4 - S: For about one year and four months.

Caitlin: Why did you move to France?

Participant #4 - S: Civil war, violence, and instability in Syria.

Caitlin: Does a particular ethnic group characterize your neighborhood? If yes, what group?

Participant #4 - S: French people characterize his neighborhood. There are Arab neighborhoods in Besançon, but Participant #4 - S and his family have specifically looked for housing away from these neighborhoods. He feels that Arab people have brought their bad habits to France and he does not want to associate with them. Also that he hopes to learn the French language and customs well and so is immersing himself in French neighborhoods.

Caitlin: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity (i.e. through holidays, festivals, parades, etc.)?

Participant #4 - S: Yes, kind of, but they do not participate directly in these. He is Christian and so celebrates those holidays related to his religion.

Caitlin: Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #4 - S: No, not at all.

Caitlin: Conversely, do you think that there are any particular disadvantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #4 - S: There are only disadvantages. There is no point of moving to a new country if you do not learn the language and customs. You cannot integrate if you live in an enclosed area. You may feel protected, but you're not going to be exposed to anything different, you might as well stay where you were in your original country. Story about his client who lived in the USA for 10 years, but needed an Rx translated from English to Arabic when **Participant #4 - S** was in Syria. This is bad, he says. Of course, you shouldn't give up all your ethnic or religious customs, but need to expose yourself to other things and learn the language of another country if you are living there.

Caitlin: Are you part of an ethnic organization or non-profit organization?

Participant #4 - S: No, but there are Christian Syrian groups that go to church together and celebrate Christian holidays. They don't support you though, just connect people to one another to hold events.

Caitlin: What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people in your neighborhood?

Participant #4 - S: He speaks Arabic with his family and inside of his home. He speaks it with his niece too, to help her retain her culture. However, he speaks French everywhere outside of his home, even with other Arabs. He says that he prefers to speak in French, he feels that he is forced to, not by the French people or government or anybody else, but because of the sole reason that he is living in France. He says that he hates when other Arabs come up to him and ask him about where he's from or what he's doing or where he's living, says it's bad habit of Arabs to do this, so he actively avoids them and insists on speaking French. He says that even with three other Arab (**Syrians**) coworkers at a hospital, they speak French because it is the official language of the place that he is conducting work for, they even do this alone when there are no French people around **but when they are gathering at their homes for some occasions they are using the original language which is the Arab.**

Caitlin: Do you think that it is important to know French if you live in France?

Participant #4 - S: Yes, very important.

Caitlin: Do you feel that the way you personally identify racially/ethnically is different from the way your racial/ethnic identities are perceived by others? If yes, in what ways?

Participant #4 - S: Yes, essentially, all the French group Arabs together and do not know the difference between people who come from different countries. Participant #4 - S says that many French assume that he's Tunisian, or Algerian, or Moroccan (all former French colonies), but that they don't typically expect to hear that he's from Syria. He has to explain to them over and over again, sometimes in the same conversation, where Syria is and that it has a different culture than other Arab countries, because of course, all countries have their own, unique culture. He is also Christian and not Muslim, so many French people have a difficult time understanding who he is.

Caitlin: Has your racial or ethnic identity changed over time?

Participant #4 - S: Not really, always the same. Then he kind of transitioned into this next question about how he, and really all immigrants, will never truly be French because of the French people, their customs, and their norms. It's just not their way.

Caitlin: Do you think of yourself as French?

Participant #4 - S: No, definitely not. There are constantly French people stopping him on the street that ask him where he's from and interrogate him, which he thinks is unfair. It makes him upset that he has to constantly explain himself, although he'd rather do this than have people make assumptions about him. There isn't an official French person to go around telling people that they are or are not French, but rather the whole of society. People literally, point blank, tell him that he is not French and never will be French. Participant #4 - S has friends who have French husbands or wives, but still do not consider themselves French. He went on to explain that being French requires you to have a French father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. Participant #4 - S told me about how people always tell his brother, who's been here for 6 years, that he has amazing French, but of course he would good at the language because he's been living there for so long. And they always point out Participant #4 - S's accent, but he doesn't know why it matters because he's still speaking the language. He thinks that the United States is better at accepting people in this way, because France is only just encountering new people in it's society.

Participant #5 - AA
Conducted on January 27, 2017
At 11:00 am via Phone Call
Transcribed on January 29, 2017

Caitlin: Hi Participant #5 - AA, this is Caitlin.

Participant #5 - AA: Why, hello!

Caitlin: How are you?

Participant #5 - AA: I'm good, thank you.

Caitlin: Good, it's Friday!

Participant #5 - AA: How are you doing?

Caitlin: I'm good, I just had one class today, so I'm just like, hanging out for the rest of the day after this interview. But anyways, did you have a chance to look over the questions or the info sheet and do you have any questions at all?

Participant #5 - AA: Umm, no no, not the info sheet. No, I'm fine on that. Um, let's see, what are the specific questions I needed to answer on the sheet?

Caitlin: Um yeah, so I was just wondering, um, do you mind if I ask you the basic demographic questions as well?

Participant #5 - AA: Ah, certainly!

Caitlin: Okay, um, so the first one is just: What is your age?

Participant #5 - AA: Uhh, 62.

Caitlin: Awesome, and then: What gender do you identify with?

Participant #5 - AA: What, what?

Caitlin: What gender? This is just kind of like a basic question. But, are – male or female?

Participant #5 - AA: Yes, male!

Caitlin: And then: What race do you identify with?

Participant #5 - AA: Uhh, black.

Caitlin: And the next question is: What ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #5 - AA: Uhm. I guess African.

Caitlin: And then where were you born?

Participant #5 - AA: In Ghana.

Caitlin: And where were your parents born?

Participant #5 - AA: In Ghana.

Caitlin: Um, and how long have you lived in the United States?

Participant #5 - AA: Since 1980.

Caitlin: And why did you, why did you move?

