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Gordon Hong April 15, 2018

From the Horn of Africa to Clarkston, Georgia:

Subjective Well-Being of East African Immigrants and Refugees

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An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
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Bachelor of Sciences with Honors

Department of Anthropology

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Abstract

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Clarkston, Georgia is a neighborhood of Atlanta known for its incredible degree of diversity and successful refugee resettlement program. This diversity has given Clarkston the nicknames, "the most diverse square mile in America" and the "Ellis Island of the South." The purpose of this thesis is to measure the subjective well-being of the East African immigrant and refugee community in Clarkston, to develop a holistic narrative of the migrant experience, and to identify how the city of Clarkston contributes to this experience.

Migrants from East African countries in the Horn are of particular interest because of the conflict, poverty, and instability of these nations. Refugees and immigrants of these nations may face particular difficulties given their potentially traumatic backgrounds. This research was also inspired by Dr. Peter Little's current project, "Cross-Cultural Insights into Well-being among Vulnerable Populations in Eastern Africa," and the potential comparisons with the Clarkston community.

Research and ethnography primarily took place in Clarkston's Campus Plaza – a shopping center that caters to the East African community. Interviews with community members were based off of Hadley Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale – a widely used tool in measuring subjective well-being. Semi-formal key informant interviews were designed to supplement this data and further explore the concepts raised in community interviews. The key informants included in this study are a medical doctor and a nurse practitioner of a non-profit clinic, the founder and director of a radio station that caters to the East African community, and a prominent Somali business owner. Challenges in working with the community, such as research fatigue, language barriers, and current political tension, resulted in complications to this research. However, these challenges and issues in politics also provided meaningful insight into the community.

Respondents to the community interviews reported a surprisingly high degree of subjective well-being and life satisfaction. These results prompted the question of why perceived happiness was so high and what contributes to this sense of well-being. The key informants expanded on how the city of Clarkston provides a positive environment to immigrants and refugees but also discussed challenges, such as life adjustment, the impact of current politics, and gaps in health and nutrition. Facets of migrant life in Clarkston, such as local government, social support, and religion were further explored to assess their role in contributing to well-being.

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Acknowledgements

This research project has been one of the most challenging, but rewarding, experiences of my college career. Through my research, I have gained a greater appreciation for the field of Anthropology and the importance of diversity. This thesis and experience would not have been possible without the support of my advisors, professors, community partners, friends, and family.

First, I would like to thank Dr. Peter Little for inspiring my interest in East Africa and serving as my mentor throughout my thesis. Your continual guidance, support, and patience has been essential in every step of this research process. No matter how busy you are, you have always found time to meet with me and to provide feedback and encouragement on my work. I am incredibly grateful and lucky to have you as my advisor.

My committee members, Dr. Craig Hadley and Dr. Amy Webb Girard, have also been incredibly important in shaping my perspective and research. Thank you, Dr. Hadley for your feedback, guidance, and perspective on my research and for always managing to make time for me in your busy schedule. Thank you, Dr. Amy Webb Girard, for your support and for always providing me with new ideas when faced with challenges.

I must also thank Emory University's fantastic Anthropology Department and faculty for everything it has provided me – not just in this research project but throughout my college experience. I want to thank Dr. Kristin Phillips and Heather Carpenter for their hard work and support in making the Honors Program an incredible academic experience. I also would like to acknowledge Dr. Isabella Alexander and Anna Grace Trible for their inspiration and guidance.

I would also like to thank my research participants and community partners, Hussein Mohamed, Aden Hussein, Beth Thompson, Dr. Gulshan Harjee, and Tasneem Malik for helping to make this research possible and for welcoming me into their communities.

My friends at Emory and brothers of Sigma Alpha Mu have also been so important in providing me with the support network, encouragement, and distractions necessary to complete this program and project.

Lastly, I want to thank my parents and brothers for everything they have given me. My mother and father are immigrants and refugees themselves, and without you two, none of this would be possible.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AJC	Atlanta Journal Constitution
CCC	Clarkston Community Center
CCHC	Clarkston Community Health Center
CIWEA	Cross-Cultural Insights into Well-being among Vulnerable Populations in Eastern Africa
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
FSI	Food Security Initiative
HDI	Human Development Index
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MD	Doctor of Medicine
NP	Nurse Practitioner
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RMA	Refugee Medical Assistance
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Initially, this research project intended to evaluate the subjective well-being of migrants from the Horn of Africa region, to assess the contribution of health to well-being, and to gain a sense of the general challenges in adjusting to life in the United States. An interest in the Horn of Africa stemmed from the region's significant degree of conflict, the prominent refugee community in Clarkston – a city of the Atlanta metropolitan region--and Dr. Peter Little's ongoing project, "Cross-Cultural Insights into Well-being among Vulnerable Populations in Eastern Africa (CIWEA)." Through the course of this thesis research and from interviews, ethnography, and discussions with key informants, the issue of current politics in the USA became especially apparent. Specifically, the issue is the divisive rhetoric by politicians and policies that threaten immigrants and refugees. Thus, as inspired by such developments and the challenges encountered during research, this thesis also focuses on analyzing the impact of current political climate on the life of African migrants. This research project hopes to develop a holistic narrative of the current migrant experience in Clarkston, and hopefully America as a whole, and to identify challenges to well-being and how politics may further exacerbate such challenges.

The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa is characterized by poverty, instability, and conflict. This region comprises the northeastern peninsula of the African continent and is made up of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, northern Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and northern Uganda. These countries and regions form a triangular horn shape on the coast of Africa, thus giving this region the name of "the Horn." Although it is impossible to provide a complete history of such a rich and complex region in this review, a brief background will be presented to provide context important to this paper.

Prior to colonization, the Horn region consisted of numerous kingdoms and a handful of successful empires. These include the Abyssinian empire, powerful enough to withstand Italian colonization in 1895, and eventually contributing to the formation of present-day Ethiopia (Mengisteab 2014). Similar to the fate of most of the continent, all of the eventual states of the Horn of Africa except for Ethiopia became subject to colonization by European powers in the late nineteenth century "Scramble for Africa." These imperialistic efforts were primarily driven by economic motives - the need for raw materials to fuel the Industrial Revolution. Politics, in the form of competition between European powers, and the social issues that followed industrialization, such as unemployment and poverty, further contributed to colonization (Iweriebor 2011).

Colonization lasted throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century; however, the legacy and impacts of colonialism continue to plague the Horn even today. In dividing up the regions of Africa for colonization, European powers essentially created the borders that differentiate the continent's modern states (Crummey 2003). This has been the source of great contention because these political boundaries have been found to be both vague and arbitrary

(Mengisteab 2014). The recurrent conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia serves as an example of the impact of border formation. Soon after its decolonization, Eritrea was claimed and annexed by Ethiopia in 1962, sparking a 30-year war for Eritrean liberation. A second war occurred from 1998-2000 due to border conflict and tension between the two nations remains high (Bereketeab 2013).

Furthermore, as evidence for the arbitrariness of inter-state boundaries, state formation split various ethnic groups of this region and thus, further contributed to the region's ethnic conflict. Partitioned ethnic groups face greater marginalization in their home states, thus straining the relationships between such groups and their states and leading to resistance and conflict. A prominent example is the separation of the Somali among different states, which contributed to the Ethiopian-Somali war in 1978 and other conflicts between these nations (Mengisteab 2014). The concepts of "ethnicity" and "ethnic group," typically understood as a "collectivity of people who share the same primordial characteristics such as common ancestry, language, and culture," are also not as clear in the case of the Horn (Assefa 1996). In general terms, this is due to the many different groups present, the ways that politics have heightened ethnic tensions between them, the overlap and interactions between ethnic criteria, like religion, language, and culture, and the subjective experiences of each group (Assefa 1996).

Language is closely related to ethnicity, and similarly, the Horn is also very linguistically diverse. There are estimated to be over 100 languages spoken, with nearly fifteen different languages in Somalia, and over eighty in Ethiopia. The complexity and diversity of language has proved challenging in this research project as well. Popular languages include Amharic, the official working language of Ethiopia, Oromo, another widely spoken language in Ethiopia, and Somali, spoken in nearly all countries of the Horn (Appleyard and Orwin 2008).

According to the Human Development Index (HDI), a measure of development based on life expectancy, education, and standard of living, nearly all countries of the Horn of Africa fall in the bottom 20% of countries in the world (Jahan 2016). Agriculture and pastoralism are major contributors to their economies. An interesting example of informal economy and pastoralism is found in Somalia's unofficial cross-border livestock trade with Kenyan markets. This surge in trade occurred after the collapse of the Somali state in 1991 and during a time of statelessness, but the success is evident by Somalia becoming "one of the largest exporters of live animals in the world" and the millions of dollars generated in sales (Little 2005). Although war in Somalia left cross-border commerce largely untouched, this is typically not the fate of most economic activities facing conflict. War, environmental degradation, and famine are pervasive factors that typically devastate agricultural sectors of Horn nations (Little 2005, Mengisteab 2014). These nations are also characterized by a "dichotomy of modes of production that govern their economies," ranging from emerging stock markets and financial systems to subsistence farming (Mengisteab 2014). An example of such dichotomy is the Ethiopian economy. Ethiopia has one of the highest growth rates of International Monetary Fund (IMF) member countries thanks to infrastructure projects and diversifying exports and commodities. However, over 70% of the nation still works in the agricultural sector and majority of farmers are poor (CIA 2017).

This brief history of the Horn of Africa is incomplete, but, it is sufficient for the purposes of this thesis as an introduction to the region and people. This background shows instability and turmoil within the Horn and speaks to the importance of refugee programs as a means of escape. Furthermore, consideration of the region's history is important since experiences, such as violence and famine, contribute to personal trauma and thus, influence perceived well-being.

Immigration

Conflict in this region is incredibly pervasive. However, Assefaw Bariagaber argues that the complexity and extent of the crisis in the Horn of Africa is unique (2006). He suggests that this is due to the exceptionally long history of ethnic conflict, and the exponential growth of the refugee population (Bariagaber 2006).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provides a set of definitions regarding migration that are influential in policy and thus, have far-reaching effects on an individual basis. The United Nations (UN) 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as one who:

> Owing to 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 or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR 2011)

Furthermore, the convention also describes certain rights and treatment entitled to those who fall under the "refugee" category. The UNHCR expanded upon this definition to include those fleeing from "serious and indiscriminate threats to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalized violence or events seriously disturbing public order" (2011). In contrast to this definition, the term "migrant" is one who leaves their country of origin out of "personal convenience" but potentially to seek work, education, or other means to improve their lives (UNHCR 2011). Numerous issues arise with such definitions due to their subjectivity and

potential overlap. As is the case of the African refugee crisis today, migrants who reach Europe face the choice of either formally seeking asylum with a local UNHCR office or live as an undocumented immigrant at risk of deportation. The power of official refugee status is access to employment, education, and the possibility to reunite with family. This status, however, is determined through a short interview (typically less than thirty minutes) with a UNHCR caseworker that is oftentimes dependent on the emotional appeal of one's story (Alexander 2017). Once refugee status is received, those that cannot return to their home country or face permanent challenges integrating into the country of first asylum can seek resettlement to a third country with the UNHCR's Resettlement Deployment Scheme program (U.S. Department of State 2017). These requests are processed by a six-part RSD assessment that includes analyses of eligibility, exclusion issues, and credibility (UNHCR 2011). Less than one percent of such requests are granted, thus, allowing for referral to resettlement to countries that may be more economically developed or and less vulnerable to conflict like the United States (U.S. Department of State 2017). In the case of resettlement to the U.S., once a referral is made by the UNHCR, the case is processed by the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) own extensive screening and interview process. Applicants are "subject to the highest level of security checks of any category of traveler to the United States" before being granted entry (U.S. Department of State 2017). Those accepted attend a three-day cultural orientation and resettlement agencies provide initial services for the first thirty to ninety days. Refugees are expected to repay the U.S. government for travel expenses within five years (U.S. Department of State 2017).

