

Hello Neighbors! Investigations of Housing and Social Cohesion
of Afghan Refugees in the United States

by

Pamanee Chaiwat

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Dissertation Committee:

Mark L. Gillem, Chair

Arijit Sen, Advisor

Hajo Neis, Core Member

Howard Davis, Core Member

Yizhao Yang, Institutional Representative

University of Oregon

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Pamanee Chaiwat

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Title: Hello Neighbors! Investigations of Housing and Social Cohesion of Afghan Refugees in the United States

Resettlement gives refugees a chance to restart and gain a normal life in a foreign land. For Afghan refugees, however, their unfamiliarity to American culture and norms, negative media portrayal, or perceived competition for limited resources may cause them to be socially isolated and bring about perceptions of otherness among neighbors. This may result in lowering neighborhood efficacy or community cohesion. While social cohesion has been gaining more ground in academic migration research in the last decade, limited research has paid attention to resettlement countries. To date, there is no published study on social cohesion in U.S. refugee-receiving cities. This leaves an underexplored gap of understanding regarding the spatial impact on social life and social cohesion in U.S. resettlement communities.

In this examination, I employ a mixed-method approach including document analysis, interviews, surveys, and observations. I present two case studies: Sacramento, CA and Eugene, OR focusing on the housing experiences and social life of Afghan refugees. The framework is built upon theories of social cohesion in conjunction with refugee integration and the built environment. The investigation is centered around space and spatial qualities that promote social interactions and the relationships among community members.

This study seeks to determine how refugees make their presence in everyday residential and public spaces. The findings suggest that 1) a sense of belonging, privacy and control, and perceived crowding are key attributes of living places that promote both intergroup and intragroup interactions on daily basis; and 2) increased freedom of mobility has resulted in a dispersed residential pattern which positively associates with improved spatial integration. Ultimately, this study provides data-driven suggestions on housing and socio-spatial transformations for a refugee-receiving city.

Keywords: Afghan refugees, U.S. refugee resettlement, refugee housing, refugee integration, social cohesion, social connections

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To those whose homes are too far to return

and

To those who dare to build their new home in a foreign land.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	21
Research Questions	23
Scope of the Study	25
Purpose and Significance.....	26
The Structure of the Dissertation	28
 CHAPTER II TOPICAL BACKGROUND	 31
Refugees and UNHCR	32
US Refugee Resettlement.....	37
<i>History and Policies</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Public Opinion on Refugee Intake.....</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Post 9/11 changes in Refugee Policies, Attitudes, and Biases.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Process of Refugee Resettlement in the U.S.</i>	<i>50</i>
Afghanistan	55
<i>Diversity and Ethnic Conflicts.....</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Demographic Characteristics</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Refugees from Afghanistan.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Architecture and a Typical House in Kabul</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Political Situation after 9/11</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>The Taliban’s Return to Power in 2021</i>	<i>78</i>
Afghan Refugees in the United States.....	81
Afghan Communities in Various U.S. States	85
Chapter Summary	89

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER III LITERATURE REVIEW	91
Refugee Integration Theory	93
<i>Employment</i>	95
<i>Education</i>	96
<i>Health</i>	98
<i>Housing</i>	100
Social Connections	110
<i>Social Capital and Social Connections</i>	101
<i>Social Cohesion</i>	117
Spatial Dimension of Resettlement	123
<i>Community From and Social Connectedness</i>	124
<i>Spatial Qualities of Places in Resettlement Cities</i>	127
<i>Housing and Sociability</i>	129
Landscape of U.S. Refugee Resettlement	132
<i>U.S. Scenarios and Refugee Housing</i>	136
Chapter Summary	142
CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY	145
Research Design	145
Methodology	148
<i>Populations</i>	151
<i>Ethical Considerations</i>	153
<i>Recruitment and Sampling Strategy</i>	155
<i>Roles of the Researcher and Research Assistants</i>	156

Chapter	Page
Case Studies	157
<i>Eugene, OR</i>	158
<i>Sacramento, CA</i>	161
Methods	165
<i>Document Analysis and Archival Research</i>	165
<i>Interview with Community Leaders</i>	166
<i>Interview with Professional and Resettlement Agencies</i>	167
<i>Interview with Afghan Refugees</i>	168
<i>Neighborhood Walk</i>	169
<i>Community Surveys</i>	170
<i>Observations</i>	172
Data Analysis	173
<i>Research Quality</i>	174
<i>Limitations and Research Biases</i>	175
Chapter Summary	177
CHAPTER V: HOUSING, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND SOCIABILITY.....	179
Housing Typology and Location	180
<i>Sacramento Case Study</i>	180
<i>Eugene Case Study</i>	198
<i>Cross Case Study Comparison</i>	210
Housing Access and Ownership	214
<i>A short-term Apartment</i>	214
<i>Being Hosted by Locals</i>	218

Chapter	Page
<i>Owning a Home</i>	221
<i>Temporarily Staying with Other People</i>	224
Unit Analysis	225
<i>Apartment Unit</i>	225
<i>A Detached House</i>	227
Other Factors	232
<i>Gender Norms</i>	232
<i>Customs and Beliefs</i>	235
<i>Household Unit: Individual vs Family</i>	236
Chapter Summary	237
CHAPTER VI: BEYOND HOUSING	239
Religious Places	239
<i>Sacramento Case</i>	240
<i>Eugene Case</i>	245
Ethnic Businesses	251
<i>Sacramento Case</i>	252
<i>Eugene Case</i>	255
Park and Public Spaces	257
<i>Sacramento Case</i>	257
<i>Eugene Case</i>	259
Chapter Summary	261

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER VII: FINDINGS	263
Emerging Patterns	263
<i>Cluster of Houses</i>	264
<i>Little Pocket Parks</i>	268
<i>Home-Based Business Places</i>	272
<i>Two Guest Lounges</i>	276
<i>Floor Seat</i>	280
<i>Shoe Place</i>	283
<i>Layers of Curtains</i>	286
Evaluation of Hypotheses	289
Answers to the Research Questions	293
CHAPTER VIII: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS	297
Recommendations for Future Works.....	298
Methodological Challenges and Recommendations.....	300
Evaluation of Concepts	302
Concluding Thoughts	306
APPENDICES.....	311
Appendix A Approval on Human Subjects Research.....	311
Appendix B Consent Forms	312
Appendix C Recruitment Materials	334
Appendix D Interview Questions.....	341
Appendix E Surveys	344
REFERENCES CITED	349

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
2.1. Depiction of the Religious Persecution against the Huguenots	32
2.2. Global Displacement (as of December 2022)	36
2.3. Selected global events and US refugee policies and laws	38
2.4. Refugee admission by region and selected key events.....	42
2.5. American opinion-polling regarding refugee resettlement	44
2.6. U.S. refugee screening process	52
2.7. Historic Silk Road and the Present Afghanistan	56
2.8. Political Timeline of Afghanistan	57
2.9. Ethnolinguistic groups in Afghanistan	58
2.10. Afghan migration timeline	63
2.11. Traditional houses and new constructions staggering on the hills of Kabul	65
2.12. Traditional Courtyard House and a Contemporary Courtyard House	67
2.13. Typical Floor Plans of Traditional Courtyard House in Kabul	68
2.14. View of Interior Elevation from a Courtyard	69
2.15. Two Types of Courtyard Houses in Kabul	70
2.16. Ariel View of Kabul with Mid-Rise Apartment Buildings	71
2.17. Example Layout of four 2-bedroom Apartment	72
2.18. A Living Room with Afghan Style Floor Seat	72
2.19. Refugee camps around Afghanistan's border.....	76
2.20. Displaced Afghans by Country at the End of 2020	77
2.21. UNHCR estimated of where newly displaced Afghans could go in 2021	79

Figure	Page
2.22. World map representing governments that have pledged to facilitate free travel of designated Afghans	80
2.23. Numbers of admitted Afghan refugees and immigrants with SIV	82
2.24. Afghan Evacuees' route	83
2.25. Summary of DoD support to provide temporary housing and sustainment on eight DoD installations as of July 2022	84
2.26. Afghan Immigrants in the United States	86
2.27. The map shows where Afghan evacuees were resettled	87
2.28. Hossein Mahrammi and his family came from Kabul to the U.S. on SIVs	88
3.1. Mapping Literature.	91
3.2. The Indicator of Integration Framework.	94
3.3. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs	95
3.4. Four Dimensions of Housing.	102
3.5. Links between Housing and Health.	106
3.6. Community Social Capital Model.	113
3.7. Domains of Social Cohesion.....	119
3.8. Relationships Among Social Environmental Factors and Asylum-seekers' mental health, well-being, and flourishing.....	123
3.9. Freedom Village, Hamtramck, MI.	137
3.10. West End Apartment in South Portland, ME.	138
3.11. Kateri Park Apartment in Portland, OR.	140
3.12. Lawrence Apartment in Portland, OR.	140
4.1. Research Design.	146
4.2. Summary Income Range of Survey Respondents	153

Figure	Page
4.3 Summary Educational Level of Survey Respondents	153
4.4 Eugene’s City Zoning Map.	159
4.5. Eugene’s Diversity Map.	160
4.6. Sacramento’s City Structure.	161
4.7. Sacramento’s Diversity Map.	162
4.8. Two-dimension View of Urban Diversity.	163
4.9. Map of Sacramento showing Population with Afghan Heritage by zip code.....	164
4.10. Research Assistants and Afghan Community Leader in Sacramento	167
4.11. Afghan Hospitality during Interviews at a Participant’s Home.....	168
4.12. Neighborhood walk with Research Participants	169
4.13. Screenshots of the community survey on mobile device	170
5.1. Locations of Residential Sites, Sacramento Case.	181
5.2. Photos of S1 and Figure and Ground Map	183
5.3. Photos of S2 and Figure and Ground Map	184
5.4. Photos of S3 and Figure and Ground Map.	185
5.5. Photos of S4 and Figure and Ground Map.	186
5.6. 4-Bedroom unit Floor Plan.....	187
5.7. Unit Layouts, One-Bedroom and Two-Bedroom	187
5.8. Photos of S5 and Figure and Ground Map	190
5.9. Photos of S6 and Figure and Ground Map	191
5.10. Photos of S7 and Figure and Ground Map.	192
5.11. Photos of S8 and Figure and Ground Map.	193
5.12 Photos of S9 and Figure and Ground Map	194

Figure	Page
5.13 Photos of S10 and Figure and Ground Map	195
5.14 Photos of S11 and Figure and Ground Map	196
5.15. Floor Plan of a Four-Bedroom House.....	197
5.16. Locations of Residential Sites, Eugene Case	199
5.17. Photos of E1 and Figure and Ground Map.	200
5.18. Photos of E2 and Figure and Ground Map.	201
5.19. Photos of E3 and Figure and Ground Map.	202
5.20. Duplex Floor Plan.....	203
5.21. Photos of E4 and Figure and Ground Map.	205
5.22. Photos of E5 and Figure and Ground Map.	206
5.23. Photos of E6 and Figure and Ground Map.	207
5.24. Photos of E7 and Figure and Ground Map.	208
5.25. Photos of E8 and Figure and Ground Map.	209
5.26. Advertisement and Signage of Real Estate Services for Afghans.	221
5.27. Home Gathering of Afghan Men.....	222
5.28. Home Gathering of Afghan Men at Patio and in a Living Room.....	223
5.29. Men and Women cluster in groups by their gender	225
5.30. Apartments with a semi-open concept kitchen	226
5.31. Front garage gives more privacy to the living quarter	227
5.32. Women go back and forth between kitchen and other areas.....	228
5.33. Men go upstairs without passing women’s gathering	229
5.34. Unlike the courtyard that is reserved for females, men can also use backyard....	230
6.1. Location of Mosques and Islamic Center in Sacramento	240

Figure	Page
6.2. Exterior of SALAM and the main prayer hall	241
6.3. Reception Hall and the Community Center.....	242
6.4. Exterior and Interior of Imam Abu Hanifa Masjid	243
6.5. Exterior and Interior of Masjid Aisha	244
6.6. Location of Religious Places Observed in Eugene	245
6.7. Eugene Islamic Center	246
6.8. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day and Eid Prayer	247
6.9. Advertisement of the Event and Eid Celebration at the Pavilion.....	247
6.10. World Refugee Day at First United Methodist Church	248
6.11. Emphatic Dinner at Presbytery at Cascade.....	249
6.12. Location of Afghan Stores in Sacramento.....	252
6.13. Storefronts of Afghan Businesses.....	253
6.14. Inside Afghan Grocery Stores.....	253
6.15. Afghan Furniture and Carpet Stores	254
6.16. Afghan Clothing Stores	254
6.17. Afghan Cuisine and Manti Food Truck.....	255
6.18. Eid-al Adha celebration at William B. Pond Picnic Facilities.....	257
6.19. Religious Celebration and Community Picnic.	258
6.20. Afghan families hiking and picnicking.	259
7.1 Emerging Patterns and Language	263
7.2 The Impacts of Transition Space at the Entry and Level of Privacy	290

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Polls on support for the United States taking in refugees	43
2. Changes of life patterns in houses of a traditional courtyard house and a contemporary courtyard house in Afghanistan	66
3. Comparison of concepts and parameters of traditional and contemporary courtyard houses	67
4. How experiences of adversity, loss, and trauma may impact resettlement.....	99
5. Survey responses “What is important in a neighborhood?”	104
6. Place and its contribution to well-being during resettlement	129
7. Social forms of integration through socio-spatial dimension.....	133
8. Participant population details	151
9. Recruitment method details	155
10. Summary characteristics of the two case studies	157
11. Data collection methods and sequences	165
12. Summary of typology and location, Sacramento Case.....	180
13. Summary of typology and location, Eugene Case.....	198

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With more than fifty years of US refugee resettlement programs to draw upon, many researchers investigate integration outcomes and their measurements. Local refugee agencies offer employment, education, and health strategies to promote self-reliance, upward mobility, and competency in these domains. However, housing for these populations largely depends upon affordability and availability rather than promoting social connections. American cities, including metropolitan, suburban and rural areas, become more diverse upon the arrival of immigrants as well as refugees (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011; Lee, Iceland, & Farrell, 2014; Lichter, 2012; Perez & Hirschman, 2009). The unprecedented number of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers contribute to the changes in spatial distributions as well as how their network impacts their settlement and residential concentration. Due to this reason, prioritizing affordability and availability, populations often settle in a dwelling unit or an area which, may not fit to their cultural needs and socialization norms. These differences in environment-behaviors altogether with perceptions of competition for limited resources, racial tension, and discrimination not only negatively impact the physical and mental health of first-generation immigrants and refugees (Szaflarski & Bauldry 2019) but also impede an integration process of a refugee and the cohesion of the receiving community overall.

The topic of involuntary migrants, such as refugees and asylum seekers, and housing has always been closely associated as Flatau et al. (2015) elaborate “[h]ousing plays a fundamental role in the journey of refugees following resettlement in a host country”. Scholars investigate refugees and housing in many areas. For example, housing

pathways and access (see Forrest et al 2012; Mullins & Jones 2009; Rose 2019); housing affordability (see Murdie 2004; Carter & Osborne 2009) and impacts on health and well-being (see Ziersch et al., 2017), psychology of refugee homes (see Fozdar & Hartley, 2013); housing and integration (Phillips 2006). While social cohesion has been gaining more ground in migration research in the last decade, limited research has paid attention to resettlement countries. Despite being the world's leader in this humanitarian action, no social cohesion study has addressed US refugee-receiving cities thus far. This leaves an unexplored gap of spatial integration and transforming places for a better social cohesion in US resettlement communities.

In the field of architecture and urban design, it is essential to understand the place-people effects, which can bridge the gap between socio-residential patterns in relation to socio-spatial connections. Nevertheless, designing a place that facilitates interactions for an increasingly diverse community has been largely neglected as an area of study and there is a lack of supporting evidence as to place value. This leaves social connectedness and social cohesion to happen organically, if at all. This study thus explores a relationship between the built environment and social interaction outcomes in refugee-receiving neighborhoods. The study aims to 1) evaluate roles of housing and their impacts on social behavior; and 2) investigate refugees' place-making, their mobility, and its effects on their socializations within their ethnic group as well as others. The study leverages the lived experiences of Afghan refugees to address the research question and investigate the socio-spatial needs of the different cultures. These are vital to developing an understanding of how neighborhood morphology, urban design, residential typology, and architectural design impact social behaviors. The research provide evidence-based suggestions that can be applied to design of housing and neighborhoods to better achieve cohesion within refugee-receiving communities.

This introduction chapter first discusses the research questions. Then, it is followed by the scope of study, lines of inquiries, research aims and objectives, the significance, and limitations. Finally, it outlines an organization of the dissertation.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This study explores the relationship between the built environment and social interactions outcomes in refugee-receiving neighborhoods. This study is centered around two research questions:

- 1) How do physical environments, locations, and spatial patterns encourage social bonds and social bridges?
- 2) How can housing promote refugee integration and social cohesion?

The investigation focuses on spatial roles that assist residents to overcome biases and mitigate conflicts which create a stronger and more cohesive community. The examination of refugees' experiences is essential to understand how spatial conditions affect refugees' perception of a city and encourage meaningful bonding and bridging interactions. Therefore, this dissertation comprehensively investigates the two questions through the following five inquiries.

1. What are the local refugee housing placement policies or strategies, if any?
How has it been implemented? What are the placement criteria and how have they directed spatial patterns in a city?
2. What characteristics of housing impact refugee interactions with their neighbors? How do they encourage social bonds and social bridges?
3. What dimensions of urban forms encourage social interactions and how have they contributed to public space participation and refugees' integration at both a neighborhood and a city scale?

4. How has a city's segregation history contributed to the spatial pattern? How do refugees create their place in a host society? What are their residential choices?
5. How do socio-spatial environments promote integration which can benefit social, economic, and environmental aspects of a U.S. receiving city?

Based on the research questions above, I post the correspondent hypotheses. These hypotheses focus on architectural aspects of users' satisfaction and residential stability, housing typologies and characteristics, urban morphology and transportation, influence of historical urban patterns and settlement, resettlement experience and refugees' well-being.

In order to compare how the spatial characteristics of a receiving city impact the social behaviors of a refugee, I employed cross-sectional comparative case studies: Sacramento, CA and Eugene, OR. The Sacramento Case offers an exploration where there are established Afghan communities with a high number of Afghan immigrants and refugees. The Sacramento-Roseville-Folsom, CA Metro Area has the highest percentage (0.8 percent) of Afghan immigrant population in the nation. In contrast, the Eugene Case investigates a recent refugee-receiving city without an established Afghan community. With the stark differences in population size and settlement timelines, the two cases allow me to compare and contrast the settlement pattern of the studied population. Uncovering similarities and differences of living experiences and social outcomes is the key findings of the study. Because of this reason, I designed the study with the following variables:

- **Independent variable:** Different neighborhood morphologies, housing typologies, and urban form
- **Dependent variable:** Neighborhood experiences and social outcomes after the resettlement
- **Controlled variable:** Post 9/11 Afghan refugees

1.2 SCOPE OF STUDY

While many studies define refugees as a sub-type of immigrants, their unique nature of migration and displacement mean that refugees have their own way of place making and stronger cultural attachments. These qualities influence their changes in living environment and participation in public space. Despite their immigration or refugee statuses, the term ‘refugee’ used in this dissertation refers to “people forced to flee their own country and seek safety in another country” (UNHCR, n.d.). In this study, I define research participants as Afghan refugees who seek safety in the U.S. post 9/11. Their status may include but are not limited to: refugee, Special immigrant Visa (SIV), parolee, asylee, etc. I purposely chose Afghan refugees as an actor of investigation for three main reasons.

- 1) Potential biases on Afghan communities due to post-9/11 media portrayals and the polarized politics stemming from prolonged US military presence in Afghanistan. Moreover, the Afghan community has experienced the exacerbation of Islamophobia and discrimination against Arab and Muslim sentiments in recent years (Itaoui & Elsheikh, 2018). Nonetheless, it is also important to note that Afghan refugees did receive some positive welcomes, especially from veterans and Republicans (CBS News/YouGov poll, April 17-20, 2021 cited in Solender, 2021).
- 2) Afghans possess high cultural distance, including cultural norms, world views, attitudes, perceptions, and ideas, to stereotypes of Americans, Afghan refugees in the U.S. report that their unfamiliarity with American culture makes it difficult for them to get to know their neighbors (Peñaloza, 2021).
- 3) It is highly possible to expect significant numbers of Afghan immigrants and refugees coming to the U.S. for many years to come. The Taliban takeover in 2021 marked the beginning of mass human displacement and migration (UNHCR, 2022).

Despite Americans becoming more heterogeneous, these biases and differences may inform their interactions, which is crucial to understanding a process of conflict mitigation and the formation of social bridges. As we anticipate a rising number of Afghan immigrants and refugees in the U.S., it is vital to understand how to encourage their integration and promote community cohesion, not only economically but also socially. The fall of Saigon resulted in 100,000 refugees admitted in 1980s to a million Vietnamese immigrants in the United States 20 years later and more than 2 million at present. The potential of a similar phenomenon occurring from American occupation and conflict in Afghanistan cannot be overstated.

1.3 PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE

This study focuses on U.S. refugee resettlement programs and housing practices. It intersects three theoretical domains: refugee integration, social relation, and built environment. Specifically, an examination of spatial roles i.e., residential patterns, mobility, and architectural characteristics, that influence social outcomes and everyday experiences is the center of this dissertation. These aspects can promote or impede neighborhood cohesion and refugee integration processes. Therefore, an examination of refugees' everyday experiences is essential to understand how spatial conditions affect refugees' perception of a city and encourage meaningful bonding and bridging interactions.

Moreover, there is a large knowledge gap regarding refugees and their social life in the U.S. To date, there is no published study on social cohesion in an American refugee resettlement city. An increasing number of refugees worldwide, along with exacerbated tension between refugees and a host community, have prompted many scholars to investigate social cohesion in a receiving community in order to propose policies and

interventions. Much research on the topic has been conducted on displaced populations and refugee camps (See Acosta & Chica, 2018; Harb & Saab, 2014; Betts et al., 2023; Fajth et al., 2019). Limited research has paid attention to resettlement locations such as Australia (see Fozdar, 2012; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2015; Bansel et al., 2016; Nathan et al., 2010), the United Kingdom (see Harris & Young, 2009; Rutter, 2015), Eastern Europe (see Tawat, 2016), and Canada (see McLellan, 2004; Costigan et al., 2022). This dissertation contributes to the growing published social capital literature. I hope this study will help bridge the knowledge gap and expand current academic thinking to also cover architectural and urban design aspects of a refugee-receiving city. This study adds to the discourse a significant depth of understanding of the built environment and its impacts on social relationships that promote better local integration of a globalized community. Equally important, this profile of refugees' social ties provides policy makers and program providers with a much greater understanding of their relational context in which refugees reconstruct their lives in the United States.

As transdisciplinary research, this study will support integrative and sustainable practices of housing and refugee resettlement in order to arrive at a more connected society in the time that senses of place and belonging are eroding. The feeling 'home' goes beyond housing to include community. This is fundamental to everyone, but especially to involuntary migrants such as the studied population.

The objective of this study is to present the physical challenges that a receiving city considers and responds to during the resettling of refugees. This comparative case study analysis will result in the development of assertions and propositions that may form the theoretical underpinning for a revised or expanded understanding of how the built environment supports the social lives of hosts and refugees in a receiving community.

Ultimately, I aim to provide a design strategy for housing and urban design that encourages an integration process.

1.4 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

I organize this dissertation into eight chapters. This chapter introduces the research problem of housing, refugees in the U.S., and social sustainability issues. It also presents a scope of the study and lines of inquiry, research significances, and the organization of this dissertation. Chapter II provides a background of the studied population and information on U.S. refugee resettlement. It explores a brief history of contemporary migration in Afghanistan and the process that the studied group, Afghan individuals, undergo in order to gain admission into the United States as well as current U.S. refugee policies.

In Chapter III, I present a literature review of the three theoretical concepts: refugee integration, social relation, and built environment under the scope of U.S. refugee resettlement and housing practices along with their implications on policies and practices. These theories lay the theoretical foundation of this study. In Chapter IV, Research Methodology, I present a research design, methodology, and details of two case studies: Sacramento, CA and Eugene, OR. In this chapter, I detail the studied population, recruitment methods, ethical considerations, and limitations.

Chapters V and VI highlight results from the two case studies. In Chapter V, Housing, Neighborhood, and Sociability, I discuss the impacts of housing access, ownership, housing typologies and locations and their influences on research participants' experience and their sociability. Additionally, I note other factors such as gender, cultural comfort, beliefs, and life priorities that influence living experience and social life. Chapter VI, Beyond Housing, explores a broader landscape of social spaces. I confer Afghans'

mobility and sociality that encourages social bond and social bridge activities. The exploration includes parks, ethnic stores, and mosques.

In Chapter VII, I present findings of the study. I propose seven culturally based patterns informed by *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (Alexander et al., 1977). Then, I offer my evaluations of the research hypotheses and my answer to the two research questions. Lastly, Chapter VIII discusses methodological challenges and recommendations for future works along with concluding thoughts.

CHAPTER II

TOPICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter presents social and historical contexts that provide a broader view of the research problems. Four topics are discussed as follows:

First, I present a definition of the term '*refugee*' and related terms. This provides a common nature and general qualities of the studied population and distinguishes them from economic immigrants. Additionally, I offer an evolution of various global agencies that support refugee and displaced populations as well as the current state of worldwide displacement and refugee problems.

Second, I supply information on U.S. refugee resettlement programs and their pathways to arrive in the U.S. I present a comprehensive history and policies for receiving refugees from the 1900s to the present, involving refugees from various countries. Then, I discuss historical and contemporary public opinions on these programs along with discussion of the change in perception towards refugees post 9/11.

Third, I give an overview of the sociopolitical circumstances of Afghanistan and demographic information pertinent to this research. Furthermore, I highlight the multiple waves of Afghan migrations and discuss socio-political circumstances that hinder these expatriations. This helps illustrate the characteristics of each wave of migrants along with an understanding of the political dynamic in Afghanistan of the last 50 years.

Lastly, I describe details of Afghans in the U.S., which are the target population of the study, including admission processes and pathways of Afghan refugees, SIVs, and asylum seekers after 9/11, I also discuss the situation after the Taliban took over in 2021. Furthermore, I explain Afghans' destinations in the U.S., as well as some Afghans' customs and norms that might pose potential challenges upon their resettlement in the U.S.

2.1 REFUGEES AND THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

The term refugee comes from the French word *réfugié*, which specifically referred to the exodus of French Huguenots to Protestant countries, including Protestant England, the Netherlands, and Germany (Marriam-Webster, n.d.). Multiple waves of religious violence and persecution between 1560 to 1760 created a contentious period in European history (The Huguenot Protestant, n.d.). Although Henry IV of France promulgated the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which granted a large measure of religious liberty and civil rights to the Protestant Huguenots for nearly a century, its revocation in 1685 caused over 400,000 French Protestants to leave France in exile (Brain, 2021). Over time, the word *refugee* has become commonly used. For the purposes of this study, I use the term ‘*refugee*’ to refer to “...anyone who was forced to flee to a place of safety, often because of danger or persecution because of religious or political beliefs...” (UNHCR, n.d.) regardless of their legal status. Their status may include but is not limited to Special Immigrant Visas (SIVs), parolees, asylum seekers, or refugees, etc.



Figure 2.1: Depiction of the Religious Persecution against the Huguenots (The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre), vers 1572-1584 by François Dubois (Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne)

Prior to the end of World War II, there was no clear legal distinction between refugees and immigrants until the term was defined and protected under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol (*What is the difference*, 2022). During WWI, displaced peoples did not have international recognition until the League of Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees introduced the Nansen Passport. Nansen Passports were internationally recognized and effective from 1922 to 1938, granting rights to half a million people to settle in a new country (*History of UNHCR*, n.d.).

During WWII, conflicts uprooted and displaced millions of people across Europe. This led to the formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which was active between 1943 to 1947. The UNRRA assisted displaced persons and refugees with social welfare and repatriated them after the end of the war. However, despite the works of UNRRA, the international community was acutely aware of the refugee crisis following the end of WWII. Succeeding UNRRA, the United Nations established the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1946. The organization was the first international agency to deal with all aspects of refugees' lives. IRO operations ceased in 1952 (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.), and it was then replaced by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was founded in 1950.

UNHCR acts as the guardian of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which consolidate previous international laws and guidelines with respect to refugees and provides the most comprehensive codification of the refugees' rights. Despite its initial focus on Europeans uprooted by wars, UNHCR quickly moved to assist and expand its responses to crises around the world. UNHCR's responses to an uprising in Hungary in 1956 shaped the way humanitarian organizations would deal with refugee crises and resettlement efforts in the years to follow (*History of UNHCR*, n.d.).

In 1958, UNHCR was tasked to deal with Chinese refugees in Hong Kong while simultaneously handling Algerian refugees who had fled to Morocco and Tunisia in the wake of Algeria's war for independence (*History of UNHCR*, n.d.). This was in addition to numerous refugee crises throughout Africa's decolonization in the 1960s. These responses marked the beginning of a wider, global mandate in refugee protection and humanitarian assistance. In 1967, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees was ratified to remove the geographical and temporal restrictions of UNHCR under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. The 1967 Protocol was made to address the "new refugee situations that have arisen since the Convention was adopted and the refugees concerned that may therefore not fall within the scope of the Convention" (*Protocol relating to the Status*, 1966). The following are definitions of different categories that UNHCR assists:

- **Refugee:** someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. Refugee status is given to applicants by the United Nations or by a third-party country. According to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees as amended by its 1967 Protocol, a refugee is a person who is: 1) outside their own country; 2) has a well-founded fear of persecution due to his/ her race, religion, nationality, member of a particular social group or political opinion and; 3) is unable or unwilling to return.¹
- **Asylum seeker:** a person who has fled from his or her own country due to fear of persecution and has applied for (legal and physical) protection in another country but has not yet had their claim for protection assessed. A person remains an asylum seeker until their protection 'status' has been determined.
- **Internally displaced person (IDP):** someone who is living inside the borders of their own country but is unable to safely live in their own home or region.

¹ The American Migration Council (2021) notes that the international definition of a "refugee" encompasses only a subset of the entire population of forcibly displaced individuals. Individuals who are not defined as "refugees" may be forced to leave their homes for reasons other than "a well-founded fear of persecution." For instance, as of 2020, there were 3.9 million Venezuelans displaced abroad who did not qualify as either refugees or asylum seekers.

- **Stateless persons:** someone who does not have a nationality recognized by any country. Stateless persons have great difficulty crossing borders and are often marginalized, not having equal access to health care and opportunities in work and education.
- **Returnees:** refugee or internally displaced person who has returned to their country or area of origin to remain there permanently. However, they are not yet fully reintegrated into their community. A returnee loses their refugee status once they return.

(UNHCR.org, 2024)

The 1951 Refugee Convention is underpinned by several fundamental principles, including non-discrimination, non-penalization, and non-refoulement. Most notably, the core principle of non-refoulement asserts that a refugee should not be returned to a country where they face serious threats to their life or freedom. This has become a customary rule of international law which strives to ensure that everyone can exercise their rights to seek asylum and find safe refuge in another state. Thus, there are three internationally recognized durable solutions for IDPs and refugees:

- 1) to return home voluntarily
- 2) to integrate locally
- 3) to resettle in a third country

The convention also lays down standards for the treatment of refugees. This includes access to the courts, primary education, work, and the provision for legal documents including a refugee travel document in passport form. While UNHCR estimates that over 70 percent of refugees will eventually be able to return to their home country, in reality, many refugees end up spending prolonged time in exile, awaiting to return home (UNHCR, 2022). According to UNHCR, only seven percent of refugee populations worldwide are projected to need resettlement; and only just one percent has access to resettlement annually (*Finding durable solutions*, 2021).

In 2001, UNHCR States Parties issued a declaration reaffirming their commitment to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, and they recognized that the core principle of *non-refoulement* is embedded in customary international law (*Declaration reaffirming principles*, 2001). Currently, UNHCR is made up of 149 States Parties (out of 192 nations). The organization operates in over 130 countries.

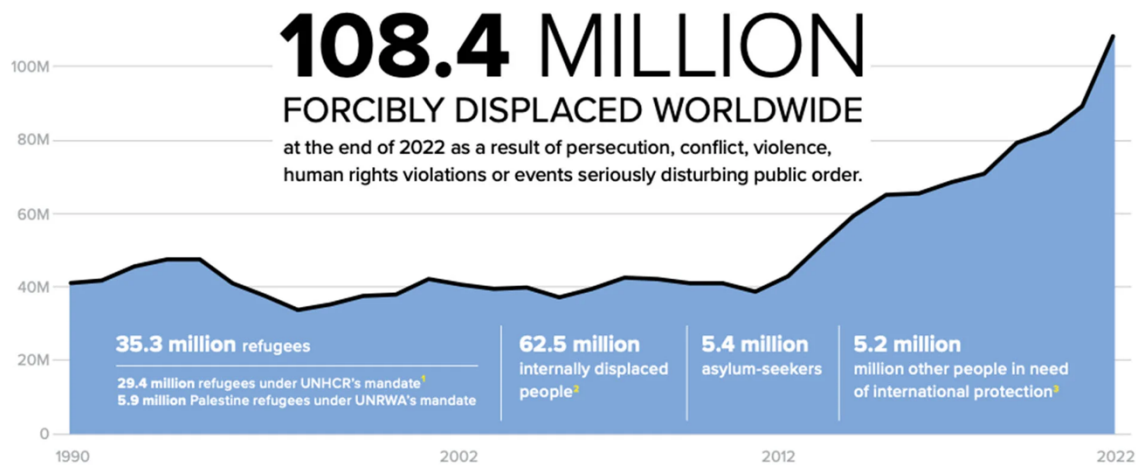


Figure 2.2: Global Displacement (as of December 2022) (UNHCR, 2023)

As of 2022, UNHCR reported that there were 108.4 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. The number rapidly increased from 82.4 million in November 2021. This number includes 35.3 million refugees, 5.4 million asylum-seekers, and 62.5 million IDPs. More than two-thirds of all refugees under UNHCR's mandate come from just six countries: the Syrian Arab Republic (6.8 million), Ukraine (6 million), Venezuela (4.1 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), South Sudan (2.2 million), and Myanmar (1.1 million). *Third Country Solutions for Refugees: Roadmap 2030* (2022) reports a large gap between resettlement needs and actual annual departures. Thus, the organization commits to expanding resources and assistance for sustainable resettlement to incrementally increase the capacity to resettle 10,000 more departures annually. The Roadmap states that "2019 [is] the starting point, the Strategy sought a cumulative total of over 1 million refugees being resettled by the end of 2028. 220,000 refugees" (p.14).

2.2 U.S. REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

The United States has a long history and tradition of offering refuge to those fleeing violence and war. Even prior to the formalization of the resettlement process, “initial migration to the North American English colonies was primarily refugees fleeing oppression and persecution. The Pilgrims’ search for a place to freely practice their religion lies at the very root of American identity” (Haines, 2015, p.1).

2.2.1 History and Policies

U.S Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) details their history in their *Refugee Timeline* (2023). Over the last century, the United States has implemented multiple Presidential directives and policies which opened doors to many refugee groups. The U.S. Congress first created the Bureau of Immigration to oversee immigrants, displaced persons, and refugees in 1891. The Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Naturalization were merged into the United Immigration and Naturalize Services (INS) in 1933. After the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, President Truman authorized a Presidential Directive on Displaced Persons, which expedited their admission into the U.S. within the existing framework of immigration law. The President further urged Congress "to pass suitable legislation at once so that this nation may do its share in caring for homeless and suffering refugees of all faiths" (Truman, January 7, 1948). Later that year, Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which allowed refugees to enter the U.S. within the limitations of the existing quota system. The law required that admitted displaced persons find a place to live and a job that would not replace a worker already in the country. While the Act aimed to address the nearly seven million displaced persons in Europe impacted by World War II, only around 350,000 displaced persons were admitted

before it expired in 1952. The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) then came into effect in 1952, restructuring contemporary immigration law.

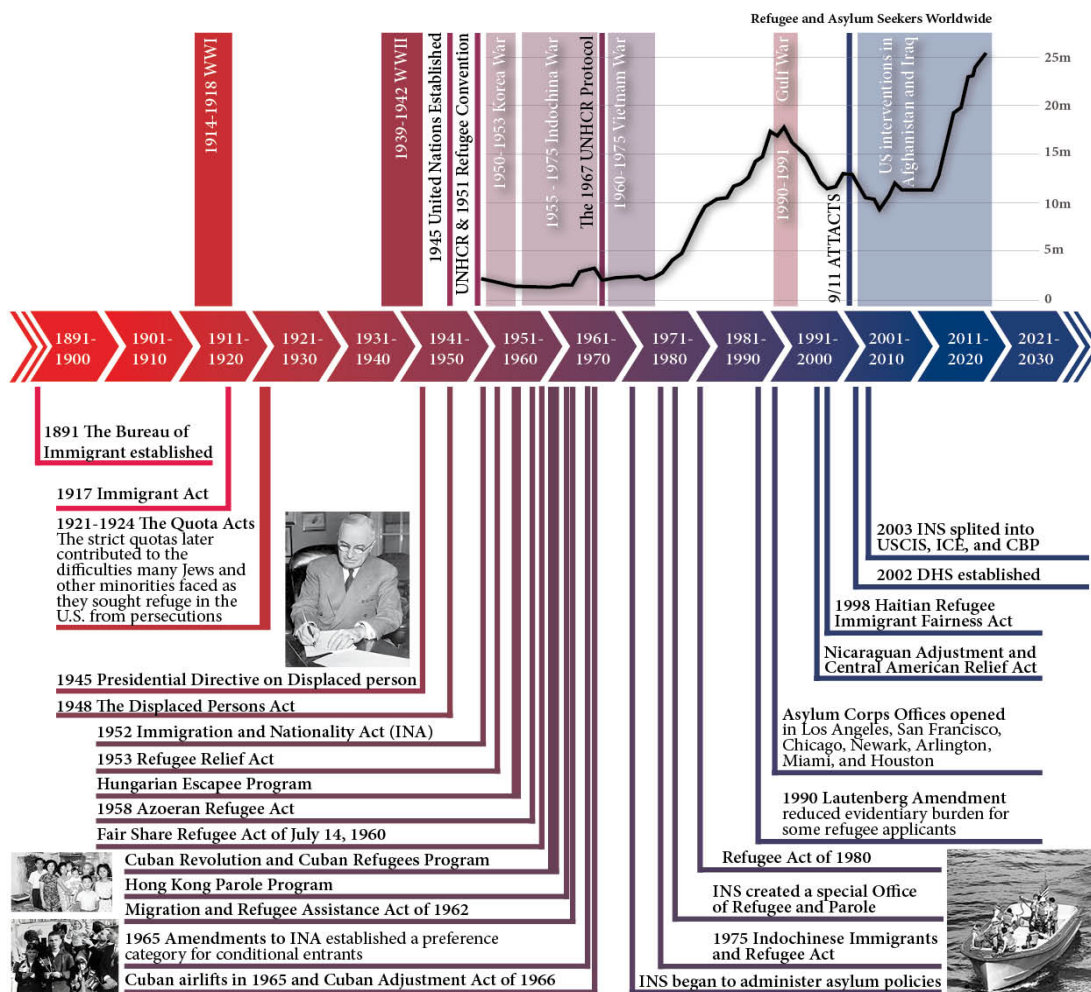


Figure 2.3: Selected global events and US refugee policies and laws (illustration: author, 2022; data source: refugee timeline, USCIS, retrieved September 2022a)

After 1952, there were several laws and refugee programs that addressed specific displaced persons and refugee groups under a specific event. Such laws included:

- The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 addressed refugees from communist regimes.
- The Hungarian Escape Program between 1956-1958 addressed Hungarian refugees specifically.
- The Azorean Refugee Act of 1958 provided shelters for Portuguese earthquake victims.

- Cuban Refugee Programs and the Airlifts after the Cuban Revolution in 1959.
- The Hong Kong Parole Program between 1962-1966 authorized Chinese refugees who had fled to Hong Kong to enter the U.S.

Additionally, the passage of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 allowed Congress to provide monetary assistance to refugees fleeing from communist countries during the Cold War. It also allowed nearly 20,000 refugees to enter the U.S. under the Attorney General's parole authority between 1960-1965.

Between 1921 to 1965, the U.S. used the National Origins Formula to set immigration quotas for people from the Eastern Hemisphere based on national origin. The 1965 Amendments to INA marked an important step which abolished the National Origin Formula from US immigration policy. Consequently, the amendment established a preference category for conditional entrants:

- Aliens in noncommunist countries who had fled a communist country.
- Aliens from the Middle East who were unwilling to return due to persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion.
- People who were uprooted by catastrophic natural calamities as defined by the president.

The INA marked the first time Congress provided a permanent basis for the admission of refugees. While the Act initially set preference categories applied only to Eastern hemisphere countries, Congress passed further legislation in 1976 and 1978 that made the status available to all refugees.

Despite many pre-existing policies and long-established humanitarian programs, the U.S. only joined the UNHCR States Parties in 1968 after the enactment of the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocols. With the fall of Vietnam in April of 1975, the U.S.

faced the challenge of resettling hundreds of thousands of Indochinese using a Refugee Task Force and temporary funding. This was even though the Indochinese Immigrants and Refugees Act being enacted in 1975. These challenges triggered Congress to standardize resettlement services for admitted refugees and pass the 1980 Refugee Act. This Act incorporates the definition of "refugee" as used in the UNHCR Protocol. It also provides for the regular and emergency admission of refugees and authorizes federal assistance for the resettlement of refugees and other legislative purposes. The 1980 Refugee Act created a uniform and comprehensive policy to proactively address refugee admissions by:

- Removing the geographic and ideological limits on the definition of "refugee"
- Providing the first statutory basis for asylum.
- Creating the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) to oversee resettlement programs under the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services (HHS).

As numbers of people requesting asylum increased, INS opened the "Asylum Officer Corps" in 1991 in seven locations across the U.S.: Los Angeles and San Francisco, CA; Chicago, IL; Arlington and Houston, TX; Newark, NJ; and Miami, FL. The year after its creation, more than 100,000 people filed for asylum. The INS administered refugee admissions until the USCIS was established and began operations in 2003. Following 9/11 and the subsequent creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2002, the INS divided into three organizations: the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), the U.S. Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP). At present, USCIS is the primary agency that oversees and administers refugee and asylum affairs in cooperation with DoS, HHS, and other agencies.

The 1980 Refugee Act provides the legal basis for today's U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP). Under this Act, the President, in consultation with Congress, sets the

annual numerical ceiling of refugee admissions and the allocation of these admissions to refugees coming from various parts of world. The numbers of refugees admitted to the U.S. have fluctuated significantly over the years, reflecting the varying priorities of presidential administrations (Ward & Batalova, 2023). Since the enactment of the 1980 Refugee Act, the United States has admitted more than three million refugees for humanitarian reasons.

The State Department and DHS are the primary agencies that assess the viability of different refugee populations for admission, as well as the capacity of U.S. government officials to process them. Currently, there are nine national resettlement agencies working with the Department of State (DoS) to implement refugee intake and placement. After resettling, these populations receive initial assistance from ORR, under HHS. The support for new arrivals includes, but is not limited to: financial and medical assistance, case management services, language classes, job training, housing availability, school availability, and employment services (*US Refugee Admissions*, n.d.). The duration of assistance varies by location and local agencies. Ultimately, agencies provide support which aim to help refugees become self-sufficient.

Figure 2.4 illustrates numbers of refugees admitted in conjunction with the selected key events. The inception of the Refugee Act marked the all-time high of refugee intake whereby more than 200,000 refugees (largely from Vietnam, Cambodia, and other Southeast Asian countries) were admitted into the U.S. within a single fiscal year. This stands in striking contrast to the Trump administration's refugee ceiling of 18,000 during the 2020 fiscal year. The all-time low of admitted refugees was in 2021, with only 11,411 admissions.

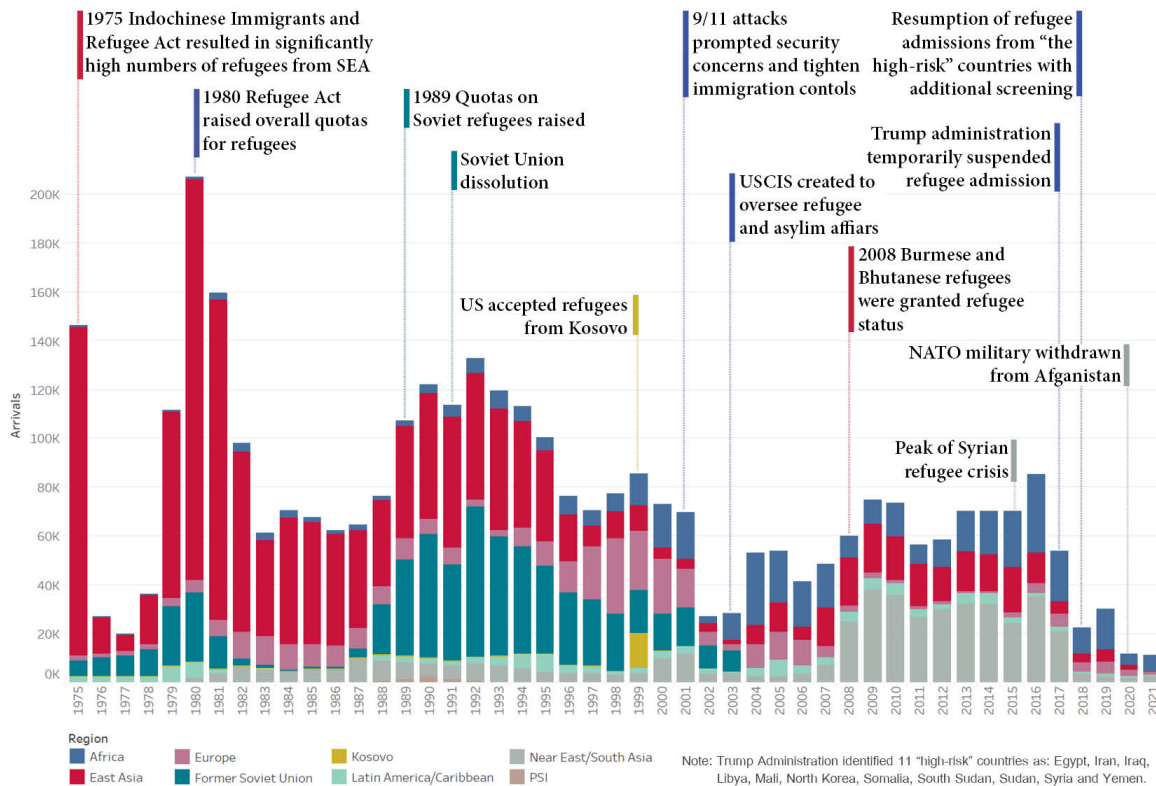


Figure 2.4: Refugee Admission by Region and Selected Key Events

(Illustration: Author, 2022; Based graph of Refugee Admission by Region: Refugee Processing Center, 2022)

Key Facts about Refugees to the U.S. (2019) by PEW provides the following details:

From fiscal years 1990 to 1995, an average of about 116,000 refugees arrived in the U.S. each year, with many coming from the former Soviet Union. However, refugee admissions dropped off to roughly 27,100 in fiscal 2002, a new low at the time, after the U.S. largely suspended admissions following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. Refugee admissions rebounded from this low point [nearly a decade later]. From fiscal 2008 to 2017, an average of about 67,100 refugees arrived each year. Half or more of refugees during this time came from Asia, with many from Iraq and Burma (Myanmar)... Since fiscal 1980, 55% of refugees have come from Asia, a far higher share than from Europe (28%), Africa (13%) or Latin America (4%) ...

Krogstad, 2019

In addition to its refugee programs, the U.S. also grants protection for immigrants from selected countries through Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for a specific period of time. The status protects immigrants from deportation and permits them to legally live and work in the U.S. As of 2022, immigrants from 15 designated countries are eligible for TPS:

Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Yemen. While TPS offers safety for people from these designated countries who may be in danger if they return to their country of origin, the program is temporary and does not offer a path to a lawful permanent resident status like those receiving a refugee status (USCISa, 2022).

2.2.2 Public Opinion on Refugee Intake

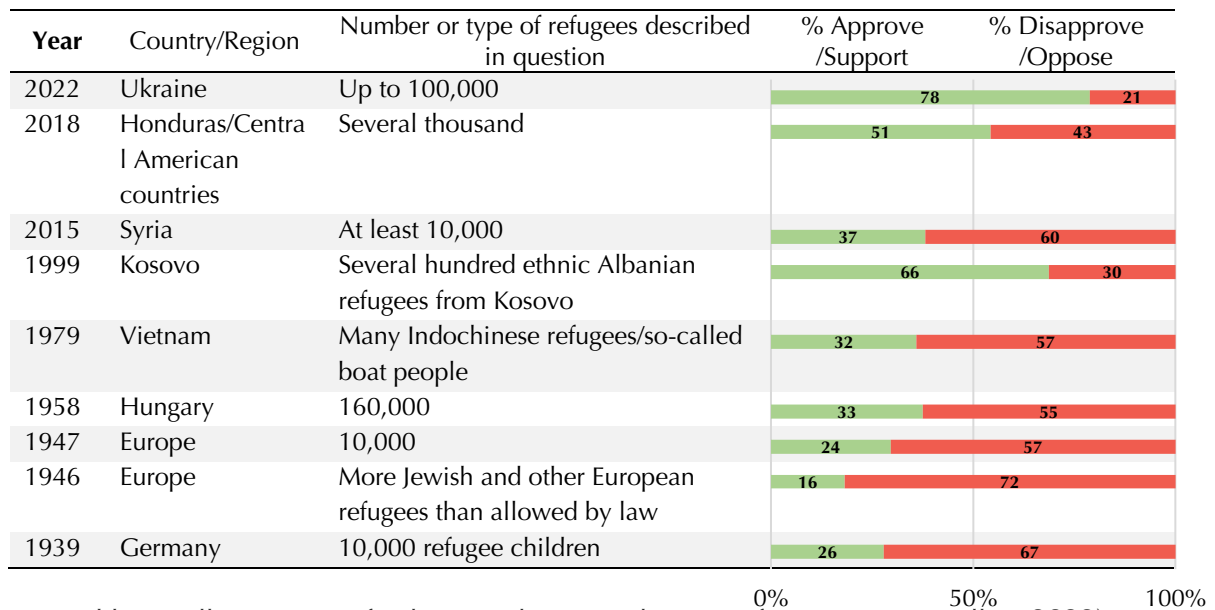


Table 1: Polls on Support for the United States' Taking in Refugees (Source: Gallop, 2022)

Researchers point out the consistent opposition of American public opinion to admissions of large groups of refugees fleeing war and persecution throughout the past eight decades (DeSilver, 2015; Jones, 2015). In *Americans Again Opposed to Taking in Refugees*, archived polls from 1938 reported a strong opposition to refugees escaping dictatorships in Europe (67%). In 1947, most Americans opposed the U.S. government's policies to receive European refugees who had been uprooted by WWII (57%). Nonetheless, the U.S. accepted more than 400,000 displaced Europeans that year (Jones, 2015). The prolonged period of the Cold War between 1947 to 1991 also brought about many waves of refugees, yet the anti-refugee sentiment persisted. For example, when

nearly 200,000 Hungarians had fled their country, the 1958 poll reported only a minority of Americans approved a plan to accept them (33%). On the other hand, ethnic Albanians from Kosovo received a more positive response. The 1999 poll reported a mostly positive percentage of support regarding the U.S. decision to take them in (66%). Greater public support can be found for the more recent Ukrainian refugees, with most Americans supporting their reception due to the ongoing invasion from Russia (69%) (Lipka, 2022.) For refugees from Southeast Asia, only a minority of Americans approved the decision to admit them after the end of Vietnam War (34%). By the end of 1990, the U.S. had admitted nearly 600,000 refugees from the region. Similarly, Syrian refugees also received a low support rate at 37 percent despite the global media attention, whereas 49 percent say they are welcome to their community (Jones, 2015).

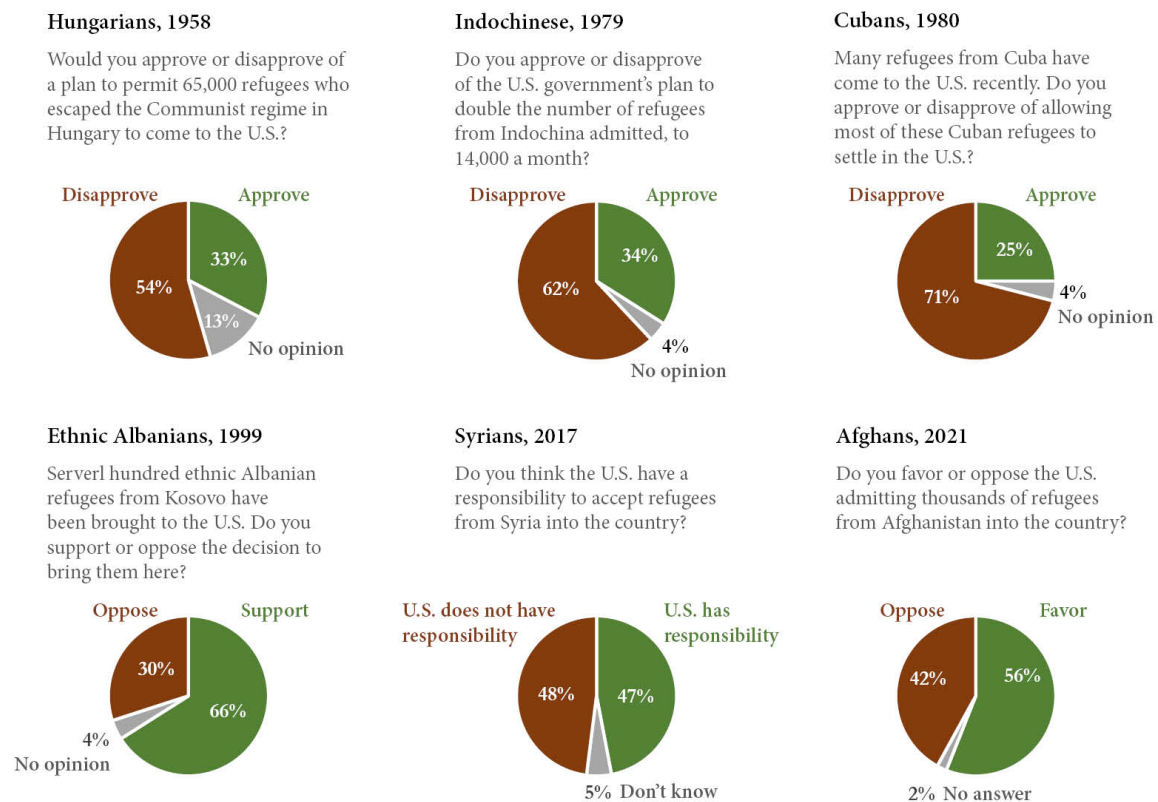


Figure 2.5: American opinion-polling regarding refugee resettlements
(Source: Gallup (Hungarians, July-August 1958; Albanians, May 1999); CBS/New York Times (Indochinese, July 1979; Cubans, June 1980); Pew Research Center (Syrians, April 2017; Afghans, September 2021))

In 2017, PEW presents divided public feedback on the U.S. government's responsibility to accept various groups of refugees (see Figure 2.5). While opinions remain divisive and present some opposition to the admission of many refugee groups, the recent Afghan refugees have received relatively positive support (56%) favoring their admission compared to other previous refugee groups (PEW, 2021). Still, the number is far below the 78 percent approval rate of Ukrainian refugee (Younis, 2024)

Since the U.S. military withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021, many American opinion-polls about Afghan refugees have reported conforming results showing more than 50 percent of responses supporting the admission/resetting of Afghan refugees. Nevertheless, this percentage varies largely depending on the contentious political atmosphere at the time of polling as well as other potential factors. In August 2021, PBS reports that "73% of Americans support allowing Afghan refugees to come into the US." Similarly, a survey from the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research states that "72% of Americans say they favor the U.S. granting refugee status to people who worked with the U.S. or Afghan governments during the war in Afghanistan, if they pass security checks." This poll gave a special condition to differentiate general civilians from Afghans who worked with the US or Afghan governments. The approval rate drops to 72% when asking about "others who fear living under Taliban rule" (Knickmeyer et al., 2021).

Despite general positive responses to Afghan refugee admission into the U.S., only a small fraction expressed confidence in the US refugee screening process. PEW (2021) reports:

...about one-in-ten Americans say they are very confident that the government is conducting adequate security screening of refugees arriving in the U.S. from Afghanistan; 31% say they are somewhat confident, 27% say they are not too confident and 28% say they are not at all confident that the government is

adequately screening refugees.” In the meantime, fear of international terrorism remains high at 41 percent, on top of a rising perceived threat from domestic terrorism at 49 percent

PEW explains that partisan differences may influence reasoning behind polarized opinions on refugee issues. The author elaborates that factors such as political and religious beliefs potentially impact their views on the refugee intake more so than household income or educational levels. Except for a respondent’s gender and immigration background, demographic differences have modest impact (Lipka, 2022).

2.2.3 Post 9/11 changes on Refugee Policies, Attitudes, and Biases

The aftermath of the 9/11 attacks left the U.S. and the world feeling both sorrow and fear. This urged governments around the world to safeguard their nations, making anti-immigration measures the centerpiece of efforts to combat terrorism. In the months following 9/11, the U.S. Congress passed the 2001 Patriot Act, established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2002, and enacted the Real ID Act in 2005. These changes reflected a pivotal move in U.S. immigration reform to increase counterterrorism measures. Boundless states, “Instead of viewing immigration through a lens of economics and foreign policy, the United States came to view immigration mostly through a lens of security and risk” (Boundless, 2023).

With intensive security measures placed on refugee programs and a vetting process being implemented, some scholars argue that these measures have curtailed the rights of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, leaving vulnerable populations in exacerbated danger. These measures may have unintended consequences which undermine refugee protection and even the public safety of US allies (Barkdull et al., 2012; *The migration-related legacy*, 2021). Similarly, Human Rights Watch (2002) opposes the severely strict security measures, stating that:

...governments introduced measures that seriously eroded their obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention and undermined the fundamental right to seek and enjoy asylum, as stipulated in the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights]...

Not only did doors close to Afghan refugees in neighboring countries, but also further afield. According to UNHCR, Afghan refugees arrived in countries as distant and geographically dispersed as Australia, Cambodia, Cuba, and Iceland in 2000. In 1999 and 2000, the number of Afghans who sought asylum in Europe nearly doubled, with Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom receiving the largest numbers of applications. Fears of a mass influx of Afghan refugees after September 11, prompted several countries to introduce harsh policies.

(HRW, 2002, p.634).

In the United States, the Patriot Act (2001) has expanded the definition of terrorism to cover domestic terrorism and allowed government access to personal records held by third parties. Additionally, the Real ID Act (2005) has elevated the terrorism related admissibility bar. These applications have delayed the resettlement of some refugee groups. For example, Karen refugees, who aided the pro-democracy U.S. support group in Myanmar, were left waiting in camps for years because they provided “material support” to an anti-Myanmar government group (Barkdull et al., 2012, p.110). A similar situation could have happened to Afghan refugees who worked to support U.S. forces as well.

In addition to policy changes and public concerns over national security, attitude towards immigration and refugees are worsened by the American mainstream media which often frame refugee resettlement as a threat to national security. This misperception has negatively impacted refugees’ daily life, even after their resettlement in the U.S. A national survey conducted in 2020 by the Center for Migration Studies (CMS) and Refugee Council USA finds that:

...When asked to identify the main false ideas about the US Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP), the top misconception identified by respondents – 82 percent of refugees and 88 percent of non-refugees – was the idea that “refugees pose a security risk to US citizens.” This false idea impacts the lives of refugees and their ability to integrate. When asked about their main challenges, 30 percent of refugee

respondents identified “false understandings or misperceptions of refugees in the news” and 30 percent identified “false understandings or misperceptions of refugees in their community.”

(Center for Migration Studies, 2021)

Based on aggregate time trends, Schüller (2012) argues that the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks resulted in rising xenophobic aggression and anti-Muslim sentiments in the U.S. as well as many European countries. His empirical study demonstrates “increased worries about immigration by around 38 to 44 percent” (p.9). In accordance with Schüller, Barkdull et al. claim that negative attitudes towards refugees and immigrants may have resulted in acts of discrimination based on country of origin. They state:

...Incidents include U.S. law enforcement arrests or detentions of hundreds of Arabs and Muslims on suspicion of terrorist affiliation (e.g. Johnson, 2004). In general, anti-immigrant sentiment has been increasing across the United States, with many bills, filed in state legislatures that contain restrictive policies towards immigrants (Chang-Muy & Congress, 2009). Post 9/11 xenophobia and the ubiquitous politics of race and ideology unfortunately affect America’s willingness to accept refugees, its treatment of them once they are here, and its support for the public and private agencies that assist them.

(Barkdull et al, 2012, p.111)

Furthermore, refugees’ screening and broad interrogations based on country of origin was ineffective. The Office of the Inspector General of DHS reported that the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERs), which operated between 2002-2011, created restrictions and challenges to travelers from North Korea and Muslim-majority countries. DHS recommends focusing on specific information about individual security threats rather than general information based on a country of origin (Boundless, n.d.) Along the same line, a study from the Migration Policy Institute underlines the abuse of immigration power by U.S. counterterrorism authorities to arrest and/or detain foreign nationals by their country of origin, especially those who are Muslim and people from Arab and South Asian countries (Chishti & Bolter, 2021). Schüller explains the situation in the US as follow:

... aggregate time trends suggests that anti-Muslim sentiments and xenophobic aggression increased considerably among the US population in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (2003) reports over 700 incidents targeting Arab Americans or perceived as such, including several murders. Human Rights Watch (2002) and Gould and Klor (2012) refer to data from the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR), showing a 16-fold increase in the reported total number of hate crimes against Muslims from 2000 to 2001.

(Schüller, 2012, p.4)

Negative attitudes towards immigration are not unique to U.S. immigration, but are also found in other countries including Canada, the UK, Australia, Sweden, and Germany. Schüller (2012) elaborates on the escalating negative attitudes towards immigrants among native German residents. This increasing trend is particularly pronounced among low-educated individuals' responses.

Despite its undeniable general misconceptions and negative unintended outcomes, these policies changes have modernized US immigration and refugee programs to ensure its efficiency and public safety (CMS, 2021). Rather than using counter-terrorism measures to reverse well-established refugee and human rights protection standards, it is essential to consider national security and refugee protection as complementary imperatives. Donald Kerwin, an Executive Director of the Center for Migration Studies of New York explains:

Refugees and migrants can also make crucial contributions to the struggle against terrorism. Indeed, following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, law enforcement and intelligence experts recognized the need to engage communities in which terrorists might attempt to hid, to draw on immigrants as a source of intelligence and support, and to enlist them in counterterror efforts (Kerwin and Stock 2007, 418-19). They insisted (correctly) that immigrant communities have a strong interest and incentive to cooperate in responding to a shared threat. Not only do the members of these communities overwhelmingly reject extremist ideologies and terrorism, but they bear the brunt of hate crimes and vilification by anti-immigrant extremists following attacks. In fact, tips from commit or family members helped to expose one-quarter of the 330 cases of persons changed with jihaish terrorist offense in the United States since 9/11 (Bergan 2016, 101-02)

(Kerwin, 2016, p.94)

As the number of refugees worldwide has risen from 12.1 million at the time of the 9/11 attacks to 43.4 million as of the end of 2023, the need for a more robust U.S. refugee program has never been greater. Considering the advanced screening processes ensuring national security, it is hopeful that the United States will return to its historical place as a world leader to safely welcome refugees.

