The Transition of Iraqi Refugees:

A Study of Acculturation, Ethnic Retention, and Discrimination in Metropolitan Boston

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I. Introduction

"…and we were having a good job there, but things weren't, you know…from worse to worse because of the war situation and all the argument about it. The war there is becoming very difficult. Life there was becoming very difficult in many aspects. The main aspect was in security and the living. There, the life is not safe at all and this is what's concerning everybody, from my kids to my wife to me because wherever you go, there was contact to be beaten, or kidnapped, or killed. Everybody there was feeling unstable on the security side. Another aspect in life becoming very difficult, it was becoming very expensive. And you know, all the prices were sky high and so you need more income to live. This we can compensate with. The other thing is the basic life facilities… like we don't have electricity for, like, 20 hours per day. Electricity you only have for four hours with it being high temperature in Iraq, you cannot live with four hours. Another thing is water. The water used to be…we had two rivers and everything there, but you know- if you don't have electricity, you don't have water, you don't have safety or work, it's becoming very difficult."

Stories, like the one above, are small embodiments of the repercussions of the war in Iraq on individuals. As a result of my experiences as a refugee case management aide in the summer of 2009, my interest in the lived experiences of Iraqi refugees intensified. This work allowed me to identify aspects of the refugee experience that often under-examined and overlooked by media reports, but must be investigated and exposed. There is a rich dialogue in the work of those like Gans, Aihwa, and Cainkar, which provides the necessary framework for this kind of sociological examination of refugee experiences. In conjunction with sociological literature, this paper focuses on using qualitative interviews

and experiences working within a refugee resettlement organization to unveil the characteristics of the Iraqi refugee transition: the patterns of acculturation, the forms of ethnic and cultural retention, and the effects of discrimination based on social networks. First-hand experiences and stories of the case managers and the refugees themselves prove invaluable to facilitating a better understanding of the Iraqi refugee experience and an improved analysis of this experience that resulted from the Iraq war.

On March 19, 2003, former US president George W. Bush launched a controversial invasion on Iraq under the guise of the country possessing weapons of mass destruction detrimental to the United States, the UK, and other countries (The List Project). Immediately, the declaration of invasion caused huge protests to break out around the globe. In countries affiliated with the war coalition, like the US and the UK, residents protested against a war that was being criticized for lacking a legitimate legal invasion, causing instability in the entire Middle Eastern region, and incurring incredible financial costs (Millar 2003: 11, Kappstatter 2003: 6). Protests across the globe continued over the past six years, but the war went on (Associated Press 2006, Reuters 2003: A11).

As the war continued in the Middle East and controversy plagued the countries within the war's coalition, security became a cost for not only US armed forces, but the civilians of Iraq as well. Violence spiked and the battles being fought were not just between Iraqi soldiers and coalition armed forces. Instead, insurgencies and militia fighting within the country also became an ongoing conflict and security breach (Pace 2004: 11). Specifically, fears increased over insurgency violence and various militias taking part in abductions, executions, and suicide bombings in areas of Iraq to expel foreign military presence (Human Rights Watch 2005). Due to these events and other

worsening conditions, like a lack of electricity for the vast majority of the day and an increased dearth of clean water, many Iraqis have been virtually forced to seek refuge outside of their native country (Zorpette 2008: 1, WaterfortheAges.org).

Throughout the past six years, the US has wielded power with a heavy-and often clumsy-hand in Iraq. There have been moments of progress like reduced sectarian violence in 2008 compared to the two years preceding it, the establishment of an Iraqi government, and the weakening of the presence of Al Qaeda in the country (Obama 2009). In addition, current President Barack Obama has called for an end to combat by 2011 and other countries like South Korea, Georgia, Poland, and the UK had already started the process of withdrawal prior to this announcement (Obama 2009, Rubin 2008: A7, Evans 2008: 13). Still, these marks of progress are underscored by a corruption and deterioration of the lives of millions of average Iraqi citizens. The United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees, supported by the US, the UK, and 145 other signatories excluding countries like Jordan and Syria, evaluated the level of displacement of Iraqis. Congressional reports and the UNHCR report that over 2.5 million Iraqis are displaced internally within the country (USCR, Sidky 2009). Moreover, an estimated 2.2 million Iraqis are living outside of their home country in countries like Jordan and Syria, many waiting for official refugee recognition (Schulte 2009: A1). Such recognition is defined by the UNHCR as someone "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR). Once receiving such a title, many of the displaced hoped for resettlement from a processing country to

countries like the US, the UK, and Sweden (Schulte 2009: A1). Though these refugees have experienced a total upheaval of their lives, the politics surrounding the war and the accompanying humanitarian policies has proved to be another saga, another barrier to a return to some semblance of normalcy.

Displacement and the creation of a massive refugee population has been, undoubtedly, a consequence of the war in Iraq. Though warring started in 2003, it was not until 2007 that the US in conjunction with the United Nations conducted the first large-scale evaluation of the number of refugees in Syria and Jordan (Swarns and Zoepf 2007). At this specific point in time, 5,000 individuals were lining up to register for refugee status each day and the United Nations hoped to register 135,000 individuals under refugee status (Swarns and Zoepf 2007). The US specifically used the following criteria to determine refugee status:

> "In identifying cases for referral to the The United States Refugee Acceptance Program, (USRAP), the UNHCR and Department of Security (DOS) have been prioritizing processing of individuals who are affiliated with the U.S. Government and religious minorities, among several categories of especially vulnerable refugees.
> Iraqi refugees may gain access to this program through referrals by UNHCR, a U.S. Embassy, or a nongovernmental organization (NGO). Iraqi applicants who worked for the U.S. government, a U.S. contractor, or a U.S.-based media organization or NGO and their family members, can apply directly without a UNHCR referral in Jordan and Egypt. In addition, Iraqi applicants will be considered for resettlement if an eligible family member applies on their behalf in the U.S. The vast majority of cases processed so far by the USRAP have been referrals from UNHCR" (USRAP).

This helped grant refugee status to individuals who worked as interpreters, were involved with U.S. companies in Iraq like the professional middle class, and had connections to family members in the U.S., though it also left room for others outside of those groups. By the start of this examination, the US, the aggressor of the war, had only resettled 466 refugees from Iraq and by September 2007, the total increased slightly to 1,608 refugees (Swarns and Zoepf 2007, The List Project). This figure fell far short of

the target of admission of 7,000 individuals. Although the US admitted the most refugees in 2007 of any nation, they were censured for admitting such a small number when the majority of the responsibility for the war rested on their shoulders (Akkad 2007: A13).

Meanwhile, others within the war coalition were also sluggish to meet the needs of the large and growing refugee population. In 2007, the UK provided no support to the UN High Commissioner of Refugees or to Jordan and Syria, the two countries coping with an influx of Iraqis. Similarly, there was no British program for Iraqi refugee resettlement and until 2007, only 58 individuals had been granted asylum (Porteous 2007: 26). Both the United States and the United Kingdom were under fire by critics about their moral responsibility and the necessity to admit more refugees into their borders for regional stability (Porteous 2007: 26, British Broadcasting Company 2007).

In contrast, other governments, like Sweden and Canada, were lauded for their efforts to ameliorate the tenuous Iraqi refugee situation in a quicker, more generous fashion. However, the growing population of Iraqi refugees and the number granted asylum abroad in Western countries still left a deficit estimated to be over a million individuals. By 2008, Iraqi refugees were still living in large numbers in countries like Syria and Jordan. Leaders like James Foley, the US Department of State's senior coordinator for refugee issues, noted that the refugees who fled to Syria and Jordan faced a virtually closed job market, dwindling savings, and unrecognized status. Also, governments around the world did not provide enough funds for Iraqi refugee programming and support. One example of this is the Iraqi national government, which only pledged $23 million dollars in support of an over $800 million dollar program. This led to an even more tenuous situation for the Iraqi refugees as

"the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees -- whose programs for Iraqi refugees and displaced people are projected to cost over $800 million this year, according to the State Department – informed a meeting of donor nations… that it may need to slash support for Iraqis in Syria and Jordan because the agency has received only 60 percent of the funds it needs to help Iraqi refugees the rest of this year" (Pincus 2008: A12).

Due to these circumstances, many Iraqi refugees returned to Iraq while others remained abroad running out of options and sustenance in deteriorating and deplorable conditions (British Broadcasting Company 2008).

At this point, the United States began to react to the increasingly problematic condition of this population as a result of a war they participated in. The government implemented a special immigrant visa program that would admit 5,000 Iraqis to the country each year as part of a more comprehensive Iraqi refugee plan (The List Project). The New Year also brought a policy of admitting 12,000 of the most at-risk Iraqi refugees into the US during the 2008 fiscal year, which was eventually surpassed in September 2008 (The List Project). The larger admission rates continued into 2009 where the US agreed to another 17,000 refugees entering the country in addition to the 5,000 expected to immigrate through the special immigrant visa program (Pincus 2008: A12). Still, advocacy groups were outraged at the proportionally small number of entrances, citing that the UNHCR reported over 90,000 Iraqi refugees who were seeking resettlement outside of Iraq (Pincus 2008: A12). Furthermore, those who wanted special immigrant visas had trouble financing their travels to the mandatory interview site in Jordan (Pincus 2008: A6). While the United States continued to be criticized internationally by media sources, humanitarian aid groups, and other organizations for their handling of the refugee situation, the government drastically increased the Iraqi refugee admittance rate, resulting in thousands immigrating all over the country.

The politics of the war remain an open wound. The US military forces are still not completely withdrawn from within the borders of Iraq and militia fighting, though diminishing, still remains a reality for millions. Additionally, the number of Iraqi refugees waiting to return home or to be processed into a receiving country tops out at over 1 million individuals. Though the US in recent years has done more to help the refugees, the number of those admitted continues to stay miniscule compared to those displaced. Moreover, very serious concerns have emerged over the welfare and livelihoods of the Iraqi refugees who were granted admission into the United States. The refugee problem abroad looms over the US and Iraqi governments, but the condition and the status of the refugees resettled in metropolitan areas like Houston, Detroit, and New York has become another aspect of the resettlement process that will be closely watched in present and coming years.

Already, concerns over the well being of Iraqi refugees within the US have come to light. One concern over funding was raised initially by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), a humanitarian aid group. IRC reports showed that the government refugee resettlement program is extremely under-funded and refugees were going without their basic needs being met, as a result of receiving a meager, one-time $900 federal stipend for resettling (International Rescue Committee 2009). Reports detailed further that in cities like Phoenix and Atlanta, economic slumps caused by their small federal stipend are leading to difficulties in finding employment and paying rent on time (International Rescue Committee 2009). Elsewhere, these same concerns have been echoed. Iraqi refugee Haider Abbas commented to *USA Today*, "this is something I have wanted for such a long time, but now with the U.S. economy the way it is, I worry how

I'll be able to find a job and care for my family" (Madhani 2009: 6A). Even once celebrated Iraqi Nazaar Joodi, who was touted in Washington as a "living martyr" of the Hussein regime and subsequently met Colin Powell and former President George W. Bush, suffers from similar problems. Living in regional Washington D.C., he faces impending eviction, unemployment concerns, and the fear of moving his family into a homeless shelter (Schulte 2009: A1). These tribulations are not isolated cases felt by just a few Iraqi refugees, but instead have become widespread problems.

Examples of the hardships that many Iraqi refugees are facing upon resettling in the US have increased dramatically as the difficulties became more and more apparent. Bahjat, a 27-year-old Iraqi refugee resettled in Cape Coral, FL, also shared his story. Despite his once engineer status, the only job he found was working for $7 an hour in a warehouse, which he declined as he decided it could not provide the amount of money his family needed. Still, he worries of finding adequate work, which is compounded by the reality that his assistance is quickly running out (Ludden 2008). Bahjat's story is indicative of a majority of the Iraqi refugees who come with high levels of education and middle class backgrounds and have to transition into new circumstances of more meager living. In part, this is due to obstacles to gainful employment like education recertification costs and widespread recession time unemployment problems, causing the educated population to compete for lower-skilled positions that are already inundated with applicants (Semple 2009: A1, Zavis 2009). This difficult transition is reflected further by the employment statistics in 2009 that show only 11% of Iraqi refugees were able to find adequate work in the recession era (Jonsson and Chick 2009). Just one of

many concerns, difficulties in work have been spotlighted as the overwhelming issue surrounding resettlement of Iraqi refugees.

Still, other related aspects of resettlement have been broached, including financial problems associated with rent and food. The years of waiting for many Iraqi refugees left them with savings close to nothing and a hope that they would receive help in the US (Zavis 2009). Although refugee advocates are suggesting that major reforms take place in the resettlement program, as of late the hope for major assistance upon entering the US is bleak (Jonsson and Chick 2009). Instead, along with employment concerns, many reports have shown mounting evictions and a lack of resources to pay rent. The story of Shifa, an Iraqi refugee woman resettled in central California, exemplifies this point. When her cash assistance ran out, Shifa pawned a ring and two gold bracelets to pay two months of rent, but felt left with no options to pay any succeeding rent (Zavis 2009). Others tell the same tale, like Joodi who said his family could not pay the rent, but also could not bring themselves to go to a homeless shelter (Shulte 2009: A01). As this issue became more prominent among Iraqi refugees, the State department of the US government released an emergency fund of $5 million dollars to prevent further evictions, but these financial measures cannot be sustained and the tenuous living circumstance remains (Jonsson and Chick 2009). In the wake of changing US policy towards Iraqi refugee admissions, many assumed that the Iraqi refugee issue was all but solved. Instead, the refugees face a new set of obstacles before life can return to some semblance of normalcy.

While media and academic sources alike have raised some concerns for the sustainability of the Iraqi refugee resettlement process in the United States, there still remain many important features of the Iraqi refugee experience that need to be addressed.

There was an initial focus on the refugee experience abroad followed by reports highlighted the difficulties refugees face in relation to financial standing. There has yet to be research about the sociology of the newly arrived Iraqi refugees' acclimation to the United States and the specific environments in which they live, like the cities of Washington D.C., Los Angeles, and even Boston. This research expands on the journalistic depictions of this refugee experience by focusing on the social networking, acculturation, and ethnic retention of Iraqi refugees in the greater Boston area.

Specifically, this work sets out to provide a better understanding of the lived experience and transition of Iraqi refugees in the resettlement process. The study does so by using case management and refugee commentary and story to address a number of questions surrounding the refugee resettlement experience. Firstly, it explores which social networks, like case management or family, are the most central to this community. Secondly, it links these key social networks and the acculturation process by examining the patterned usage of each social network for means of acculturation. Thirdly, this work also highlights the counterpart to acculturation by acknowledging the differentiated usage of social networks for ethnic and cultural retention purposes. Finally, these processes of transition are further analyzed within the context of discrimination and its possible effects on acculturation and ethnic retention. Throughout the entirety of the analysis, this work also displays how certain social networks and experiences are unavailable to provide certain kinds of support and guidance. In this approach, this research is able to provide a more sociological understanding of a community that has been examined through mostly a journalistic lens. The driving force behind this analysis is to better explain and describe the Iraqi refugee experience in greater Boston by emphasizing the rich and interesting

adjustment process experienced. Additionally, this work utilizes this specific community's experiences as a means for understanding the processes of social networking, acculturation and ethnic retention, and discrimination and engages with literature in those fields to expand on general sociological knowledge.

In particular, I focus on a set of newly arrived Iraqi refugees. The refugees are enrolled in a resettlement program that lasts 8 months upon arrival, where their case managers provide them with help and instruction. The specific refugees who were interviewed English-speaking, mostly male, and have middle or upper class backgrounds. Additionally, I focus on the refugee social workers who manage Iraqi caseloads. By focusing on both groups, I am able to explore the different social networks available to the refugees. In addition, I concentrate on the different ways these social networks are used for acculturation to the city and/or ethnic and cultural retention. This usage was complicated by other social determinants of the refugees like age, gender, social-class, religion and region of the country from which refugees came. Some of these distinctions are also explored in relation to the differentiated utilization of social networks for acculturation and ethnic retention. Finally, this investigation was cognizant of the social interactions between the refugees and Americans and forms of discrimination felt by the Iraqi refugees upon settling the United States. While variation among participants opened up these different avenues for research, they are all interconnected in their significance to the Iraqi refugee experiences of culture and bureaucracy.

This research provides an alternative, sociological perspective in that it differs significantly from the journalistic approaches that have been taken about the Iraqi refugees in the United States. This thesis entails a more sociological approach to

understanding the Iraqi refugee experience by exploring the cultural and bureaucratic features of refugee adjustment and settlement. Furthermore, this paper will expand existing refugee research data and make connections between the literature of acculturation, ethnic retention, and social networks as they involve Iraqi refugees. Although the previous research on acculturation of refugee groups is large and growing, my work makes a more salient link between such acclimation and particular social networks. Finally, because the respondents in the study are English-speaking Iraqi refugees, I use this opportunity to examine some of the language barriers that refugees encounter as they try to resettle in the US while still engrained in non-English speaking social networks. However, facility with the dominant language is crucial for these Iraqi refugees as they move into various sectors of society and the importance of their dexterity with language is visible in my analysis. This thesis also transcends this focus on language skills acquisition and moves into other arenas of acculturation that also affect of the daily, lived experiences of these refugees. While this work connects with both scholarly and journalistic inquiries of the past, I have been able to extract a new and critical analysis of social networking and acculturation patterns from this framing and research.

This research is specific to Iraqi refugees resettling in the greater Boston area, however, these findings expose broader patterns that closely resemble the experiences of refugees in urban centers, like Washington D.C., and the refugee relationship to a multicultural American society and its bureaucracy. In particular, this examines how the Iraqi refugee resettlement patterns and strategies are unique from other resettling communities in many ways. In one sense, this work speaks to the particularities of this specific population that is quickly growing in number. However, and more importantly,

many findings may also be explanatory of the realities faced by other refugees groups also resettling into cities in the United States and thus, may better the refugee resettlement experience across the board. Not only does this work forge new academic ground by linking social networking and acculturation, but it also casts the current Iraqi refugee experience as a learning tool for future resettlement of both Iraqi refugees and other populations.

In the following chapter, I describe my methodology by detailing interviewees and interview guides, the coding process, and the field study aspects of my research. Next, in chapter 3, a literature review elaborates on social networking, acculturation/ethnic retention, and stigma to provide grounding for my research. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis of the research and findings surrounding social networks and acculturation rates. The proceeding chapter highlights how the English-speaking Iraqi refugees have retained aspects of their heritage and culture. Then chapter 6 is dedicated to analyzing how the Iraqi refugees' transition is and is not affected by discrimination. The final chapter provides a summary of findings and conclusions of the study in its entirety. Before continuing any further, it is necessary to outline my methods of investigation and the limitations I faced.

II. Methodology

Review of the Literature

I make use of a literature review in social networking, acculturation/ethnic retention, and stigma by exploring journal articles and scholarly books on these subjects to provide the grounding for my research. This literature review helps to provide background on each individual topic. Additionally, it is useful in making connections between areas of study, which are fruitful for this research. The important findings from this method are in the next chapter.

Interviews

One of the most integral and fundamental components of this work was the 13 interviews I conducted with case managers and Iraqi refugee clients of resettlement agencies. Interviews were based off two separate, prepared questionnaires that can be seen in Addendums A and B. Though interviews worked off a questionnaire, they were administered informally and with flexibility to topics brought up by participants. Interviews generally lasted between 45 minutes and one hour and fifteen minutes. Interview locations were based off convenience for the participant, but included homes, cafes, and refugee resettlement agency offices. Once interviews were transcribed, a coding system was applied to each for analysis purposes. Specifically, each kind of social network presented was color coded with a different color. Information recorded about social networking by the respondent was coded in the same color to so that the networking pattern matched the respondents' comments about his/her networking experience. This system was repeated for acculturation, ethnic retention, and discrimination patterns as well as for age and gender. This coding system can be seen in

Addendum C. For the reference of the reader, all interview transcripts, with names

removed for confidentiality, are available in a separate document and will be provided

upon request.

Refugee Case Management Staff Interviews

      I interviewed 5 employees and interns of two refugee resettlement voluntary

agencies in the Boston area about their experiences working with English-speaking Iraqi

refugees and their relationships with these clients. The five case management workers

were women, in their 20's or early 30's, who were mostly Caucasian. These interviews

helped to gain insight on the important relationship between case managers and their

clients and also an alternative point of view on the lives, social networks, and acclimation

of Iraqi refugees to Boston.

English-Speaking Iraqi Refugee Interviews

      I also interviewed 8 English-speaking, recently resettled Iraqi refugee clients who

are currently living in the Boston area (Lynn, Dorchester, Chelsea, etc.) between the ages

of 19 and 47. Respondents included six males and two females. Of the two females who

participated in the study, one was a 24-year old single Christian woman living with her

family. The other was a middle-aged, married Iraqi Muslim woman also living with her

family. Of the males that participated in the study, the majority were young Iraqi males

some of whom were resettling to the US as single males without their families and others

moving with their families. These men ranged in age from 19 to 38. Additionally, there

were a remaining two interviews with older, Muslim Iraqi males who were the patriarchs

of their households and were resettled to the US with their families.

All the Iraqi refugees who were interviewed were conversationally fluent in English. They were conversational in the sense that they could engage in a conversation and answer questions in great detail, though they may have had some mistakes with grammar or word choice from time to time. In addition, the majority of the refugees interviewed were educated, with at least associate or bachelor's degrees in fields like engineering. Finally, it seemed that the majority of interviewees were from a middle or upper class background in Iraq, though their current financial situation did not reflect that status. The social determinants of these refugees mostly reflect those of the larger Iraqi population. Roughly a third of the Iraqi refugees who moved to Boston through the resettlement agency with which I was affiliated had some knowledge of English. Additionally, the majority of the Iraqi refugee population I encountered during my work at the resettlement organization came from a middle class background and advanced education with degrees in fields like engineering. The Iraqis interviewed were mostly representative of the larger population, though their English fluency was slightly higher.