A prominent example of this resettlement process relevant to the Horn of Africa is the "Lost Boys of Sudan," a group of unaccompanied Sudanese refugee minors who were relocated to the United States. During the late 1980s, civil war broke out in Sudan, forcing approximately

25,000 young children to flee their homes to avoid the violence that their parents experienced. These children initially sought refuge in Ethiopia; however, in 1991, conflict once again forced them to move. After travelling hundreds of miles and losing nearly half of the initial group due to exhaustion, forces of nature, and warfare, the "Lost Boys" eventually reached Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya. In 2000, approximately 3,600 of these refugees were resettled to the United States at the recommendation of the UNHCR, since the possibility of returning to Sudan seemed increasingly remote due to continued conflict (International Rescue Committee 2014).

Any form of migration presents particular challenges to those that enter new spaces. Refugees, however, face particularly distinct challenges that are evident in resettlement, acculturation, and identity formation. An example of such challenges is health or psychological concerns, such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). A study of the "Lost Boys" one year after resettlement found that the majority of youths experienced physical harm to close friends or family, high prevalence of health issues associated with behavioral or emotional problems, and a subset of youths with PTSD (Geltman, Grant-Knight et al. 2005). Furthermore, PTSD was associated with separation from immediate family during traumatic experiences, having been a direct victim of violence, and social isolation in the United States. As cited in this study, these levels of distress are consistent with research of youth refugee populations, including a study of Somali minors in Canada. However, variation between studies may be due to differences in trauma and cultural background (Rousseau, M Said et al. 1998, Geltman, Grant-Knight et al. 2005).

Formation of identity and assimilation in new spaces is another challenge for immigrants and refugees. This challenge is particularly interesting for African immigrants because they must reconcile their African heritage with the existing and predominant concepts of race and ethnicity

in America. Elizabeth Chacko's study (2003) of young Ethiopian immigrants in metropolitan Washington, DC illustrates the complexities of identity and assimilation. In Ethiopia, "the taxonomy of populations is based largely on linguistic, religious, and tribal affiliations," creating an interesting juxtaposition with the American idea of race (Chacko 2003). All respondents in Chacko's study reported that they would respond as "Black" if asked about race; however, they found the label of "African American" to be inappropriate since they associated the term with native blacks, descendants of African slaves. In terms of ethnicity, participants in expressed strong pride in Ethiopian heritage and identification with their ethnic community. Overall, Ethiopian youths manage multiple identities to navigate different settings, but their Ethiopian heritage is formative to their sense of identity and immigrant experience. Chacko's findings regarding complications in identity transformation, distancing from American blacks, and pride in national heritage are consistent with other studies of African immigrants (Chacko 2003).

For refugees, refugee status as an additional barrier in identity formation is also important to consider. As a comparison to the previous study of trauma in "Lost Boys," Jay M. Marlowe finds that 'refugeehood' may be a master status that limits resettled Sudanese's ability to form identity beyond this label (2010). The news media's creation of the name, "Lost Boys of Sudan," and sensationalism of their journey alongside academia's focus on trauma contributes to the widespread image of the psychologically damaged refugee. There may be no denying that refugees face incredibly difficult circumstances; however, focus on such hardships rather than the "*ordinary* stories" of their lives may undermine their resilience and ability to move past the prescribed refugee status (Marlowe 2010).

In politics today, immigration is an incredibly controversial and divisive topic. The rhetoric and policies of government often have far reaching consequences that may impact the

day-to-day life of immigrants and refugees. An analysis of the current and previous U.S. presidential administration provides an interesting juxtaposition that demonstrates the opposites in the spectrum of popular opinion regarding immigration. In President Barack Obama's Address to the Nation on Immigration in 2014, he noted the flaws of immigration system of the time, but also regarded immigrants as admirable contributors to American society. To support this point, he invokes examples of immigrant fathers working multiple jobs and a college student working toward a third degree (Obama 2014). In contrast, current President Donald Trump's rhetoric provides quite a different perspective. In one of his most well-known speeches on the campaign trail, he presents a number of issues with illegal immigrants from the U.S.-Mexico border and claims, "The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems" (Trump 2015). Furthermore, in the wake of numerous terrorist attacks around the world, Trump went on to suggest banning Muslim immigration to the United States in general. Through an executive order, a travel ban on multiple predominately Muslim countries – including Sudan (removed since September 2017) and Somalia – actually went into effect (Trump 2017). Furthermore, due to concerns of terrorism, President Trump reduced the intake of refugees from around the world to 45,000 – a sharp cut from the previous ceiling of 110,000 under President Obama (U.S. Department of State 2017). Although such rhetoric and legislation is geared towards illegal immigration from the U.S.-Mexico border, their impact is felt by all migrants, including those from East Africa. In April of 2017, U.S. ICE spokesman, Brendan Raedy stated that 4,801 Somali nationals were ordered for deportation, with 237 removed already, as reported by government-funded Voice of America (Hassan 2017). This is a dramatic and unexpected increase from the 198 Somalis deported in 2016 (U.S. ICE 2016).

Clarkston, GA – "the Ellis Island of the South"

This research project is focused on the Clarkston community, a neighborhood of Atlanta known for its ethnic diversity. This tremendous diversity has garnered national attention from news and media outlets, such as CNN, Time magazine, and the New York Times, and thus, has garnered nicknames such as "the Ellis Island of the South" and "the most diverse square mile in America." This diversity is the result of refugee resettlement programs in the 1990s which identified Clarkston as an ideal resettlement community because of the open housing and rental market and accessibility to the city of Atlanta by public transportation. In the past twenty-five years, over 40,000 refugees have settled in Clarkston, as reported by The Guardian and the UNHCR. These refugees hail from conflicted regions all over the globe, including Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

Such diversity has also received recent negative attention from federal immigration authorities. Consistent with the escalation of activity as described previously, ICE has recently targeted Somali nationals in the Clarkston and surrounding Atlanta area for deportation. According to the Atlanta Journal-Constitution (AJC), the recent arrests alongside President Trump's travel ban has created an atmosphere of hostility and fear in not just the Somali community but much of Clarkston as well (Redmon 2017). This general feeling of paranoia has also been found among participants in this research project and, as will be discussed later, has impacted the study.

The successful refugee relocation program and incredible diversity of the community makes Clarkston a particular site of interest for researchers as well. For anthropologists, this community is important because it represents great multiculturalism and unique interactions between different cultures and ethnic groups. This project hopes to also provide a holistic

analysis of the city of Clarkston, the unique opportunities it offers, and how this community supports diversity and refugee groups.

Well-Being

The study of well-being is important to anthropology because the pursuit of happiness and the 'good life' is central to the human condition. Studying subjective well-being, however, provides numerous challenges in sociocultural anthropology. Anthropologists, however, have considered emotions as "natural and private, and therefore irrelevant to social analysis" (Thin 2009). There has been a focus on studying emotions as socially constructed phenomenon; however, there is a general unwillingness among anthropologists to address subjective experiences of well-being. A common reason for this reluctance is the idea that happiness is so basic and common that it is not worth studying, demonstrating a preference for pathology rather than normality. The study of well-being, however, holds considerable value to anthropology. It is important because well-being is a shared experience across cultures, and thus, is significant for anthropology as a holistic study of human experience. Anthropologist Edward F. Fischer provides an example of such cross-cultural research. His research focuses on two seemingly different groups, middle-class Germans shopping at supermarkets and poor Guatemalan coffee farmers. Through his work, however, he finds common themes, such as future aspirations, self dignity, and life purpose, among these groups that contribute to the framework of subjective well-being (Fischer 2014).

Well-being, as defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), is "Good mental states, including all of the various evaluations, positive and negative, that people make of their lives and the affective reactions of people to their experiences" (2013).

Happiness is often used synonymously for well-being; however, there are different connotations associated with each word. Well-being can be considered as *hedonia*, short-term and emotional pleasure, or as *eudaimonia*, a concept of long-term satisfaction and life fulfillment (Fischer 2014).

Economic measures and material wealth has often been used as an indicator for well-being. Subjective life satisfaction is roughly positively correlated with per capita gross domestic product (GDP); however, more recent research shows there are significant limitations with such associations (Fischer 2014, Graham 2017). An example of such limitations as described by the OECD is significant GDP growth in Tunisia and Egypt in the years preceding 2011 did not predict political strike and dissatisfaction. However, composite measures of subjective well-being and life satisfaction showed steep declines in both countries (2013). This indicates that there may be more occurring in this time period that must be taken into consideration. In this example, such changes in well-being are attributed to the "Arab Spring," the revolutions that occurred in these and other North African and Middle Eastern countries. On the microeconomic level, Carol Graham's "happy peasant and frustrated achiever paradox" further supports the restrictions of material wealth as an measure of well-being (2017). This paradox refers to the trend of the impoverished reporting greater happiness than those with higher incomes that that have recently escaped poverty, who report greater unhappiness and frustration. Graham attributes this to the focus on hedonic short-term well-being among the poor and new expectations and greater long-term life evaluation for those with greater means.