Participant #5 - AA: To go to school.

Caitlin: For uh, undergraduate or graduate?

Participant #5 - AA: Undergraduate.

Caitlin: Did you go to OSU?

Participant #5 - AA: For graduate, yes. But undergraduate, I went to Wilmington College.

Caitlin: Oh nice! What was your degree, if you don't mind me asking?

Participant #5 - AA: Uh, my undergraduate was in Agriculture, cause I intended to go home and do agriculture. But when that changed, I went to OSU and did Public Administration.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next questions that I have kind of are the ones that are on the sheet, but they relate to, uh, I guess like ethnic enclaves in the Columbus area. So I guess, I kind of term ethnic enclaves as areas or neighborhoods in urban areas that have a high ethnic concentration or specific cultural identity. And was wondering if you think that those exist in Columbus at all?

Participant #5 - AA: Oh certainly, yeah. Absolutely.

Caitlin: Do you think that they exist across all the different immigrant groups? Like, I know that there's a really strong Somali population and Nepali-Bhutanese population as well. And then there are older populations like the Cambodians and the Vietnamese, but do you think that across all of those different, um, groups –

Participant #5 - AA: Oh, there's a strong Ghanaian community out there, yeah.

Caitlin: Yeah, so I guess the next question is, do you think that there are any particular advantages to immigrants living in neighborhoods with a majority ethnic population, so living in these ethnic enclaves?

Participant #5 - AA: Uhh, well, it's kind of advantages and disadvantages. Um, you know, some of the disadvantages is that you do not assimilate easily with the home country, with the people who are indigenous to the

United States. Um, and then the advantage is that you are in a comfort zone, you know, these are people you know, these are people you know how they act, these are people you can be very good friends with and relate to them. Um, so there are advantages there. And then the disadvantages really are that you fall behind with, you know, educating yourself culturally, with other cultures. And then, getting some of the advantages of work and schooling and all that, that comes along with being part of a big society.

Caitlin: Right, um, so I guess, do you think that it helps with religion as well as, or I guess religious expressions like holidays, festivals, or cultural practices?

Participant #5 - AA: It does help them with their religion, yes. Like I said, they, with people they are familiar with, they go to churches and, you know, these areas have churches that spring up from, based on the religion that they have back home. I know a lot of the Ghanaians go to certain churches, unless of course they are Catholic, then they may drift away from the enclave a little bit, but. Some churches have sprang up. So yeah, there are advantages in religion as well.

Caitlin: Um, so the next question is: Are you a part of any ethnic organization or nonprofit organization in the Columbus area?

Participant #5 - AA: Part of an ethnic, you said?

Caitlin: Yeah, so like a culture group or –

Participant #5 - AA: Not anymore! Not anymore, I used to be part of the Ghana Association here, but not anymore.

Caitlin: Why is that? If you don't mind me asking!

Participant #5 - AA: Why is what?

Caitlin: Why did you leave the association?

Participant #5 - AA: Oh, it's um, it's a long time ago. Um, I just stopped going to meetings. It became, I think a different branch of the association formed. And they were mostly the younger kids who didn't have the same values as, you know, some of us who came earlier to go to school, basically. Uh, and so, some of the [incomprehensible] kind of fell off of it. I couldn't associate very well with everybody.

Caitlin: Right, the organization just changed a little bit.

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, yeah, exactly.

Caitlin: Um, so the next question is: I guess, like, how important do you think the English language is, um, for immigrants' level of integration into American society?

Participant #5 - AA: Oh, very important, very important. And that's part of, you know, getting assimilated in the society. You know, it's, quite frankly, if I didn't speak English, I probably would never come to the U.S. unless I could speak English very well. Um, if I was French speaking, I would go to France, if I were Dutch speaking, you know, I'd go to... Because I think it's very important for your own development and for the country you're going to, for them to also gain something from you, you've got to speak the language.

Caitlin: Right, I guess conversely: Do you think that, um, immigrants could get away with not having a high level of English proficiency and then still live in the United States?

Participant #5 - AA: It's tough, it's tough to get, to move up.

Caitlin: Right, to have social mobility.

Participant #5 - AA: Yes, exactly, exactly. Because they are only very limited areas that you can work that doesn't require you to communicate with people and all that. Uh, yeah, yeah, it's tough. It's possible, I mean, people do it. It's just, I don't know how they do it. It's just....

Caitlin: Right, it really kind of closes you off?

Participant #5 - AA: Yes, exactly, exactly.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next question is, it's kind of complex, like I can tell it to you again. Um, but: Do you feel that the way that you personally identify racially or ethnically, so as African American, is differently than the way that your racial or ethnic identity is perceived by others, um, here in Columbus or in the United States?

Participant #5 - AA: Mmmkay, repeat that.

Caitlin: Yeah, so it's like, do you feel that the way that you personally identify racially or ethnically is different from the way that your race or ethnic identity is perceived by others? So do you think that people kind of misinterpret who you think that you are?

Participant #5 - AA: Um, because of my accent, mostly, people are able to place me, where I, not specific to Ghana, but you know, at least to be an African or a foreigner. And, if their question is, "Do people [interrupted by someone on his end of the phone call]... Sorry. Um, yeah, I think that people perceive me as African, and that's fine by me, and I identify myself as African. Is that the answer to your question?"

Caitlin: Yeah, definitely. That was perfect. And I guess, so, this question is: Do you think of yourself as American now?

Participant #5 - AA: Well, I am American now. I have an American passport, I have an American life, I have American kids. Yeah, I am American now and I think that I don't regret it at all. Yeah, I am an American.

Caitlin: And then I had a quick question about your past with ethnic enclaves: Have you ever lived in a neighborhood that did have a majority, like, um, Ghanaian population?

Participant #5 - AA: No. Except back in Ghana. Yeah, not, never in this country.

Caitlin: Who do you think lives in ethnic enclaves, the Ghanaian ethnic enclaves, then?