The information received in these interviews varied, depending on the interviewee. Generally, each interview gave a sense of the kinds of social networks available to each participant and ways those social networks are being utilized for personal and emotional support, acclimatization to the US, or ethnic/cultural retention. In addition, the interviews touched upon distinctions in experiences based on age, gender, and living as a single, young adult versus living with family members. The interviews with Iraqi refugees conducted in the fall and winter of 2009 and 2010 are at the heart of this study and were integral to any sort of substantive finding that this work produces.

Previous Experience as an Intern

I am also drawing from my previous work as a refugee case management aide during the summer of 2009. My experience working at a refugee resettlement voluntary agency helps to corroborate the experiences and stories of the case managers and the refugees themselves. I include some of the stories of refugee clients who did not formally participate in my study, but whose resettlement experiences will add texture to the study.

Media Reports

I also include useful information that comes from media reports, newspaper articles, and any other outside information coming from well-researched, legitimate sources. One specific example of this is a *New York Times* article about the situation of the Iraqi refugees adjusting to their new lives in the United States. Though the focus of this thesis is on my own research, experiences, and qualitative data analysis, media reports are significant in comprehending the larger Iraqi refugee circumstance and how this analysis fits into a larger body of work.

Limitations to Research

In this work, I have faced some serious limitations that are important to address. Firstly, I experienced great difficulty in gaining access to the Iraqi refugee community and to interview participants. Though I had worked at a refugee resettlement voluntary agency before, I still had to confront and negotiate administrative rules with agency employees. Specifically, I had to hash out all of the details before I was allowed to invite anyone to participate in my study, even those clients with whom I had formerly worked. Refugees are a very vulnerable population and their safety and rights of privacy are fervently protected by the agencies that serve them.

Before given permission, I had to meet with administrative executives to review my study guidelines and methods of obtaining information. In addition, one office ran a CORI (Criminal Offender Record Information) report on me, to confirm that I was not involved in criminal activity and ensure my legitimacy in interviewing their clients. Finally, after this process, I was able to access lists prepared by case management administration with client contact information, but even then the lists were only two or three names long because the voluntary agencies thought many people were unsuitable for interviewing. This is an important limitation to recognize for two reasons. First, these sorts of barriers to information explain the small number of respondents, which make up my interview sample. Specifically, I lacked flexibility in who I was able to interview and the criteria used by the agency management may have skewed or influenced my findings. Case management staff wanted to safeguard the confidentiality of their clients, but this made conditions far from ideal from a researcher's perspective. Secondly, this limitation is important in its place in the discussion of this thesis. In particular, it is an interesting vignette in seeing the relationship between case management, the Iraqi clients, and the flow of information within that social network; a topic that will be discussed at great length later on in this paper.

My inability to speak Arabic also limited my research. There was a smaller number of English-speaking Iraqi refugees to begin with and those who were English-speakers tended to be male. Hence, my research necessarily became more focused on the male contingent within this population because of a lack of available females to interview. Still, my interviews with two Iraqi women brought up a lot of interesting discussions of gender and how those roles have maybe changed with acculturation to the

Boston, and on a greater scale American, culture. I will discuss these issues in the final section of this work, but the limitedness of female interviewees hindered this important subject from being a main focus of this work.

Lastly, my role as an American and as a previous case management aide was a significant limitation for this project. At certain points in my conversations with the Iraqi refugee participants, I felt that their idea of me as an American and a researcher affected the investigation I was conducting. Particularly, when conversations turned to discrimination and the effects of discrimination on some of the interviewees, I sometimes felt that they were compelled to gloss over their anxieties or fears about discrimination they may have been experiencing. At the same time, I also think I was occasionally able to overcome this limitation because of my Indian heritage and the sense of connection the Iraqi refugees felt to similar lifestyles and customs found in Middle Eastern and Indian cultures. Similarly, when discussing the role and relationship of case management with clients from the organization with which I formerly worked, at times there was a tendency to associate me with that resettlement agency and its employees. This could obviously have an effect on how some interviewees spoke of their opinions about their connection to case management and the ways that network was useful to them. It is a necessity to acknowledge that my unique role affected the information gained from the interviews on levels I am able to recognize as well as others more unapparent.

As I move throughout this piece to empirical research, it is necessary to keep in mind my methodology and its limitations in reference to the scope and nature of the work. Now, I will turn to the literature for a better theoretical foundation before proceeding to my own research.

III. Literature Review

Introduction

In this study, I examine the Iraqi refugee experience by investigating their social networks, patterns of acculturation and ethnic retention, and encounters with discrimination. I attempt to make conceptual links between availability of social networks and forms of acculturation and ethnic retention. Specifically, I focus on how the forms of acculturation and ethnic retention that the refugees perform are connected to their involvement with and usage of a specific social network. I mobilize this discussion by using past research on social networking and acculturation processes and recognizing that this refugee population is significantly different than others previously studied. In addition, I employ past research to examine concepts from discrimination theory. Here, I expand on discrimination analyses by exploring the link between discrimination and acculturation. While some aspects of this experience are importantly unique to this particular refugee population, a great deal of this work will expand on general theories. Before proceeding, however, I will make a distinction between refugees and immigrants, which will provide an indispensable context for analyzing this work.

Refugees

A refugee, according to the United Nations, is someone "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR Refugees). Such a characterization of refugees puts this study into a

specific refugee context, one that is distinct from immigrant experiences. Below are two differences, noted in refugee research, which are important to this particular study.

The Relocation Process

The role of the federal and local governments and resettlement agencies in these new host societies provide a defining difference in the experiences of refugees from those of their immigrant counterpart. One difference is the relocation process. Immigrants can move with seemingly more autonomy, settling with nearby family members and friends or in an area where there is an established community from their home country. Refugees have far less control over their location and go through a formal relocation process, in which voluntary agencies detail whether they can support basic services for an individual to the United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI). Based on the availability of resources, such as "housing, employment, needed services, [and] readiness of host community", refugees are relocated to specific areas of the country (USCRI Refugee Resettlement). These organizations try to place refugees near relatives or friends. However, there is no guarantee that this can be accomplished and refugees do not have autonomy to resettle in regions of their choice (USCRI Refugee Resettlement). This migratory process is a core difference between immigrant and refugee experiences.

Direct Welfare Services and Voluntary Agencies

In the United States, regulations that control immigrant and refugee flows vary widely. For one, refugees are accorded different visa status than immigrants. Specifically, they receive I-94 refugee or special interest visas and are enrolled in refugee resettlement programs in the area of resettlement before entering the country. They are not issued guest working visas, spouse-sponsored visas, or landed immigrant status like other

immigrants (US Department of State, workpermit.com, US Department of State Visas). Due to their refugee status, they receive immediate access to welfare systems and voluntary agencies (Hein 1993: 53). Therefore refugees are enrolled into welfare programs that provide cash and medical assistance, language learning, and job development that are overseen by case managers assigned to work with them upon arrival (USCRI Refugees, Office of Refugee Resettlement). Unlike refugees, immigrants are ineligible for public assistance for the first five years after their entrance into the US and must prove they have support systems such as relatives who have ensured they will not become liabilities to the government (Hein 1993: 53). Direct supervision and receipt of government services alter the circumstances of the refugees and their relationship to authority figures and the rest of the society, though it is uncertain whether they facilitate acculturation or provide short-term disincentives to acculturation (Hein 1993: 53). This official refugee status creates possible tension between case manager and refugee client (Aihwa 2003 168-191). Refugee status imposes particular experiences on refugees, but also provides them with distinct institutionalized rights, resources, and resettlement.

These distinctions are essential to keep as a frame of reference throughout this study of Iraqi refugees in metropolitan Boston for multiple reasons. Much of the structured programming designed for refugee resettlement can alter the social networks that the refugees are able to access. For one, the relocation process, with its lack of autonomy, can affect how these Iraqi refugees are creating social networks, insofar as these refugees may or may not be resettled near family and friends. Availability of case management help is another example of this. This, in turn, can affect the social networks they create and the extensiveness of these networks, which may alter the acculturation

processes refugees undergo. Important differences exist between refugees and immigrants, which affect patterns of resettlement, like social networking and acculturation.

Now, it is imperative to advance theories of social networking and acculturation to facilitate a sociological discussion of the refugee experience.

Linking Social Networks with Acculturation/Ethnic Retention

One of the main focuses on this paper is to show the relationship between social networks and acculturation/ethnic retention for Iraqi refugees and refugee populations in general. Specifically, it is important to juxtapose the availability and use of particular social networks with specific forms of acculturation and ethnic retention that refugees undergo. This is vital because social capital of each social network provides individuals with specific resources for acculturation and ethnic retention. This section will elucidate definitions and theories in social networks and acculturation literature. It will highlight how the usage of social networks of this group may be significantly different than that of others as their social positioning is distinct from other refugees. In addition, it will look to previous research on refugee and immigrant populations to explore the connection between social networks and acculturation. Here, it will also define how this research will expand on other, related debates in the fields of social networking and acculturation.

Social Networking: Definitions and Theoretical Development

In this study, we will understand social networks to be patterns of relationships and links between different social units that may consist of individual actors and collectivities like nations or organizations (Marsden 1990: 435,436). Some micro-level examples include kinship, friendship, authority or sexual contact partners. Subsequent to

the creation or maintenance of social networks, social capital is the amount and kinds of resources attained or able to be accessed by an individual who belongs to a specific social network (Lin 1999: 471). For instance, a member of a social network can benefit from that network by gaining access to individuals or a group of interconnected people who can lend them money, give connections to a desirable job, or help find adequate housing. Also, the resources available are not limited to economic sufficiency, but also include social support, the "comfort, assistance, and/or information one receives through formal or informal contacts with groups" (Takeda 2001: 3). From this understanding of social networks and its utilities, one can gather why social networks are beneficial to resettling Iraqi refugees. Specifically, examining these social networks will reveal information on the refugee experience by evaluating the social capital made available by each network and the subsequent forms of acculturation and ethnic retention they undergo.

Other conceptual understandings of social networks are also important in this study. Specifically, urban sociology concepts of *community-saved* and *community-liberated* help to explain the patterning of social networks used by refugees and for what purposes each network may be used. Employing these concepts will better encapsulate the influences of each social network on acculturation and ethnic retention processes. Wellman and Leighton (1979) define the term *community-saved* to mean communities who still use neighborhood social systems as important sources of support and sociability, suggesting that neighborhood network ties still allow for quick mobilization for handling routine or emergency situations (373-74). This idea was later modified to a "community of limited liability" where the neighborhood represents one community in which members are part of (Wellman and Leighton 1979:376). The concept of

community-liberated, contrastingly, posits that individuals are limited members of several social networks, both inside and outside of their neighborhoods as a result of "cheap, effective transportation and communication facilities" (Wellman and Leighton 1979: 376). For example, advances in telecommunications and Internet technology have allowed individuals to maintain regular contact and social support from individuals in their long-distance network, which would be otherwise difficult or impossible. (Hampton and Wellman 2001: 486-490). Both *community-liberated* and *community-saved* concepts highlight patterns of social networking that are pertinent to this study.

 Community-saved and *community-liberated* concepts help to expand the forthcoming conceptual link between social networks and acculturation. It is easy to see these community concepts are centered on social networks, and thus, is a way of speaking to types and magnitudes of social networks. These concepts will help detail the importance of different social networks within the neighborhood, like other Iraqi refugee neighbors, and outside of it, like case management and family abroad. It will also help to reveal how the particular significance of each social network to the refugees shapes how acculturation and ethnic retention take place. Both definitions of social networks and subsequent social capital and community theories help form a foundation upon which to rest the connection between social networking and acculturation.

 Acculturation: Definitions and Theoretical Development
 For a long time researchers focused on two integration processes in the field of sociology: assimilation and pluralism. Assimilation can be defined as the "newcomers' moving out of the formal and informal ethnic associations and other social institutions" into those of the non-ethnic equivalents of the new host society; here, people are expected

to initially have some magnitude of affinity with their ethnic community and heritage but eventually lose all of it (Gans 1997: 877, Berbrier 2004: 34). In contrast, the concept of pluralism speaks to when members of an ethnic enclave continue to ascribe to the customs and values of that enclave (Berbrier 2004: 34-35). The concept of pluralism posits that ethnic minorities do not gain an affinity to the ideals and norms of the dominant culture and do not move into the associations and institutions of that dominant culture either. Pluralism and assimilation have dominated the study of ethnic and racial sociology. However, these positions can be somewhat limiting in describing the integration process because they can be extreme and sometimes vague in their labels (Gans 1997: 876). Instead of focusing on these concepts of assimilation and pluralism, this study will instead employ frameworks of acculturation and ethnic retention.

Acculturation can be defined as the resulting changes that occur in one or both of two groups' cultures when sets of individuals of two autonomous cultures come into contact with one another, with one generally being more dominant than the other and the less dominant group taking cultural elements from the more dominant one. These modified cultural elements can include behavioral patterns, values, and rules (Berry 2003: 18, Berry 1986: 25, Gans 1997: 877). The change of acculturation can come from cultural transmission like immigration or refugee resettlement in a new society, but can also be caused by factors like changes in demographics of the dominant culture (Berry 2003: 18). While the concept of acculturation takes into account shifts in an ethnic group to accept and use cultural elements from the more dominant group, ethnic retention can be defined as the aspects of cultural practices that come from ethnic institutions, which an ethnic group continues to perform (Gans 1997: 878). Instead of dividing between the two

extremist theories of complete pluralism or assimilation, it is better to define levels of acculturation and ethnic retention that occur. This leads to a more realistic understanding of how a group, like the Iraqi refugees in Boston, is integrating into a new society.

Refugees, like the Iraqi refugees, experience different levels and rates of acculturation as a result of various factors. For instance, as noted by Silvers (1965), Weinstock links the rate of acculturation to occupational status and transferability of job skills (68-79). Others have noted the importance of language in acculturation, like Sun-Mee Kang (2006) who shows that increased ability in the host society's language is a good predictor of level of acculturation. This examination will not exclude such factors, but will examine these characteristics in the context of social networks. Research on the Iraqi refugees will provide evidence of how social networks and social capital are intertwined with acculturation/ethnic retention rates.

Connecting Social Networking and Acculturation Theories: Past Research and Avenues for Expansion

Previous research on refugees and immigrants has portrayed the importance of social networks to these populations. Friends and family are one network for refugee families. Hein's (1993) work among Southeast Asian refugees shows that social networks of friends and relatives are instrumental in solving some of their problems even when institutional programs are available (52). Menjivar (1997) also posits that kinship social networks can be primary connections for immigrant and refugee groups, like the Vietnamese refugees who relied heavily on familial networks. However, she notes that these kinship networks for some groups, like the Salvadorian migrants, may become secondary or dismantled after a cohort moves to a new society, offering less social capital than they previously relied on from that social network (1-24). Menjivar (1997) points to

how institutional factors and larger social forces, like the economy and government, can play a more critical role (1-24). Although network theorists have posited that friends and family are a significant social network in the lives of refugees, it is also possible that such a network dissipates and becomes secondary or tertiary for refugees.

Other theorists focused on the role of voluntary agencies and case managers as an important social network. Hein (1993) mentions that this kind of social network and the resources attached to it shape the ways that immigrants see their short-term and long-term lives in the US (52-53). In particular, he notes that some of the services provided can help in the transition into a new society (52-53). The concept of voluntary agency/case managers as a primary social network for refugees reverberates in the work of Takeda (2001). He posits this network provides social capital to refugees, like economic self-sufficiency (Takeda 2001: 9). Other research offers a different theoretical perspective of the case management network, showing how this social network may not provide the kinds of social capital that a refugee family needs and is, thus, less beneficial. Although Hein (1993) commented on positive aspects of case management, he argues some services provided may negatively affect refugees because of disincentives to invest time into their new communities (52-53). Also, past research shows disconnect between kinds of social capital the refugee wants and the sorts of social capital that the voluntary agency network provides. This can lead to negative consequences for refugee families, such as forms of forced and expedited assimilation (Aihwa 2003:169-191). Theorists remain divided on the positive or negative significance of case management as a social network.

A sharp divide exists regarding the influence of the social network of case management onto resettling refugees. This study will bridge this divide by exploring both

the positives and negatives of case management as a social network from the vantage point of the refugees themselves to better understand how this network influences refugee experiences. Additionally, this same sort of duality will be investigated for other networks, like the kinship network, as research also remains divided on the significance of those networks to the refugee circumstance. The exploration of the use of these networks is not only important to bridge divided thought, but also to encapsulate how this refugee cohort, with an uncharacteristically higher education background and higher class and economic status, use their social networks. The import and utility of networks themselves provide avenues for expanded research for this study.

Aside from social network and capital, other research focuses more on forms of acculturation that refugee populations have undergone and the ways they have managed ethnic and cultural retention. One example is the Vietnamese refugee cohort, one of the most studied refugee groups, who can provide background in acculturation and ethnic retention. On one hand, research shows how the Vietnamese retained ethnic values and customs. Kelly (1986) shows that Vietnamese employed ethnic, religious, and cultural organizations to cope with adaptation and help in the transition to the US (148-149). In this case, the Vietnamese refugees were able to maintain their former cultural, religious, and ethnic practices through these organizations even though they were in a new society. Menjivar (1997) also shows how the Vietnamese maintain ethnic group ideals, like centrality of family as the most important institution in life (1-24). Previous research highlights ethnic retention as a feature of the refugee experience.

Still, this research also portrays how Vietnamese refugees acculturated to some cultural norms of US society. For example, some of the organizations helped older

Vietnamese with job placement services and younger ones with school needs, thus teaching them how to survive and excel in areas where new cultural domains reigned dominant. This led to a certain adoption of those practices and behaviors (Kelly 1986: 148-149). In Menjivar's (1997) article, she notes how the Vietnamese refugees believed voluntary agencies gave opportunities to job training programs, formal education, and English learning classes, which influenced them to reach a level of acculturation of US customs (1-24). In addition, she notes the adoption of the American ideals of equal opportunity and meritocracy in respondents' comments (Menjivar 1997: 1-24).

Much like the work of Menjivar and Kelly, this work will focus on integration processes of a refugee population. The Vietnamese case studies shows that newer work has shied away from extremist views of assimilation or complete pluralism and focused more on a mixture of acculturation and ethnic retention. This work will also examine the balance between acculturation and ethnic retention, instead of reaffirming concepts of complete pluralism or assimilation. This study may be of particular importance as these refugees may acculturate or retain culture more or less effectively than previous groups as a result of their distinct social positioning (educated, once wealthier, very politicized). Such an explicated difference could lead to a greater knowledge of the relationship between acculturation and social positioning of immigrant and refugee groups.

Most importantly, however, previous research acts as a catalyst to linking social networking research with acculturation research in this study since an explicit connection is necessary. This work will focus on how refugees, specifically the Iraqi refugees in greater Boston, engage with social networks and are influenced by each of these networks to undergo certain types of acculturation and maintain aspects of their ethnicity and

culture. This research will expand on the duality of ethnic retention and acculturation by not only including both analyses but also by revealing mixed usage of resources to achieve both acculturation and ethnic retention simultaneously. It will do so by elucidating the relationship between each social network and subsequent capital and acculturation and then again between social network and ethnic retention. Background case studies detailed above will be important in comparing the experiences of the Iraqi refugees to those of other refugee groups to encapsulate general trends in acculturation and ethnic retention based on social network. It will also show distinctions of how social networking and acculturation operate with this new refugee population embedded within a geopolitical context. Finally, this paper will advance development in the acculturation field by exposing a differentiated usage of social networks based on social determinants like age, which foster different patterns in acculturation and ethnic retention. This focus is central to understanding the complexity of the refugee integration experience. Another vital component of this experience is the effect of discrimination, which I turn to next.

Perceptions of Arabs/Arab Americans

It is necessary to place the Iraqi refugee experience in the context of the recent history of Arab and Arab Americans in the US, since recent history over the last 10 years has reshaped daily experiences for this ethnic group. This is of particular importance with the Iraqi refugees as they are a highly politicized and relatively new refugee community entering US society. A focus on discrimination and negative perceptions will provide insight to what barriers Iraqi refugees face in their integration. Literature tends to focus on acts of discrimination in relation to identity. I will expand on this by focusing on how discrimination affects the usage of social networks and acculturation during in the

integration to a new society. Discrimination is an important aspect of any integration process and examining it under a sociological lens will shed light on the complexity of the adjustment experiences of the Iraqi refugees and other refugee cohorts.

Many academics have researched the effects of a host society's attitudes on the identity formation. Scholars have argued that negative perceptions of Arab and Arab Americans have influenced the Arab development of identity in post 9/11 years. Some theorists say that currents of history have led to and will lead to a dual removal, where the Arab groups no longer identify into their Middle Eastern culture and are equally removed from an American identity (Salaita 2005: 153). At the other extreme, some suggest that this will lead to a "stigmatization of any sense of Arab identity" and a distancing from others attached to negative stereotypes to insert themselves within American society (Howell and Shryock 2003: 455-456). This discussion on the shifting identity of Arabs fits into a longstanding discussion on the general problems of multiculturalism in the US. One drawback of this multicultural environment is the potential marginalization of minorities in the larger power hierarchies that control minority access to different institutions, especially when such groups are already received with negative stereotyping and stigma (Bloemraad et al 2008: 160-161). In this literature, the focus has been on changes in the identities of minorities in relation to the larger society.