This research project focuses on evaluating the well-being of recently arrived immigrants from the Horn of Africa. A comprehensive analysis of the immigrant experience is developed through semi-structured interviews, structured interviews, and ethnography in the Clarkston

community. This research contributes to existing knowledge in anthropology on both immigration and well-being given the population of interest and the current time period. Refugees from the Horn have endured considerable hardships and also may face difficulty in adjusting and assimilating to life in America; however, current political climate and immigration policies may place even greater burdens on this group of people.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Primary methods utilized in this project are structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation with the Clarkston community. Structured interviews with the East African community involved a questionnaire adopted from a survey utilized in Dr. Little's "Cross-Cultural Insights" study. This survey is based on the "Cantril's Ladder of Life Scale," or also known as the Self-Anchoring Scale. The scale asks respondents to imagine a ladder with the top and tenth rung representing one's most ideal life and the bottom and zeroth rung as the worst possible life to address many life factors. Such factors range from daily affect to long-term life evaluation and include both physical and psychological indicators. The Cantril Scale was purposefully chosen for this thesis research for the following reasons: the survey's extensiveness, comparability, and reliability. As mentioned previously, the scale is both multifaceted and comprehensive to address variability in subjective well-being. Since parts of this survey is also being utilized in Dr. Little's current work in East Africa, there is potential in drawing possible comparisons and conclusions between the two research projects. Furthermore, psychologist Hadley Cantril developed the Self-Anchoring Scale in 1965 and this method is still popular and widely used today (Cantril 1965). This includes the international research group, Gallup's work on well-being and recognition by the OECD (Gallup 2010, OECD 2013). This questionnaire was adopted to measure perceived well-being among migrants from the Horn of Africa and to begin the conversation investigating further into different facets of migrant life. Community partners, well-known and involved with the East African community in Clarkston, assisted in recruitment and snowball sampling for respondents for interviews. Interviews were

conducted in public spaces in Clarkston – most often at the Halal Pizza café owned and frequented by East African refugees.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with these community partners that also served as key informants. The names of informants are intentionally excluded from this paper. These key informants of this project are: a medical doctor (MD) and co-founder of the Clarkston Community Health Center (CCHC) who also serves as a volunteer physician for the clinic, a nurse practitioner at the CCHC, the founder and director of Sagal Radio, a local radio station catered to the African community and general refugee community as a whole, and a Somali business owner, who owns and manages the Halal Pizza café and Hamdi Restaurant. Interviews with key informants served to supplement the community member interviews. Key informant interviews were designed to probe further into the life factors and challenges potentially mentioned by community members and also to discuss aspects that may have been avoided. These factors, such as politics, community issues, and health problems, are more controversial and may not be as readily disclosed as other parts of life. Issues of positionality and with the community, which will be further discussed in the following sections, ultimately led to greater emphasis on key informant interviews in shaping this study. In conjunction with the community interviews, key informants were intended as a means of triangulation to give greater insight into the community and greater depth into this research.

Positionality

I began this project as a college student and general outsider to the Clarkston community, but throughout the course of my research, I have made significant strides in developing rapport. I made initial contacts with the community through two key informants of the community with

whom I eventually became very close. Their role in this project is essential. They provided insight into the community based on their long-term experiences and to introduced me to members of the community as a means of snowball sampling. At the Clarkston Community Health Center, I began serving as a volunteer and helping with patient check-in at the start of this project. Working at the clinic has provided me with great exposure to the community's diversity and also to the nature and challenges of refugee health.

As is almost always the case in anthropological and ethnographical work, my positionality and subjectivity has an influence on the findings of this research. As a foreigner to these ethnic groups, I am treated differently than members within the group or of people established in the community. Through spending great time in the community and participant observation and with the help of my community partners, I have been able to manage this ingroup-outgroup dynamic. A primary objective of this research is to understand the refugee experience through an emic perspective; however, as discussed, it is important to acknowledge my personal positionality.

Research Challenges

All research presents challenges for the researcher; however, this particular community and time period present difficulties that may be notable for researchers interested in studying these populations in the future. I recognized and dealt with research fatigue within this community, language barriers, and current political rhetoric and policy targeting immigrants as challenges to this project. Ultimately, these problems became points of interest in the research process and contributed to the conclusions drawn in this paper.

In one of my initial attempts to connect with the Clarkston community, I reached out to a key informant for help in recruiting respondents for interviews. He quickly informed me that attaining my desired sample size (30) would be quite challenging, especially given my lack of resources and funding. He noted that respondents would expect compensation for their time, suggesting payment or grocery store gift cards as many researchers have provided in the past. This practice, of paying participants, would set an inappropriate precedent for student research in this community. Research fatigue in this population may be a result of Clarkston's reputation for diversity, its proximity to research universities such as Emory University, Georgia State University, and Georgia Institute of Technology, and the involvement of these institutions and their faculty and students in the community. Clarkston has been the subject of many high-profile and national news outlets such as the New York Times, Vice, and Time Magazine, among others, because of its unique degree of diversity and refugee resettlement program. Researchers, especially in anthropology and public health, are interested in Clarkston because of this diversity and the distinctive contexts and challenges created by this cultural mosaic.

Language also proved to be problematic in this study. As previously described, the Horn of Africa is host to numerous languages among different nationalities and ethnicities. I communicated with respondents solely in English. Although my respondents understood English, the depth of their understanding may have had an effect on the responses received in interviews. For example, the survey asks separate questions regarding worry, sadness, depression, and stress, and it may be difficult for a respondent with limited English skills to discern between these emotions. Furthermore, the basis of the Cantril Self-Anchoring Scale is quite abstract since it asks respondents to imagine their lives as on a ladder. Explaining this concept during interviews has oftentimes been difficult and may affect responses received.

Another important challenge during the course of this research was the current political climate. As touched upon previously, the current White House takes a hard stance on immigration. Policy aims and action include greater border security, increased criminal and noncriminal deportation, and bans on Muslim travelers. The increased deportations and scrutiny and rhetoric regarding Muslims is of particular concern to the Clarkston community. The arrests and potential deportations occur in the communities that migrants have made their homes and during everyday circumstances, such as routine traffic stops, in the work place, or even when dropping off children at school. Often times, due to many years of residence in America and complexity of immigration law, migrants may be unaware of their own legal status. Such politics and uncertainty create a collective fear of outsiders and of the unknown.

My time and experiences in Clarkston has shown to me that this is a friendly and welcoming community; however, there also exists a pervasive, but well-founded, suspicion of foreigners and law enforcement. This phenomenon was explained to me by one of my informants, Assefa (a pseudonym), an Ethiopian refugee living in Clarkston for almost twenty years, during my field research at the café. I sat across from Assefa in a booth at the crowded café and after introducing myself, we conversed about the news program playing on one of the many television screens mounted to the walls. He translated the Arabic of the Al Jazeera newscaster to me and informed me of the protests occurring in Muslim countries because of President Trump's recent recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. After further discussion about the news and also our personal backgrounds, I explained to him my research project and interest in the East African community. In response, he expressed interest in my work but mentioned that my research may be difficult. He told me, "People are always willing to talk; but when you start bringing out papers and writing…they get paranoid." I experienced this friendly

but hesitant dynamic in the majority of my interactions with community members. I would have great conversations on topics such as work, food, and soccer. However, when bringing up my research and survey or probing into feelings on immigration and national politics, respondents demonstrated a clear disinterest.

This experience may potentially be interpreted as an issue of rapport or interviewer bias, and although this possibly exists, the issue of current politics and policy must also be considered. There are many definitions for the concept of "vulnerable populations;" however, almost all ethical guidelines agree that it represents a "disadvantaged sub-segment of the community" and includes racial minorities (Shivayogi 2013). The refugee community falls under this categorization, but evidently, the current time period contributes to a heightened degree of vulnerability to these people. Researchers interested in studying the Clarkston community or similarly diverse populations must be cognizant of their challenges and vulnerabilities and must keep such sensitivities central in the research process. Although the "Trump era" presents exceptional challenges, this time period is an especially important time for such research. For these communities, this may be a time of fear, change, and challenges. The role of the social-minded researcher should be to learn of such potential struggles, present them to a greater audience, and to contribute to their awareness and resolution, with respect to the community.

CHAPTER THREE: FINDINGS

The Cantril questionnaire received surprisingly high responses for almost all questions asked. The survey, however, did not yield as much discussion with community members as initially hoped. Key informant interviews and observations in Clarkston help to fill this gap in discussion and to provide greater depth and insight to the community of interest. These discussions focused on the role of the key informant in the community, their work and experiences, and potential challenges for immigrants and refugees.

*Community Interview*s

As mentioned previously, challenges in the interview process proved to be much greater than initially thought. In total, I surveyed and interviewed seven members of the East African community. All of these respondents are male refugees in their mid-20s to 40s and were relocated to Clarkston from the Horn of Africa. Two of these interviews are not included in this analysis due to the extent of language barrier impacting the quality of responses and their lack of understanding of questions. The issue and topic of language barrier will be further discussed in later sections. Although this data may lack statistical significance, there are important aspects of this community demonstrated by this study. Furthermore, the findings may be especially significant for the demographic of this sample and may speak to the lived experiences of young adult male refugees from the Horn region. Daniel Thompson, a doctoral student in Emory University's Anthropology department who works with Dr. Little, has also conducted research in the Clarkston community. His well-being interviews from Clarkston, initially intended as part of the "Cross-Cultural Insight" study, will also be presented and analyzed alongside this thesis research. The addition of this supplemental data will hopefully provide a more comprehensive

description of the community and also add to the reliability and validity of this study. Overall, responses received on well-being criteria are generally strongly positive across nearly all indices. Thompson's data also shows indicators of positive well-being and is in agreement with these findings. Greater depth into survey topics and on life challenges was attained through further probing of responses.

Community interviews began with basic questions about their background, experiences from their country of origin, and general feelings about their community. The majority of respondents hailed from prominent cities of Ethiopia and Somalia; however, a refugee from Sudan is also included in this sample. This individual was introduced to me as one of the "Lost Boys." All respondents identified themselves as refugees, arrived in the United States within the past ten years. As is often the case with refugees, they did not get to choose their final destination of relocation. A Somali respondent described that he was first a refugee in Malaysia and then, they "took them here" – referring to a resettlement agency relocating him to Clarkston. In terms of education level, responses varied between "high school graduate" and "attended some college." On employment, most respondents did not speak of having an occupation in their home country as compared to current low-wage occupations in construction and Georgia's poultry processing plants known as "chicken factories." Respondents reported a general satisfaction when asked about their expectations of the United States; however, respondents did not express strong ties to neighbors or their community. These life factors, such as education, employment, social groups and community, will be further discussed and analyzed in later sections.

The first segment of the Well-Being assessment based on the Cantril Self-Anchoring Scale asks respondents "Life Evaluation Questions." The purpose of this section is to address perceptions of *eudaimonia*, long term and persistent subjective experiences of well-being.

Overall, subjects expressed strong satisfaction in their responses to these questions. No responses to any of the questions (numbers 1-13) fell below seven on the zero to ten ladder scale.