Participant #5 - AA: Who do I think live in there? Friends and families, that's how it gets started.

Caitlin: Mostly like, kin?

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, friends, family come over. I'll tell you, some... maybe twenty years ago, there was an influx of Ghanaian communities from New York area to Columbus area. And most of them, almost all of them, as they were coming, because... some of them had jobs, some didn't have jobs, so they were all, in some way coming because they were friends or family or somebody they know has gotten a job. So they tend to settle in certain parts of the city, where rents were cheap, where there was a little bit of ethnic presence, so that's how, I guess, that's how it developed for Ghanaians here. Because friends were here, family members were here, they had that part of town they could get cheap rent, rent that is inexpensive. And it goes from [incomprehensible] because they all speak the same language, and usually are coming from the same area, so that's how the message gets around and people settle in that area.

Caitlin: Do you think that people tend to stay in that area for a long time? Or do they move out after, like, a couple of years?

Participant #5 - AA: Well, it depends on their economic condition sometimes. If they're able to develop themselves and get a good job, that can afford them places, they tend to do that. You know, because most of these enclaves really are not, um, are not your high class suburbs and stuff. And so once they're able to develop themselves and they're able to get good jobs, you know. They tend to move away, they may have their business there, because they are business associate with other people in that area. They tend to upscale, upgrade, and move out of there.

Caitlin: Where are these communities specifically in Columbus? Like what neighborhoods?

Participant #5 - AA: Where are they? One big area I know is the North, Northeast Columbus area. Around Morse road area, that's a specific area I know. There are a lot of ethnicity over there, Somalians, Ghanaians, um, I don't know who else, I think, there may be Spanish people there too, Mexicans. But, yeah, that's a big area that you could call an enclave.

Caitlin: Yeah, that's really interesting because I went over to Morse Road last fall to find people to interview for my project and I talked to so many shopkeepers. There are a bunch of, like, you're right, African markets, but then also Asian markets, and a couple Hispanic markets too. So it really is a diverse neighborhood.

Participant #5 - AA: Mmmhmmm. Absolutely. Absolutely. Absolutely. Yeah.

Caitlin: I guess I just had one more question: Um, do you think that your education has helped you at all with your integration process into the United States?

Participant #5 - AA: Absolutely! Not a doubt at all, not a doubt at all. First in school, yeah, once in school you were with students who were mostly Americans in school. And once you come out, finding a job, uh, especially the higher you get up, the more, um, the more people you can reach and the more areas, avenues, open up for you. So, it definitely helps if you're educated, yeah, it definitely helps.

Caitlin: So I guess that's all I had! But I was going to ask you if you had anything else that you wanted to add about your experience or, I don't know, insights into Columbus?

Participant #5 - AA: Uh, the city has been very welcoming, the city of Columbus has been very welcoming to foreigners. Um, by you know, setting up interpreters you know, in case they have avenues where you can get interpreters, Somalians who can speak English and get things translated to them in Somali. And so it depends on some of the cities, but Columbus has been very welcoming to foreigners. They have programs to help them and all that, it also attracts people like that.

Caitlin: Yeah, from the people that I've talked to, the other participants in my study, they said that, um, what drew them the most to Columbus was that there was easy access to, like, benefits – healthcare, social services, etc. So, it sounds like the city does a really good job.

Participant #5 - AA: Absolutely, and in fact, I just received a, a declaration, let me see if I can read it to you, from the President of City Council. Uh, let's see if I can find it. Message from, um, it's a message from City Council President. It says, "As Columbus City Council President, I'm proud to represent one of the most diverse cities in Ohio. Everyday we see how inclusive and welcoming policies positively transform our neighborhoods and make Columbus a strong community with a vibrant economy. That is why the immigration related Executive Order by President Donald Trump is so troubling and disheartening. Not only is this policy likely unconstitutional, it undermines safety, separates families, and pits people against one another. Equally as important, it runs contrary to

our country's values and strengths at the heart of our fundamental humanity. Columbus policy should always continue to support a community where all residents and visitors feel safe and welcome." So, you know, this is the President of Columbus City Council.

Caitlin: That's, I think really amazing and important that he said that.

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, yeah, and it's, that's the type of attitude that has brought people here.

Caitlin: I've, I have been so amazed by, I talked to a couple of people who, they told me about how they hope that American can be an inclusive America where we all can express freely our ethnic, religious, racial identities and, you know, be free to, express ourselves and be who we are. And then they said that they voted for Trump and I was so confused because I thought that, you know, Trump's values are very contradictory to what they were saying.

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, that is confusing, isn't it? You're absolutely right.

Caitlin: I know, I just don't know what they were thinking. I don't know, it's hard for me to understand why they chose to support him.

Participant #5 - AA: There may be one or two other reasons why they decided to vote for him, who knows. But, it's very unusual, very, very unusual. What made you, um, take on this project?

Caitlin: Um, I think it's kind of... It's partially an exploration of myself I guess. I'm adopted from China, but I was adopted when I was like, seven months old. So, I have no real ties to the country, I don't know the language, I don't know who my birth parents were, I'm very American – I was raised in Ohio my whole entire life. Um, and then, last year, when I was in my junior year of college, I studied abroad in France and the climate there because of all the immigration has been so hostile and I was taking French language courses at a university, but it was open to anyone who wanted to take French language courses. So, of course, there were lots of immigrants and a couple refugees there, that were my friends. And after hearing their, like personal narratives, I guess their stories about, um, encountering the French people on the everyday streets and how mean they were, it just, it made me realize how difficult it is to, I guess, integrate into a society that's so unwilling to accept new immigrants. And so I wanted to, I guess, study that in Columbus and the United States really, because, I think it's kind of a career path that I hope to leap into once I graduate.

Participant #5 - AA: That's great, that's great. Do you, so you live in Columbus?