This research will examine changing identity as a result of perceptions of a larger, more dominant society, but will also draw connections between these experiences of discrimination with accessibility and usage of different social networks in acculturation processes. Effects of discrimination affect the identity of the Iraqi refugees, and other immigrant groups, not only by shaping their internal dialogue about identity, but also by

changing their actions and interactions with other individuals. They are not immune to

the greater society since actors in society help shape and socialize every individual or

group of individuals (Goffman 1967: 1, 44-45). Bloemraad et al (2008) highlights that

individual action "is embedded in particular social and cultural collectives that provide

individuals with meaning" and that the collective interests seem more legitimate than

those of the individual at the time (159). Here, there is an emphasis on how the actions

and attitudes of the larger society will affect the actions taken by individuals working

under that society's pressures. This theoretical understanding explicates how

discrimination is connected to social networks and acculturation. Essentially, this means

negative actions by the host society would be influential on the Iraqi refugee experience,

which networks they can and do engage with, and how and when they acculturate. For

instance, post 9/11 years have seen the creation of the Patriot Act, which negatively

affected the Arab population, and an influx of derisive portrayals of Arabs in the media

that have embedded racist ideas. These negative perceptions have many times led to

tension and violence by non-Arab groups unto Arab individuals (Salaita 2005: 160,

Cainkar 2002, Howell and Shryock 2003). This, in turn, could affect the inclination to

create strong social networks with Americans or case managers. Additionally, if these

destructive sentiments are felt, refugees may use networks comprised of friends and

family to retain more of their Iraqi culture instead of acculturating. In contrast, positive

experiences could possibly create an opposite effect, where Iraqi refugees are more apt to

view themselves as new members of the larger American community and strike a

different balance between old and new social networks and subsequently between

acculturation and ethnic retention. The attitudes of the host society can have effects on the usage of social networks by the Iraqi refugees.

Valuable insight can be gained from looking at how these mainstream currents can affect the experiences of Iraqi refugees. This can lead to a preference for a particular usage of networks. However, it can also constrain the Iraqi refugees from using social networks in whichever way they want or from accessing some social networks altogether. A lack of social networks can then affect how the use of the available networks influences acculturation and ethnic retention. This research will make the necessary connections of stigma to the analysis of social networks and acculturation in order to begin a necessary and open dialogue between the two fields of study.

Conclusion

This literature review has looked specifically at topics that will be useful in the analysis of the experience of Iraqi refugees acculturating (or not acculturating) in greater Boston. Primarily, it will reveal a deeper connection between specific social networks and acculturation and ethnic retention with regard to social difference within the refugee cohort. It will do so in part by employing theories of *community-saved* and *community-liberated* to analyze social network usage in the acculturation and ethnic retention processes. This work will also bridge standpoints on the effects of case management on acculturation. Finally, it will initiate a dialogue of the effects of discrimination on the usage of social networks for acculturation and ethnic retention. This review acts as a springboard for this study. The Iraqi refugee experience examined will expand on the concepts presented to provide a complex understanding of this specific ethnic contingent in their new society and a general knowledge of the refugee experience overall.

IV. Acculturation

Before moving onto the acculturation processes of Iraqi refugees in Boston, I will briefly detail the three main social networks available to this population.

First, and most obviously, the Iraqi refugees still have the social network of their family and friends from Iraq and their processing countries available to them. Some have their family and friends at literally an arm's length, because they have resettled as a familial unit or were relocated to an area where their friends and relatives were close by. Others stay in contact with these individuals through telecommunication technology like video chatting even if their loved ones are spread out across the world. This includes family and friends who were resettled to other parts of the US, immigrated to the US before the Iraq war, or remained in the Middle East after the onset of the war. This group is tremendously important to many of the Iraqi refugees who have been resettled and are a resource for them in terms of acculturation and ethnic retention.

Second, Iraqi refugees arrive with the case management social network available to them. This includes not only their refugee case managers, but also other case management employees like employment specialists, case management interns, and English language teachers. This social network is formally available to them for 8 months of direct case management services and beyond that time frame for continuing education and employment services. This paper will build on previous research to show how the Iraqi refugees are employing this network for adjustment, but are simultaneously constrained by it in other aspects.

Next, the Iraqi refugees also have other newly arrived Iraqi refugees as a social network available to them. Many of the resettlement agencies attempt to place families

and single refugees together in neighborhoods close by one another. In addition, others find even more resettled Iraqis through connections made by previously acquired friends and family. Although this network is not longstanding, like connections to their friends from back home, it has proven to be a powerful resource to the Iraqi refugee community in their resettlement process.

There are other networks available to the Iraqi refugee community. For one, many of the English-speaking Iraqis are starting to create connections with Americans or longer-term resident immigrants. Additionally, others who were interpreters have maintained connections to the US military and sometimes rely on those relationships. These other networks were present in the dialogues with Iraqi refugees, but will not be the focus of this paper. For reasons of succinctness, this paper will only look at the main three networks mentioned previously. This was a strategy decision based on the prevalence of each of the three networks in the lived experiences of the Iraqi refugees. I raise this point to avoid obscuring other relationships with which the Iraqis are engaging.

Now, it is necessary to scrutinize how each of the three networks has been instrumental in acculturation.

Case Management and Acculturation

The discussion on acculturation processes between case management and refugee clients has been hotly debated. As aforementioned, some argue for the benefits derived from refugee case managers while others censure case management as a form of forced assimilation. In this specific research, there are three forms of pursued acculturation. One, Iraqi refugees use case management to get initial bearings on American bureaucracy and adapt to such systems like public transportation and welfare

assistance. Two, they employ case management as information networks for job-seeking customs and educational opportunities. Three, the population gains more hands-on experience about American culture and multiculturalism. Additionally, there were important differences in how clients thought to actively use case management and how case management perceived themselves to be used as a social capital resource. At times, this led to frustration and obstacles in the way of acculturation for the Iraqi refugee population. Case management services were an important network for acculturation purposes in both positive and negative ways.

Bureaucratic and Systems Knowledge

In one of my first days working as a case management aide, I received a phone call from a male client, Arif. After speaking together about unfair electricity bill fees, Arif and I decided to meet in person to call the electricity company together. While I dealt with the billing associate, Arif listened carefully and added details to the story I was weaving together from the information I had. After listening to specific details I mentioned, like the dates of the billing cycle compared to the date of move-in, Arif took the phone from my hands. He, using similar information, pushed the associate even further to attempt to reduce the costs detailed on the bill. After we ended the call, he thanked me for helping him call the company, since this had been his third attempt at getting a price reduction for unfair fees waged upon him. Throughout the summer, memories like this one became more and more common. It became strikingly clear that one of the most useful aspects of refugee case management services for Iraqi clients was learning to navigate bureaucratic systems in the United States, specifically in Boston.

Other instances further exemplify this usage. Another client, Saad, was unsure about how to ensure the care of his daughter who was physically and mentally disabled. As a result of his inquiries about the procedures for school enrollment and healthcare, case management searched for disability care under state government agencies and within the specific school district in question. Though the employees could not provide all of the answers, they taught him about how school enrollment works, the special needs programs in the school district, and other agencies he could call for daycare and healthcare support.

In these instances, case management services was a resource that the clients actively tapped into for purposes of learning about new bureaucratic systems unknown to them before the resettlement process. Moreover, they not only gained direct help in their specific requests, but were also able to gain insight into what bureaucratic systems were even available to them, who to call for what reason, and how to gain further access to benefits they desired. On various occasions, I personally witnessed clients put case management to use for gaining insight into how to negotiate with American bureaucracy.

Interviewees themselves also stressed case management as a resource for systems knowledge. One client, Zafar, commented,

> "[I've asked about] other stuff too and that's what they do when they visit. She visits me often to see how life goes on in my place, what things I need to provide for winter time or for the heating or for support that comes from their side with the cash assistance, the food…"

Here, Zafar noted that case management has been his source of knowledge for support like cash assistance and food, though these are actually part of state agencies outside of the resettlement voluntary agencies. Case management workers also noted the use of their relationship in understanding the nature of bureaucracy. One intern, Audrey, noted the importance of explaining,

"…when you go to social services you'll have to wait in a line for a long time. That's the way it works here and make sure you bring documentation with you because that's really important. Make sure you have photocopies of everything. [The office] uses a lot of documentation, and makes sure everything is in a file. That's visible to the clients and I think they might learn that they should keep papers about everything."

Another case management aide, Penelope, also noted that clients asked about how and where the trash was picked up each week and it was

"more like not really being aware of the rules or how the community or the system works. Certainly systems like using the T, clients certainly came to case managers and case managers either put them in contact with [other departments] or asked interns to do accompaniments".

In these instances, we can see that the Iraqi refugee clients actively used their voluntary agencies as initial sources of information regarding governmental and public systems previously unknown to them. Nashwan emphasizes this point,

"My case manager has an assistant…for first time, she took us to [voluntary agency's office]. She did the food stamps and so we got familiar with these places and now we go by our own. Yeah, it's the first time so they show us the important places we needed."

Again, the clients clearly are using the case management network for their original understanding of systems, like public transportation or the Department of Transitional Assistance office. Nashwan's comment, however, brings up an important point. It is not just a passive acceptance of information, but an active engagement with it that leads to an understanding of the bureaucratic systems. He specifically discusses how they were able to get familiar with these places and services after being introduced to them by case management, but then began to use the "important places [they] needed" on their own. This change is visible in other actions taken by clients as well. Rebecca, a case management employee, also noted the dynamic shift in performance after using case management to get acquainted with these systems in our conversation:

Rebecca: [An intern] does most of the taking people to their appointments, showing people how to use the T, that kind of thing…And people come to quickly understand the bureaucracy of social services in the US. They understand that the caseworker who works at the DTA will hardly ever answer the phone and their inbox will be full… I think that Iraqi clients quickly learn that they need to treat everyone as if they might need to ask

eight million times and I think that sometimes that adds to the sense of performed urgency. If [they] act like it's really, really important something might happen because a lot of times nothing happens, and that's an adaptation to bureaucracy…

Once more, it is obvious that the Iraqi refugees used case management for an orientation to the structure of rules and regulations in the US and then their performed actions changed accordingly. In this sense, the case management network is beneficial to the Iraqi refugees by acting as a venue to gain information about public services as well as to shape future actions that get desired results. This includes anything as simple as getting the garbage collected to the more complex like receiving missing cash assistance checks.

Employment and Educational Opportunities
Beyond this orientation, Iraqi refugees interviewed also place a strong emphasis on using case management as a means for acculturating to different employment standards and finding out about educational opportunities. As aforementioned, one client, Saad, asked my colleague and myself about educational opportunities for his disabled daughter. In doing so, he gained insight into the bureaucratic structures of Massachusetts's departmental agencies in addition to getting concrete information on the educational opportunities available to his family. He was able to orient himself with the benefits his daughter should be accorded within the school system because of her medical status. Here, Saad and those akin to him use the case management network specifically for adjusting to new educational opportunities.

In addition to elementary schooling, the Iraqi refugees also gain knowledge about higher education opportunities through case management networks. For example, a young male Iraqi refugee, Hamim, used the employment services under case management to find out about a short-term biomedical engineering program at a local university. Hamim was admitted into the program and then received employment in a biomedical

firm due to the amalgamation of his experiences. During this time, he asked about choosing a four-year college and he used recommendations from the voluntary agency's employees in his college applications. In this instance, Hamim employed this network to gain knowledge of higher education from those equipped with experience. Iraqi refugees and case management alike extol the use of this network as a means for acculturating to American norms surrounding job-seeking and higher education attainment.

First, there is an emphasis on building knowledge as a form of acculturation to the new and different educational opportunities in Boston. Audrey, a former case management aide, comments,

> "I was asked, because I go to Harvard, can you find out about if my kid can get into Harvard or if my kid can get financial aid…? And that was outside of what any one of us would have as a responsibility, but education is important to a refugee family so I think that when they know that the case manager is there to provide services, they might ask for things that they may know are probably not one of the core services, especially since they get an orientation about what the core services are."

Here, it is obvious that though it falls outside of the defined realm of case management, the Iraqi refugees demanded education and explanations about educational opportunities. Moreover, these refugees asked Audrey not just about the systems themselves, but also about their prospects to this specific institution. In instances like these, the Iraqi refugees demand to understand how to maneuver a particular part of life that is different in the United States. In another instance, Rafiq said, "They should to help me, show me how to enroll my children into school or apply Hamim to the university or how to find a job…" Again, there is a stipulation put on the case management network where these Iraqi refugees extract information about educational opportunities and matriculation processes. When doing so, they are able to engage with these specific structures in their new surroundings, help with enrollment processes, and participate in

and manage school activities for their children or themselves. The Iraqi refugees utilized

this network for information about American education processes.

Likewise, there is an unambiguous usage of the case management network for job

seeking skills and attainment. This, in particular, is the most obvious use of case

management as one of the goals of the voluntary agencies is self-sufficiency and

employment for their clients. The Iraqi refugees were especially vocal about this aspect

of acculturation. They, in particular, mention inquiring about resumes and job interviews.

Zafar, when discussing resumes, said,

> "What are the things I have to mention? What are the things I don't have to mention
> within the resume critique? I was told you don't have to put your picture…age, no!
> Gender, male female…no. Just your address and your name and your experience and then
> the employer will go on to match the job description to what your experience is."

This form of acculturation to American models of job seeking were echoed with Farhan

too, who mentioned that volunteers aided him in converting his British-style C.V. into an

American-style resume. In both instances, the Iraqi refugees learned the methodology of

writing resumes, different from the form in Iraq, in hopes of attaining employment.

In a similar vein, they also used the employment services and case management to

acculturate to other aspects of job seeking in the US. One Iraqi refugee, Najla,

commented on her application process after interacting with case management.

> "Yeah, so they help us a lot with how to prepare for the interview, how to answer the
> questions…it helped me a lot…They help me with all the questions, like what they will
> ask me, how to answer the question...There, I only apply in the Ministry of Health
> because my father there as a senior manager so it was more easy for me to apply in this
> job and they want like an engineer in this section so I just filled some kind of paper and
> this is it...totally different."

Farhan also commented on this utilization of his case management. He noted that case

management is useful for building interviewing skills.

> "How can I manage that dialogue between me and the interviewer? The volunteer
> focused on don't say, 'I Don't Know'. Focus on the question and look for the eyes and
> don't look down and don't say, 'I don't know." If the interviewer asks me can you start

now? You are to answer him, I am open. I asked the second volunteer, I told him can you explain I am open is the answer for this question? I am open…am I a door? No, it means I am ready."

In these stories, the Iraqi refugees prove their use of case management as a set of connections that is tapped into for acculturating to the new methodology behind gaining employment.

Finally, they use this network in this manner by gaining volunteer or work experience in the resettlement organizations of which they are clients to add to their work history within the country.

> Rafiq: I'm just helping [the office] in a project to maintain the computers, the networks in the [office]. It's a way to return help to them. …This is the first thing. And second, I need to add a history in the United States because work in America always ask you for an American history of work…so I build a new history of work in the United States and its credit for me.

Others, like Zafar and Malik, also commented on volunteering at the agencies to gain employment experience that would make it easier to find a job. In this sense, these refugees are using case management to better adjust to the new job market in the US by gaining a work history that has more credibility to employers in metro-Boston. In various manners, the Iraqi refugees utilize their relationship with case management to better position themselves in the employment and educational sectors. They use this network for acculturating to new norms in these fields to better posture themselves.

Insertion into a Multi-Cultural Environment
Another vein in which case management is useful for Iraqi refugees comes from the exposure to a multicultural environment. In this sense, Iraqi refugees use case management as a tool for learning not only about more traditionally American customs. They also come in contact with other immigrant and refugee groups that have helped to shape previous and current American value systems and norms. For example, the case

management themselves dictate this sort of understanding from the Iraqi refugees in the relocation process alone. Specifically, case management resettles Iraqi refugees in areas of great diversity, like Chelsea and Dorchester. One interviewee commented about his newfound connections with his Vietnamese landlord who had similar experiences as refugees in the United States. He and his roommate further commented about the South Asian market owners on his street, his Southeast Asian neighbors, and the owner of the Laundromat they attend. In this sense, case management introduces many Iraqi refugees into a multi-ethnic America in their initial relocation. Although this has further implications that will be discussed later in this work, it is another example of case management as a network for acculturation.

Refugees also look to case management for this sort of exposure in the English classes. Najla commented that, "I like it [in the English classes] and meet other people from other countries, like China, Vietnam, Cape Verde, and from Bhutan...and we're the Iraqi also, so it was nice." Malikah reiterated a similar point from her own experiences.

> M: I also met so many people from different countries. I like that. Each of us talk about their culture and language and so many things to be shared in the class. I like that!
>
> S: Have you talked to any of those other people outside of the class at all or is it mostly inside the class?
>
> M: Just in the class, yeah… Out of the classes, no I didn't meet them yet.

In these instances and more, case management was a network that was available to the Iraqi refugee community to gain a better understanding of the multicultural fabric of Boston. Although there are limitations to those experiences, like the lack of interaction outside of class noted by Malikah, the experiences were still important to the Iraqi refugees. Like Malikah commented, they were able to share disparate and similar experiences in class together and find out more about other residents of the area. In some

sense, the case management relocation process and course schedule has introduced Najla and others to the multi-ethnic and multi-racial environment that was new to them upon arrival in the US. There are caveats to this (that will be discussed in detail), but this is still an aspect of acculturation taken on by the Iraqi refugees through case management.

The Absence of Case Management

There are three major areas where Iraqi refugees were drawing on case management for acculturation purposes. The story doesn't end there, however. The relationship between the two was not always a happy one. Many instances of conflict and tension explain disconnect between case managers and their Iraqi refugee clients in relation to personal support and the role of case management in their adjustment.

In many instances, case managers thought that they were seen as providers of personal support for refugee clients even though their role was a professional one. Contrarily, many of the refugee clients did not view their use of the network in this light. For example, one caseworker, Stella, commented on how refugee clients often lean on their case managers for personal support in times of need. She said, "Yeah, problems. Like one of them…one of them was in an accident and called the office trying to get my cell phone because he wanted me to go visit him in the hospital. Just, kind of personal things." While she saw this as a sign of personal support, the client did not. He suggested in his explanation of what happened that he thought it was the duty of the organization to see that he was receiving proper medical attention upon being hit by the car, since he was unfamiliar with the systems. He said, "I told [my case manager]. I told her, but she did not do anything." In instances like this one it becomes clear that the case management network is not without flaw for the Iraqi refugees who use it. There is often an ambiguous

boundary between responsibilities and going beyond the call of duty for case managers.

While aspects of case management like employment are more clearly defined, Iraqi

refugees sometimes struggle to define other uses for case management in their

acculturation process. Here, one of the clients tried to use the case management to

manage a healthcare bureaucracy unknown to him. Yet he did so in a context that did not

fall within the range of obligations of the case manager, so he failed to use that network

to maneuver through the ambulance and hospital experience. These sorts of occurrences

are the underbellies to the successful use of case management for the acculturation

processes detailed above.

Even case management staff realizes that, at times, this can present problems for

Iraqi refugee clients. One case manager, Andrea, commented,

> "A lot of times Iraqis, as much as I love them, are the most demanding type of clients that
> we deal with and I think a lot of other clients have more patience whereas the Iraqis a lot
> of times will feed you this line, I'm here as a refugee, so you should do this, this, and this
> for me. I think that is a cause of tension when they are demanding to you and when you
> are going above and beyond your job to begin with or it's not your responsibility and they
> are putting that on you…"

Another employee, Audrey, responded,

> "…but the role of the case manager might not be clear to them. They really wanted
> access to the best resources they could and someone who could get it for them. They
> were frustrated because they were welcomed by the case manager who said like oh, we'll
> take care of this and this and this for you and then when they had certain issues, the case
> manager wouldn't always be able to fix them."

In both quotes, the case management was a network exercised to get resources and

information. The Iraqi refugee clients attempted to use the case management for these

aspects of adjustment. But, they were not always successful because of the confusion

between the case manager and the refugee clients about the ambiguously defined roles of

case management. At times, it also presented a problem for Iraqi refugees because case

management was seen as their "go to" network for issues surrounding access to resources

or information. The Iraqi refugee use of the case management network was sometimes stifled by vague role boundaries unknown to them.

In many ways, the complex relationship of the Iraqi refugee and their case managers is expressed well in previous literature. This research corroborates Hein (1993) and Takeda (2001) by confirming the use of case management as a positive source of social capital for the Iraqi refugees in their acculturation to the U.S. It parallels previous research in that case management has provided a host of services that Iraqi refugees have utilized in their transition, including but not limited to education and employment information. Here, the Iraqi refugees also used services like accompaniment and introductory information about bureaucratic systems in the Boston area. The Iraqi refugees used case management services as cultural and bureaucratic transitioning vehicles.

Still, this work goes beyond Hein and Takeda. This investigation shows a direct link between case management services and the forms of acculturation that the Iraqi refugees take. One example is the indirect link between the voluntary agency's English classes and the insertion of the Iraqi refugees into their new multi-cultural environment in Boston. The indirect result of exposure and contact with other immigrant groups results in this form of integration. Additionally, the Iraqi refugees are able to advocate for themselves through demanding services that are not part of the core requirements of case management in order to achieve other forms of acculturation. In these instances, it is not the beneficence of case management, but the dexterity of the refugees to use case management to their advantage. This, in turn, may be a result of their high education and class background, which is characteristically different than most other refugee groups and

may provide stronger skills that allow the Iraqis to better advocate for themselves. In the work of Hein (1993), Takeda (2001), and others, there are implications of case management control over refugee livelihoods. To some extent, this is visible in the Iraqi refugee case study as well. More importantly, however, this research exposes how the Iraqi refugee population is adept at actively using their case management resource for acculturating in forms that they find necessary, like job seeking. This work parallels previous literature that lauds the usefulness of the case management network for refugees, but surpasses it by highlighting refugee activism in their integration process.

In addition, the Iraqi refugee experience with case management also substantiates findings by Aihwa (2003), whose work points to the negative effects of the control of case management like forced assimilation. While the Iraqi refugees did not comment on aggressive forms of expedient integration, they did have some negative experiences. Like Aihwa's work, this refugee cohort was hindered by poor communication and ambiguous definitions of the relationships between case management and clients. Contrary to her work, however, the Iraqi refugees experienced this as a problem because it resulted in a more limited activism regarding information accumulation for acculturation purposes, not a forced assimilation resulting from excessive case management authority. In sum, there was a significant drawback to case management, but one disparate with previous analyses.