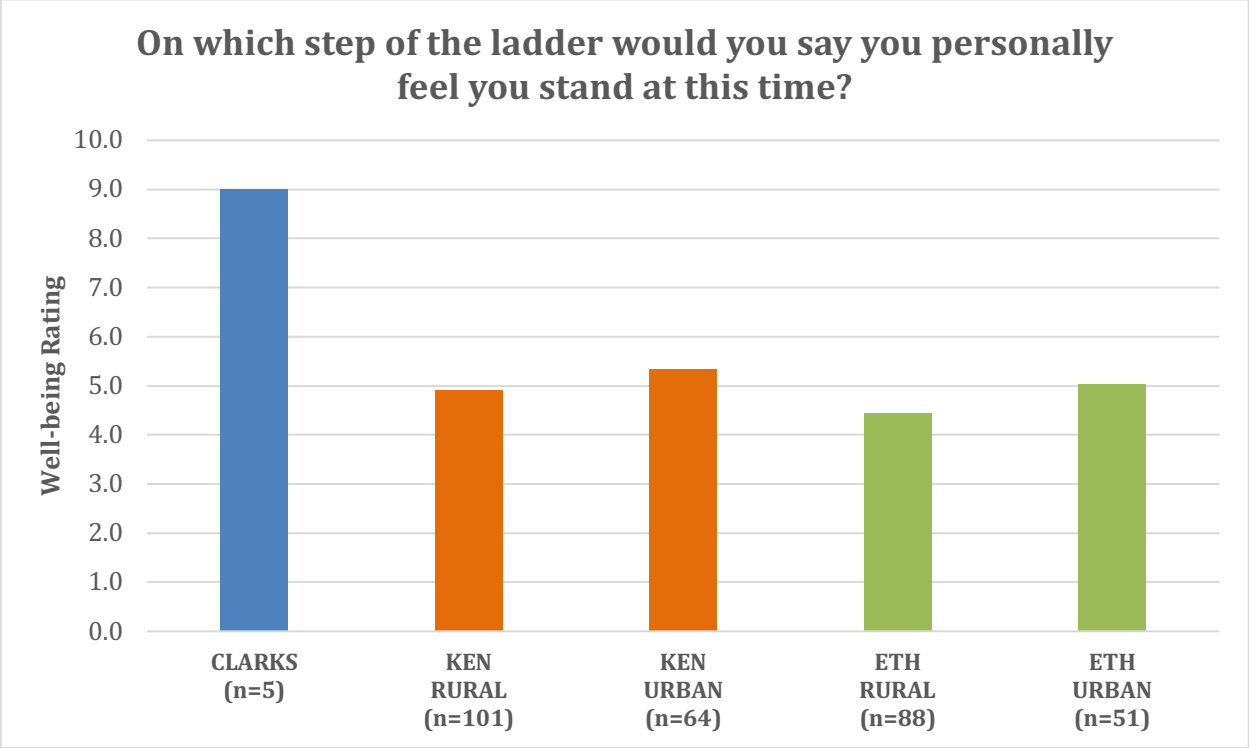
Table 1. Perceptions of Well-being and the Future

Scale of 0 to 10, with 10 being the best possible life and life satisfaction, and 0 being the worst:	**CLARKS (n=5)**	**KEN RURAL (n=101)**	**KEN URBAN (n=64)**	**ETH RURAL (n=88)**	**ETH URBAN (n=51)**
On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?	9.0	4.91	5.34	4.45	5.04
Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?	8.0	5.87	6.63	5.32	6.04
Overall, how satisfied with you life were you 5 years ago?	7.8	4.16	3.84	5.79	5.02
Scale of 0 to 10 for following statements, with 10 being completely agree with the statement, and 0 being completely disagree:					
In general, I feel very positive about myself.	8.0	6.64	7.28	8.03	7.88
I'm always optimistic about my future.	7.4	7.02	7.61	7.63	8.31
I am free to decide for myself how to live my life.	8.6	6.49	6.73	7.63	7.75
I generally feel that what I do in my life is worthwhile.	7.6	5.77	6.31	7.30	7.96
Most days I get a sense of accomplishment from what I do.	7.6	5.21	5.87	6.72	6.69
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	8.2	5.01	5.83	6.08	5.76
The conditions of my life are excellent.	8.6	4.21	5.72	6.19	6.24
I am satisfied with my life.	8.6	5.04	5.27	6.32	6.37
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	7.4	4.37	4.52	5.11	5.33
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	8.6	4.04	4.52	5.84	3.51

This table shows average responses received from interviews for questions #1-13. "KEN" and "ETH" represent Kenya and Ethiopia, respectively, and the values included here are from Dr. Peter Little's preliminary data and analysis from the CIWEA study (Little, Risjord et al. 2018). Note that this data was collected through random sampling and represents a more diverse demographic in terms of age and gender. Evidently, responses from these questions for the

Clarkston group are high, especially when compared to average values for some of the questions from the Ethiopia and Kenya groups. Most average values of the Clarkston group are considerably greater than the other samples, indicating a greater sense of life satisfaction for refugees. Average responses for the questions on feelings of positive about self, optimism about the future, and worthwhileness of life, however, are more similar between groups. In the Kenya and Ethiopia groups, it appears that these questions received higher responses than other questions and thus, are closer in value to the Clarkston sample.

Figure 1. General Rating of Subjective Well-Being



The above figure shows the average responses to the first question of the questionnaire, which asks respondents how they would rate themselves on a ladder from one to ten at the current time. These values can also be found in the first row of Table 1., but this figure may help in visualizing the difference in average values between the groups.

The second part of the questionnaire focuses on "Happiness and Well-Being." Respondents are asked to reflect on their emotional experiences from the previous day. Zero on this scale represents no experience of such emotion and ten denotes that this emotion was experienced "all of the time." In comparison with the previous section, the "Happiness and Well-Being" assessment targets feelings of *hedonia*, transient emotional pleasure. Questions in this section address emotions across the spectrum of *hedonia*. For simplicity, these emotions will be grouped in the following manner: positive feelings – enjoyment, calm, happiness, smiling and laughing, and negative feelings – worry, sadness, depression, anger, stress (anxiety), and tiredness; however, any deviations within these groupings will be addressed accordingly. Again, in accordance with the "Life Evaluation" questions, positive feelings rated very highly among all respondents. Average values for all positive feelings within this group except for "23. Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday?" rated above seven. Question 23 rated closer to five and garnered responses below five, unlike other questions in this group. More variation among average responses is found in the negative emotion group. Sadness, depression, anger, and stress ranked generally low – below three. Feelings of tiredness and worry rated slightly higher among respondents – closer to four. These questions (16 and 22) also brought up some discussion regarding employment. This topic and theme will be further discussed and expanded upon in following chapters.

The next two sections following "Happiness and Well-being" are the "Positive Experience Index" and "Negative Experience Index." Similar to the previous section, these Indexes inquire about the previous day's experiences with five questions each but are slightly more specific. Furthermore, these two sections, and the next and last section, use a binary scale of 1, indicating "Yes", and 2, indicating "No." For questions 24, 25, and 28, which address being

well-rested, respect, and enjoyment, almost all participants responded with 1. For 26, which repeats the question on smiling or laughing from the previous question, three out of five responded with 1, one individual responded 2, and one individual abstained. Question 27 asks respondents, "Did you learn or do something interesting yesterday?" In response, four out of five participants responded yes and one of these respondents indicated that he was currently enrolled in classes at a local community college. The "Negative Experience Index," as indicative by the section's title, covers negative emotions and events experienced during a significant portion of the previous day. These emotions include physical pain, worry, sadness, stress, and anger. A strong majority (four or more of participants) of responses to this question set responded with "2," indicating that they did not experience such emotion during "a lot of the day."

The last section of the Well-Being Assessment is "Perceptions of Capabilities" which assesses the role of health problems, hard work, and general sense of freedom using the same 1-2 binary scale from the previous sections. The purpose of this section is a basic evaluation of the sense of agency among individuals in this community, which will thus hopefully provide insight to the entire community as a whole. Responses to this set of questions were again, very positive. The majority of respondents answered positively – responding "2," no, to having health problems hindering normal activities, and "1," yes, to believing in the importance of hard work and in satisfaction with amount of freedom in life.

Following the Well-Being Assessment, I asked respondents a series of three open-ended questions regarding the role of health in wellbeing. These questions were included to hopefully gain greater insight to how health contributes to the overall framework of wellbeing and to inquire further into the health experiences and challenges in this community. These questions did not prompt as much discussion as was initially hoped. However, responses shed light on the

health realities that refugees may face. The first question asks, “Is it possible to have well-being without health?” All respondents answered that it is not possible, and one respondent mentioned that these two concepts are really the same thing. As a follow-up question to the first and to probe further into this significance, I asked participants to compare the importance of health to other factors such as income, education, or community, in contributing to well-being. Responses all emphasized that health is one of the most important, if not the most important, aspect of well-being. Other possible contributors were not mentioned in discussion. The last question in this interview asks participants about the kinds of health challenges that they encounter. Responses to this question were limited to most respondents saying that they currently did not encounter significant challenges; however, one mentioned a work-related injury in the chicken factory. Through further probing and discussion, most respondents suggested that they felt they are generally in good health and have no notable health complaints. One respondent also mentioned that throughout his four years in the United States, he has only seen a doctor once but considered himself in fine health. Furthermore, he mentioned that he has health insurance, provided by the construction company he works for. Although further research on this topic must be done to make a substantial claim, health insurance may be an important and desired asset to this community. During the beginning stages of my research, my key community partner would introduce me to patrons in his café and begin the conversation by asking individuals if they have health insurance. This question would spark interest in my respondents. Oftentimes, individuals asked me I was giving away health insurance or if I was helping people get insurance. Clearly this is a misinterpretation of my project and purposes; however, these interactions are interesting as a social phenomenon that can teach us about the community. I would respond to their questions by explaining that although I was not providing such a service, I am very interested in

their health. I then would clarify that I am a research student from Emory University interested in well-being and that my project and findings would hopefully be important and beneficial to their community and future refugees. In response, however, most individuals showed a clear decline in interest and chose not to participate when asked. From these interactions, however, I learned that most of the people I was introduced to did not have health insurance, and for those that had insurance, it was provided by their employment.

As mentioned previously, data from well-being interviews conducted by Daniel Thompson are presented to supplement the findings of this project. These interviews utilize a "Perceptions of Well-Being" survey targeting the East African community. His interview protocol is very similar to the Cantril questionnaire but with some notable differences. This survey uses a response range of 1-5, with "1" indicating greatest satisfaction or importance and "2 (or "5")" indicating the least and also options for "don't know" or "no opinion" as possible responses. The initial purpose of this survey is to serve as a comparison and reference for data collected in South Wollo, Ethiopia and Baringo, Kenya in the CIWEA project; however, alongside this thesis research, Thompson's work can also serve as a point of comparison and test of reliability. Overall, responses to measures of wellbeing are generally positive, as is found in the thesis research. However, the nuances and variation from Thompson's interviews contribute a different perspective to this project.

In terms of demographic, the CIWEA interviews are notably more diverse. Four participants are included in this data and are ages twenty-three, fifty-five, sixty-one, and eighty-eight years old. All participants came to the United States and Atlanta within the past ten years. The oldest participant of this set of interviews is also female. Two individuals in this set hold

post-graduate degrees, although one of these individuals is unemployed and the other works as a cashier and in auto repair.

The first set of questions in this survey on "Perceptions of Well-Being" asks respondents to rate their satisfaction in various life factors on the 1-5 scale. The factors of standard of living, health, personal relationships, feelings of safety, community, and future happiness, were strongly positive. In each of these categories, three out of four participants responded with "1" for complete satisfaction and no responses were below "3," a neutral response. The only score below "3" in this series came from the question regarding satisfaction in current livelihood or job, in which the unemployed respondent rated "5," for not at all satisfied – which is unsurprising given his situation.