Caitlin: Um, I live right outside of it, so I live in Granville, Ohio. It's like a really small town.

Participant #5 - AA: Granville, okay, okay. I know Granville. Where Denis- oh, Ohio Wesleyan is –

Caitlin: Oh no, you were right! Denison!

Participant #5 - AA: Oh, okay, Denison. Mmkay, mmkay. Why didn't you go to Denison?

Caitlin: [laughs] Well, my mom, she works up there, she's actually a professor! She teaches economics. And so I know a lot of the faculty and staff there, I've grown up there like my whole life, so I just wanted to go somewhere different.

Participant #5 - AA: I see, I see. I see, well, you didn't go too far. [laughs]

Caitlin: Do you have a lot of family in Columbus too, or?

Participant #5 - AA: I have a, my sister lives in Cincinnati. I have a sister in Bridgeport, Connecticut. I have a sister in Minnesota, and Minnesota has a big, uh, Somalian presence, over there.

Caitlin: Yeah, Minneapolis-Saint Paul, I think.

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, exactly. Exactly. And so I have family all over. I have a sister, well, I used to have a sister in London, but she passed away.

Caitlin: I'm sorry to hear that.

Participant #5 - AA: Yep. Yup.

Caitlin: Wow, so it sounds like a lot of your family moved out of Ghana then.

Participant #5 - AA: Yes, yes. And in fact, that's why I came. My sister, in Cincinnati, just, after I graduated from high school, she said, "Look, if you want to continue your education, we can work it out so you can come over here." So, that's what happened.

Caitlin: Wow, well that's amazing. Thank you so much for talking to me and for sharing all of your insights.

Participant #5 - AA: Yeah, you're very welcome.

Caitlin: Yeah, this has been so helpful.

Participant #5 - AA: I'm glad, I'm glad to hear. And it's been nice talking to you too. Caitlin, right?

Caitlin: Yeah, Caitlin!

Participant #5 - AA: Okay, well, take care!

Caitlin: Yeah, thank you, I hope you have a nice day, Participant #5 - AA.

Participant #5 - AA: Thanks, you too, bye bye.

Participant #6 - EA
Conducted on January 31, 2017
At 5:30 pm via Phone Call
Transcribed on January 31, 2017

Caitlin: Hello Participant #6 - EA, this is Caitlin!

Participant #6 - EA: Hi, Caitlin, how are you?

Caitlin: Great, you?

Participant #6 - EA: So, you're good? How do you pronounce your name, again?

Caitlin: Um, Caitlin.

Participant #6 - EA: Caitlin, ah, okay! That's easy enough! (laughs)

Caitlin: Thank you so much for talking with me, I'm so sorry that I missed you last week, and I hope that your medical procedure went well.

Participant #6 - EA: Yeah, I'm doing well, I'm doing well, thank you. So you're studying at Wooster University?

Caitlin: Oh, yup, The College of Wooster, up in Wooster, Ohio.

Participant #6 - EA: Yeah, and you live there or you're just there for study?

Caitlin: Um, I'm actually from Granville, Ohio, which is like half an hour outside of Columbus, where Denison University is. Um, so, I'm just living up here for college, but. Yeah, did you have any questions about any of the materials that I sent you?

Participant #6 - EA: No, I have no other questions, no.

Caitlin: All righty! And do you have time to do the interview right now, it probably should only take like about half an hour tops.

Participant #6 - EA: Okay!

Caitlin: Alright, so let's get started! The first couple of questions that I have for you are just basic demographic, um, info questions, but the first one is: What is your age?

Participant #6 - EA: I am 50.

Caitlin: And what gender do you identify with?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, uh, I'm male, yup, I'm male.

Caitlin: Awesome, thank you! I know it's kind of a weird question. Um, the next one is: What race do you identify with?

Participant #6 - EA: Um, Egyptian. Yup.

Caitlin: And what ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, I believe Egyptians have their own ethnic group. Sometimes you are with other people from Arab countries, but Egyptians have their own ethnic group.

Caitlin: Awesome, okay and so the next question, which might sound like an obvious question now, is: Where were you born?

Participant #6 - EA: I was born in Egypt, yes.

Caitlin: And where were your parents born?

Participant #6 - EA: The same thing, they were born there.

Caitlin: And how long have you lived in the United States now?

Participant #6 - EA: I've been here for 20 years, since 1997.

Caitlin: And why did you move to the United States?

Participant #6 - EA: Ah, for two reasons. One reason is, uh, you know, as you're an immigrant you look for a better life and the other reason was kind of religious, since I'm minority Christian in Egypt. So, takes refuge for Christians there. So that was another reason for me to move, for my family here.

Caitlin: So the first reason was for a better life here in the United States and the second one was, um, because you're Christian and that's part of a minority and you felt that you would be religiously persecuted.

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, huh.

Caitlin: Thank you, I just wanted to make sure.

Participant #6 - EA: You're welcome.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next couple of questions that I have concern ethnic enclaves, which I define as neighborhoods in an urban area that have a high ethnic concentration or a specific cultural identity. So the first question is: Do you think that a particular ethnic group characterizes the neighborhood that you live in?

Participant #6 - EA: Um, when you say neighborhoods, you mean the immediate neighborhood where you live? Like my street and surrounding area?

Caitlin: Yeah!

Participant #6 - EA: No, there is no particular ethnic group. Mainly they are white Americans.

Caitlin: Do you think that there are any ethnic enclaves that exist in the Columbus area?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, yes!

Caitlin: Do you think that they exist across a wide range of, I guess different immigrant groups? Or specific to only a couple?

Participant #6 - EA: Sorry, say the question again?

Caitlin: Um, yeah, do you think that there are a bunch of different ethnic enclaves that belong to different immigrant groups in Columbus? Or do you think that ethnic enclaves are only specific to a couple groups?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, it is kind of. There are many ethnic group here, like if you're talking about Arabs, there's Arabs themselves, you have different groups here like Syrians, Libyans, Egyptians of course. Um, there's some other ethnic group, I believe Columbus, we have a big Somali community there.