While the current findings itself expand upon the positive and negative sides of case management as a social network, it also brings two incongruent positions among academics together. Here, we see not only the positive effects of case management but also negative consequences for the refugee population at hand. Obviously, other research,

like those previously mentioned, tend to focus on the advantages or drawbacks singularly, instead of holistically. This research focuses on the complexity of the lived experience of the refugees involved in case management by elaborating on the duality of the network, the good and the bad of this resource. As opposed to a singular approach, this work makes strides by unpacking the complicated, contradictory relationship of case management and refugee clients.

Lastly, there is a multifaceted approach to undergoing acculturation in this analysis. Gans (1997) and Berry (1986, 2003) explain acculturation to be the changes within the less dominant population to adhere to the values, rules, and behavioral patterns of the more dominant culture. Here, it is clear that Iraqi refugees have undergone acculturation in some forms like multicultural values by engaging with the case management network. Beyond norms and values, information exchange between case management and refugee clients regarding bureaucracy points to a type of acculturation of inserting oneself into US systems. They adjust to the standards of those bureaucracies and systems and thus engage with them more easily. This research notes this kind of insertion into bureaucracy as an important component of acculturation alongside other cultural changes mentioned more explicitly with other refugee groups of the past.

There are a number of ways that case management and Iraqi refugees engage one another in the acculturation process. The Iraqi refugees gained insight from multi-cultural exposure, bureaucratic know-how, and job-seeking and education opportunities. They did so by employing their case management network as a tool for such exposure. Still, this relationship was not without fault. Many times, Iraqi refugees were unable to use the network in other desired forms of acculturation and personal adjustment because of

confusion and tension between case managers and clients over rights and responsibilities. In these situations, Iraqi refugees often turned to other social networks available to them, like the Iraqi refugee community.

The Iraq Refugee Community and Acculturation

Aside from the case management network, the Iraqi refugees often also tap into a network of friends they have with other Iraqi refugees. Though these networks are not all encompassing, the use of other Iraqi refugees has a strong impact on the Iraqi refugee community and their acculturation to Boston. This network operates with two main uses: one, a method of cross-referencing information gained from case management and two, an additional source for obtaining miscellaneous information and working out concerns.

Cross-referencing Case Management

Newly acquired Iraqi refugee friends were often used as part of a checks and balance system on case management work. Specifically, they cross-referenced information received from case management to make sure that they were getting proper information and opportunities. Additionally, they filled the gaps of service for one another as best they can to facilitate an easier transition to Boston. In two forms, the Iraqi refugees network makes up for deficits of the case management network in acculturation.

The use of this network as a cross-reference on case management activities is at the forefront of the discussion regarding Iraqi refugee friends. During my time at a voluntary agency, there were multiple instances where this became obvious. One time in particular, a family of four moved from Iraq to the Boston center. After struggling to get enough welfare money to cover the rent of their apartment, it was suggested by case management that they be relocated to an area with a cheaper cost of living and further

away from the city. After the initial conversation, the family returned to the office the next day. They began to talk about the Iraqi refugees with whom they spoke and initiated a conversation about the benefits they could receive by living in the Boston area. The husband commented on the resources that the other families in the area had tapped into and explained that the other families thought they were better off staying near Boston for employment opportunities. In this instance, it becomes very clear that the Iraqi refugees exercise more control over their adjustment to the US by gaining an information resource from other Iraqi refugees friends they made. This family challenged information given to them and expressed interest in programs that were not presented to them initially. In doing so, they were able to learn even more about the systems and programs in place in the Boston area. Furthermore, they demanded more information about employment opportunities to ease their transition even more. Examples abound, showing that this network is important to the Iraqi refugees and how they undergo acculturation.

Other case management staff also noted the importance of this network for the Iraqi refugees. Case manager Andrea elucidated this pattern by commenting,

> "They advocate for themselves a lot better than some other communities… I think it's because they are in that community and they tell each other, oh you're here and this is what you are going to get and they should have given you a bed and a couch…We'll usually meet with them two or three days later and they know that I'm supposed to go and get my food stamps and they are going to give me this much money and they should give me emergency money and it definitely helps to have the other Iraqis around sometimes because they don't understand that DTA is separate from our organization, that we are not the same office. I had Gabir explain it to a new client the other day and the new client was pushing back, asking me why aren't you paying my rent? And Gabir put it out there for them and was like this is how it is.

In this telling, this function of the Iraqi refugee network is very clear. They utilize their relationships with one another as a means of better understanding the systems and programs available to them. Also, in instances like the one with Gabir, they can further comprehend their role and the role of case management in this structure of bureaucracy.

In particular, they can do so by inquiring to one another about ambiguities in the overarching structure and get clearer explanations about the connections between agencies and individuals. In turn, this can lead to a better usage of the case management network and other agencies now at their disposal. Iraqi refugees complement their use of the Iraqi refugees network as a check on the counsel received from case management. They also use this network to position themselves better through inquiries about associations across agencies and actors.

The prominence of this exercise abounded in other examples. Audrey, case management staff, recalled,

> "Whenever the new clients who had just arrived would come back in the office or the next time we would speak to them, they would have talked to a lot of Iraqi clients since we last saw them and they said that so-and-so said that there is another apartment available in Chelsea or so-and-so told us that we should get another health appointment or something like that. They would talk a lot amongst themselves."

Again, the Iraqi refugees were able to engage the refugee network available to them to access resources unknown to them through case management. Like Rafiq, these refugees used this network as a tool for scrutinizing and verifying information about bureaucratic processes and programs presented by case management. This quote highlights how the Iraqi refugees used this network to make sure that they were also getting the services accorded to them under the regulations of refugee case management. She says the refugee clients would say, "so-and-so told us that we should get another health appointment or something like that". In this sense, they are not just investigating the bureaucratic systems outside of case management, but also confirming that they are receiving all of their services within case management. In one form, the Iraqi refugees made use of their Iraqi refugee community to learn even more about the governmental and managerial structures and how to empower their role within them.

In another form, the Iraqi refugees were able to help one another transition to Boston by filling in gaps of services from case management and other agencies like the DTA. By having this interdependence on one another, they learned to navigate through systems when case management resources were spread too thin. For example, many times English-speaking Iraqi refugees commented that they would help translate for their Iraqi friends who were not fluent in English. One case manager, Andrea, commented, "there have been times when they translated for me at like 3 o'clock in the morning when they clearly didn't have to pick up the phone." It is likely that it is partially result of ties within the community and the continued usage of this network in relation to case management. Translation is one particular tool that Iraqi refugees suggested was hugely utilized by other Iraqi refugees. "They might translate for each other or explain how to get to the DTA," Audrey added while Arif remarked, "I see most of the refugees, they come to say hi and I give all my effort to help into interpreting things…" Helping one another with interpretation services when unavailable by case management is one form in which this network fills in the gaps of case management.

Still, there remains a multitude of other ways that the refugees employ this network to cover the services that have fallen short by case management. Nashwan mentioned,

> "Farhan, he did a big part because he'd been in the US fifteen days. [The case manager] didn't take me to the station and tell me that this is the way to Boston; this is the way back from Boston. She didn't do that. All that things, Farhan did all that for me. I mean, Farhan helped me a lot with adjusting here, more than my case manager."

Here, transitional services like orientation to public transportation were areas of acculturation for which case management was responsible. However, in light of an absence of service due to the caseload for case managers, the Iraqi refugees operated

services within their own network. In this particular example, Nashwan employed the knowledge of his roommate, another Iraqi refugee, to familiarize himself with the public transportation system. Malik also commented that his network of Iraqi refugees also helped one another adjust to new American systems of public transport. In addition, he commented on other topics that case management might not have fully explained.

> "Yeah, we discuss these matters thoroughly actually with the health system or with the educational system here or sometimes with the other social system that [Iraqi refugees] might need like at work like taxation. You know sometimes, I give them or we discuss matters of security around the law and law enforcement and how they feel…how important it is for them to call 9-1-1 when they are feeling themselves in danger or if they have issues, like medical issues, or something that needs urgent care."

There is overwhelming evidence that these refugees are using one another for filling in information and elaborating on services for which case management may have introduced, but not elucidated thoroughly enough to refugee clients.

The Iraqi refugees have been able to acculturate more easily to regulations, systems, and procedures because of their tandem use of other knowledgeable Iraqi refugees and case management. By doing so, they can obtain information and resources from case management and expand on those services and information through the utilization of their Iraqi refugee contemporaries.

Sources of Other Information and Customs

Beyond connecting to case management resources, Iraqi refugees also put Iraqi refugee counterparts into service by exchanging information about other aspects of American bureaucracy and culture. This application acculturates Iraqi refugees in areas divergent from those more formally occurring under case management, like employment. Specifically, this engagement improves their capacity for acquiring goods and adjusting to customs.

Procuring goods and services outside of the voluntary agencies is an important component of the acculturation process for Iraqi refugees. For this, they particularly lean on other, experienced refugees to help them. Arif, one who has been resettled for almost a year now, revealed,

> "People have trouble with driver's license. When they change the exam to Arabic, it becomes very hard and no one passes the exam. They go there and apply. They go there and apply. For me, I studied the manual and then I went to the exam and then I teach my wife, teach my son, everybody and we pass the test because background in English helps to make things easy for me. [Rafiq's family] came by night and by morning, they got cell phones [because of me]…I help them even with driver's licenses, getting him a driver's licenses. So I give him all my experience and I put them in his hands so he can make use of it. Now he is doing well…otherwise, he couldn't buy car, he couldn't get the loan. He couldn't see things. He couldn't get the cell phones…I'm trying to help every refugee."

In this specific example, Arif mentions helping his Iraqi refugee contacts get cell phones, loans, and driver's licenses when the examinations proved to be tricky. Similar situations are further delineated by Rafiq's comments.

> "This advice is between us, I ask others for advice and they ask me for advice. If I know something they didn't know or they know about something I didn't know, so advice I can ask them and they ask me also at the same time…like, how can I find something for furniture? For the people who arrived in the United States before me, maybe they know where this market is or where they sell this furniture…something like that. They show me…you must go to this market or something like that."

In these circumstances, it is easily discernable that the management of this network is leading to acquisition of goods and services that may have been incredibly difficult or inaccessible beforehand. Moreover, the usage of the network in this vein allows the refugee population to better comprehend sources of service and ways of navigating these systems. Essentially, they are using one another to acculturate to different aspects of life in Boston and readjust to having similar amenities they had in Iraq, like a car or furniture.

This sort of servicing of this network goes beyond the acquisition of goods and into cultural customs and rules of engagement. While discussing the helpfulness of his Iraqi refugee friends, Rafiq commented, "…for American culture, yeah. They have

experience…more experience than me because there are some families coming here to United States for more than one year. They have good knowledge of the rules and how to deal with others, how to contact others, how to find help, so I ask them." Here, there is a usage of the network for learning norms of interaction in the US by fostering acculturation through others' experiences. Farhan expanded on this understanding by mentioning,

> "All the time, we participate together, like with food. When we need to go to the laundry, when we need to go to some park or movies, or to visit some Iraqi families here…all the time, especially when we need to take dinner or lunch. And we participate [together] with the cleaning up: someone in the kitchen, living room, another here."

Farhan, in this comment and in the entirety of his interview, noted his adjustment to cooking, cleaning, and doing laundry as a bachelor in the US compared to his experiences as a bachelor back home. He mentioned helping one another learn skills, like going to the Laundromat together for their first attempts at washing clothes. The Iraqi refugees are able to depend on one another for acculturating to the new customs they face in the US.

This facilitation in adjusting to norms goes beyond home and necessity and into recreation as well. Najla mentioned,

> "I suggested for [my Iraqi friend] to go and see a movie because she don't watch TV, she don't watch movies. I said to her you need to watch English movies because it will help you in your accent, or with some new words. It's more better for you…because now she works in like customer service. On phone, its so difficult because some people talk so fast, so she said, 'OK, let's go.'"

Zafar also mentioned, "[we are] sharing ideas about what is going on here in Boston and we were very excited about a lot of the new sport activities here. Like once, we went together for kayaking". In both instances, the Iraqi refugees are extending beyond necessity and into recreational activities, where they are undergoing social aspects of acculturation as a result of their new activities with one another. This usage of social networks for acculturation is significant.

Whether its access to goods and services or leisure activities, the Iraqi refugees are using the resources of their fellow refugees' experiences to undergo acculturation. Specifically, there is a trend towards gaining information outside of case management services to mollify the adjustment period and expedite access to goods and service. Additionally, there is a trend, mostly among the youth, to jointly partake in American leisure activities. In a number of modes, this population is interdependent on one another for the aforementioned pursuits. However, there is still disjointedness that weakens a unified conglomeration of Iraqi refugees to pursue goals beyond adjustment.

Fragmentation
In aforementioned modes, the Iraqi refugee community is able to utilize their relationships with one another so that they can adjust to their new lives in the US even more. Still, this needs to be put into the context of a more complicated reality in which the refugees have strong relationships with some Iraqis and none with others. There is a fragmentation within the small community that needs to come to the forefront.

This sort of disjointed community became clearer in relation to acculturation during interviews. Case manager Andrea commented that,

> "Something that people fail to notice is how Iraqis form cliques within themselves…all Iraqis that live in Chelsea are not friends. With certain families, they [say] that's a lower Iraqi family…they only have this many years of education or they act this way so I don't want to get to know them, and I think a lot of people just make the assumption that because they are Iraqi they are eager to open their arms to the community. …Maybe at first because they know what its like to be a refugee but after that…they will be close with certain families because its important to have that link but there are plenty of them who are like 'I'm going to avoid as many Iraqis as I can'."

These sentiments are important because they affect how the group will choose to (or not to) mobilize in the future as one entity. Specifically, this shows that there is a strong possibility that this community might not stay attached to one another and that fragmentation may burgeon beyond the beginning stages of resettlement in the US. In

addition, this could link back to individual's ability to access help for resources and information especially when their formal case management ends in 8 months and their connections within the Iraqi refugee community may splinter. There are obvious divides within the community that may end up negatively affecting their acculturation and ethnic retention processes.

Feelings of disconnectedness with certain groups of Iraqis were echoed in other statements as well. When asked if he would connect with more Iraqi refugees in the area, Zafar had hesitations because he wasn't sure his goals for the future aligned with those of his Iraqi counterparts. He felt as though some of the other Iraqis were more introverted and felt he would be chastised for trying new things, like types of food. Additionally, Arif and his wife Malikah remarked about how they are willing to help any Iraqi refugees right now, but are focused on fostering relationships with those akin to themselves.

> Arif: Well, we meet some people from Quincy. We meet some people from Randolph. If [the Chelsea refugees] come and ask for help, I am number one to help them and I help every single one of them in Chelsea. But [I don't have a] relationship, not really…[only] mainly with Rafiq, because we are neighbors and his wife went to lectures with my wife, so we are dealing with them…not that I don't like the others, no…I like them the same way I like him, but because he is near to me.

> Malikah: And I think they are approximately the same level as us.

> A: Yeah. They have the same ages…like my son and my daughter and they have the same…they have a son in high school like my daughter. And then there is one year between Hamim and Gabir so they are talking to each other.

Audrey also mentioned,

> "The case manager mentioned that sometimes the clients who have been here longer would hesitate to help some people and then would want to go out and meet other people and kind of our best guess was that this was a social class difference. We weren't clear as to what people's social background was or what class distinctions were like in Iraq but that seemed to be what was manifested here."

In these instances, it becomes obvious that there are growing divisions within the Iraqi refugee community, where social determinants like class or education are creating segmentation. Comments like Arif's show that currently it is not impeding mutual

assistance, yet the fostering of only specific relationships may lead to such impediments in the near future. Thus, budding divisions within the Iraqi refugee network have important implications.

Through these comments, it is obvious that there is social differentiation within the small Iraqi refugee community that may play an important role in the coming months and years in relation to acculturation. In particular, divisions of relationships based around class may dictate how well individuals are able to connect with the resources they need and how well they adjust to the dominant US culture. For now, the Iraqi refugees can rely on case management for some forms of information and access to goods and services. They can also rely on the newly acquired Iraqi refugee community for additional support for goods, services, and cultural aptitude. However, in the future, with a continued splintering of ideas, goals, and relationships, this network may not be as useful or accessible to some of the Iraqi refugees who are currently benefiting from it. For example, those struggling more with acculturation and adjustment may not be able to look to their more adjusted counterpart, like those who are more fluent in English or have easily transferable skill sets. Contrastingly, individuals who are more socially and professionally equipped may continue to profit from relationships with those of similar status at the expense of excluding others. Even if this is still a nascent point of interest, it is worth noting for a more complete picture of the use of the Iraqi refugee social network.

This section firstly employs the *community-saved* framework in conjunction with acculturation. The majority of the Iraqi refugees live in specific community enclaves in which they were near other Iraqi refugees resettled by the same voluntary agencies. The idea of *community-saved* becomes pertinent here because Iraqi refugees reference aid and

support they receive and give to fellow Iraqi refugees within the same community. So in one sense, this work corroborates urban theories of *community-saved*. Still, it is more apt to operate under the *community of limited liability* theory, where the direct community is significant but is situated within a constellation of social networks that are important to individual actors. By putting this social network in the context of the others available to the Iraqis, this study is postured to explain how the methods and forms of acculturation undergone through contact with the Iraqi refugee network complement and contrast those found in other networks. This section has done just that by linking specific forms of acculturation with the Iraqi refugee network and noting the complementary nature between information sharing in this network with that of the case management network.

Beyond linking these specific forms of acculturation to the Iraqi refugee network, this section shows venues in which refugees are adopting some norms and values of American culture, instead of absolute acceptance of it. Here, this work substantiates the ideas of acculturation brought forth by Gans (1997) and Berry (1986, 2003) by focusing on the specific ways that they are using the other Iraqi refugees as a resource for adapting to some, and only some, of the behavioral patterns and norms of the US. In addition, as I pointed out earlier, this research specifically notes the usage of information networks and resources as a component of acculturation. I include utilization of the Iraqi refugee network for confirming information given from case management and gaining even more knowledge and practice of obtaining goods and services for acculturation to emphasize the specific relationship between this particular network and avenues for acculturation. This information network found in the Iraqi refugee network causes the refugees to actively adapt to new cultural differences and navigate through American norms and

standards in those structures that they discuss more easily and quickly. Again, this section

reaffirms acculturation theory, but puts it in the context of a particular social network.

In addition, this particular set of connections sheds light on the particularity of the

Iraqi refugee experience. Some findings align with Kelly's (1986) work on refugee

relationships. For example, this section elaborates on the relationship within the Iraqi

refugee community and the power such a relationship has in dealing with acculturation,

which aligns with Kelly's overall findings for the Vietnamese refugee population. While

some aspects of this study are ripe for broad generalizations, other areas seem endemic to

populations with characteristics similar to this Iraqi community. Previous work has

shown that other refugee groups have formed ethnic and cultural organizations to cope

with acculturation and adjusting to the new society. For instance, Kelly (1986) analyzed

the Vietnamese community's ability to galvanize around community organizations and

their effectiveness in tempering the difficult transition to the US. Dissimilarly, the Iraqi

refugee population has not made strides to create such an association in Boston. As noted

above, the Iraqi refugee community, if anything, is becoming more divided along lines of

class and rate of acculturation. This is most likely a result of a larger proportion of

educated, once wealthy Iraqi refugees and their desire to retain their socioeconomic and

education status in the US. This seems to make some refugees distance themselves from

others when they believe that other refugees are of a lower "level" or don't have long-

term goals that align with their own. This evidence points to a continually decreasing

chance of this network to create a unified organization. In this way, the Iraqi refugee

experience departs from that of other groups, like the Vietnamese, but may align with

future refugee populations who have similar social compositions. This community differs from other refugee groups of the past, but still has some features in common.

The Iraqi refugee network is an important source of information for the individuals within it. They use one another to substantiate claims made by case management to ensure their integration to the US is as smooth as possible. Similarly, they use the Iraqi refugee network to obtain and use information regarding goods and services outside of the realm of case management. This also eases the transition to the US and helps in the active acculturation of Iraqi refugees. While this group is tremendously helpful, the future of this network hangs in the balance as the group becomes more divided. In all its complexity, this mixed use of the Iraqi refugee network and its future aligns with and at times clashes with previous research. This points more to the areas of study that can be generalized and those, which are distinct to a particular population. I will continue to enrich this discussion by turning to the final network, family and friends.

Family and Friends from the Middle East and Acculturation

A third social network available to Iraqi refugees is their family and friends from the Middle East. Although some of these networks are spread out across vast distances, they still prove to be a significant contribution to the Iraqi refugee experience and surprisingly, a contributor to the acculturation of these individuals in Boston.

The prominence of this network is visible in comments from participants:

Zafar: I spend maybe half of the weekends chatting on voice chat with my family and friends in Dubai or my mom and dad in Jordan or my aunt, she lives in Glasgow, Scotland. One of my best friends so he calls me once every weekend…he lives in Finland…to chit chat you know? So, it's kind of a routine…

Malik: [I communicate with friends and family] by the Internet. That's the only means we have in the current times. Sometimes I make phone calls and be in touch with them.

Najla: Yeah, my sister that's living here, [we call her] every day…Every single day. We must call her every single day and talk with my little nephews…

Stella: [My Iraqi clients] are also more eager to travel, like one of my clients got here October 28th and she went to New York last weekend to visit friends.

In a variety of ways, the Iraqi refugees are preserving their relationships and set of connections with their friends and family, near and wide. They are doing so through the usage of telecommunications technology like Skype, Facebook, and e-mail in addition to older methods of communication like phones and face-to-face interactions. While wide-ranging, the different refugees have made it a priority to keep in touch with previously acquired friends and family. More so, this network has been key in the transition from the Middle East to living in the US. On the one hand, this source has been a resource and information pipeline for the refugees before they even formally moved to the US; this extends further when Iraqi refugees are living in the US through continued resource support. On the other hand, Iraqi refugees also gain a level of emotional support from their family and friends unavailable from other networks. In these two forms, family and friends act as a network that facilitate acculturation to the new, host society.