Table 2. Perceptions of Well-Being Data from the CIWEA Study

How satisfied are you with… (scale 1-lowest, to 5-highest)	**CLARKS (n=4)**	**KEN RURAL (n=100)**	**KEN URBAN (n=27)**	**ETH RURAL (n=88)**	**ETH URBAN (n=33)**
Your standard of living?	4.8	2.79	4.19	3.57	3.24
Your health?	4.5	3.74	4.81	3.77	4.69
Your personal relationships?	5.0	4.08	4.85	4.39	4.58
How safe you feel?	4.5	3.13	4.78	4.02	3.64
Feeling part of your new community?	5.0	4.18	4.22	4.23	4.0
Your future well-being and happiness?	4.5	4.29	4.67	3.85	4.15
The amount of time you have to do the things you like doing?	4.0	4.15	4.15	3.86	4.21
Your current livelihood or job?	3.5	3.37	3.96	4.0	3.82
ALL	4.5	3.72	4.45	3.96	4.04

The above table is created from data collected for the CIWEA study from Daniel Thompson and Dr. Peter Little and as mentioned previously, is a more inclusive and diverse sample (Little and Thompson 2017, Little, Risjord et al. 2018). The data represents average values from responses received for each question. Although the sample size for the Clarkston interviews is small, the

data suggests a high level of satisfaction with the life factors described and is consistent with the thesis data. Furthermore, there is also a notable difference in responses between the Clarkston sample and the Kenya and Ethiopia groups. The Clarkston sample has a considerably higher level of well-being compared to the other groups for many topics covered.

The last question in this series is open-ended and asks participants to describe their general sense of well-being and life satisfaction in the present moment. One individual did not respond, but all other participants responded positively, indicating substantial life satisfaction. Two individuals mentioned the importance and contribution of religion to their sense of wellbeing. They allude to the importance of prayer and thanking God for everything. Religion as a contributor to subjective well-being is a well-studied relationship, and the role of faith in this community will be further analyzed in the next chapters.

The next series of questions asks participants to rate various items with the 1-5 scale based on their perceived importance to overall well-being. This set of twenty questions (#10-30) will not be discussed as extensively because of the section's length and also because one respondent chose not to continue the survey and the variation in responses from the remaining three individuals. In this set, one respondent chose "1" for all twenty items, indicating that all mentioned factors are of great importance or essential to well-being. Only one individual provided responses greater than "3." It may be of interest to note that this is the unemployed participant and his responses greater than "3" were to socially related items, such as helping home community, participating in traditional ceremonies, and social networks or activities.

Similar to the last set of questions, not all participants responded to every question for the remainder of the questionnaire – with some questions answered by only one of four individuals. Thus, only select questions that may be of particular significance or interest will be further

discussed. Question #31 begins a series of open response questions, asking about how participants would describe a wealthy person. All respondents interpreted this question in the economic sense of wealth and the majority mentioned owning a house and a car as indicators of wealth. In response to question #34 on why some individuals are wealthy, respondents mentioned hard work, education, limited job opportunities, and government connections in their responses. In comparison to such responses focused on monetary wealth, question #49, which asks about meaningful and fulfilling livelihoods, prompted more philanthropic aspirations. The question asks what type of livelihood would be most meaningful or provide greatest self-esteem, drawing responses about serving and providing for the community. One respondent indicated that working in education would be personally meaningful, mentioning that "a teacher is poor, but he has a sense of humanitarianism." Question #52 further expands upon ideas of intangible values – asking respondents what kind of social or non-material assets are necessary to sustain well-being. Responses to this question emphasized the importance of social capital necessary in the acculturation process for immigrants and refugees. This is clearly demonstrated by one individual that noted integration into American society as very important to well-being. Responses also note the need for a network of friends for at least two purposes: to help navigate the job market and for social support and companionship.

The limited sample of participants presents some constraints to the possible conclusions drawn from this research. However, as is evident, this work is important in providing a snapshot of the community and beginning the conversation of East African immigrants and well-being. Although the limitations presented considerable difficulties, the challenges encountered throughout the research may be equally as influential as the conception of the research question in the shaping of this thesis. The research process, as is oftentimes the case in anthropological

field work, has been reactionary in response to the challenges of this project. Interviews with key informants were designed with these challenges in mind to hopefully gain a greater perspective on the community, to provide greater depth to this research, and to discuss important topics that may have been missed in the community interviews.

Key Informant Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with key informants feature a series of open-ended questions to guide and fuel the discussion about the Clarkston community. Interviews began with basic questions regarding their work in Clarkston, time spent in the community, and experiences and involvement. Following these initial questions, I asked informants about what they feel are the challenges that this community faces, changes in their experiences working with migrants and refugees, and their perceived effect of the political climate. Several of the themes mentioned in the community interviews, such as acculturation and employment difficulties, are also echoed in discussions with key informants. These interviews also provide new elaboration into concepts such as health challenges and the impacts of current politics. In essence, key informants provide support to the data gathered from previous interviews but also raise further questions regarding the complexity of this community.

The key informants from the Clarkston Community Health Center – the physician and nurse practitioner (NP) – spoke of their experiences working with the community and the health issues they commonly see at the clinic. An important point raised through these discussions is the difficulty of life adjustment when resettled to the United States. Pre-existing medical conditions which may be exacerbated by an individual's current issues and lifestyle can result in aggravated conditions often seen at the CCHC. The clinic plays an important role in serving this community,

as is evident by the care they provide, the steady and increasing volume of patients, and the repeat and regular patients seeking care. On Sundays, the CCHC has open walk-in hours and takes any patient that qualifies as uninsured and low-income. Every Sunday, even before the clinic opens at 9:00AM, there is often a line of patients waiting to receive medical and dental care. Furthermore, there has not been a noticeable effect from politics on the work of the clinic. The medical doctor notes, "We have not seen a difference in the volume of patients. The clinic is just as busy." This lack of effect on the CCHC speaks to the importance of the services they offer and a proven culture of trust between providers and patients. In describing this relationship, the NP says, "We're fortunate there's a strong level of trust established here." The case of undocumented patients is an example of this confidence. On undocumented immigrants, the physician affirms, "We know they are undocumented, but we don't make it an issue. We know they are [undocumented]. We don't publish it, we don't harass them." As should be the case in providing care, politics are an issue left untouched. In summary, the NP maintains, "We don't get into the politics with the patients or even amongst ourselves as a clinic. We're here [and] we want to provide the best care that we can."

In contrast, the interview with the founder and director of Sagal Radio essentially revolved around political issues and their effect on the East African community. As a migrant from Ethiopia himself, the director founded Sagal Radio in the late 1990's with the purpose of helping and guiding the thousands of new African refugees arriving to Atlanta and to ultimately provide the community with a voice. As the refugee community of Atlanta has grown and diversified, so too has the services of the radio station. Sagal began with Somali, Oromo, and Arabic broadcasting but recently expanded to include Bhutanese, Nepali, and Burmese programs. The Sagal website also includes guides and resources for nearly every step in adjusting to

American life. These include links for information on childcare, education, finance, social security, arts, and much more. In addition to the radio station, the director has been involved in numerous community initiatives, partnerships, and advisory boards focused on refugee adjustment and health.

The current time period, however, presents novel challenges that are unlike anything that the director has seen in his years working with the community. He attributes these changes to the current president and White House administration. Specifically, he notes many of the current immigration issues discussed in the introduction, including the cut in refugee intake, restrictions on people of Muslim faith, and the escalation of migrant deportations. In Clarkston and nearby refugee communities, the director claims, "People are really being terrorized, and [they] have never been terrorized before." To support this claim, he shared recent examples of ICE involvement in the area. One of which was an ICE roadblock in the neighboring town of Stone Mountain, which is also home to a large number of resettled refugees. Furthermore, ICE officers also entered gas stations and approached groups of people looking for work, interrogating them and asking for proper government identification, and sometimes even resulting in arrests. This example is similar to the accounts reported by the Atlanta Journal Constitution's article on ICE raids and immigration arrests in Atlanta (Redmon 2017).

We also discussed the incident of the failed deportation of 92 Somalis that were eventually re-routed to a detention center in Miami. This is a case that has garnered national attention but also has a strong impact on the local Clarkston community. As reported by most major news outlets, the deportees faced gross and appalling conditions like being shackled to their seats, lack of access to adequate restrooms, and physical and verbal abuse by ICE officers (Al Jazeera News 2017, Fortin 2017, Hansler and Tatum 2017). The plane set out for

Mogadishu, Somalia in early December but never reached its final destination. After reaching Dakar, Senegal, the plane sat on the runway for almost twenty-four hours, with the deportees still on board, and then returned to the United States. This change in plans was apparently due to logistical issues with the hotel in Dakar and the flight crew not getting adequate rest. The ethical considerations of deportee safety in Somalia in general is also a concern. Many of the deportees have not returned to their home country since leaving many years ago and furthermore, if deported, their lives may be in danger due to the activity of militant groups in the country like al-Shabab (Al Jazeera News 2017, Fortin 2017, Hansler and Tatum 2017). The Sagal Radio director, and also as reported by the Atlanta Journal Constitution, say that eight to ten of these deportees are from the local area (Redmon 2017). Evidently, such a high-profile example is well-known and the topic of much discussion in Atlanta refugee communities.

The effects of ICE presence in Clarkston and refugee communities are pervasive. As mentioned previously, there is an atmosphere of fear and paranoia. Contributors to this impression include the unpredictability of ICE raids and the stories and rumors of people picked up for deportation. Another example shared by the director is about a father going to pick up his children from school but is unexpectedly accosted by ICE for deportation. Regarding this example, he says, “the story comes around and this will affect you,” in terms of the story spreading throughout the community. Furthermore, many people in these communities have been in the United States for twenty years or more and may be unware of their legal status or may not know how the immigration system works. On this issue and to epitomize the general feeling of paranoia, the director says, “People don’t have freedom like they used to, like a free, American country. People in their home do not really know what’s going to happen that day.”

The Sagal Radio director also claims that there is a noticeable effect from escalated ICE presence in the local economy. On these communities impacted, he says, "It affects their business. It affects their daily living." Shop keepers and business owners at Campus Plaza, also commonly known as Somali Plaza or Little Somalia, typically avoided talking about politics but many agreed on a perceived negative effect on their business when asked. The stores in this shopping center are mostly owned and operated by African migrants. They sell traditional foods, clothing, and provide services catered to the African community, but they also serve the city of Clarkston as a whole. In essence, the director says that the effect of ICE and the general paranoia are that "it puts the economy down…the business in some shopping areas are down – people don't go shop like they used to."

When confronted with such adversity, how do people cope and what can they do about such issues? My key informant pointed to religion and political activism. The role and power of religion was expressed by numerous individuals throughout this research process and will be briefly touched upon here but fully explored in the next section. Individuals in this study either reported as following Islamic or Christian faith. A strong sense of faith may help in dealing with the conflicts previously discussed, and on this topic, the radio director says, "No matter what's going on right now in our country, the United States, there is still this freedom that protects you." He also suggests becoming politically involved as a course of action in confronting adversity. Specifically, the director says that individuals in the community should "write to their representatives, senators, elected officers…tell them your feelings. These people fight for you and work for you." He expresses confidence in the political system and in taking action, and feels that refugees or immigrants in his community partake in such efforts.