2.2.4 Process of Refugee Resettlement in the US

For refugees seeking resettlement in the US, the first step is to register with UNHCR to verify their refugee status. This registration process normally should be undertaken in the country to which they have fled. After an initial screening, UNHCR then determines their refugee status under international laws and identifies appropriate durable solutions for each individual case. Once identified as refugees in need of resettlement, they are referred to a U.S. Department of State Resettlement Support Center (RSCs). The RSC then conducts further screening to ensure these refugees meet U.S.-designated processing priorities and satisfy U.S. resettlement criteria. International Rescue Committee (IRC) explains the eligible criteria as follow:

- Meet the definition of a "refugee" as determined by U.S. government officials.
- Be among those refugees determined by the President to be of special humanitarian concern to the U.S.
- Be otherwise admissible under U.S. law.
- Not be firmly resettled in any foreign country.

In addition, The United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) sets three principal categories through which individuals can seek the resettlement admission program:

Priority One. Individuals with compelling protection needs or those for whom no other durable solution exists. These individuals are referred to the United States by UNHCR, or they are identified by a U.S. embassy or a non-governmental organization (NGO).

Priority Two. Groups of “special concern” to the United States, which are selected by the Department of State with input from U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), UNHCR, and designated NGOs. Currently, these groups include certain persons from Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq.

Priority Three. The relatives (parents, spouses, or unmarried children under 21) of refugees who are already settled in the United States. The U.S.-based relative must file an Affidavit of Relationship (AOR) and must be processed by DHS.

(An Overview of U.S. Refugee Law and Policy, 2021)

On August 2, 2021, DoS announced a new Priority Two Designation for certain Afghan nationals and eligible family members. This new group includes those who work/worked in some capacity for the U.S. Government, U.S. government-funded programs or projects in Afghanistan supported through a U.S. government grant or cooperative agreement, U.S.-based non-governmental organizations, or U.S.-based media organizations. It also includes eligible Afghan nationals referred by a relevant American citizen. This creates a pathway for people who may not meet the minimum time-in-service for a Special Immigrant Visa (SIV) to be resettled in the U.S.

After the registration steps, RSCs, through cooperative agreements with the U.S. Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, helps each prospective refugee prepare their case to the DHS. They compile refugee’s personal data and request background security checks from U.S. national security agencies including the National Counterterrorism Center, FBI, and the Department of Defense. USCIS officers conduct interviews to confirm that the individual qualifies for resettlement under a designated refugee processing priority.



Figure 2.6: US refugee screening process (source: Migration Policy Institute, Refugee Council USA, DoS)

Applications for refugee resettlement can be denied for a variety of reasons including criminal histories, past immigration violations, alleged connections to terrorist

groups, or communicable diseases. Applicants cannot appeal the decision unless new or previously unavailable information arises. Resettlement programs also give priority to vulnerable families who have been targeted by violence. The application review process typically takes up to 36 months and is followed by further security checks after arrival in the U.S.

Individuals who pass the security and medical checks and receive formal approval from USCIS are eligible for resettlement. RSCs send biographical information of refugees selected for resettlement to the nine domestic resettlement agencies and organize travel to the United States in coordination with the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Preparation for travel: Prior to a departure from a country of temporary protection, refugees sign an agreement to pay travel costs back to the US government. They attend a brief class about what to expect during migration, American culture, US laws, and health benefits. Officials then conduct a final screening before departure.

Arrival in the U.S.: Case workers from resettlement agencies usually welcome refugees at the airport. The domestic resettlement agencies, many of them faith-based organizations, handle resettlement logistics and consult with local authorities to determine where the refugee will live. However, refugees cannot choose to live in any state of their choice. Only when possible, they may be placed in a city where they have relatives or there is an established community from their home country or nationality. Other considerations include the cost of living and access to medical services.

Getting on their feet: The State Department's Reception and Placement Program provides funds to cover refugees' rent, furnishings, food, and clothing for an initial 90-day period. The Office of Refugee Resettlement in the Department of Health and Human Services provides longer-term cash and medical assistance, along with other social services

such as language classes and employment training to support the integration of refugees into local communities. Parents are informed about schooling options and caseworkers help to enroll children in school. Aid agencies may help ensure each child has a backpack, notebooks, and other school supplies. Adults are encouraged to find a job as soon as possible with support from former refugees and a resettlement agency.

Path to citizenship: One year after resettlement, refugees may apply for Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status. If they receive LPR status, they may then petition for naturalization five years after their arrival in the United States.

The U.S. resettlement program is designed to force refugees to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible. This approach is simultaneously both beneficial and detrimental to refugees. Self-sufficiency is the end-goal for all refugees who resettle in the U.S. The quicker they achieve self-sufficiency; the easier life will be for them in the long run. However, for some refugees, three to six months is simply not enough time to learn a new language, acclimate to a new culture, and become self-sufficient in a new country. Most take about six months to one year to learn how to adjust to life in America and to begin gaining economic independence. The U.S. resettlement program's primary focus on refugees' economic sufficiency deprioritizes promoting social connections and community integration. Even though ORR works to ensure refugee placement is desirable to local governments, without a proper integration framework, the presence of refugees can bring a feeling of 'otherness' to a city regardless of their economic contributions. In an interview with three Afghans living in Columbia, SC, Caster narrates:

Upon entering the U.S., they were resettled into a low-income apartment complex in Columbia, South Carolina. According to them, their neighbors were primarily African American, Latino, and other refugees. They were ***disappointed that the social gatherings, at least in their perception, were centered around racial or ethnic boundaries.*** They had hoped to make a variety of friends like they had back

in Kabul, but instead, they found themselves only welcomed by fellow Afghans. ***They were thankful for the small Afghan community, but they felt isolated from the broader American community...*** Ibrahim explains:

“Here it is really quiet and very slow. We grew up in the middle of Kabul city—it is like New York, busy all the time, very crowded with people. Here you don’t see people on the street, ***neighbors do not talk to each other***. We have a neighbor and a couple of times we said hi and she just ignored us. I don’t think it is because we are Afghani. I think neighbors here just don’t talk to each other. In our culture, you have to have respect for your neighbor. If your neighbor is sick or has a need, you have to try to help them. Even if you are not in a position to help them, still you have to try your best. That’s the culture. I think it comes from the religion.”

(Caster, 2023)

This interview reflects the common problem many refugees experience. Lack of social connections is cultural shock for many, which consequently may lead to negative feelings as well as impeding any mental health issues and personal well-being.

2.3 AFGHANISTAN

The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan is a country in Central Asia west of the Himalaya Mountains. It shares a border with six countries: Tajikistan, China, Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Afghanistan’s strategic location offers many opportunities for trade and transportation. The proximity to the Silk Road, which connects the Middle East, South Asia, and Central Asia, has influenced the development of Afghan culture and its diversity. At the same time, the country’s geographical location also opened doors for invasion and conquests including those by the various Persians Empires, Alexander the Great (330 BCE), the Maurya Empire (250-180 BCE), Arab Muslims (c.10th- c.18th), and Genghis Khan’s Mongols (c.13th). (*Afghanistan: Geography and Political History*, n.d.)

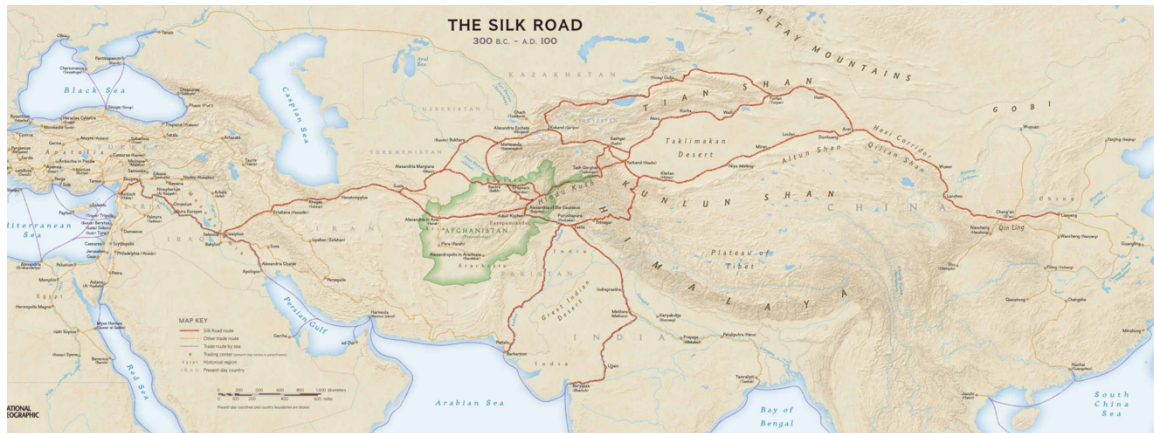


Figure 2.7: Historic Silk Road and Present Afghanistan (courtesy National Geographic)

Despite being a landlocked country, rugged mountains create naturally irrigated plains and fertile valleys with flowing rivers suitable for agriculture and human habitation. People have settled in this land since the prehistoric times. At the size of 525, 071 square miles (approximately the same as the State of Texas), Afghanistan is home to a population of more than 42 million (World Bank, 2024). However, prolonged conflicts, persecutions, oppression, and repression have caused more than 8.2 million Afghans to flee the country and at least three million people have been internally displaced (UNHCR, 2023).

In terms of religion, the territory has seen many religious shifts due to various changes in regimes. Before the Islamic conquest of Afghanistan, the Afghan people practiced varied religions. The land was the epicenter of Zoroastrianism (c.1800 – c.800 BCE), Hinduism and Sikh (c.1500 - c.1200 BCE), Buddhism (c.260 BCE - c.13th) (*Religion in Afghanistan*, n.d.; *Hindu and Buddhist heritage of Afghanistan*, n.d.; Kumar, 2017). Between c.7th – c.12th, the Muslim conquests of Afghanistan resulted in the Islamization of the population (*Muslim conquests of Afghanistan*, n.d.). Since then, Islamic values have continued to inform many social norms and practices throughout society (Evason, 2019)

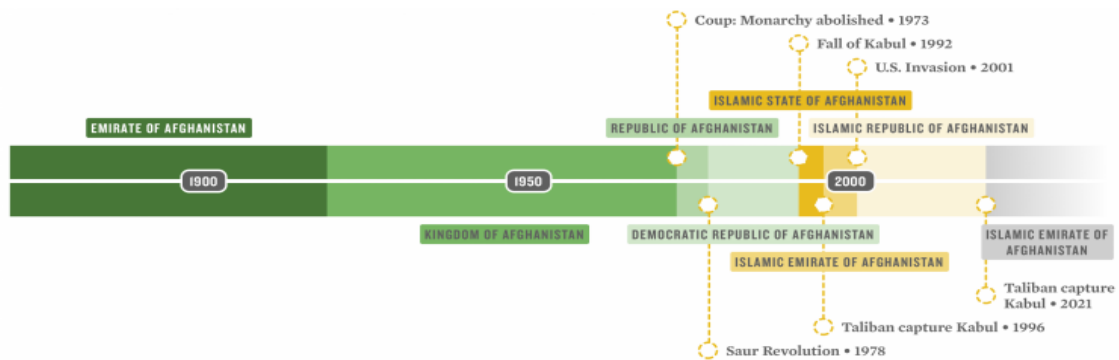


Figure 2.8: Political Timeline of Afghanistan (Their Story is Our Story, n.d.)

Modern Afghanistan emerged from a long history of shifting regional powers and foreign invasions that interfered with Afghans' governance. The country has witnessed numerous military campaigns, from the 'Great Game' in Central Asia between the British Empire and the Russian Empire (1830s-1920s); USSR invasions and infightings (1970s-1990s), and the recent US-led coalition (2001-2021). In 2021, the Taliban returned to power after taking over Kabul and overthrowing the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Even though the UN still provides humanitarian support, the Taliban government remains internationally unrecognized (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2024).

2.3.1 Diversity and Ethnic Conflicts

Afghanistan is mostly a tribal society comprising multiethnic and numerous ethnolinguistic groups. Among the 19 ethnic groups, Pashtuns are the largest (52%) followed by Tajik and Hazara (32%) and Uzbek (8%)² and minorities of Aimaq, Turkmen, Baloch, Pashai, Nuristani, Gujjar, Arab, Brahui, Qizilbash, Pamiri, Kyrgyz, Sadat, and others. Each ethnic group has distinct histories and rich cultures. Figure 2.9 shows where the various ethnolinguistic groups are roughly located.

² The percentage is estimated based on native mother tongue (WorldData, 2024).

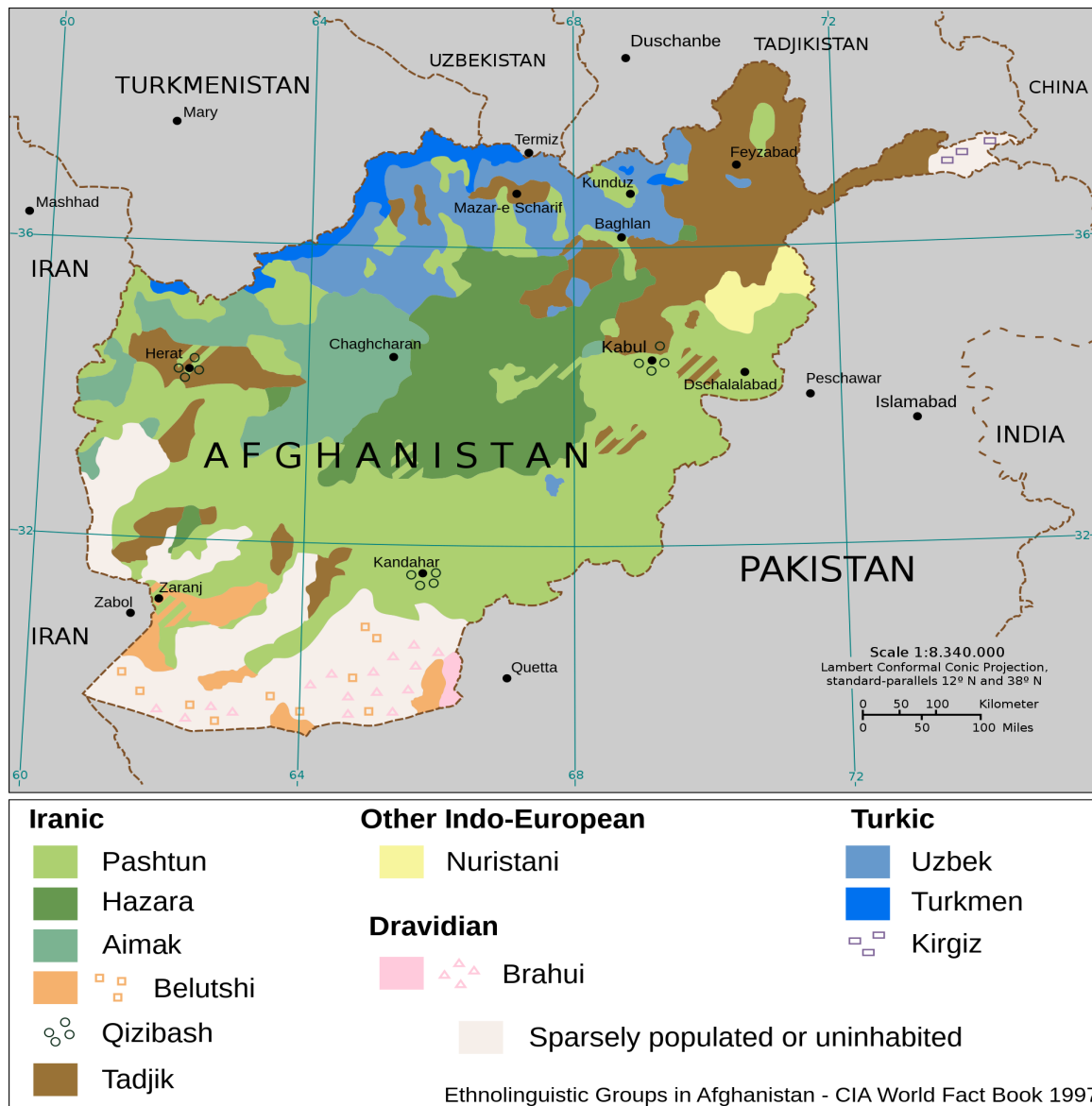


Figure 2.9: Ethnolinguistic Groups in Afghanistan (Source CIA World Fact Book, 1997)

Although the people of Afghanistan share some culture and practices across ethnic groups, the national culture is not considered to be uniform. In rural areas, ethnic affiliation often plays a pivotal role as an organizing principle in Afghan society (Blood, 2006). It is, however, not much different in an urban setting. In Kabul, the capital city of Afghanistan, ethnic associations have informed urban segmentation and ethnic clustering. Sarwari and Ono (2023) explain that a customary lifestyle of hierarchal kinship values contributes to ethnic clustering because people prefer to live among their relatives and

their own ethnic group. This clustering also allows them to form their social support network among their own kin. Evason (2019) highlights:

Dependence upon kin and community is particularly crucial to survival as there is a broad absence and mistrust of government involvement in people's personal lives. This is exacerbated by the underfunded social services that are often unable to meet basic needs due to corruption and lack of security... if an Afghan is in crisis and essential needs must be met, they usually have no choice but to turn to those of the same family, village/community, tribe or ethnicity for assistance (p.6).

In contrast, residential segmentation is worsened due to ethnic conflicts and discriminations. While interactions among different groups have broadened due to economic advancement and improved infrastructure, ethnic conflicts and tensions still exist across the country at multiple levels (Blood, 2006). Over time, these conflicts have eventually weakened Afghan social solidarity:

Local conflicts in all areas, within all groups, most often erupt over disputes concerning property or access to resources, whether it be land, water, money, business or government opportunities, bridewealth or inheritance. Naturally evolving demographic pressures accompanied by competition form the basis of other conflicts. Also, the tendency of past governments to initiate policies enhancing Pushtun prominence, increased the traditional Pushtun military and numerical dominance which allowed them to assert their will over other ethnic groups and maintain their status as the nation's most prestigious group.
(Blood, 2006, p.34)

Kabul's political policies also had long-term effects in aggravating ethnic tensions. The most intense ethnic tension exists between the Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns (such as Tajiks, Hazaras, and Uzbeks). Since their 2021 return to power, the Taliban, whose majority are Pashtun, tension has intensified. Although the Taliban refrains from committing overtly ethnically targeted attacks, minority ethnic groups are often the victims of violence carried out by the militant group. Because of prejudice, fear, and biases; interethnic conflicts can persist even after Afghan refugees migrate to the U.S. The Afghan Backgrounder reports:

These interethnic tensions do not disappear upon leaving Afghanistan, but they differ. Ethnic tensions in the United States are rarely physically violent. Instead, these ethnic tensions influence how Afghans form ethnic communities and enforce boundaries between one another. These boundaries can be harmless, with Afghan newcomers feeling more comfortable with co-ethnics based on a shared language and culture. They can also be harmful in fostering ongoing discrimination amongst different ethnic backgrounds, including in some cases between clients, resettlement staff, and interpreters.

(Glinski, 2021, p.7)

2.3.2 Demographic Characteristics

Afghan households are generally multigenerational with the average size of 7 to 8 people per household (2010). While family roles may vary between ethnicities, a traditional patriarchal age hierarchy prevails throughout all (Evason, 2019). It is expected that men must carry the economic burden of supporting the entire nuclear family. This may include himself, his wife, his children, any parent or in-laws, and any unmarried female family members. In addition to a responsibility as a provider, men have prerogative roles regarding their relationship with outsiders.

Conforming with the patriarchal values, female roles center around motherhood and family nurturing. Despite potentially having a professional career, women are responsible for domestic chores, cooking, raising any children, catering to the needs of the man of the house, and entertaining guests. Blood (2006) writes:

...in traditional urban lower and middle class homes men daily leave the house to work at jobs with which women are not involved and about which they have little knowledge or interest. These women are consequently more rigidly relegated to purely domestic duties of serving husbands and caring for children. Remarkable changes took place among middle class and elite families after 1959 when the government supported the voluntary end to seclusion for women. Women sought education and moved into the public sphere in ever increasing numbers. Nevertheless, working women are still expected to socialize within the family, not with their colleagues at work. (p.141)

In Afghan society, women's rights are often restricted, not unlike what is seen in the expected gender roles. Under Taliban rule, the circumstances have worsened for women. Women are now disallowed to receive an education and are forbidden from partaking in the public sphere (Glinski, 2021). A lack of education and security concerns are reported to be one of the many hurdles Afghan women must overcome before engaging openly and widely in the society (Nahavandi, 2019). Once an Afghan family migrates to the U.S., there can be confusion around how to navigate their cultural adjustments and changing dynamics in family life. Backgrounder explains:

For Afghans, aspects of life in the U.S. may be new and present challenges in their cultural adjustment. In some Afghan communities, men expect their wives to stay home and continue to do their job as they did back before. On the other hand, some women want to exercise their rights, enjoy their freedom, and participate actively in society, creating confusion and tension.

Furthermore, Afghan refugees may have never interacted with people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds other than those from their own country. As such, they may not know how to engage in a culturally sensitive and politically correct manner. To ease their culture shock and ensure they receive the necessary support to integrate into the host community properly... (Glinski, 2021, p14.)

In terms of language, Dari (Afghan Persian) and Pashto are official languages of Afghanistan and the two primary languages. Besides those two, there are 33 other spoken languages across multiple ethnic groups (Words of Relief published by Save the Children). However, the adult literacy rate among Afghans is considered low at 37.3%. The literacy statistics also show a large gender gap: 52.1% for males and 22.6% for females (UNESCO Kabul, 2022).

2.3.3 Multiple Waves of Afghan Migration

Afghans make up one of the largest refugee populations worldwide. UNHCR reports at least 8.2 million Afghans being hosted across 103 different countries (2023b). 2.6

million Afghans are registered refugees (as of mid-2021), of whom 2.2 million are registered in Iran and Pakistan. Another 3.5 million are IDPs who have fled their homes in search of refuge within the country. Two-thirds of the nation's population, more than 28 million out of 41 million, is or has been a refugee at some point in their life (UNHCR, 2024). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) speculates that numbers of fleeing people will continue to increase.

Before the fall of Kabul in 2021, regional conflicts, political turmoil, human rights abuses, and natural disasters have displaced many other Afghans and have created millions of refugees over the last 40 years. During the 1973 oil boom, many Afghans became migrant laborers in neighboring Pakistan and Iran. These workers were welcomed by both governments as cheap labor toiling mostly in construction and agriculture. Below, I give a brief review of contemporary Afghan migration, starting from the Soviet invasion in 1979 followed by consecutive waves of displacement caused by changing political powers and security of the country (Newland & Patrick, 2001).

The first wave of Afghan migration occurred between 1979-1989 after a seizure of power by communist factions in 1978. After the Soviet invasion in 1979, conflict between Afghan and Soviet soldiers and the mujahideen³ caused many to seek refuge in other countries. At the peak of the conflict, an estimated six million refugees fled to Pakistan and Iran. Pakistan received robust international financial support to build refugee camps, while Iran received less funding. This led Afghan refugees in Iran to settle among the wider Iranian population (Willner-Reid, 2017).

³ Mujahideen is members of a number of guerrilla groups operating in Afghanistan during the Afghan War (1978–92) that opposed the invading Soviet forces and eventually toppled the Afghan communist government. Rival factions thereafter fell out among themselves, precipitating the rise of one faction, the Taliban, and an opposing coalition, the Northern Alliance (Britannica, 2024).

The Soviet military withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, causing **the second wave of Afghan migration**. About two to three million expatriates returned to their home country, while Afghani Soviet supporters emigrated to Russia and India. The political instability after Soviet withdrawal and the resulting Afghan civil war culminated in five million emigrants and refugees, along with nearly a million IDPs (Newland & Patrick, 2001).

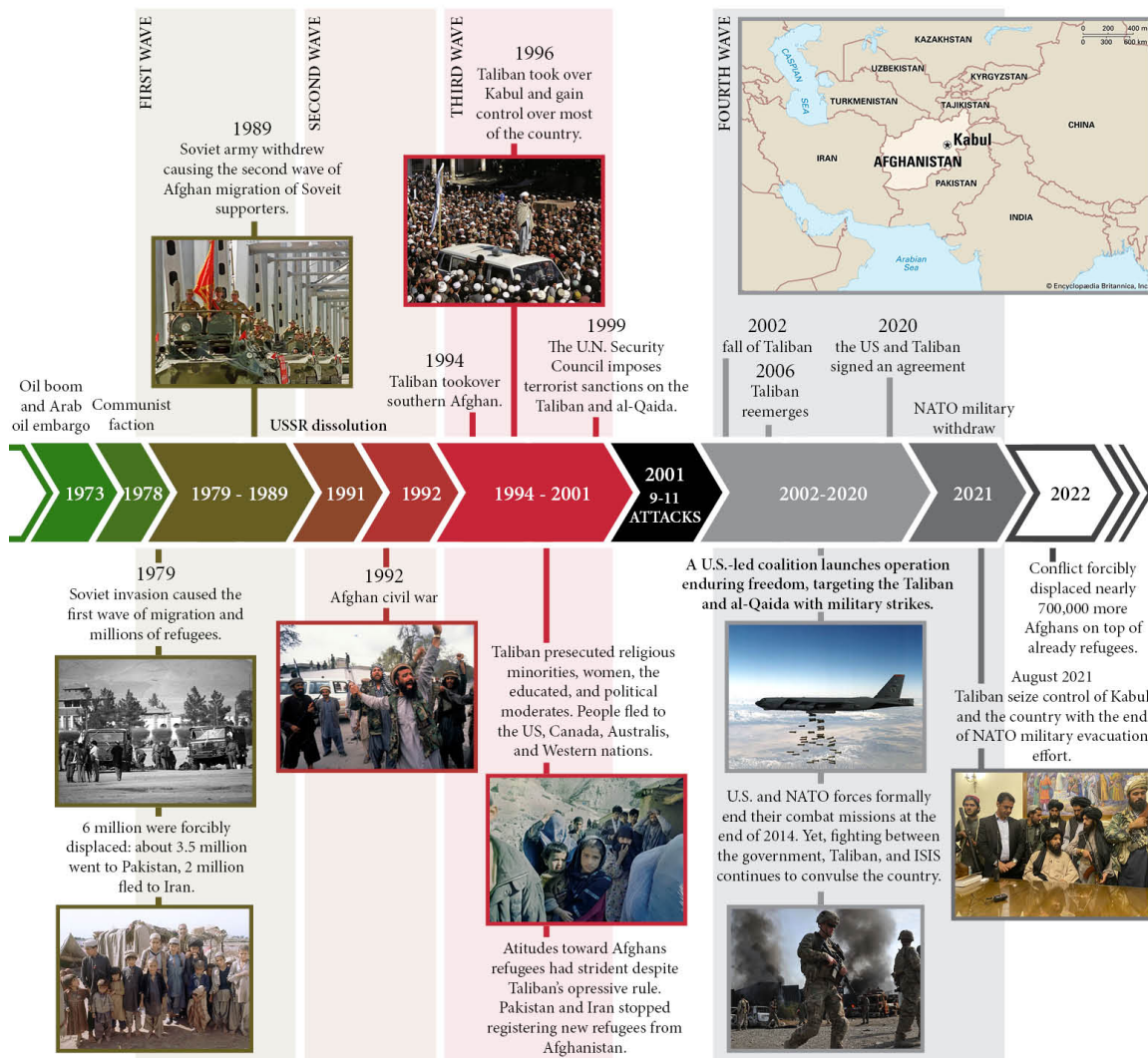


Figure 2.10: Afghan migrations timeline (author, 2022)

After the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 and the Afghan civil war, the Taliban began to take control of Afghanistan. Gaining authority in the southern regions, the Taliban

eventually took over the capital, Kabul, and most of the country in 1996. Once the Taliban ruled the country, they persecuted religious minorities and political moderates, suffocated media freedom, and severely restricted women's rights. During this time, attitudes towards Afghan refugees changed. For example, Iran executed a repatriation program in 1992 to 1995 that returned over 1.3 million to Afghanistan despite an ongoing oppression. Iran officially closed its borders to Afghans in 1997, followed by Pakistan in 2000. Both nations also stopped registering new refugees. Consequently, many were forced to flee and seek refuge in Western countries, especially the United States, Canada, and Australia. **This marked the third wave of migrations** (Bloch, 2021; Chin, 2021).

2.3.4 Architecture and a Typical House in Kabul

Civil wars and foreign invasions caused many destructions to Afghan cities. At the same time, Afghanistan has been influenced by multiple Western powers in contemporary history. These powers have reshaped the Afghan urban fabric, the development of infrastructure and public institutions, and the design of residential buildings, especially in a major city like Kabul. It is common to see traditional buildings sit adjacent to modern development. Mujadidi (2016) notes that the changes in Afghan architectural style have not only resulted from the idea of modernization but also from international development aid that caused a building boom after the establishment of the 2002 Afghan Government. Many new constructions however, may fail to respond to Afghan's climate and traditions:

Afghanistan has a traditional style of construction using earth and straw known as pakhsa. Also found in the vernacular are the use of sundried bricks, stone and wood. These methods have been used for centuries because the materials are available locally, and Afghans have passed down this building method for generations. The walls act as a natural insulator, keeping warm in the winters and cool in the summers. Pakhsa buildings are easily maintained and repaired by the local community.

The traditional spatial planning for Afghan cities and towns is a passive system design in which the building plan relates to the trajectory of the sun, allowing for energy efficiency. Sensitivity to spatial planning has developed out of the historical context. Public and private space is defined by a hard line, and eased by the incorporation of interior courtyards or gardens to create social balance. This is a common part of the urban language. These buildings embody a cultural idea about space and a concept about Afghan communities functioning on all levels – the home, the neighborhood, and the city.

(Mojadidi, 2016)



Figure 2.11: Traditional houses and new constructions staggering on the hills Kabul.

(Kouki Mojadidi, n.d)

More than 70 percent of the city of Kabul was developed informally (Kabul Urban Design Framework, 2018). The mountainous terrain also contributes to the morphology of the Kabul habitats. Roads weave up Kabul's hills and houses are staggered on top of each other. Together they form a strong relationship with the open terrain. The city has changed from the centralized planning in the 1960s to 1980s. Kabul has grown into a metropolitan city since the 1990s to present with a population of nearly five million.

A courtyard house is considered one of the most common housing typologies in Afghanistan. More than 95 percent of Afghan people live in either a traditional courtyard house or a contemporary courtyard house (Sharifzai, Kitakawa, Halimee, et al. 2016). These courtyard houses serve three main purposes: 1) full privacy for family members with interior open space; 2) climate protection especially from the extreme summer heat; and 3) to accommodate the Afghan family dynamic where multiple Afghan families live together (Ayoobi & Inceoglu, 2021). Table 2 compares behavioral and spatial changes between traditional courtyard houses and contemporary courtyard houses.

Living Activities	Changes in Space		Changes in Methods of use
	Traditional Courtyard House	Contemporary Courtyard House	
Dining	Living Room	Dining Room Living Room	Establishment of space reserved only for dining
Sleeping	Bedroom and Living Room	Bedroom	Partial use for living bedroom but modern case changes most
Family Gathering	Living Room and Parent Room	Living Room and Master Bedroom	Courts have disappeared in housings, with its function now incorporated into the living room
Guest Reception	Living Room and Guest Room	Living Room	Spatial division along gender has discarded
Housework	Tanwer Khana, Spacha	Kitchen, Dining Room	The traditional Kitchen, (Tanowr Khana) previously use as bakery and the same in summer outside
Ritual Ceremony	Guest Room out of court or near main gate and women inside	Living Room, Basement Hall	Through modernization, ritual ceremonies previously help inside the guest room are now served in living room. And High-class house in Basement Hall for men

Table 2: Changes of Life Pattern in House of Traditional Courtyard house and Contemporary Courtyard House in Afghanistan (Sharifzai et al., 2016)

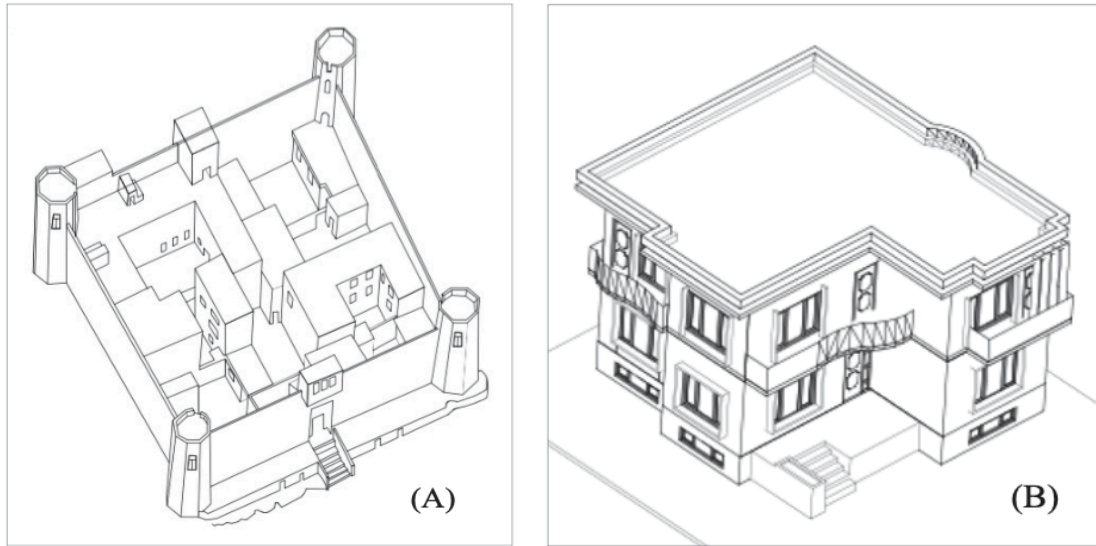


Figure 2.12: Drawings of (Left) a Traditional Courtyard House and (Right) a Contemporary Courtyard House (Sharifzai et al., 2016)

Courtyard Housing Type		
	Traditional	Contemporary
Plan Configuration	The spatial organization considers users' comfort using shadows and pond for surface evaporation. Energy saving elements are seen in open, semi-open, and closed. The ratios for these three spaces are proportionate to the climate	The spatial organization neither does support thermal comfort nor ventilation. There are changes in uses of semi-open and mediating space (porch, etc.) which resulted in decreasing and omitting these spaces
Quality of Space	Space flexibility for lifestyle dynamism, human behaviors, and their status and allocating no space for special operations	Domination of objects in house special organization, transformation of space into rigid material resulting from space inflexibility
Thermal Comfort	There are uses of elements such as wind-catcher, basement, shades, pond, and courtyard in a uniform pattern. These elements are integrated into the spatial organization which converge residents' needs and environmental responses	Architecture does not have prominent roles in providing thermal comfort. Cooling and heating devices are attached to the building as an accessory part. There is no spatial response for achieving adaptation to environment and its seasonal changes. Spatial response is replaced by technology in a divergent way Minimal consideration of nature. Its facilities have not been used for providing residents' comfort, and relation of construction with nature in contemporary houses has been minimized to consumption of environment and weakening it
Building Connection to Nature	House was not separate from nature, and existence of some nature representatives was mandatory in the spatial organization of a house	

Table 3: Comparison of Concepts and Parameter of Traditional and Contemporary Courtyard Houses (adopted from Sharifzai et al., 2016)

In a traditional informal settlement, most houses were not designed or built by architects but by Afghan people from all kinds of backgrounds and varying spatial requirements. These differences are derived from their rural habitats and regional cultures. One example of a typical mud-timber courtyard house for a family of eight is shown below.

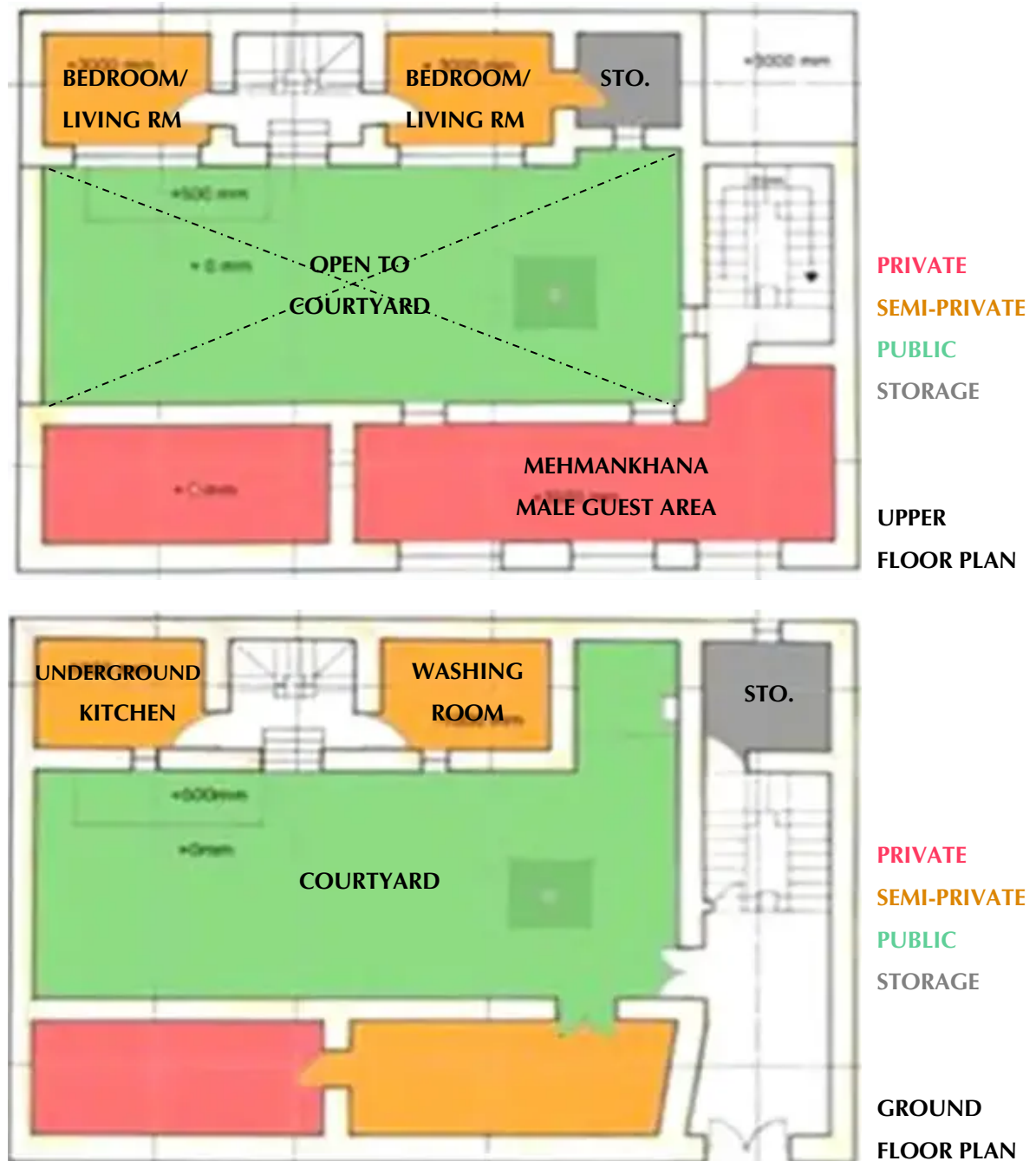


Figure 2.13 Afghan Traditional Housing in Kabul (*Traditional House in Kabul, Afghanistan*, 2012)



Figure 2.14: View of interior elevation from a courtyard (*Traditional House in Kabul, Afghanistan, 2012*)

A courtyard is an element of gender separation where women are kept inside and have access to the courtyard as their open space. However, Afghan culture has changed with faded gender lines and shifted building techniques. Despite the long history of traditional buildings and vernacular knowledge, the idea of a dream home has moved away from a traditional Afghan house. Mujadidi (2016) asserts:

Today, even many local Afghans look at mud construction as an unpleasant reminder of poverty and past traumas. They are interested in [the] grandeur, ornamentation and faux decadence as an answer to transitioning out of their past psychology.

Ayoobi and İnceoğlu (2021) highlight the changes in courtyard house configuration.

Unlike the traditional style that uses multiple buildings and their form to create a courtyard, the contemporary one uses a thick wall in the front along with a compact floor plan building pushed to one side of the land. Together, they form an enclosed open area. A hall is added to a contemporary house connecting every room instead of a courtyard.

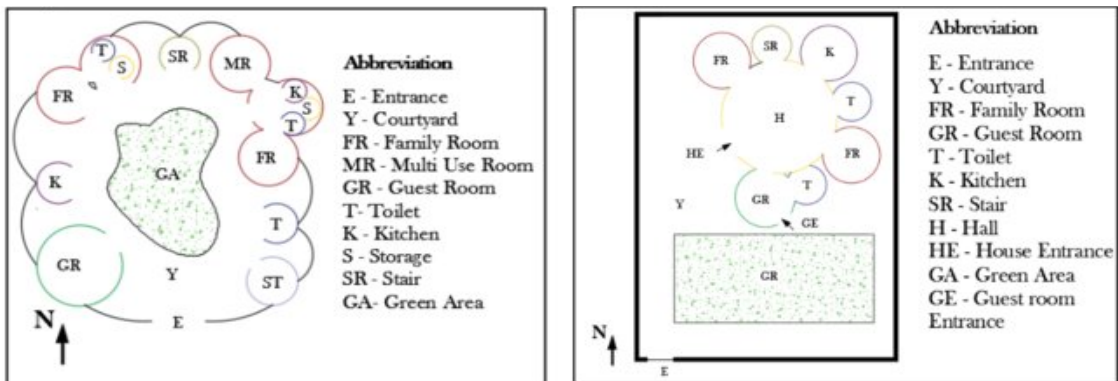
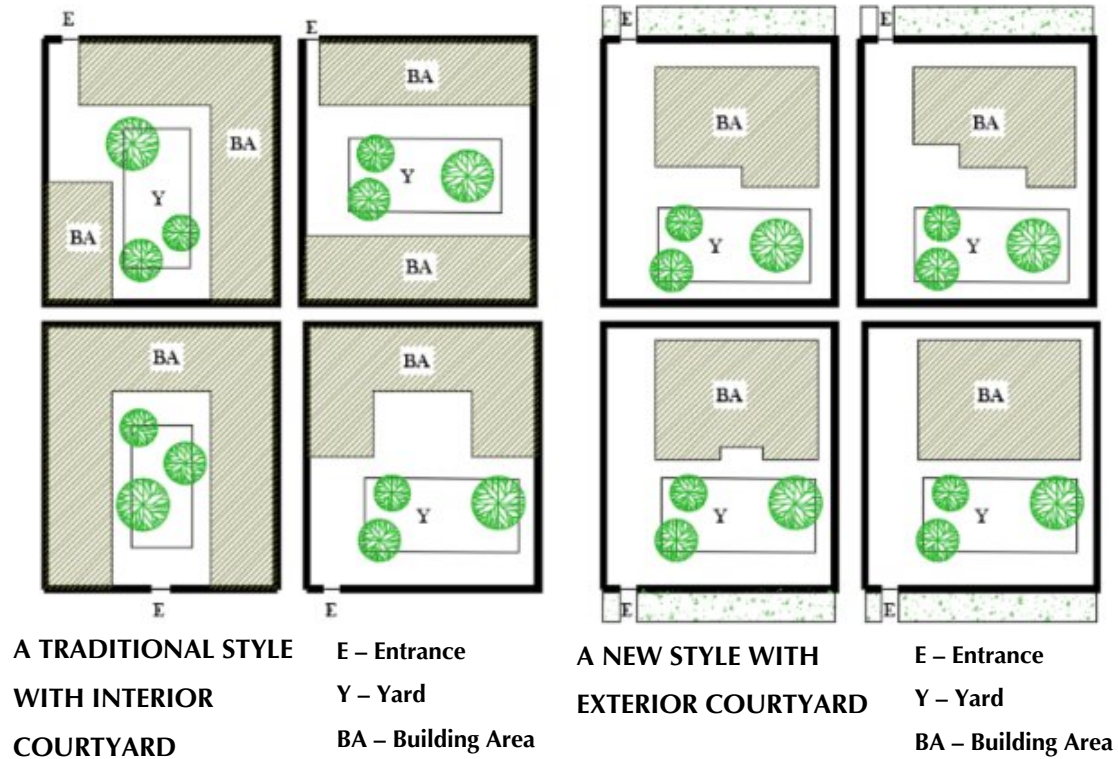


Figure 2.15: (Top) Two types of courtyard houses in Kabul; (Middle) Comparative views from courtyards; (Bottom) Schematic plans of rooms adjustment around a courtyard vs rooms adjustment around a hall (Ayoobi & İnceoğlu, 2021).

During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan between the 1970s and 1980s, Soviet style apartment buildings were constructed in many parts of Kabul:

...the prefabricated concrete residential complexes known as *mikrorayon* ... stand alongside mud houses clinging atop mountains and the traditional brick and wood houses of the inner city. And they were designed as a means to use architecture—especially architectures of living spaces—to transform the social and cultural practices of Afghans to match Soviet visions of modernity.

Mikrorayon construction came in two waves: four-floor apartment buildings built beginning in the 1960s (when the Soviet Union began investing heavily in Afghanistan) and then six-story buildings that grew up into the sky in the 1980s during the invasion.

...Since American and NATO intervention, the Kabul skyline has gradually become dominated by an eclectic assortment of high rises, new shopping centers, and skyscrapers built by the country's super rich...

(Nasseri, 2014).

While the influences of these foreign interventions may result in differing styles and expressions, they have altered the image of residential typology for many middle-class Afghans from a traditional courtyard house to an international style apartment complex.



Figure 2.16: Ariel View of Kabul with Mid-Rise Apartment Buildings (Sohrab Omar, 2022)



Figure 2.17: Example layout of four 2-bedroom apartment (Taak Design, 2020)



Figure 2.18: A living room of an apartment with an Afghan-style floor seat (www.maskanyab.af, n.d.)

With the absence of a courtyard, the main saloon or living room functions like a hall would in a contemporary courtyard house. It is a congregation spot for the whole family and connects the entryway to other rooms. The second saloon, located right by the entry, is a space dedicated to male gatherings because male visitors can go into this guest area without disturbing the privacy of female family members. These saloons function as flexible spaces and can be used as living areas, guest and family rooms, dining rooms, and even bedrooms when needed. A closed kitchen is more common than open-concept kitchen, which helps preserve privacy. It is also typical to have more than two occupants in a bedroom.

2.3.5 Political Situation after 9/11

The 9/11 attack in 2001 killed nearly three thousand people from 93 nations. By this time, Afghanistan had already suffered decades of foreign invasions and prolonged civil wars in addition to recurring natural disasters of severe drought, extreme winter, earthquake, and famine. As the Taliban seized power, they severely restricted humanitarian agencies from delivering aid and assisting civilians in most parts of the country. Restricted humanitarian service was only worsened after 9/11, because the Taliban refused to guarantee security for international relief agencies, forcing them to withdraw. The Afghanistan-Pakistan border was closed, as well as the Afghanistan-Iran border. The border closures occurred even before the US bombardment began in October 2001 (Noor, 2006). While Pakistan and Iran stated that these border closures were intended to contain terrorists and Al-Qaeda members within Afghanistan's border, some sources claimed that neighboring Pakistan had offered sanctuary for the Taliban (Nacos, 2019; Mir, 2022). Eventually, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and China also closed their borders to Afghanistan, citing their inability to absorb more refugees (Human Rights

Watch, 2002). Human Rights Watch (HRW) further expressed its disapproval and explained how these actions have undermined the core refugee protection standards:

... set out in article 14 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the principle of *non-refoulement*--the right of refugees not to be returned to a country where their lives or freedom could be threatened, as stipulated under article 33 of the Refugee Convention. Iran, China, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan are all parties to and so bound by the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Although Pakistan and Uzbekistan are not parties to the convention, the obligation of non-refoulement now constitutes a generally accepted principle of customary international law, and is binding on these states also.

Human Rights Watch World Report 2002, p.631

Some scholars concurred with the position of HRW as well as UNHCR, recognizing the detrimental effects of these official border closures (Ratwatte, 2021). Joanne van Selm asserts that “[t]his stance may have made some sort of military and security sense, but it made little sense in human rights terms: refusing Afghans right to seek asylum in countries other than their own, and entailing refoulement” (2003, p.271).

The refugee situation in Afghanistan continued to be exacerbated as the U.S. along with NATO allies launched the “Operation Enduring Freedom” task force on 7 October 2001 to attack Taliban controlled areas (9/11 memorial & museum, n.d.). The afore discussed tightened border security had resulted in fewer numbers of registered refugees. After the U.S. air strikes, millions of people were internally displaced without opportunities to escape. Only about 150,000 people were able to cross a border. Many Afghans had to pay smuggling fees or bribe border control officers to enter a neighboring country, thus becoming undocumented or they were granted neither refugee status nor political protection. The changing political climate led to deportations, widespread arrests, harassment, and mistreatment in Pakistan and Iran. Later in mid-October 2001, after UNHCR’s exhaustive negotiations, Pakistan agreed to only accept vulnerable refugees,

described them as limited to: the elderly, the sick, some women, and children. Due to this definition of vulnerable, most fleeing Afghans were still refused their refugee status.

(UNHCR Global Report 2001 - Pakistan, 2001)

Under pressure from the international community, Pakistan and Iran changed their refugee policies and called for the establishment of camps on the Afghanistan side of border. The proposal was against their international obligations to propose a camp location that complied with international standards of “safe distance” from attacks or in a “conflict-free” area⁴. Many of these camp sites were in areas strongly controlled by the Taliban, forcing refugees to live in high risk and dangerous locations. Thus, this made it even more challenging for aid organizations and relief agencies to assist and provide proper support. Eventually, UNHCR and aid agencies were able to establish 25 camps in Pakistan by the end of 2001 (*UNHCR Global Report 2001 - Pakistan, 2001*). However, not many Afghans felt safe to go to these camps. Human Rights Watch reports:

...refugees who entered Pakistan unofficially feared to report to camp authorities and risk deportation, and preferred to stay with family or friends... Many of these so-called “invisible refugees” were Hazaras, Uzbek, or Tajik ethnic minorities. They lived in a state of legal limbo, undocumented and unassisted, and constantly at risk of being picked up by the police, detained, and returned to Afghanistan.

(HRW, 2002, p.632)

One important result of the Operation Enduring Freedom task force was the temporary removal of the Taliban from power. This enabled the return of many Afghan refugees. The Taliban’s fall from power in 2002 forced many of its former leaders to flee elsewhere. At the same time, large number of civilians returned to Afghanistan both

⁴ The camps are located within eighteen kilometers of the Afghan-Pakistani border which is contrary to international standards of “safe distance” to avoid cross border attacks or military incursions. In addition, the areas are unstable and insecure without access to adequate water supply and infrastructure.” (Human Rights Watch Backgrounder, 2001, p.7)

voluntarily and involuntarily. Some returned because of repatriation programs, while others returned due to exploitation experienced in their country of refuge. Many refugees returned to a devastated Afghanistan experiencing lawlessness and a barely functioning infrastructure and social services. These returnees lived in desperately poor conditions, faced food insecurities, and lacked land and employment. Many even went back to Pakistan. With aid agencies reaching their limits, UNHCR thus shifted its focus to “ensuring the sustainability of return” from the previous focus of “maximizing the number of returnees” to Afghanistan (Noor, 2006). The weakened pull factors ensured that the number of returnees continuously dropped (Willner-Reid, 2017).



Refugee Villages in Pakistan (M. Abdullah/Reuters, 2020)



Afghans were returned at Iran border (VOA, 2019)



Temporary camps built for Afghan refugees in Tajikistan (Khaama Press, 2022)

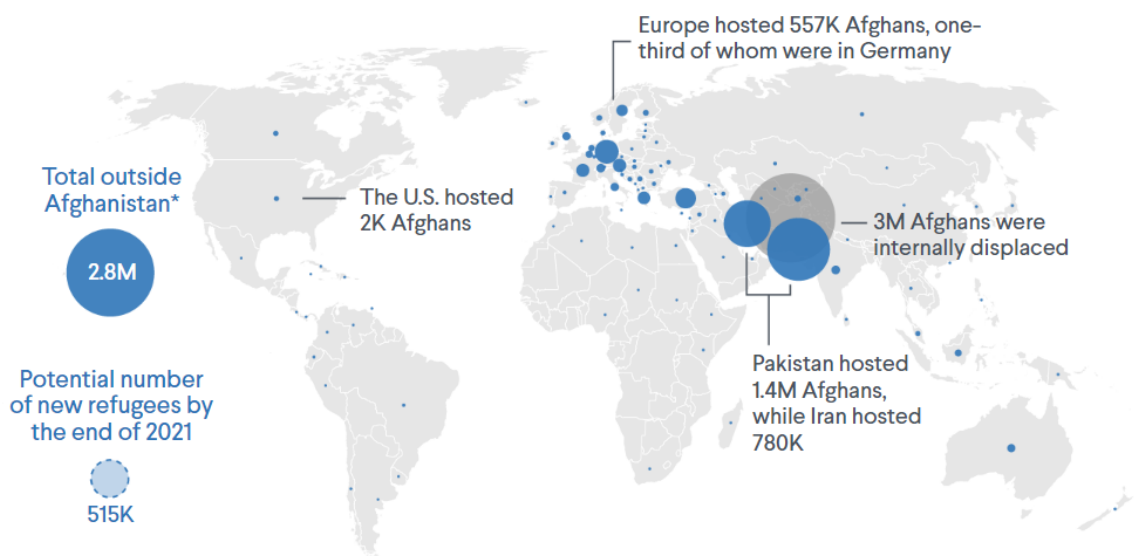
Figure 2.19: Refugee Camps Around Afghanistan's border

After decades of exile, more than three million registered refugees had returned to Afghanistan by the end of 2004. In an effort to provide land to returnees, the Land Allocation Scheme was signed into law in 2005. However, many abandoned their allocated plots and moved instead to urban areas because these sites were too remote and had no economic opportunities. On the other hand, as cities came under strain with saturated labor markets, many people chose to move into rural areas to escape NATO bombing, to avoid Taliban conscription, or to flee to IDP camps (Runion, 2007).

Along with its forceful return and deportation programs, Iran holds strict policies towards Afghan refugees.

With the Iranian border closed, many Afghans unofficially crossed and become undocumented. Very few Afghans lived in camps, but lack of documentation puts them at risk of exploitation. They have been excluded from the labor market with no access to education, health care, or other benefits. No registration and no camps mean aid and assistance cannot reach these people. With an expectation of 150,000 more incoming refugees, Afghans in Iran remain in severe humanitarian crisis.

Beyond the previously discussed regions, IOM reports some 364,000 Afghans lived in Saudi Arabia, roughly 63,000 Afghans lived in the United States, and 46,000 in Canada in 2015. These numbers include many resettled refugees. In Europe, however, Afghans' asylum applications had been less successful. In that year, Europe approved only 56 percent of 386,000 Afghan applications in comparison to 98 percent of Syrian applications (Willner-Reid, 2017). These rejected asylum seekers faced the risk of deportation. UNHCR reports that at the end of 2020, 2.8 million Afghans live outside their home country. This is along with 3 million IDPs (as shown in the figure 2.20).



* Rounded figures include asylum seekers, UNHCR registered refugees, and other of concern.

** These numbers exclude those who have been resettled or naturalized.

Figure 2.20: Displaced Afghans by country at the end of 2020, prior to 2021 US withdrawal (Illustration: Council on Foreign Relations, 2021, Data source: UNHCR)

2.3.6 The Taliban's return to power in 2021

The US-led coalition officially ended combat in 2014. Eventually, the U.S. and the Taliban signed a peace agreement in Qatar in February 2020, after nearly 20 years of war. The U.S. agreed to completely withdraw US troops within 14 months, while the Taliban “must uphold their counterterrorism guarantees” to the U.S. and peacefully negotiate with the Afghan government. Despite the peace agreement, the Taliban quickly resumed its offences. Targeting Afghan security forces and civilians, the Taliban rapidly gained more ground and eventually took control of Kabul once again on August 15th, 2021. This prompted a chaotic evacuation of both the US and NATO’s Afghan allies and *foreign* nationals living in the country. The U.S. airlifted 124,000 people from Kabul within a six-week period as the American-backed Afghan military and government fell to the Taliban (Associated Press, 2021). With the complete withdrawal from Afghanistan on August 30th, the Taliban has become the country’s de facto authorities” (IRC, 2022).

HRW (2022) and the International Rescue Committee (2022) also highlight the increasingly backwards trend of women’s rights in the country and a growing humanitarian catastrophe, with more than “ninety-seven percent of the entire Afghan population is expected to live below the poverty line” (IRC, 2022). Under Taliban rule, girls are barred from access to education, and women lost their jobs. The Ministry of Women’s Affairs was shut down. The consequences of the Taliban’s restrictions on women’s rights and freedom have also left many families in economic deprivation, especially for those with female-headed households. Families that were previously able to support themselves have become dependent on very limited international aid. To make the matter worse, global leaders have suspended international aid, frozen reserve banking, and isolated the Afghan economy to cripple the Taliban, an internationally designated terrorist group (Byrd, 2022).

UNHCR estimates there are about 800,000 newly displaced Afghans in 2021, on top of the 3.5 million already displaced people. Figure 2.21 illustrate where these newly displaced Afghans could go.



Figure 2.21: UNHCR estimation of where newly displaced Afghans could go in 2021. (Illustration: author, 2022; Data source: UNHCR & CBC news, 2021)

Tajikistan will receive some Afghans in addition to those that have already fled there in earlier years. Initially, the country has committed to accept 100,000 refugees. Tajikistan is the only country bordering Afghanistan that is currently willing to do so. They have built refugee shelters on 173 acres of land designated for Afghan refugees around its southern border (Keegan, 2021). However, the situation is uncertain due to Russian and post-Soviet Central Asian countries' politics and military pressures on Tajikistan.

The aftermath of U.S. military withdrawal and Taliban rule has resulted in significant numbers of newly displaced persons as well as deteriorated human rights. The United States and 97 other countries have pledged to grant freedom of travel for designated Afghans. For example, Brazil introduced Interministerial Ordinance n. 24, which

“guaranteed the safe entry of Afghan nationals into Brazil through a humanitarian visa program” (*Brazil: Protection and Assistance to Afghan refugees*, 2023). The program has authorized 12,966 visas allowing many Afghans to seek asylum in Brazil. Some Afghans, however, may choose to continue their flight and seek asylum elsewhere. In addition, Sub-Saharan African countries including Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, and Somaliland offered to welcome anywhere from a few hundred to several thousand Afghans into their country (Yayboke & Devermont, 2023).

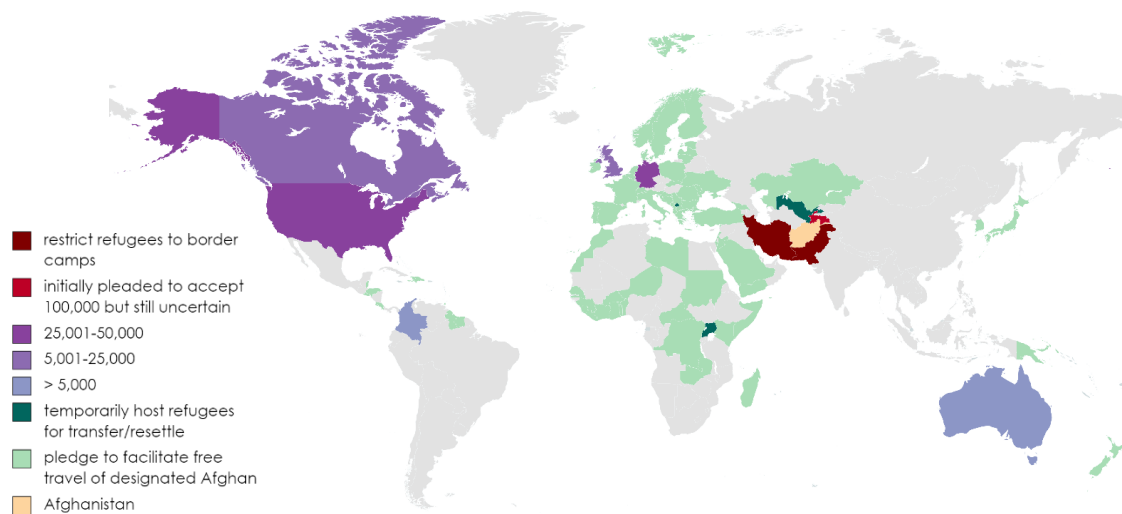


Figure 2.22: World map presenting governments that have pledged to facilitate free travel of designated Afghans — those who have worked with the US and people at risk and other initial plans (Illustration: author, 2022)

The situation in Afghanistan continues to deteriorate. UNHCR (2023b) reports:

A record 28.3 million people are in need of humanitarian and protection assistance in 2023 - a huge spike from 24.4 million people in need in 2022 and 18.4 million in early 2021. In 2023, 20 million people face acute hunger, with 6 million people in ‘emergency’ levels (one step away from famine) ...

... The fundamental rights of women and girls are under threat and many children are out of school. Malnutrition rates remain extremely high, with some 875,000 children suffering from severe acute malnutrition in 2023, and 2.3 million children and 840,000 women from moderate acute malnutrition.

(*Afghanistan Refugee Crisis Explained*, 2024)

2.4 Afghan Refugees in the United States

According to Migration Policy, there were approximately 2,000 Afghans living in the U.S. in 1980. The number remained relatively small for almost 30 years until the U.S. involvement in Afghanistan deepened. Many Afghans currently live in the U.S. have worked with or on behalf of the U.S. government or military as interpreters, translators, and as other professionals during the U.S.-led military invasion in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks. In 2006 and 2009, Congress created the Special Immigrant Visa (SIV) programs for Afghans who helped the United States as well as their immediate family members. These programs contributed to the rapid rise of Afghan immigrants in the U.S. from approximately 4,000 in 1980 to 132,000 in 2019.

The Taliban specially targeted Afghan interpreters, translators, and other professionals working with or on behalf of the U.S. government or military. They sought retribution on these individuals considered to be traitors (Shaheen, 2022). With the commitment to protect U.S. partners, Congress established the permanent Special Immigrant Visa (SIV) programs for Afghans (and also Iraqis) who helped the United States. This also included immediate family members of those designated. These visa programs granted a path to U.S. permanent residence for some Afghans. On March 11, 2009, the President signed into law the Afghan Allies Protection Act of 2009 (AAPA). Section 602(b) of AAPA created a new special immigrant category for the eligible Afghan nationals, allowing them to seek safety and refuge in the U.S.

[The Act] initially provided for a limit of 1,500 immigrant visas for principal noncitizens for each fiscal year from 2009 through 2013. However, for each fiscal year from 2010 through 2013, the total number was increased by the difference between 1,500 and the number of visas actually used during the immediately prior fiscal year.

(Chapter 9 - certain Afghan Nationals, Vol. 6, Chapter 9, Section A, 2022).

Following the initial provision (which was authorized through FY 2013), the Emergency Afghan Allies Extension Act of 2014 provided an additional 1,000 visas to be allocated for Afghan special immigrant status. The National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) provided the allocation of Afghan SIVs which continued to increase with an additional 4,000 principal applicants in 2015; 7,500 applicants in 2016; and 8,500 applicants in 2017. The additions dropped to 3,500 visas in 2018 and to 4,000 visas in 2019 and 2020. In addition to adjusting additional visa issuances, these subsequent bills also modified the eligibility of applicants such as a required period of services and employment qualifications (Shaheen, 2022). The implementation of these provisions brought nearly 10,000, if not more, Afghan immigrants to the U.S. annually. Despite the increasing numbers of Afghan SIVs, numbers of Afghan refugees admitted through U.S. resettlement programs remained relatively low at approximately 1,000 refugees each year. This is excepting 2016, in which there were 2,743 Afghan refugees admitted.