Sponsorship and Information Assistance
In a number of forms, the Iraqis were fortunate because of their connections with family and friends. Prior to coming to Boston, their relatives and friends sponsored their resettlement, contributed to a grapevine of important information and cultural norms, and are currently assisting in problem-solving situations. These forms of assistance that Iraqi refugees were able to access occupy a large space in their acculturation process.

Iraqi refugees, who moved to Boston, in many cases, were able to employ their Iraqi family and friends for sponsorship to the US. In this very simple and direct fashion, the refugees were able to utilize their family and friends as a way of first getting to the US and then as a support mechanism upon arrival. During my time at a voluntary agency

alone, one incoming refugee families was sponsored by their sister and another sponsored by a cousin. Rafiq, on the topic of family and friends, remarked "Yeah. At the United Nations, I give them sponsor for me… she's a relative and she arrived in the United States from '77…" Najla also commented, "my brother came before us…a few years. He is now here in Boston, so he was like a sponsor for us. He brought us here." So, in one way, this network is useful for an initial connection to the US.

However, that is not their only use. This network is a much bigger support mechanism for the Iraqi refugees and their acculturation by means of a cultural information conduit. Even before arriving to the US, Iraqi refugees have tapped into this network for this sort of advice and support. Zafar mentioned,

> " [Here it's] different than the life in Iraq and Jordan…it's more busy and stressed and there is something [my friends] advised me: when I talk or when people talk, they are very straight-forward when they decide to say something or when they are busy, they are busy. They are straightforward to the point that they don't exaggerate with what they want to say to others or how they reaction with others. [They also told me] how the relationships kind of go on here with getting to know someone and… it's different the lifestyle in this part than in Iraq or the Middle East."

He ended his comment by saying they taught him "what do's and don'ts…" are appropriate and that "…it's helped [him] a lot". Others also mentioned this, like Arif and Malikah.

> Swapna: So did they help you in any way before you came here, like advice?
>
> Arif: Yeah, sure, lots of advice. We were talking on the phone for hours. Yes, well, [our friend was] here. He was talking to my wife, telling her what to bring, what to do.

In both of these instances, family and friends encouraged forms of acculturation in their advice about the American social environment and what is appropriate to bring for resettlement. This is especially important because the Iraqi refugees were able to access this sort of nuanced information before even arriving to the US. They used this resource before the other networks, case management and other Iraqi refugees in the area, were

even known to them. In this sense, the network of family and friends was the initial

source of acculturation, before the refugees were even in the context of the dominant

culture. Though some would assume that this group is paramount to cultural and ethnic

retention, in this case it seems that the Iraqi refugees have extracted information out of

these resources in connection with acculturation.

Use of this network in this manner does not end upon arrival into the US. In many

cases, refugees connected with these social ties after arriving to the country and thus used

those resources after resettlement as well. For example, Zafar mentioned his

conversations with his friends about the job search.

> Zafar: Every beginning is pretty hard until we find the career that match our
> background...what we have studied and that match our job experience, so [we do] a lot
> about talking about things related to our current situation.

Here, he mentioned that he lets out frustrations and gets advice from family and friends

abroad and in the US about his current search for employment. Zafar added "… I take

their opinion about what to do next or how to react, you know?" Rafiq also notes,

> "From the distance between us, I think it's not easy to help me. Just advise me what to do
> or something like that and also at the same time, advice is not the same from state to
> another because the law is different state to other, another. But for the help, I think it's
> the same. Yeah they helped me."

Although he is more skeptical about the advice, he still mentions that his friends and

family in Michigan give him advice about aspects of his transition related to the law.

Najla expands on this more concretely after she remarked, "But, the TV we didn't put

anything yet in Arabic…so it's the converter only in the English channels. My brother

don't want us to put the Arabic channels because you will never learn English if you are

still hearing the Arabic only." In all three commentaries, there are instances in which

family and previously acquired friends have responded to inquiries of their Iraqi refugee

contact. In some cases, like Najla's, we can see the immediate results of advice given.

She did not purchase an Arabic channel package because her brother suggested she would adapt quicker to the language by watching American television. In more abstract instances, like Rafiq's anecdote, the use of this network may be to gain a different perspective on a legal situation and try to apply the advice where it fits within the bounds of Bostonian society. In either case, individuals have used the information given to them to find ways to engage with their new society and the rules and norms that follow. Overall, this network's effects on acculturation do not end when refugees touch American soil, but instead remain as an additional resource of information and experience.

Beyond their own gains from this network, these Iraqi refugees also contribute to future acculturation of incoming Iraqi refugees. There is a give and take system in place, where the refugees themselves are able to use their relatives and friends to get advice and information. In return, they also have lent support to others with whom they are close. Nashwan speaks to this specifically.

> S: So you're kind of informing him about what he has to expect and that sort of thing?
>
> A: Yeah, exactly. [My friend] may be able to come here, but I'm going to be his sponsor…so he's going to come live… well not going to live with me [in this apartment] because he's already married.

Additionally, Malik also contributes to the cyclical nature of this network usage. He stated, "I give advice about what to bring with them… Also they sometimes ask me about the education in the United States, the healthcare system…um, how things are improved now after the recession, so I try to give the answers the best I could." Farhan suggested this usage when he said "… I advise my friends…[that] the security situation is very, very good and there are lots of services like trains and buses and everything." In these cases, each refugee shows that they are trying to spread knowledge about cultural

differences and connect lived realities to expectations about the US held by others. There is clearly a double usage of this network: one, as a means of gaining more information and sponsorship and two, as a forum for advising and guiding incoming Iraqi refugees about cultural changes and differences in resources. In this sense, the Iraqi refugees had some knowledge about the forms that acculturation would take and some additional support in dealing with such forms. Moreover, they also become the supporters and information providers for the newer waves of friends and family who move to the US from the Middle East, thus in many ways supporting some kinds of acculturation.

In one way, this network is similar to case management and new Iraqi refugee contacts in its ability to act as an information channel. Still, its properties are distinct because of its cyclical nature in addition to the ability to use this network as a means of emotional and personal support in the wake of acculturation.

Personal and Emotional Support

Family and friends are the main source of personal and emotional support available to almost anyone. In this circumstance, the Iraqi refugees are no different. Their use of family and friends is clearly in part for emotional support and camaraderie. In relation to their resettlement process, this is a vital finding. Personal support from these relationships eases the transition process and makes acculturation easier.

A number of people implied just how important this network was in their resettlement process. Arif commented on his current communication with his friends and family by highlighting their time together in their processing country, Jordan. He said,

> "We shared more with the Iraqis, because most of them in Jordan, they are our relatives really…and our friends and neighbors so you don't feel that you are not at home because you are seeing your neighbors, your friends, and most of the people."

He also mentioned how they stay in touch via telephone and e-mail with those who are far away, suggesting it was in part for mutual emotional support. In this first instance, there is an importance to retaining these connections in order to ease a transition to a city dominated by American culture where neighbors and loved ones are no longer nearby.

In another instance, Nashwan mentioned "My family, I talk to them…calls are very expensive, so when I call them maybe I want something or maybe because I'm sad and I want to talk to them and see how they are doing and they do the same with me so far. I mean, that's for my family." Here, Nashwan directly stated that he relied on his familial network for support when he was sad or needed something. Other experiences encapsulate similar usage of this network, like when case manager Stella commented on a couple separated by distance. She summarized, "Her husband is in Kuwait. That's of course a spouse relationship, but they talk all the time on the phone. …[It's] a lot of it is moral support." In both instances, the struggle of transition, and acculturation, is met with the usage of support from family and friends through regular contact. In essence, the emotional support needed when transitioning to a new society with different cultural norms comes from this network, as it is not readily available in the other networks.

The clearest example of this came from Rafiq's comments.

"Yeah. [My friends and family abroad] are my oxygen in the United States…I am like diving or someone go inside the water in the sea or the ocean, he go inside alone and put a tube so that he can just breathe…this tube, I believe, are my relatives in Syria and Iraq…they give me the oxygen and I am alone under the sea. This is the image for me until now. We are just [here] four month…we don't have a lot of relationships…we don't have a lot of friends…I have friends but not a lot."

He continued,

"When we are upset, you know when you are new here in the United States sure you pass these periods or this time, we try to call them and enjoy ourselves…sharing our problems or our troubles with them. They are the oxygen for us. For this moment, at least. Just sometimes, you need to chat with someone close to you… its not easy to make [someone] close in one day or one month …maybe this relation is built a lot of years before so when

we be upset or need to chat with someone or speak with someone directly, we call them…maybe cry, maybe laugh…someone to take your emotions from inside."

In this commentary, Rafiq discusses a lot of key points. One, this network is used for this purpose partially because the Iraqi refugees do not see the other networks, like those of new friends acquired in the US, as viable options to obtain this sort of emotional support. Two, he comments that the sharing of emotions and struggles every day is important for the transition and acculturation process. He mentions specifically that "when you are new here in the United States sure you pass these periods" by which he is referring to the period of adjustment that an immigrant or a refugee faces. His comments reveal not only that the family and friends network specifically engenders this sort of benefit, but also that this benefit is a necessary counterpart to the struggles of acculturation or general adjustment. In this sense, this emotional support family and friends provide eases acculturation by allowing for emotional outlets.

This network, like other subsections, enlightens social networking and acculturation theories. This network illuminates the *community-liberated* notion in urban sociology. Whereas the Iraqi refugee community network initially gave claim to *community-saved*, this network is accessed from abroad or long distances within the country through the use of telecommunications like cell phones, Skype, and Facebook. Through this usage, families and friends can maintain strong connections and continue to act as aids in the transition to the US through regular or semi-regular communication. This notion in conjunction with the research reaffirms the *community-liberated* theory. More importantly, it reaffirms the presence within the Iraqi refugee networks of a *community of limited liability* because individuals rely on multiple networks, spatially nearby and distant, in a limited capacity. These findings have been able to link the

acculturation processes of the Iraqi refugee community with the urban sociology theory of a *community of limited liability* to better examine and explain the differentiated use of social networks in acculturation. In this network, refugees gain cultural competency and knowledge in behavioral norms from family and friends before arriving in the US, acculturating in the process. In addition to acculturation described by Gans (1997), this group also provides formal sponsorship. However, this is more of a tool for resettlement that leads to other forms of acculturation than it is a form of acculturation itself. In short, this section employs *community liberated* to see how aid in acculturation from the network comprised of family and friends is shaped.

Moreover, these findings also shed light on the differences with previous research on refugee cohorts and the current work on Iraqis. Specifically, Menjivar (1997) and others mention a declining importance of kinship as a network during resettlement. This work necessarily counters that finding by highlighting the continued utilization of family and friends as a source for acculturation. Moreover, many participants commented on the overwhelming importance of family and friends in their lives, especially in the area of emotional support. The departure of this work from previous research may be twofold. One, advances in telecommunications currently may have facilitated the continued usage of this network in a *community of limited liability* frame. This is the most plausible explanation of such a contrast in findings from previous to new research. If this is the case, future refugee and immigrant studies must be cognizant of these technological advances in order to better explore distant networks in acculturation processes. Secondly, there may not have been enough of a time lapse from the arrival of the population and the series of interviews conducted to get an accurate evaluation of any declining usage of this

network. In any case, this differentiation is important and should be explored further by future research in order to bridge the disparate findings.

Conclusion

It is obvious that Iraqi refugees undergo some level of acculturation after arriving to the US. Though some aspects of acculturation may be undesirable and forced unto them, other areas of acculturation are actively sought out as a means to cultural and financial survival in the new host society. In both forms of acculturation, active and passive, Iraqi refugees differentiate their varied networks and make use of particular networks for specific interests. In evaluating these differences, this research informs previous literature by linking specific social networks with forms of acculturation and delves into resolving discrepancies found in past research. While these social networks are used for cultural and financial immersion to the US, they are simultaneously useful in attempts at ethnic and cultural retention. In this sense, social networks are not implicitly relegated to one transition or the other as past research has suggested, but instead inform both sides of immersion and preservation. I now turn to the link between social networking and ethnic retention.

V. Ethnic Retention

As discussed, there is no evidence of complete assimilation or absolute pluralism in the experience of Iraqi refugees. Instead, there are aspects of acculturation that are visible as aforementioned. Additionally, as a complement to acculturation, the Iraqi refugee population also retains features of their culture, religion, and ethnicity through the use of these social networks. Here, there is a binary, where the same social networks are in some instances, used for acculturation and in others, for ethnic retention. Let us now turn to the moments in which social networks are used for ethnic retention.

Case Management and Ethnic Retention

Iraqi refugees employed case management in a number of forms for acculturation. Though much less layered, this network was also constructive in methods for retaining their culture. Specifically, case management accepted the role of Middle Eastern and Iraqi culture and heritage in the personal lives of the refugees. This alongside interest in their culture garnered ability for the Iraqi refugees to maintain key features of their culture. Still, this encouragement from case management was limited to home life, which in some instances, led to conflict between case management and clients over qualities of ethnic retention.

Acceptance and Encouragement of Iraqi Culture

In my own time as a case management aide, there were many times I came into contact with Iraqi culture. My boss and I would visit families in their homes where I was informed beforehand of Iraqi cultural norms and acceptable behavior. The case managers told the interns time and again, Iraqis are very hospitable; it's part of their culture, we must adhere to those cultural norms when we visit them in their homes. As a result of

this, every time I visited a client's home, I was given a bounty of meals, desserts, Arabic tea, and other drinks to satiate my endless hunger and their cultural desire to serve a guest. Even when we were setting up apartments before clients arrived, we would stock their home with food products like okra and pita bread in a basic attempt to encourage cultural competency in case management and provide basic necessities similar to the Middle East. In a variety of ways, I learned about Iraqi culture from both clients and case management staff. It was not just my experience, but also all of their experiences that has shown that case management has some concern for ethnic retention and Iraqi refugee clients capitalize on this to maintain a number of cultural norms within their homes.

In the first order, Iraqi refugees are able to act as ambassadors of Iraqi culture in their homes when interacting with visiting case managers as a result of some level of cultural competency within this network. Case management assistant, Penelope, commented on attempts to do so when she said,

> "At times there was a interpersonal conflict because we would be invited to people's homes and invited to eat and share a meal with people, but that wasn't necessarily part of the job or what, in some cases, was appropriate for us to do but it was very much trying not to dismiss or refuse the hospitality when it's a very strong cultural presence or norm."

Here, she notes that there was a concerted effort to accept and encourage cultural presence within the home although it is not a formal responsibility of case management. She also touches upon the openness and welcoming nature of the Iraqi refugees in expressing their culture within this social network, which in turn causes case management to acknowledge cultural actions and support them within the home setting. Case management has encouraged some forms of ethnic retention while Iraqi refugees have secured a semi-open dialogue with case management about their culture.

This nexus between case management and Iraqi refugees regarding cultural retention is exemplified best in comments made by case manager Andrea.

> "Yeah, they ask me things they could ask case managers, like Malikah will be like where can I get good food or where can I get kosher meat because it's cheaper than Halal? They know I know where the mosque is and what to do and Malikah knew that…she was like, 'Is kosher the same as halal?' and I explained it to her and she said Oh ok…so I can eat kosher meat!"

As the interview continued, she touched on the subject even more.

> "There have been times when they say come over for Iraqi dinner or they brought me shawarma because they know that I love Middle Eastern food or they like to tell me just as much as they are interested in American culture, I'm interested in Middle Eastern/Iraqi culture…they will tell me that hello in Iraqi is shaku maku, it's not kafiq which is normal Arabic…they teach me a lot of their culture, so I mean, they too want me to learn from them as they are learning from me."

In her anecdotes, Andrea emphasizes the simple ways that case management has involved itself in ethnic retention. She reiterates points made earlier by Penelope about encouraging cultural retention by being an active participant herself in the culture when Iraqi refugees present opportunities to her. In addition, her comments bring up another interesting point. She and others are not only recipients of the information and activities presented by Iraqis are part of their culture, but also share information with Iraqis in order to help them maintain culture in their personal lives. Specifically, they direct people to religious organizations like mosques and churches and also help in problem solving like affording Halal meat by switching to kosher. In two forms, accepting cultural activities within the home and aiding in the continuation of religious and cultural practices, case management aids Iraqi refugees to integrate into Boston without losing their heritage.

Limited Cultural Exchange

Although there is some respect for Iraqi culture, the heart of case management work is not ethnic retention. Instead, the majority of the focus of refugee resettlement remains inextricably linked to aspects of acculturation mentioned in the previous chapter.

For example, case management stresses the importance of financial stability and finding steady employment, which is undoubtedly a necessary component to successful integration. However, it also leads to pressures to conform to job-seeking customs in the US and potentially clashes with some areas of cultural retention. This, in turn, can cause a heightened tension between case management and refugees.

There were instances in which this friction manifested itself. Specifically, Iraqi refugees commented on the shortcomings of case management in understanding needs that are borne out of an Iraqi cultural context. Rafiq revealed his sentiments by stating,

> "I believe they should study about this culture…and how do [the Iraqis] feel and how do they contact others…there is something that makes them angry, because its not the same traditions… I told [a career developer] when she told me to start studying in English class, '…you don't have enough knowledge about Iraqis, how they think or how they feel. These things make us angry…you can't take it easily.' So this is the point. They should know about the refugees. So they can support them with the way they like."

Here, the career developer was concerned about the English proficiency of the client whereas the Iraqi refugee felt as though this request had been disrespectful and ignorant to the ways Iraqis communicate and direct one another. Rafiq desired that she know more about his culture in order to understand his viewpoint on the subject whereas she was focusing on his language capacity in order to find a job. In essence, he felt culturally violated, whereas her motives were centered on case management goals of proficiency, which end up reinforcing venues for acculturation that might not be desired by clients.

In another example, conflicts again arose around financial stability and job searches. Arif and his wife, Malikah, opined during their interview about the deficiencies of the resettlement process because of an inability to place refugees in jobs at their skill and education level. Malikah spoke out by saying, "Really, the jobs are not suited well. There is shame to work as a cashier or at a restaurant! But here, I see people work and there is no shame, even if you want to work with the cleaning." Arif continued,

"Yeah I think there is one important thing we need to tell everybody is the refugees should be, there should be help in finding the refugee a job. Finding them a job in more difficult things in the United States because the main thing is to get them an income, not to just give them money, but to find them a job. A decent job in their field, not any job."

In both comments, their frustration with the career services is overt. They feel that the resettlement organization finds job opportunities at ranks below their level. Malikah mentions that this is a shame and continued later in our conversation to comment on how such positions are not acceptable to educated, middle class individuals in Iraqi culture. Much like Rafiq, tension mounted between case management and Arif and Malikah as a result of disparate goals. Arif and Malikah, as a residue of their culture and status, were dissatisfied with positions they believed to be below them. Case management, on the other hand, pushed for them to accept these jobs in order to quicken financial stability in the short run. Again, this responsibility of case management to foster self-sufficiency among Iraqi refugees within 8 months forces them to ignore the cultural needs of the Iraqi refugees outside of their personal, leisure activities. It, instead, causes resettlement agencies to reinforce values and decisions that are in opposition with social norms of these once-middle class individuals from Iraq to ensure financial survival in Boston.

Andrea, case manager, echoed this key finding in her interview. She responded, "I can't count how many times I've heard my boss say, well this is America now and this is American culture even if that goes back to them being used to certain practices and jobs in their country that they no longer can do here." There are instances where case management is open and encouraging of maintenance of cultural and ethnic values and activities. This, however, is most times relegated to selective arenas such as leisure time activities and the personal lives of the Iraqi refugees. In contrast, case management is less accepting of differences in other parts of the Iraqi refugee experience, like employment,

which often causes dissatisfaction and discontent of Iraqi refugees who are trying to uphold their former status and subsequent cultural norms in all realms of their lives.

In some ways, this study debunks theory surrounding the case management network for refugees. Researchers, like Hein (1993) and Takeda (2001), have pointed to the services of the voluntary agencies as acculturation tools. They argue that the formal refugee resettlement process has helped refugees with financial matters and gaining personal support. Menjivar (1997), in her study of Vietnamese refugees, also emphasizes the use of the voluntary agency for acculturation purposes. It does seem that formal refugee resettlement and case management are more useful to the Iraqi refugees for acculturation purposes as mentioned by these previous researchers and the previous chapter. However, the Iraqi refugee experience in Boston also highlights the use of case management for forms of ethnic retention. There were moments where case managers and refugee clients together fostered a preservation of culture by engaging in cultural activities during home visits and discussing culturally central issues, like where to buy Halal meat. Different scenarios recalled the acceptance and promotion of culture in the homes and personal lives of the Iraqi refugees, probably in part a result of the mostly multi-cultural and former immigrant staff. As surprising as it may be, the Iraqi refugees were able to use their case management network for maintaining aspects of their culture.

Still, there were limitations to this acceptance and promotion of ethnic activities. Iraqi refugees often cited instances where they felt their culture was misunderstood or dismissed in the professional and public realms of case management. Here, these instances may also show the specific culture with which many of these Iraqis associate themselves as a result of their higher socioeconomic status abroad and their level of

education. This, in some ways, is a continuing dialogue of the nature of case management to emphasize acculturation. Aihwa (2003) speaks to this by exposing forms of forceful acculturation on the part of case managers to Cambodian refugees and how tension grew between the two sides of adult Cambodians and American case management. While the case management and Iraqi refugee tension are not as severe as those noted in previous research, there is still an important disconnect between the Iraqi refugee community and their case management. This comes out in how they evaluate the constraints placed on them to exercise their cultural norms outside of their homes. Moreover, this is visible again in their beliefs of case managers as not fully understanding their culture and their subsequent needs that stem from that culture. Again, it is important to recognize that some of these cultural needs may really be associated less with Iraqi culture overall and instead the specific culture and needs of this particular Iraqi population (formerly middle class and educated). Regardless, there is a disconnect here that echoes previous refugee circumstances. In one sense, case management in Boston has made strides to actively buttress some forms of ethnic retention in a nature previously unseen in research. In another, this research further gives grounds for claims of the ineptitudes or inabilities of case management to fully support the cultural retention of the Iraqi refugees.