CHAPTER FOUR: IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY AND ITS FINDINGS

In this section, aspects of wellbeing previously raised will be discussed and analyzed in greater detail. Reported subjective well-being from participants of both this research and Daniel Thompson's work are surprisingly high given the known challenges of refugee resettlement. This discussion will be aimed to address 1) why individuals in this community report strong positive well-being even during a time of perceived risk or persecution, and 2) how is the city of Clarkston unique, and 3) how does the community contribute to this positive perception of well-being? A holistic image of the East African refugee experience will hopefully be established through the analysis of community and key informant interviews and assessment of the environment and resources provided by Clarkston. Although further research must be done on the aspects of Clarkston described below, these components may be important factors in the discussion of the lived experiences of individuals from this community and their subjective well-being.

Politics of Clarkston

The city of Clarkston is well-known for its refugee resettlement program and ethnic diversity. Unlike some of the positions and policies taken by the current presidential administration, the government and city council of Clarkston takes a favorable position toward its refugee community. The city strives to adequately represent and protect its diverse community, and this stance may sometimes be at odds with that of the current president's. This support may be important in creating a sense of respect and belonging for this city's ethnic groups and thus, contribute to perceived well-being.

The current mayor of Clarkston is Edward "Ted" Terry and at thirty-two years old, is the youngest mayor in this city's history. His progressive views and policies include raising the minimum wage of city employees to $15 per hour and decriminalizing simple marijuana possession. Mayor Terry's experience with refugees include his work with the Global Village Project, an initiative to support refugee girls who may have experienced educational gaps in their resettlement process. Terry often speaks about Clarkston's refugees and diversity with great pride. In an interview with The Guardian, Mayor Terry says, "My goal with Clarkston is to showcase [its diverse refugee community]" while also describing the community as "compassionate" and "welcoming" (Long 2017). In another interview with National Public Radio's (NPR) local Atlanta Radio Station (WABE), he speaks about Clarkston's refugees with the highest of praise. He says, "If you meet a refugee, you'll recognize them to be some of the most peaceful and kind-hearted and resilient people you'll ever meet. I'm very, very proud to call them my friends and neighbors, and I think they have contributed a lot to Clarkston and certainly to America" (Terry 2017).

On immigrant and refugee policy, Terry's views go against the positions taken by President Trump and Georgia's governor, Nathan Deal. After the terrorist attacks in Paris in November of 2015, Governor Deal issued an executive order to prevent resettlement of Syrian refugees to Georgia and wrote a letter to President Obama urging him to take similar action on a national level (Deal 2015). In response, Mayor Terry affirmed Clarkston's willingness to accept refugees and called for greater compassion and humanitarian efforts (Harris 2015). On the recent arrests and deportations, Clarkston's city council voted to prevent detention of individuals at the request of ICE without a judicial warrant through a "Non-Detainer Policy" (Clarkston City

Council 2017). This policy serves to limit cooperation with ICE officers and thus, goes against President Trump's policies and represents support and solidarity with the migrant community.

For a city characterized by diversity, Clarkston's city council is also quite ethnically diverse. It may be interesting and important in this study to note that two members of the council also hail from Horn of Africa countries. Councilman Awet Eyasu is an immigrant from Eritrea and councilman Ahmed Hassan is a refugee from Somalia. Eyasu and Hassan have particular ties to the community of interest in this research project and have also spoken on Sagal Radio's programs regarding their experiences, involvement, and work with the city.

This discussion of politics is relevant given the considerable existing body of research and evidence that relates political involvement and effective governance with well-being (Sanders 2001, Helliwell and Huang 2008, OECD 2017). Government plays an essential role in helping to shape the lives of their constituents through maintaining basic rights and order and enabling their constituents by providing conditions that support economic success and social development (OECD 2017). The case of this refugee community is particularly interesting because of the potentially conflicting objectives of the presidential administration versus the local government. The OECD points to the domains of principles (political participation, democracy quality, and representation), processes (the work of public institutions, stakeholder engagement, and possible corruption), and outcomes (satisfaction, political efficacy, and trust) as important components of governance that contribute to well-being (2017). Further research on these domains in this refugee community is necessary to establish more comprehensive relationships regarding politics and well-being. The research generated in this thesis, however, touches upon some of these domains and is important to consider. Political participation, in the form of voting or writing to elected officers, may be important in this community as suggested

by the Sagal Radio director. Furthermore, research suggests that political participation in itself contributes to well-being and alleviating psychological distress (Sanders 2001). In terms of representation and trust, the presidential administration juxtaposed with the local Clarkston government may represent a dichotomy for refugees. Clarkston's city council, as previously described, includes immigrants, minorities, and refugees and shows strong support for such communities. President Trump's administration may be viewed by these groups as particularly unrepresentative and threatening.

Social Spheres

Social support, defined as "various forms of aid and assistance supplied by family members, friends, neighbors, and others" is essential in refugee and immigrant resettlement because it helps to ease the adjustment and acculturation process (Barrera, Sandler et al. 1981). Furthermore, there is a strong body of research on the association of social support and subjective well-being. Clarkston contributes to the social spheres of immigrants and refugees through the numerous agencies and resources for immigrants and the large and existing immigrant community that has grown exponentially since the implementation of resettlement programs in the 1990s.

As a result of the resettlement programs and great diversity of this community, there is an abundance of immigrant resources available in Clarkston. This includes non-profit agencies such as Friends of Refugees, New American Pathways, and the Clarkston Community Center that provide services such as English and acculturation classes, employment referrals, and legal guidance. It is outside of the scope of this research to assess whether the refugee community takes advantage of these opportunities, however, it is still important to note that there are many

resources available. Such agencies form a support network that may help to fill potential gaps in acculturation and services left after the initial period of resettlement.

Another aspect of Clarkston that may be even more important that non-profit agencies is the existence of such a large and prosperous immigrant community itself. Refugee resettlement placement is based primarily on the residence of family members or pre-existing ethnic presence, and secondarily on other factors such as affordability, employment opportunities, and community receptivity (Singer and Wilson 2006). As was previously described, Atlanta, Georgia is an area of popular resettlement for Horn refugees. Nine percent of all Somali refugees and six percent of all Ethiopian refugees coming into the United States between 1983 and 2004 were relocated to Atlanta, Georgia (Singer and Wilson 2006). Furthermore, according to these statistics, Atlanta ranks among the top five metropolitan areas in the United States for refugee resettlement from these two countries (Singer and Wilson 2006). A pre-existing community is important because it provides familiarity and support in what is oftentimes a very difficult adjustment process.

A specific example of this social support at work in Clarkston is found in the businesses of Campus Plaza. As mentioned previously, nearly all of the businesses in the plaza are Somali owned and cater to the East African community. The shops and services include Halal foods and supermarkets, tax and money transfer services, and traditional Somali clothing. The importance of this shopping district to the community, however, exceeds just the commerce or economic value. This area can be described, according to Elizabeth Chacko, as an *ethnic sociocommerscape*, defined as "areas with concentrations of ethnic businesses that provide not only goods and services but also meeting spaces for the community" (2003, p. 29). This is particularly evident in the Halal Pizza café and Hamdi restaurant. At Halal Pizza, where a

significant amount of time was spent speaking to community members and doing ethnography, the store is almost always busy with customers. The restaurant serves typical American foods like pizza and burgers and also traditional Somali cuisine such as sambusa – fried pastries stuffed with beef, fish, or other filling – and malawah, sweet pancakes similar to crepes. Patrons of the café are mostly young to middle-aged East African men, but the restaurant is also frequented by Americans and other immigrant groups. Interestingly, most of the patrons just order something small or do not make a purchase at all but spend considerable time seated at the booths watching soccer games or the news and conversing in Somali, Amharic, or other native languages. Topics of discussion, as explained by the business owner, are most typically about whatever is on the television – the soccer games or current news – or about gossip or work. The Hamdi Restaurant serves a similar role but caters to an older demographic. The owner of the restaurant is a popular member of the community and is known by almost all of the customers that frequent his restaurants. He can often be seen walking around the plaza, checking up on his businesses, and he is often stopped or greeted by customers to talk about life or about business opportunities.

Evidently, Campus Plaza and its stores are more than just businesses in a shopping center – they represent meeting spaces for the East African community. Along with the exchange of goods and services in these businesses is the exchange of ideas and social and cultural capital. For members of the East African community, these spaces help to both maintaining their cultural identity and in adjusting to American life. The familiarity provided by the plaza in the form of similar people from similar backgrounds, native language, and traditional foods creates this community space that is incredibly important to immigrants and refugees.

The Impact of Wealth

Current literature suggests a modest link between income and well-being with significant limitations (Diener, Suh et al. 1999, Graham 2017). Existing data suggests that there is not a causal association between income and subjective well-being and thus, the relationship appears to be much more complex and further research is necessary. Furthermore, greater research must be done in Clarkston to assess the economic realities faced by individuals and the potential influence on well-being. With that in mind, however, the interviews and ethnography conducted in Clarkston has provided insight into the community on this topic that may be important to consider.

All community respondents interviewed in this study reported that they are employed in low-paying and or labor-intensive occupations, such as in construction, the "chicken farms," and taxi-driving. Although these jobs may be typically viewed as undesirable, respondents generally reported a high degree of well-being. This finding presents the interesting challenge of interpreting and reconciling the juxtaposition between undesirable employment and low income with positive well-being. Graham's "happy peasant and frustrated achiever" paradox may be useful to consider, but there are limitations with this model in this context (Graham 2017). This paradox suggests that those who are poorer may find greater value in non-income contributors to well-being, which could potentially apply in this community. However, the frustrated achiever component of this theory, which links gains in income, mobility, and agency to frustration, may not be applicable. Given that this research sample primarily consists of refugees, it is important to note that the resettlement process may result in increased mobility and agency as compared to past hardship or trauma. Another consideration, which is also a potential focus of the CIWEA study, is the concept of relative poverty, defined by comparison with others, versus absolute

poverty, as determined by a standard level of poverty. Literature suggests that relative income and poverty may play a role in determining well-being but this is still an area in need of further research (McBride 2001, Tella and MacCulloch 2006). The city of Clarkston has a considerably high poverty rate of 36%, and thus, this research sample may be considered more well-off through a relative perspective than under absolute poverty.

Community Health

Health and well-being are terms often used interchangeably. Well-being in the context of this paper is more holistic than just physical or mental health; however, all of these concepts are clearly linked and important to one another. Discussions on health with community members generated primarily positive responses and no clear outstanding health concerns, however, key-informant interviews with providers raised issues on refugee health that are important to consider.

Question #34 in the community interview guide asks respondents, "Do you have a health problem(s) preventing you from doing things that other people your age normally do?" with possible answers of "1 - Yes" or "2 – No." All respondents to this question responded with "2," indicating no clear health problems disturbing normal life activities. Other questions in the survey that target health-related areas, such as #29 on pain and #31 through #33 addressing negative emotional experiences, received strong positive responses that align with positive health. Furthermore, as was briefly mentioned previously, the majority of respondents reported that they felt they are in good health and experience no current challenges to health.