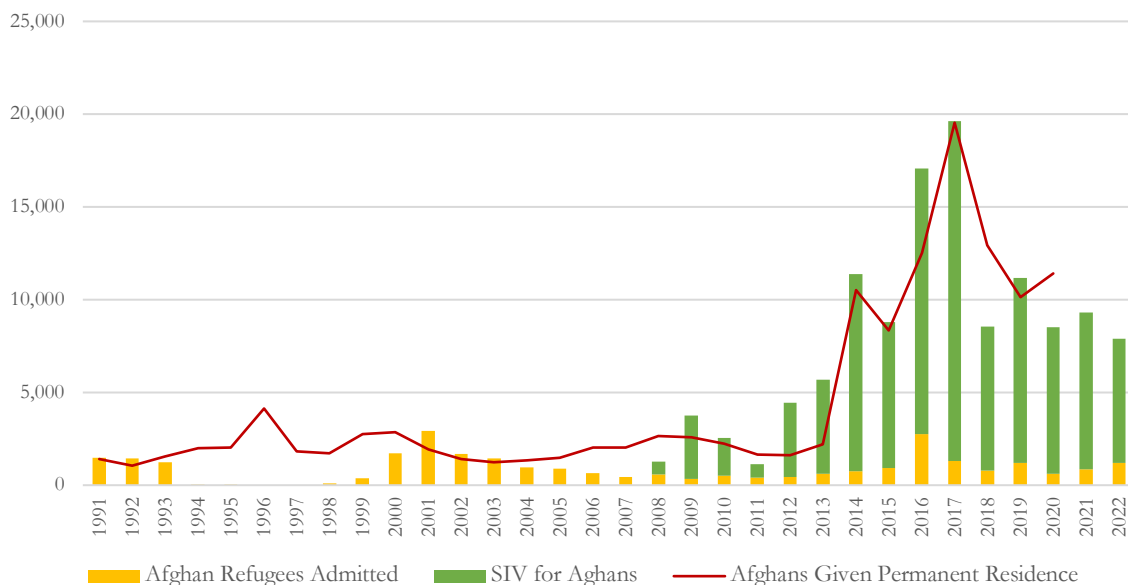


Figure 2.23: Numbers of admitted Afghan refugees and immigrants with SIV in comparison to numbers of Afghans given US residency (Illustration: Author, 2022; Data source: Department of Homeland Security, Yearbook 2000, 2010, 2020)

As the U.S.-led operations in Afghanistan concluded in 2021, the U.S. launched Kabul Airlifts and Operation Allies Welcome (OAW) (DHS, 2021). These large-scale evacuations lasted 46 days (between July 14, 2021-Aug 30, 2021) with an estimation of 123,000 individuals flown out of Afghanistan (Dunlap, 2021). This number also included American citizens, third country nationals, and vulnerable Afghans. For these Afghans, they had to go through a similar process to refugees; however, this is not a conventional resettlement pathway but rather through humanitarian parole⁵ or SIV programs. More than 70,000 Non-U.S. evacuees were then housed at U.S. and NATO bases in the Middle East, Europe, as well as at eight military facilities in the United States. There, law enforcement,



a) People gathered at US Air Force Airport on Kabul (Photo: Shekib Rahmani/AP, 2021)



b) More than 800 Afghans being airlifted, August 15, 2021 (Photo: U.S. Air Force Courtesy Photo)



c) 7,000 Afghan evacuees being temporarily housed at Ramstein Air Base in Germany (Photo: CNN)

Figure 2.24: Afghan evacuees' route

⁵ DHS notes on the Humanitarian parole program:

... [the parole] permits certain Afghan nationals to come into the United States, on a case-by-case basis, for a period of two years... Once paroled by CBP, Afghan nationals may be eligible to apply for immigration status through USCIS. Afghan nationals paroled by CBP will also have conditions placed on their parole, to include medical screening and vaccination requirements, and other reporting requirements. Failure to follow these conditions may be cause for denial of work authorization and potentially termination of the parole and initiation of detention and removal.

counterterrorism professionals, and intelligence from the DoD, DHS, FBI, National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), as well as Intelligence Community (IC) partners conducted screening, vetting, and medical examinations on these Afghan evacuees. Afghans need to undergo the processes and preparation for their designatories prior to being introduced and integrated into American communities across the country (DHS, 2021). Figure 2.25 presents Afghan resettlement designations after their departure from U.S. military facilities.

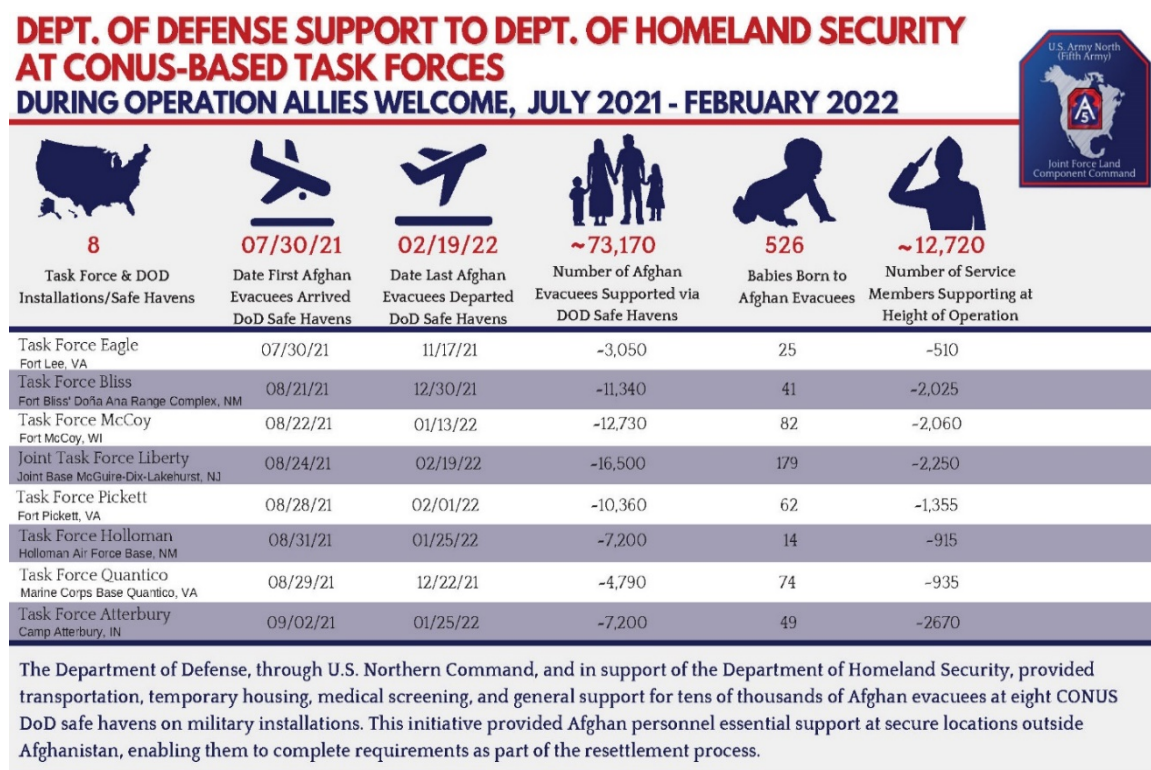


Figure 2.25: Summary of DoD support to provide temporary housing and sustainment on eight DoD installations as of July, 2022 (Source: www.arnorth.army.mil/JFLCC/; U.S. Northern Command, 2022)

On August 29, 2021, the U.S. Department of State released the joint Statement on Afghanistan Evacuation Travel Assurances, presenting its initial plan to take 30,000 Afghans (DoS, 2021). The number was far less than the actual numbers of Afghans coming

to the U.S. in the following years. By March 2022, more than 76,000 Afghans have entered the U.S. (IRC, 2022)

The US census estimates that there are 145,951 Afghans as of 2021. Demographic profiles, especially education levels, vary largely depending on their time of emigration and situations in Afghanistan. When the US government started resettling Afghan refugees from Pakistan in 1999, they were mostly well-educated. However, those who grew up under Taliban rule were far less educated (Eigo 2014). The Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America notes:

...2,800 Afghan women arrived in the United States after 1999. About 70 percent of those women were Tajiks, and more than half were doctors, engineers, lawyers, and teachers. At the other end of the spectrum were working-class immigrants who joined the American workforce as salesclerks, office personnel, and service workers. In 2001 about half the female Afghan immigrants had been widowed. In 2006 the U.S. government created a special immigrant visa program to allow Afghans and Iraqis who had worked with the American military at great risk to their lives and safety to enter the United States. However, benefits allotted for these immigrants are often difficult to obtain and expire six months after arrival. Most of these special entrants have been unable to find jobs commensurate with their professional training and job skills. Therefore, they have been forced to work at low-paying jobs, and some have been unable to find work at all... more recent immigrants have less education, interact less with other Americans, and are less proficient in English. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, many Afghan Americans have experienced a strong sense of isolation within American society... Many Afghan Americans also returned to Afghanistan to take on major responsibilities in rebuilding the nation.

(Eigo, 2014, p.18)

When the operation came to its end, many Afghans still hopelessly live in danger and oppression. More Afghan refugees are expected to seek refuge elsewhere in the years to come (UNHCR, 2022b).

2.4.1 Afghan Communities in Various U.S. States.

Throughout these years, Afghan Americans have formed their ethnic enclaves in multiple states. In 2019, the states of California, Virginia, New York, Texas, and

Washington D.C., had the highest concentrations of Afghan American (Montalvo & Batalova, 2024; Eigo, 2014). Figure 2.26 presents numbers of foreign-born individuals from Afghanistan in each U.S. county based on the 2013-2017 Census. Many of these counties have long been culturally diverse with significant percentages of foreign-born populations from all over the world.

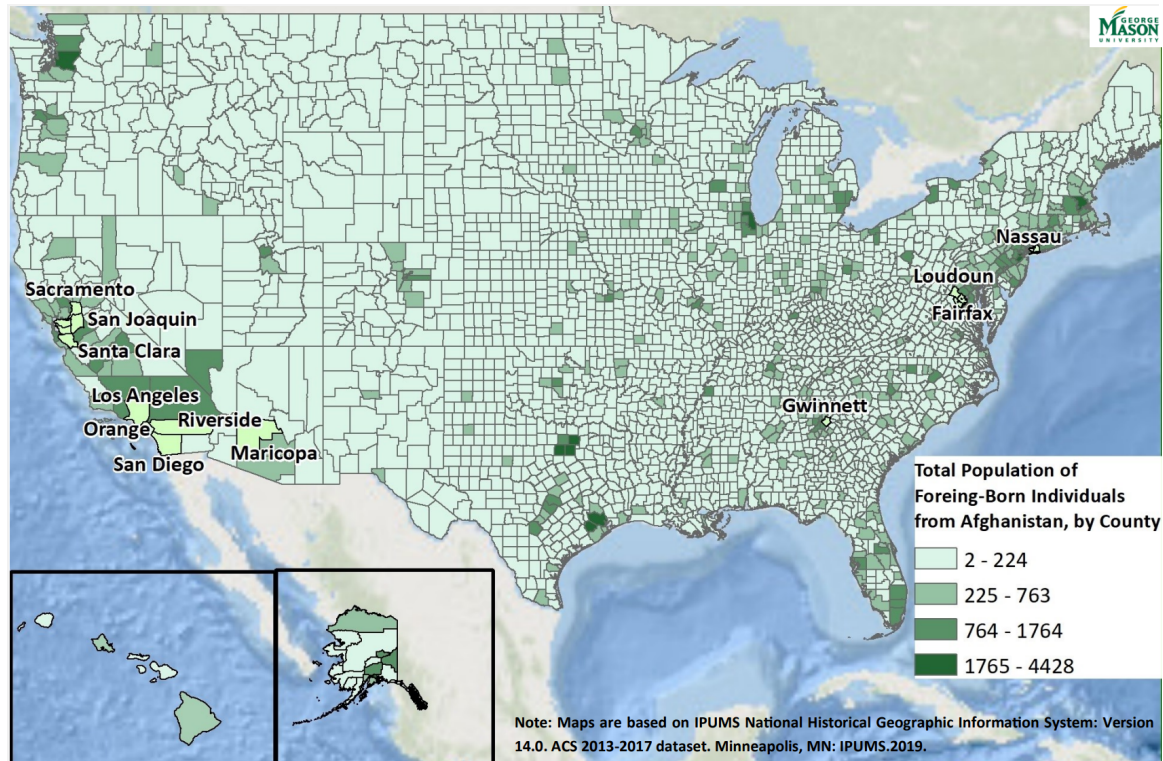


Figure 2.26: Afghan Immigrants in the United States (source: Institute for Immigration Research; Data: U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey, 2013-2017 distributed through IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota)

Gale Encyclopedia of Multicultural America describes Afghan American settlement as of 2014 of as follows:

... In California the largest Afghan American communities are found in the San Francisco Bay Area and the Los Angeles area. No city is more associated with Afghan Americans than Fremont, California, which is home to the largest concentration of Afghan Americans in the country. According to the [American Community Survey, (ACS)] estimates, in 2010 there were 2,760 individuals of Afghan descent living in Fremont. The area of “Little Kabul” is filled with Afghan restaurants and shops and regularly hosts events that promote the Afghan culture.

The Bay Area, which was home to some 11,400 Afghan Americans in 2010 (ACS estimate), has long been considered a heaven for Afghan Americans, providing them with access to mosques, grocery stores, restaurants, and a local radio and television station in their own language. Another 7,500 lived in the Los Angeles area, and 3,200 called San Diego home. The climate, diverse culture, and availability of social programs have drawn many Afghan Americans to California. About 8,900 Afghan Americans lived in the New York City metropolitan area, which includes northern, New Jersey and Long Island. Many Muslim Afghan Americans have found a home in the “Little Afghanistan” section of Queens, New York. A much smaller group of Afghan Jews has made their home in New York City. Other cities with smaller Afghan American populations include Washington D.C., Baltimore, Dallas-Fort Worth, Chicago, Denver, Boulder, Albany, Philadelphia, Seattle, Atlanta, Phoenix, and Minneapolis-St. Paul.

(Eigo, 2014, p.19)

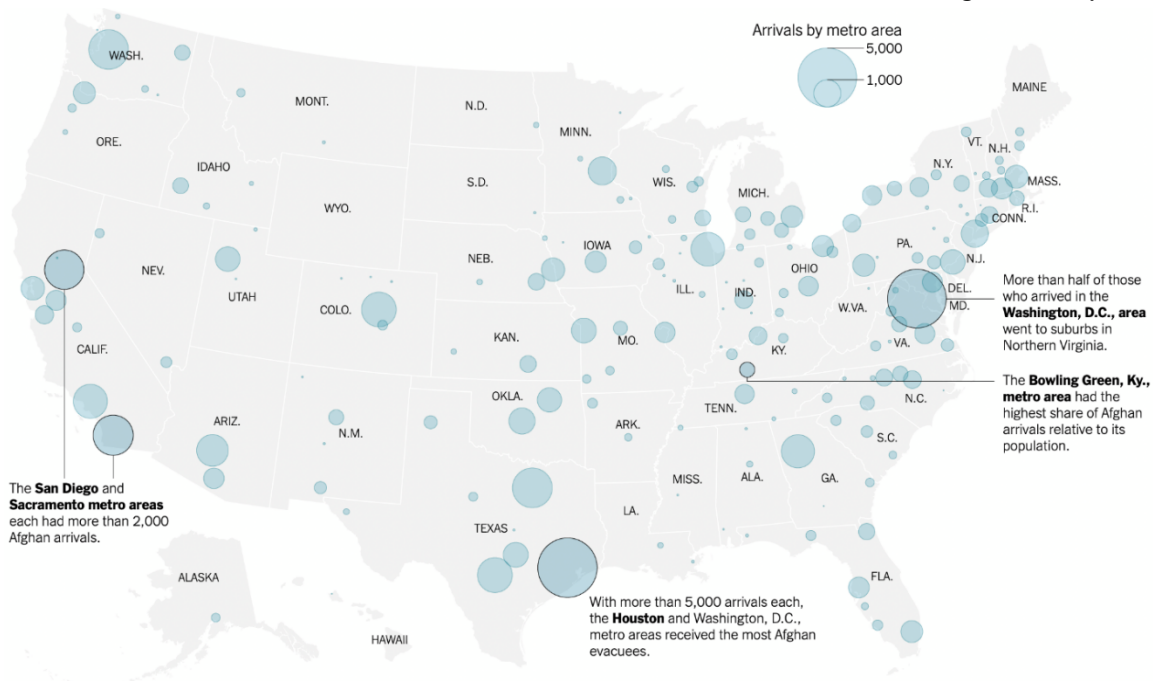


Figure 2.27: the map shows where Afghan evacuees were resettled (Source: Leatherby, Aug 12, 2022; Internal State Department data obtained by The New York Times (Jordan 2022))

Marisa Peñaloza, a senior producer at NPR, tells a story of one Afghan family in *They Came to The U.S. as Afghan Refugees. Now They Hope Their Story Will Help Others* (September 5, 2021). Peñaloza narrates the story of Hossein Mahrammi and his family. They are members of the Hazara Shiite ethnic group in Afghanistan, which has been highly persecuted by the Taliban. Hossein worked with the U.S. government in Kabul. The family

received SIVs and migrated to the U.S. in 2017. Upon their arrival in the U.S., the family received federal assistance for several months. This consisted of rent, school enrollment for the children, and counseling regarding their social security cards. Now, Hossein has secured his job as a technical advisor for a nonprofit providing microloans for low-income families. They eventually now feel safe and secure in this new land.



Figure 2.28: Hossein Mahrammi and his family came from Kabul to the U.S. on a Special Immigrant Visa in March 2017. (Photo: Marisa Peñaloza/NPR, 2017)

With thousands of Afghans being resettled, it evoked mixed feelings of hope and disorientation. Despite being deeply grateful, he noted *"The resettlement process could be better."* Being unfamiliar with American norms was one of their struggles. He would appreciate if a resettlement agency could offer a financial literacy workshop and a class about American culture. He explained their unfamiliarity, for example, about small talk:

...In Afghanistan it's very important that you don't look at someone's wife, don't talk to people you don't know, ... but here, you're expected to say 'good morning' to strangers, regardless of gender, when you enter an elevator or a building or at the park.

(Peñaloza 2021)

2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The legal definition of “refugee” while coming with rights and protections, can preclude many people in danger from receiving proper protection and opportunities. In this study, I, thus, use the term ‘refugee’ to refer to people who are forced to flee conflicts or persecution regardless of their refugee status.

Despite the long history of U.S. immigration and refugee resettlement, the refugee resettlement program receives divisive public opinions, and many integration challenges remain underexplored. Some refugee groups experience worsened attitudes and biases. This study seeks to further the understanding of a relationship between the built environment and social interaction outcomes in refugee-receiving neighborhoods. Afghan refugees come into play because of their unique challenges and demographic profiles as well as the possibility of the U.S. receiving more Afghans in the near future.

The people of Afghanistan comprise multiethnic groups with a patriarchal tribal social structure. Politics in Afghanistan have caused ethnic tension and distrust, especially among Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns. Ethnic associations have informed ethnic clustering and urban segmentation. This has resulted in Afghanistan’s low social cohesion even though Afghan people have close-knit communities. Ethnic traditions also inform different values and customs of each group. Some groups are more patriarchal, while some are more liberal. Still, gender norms exist, and gender disparities prevail. In terms of education, Afghans have varying educational attainment; however, the literacy rate is considered low.

The situation in Afghanistan worsened after the 2021 U.S. troop withdrawal. Subsequently, numbers of Afghan refugees have increased. The deep involvement of the U.S. in Afghanistan over the past two decades has influenced the establishment of various legal pathways to welcome Afghans to the United States. Hundreds of thousands of

Afghans have already made the United States their home. They have established a gateway community in many major cities such as Sacramento and Los Angeles, CA; Dallas-Fort Worth, TX; Chicago, IL, and New York, NY. With the U.S. receiving increasing numbers of refugees, a resettlement agency in a major city can reach its capacity to assist. In recent years, many refugees are dispersedly placed in a non-traditional refugee-receiving city across the nation. While many Afghans hope to find a safe and flourishing life in their new country of residence, many end up living in isolation. This chapter provides the topical context and non-architectural information which not only can help explain the behavior of research participants, but also guide the analysis and findings of the study.

The next chapter presents a review of the theoretical concepts that set the foundation of this study. This includes refugee integration theory, social study, and architecture within a domain of refugee resettlement in the context of the United States. The literature review identifies a research gap that shapes the development of this research position and its analyses.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

A place and its characteristics have embedded social qualities that can facilitate social capital for its residents. The social capital in turn affects the cohesion of a refugee-receiving city as well as the integration process of the refugees themselves. Therefore, this dissertation research is grounded in three disciplines, namely: refugee integration theory, social study, and architecture within a domain of refugee resettlement in the context of the United States. This chapter presents a literature review of the relevant concepts along with their implications on policies and practices which lay the theoretical foundation of this study. It also provides a reference to UNHCR’s guidebook on supplemental integration information on two subthemes: housing and social connections. Then, I discuss U.S. refugee resettlement to provide relevant studies and broaden contextual information in the research domain. Figure 3.1 illustrates the roadmap of this chapter.

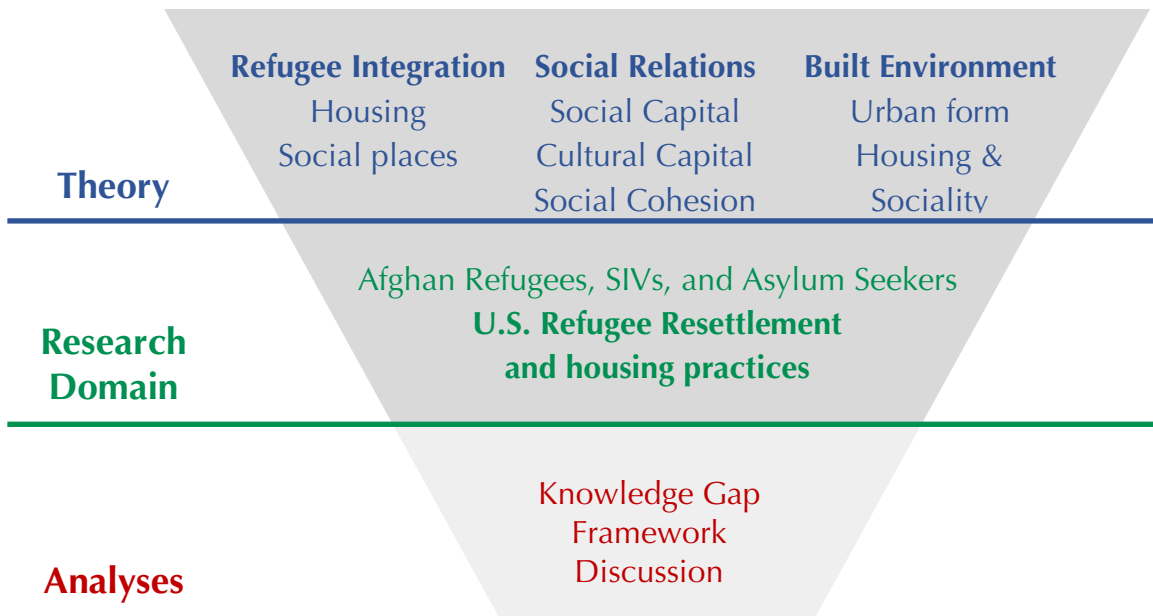


Figure 3.1: Mapping Literature (Author, 2024)

I start with a discussion on refugee integration literature from policy to practice as well as integration framework and theory in 3.1. With the focus on housing and sociability of the study, I elaborately examine the meanings of housing, homes, and social spaces for refugees in a resettlement country in 3.1.4. The discourse of these policies focuses on the roles of housing and social spaces to facilitate social connections and the effects on refugee's well-being and integration.

Building upon literature on refugee integration, in 3.2 I present literature on social theory, specifically social capital, social connections, and social cohesion. The literature explores the relationship between social capital, housing, and the process of community building. Furthermore, 3.2.2 discusses social cohesion and ethnically diverse communities as well as refugee resettlement.

Guided by integration and social relations literature, I evaluate built environment literature looking at spatial dimensions of integration and the sociality of everyday places in 3.3. I focus on three subthemes: 1) urban form and social inclusion, 2) spatial qualities of places in resettlement cities, and 3) housing and sociality.

Subsequently, I present a literature review on U.S. refugee resettlement to provide a broader context in 3.4. This section includes 1) an overview of the landscape of U.S. refugee resettlement across a state of origin, its socio-spatial challenges, and relevant studies in the U.S. context; and 2) the current state of refugee housing in the U.S. and affordable housing programs.

Lastly, I provide a summary of the reviews, identify any knowledge gaps, and develop a theoretical framework with a discussion on how it shapes the development of my research as a theoretical framework as well as an analyses and discussion.

3.1 REFUGEE INTEGRATION

Once a person has arrived at a third country or a resettlement country, their stage of seeking refuge and being a refugee is over. As they are settling into at a destination, the process of integration begins (Nawyn, 2011).

The integration of refugees is a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process which requires efforts by all parties concerned, including a preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the host society without having to forego their own cultural identity, and a corresponding readiness on the part of host communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and meet the needs of a diverse population. The process of integration is complex and gradual, comprising distinct but inter-related legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions, all of which are important for refugees' ability to integrate successfully as fully included members of the host society.

(UNHCR, 2014, p.1)

A successful integration, the ultimate goal for refugee resettlement, signifies one's self-reliance and independence, along with the ability to be part of a new community. While the general idea of integration conforms with UNHCR's approach, there is no unifying definition of refugee integration. This makes it challenging for coherent policy development, implementations, and practices. For example, Ager & Strange (2008, 2010) employed inductive methodology and developed a refugee integration conceptual framework for the U.K. Home Office. The framework identifies ten central elements categorized into four themes that contribute to a successful integration. Various stakeholders from multi-level operations have adopted this framework in order to foster a cohesive evaluation and action plan for integration in the U.K. and to create a common ground for further study and debate. Figure 3.2 summarizes ten indicators of the integration framework.

As for migration studies in the U.S. context, scholars often compare the integration process with an assimilation model (FitzGerald & Arar, 2018). Both integration and

assimilation models maintain that one participates in the host culture. Unlike integration, the assimilation strategy entails that the newcomers make no effort to maintain their cultural heritage and only intend to fit in to a mainstream culture (Heine, 2012). Despite the differences, similar measurements are employed including: language, socioeconomic status, residential pattern, and intermarital markers (see Alba & Nee, 2003).

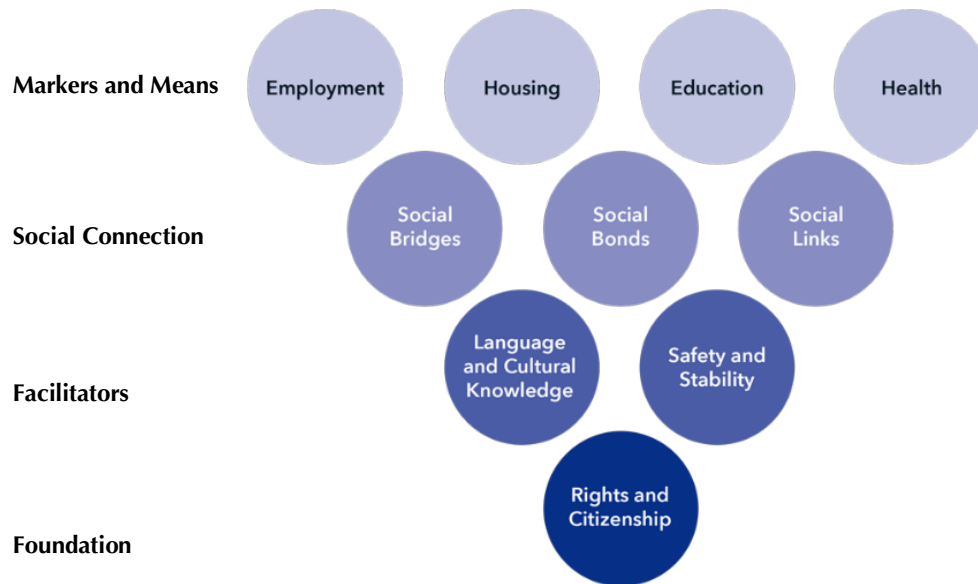


Figure 3.2: The Indicator of Integration Framework (Ager & Strang, 2008)

This dissertation research is largely based on the integration framework proposed by Ager and Strang (2004, 2008, 2010) due to the similar migration backgrounds and reception conditions of the studied populations. Because housing and cities in the U.S. and the U.K. possess different spatial characteristics, an in-depth examination of the domain of housing and spatial patterns is presented later in Section 3.3.

Ager and Strang demonstrate that at a national level a host country is responsible to grant rights and citizenship to refugees which lay a foundation of integration. At the same time, at an individual level, refugee integration can be achieved via the four domains of markers and means: housing, employment, education, and health. The process requires efforts from both sides. The following briefly discusses each domain.

3.1.1 Employment

Having a job generates income and enables refugees to reestablish themselves as well as participate in the social and economic life of a host society. The hope is that a refugee will eventually become economically self-reliant (UNHCR, 2024). However, there are various obstacles to refugees' employment, including but not limited to: language and cultural competencies, skill mismatch and credentials, and access to labor markets (Ager & Strang, 2004; 2008. Phillimore & Goodson, 2008; Kallick & Roldan, 2018).

Many studies report on the advantages of hiring refugees. These include high retention rates, strong work ethic, and federal or state incentives. For instance, in *Refugee as Employees*, Kallick and Roldan (2018) present a comprehensive investigation of the refugee workforce in four industries: manufacturing, meat packing, hospitality, and healthcare in four U.S. regions: the Northeast, Mid-West, South, and Southwest. These four industries have a high concentration of refugee workers as well as migrant workers. Across the industries, the authors identify four main problems of hiring refugees:

1. Communication issues related to low language proficiency and cultural or religious differences
2. Need for training, especially for unskilled and amateur labors
3. Need for social support in the workplace
4. Transportation assistance as refugees have low rates of vehicle ownership, live far away, or do not have access to adequate public transportation.

In addition, employment security and stability impact one's decision on where to settle. Ager and Strang (2010) note that employment can be a driving factor influencing whether a refugee decides to stay at their initial placement location or if they move to another location because of employment opportunity.

3.1.2 Education

Education opens doors for potential integration as it provides opportunities for employment by improving essential skills and language. It also becomes a platform for social connection that allow refugees to interact with others in an educational setting. (Ager and Strang, 2004). UNHCR recognizes the importance of education for refugee children and youth to build self-reliance and resilience. This directly contributes to the Sustainable Development Goal 4⁶. The organization launches projects to improve refugee education, such as the Refugee Education Integration Policy (REIP). However, UNCHR's Integration Handbook (2024) does not specifically include education as a tool. It only emphasizes language and vocational trainings to promote employment.

In a study of American schools, Hernandez et al. (2009) estimate that refugee and immigrant students make up about 25 percent of students in U.S. schools. Scholars agree that refugees face many additional educational challenges, including language acquisition; cultural, financial, and structural barriers; interrupted schooling; and trauma and mental health issues (Cerna, 2019; Yi & Kiyama, 2018; Belghazi, 2019; UNESCO, 2019).

While many educational barriers related to curriculum and teachers' approaches do exist, spatial qualities can leverage learning experiences of students with refugee backgrounds as well as those from marginalized communities. Cerna (2019) investigated refugee education in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in a study that aligns with an examination of refugees' educational experience in the U.S. by Dryden-Peterson and Reddick (2017). They argue that inclusive education spaces for refugees must respond to three key needs as follows.

⁶ Among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals established by the United Nations in September 2015, Goal 4 is to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.

1) Learning needs: Language and cultural barriers can impede refugee students' learning capabilities. Researchers suggest that refugee students learn better with study partners' support and extracurricular activities. Therefore, classroom design must respond to program and curriculum changes to accommodate in-class activities and individualized instruction. Schools should provide multilingual, visual, and innovative resources to assist students with disadvantages.

2) Social needs: Attending school is a pathway for refugee students to build friendships and form their community beyond their school boundary. Roxas (2011) emphasizes the importance of social needs within a classroom as well as in connecting to a local community. Friendly and safe spaces can support friendship building as they promote a sense of security while preventing bullying in schools. Programing and extending learning activities to engage students with a local community can empower a sense of belonging to a larger community. Belghazi (2019) further elaborates that schools empower a sense of community not only to students but also to parents by engaging the family with learning and other logistical activities to overcome any sociopolitical challenges these populations face.

3) Emotional needs: Traumatic experiences at a young age may cause a refugee student to distrust institutions, feel insecure, and suffer mental health issues. Schools must be accommodating to a wide range of student emotions health. Schools may offer counseling services or referrals. Schools must support socioemotional needs and serves as places of aspiration (Dryden-Peterson & Reddick, 2017). Learning spaces must encourage creativity and self-expression, be warm and inviting, and incorporate self-reflection spaces (LaHayne, 2019). Responding to emotional needs allows refugee students to cope with their situation and negotiate their identity by combining their cultural heritage with a new host culture.

3.1.3 Health

Health is an integration indicator that refers to an equitable access to health services for refugee populations (Ager & Strang, 2004). Refugees may experience violence and human rights violations in their home country or poor living conditions without access to good sanitation and healthcare. Moreover, UNHCR asserts that refugees' "health status is also influenced by one's access to social and economic resources such as meaningful employment, secure housing, family and community support and a safe and welcoming environment" (*UNHCR Integration Handbook*, 2024). Research on public health for refugees has discussed structural, cultural-sensitive, financial, and language barriers that discourage refugees from receiving healthcare (Jackson et al, 2016; Robila, 2018; Bernstein & DuBois, 2018; WHO, 2018). Other work has addressed transportation barriers and low prioritization of health as further hurdles (Sastre & Haldeman, 2015).

In addition to physical health, mental health, and psychological well-being problems prevail among refugee populations. This includes post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD); depression and social isolation; post-resettlement stress; emotional distress; and a loss of identity, autonomy and sense of belonging; etc. (Daynes, 2016; Silove et al, 2017; Martin et al, 2018; UNCHR 2024). Besides clinical interventions and psychotherapies, doctors and researchers suggest psychosocial interventions and promotions. These approaches can improve mental health and well-being while fostering "social cohesion and strengthening community-based mechanisms to protect and support individuals" (*UNHCR Integration Handbook*, 2024). This approach requires "a safe therapeutic environment which nurtures trust, mutual care and community-wide respect. The restorative experience of participating in the group itself may assist in repairing disrupted social relationships" (Silove et al, 2017, p.136).

Possible behavioral and psychological responses to loss and trauma	Potential impact on resettlement
Guilt (particularly related to those that have been left behind, and the inability to secure the safety of other family members)	• Undermining capacity for self-care and belief in worthiness of support of others; • Preventing from seeking support and developing relationships with formal and informal support providers.
Lack of trust/disrupted attachments	• Not trusting intentions of resettlement or service providers; • Undermining supportive relationships within families; • Affecting the formation of supportive relationships; • Affecting relationships in the workplace and community; • Increasing vulnerability to anxiety, anger and suspicion in interactions with public officials, such as teachers, law enforcement officers, and government personnel.
Impaired concentration, anxiety, or reliving of painful memories	• Interfering with learning, especially language acquisition; • Constraining the ability to share information in an organized manner; • Increasing vulnerability to stress and anxiety when performing new tasks, and thus affecting securing basic resettlement resources and participation in employment and education; • Increasing vulnerability to stress during medical consultation, particularly if invasive procedures are involved.

Table 4: How experiences of adversity, loss and trauma may impact resettlement (UNHCR, *Integration Handbook*, 2024)

Translating therapeutic environment into a space to heal offers participatory experience while promoting social bridges and inclusion. (WHO, 2018; Curca, 2019). Many researchers examine the roles of public spaces such as parks, greenspace, and streets as spaces for refuge, retreat, and recovery (Samson & Gifford, 2010; Haene et al, 2018; Rishbeth et al, 2019). Moreover, community gardens receive much attention as a healing space for refugees (Hartwig & Mason, 2018; Project for Public Spaces, 2018). Gardens provide physical, communal, and emotional benefits, improving the overall well-being of refugee populations especially for those with agricultural backgrounds.

3.1.4 Housing

...good housing practices: enhance participation of refugees in city making as a means to achieve social cohesion and city prosperity; leverage refugees' abilities to negotiate access and rights and to develop innovative solutions to their own housing problems; promote urban alliances towards integration and reduce competition and discrimination in the housing market; and foster refugees as well as host communities' wellbeing and meaningful lives...

(Astolfo & Boano, 2018, pp.8-9)

Housing can provide a sense of security and create continuing expectation of living arrangements (Ager & Strang, 2008, 2010; Bolzoni et al., 2015; Astolfo & Boano, 2018).

Scholars agree that housing has emerged at the center of inclusion/exclusion and has played a pivotal role for integration. In accordance with this idea, a cross-sectional study of refugees in Birmingham, UK by Phillimore and Goodson (2008) points out that housing has the highest priority for integration, followed by employment and other social indicators. Bolzoni et al. (2015) also emphasize the importance of housing and describe it as "an essential step on the integration path and a precondition for the full enjoyment of social and civil rights as well as social services" (p.400). The study shows that when local agencies denied housing, refugees then sought to find informal solutions, resulting in squatting which further worsens the process of integration.



Figure 3.3: Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Plateresca / Getty Images)

While housing cannot address all integration issues, good housing is a combination of shelter provision and enabling strategy (Bolzoni et al., 2015). Based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Figure 3.3), secure housing gives refugees stability and thus enables them to take part in education, employment, and connect to the host society. Secure housing sets a strong foundation to begin a new life in a new place (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008; Bolzoni et al., 2015; Desmond, 2016).

However, housing within the context of refugee resettlement in the U.S. is understudied and lacks cohesiveness. Little is known about housing systems and policies, housing agencies, housing quality, tenure, and experiences across diverse refugee populations (Phillips, 2006; Brown, Gill, & Halsall, 2021). Nearly two decades ago, Phillips (2006) raised concerns over ambiguous uses of the term 'housing' and contested natures of housing integration policies in the U.K. and Europe. She addressed the small capacity of refugee community organizations and their dependence on volunteers or external funding; inefficient coordination of housing services, community organizations, and housing providers. She also noted issues with discontinued funding, and priority and expectation disparities between the asylum seekers and refugees and service providers. The author further suggests enhancing holistic housing approaches with community-centered, inter-agency partnerships, culturally sensitive mainstream provisions, adequate resources, along with a clear and cohesive housing policy. Despite many policy developments and integration frameworks, a recent systematic review of 118 publications on housing and refugees by Brown et al. (2021) illustrates that these problems continue to persist. Certainly, there is an urgent need to provide proper housing to refugees, however, the authors deter from collective accommodation referencing negative outcomes. Furthermore, the review illustrates that housing insecurity and poor standard of living directly restrict opportunities for building and maintaining social networks.

Similar phenomena occur in Canada. The arrivals of 25,000 Syrian refugees were unprecedented for Canadian resettlement programs and thus strained the housing market. Rose (2019) addresses several challenges including low vacancy of affordable and public housing, lack of large units for families with more than four children, large scale arrivals in short time periods, and geographical mismatch of services and housing availability. The researcher suggests more investment at multi-scalar cooperation on housing task forces, private sponsorships support of refugee resettlement, improved information transmission prior to the arrivals and at the initial reception, and reducing income gaps and housing costs.

The World Health Organization (WHO) identifies four interrelated elements that impact physical, social, and psychological health either directly or indirectly (Figure 3.3; Ormandy, Jacob, & Braubach, 2011). The first element, home, is the social, cultural, or economic structures created by the household. This implies that having a home allows refugees to gather with family and friends, speak their own languages, and build financial equity.



1. **Home:** social, cultural, or economic structures created by the households
2. **Dwelling:** a living unit
3. **Neighborhood:** immediate housing environment
4. **Community:** population and services within the neighborhood

Figure 3.4 Four Dimensions of Housing (Illustration: Author 2024, adopt from WHO Europe, 2011)

Beyond the qualities of a dwelling, the neighborhood and community also impact the lives of refugees (Figure 3.4). Researchers identify four components of appropriate housing: location, stability, quality, and affordability (Phillimore & Goodson, 2008; Desmond & Gershenson, 2017; Ziersch, et al., 2017; Ziersch, Due, & Walsh, 2023; Brake et al.; 2023). Positive conditions of these factors contribute a sense of ontological security allowing refugees to rebuild their lives meaningfully in a host country.

In Australia, Ziersch et al. (2017) interviewed refugees about their housing experiences. The research team emphasize the important roles of social environments such as a sense of safety, being friendly and welcoming, and having convenient access to services. For social connections specifically, evidence from the interviews demonstrate that in a successful case, good neighbors garner community support and take more effort towards social inclusion of the refugees. This helps to establish a sense of ontological security for refugees. When absent, not only do refugees feel “lack of friendship, but also in terms of keeping an eye on each other for safety” (p.11). Another study presents a supporting finding. According to a housing survey of refugees and asylum seekers (N=423), the top four factors identified as important in housing are 1) affordable rent, 2) safety, 3) good condition, and 4) good neighborhood (Ziersch et al., 2023). When asked about their neighborhood, the participants of the study point out a sense of safety, friendliness, and good neighbors as the top three important factors. These are followed by access to services and amenities, and proximity to families and friends. (See Table 5) However, their multivariate logistic regression model demonstrates that only neighborhood satisfaction, not housing satisfaction, is associated with resettlement satisfaction along with other factors such as financial status and visa conditions.

	N	Valid %
Feeling safe	319	77.1
Friendly	233	56.3
Good neighbors	212	51.2
Good public transport	207	50.0
Close to schools/childcare	198	47.8
Close to shops	173	41.9
Good local services	171	41.3
Close to relatives/family	138	33.3
Close to place of worship	132	32.0
Close to friends	128	30.9
Close to work	95	22.9
other	17	0.8

Table 5: Survey responses “what is important in a neighborhood?” (Ziersch et al., 2023)

In addition to setting a solid foundation for upward social mobility or social determination, housing has strong associations with health. WHO have established a guideline to promote healthy housing including considerations of crowding, indoor temperature, injury hazards, accessibility, building materials and performance risks (WHO, 2018). However, these considerations are only discussed in terms of their impact on physical well-being. For refugees and asylees, researchers argue that they are not only marginalized due to their socioeconomic status and/or ethnicity but also due to factors such as their exposure to poor living conditions and unstable housing. This can impede both physical and mental health conditions (Ager & Strang 2008; Due et al., 2019; Dudek, Razum & Sauzet, 2022; & Brake et al., 2023).

In their fieldwork conducted in Islington, London and Pollokshaws, Glasgow, Ager and Strang (2008) report that participants rather focused on 1) social and cultural aspects of their neighborhood and community and 2) safety and security around their housing environment. Interviewees rarely discussed physical parameters such as housing size and facilities. Studies conducted in Australia present similar findings. Ziersch et al. (2017)

explore the relationship of housing and health for refugees. Interviewing 50 participants about their housing experiences, the research team studied affordability, the suitability of housing in relation to physical aspects such as condition and layout, and social aspects such as safety and belonging, security of tenure, and experience of discrimination. Due et al. (2019) investigated housing conditions of refugees and asylum seekers employing the photovoice method. Their findings suggest that while structural deficiencies of housing have direct impacts on physical health, participants often are more concerned about negative impacts on mental health. For example, when a landlord neglects issues such as water leakage, a broken stove or, broken blinds, residents feel a lack of control over their dwelling space. This can cause them to feel unsafe and even invoking trauma. The researchers also highlight the importance of neighborhood safety, sense of belonging, confidence and trust, with additional notes on greenery and walkability.

In Germany, a study examines health outcomes among refugees living in 42 reception centers across the country (Rast et al. 2024). Researchers employed a secondary qualitative analysis with data from 47 interviews. The results illustrate four themes: 1) physical conditions such as crowding, hygiene, lack of privacy and limited control over their individual space; 2) disruptions of social and professional networks due to housing instability; 3) limited autonomy and belonging; and 4) insufficient medical support from a reception center. The unfavorable conditions and negative health outcomes are in line with another study by Deduk et al. (2022). This study compares health disparities among refugees and asylum seekers living in a private accommodation versus a collective accommodation. The researchers performed a secondary data analysis and linear mixed model regression analysis using 2017 survey data from 1,535 respondents. They also highlight that the socio-environmental dimensions of housing impact the frequency of

interactions between refugees and asylum seekers and locals. More than 70 percent of people who live in a collective accommodation never contact local neighbors, while more than half of respondents living in a private dwelling meet local neighbors sporadically. Besner (2018) cautions that housing for refugees needs immediate attention. This is because two billion people are projected to become displaced by either conflict or climate change over the next century. Besner warns that architects and urbanists must not reproduce “the failed public housing experiments of the past.” In this manner, the researcher argues that housing solutions must remain humane, permanent, and sociable. She highlights that when architects design spaces with a focus on efficiency and necessities but neglect social needs, conflicts between residents often arise.

In a systematic literature review of the relationship between psychosocial attributes of housing and the health outcomes of refugees and asylum seekers in high-income countries, Brake et al. (2023) assessed 32 studies screened from nearly 3,000 publications. One study was conducted in Canada and none of which was conducted in the U.S.

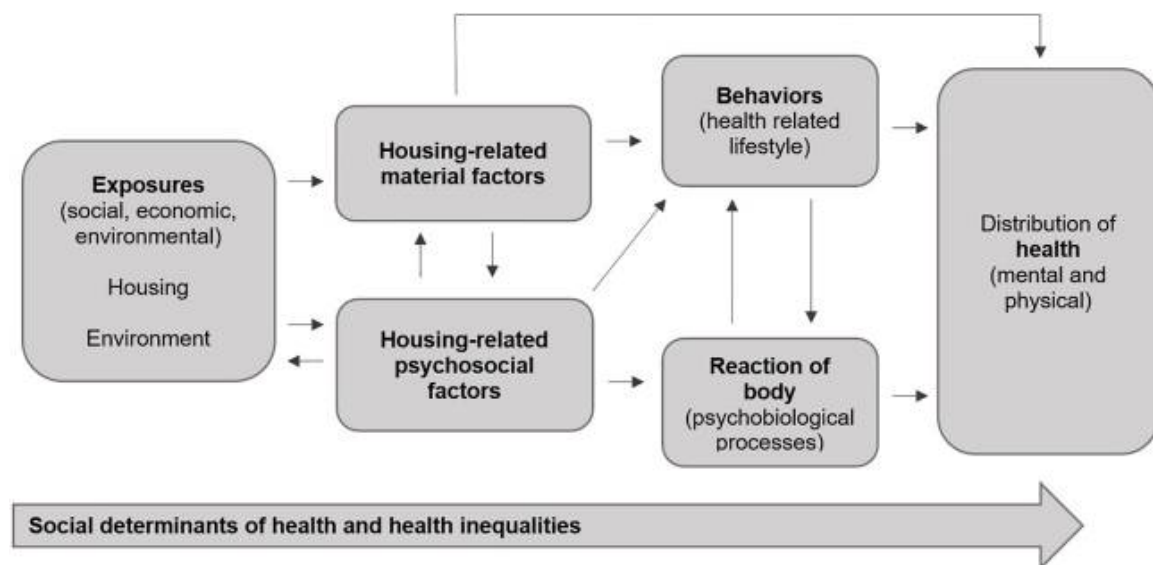


Figure 3.5: Links between housing and health, including housing-related material/physical and psychosocial factors; own representation following Public Health England, 2017 (Source: Brake et al., 2023).

Their samples present housing attributes that impact health outcomes which can be categorized into seven groups: 1) crowding, space, and privacy (53.1%); 2) housing instability (including security of tenancy, affordability, and residential mobility) (50%); 3) physical conditions of/in the dwelling (28.1%); 4) safety (25%); 5) housing satisfaction (25%); 6) neighborhood and location; and 7) institutional practices in a housing center. The relationship assessment illustrates overarching themes on psychosocial attributes:

- 1. Control:** privacy, ownership, freedom, stability, safety, security, and conflicts
- 2. Expressing Status:** sense of belonging, confidence, and trust
- 3. Satisfaction:** contentment with ones' housing and living situations
- 4. Demand:** affordability

To understand what housing strategies, as a social innovation, contribute to a successful integration practice, Astolfo and Boano (2018) assess over 120 affordable housing campaigns. These projects are selected without geographical restriction and specifically target refugees and climate refugees, the unhoused, and low-income populations. The researchers categorize these projects into three themes: 1) exchange model (interim use of empty buildings, shared homes, host families); 2) credit-based model; and 3) incentive to homeowner model. They highlight that best practices in refugee housing can enhance public participation and decision making of both refugees and the host community. This participation helps foster community health and well-being, reduce discrimination, and create voices for negotiation for refugees. Additionally, the authors present four keys for analysis of housing integration.

1. Participation and agency: look for an opportunity to engage refugees and local communities in a process of decision making and rebuilding, and support refugee reproduction of spaces and urban practices.

2. Future and ability to make choice: prioritize giving freedom in housing decisions, encourage mobility by removing housing pathway barriers, and negotiate residents' visibility.
3. Creating networks and reducing vulnerability: protecting refugees from community exploitation, exclusive social hierarchies, crime and risk related housing discrimination and deprivation. Use housing as a strategy to create mixed communities that increase social connection and resilience.
4. Belonging and place making: strategize meaningful planning and using places as spatial inclusion mitigator, emphasize place attachment of residents and creation of social networks, transnational and hospitable places.

3.1.4.1 UNHCR Guidelines on Housing

According to UNHCR's *Integration Handbook* (2024), the aspect of housing focuses specifically on securing housing tenure, safety, and affordability. Unlike Astolfo and Boano (2018) that advocate for refugees as active agencies, the handbook focuses on preparation and provision of housing from a host community. It addresses the following as common problems affecting refugees' ability to access housing: earning capacity and rental cost, tenancy capacity, communication and information transmission, family composition and housing needs, and cultural perspectives.

Because of refugees' disadvantages in the housing market, planning for long-term housing is critical. In countries such as Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and the Netherlands, housing policies allocate public housing to refugees upon their arrival. However, many other countries are unable to do so due to factors such limited public housing capacity, eligibility, and housing pathway barriers.

The guidebook recommends the following to facilitate access to safe, secure, and affordable housing: 1) providing housing information and support; 2) addressing concerns and preparing solutions to landlords when renting to refugees such as mediation and brokerage services, raising awareness, and discrimination prevention; 3) enhancing access to public housing and ensuring that public housing systems give priority and urgency to this specific needs; 4) offering housing subsidies to meet the rental cost in the form of grants, loans, or credits. The guidebook urges that appropriate housing protocol should be in place along with adequate resources and language assistance. Networks should expand to include other relevant agencies and maximize capacity from the government sector, housing organizations, the private sector, and the refugee community. It also address responding to the specific needs of refugees such as household size and health conditions.

UNHCR recommends *A Place to Live, A Place to Stay: A Good Practice Guide for Housing in Refugee Resettlement* (Westerby, Fisher, & Hueck, 2014) as a reference. It provides information at national, regional, and local levels along with case studies. The research team conducted 41 qualitative interviews with policymakers and housing practitioners across European countries. Westerby et al, (2014) make the following recommendations:

At a national level, as some countries choose a dispersal strategy, a placement policy should consider both the availability of affordable housing as well as employment and educational opportunities and access to other services. Pre-departure programs should provide information on housing of a receiving country to set appropriate expectations. A host country should facilitate information sharing for multilevel multi-stakeholders regarding housing needs, refugee profiles, and reception planning. One problem that stands out is that a refugee family generally has more members than available standard European housing units have capacity for.

At a regional level, authorities should engage new housing actors, such as private landlords, to broaden affordable choices beyond social housing. Agencies must help maintain tenant-landlord relationships to ensure welfare benefits. Additionally, a resettlement agency should assist refugees to understand their rental contract and to act as informed tenants. Transitional housing in the form of a private accommodation is preferable than a collective facility.

At a local level, authorities should provide integration support to ensure that refugees feel welcome and safe in a new community. They should provide information on topics such as household budgeting, maintenance, utilities, the housing market, and social welfare, which will enable new arrivals to live independently. They need to foster mainstream awareness regarding diversity and discrimination and inform a host community about the arrivals of refugees. Finally, engaging the local community must involve local residents as volunteers to be part of the reception of refugees.

3.2 SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

The integration framework by Ager and Strang (2008) identifies social relations as “assets associated with social connection and trust” (p.177). By creating social connections, refugees are empowered and encouraged to achieve better social mobility through housing, employment, education, and health. More importantly, they become a member of and feel a sense of belonging to the community which they are now settled. Social relations include committed relationships with family and friends, along with a sense of respect and shared values among other community members despite their differences. Along the same line, Hynie (2018) explains: “Integration, in its broadest sense, refers to inclusion and participation, both economically and socially... [S]uccessful integration requires a social context that supports inclusion and participation” (p.265). This

section reviews two social concepts: 1) social capital and social connections, and 2) social cohesion in order to elaborate social contexts explored in this study.

3.2.1 Social Capital and Social Connections

The concept of social connection in the integration framework derives from the social capital theory. Social theorists have diverging conceptualizations of social capital whether it is a collective of public good (Putnam 1993, 2000; Woolcock 1998), a private asset and individuals' network (Portes and Landolt, 1996; Bourdieu, 2000), or something in between (Coleman, 1988). Despite these differences, social capital is commonly understood as the resources available to individuals and groups through both formal and informal social networks which allow them to access other forms of capital such as economic capital, cultural capital, or social location. In the case of forcibly displaced people, like refugees and asylum seekers, disruptions to the social fabric in their homeland often interrupt and fragment individual's social connections (Almohamed & Vyas; 2019)). Furthermore, relocation and resettlement also contribute to the diminishing of their social capital. Hence, it has become undeniable that supportive relationships can benefit their integration as it improves an individual's resources to better one's well-being, facilitate their social mobility, and eventually enable them to positively contribute back to a host society. Many scholars verify the association between social capital and mental health outcomes among refugees referring to a positive sense of coherence that mitigates health issues (Ziersch et al., 2005; Maass et al., 2016; van Sint Fiet et al., 2022; Villalonga-Olives et al, 2022).

Therefore, it is critical for refugees to rebuild social connections and social capital upon their resettlement in order to enhance their integration process and better their well-being. Concurrently, a receiving community can advance collective trust, improve inter-

group attitudes and tolerance, and reduce biases, conflicts, and discrimination practices (see Fajth & Bilgili, 2019; Albrecht & Smerdon, 2022). However, it is important to note that there are multiple ways to build social capital beyond an individual's capacity and their own social connections. Pittaway et al. (2016) explain that community capacity (including cultural competency and community leadership) and socio-political factors (such as the socio-political atmosphere of a host society, recognition of skills and qualifications, responsive resettlement services, and family reunification) also influence access to social capital.

According to Putnam, social capital can be found in friendship networks, neighborhoods, churches or faith-based organizations, the educational infrastructure, and leisure groups such as bridge clubs or soccer teams, civic associations, and even social spaces like bars. Based on an investigation of refugees and asylum seekers from Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan in South Australia, Almohamed and Vyas (2019) highlight interactions with neighbors as particularly important to the studied population. This is because they value their neighbors as much as relatives and expect frequent and genuine interactions from them. In addition to face-to-face interactions, the researchers argue that social capital can also be found in a digital domain via uses of communication and information technologies and social network sites (2019).

Putnam (2000) categorizes social connections into three forms known as bridging, bonding, and linking. This categorization has been adopted by Ager and Strang (2008, 2010) in the integration framework.

Social Bonds: involves deepening the relationships within your own community.

Social Bridges: involves creating new relationships beyond your current social circle to other communities.

Social Linkages: involves creating social relationships with a wider social institution such as leaders or government officials to leverage their power and influence.

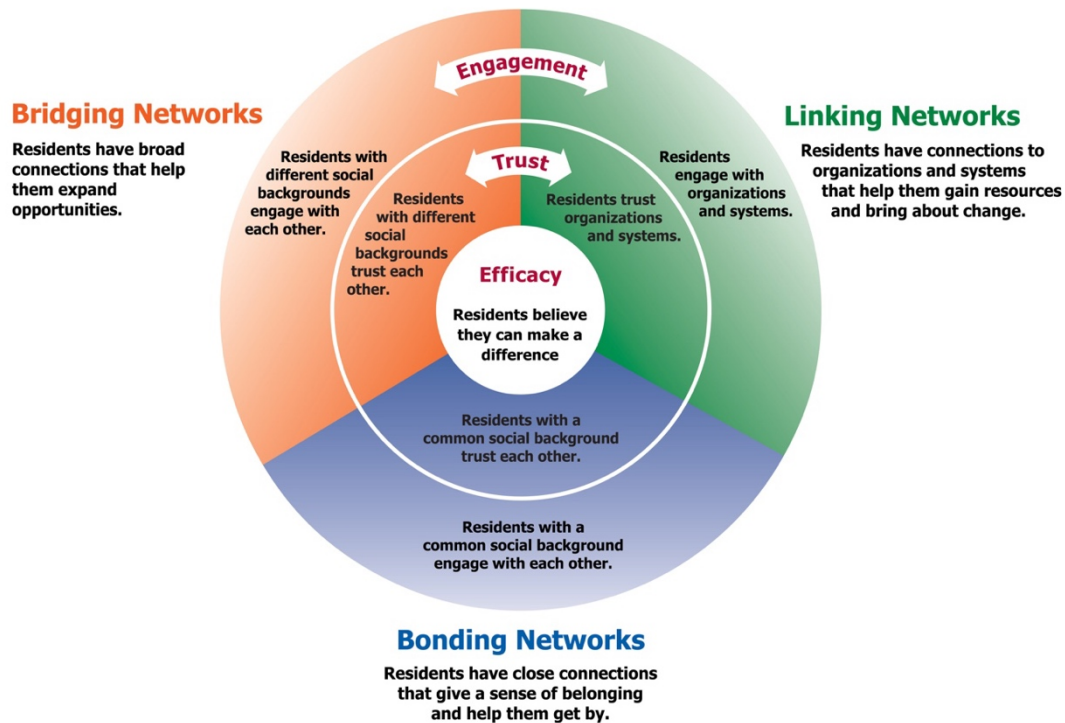


Figure 3.6: Community Social Capital Model (Source: University of Minnesota, 2009)

3.2.1.1 UNHCR Guidelines on Social Connections

The UNHCR guidebook (2024) emphasizes the importance of both bonding and bridging. It affirms that social connections can increase access to integration resources such as employment and volunteering opportunities as well as broaden their network to participate in wider communal activities leading to better social inclusion. In terms of bonding, the guidebook cites benefits to mental health, psychosocial needs, and cultural integrity while forging a new identity. At the same time, the bridging helps promote a sense of belonging and trust in the time of demographic changes and fosters mutual understanding and empathy in an increasingly diverse community.

In addition to volunteering, befriending, and buddying as meaningful and effective ways to help create social connections and refugees and locals, the toolkit focuses on capacity building of three areas to complement government-assisted programs and increase responsibility sharing.

- 1) Refugees and diaspora communities: to connect new arrivals with an established diaspora community which can offer language and cultural knowledge and connections to social, business, religious, and cultural institutions.
- 2) Community sponsorship programs: to involve broader actors and create direct engagement in the reception of refugees in order to build up positive support.
- 3) Social support services: to enhance professional development and expand access to these services especially in the education and healthcare sectors.

Beyond language and cultural barriers that may discourage social connections; it is also important to recognize the aspects of age and gender, practicality of childcare and transportation, and consideration of refugees as both individuals and as a family unit.

3.2.1.2 Social Capital and Housing

As discussed earlier, researchers suggest that social capital can better one's well-being and means of integration. This includes housing. The concept that links social capital to location and neighborhood characteristics is acknowledged in Western development by many scholars (see Oldenburg, 1989; Forrest & Kearns; 2001; Mohan & Mohan, 2002). On the contrary, many scholars contest this idea arguing that globalization along with increased mobility, accessible transportation, and advanced communication technology have gradually weakened the necessity of neighborhood contacts (Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Putnam, 2000). However, I argue that newly resettled forced migrants, whose social network has been interrupted and whose mobility is often limited, can significantly benefit

from day-to-day interactions around their housing and neighborhood. Being disadvantaged in many perspectives, neighborhood-based social capital remains critical for refugees and asylum seekers as a resource to better their well-being and advance their integration. 'Home' has remained a critical starting point for networking. To date, limited studies explore a relationship between the social capital which is embedded in residential spaces (i.e., housing, neighborhood), and their livelihood for a refugee-receiving community.

Almohamed and Vyas (2019) cite a famous Arabic proverb “الجار قبل الدار” (‘choose your neighbors before you choose your house’) – that is widely accepted and practiced across Islamic communities. For many refugees, a neighbor is “a family member whose greeting is returned, whose invitation is accepted, and someone to express solidarity within both sadness and happiness” (p.14). Their investigation illustrates both positive and negative experiences of refugees and their neighbors after resettling in Australia. Those that have limited interactions with neighbors feel unwelcome, which led to a sense of exclusion. Others that successfully befriended their neighbors found it a crucial source of social capital.

Several studies investigate relationships between social capital, housing, and health. Sociability in housing enhances informal interactions which prevent exclusion and reduce loneliness. Thus, it improves life satisfaction and mental health (Edwards, Booth, & Edwards, 1982; Rios & Montgomery, n.d.; Masss et al., 2016; De Jesus et al., 2023; Ziersch, Moira, & Due; 2023). Later in Section 3.3.3, I discuss qualities and characteristic of the sociability and connectedness of housing and neighborhood in more depth.

3.2.1.3 Social Capital and Community building

The process of building community for refugees is challenged by lack of social connections. The discussion of the four means and markers of integration – employment,

housing, education, and health (see Figure 3.2) – suggest the importance of the processes and production of creating places that contribute to community building for refugees via living, working, learning, and healing. Additionally, faith-based organizations and the community infrastructure can promote social connections of refugees and hosts, allowing them to form community.

Faith-based organizations have undeniable roles in assisting and aiding refugees beyond providing social welfare services and humanitarian support. A faith leader has an influential role in shaping public opinion towards refugees and introducing newcomers to a local community. These actions initiate social relationships, mediate conflicts, and encourage a community to open to refugee populations. Furthermore, people with a common religious belief generally share some common cultural and religious activities, allowing them to create both social bonds and social bridges regardless of their ethnicity (The Lutheran World Federation and Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2015). Initiative projects such as a healing garden for refugees in Minnesota started from carving a church lawn and turning it into a community garden (Hartwig & Mason, 2018).

In terms of social infrastructure, friendships and personal connections emerge in spaces that facilitate social interaction and create chances of contact (Cutieru, 2020). This in turn creates a sense of community and belonging for refugees and non-refugees alike. Sport facilities, such as soccer fields, accommodate leisure activities that allow refugees to interact with locals via non-verbal activities, negotiate their identities, and build peace (Ha & Lyras, 2013; Spaaig, 2015; Rishbeth et al., 2018; Soh, 2019). Art and cultural centers also provide spaces of interethnic collaboration and embrace cultural diversity in a host society. This infrastructure can be physical spaces as well as virtual spaces such as social media and websites (Almohamed & Vyas, 2019). A community center and recreational

park are specifically important to youths to accommodate actual cultural and language learning. At the same time, these places are generally able to offer various daily activities for different age groups and family compositions. Overall, it is critical to create and share spaces that bring people together in an atmosphere of trust and common interest. Increasing points of contact and opportunities to interact will eventually contribute to social connections and hence lead to social capital (Almohamed & Vyas; 2019).

Furthermore, scholars acknowledge impacts of social capital on community development especially to improve economic opportunities, alleviate inequalities, and enhance anti-poverty strategy (Woolcock, 1998; Whiteley, 2000; Ali, Naseem, & Farooq; 2011). In an investigation of Southeast Asian refugee and immigrant communities in Merrimack Valley, Massachusetts, Turcotte and Silka (2008) illustrate the success of economic driven community development. People increase their social capital through forming both formal and informal associations, creating job training and skill sharing, and organizing cultural celebrations. They create jobs for ethnic minority communities and regenerate the economic vibrancy of a host city. Eventually, the communities became self-reliant and prospered with a plan to build a transnational designed community center that host workspace for startups and entrepreneurs, as well as cultural exhibitions and events.