The Iraqi Refugee Network and Cultural Retention

In some ways, the Iraqi refugee community provides the same aid in continuation of cultural activities as the refugee resettlement agencies. This community, paralleling case management, encourages Iraqi hospitality to visitors. However, they move beyond this to partake in their culture through the continued usage of a shared language, Arabic.

In both forms, the refugee network supports individuals in cultural retention in the face of multiculturalism through reciprocally beneficial activities in religion and culture.

Extension of Iraqi Hospitality and Other Cultural Norms

In a variety of ways, the Iraqi refugees foster a sense of culture with one another. Najla, for instance, commented on how her relationship with Iraqis outside of her family has remained very similar to those she had in Iraq. She stated, on entertaining,

> "It's the same. When we have Iraqi friends and they come here, the first time, we offer them the Arabic coffee…in the small cans with some sweets with them. Also in our holidays like Christmas, we have something like cookies that are special…their name is Eclecha. And we cook the famous dishes like Doma and Biryani…all Iraqis love this."

Here, through food and leisure time, including the holiday season, how she has been able to maintain aspects of her culture that she enjoys by engaging in those activities with newly made Iraqi friends who visit her home. Through the art of food making and sharing of meals, Iraqi hospitality to guests is extended within the home and allows for a continuation of cultural norms in the personal lives of the refugee.

This emphasis on sharing meals and drinks together through the hospitality of the host was resonated in a great deal of the interviews. Arif and Malikah also mentioned this in their discussion of their relationship with other Iraqis they recently met. In particular, they emphasized how a lot of the traditional norms and values remained the same when gathering together, especially when they visited their friends to celebrate the Muslim holiday Eid. Arif discussed perusing big gardens and smoking sheesha while Malikah mentioned their hosts providing Iraqi foods. Like Najla, they put an emphasis on gathering with other Iraqis and the ability to continue sharing food and leisure time in the homes of their friends, specifically with activities they think are staples of their former

lives in the Middle East. This relationship with other Iraqis allows for a continuation of many forms of leisure and friendship that encompass Iraqi culture and norms.

Illustrations are plentiful and others continually brought up cultural trademarks as important in their interactions with other Iraqi refugees. Many participants, like Nashwan, remarked about drinking traditional tea, chai, together as a form of retaining their culture. Rafiq also linked drinking chai to his relationship with other Iraqi refugees. He commented on the importance of these small rituals in his adjustment to the US and felt that groups outside the Iraqi refugee network don't understand the significance of such upkeep.

> "I can't take this tea outside…I had birth in Iraq, lived in Iraq, left Iraq and lived in Syria, and all this time I must to drink this tea…something like air, like oxygen for me. I can't find it outside. They told me I could put a tea bag or something like that and I don't like it! It's not easy to change your life. This is an example….This is for the small things…what about the bigger things?"

These remarks really show the distinction between Iraqis and non-Iraqis in the understanding of how to maintain small parts of the culture in order to continue feeling connected to Iraqi roots. Additionally, this example and the ones preceding it reinforce the idea that the refugee population is gaining from one another an ability to preserve these means through food, drink, and leisure activity together.

Even case managers have seen the ability of Iraqi refugees to assemble together to carry on customs and culture from their Iraqi backgrounds. Case manager Stella noted,

> "When I've gone to visit them, everyone is together, they are cooking Iraqi food. The music they are listening to is Iraqi usually. I'm not sure if they worship together, but I do know that the man who arrived here first, he goes and visits his friends in Chelsea and they go to the mosque together."

While this sort of large-scale gathering seems out of the ordinary for the Iraqi refugee community, this reiterates points made earlier. The community still extends Iraqi hospitality to one another in the form of sharing meals of Iraqi food, participating in

leisure activities together like listening to Arabic music, and even celebrating religion together. In all of these instances, it is obvious that the Iraqi population is able to maintain significant parts of their culture through the continuation of such in their homes with their friends in an informal fashion.

Continuation of Language as Culture

Cultural exchange does not end with dessert to a delicious Iraqi meal or when the small glass cups run dry of chai. Iraqis are able to engage one another with their heritage in other ways as well. One such form is through the continued use of the Arabic language within and outside of their homes.

The mother tongue, as one interviewee called it, is a key feature in the relationship of Iraqis to one another. Najla mentioned this comfort in language when she spoke of her relationship with Malikah. In a dialogue about her extended conversations with Malikah, she said, "But yeah, we all speak in Arabic in general…sometimes we try to speak in English, but then...err…OK, no, just Arabic." In this quote, Najla implies the comfort in being able to speak in Arabic with one another to the extent that even when they try to speak in English (both are proficient), they always revert back to their mother tongue. This concentration of language was evident also in my own experiences as a case manager. In particular, when I was with two sets of Iraqi clients, they would often greet one another in Arabic even though both were conversational in English and there were non-Iraqis present. It seemed as though it was a simple and quick way for them to connect one another with their heritage and find commonality in their experiences. The Arabic language was a tool employed by many of the Iraqi refugees to connect with one another and share in a cultural heritage distant from the dominant culture in the US.

This emphasis on sharing language is most clearly seen in its employment by Malik. In efforts to work with other Iraqis and maintain his religion and culture, Malik helped organize a Catholic service in Arabic. He commented, "Every month we have a priest who is coming from New Hampshire, an Iraqi priest who is living here since a while and we gather in one of the churches in Jamaica Plain. It's a Lebanese church but they agreed to give it to Iraqis for certain time." Rebecca, a case management aide in his voluntary agency, mentioned, "…I think that the reason that I know about an Arabic service in Jamaica Plain is this coming Saturday is because Malik told me." In this case, Rebecca mentions that in her relationship with Malik, she found out that he was helping to publicize the Arabic service to other Iraqi refugees, in an attempt to facilitate the continuation of his religion and culture. Rebecca continued by commenting that Malik did this "because his mother is also a Catholic but she doesn't come to any services because she doesn't understand English very well, so [he is attempting to] include other members of the Iraqi community that aren't at high levels of English proficiency right now". So Malik's intentions are widespread, in that he is trying to use language to engage himself and his Iraqi refugee contacts with this opportunity. Though this cannot be all-inclusive as it is pertinent for Christian Iraqis only, it still exposes the strength of language in cultural conservation. In varied settings, the Iraqi refugees have shown their collaborative effort to continue cultural practices through the language of Arabic.

This analysis of the Iraqi refugee community reinforces the connection between a *community of limited liability* and this specific network's significance in particular kinds of ethnic retention. As aforementioned in the acculturation chapter, this population does not solely focus on nearby community but instead provides further support for the

community of limited liability, where the nearby community is one of many available, central networks. Similar to acculturation, the Iraqi refugee community is only one of the networks that helps Iraqi refugees maintain their culture and ethnic norms and values. As aforementioned, in a constrained fashion, the case management network offers forms of support for ethnic retention. Still, the Iraqi refugee network is paramount. The refugees are utilizing the connections of the Iraqi community in their neighborhoods and towns to maintain their heritage in midst of a dominant American culture very different from their own. In means like continuation of language, they are able to use one another as a primary source of support and ethnic retention. The social networking with the nearby Iraqi community provides further support for the connection between *community of limited liability* and ethnic retention.

The use of the Iraqi refugee network also provides insight on the differences of this refugee community and other refugee communities, like the Vietnamese. In many ways, previous literature on other refugee groups aligns with the findings here. For one, Kelly (1986) underscored the importance of refugee networks for a refugee community to be able to share in cultural activities and retain some of the norms from their previous homelands. In this sense, the Iraqi refugee community bolsters this argument as they have relied on one another to extend Iraqi hospitality, share in meals and celebrations, and speak Arabic to remain connected to their culture. However, there is an important distinction between other communities, like the Vietnamese, and the Iraqis. Specifically, Kelly (1986) mentions the ability of refugee groups to organize community associations of support in order to have a formalized means of continuing their culture. Instead of continuing this pattern with the Iraqi refugee population in Boston, this group has yet to

band together in an official format. Their practices of culture together remain unofficial, with preservations of culture informal, like drinking chai tea with one another. Other means of preservation are even more informal, like impromptu run-ins that result in greetings, small talk, and conversations in Arabic. Regardless of the form their ethnic retention takes with one another, there has been no attempt to create a formal organization to rally around for cultural expansion. This places the Iraqi refugee community apart from other refugee communities and deflates arguments that suggest this sort of rallying is inevitable.

This division may be explained by the fragmentation discussed in the acculturation section. It may be attributed to the fact that a great deal of these Iraqi refugees is of a different socioeconomic background and education level than some of their counterparts. This, in turn, would lead them to have doubts that an Iraqi organization can meet all of their disparate needs, especially when a number of their self-identified needs involve obtaining opportunities to attend institutions for higher education and work in highly competitive jobs. Perhaps more time in the US will lead to a consolidation of efforts to preserve Iraqi culture formally, but this seems unlikely to emerge from the already splintering Iraqi refugee community.

Detailed above, there are two main forms of ethnic preservation within the Iraqi refugee network. These individuals exercise agency over their culture with one another by extending Iraqi hospitality in the US through shared food, drink, and leisure. Moreover, these efforts are compounded by the widespread use of the Arabic language as another venue to reinforce Iraqi heritage. The Iraqi refugees concurrently use this network and others as resources for both acculturation and ethnic retention.

Cultural Continuations and Family and Friends

As surprising as it seems that family and friends abroad or distant aided the Iraqi refugees in their ongoing acculturation process, it is much less shocking to find that they were a vital component of their ethnic and cultural preservation. In some ways, the Iraqis incorporate this network in the perpetuation of their culture in modes akin to the Iraqi refugee network. It is obvious that individuals would connect to their family and friends through their native and dominant language. In a dissimilar fashion, actors are embracing culture and heritage by passing on traditions to their immediate families, like sons and daughters. Additionally, they place an emphasis on travel and face-to-face contact with distant friends and relatives as a form of ethnic retention. Although they are successful in their ventures, apprehension over forthcoming conflicts surrounding ethnic retention of older generations and a rapid assimilation of younger cohorts is a reasonable fear.

Continuing Exposure of Culture

A number of the Iraqi refugees are engaging their children and relatives in cultural customs and pastimes. Hamim, for example, commented on an event his family attended where he gave a speech. He remarked, "This is our culture. When I gave my speech, we went together in the car…it was like in Syria and Iraq with Arabic music chatting and laughing; it was nice." He mentioned how his family came together and drove around listening to Arabic music, a part of their culture that isn't available in many outlets in the US. In addition, he spoke of other activities, like traversing through gardens together, that he felt were ways that his family was continuing their Iraqi culture together in Boston. In these instances, his family maintained cultural normalcy by spending time with one another and participating in small activities that had Middle Eastern focus. One focal point of Iraqi cultural preservation within families is leisure time activities.

In another example, Zafar said, "In terms of food…[if my friend] is cooking something, he knows my mom is a very good cooker, so he said please give me the recipe of this, this, this…I want to make this, this, this." Zafar points to how his long-time friend connects with his family in order to learn how to make Iraqi food so that he can retain the meal-sharing characteristics of his former life. Though his family is overseas, Zafar and his friend both employ his mother's knowledge to preserve that aspect of their lives. This was not a unique case. A pro bono lawyer working with Iraqi refugees spoke to the use of Skype by families as a means of retaining their culture as well. One illuminating example was when a set of parents and their young adult child were parted by physical distance, but the mother overcame the remoteness and used video chat to teach her son how to cook Iraqi meals. Impartation of information and reinforcement of heritage were clear in the connections between younger and older generations.

Others continued to mention the pertinence of family reinforcement of culture on their ethnic retention. Najla in particular focused on how roles within her family remained similar to before with regards to an emphasis on Iraqi food and music.

> N: Oh no! It's the same. My mom, she is cooking…I help her with cook. Sometimes, even when we eat out in the restaurant…we didn't like it so much because it's different from our food. And the spice is different, so we don't like to eat much out. We like to cook in the house. And for the cleaning, I clean. And my mother helps me sometimes, yeah because I don't want everything on her shoulders…we cook the same meals from my country and we brought our spices with us. That's an important thing!…My mom love the Arabic music so sometimes we put some music on the DVD or something.

Her comments show a mutual reinforcement within her familial unit to uphold aspects of their Iraqi culture. She continued to impress this idea when she commented, "Yeah, like sometimes my brother says, 'Oh I want Koopah.' …And I say, 'OK. We will make it for you,' so we bring the burger and the other things, and we make it." Here, she reveals that not only do aspects of Iraqi culture pervade the daily lives of her family members, but

also that her family works together to provide resources to maintaining aspects of their culture regardless of the inconvenience it imparts. The family and friends that are near to Iraqi refugees spatially or via telecommunications are available for mutual fortification of a continued Iraqi culture. Moreover, this fortification is, many times, embedded into a relationship between children and their parents. This is particularly interesting in the context of a budding conflict between parents and children that will be discussed later on.

Travel as a Cultural Buttress

In addition to supporting the continuation of recreational customs between younger and older generations, travel is another way that the family and friends network aids in ethnic retention. For one, there is a focus on visiting friends and family during holidays of importance to Iraqis. A Christian Iraqi, Najla, made remarks on this topic.

> "You know, for Christmas we do the same thing. We put like a big chicken and all my family came like my uncle and some relatives…we meet together at my uncle's house, the bigger one, and celebrate the Christmas there. Yeah, we like to meet together, so it's similar to the Thanksgiving here…we have the same thing but its on Christmas…but our relatives are so far from here…my parents will go there and celebrate with them there."

In this instance, she talks about the cultural importance of gathering for Christmas. She also mentions how her parents are partaking in that sort of gathering by flying out to their other relatives in the country. Clearly, her parents are able to use their connections with their extended family members to recreate holiday celebrations like those in Iraq. This gives them the ability to maintain a significant portion of their customs that they have been carrying out for their entire lives. Najla reiterated this key point again by saying, " My brother, on Christmas, he went to Michigan and visited [our family]. But now, on Christmas, my parents will go to Michigan to visit my older aunt…also, to see my sister. Her family lives in Michigan now." So not only was there emphasis for her parents to continue those traditions, but in prior years her brother was also able to exercise this

network to reassemble this normalcy during the holiday season. Travel during holiday time was one expression of the importance of distantly resettled family and friends.

Others mentioned travel in a different context. Case manager Stella commented on the abundance of clients who have an overwhelming desire to visit friends and family. Stella discussed various clients who had only been resettled for only weeks or months before they decided to make trips across the country to reconnect with family and friends. In these instances she noted the importance of travel to friends and family to preserve their Iraqi connections. In essence, these refugees are using travel as a way to keep in touch with their former lives and culture through relationship maintenance. Zafar commented directly on this by arguing that the most important way for him to maintain his culture and Iraqi heritage was through keeping up with his most important relationships with friends and family. He stated "with my family, with my family friends all over the world… [and] with my relatives", I am able to stay connected to my culture. As a result of this link between securing these connections and reaffirming cultural norms, Zafar emphasized travel. He offered, "Actually… one of my best friends when I lived in Iraq… I saw him when [he] came from New Jersey along to Boston to go to New Hampshire and Vermont." He proceeded,

> "I haven't seen [my friend] in the last ten years so I went to Chicago and went with him to St. Louis to visit his family because his family, mom and dad and sister…they are like my second family. Last week was New York…New Jersey is this coming week."

He went on to describe his trip to New Jersey, which was again, visiting friends of his. In less than a half a year, Zafar was able to reaffirm his culture and connection to Iraq through three trips to different areas of the US where he visited friends and partook in activities akin to those performed in the Middle East. Through this contextualization, Zafar and others use travel in conjunction with this network to help retain their heritage.

Hamim was also focusing on travel as an important focus of his cultural retention. He, like Zafar, implied the significance of strong connections to Iraqi friends as a vehicle for keeping up with his culture. He pointed out, "we're doing a reunion…IPA is doing a reunion in New York City on December 27th until January". There, he met all of his former friends from the Iraqi Pupil Association, an organization he had belonged to in his processing country. Hamim also mentioned how one of his friends from IPA, who resettled in Worcester, came to visit him in Boston prior to their reunion. Much like Zafar, Hamim focused on travel and visiting former friends as a means for preserving his roots. Travel is a powerful tool in its general usage to connect with old friends and in its ability to link relatives and friends together during culturally important time periods.

Burgeoning Conflicts in Cultural Retention

While younger generations and older populations are both embracing forms of cultural retention, many have hinted to the potential conflict that might emerge between the two cohorts as more time in the US elapses. Specifically, younger generations will be immersed even further in US culture through school while the older populations will lack that institutional embedding. For this reason, many fear that the older generations of Iraqi refugees might hold onto their culture more wholeheartedly than younger ones. This, in turn, may spark a clash between child and parent in what cultural norms they preserve.

Some concrete examples of this friction have already manifested themselves. Case manager, Andrea, mentioned,

> "Um, well I've had clients be like, 'Oh, can we go to Sears and you can show me what's good'…I actually went with Malikah and Gabir and Aasera, his sister, and the mom was like we have this much to spend and can you show me good outfits for her that I approve of but are like in style".

Here, she mentioned that the clothes had to be culturally appropriate but also speculated that, "I think the younger girls like Aasera… are fighting their parents now to wear the hajjab." In this description, Andrea expressed how she suspects that there is some budding tension between the older generation and the younger group in this cultural retention that might include acceptable clothing. Although this example illustrates only one form, this tension is beginning to manifest itself in a number of ways.

Other occurrences have hinted to the differential in the rate of changing attitudes between the two. Malik suggested,

> "The [children] are keeping actually the culture now but we don't know what going to happen ten years after now…will they forget the Arabic language, their mother tongue or the food or the culture…it's hard to tell and it depends on the family. I mean, the parents, their role is to try to remind the kids of their background, the history, about Iraq and cities of Iraq and where they lived before and where they are now."

In this instance, he exposes the likely possibility that the children might start to forget their Iraqi culture in multiple forms. He continues by offering a solution of how parents can remedy the situation by reinforcing knowledge of the history and culture of Iraq. Interestingly enough, as aforementioned, this sort of attempt to fortify ethnic retention is one that is already being exercised by a number of the Iraqi refugee families. However, this might not be enough to temper the more rapid acculturation rates of the younger generations in comparison with their older counterparts, as these fears are still pervasive though this cultural fortification is already taking place within the familial network.

This continued disparity can be seen in the activities of the younger population. For example, Rafiq mentioned that his son is learning Spanish as a result of attending a heavily Latino populated high school, something foreign and irrelevant to the experiences Rafiq himself is having in his cultural adjustment to the US. Case manager Andrea brings up another instance of this. She recalled and commented,

> "I saw a conversation the other day… on Facebook with one of my clients and my client is in his twenties and it was an older man from Iraq saying you are becoming like the Americans…you should be standing behind your country and your people instead of going on with those Americans and the client was like no, I'm an American now and your view is wrong and I had that view while I was there but I've come to see like both sides. I think that a lot of them view it as you are an American now and you're free to do whatever and break the rules. One client calls it 'breaking the rules'."

In this case, the younger Iraqi refugee "breaks the rules" by going against the grain of what older Iraqi populations would consider to be proper behavior. He goes as far as calling those cultural views wrong and mentions that his views have changed with more time spent in the US. This quote really elucidates the conflict that is emerging between both sides, the younger generation and the older generation within the family and friends network as a result of different rates of acculturation and ethnic retention. While the family and friends network is used for some aspects of cultural exchange, these fissures between the two generations may severely alter the usage of the network in the future and cause further conflict. As it stands, this conflict has remained minimal, but the coming years may prove otherwise as younger cohorts try to take more control and continue to "break the rules". While this message is ominous, others provide a more hopeful image of the future of Iraqi refugee culture. Malik, in his late-20's, put forth,

> "The culture will never change. Sometimes it will get affected and that depends on the person and if he wants to keep these traditions and norms or sometimes integrate it within the new society…its up to the person but for myself, I think I will be able to keep it and teach it to my kids as well, if there are any kids in the future."

So, while some see a future of conflict, others focus on the merging of Iraqi culture with American culture as a personal choice and a positive experience. He continues to mention that he plans on teaching his culture to his own children, which also tempers previously mentioned fears of an abandonment of Iraqi culture by the youthful. Only time will tell how this budding problem will resolve itself.

This analysis sheds light on previous research in the specific context of the Iraqi refugees. This is in contrast to Menjivar. Menjivar (1997) discusses how this significance dwindled, making kinship networks within the El Salvadorian community become a tertiary resource. Other literature also highlighted this decrease by suggesting refugees are more apt to lose their old social networks because they can't be involved in circular migration and lose their connections from home. The Iraqi refugee case refutes such a diminishment as they continue to have regular or semi-regular interaction with this network. Perhaps, this contrast of the Iraqi community's use of the kinship network is a result of the facilitated communication in the age of the Internet and reflects the ability to have a *community liberated* as a result of that technology. The Iraqi refugee community is unlike some of the migrant communities preceding it like the Salvadorians because they definitively use cheap travel and telecommunications for ethnic retention purposes. The continued usage of the kinship network allows the ability to have ethnic resilience as refugees access their family and friends to continue maintaining important relationship from their lives in the Middle East, keeping open a dialogue about their heritage, and performing activities akin to those in Iraq. Ethnic retention is possible in these ways because of a continued emphasis on the kinship network.