Caitlin: Okay, so um, the next question is: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity? For example through holidays or festivals or parades or, um, any other kind of I guess, expression of identity?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, no, not really. The only thing that comes to my mind is the, uh, Christian-Egyptian. But we celebrate Christmas for example, different than United States. We celebrate Christmas in January 7th. So sometimes Christmas comes December 25th, so why does Egypt celebrate January 7th? So this is kind of something where it's been unique a little bit, but... I don't think there are other holidays or festivals, but it's very unique for us. I believe we're very much, uh, celebrate with our fellow Americans.

Caitlin: Um, so I guess back to um, ethnic enclaves, do you think that there are any particular advantages for people who do live in neighborhoods with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, the only advantage may be for elderly people, where they can maybe have easy access to other people who could understand them or can maybe help them with transportation or translation, stuff like that. Uh, I believe this is maybe the only advantage, maybe, that I can see. Others have said, I've heard, that people get, you know, adopt an American life and live kind of with the country.

Caitlin: Right, so I think that kind of feeds into the next question that I have for you, which is: Conversely, do you think that there are any particular disadvantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #6 - EA: Yeah, I believe the main disadvantage is people will not speak English, so they will continue to speak among each other with their own language and this will not help them get in with the country and gain the language, so I think this is the main disadvantage.

Caitlin: Right, and then the next question is: Are you part of an ethnic organization or nonprofit organization in the Columbus area?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, there is an organization which I can call a part of a group where we meet to worship, like a church, worship in Arabic. In our mother tongue, so this is kind of the only group I can talk about.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next question is: What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people, I guess, in your family?

Participant #6 - EA: At home we speak mainly like, it's a mix, it's funny because we speak both English and Arabic, so yeah. Even with our kids, when we came to the United States, our kids were very young, but somehow they still understand Arabic, they can speak Arabic too. So, so our main is English, but we use some Arabic here and there.

Caitlin: Right, do you think it was important for your children to maintain, or I guess a part of their identity through the Arabic language?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, yeah.

Caitlin: No, that's really great! I think it's a great skill, I wish I was bilingual. I only know a little bit of French, but not enough to be functional (laughs). Okay, so the next question is: Do you feel, this one is kind of complicated and long, but do you feel that the way you personally identify racially or ethnically, so as Egyptian, is differently from the way that your racial or ethnic identity is perceived by others in the United States? So do you think that people misinterpret who you are? Or who you think you are?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, yeah, I believe, like, for example, the "Where do you come from?" "Egypt." Many people here still think that people in Egypt ride camels. (laughs). You know, as they still live in the desert, uh, they're not living a modern life. And the other thing that they think the whole population of Egypt are Muslims. Not many people in US, here, that know that about 10% of population there are Christians.

Caitlin: Wow, that's interesting. It's funny that the first thing people think of are common stereotype or, you know. So, the last question is: Do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, what's the question again?

Caitlin: It's just, quite simply, do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #6 - EA: Yes, I do, I really, I do. I'm American, I have my citizenship and came to this country by choice. I like it, proud to be American, and I'm still proud of my heritage as Egyptian as well.

Caitlin: Yeah, do you ever find it hard to navigate the two? At any point in time, or maybe when you first came, when you were younger?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, sorry, say it again, sorry. I couldn't hear you.

Caitlin: Oh, sorry. Um, I'll speak up. Do you think that, um, did you feel that it was hard to navigate like you're identity, being American and then also Egyptian? Do you think that was harder to navigate um, when you were younger or at any point?

Participant #6 - EA: Um, I'm not sure about the question. One thing that I couldn't hear you well because I'm in the car right now.

Caitlin: Oh sorry! Um, I'll try asking it again, just one more time! Um, but, do you feel that it's ever difficult to navigate both of your identities as an American and then as an Egyptian?

Participant #6 - EA: Yeah, I do it, I do that.

Caitlin: Um, but yeah, so those are all the questions that I had. I was just looking for your insights on ethnic enclaves and your experiences in the United States. And I was just wondering if you had anything at all that you'd like to add?

Participant #6 - EA: I, I, I have a question! Have you interviewed other people as well, too? How many people have you interviewed so far?

Caitlin: Yeah, you're my sixth person that I've interviewed!

Participant #6 - EA: Ah, very good, and how many are you targeting to interview?

Caitlin: I'm trying to get about, I think eight, so, I have one on Friday and then still looking for one more.

Participant #6 - EA: Okay, so you're doing good!

Caitlin: Yeah, thank you so much for talking with me, I really appreciate it. Listening...

Participant #6 - EA: You're very welcome and I wish you good luck with your survey and your study.

Caitlin: Yeah, do you have any advice at all for me, going forward with this process?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, sorry say it again?

Caitlin: Oh yeah, I was wondering if you had any advice or sort of, I guess insights into my project after hearing about it?

Participant #6 - EA: Uh, no.

Caitlin: Okay, well, I'll let you go! I know that you're driving. So, thank you so much!

Participant #6 - EA: Okay, you're very welcome. Okay, bye bye.

Caitlin: Bye, have a good day!

Participant #6 - EA: Thanks, you too!

Participant #7 - SA

Conducted on February 3, 2017

At 9:15 pm via Phone Call

Transcribed on February 4, 2017

Participant #7 - SA: Hello?

Caitlin: Hi Participant #7 - SA, it's Caitlin! How are you?

Participant #7 - SA: Yeah, Caitlin! How are you?

Caitlin: Good, good. Happy Friday!

Participant #7 - SA: Happy Friday! How are you? How have you been?

Caitlin: I've been good, just kind of hanging out, doing some homework. Just the usual student things, nothing exciting. How about you?