3.2.2 Social Cohesion

According to the Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research, social cohesion is defined as:

... a social process which aims to consolidate plurality of citizenship by reducing inequality and socioeconomic disparities and fractures in the society. It reflects people's needs for both personal development and a sense of belonging and links together individual freedom and social justice, economic efficiency and the fair sharing of resources, and pluralism and common rules for resolving all conflicts.

(Manca, 2014)

Social cohesion is an analytical concept introduced by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim in 1897. Durkheim defined the concept as a characteristic of society that shows the interdependence between individuals involving the notions of solidarity and integration (Kawachi & Berkman, 2000). By fostering social cohesion, people have the opportunity to live together peacefully and productively despite differences (Novy, Swiatek, & Moulaert, 2012). Researchers also link social cohesion with other outcomes, including environmental sustainability (Uzzell, Pol, & Badenas, 2002), social stability (Stigendal, 2010], and health (Moustakas, 2023).

As a latent concept, scholars conceptualize social cohesion as a multi-level and multi-dimensional construct that is neither directly measurable nor observable. Dimensions such as belonging, trust, identification and recognition, legitimacy of institutions, social inclusion, social capital, civic participation, and shared values constitute part of social cohesion (UNECE, 2023).

Durkheim (1897/1997) identified two factors contributing to the cohesion of a society:

- 1) the absence of latent social conflict based on wealth, ethnicity, race, and gender;
- 2) the presence of strong social bonds such as civic society, responsive democracy, and impartial law enforcement.

In the same vein, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2009) works on these areas involving institutions, communities, and individuals to be tolerant of and respect the diversity of ethnicity, religion, economic status, political views, sexuality, gender, and age. The UNDP identifies two areas of work to promote social cohesion:

- 1) Reduce inequalities, disparities, and social exclusion;
- 2) Strengthen social relations, interactions, and ties.

However, the complexity of varying geographical conditions, political representations, economics, and demographic problems make it challenging to arrive at a consensus for a definition of social cohesion (Bruhn, 2009; Lefko-Everett, 2016). The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE, 2023) urges that a study of social cohesion should clearly specify a set of relevant dimensions and levels of analysis to make research more practical. Researchers identify and categorize domains and dimensions of social cohesion as shown in Figure 3.6 (Dragolov et al, 2013; Dragolov, Koch, & Larsen, 2018; Moustakas, 2023).

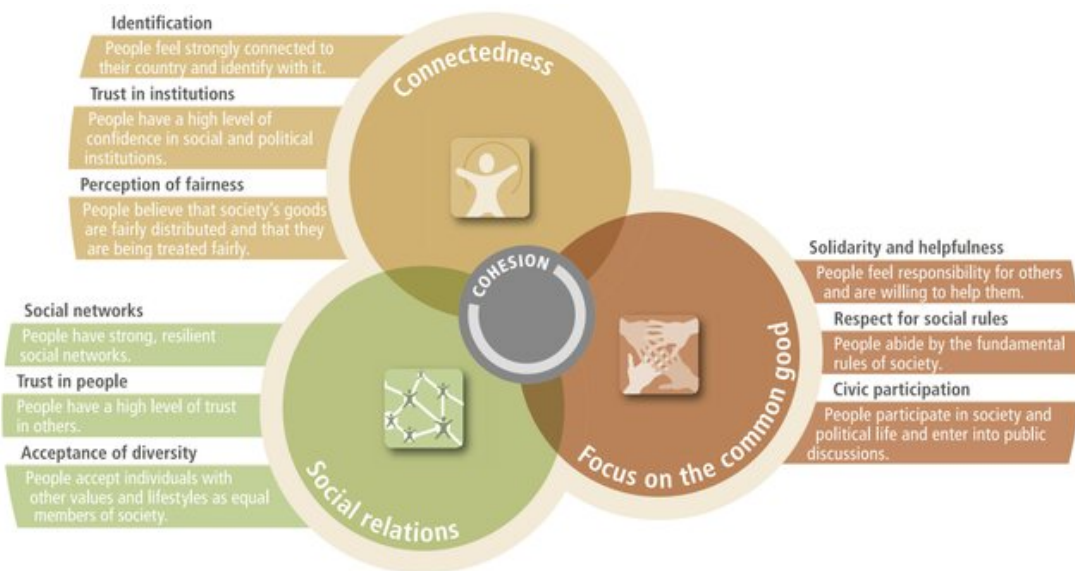


Figure 3.7: Domains of social cohesion and their respective dimension (Source: Dragolov, Larsen, & Koch, 2018)

In addition, economic inclusion, community quality of life, and individual quality of life are often used as indicators of social cohesion from the policy-oriented approach. Although they are not directly constituent of but rather influential to social cohesion measurements (Bottoni, 2017). Because of this reason, neighborhood quality is often seen as being associated with social cohesion (Dempsey, 2007).

3.2.2.1 Social Cohesion and the Ethnically Diverse Community

Globalization and rapid human movement have impacted the ethnic diversity of our society. This leads to the intensification of racial diversity, equality, and inclusiveness problems more than ever before. Some scholars suggest that there is a tradeoff between racial diversity and cohesion as the increase in diversity from migration consequently weakens community cohesion (Putnam, 2007; Laurence & Bentley, 2016). To contest Durkheim's socio-homogeneity approach, other researchers argue that there is no conclusive evidence for this. Parson (1951) argued that interdependent sub-systems within a society are held together through sharing value processes. The individual actions of affiliated people can produce both a positive internal effect on members of associations promoting cooperative behaviors, and an effect on wider polity fostering cooperation. Along the same line, Letki (2008) reinforces that social cohesion in communities is driven by poverty levels and public service delivery, not by immigrants themselves.

Approaching social cohesion from an ethnic diversity standpoint has called for more attention in the era of immigrants, displaced populations, and refugee crises. Putnam (2007) conducted a cross-sectional study of ethnic diversity and perception of community across the United States. His statistical analysis shows that ethnically diverse neighborhoods have lower social cohesion indicators i.e., trust, cooperation, and friendship. Similar findings are evident in a longitudinal study of the effect of community diversity and social cohesion by Laurence and Bentley (2016). The researchers analyzed panel data of individuals in England and Wales over a period of 18 years. Focusing on place attachment, they have identified two strategic approaches distinguishing between diversity change from 'movers' and 'stayers' perspectives. The differences imply that changes in a community's diversity have unequal impacts on the individual level. In both

cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, the length of stay and perception of neighborhood changes have effects on place attachment and belonging in a community. Putnam (2007) cautions that negative relations may decrease overtime. Influenced by Parson's work, Putnam points out that policies fostering a shared sense of citizenship and identity can help avoid social fragmentation and mitigate negative impacts of racial diversity. At the same time, bottom-up approaches from locally based organizations such as religious institutions or NGOs can facilitate civic engagement and public participation.

Housing, neighborhood, and community as a place for everyday interaction play important roles in creating social solidarity connecting social differences via spatial bridges. In *Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal*, Talen (2006) highlights the roles of physical environment in procuring diversity. Although she urges that diversity can cause gentrification, physical diversity can increase choices that are suitable for a wider range of people. Social diversity and functional diversity are interdependent of each other and critical for stabilizing a diverse neighborhood. In addition to diversity of housing options, providing non-residential and commercial services such as parks, plazas, schools, and religious institutions in strategic locations can mitigate differences and connect disparate spaces. As opposed to privatization, these spaces act as a social seam and therefore enhance informal and shared responsibilities.

3.2.2.2 Social Cohesion and Refugee Resettlement

Domains of social cohesion have been identified as a key to integrating host and refugee communities. Research shows positive correlation between social contacts and improving attitudes regarding refugees (Betts et al., 2023; Dustmann et al., 2019) policies and place-making and shared interests (Ariner, 2022); social cohesion, sense of coherence, and health outcomes (van Sint Fiet et al., 2022; De Jesus et al., 2023). Similarly, scholars

identify misinformation, language barriers, and absence of social connection are threatening to social cohesion of a host community and rather exacerbate segregation (Seyidov & Bozkurt 2021).

The idea of proximity and contact theory has been confirmed as significant to improving relationships and attitudes of host communities towards refugees. *In Refugees welcome? Inter-group interaction and host community attitude formation* (Betts et al., 2023), uses OLS regression analysis of refugee-hosting in Uganda to show significant correlation between interaction and positive perceptions, especially in an urban context. Due to positive receiving attitudes, social cohesion is thus not negatively impacted once more refugees are received. The findings align with a further study in Denmark. Dustmann et al. (2019) reveal that the presence of refugees in urban areas are directly associated with lower anti-immigration votes. However, the study suggests the opposite for rural settings, where presences of refugees resulted in a higher opposition to immigration policy. Similarly, lack of social contact can threaten social cohesion despite a willingness for interaction. A study on social cohesion in a Turkish host community of Syrian refugees present evidence from a semi-structured in-depth interviews of 45 residents of Ankara (random sampling). These interviewees live in a neighborhood that has a high refugee population. The findings show that members of the host community are in favor of developing social contact with refugees. However, misinformation and rumors, language barriers, and a lack of social connection were considered as the main factors affecting the negative attitudes of the host community towards refugees (Seyidov & Bozkurt, 2021).

A focus group study of social cohesion between Syrian refugees and their Turkish host community highlights the roles of a city and place-making as important factors allowing residents to find common ground in order to promote a salutary form of inter-

group contact (Ariner, 2023). Under the concept of “Harmonization,” the country puts on multi-scalar, multi-dimensional, and multi-stakeholder efforts to promote social cohesion through improving equality and access to services, reducing disparities and social exclusion, increasing civic participation, and building trust in institutions.

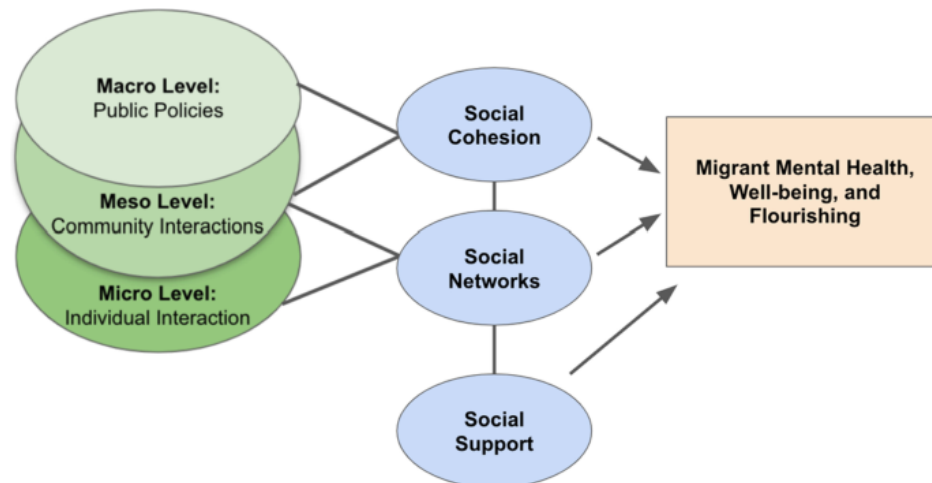


Figure 3.8: Relationships among social environmental factors and asylum-seekers’ mental health, well-being, and flourishing (Source: De Jesus et al., 2023)

In terms of impacts on health, a qualitative study of refugees in France illustrates that social connections can mitigate refugees’ negative experiences. However, a lack of social cohesion due to marginalization and exclusion policies has impacted refugees’ mental well-being (De Jesus et al., 2023). A similar result is found in another quantitative study of refugees in the Netherlands. The researchers’ regression analyses demonstrate that having a sense of coherence has positively impacted social networks and consequently leads to better mental health (van Sint Fiet et al., 2022).

3.3 SPATIAL DIMENSION OF RESETTLEMENT

Centered around the scholarship of architecture and urban design, this section presents overarching themes of the spatial dimensions of refugee resettlement: 1) community form and social inclusion, 2) spatial qualities of places in resettlement cities, and 3) housing and sociality.

3.3.1 Community Form and Social Connectedness

Translating social dimensions into spatial dimensions, Day (2003) claims that “through comprehensive urban design and planning, New Urbanism seeks to foster place identity, sense of community, and environmental sustainability” (Day, 2003, p. 83). New Urbanism presumes that space planning and the built environment directly influence human behaviors (Talen, 1999). Thus, architecture, urban design, and spatial organization can impact social interactions and sense of community in both positive and negative ways. The physical proximity and quality of place can stimulate passive social contact that creates a functioning community. In the review of the social doctrine of New Urbanism Talen (1999) describes that spatial environment i.e., architecture and site design, density and scale, streets, public space, and land uses can influence frequency and quality of social contact. This statement is supported by empirical evidence and scholarly research (see Langdon, 1994, *A Better Place to Live*; Duany and Plater-Zyberk, 1992, *Town and Town Making*; Calthorpe, 1993; *The Next American Metropolis: Ecology, Community, and the American Dream*).

Despite the positive correlation between environment and human behavior, Talen (1999) argues that urban form alone, while maybe promoting social interactions, sense of place and identity, safety and security, is inadequate to foster the development of social ties and sense of community. The author elaborates on the importance of social and economic homogeneity such as income, education, attitudes, and values, in holding a pivotal role in creating ‘the community of interest’. Talen argues it is not that New Urbanism strategies enhance a sense of community through creating social interactions, but rather acts as physical tools (of economics and politics) that attract people of similar interest, values, income, and class affiliations together. The homogeneous social unit, in turn, constructs a cohesive community.

In contrast to Talen, Łucka (2018) opposes this claim and argues that mixed use of land and integration of diverse places are the key to bringing in population heterogeneity:

Different types of buildings (with different prices, quality standards, and forms of property) should be constructed within the same community, so that groups of different socioeconomic characteristics live close to one another. This [proximity of diversity can foster] integration of social groups of different incomes, ages, and races. Therefore, architectural and urbanistic differentiation should lead to the differentiation of communities, preventing the creation of homogenous and closed enclaves. (pp.21-22)

The lack of robustness to measure urban social sustainability calls for attention. Larimian et al. (2020) analyze environmental-behavioral effects through the Urban Social Sustainability (USS) approach at a neighborhood scale. The researchers developed an Urban Form measurement model and a USS model. Subsequently, they conducted neighborhood surveys in five communities in New Zealand and ran statistical analyses to validate the measurement models. Four dimensions of urban form were juxtaposed with six USS dimensions. These were social interaction, neighborhood satisfaction, social participation, safety and security, social equity, and sense of place. They conclude:

- Density is negatively associated with neighborhood satisfaction and safety and security due to perceived high crowding and decreased surveillance. However, density is linked to social equity due to access to services and affordability.
- Quality of design is positively associated with neighborhood satisfaction and perceived safety and security, and a sense of place. A beautiful and well-maintained design creates a pleasing environment, reduces fear of crime, and thus offers positive experiences. Together, they lead to an increase in USS.
- Transport infrastructure is strongly associated with neighborhood satisfaction and a sense of place. An environment should be pedestrian-friendly, offer a variety of transportation choices - walking, biking, and public transportation -

in appropriate proximity, and reduce car dependency.

- Land-use mix is positively linked to social equity and safety and security due to perceived high crowding and decreased surveillance. However, it is negatively linked to neighborhood satisfaction due to perceived high crowding.

Transportation, particularly walking and walkability, is emphasized by many scholars. Wood, Frank, and Giles-Corti (2010) investigate the relationship between walking, neighborhood design, and a sense of community. Using survey responses in Atlanta, GA, their analyses illustrates that leisurely walking, home ownership, the presence of neighbors and interesting sites contribute to a sense of community. Glover, Todd, and Moyer (2022) reinforce the social benefits of walking with their idea of “familiar strangers.” They argue that a repeating exposure of incidental sociability eventually transforms into meaningful social interaction. Mohamed et al. (2024) review these two strands of literature: urban form and social sustainability. They affirm that walkability is essential for improving social interaction and urban form can enhance connectivity, walkability, urban pattern, and green spaces. All of which has a great effect on the social sustainability aspects. Wood et al. (2010) caution against the general idea of land use mix alone. Specifically, it is only a commercial floor area ratio has impacted a sense of community.

In addition, researchers highlight that greenspaces can influence social interactions; hence enhancing social outcomes. A comprehensive literature review on social cohesion and urban greenspaces demonstrates a positive correlation between the two (Clarke et al., 2023). The researchers point out five factors in urban greenspaces that contribute to social cohesion: 1) Maintenance and Perceived Safety, 2) Accessibility, 3) Greenspace Quality, 4) Greenspace Design and Utilities, and 5) Community engagement and Co-Management.

They further identify knowledge gaps citing types of greenspaces and their design, and that diverse users' profiles should be further investigated.

With the continuing debates and contested approaches on the matter, scholars of social and spatial doctrine agree on the ambiguous relationship between community as a social unit vs a physical unit. Despite the question of to which degree and what dimension of physical environments impact social environments and well-being, the scholarly literature illuminates a link between spatial characteristics and social outcomes.

In addition to urban form and green spaces, scholars urge that future research should consider personal factors i.e., age, gender, homeownership, income, and how they inform social participation (Larimian, 2020; Glover et al, 2023). Because this study specifically investigates the experiences of Afghan refugees in the U.S., the issue of gender should be taken into consideration. Short (2020) argues that “gender is maintained and created in urban settings with the result that men and women experience urban space differently... Patriarchal societies limit women's mobility in a gender partitioning of urban space.” For Afghan women, the experiences of the patriarchal society that they bring with them may also impact their mobility and occupation of public spaces in a receiving city. The distinct gender roles have become a precondition on one's social dynamic and prescribe where and how one should socialize in a residential or public sphere.

3.3.2. SPATIAL QUALITIES OF PLACES IN RESETTLEMENT CITIES

As one of the most vulnerable populations, refugees long for safety and stability once they settle in a receiving city. Creating a welcoming place and forming place attachment essential to a sense of belonging. This is in addition to spatial impacts on coping with trauma and promoting well-being (Albers et al, 2021; Smith et al, 2019; Sampson & Gifford, 2010).

Smith et al. (2019) investigated the experiences of refugees in Australia. The researchers conducted interviews and focus groups with 31 refugees. Their analysis illustrates that the issue of welcoming arises to counter perceived discrimination experiences due to a lack of language proficiency and cultural incompetency. While removing these barriers and being sensitive to differences would ensure equitable access to services; feeling welcome in a workplace, a school, a health facility, a service center, and a neighborhood can improve refugees' overall lived experiences. Participants also call for a space to share their culture, promote social inclusion, and build social networks to broaden their social life.

In a study exploring place and its healing qualities, Sampson and Gifford (2010) hypothesized that place making is a process of reestablishing life after traumatic uprooting. Qualities of places contribute to refugees' health, well-being, and restoration. Their study focuses on youth with refugee backgrounds. The researchers obtained data through an in-class exercise integrated in a first year ESL class. They asked student participants to draw their neighborhood, take photos of places that they like, dislike, belong to, and feel isolated in, and write a short description of each in English. The data was then qualitatively processed to identify thematic patterns that underline their spatial needs in the transitional stage. Participants reported places such as shops, buses, and worship places as important. Taking an inductive approach, the researchers underline the ultimate significance of places that were absent from their past such as their own home, schools, libraries, and parks. This study suggests that youth with refugee backgrounds create their sense of place through a therapeutic process and reterritorialization to become at home after resettlement. Resettlement agencies embrace the restorative characters of places to help inform locations of placement.

The researchers then categorized the qualities of places, their meanings, and their impact on health and well-being into four types of places as presented in the table below.

TYPES OF PLACES	KEY QUALITIES	CONTRIBUTION TO WELL-BEING
Places of Opportunities	Meaningful activities Recreational activities	Promote meaning and purposes in life
Places of Restorations	Experience of pleasure Dealing with emotions	Reduce fear and anxiety Promote dignity and value
Places of Sociality	Building bridging & bonding relationships	Promote attachments and connections to others
Place of Safety	Safe from conflicts and danger	Promote sense of security

Table 6: Place and its contribution to well-being during settlement (source Sampson & Gifford, 2010 adapt from Kaplan, 1988)

Albers et al. (2021) highlighted the concept of person-place bonding as an opportunity to reestablish a sense of self-continuation in a new place. Based on a literature review, their analysis demonstrates that place attachment encourages people to feel emotionally connected and improves self-esteem as well as a sense belonging. Thus, place attachment contributes to life satisfaction and well-being. A process of place-making can help refugees maintain and create new bonds to a resettlement place. At the same time, this process should also enhance their opportunities to meet physical and psychological needs.

In all, these studies signify that therapeutic characteristics, place attachment and a sense of belonging, and welcoming feelings from residents are critical to refugees' well-being.

3.3.3 Housing and Sociability

... we had [neighbors], but we hardly see them or even if they are outside ... they hardly talk to us . . . for us it was quite difficult because we lived in smaller communities and everybody knew everybody ...

Interview with a refugee participant (Smith et al, 2019, p.12)

In previous sections (see 3.1.4 and 3.2.1.2), I discuss housing as a means for refugee integration and its impacts on socio-economic and psychosocial well-being. Based on evidence from housing studies and neighborhood satisfaction in Australia, Ziersch, Due, and Walsh (2023a; 2023b) argue that a location of a house is more important than the condition of a house itself. When people live in a desirable neighborhood, feeling safe and having friends, they are willing to compromise their housing disadvantages. Having a supportive social network increases overall resettlement satisfaction. This suggestion aligns with spatial policies proposed by Alexander (2003). These point out the concerns over loneliness, isolation, exclusion, and lack of sense of community and social support and thus call for attention to sociability in housing.

Sociability in housing has gained more attention due to its impact on overall social well-being and mental health benefits. Multiple architectural conditions have been identified as discouraging to social interaction and therefore leading to poor mental health. For example, high-rise living may create difficulties in accessing open spaces. Additionally, safety concerns decrease chances to interact with neighbors in comparison to low-rise houses (Evans, Wells, & Moch, 2003). Architectural features of the front entrance (such as porches, balconies, gardens, terraces, and patios) increase visibility from outside and were positively associated with perceived social support and thus elevate social contact. In contrast, architectural features such as window areas that promote visibility from the interior were negatively associated with perceived social support (Brown et al, 2009).

In response to a trending social disconnection in Vancouver, the Happy City organization launched their Happy Homes project and developed a toolkit to advocate for sociability in housing design. Based on a multidisciplinary literature review and interviews

with multi- stakeholders from architects to sociologists and neuroscientists, the team formulated ten key principles aiming to enhance sociality:

1. **Doing things together.** *Residents who have opportunities to do meaningful or enjoyable things together are more likely to develop a sense of trust and connection;*
2. **Exposure.** *People who live in spaces that give them a greater sense of control over their exposure to others are more likely to build positive social connections;*
3. **Tenure.** *The longer that people can stay in their community, the greater the bonds of trust and social connection;*
4. **Social group size.** *Social group size has a direct influence on the type and intensity of trusting relationships that people develop;*
5. **Feeling of safety.** *People are more likely to build trusting and meaningful relationships in environments that feel safe;*
6. **Participation.** *Residents who are involved in project design and site management processes are more likely to develop a sense of belonging and contribute to their community;*
7. **Walkability.** *[Mixed-use neighborhoods] that encourage walking are most likely to be associated with positive social encounters and a strong sense of community;*
8. **Nature.** *Access to nature is strongly linked to positive [neighborhood] relationships and trust among community members;*
9. **Comfort.** *[Neighbors] are more likely to engage with others in environments that feel pleasant and comfortable;*
10. **Culture and values.** *People feel a stronger sense of belonging and attachment to places that reflect their culture, values and sense of self.*

(Happy City's Happy Homes toolkit, n.d.)

In all, architectural attributes can encourage psychosocial processes of personal control, safety, and comfort. Together with programs that give opportunities for residents to destress and access recreational activities can create socially supportive relationships. This sociality thus reduces isolation and disconnections.

3.4 LANDSCAPE OF U.S. REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT

At the beginning of the U.S. refugee resettlement programs of the 1950s, refugees were placed in traditional gateway cities like New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Miami (Alba, Logan, & Stults 2000; Maciag, 2016; Foss, Gibbes, & Skop, 2023). These cities have established agencies, and built capacity and networks to assist refugees from all over the world to become integrated members of American society. By the 1970s, the U.S. government adopted a regionalization program, as policymakers believed that areas outside of traditional gateways would allow refugees to find employment and opportunities of higher levels of activity and income (Moncarz, 1973). Since then, refugee-receiving sites have appeared across the country from rural towns to small cities, and non-traditional gateway metropolitan areas such as Burlington and Winooski, VT; Columbus, OH; Minneapolis, MN; and Lewiston, ME (Forrest & Brown, 2014; Hume, 2015; Bose, 2014). Brown et al. (2007) argue that while refugees only constitute a small number of the foreign-born population in the U.S., the placement of earlier refugee waves has a disproportionately large geographical distribution effect. They note that “personal contacts, established communities, and persons/families within them who sponsor(ed) immigrants and ease(ed) assimilation” altogether create multiplier effects informing a preferred destination for both refugees and immigrants (see also McHugh, Miyares, & Skop, 1997; Hume & Hardwick, 2005; Lumley-Sapanski, 2020).

In terms of socio-spatial integration at a local level, the legacy of residential segregation has informed the U.S. integration strategy toward the desegregation approach (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013). The research develops a socio-spatial integration framework to inform policies and practices in the U.S. context. He presents the elaborated dimension of integration. These dimensions line up specifically with place identity – characteristics,

functions, and meaning (Relph, 1976). Alexander (2003) outlines the spatial dimension of relation to ethnic enclaves and symbolic uses of space.

	Physical Dimension	Functional Dimension	Relational Dimension	Symbolic Dimension
INTEGRITY (low diversity, low freedom)	No proximity to different social group. Behavior conditioned by enclosure (e.g. traditional ghettos)	Access to opportunity limited by level of state intervention and market interest in the group	Non-hierarchical relations easy because of homogeneity, but conditioned by group discipline	Strong identification, creation of symbols and boundaries, separation from outsiders
LIMITED LIABILITY (low diversity, high freedom)	No proximity to different social group. Enclosure does not affect behavior, just functional relations (e.g. dysfunctional ghettos)	Access achieved by personal interest, and also limited to state and market	Non-hierarchical relations are more functional than affective	Weak identification, only with symbols that are neutrally created
ASSIMILATION (high diversity, low freedom)	Proximity to different groups, conditioned to “adequate” behavior (e.g. bi-racial coexistence in the US)	Access achieved by market interest in the higher status group, and state efforts for dispersion	Relations, if any exist, are pre-eminently hierarchical and involve social control	Identification just with higher status symbols Differentiation occurs if integrity of higher status group is threatened
CULTURAL PLURALISM (high diversity, high freedom)	Proximity to different groups, mutual control and enrichment from behavior (e.g. Cashin’s multicultural island)	Access achieved by state and market, but also by community leadership, and by personal interest	Non-hierarchical relations are expressed through activism for coexistence, political participation, and social capital	Collective creation and exchange of symbols Differentiation with outsiders could occur but only if they don’t commit to diversity

Table 7: Social Forms of Integration through the Different Socio-spatial Dimension
(source: Ruiz-Tagle, 2013)

In his integration policy analysis, Alexander argues that physical proximity between different social groups is just one dimension of the multidimensional relationship and is insufficient to promote integration. While proximity has no causal effects on social integration outcomes, in some cases, proximity works to achieve upward mobility. The author recognizes the opportunity that social contact proximity offers. That is “physical integration will be transformed into social integration” (Zeul & Humphrey, 1970 cited in Ruiz-Tagle, 2013). Socio-spatial distance, therefore, influences the construction of social

identity e.g. class, race, ethnicity. At the same time, physical distance can mitigate social distance by shaping social relations. Ruiz-Tagle supplements his argument with 'contact hypothesis', which was first formalized by Allport (1954). This is where positive attitudes among different groups increase when contact increased. While this hypothesis is arguable due to tension and conflict that occur when counterparts interact, Ethington (2000) affirms that a restriction of space can worsen social distance between ethnic groups.

Host community's perspectives is another critical dimension when investigating integration. In 'Sharing America's Neighborhoods', Ellen (2000) identifies five factors that have supported stable racial integration of Black and White Americans: the neighborhood's history of stability, distance from main minority concentrations, percentage of rental housing, secure set of amenities, and the presence of African-American population in the metropolitan area as a whole. To maintain the racial composition, she points out the key role of the White population in deciding to stay or opt out of a neighborhood, as White households historically have more residential choices and are more likely to avoid integrated areas. Many neighborhoods experience structural decline that leads to racial segregation. Ellen explains.

...the collective consequences of individual residential choices may result in fewer integrated neighborhoods than is optimal. The key point, as emphasized throughout this book, is that many white and black households might in fact prefer to live in racially mixed environment, but because of a widespread lack of faith in the harmony and stability of these areas, these environments are more rare (despite real progress) than they should be. (p.159)

Since the late 1960s, the U.S. has applied many residential integration policies. Goetz (2003) classifies the housing dispersal program into two generations. The first generation is the 'open housing movement', which promotes racial integration through a scattered-site program. Although the program was promising, land prices, property cost,

and community opposition limit the application of this strategy nationwide. In addition, fair-share housing programs, vouchers, and regional housing production programs are all intended to promote racial mixing and mitigate poverty problems. The second-generation dispersal program, which promotes mobility and revitalization of distressed areas, started in the 1990s. The Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program and HOPE VI program aim to redefine public and assisted housing with redevelopment of low-density, mixed-use, mix-income projects.

Talen (2019) emphasizes similar issues of economic segregation as the problem of 21st century segregation. Income-based segregation receives more attention because of the increasing trends of the problem. However, she does not explicitly state that the problem of racial segregation has disappeared but rather is better than it was in the previous century. The rapid growth of US diversity contributes to the formation of “global neighborhoods” which consist of at least four racial groups. Both Ruiz-Tagle and Talen agree that proximity alone is inadequate for meaningful integration. Community interaction via community gathering space is a vital component in creating more dynamics of a multicultural, multi-income, multigeneration neighborhood.

The diversity object of the everyday neighborhood requires a constant search for balance, a middle ground between a neighborhood of stranger and a neighborhood of friends. Physical definition is essential to finding this balance... If the balance is found by having homogenous groupings at the subneighborhood level – small clusters of homogeneity set within a larger, heterogeneous neighborhood – that is one approach (Talen, 2019, p.249)

The socio-spatial dimension of U.S. refugee resettlement deals with both geographical advantages set by prior waves of refugees and local conditions that influenced experience. Altogether with socioeconomic opportunities, they contribute to one’s resettlement satisfaction and integration success.

3.4.2 U.S. Scenarios and Refugee Housing

Literature on U.S. refugee resettlement and housing is limited despite the larger body of work on immigrants and housing research. One of the reasons might be the absence of cohesive policy or framework for refugee housing. However, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), HUD's Office of Field Policy and Management (FPM) and Office of Public and Indian Housing (PIH) affirm their commitment to provide equitable access to affordable housing for all. PIH announces:

[People] with the immigration status of refugee are eligible and qualified for all HUD programs to the same extent as a U.S. citizen. Like U.S. citizens, refugees must meet all eligibility criteria (e.g., having an income below the income limit for the area) to be eligible for the assistance. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) and Section 214 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1980 (Section 214), each of which impose some immigration-status based limitations on who may qualify for federal services, provide that refugees are eligible and qualified for HUD-funded housing and services...

[Public Housing Agencies] may establish a preference for refugees as long as they do not create preferences based on national origin because national origin is a protected class under the Fair Housing Act and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964...

It is only recently that there is an intention to develop a national policy on housing for refugees. In August 2023, ORR and HUD have signed a Memorandum of Understanding affirming their common goal of providing equitable access to housing for refugees and other people that ORR serves (Marcos, 2023). Together, the offices aim "to develop policies and strategies for the resettlement of refugees in the United States, including policies and strategies for taking into account affordable housing in the areas where refugees are resettled" (MOU, p.1). Effective for five years, the MOU intends to enhance access to HUD's services and provide ORR essential resources to better assist refugees and asylum seekers to access affordable housing solutions HUD offers.

Nevertheless, there are recognized efforts to create housing specifically for refugees resettlement led by faith-based organizations and local affordable housing agencies. As of 2024, there are four known housing development projects intended for refugees and asylum seekers as its main residents. These are: Freedom Village in Hamtramck, MI; West End Apartments in Portland, ME; Kateri Park Apartment and the Lawrence in Portland, OR. Additionally, there are several proposals for new refugee housing development underway in Nevada,

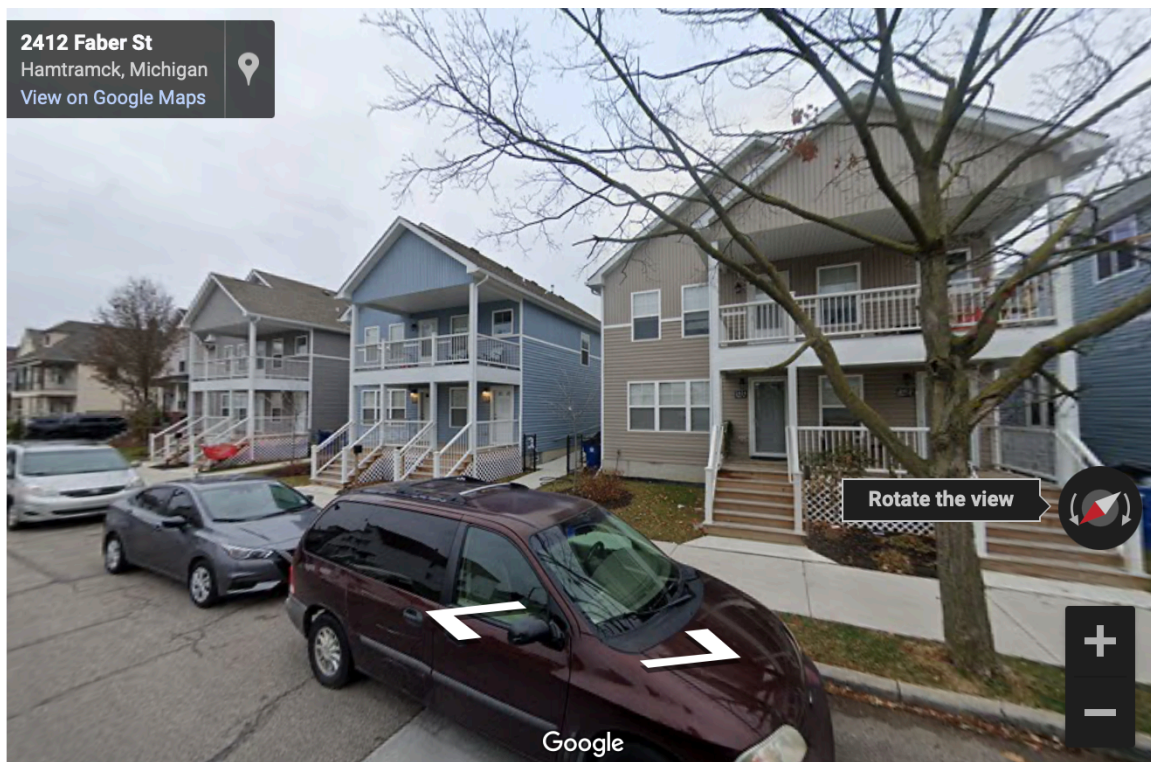


Figure 3.9: Freedom Village, Hamtramck, MI (source: Google Street view, 2024)

Freedom Village is a small scale development in Hamtramck, MI. It is comprised of three duplexes for six families on Faber Street in the southern end of Hamtramck's Yemeni-populated neighborhood. Wayne County acquired the lot from Michigan Land Bank Fast Track Authority. Steven C. Flum, Inc., a Hamtramck-based architect designed the duplexes with Interior Designers Coalition for Change designed the unit's interiors. The architect highlights that the design should belong in and blend into the neighborhood's

characteristics. He also appreciates the location stating “you can walk to the main street stores and shops. It’s really a true sense of a good urban neighborhood. It’s something we don’t really have around anymore.” The construction was completed in 2020, offering an affordable transitional home for people with refugee status. It is partially funded by Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and constructed by Habitat for Humanity. 1,326-square-foot duplexes consist of a common area, full kitchen, three bedrooms, two-full baths, and in-unit laundry. It is managed by Samaritas, formerly was known as Lutheran Social Services of Michigan, a faith-based health and human services organization. (Albaugh, 2020a, 2020b; Abbas, 2020)



Figure 3.10: West End Apartments in South Portland, ME. (Photo: Brianna Soukup/Staff Photographer, www.pressherald.com, 2023)

In Portland, Maine, 800 houseless individuals and asylum seekers are being sheltered in South Portland hotels (Bouchard, 2023). Given the urgency of housing issues and challenges relating to the unhoused, the city welcomed the West End Project. Avesta

Housing led the initiative and partnered with Kaplan Thomson Architect to develop a residential complex which preserved the neighborhood's affordability and settlement pattern of high-density residential and small-scale commercial buildings. The complex consists of 116 units: 90 income-restricted and 26 market-rate apartments ranging in size from studios to three-bedroom units. It also offers a large community room, an outdoor plaza, on-site laundry, and an indoor bike storage. The ground floor has an on-site commercial space and office of the Opportunity Alliance's "The Hub." This \$28M project was funded with a combination of federal HOME funds awarded by Cumberland County, low-income federal housing tax credits from MaineHousing, tax-increment financing from the city, state budget for emergency housing, and grants and subsidized permanent loans. The project is not reserved solely for asylum seekers, but rather provide stable housing for asylum seekers who experience homelessness as well as veterans, people with disabilities, and the elderly.

Kateri Park Apartments in Portland, OR is one of the very first projects developed for migrants of refugee background in mind. Catholic Charities' Refugee Services Program have provided refugee resettlement and case management assistance since 1940s. Catholic Charities led the development of this project along with several housing projects addressing vulnerable populations. The construction was completed in 2007. Within the proximity of Catholic Charities' office in southeast Portland, the apartment is located adjacent to another affordable housing development Esperanza Court. The apartment consists of four wooden-frame buildings with a courtyard, playground, and community room. It offers 50 low-income approved units ranging from one-bedroom to four-bedroom apartments with spacious floor plans. More than half of Kateri Park's residents are of refugee backgrounds. The largest group is from Somalia, but there are also some Burmese and Ethiopian refugee families represented (Hands on Greater Portland, n.d.).



Figure 3.11: Kateri Park Apartment in Portland, OR (Photo: Salazar Architect, n.d)



Figure 3.12: Lawrence Apartments in Portland, OR (Photo: HomeFirst, n.d)

Another project in Portland, OR, is Lawrence Apartments in the Glenfair neighborhood. Designed by Doug Circosta Architect and completed in 2023, the complex consists of five garden-style buildings offering 96 residential units. Ten units are restricted to households earning 30% or less of the area median income (AMI); the remaining 86 are for households between 50%-60% of the AMI. In addition, residents will receive supportive services including case management, health care support, and disability services from All Good NW. Initiated by Home First Development and Green Light Development, they intend not only to provide housing for the underserved community, but also “to create a scalable, replicable model for quality affordable housing” (*Oregon Developers seek to house Zomi Refugees*, 2022). They house a number of Zomi refugees—a primarily Christian ethnic minority group that fled religious persecution in Myanmar, Bangladesh, and India and are living in extreme poverty—but also “to create a scalable, replicable model for quality affordable housing” (Affordable Housing Finance, 2022). The \$25M project is financed in combination with the Oregon Housing and Community Services Local Innovation and Fast Track (LIFT) rental housing program and the city of Portland, 4% Low Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC), Oregon Affordable Housing Tax Credit (OAHTC), and OHCS Multifamily Energy Program funds (OR-MEP), and Permanent Supportive Housing rental assistance.

Texas, California, New York, Michigan, and Ohio are the top five states that have received the highest number of refugees nationwide between FY 2012 and FY 2022. Surprisingly, there is no affordable housing development for refugees or asylum seekers in any of these five states (with the exception of Freedom village in Michigan). With only few housing projects for refugees, SIVs, and asylees, the majority of the refugee population seek housing in a general real estate market, both at income-restricted rate and market rates. In

addition, refugee organizations call for locals to open their houses to and host refugees in need. Despite many efforts and diverse campaigns, access to an appropriate housing remains a prevalent problem for many.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Research within the past two decades has consistently reported housing as significance to refugee integration. Studies have especially associated housing quality and experiences with physical, emotional, and social well-being. Housing conditions like quality, space, and hygiene are directly associated with safety, crowding, and privacy. Housing tenure, instability, and unaffordability are stressors triggering negative emotions and threatening the development of place attachment and a sense of belonging.

Furthermore, studies have shown that a location of housing is particularly critical because of the impact of neighborhood and community on refugees' social outcomes. The problems of isolation, exclusion, and disconnection greatly influence refugee social life and overall resettlement experiences. The social benefits that refugees may gain from developing positive relationships with neighbors and a broader host community are twofold. Social connections not only improve refugees' mental well-being but also increase their social capital, a resource that helps refugees become more successful in other means of integration. Through meaningful connections, people can improve dimensions of social cohesion such as reduced conflicts and improved trust and tolerance. These components significantly influence the social dynamic of host and refugee.

While the impacts of housing and refugees' experiences are confirmed by numerous studies, they are mostly grounded in a public health perspective. The literature review also shows a gap of rigorous research that has sought to investigate the social benefits associated with housing and neighborhoods for refugees. A limited body of work

emerges from the built environments discipline, none of which particularly looks at refugees' experiences. Understanding this social dimension is particularly critical now that the numbers of refugees and displaced people are greater than ever before, and are expected to continue rising.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the research design, methodology, data collection methods, and data analysis. Firstly, in section 4.1, I present my research design and explain how the research study is derived from my research philosophy and respond to the research questions and purpose of the study. Next, I provide details on research methods along with ethical considerations in section 4.2. In section 4.3, I describe the backgrounds and context of the two case studies. Consequently, in section 4.4, I deliberate each method, including document analysis, geographical information analysis, interview, spatial observation, and surveys in details. In section 4.5, I go into data analysis strategies and validation of research. Lastly, I conclude with a summary of my methodology.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study explores a relationship between the built environment and social interaction outcomes in a refugee-receiving city. This study is centered around two research questions:

- 1) How do physical environments, housing typology, locations, social infrastructure, and spatial patterns encourage social connections?
- 2) What elements of housing promote or impede social interactions between refugees and neighbors?

I approach this research from the social constructivist worldview. In this worldview, “individuals seek an understanding of the world in which they live and work” (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2009, p.5). They develop subjective meanings of their experiences. This worldview aligns with my belief that human’s subjectivity of mind and perception

constructs its ontology and epistemology. Approaching refugee research from this philosophy thus seeks to understand how a refugee develops the subjective meaning of their living experiences. This study particularly examines refugees' experiences after being resettled in a U.S. host community and seeks to understand how they formulate socio-spatial meaning of housing and social spaces, which direct social behaviors in a host community. In this process, participants are actively involved in constructing their understanding through a constructivist approach. As suggested by the Global Compact on Refugees, including refugees and people with lived experience of displacement supports evidence-based advocacy and contributes to more democratic and inclusive research production (Harley, Lee, & Wazefadost, 2024). Therefore, I designed the research methodology to converge data obtained from document analysis, architectural methods, and refugees' voices.

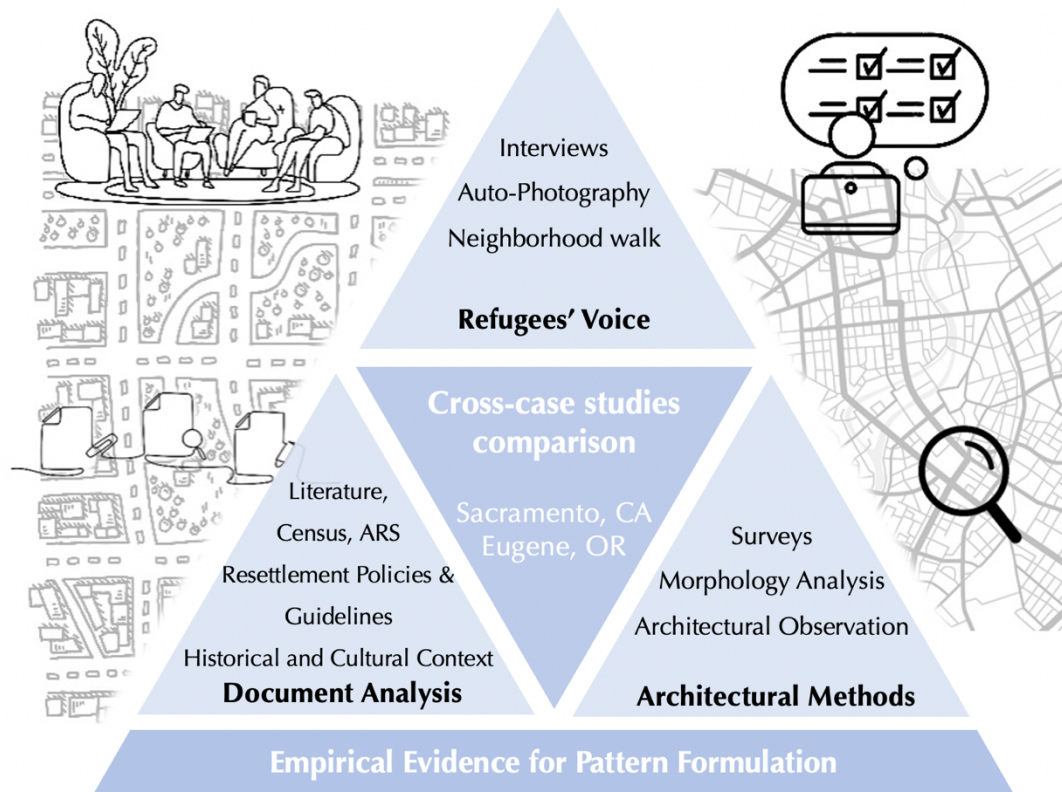


Figure 4.1 Research Design (Author, 2023)

Based on the two research questions, I formulated five research propositions.

1. Social dimensions of housing impact refugees' resettlement satisfaction, long-term integration, and social cohesion.
2. Different housing typologies, neighborhood morphologies, and their characteristics impact the way residents of that neighborhood interact with each other.
3. Spatial relationships encourage social connections and thus promote integration.
4. A spatial legacy of racial segregation history influences contemporary spatial inclusion or segregation.
5. Strategic placement of refugees encourages long-term integration which contributes to their integration in a host society.

To compare how the spatial characteristics of a receiving city impact the social behaviors of a refugee, I chose to employ cross-sectional comparative case studies and limited the studied population to post-9/11 Afghan refugees. The study is designed with the following variables:

- **Independent variable:** Different neighborhood morphologies, housing typologies, and urban form
- **Dependent variable:** Neighborhood experiences and social outcomes after the resettlement
- **Controlled variable:** Demographic group of the refugees – Afghan refugees
- **Extraneous variable:** Individual profile such as education attainment, language proficiency, personal values, socioeconomic status prior to their migration to the United States.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the study is to uncover the socio-spatial relationship of displaced people after being resettled in the United States. The examination of refugees' experiences is essential to understand how spatial conditions affect refugees' perception of a city and encourage meaningful bonding and bridging interactions. Based on the research propositions, I post the correspondent hypotheses:

- A1. Sense of belonging and housing stability are positively associated with resettlement satisfaction, long-term integration, and cohesion.
- A2. Distinct spatial characteristics of multifamily housing and the single-family house effects the perception of privacy and control. These aspects then impact the frequency and quality of interactions among neighbors.
- A3. Proximity, network, and convenience positively encourage social connection and thus promote integration.
- A4. The absence of racial segregation history positively results in spatial inclusion. The history of spatial segregation leaves a legacy of spatial exclusion which results in racial divide and inequality.
- A5. Placing refugees in a welcoming neighborhood and city provides social, economic, and health benefits which contribute to their integration.

Afterward, I developed five lines of inquiry to test the hypotheses as following.

- B1. What are the local refugee housing placement policies or strategies, if any?
How has it been implemented? What are the placement criteria and how have they directed spatial patterns in a city?
- B2. What characteristics of housing impact refugee interactions with their neighbors? How do they encourage social bonds and social bridges?

- B3. What dimensions of urban forms encourage social interactions and how have they contributed to public space participation and refugees' integration at a neighborhood and a city scale?
- B4. How has a city's segregation history contributed to the spatial pattern? How do refugees create their place in a host society? What are their residential choices?
- B5. How do socio-spatial environments promote integration which can benefit social, economic, and environmental aspects of a U.S. receiving city?

The study is designed as a three-step investigation. The first phase is to construct a theoretical framework based on refugee integration theory, social capital and social cohesion theories, and the spatial dimension of resettlement. This step involves archival studies and interviews with community leaders and resettlement agencies to help verify areas of examination and their measurements.

Next, I conducted two case studies: Eugene, OR and Sacramento, CA, using the convergent mixed methods. Refugees' voices were reflected from semi-structured interviews about their experiences. Architectural methods include spatial observations, morphology analysis, and community surveys. Collected data was then triangulated with data from Stage 1 for the proceeding analysis and interpretation phase.

The final stage is a cross-case study comparison and examination of their social outcomes. This stage comprises 1) identifying spatial characteristics, housing typologies, and neighborhood morphologies that can positively improve resettlement experiences of both refugees and locals; 2) explaining architectural and urban design impacts on social behaviors with an analysis of physical adaptations of places and behavioral adaptations of users; and 3) creating a design pattern for housing and public spaces that address cultural needs of refugees and promotes positive living experiences.

To apply the results and findings of the study to the architectural design practice, I employ a Pattern Language Method, developed by Christopher Alexander and his colleague (1977), to formulate patterns as design suggestions. The method of patterns and pattern languages is a valid approach to analyzing a recurrent situation individually and comprehensively. With this tool, patterns allow us to decisively address and ameliorate spatial challenges of migrants' and refugees' lives and integration through housing and community building as well as other domains of education, health, and employment. This is all the while providing common ground and desirable goals. It is undeniable that the built environment alone cannot solve all social, economic, and health problems. However, it can be an adaptable and equitable space to accommodate cultural variety, and provide safety, comfort, healing, and a sense of belonging. It can promote chances of contact and other factors that impact the lives and well-being of larger disadvantaged demographic groups. Some concerns with the built environment can affect all populations regardless of their origin. These concerns include economic stability and affordability of a living place; health, protection, availability of productive leisure spaces and/or a workplace; and if buildings are environmentally friendly and resilient.

In this study, I adopted the generic structure of a pattern with adaptation to a concise format (Alexander et al, 1977; Neis & Chaiwat, 2020, Chaiwat & Neis, 2021) A structure of each pattern in Chapter 7 Findings includes:

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Pattern Title | 6. A Sketch of Diagram |
| 2. Sensitizing Photo (without reference) | 7. Solution Statement |
| 3. Links | 8. Links |
| 4. Problem Statement | |
| 5. Research Investigation | |

4.2.1 POPULATIONS

As a controlled variable, I intend to limit differences in the studied refugee population by specifying the country of origin. Because of Afghanistan's political instability and the fall of Kabul in 2021, which resulted in mass displacement, people fleeing from Afghanistan to the U.S. due to safety concerns after 9/11 is identified as the studied population. Table 8 presents details of the studied population and participatory methods.

PARTICIPANT GROUP	INCLUSION CRITERIA	EXCLUSION CRITERIA	SAMPLE SIZES
GROUP 1 AFGHAN REFUGEES	Afghan born population. age range: 18+ gender: both (50%F and 50%M) Include any people who seek refuge in the U.S. regardless of their refugee or immigration status.	Immigrants who primarily come to the US for school or economic reason would be excluded from the study.	Interviews: 10-15 individuals/case study On-site observation at participants' residence: 3 sites/case study Manageable sample size to capture varying opinions of the demographic groups. Survey: distributed to 50 households with an expected 40% response rate / case study
GROUP 2 COMMUNITY LEADERS	A representative of a community/ethnic group; a person who has assisted newcomers; religious leaders	N/A	Interviews: 2 individuals/case study
GROUP 3 RESETTLEMENT AGENCIES	Case worker, officials who work with local resettlement agencies such as churches, or NGOs to find housing for new arrivals.	N/A	Interviews: 2 individual/ case study

Table 8: Participant Populations Details

I purposely choose Afghan refugees as an actor of investigation for three specific reasons. First, potential biases of Afghan communities due to post-9/11 consequences as well as media portrayals and polarized politics stemming from the prolonged U.S. military task forces in Afghanistan. Moreover, the exacerbation of Islamophobia and discrimination against Arab and Muslim sentiments in recent years (Itaoui and Elsheikh 2018). Second, Afghans possess high cultural distance, including cultural norms, world views, attitudes, perceptions, and ideas, to stereotypes of Americans. This is despite Americans becoming more heterogeneous. Afghan refugees in the U.S. report that their unfamiliarity with American culture makes it difficult for them to get to know their neighbors (Peñaloza 2021). These two conditions make them suitable for this research. Lastly, it is highly possible to expect significant numbers of Afghan immigrants and refugees coming to the U.S. in many years to come. The Taliban takeover in 2021 marked an important beginning of human displacement and migration. A prior example of this can be seen in the fall of Saigon. The United States admitted only 100,000 Vietnamese refugees in the 1980s, but the number has ballooned to more than two million 20 years later. The anticipation of a similar phenomenon could not be overstated.

Regarding the profile of the studied population, various immigration pathways have opened doors for different groups of Afghans to the U.S. For those who came through the SIV programs, this means that at least one person in that family must have worked for or with the U.S. government back in Afghanistan, and may largely come from urban areas. Still, the demographic profile of Afghans in the U.S. varies largely. This is evident in the profile of the study participants. Only a few can be considered upper class, while the majority of participants are middle class.

Based on survey responses, the median household income falls between \$1,500-3,000 per month, and 40 percent of the respondents have a bachelor's degree. The following figures summarize the socioeconomic and educational characteristics of the survey respondents.

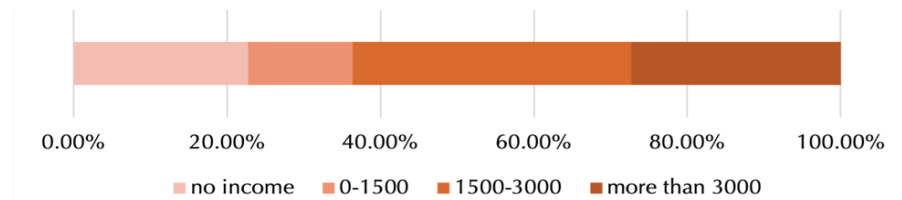


Figure 4.2: Summary Income Range of Survey Respondents (Author, 2024)

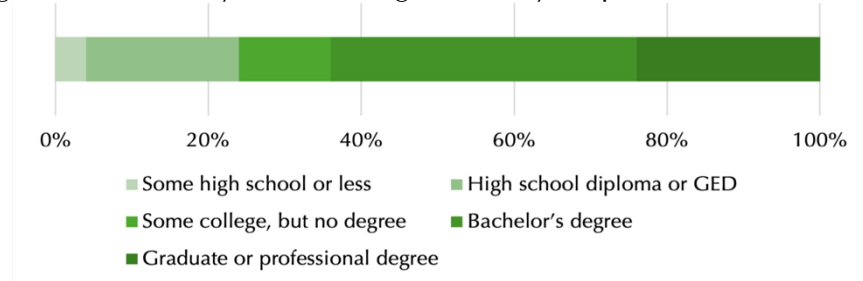


Figure 4.3: Summary Education Level of Survey Respondents (Author, 2024)

The above information represents a subset of the participants because survey respondents only include those who are literate. The majority (92 percent) identified themselves as proficient in English, although they may choose to participate in the survey in Dari or Persian. Their English proficiency may have resulted from better educational attainment and resulted in better employment and higher levels of income. In addition, many interviewees in the study are illiterate. This is even despite some participants having worked for the U.S. government back in Afghanistan. These people have had a harder time gaining employment in the U.S. and many people are working in non-skilled, service, or gig industries.

4.2.2 Ethical Consideration

Participation in this study is voluntary for all groups. Before agreeing to participate, myself or a research assistant explained the design of the study, its purposes, and the ability to participate in a preferred language of their choice (English, Dari, or Pashtun). All

participants understood that participation was voluntary. They could cease participation at any time, were not obliged to answer or talk about anything they did not wish to, and that information obtained from the research would be used with pseudonyms to protect identities. Due to the vulnerable nature of the participants, consent is obtained either verbally or by clicking “agree” on a survey platform. The consent document was provided upon request, and I did not collect a signed copy of a consent document.

Participants may experience psychological or emotional triggers when discussing their safety and experiences in a neighborhood, especially if they have been traumatized by attacks, assaults, or discrimination (either in their country of origin or in the host country). Recollection of those memories can cause discomfort, fear, stress or triggering of past emotional responses. During a research activity, myself or a research assistant reassured participants’ rights to share or not to share any information and that participant could stop their participation at any time. If interview participants showed signs of discomfort, yet were still willing to answer, questions were phrased to minimize triggering of traumatic experiences.

To provide a comfortable atmosphere, participants decided where and how they would like to give an interview according to their comfort and convenience. Participants could choose a location to interview such as their own house, a host family’s house, cafés, or parks. An interview participant could opt to have a partner, friend, or family member present during an interview for their personal comfort. Vice versa, a participant could opt to be interviewed alone by the investigator and the assistant(s) if needed. The protocol was designed to accommodate Afghan cultural practices and customs, ensuring that a participant was comfortable sharing their experiences.

All collected information was kept in an encrypted digital file. Participants’ identities were concealed via pseudonyms to protect their privacy in case of a breach of confidentiality.

4.2.3 RECRUITMENT AND SAMPLING STRATEGY

This study employs multistage sampling. In the first stage of recruitment, purposive sampling was implemented to identify a community leader or a resettlement agency who has established a connection to Group 3 and to Group 4. The second stage of the recruitment was snowball, sampling in which a community leader contacts others to partake in the study for interviews, observations, and surveys. After identifying areas of investigation and specific neighborhoods, convenient sampling was used to distribute flyers asking for participation in the survey.

Screening only happened for Group 1; however, it was not formal. This is because the recruitment of Group 1 is from snowball sampling and relied on the connections of a chosen community leader. The inclusion criteria were provided to the community leader to initially screen for their qualified age and status. Prior to obtaining consent, potential participants were asked if they meet the eligibility criteria to ensure their qualifications.

PARTICIPANT GROUP	RECRUITMENT	RECRUITMENT MATERIALS	RECRUITER(S)
GROUP 1 AFGHAN REFUGEES	Snowball sampling stemming from community leader networks	The recruitment procedure will be given in their preferred language: 1) verbal script from a community leader; 2) follow-up by the investigator/translator	A community leader and the investigator
GROUP 2 COMMUNITY LEADERS	Initial contact – email/phone Purposive sampling	verbal script and email	the investigator
GROUP 3 RESETTLEMENT AGENCIES	Initial contact - email Purposive sampling	email	the investigator

Table 9: Recruitment Methods Details

4.2.4 ROLES OF THE RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

In this study, I am a principal investigator. My roles include research design, data collection, ethical considerations, participant recruitment, data analysis, triangulation, interpretation, and reporting.

In the process of primary data collection, I served differently because of two concerns: language barrier and gender considerations. For a participant who can and is willing to speak English, I served as a data collection tool as I entered the lives of the participants during a qualitative investigation. I facilitated an interview and recorded a neighborhood walk using audio recording, note-taking, and cameras to capture data. For non-English speaking participants, I served as an observer where one of the research assistants was conducting an interview or neighborhood walk and translating answers. During spatial observation, I served as an observer without intervention of behavior.

I performed data collection along with two research assistants who are from Afghanistan and speak Dari and Pashto, the official languages of Afghanistan. All research team members engaged in human subject research activities and completed online training through the Collaborative IRB Training Initiative (CITI) as required by the University of Oregon's Human Subject Research Protocol. Each individual also received approval from Research Compliance Services.

In addition to the required training and approval, I trained the two assistants about research activities, data recording strategy, privacy, and ethical considerations. The assistants are informants as well as facilitators of data collection and translators. Their roles are limited to translation of research materials including consent documents, interview and survey questions and interpretations, participant recruitment, interview facilitator, and building a friendly-harmonious participation with the participants.

4.3 CASE STUDIES

My research strategy is descriptive cross-case studies. Because the nature of a case study strategy is bound by time and activity, it allows me to collect detailed information and explore in-depth “contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 2009, p.1) of Afghan refugees living in the two chosen cities. I selected Eugene, OR, and Sacramento, CA because these two cases present different timelines for refugee resettlement programs and possess different residential spatial patterns. Sacramento has a long history of refugee resettlement. It is a magnet city for Afghans with a well-established network and community. In contrast, Eugene only received refugees recently and has historically been predominantly white. The legacy of racial exclusion law resulted in an absence of a segregation pattern that differs from race covenants practiced in California.

	<i>Eugene, OR</i>		<i>Sacramento, CA</i>	
<i>Population</i>	176,654	approx.	524,943	approx.
<i>Household</i>				
<i>Median income</i>	61,481	USD	78,954	USD
<i>Density</i>	3,857	per sq mi	5,106	per sq mi
<i>Diversity</i>	White	79.1%	White	53.5%
	Hispanic	9.5%	Hispanic	20.7%
	Black	1.1%	Black	6.1%
	Asian	4.1%	Asian	13.1%
	Native-American	0.4%	Native-American	0.3%
	Others	5.8%	Others	6.2%
<i>Refugee Resettlement</i>				
<i>Record Dated</i>	2002		1975	
<i>Organizations</i>	Faith based, churches		IRCs, Non-profits, Social services	
<i>Total Since 2000</i>	< 85	people	> 12,000	people
<i>Estimate Afghans</i>	< 60	people	> 20,000	people
<i>Housing Info.</i>				
<i>Median property value</i>	406,000	USD	450,500	USD
<i>Homeownership</i>	47.8 %		50.7%	
<i>Racial Segregation</i>	Legacy of Exclusion Law race covenants, Red lining		Legacy of race covenants Red lining	

Table 10: summary characteristics of the two case studies (Author, 2024)

The following section describes a comprehensive background and history, demographic information, and general urban forms of each case study. In section 4.4, I explain the multiple data collection methods employed in detail.

4.3.1 EUGENE, OR

Eugene is situated on the southern end of the Willamette Valley, on the west side of Interstate 5. With an estimated population of 176,654 as of the 2020 census, it is the second most populous city in Oregon after Portland. Historically, Oregon adopted racial exclusion laws in 1844, prior to its own statehood. Acts of racial exclusion were institutionalized in many forms including the establishment of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration's redlining. The subsequent consequences and inequity were more obvious in metropolitan areas like Portland. Although to a lesser degree, a similar phenomenon can be witnessed in Eugene. The City of Eugene's *Middle Housing Code Amendments* explains:

...“redlining” and other discriminatory lending practices were used to exclude non-white residents from many of these neighborhoods.

Post-war prosperity and federal policies led to a building boom that ushered in an age of auto-dependent suburban development with large areas devoted to only single-family homes on large lots. Middle housing types were prohibited or significantly limited in single-family neighborhoods through zoning codes that categorized them as “multifamily housing” ... Even today, a large percentage of Eugene's neighborhoods do not allow most middle housing as an outright use. Meanwhile in multifamily areas, developers generally build larger and denser housing such as apartment complexes. As a result, most residents must choose between detached single-family homes or apartments.

Residential Zoning has a complex history that resulted in cities excluding low-income, black, indigenous, and other people of color from certain neighborhoods. In Oregon, this history was especially harmful as the state directly excluded non-white people from 1844 until the passage of the 14th amendment in 1866, when this law was rendered moot. However, it remained in the Oregon Constitution until 1926. Although those exclusions are illegal today, their negative impacts are still affecting our community through the legacy of exclusionary zoning.