While the kinship network has proven to be of sustaining importance to the Iraqi refugee community, the use of such a network in ethnic retention is a source of conflict much like what has been seen in previous examinations. Earlier research shows that there are differences in ethnic retention based on generation, where younger populations are less likely to vehemently retain all aspects of their culture as much as their older counterparts (Aihwa 2003). This emerged as a conflict in previously resettled refugee

populations, like Cambodians. Yet again, there seems to be this concern with the Iraqi refugees. The younger generations of Iraqi refugees still want to use this network for their ethnic retention, but their view on the rate and scale of cultural preservation differs from their parents and older counterparts. The older generations, additionally, want to reinforce culture through extended kinship networks as well as immediate family to counterbalance the draw away from their culture and towards American mainstream culture. This push and pull that has been investigated by previous researchers is evident again here, where the Iraqi refugee community is beginning to deal with disparity in rates of acculturation and ethnic retention by different generations. Although the research has shed light on differences from previously examined groups and the Iraqi refugee community of late, this emerging conflict is a continuity of refugee literature old and new.

This section has shown the specific use of kinship networks for Iraqi refugees and ethnic retention. The refugees describe travel and continued exposure of culture through communication as two of the bastions for cultural preservation that this network provides. The importance of this network to Iraqi refugees varies from previous refugee populations, possibly as a result of advances in technology and the increased potential for a *community liberated*. Still, this network provides some of the same conflicts that have been recorded in past literature like a usage differential by younger and older populations.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown the counterpart of acculturation. The cultural and ethnic retention of Iraqis once again differs across these three networks. In each, the usefulness of the network is associated with different methods of engaging that network in cultural retention practices. While this differentiated utilization is subtler that those referenced in

the acculturation chapter, it is still important to see how the networks act as distinct tools in this retention. Additionally, there are new problems associated with ethnic retention. One such problem comes from the clash with case management, where goals of refugee resettlement diverge from the refugee's cultural standpoint. Moreover, there is a potential discord between older generations and younger populations, stemming from dissimilar rates of acculturation and ethnic retention. Like acculturation, Iraqis employ distinct methodologies to retain their culture with different networks, which sometimes results in mounting tension.

VI. Discrimination

Acculturation and ethnic retention have been central factors in the adjustment of Iraqi refugees to the Boston area. However, the presence of discrimination or prejudice against this population could affect their ability and desire to actively acculturate to the US or maintain their previous culture, regardless of their social networking. Especially in the context of prejudice borne out of US fears over terrorism, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and media sensationalism, the concern over discrimination towards Iraqi refugees is real and pertinent. While this may be the case overall, there have also been claims that Boston society was a bulwark against the war in Iraq and would, thus, be more understanding and accepting of the Iraqi refugee contingent. This chapter looks at the validity of these statements and focuses on the acts of discrimination that Iraqi refugees have encountered. It continues by focusing on how this sort of discrimination has affected the adjustment patterns, acculturation and ethnic retention, of some of the Iraqi refugee population. It finishes by positing how the shifts in behavior and reactions associated with prejudice are linked to their experiences in the Middle East.

Instances of Discrimination

The Iraqi refugees had some frustrating, yet illuminating, experiences with discrimination. In addition to the refugees, case managers also noticed varying levels of discrimination their clients faced. Andrea mentioned one manifestation of this prejudice.

> "The DTA worker…his son was killed in Iraq so he had the policy that he did not like any Iraqis and he works in Revere which happens to serve Chelsea, Revere, Everett where all the Iraqis live and he's made it clear to them- he will tell them my son was killed in Iraq so you know, he won't say I won't help you but he doesn't have to. Or even, you know, clients fear being discriminated against [because] they are Iraqi."

In this case, Andrea mentions that some of the refugees face discrimination from some of the workers at government agencies, like the Department of Transitional Assistance (DTA), where they might not be receiving the best services available. Additionally, with respect to this particular worker who makes his bias clear, they fear not only a lackluster work ethic with their welfare case management but also future discrimination from similar sources just for being Iraqi-born. This becomes visible in Andrea's following remarks on one of her older male clients and his son.

> "Also, his father is afraid of what impression he might give off and he like, sometimes kind of hints that maybe because he is an Arab with the airlines, maybe that's why he isn't being hired and he's kind of made that little idea known…"

In her comments, Andrea points to the reverberations of this fear of discrimination. It points, in part, to the effect of an initial occurrence of bigotry and how it can impart a hesitation and fear on the refugees in their interactions in other sectors or institutions. Additionally, it highlights the likely possibility that this discrimination is more than just a random occurrence and instead a bigotry that pervades various sectors, institutions, and individual's thinking. Andrea's experiences initiate a dialogue about discrimination and the Iraqi refugees that can severely affect their adjustment to Boston.

Unfortunately, Andrea's encounters with this bigotry are not isolated occurrences. As aforementioned in the acculturation section, a car hit Farhan in the first few days after he arrived in the US. Stella, his case manager, elaborated on his experience,

> "[Farhan]…was hit by a car. He actually experienced some discrimination from a police officer because of his country of origin and assuming his religion and definitely from what the officer said based on his country of origin. It made him scared for sure. He told me he was terrified. Terrified."

Again, in this case, someone in the position of authority and embedded within a bureaucracy discriminated against the Iraqi refugee involved. This instance is particularly jarring because the discrimination included harassment and slurs, leaving the refugee

with no one to turn to and a fear of the institution that was supposed to protect his public

safety. These cases shed light on a disconcerting relationship between bureaucratic

officers and discrimination of the Iraqi community that could lead to a curtailed effort

and a seemingly limited ability in adjustment to the US.

Others had more informal interactions with prejudice. Hamim mentioned,

"There was one time, I think I was in school maybe or the T. I was talking to someone
and then she said, 'Where are you from?' and I said 'Iraq' and she said, 'Ooooh (with
negative inflection in voice), Iraq?!' and I said, 'Yes' and I laughed. And she said,
'Wow.' And she was like kind of disgusted."

In this casual encounter, Hamim experienced overt prejudice in his small talk with a

stranger. Although this might not seem as impacting, it may have the same effect of

creating an atmosphere of apprehension in which the refugee community does not feel

comfortable in public settings or approaching non-Iraqi populations. Case managers also

noticed some of these more informal interactions. Stella mentions, "When we're setting

up utilities for people and we have to call the various companies… there has been

hesitation on the utility company's part when I give an Arabic last name, maybe an extra

security measure. They're really that ridiculous." Again, the evidence shows that there

are less extreme examples of prejudice that further affect the Iraqi refugee population. In

this case, Stella points to a hesitation on the part of utilities companies. Here, there is a

reinforcement of an environment of prejudice that starts with individuals in position of

authority and dissipates into the actions of those without such power. Intertwined with

power dynamics or not, one would suspect that these run-ins with discrimination impinge

on the adjustment process of the newly arrived Iraqi refugee community.

Still, surprisingly enough, the Iraqi refugees often commented on the lack of

discrimination they faced. The vast majority of interviews focused on the positive

experiences these individuals had and the absence of prejudice in their mundane

encounters. Arif, in particular, stressed this scarcity.

> J: And besides [my son's] look…he looks more American…he won't have discrimination…
>
> S: You mentioned discrimination. Have you had any issues with that?
>
> J: No. No, no, no. We don't have this issue…in school, it's mostly Latinos so no discrimination because they are also darker people. Maybe here because of the color, but we don't have this one, especially with us…Well, for me, I don't find it in any way even before or now because of the color. Because I speak their accent maybe a little bit, so we haven't had this discrimination and I don't think we'll have it.

Although he postulated several reasons for this fortunate lack of bigotry and couldn't

pinpoint a specific reason, he emphatically stressed the lack of discrimination his family

has experienced. Malik also focused on positive experiences. He stated,

> "I hear the news about the dangerous areas where people could live or could not live, but I still have not been involved in any accidents or… [Have someone] sometimes attack me or something, no nothing like that happened…it happens but it did not happen with me.

While Malik explains how he has heard indirectly of prejudice and believes of its

existence, he argues that it has not happened to him or anyone he knows, implying it is

irregular and uncommon at most. This line of thinking was rather pervasive. Even those

directly exposed to acts of bigotry denied their prevalence. Nashwan, Farhan's roommate,

did just this when he explained,

> "Well, as far as Farhan, that's the first I heard about a negative thing about being a refugee here…but yeah, I would say no one [treated us negatively]. I went to a coffee shop once and it's a place we usually go but that was the first time and he asked where are you guys from? We say we're from Iraq and he was being very positive about it. …Every time we told someone that we're from Iraq, they were positive."

Here, Nashwan recalled the event with Farhan but demarcated it as irregular and

uncommon. He backs up his point of view by mentioning specific experiences and a

general sentiment of support and interest in his Iraqi heritage from others. These

monologues are significant instances of rebuttal where discrimination is internalized as

rare. Moreover, the lack of discrimination experienced and other positive interactions with non-Iraqis bolsters this attitude among the Iraqi refugee community.

Along the spectrum of discrimination, the Iraqi refugees have experiences that wax and wane from one end to the other. In the end, the positive experiences seem to outweigh the negative ones, however extreme the off-putting events seem to be. Regardless of how rare discrimination seems to the Iraqi refugee community, it still has a major influence on their acculturation and ethnic retention.

Possible Effects of Discrimination on Acculturation and Ethnic Retention

The presence of discrimination at all may alter the modes of acculturation and ethnic retention the Iraqi refugees feel are available to them. On one extreme, this could lead to an insular community of Iraqis who don't really associate with the larger population around them. On the other end, this sort of discrimination may lead to a rejection of all things Middle Eastern and Iraqi in an attempt to assimilate and avoid further discrimination. Realistically, however, the effects of discrimination vary across members within the Iraqi refugee community and their assorted exposure to bigotry. In these cases, some fall closer to the extreme of denying their cultural heritage while others have more dexterity in the balancing act between acculturation and ethnic retention.

In many instances, Iraqi refugees maintain their Iraqi heritage despite exposure to discrimination. Hamim, as mentioned earlier, felt that while his contact to bigotry was irregular, he had experienced some form of prejudice with casual encounters, like speaking to a fellow train passenger. However, Hamim has contextualized these forms of discrimination into a timeline of mostly positive experiences and thus sees them as unrepresentative of his experiences and the population's experiences at large. By doing

so, he also able to continue to appreciate his culture and heritage openly and publicly. For one, he commented on his strong relationships with his Iraqi friends from the Iraqi Pupil Association and his planned travels to go on a reunion trip with them in New York. Additionally, Hamim mentioned, "Yeah. I also volunteer in the American Red Cross and I'm organizing a …Walk for Iraq, like a fundraising campaign for children of Iraq, in combination with the Red Cross…" Here, Hamim shows particular interest in staying connected with Iraq. Additionally, he does so through a very public display of his support, which reveals his adeptness in using networks that are mostly non-Iraqis to remain in touch with parts of his ethnic heritage and country's history. In cases similar to that of Hamim, exposure to discrimination did not hinder ethnic retention.

Case manager, Andrea, notes this in her comments, "I mean, Hamim is proud to be Arab but is also very westernized, integrated into the college life… he can hold onto his culture and also be Americanized". Here, there is a more complex understanding of cases like Hamim's. She suggests in her comments that, as a result of his successful acculturation and exposure to American institutions like college, Hamim is better equipped to deal with discrimination and exercise ethnic retention. Although there is not conclusive data on this finding, it is very possible that the support of other networks, like college friendships or relationship made in volunteer positions like those at the Red Cross, open up modes of ethnic retention that were once unavailable. This could include public displays of culture and ethnicity, like a Walk for Iraq, or even cultural exchange with friends of distinct ethnic and racial backgrounds. Regardless of the networks available to them, a great deal of the Iraqi refugees was able to continue to embrace their ethnicity and cultural traditions without fearing discrimination.

Contrastingly, many others have difficulty balancing acculturation and ethnic retention, especially in public settings. This trouble is definitely associated with previous bias incidents and a fear of future discrimination. One example comes from case manager Andrea. She explained, "Because of my interest in the Middle East, sometimes they want to talk about political issues and then they'll feel like maybe I shouldn't be talking about these groups that Americans consider terrorists because I'm Iraqi and I'm a refugee. I shouldn't say that." In this example, Andrea points to fears of future discrimination in which a number of the Iraqi refugees feel they must curtail forms of maintaining their heritage and interest in the Middle East with people outside of the Iraqi or Middle Eastern community. In this instance, there is a hesitation to discuss political matters, though the manifestations of this fear come out in a number of forms, including a decreased usage of Arabic outside of the home. For example, one case manager mentioned,

> "Yeah, I mean [my client] has told me…I don't want to talk in Arabic in public because people are going to think things when I'm eager to speak in Arabic to try to learn it and he's like let's talk in English."

These examples really expose the pervasive nature discrimination played in how Iraqis chose to maintain their connection to the Middle East and/or acculturate.

In other cases, discrimination and fear of discrimination not only restrains the appreciation of culture, politics, and history of the Middle East, but also causes clients to display potentially undesirable forms of acculturation. One case manager elucidated this finding by remarking on one case,

> "I mean, Osama once said to me I want to be a white, American gentleman and he doesn't want to be an Arab and he's almost embarrassed…and it's sad, like Osama wants to be called Sammy now because he doesn't want people to know his name…I don't know why they play it off but maybe it's because they feel like they have to play it off because if they said something about the discrimination someone might turn it back around to them."

In these examples, she details different ways that discrimination has affected one of her clients to act more "American", including changing his name to a more traditionally American one, in order to avoid future discrimination. She continued on to mention his hesitation with speaking Arabic in public for fear of people's judgments. This once again reiterates how anxieties over discrimination are a factor in the displays of acculturation and ethnic retention by Iraqi refugees in the public realm.

Additionally, these anecdotes focus on the conflict of balancing ethnic retention and acculturation internally as well. This case manager continued, "I think people like Osama have trouble balancing the two because you know, sometimes he feels bad for being too American." So in this sense, there is not only a shifting of behavior publicly. There is, moreover, an internal dilemma emerging where some of the Iraqi refugees have emotional conflicts about public displays of acculturation or Americanisms to which they might not otherwise have conformed. This, in turn, increasingly complicates which forms are used for preserving their culture, acculturating to their new societies, and balancing both across the public and private sectors of their lives. Although social networks are an important component to the acculturation and ethnic retention process, their availability is only partially useful to the Iraqi refugees. As members of a society, their acculturation is not solely bound to adjustments made in their own right, but is also influenced by other factors. Unfortunately, in some of these cases, the shape their transition takes is also related to the discrimination and fear of bigotry they face in their new Bostonian setting.

Discrimination, no doubt, plays some role in the lives of the Iraqi refugees. For some individuals, it has deeply impacted how they display their acculturation and how they restrain their ethnic ties in public. For others, it has only further empowered them in

their cultural retention and worked in conjunction with their acculturation and social networking. It has become obvious that discrimination, or at the very least the anxiety over potential discrimination, is a tangible factor in their adjustment. Still, the vast majority of the Iraqi refugees interviewed felt discrimination was mostly irrelevant to their experiences. Even as discrimination seemed to dictate some of the actions taken by the refugees, positive or negative, the overall fear of discrimination was extremely minimal in comparison to its prevalence. But why?

Changes in Overall Safety and Belief in Meritocracy

There are two major reasons why thoughts of discrimination have been minimized. For one, there is an association with dramatic improvements in safety and security with resettlement in the Boston area. Moreover, this is combined with a belief in American meritocracy in which people feel their work ethic and experience will provide them with opportunities to succeed in the future. These two components, as separate entities or in combination, act as a bastion against some of the negative effects of discrimination. To reiterate, these circumstances curtail the negative repercussions in ethnic retention and acculturation discussed, and for many, nullify such effects altogether.

Changes in security have overridden instances of discrimination in long-lasting effect on the integration of the refugee population. Safety comes to the forefront of the comments made by case managers and refugees. Case manager, Andrea, comments,

> "…In Iraq, once 2003 occurred their movement was restricted so it's not like, 'I can just go out and walk around the mall' because there could be a bombing at any second. And in Syria, it's like, 'I need to work under the table for a lot of hours because my refugee status isn't recognized by the Syrian government, so I'm going to work for 45 hours or 65 hours under the table because that is the only thing I can do to have enough money'."

In this retelling, Andrea illuminates the personal security issues families and individuals faced daily in Iraq after 2003. She additionally mentions the insecurity of finances and

refugee status that many of the Iraqi refugees faced in their processing countries. Implicit beneath this retelling is the violence and fear that refugees faced on a daily basis in Iraq and the continuation of that stress in their processing countries since their status was precarious. This is a stark contrast to the refugee life in the metro-Boston area, which despite its pitfalls, is a much safer and secure environment with violence and fear at a minimum. Refugees themselves often focus on this change in safety and security as their number one priority and a major benefit to their resettlement in the US. As a result, instances of discrimination are overlooked or ignored in magnitude as they pail in comparison to the kinds of fear and persecution many of the refugees faced elsewhere.

The emphasis on Boston as a safe place to live came up multiple times as a boon to the refugees. Arif initially commented,

> "…From worse to worse because of the war situation... The war there is becoming very difficult. Life there was becoming very difficult in many aspects. The main aspect was in security and the living. There, the life is not safe at all and this is what's concerning everybody, from my kids to my wife to me because wherever you go, there was contact to be beaten, or kidnapped, or killed. Everybody there was feeling unstable on the security side…"

His wife, Malikah, also commented on the lack of recreation by explaining, "There is no place to have fun because of the war situation, the violence, all the country." After discussing the horrors his family feared, Arif then shifted the topic of conversation,

> "Safety comes first. Here in the United States, we're trying to do step by step… New Jersey and Massachusetts look alike in safety…the third city in whole United States in safety is Boston. So you know, there are killings, but its still safe and if you go to some other areas like New York Harlem or whatever, it's dangerous. You cannot go at night."

Again, there is a comparison and an eventual emphasis that one of the main priorities is on overall safety. This idea of safety is relative; after having experienced so much violence and instability, the Iraqi refugees don't envision the occasional scuffle or mugging as unsafe but rather the natural tensions of an urban life. Instead of dwelling on

minor occurrences, Boston is seen not only as a safe place in comparison to Iraq, but even safer than other parts of the US. The overall change in safety, to be able to have unrestricted mobility and go out at night, is at the forefront. This really informs the vision of discrimination that is seen by the refugees. Specifically, when in comparison to the dangers they faced abroad and the improvements in stability they feel in the US, the majority of the refugees feel that discrimination is infrequent. Furthermore, they view the dangers of discrimination here as more benign than persecution they faced abroad. The improved circumstance of the Iraqi refugee safety overpowers fears of discrimination.

This is illuminated in other examples as well. Najla recalled,

"In Syria? It was nice because it was safe…we miss the safe in my country. In my country, if we want to go outside to my work, I didn't know if I will go back or not because the bombs and everything. We see terrible things there. So we see the safe there and we was so happy. But the problem is that it's not so stable. Everyday they said there is something with our residence…we must go to the border and come back or you have to go to your country, so we were just so scared."

She later added, "When we arrived, it was June 2009…I like Medford because it was so quiet and so safe. We like it so much. We take a walk." Again, there is a vast difference in the magnitude of the discrimination and insecurity faced in the Iraq and processing countries like Syria that overpower memories of the Iraqi refugees. The Iraqi refugees contrast their negative experiences with the overall increase in safety in the US compared to abroad, which allows many of them to temper negative effects of discrimination. This is not to suggest that discrimination became innocuous to the Iraqi refugees. This only shows how it is, often times, overshadowed and belittled by the Iraqi refugees as a result of greater improvements in safety. It, further, reveals how the effects of discrimination on acculturation and ethnic retention are only nominal when measured against other aspects of the personal histories of the Iraqi refugees. Zafar summed this sentiment well when he said, "…it's a new life for you…it's safe…"

The ramifications of discrimination are mollified for the Iraqi refugees once over because of their confidence in public safety in Boston. They are ameliorated once more by the belief in American meritocracy. This does so by comparing discrimination abroad to the US in terms of education and job opportunities and reaffirming an ideal that equal opportunity is a foundation of US society. Zafar specifically spoke to this.

> "There is no subservient people like in the Middle East so you are free to say anything, you are free to have any opinion in your mind to discuss about… There is no more job…I applied for this program in Dubai…but the problem is in Dubai the government don't give a security clearance for someone to work under any company who sponsored my visa…there is kind of discrimination…maybe they prefer to give the good positions to the Maharati people or for the people who are holding the foreign passports, like the European or American passport, which is a plus for them…the way I see it here people are equal…that's where I want to live."

These comments are particularly telling. There is a comparison of discriminatory practice abroad, which works in contrast to the forms of discrimination felt in the US. In his processing location, Dubai, he argues there was systematic discrimination that isn't present in the US. He presses further by commenting that here everyone is treated like equals and that there is opportunity in the US that he couldn't find elsewhere. These arguments continue to reveal why the Iraqi refugee community underemphasizes the discrimination they have experienced in the US as a factor in their behavior. In part, they feel it is infrequent in comparison to persecution, violence, and discrimination they have faced elsewhere. Furthermore, they see this discrimination in the context of a land where "people are equal" and imply that the hope of the US is that decency and hard work beget opportunities and successes. While this might not actually occur, the hope and belief are enough to outweigh the bias incidents they face.

This belief in the validity of American ideals like meritocracy and good work ethic come to play in other scenarios as well. In a less overt connection, others have also given credence to this ideology. Hamim stated,

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> "In America, …the thing I love is whenever you think of something, you can do it and there's not limitation for your capabilities or potential. I mean, in Boston, I thought I wanted to do this fundraising campaign and second day, I went and talked to people."

Najla also made comments pointing to this sort of hopefulness about the future in the US and the vast opportunities she felt she had before her. She stated,

> "I think we came in a hard situation because of the bad economic, so it was so hard to find jobs here and I go to so many interviews…I think they think because I have the degree, I will not stay so much with them. I will leave them to go to another job, but here I can…I started from zero and I have time…I can do many things for the future…I can take it step by step here and do something better."