In comparison, key informant interviews with the MD and NP of the CCHC focused on how their work with immigrant and refugee communities is particularly complex and the health

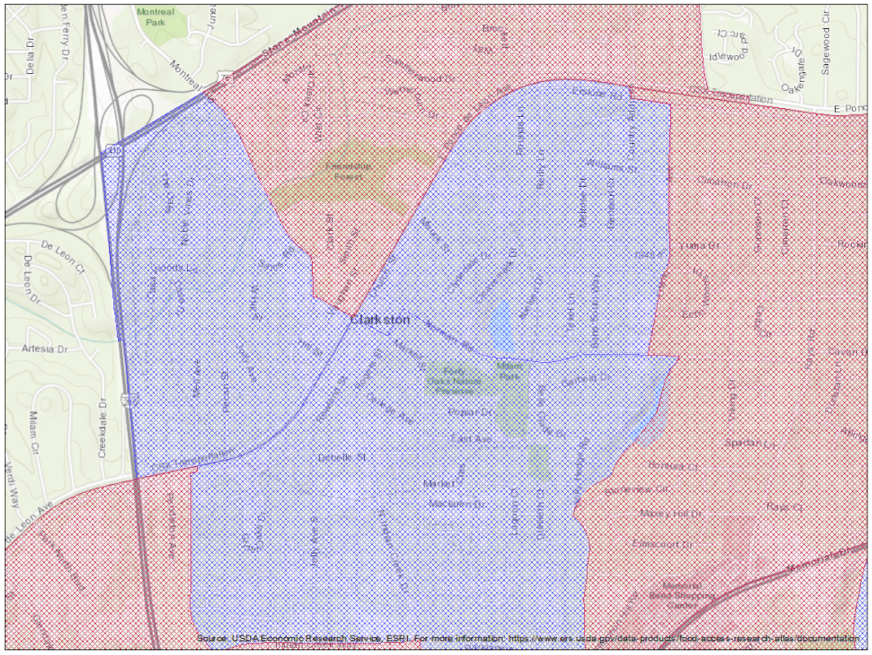
challenges that they most commonly see in their patients. As touched upon previously, cultural and language difference and life adjustment may serve as barriers to health or healthcare. On the linguistic challenges, the NP comments, "I think the language is a big, big issue. It really is a hindrance on their quality of life and the quality of care they can get." Although the clinic has a staff of volunteer interpreters and many of the providers speak multiple languages, the community is so diverse that sometimes a patient's language cannot be accounted for. When this is the case, patients are asked to bring a translator to the clinic, and typically this is their children or other family member, or providers dial a language line. The clinic takes advantage of all possible resources, but clearly, language barriers and even potential solutions add additional difficulty in providing care.

Health insurance is another topic of concern raised by both community and key informant interviews. As mentioned previously, most of the conversations with individuals in the community began with the topic of insurance and the majority of individuals I spoke with did not have insurance. Refugees resettled to the United States receive Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) during the first eight months of resettlement, but may experience a gap in care once this period ends. The NP notes that this may result in detrimental periods without healthcare, lack of diagnosis to potential chronic conditions, and lack of access to medications.

Another important topic in this discussion on health is nutrition. According to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), food deserts are neighborhoods that face barriers to healthy foods sources due to inaccessibility because of distance, income, or transportation (2017). Along with access issues, refugees face particular challenges with food insecurity in the form of income factors, like poverty and budgeting, and also non-income factors, such as literacy and "navigating the food environment" (Hadley, Patil et al. 2010). A food environment is the

food sources, such as stores, supermarkets, restaurants that one may have access to. The MD shares that Clarkston used to be a food desert, but the situation has improved in recent years. This is also supported by data from the USDA as shown by the maps below, which compare food insecurity in Clarkston in years 2010 and 2015 (USDA 2017).

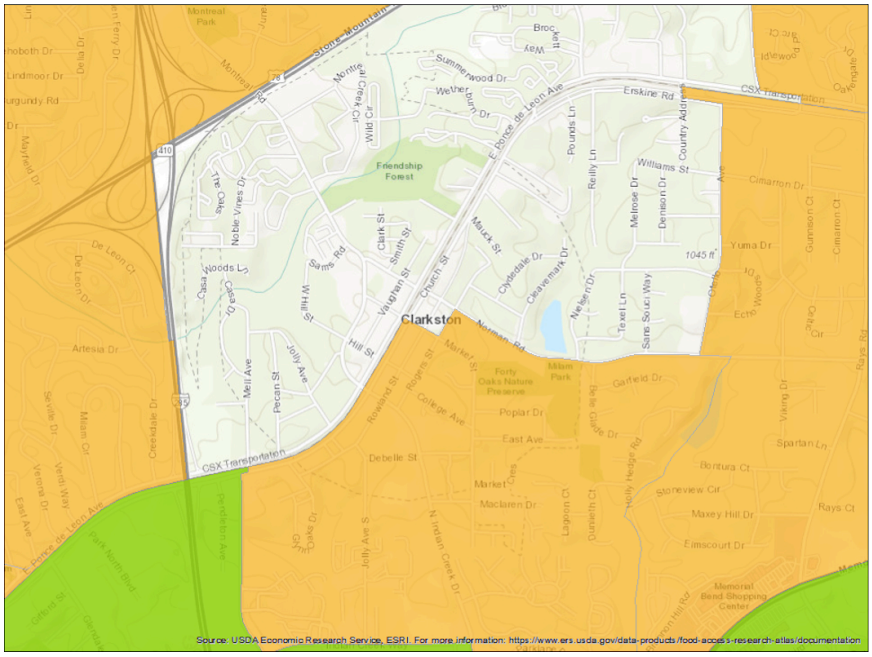
Figure 2. USDA Food Access Research Atlas of Clarkston, GA 2010



Key:
Red: Low-income census tracts where a significant number or share of residents is more than 1 mile (urban) or 10 miles (rural from the nearest supermarket)

Purple: Low-income census tracts where a significant number or share of residents is more than 0.5 mile (urban) or 10 miles (rural) from the nearest supermarket

Figure 3. USDA Food Access Research Atlas of Clarkston, GA 2015



Green: Low-income census tracts where a significant number or share of residents is more than 1 mile (urban) or 10 miles (rural from the nearest supermarket)

Orange: Low-income census tracts where a significant number or share of residents is more than 0.5 mile (urban) or 10 miles (rural) from the nearest supermarket

Figures 2. and 3. and their keys are reproduced with permission from the USDA's Economic Research Service (Economic Research Service (ERS) 2017).

Census tracts are defined by the United States Census Bureau as neighborhoods of 1,200 to 8,000 people delineated by visual or legal boundaries. Low income tracts are defined as areas with a poverty rate of 20% or higher or a median family income equal to or less than 80% of the Georgia's median family income. The red region of the 2010 Figure and green region of the 2015 Figure highlight low-income tracts where a significant number, defined as at least 500 people or at least 33%, of urban residents are one mile away from the nearest supermarket or ten miles for rural residents. The purple region of the 2010 Figure and orange region of the 2015 Figure show tracts with the same specifications but with a half mile range for urban residents. These graphs demonstrate the improvement of the food security situation in Clarkston that the MD referred to, as evident by the reduction of the purple region of the 2010 Figure compared to the orange region of 2015. Although there is improvement, the prevalence of orange and green areas in the 2015 Figure indicate that this is still an issue in the community. Nearly 36% of Clarkston's residents live in poverty, and thus, this is a significant contributor to this issue (US Census Bureau 2018). Another problem, related to poverty, is transportation to food stores which can also be tracked using the USDA data and Food Access Research Atlas tool. According to the USDA data and tool, the bottom portion of the 2015 Figure (overlapping with the orange) is a region where more than 100 housing units do not have a vehicle for transportation (USDA 2017).

Furthermore, the MD notes that even though there is improvement in food security, lifestyle and resistance to change are additional barriers to nutrition. She suggests that even though there are more grocery stores, individuals may not make healthy choices or cannot afford them. As an example, she says "You can fix a huge pot of rice for a dollar and the whole family can eat out of it all day…they eat very unhealthily – high starch because it's cheap." The

prevalence of refined grains in diet also came up in discussions with restaurant owners and food store owners at Campus Plaza. The Halal Meat Family Food Mart in Campus Plaza is well known in the Somali community for its selection of goat and camel meat, and according to the shop owner, the store's most popular products are these meats and their selection of spices. Through a windshield survey of the store, I observed that the majority of shelves and shelf space closest and facing the front entrance consists of refined grains such as rice, pastas, white corn meal, and anjero, a thin bread and staple food in Ethiopia and some parts of Somalia. Near the cash register, at the back of the store, are small packages of spices, more varieties of anjero, and collections of Qurans and other Islamic texts. Next to the register is the meat counter where customers can purchase fresh meats, such as chicken, goat, and camel. No fresh produce was found in the store. Such food stores may provide culturally appropriate foods and resources to this community, but evidently, may be lacking in variety and healthy options. Furthermore, the menu at Halal Pizza café also does not provide many nutritious choices. To reiterate, offerings include pizza, wings and hamburgers, and traditional foods like sambuza and malawah. Traditional, carbohydrate-heavy and fried dishes, were the most common choice of patrons, as observed while conducting ethnography at the café. The body of research on Somali diet also highlights the prevalence of high carbohydrate foods and high protein intake from meat versus potential low consumption of fruits and vegetables (Mcewen, Straus et al. 2009, Sunni, Brunzell et al. 2017). Although further research on Somali diet in the Clarkston context is necessary, this literature supports the observations and discussions from the Halal Meats food store.

In terms of nutrition, the CCHC holds programs and campaigns for better health and cultural literacy and nutrition education. Another resource for this community is the Clarkston Community Center (CCC) – a nonprofit that is separate and unaffiliated from the CCHC – that

hosts programs for refugee assistance. The CCC's Food Security Initiative (FSI) and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) programs are designed to empower community members through education, food co-ops – in which members receive food monthly from local organizations, and a community garden (Kane 2013, CCC 2017).

Interviewees reported strong, positive perceptions of personal health when responding to the community survey. Although this may possibly be characteristic of young to middle-aged East African migrant men, this may not be representative of the East African community as a whole. From a healthcare perspective, as discussed by the MD and NP, working with such diverse and potentially underserved communities provides unique challenges. Other issues mentioned, but not as thoroughly discussed in these interviews, include mental health due to traumatic backgrounds of persecution or war, tobacco use, and conditions such as hypertension and diabetes. Furthermore, nutrition and food security may also be problematic, exacerbating poor health or existing conditions. The work of the CCHC and CCC's initiatives help to combat such issues. They contribute to filling in the health and nutrition gaps faced by the Clarkston immigrant and refugee community.