Middle Housing Code Amendments, 2020, pp.1-2

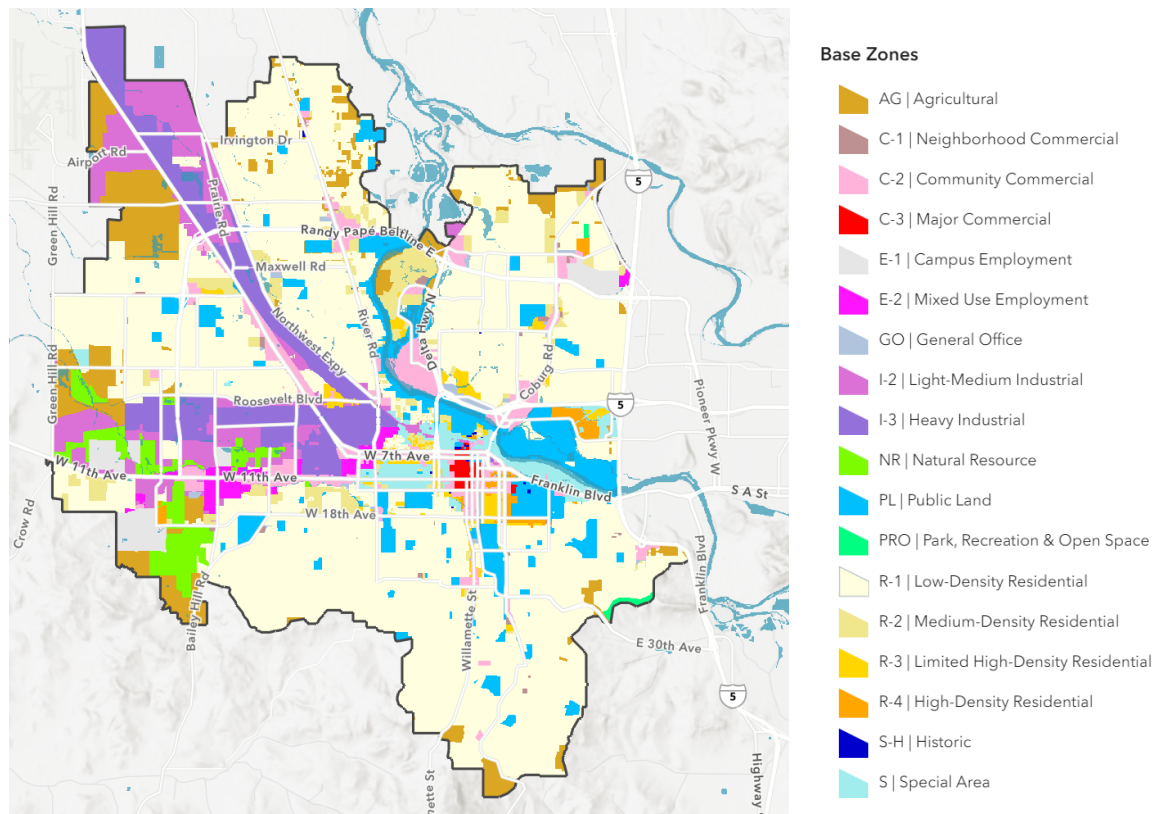


Figure 4.4 Eugene's city zoning map
(Source: City of Eugene's Planning and Development Department, 2024)

Oregon has continuously received refugees since the beginning of the resettlement program in 1975. Although the numbers are considered small in comparison to traditional destination states like California, Texas, or New York; nearly a thousand refugees were resettled in Oregon between October 2023 to June 2024 (Refugee Processing Center, 2024). Of these, refugees from Afghanistan constitute the largest group (166 people) followed by refugees from Burma (144 people), Democratic Republic of the Congo (123 people), Guatemala (36 people), and Moldova (22 people).

In the past, a majority of refugees chose to resettle in the Portland area. However, the rising cost of living and low housing vacancies have urged refugee resettlement agencies to expand their services in other cities such as Salem and Eugene. Receiving refugees is still a relatively new phenomenon in Eugene. According to the Refugees

Processing Center, Eugene only received 8 refugees from Iran, Albania, and Syria between 2002 to 2019. Since 2016, the Refugee Resettlement Coalition of Lane County has actively assisted refugees and asylum seekers. They provide legal services, case management, and all necessary needs, including housing, education, language training, and more. In 2022, 35 Afghans arrived in Eugene. Following the first group, around 40 more people arrived in 2023 and more than 50 people are expected to arrive in 2024.

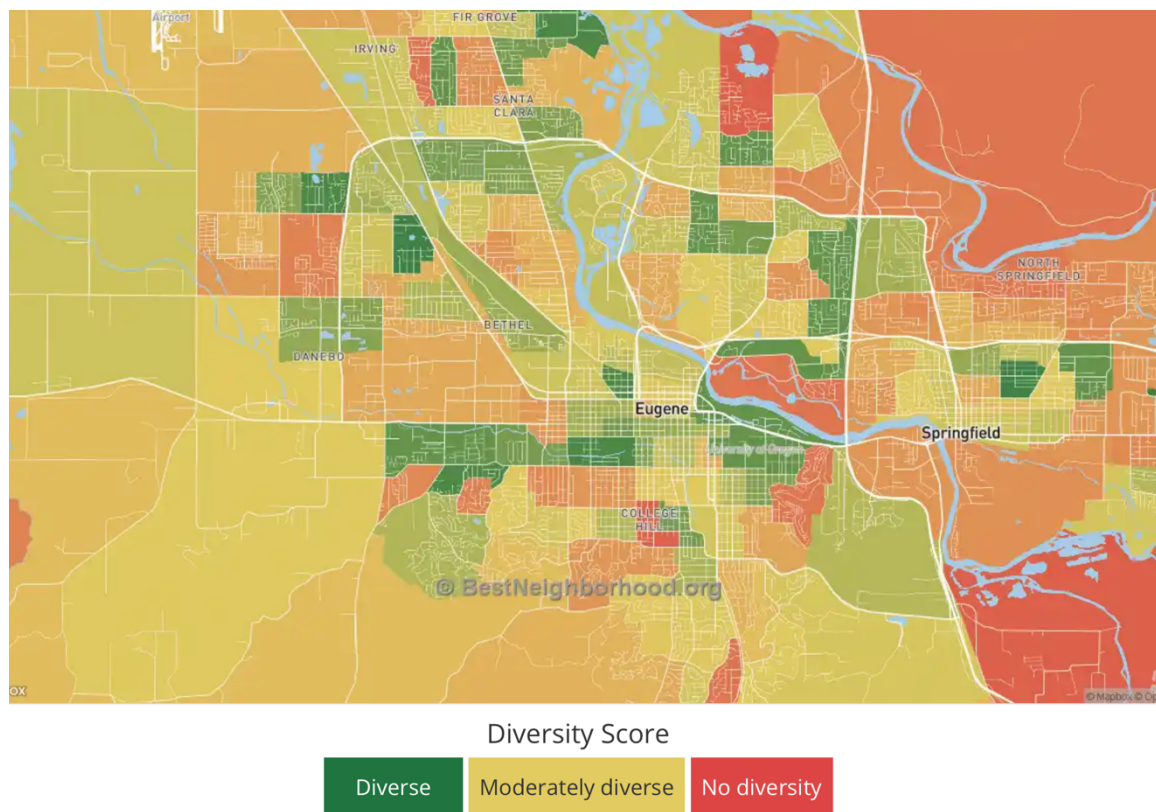


Figure 4.5: Eugene’s diversity map (Source: bestneighborhood.org, 2024)

According to the U.S. Census data mapping and analysis, the city of Eugene scores 81 out of 100 for its diversity. The most diverse area is to the east of the city where the University of Oregon is located. However, this diversity is strictly limited to within Eugene’s city boundary. Nearby cities such as Coburg, Springfield, and Veneta are much less diverse. The diversity score is inversely proportional to homeownership rates.

4.3.2 SACRAMENTO, CA

Sacramento is the capital city of the State of California. The city is in the northern part of the state at the confluence of the Sacramento and American Rivers, on the west side of Interstate 5. The 2020 U.S. census reports that the city has a population of 524,943 and the greater Sacramento metropolitan area has a population of 2,680,831. Despite the state's racial segregation history, California has a rich history of immigration and refugees with multiple metropolises, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, considered to be traditional gateway cities.

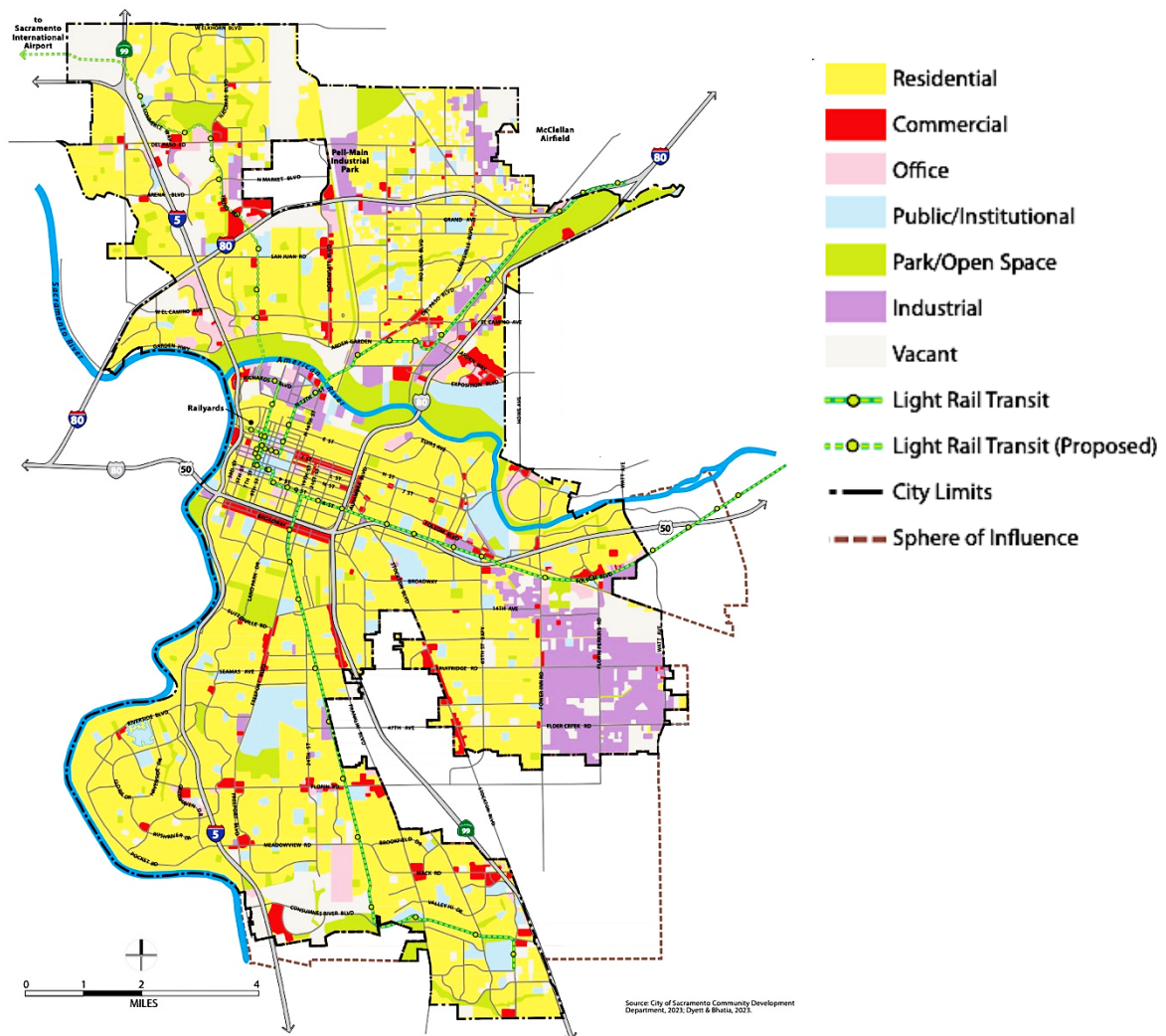


Figure 4.6 Sacramento's city structure (source: City of Sacramento Community Development Department, 2023; Dyett & Bhatia, 2023)

Sacramento is famous for its integration and diversity. According to the U.S. Census data mapping and analysis, the city of Sacramento scores 98 out of 100 for its diversity. In 2002, it was called "America's Most Diverse City" by the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University. TIME reports:

...In Sacramento everyone [is] a minority – including whites...people seem to live side by side more successfully. The city got that why thanks in part to affordable real estate for middle-class households (the black population has dropped in the Bay Area but increased in Sacramento over the past 10 years) as well as innovative housing programs for low-income families. In addition, state-government agencies and college campuses are sprinkled throughout the city, providing stable, well-paid, equal-opportunity employment.

But while Sacramento approaches an ideal for integration, it certainly [is not] paradise. Beneath the multicolored surface, the city's ...inhabitants vacillate between racial harmony and ethnic tension. You see a Sikh casually strolling into a Mexican restaurant for takeout, and Eskimo and a white punk hanging out together downtown. But you also see black and Hispanic parents outraged because their kids' test scores lag behind those of whites and Asians in integrated schools...

Stodghill & Bower, 2002

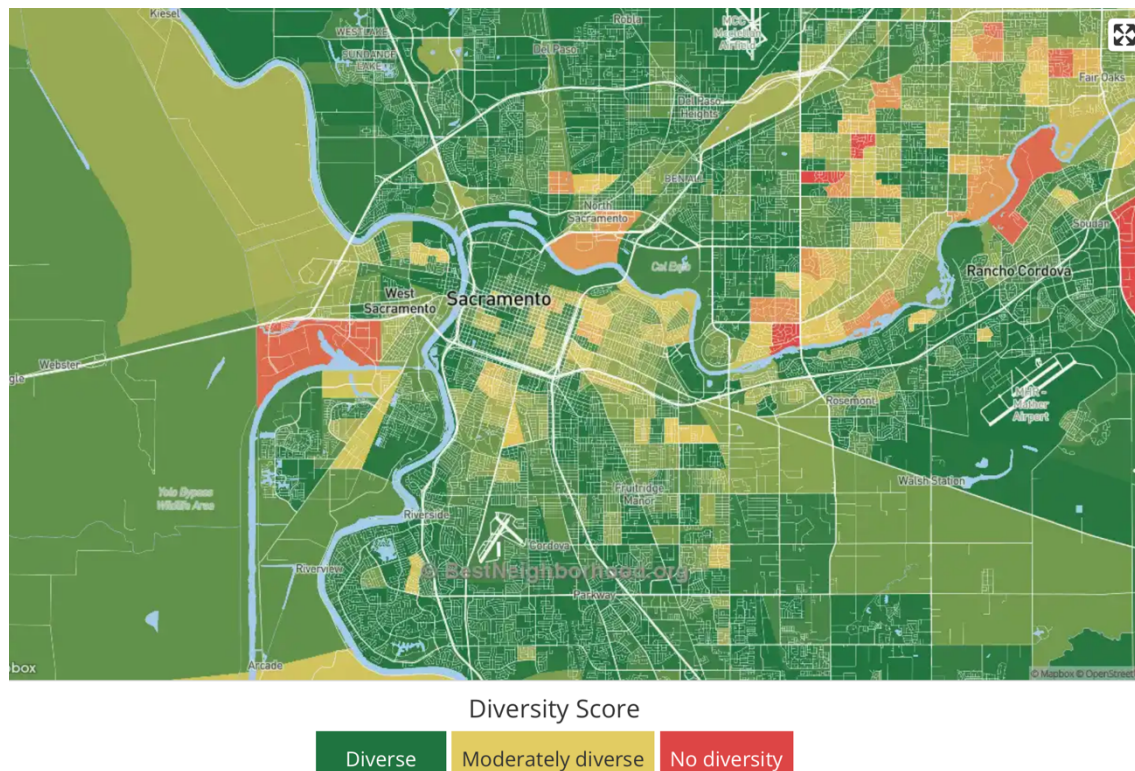


Figure 4.7: Sacramento's diversity map (Source: bestneighborhood.org, 2024)

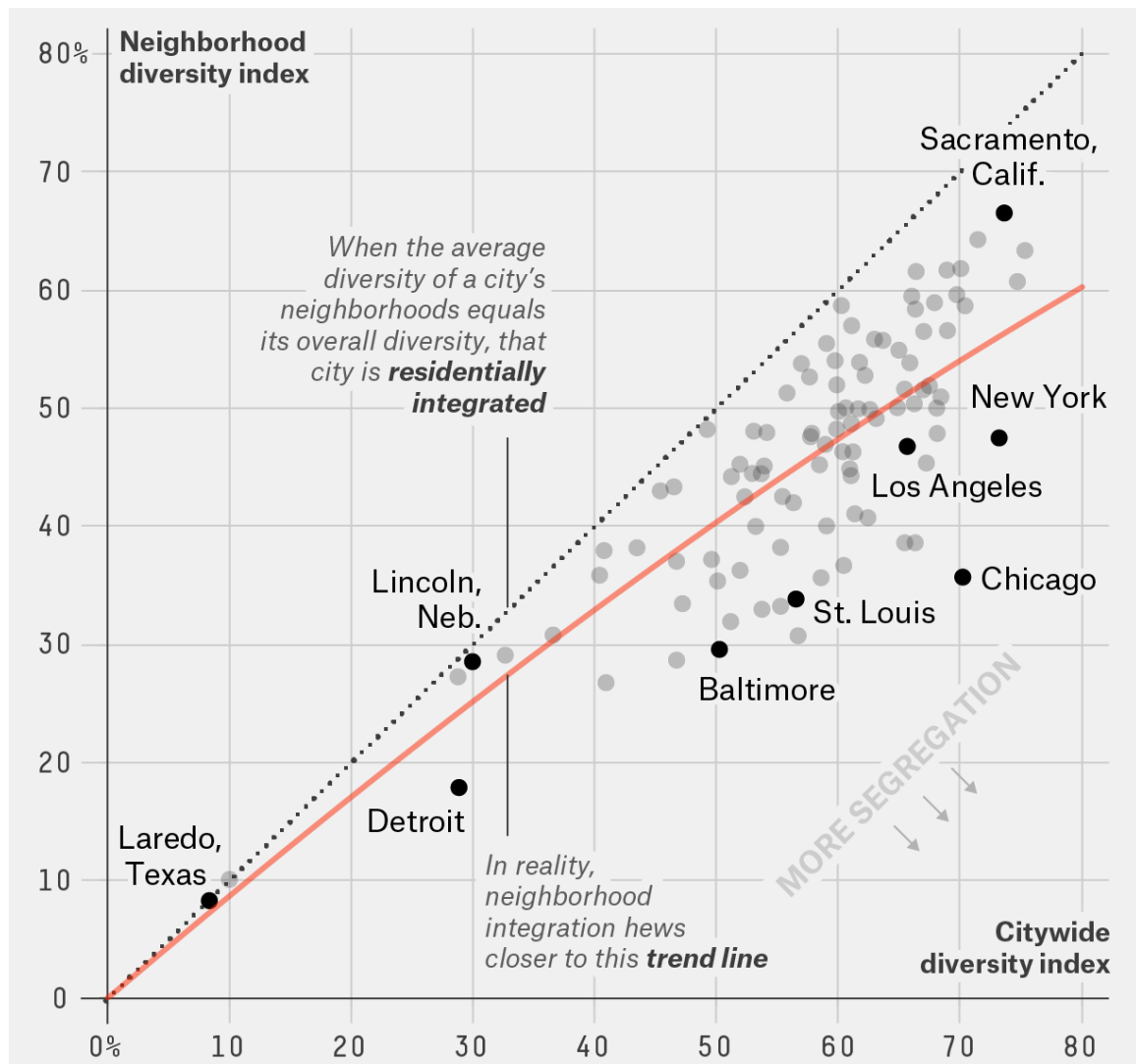


Figure 4.8: A TWO-DIMENSION VIEW OF URBAN DIVERSITY: city and neighborhood diversity indices for 100 largest U.S. cities (Source: Silver, 2015; Data: Brown University's American Communities Project)

Despite the legacy of racial covenants, another study (as shown in Figure 4.6) also highly rates Sacramento as a city with both neighborhood and city-wide diversity. This diversity is not limited to the city's boundary, as it is in Eugene, but has also spread to nearby areas including West Sacramento, Arden Arcade, North Highland, and Rancho Cordova. The diversity score does not demonstrate any correlation to the renter-owner rate or affordability rate.

In terms of refugee resettlement, California has remained one of the top states for refugee arrivals in the U.S. for decades. Multiple organizations serve the refugee community such as International Rescue Committee (IRC), City of Refuge Sacramento, World Relief Sacramento, Refugee Enrichment and Development Association, Open Door, etc. Between 2017-2023, Sacramento, San Diego, and Los Angeles counties were the top destinations for refugees in California. Between October 2023 to June 2024, California welcomed 4,692 refugees, two thousand of which were from Afghanistan (Refugee Processing Center, 2024).

According to the 2019 American Community Survey, it is estimated that there are 19,783 people with Afghan ancestry in the Sacramento area. However, the population is likely larger than this number. Based on interviews with community leaders, it is believed that there are approximately 40,000 Afghans in the Sacramento area. Arden-Arcade neighborhood has the highest concentration in the Sacramento area: 7.3 percent are reportedly of Afghan ancestry. Many ethnic stores, related businesses, and cultural places are located in this area. Beyond this, Afghans are dispersed throughout the Sacramento area, especially in North Highlands, West Sacramento, Rancho Cordova, and Vineyards.

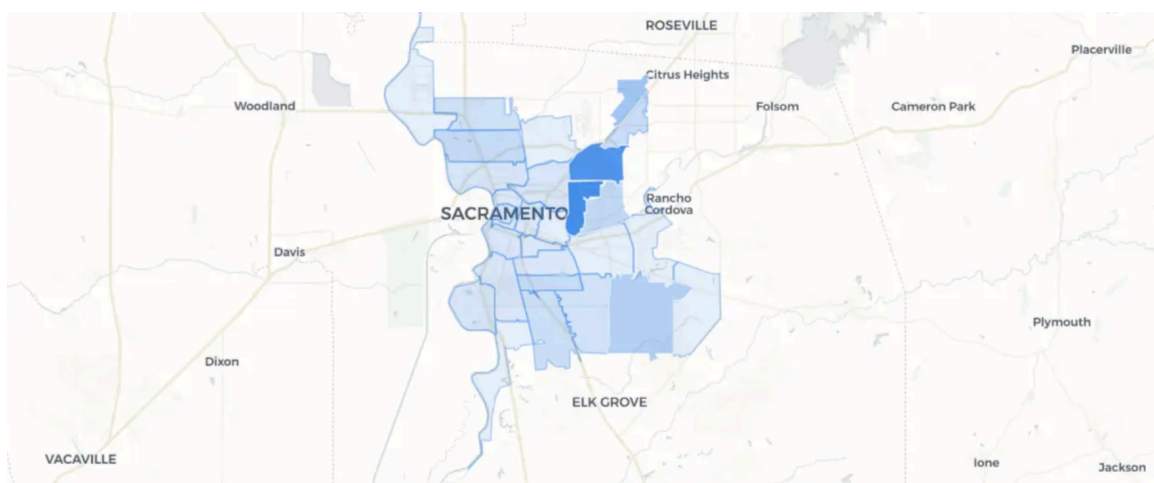


Figure 4.9. Map of Sacramento showing population with Afghan heritage by zip code (source: zipatlas.com, 2024)

4.4 METHODS

Because of multidimensional complexity of bridging social cohesion theory to an examination of built environment quality, the study requires data of both subjective and objective natures (Dempsey, 2007). Interviews and neighborhood walks are employed to reflect refugees' voices in addition to document analysis and architectural methods of spatial observations and community surveys. The table below outlines sequences of data collection methods.

Sequence	Method	Materials	Analysis
Stage 1 Background and Framework	Archival study Interviews	Populations, policies, and literature Policies and practicality, practices, and opinions	Descriptive analysis
Stage 2 Case study convergent mixed methods	Interviews Neighborhood walk Spatial observations Community surveys	Everyday experiences and their social interactions Daily route mapping Social activities, spatial qualities Social relations, connectedness, common good, ARS	Content analysis + Statistical analysis
Stage 3 Comparative analysis	Qualitative comparison	Stage 1 and Stage 2	Thematic analysis

Table 11: Data Collection Methods and Sequences

In the first stage, there are two activities 1) Archival study and 2) Interviews with a community leader and a refugee resettlement agency.

4.4.1 Document and Archival Research

I identified five sets of documents based on the research's line of inquiry.

Set One: Periodical cartographic maps between 1950-2020

Set Two: Resettlement history, policies and strategy from local agencies

Set Three: Demographic profile and housing statistic, U.S. Census Data

Set Four: Local newspapers

Set Five: Official reports and academic journals

These documents provide both qualitative and quantitative data. The first set illustrates the morphological changes of a city. I specify the period of 1950-2020 to obtain information prior to the 1965 Immigration Act, the 1980 Refugee Act, and the most recent morphology. The second set narrates the historical background of each case study as well as provide local policies regarding resettling refugees. The third set of demographic data supplements the spatial analysis of neighborhood morphology. This allowed me to connect information about history, place, and people. These three sets of documents together will provide a general progression of a city over time.

The latter three sets will provide case-specific information on place and people. The fourth set will illustrate network and interconnected transportation nodes. I aim to use this to determine residential/commercial patterns with social connections. The fifth set is local newspapers. It will offer records of changes in a city along with responses and criticism from locals' perspectives. In the sixth set, official reports will provide excellent sources of statistical data while academic journals (if available) will provide a prior assessment of refugee outcomes in each case study. The seventh set is comprised of drawings and rent records. I will obtain this set of documents after identifying key building changes that reflect any spatial accommodation of refugees. Housing development is a primary focus and extends to subsequent nearby green spaces and social places.

4.4.2 Interview with a Community Leader

I performed one-hour informal interviews with two Afghan community leaders per case study. The interviews focused on their roles and experiences in assisting and welcoming refugees or new community members and their individual reflections. The interviews covered three topics: 1) cultural behaviors and adjustments; 2) housing needs, housing stability, and neighborhood changes; and 3) social relations and conflicts.



Figure 4.10. Research assistants and an Afghan community leader in Sacramento during an interview (with permission from subjects). (Author, 2023)

4.4.3 Interview with Professionals and Resettlement Agencies

A professional and resettlement agency was identified broadly to include an agent working at a resettlement agency or sponsor, a case worker, or a volunteer who manages and assists a resettlement program. I interviewed two professionals per case study. An interview was semi-structured and limited to one one-hour conversations via virtual meeting. During the interviews, I focused on their strategic placement plans specifically on housing, implementations, and actual practical methods. An interview covered personal experiences and opinions on recurring problems. In addition, it included an organization's role in facilitating integration and promoting interactions with a local community. This method was intended to determine the motivations of a stakeholder for placing a refugee at

each housing site, their strategy, and its practicality. An organization's name will only be revealed with their permission.

In the second stage, I employed four data collection methods: 1) interviews with Afghans, 2) neighborhood walks, 3) spatial observation, and 4) a community survey. I served as a data collection tool for interviews and neighborhood walks. I encouraged a participant to reflect on their feeling and perceptions of their resettlement during an interview and to demonstrate their day-to-day experiences during a neighborhood walk.

4.4.4 Interview with Afghan Refugees



Figure 4.11. Afghan's hospitality during interviews at research participants' homes (Author, 2023)

The intention of these interviews was to provide greater depths of understanding about individual activities and the local context of each community. Interviews were informal with open-ended questions and were estimated to be one hour of conversation. An interviewee decided where and when was convenient for them. During the interviews, I focused on their social activities and daily experiences both within the Afghan community and with non-Afghan friends, colleagues, or neighbors. In some cases, interested participants chose to talk to the research team as a group, which then turned an

interview into a focus group. These included groups of Afghan ladies, multi-generational families, and extended families. All interviews with female participants were performed with the assistance of a translator upon their approval. For male participants, in some cases, they agreed to give their interview directly with me while others preferred to give their interviews to the male research assistant.

4.4.5 Neighborhood Walk



Figure 4.12: Neighborhood walk with research participants (Author, 2023)

If a participant decided to hold their in-person interview at their own home, specific explanation about spatial observation was readdressed to conduct the second part of this activity. In such an event, the interview and spatial observation happened concurrently. If a participant disagreed to participate in spatial observation or neighborhood walk, I would neither record their dwelling unit nor use any visual information in the study even though I had visited their residence.

4.4.6 Community Survey

The survey was conducted with Group 1 Afghan refugees from both cases. This activity was independent from other methods. However, interview participants were also invited to complete the survey. Participants were recruited via flyers which were distributed by two means: 1) flyers with QR codes posted in neighborhoods, mosques, refugee support centers, and apartment complexes; and 2) electronic flyers QR codes/links to a survey passed around by a community leader or volunteer participants.

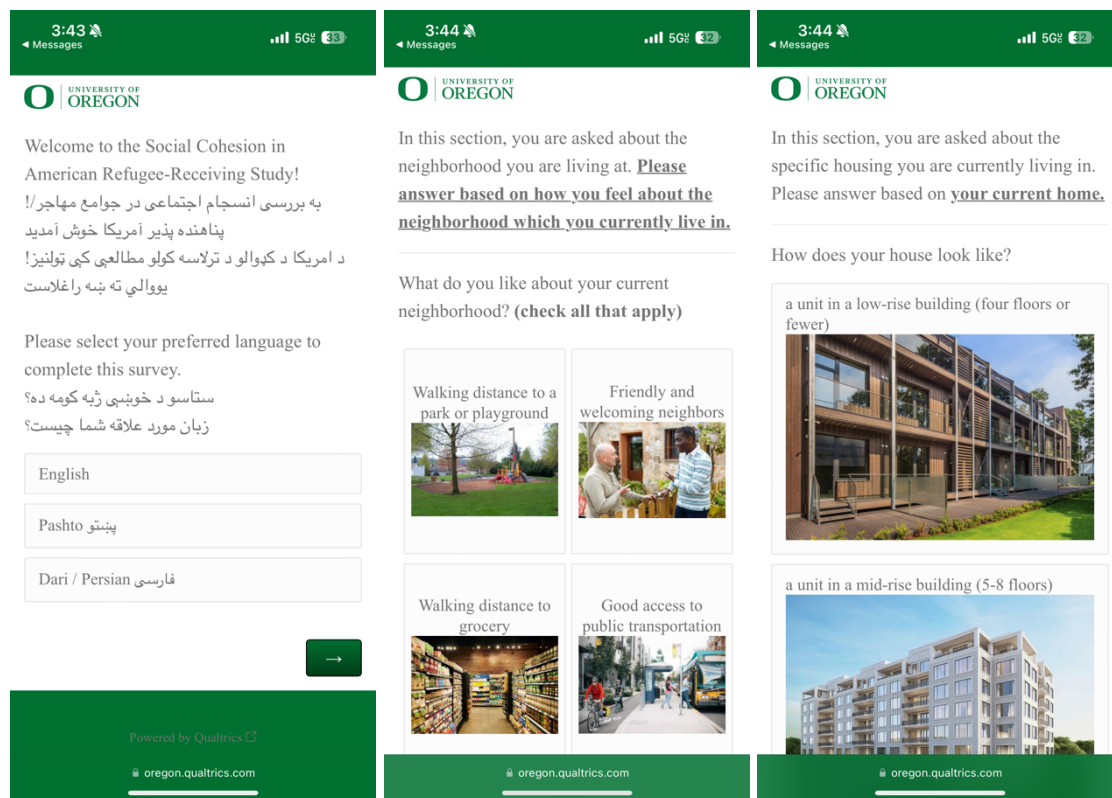


Figure 4.13: Screenshots of the community survey on mobile device

The survey allowed me to obtain comparative data on daily experiences and perceptions among the two groups. Surveys consisted of both qualitative and quantitative questions (see Appendix E). A survey included nine demographic questions, 25 survey questions, and one open-ended last question for participant comments. The survey intends to describe characteristics and experiences of larger populations. Questions in the survey

are related to social relations, connectedness, belonging and safety, which are examined by chance of interactions. It also intends to ask about respondents' intention of socialization and participation in social activities. Survey questions were adapted from UNHCR and UNDP's research on social cohesion between refugees and a host community. Aggregated responses were merged into data sets obtained from other methods to supplement answers to questions 3, 4, and 5 or the research inquiries. The survey was translated into Dari and Pashto in addition to English. Participants could choose their preferred language. The surveys were conducted through the web-based survey platform, University of Oregon Qualtrics. The survey was distributed to 100 households and received 25 responses. This was lower than the expected 40 percent response rate.

In addition, I obtained data from the 2022 Annual Survey of Refugees (ASR) for public use from OpenICPSR. The Office of Refugee Resettlement in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services conducts the survey annually under congressional mandate. Survey information is presented below.

- Approximately 1,500 households, who resettled in the U.S. during the preceding five fiscal years, are randomly selected and interviewed. Besides the primary household members who are interviewed, information is also gathered on approximately 3,500 eligible family members.
- The ASR is conducted by computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) to ensure timely and accurate data collection. The survey is designed to be linguistically and culturally relevant and sensitive to refugee populations. Interviewers are trained and matched to respondents by language, gender, and country of origin, when possible. Each year, the ASR is conducted in approximately 20 languages, which represents about 75% of all adult refugee arrivals during the survey time period.

(OpenICPSR.org, 2024)

There were 95 questions in the ASR. I screened and selected 25 pertinent questions to this study. Only responses from people of Afghan origin are qualified (n=144). The data

was cleaned up to eliminate missing values (n=44). Survey findings were used to supplement results from interviews and observations.

4.4.6 OBSERVATIONS

Part I is an observation of private dwelling units. The observation focuses on housing conditions and its relationship to the neighborhood's social spaces. The observation aims to:

- 1) identify spatial opportunities and limitations for an occupant to socialize such as crowding and privacy concerns, uses of living space and guest space (if any);
- 2) analyze indoor-outdoor relationships where occupant(s) may start to interact with a new communal environment from within their dwelling unit (including window areas, porch, and balcony);
- 3) record access paths and encounter locations within a building and community; explore a definition of public and private domains and how it interplays in a diverse community.

During the observation, participants were asked to point out and describe the locations where they interact with their neighbors, guests, and friends. They were asked to explain interactions as well as the absence of interaction. Private spaces were not part of this observation. I took notes and photos; and documented a building's layout. The objective is to portray the housing conditions of recently arrived refugees and how it enhances or limits their social life. I focused on architectural components, forms, and attributes that are related to their social activities and accommodation of different cultural practices, including but not limited to gender roles and gender separations. The spatial observation was estimated to take one hour in a communal area or around its neighborhood.

Part II is spatial and behavioral observations of social spaces. This method entails observations of select social spaces within each community outside of a residential complex. This may include public spaces such as parks, playgrounds, town squares. It also may include semi-public spaces such as religious buildings, libraries, cafés and restaurants, and shopping malls and markets. The investigator strategized the duration, frequency, and length of observations to the selection of space and subject of interest. However, no more than ten spaces were assessed at each site. Preliminary investigation may occurred via Google Street View prior to an in-person observation. Spatial observations of social spaces focus on identifying locations of encounters such as leisure and civic places of a community; and examining residential mobility and access of social spaces. The intention is to document 1) how various neighborhood and urban morphologies facilitate social interactions of a community and 2) how the built environment functions as a social space in a diverse community. These observations do not include any interventions of behavior.

Observational tools included, but are not limited to, photographs, sketches, architectural drawings, tracing, behavioral mapping, and test walking. The observations are not tethered to any particular community participant (e.g., these are not observations of the interview participants but of places interview participants have indicated their uses). However, no effort was made to exclude participants from the observations. The spatial observation was estimated to take place during two one-hour rounds during each visit.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

I began qualitative content analysis with an inductive analytic process to identify emerging patterns, themes, and concepts without preconceived categories or theories. In this process of simultaneously analyzing interview data and observations, themes of housing typology and its neighborhood morphology, home ownership, and gender

emerged. Subsequently, I progressed to a deductive process where I applied the thematic framework to the interview data. Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyze the interview data. At the same time, descriptive analysis was employed to analyze the observational data. To assess the validity, findings are reinforced by survey results when possible. Others are confirmed with member checking from participant groups.

4.5.1 Research Quality

Noble and Heale explain “Triangulation can enrich research as it offers a variety of datasets to explain differing aspects of a phenomenon of interest” (2019, p.67). To increase the creditability and validity of the research, I follow a multiple triangulations approach. Three datasets were triangulated: 1) document analysis and archival research, 2) refugees’ voices, and 3) architectural methods. In each dataset, triangulation of methodologies was employed to increase the richness and validity of the data. In-depth interviews and observations were selected methods. Jacobson and Landau (2003) point out that these methods can increase the validity of researching refugees.

To help construct validity and reduce biases arising from cultural differences I may have, I employed a researchers triangulation by having two research assistants from Afghanistan, one male and one female. They possess cultural familiarity and knowledge on gender issues; speak the official languages of Afghanistan and can fluently translate to English. I also had spent more than six months with my informant and some participants in Eugene, OR throughout the time I collected my data. However, I cautioned not to be too involved in the community. Jacobson and Landau (2003) note:

...researchers who are able to spend long periods of time (more than six months) gain the trust and familiarity of their informant and their community. Their conclusions are less likely to be based on ... preliminary impressions of to be swayed by political statements...

However,...their conversation-like tone can potentially prompt particular responses, or inadvertently direct the answers, an unconscious process often difficult to avoid even by trained researchers... (p.8)

In addition to multiple triangulations, I performed constant data comparison to enhance the reliability of the process and results. As data was extracted from the original sources during interviews and observations, I verified their accuracy in terms of form and context with constant comparison.

4.5.2 *Limitations And Research Bias*

The research aims to shed light on the design framework for culturally inclusive neighborhoods and social spaces. As I approach this research from a constructivist worldview, I acknowledge the limitations of context-free generalization. Leung (2015) notes “a margin of variability for results is tolerated ... provided the methodology and epistemological logistics consistently yield data that are ontologically similar but may differ in richness and ambiance within similar dimensions” (p.235). The research findings may not necessarily apply to all other refugee-host groups, especially when their norms and behaviors are significantly different. Rather, it amplifies how to design and to create built environment in a way that culturally different people can live together harmoniously. Although the limitation on its applicability is unavoidable, the research methodology is replicable, and the logical approach can promote diverse viewpoints suitable for the study of multiple socially constructed realities.

Another limitation of this study arose from personal factors as the investigator. I noticed that my gender, country of origin, and language competency have somewhat affected the process of participant recruitment and data collection. My language capabilities, where I can speak neither of Afghanistan’s official languages Pashto nor Dari has impacted communication from both parties. Vice versa, not all research subjects were

proficient in English. To overcome this issue, surveys were translated, and interviews were conducted in a subject's preferred language. Using mapping and photographs also provided more comprehensive information for the analysis without relying solely on languages. In addition, I purposefully chose research assistants who can mitigate personal disadvantages and help me overcome these limitations and biases. Most participants of the study I encountered were unfamiliar with my country of origin, Thailand. Being a stranger from a country they could not recognize caused doubts. During the participant recruitment process, many of them had questions about me personally, in addition questions regarding the purpose of the study. I trained and provided scripts to my research assistants so that they could introduce and provide a complete picture of myself as the investigator and the study to build trust with participants. With a proper introduction from people who from the same country of origin, people became more collaborative.

Furthermore, this study collects participant-generated and self-reported data as I conducted qualitative interviews and neighborhood walks. Self-reported data is limited by the fact that it rarely can be independently verified, and thus can contain several potential sources of bias.

- 1) Recall bias occurs when participants choose to report selective memories, experiences, or events that they remember or do not remember. To reduce this potential bias, participants were asked about their experiences on a specific event as well as their general daily experiences.
- 2) Social desirability bias results from external influences in which a participant seeks to report socially approved behaviors. Although participants' identity is confidential, it is possible that perceived anonymity may not be satisfactory.

Employing data triangulation helps mitigate the bias and confirm its generalizability.

- 3) Sampling bias is an outcome of the snowball sampling strategy, as the study relies on recruiting participants through informants' networks. The sample is unrepresentative of all Afghan people in the U.S. due to their ethnic diversity. Most participants are of Uzbek and Hazara ethnic groups. I acknowledge this bias and understand that the findings only represent a subset of Afghan people. Despite the large sample sizes of more than 70 interviews in Sacramento and more than 25 interviews in Eugene, the sampling bias may limit the generalizability of the study.

4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This study explores the relationship between the built environment and social interaction outcomes in a refugee-receiving city. I selected two case studies: Eugene, OR and Sacramento, CA. Their difference in refugee resettlement history and timeline allows me to investigate and compare residential spatial distributions. I compare and contrast a city with an established gateway community vs a city with a recent record of refugee resettlement. I identified post 9/11 Afghan refugees in the U.S. as the studied population because of their inherent differences with most Americans, which can be a cause of biases and conflicts. This includes but are not limited to language, religion, household dynamics, gender norms, etc. For each case study, I employed convergent mixed methods from interviews, neighborhood walks and spatial observations, and statistical analysis of surveys. Two research assistants, who are from Afghanistan, were members of the research team. Their roles included participant recruitment, interpreter, and interviewer. They did not assist with mapping, spatial observation, and data analysis.

Performing the analytic process of interviews concurrent to morphology analysis based on spatial observation, themes of behavior and spatial attributes emerged. These themes are then applied in a deductive process. The findings are then supplemented by statistical analysis of surveys. I acknowledged that my personal position, including my gender, nationality, and language competency, can cause biases. I employed multi-stage triangulation to assess and ensure the validity of the research findings.

I present the results of this study in the following chapters. In Chapter V, I present results on housing-related issues and the social life of Afghans in the two cases. In Chapter VI, I present results on social spaces beyond their neighborhood, including religious and business places as well as parks and other recreational spaces.

CHAPTER V

HOUSING, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND SOCIABILITY

The previous chapters provide topical and theoretical backgrounds along with the research methodology of this study. Following the inductive analysis of interview and observation, themes of housing typology and its neighborhood morphology, home ownership, and gender emerged.

First, I lay out the 19 residential sites investigated in this study from the two case studies. I give an overview of the locations of residential sites and housing characteristics. Then, I present photos and figure-ground maps from residential places observation. Selected examples of interior layouts are provided to illustrate living conditions inside. Subsequently, I offer a cross-case comparison which is supplemented by deductive interviews. I organized them by housing typology and housing access with discussion on how housing and its attributes impact residents' living experiences and sociability.

Then, I analyze residents' housing access and ownership and the subsequent consequences on living experiences and sociability. I categorized this into four groups: short-term housing, being hosted by locals, temporarily staying with other people, and homeowners. The findings in each category are supplemented by interview information and survey analysis. Lastly, I confer their living experiences and sociability together with non-architectural dimensions including but not limited to gender norms, customs and beliefs, and household unit.

The chapter is concluded with a synopsis of spatial attributes of housing in respect to privacy and control, crowding conditions, and perceived safety. The following Chapter VI presents findings on social spaces at a broader scale including ethno-economic hubs, religious places, and park and recreational spaces.

5.1 HOUSING LOCATION AND TYPOLOGY

Based on the fieldwork in both case studies, research participants live in various accommodation types including an apartment, a duplex, and a single-family detached home. I grouped an apartment and a duplex as one category and left a detached home as another category. The following sections present 11 residential sites from Sacramento Case and eight residential sites from Eugene Case.

5.1.1. Sacramento Case Study

In Sacramento, CA, there is a mixture of homeowners and renters. Many people came with SIVs in the 2010s, and more continued to make Sacramento their home after the fall of Kabul in 2021. However, recent arrivals and prospective newcomers are discouraged from resettling in California due to local case workers' capacity to provide assistance. In this study, several families reported owning a house, while many research participants are renters. The table below provides summary information of the residential sites in this case study.

NO.	CASE STUDY	TPOLOGY	ACCESS	LOCATION
S1	Sacramento, CA	Apartment	Rent	North Highlands
S2	Sacramento, CA	Apartment	Rent	Arden-Arcade
S3	Sacramento, CA	Apartment	Rent	Roseville
S4	Sacramento, CA	Apartment	Rent	Little Pocket
S5	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Host	South Land Park
S6	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Rent	West Sacramento
S7	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Rent	Arden-Arcade
S8	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Own	Roseville
S9	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Own	Rancho Cordova
S10	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Own	Antelope
S11	Sacramento, CA	Single Family homes	Own	Lincoln

Table 12. Summary of typology and location, Sacramento Case

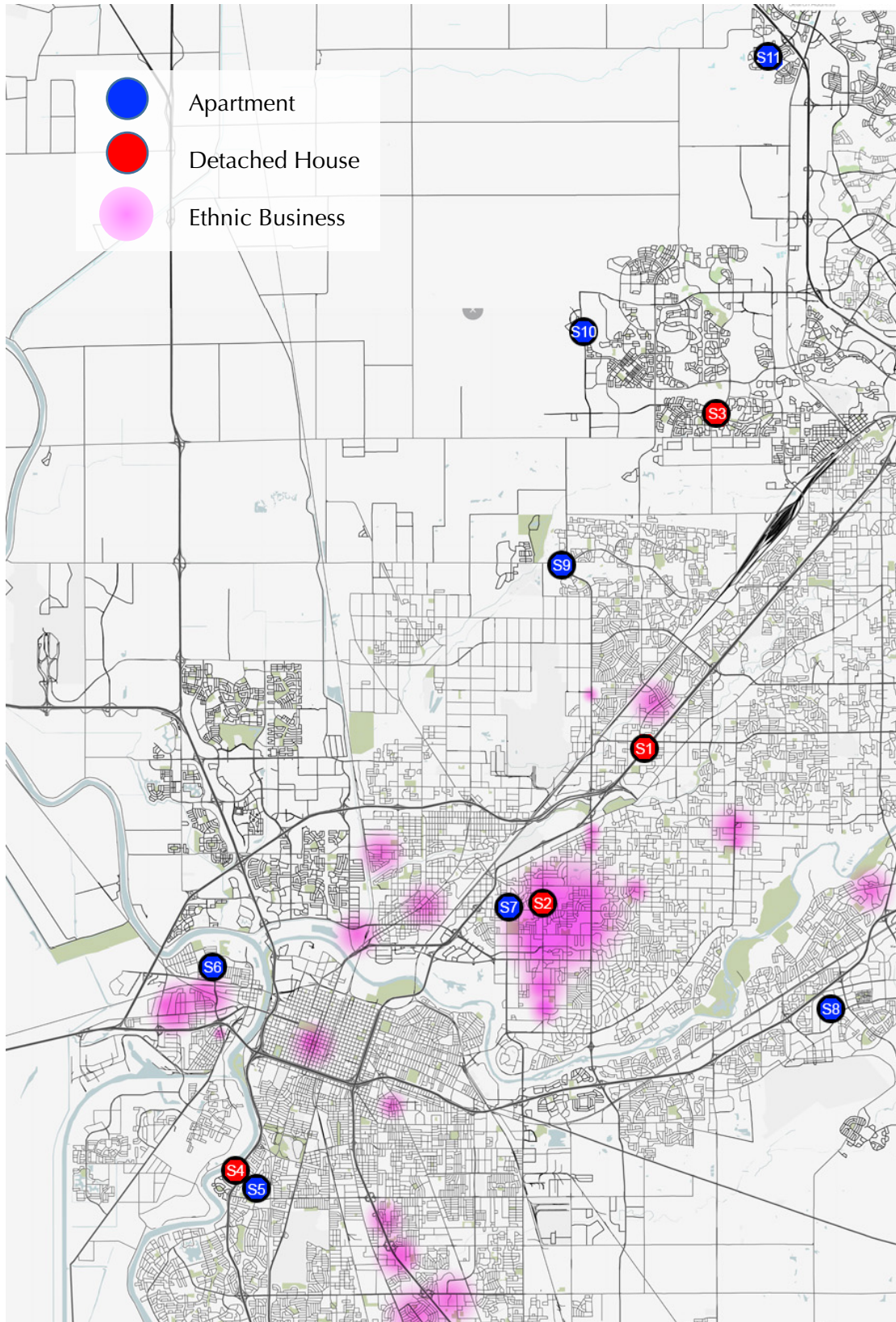


Figure 5.1 Location of residential sites (Author, 2024)

S1 – S4 are apartment complexes. Their locations are noted with red circles in Figure 5.1. showing their proximity to Downtown Sacramento and Arden Arcade (where many Afghan shops are located). Information on each complex is described below.

S1 is located in North Highlands, north of Sacramento City. Residents of this complex are comprised of more than 80 percent of Afghan origin. The complex has a total of 127 units. It is a gated community with two-story buildings and a pool. There is no park in a walkable distance. The area is characterized as a high-density multi-family suburban area with convenient access to a highway.

S2 is located in Arden-Arcade, north of Sacramento City. The apartment is within walking distance to several Afghan shops. The complex has a total of 153 units. It is comprised of two-story buildings and a pool. The area is characterized as an urban-suburban mix area adjacent to low-density residential and commercial zones.

S3 Is a low-income housing complex in Roseville, CA, 20 miles northeast of Sacramento. The complex offers two-to-four-bedroom apartments, a total of 328 units. This multi-family housing sits among pervasive single-family home developments. The complex is gated and offers a variety of amenities, including two community pools, a basketball court, playgrounds, BBQ and picnic areas, and a clubhouse. It has good school ratings and family-friendly activities. There are nearby parks accessible by driving.

S4 is located in Little Pocket, opposite to South Land Park, the south side of Sacramento City, right by the I-5 highway. The apartment complex is within walking distance to the riverfront and neighborhood parks. The complex has a total of 32 units. It is comprised of two-story buildings with no common recreational area. The neighborhood has good school ratings and convenient transit access, but a relatively higher cost of rent and living.



Figure 5.2 (top) photos of S1 apartment complex (Author, 2023)
(bottom) figure and ground map of the complex (Author, 2024)

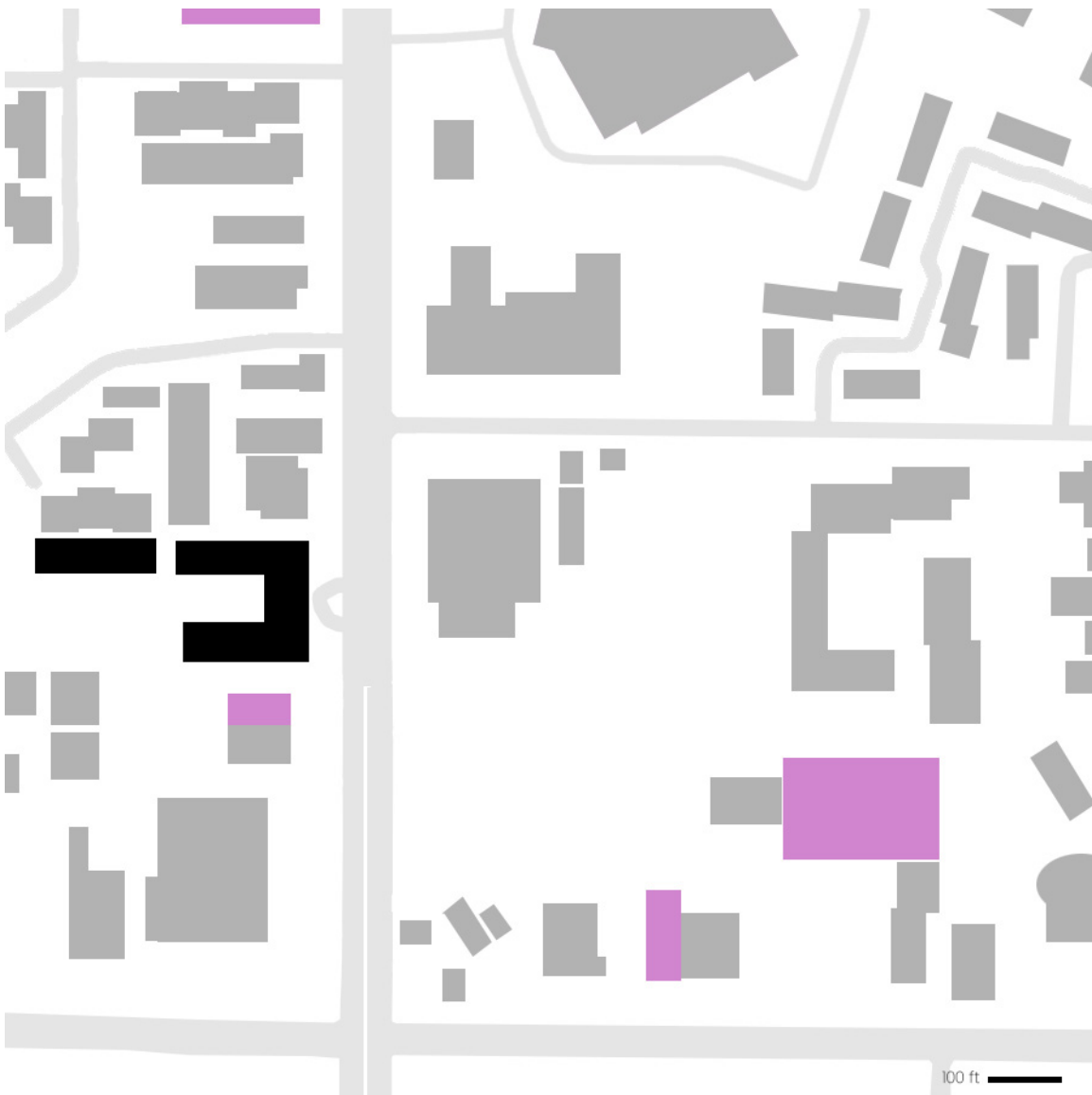


Figure 5.3 (top) photos of S2 apartment complex (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map of the complex (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.4 (top) photos of S3 apartment complex (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map of the complex (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.5 (top) photos of S4 apartment complex (apartment.com, 2024; trulia.com, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map of the complex (Author, 2024)

Example unit plans of selected apartments.



Figure 5.6 4-bedroom unit floor plan (liveheritagepark.com, n.d.)

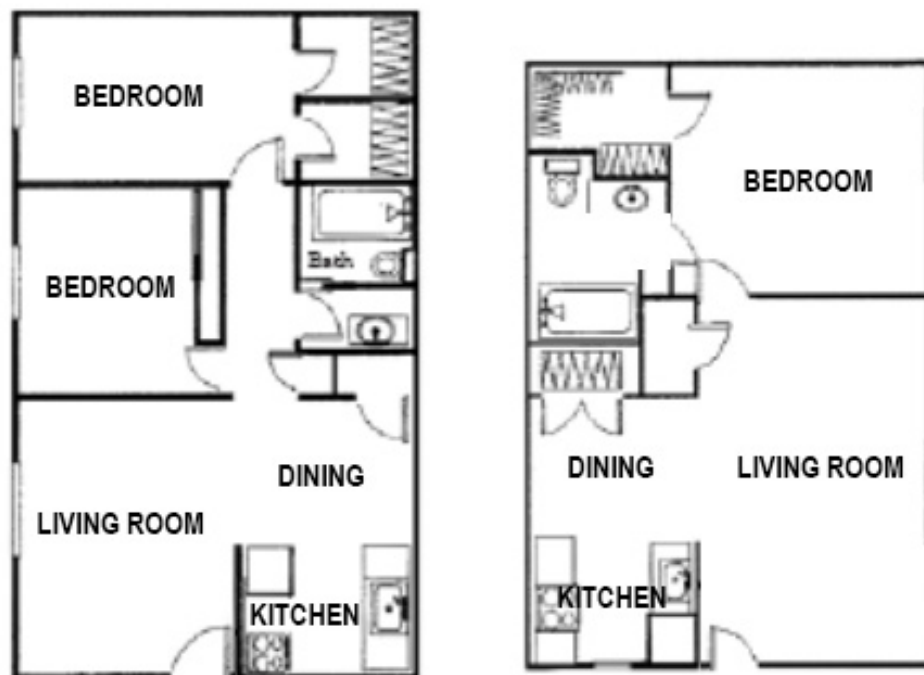


Figure 5.7 A unit layout (left) one-bedroom, (right) two-bedroom (apartment.com, n.d.)

S5 – S11 are single-family detached homes. Their locations are noted with blue circles in Figure 5.1. Except for S5, which is a house of a host family, the rest are either owned or rented by Afghan families. Locations of these houses are spread widely beyond the City of Sacramento across Sacramento County to Roseville, Rancho Cordova, Antelope, and Lincoln, CA.

S5 is a house of an American host family. The house is located in South Land Park neighborhood, a short commute to Downtown Sacramento. The community has shared amenities including a pool and tennis courts. The location is surrounded by small and medium-sized lots of single-family homes and in proximity to a shopping center and neighborhood parks. Although the area has relatively higher rents and cost of living, it is considered a family-friendly neighborhood with good school ratings, convenient access to outdoor activities and parks, and has a relatively low crime rate.

S6 is a rental single-family detached house located in West Sacramento, on the west bank of the Sacramento River. The area is an urban residential one with a short commute to Downtown Sacramento. It is comprised of small lots of single-family homes at relatively more affordable costs. The median home price is valued at \$372,700. Despite a low crime rate, people do not feel safe in the area because it is not walkable, and people do not keep their yards maintained. Many houses fence their front yard.

S7 is a rental single-family detached house located in Arden-Arcade. Although there are parks, shops, schools, and other amenities within a close distance, they are not walkable due to disconnected street patterns with many dead ends. The neighborhood is comprised of small lots of single-family homes that each have a private backyard. Housing in this area is considered relatively more affordable, with the median home price valued at \$251,500. However, it has a high crime rate.

S8 is located in a Roseville, CA, a Sacramento suburb. The community is characterized by a new development of medium-sized single-family homes. These houses have private backyards and may include pools. Front yards are well maintained. There are no common amenities, and the community is automobile dependent. Schools in the area are highly rated; and the crime rate is low. While the median home value (\$473,300) is relatively high, the houses are larger. There is a high ratio of owner to renter (68% to 32%).

S9 is located in Rancho Cordova, CA, a Sacramento suburb. The community is automobile dependent and does not have common amenities. The area is comprised of low to medium-density residential zones and industrial mix-use zones. The median home price (\$325,300) is cheaper than other parts of Sacramento, but it has a high crime rate and below-average school rating. A highway separates residential areas from nearby parks, shops, schools, and other amenities in the area.

S10 is located at the periphery of Antelope, CA, a Sacramento suburb. The community is a recent development of single-family detached homes. The area is comprised of low-density residential zones and an urban development zone. However, the commercial areas are big box stores and are not pedestrian-friendly. The median home price (\$343,800) is cheaper than other parts of Sacramento. The area has an average school rating. The crime rate is high.

S11 is located at the periphery of Lincoln, CA, a Sacramento suburb. While the median home value (\$468,400) is relatively high, houses are larger. Each house has a private backyard, and the community does not have common amenities. The area has a low crime rate with above-average school ratings. The community is automobile dependent and separated from other parts of the city by a highway.



Figure 5.8 (top) photos of S5 a single-family detached home (Google Street View, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.9 (top) photos of S6 a single-family detached home (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.10 (top) photos of S7 a single-family detached home (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.11 (top) photos of S8 a single-family detached home (Google Street, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.12 (top) photos of S9 a single-family detached home (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.13 (top) photos of S10 a single-family detached home (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

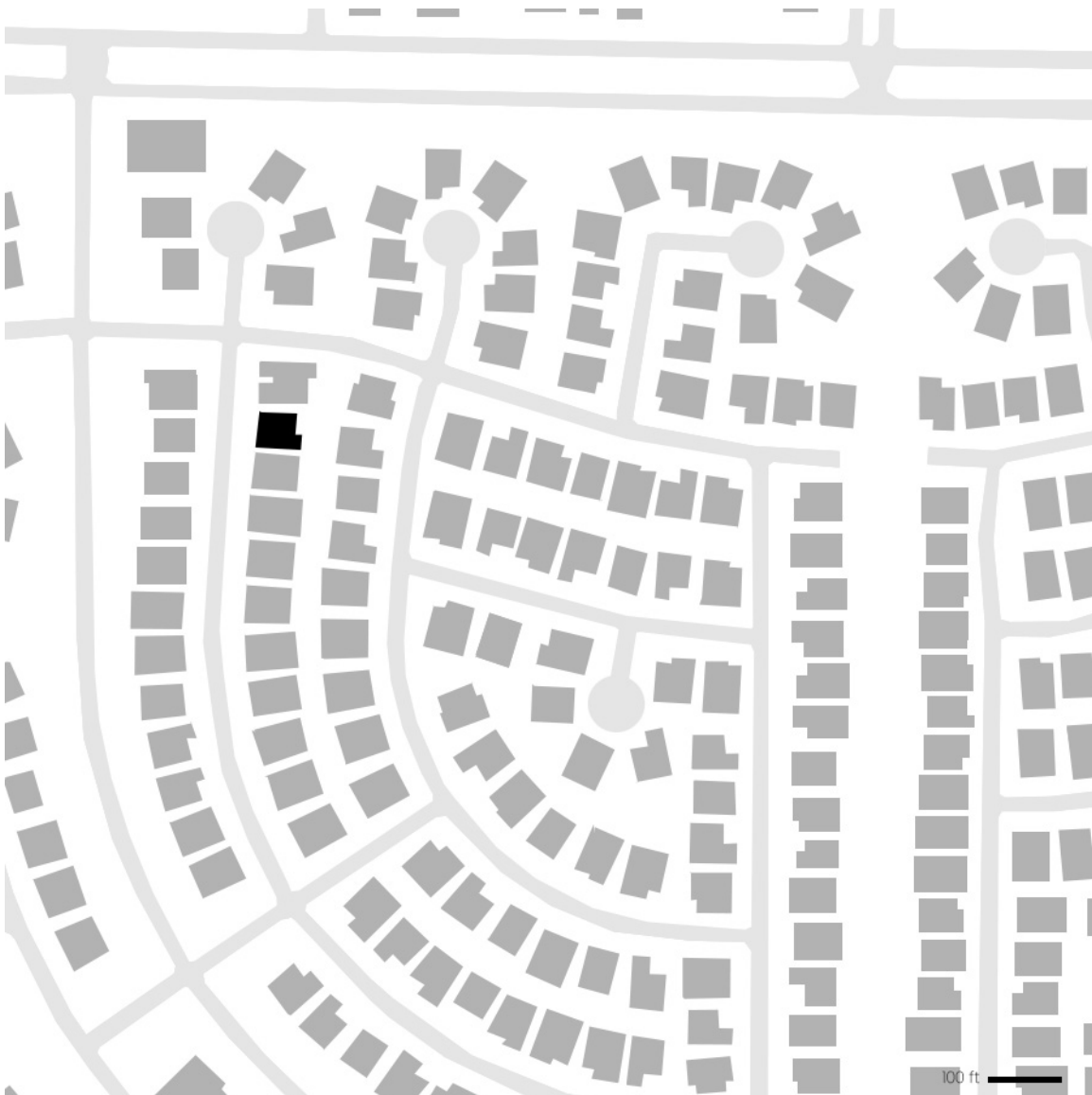


Figure 5.14 (top) photos of S11 a single-family detached home (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

Example floor plan of a selected house owned by an Afghan family.