Participant #7 - SA: Good, I've had good couple of back to back events. The mayor is signing an executive order, we don't know what it is, but aaa.... I was asked to help so, uh, I'm glad I'm finally....was in and out of the office the last 10 minutes or so. So running around the office due to this stuff so, uh, yeah, let's get to it! You I know have the questions, let me pull it up if I can.

Caitlin: Do you have time? I'm so sorry if this is a bad time.

Participant #7 - SA: No problem. Okay, I have the Information Sheet, uh, but I don't have the questions. Did you send the questions too?

Caitlin: I think that I might've... Do you want me to send them to you now? Or I can just read them to you!

Participant #7 - SA: Okay, you can ask me! No problem.

Caitlin: Okay, so the firsts are kind of basic demographic questions and background info. First one is: What is your age?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, you have to ask the age too? I'm so old! I'm 37, turning 37 this year.

Caitlin: That's not old (laughs). And then the next question is, kind of, just like a formality, but: What gender do you identify with?

Participant #7 - SA: What was that?

Caitlin: What gender do you identify with?

Participant #7 - SA: My gender? Male. Male.

Caitlin: Thank you! And then the next question: What race do you identify with?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, black.

Caitlin: And what ethnicity do you identify with?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, ethnicity, African, right?

Caitlin: Awesome. And then: Where were you born?

Participant #7 - SA: Somalia.

Caitlin: And where were your parents born?

Participant #7 - SA: Somalia.

Caitlin: And why did you come to the United States?

Participant #7 - SA: Uhm, for family reunification. I was a former refugee. My mom came here as an asylum seeker uh, because there was a conflict of civil war in Somalia, and so we fled to the neighboring Kenya, where we spent some time. My mom managed to seek asylum in the US, she filed a petition for family reunification and all our siblings and our family came.

Caitlin: When was that? When did you come to the United States?

Participant #7 - SA: 2000.

Caitlin: Did, uh, all of your family come?

Participant #7 - SA: Yes, all my immediate family. We still have some cousins and you know second cousins in Somalia, some of them are still in the refugee camps. Uh, my family came.

Caitlin: Wow, it sounds like you guys were very fortunate.

Participant #7 - SA: I was, indeed.

Caitlin: Okay, so the next questions kind of explore your, um, experience with ethnic enclaves. And I define ethnic enclaves as neighborhoods in an urban area that have a high ethnic population or a specific cultural identity. So, I was just wondering, is there any particular ethnic group that characterizes your neighborhood, specifically?

Participant #7 - SA: Not in my neighborhood, but I am familiar with such a neighborhoods. You can be specific too, but certain communities tend to bond and gather in the same place because of their faith, the location where they want to pray, or to buy food. And you know, you see some of the Somali community in Columbus, in the Northeast side of Columbus or the West side.

Caitlin: You said the north or west?

Participant #7 - SA: The Northeast side of Columbus. Where they have their own shopping stuff and grocery stores and you know, faith based centers.

Caitlin: Right, I noticed, I went over to Morse Road and noticed a lot of ethnic markets. So many, not just Somali, but African markets, Hispanic markets, and Asian markets.

Participant #7 - SA: Yup, yup, and some of those are the Nepalese too.

Caitlin: So the next question is: Are there any ways in which you express your ethnic identity? For example, through holidays, festivals, or parades, and with your family and friends or other people from your community?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, indeed, yes. Cause there are a few holidays, Ramadan, I don't know if you are familiar, but most of Somalis are Muslim, so there are two major Islamic holidays where they observe the whole month of Ramadan. And at the end of Ramadan there is a big festival. Uh, for individuals who come out with their kids and families and they pray together and go out for shopping and eat outside and dress, traditional dress. It's one of those fun stuff.

Caitlin: Right, right, sounds like a fun time. So the next question is: Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population? So, to live in an ethnic enclave?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, I can't hear you, are you on the speaker?

Caitlin: Oh, I'm sorry! Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, for certain communities, yes. Especially for the elderly community, members of their senior citizens, who may not speak English and they would go out to go to the ethnic cafeterias. You know, where they have other people that they can communicate with the same language. If you go out to the cafeterias, within

different cultures, with the Nepalese, with the Somalis, and they have their own restaurants. And you see a majority of people tend to have that ethnic community, same with the Latino community. Because they want to have that food that they are familiar with, they want to have coffee, or tea that they know. Some of them will import food, for example, Mexicans, Nepalese, and some of the West African communities, if you go to their grocery stores and their cafeterias and restaurants, you see the ethnic food. That is what they have so that they can cater that service to members of their community. So yes, there are some social, cultural, or religious benefits that they get from each other, but that's why they maintain that close relationship.

Caitlin: Right. And then the next question is: Conversely, do you think that there are any particular disadvantages to living in a neighborhood with a majority ethnic population?

Participant #7 - SA: There is. In fact, because in the US, some of them are US citizens, um, lack of integration, to interact with the mainstream Americans, is an issue. That becomes an obstacle for them to be fully integrated with the mainstream community, so you have some kind of a parallel society that lives in their own, you know, bubble, where they don't have participation of civic association or area commission. They're not part of the discussions of how to make the community better or safety related issues, so there is a lack of participation within the larger neighborhoods of the areas where they live, so that is something that can be problematic. Some of the organizations, especially with the Syrians in Columbus, has been interested in helping these communities so that they can participate in civic duties and civic associations. That can be one of the problems. The other problem is that some of them are from tropical regions in West Africa and East Africa, and they are here especially in the winter, in the middle of Ohio where it is cold, there aren't a lot of activities. They don't walk because, especially with the senior citizens, to leave your home, you go to your car and drive and go to someplace, and no activity. And so some health related issues that some of them complain; blood pressure, diabetes, and other health related issues because of lack of activity. In their homeland, people would travel on foot and walk miles, tens of miles every day. Here, they don't have that, there is not a lot of sun, the weather is cold. Yeah, so those are some of the examples, and many others, many, many other examples as well.