Significance of Religion

Religion was a very prevalent theme found in the community interviews and also in Daniel Thompson's research. This association of religion with well-being is not surprising given the extensive body of research investigating the link between the two concepts. The literature on this topic suggests a correlation between religious association and involvement with positive subjective well-being, psychological and social benefits associated with religion (Koenig, Kvale et al. 1988, Diener, Suh et al. 1999), and better coping with trauma (Ellison 1991). Religion has

particular importance in the Clarkston community and may contribute meaningfully to well-being as described by the literature.

As was briefly mentioned previously, the Sagal Radio director indicated that religion is very important to individuals and for the community as a whole. As an example of this importance, one of Thompson's interviewees expressed, "Yeah, I'm happy every day…When I pray, I worship Allah, I feel happy. I ask Allah for everything" when asked to describe his general sense of life satisfaction (Little and Thompson 2017). Another informant responded to this question with, "I thank God for everything. I'm very happy" (Little and Thompson 2017). This attribution of personal well-being to divinity is a common theme referred to by respondents. In addition to the praise of religious freedom in the United States as mentioned previously, the radio director also emphasizes that religion is beneficial to community building. He says, "Religion is very, very important. Religion brings people together."

Places of worship are important in this community building. The mosque frequented by the Clarkston and Stone Mountain community is Masjid Al-Momineen. This mosque has served the community for over twenty-five years and has grown exponentially alongside the growth of Clarkston's diversity and refugee community. Initially started by Afghan immigrants, the mosque now serves Muslims from countries all over the world, including India, Pakistan, Kosovo, Ethiopia, and Somalia (Masjid Al-Momineen 2018). From this diversity, it is clear that this place of worship is a gathering place not only for individual nationalities but for the diverse Muslim community as a whole. The Clarkston United Methodist Church and the Clarkston International Bible Church serve a similar role for followers of Christian faith. The United Methodist Church and International Bible Church host diverse congregations representing immigrant groups from Nepal, Eritrea, Sudan, Liberia, and more (John 2007, Vejnoska 2016).

Religious life holds particular significance for the immigrant and refugee community and may contribute to the positive reports of subjective well-being observed in this study. The relationship between religion and well-being is well-studied but renowned political scientist Robert D. Putnam and Chaeyoon Lim find that this life satisfaction is really a result of attending religious services and the social networks provided by congregations (2010). Although further research of Clarkston's places of worship must be done to establish more substantial claims, the popularity, use, and growth of the mosque and churches described may support Putnam and Lim's theory.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This research project began with the purpose of assessing the subjective well-being of immigrants and refugees from the Horn of Africa in Clarkston, Georgia to gain a holistic sense of the migrant experience and their challenges. Surveys based off of Dr. Peter Little's ongoing "Cross-Cultural Insights" study and Hadley Cantril's well known Self Anchoring Scale were designed to measure subjective well-being and to serve as a springboard for further discussion on facets of migrant life. Key informant interviews with prominent community members were then conducted to gain greater insight into the topics and issues raised during surveys. Unanticipated challenges, in the form of research fatigue, language barriers, and paranoia due to current politics, resulted in significant setbacks to the research process. These challenges, however, ultimately added another dimension to the research and helped to shape this thesis. Through the community interviews, respondents – all male East African refugees in their 20s to 40s – were found to have a strong sense of positive subjective well-being and life satisfaction. Different facets of life for Clarkston immigrants, specifically the political, social, financial, health, and religious components, were then further explored to determine their potential contributions to well-being.

The sample size and demographic of five refugee men is a considerable limitation to this project. In spite of that, this data can provide insight into this group and their experiences may also contribute to the understanding of refugee communities in general. Given the known challenges faced by refugees, such as war and persecution in their native countries and acculturation and social isolation after resettlement, the high degree of well-being found in this study was surprising. Daniel Thompson's interviews in Clarkston with East African migrants consist of a slightly more diverse demographic, but reports of subjective well-being from this

survey are also high (Little and Thompson 2017). The question of this research then shifted to address why subjective well-being is so positive for this community and how the city of Clarkston may be unique and contribute to this life satisfaction.

The current presidential administration, at the time of this research, focuses on a more closed-door policy toward immigration, as evident by the Muslim travel ban and reduction in refugee intake (Trump 2017, U.S. Department of State 2017). Escalated ICE activity and migrant deportations have also contributed to the possible sense of isolation and atmosphere of paranoia among African refugees and immigrants in general. This has created a heightened distrust of outsiders, resulting in greater difficulty for researchers interested in this community. In juxtaposition, the mayor and city council of Clarkston has continually affirmed their support for their refugee community in light of national immigration policies. The position and support of the local government may contribute to a sense of belonging and thus, greater well-being in immigrants and refugees.

Although it may be beyond the scope of this project to definitively determine why there is such a strong and positive sense of well-being among participants of this study, the facets of migrant life presented in this paper certainly contribute to the conversation. As mentioned, Clarkston's local government is an important contributor to the well-being of its citizens. Another important consideration is the presence of a prospering refugee community which is an important source of social support. The diverse community helps to ease the acculturation and adjustment process for new migrants resettled to Clarkston and can help direct those struggling to the appropriate resources. As a product of this diversity, there is a wealth of resources in Clarkston that cater to immigrants and refugees. Sagal Radio is an example of such a resource, which provides a voice to the immigrant community. In terms of health, the CCHC and the

CCC's nutrition initiatives help to provide care and education and to bridge the gaps in coverage among the underserved. Clarkston's churches and mosques have also opened their doors to diversity to provide a space and opportunities to worship, thus satisfying the community's religious needs.

This description of the facets of immigrant life in Clarkston is not exhaustive as there are dimensions of well-being that are not fully explored in this study. In spite of that, the factors presented represent the most common themes discussed throughout the interviews conducted and are examples of Clarkston's contribution to migrant well-being. Research in both immigration and well-being is diverse and complex, however, this thesis contributes to the understanding of well-being and the migrant experience in one of the most diverse communities in the United States. Furthermore, another lesson to be learned from this research is that refugees and immigrants should not be considered as victims or as helpless – a common stereotype of this group. Although migrants face particular challenges, they may be supported by strong communities and have great life satisfaction, as suggested by this research. Thus, the master status of 'refugeehood' and victim narrative that often influences the preconceptions of migrants may actually be inappropriate and could do more harm than good. As evident from this thesis, the stories of refugees, immigrants, and their communities are greater than such prejudices.

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APPENDIX

Community Interview Guide

Basic/Personal Questions

- What location are you from (region, town, country) (as specific as possible)?
- What is your highest education level:
  0) ≤ 4 years
  1) 5-8 years
  2) 9-11 years
  3) High school graduate
  4) Attended post-secondary training (vocational)
  5) Attended/attending some college
  6) College graduate (BA/BS)
  7) Post Graduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, Law Degree, etc.)
- What was your occupation in your home country?
  - How satisfied were you with this work?
    (1-5 scale: 1 = not satisfied at all, 5 = very satisfied)
- Tell me about your community in your home town:
  - Did you live near family/extended family?
  - How close were you to your neighbors and community?
    (1-5scale, 1 is not close at all, 5 is very close)
  - If you had a problem, would you feel comfortable approaching your neighbor for help?
    (1-Yes/2-No)
- What year did you immigrate to the United States?
- Why did you immigrate to the United States?
- What were your expectations of the United States?
  (Probe for Specifics in terms Of Education, Jobs, Quality of Life, Health Care, Etc.)
  Have these expectations been met? (1-Yes/2-No) Explain your answer:
- Where did you first live when arriving to the United States?
- Where do you currently live? How did you or your family choose Atlanta as your home?
- What is your current occupation? What were your previous occupations after arriving in the United States?
  - How satisfied are you with your current work?
    (1-5 scale, 1 is not satisfied at all, 5 is very satisfied)
    Tell me about the community you currently live in:
  - Do you live near family/extended family?
  - How close are you to your neighbors and community?
  - If you have a problem, would you feel comfortable approaching your neighbor for help?

Well-Being Assessment
Based on the Cantril Self-Anchoring Scale, Adapted from Dr. Peter Little's Well-Being Study

Life Evaluation Questions:
Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you.

1. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?

The following question asks how happy you feel, on a scale from 0 to 10. Zero (0) means you feel "not at all happy" and 10 means "completely happy".

2. Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?

The following questions ask how satisfied you feel, on a scale from 0 to 10. Zero (0) means you feel "not at all satisfied" and 10 means "completely satisfied".

3. Overall, how satisfied with you life were you 5 years ago?

I now want to ask you some questions about how you feel about yourself and your life. Please use a scale from 0 to 10 to indicate how you felt. Zero (0) means you "disagree completely" and 10 means "agree completely" with the following statements:

4. In general, I feel very positive about myself.
5. I'm always optimistic about my future.
6. I am free to decide for myself how to live my life.
7. I generally feel that what I do in my life is worthwhile.
8. Most days I get a sense of accomplishment from what I do.

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 0-10 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item with 0 being completely disagree and 10 completely agree. Please be open and honest in your responses.

9. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
10. The conditions of my life are excellent.
11. I am satisfied with my life.
12. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
13. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

Happiness and Well-Being:
The following questions ask about how you felt yesterday on a scale from 0 to 10. Zero means you did not experience the emotion "at all" yesterday while 10 means you experienced the emotion "all of the time" yesterday. I will now read out a list of ways you might have felt yesterday.

14. What about feelings of Enjoyment?
15. What about feelings of Calm?
16. What about feelings of Worry?
17. What about feelings of Sadness?
18. What about feelings of Happiness?
19. What about feelings of Depressed?
20. What about feelings of Anger?
21. What about feelings of Stress (Anxiety)?
22. What about feelings of Tired?
23. Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday?

Positive Experience Index

24. Did you feel well rested yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
25. Were you treated with respect all day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
26. Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
27. Did you learn or do something interesting yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
28. Did you experience enjoyment during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)

Negative Experience Index

29. Did you experience physical pain during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
30. Did you worry during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
31. Did you experience sadness during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
32. Did you experience stress during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)
33. Did you experience anger during a lot of the day yesterday? (1-Yes; 2-No)

Perceptions of Capabilities

34. Do you have a health problem(s) preventing you from doing things that other people your age normally do? (1-Yes; 2-No)
35. Do you believe in hard work as a means in getting ahead in life? (1-Yes; 2-No)
36. Do you believe if you work hard your life will improve in the next 5-10 years? (1-Yes; 2-No)
37. Are you satisfied with the amount of freedom that you have in your life? (1-Yes; 2-No)

Please reflect on how wellbeing and health are related.

- Is it possible to have wellbeing without health?
- How important is health compared to other contributors to wellbeing, such as income, community, education, etc.?
- What kind of challenges to health do you experience?

General comments and observations:

Key Informant Interview Guide

- What is your job and title?
- How long have you been working with the Clarkston community?
- Tell me about your impression of the immigrant and refugee community.
- Is this community special or unique?
- How does Clarkston support its diverse community?
- Have your experiences working with immigrants and refugees changed within the past year?
- How has the current political climate affected your work?
- What are the biggest challenges for refugees and immigrants?
- Are these challenges different from challenges of the past?