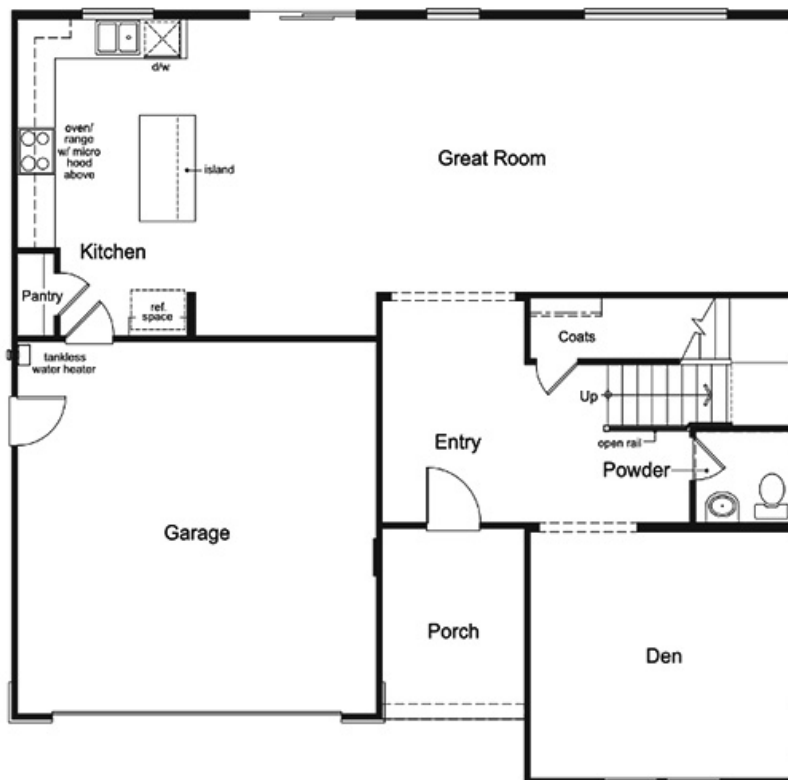
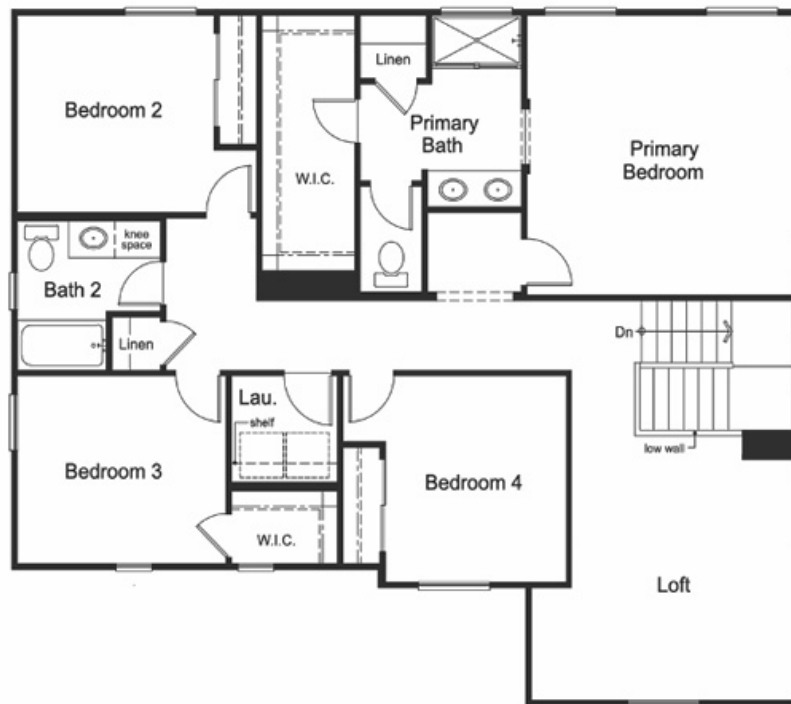


Figure 5.15 Floor plans of a four-bedroom house (kbhome.com, n.d.)

5.1.2 Eugene Case Study

Prior to receiving Afghan refugees in 2023, there was no established Afghan community in Eugene, OR. The refugees came with a parolee, an evacuee, and asylee statuses as well as SIVs. Research participants live in an apartment (townhouse or duplex), and a rental home. A few participant live in a student dormitory. Several people live with a host family. There is no homeowner among the studied population in Eugene as of 2024. Many of those studied lived in a hotel for a few months at the beginning of their arrival. Eugene continues to receive more Afghans as well as refugees from other countries in 2024 and plans to expand their services.

An officer at the resettlement agency notes: “Without much experience in refugee resettlement, we did not have established connections with a housing provider.” The agency reported using a personal connection during a housing search due to short notice. The table below provides summary information of the residential sites in this case study.

NO.	CASE STUDY	TPOLOGY	ACCESS	LOCATION
E1	Eugene, OR	Apartment/Townhouse	Rent	Far West Neighborhood
E2	Eugene, OR	Apartment/Duplex	Rent	Bethel Northwest
E3	Eugene, OR	Dormitory	Rent	Downtown
E4	Eugene, OR	Single-family Home	Rent	Far West Neighborhood
E5	Eugene, OR	Single-family home	Rent	West Eugene Neighborhood
E6	Eugene, OR	Single-family home	Host	Cal Young Neighborhood
E7	Eugene, OR	Single-family home	Host	Cal Young Neighborhood
E8	Eugene, OR	Single Family homes	Host	River Road Neighborhood

Table 13. Summary of Typologies and Location, Eugene Case

E1 and E2 are apartment complexes provided by the resettlement agency and E3 is a student dormitory sponsored by Lane Community College. Their locations are noted with red circles in Figure 5.16. The map shows their proximity to Downtown Eugene.

E1 is located in Far West neighborhood, a short commute to Downtown Eugene. The location is proxemic to the resettlement agency, making it convenient for regular visits. Currently, the complex houses six Afghan families, not including those who have already moved out. The complex offers two-bedroom townhomes and is considered affordable.

E2 is located in Bethel Northwest, a suburban neighborhood a 15-minute drive from Downtown Eugene. Although the building is a duplex, each unit faces a different side of a street making it feel like single-family homes. The area is a low-density residential zone with a few parks, but the disconnecting street network furthers the pedestrian walking distance to a park.

E3 is a student dormitory at Lane Community College (LCC). The building is adjacent to LCC Downtown Campus. A few Afghan refugees who received LCC scholarships live at the dormitory and share an apartment with other students.

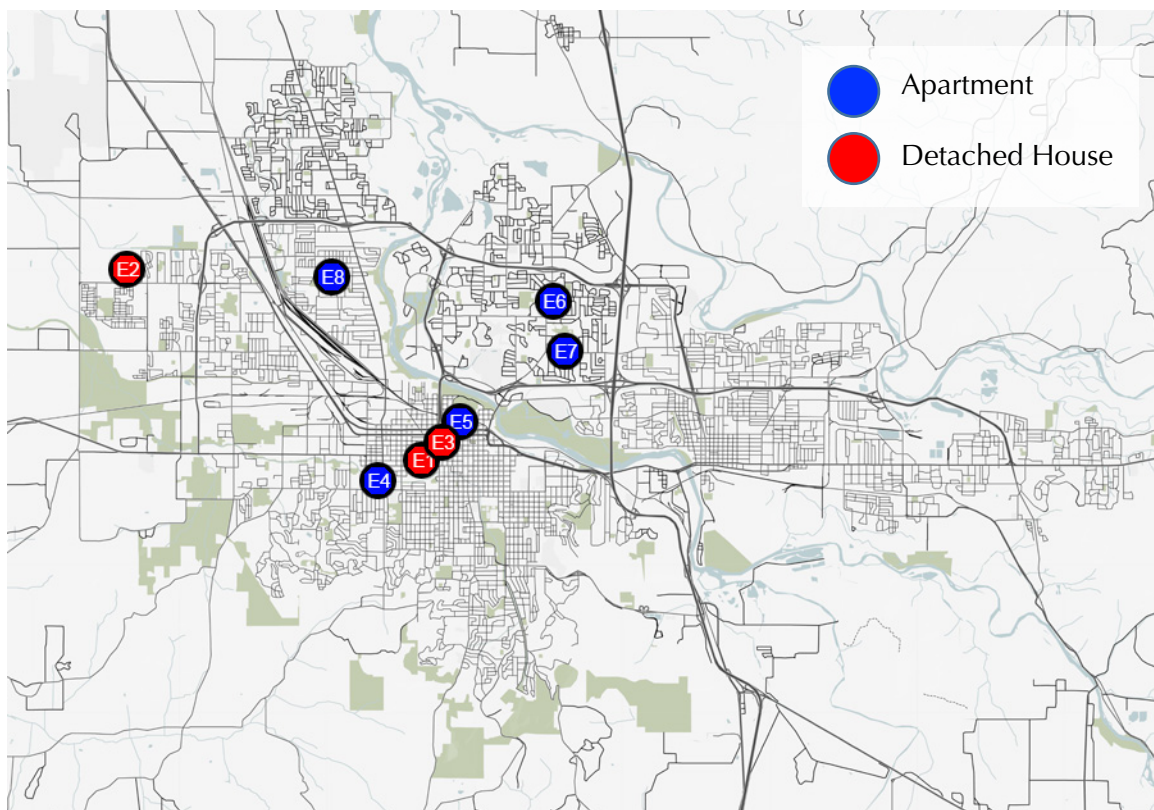


Figure 5.16 Location of the residential sites in Eugene, OR (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.17 (top) photos of E1 an apartment complex (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.18 (top) photos of a single-family detached home (GoogleStreet, 2024)

(bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

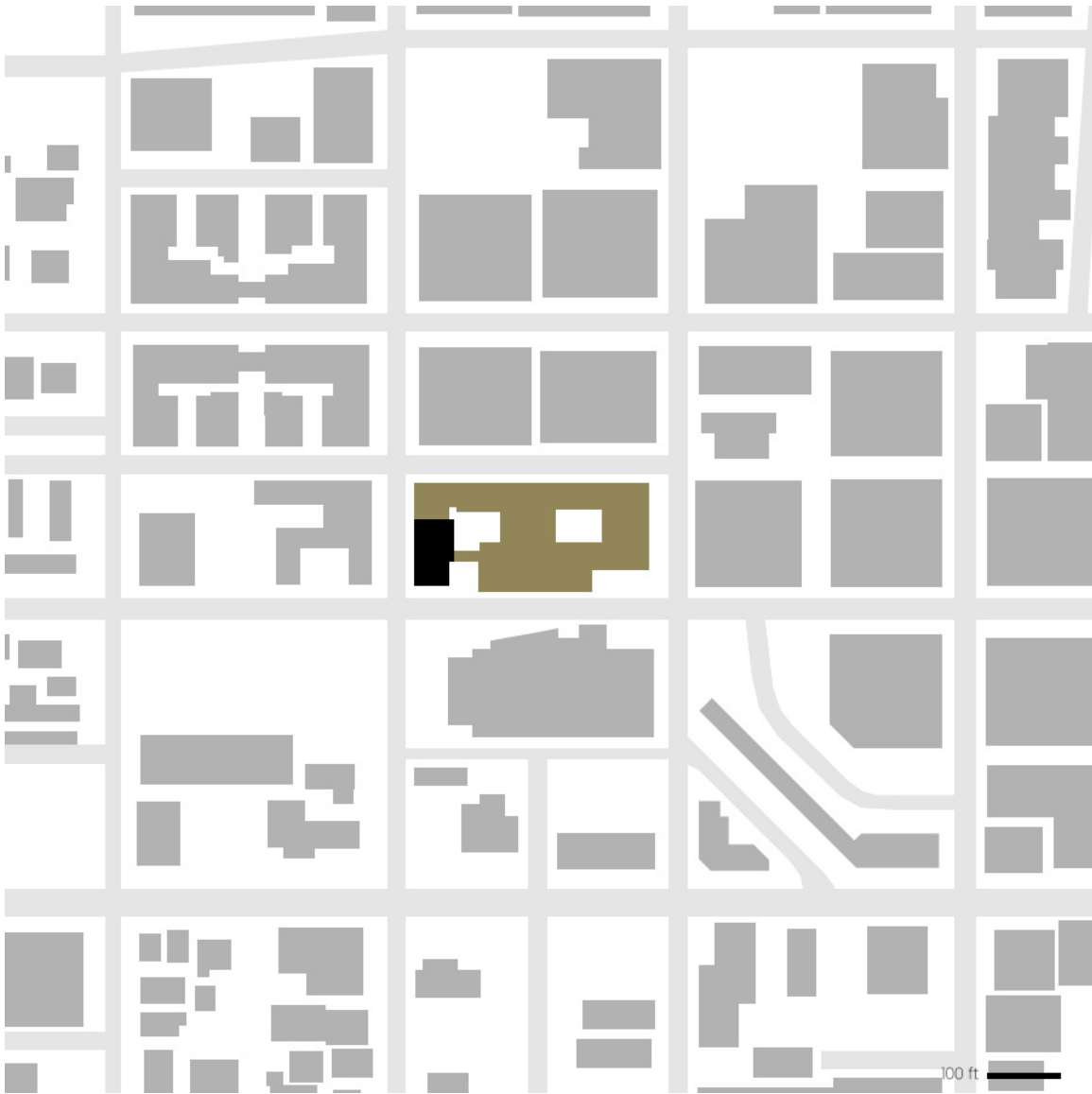


Figure 5.19 (top) photos of E3 a dormitory building (titancourt.com)

(bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

Example unit plans of selected apartments.

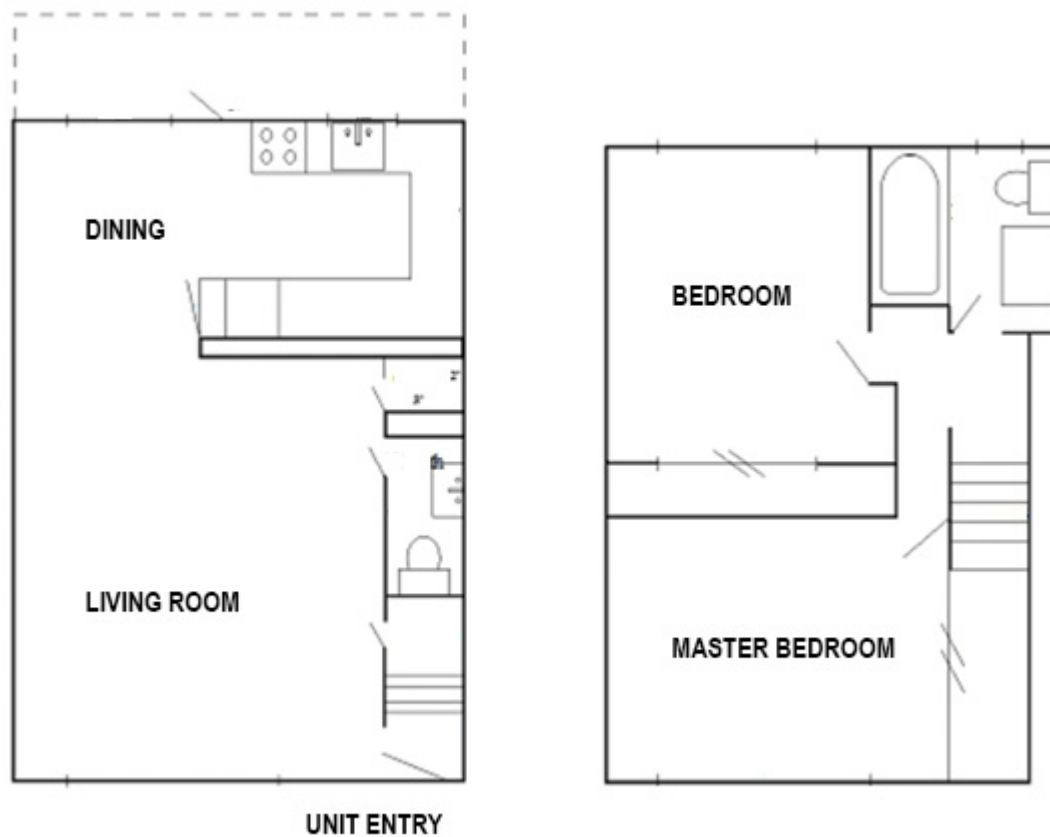


Figure 5.20 Duplex floor plan (foursquare.com, n.d.)

E4 – E8 are single-family detached homes. Their locations are noted with blue circles in Figure 5.15. E4 is rented by a refugee family, and E5 is a rental home provided by a refugee resettlement agency. E6, E7, and E8 are houses of a host family.

E4 is a rental single-family detached house located in the Far West neighborhood. It is within a short commute to Downtown Eugene, nearby amenities, and the E1 apartment complex. The neighborhood is within a low-density residential zone. Property lots are good sized although houses are relatively small. These houses are integrated into the urban grid structure. The surrounding traffic is slow; however, a sidewalk is missing. Housing in this area is more affordable with the median home price at \$222,560.

E5 is a single-family detached house provided by a resettlement agency to an Afghan family of six. The house is located in the West Eugene neighborhood. The low-density residential zone is adjacent to commercial and light industrial zones. Houses are integrated into the urban grid structure. Schools and parks are located within walking/biking distance. Despite its statistically high crime rate, the area is characterized by mixed-use, low traffic, availability of sidewalk/bike paths, and a mature landscape.

E6 is a house of an American host family who offered an ADU for an Afghan family of six. E7 is a house of an American host family who have hosted several Afghan individuals, a maximum of three persons at a time. Both houses are located in the Cal Young neighborhood, north of the Willamette River. It has easy access to the highway while semi-curving streets and cul-de-sacs offer a high level of privacy. It is one of the largest low-density residential zones in the city of Eugene. It comprises medium to large lots and most houses have a good-size backyard. Along the street fronts, the area has well-kept front yards and sidewalks with a mature landscape. Although very attractive and desirable, housing prices are more expensive in this area, with a median home price of \$387,740. This is higher than Eugene's median home price of \$304,500. Schools and parks are centrally located and accessible by public transportation. Shopping centers and grocery stores are within a short drive.

E8 is a house of an American host family who have hosted a few Afghan individuals, a maximum of three persons at a time. It is located in the River Road neighborhood on the west bank of the Willamette River. Houses in this area are considered relatively more affordable, with the median home price at \$241,664. The neighborhood comprises varying lot and house sizes. Front yards are well-kept, and sidewalks are available. There is a park located within a walking distance.



Figure 5.21 (top) photos of E4 a single-family detached home (Zillow.com, 2024)

(bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.22 (top) photos of E5 a single-family detached home (Zillow.com, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)



Figure 5.23 (top) photos of E6 a single-family detached home (Author, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

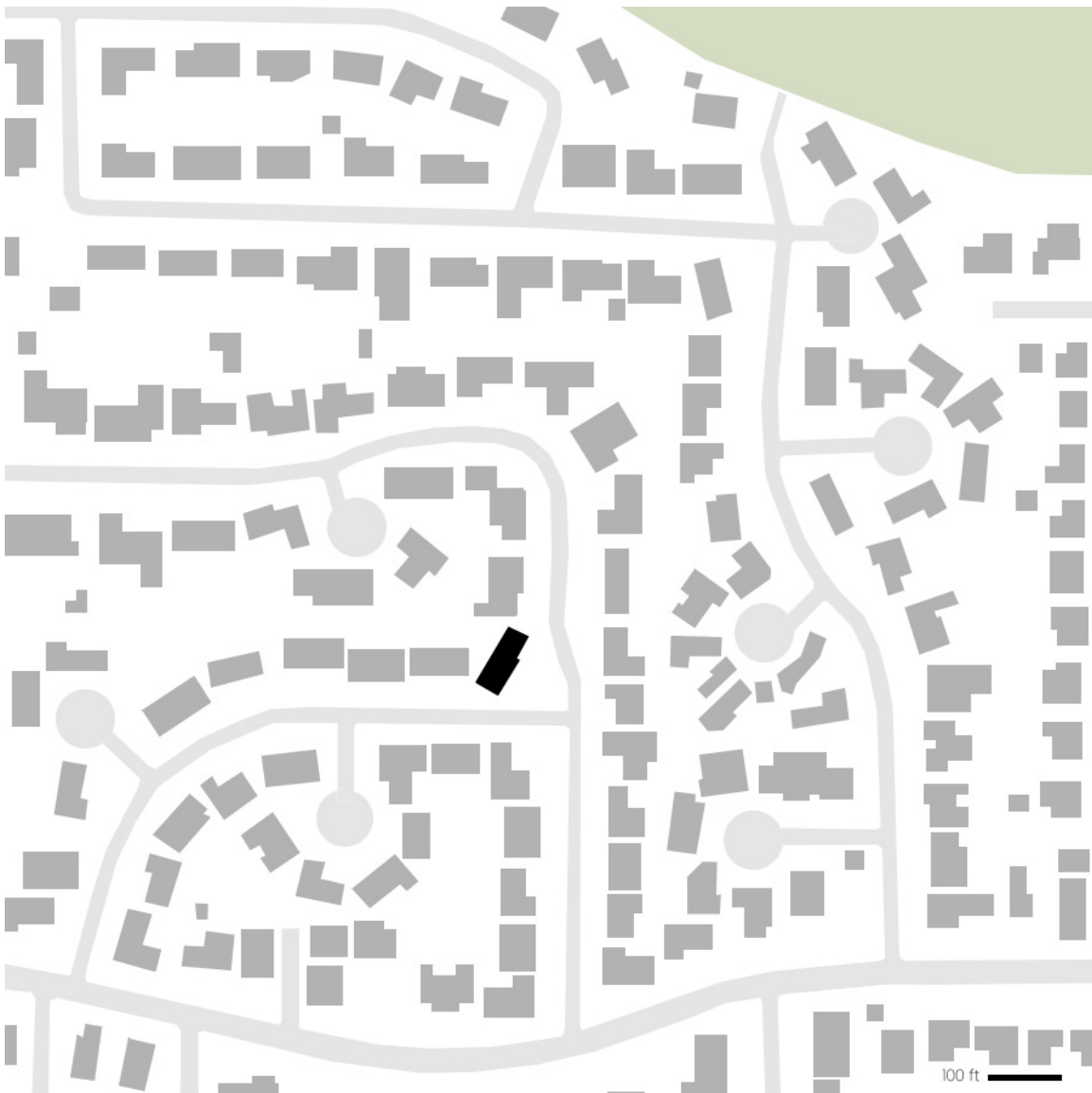


Figure 5.24 (top) photos of E7, a detached home, and nearby park (Author, 2023)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

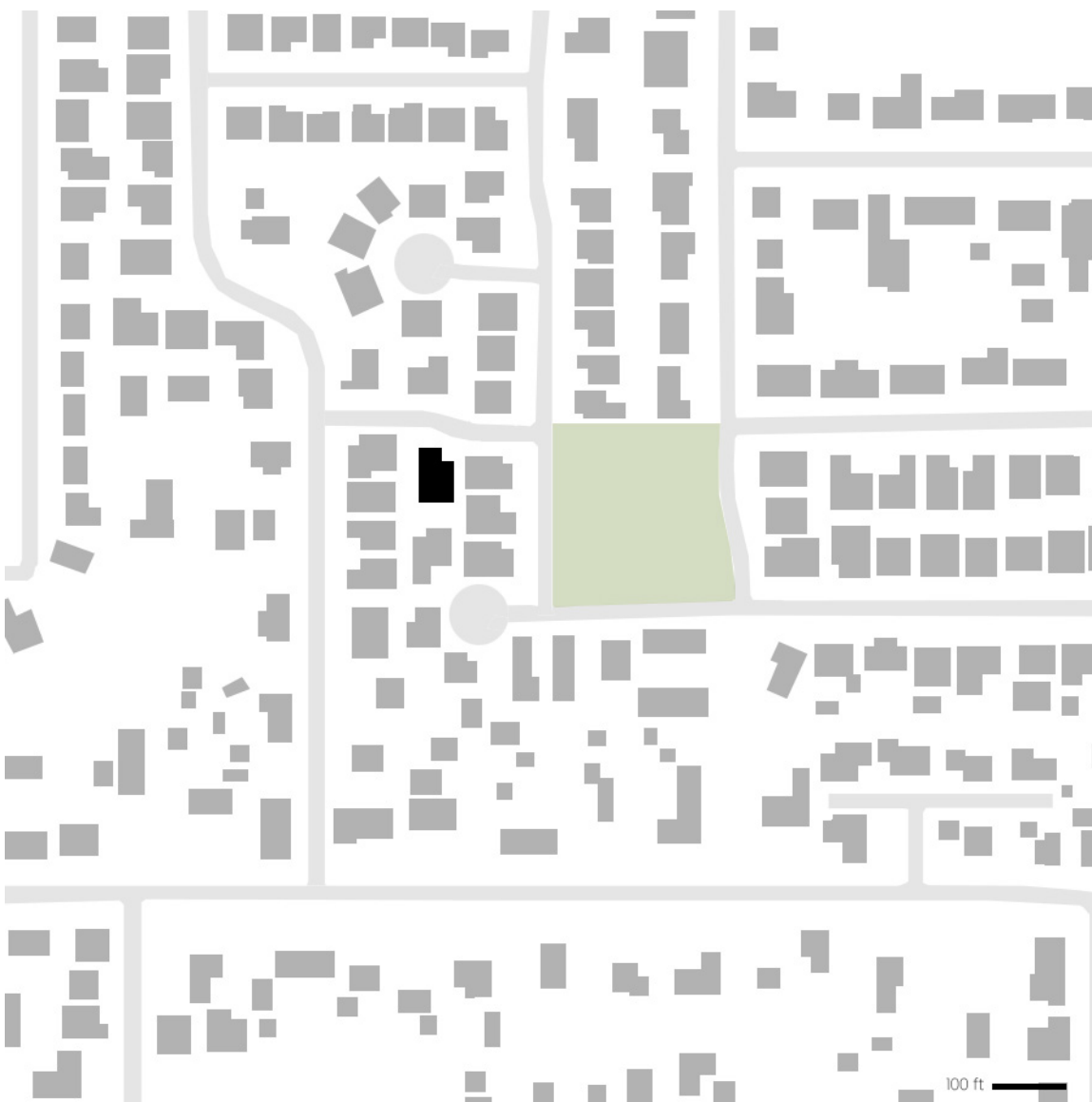
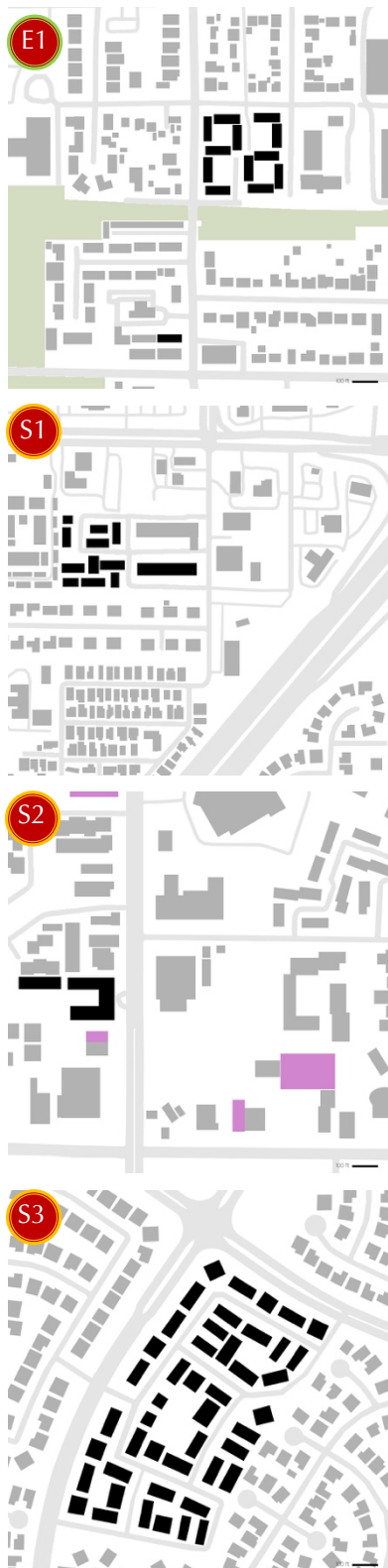


Figure 5.25 (top) photos of E8 a single-family detached home (Author, 2024)
 (bottom) figure and ground map the area (Author, 2024)

5.1.3. Cross Case Study Comparison

Apartment Complex

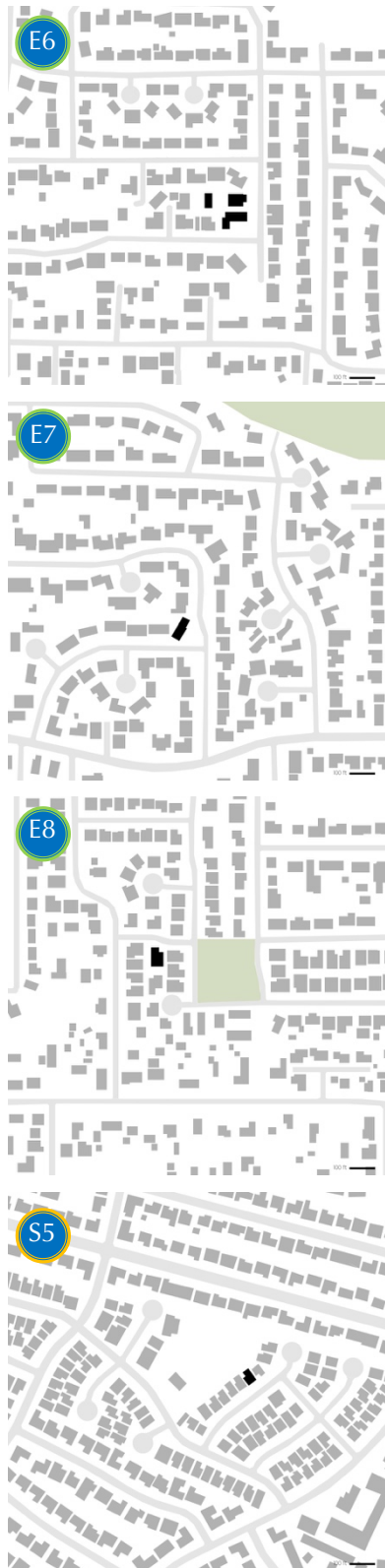


Affordability is an important factor when it comes to rentals, as evident at all the four apartments. E1, S1, and S2 are located in areas with low rents, while S3 is a low-income apartment among low-density single-family homes.

According to interviews, residents at E1 and S3 have positive living experiences and somewhat good relationship with neighbors. The building arrangement of these two complexes forms off-street open spaces suitable for children in the community to play. In contrast, residents at S1 and S2 do not demonstrate positive relationships with neighbors despite having a high number of Afghan people in the area. They cited this is due to perception competitiveness and crowding from their co-ethnic group and an unfriendly environment of cars and heavy traffic.

Also, absence of transition and inadequate privacy from a unit entry discourages people from lingering at their front door and they rather quickly enter their apartment. This is evident in E1, S1, and S2 where people park in front of their unit and walk straight inside to try not to disturb their neighbors.

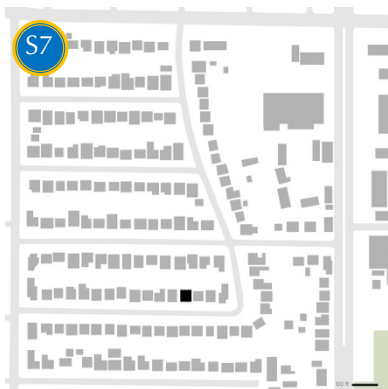
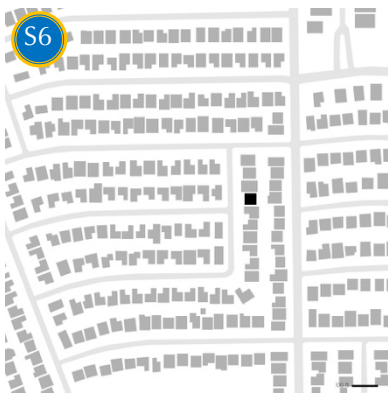
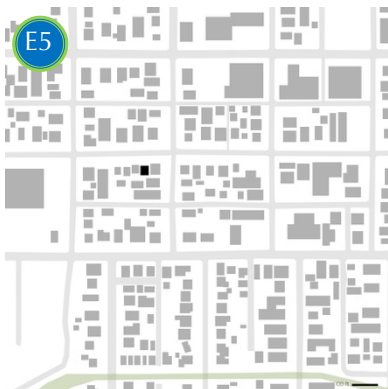
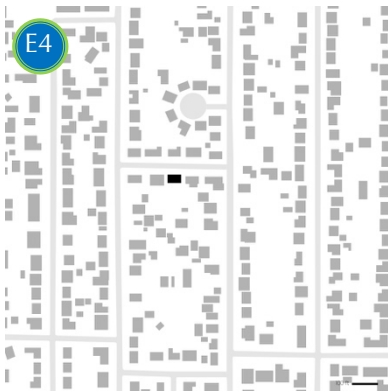
Host family's homes



Living with a host family offers an opportunity to live in different parts of a city, often far from their co-ethnic group but in proximity to many amenities. All these four examples are located in areas with a high median home value in comparison to other parts of the cities. In Eugene case (E6, E7, and E8), it means an established neighborhood away from the city center, but not too far out. Residents have good privacy on a larger plot size and private backyards. Deep setbacks along with beautiful well-maintained streetscapes encourage daily walks around the neighborhood. This leads to occasional casual interactions with their neighbors. In Sacramento, S5 is in a denser residential area with a short commute to downtown. Despite a smaller plot, it has a clubhouse where residents get to meet other people in the community.

Having their hosts as a resource person also creates positive interactions. These host families introduce the Afghans to their neighbors upon their arrivals and help them become familiar with other people in the neighborhood. This provides a warm welcome encourages more interaction with other residents to follow.

A single-family detached home (rented)

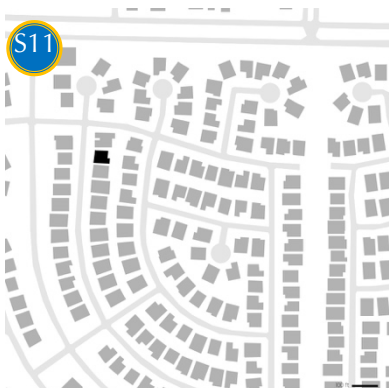
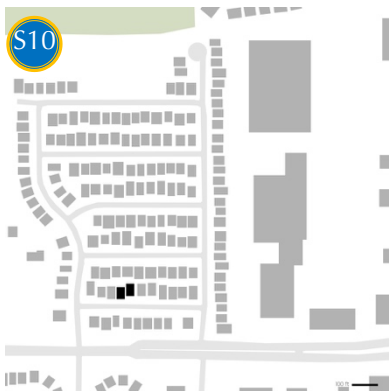
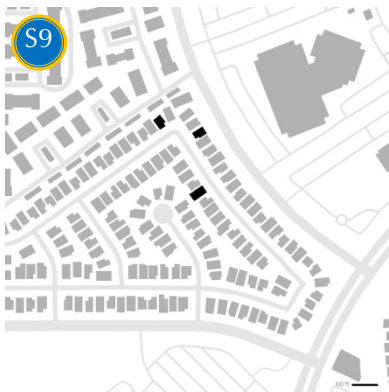
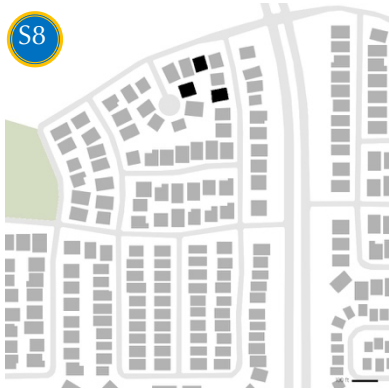


Like the apartment complexes, affordability is an important factor of location choices, especially for S6 and S7. These two are in short commute to Downtown Sacramento and close by Afghan businesses. For E4 and E5, proximity to a resettlement agency and the E1 apartment are taken into account. Located within a short drive to both makes it convenient for a regular visitation.

Comparing E4 and E5 to S6 and S7, there are differences in the uniformity of buildings and street patterns. While residents of these four houses drive cars, they have different levels of automobile dependency. E4 and E5 illustrate residential patterns that integrate into the urban street network while S5 and S7 create disconnections to provide more privacy.

In terms of crime rates, these four sites are similar. However, people in S6 and S7 are concerned more for their safety. Residents in E4 and E5 do not present their safety concerns. S6 and S7 have higher density, they are predominantly residential with fenced front yards and unkept streetscapes. E4 has less density and E5 has a mature landscape and a more active street with non-residential sites.

A single-family detached home (owned)



These four sites are in the Sacramento Metro area, but out of the Sacramento's city boundary. Two driving factors to move to these sites are: 1) to get away from the crowd of the inner city and 2) to find an affordable home with a generous size. All four are recent developments with convenient access to a highway at a periphery of Rancho Cordova, Roseville, Antelope, and Lincoln. All have private backyards, no common amenities, available sidewalks within the community but no mature landscape.

Research participants mentioned two preferable conditions: 1) they want to live among Americans and 2) they want their relatives to live close by as illustrated in S8, S9, and S10. They reported casual greetings with non-Afghan neighbors and children playing with each other, sometimes on a street and sometimes in a backyard. Among Afghans, relatives visit each other almost every day. They also invite other members of the Afghan community to their house between every other week to once a month. Each time, they have about 25-30 guests and these might rotate and shift between male and female gatherings if there are too many people.

5.2 HOUSING ACCESS AND OWNERSHIP

In both case studies, refugee resettlement agencies generally hold an important role in finding housing upon a registered refugee and parolee's initial arrival. A resettlement agency is notified about the arrival of Afghans from refugee resettlement or parolee programs, then the agencies prepare for their arrival. In most cases, a resettlement agency provides airport pickup, finds housing and furniture, arranges school registrations and healthcare examinations, and processes legal documents. Nonetheless, situations can differ for SIVs and asylum seekers. Because of their spontaneous entrances, these groups may not receive pre-arrangement accommodation upon their arrival. Based on the field studies, housing access can be categorized into four types: living in short-term housing, being hosted by locals, temporarily staying with other people, and owning a home.

5.2.1 A Short-term Apartment

Receiving refugees is quite new here. We [did not] have contacts with the property managers or a private landlord... I think that is one of the hardest things that is trying to find places that are convenient for work and school and being close to the agency because they have to go to the agency a lot, for their legal stuff.

Not only that, people come here, and they have a certain expectation that we cannot meet. For example, one family was upset that they needed to use a shared laundry. Another one was disappointed to be in a three-bedroom apartment. They are a family of six, so we found them a three-bedroom. But they say, how can we have people over? We don't have room for guests. So on.

Interview with a housing officer from a resettlement agency
in Eugene, OR (Author, 2023)

When a registered refugee is resettled in the U.S., a resettlement agency takes on their case and prepares for their arrival. The agency finds housing and provides necessities. Their assistance helps to ease the initial stage of refugee resettlement and intends to pave a path for self-sufficiency. The agency assists with a lease negotiation as newly arrived immigrants and refugees usually do not have a Social Security Number or the credit scores

required by most landlords or property managers. In Eugene, OR, a resettlement agency plans to develop a connection with a landlord and make special agreements for these refugees. They also help pay rent for a certain period of time. Depending on the refugee resettlement policies of each state, this may last between 3-12 months. Afterward, the refugees usually transfer to permanent housing of their choice. The temporary housing is then reutilized by another newly arrived refugee family.

According to the resettlement agencies interviewed, renting an apartment unit is a common practice as they have developed connections with property management companies. The possibility of multiple vacant units in the same complex allows them to place multiple refugee families in the same complex. This is especially suitable for an extended family and/or relatives living together. The agencies mentioned the social and mental health benefits of clustering newly arrived refugees together as they can support each other. It is particularly important for those who cannot speak English. Despite the potential advantages, positive results cannot be guaranteed. Several times, agencies have placed multiple refugee families close by, but they actually prefer not to interact with each other. I conducted 22 interviews with Afghans who live in a short-term housing, 10 that in Sacramento, CA and 12 that live in Eugene, OR. The following quotes present their feelings about where they live.

...yes, there is another family from Afghanistan here. They just live there but we don't hang out much. Our kids used to play together but not anymore. I think her husband doesn't want them to hang out with us. I don't know why.

Afghan interviewee, Eugene, OR (Author, 2023)

...I am happy that we've got to stay here. Although I don't like it much, my brother and his family live just over there [the building across]. My husband is working, and I am by myself with my kids. I spend a lot of time with my brother's wife. [Hopefully], we will find a better house that we all can move in...

Afghan interviewee, Sacramento, CA (Author, 2023)

...Our apartment is gated. That makes me feel safer. I don't walk around by myself much but I let my children go out. They just play over there [point to a lawn on the back side]. I can see them from here... They like to go to a pool. We have a pool here. That is nice. It gets very hot here, especially in summertime. But we don't go to the park. I don't think [the park] is clean. I don't feel comfortable.

Afghan interviewee, Sacramento, CA (Author, 2023)

For asylum seekers and SIVs, the situation can be different since housing is neither provided nor prepared for them upon their arrival. However, without help from a refugee resettlement agency, a few research participants with asylum seekers and SIVs status still decided to live in one of these housing complexes, even though the housing conditions might not be favorable to them. Two following reasons explain the clustering:

- 1) Personal connection: a person has a relative or a friend who sponsored their immigration, guaranteed their housing lease, or rented an apartment for them. Usually, these people decide to live in the same housing complex.
- 2) Leasing condition: A landlord or a property manager is familiar with renting an apartment to this group of people. Accordingly, they have made a leasing contract adjustment to make renting possible for these people.

These housing complexes are generally located within a neighborhood where many Afghans live and there are also many Afghan businesses. These people mentioned the convenient location allows them to find more employment opportunities within walking distance.

... I started working here [at an Afghan store] two months ago. [The shop owner] help me... I live on Fulton Avenue, just a 10-minute walk from here... There are many Afghans in this area. I hope I will find help, but not many people are willing to. Some [Afghans] even walk away. They are afraid I will ask for help. I don't have anyone... I found this place. The property manager let me rent an apartment monthly. They also give me a \$50 discount if I bring more people...Here is ok. I can walk to work. But once I find someone to work on my case and help my daughter go to school, I will move. If not, I really want to go back to Turkey.

Afghan interviewee, Sacramento, CA (translated from Dari) (Author, 2023)

In Sacramento, the large number of newcomers makes it challenging for a refugee assistance organization to serve everyone. Many organizations reach their capacity and many people are denied assistance. This is especially true for those who came through the southern border. As seen in the above quote, while this family was able to find temporary housing, they still are vulnerable to exploitation. Even while living among many Afghans in Sacramento, they face housing instability and are socially isolated.

The phenomenon has not yet been witnessed in Eugene, OR as the number of Afghans in the city is relatively small. For now, the resettlement agency has expanded its capacity and managed to provide services to everyone including those with refugee, parolee, SIV, and asylum seeker statuses as well as refugees from other countries of origin.

For this type of housing access, the two case studies demonstrate different living experiences. The concentration of Afghan people in a certain neighborhood like North Highland and Arden-Arcade is advantageous to business and employment opportunities. However, perceived overcrowding influences increase feelings of being unsafe and competition with community members. Based on the fieldwork, participants from the Sacramento case are not fully satisfied with their housing and neighborhood conditions. Their interactions with neighbors are limited. Many people seek to move to suburban areas or a neighborhood with good schools. "Schools become strained when there are too many Afghan families. Afghan families have too many children. Normal people have three [or] four. Some families have six, seven... nine," asserts a refugee assistant officer (interviewed by Author, 2023). In contrast, research participants in Eugene state that while they may not like the size and conditions of their apartment, they like the location, the neighborhood, and the surrounding area. It is a personal choice that informs their interactions with their neighbors or other Afghan families rather than being influenced by their environment.

5.2.2 Being Hosted by Locals

In my fieldwork, I encountered 18 people living with a host family in both case studies. In Sacramento, CA, I interviewed a family of five who lived with a host family; In Eugene, OR, I interviewed three hosts along with six Afghan individuals and a family of six. The host in Sacramento lives in a two-bedroom apartment hosting a family of five; three hosts in Eugene live in a single-family home. The Afghans live in extra bedrooms and share common spaces with their host. One host offered their accessory dwelling unit (ADU) to an Afghan family of six so they could have more privacy and freedom while they shared their outdoor areas. The ADU consists of one bedroom which, however, is inadequate to accommodate six people, i.e., it has less than three bedrooms.

The American philanthropic spirit inspires many people to assist immigrants and refugees. While people choose to host refugees for a variety of reasons, in this study, I encountered three scenarios.

- 1) Emergency needs: a situation in which a resettlement agency ran out of housing options and the situation urged a volunteer to offer their house to host the Afghan family. This turned into a lengthy hosting period as both sides are happy continuing to live together.
- 2) Personal connection: a host family agreed to host an Afghan family because of a connection between their military friends who served in Afghanistan and the father of this Afghan family.
- 3) Humanitarian reasons: a host family has heard of the housing needs from the news or a refugee resettlement agency and offers their house to accommodate these people either short term or long term.

Being hosted may not be the first option for Afghans, especially when they are hoping to live independently. However, all of the research participants who had lived with a host family reported that they had developed a positive relationship with their host, and some have even become so close to their host that they respect and consider the host their senior relative.

Everyone in my family is in Afghanistan; now I live here I have my grandma at home...We talk almost every night about everything. Once a week, I cook for her. You know, it is good to have someone that I can share my thoughts and my culture... She gives me advice on how to adjust to my new life here. Living with her makes me less sad that all my family lives so far away... Even if I move to another city, I need to visit her. I will miss her a lot.

Afghan Interviewee from Eugene case study (Author, 2023)

Vice versa, welcoming these Afghan people gives a positive experience to a host as well. For example, a host states:

I used to live by myself. Times to time, my children and brother visit me. Now, I have these guys at home. [My children] met [Fayoz and Akrom] during Thanksgiving and learned how awesome they are. They are like my grandchildren. My children are happy that I have [Fayoz and Akrom] around, they like that I am not alone and I like that [Fayoz and Akrom] are here.

Interview with a host, Eugene case study (Author, 2023)

It is important that both sides enjoy each other's company and can respectfully live together. If this happens this type of housing becomes more beneficial than just being shelter. More than just offering housing, being hosted by a local family demonstrates the integration benefits of language and cultural competencies to the Afghans. An interviewee says, "...being away from my family and friends makes me feel very lonely. Here, I visit our neighbors with [the host] and they invited me to the 4th of July celebration. It is exciting to learn what people here do or do not do." Another example is when a host family extends their social capital to assist Afghan refugees with their employment. Participants

reported that their host family used their connection to help them secure a well-paid job or provide career advice that assisted them to get a job in their field of expertise.

Oftentimes, a host family generously provides extra help. This may include general assistance such as sharing food and groceries, helping with errands and daily tasks, giving rides to medical and legal appointments, offering employment and career advice, etc.

Ultimately, refugees benefit from the social connections of their host allowing them to build social bridges beyond their Afghan comrades and experience better life opportunities. Living in a neighborhood where people know each other, a host states:

It's not just us that host them, the whole neighborhood looks after them...People bring whatever they might need from toys, winter clothes, extra furniture, bedding... My neighbors keep their eyes on the kids when they go to school and return from school. We make sure they take the right bus. Everyone here knows when an Afghan family is coming and we want to make sure they are all safe and comfortable.

Interview with a host, Eugene case study (Author, 2023)

In addition, interviewees state that they appreciate the comfort of permanence that comes with knowing their host has settled there. Being on the move for years and continuing to search for a good place with a good opportunity to settle in the U.S., they admitted that their host family has become someone they can trust, and their house is where they can always come back to if necessary. A participant reported moving back in with her former host family after relocating to another state. She states, "I know [my host] has my back, if something does not work out, [the host] welcomes me back."

Despite the mutual benefits reported, it is often challenging to find a host family. The fieldwork reveals that a host bears an extra financial burden and usually spends more time helping with unexpected situations. They may need to go out of their way to assist refugees' needs. These might explain why all host families in this study are well-off and retired yet active persons.

5.2.3 Owning a Home

Homeownership symbolizes security, stability, commitment, and autonomy.

Purchasing power often influences the size, typology, and location one can afford.

Therefore, differences in homeownership, either as a homeowner or a renter, influence one's living experiences and interactions with their neighbors.

In Sacramento, CA, there is a mixture of homeowners and renters. Many people of SIVs came to the U.S. in the 2010s and more people continue to make Sacramento their home after the fall of Kabul in 2021. Real estate services specifically targeting Afghan buyers can be seen throughout the city as presented in Figure 5.25. Several families reported owning a house, while many research participants are renters.



Figure 5.26 Advertisement and signage of Real Estate Services specially for Afghans in Sacramento, CA (Author, 2023)

As of 2024, none of the studied Afghan population in Eugene, OR has reported owning a home in the city. Although there is an Afghan family who has lived and owned house in Eugene, OR, they do not meet the research population criteria. For this reason, this section only discusses Afghan homeowners in the Sacramento Case.

In this study, all participants who own a home live in a single-family detached house. Even when families are relative, they choose to buy houses near each other, but each family has their own house. Interviews demonstrate that homeowners are likely to initiate interactions with their neighbors. However, this may not be a result of home ownership but rather the fact that they have residential mobility and freedom to live where they would like. Therefore, they want to be part of a community and would like to interact more with their neighbors than those living in a rental home. They especially feel more comfortable if they have their relative as one of their neighbors. With support from relatives, some participants might visit or invite their neighbors together. In this way, newly arrived relatives or non-English speaking people can get to know their neighbors too, which can be likened to the host family scenario.



Figure 5.27 Home Gathering of Afghan Men (Photo with permission from research participants, 2024)

In addition, the sizes of the houses, owned by the Afghans, are significantly larger than a rental unit, allowing them to maintain the privacy of other family members while entertaining many people at home. Having a large size living room is critical to hosting many people commonly practiced in the Afghan community, as shown in 5.26 and 5.27. While the correlation cannot be confirmed, owning a house is a prerequisite to access the privilege of a large living space not available in a rental apartment and most rental homes.



Figure 5.28 Home Gathering of Afghan Men at a Patio and in a Living Room (Photos from with permission, 2024)

In terms of personalization, observations show that both homeowners and renters personalize their homes and decorate it with some Afghan furniture or accessories. While the level of decoration varies, it is rather influenced by personal preference than home ownership. There is no evidence of interior alteration or reconfiguration that is specific to Afghan cultural needs. However, the autonomy of homeownership supports those who want to operate home-based businesses. A female research participant turned her garage into an Afghan clothing store. This in turn became a gathering spot for Afghan families, allowing her to work at home while able to take care of her children.

5.2.4 Temporarily Staying with Other People

...I was a last-year medical student in Afghanistan. Overnight, everything is gone. I arrived last month and am now working in this store. I live in Rancho Cordova. Every day, I take a bus here. It takes about one hour, each way... I don't have work permit. I don't earn much. It is a long commute, but the rent is much cheaper there. I live with my friends. I stay in their living room. It is ok for now... You know, it is not important if I get to make friends or not. I just need to make ends meet. I stay there just to sleep, and I go out to work and earn as much as I can.

Interview with an Afghan, Sacramento case study (Author, 2023)

In this study, several people with SIVs or asylum seeker status reported staying temporarily with someone at some point in time in their early days in Sacramento. A family stayed at their relative's home for a few months until they found their rental unit. Those who stayed longer in another's home were all male individuals. Although they work in the city of Sacramento, they live in suburban Sacramento where rents are cheaper and houses are bigger. Bigger houses have the extra space necessary to host them. Some of those studied get to share a bedroom while others stay in a living room. They prefer to compromise their living quality and limit their social life.

In addition to these three ways a refugee is housed in the early years of their arrival, many people were placed in a hotel at the beginning of their time in the U.S. Frequently, a resettlement agency receives a very short notice before arrival. This sometimes makes it impossible to find suitable housing for the newcomers. However, living in a hotel is not pertinent to this study and thus is not discussed here.

The three ways refugees access housing upon their resettlement in Sacramento and Eugene have certainly impacted their circumstances. People of a certain circumstance have different access to housing and each way distinctly connects to different housing typologies and locations within a city. Similarly, homeownership presents similar relations to housing typologies and locations. I provide findings on homeownership in section 5.2. Later in section 5.3, I present more details of housing typologies and locations.

5.3 UNIT ANALYSIS

5.3.1 Apartment Unit

Dealing with One Living Room



Figure 5.29: Men and Women cluster in groups by their gender (Author, 2024)

A typical apartment unit in Sacramento and Eugene has only one living room while a typical apartment in Kabul has two living rooms. The living room connects to the dining area as well as a kitchen with a minimal separation. Across the residential sites observed in this study, participants managed to create an invisible gender line without much physical alteration. Rather, it is observed in how the woman of the house sits far apart from the man of the house. They invite people to certain areas of the space according to their gender, using themselves as a territory marker. For example, female guests may gather around the dining area while male guests gather in the living area, altogether in one open-concept space. However, for a less conservative family or with a small gathering, gender separation may not exist. Everyone congregates in the same area, with a good flow between the dining and living room.

Open Concept Kitchen

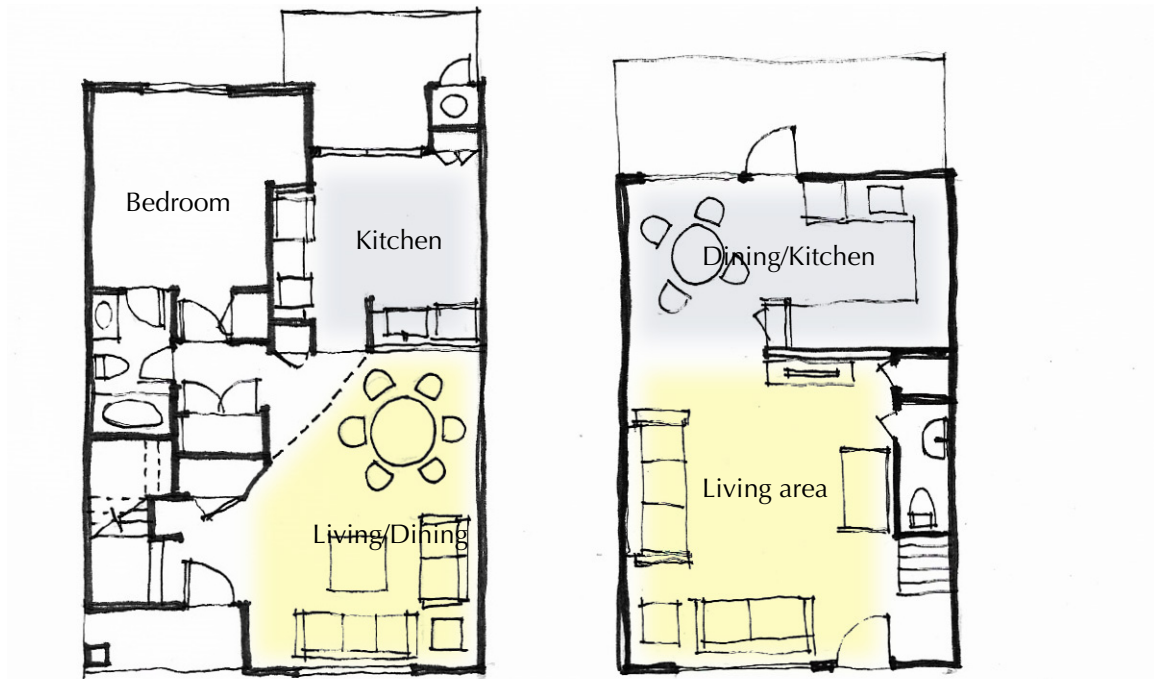


Figure 5.30: Apartments with a semi-open concept kitchen, which provides separation and privacy needed (Author, 2024)

An open-concept kitchen makes a small apartment look bigger and creates a better flow within the unit itself. It is the typical design for a contemporary American apartment. However, this is different from the typical layout of an apartment in Kabul, where a closed kitchen is more common. Observed apartment units across two case studies demonstrate that a semi-open-concept kitchen can function for women from Afghanistan because it is tucked away from the main living area although still connected. In some cases, a divider or a curtain is used to create more privacy for women and other family members in the house when male guests gather.

A full open concept can function adequately when the apartment has either female or male residents. In this case, their social practices are limited to their gender, and thus the requirement for spatial hierarchy and privacy differs from those with both male and female residents.

5.3.2 A Detached House

Garage and Sequence of Space for Privacy

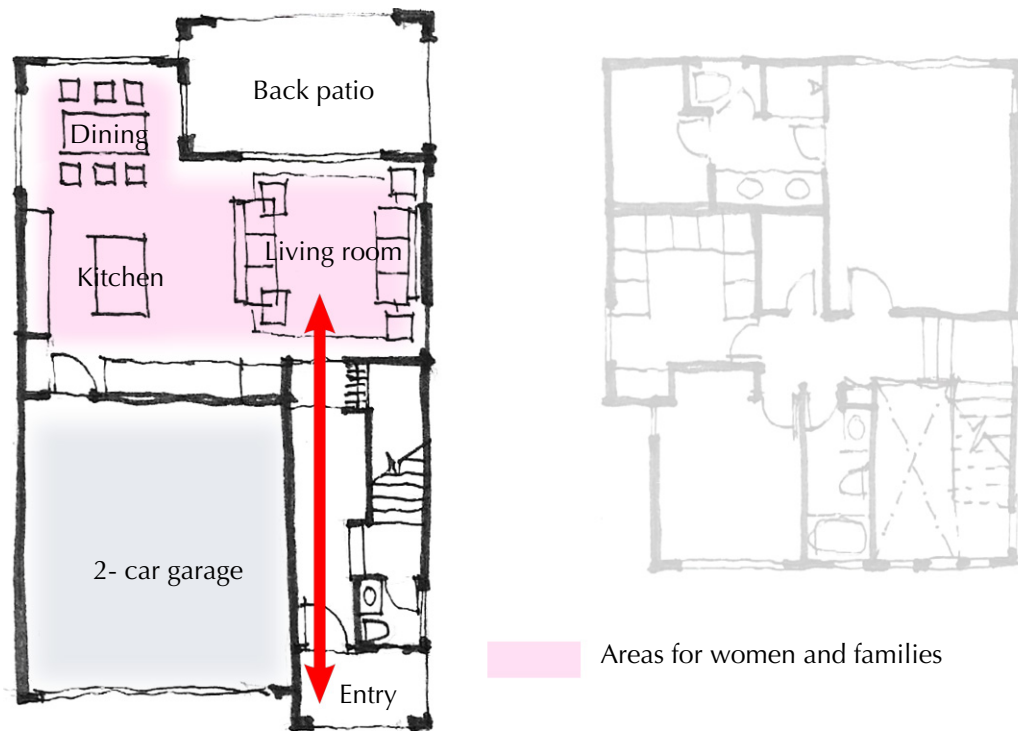


Figure 5.31: Front garage gives more privacy to the living quarter like the courtyard house (Author, 2024)

Most houses in the observations have an attached garage in the front. In my analysis, the position of the garage creates a sequence of space similar to a traditional dwelling unit in Afghanistan, where a men's section or guest lounge is located in the front of a house or apartment. This makes the interior space more private for family members. In some cases, the attached garage is altered into a shop, performing as a semi-public space. This is comparable to a mixed-use building where shops are located on either the ground floor or in the front of a building while areas for family are kept away from a public zone. However, the garage does not act like the fortress element founded in either a traditional Afghan courtyard house or a contemporary courtyard house. In Afghanistan, floor plan configurations hide the entrance of a house, while in the U.S., the entry of a house is still very visible from a street despite a garage's position in the front.

Women and Kitchen

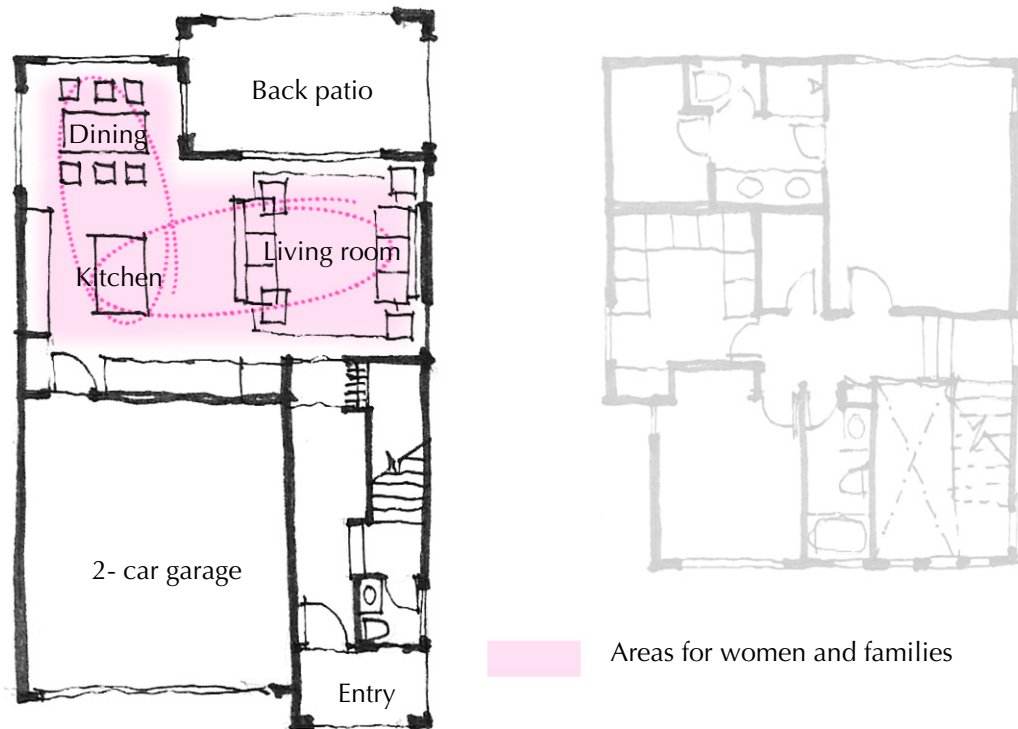


Figure 5.32: Women go back and forth between kitchen and other areas (Author, 2024)

Due to Afghan gender norms, which assign full domestic responsibilities to women, women and kitchen are inseparable. In the Afghan courtyard house, the spatial organization is arranged to give privacy to women to move about between the kitchen, courtyard, and women's quarters in the back. Based on the Sacramento and Eugene cases, an area for women and family members remains close to the kitchen area. In some cases, the women's quarter includes a kitchen, a family room, and a backyard similar to a contemporary courtyard house in Afghanistan. In other cases, however, this may result in a reverse order of back and front, where a women's quarter, including a living room and kitchen, sits in front of the house. Men occupy a family room in the back, a loft area on the upper level, or a family room in a basement. The functionality of how women of the house can conveniently take care of their domestic responsibilities overrides the level of privacy they may have in a courtyard house.

Direct Access to Men's Gathering

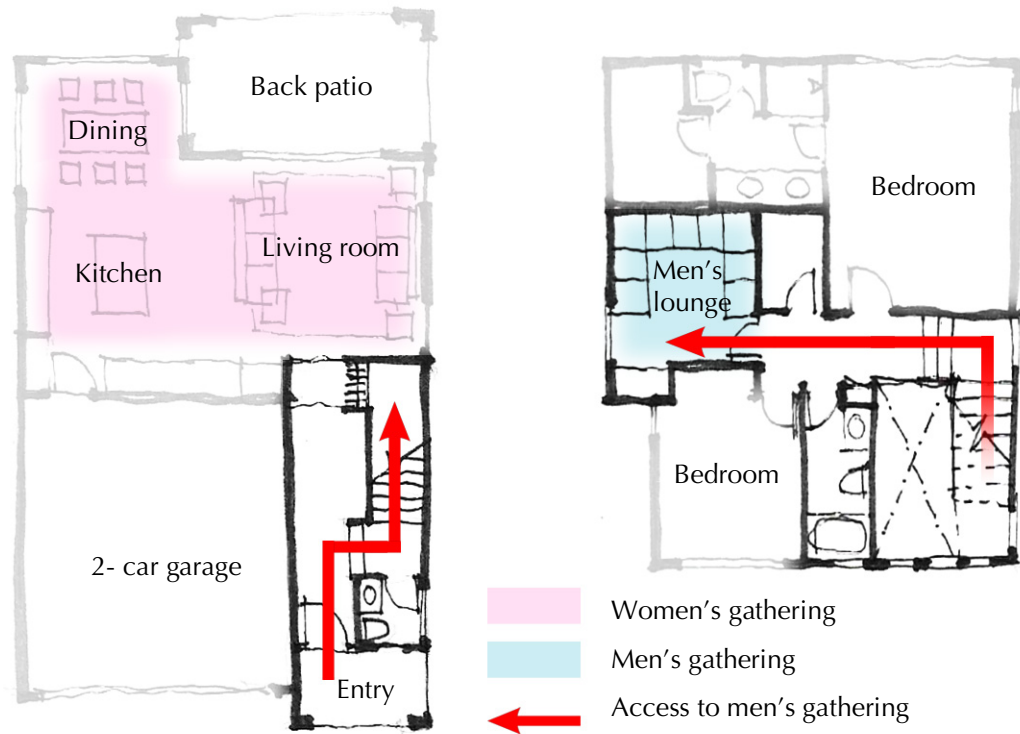


Figure 5.33: Men go upstairs without passing women's gathering (Author, 2024)

Because of the “Women and Kitchen” spatial relationship, many times the men's lounge is located on the back side of the house, on the second floor, or in a basement. Unlike a typical Afghan courtyard house or apartment in Kabul (where the men's guest lounge is located by the entry or at the front of a dwelling unit), these men's lounges are in a more private zone of the house. Access and circulation to the men's lounge then must minimize privacy interruption of the women's quarter or other areas dedicated to only family members. With a staircase right at an entry hall, it allows male guests to access a men's lounge directly. In some cases, male guests may have to bypass a living room or family room and access their lounge space on the back side of the house or backyard. Even though overall privacy may be compromised in such scenarios, the more direct access male guests have, the less interruption they may cause.