Caitlin: I never thought about it that way, that, you know the change of climate, how that could affect someone's daily life so much. Um, the next question is: Are you personally a part of any ethnic organization or nonprofit organization in the Columbus area?

Participant #7 - SA: Um, no, indeed, I do kind of, with my role, with the City of Columbus, I kind of volunteer with a couple of organization that have some activities. I am, I work with the Nepali, the Bhutanese-Nepali Community of Columbus, uh, I'm one of the advisors at their meetings. I also volunteer with other organizations, the medical center, located on northeast side, and also a charter school, that primarily serves Somali community. Majority students are Somali, um, sometimes work with them, volunteer for them, but not officially. Because I'm a civil service employee, I cannot work with these organizations.

Caitlin: That's awesome that you volunteer so much, I think that's a great thing. Um, so the next question is: What language or languages do you speak in your home and with people from your ethnicity? I guess.

Participant #7 - SA: What language do they speak or what language do I speak?

Caitlin: What language do you speak in your home?

Participant #7 - SA: Um, Somali and English, we mix them! What we call Somalenglish, have you ever heard that?

Caitlin: No, hmmmnnmm.

Participant #7 - SA: [laughs] So, so people are speaking in my own native language, Somali and if you listen, you will notice that 20% of this communication they will include some English words, some phrases, because you get used to speaking English. And yeah, so yeah, sometimes we mix, but the answer is yes, we speak Somali in the home.

Caitlin: No, right, right. I speak just a little bit of French, but, um, we always, when I was learning the language, used to speak Franglais, which is like French and English. Yeah, no, I totally know what you mean. Um, so the next question is: Do you think that it is important to know English if you live in the United States? And if so, how important?

Participant #7 - SA: It is, it is, quite important for anyone in the US to speak English. If anybody wanted to be successful in the schools and go to college, and especially for the young generation. Also, the elder generation, I see some of the senior citizens uh, haven't have time, have difficulties to learn English, but English is very important. In fact, it is necessary for anybody to learn so they can communicate, people. Uh, some of the senior citizens, again, have to rely language interpreter when they go to medical centers, to the doctors. To the courts, if they have a traffic ticket or whatever. Some of them can navigate with everyday, but the reality is English is very important.

Caitlin: Hmm, um. The next question is kind of long, so I can repeat it if you'd like. But it is: Do you feel that the way you personally identify racially or ethnically, so as African American, is different from the way that your racial or ethnic identity is perceived by others in the United States?

Participant #7 - SA: No, not really. Um, because when somebody sees you, they see your color. So you don't have to identify. I understand the question, but the reality is even with the concept of assimilation, where traditionally people will come from different nations of European background, either from Western European communities, Scandinavian regions, UK, Irish, Denmark, whatever you call it. I would come here and then it's melting pot, I don't know if you've heard that. Right? But the reality is, yes, that worked for only certain communities. It only worked for those who were European background because they were all white, right? And because they were all Christians and if you learned the language, nobody knows whether you're from France or whether you're from Ireland, because you're all white. Then you're all Americans, and then before you know it's melting pot. Uh, but that never worked for African Americans, who came here as slaves, because the way they look, how they look, they always would stand out, right? They cannot be part of that melting pot. Um, yes, there are African Americans and still what remains are African Americans, black guy, but everybody else, you don't say French American or Irish American – yeah, at some points there were Irish Americans, uh, because of religions or something, there was what we can say Italian Americans. But, down the road of time that changed because they assimilated. Now, to your question, going back to your question, I would identify the same way that everyone else would identify me too, because I'm black and especially with the features of how I look, the Somalis and Ethiopians stand out because they're not Bantu. And you can look that up too. Being a Bantu is being an African especially West African or Central African, but the Somalis and Ethiopians and Eritreans tend to have a little lighter skin, more skinny. So that region is only three nations in Africa, all the way in Horn of Africa. People will know, "Yeah, they're either from Somalia or Ethiopia." And then they have that unique language that they speak, so uh, everybody will identify them as an African or everybody will identify me as an African and same was as I would identify myself.

Caitlin: I talked to a bunch of, or a couple people earlier for my research study and they were from the Middle East, and they said that a lot of people kind of like, misidentified them as being Muslim, because they broadly generalized them as the population. When in fact, the people that I was talking to were Christian. So, yeah, no that kind of reminded me of what you said.

Participant #7 - SA: Yeah, some of the Middle Eastern communities can be misidentified as though they are Latino, yeah I've heard that before. And that some of the Latino can be misidentified, for example, Pakistan and India, two different nations, one is predominately Muslim, the other one is predominately Hindu, so you can't tell unless you know which one is which. Because they look the same. Different, but the concept of being of African background is another, I mean, some of the African nations, nationality, not ethnicity, you can be misidentified of your nationality. And ethnicity and nationality is two different things, right? You can't, if someone, if you see a black guy, you don't know they're either an African American, or from Nigeria, or from Ghana, or from Kenya. So you can't tell the nationality, but you can tell that they're African or that they are black.

Caitlin: Do a lot of people ever guess that you're Somali because Columbus has a very large Somali population?

Participant #7 - SA: There are, what was the question?

Caitlin: Do people ever correctly guess that you're Somali because there's a very large Somali population in Columbus?

Participant #7 - SA: Uh, yes. Uh, that's one point, but for those who are not familiar, because in the US a lot of people have no clue about Somalia or whose Somali, how they look like, they don't know that. One thing that people would always identify correctly is a black guy, that he's African, but they can't tell whether I am an African American if they don't have the other exposure or background. But, if anybody has that exposure, they can tell what region I belong to. Or those from the State Department or those who travel, they can tell before I talk that I am Somali.

Caitlin: Alrighty, so, the last question that I have for you is a very simple one. Um, it is: Do you think of yourself as American?