American ideology of merit-based work and equal opportunity resonate through these two comments. A majority of the individuals, much like Zafar, Najla, and Hamim, felt as though these ideals were realities in Boston and that they would be able to accomplish many of their hopes and dreams as a result of resettlement. This thought in conjunction with the trajectory of violence, chaos, and instability in their histories before arriving to the US work hand in hand to take precedent in their sentiments towards resettlement. In particular, the sharp contrast of the limitedness of their lives during the war only accentuates the feelings of freedom and opportunity they think is tangible in the US. This emphasis on hopeful prospects and merit-based rewards were stressed more often and more dispersedly in shaping their experiences than exposure to discrimination, proving its importance in their line of thinking. The overall sentiment towards Boston, or even the US, is not one where Iraqi refugees underscore negative encounters with discrimination, but instead the new array of opportunities seemingly available to them.

The lack of focus on discrimination throughout the conversations and anecdotes of Iraqi refugee participants is explainable. This population finds that discriminatory behavior pales in comparison to many of the positive changes associated with moving to Boston. Specifically, they underline the improvements in safety and security as a major

benefit of resettlement. In doing so, they also play down ruptures in perceived safety as a result of discrimination or fear of discrimination through comparison with former instability they faced abroad. Additionally, the refugees also look to the hope that American ideology brings by honing in on ideas of meritocracy and equal opportunity, however true or untrue these may be. In doing so, they reinforce positive sentiments about their resettlement and plan bright futures. This, working in tandem with shifts in security and stability, further downplays bigotry or perceived bigotry in their overall evaluation of the resettlement process. Regardless of effects that acts of discrimination may have on the acculturation and ethnic retention of Iraqi refugees, these effects are somewhat conciliated by the increase in safety and the ongoing belief in meritocracy.

Conclusion

Previous research of discrimination has focused on the outcomes of current events on the Arab and Arab-American population. For example, articles and books written after 9/11 exposed the detriments of acts of prejudice on the community (Cainkar 2002, Howell and Shryock 2003, Salaita 2005). In addition, other research highlighted how the Arab and Arab American communities overcame discrimination by coming together (Cainkar 2002: 29, Howell and Shryock 2003: 454). In a number of disciplines within academia in addition to the media, there has been a focus on the effects of current events on discriminatory behavior towards the Middle Eastern population in the 21st century. However, there is a lack of sociological research on the phenomenon of discrimination and its effects on integration processes into new societies, especially for refugee populations like the Iraqi refugees. Here, I have shown how the discrimination faced by the Iraqi refugees in Boston has had resounding effects on their transition to the US; this

investigation provides evidence for how discrimination not only affects Iraqi refugees in their beliefs of discrimination, but also how that pervades and influences other sectors of their lives. In particular, bigotry affected their utilization of available social networks for acculturation and ethnic retention. The importance of this connection should be explored further and should act as a tool for research on immigrant and refugee populations.

In addition, it was visible that this sort of discrimination was, in part, tempered by the Iraq refugee confidence in American meritocracy. Other researchers have also dug into this topic of meritocracy and equal opportunity as beliefs refugees have held. For instance, Menjivar (1997) notes how Vietnamese refugees often gained the belief of the US as a land of opportunity as an extrapolation of the opportunities they gained from their voluntary agencies. Here, I also mention the importance of the beliefs of meritocracy, but the Iraqi refugees frame this belief in a very different way. The significant empirical distinction comes from the Iraqi refugees not attributing this idea of meritocracy with their voluntary agencies or their case managers.

Instead, the Iraqi refugee community may have this confidence in part because of the contrast of experiences they have faced in the US versus abroad in countries outside of Iraq. This belief may also come from hopes about their futures in the US and the availability of resources they feel they have, like the opportunity to education. It remains questionable where the conglomeration of these beliefs came from; it could very well be from media influence, the sway of the US military, or indoctrination of US ideologies throughout the resettlement process abroad. Whatever it is, there was not an association of case management and these beliefs, which is important because it does not point to another form of acculturation gained from that specific network. Instead of solely

impacting acculturation, this belief works in tandem with improvements in safety to partially neutralize the detrimental effects of discrimination. Although further investigation is needed to determine the source of these sentiments of meritocracy, there is a divide between the source of these beliefs for this refugee community and others.

Discrimination plays an interesting role in the lives of the Iraqi refugees. On the one hand, it seems pertinent to the refugee experience, as multiple sources have reported different bias incidents. Additionally, it seems to affect the refugee population in varied ways, including but not limited to an impetus for an inhibited and limited ethnic retention in the public sector. However, on the other hand, many others note bigotry to be irregular and uncommon. Acts of discrimination are downplayed as refugees focus on tremendous increases in safety and American myths of meritocracy as defining their current and future experiences in the US. While this combination may seem contradictory, it is actually a weaving together of action and thought, noting the effects that discrimination has played on acculturation and ethnic retention but also giving credence to the beliefs and statements of the Iraqi refugees in the shaping of their own circumstance.

The Iraqi refugee experiences with discrimination are not endemic to this population. Understanding the nature of discrimination's effects unto other areas of the affected population's lives will be beneficial to comprehending any and all refugee and immigrant populations' lived experiences. Additionally, putting discrimination into the larger context of the personal histories of these populations will also further enlighten how pervasive and influential this discrimination will be. The continued scrutiny of discrimination under a sociological lens will supplement pre-existing examinations of refugee and immigrant experiences.

VII. The Transition of Iraqi Refugees

The impetus for this study was to tell the story of the Iraqi refugees in metropolitan Boston. Much like other refugee populations, they have faced many trials and tribulations in their lives. Whether in Iraq throughout the three wars, in their processing countries like Syria and Jordan, or their short times in the US, the Iraqi refugee community has had to overcome varied obstacles in a number of settings. Now, relatively safe and in the Boston area, there are a new set of impediments in their way, but the Iraqi refugees have met them head-on. Some of these impediments are financial, including the meager cash assistance they receive upon arriving into the country, while others are personal and emotional, like the scars of persecution faced abroad. Regardless of what the subject matter, the multitude of personal histories of each individual Iraqi refugee comes together to create a general lived experience for the population as a whole. Stories often repeat the same themes of anxieties and concerns for the future. So, this research focuses on bringing the Iraqi refugee experience to the forefront through personal accounts and anecdotes.

This was done through an attempt to recount and analyze the modes of acculturation and ethnic retention that emerged out of patterned usage of three specific social networks. Firstly, the memories and anecdotes of the Iraqi refugees highlighted the differentiated usage of case management, the other Iraqi refugees, and kinship networks for the purposes of acculturation. They used the case management network to gain an understanding of bureaucracy and public systems in the US, like welfare, public schools, and mass transportation. In addition, they also discovered and employed knowledge about employment and educational opportunities from case management, like job-seeking

customs in the US and writing resumes. Lastly, they were able to make use of this network to insert themselves in to a multi-cultural environment and better orient themselves to the new and diverse populations around them. Case management was one source of acculturation for the Iraqi refugees, but not the only one.

In addition, the refugee population was also able to utilize one another for acculturation purposes. Specifically, they were able to discuss and manage information given by case management with other Iraqi refugees as a cross-reference before making important decisions and dealing with agencies and organizations for goods and services. Moreover, the Iraqi refugee community was able to help one another in the acculturation process by also orienting each other to goods and services outside of case management but still vastly different from life in Iraq. One example is Arif's help in teaching others about the DMV and licensing exams. In many ways, the service that the Iraqi refugee network provided complemented the work of case management in the acculturation process.

Thirdly, the refugees also kept in touch with their family and friends from the Middle East. Surprisingly, this network also played a role in their acculturation process. By utilizing this network in these two veins, the Iraqi refugees were able to ease their transition into the US. For one, they provided sponsorship and information to the refugees before they even entered the US. Furthermore, once refugees were resettled, family and close friends provided personal and emotional support that also aided in the adjustment to the US. There were clear differences in how each of the three social networks was useful for the transition of the Iraqi refugees to Boston, particularly for modes of acculturation.

Contrastingly, these different connections also emerged as important resources for the ethnic retention of the Iraqi refugee community members. Though acculturation and ethnic retention are somewhat at odds with one another, the Iraqi refugees were able to utilize networks for acculturation in some instances and capitalize on these same connections for ethnic retention in others. The case management network, though in a limited fashion, was a network that accepted and encouraged the continuation of cultural activities and norms within the homes and private lives of the Iraqi refugees. The refugees were able to use this as a means for ethnic retention by extending hospitality and cultural traditions, like drinking chai tea, to the case managers during home visits. Additionally, the Iraqi refugee community also became an important component of cultural preservation, as they were able to actively participate in cultural activities with one another, like celebrating holidays or sharing meals together. Similarly, this network was also a source for the continuation of the Arabic language, where the mother tongue was another simple form of cultural normativity. Even the kinship network, sometimes far away in physical distance, was used for this link to Iraq and the Middle East. Through the use of telecommunications technology and visiting one another when possible, Iraqi refugees maintained exposure to their culture with food, music, and the comfort of friends and family. Although some forms of acculturation were a vital component of survival in the US for many of the Iraqi refugees, there was still a priority on maintaining Iraqi culture.

In addition to the successes that each social network brought the Iraqi refugees, there were also frustrations and limitations of each that reaffirmed the impossibility of each network to solely provide all the resources necessary for the refugee adjustment. For

instance, the Iraqi refugees were somewhat limited in their access to case management as a network for either acculturation or ethnic retention. On the one hand, case management was absent as a network to tap into for issues that fell outside of case management responsibilities. On the other hand, case management also had limited flexibility in their understanding and acceptance of cultural norms, especially when such norms affected the viability of finding a job for the refugees. Similarly, the Iraqi refugee network also was somewhat limited in access. There were serious implications of a burgeoning fragmentation, which threatened the utility of that network for many of the Iraqi refugees. For either acculturation or for ethnic retention, the hierarchy that was becoming a reality within the Iraqi refugee community was beginning to affect how easily Iraqi refugees could be dependent on one another for information, advice, or cultural support. Even the familial network was constrained in some fashion. In some ways, there were generational differences in the rates and methods of acculturation and ethnic retention that was beginning to cause conflict within immediate family units. These initial anecdotes are feared to be a harbinger for future clashes between the young and the old. By focusing on these conflicts and limitations with each social network, it is clear why the varied usage of the networks is important. Not only does each of the different social networks fill in the fissures of resources provided by the others, but they also allow the Iraqi refugees to move between each of the networks for the most useful information, guidance, and aid.

While acculturation and ethnic retention were at the heart of the Iraqi refugee experience, other factors were also significant focal points. The open-ended interviews led to a discussion about how discrimination, safety and security, and meritocracy took shape and informed the Iraqi refugee experience further. Acts of discrimination were

riddled some of the interviews, while others commented on the lack of prejudice they faced in Boston. Regardless, discrimination helped to inhibit certain uses of social networks for acculturation and ethnic retention. For example, some of the refugees were hesitant to engage in the Arabic language or dress in Middle East garb in public or with case management because of fears of discrimination. Still, however, the major effects of discrimination were tempered by the sentiments of the Iraqi refugees surrounding safety. Though bigotry was an issue, many discredited the importance of prejudice in their lives in the US because of the overall improvements in security upon resettlement. For many of the refugees, this was paramount and as a result, much more persuasive in their framing of their experiences. Similarly, other refugees also used the ideology of US meritocracy and equal opportunity as a rebuttal for discriminatory behavior. Here, the Iraqi refugees measured not their encounters with discrimination, but instead a hope for a present and future life of equal opportunity. In both of these manners, the detrimental effects of discrimination on acculturation and ethnic retention were mitigated.

Although this account tried to encompass a great deal of the experience of the Iraqi refugees, it obviously did not cover all facets of their lives. There were a multitude of areas that should be researched further to not only expand the understanding of the refugee and immigrant experience overall, but also to inform other sub-disciplines of the nature of their study in the context of refugees and immigrants. One key example would be gender studies within or outside of sociology. There were a number of anecdotes that pointed to a growing shift in the dynamics of gender within and outside of the household of Iraq refugees. In particular, some of the female Iraqi refugees are embracing freedoms, like writing and getting jobs outside of the household, and men are reacting to and

engaging with these changes. While this partially has to do with changing attitudes as a result of acculturation, it may also stem from other changes like changing power dynamics. Additionally, there were also instances where there seemed to a differentiated usage of social networks for acculturation and ethnic retention based off age. This usage came up momentarily in this analysis where there was a great deal of evidence for the generational difference in ethnic retention with kinship networks. Still, this seems to be a growing number of differentiated experiences based on age and generation that will only become further ripe for analysis. These are just two examples of a number of topics that need to be delved into to elaborate further on the experience of Iraqi refugees.

This paper has focused on the acculturation and ethnic retention of Iraqi refugees, even in the face of discrimination and changes in safety. While there have been instances where this case study has been specific this population, the majority of the work has led to larger conclusions that contribute to the general literature on integration processes and social networking. Specifically, it has shown an important link between social networks and their social capital and acculturation/ethnic retention processes. Additionally, it has shed light on the connection between discrimination and its effects on integration processes, while keeping specific personal histories in mind. Beyond explaining the Iraqi refugee experience, this study will hopefully act as a foundation and inform the study of refugee and immigrant experiences in general.

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Addendum A-Case Management Interview Guide

Establishing Background Information About Interviewee
1) How long have you been working as a refugee case manager?
2) Are you yourself an immigrant or refugee to the United States?
   a. If yes, do you think your experiences change the way you work with your clients? Explain.
   b. If yes, what sparked your interest in this work? Why are you a refugee case manager?
   c. If no, what sparked your interest in this work? Why are you a refugee case manager?
3) What do you consider the most important responsibilities of your job?
   a. What do you think your clients view as the most important responsibilities of your work with them?
4) What are the sorts of services and help that you provide for your clients?
   a. Could you give me a couple of instances in which you've done some of the things you mentioned?
5) Could you tell me a little bit about your relationships with your clients from all different national/cultural/religious backgrounds?

Specific Experiences with Iraqi Refugees in the Past Five Years Surrounding Social Networking
1) Please explain some of your experiences in general with the Iraqi refugees who have come to the US in the past five years. (Describe, without providing names, some memorable stories or experiences you've shared or witnessed of Iraqi refugees.)
2) How, if at all, has this group of refugees differed from other groups of refugees who you have serviced, such as Vietnamese refugees?
   a. If differences, how do these differences create a different experience for the Iraqi refugees in your opinion?
   b. If differences, how, if at all, have you changed the way you normally conduct business to try to adjust to these different needs of the Iraqi refugee community?
   c. If no demographic differences, are there any ways in which your experiences working with Iraqi refugees are dissimilar to other groups?
   d. Are there any obstacles or barriers in the way of Iraqi refugees to adjust to US society that you've noticed? Please elaborate with some stories.
3) How do you think your Iraqi clients view your working relationship with them? Why?
4) What types of activities have you recommended that Iraqi refugees participate in, like English classes or community events?
5) Please tell me about your experiences helping Iraqi refugees with service providing like linking them with social services to visiting their homes. Describe some more memorable experiences you've had.

6) Have there been any times where what was considered best for your Iraqi refugee clients was not what they wanted to do? Please elaborate.
7) Who are your Iraqi refugee clients usually friends with? Who do they consider as their most important contacts and people that they depend on?
   a. How do you think they created that friendship with the people you've mentioned?
   b. Are there any instances that you tried to help clients connect with other people?
      i. If yes, who? Why?
8) Do you see your Iraqi refugee clients gaining friends and social networks through other means outside of your help, such as through religious organizations?
   a. If yes, explain.
9) In what you have experienced, how do Iraqi refugee clients use or not use their extended family members as a support system?
   a. Please elaborate.

Iraqi Refugee Clients Adjusting to the US

1) What are some of the ways in which you've seen some of your Iraqi refugee clients exhibiting an adjustment to the US? Please provide some examples.
   a. Do you see their adjustment to the US different from other refugee groups that you've worked with? How?
2) What are some of the ways in which you've seen Iraqi refugee clients retain aspects of their heritage and culture?
   a. Please provide some examples.
3) Have you done anything to try to facilitate an adjustment to US culture or society? If so, what?
   a. How did your attempts manifest themselves in the actions of the client?
4) Have Iraqi refugee clients ever asked for your help in adjusting to the US? If so, what did they ask for and how did you help?

Closing

1) What are some of your hopes for your Iraqi refugee clients in the near future?
2) Is there anything important about the Iraqi refugee experience in the Boston area that did not come up in our conversation that you would like to talk about?

Are there any other case managers or clients of yours that you think would be a good person to talk to about my project and would benefit from being interviewed by me?

Addendum B- English-speaking Iraqi Refugee Interview Guide

Establishing Background Information About Interviewee

1) Where and when were you born?
2) What is your educational background? When and how did you learn English? What sort of jobs have you held in the past?
3) Where did you move (processing country) before moving to the US?
4) Tell me about your experience in your processing country.
   a. Follow-up: Explain some of the people you were friends with and what types of things you did together.
   b. Follow-up: Tell me about your experience with the native-born population of that country…did you have any interaction with them? Did you befriend any of them? If so, can you provide some sort of example, like a story?
   c. Follow-up: If you didn't really engage with any of the natives, is there a particular reason?
   d. Follow-up: If you didn't really engage with the natives there, were you able to have some connections with other Iraqis?
5) Did you know anyone living in the US before moving here?
   a. Follow-up: If so, who? How did they help you when you first moved here? Tell me about some of the things you do together now.

Types of Acculturation and Creation of Social Networks Since Arriving

1) Where do you live in the US now?
2) What kinds of activities have you been participating in with your immediate family?
   a. Follow-up: What are some of the places you go together?
   b. Follow-up: Do these activities differ from ones you did before coming to the US?
   c. Follow-up: Talk to me a little bit about who does what in your family, i.e. who assigns chores, who goes to school, who goes to work, etc.
3) If they have an anchor or family members who lived here before they arrived, tell me about your current experiences with those extended family members or previously held friends. How often do you see them?
   a. Follow-up: Have they introduced you to other people? If so, describe whom they've introduced you to and what sort of things you've done with these people.
4) Other than your family, who are the people you see regularly? What do you do with these people when you see them?
   a. Follow-up: Tell me about some of things you've done with the other Iraqis in the area that you're friends with. How did you meet? Describe one event in which you've spent time together. What sorts of help/advice/aid do you give them and do they give you?
   b. Follow-up: What are your relationships like with other groups of people living in the Boston area? What are some interactions you've had with

5) Are you participating in any extra activities, like English classes or computer classes, outside of your daily duties?
   a. If so, what? If so, what do you like about doing that activity?
   b. If not, why not? If not, are there any other things you are doing outside of work, school, and home?
6) Talk to me about your experiences going to mosque/church and practicing your religion, if you do.
   a. Explain some of the relationships you've created, if any, through your religious organization.
   b. Describe some stories about your experiences going to mosque or finding halal meats, etc. while being in the US.
   c. Example: Describe one of the first times you went to mosque. Who did you meet?
7) Have you been participating in any other organizations or programs? If so, can you describe your experiences with them?
8) Are there any ways in which you keep in contact with family members and friends that are not living in the Boston area?
   a. How often do you communicate with your relatives and friends outside of the Boston area?
   b. Can you describe some of the things you talk with them about?

Plans for the Future
1) Describe what you hope to do in the future in terms of your education/ the education of your children.
2) Tell me about some of your hopes in the future for your career.
3) In the future, how do you think you will spend time with the friends you have made currently?
   a. How do you think your friendships with your friends of Iraqi heritage will continue?
   b. How do you think your friendships in general will progress?
4) Do you want to stay in the Boston area or are you thinking about moving somewhere else?
   a. If staying, what are your favorite things about the area? Why do you want to stay?
   b. If not staying, what are the reasons for wanting to leave?

Closing
1) Is there anything that you want to tell me in addition to the information you have already given me?
2) Are there any other people who you think would like to do this interview and would be helpful to talk to?

Addendum C-Coding System

Social Networks Identified

■ Family and previously acquired friends who don't live in Boston area

■ Newly acquired Iraqi friends met through case management or other contacts

■ Case management and resettlement agencies

■ Americans or other immigrant groups (including roommates, anchors, schoolmates)

■ Religious institutions/organizations and their members

Use of Social Network (Ethnic Retention/Acculturation)

- Darker colors will reflect the use of social network for acculturation and lighter color will reflect the use of a social network for ethnic retention
- Colors used will be based on the colors designated to the social networks identified above
- Below is a sample:

■ Family Acculturation

■ Family Ethnic Retention

Perceptions of Stigma

■ Stigma/discrimination brought up as visible

■ Stigma/discrimination brought up as not noticeable/non-existent

Other distinctions that came up during the interviews

■ Age

■ Male/Female

Addendum D- Information Chart of Refugee Interviewees

Name	Sex	Age (years)	Educational Background	Professional Background
Arif	Male	Unknown (middle-aged)	Aeronautical Engineering Degree	Pilot, Engineer
Rafiq	Male	45	Accounting Degree, Computer Science Degree	Accountant, Computer Programmer, Branch Manager
Zafar	Male	32	Computer Science Degree	Field Security Assistant, Consulate Assistant, UN Assistant
Nashwan	Male	26	Computer Systems Associate's Degree	Translator for US Armed Forces
Malik	Male	25	Philosophy Degree, Theology Degree	Head of Studies at Development Department in TV station, Translator for US Armed Forces, Monastery Librarian, Hotel Operator
Hamim	Male	20	Currently in School	Marketing Assistant, Computer Maintenance Assistant
Malikah	Female	Unknown (middle-aged)	Engineering Degree	n/a
Najla	Female	28	Electrical Engineering Degree	Engineering Assistant at Ministry of Health, Doctor's Office Assistant
Farhan	Male	38	Agricultural Engineering	Business Owner, Management Supervisor

Addendum E-Conceptual Map