Courtyard vs Backyard

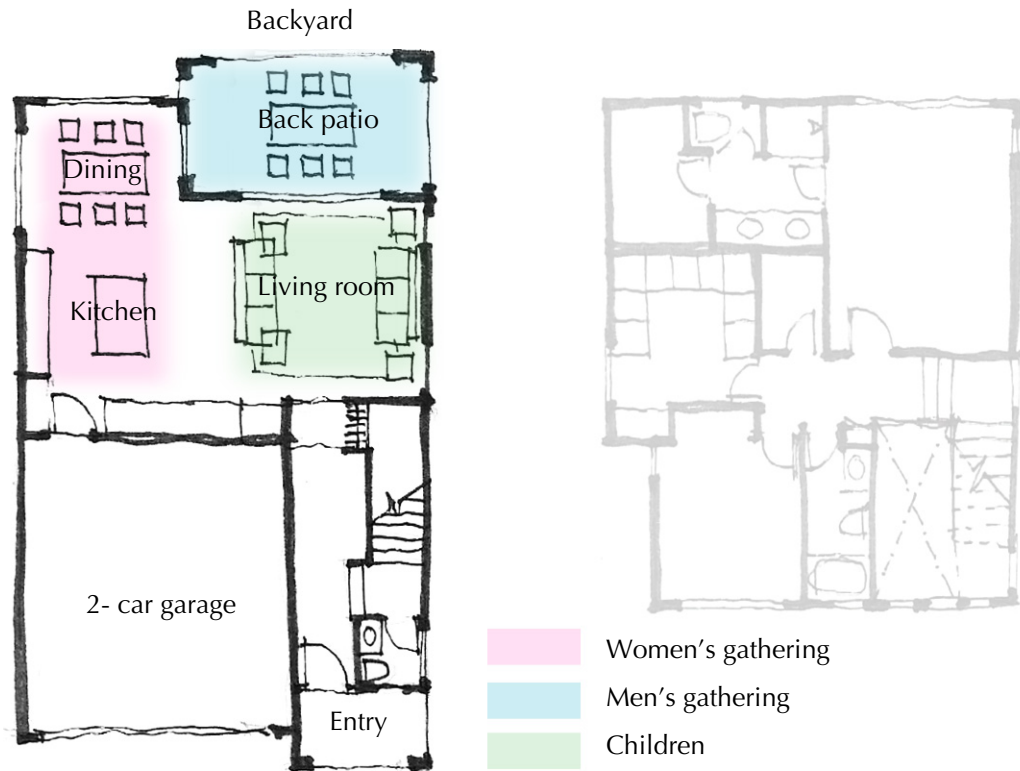


Figure 5.34: Unlike the courtyard that is reserved for women, men can also use backyard (Author, 2024)

Comparing the spatial configuration of a single-family detached house in the two case studies, these houses position themselves to create a private backyard similar to the open space of the contemporary courtyard house in Afghanistan. Unlike the traditional Afghan courtyard houses where building areas are enclosed and form a private outdoor space, a single-family detached house is positioned to give the backyard privacy for all family members. In addition, the backyard's functions are very flexible. It accommodates various needs such as play space for kids and family cooking for women. One major difference is that a courtyard in Afghan culture is reserved for family members and may welcome only female guests when men of the house is not present. Male guests are generally allowed neither visual nor physical access to the courtyard. However, in the American context, a backyard can be used to also serve as a male gathering place as well as for outdoor cooking or as a barbequing area.

In Chapter 2.3.4, Architecture and a Typical House in Kabul, I provide examples and illustrate the transformation of residential typologies and spatial configurations of a dwelling unit in Kabul. I also discuss the behavioral adjustment of Afghan people through the changes in the residential design. Even in a traditional dwelling unit, functional flexibility and multi-uses of a space are important elements in making it possible to keep the gender line practical for both male residents, female residents, and guests of each gender. Due to participants being familiar with not only the Western-style architecture, but also the fact that Afghans are accustomed to adjusting their behaviors to fit existing spatial conditions, there was no major spatial reconfiguration in neither an apartment unit nor a single-family detached house observed in this study. In addition, there are three main reasons that explain why people do not prefer to make architectural changes.

First, economic reasons may be an underlying cause explaining the absence of physical adaptations of residential sites observed in this study. Many research participants are in financial constraints that do not allow them to spend on the luxury of architectural adaptations. Such adaptations can be costly due to the price of construction or remodeling itself, a fine from a landlord, or a loss of resale value.

Second, American mobility may have influenced the mindset of immigrants and refugees that a residential unit is not their forever home. To personalize and adapt the space is therefore not worthwhile. Vice versa, some Afghans participants used to work as a secret agent without properly settling down in one place when they were in Afghanistan. Leaving no trace is what several participants are used to.

Third, Afghan building culture of mud, brick, and concrete is starkly different from the timber frame and drywall seen in the U.S. The lack of knowledge of construction, tectonics, and building codes in American cities can also contribute to this absence of major spatial modifications.

5.4 OTHER FACTORS

There are impacts of extraneous variables that influence their neighborhood experiences and social outcomes. To acknowledge their potential effects, I briefly discuss three factors that are mentioned by research participants in this section.

5.4.1 Gender Norms

Afghans possess radical gender opposition between males and females. It defies social structure and sets different dynamics, responsibilities, and expectations in Afghanistan and certainly influences one's behaviors in the U.S. Although it may not apply the same way to all Afghans, a gender perspective is critical to an investigation of home and their social life. Saydee (2022) explains the gender dynamic as follows:

Historically, many Afghans have followed Islamic values and tribal traditions. Through the years, and specifically under Taliban rule, values and traditions have been misinterpreted and manipulated to align with the country's strict patriarchal attitudes. These attitudes, and much of Afghanistan's social structure, heavily rely on the themes of honor, purity, and modesty—all of which often fall on the shoulders of women to uphold.

For Afghans, honor can manifest in various forms. It is displayed by women undertaking and excelling at domestic duties like childrearing, cooking and housework, educating children in traditional customs and values, and establishing strong connections with extended family...

... During the first Taliban era in the 1990s, Afghanistan introduced a restrictive code of conduct for women, comprised of guiding principles that continue to be followed in various parts of the country. They may define where women go, whom they associate with, and how they dress. This mindset still follows many newly arrived Afghan families as they begin to integrate in the United States.

Afghanistan's deep-rooted patriarchal values can also dictate the rights and responsibilities of men. Afghan men are often responsible for maintaining and defending their family's honor and serve as the primary providers. Studies have found that men in Afghanistan face intense social pressure to adhere to stereotypes of masculinity. Some of these stereotypes include confining women to the home...

Social life based around a house and within a neighborhood is much less significant for Afghan men. Their busy lifestyle and financial responsibility make them occupied with work and life outside of their house. This is true both back in Afghanistan and now in the U.S. One male participant states his busy schedule prevents him from worrying about neighbors. He outlines his daily routine as follows:

- 0600 wake up and morning routine
- 0700 drop off kids at three different schools
- 0800 – 1530 work (government job)
- 1530 – 1630 pick up kids from three schools and run errands
- 1630 – 1730 dinner break
- 1730 – 1800 commute
- 1800 – 2100 take class in a master's program
- 2100 – 2200 commute
- 2200 return home and too tired for anything

In contrast to men, women oversee childcaring and domestic tasks. They spend most of their time at home and maybe around their neighborhood. This is especially true for refugee women with young children.

... I have four kids now. The youngest one is eight months old. My twins are now two and the oldest one goes to school already. It is so hard to take care of all of them. Surely, they need to go out. We like to go to the little pocket park. It is walkable from my apartment. In summer, we go there every day, or maybe sometimes to a park by the [Sacramento] River. Now, the day is getting shorter. It is more difficult to go out... Several Afghan families are living nearby. We meet at a park and let kids play with each other. Though we never make plan to meet. With kids, everything is unpredictable...[Even though we have moved out], my former host still drives us to the grocery. She visits regularly. That's about all my social life. Busy but nothing much other than this...

Interview with Afghan refugees, Sacramento Case (Author, 2023)

In addition, women's limited mobility can restrict their social life and participation in the public domain. For example, Afghan women have a much lower rate of possessing active driving licenses. According to the 2022 Annual Survey of Refugees, only 14 percent of Afghan women responded that they have a U.S. driver's license as opposed to 89 percent of Afghan men. Multiple reasons contribute to this condition. One reason is low literacy rates in their native language and low English proficiency make it impossible to pass the DMV written exam. Many women also feel uncomfortable using buses or other mode of public transportation due to harassment regarding their headscarves.

Being restricted in Afghanistan has informed their habits and preferences. While every interview participant reports a positive perception of freedom and equal rights, some remain accustomed to having a male guardian or prefer to connect mostly with their close relatives. Female research participants describe:

I don't like to go out by myself. My husband always takes us around. But now he is very busy. It is expensive to live here, luckily he has two jobs. When he returns home, he is too tired to do anything. Then, I am home all day with four kids...Yes, I am lonely. Busy but lonely.

Interview with Afghan refugees, Sacramento Case (Author, 2023)

I don't go to park. I did not go to a park in Afghanistan. There is one park in Kabul called Women's Park but I never go there. I am fine at home. I do feel lonely, but I don't need new friends. I want to move to Virginia. I have my family there. In Afghanistan before the Taliban [took over in 2021], women could go out by themselves. I went out with my mother, sister, aunts, mother-in-law, or sister-in-law. I never have to go anywhere alone....I don't want to go back to Afghanistan. I like it here in America. I am free here.

Interview with Afghan refugees, Eugene Case (Author, 2024)

While men are busy making a living and taking care of their family outside of the domestic space, women spend most of their time at home. Because of this reason, home and the surrounding neighborhoods are particularly meaningful for women and children. Positive living experiences can decrease social isolation and better their integration.

5.4.2 Custom and Beliefs

Certain customs and beliefs have influenced one's interactions with neighbors positively and negatively. Although it is outside the scope of this study, it strengthens the result of this study. Therefore, I provide brief examples below.

اشترى الجار قبل الدار
/ eshteri al-jar qabl ed'dar /

Literal Translation: Buy the neighbor before the house.

Hidden Meaning: Choose your neighbors before you choose your house.

Applicability: Choosing a good neighbor is more important than buying a good house.

(Arabic Proverbs, Faisal, 2016)

This saying reinforces the selective clustering when a few Afghan families decide to buy houses near each other in the Sacramento Case study. Not only does it allow them to maintain a relationship between relatives and close friends, but it also implies it is important to have trustworthy non-relative neighbors nearby.

صباح الخير يا جاري، أنت في حالك وأنا في حالي
/ sabah el-kheer ya jari, enta fi ha'lak wi ana fi ha'li /

Literal Translation: Good morning, neighbor, you mind your own business and I mine.

Hidden Meaning: Don't socialize with strangers even if they are neighbors.

Applicability: Try to avoid people who you don't know well or those proven hurtful.

(Arabic Proverbs, Faisal, 2016)

This proverb supports how Afghans limit their social interactions with their neighbors especially when they are not living in housing of their choice. Some people decide not to interact with their neighbors because of their preconceptions from traces found around their homes. Some consider their neighbors strangers even if they are Afghans and limit their interactions to just casual greetings rather than their support system.

5.4.3 Household Unit: Individual vs Family

A household unit that lives in the same city has a significant impact on one's social participation as it influences their priorities at certain stages. A person who lives in a city without their immediate relatives or close friends tends to socialize less than those with a family member, regardless of their marital status. Single individuals, both female and male, mentioned their priority is to help their family members back in Afghanistan. Those who are married but only one spouse lives in the U.S. address this separation and uncertainty as a primary concern. While they are arranging their new life hoping to reunite with their family in the U.S., they need to prepare for alternative plans as well as take care of the family who were left behind. Focusing on their self-sufficiency and ability to take care of their family from afar, these two groups of individuals are too occupied with work to send money to their family and save for future plans. A participant from the Eugene case stated, "I have no time to meet anyone [neither Afghans nor Americans]. I work night shifts and get extra hours when possible. My priority is to bring my husband here... We will have more expenses once he is here. We will start our family again..."

The social dynamic of those who come with their family differs drastically, especially for a family with younger children. While this group still takes care of their family members in Afghanistan, they consider raising their children and establishing their community in the U.S. equally as important. Their social interactions involve both bonding and bridging. Social bonding activities are essential to maintaining their Afghan heritage and religious practice. Participants report forming soccer clubs, attending regular religious conversation meetings, and bi-weekly picnics with their Afghan comrades. Social bridging activities are also fundamental to their integration. Participants mention joining 4th of July celebrations, music and sporting events with their non-Afghan friends.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Results from the two case studies suggest that household size is commonly used to determine the housing typology in which a family can live. However, housing affordability is a driving factor informing the location of a residential site. A location is a predetermination of school quality, crime rate, density and crowding, as well as its proximity to other social places and amenities. These attributes correspondingly impact life satisfaction, perceived safety and privacy, as well as neighborhood walkability.

For an apartment complex, two components stand out as important features that influence interactions among neighbors: privacy at the entryway and configuration of open spaces. For a single-family detached home, those who own a house and those who live with a host family have more interactions with their neighbors in comparison to renters. Homeownership is a precondition that leads to a greater sense of belonging and more bonding and bridging connections. Similarly, those living with a host family feel part of the community due to the existing relationships between their host and their neighbors. On the other hand, renters are limited by affordability and may have varying living conditions. There is no information on homeownership and different housing typologies.

In addition to these spatial dimensions, there are non-architectural factors that demonstrate significant impacts on their sociality such as gender norms and gender disparities, customs and beliefs, and marital status. Women have fewer social interactions with neighbors than men despite spending more time at home.

In all, this chapter provides essential information about housing and neighborhood along with their impacts on the sociality of Afghan people. The next chapter presents results from a broader investigation of social spaces beyond their residential site. This includes religious places, ethnic businesses, and parks and nature.

CHAPTER VI

BEYOND HOUSING

The previous chapter presents how housing, neighborhood, and other non-architectural factors may impact the sociality of Afghan refugees in the two case studies. In this chapter, I present results of other social places beyond the residential neighborhoods. This includes religious places, ethnic stores, and parks and nature. The social roles of these everyday places become even more significant and observable especially during a celebration or a special occasion. To capture and amplify the uses of these places, I conducted my observation during a special occasion. In Sacramento, CA, the data was recorded between June 27th to July 1st of 2023. This was because of the Islamic religious celebration Eid al-Adha occurring during the time. In Eugene, OR, the data was recorded periodically based on local events. These included June 20th 2023, World Refugee Day, April 13th 2024, an Afghan food truck fundraising event, and April 20th the Islamic religious celebration of Eid al-Fitr, other personal leisure and celebrations were also observed. In addition to the social roles that these places facilitate, I offer my own evolution on how these places provide social capital for the studied Afghan communities.

6.1 RELIGIOUS PLACES

Because most Afghans are Muslims, mosques play important roles in preserving religious identity and practice for many of the community. A mosque has important social roles, especially for men as they are obligated to attend a service on Friday noon (jum'ah pray) and they usually spend further social time together afterwards. Especially in a non-Muslim country like the U.S., mosques signify more than a religious building, but also can function as a civic and/or community center.

6.1.1 Sacramento Case

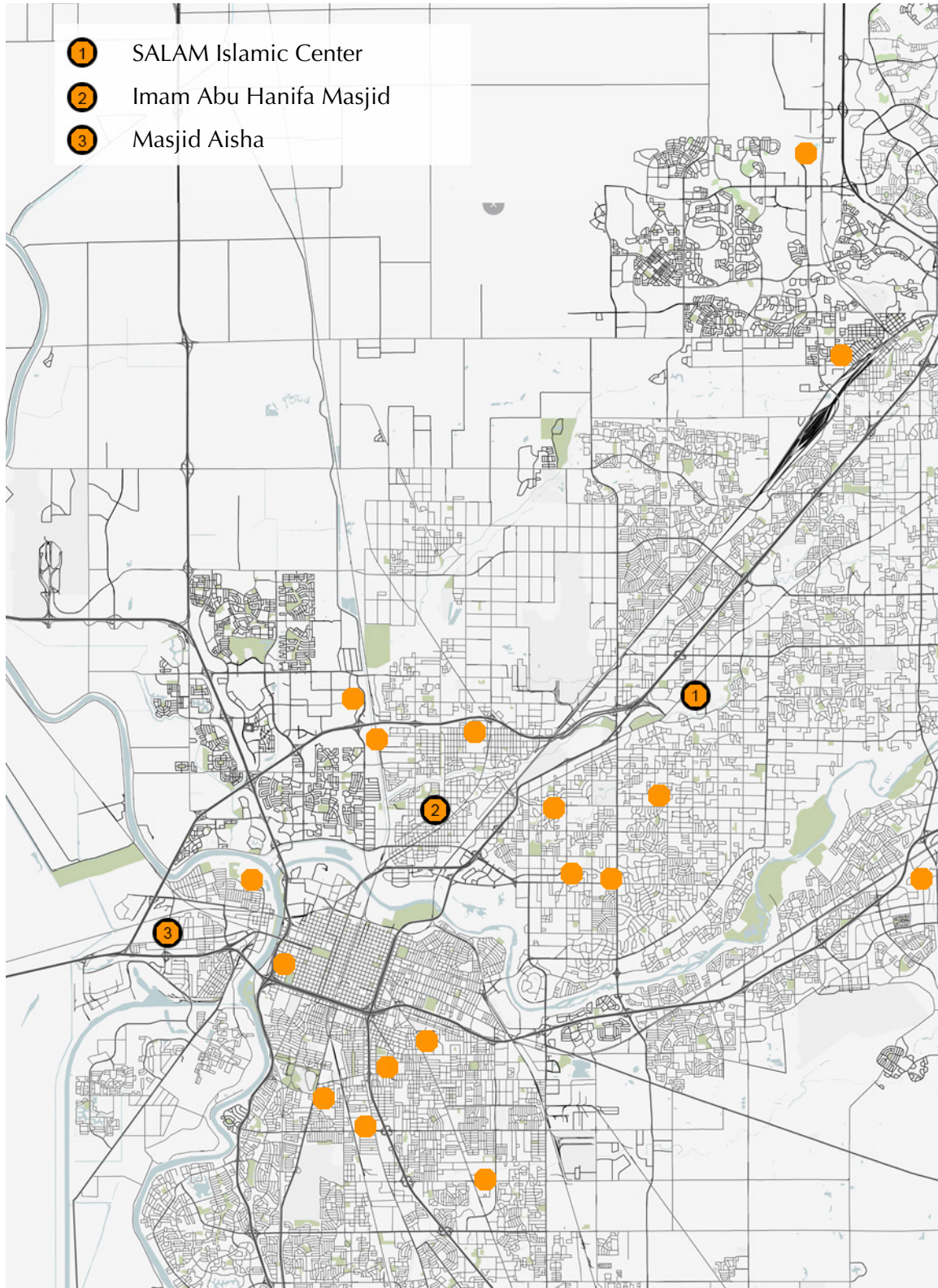


Figure 6.1 Location of mosques and Islamic centers in Sacramento, CA (Author, 2024)

With the growing Muslim population in the Sacramento Metro Area and California as a whole, the number of mosques and Islamic centers has increased over the past decades. According to 2020 Census, there are 18 mosques in the Greater Sacramento Metro Area, in addition to a few in nearby cities such as Roseville and Lincoln (as shown in Figure 6.1). According to Religious Congregations and Adherents statistics, mosques in Sacramento have a high adherence rate⁷ at 23.39. The number follows only the Catholic Church (177.15), Non-denominational Christian Churches (45.22), and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (25.08) out of the 127 religious bodies investigated (Grammich, Dollhopf, Houseal et al. 2022). In Sacramento, I selected three mosques/masjids to investigate as guided by Afghan community leaders. These three mosques are identified as ones that Afghans regularly visit or have been built by the local Afghan community.

1) SALAM (Sacramento Area League of Associated Muslims) Islamic Center

SALAM Islamic Center in North Highland, which is home to a large Afghan community. It was constructed specifically for the Muslim community through three-phase expansions. It is comprised of a prayer hall with a separation for men and women, a community center with a banquet hall, an auditorium, and the Center of Higher Islamic Learning. The Center includes a library, classrooms, lounges, and conference center.



Figure 6.2 Exterior of SALAM Islamic Center and the main prayer hall (Author, 2023)

⁷ The adherence rate is the number of adherents of a given group per 1,000 people in the general population.



Figure 6.2 (top) Reception Hall with flyer advertising resource for Afghan women
(bottom) The Community Center and the banquet hall during Eid- al-Adha celebration
(Author, 2023)

As a large religious organization, SALAM provides services to people from many countries of origin, not solely Afghans. The mosque organizes public events welcoming people of all faiths and origins. My observation, occurring during Eid al-Adha Celebration, showed that the event facilitated both social bonding and social bridging for multi-ethnic groups of Muslim populations, as well as between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Center also provides social services and connects newly arrived refugees and immigrants to government resources and private organizations that assist with mental health services, language, legal assistance, financial assistance, and housing.

2) Imam Abu Hanifa Masjid (also known as Natomas Islamic Center)



Figure 6.3 Exterior and Interior of Imam Abu Hanifa Masjid (Author, 2023)

Imam Abu Hanifa Masjid is located in North Old Sacramento. While there is no report on the nearby Afghan community, my observation found most attendees are from Afghanistan. The masjid offers sermons in Pashto and English. Through its expansion in 2009, the organization acquired a church building and converted it to a Muslim prayer hall. They also provide educational and social services. While physically smaller than the SALAM Center, its warm and welcoming atmosphere supports a close-knit community. The community members are familiar with each other and outsiders are easily recognized. The place demonstrates its ability to support social bonding activities.

3) Masjid Aisha (also known as the Sacramento Afghan Community and Religious Center)



Figure 6.4 Exterior and Interior of Masjid Aisha decorated with pointed arch shapes. (bottom right) housing residing Afghan refugee families (Author, 2023)

The masjid is in West Sacramento, an area with a good sized Afghan community. Desiring to foster community pride and a sense of belonging, it was decorated with Islamic motifs of pointed arches. It provides educational and social services like the two previous sites. As the Afghan Community Center, it serves as a gathering spot for local Afghans to connect, share cultural traditions, and practice religious rituals together. In addition, the masjid offers housing to several Afghan families. These houses are located within the property of the masjid. These families assist with watching the property as well as welcoming visitors. It functions as a support for social bonding activities while simultaneously seeding a sense of belonging and Afghan American Muslim identity.

6.1.2 Eugene Case

The Muslim population in Eugene is growing, yet remains relatively small in comparison to the aforementioned case. According to the 2020 Census, there is only one mosque in Lane County, which has the adherence rate of 0.09. This is significantly lower than the above rate of 23.39 noted in Sacramento (Grammich, et al. 2022).) In Eugene, I present my observations of the mosque along with other places used for Islamic religious celebrations and in Afghan refugees assistance. In addition, I observed two events hosted at a church. The first observation event was World Refugee Day 2023. The second, Emphatic Dinner, was a fund raising event for a local Afghan family to start a food truck business.

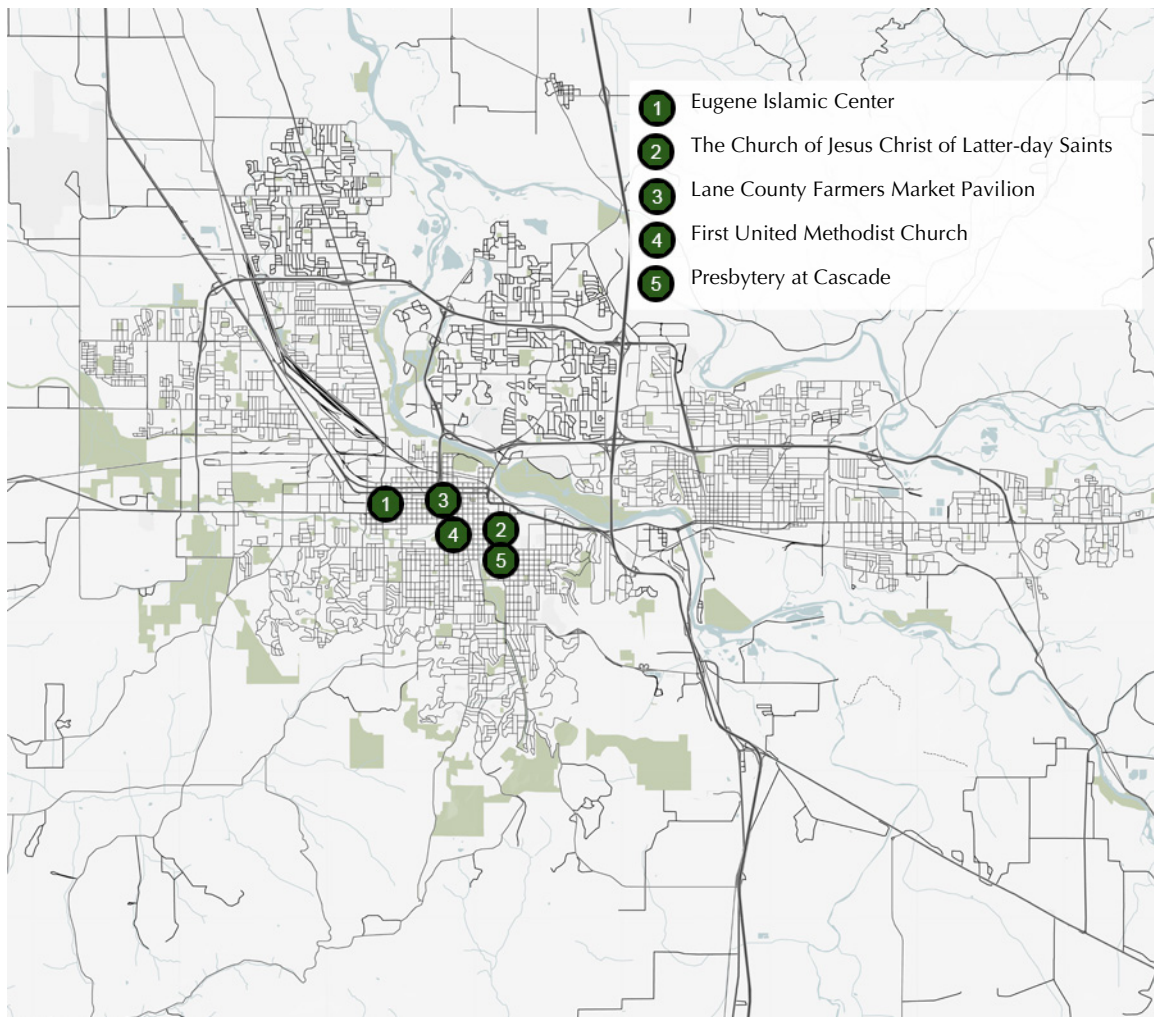


Figure 6.5 Location of the religious places observed in Eugene, OR (Author, 2024)

1) Eugene Islamic Center



Figure 6.6 Eugene Islamic Center during Eid celebration, sermons, and building renovation (Curtsey of Eugene Islamic Center, 2024)

The masjid is in Eugene's Far West Neighborhood. It is within a walkable distance for many local Afghan families. It is approximately a 20 minute-walk for the studied participants in the neighborhood. The building is a conversion of a former church. The masjid is compact in size and is comprised of two separate prayer halls for men and women, a small library, and a kitchen. The smaller size of the masjid as well as the size of the local Muslim community make it easy for people to get to know each other. This is especially true during the month of Ramadan when people visit the masjid more regularly than the rest of the year. Masjid attendees come from diverse cultural backgrounds. Afghans often get to meet people from different countries of origin and spend time with those from outside their ethnic group.

2) *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Lane County Farmers Market Pavilion*



Figure 6.7 (left) Exterior of the church (Courtesy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), (right) Eid Prayer at a gymnasium of the church (Author, 2024)



Figure 6.8 (left) advertisement of the event (Courtesy of Eugene Islamic Center, 2024), (right) Eid celebration at the pavilion (Author, 2024)

During the Eid al-Fitr celebration of 2024, the Eugene Muslim community utilized different facilities for their congregation. This was because they anticipated needing to host 500 more attendees beyond the capacity of the masjid. Attendees, including the Afghan community, performed morning prayer and gathered for breakfast in a gymnasium at the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day. In the afternoon, they joined the Eid Carnival, which was organized by the Muslim community at Lane County Farmers Market Pavilion, a space was offered by the city of Eugene.

3) 2023 World Refugee Day at First United Methodist Church



Figure 6.9 (top left) floor plan of the church
(top right and bottom) 2023 World Refugee Day Event (Author, 2024)

With the increasing arrivals of further refugees to Eugene, the Refugee Resettlement Coalition of Lane County, part of Catholic Community Services, organized an event on annual World Refugee Day. In 2023, the event occurred at the First United Methodist Church in Downtown. The event featured Afghan music and cultural performances. Several Afghans gave speeches and shared their experiences. There were approximately 150 attendees including church members, case workers and volunteers, school and university instructors, refugees' host families and friends, and the general public. An attendee noted: "I have no chance to meet any refugee yet, so I come. I want them to feel welcome."

4) *Emphatic Dinner at Presbytery at Cascade*



Figure 6.10 Event day at the Presbytery at Cascade (Author, 2024)

Seeking an opportunity to start their own business and to also support other Afghan families who struggling to find employment in Eugene, a local Afghan family decided to open a food truck. To do so, they organized a fund-raising event with assistance from the resettlement agency and the Eugene and Portland Afghan communities. The event, 'Emphatic Dinner' was hosted at Presbytery at Cascade's banquet hall. The Afghan community came together to cook and serve food. It featured the Afghan Uzbek food that will be served at the anticipated food truck. The Afghan family received tremendous support especially to draw attendees, many of which did not personally know the family. More than one hundred people attended the event and planned to support the business.

While the uses of non-Islamic places are evident in the Eugene Case in primary data collection, the evidence for Sacramento is obtained from secondary sources. The study omitted an observation of non-Islamic places in Sacramento areas due to time limitations of the fieldwork. However, the local news media recounts the important roles that local churches play in assisting refugees. The churches help with providing necessary resources and by creating inter-faith relations between different institutions. A local newspaper, the Sacramento Bee, reports:

...First Covenant Church of Sacramento, which has helped resettle several hundred Muslim refugees, received a big thank you Wednesday night from the SALAM Islamic Center. At its annual interfaith Iftar, the SALAM center gave First Covenant its Distinguished Award for Exceptional Interfaith and Community Service. More than 200 guests, including local, state and federal officials, stood to applaud First Covenant Executive Pastor Mark Shetler for promoting friendships between Christians and Muslims and offering material and spiritual support to refugees fleeing violence in Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran... For the past four years, the church has sponsored an Iftar, or fast-breaking meal, for hundreds of SALAM members during the holy month of Ramadan, when Muslims are required to fast between sunrise and sunset before eating.

(Magagnini, July 09 2015)

In both case studies, religious places demonstrate roles beyond solely being houses of worship. They are communal places that serve religious, social, and cultural purposes. In addition, these places are used to provide financial resources and enhance economic opportunities for many refugees. It is at these institutional levels that social bonding and social bridging are facilitated for Afghans and non-Afghans, and for Muslims and non-Muslims. Their varying functionality offers a transaction of social capital within the Afghan community and between people of different cultural backgrounds. They foster a sense of belonging for newcomers while also helping to shape a hybrid identity for an American Muslim. In Eugene, even when spaces cannot adequately accommodate its growing number of users, the solution of utilizing churches or other communal facilities makes the Muslim minority more visible to the wider community.

6.2 ETHNIC BUSINESSES

Scholars widely debate the roles of ethnic enclaves on refugee integration. Some argue that ethnic enclaves are evidence of failed integration policies, while others believe that ethnic enclaves represent a network that catalyzes economic integration. Regardless, researchers highlight the role of ethnic enclaves in supporting refugees: "...as they navigate the host country's labor market during the critical first few years after their arrival...[ethnic network is] an underappreciated support system refugees rely on as they rebuild their lives in a new country" (Martén, Hainmueller, & Hangartner, 2024)

I examine the roles and presence of Afghan businesses in this section. There are many ethnic stores in the Sacramento Case, as opposed to only two food trucks studied in the Eugene Case. Later, I briefly offer my perspective on a sister city and its contribution to regional networks for refugee's economic well-being.

6.2.1 *Sacramento Case*

With an established Afghan community and residential concentration in Sacramento, ethnic businesses are found dispersed throughout the county. The Afghan entrepreneurial nature motivates many people to start their own businesses, including Afghan restaurants and bakeries, and ethnic grocery store, furniture, clothing and jewelry, stores. These can commonly be found in the studied, especially in Arden-Arcade and some in West Sacramento, where there is a strong presence of the Afghan community. Although it is not formally recognized like Chinatown or Japantown, these businesses allow Afghan people to form their own ethnic enclave offering economic opportunities. This is essential, especially for many undocumented Afghan and those who cannot speak English. The location of these businesses also impacts the choice of residential location, as many employees choose to live in walking distance to their work.

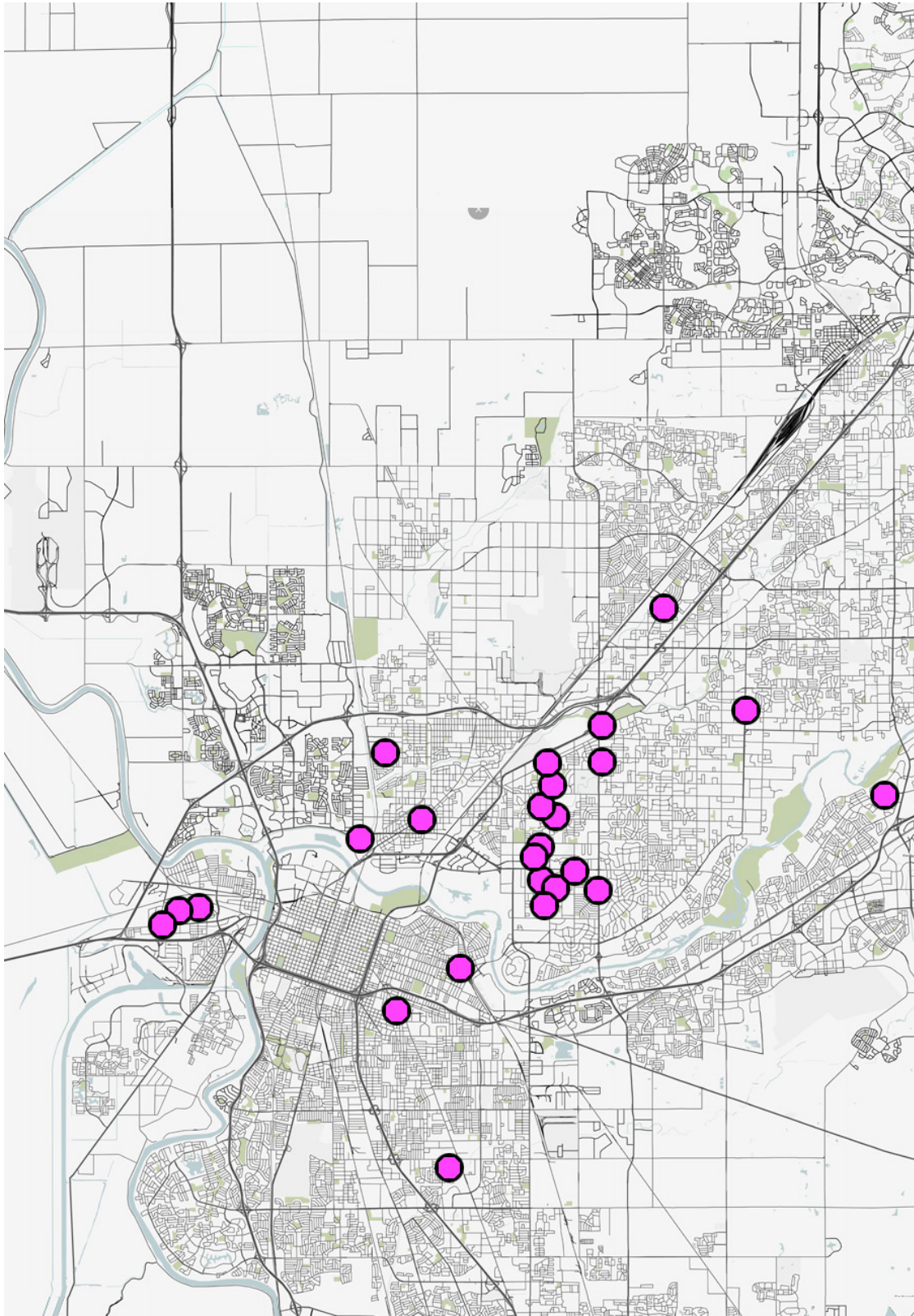


Figure 6.11 Locations of Afghan stores in Sacramento (Author, 2024)



Figure 6.12 Store fronts of Afghan businesses (Author, 2023)

Afghan businesses, including retail and other services, are present alongside other non-Afghan businesses in Sacramento. They are mostly denoted with the word ‘Afghan’ in their name, such as “Afghan Super Market & Homegoods”, “Halal Mart (Afghani) Market and Restaurant”, or with additional Persian writing. These stores and shops are in low-density commercial areas with plenty of available parking.



Figure 6.13 Inside Afghan Grocery Stores with variety of halal products and Afghan goods (Author, 2023)

These shops offer a variety of goods and fresh produce commonly consumed by Afghans. However, these items do not necessarily come from Afghanistan. Observations show that in most stores, men are working in the meat section, and in stocking and shelving. Both men and women may work as cashiers. Restaurants are also operated by men.



Figure 6.14 Afghan furniture and carpet stores (Author, 2023)



Figure 6.15 Afghan clothing stores (Author, 2023)

Clothing stores offer a unique opportunity, especially for Afghan women. Most employees working in a clothing store or a clothing section of a store are female. They serve both men and women customers. In addition to clothing stores, there are multiple other types of service providers specifically for Afghans. This includes travel agents, lawyers, and real estate services.

Beside their economic importance, these stores give the studied community a feeling of home far away from home. Shoppers mentioned that these places are psychologically meaningful to them. They find the same food they used to have, and they can decorate their house like what they had in Afghanistan: “I feel [like] Sacramento is my

home because of these stores. I'm back to Kabul here and it makes me miss home a little less."

6.2.2 Eugene Case



Figure 6.16 (left) Afghan Cuisine food booth (Eugene Saturday Market, n.d.)
(right) Manti Food Truck (Cedar Tree Food Court, n.d.)

Despite the small presence of the Afghan community in Eugene, Afghan Cuisine has been selling food at the Eugene Saturday Market's international food court for years. This business belongs to an Afghan family who immigrated to the U.S. in the 1980s. When new waves of Afghan began coming to Eugene in 2022, the aforementioned in 6.1.2 food truck Manti was opened. During the launch process of Manti, the owner of Afghan Cuisine not only provided business guidance, but other Afghan refugees also worked at the food truck periodically. An interview with an owner of Manti noted that their original plan was to start an ethnic store; however, a food truck was more feasible while they were still learning to navigate U.S. finances and commerce market. The opening and operation of the business demonstrated Afghan solidarity in an effort to assist each other. Vice versa, the food truck provides income for those Afghans looking for employment and income.

Utilizing a mobile structure also allows them to offer food service at many events across Lane County. A Manti's customer says: "I heard about this place from a friend. I want to try new food and show my support to the Afghans here [in Eugene]."

Afghan businesses in Eugene primarily serve non-Afghans, unlike what is seen in Sacramento. Because the Afghan community in Eugene is small, there is not enough demand for a larger amount of Afghan service providers. In this case, it becomes advantageous to have a sister city, like Salem or Portland, where the community can find necessary services within an easy commute. The presence of the Afghan community in Portland is important to the Afghan community in Eugene. The Portland community provides assistance and also facilitates social events for the broader regional Afghan community. This Afghani sister city network becomes sources of social capital for the Afghan community at a regional scale. In addition, this allows community members who live in a place with a small Afghan population, like Eugene, to feel more connection to the broader U.S. Afghan society.

In both cases, ethnic business provide social capital for Afghan refugees, despite the fact that they may have different target customers. In the Sacramento Case, these businesses have strong economic roles in the community. While they increase the sense of belonging, they have limited roles on social dimensions. Customers visit these stores for their goods and services, not for socializing. In addition, with many businesses in the same area, competition occurs and may take away from ethnic solidarity. In the Eugene case, the small number of businesses present triggers many different parties to collaborate in order to build up their local network and form their social capital. Participation with these stores demonstrates their strong social roles both within and out of the Afghan and co-ethnic communities.

6.3 PARKS AND NATURE SPACES

Parks and nature have important roles in fostering positive social interactions among people of diverse backgrounds. They also enhance refugees' capacity in developing place attachment, a sense of belonging, and healthy coping with loss and trauma (Risbeth et al., 2019). In this section, I present the uses of parks and nature spaces by Afghan communities. These places are not limited to their residential location and neighborhoods but includes those located across a broader region. The data was collected via direct observations and self-reported information shared by research participants. The study intends to illustrate the objectives and purpose of these places rather than focusing on locations of these places.

6.3.1 *Sacramento Case*

While the Afghan community in Sacramento does not hold very positive views towards neighborhood parks and playgrounds, citing hygiene and safety concerns, they do enjoy the regional park system in California. Having access to these places allows them to arrange social events and activities primarily for the Afghan community, but also to welcome friends and colleagues from other cultural backgrounds. Such spaces promote both the social bonding and social bridging connections important for integration.



Figure 6.17 Eid al-Adha celebration at William B. Pond Picnic Facilities (Author, 2023)

During the research observation from 2023, the Afghan community leader organized Eid al-Adha with help from his family, friends, and community members. The location at a picnic facility was chosen because of its capacity, variety of activities available, and close location. More than two hundred people, a majority of which were Uzbek Afghans, gathered and celebrated this religious event along with several non-Afghan friends. Some joined in with the celebration while others observed. People dressed in Afghan national costume or special dress. Attendees ate, prayed, and gave money to children as part of tradition. Then, adult attendees enjoyed a relaxed afternoon picnicking in the park, while children roamed around and bounced in inflatable bounce houses. Around 2 pm, the communal event was adjourned, but some attendees continued to visit with each other at their own residences.



Figure 6.18 Religions Celebration and Community Picnic at Park Facilities (Photos from research participant with permission to use, 2024)

The community leader asserted that parks are very important for community recreation. At a park, they organize a youth soccer club that meets every weekend. In addition, family trips are held every other month at various state parks in the area. These are especially planned around Folsom Lake and even as far as Lake Tahoe. He explains: "...it is important for us that our kids enjoy spending time together and feel safe about their Afghan heritage. Families carpool and help with the transportation. Everyone prioritizes our future generation."

Here, the primary social purpose for the uses of parks and nature spaces are for social bonding. Through various activities, Afghans create their communal network which increases opportunities to preserve their cultural identity.

6.3.2 Eugene Case



Figure 6.18 Afghan families hiking and picnicking (Photos from research participant with permission to use, 2024)

Several Afghan families in Eugene reported that they enjoy using local parks. However, a few stated that they are not familiar with the concept of going to a park. Regardless, research participants report extensive use of parks and nature spaces for leisure and special occasions. The Afghan community informally organizes weekend trips or

picnics at various locations across the area. This ranges from sightseeing at the coast, hiking at a waterfall to picnicking at a park. These studied groups of several families generally visit each other at home, however they also enjoy going out together and exploring various parts of Oregon. An Interviewee stated:

... every week we do something. Sometimes it is a birthday party. In summer we also go out to escape the heat, there is no [air condition] in our apartment. And sometimes we are bored, so we go out. There is not much to do in Eugene but so much to do out there. **Mountains are pretty, like what we have in Afghanistan** ...In the first year, it was hard to explore. We did not have a car. Now, it is better. I own my car and we just helped the new family get a van. They are six people; one has special needs. [Together with other families], we travel around...**Don't you see, we are becoming Oregonians?**

Because it is small in numbers, the Eugene Afghan community can maintain close relationships with each other. In addition, all of the refugees are recent arrivals in the past few years. The recent migration timeline demonstrated that there was little evidence of forgetting their Afghan identity. Their usage of parks and nature spaces allows them to focus on retreat and leisure, a space to heal and recover, rather than just social bonding.

As evidenced in both case studies, the studied populations enjoy extensive usage of parks and nature spaces. However, the purposes of these spaces between the two cases are vastly different. The Sacramento case shows park and nature spaces are used primarily for social and cultural events with an intention to encourage identity preservation. On the other hand, with the Eugene case, park and nature spaces are instead utilized for leisure as well as spaces for healing and coping with trauma. Although both contribute to social bonding connections among Afghans, social bridging connections are not a primary objective.

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter demonstrates how different types of places contribute to social connections and social capital. Through an investigation of everyday places, including religious places, ethnic businesses, and parks and nature spaces, the investigation reveals that group sizes plays an important role in identifying the purpose of place and the social gatherings that occur there. The larger group size in Sacramento directly informs a higher demand for such spaces by the ethnic group. Afghans use these places for social, economic, and cultural intragroup benefits. They go to a mosque to perform their religious rituals and meet with others from their community. They operate ethnic businesses to serve their community, and they utilize park and nature spaces to increase intragroup participation and identity preservation. On the other hand, the Afghan population in Eugene is much smaller. They encounter others from different cultural backgrounds in most spaces, including religious ones like the masjid. When they operate ethnic businesses, they serve customers of varying cultural backgrounds rather than from solely their own people. The use of parks and nature spaces is for retreat rather than socialization, as they already meet with each other regularly.

Through the usage of religious places and institutions, both Islamic and Christian, religious and spiritual needs are met for the community and social events are facilitated. This allows for both bonding and bridging connections. In some cases, they go even further and assist with housing and economic needs. The larger Muslim community in Sacramento means more social capital on offer, allowing them to provide more resources to both the refugees and broader community. In addition, church communities facilitate intergroup activities and bring together people from different socio-cultural backgrounds.

Community size also influences the sense of competition. Ethnic businesses in Sacramento are sources of their social capital but also present competition between members. On the other hand, ethnic businesses in Eugene display ethnic and community solidarity in which many people come together to create success.

In terms of parks and nature spaces, both cases demonstrate similar uses but for different aforementioned purposes. Both cases use the places to serve psychological needs. It is important to note that Afghans in Sacramento also are well-integrated in many dimensions such as education, employment, and housing, making it important for them to turn inwards and focus on preserving their cultural identity. Thus, they use these places to serve that purpose. Conversely, the nature of the Afghan Community in Eugene is different because of the timing of arrival to the area. A small group size allows them to bond more easily than what is seen in Sacramento, but they still use parks and nature spaces as a mean to find retreat and for emotional recovery.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the key findings of the study which I formulated into A Pattern Language for Afghan Refugees based on a Pattern Language (APL) (Alexander et al., 1977). This method provides simple design solutions to complex problems in the domain of U.S. refugee resettlement. Many patterns emerged with some evidence aligning with patterns in APL and Refugee Pattern Language (RPL) (Neis, 2019; Neis & Chaiwat, 2020; 2021; Chiawat & Neis, 2021) as shown in Figure 7.1. In this chapter, I propose seven culturally-based patterns following a short format of APL. Each pattern is composed of a title, photo, links, a problem statement, a research investigation, a diagram, a solution statement, and links. Consequently, I provide my evaluation of the five hypotheses and answers to the two research questions.

7.1 EMERGING PATTERNS

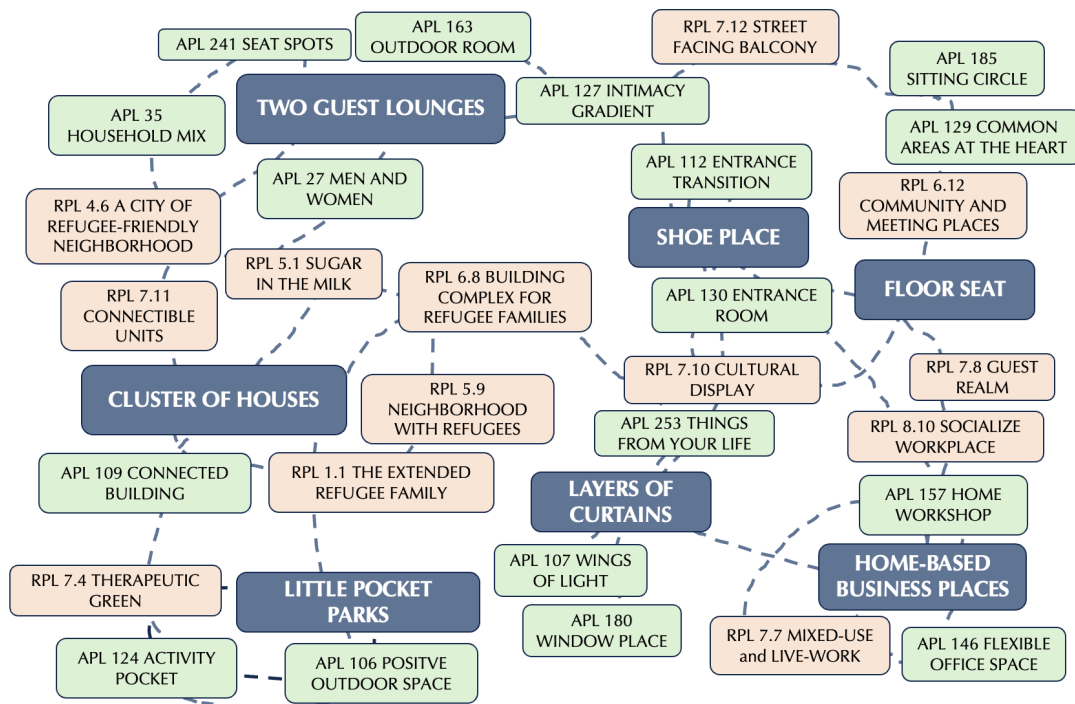


Figure 7.1: Emerging Patterns and Language (Author, 2024)

CLUSTER OF HOUSES



Links: RPL 1.1 THE EXTENDED REFUGEE FAMILY, RPL 5.1 SUGAR IN THE MILK, RPL 5.9 NEIGHBORHOOD WITH REFUGEES

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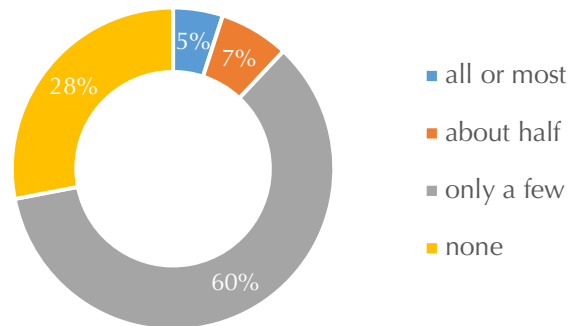
If refugees, especially those who come from a collective culture, live far from their relatives and close-knit community circles, it can cause isolation and loss of social support. This is detrimental to their social and mental well-being. At the same time, it is important to introduce refugees to people from different cultural backgrounds by leveraging proximity and convenience to help encourage the chance of contact.

* * *

According to interviews, some families relay a negative and traumatic resettlement experience due to an assignment to different housing complexes than their family or relatives. This is often because of varying family sizes. It adds extra trauma, especially after they had fled their home country and left many relatives behind. In the Afghan context, oftentimes multiple families live together either in an Afghan courtyard house or in an apartment. They share physical space, which is essential to the maintenance of their support systems, especially among females. When living far apart or at different locations, they cannot maintain their relational dynamics and can lose their social support networks.

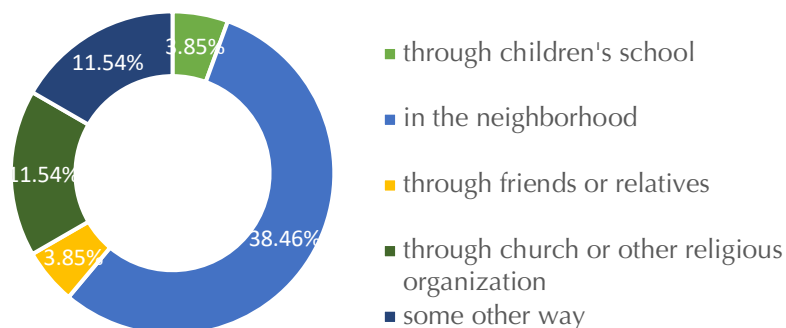
A cluster of houses is not only important for social bonding connections but also social bridging connections. According to the Annual Refugee Survey 2022, 60 percent of the Afghan respondents report that only a few of people in their community share their cultural background. This is followed by 28 percent of respondents sharing no cultural background with other people in their community. Only seven percent say about half of people in their community share the same cultural background; and five percent say that they share the same cultural background with the majority of people in their community.

“To what extent do people in your community share your cultural background?”



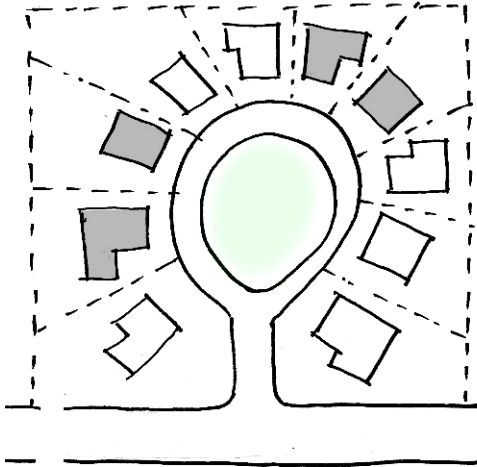
Regarding their social interactions, the 2022 Annual Survey of Refugees reports that more than 80 percent of Afghan respondents say that they have visited a home of friends or neighbors of the same cultural background, or vice versa. Additionally, 42 percent of the respondents report that they either have visited a home of or have been visited by friends or neighbors of a different cultural background. Of those who have visited a home of friends or neighbors of different a cultural background, or have had any visited their home, they know these people from their neighborhood (38%), followed by knowing them from work (30%), and through a religious organization (12%).

[If] you visited the home of any friends or neighbors of a different cultural background, or [if they] have any visited your home... How did you meet this person (or these people)?

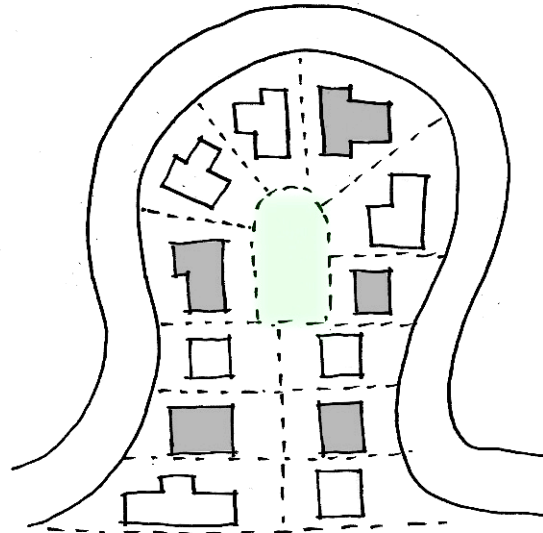


In addition, interviews reinforce the same finding. Interviewees report their preference to live with neighbors from other cultural backgrounds. They want their children to go to a better school and be friends with peers from different cultural backgrounds representing a broader American society.

Cluster of houses with coalescent space in front of the houses



Cluster of houses with a possibility to create a shared backyard



When people live in proximity to others from both their own social group and those from the host society, they have opportunities to create balanced connections of bonding and bridging. The convenience of everyday interactions contributes to positive social connections and integration.

* * *

Therefore, it is recommended to create residential proximities in which people can conveniently maintain social dynamics among their own group while simultaneously encouraging more interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds. Then, not only can they have more frequent daily interactions within their neighborhood, but can also increase the diversity of users of nearby social infrastructure such as public schools. This will allow for future generations to integrate better.

* * *

Links: APL 115 COURTYARD WHICH LIFE APL 37 HOUSE CLUSTER RPL 7.11

CONNECTIBLE UNITS

LITTLE POCKET PARKS



Links: APL 106 POSITIVE OUTDOOR SPACE, APL 124 ACTIVITY POCKET, APL 57
CHILDREN IN THE CITY

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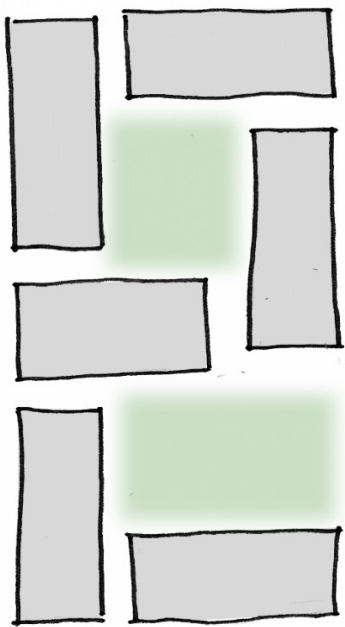
If there is only one shared outdoor space, people may choose not to use it and may also restrict their children from using that space in order to avoid conflicts with a particular neighbors or for safety concerns. These mental and physical restrictions discourage and decrease the chance a refugee becoming part of the residential community and interacting with others. In a community with diverse needs and high cultural differences, offering alternative outdoor spaces help residents avoid conflicts while remaining socially active and outgoing.

* * *

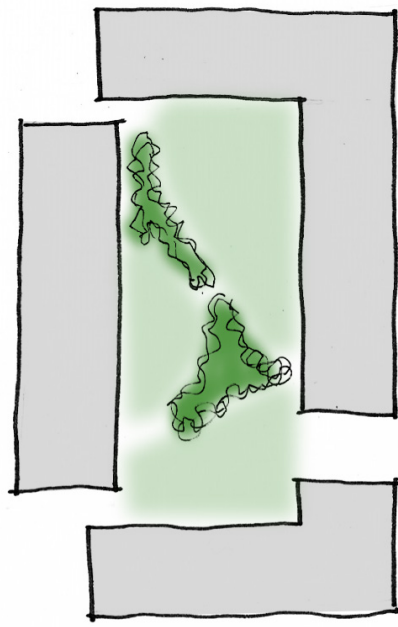
Based on observations and interviews in this study, small parks, parklets, and multiple communal areas are actively used on a daily basis. Larger parks are utilized on special occasions like holidays or personal celebrations. Participants living in an apartment complex with a large single outdoor space report less use of the outdoor space in comparison to those living in a complex with small but multiple outdoor spaces. They mention poor maintenance, trying to avoid encountering a specific person, and feeling unsafe as top reasons not to use a large outdoor space available near their home. Unlike a big park, a pocket park is more manageable from both the user's and provider's sides. It is easier to maintain physically and financially and keep in good condition. Afghan women stated that the small-size of outdoor recreational spaces allows them to keep their eyes on multiple children at once, if necessary. For others, a neighborhood park is where they go to when dealing with emotional trauma. They mention seeing a boundary of said park helps them feel safe while being if alone at night.

In the development of single-family homes, shared amenities are absent in most neighborhoods observed in this study. Participants reported that children play in their private backyard rather than outside in the front near the street. While this is common and may be influenced by how Afghan children used to play at the interior courtyard back in Afghanistan, it was also common for Afghan boys to roam around their neighborhood by themselves as well. These restrictions, this decreases the chances of social encounters with peers and requires more personal intention to interact with others. Privatization of open spaces makes residents, especially children, have fewer chances of social interactions.

With alternative outdoor spaces, people have more choices of outdoor recreational spaces within a walkable distance from home. They are encouraged to go out and about within their neighborhood. In a community with diverse needs and high cultural differences, offering alternative outdoor spaces help residents avoid conflicts while remaining socially active and outgoing.



Layout buildings to form multiple outdoor pocket spaces



Use landscape elements to help break and define sub-spaces.

Results from this study suggest that a Little Pocket Park should:

1. Be located within 0.5-mile radius of a residential community with an accessible and safe walking route.
2. Be approximately 50 x 50 sq.ft. or less than 2,500 sq.ft. in size.
3. Have a clear boundary for parents' surveillance of children and to encourage a sense of personal safety.
4. Support leisure activities for both children and adults.

* * *

Therefore, creating more local pocket parks around a city can contribute to positive social and health outcomes for low-income populations or populations with racial minorities. These pocket parks require less investment and maintenance while offering spaces for daily leisure and escape from overcrowded living conditions. Similarly, requiring common amenities and shared open spaces in the development of low-density residential areas is equally important. This can help promote social interactions among residents.

* * *

Links: RPL 7.4 THERAPEUTIC GREEN, APL 60 ACCESSIBLE GREEN, APL 63 DANCING IN THE STREET, APL 69 PUBLIC OUTDOOR ROOM

HOME-BASED BUSINESS PLACES



* * *

If refugees are unable to obtain employment, not only do they become financially vulnerable but they also can become socially excluded. For many people, especially Afghan female refugees who are culturally prescribed with many domestic chores, work opportunities can start at home with their entrepreneurial skills as well as the trending work-from-home opportunities. A person of refugee background can utilize their residential space to benefit their economic and social conditions. This will prompt them to become self-sufficient and more socially connected.

* * *

Based on the fieldwork in this study, home-based business places offer a solution that allows many Afghan women to be more financially independent even while still responsible for domestic chores. The following interview excerpts demonstrate the Afghan woman's entrepreneurial mind and her motivation to become self-sufficient and socially connected:

...I love fashion, I have my own clothing business. Here, in my garage, come and see... I design them all, and I have other people to make them for me. The business is good, especially when we have a celebration, like now, people buy new clothes for Eid. They come to my house and buy matching clothes for them and their kids... I am a busy mother of four and I run this all by myself.... We cannot afford to have a shop. It is too expensive, rents, shopkeepers, so many expenses. Maybe, in the future, we can...

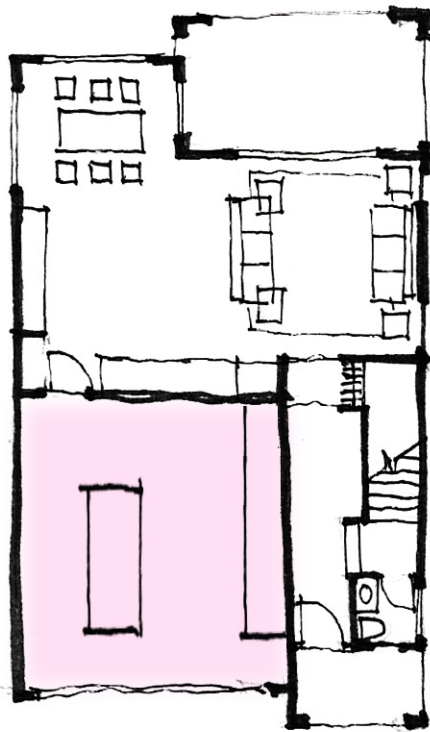
Female Afghan interviewee, Sacramento, CA, (Author, 2023)

... I like to be home and I like kids. This is what I am good at. I want to open a childcare at my house. I am taking courses to obtain a childcare license. My English is not good and I need my husband to help me. Once I get it, I will open a childcare at home. It will take a few years. But there are many people who need childcare. Many friends of mine want to go out and work. Now, my home is too far, and we don't have enough space, inside and outside. Inshallah, we will move to a better home, a safer neighborhood, so people feel more comfortable sending their kids.