Participant #7 - SA: I do, proudly too. I was in Istanbul, and this is an example of kind of, not related, but I was in the airport running. So, this guy, asked me, "Where I'm from?" and I said, "I'm from Ohio." Uh, and, he was an American, and he said, "You don't sound like Ohio," with my accent, right? So, I was offended, and I have to pushback a little bit. I said, "How would an Ohioan sound like? I am Ohioan, I am from Ohio." And he said, "Hmm, where are you originally from?" And we were both traveling, we have plenty of time to chit chat back and forth and I was so defensive, trying to convince him: Yes, I am Ohioan. Yes, I'm a citizen. And an American. You don't have to be interested in where I'm from originally. "Where are you from?" and then I was asking him the same question and he was telling me that he was from California. Works with the US government as a contractor, he just came back from Iraq and he was traveling back. And I was asking "Where are you originally from?" right? And we, we had a conversation about half an hour or so when waiting our flights. I finally figured, yes, people have different backgrounds, but once you are here, nobody is going back. Because of the opportunities, because of the freedom we have, because of, you know, we work hard, how we can make life better here. Of course, some people still have

roots and interests in their respective nations, where they're originally from. But the reality is, majority of immigrants, whether you're Latino background, you're here, you are a US citizen. I would question their ethics, anyone who wouldn't be proud to be an American, who doesn't want to work hard to succeed here because of the resources and how fortunate we are to be here. That's why you read a lot of events, Somali-Americans, Mexican Americans, some people still will say, "Nobody is an American anymore, why do you have to say Somali-American. Why don't you say An American?" And I don't think they have that choice because they are still first generation. People who are first generation, because of their accent, still there is some, something with their original nation, where they're from, that will always stay with them. But, for me, I am an American first, because I have chosen to come here and I will be Somali second. And I have that conversation with some of my friends, who will say, "Yeah, you have a point, but I am a Somali first, but I am an American second." But, I believe I am an American first, because Somalia has nothing for me.

Caitlin: Yeah, I totally agree and it's so personal, it's a personal choice to identify a certain way. Your story at the airport reminded me of stories that I've had in my own life. I was actually adopted from China when I was seven months old, I was a baby! I didn't really, I don't remember anything. I don't speak the Chinese language or anything. Um, but yet, people always ask me when I say that, "I'm from Ohio," too, they say, "Wait, but where are you originally from?" They have a really hard time, you know, I guess accepting that I could be an Ohioan, that I'm American.

Participant #7 - SA: Yeah... You're parents from China?

Caitlin: No, they're white – Caucasian.

Participant #7 - SA: Yeah, okay, okay. But you said you came here as what?

Caitlin: As a baby, I was only seven months old.

Participant #7 - SA: You were adopted?

Caitlin: Yes.

Participant #7 - SA: Do you know, um, and the reason why I'm asking this is, I had a group of community leaders who came to me. They want to create an organization, some kind of association, because there are half a billion, over 500,000 Ethiopian kids that were adopted from Ethiopia, right? And they wanna create an association, some kind of Ethiopian Adopted Kids, I don't remember the name. And they want to do a concert, and provide some kind of resources and their interest is to make sure those kids, even though they're adopted by American parents, that they somehow have sense of connection to their original roots. They want to have some kind of convention every year. Anyway, do you have any contact or connection with your biological parents? Or, you don't know?

Caitlin: I don't have any contact with my biological parents, um, I was abandoned at birth. So I have no idea and there's not really any way to find out. But my parents did do something very similar to what all of these Ethiopian parents are like, trying to do. My parents put me in, like, these camps over the summers, like cultural camps and language camps. Actually in Columbus, to learn Mandarin and when I was adopted, I was adopted at the same time as like 10 other babies, so that's like my "adoption group" and we meet every five years, which is kind of fun. Just to kind of remember where we're from and to come together and share stories, I don't know, because that part of our life is so important. But, yeah, no, I think that a lot of people around the world, and around the United States, they have those like, pockets of, I guess, or circles of other people who are also adopted.

Participant #7 - SA: Do you speak Mandarin then? Did you learn?

Caitlin: Um, no. I think that like, I grew up in rural Ohio and so, it was predominately white. I almost rejected everything from my ethnic identity because I didn't want to associate with difference. Which is kind of, I guess I do regret it now, being an adult. I wish that I had taken the time to learn when I was younger. I think it's a wonderful skill. Which is why I kind of tried to learn French here in college. Which, I'm not fluent, but definitely know some.

Participant #7 - SA: That's good, that's good. Hey, if I were you, because you will always be misidentified. I have a friend who, I'm going to let you go, I know you have something at 10. Um, she is an American, her father was originally from Pakistan so they gave them, because her father was of Muslim background and her mother was from Kentucky, from southern. So they gave her a name, her name is Laila Hasan. That is an Arabic name and she works with the US State Department as a senior development. She was in Brussels, now she's in DC, at one point she was supposed to be in [incomprehensible], next she's going to Paris. And she travels to educate public, diplomatic relationship with other nations. So when she attended a conference, her other American colleagues, a couple of times, she said, would say, "Wow, you speak perfect English!" And then she looked them back, she was born in Kentucky. And, she is an American! But, because of her name, people will make misidentification of you and make assumptions. Because of stereotypes of the names and what have you. But, um, hey! Good luck with this! Do you have all of the other contacts or do you want me to include, or, hopefully, you have everything you need!

Caitlin: No yeah, I do, I do! Thank you so much, this has been so helpful. I've really enjoyed talking to you and listening to all of your insights and about your experiences. So, thank you for sharing!

Participant #7 - SA: No problem, no problem. Let me know whenever you are in Columbus!

Caitlin: Yeah, no! I'd love to get coffee or something and take you out! And meet you.

Participant #7 - SA: Yeah, I'd love to take you to some ethnic food and maybe talk to you a little bit more about your work. And hopefully, you succeed. Good luck!

Caitlin: Thank you, I hope you have a great day!

Participant #7 - SA: You too, now, thank you!