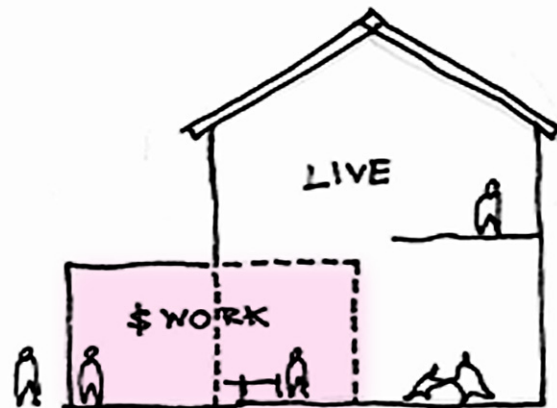
Female Afghan interviewee, Sacramento Case (Author, 2023)

In addition, there are other businesses that can operate from home or be provided from home such as beauticians, hairdressers, tailors, or caregivers. However, the home-based food business is not popular among Afghans. While there are people who run a restaurant, Afghan generosity makes them prefer to host people rather than sell food at home. “I cook a lot. People stop by almost every day. They come to eat at my house. They are my [unexpected] guests [big smile],” Interviewee states.

Working from home is not limited to females only. Likewise, working from home with web-based and online opportunities can be an alternative for everyone, especially for those who were placed in a city with fewer job opportunities. Several research participants in Eugene, OR report working part-time in electronic commerce and information technology sectors with companies located elsewhere. They state that working remotely helps increase their income and allows them to explore another part of the U.S.



Afghan woman turned her garage into a boutique store.



Because there are many business possibilities, space requirements can vary depending on the nature of their preferred business. In addition, providing business training support and financial assistance programs can help boost home-based Afghan businesses as they navigate U.S. financial systems.

* * *

When a residential unit can accommodate business opportunities, it helps them start their business at a lower overhead cost as well as managing their assigned responsibilities at home. Semi-private zones of a house can be turned into a business space such as a garage turned boutique, a ground floor turned daycare, or in some cases, it is a private room that is turned into a private salon. People can utilize their residential space to benefit their economic and social conditions, which prompts them to become more self-sufficient and socially connected.

Therefore, utilizing a part of residential space for entrepreneurial business can be beneficial for both economic and social conditions. Such spaces can help encourage business opportunities, especially for disadvantaged populations such as female refugees and illiterate populations. They can reduce gender disparity and help overcome language barriers. It helps the studied community become economically self-sufficient and socially connected, which altogether contributes to a more successful integration.

* * *

Links: APL 157 HOME WORKSHOP, APL 146 FLEXIBLE OFFICE SPACE, APL 36 DEGREE OF PUBLICNESS, APL 80 SELF-GOVERNING WORKSHOPS AND OFFICES, APL 87 INDIVIDUALLY OWNED SHOPS, RPL 7.7 MIXED-USE and LIVE-WORK, RPL 8.10 SOCIALIZE WORKPLACE,

TWO GUEST LOUNGES



Links: APL 27 MEN AND WOMEN, APL 35 HOUSEHOLD MIX

* * *

If people do not have a satisfactory level of privacy, they will not feel comfortable to socialize. In a culture that practices gender separation, there is a need to separate or distinguish a gathering area for male and female to ensure both genders feel comfortable.

* * *

The practice of gender separation is common in most households in Afghanistan. It can be seen in the configuration of both traditional dwellings as well as contemporary dwellings where there is a specific male guest lounge by the front of a courtyard house or the entrance of an apartment. Once they migrate to the U.S., houses or apartments may not offer the separation conforming to the Afghan practice. Although the idea of separating a guest space from other rooms for family members is not foreign to the U.S., many houses have both a living room and a family room. This is comparable to a men's lounge and a courtyard area in Afghan houses. Guests are welcome at the front, semi-public area of the house, without disturbing other family members. Many American suburban homes offer such a space that can fit the needs of two guest lounges in Afghan practices. However, these houses are more luxurious and less affordable for most people with refugee backgrounds. For most Afghans living in an apartment or a middle-size house with only a great room or one living room, there is a need for reconfiguration to accommodate the requirement of designated male and female areas for entertaining guests.

Based on the observation of Afghans' homes in Eugene and Sacramento, there are multiple ways Afghan families reconfigure their space. Some families chose to welcome men to a living area while women gather around a dining area closer to the kitchen. While for other Afghan families, they may choose to completely separate these two spaces. For

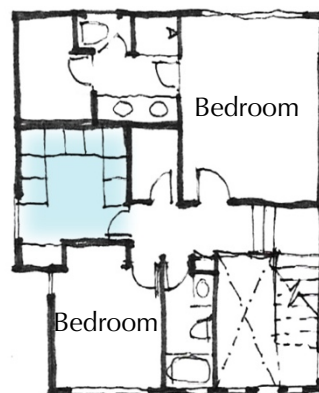
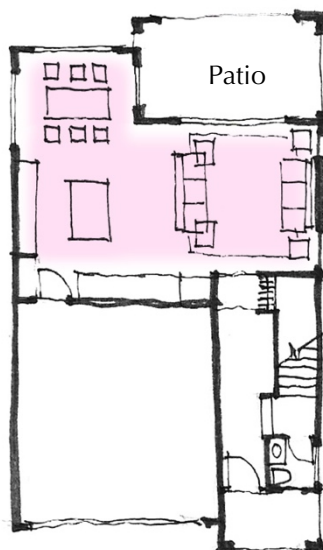
example, a men's lounge might be located in a backyard, a room or loft space upstairs, or a basement room. The women's lounge is then found in a living room or a family room with convenient access to a kitchen. It is important to note that the gender line has faded in many Afghan families since they were in Afghanistan. Consequently, there are less conservative families with loosely practiced gender separation. In this case, two guest lounges are adjacent to each other in either a living room or a family room. The women's side is towards the kitchen area while the men's side is on the opposite end.



Women's area
Men's area

Men gather in a living area while women gather in a dining area.

An apartment unit



A great room on the ground floor is used for women's gatherings or only family members.

A bedroom on the second floor is turned into a men's lounge with Afghan floor seats.

A detached house

The observations suggest that a women's lounge should:

1. Be adjacent to the kitchen because women are usually responsible for preparing food and beverages for all guests. They have a greater need to go back and forth between the two areas.
2. Be adjacent to a family room or where children and kids are, because women are usually responsible for their care.
3. Be located in a more private zone of the house, if possible.
4. Have some degree of separation from the men's lounge depending on their preference and level of comfort.

Similarly, the observations suggest the following for a men's lounge:

1. The men's lounge is not necessarily located by the entry. However, it should have a direct access from the entry without disturbing other family members or women's area.
2. Male inhabitants of the house may access the kitchen, but other male guests should stay in a designated area.
3. If possible, there should be a separate entrance, a bathroom, a wet bar, or a mini-kitchen.

* * *

Therefore, residents should be able to reconfigure their space according to their level of preferred gender separation. This can be done through furniture rearrangement, partitioning, or reassignment of a room's function. In this way, hosting guests will not violate the privacy of other family members. This assists in making socialization easy and more comfortable for everyone.

* * *

Links: APL 241 SEAT SPOTS, APL 163 OUTDOOR ROOM

FLOOR SEAT



Links: TWO GUEST LOUNGES, APL 185 SITTING CIRCLE, APL 182 EATING
ATMOSPHERE; APL 129 COMMON AREAS AT THE HEART

* * *

If refugees cannot recreate a culturally comfortable environment, they become deprived of place attachment and comfort of home. The development of place attachment and the mentality of personalization and home-making can be achieved with a simple furniture piece that relates to a specific culture and social needs.

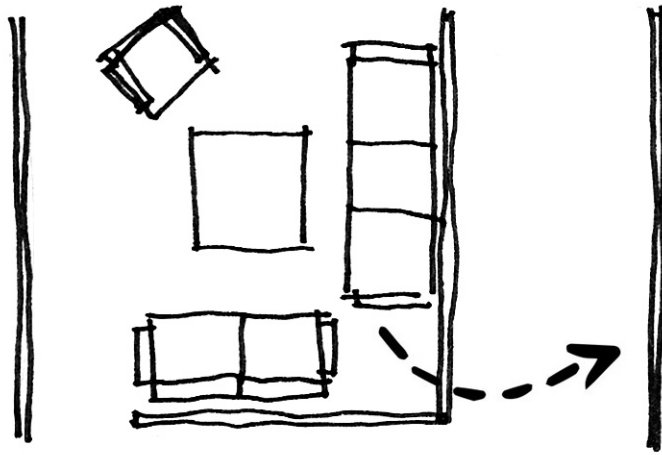
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Although Afghanistan is not an Arabian country, it is influenced by many cultural and religious Arabian elements. In an investigation of Arabian immigrants houses in Michigan, Amor (2000) describes:

...the Arabian sitting consists of low mattresses laid down in a 'U' shaped setting that favor the closeness and eye-to-eye human contact... From a functional perspective, the primary function of the Arabian sitting denotes a sitting position, squatting to eat, drink, chat, or receive guests, but from the secondary function, it connotes deep meanings. The secondary functions unveil the hidden dimensions that are represented in the need for Arab Muslim immigrants to 1) identify themselves—spatial identification, 2) to teach their children—educational purposes, 3) to yield more space at home—spatial capacity, 4) to generate a multi-purpose use of the space—spatial flexibility, but also 5) to follow the tradition of the Prophet (PBUH) enjoining the Islamic tradition. (pp.226-228)

Houses and apartments in Afghanistan have a sitting room at the heart of the dwelling. Similarly, the observations show that many Afghan houses and apartments in Sacramento and Eugene adopt the same approach where floor seating is placed in the heart of the house or a guest lounge. In some cases, underused areas or service spaces were altered to become a second guest lounge (as shown in the above photograph where an uninsulated storage space was converted into a men's lounge at a rental house in Eugene). The Afghan residents brought the seat from California and made this sitting room special for himself.

Furniture pieces occupy a lot of space and leave less room for people.



The floor seat leaves the room spacious and serves multiple purposes.



In addition to what Amor (2000) describes, floor seating can be more affordable and practical option. The cost of the floor seat is much cheaper than a couch. It is lighter in weight making it easy to move around. It is suitable for the hyper-mobility of American culture where people move frequently, as well for refugees who are not permanently settled in one location upon their initial resettlement.

* * *

Therefore, allowing personalization and adaptation of space to fit cultural needs is an important part of the home-making process for refugees. The floor seat is one example that not only offers a nostalgic cultural environment of home but also is a feasible solution spatially and financially.

* * *

Links: APL 253 THINGS FROM YOUR LIFE, RPL 7.10 CULTURAL DISPLAY

SHOE PLACE



* * *

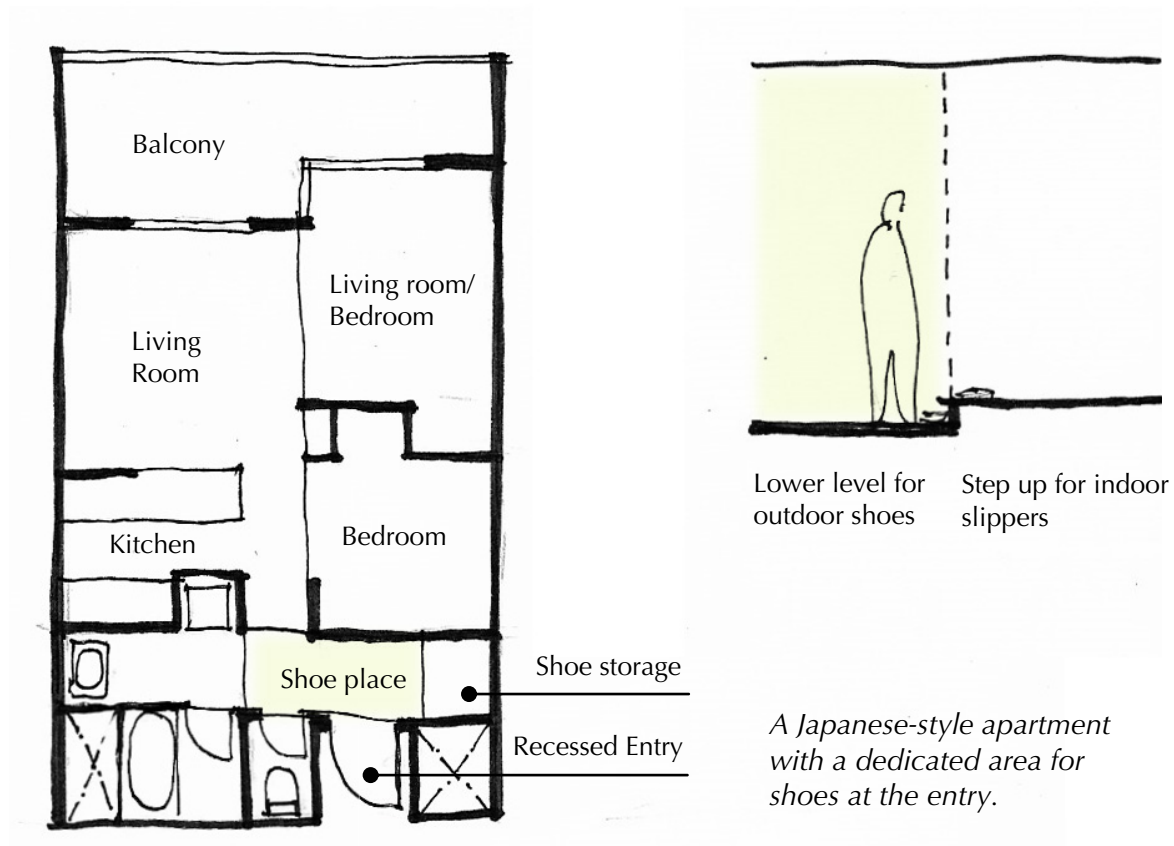
If there is no dedicated space for shoes, the front entry can become cluttered. This can cause it to look messy, unwelcoming, and even unhygienic. For many non-western cultures, many of which are those where refugees are coming from, taking shoes off before entering a dwelling unit is part of established cultural practice.

* * *

Afghans take their shoes off before entering their house or apartment. This is part of Afghan culture and is influenced by religion. Amor (2002) explains “[a] Muslim is ordained to keep his/her house clean by taking off shoes at the doorsill level, the very thing that compels a momentary stop at the entrance of the house (p.232).” Although there is no dedicated space for shoes in Afghan dwellings, it is common to keep them out of sight of people inside the dwelling. Shoes are commonly scattered before entering a room inside a courtyard or outside the front entry. However, this is not commonly seen in the American context, where some people usually keep shoes inside.

Based on conversations with Afghan families, shoe place is an afterthought problem and solution in many houses and apartments. While a resettlement agency often provides furniture for refugees, a shoe rack was not often included. In an apartment unit, the space is more compact and there is no mudroom for placing a rack. Especially in a dwelling where its entryway has no transition from a corridor or a parking spot, a place for shoes becomes more essential.

Japanese houses offer a good design example. They have an area called “genkan” which divides the entry into a lower area where people take off their shoes before entering the living space and change to in-house slippers.



* * *

Therefore, a designated place for shoes helps keep the home organized and clean both inside and outside. Besides the practicality of the entryway, a shoe place responds to the cultural as well as religious needs of the Muslim community. A shoe place can be either inside or outside of a dwelling unit. Using multiple design elements such as flooring differentiation, level change, a low partition, a built-in coat closet, etc. can efficiently create an area for shoes.

* * *

Links: APL 130 ENTRANCE ROOM, APL 242 FRONT DOOR BENCH

LAYERS OF CURTAINS



Links: APL 107 WINGS OF LIGHT, APL 180 WINDOW PLACE, APL 194 INTERIOR
WINDOWS

* * *

If windows are intrusive and make people feel an inadequate level of privacy in their house, people will not feel comfortable in their own home and prefer to block views from the window. Window treatment should be added for functional purposes including privacy, visual, thermal comfort control, as well as for aesthetic purposes.

* * *

In Afghanistan, it is common to see windows with carved wood latticework in a traditional dwelling. Observations show that many Afghan houses and apartments have a delicate two-layer window treatment, including one solid layer of blind or thick curtain and one translucent layer of fabric with embroidery. Some participants report aesthetic reasons while others emphasize privacy reasons. Layers of curtain or window treatment can be commonly seen in Afghanistan. Similar to Pakistan culture (Imtiaz & Rample, 2024), four purposes of curtains in Afghan culture may include:

1. Create help control privacy when outsiders can see into the house.
2. Maintain access to natural light with a control of lighting intensity.
3. Thermal comfort and ventilation purposes include thick curtains which acts as an insulating layer in cold areas or keep the heat out in warm areas.
4. Aesthetic purposes of using embroidery with vivid Afghan, Islamic, or Arabic patterns.

Zuravliova (2022) further highlights the unique quality of Afghan textiles that combine silk and wool, adding luxury and warmth to the space. In addition, the use of heavy embroidery enhances intricate details to the space.



* * *

Therefore, window treatment can enhance the functionality of the openings and interior spaces and promote privacy control. The use of fabrics and textiles associated with Afghan culture can make windows more personalized and create a nostalgic ambiance.

* * *

Links: APL 253 THINGS FROM YOUR LIFE, RPL 7.10 CULTURAL DISPLAY

7.2 EVALUATION OF THE HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: *Sense of belonging and housing stability are positively associated with resettlement satisfaction, long-term integration, and cohesion.*

The results from this study support this hypothesis with limitations. Vice versa, a successful resettlement and long-term integration is manifested when refugees achieve housing stability with a sense of belonging.

Sense of belonging, i.e., a feeling of security and support, along with a sense of acceptance, inclusion, and hybrid identity, is correlated to one's life satisfaction (Bolzoni et al., 2015; Brown et al., 2021). For Afghan refugees, a sense of belonging is not necessarily one facet. It rather is a combination of belonging to both American society and the Afghan community as presented in pattern Cluster of Houses. Regarding housing stability, it has limited implications because many factors can influence stability. Securing housing without belonging can negatively result in exclusion and isolation. For example, [Mohib] has been living [in West Sacramento] for three years because it is cheap, but he is not happy about the place in which he resides. Thus, both variables must be considered together.

Hypothesis 2: *Distinct spatial characteristics of multifamily housing and detached houses affect the perception of privacy and control. These aspects then impact the frequency and quality of interactions among neighbors.*

Evidence from this study supports this hypothesis but is only limited to a decision on whether to interact with their neighbors or not. It requires further investigation to explain if any spatial characteristics contribute to the frequency and quality of interactions among neighbors. There are two examples: entryways and common spaces. Perception of

privacy and control is compromised when an entry is directly exposed to a public area without an indoor-outdoor transition space. A preconception of a neighbor then influences their decision to interact even before they get to know each other.

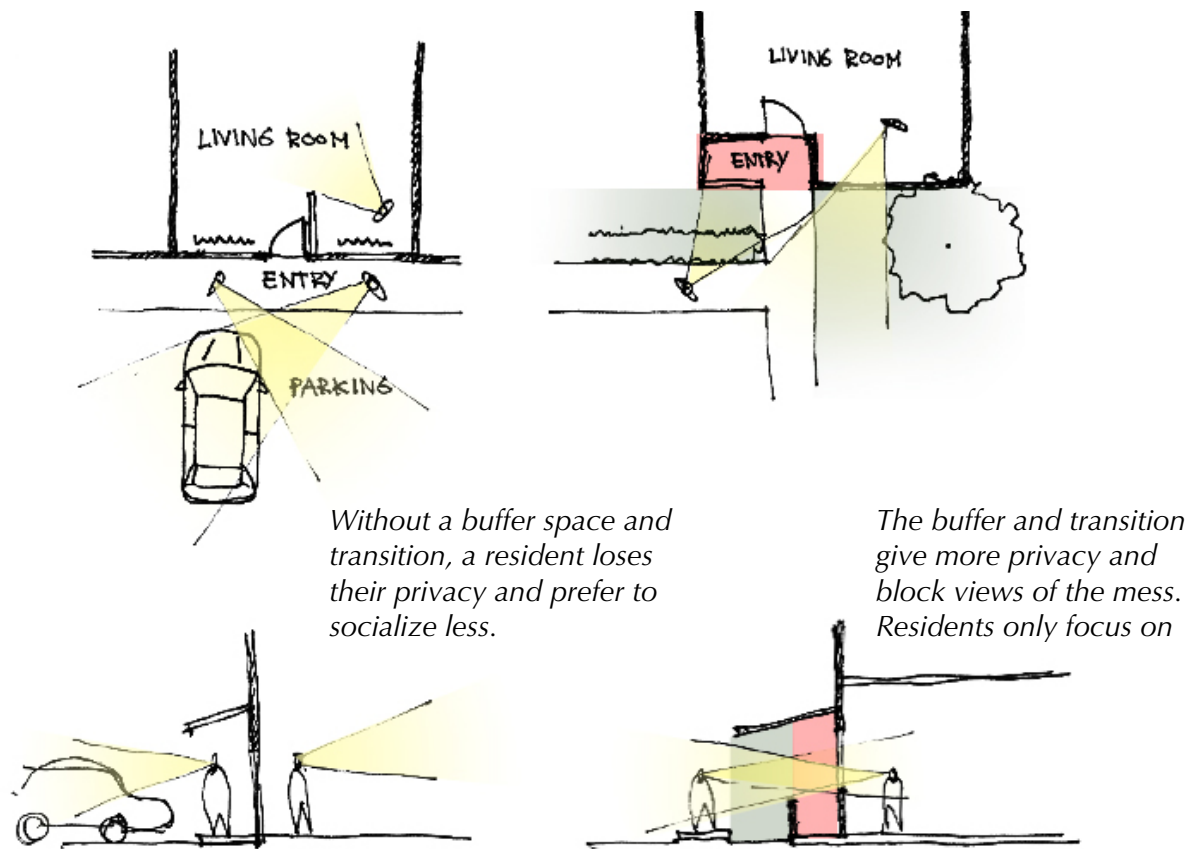


Figure 7.2 The impacts of a transition space at the entry and level of privacy.

Another example derives from the morphology of a housing complex or a neighborhood which I develop to the following pattern. With existing biases and conflicts among neighbors, people prefer to have choices when they go about their neighborhood as presented in a pattern Little Pocket Park. People can choose to use another common space or go to another park when they feel uncomfortable. When there is no choice, they opt to stay home.

Hypothesis 3: *Proximity, network, and convenience positively encourage social connection and thus promote integration.*

Evidence from this study supports this hypothesis with limitations. It requires a clearer definition of proximity, network, and convenience in order to be more precise about the assessment. I provide two examples from this study. The first example is the proximity between an Afghan business and a residential complex allows newly arrived refugees to access social capital from their ethnic enclave. Convenient walking distance means lower transportation costs. A network of Afghan communities allows members of the community to gain employment even before they gain language competency. While it helps connect people to their social resources and become self-sufficient more quickly, being dependent on this resource can result in limited mobility and isolation, which may deter their long-term integration.

The second example is observed from Afghans who have bought homes. When an Afghan family had managed to move out of a gateway community, they would plan to live among non-Afghan families but in the same development with their relatives and close friends as presented in a pattern Cluster of Houses. They create proximity and convenience in which they can maintain their social dynamic. At the same time, they intend to interact more with people outside of the Afghan community. Their choice of housing expresses their intentions to be socially connected with both Afghan and broader American society, which in turns promote their integration.

Hypothesis 4: *The absence of racial segregation history positively results in spatial inclusion. The history of spatial racial segregation leaves a legacy of spatial exclusion which results in racial divide and inequality.*

Evidence from both case studies dissents from this hypothesis. Both Sacramento, CA and Eugene, OR have some forms of racial segregation such as race covenant as presented in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2; however, Afghan participants have demonstrated a degree of mobility that enables them to travel around the city and relocate to their preferred neighborhood. While its gateway community remains important socioeconomically, affordability is the driving factor for Afghan residential mobility rather than the legacy of racial segregation. Regarding transportation mobility, gender is the key indicator of literacy, independence, and autonomy. Despite the gender gap in mobility, Afghans report developing a carpool system to occasionally give a ride to people without cars or to those who cannot drive. Their mobility allows the Afghans to enjoy social infrastructure beyond that within the boundary of their gateway community.

Hypothesis 5: *Placing refugees in a welcoming neighborhood and city provides social, economic, and health benefits which contribute to their integration.*

This hypothesis needs a reassessment because each variable of social, economic, and health should be considered independently as they do not necessarily occur concurrently. When involuntary migrants have access to an assistance program, they generally receive health, educational, and legal benefits. Without assistance programs, they are at risk of exploitation and become vulnerable. For example, a few research participants mentioned that they are underpaid because they lack status and have no work permit. However, social and economic benefits are greatly influenced by the local conditions of a receiving city beyond the scope of offered assistance programs, i.e. if there are job opportunities or a support community available in a refugee-receiving city or not. Thus, having an opportunity to improve one's social and economic life can promote their social connections which in turn increases their participation and integration.

7.2 ANSWERS TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question 1: *How do physical environments, housing typology, locations, social infrastructure, and spatial patterns encourage social connections?*

Social connections are informed by an opportunity when a person gets to meet, interact, and know another. Beginning from a chance encounter, it gradually transforms into different forms of social bonds and social bridges.

Being spatially integrated as illustrated in the pattern *“Cluster of Houses”* is one of the physical conditions that increase the chance of an encounter. Transforming casual relationships into trusting relationships requires more initiations which occur when people are satisfied with their sense of belonging, housing security, and perception of privacy and control. Perceived qualities of these factors can be manifested in various physical forms. I provide examples in a pattern *“Little Pocket Parks.”*

Each housing typology has a different level of privacy, proximity to neighbors, and access to local infrastructure. They offer distinct opportunities such as what I discussed in *“Home-based business”* and present different threats. A detached home owned by research participants is characterized by a sub-urban setting, auto-dependent, pervasive low-density residential zoning, and private outdoor space. On the other hand, a duplex, a townhouse, or an apartment is characterized by an inner city or urban setting with higher density, lower rents and more affordable, and multi-use zoning, shared outdoor spaces, or public parks. Their characteristics and their impacts are presented below:

- Higher density does not positively correlate to a higher chance of contact. In contrast, it can lessen the chance of contact as people avoid each other to decrease their perception of crowding.
- Low density offers more privacy and control which encourages more interactions

but is limited to a selected group of people or few families living nearby.

- The size of a common space is not as important as its configurations which offers multiples and accommodate multiple groups of users at the same time.
- Proximity, walkability, and convenience are keys to accessing local infrastructure. They are absent in single-family home zones and are present more in a location where a multi-family housing is located.
- Level of maintenance and perception of safety are correlated to people's decision to use public infrastructure.

Locations and spatial patterns are important to social interactions at a neighborhood level and day-to-day activities. One can conveniently walk to neighbors' home(s) or other social infrastructures. Outside of a neighborhood, locations and spatial patterns do not present a significant impact on social connection. As discussed in "Mobility as Liberation," gaining freedom of mobility is part of American lifestyle. Afghan refugees have presented a degree of transportation mobility, own a car within one year of arrival, and are able to access and enjoy services outside their neighborhood boundary.

Research Question 2: *What elements of housing promote or impede social interactions between refugees and neighbors?*

While most research participants report that they frequently interacted with their neighbors in Afghanistan, many people complain that Americans are: "more distant, very quiet, and less fun. Also, they are too busy." The differences add to existing language barriers that further discourage many people from interacting. Despite these conditions, Afghan people are motivated to be part of American society and get to know their neighbors. A sense of belonging, housing security, and perception of privacy and control are three key elements that influence decisions whether to interact with neighbors.

Within their residential unit, people must feel private and have control over their space. Problems of acoustics privacy, intrusive entrances, and unmaintained hallways can cause conflicts and biases between residents. When privacy and control are violated, their interactions with neighbors skew negative. They converse only to complain or find solutions for conflicts rather than becoming friends. Alternatively, some people choose to be distant and ignore. With the practice of gender separation, their ability to reconfigure home to accommodate this practice is a critical element which encourage social interactions and preserving their privacy as discuss in a pattern *“Two Guest Lounges”* and *“Layers of Curtains.”*

When people feel that they are neither part of the community nor even want to be part of the community, they are not motivated to interact. The availability and configurations of common spaces impact the visibility and chance of encounters among residents. The usability helps to build collective ownership and cultivate a sense of belonging, especially in a multi-family housing complex. It is also an important element that helps minimize overcrowding effects which can create a sense of competition between residents for services and space. Similarly, when people do not feel secure and stable enough in their housing situation, socializing is not their priority.

Without a sense of belonging, housing security, and a positive perception of privacy and control; the studied group deterred from positive interactions. Vice versa, when these elements are fulfilled, they express their intention to socialize more with their neighbors.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The previous chapters have demonstrated the impacts of architectural design and its psychological dimensions on housing and spatial patterns that influence social interactions between neighbors. Some findings align with studies of other immigrant groups, some findings; are however, counterintuitive. This study suggests design considerations that may encourage more interactions among neighbors despite their differences. At the same time, it points out what attributes we should deter from.

As seen throughout the study, the socio-spatial dimensions of housing greatly influence one's living experience. Understanding its impacts has substantial value especially when the driving factor of where to live is centered around affordability and economic reasons rather than personal well-being. With the social capital that comes with housing, it should not just be seen as where refugees shelter, but should be about providing a suitable living condition that support their mental and social well-being and connection to resources that allow them to flourish.

Regarding research methods, this study exemplifies both successful methods and failed attempts. Both of which have value in guiding a set of practical methods to seek a better understanding of the qualitative nature of the data in future research along this line. This discussion evaluates the effectiveness of the methods employed and the position of a researcher that may help overcome challenges of practicality in conducting such a study.

In Chapter VIII, I offer my recommendations for future works, assessment of research methods, and evaluation of socio-spatial concepts regarding the work with immigrants and refugees. I conclude this study with my reflection on socio-spatial dimension of housing from a non-Western perspective.

8.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE WORKS

Afghan refugees face many disadvantages, including low literacy rates and language barriers, low educational attainment, and untransferable skills and qualifications. These disadvantages, along with Afghan gender norms, aggravate the gender disparity among female populations.

Because family structure changes from an extended family to a nuclear family once they are in the U.S., Afghan women lack their support system. Many women become prone to social isolation and exploitation more than men. Despite my intention to portray the social life and connectedness of Afghan populations in the U.S. represented by approximately equal numbers of male and female participants, gender issues surfaced as soon as I started the data collection journey. The gender issue has become more apparent throughout the fieldwork and data analysis. The sharp gender norm distinctions have resulted in a precondition of to whom a place is more impactful. In this way, women, especially those with young children or those caring for people with special needs, are more impacted by their life at home and in their neighborhood, while men are impacted more by their mobility to move about and their experiences at their workplace.

The applications of gender studies in architecture are not limited to the Afghan population, but also to others from different cultural backgrounds. If a person must be home and take care of domestic responsibilities, either as identified by their gender norms or personal preference, this should not prevent them from being socially active and integrated. Thus, understanding the spatial attributes of housing and its surroundings that make social participation and connectedness possible are fundamental to housing and neighborhood design. For this reason, it is critical to bring in the gender perspective to housing research and neighborhood design as well as refugee and social studies.

In addition to the gender perspective, there is a need to better understand the interior configuration of a residential unit as well. The Afghan demographic profile points out that Afghan people have different family sizes and dynamics. For instance, an interviewee described their apartment in Kabul as a six-bedroom apartment with two salons (living rooms). Three brothers and their families lived in this apartment together. This study shows the exacerbated mental strain when a family is unable to live together due to their household size. The evidence draws attention to the need for different requirements and programming inside a residential unit and how to make them more feasible. This can also be applied to the development of low-income housing projects as presented in Unit S3 (see Figure 5.3 and Figure xx.) where the complex offers a four-bedroom apartment suitable for a family of up to eight persons in the U.S. context. Understanding the needs of different household sizes and composition can help builders and developers come up with solutions for this niche market.

Moreover, this study only captured a glimpse of the Afghans' residential mobility after moving from a gateway community to renting their own place or owning a home. The growing mobility that immigrants and refugees gain over time has resulted in a wide residential distribution of these populations as evident in the greater Sacramento areas. Investigating this topic longitudinally would help increase the understanding of their mobility and residential choices. This is a helpful tool for the long-term planning of a city like Eugene, OR, especially as the U.S. has adopted dispersion resettlement policies.

There are both architectural and non-architectural components that inform living quality and social experiences. Besides these three lines of potential future works, advancing the behavioral understanding of different refugee groups and connecting it with geographical and sociological scholarship could bring about a better integration strategy.

8.2 METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I pursued this research hoping to collect data differently from how I ending up doing so. Originally, I planned to employ other visual methods such as daily route mapping and auto-photography, to mitigate language barriers. However, those methods require more time investment and commitment from research participants, whose availability is very restricted. This informed the practicality and efficiency of the research design, especially for participant-driven research. The need to improvise my data collection plan led to a narration of daily routine during my interviews instead.

I consider the interview the most successful method in this study. Every participant wanted to be heard and information they provided was insightful. Because of my informants, whose assistance allowed me to quickly gain the trust of potential participants. I was warmly welcomed by every interview subject. It is also impossible for someone to fail to notice Afghans' hospitality and their willingness to share their experiences. Interviews provided subjects' opinions, experiences, and explanations of their behaviors, decisions, and perceptions of places. Not only is the data is valuable on its own, but it is also very constructive for the following spatial observations. This is because interview information allowed me to better relate to the subject's experiences of places.

Regarding surveys, I obtained survey data from two sources: the 2022 Annual Survey of Refugees (ASR) conducted by the Office of Refugee Resettlement and my own survey designed for this study. The Annual Survey of Refugees, congressionally mandated by the Refugee Act of 1980, collects data from approximately 1,500 households of refugees who were resettled in the U.S. during the preceding five fiscal years. My survey was designed for Afghan participants and was translated into the Dari and Pashto languages. The survey was distributed to Afghan communities regardless of their formal

refugee status. Respondents may have SIV, asylee, parolee, or refugee status. English language proficiency was one of many challenges faced by the studied population, but also the overall illiteracy rate in their native languages as well. My survey received a low response rate, with only 25 respondents. The survey was distributed to 100 households and expected 40 percent response rate. Similarly, the 2022 ASR has 5,000 respondents from 1,500 households, out of which only 144 are originally from Afghanistan. Although 144 is a good sample size, after the data cleanup the valid responses lowered to 44 responses. These two surveys demonstrate that adjusting the response rate to 25 to 30 percent is more realistic. The small sample sizes can be a cause for concern. However, the ASR offers many strengths and the possibility of a cross-sectional analysis across refugees from different countries of origin.

In addition, I have gained a better understanding of my position as a researcher and a person. Throughout this study, I mention the gender disparity that exists among the studied population. Walking into a room full of Afghan men looking at me with much curiosity was not easy. I had fewer opportunities to talk directly with male participants and required my male research assistant to help collect more information. On the other hand, I was able to gain much more depths of information by talking to many Afghan ladies whose whole life is bound to their homes. Because of this, it was more critical to understand their experience. Moreover, some participants had shown that it is easier to talk to an outsider, a Thai person conducting a study on the Afghan population in the U.S., rather than someone from within their own community or an American. Some participants even requested to exclude my research assistants from an interview setting. "Where are you from?" is the first question most participants asked me. Admittedly, it was very challenging in many circumstances to gain trust and have access to the studied population. Despite the

challenges, this allowed me to gain different perspectives and come to realize and leverage my position as an outsider and female researcher.

In all, identifying what method a research participant is most comfortable with is a key to successful data collection. In the case of this study, the interview was the most successful method. Equally important, it was crucial to learn and identify my own strengths and weakness in regards to data collection to assist in overcoming and challenges that arose.

8.3 EVALUATION OF CONCEPTS

In Chapter III, the literature review demonstrated correlations between housing conditions and safety, crowding, and privacy. This study reinforces these concepts and points out the influences of the perception of the aforementioned elements on residents' sociality.

Safety is often measured by crime rate, but perceived safety can be subjective. Based on 2022 ASR, a majority of respondents from Afghanistan state that they feel safe in the area where they live (male 76%, female 54%), with a high level of trust in local police (male 97%, female 87%). In this study, perceived safety is associated with evidence of protection against crime and negligence, a presence of a person experiencing homelessness, and experience of assault. In Sacramento, CA, participants who live in an apartment complex feel safer if their community is gated, any common areas and playgrounds are maintained, and there is no presence of unhoused people. These elements not only invite them to move about their residential area, but also encourage them to let their children play outside. Despite having a similar crime rate, in Eugene, OR, interviewees did not report safety concerns even if their apartment complex is not gated and common areas are not physically maintained. Comparing these two cases, two

elements that impact perceived safety in apartment complexes are: 1) residential density and 2) the presence of other people along a street. People in high-density areas like North Highlands and Arden-Arcade in Sacramento, CA require protection against crime to feel safer. Alternatively, protection is not essential in low-density areas like Far West neighborhood in Eugene, OR. Seeing other people outside also makes the participants feel safer. The absence of people walking along a street in Sacramento discourages the studied population from walking around by themselves, even though there is a proper and well-maintained sidewalk. In Eugene, there are more people walking and biking, and their presence makes the interviewees feel safer. This perceived safety influences how people move about their neighborhood and use local parks. Participants in Eugene also report more frequent encounters and positive interactions with their neighbors. While these relationships might not be substantially strong, they are a good start at forgoing social connections in one's neighborhood.

The concept of household crowding is widely discussed and associated with infectious diseases and mental health with a note on its subjective interpretation. In the case of Afghans, however, household crowding was not mentioned as a stressor if people of the same family could live together. Participants described their living experience in Afghanistan stating that each apartment has 5 to 8 bedrooms and can accommodate a large family or an extended family. However, the number of bedrooms does not translate to number of occupants. Frequently, children and adolescents sleep together in a living room. Even in the case that the numbers of bedrooms and numbers of occupants are mismatched according to U.S. standards, participants report that the indoor crowding condition is acceptable to them. Based on interviews, what makes people feel stressed due to environmental crowding conditions in the U.S. which specifically is associated with

living in the same housing complex or neighborhood with too many Afghans. Female participants address how they feel pressure when living in a housing complex or neighborhood with too many Afghan families. They state that in Afghanistan, before the fall of Kabul, women could go out freely, but it was a norm not to go out alone. They would be accompanied by their sisters, mother, or in-laws. In the U.S., they are free to go anywhere by themselves. However, if they are surrounded by too many Afghans, they feel the pressure to behave as if they were still in Afghanistan, i.e. a woman should not go out alone and therefore she may choose to stay inside.

In this case, crowding in the perception of research participants is less associated with size and room numbers inside a unit but rather connected to a density of a neighborhood and racial clustering of people of the same cultural background. However, the diversity of the surrounding population is not noted as being significant as long as they are not Afghans.

Compared to case studies, the findings concur with a study *Architecture, Social Interaction, and Crowding* by Baum and Valin (1974) despite the differences in the nature of the research and its methodology. The researchers explain:

... as groups increase in size, fewer members remain in central positions, and members feel less involved, interpersonal interaction lose intensity, and identification of group decreases.

Thus, it appears that crowding street may be a function of increasing group size, and that a crowded environment may be characterized by large group size which result in unwanted social interaction and social overload...

[People] may feel crowded because of their inability to regulate their interaction encounters, a situation that may arise when the size of a group gets to be too large.

(Baum and Valin, 1974, pp.793-797)

In terms of privacy, different housing typology and their design attributes offer varying levels of privacy as discussed in 7.5. In this study, what seems to affect Afghan

sociality most is the cultural dimension of privacy. It is common for Afghans to interact frequently with their neighbors in Afghanistan. Despite ethnic conflicts that prevail among Afghan people which resulted in low social cohesion in Afghanistan, the tribal society brought about strong social connectedness at an individual level. Living in the U.S., a country with higher-than-average social cohesion⁸ (Unzicker, 2024); several Afghans were unable to establish strong connections with their non-Afghan neighbors. Americans' value of privacy has made it challenging to initiate interactions. The experience aligns with a study by Pew Research Center, the survey in 2023 indicates that only 42 percent of U.S. young adults feel close to people in their community. The study notes that there are large differences by age as older age group feel more connect to their community. (Fetterolf & Kramer, 2024).

Lastly, I argue that a place has embedded social qualities and its attributes have influenced social interactions. While "who" lives there is important, "where" is equally meaningful because the spatial attributes can encourage or discourage their social interaction and inform a transaction of social capital. For example, when a host family and Afghans have an adequate level of privacy, they are willing to spend more time together and this leads to a stronger relationship. The host then uses their resources to help the Afghans enhance their education or employment opportunities, as well as offering suggestions to adjust to the 'American' way of life. Another example is in regards to

⁸ Social cohesion is defined as the special quality how members of a community live and work together. A cohesive society is characterized by resilient social relationships, a positive emotional connectedness between its members and the community and a pronounced focus on the common good...The report finds that the three most important socio-economic factors associated with social cohesion are national wealth as measured by gross domestic product (GDP), a country's income gap as measured by the Gini coefficient, and its level of development towards a modern information society as measured by the Knowledge Index.

crowding conditions. When too many Afghans cluster in a certain area, it causes social pressure and a sense of internal competition, making them less likely to interact and help each other. On the other hand, when several families (less than ten families) live in the same housing complex or neighborhood along with people from other cultural backgrounds, Afghan families are supportive of each other and people from the prior cohorts become resources for recent arrivals. At the same time, they have more chances to interact with people from other cultural backgrounds “modern societies are based not on solidarity rooted in similarity, but on solidarity rooted in diversity and mutual interdependence” (Vopel, 2024 cited in Unzicker, 2023). The social capital that refugees earn when living in the right conditions in turn affects a cohesion among neighbors as well as an integration process of the refugees themselves.

With a limited body of work on social benefits associated with housing and neighborhoods, this study hopes to give insight into the socio-spatial conditions from an architectural perspective. This socio-spatial dimension of housing is especially critical for vulnerable populations like involuntary migrants and refugees because of their limited housing choices and their social vulnerability.

8.4 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this study, I present how refugees from Afghanistan have made a dwelling in the United States their home and how have they made any spatial and behavioral adjustments. Most importantly, I demonstrate how the qualities and attributes of dwelling units impact social outcomes through offering different levels of privacy, a sense of belonging, autonomy, and chance of contact with neighbors. Different access to housing is correlated to people with differing social capital and they contribute to varying transactions of social capital (such as those living with a host family).

By comparing residential experiences between Eugene and Sacramento, I illustrate how sizes of the refugee group alter the uses and roles of social spaces and whether they respond to social bonding or social bridging purposes. Through the investigation across these residential sites, participants report how they are dissatisfied or satisfied with privacy control, perceived safety, and spatial choices. These attributes of places are correlated to elements of an entryway, relationship to windows, a front yard or backyard, and interior configuration in regards to cultural practices and personal needs. Altogether, the psychology of places influences the willingness and convenience of social interactions and social connections.

Architecturally, the impact of globalization and in particular U.S. influence in Afghanistan for the prior two decades have already transformed the design of residential buildings from the traditional dwelling. Moreover, it is crucial to understand the limitations of spatial modification in the U.S. context from the economic point of view including rental penalties and resale value. Undisputedly, these factors either lower the need for spatial adjustment or discourage people from making major changes to their house or apartment.

Beyond the architectural dimensions, there are broader elements of planning that contribute to refugee integration. For example, refugees' mobility can help delimit their geographical boundaries. Local housing affordability and access to services and infrastructure directly impact refugees' quality of life and opportunities for upward mobility. Lastly, a welcoming culture and attitude of a host community can foster a sense of belonging and social integration by lowering competition for resources, mitigating conflicts, and promoting participatory practices.

Finally, whether a socially sustainable resettlement experience is environmentally sustainable or not is up to the sustainable approaches and practices of the host country. With Afghan refugees expressing a high level of satisfaction living in suburban and auto-dependent areas, they are demonstrating they are becoming Americanized and well-integrated into a broader American society. The given picture of the American dream then is set as an expectation of integration outcomes.



I am grateful for our friendship that extends far beyond this PhD journey!

- Pamanee Chaiwat

APPENDIX A

APPROVAL ON HUMAN SUBJECTS RESEARCH

Exempt determination approved by University of Oregon Internal Review Board

IRB office: UO Research Compliance Services

Protocol Number: STUDY00000753

Approval Date: May 11, 2023

Effective Date: May 19, 2023

Expiration Date: May 11, 2024

For this research, the following determinations have been made:

- This study has been reviewed under the 2018 Common Rule and determined to qualify for exemption under Title 45 CFR 46.104(d) ((2)(iii) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation (identifiable); and for which limited IRB review was conducted via expedited review).

For this research the following contingencies apply:

- Since this research will be conducted in a language other than English, final translated versions of the consent form must be submitted to RCS prior to use with participants as a modification to the study record.
- If the research will involve a translator other than those listed in the Research Plan, please submit a modification to update the Research Plan to include a brief description of the translator's qualifications.

APPENDIX B
CONSENT FORMS

B.1a Informed consent for Afghan participants (English)

Title: "Hello, Neighbors!" Investigations of Social Cohesion in American Refugee Receiving Communities

Researcher(s): Pamanee Chaiwat, University of Oregon

Researcher Contact Info: (###) ### ####, pamaneec@uoregon.edu

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision whether or not to participate. Carefully consider this information and the more detailed information provided below the box. Please ask questions about any of the information you do not understand before you decide whether to participate.

Key Information for You to Consider
• Voluntary Consent. You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation. • Purpose. The purpose of this research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. The researcher is interested in experiences and behaviors of people with refugee background in relationship with environment of a resettlement city. • Duration. It is expected that your participation will last about 3.5 hours. This includes 1 hour of interview, 1 hour of observation of a dwelling unit and 1 hour of neighborhood walk, and 30 minutes of auto-mapping and auto-photography. • Procedures and Activities. There are three activities in this study. You may choose to participate in any selected activities or all of them. 1. In an interview, you will be asked to describe your housing and neighborhood conditions, daily activities, and your social life. You can choose to give an interview can be given via phone, a virtual meeting, or in-person.

2. In a spatial observation, you will be walking the researcher through your dwelling unit and surrounding neighborhood and asked to point and describe

the locations and the architectural attributes of the activities that you mentioned in the interview. A translator will assist an interview when needed. The research will record and take notes of the interview and photograph, measure, sketch, and map your dwelling unit and neighborhood.

3. In an auto-mapping, you will be asked to provide records of places you visit for two days, one for a weekday (workday) and another for a weekend (non-workday). In auto-photography, the investigator will provide topics about place for you to take photo representing your feelings and social activities. You will be asked to share selected photos you have taken with the researcher. This part requires further communication with the investigator.

- **Risks.** Some of the foreseeable risks or discomforts of your participation include stress, emotional distress due to social risks and psychological risks, and inconvenience. You do not have to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. You can also stop the participation at any time.
- **Benefits.** There are no direct benefits to you from taking part in this research. However, the researcher hopes to gain better understanding of social-spatial conditions which may encourage or impede social life and social cohesion of US refugee-receiving cities.
- **Alternatives.** As an alternative to participating in this activity, you could take part in an online survey, or take no part in the research.

Who is conducting this research?

The researcher Pamanee Chaiwat from University of Oregon is asking for your consent to this research.

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of the research is to obtain a deeper understating about recently resettled refugees and their social behaviors in different urban settings and results of social dynamics within a community. The examination of refugees' everyday experiences is essential to understand how spatial conditions affect refugees' perception of a city and encourage meaningful bonding and bridging interactions. The objective of this study is to present physical challenges that are essential for a receiving city to consider for and response to consequences of resettling refugees.

You are being asked to participate because someone refers you as a person with refugee backgrounds who has immigrated to the United States within the last three years. In all, about 45 people will take part in this research.

How long will I be in this research?

We expect that your participation in all three activities: interview, spatial observation, and auto-mapping and auto-photography will last approximately three and a half hours. However, your participation time will vary depending on your decision to participate.

What happens if I agree to participate in this research?

1. If you agree to be in an interview, your participation will include answering interview questions which you will be asked about your housing conditions, interactions with neighbors, social life between Afghan community and other members, perception of belonging, attachment, acceptance, and safety. Sensitive questions about potential traumatize experience are:
 - Was there any bad memories or incidents that make you feel unsafe?
 - Have you ever encountered any assault or mistreatment in your neighborhood?
 - Please share differences and similarity between living in your hometown and a current neighborhood.
 - What do you miss in your home country, in terms of social life, that you would like to reinvent them here?

You can choose how you would like to give an interview, your preferred time and location. There will be video and audio recording of the interview. You can skip any question that makes you uncomfortable and you can stop anytime.

2. If you agree to participate in spatial observation, you will need to provide access to your dwelling unit for architectural observation and showing your neighborhood and daily activities. You will be asked to point and describe the locations and the architectural attributes that relate to your social activities and cultural practices. The research focuses on architectural components, forms, and space that are related to process of place belonging, place attachment, and ultimately contribute to a sense of community. You will also walk the researcher through your building complex and/or surrounding neighborhood as you discuss about your day-to-day routine. This activity can happen concurrently with an on-site interview.

There will be video and audio recording of the conversation and documentation of spatial observation which includes photographs, mapping, and sketching. You can skip any question that makes you uncomfortable and you can stop anytime.

3. If you agree to participate in auto-mapping and auto-photography, your will be given further instruction of this two-part activity. The participation will include providing records of places you visit for two days and taking thematic photos such as a place I feel safe, a place I have fun, a place I enjoy going most, a place I meet new people, a place I feel lonely, a place I feel insecure etc. For auto-mapping, you should decide which days are best representations of your daily activities for one workday and one weekend or non-workday. For auto-photography, you may choose from the following options.
 - Use a provided single-use camera which will be return to the investigator to develop a film.
 - Use of their personal device and send photos to the investigator's email.

Because weather conditions may impact your daily activities, you may decide to complete this activity during your preferred season; however, this shall be completed no later than August 2023.

What happens to the information collected for this research?

Information collected for this research will be used to analyze socio-spatial integration and social cohesion of a refugee-receiving community. The main result is a dissertation in the University of Oregon. The other potential disseminations include published in peer-reviewed journals and conferences. Your name and other identifying information will be kept confidential. Your name will not be used in the dissertation, journals nor conference presentations.

Information collected will not be shared with other researchers, and identifiers will be removed from identifiable information collected in this research. After removal of identifiers, the information may be used for future research without obtaining additional consent.

How will my privacy and data confidentiality be protected?

We will take measures to protect your privacy. Despite taking steps to protect your privacy, we can never fully guarantee your privacy will be protected. Measures the researcher will take include:

- (1) The interview is conducted in your preferred setting.
- (2) Ensure that private data are not collected without the participant's knowledge and consent.
- (3) Private data collected will not be shared to other participant(s).
- (4) You can request to review documentation of your participation such as photos taken at your unit during a spatial observation prior to the departure of the investigator. Similarly, you can review photos you have taken for auto-photography prior to sharing with the investigator.
- (5) In the event your information is quoted in the written results, the researcher will use pseudonyms or codes to maintain your confidentiality.

We will take measures to protect the security of all your personal information. Despite these precautions to protect the confidentiality of your information, we can never fully guarantee confidentiality of all study information. Measures the researcher will take are:

- (1) Identifiable information, recorded information (audio and video), photographs, and transcribed and translated data are kept in encrypted files on a password protected hard drive. Only the researcher has access to a hard drive and its password. Any printed materials will be transferred to a locked cabinet after the research is complete, accessible only by the researcher.
- (2) Any drawings and written notes, measurements, and documentations will be stored in a locked file cabinet, accessible only by the researcher.

Individuals and organization that conduct or monitor this research may be permitted access to and inspect the research records. This may include access to your private information and the interview information. These individuals and organizations include:

- (1) The Institutional Review Board (IRB) that reviewed this research

(2) The researcher's Faculty Advisors

We protect your information from disclosure to others to the extent required by law. We cannot promise complete secrecy. You should understand that the researcher is not prevented from taking steps, including reporting to authorities, to prevent serious harm of yourself or others.

What are the risks if I participate in this research?

The risks or discomforts of participating in this research include psychological risks (e.g., embarrassment, trauma, or guilt) and social risks (e.g., social ostracizing or discrimination). There may be risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in a research study.

What are the benefits of participating in this research?

You may or may not benefit from participating in this research. There are no known direct benefits to you from participating in this study. However, it is hoped that information gained from this study will help expand and deepen the understanding of social-spatial in relation to social life and integration of refugee populations in US receiving cities.

What other choices do I have besides participation in this research?

It is your choice to participate or not to participate in this research. Instead of being in any part of this study, you could take part in an online survey or take no part in this research.

What if I want to stop participating in this research?

Taking part in this research study is your decision. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you can stop at any time. You have the right to choose not to participate in any study activity or completely withdraw from continued participation at any point in this study without penalty. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Oregon.

You can withdraw once the study has begun. You can request your information not be used for research, and the researcher will delete the obtained information and documentation (including any measurements, video recordings and photographs) in the hard drive. If you decide to leave this research, you can contact the researcher so that the researcher can orderly terminate your participation and delete any information that you have provided.

Will it cost me money to take part in this research?

There are no costs associated with participation in this research study.

What if I am injured because of participating in this research?

If you experience harm because of the project, you can ask the State of Oregon to pay you. If you have been harmed, there are two University representatives you need to contact. Here are their addresses and phone numbers:

**General Counsel/ Office of
the President**
1226 University of Oregon

Research Compliance Services
5237 University of Oregon

Eugene, OR 97403-1226
(541) 346-3082

Eugene, OR 97403-5237
(541) 346-2510
ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

A law called the Oregon Tort Claims Act may limit the amount of money you can receive from the State of Oregon if you are harmed.

Will I be paid for participating in this research?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions, concerns, or have experienced a research related injury, contact the researcher at:

Pamanee Chaiwat

###-###-####

pamaneec@uoregon.edu

An Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. UO Research Compliance Services is the office that supports the IRB. If you have questions about your rights or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Research Compliance Services

5237 University of Oregon

Eugene, OR 97403-5237

(541) 346-2510

ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

Do you have any questions for me about this research and your participation?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in an interview?

_____ Would it be all right if I record our interview?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in a spatial observation of your dwelling unit?

_____ Would it be all right if I record our interview?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in an auto-mapping and auto-photography?

B.1b Informed consent for Afghan participants (Dari)

پژوهش در مشارکت برای رضایت

آمریکایی پذیر پناهنده/در جوامع مهاجر اجتماعی انسجام بررسی "ها همسایه سلام": عنوان

محقق: پامنئی چایوات Pamanee Chaiwat

مکان: دانشگاه اورگان

:محقق با راه تماس

pamaneec@uoregon.edu

در این تحقیق از شما خواسته می شود در یک مطالعه تحقیقاتی شرکت کنید. فورم زیر اطلاعات کلیدی در مورد این تحقیق نشان می دهد تا شما هنگام تصمیم گیری در مورد شرکت یا عدم مشارکت تان در نظر بگیرید. اطلاعات ارائه شده در فورم زیر را با دقت مطالعه کنید.

موضوعات که در زیر وجود دارد اگر نفهمید و یا درک نکردید، لطفاً قبل از تصمیم گیری یا اشتراک در مورد هر یک از آنها سؤال نمایید.

اطلاعات کلیدی را با دقت مطالعه فرمایید:

- **رضایت داوطلبانه:** از شما خواسته می شود که برای یک مطالعه تحقیقاتی داوطلب شوید. این به شما بستگی دارد که شرکت کنید یا نه. در صورت عدم شرکت یا قطع مشارکت، هیچ جریمه یا از دست دادن مزایایی که در غیر این صورت مستحق آن هستید، وجود نخواهد داشت.
 - **هدف:** هدف از این تحقیق بررسی چگونگی تأثیر طراحی مسکن و فضاهای اجتماعی بر زندگی اجتماعی و انسجام اجتماعی یک شهر پناهنده در ایالات متحده آمریکا است. محقق به تجربیات و رفتارهای افراد با پیشینه پناهندگی در ارتباط با محیط یک شهر اسکان مجدد علاقه مند است.
 - **مدت تحقیق:** انتظار می رود شرکت شما حدود 2 ساعت و 30 دقیقه طول بکشد. این شامل 1 ساعت مصاحبه و 1 ساعت پیاده روی محله و 30 دقیقه نقشه برداری خودکار و عکاسی خودکار است.
 - **روش ها و فعالیت ها:** در این تحقیق سه فعالیت/روش وجود دارد که می توانید یکی از آنها را انتخاب کنید و یا در سه روش زیر شرکت کنید.
1. **از طریق تلفن، جلسه مجازی یا حضوری مصاحبه کنید:** در مصاحبه از شما خواسته می شود که شرایط مسکن و محله، فعالیت های روزانه و زندگی اجتماعی خود را شرح دهید. که میتوانید از طریق تلفن، جلسه مجازی یا حضوری انجام دهید.
 2. **مشاهده محل زندگی:** ، محقق محل زندگی و اطراف منطقه را مشاهده میکند و از شما خواسته می شود مکان ها و ویژگی های معماری فعالیت هایی را که در مصاحبه ذکر کردید اشاره و توصیف کنید. یک مترجم در صورت نیاز به مصاحبه شونده کمک می کند. در جریان این تحقیق مصاحبه ضبط گردیده و یادداشت می شود و از محله شما عکس می گیرد، اندازه گیری می کند، طرح می کند و نقشه می کشد.

3. نقشه برداری توسط خودکار: از شما خواسته می شود که سوابق مکان هایی را که به مدت دو روز بازدید می کنید، یکی برای یک روز کاری (روز رسمی) و دیگری برای یک آخر هفته (روز غیر کاری/غیر رسمی) ارائه دهید. در عکاسی خودکار، محقق موضوعاتی را درباره مکان هایی برای شما فراهم می کند که نشان دهنده احساسات و فعالیت های اجتماعی شما باشد. از شما خواسته می شود که عکس های را مطابق سلیقه خود گرفته اید را با محقق به اشتراک بگذارید. این بخش نیاز به ارتباط بیشتر با محقق دارد.

- **خطرات احتمالی:** برخی از خطرات یا ناراحتی های قابل پیش بینی مشارکت شما شامل استرس، ناراحتی عاطفی به دلیل خطرات اجتماعی و خطرات روانی و ناراحتی است. شما مجبور نیستید اطلاعاتی را که احساس راحتی نمی کنید به اشتراک بگذارید و همچنین می توانید در هر زمان شرکت در تحقیق را متوقف کنید.
- **مزایا:** شرکت در این تحقیق هیچ سود مستقیمی برای شما ندارد. با این حال، محقق امیدوار است که به درک بهتری از شرایط اجتماعی- فضایی دست یابد که ممکن است زندگی اجتماعی و انسجام اجتماعی شهرهای مهاجر/ پناهنده پذیر ایالات متحده را تشویق کند.
- **گزینه های جایگزین:** به عنوان جایگزینی برای شرکت در این فعالیت، می توانید در یک نظرسنجی آنلاین شرکت کنید یا در تحقیق شرکت نکنید.

اگر من با شرکت در این تحقیق موافقت کنم چه اتفاقی خواهد افتاد؟

1. در صورت موافقت با شرکت در مصاحبه، مسوولیت شما شامل پاسخ دادن به سوالات مصاحبه خواهد بود که در آن از شما در مورد شرایط مسکن، تعامل با همسایگان، زندگی اجتماعی بین جامعه افغان ها و سایر افراد که حس تعلق، دلبستگی و پذیرش آنها دارید. همچنان ایمنی سوالات حساس در مورد تجربه بالقوه آسیب را عبارتند از:

- آیا خاطره یا اتفاق بدی وجود داشته که باعث شده احساس ناامنی کنید؟
- آیا تا به حال با هرگونه تجاوز یا بدرفتاری در محله خود مواجه شده اید؟
- لطفا تفاوت ها و شباهت های زندگی در شهر خود و محله فعلی را به اشتراک بگذارید.
- از نظر زندگی اجتماعی در کشور خود دلتنگ چه چیزی هستید که دوست دارید آنها را اینجا دوباره داشته باشید؟

نوت: شما می توانید نحوه مصاحبه، زمان و مکان مورد نظر خود را انتخاب کنید. ضبط تصویری و صوتی مصاحبه خواهد بود. شما می توانید از هر سوالی که باعث ناراحتی شما می شود صرف نظر کنید و هر زمان که بخواهید می توانید آن را متوقف کنید.

2. در صورت موافقت با شرکت در مصاحبه، زمینه در دسترس بودن محل سکونت، فضاخانه جهت بازدید و عکاسی و مطالعه از نگاهی معماری و نشان دادن محله و فعالیت های روزانه خود فراهم کنید. از شما خواسته می شود که مکان ها و ویژگی های معماری مرتبط با فعالیت های اجتماعی و شیوه های فرهنگی شما را مشخص کنید و توضیح دهید. این پژوهش بر اجزای معماری، فرم ها و فضایی متمرکز است که با فرآیند تعلق به مکان، دلبستگی به مکان مرتبط هستند و در نهایت به نبض جامعه کمک می کنند. شما همچنین در حالی که در مورد روال روزمره خود صحبت می کنید، محقق را در مجتمع ساختمانی خود و/یا محله اطراف خود راه خواهید داد. این فعالیت می تواند همزمان با مصاحبه در محل انجام شود.

نوت: ضبط ویدئویی و صوتی از مکالمه و مستندات مشاهدات فضایی که شامل عکس، نقشه برداری و طراحی است، وجود خواهد داشت. شما می توانید از هر سوالی که باعث ناراحتی شما می شود صرف نظر کنید و هر زمان که بخواهید می توانید آن را متوقف کنید.

3. در صورت موافقت با شرکت در تحقیق، شما در نقشه برداری و عکاسی توسط خود شما که در این بخش به شما آموزش های بیشتری داده خواهد شد همکاری می کنید. این تحقیق شامل ارائه سوابق از مکان هایی است که به مدت دو روز بازدید می کنید و گرفتن عکس های موضوعی مانند مکانی که احساس امنیت می کنید، مکانی که از آن لذت می برید،

مکانی که با بودن در آن جا بیشتر لذت میبرید، امکانی که با افراد جدید ملاقات می‌کنید، مکانی که با بودن در آنجا احساس تنهایی می‌کنید. ، مکانی که با بودن در آنجا احساس ناامنی می‌کنید و غیره... برای نقشه برداری توسط خودتان، باید تصمیم بگیرید که کدام روزها بهترین روز برای دیدن فعالیت های روزانه شما برای یک روز کاری و یک روز آخر هفته یا غیر کاری هستند. برای عکاسی خودکار، می توانید یکی از گزینه های زیر را انتخاب کنید.

- شما میتونید از دوربین/کمره که داده می شود استفاده کنید و دوباره به محقق برگردانید.
- شما میتوانید از دستگاه شخصی خود مانند گوشی وکمره استفاده کرده عکس و فلم ها را به محقق ارسال کنید.

نوت: از آنجا که شرایط آب و هوایی ممکن است بر فعالیت های روزانه شما تأثیر بگذارد، ممکن است تصمیم بگیرید که این فعالیت را در طول فصل مورد نظر خود تکمیل کنید. با این حال، این باید حداکثر تا ماه آگست سال 2023 تکمیل شود.

چه کسی می تواند به سوالات من در مورد این تحقیق پاسخ دهد؟

اگر سوالی دارید، نگرانی دارید یا آسیب مرتبط با تحقیق را تجربه کرده اید، با محقق به آدرس زیر تماس بگیرید:

Pamaneai Chaiwat

پامنی چایوات

(###) ### ####

pamaneec@uoregon.edu

برای معلومات بیشتر شما، یک هیئت بازبینی نهادی ("IRB") بر این تحقیق نظارت دارد. IRB گروهی از افراد است که بررسی مستقل مطالعات تحقیقاتی را برای اطمینان از حمایت از حقوق و رفاه شرکت کنندگان انجام می دهند. UO Research Compliance Services دفتری است که IRB را پشتیبانی می کند. اگر در مورد حقوق خود سوالی دارید یا می خواهید با فردی غیر از تیم تحقیقاتی صحبت کنید، می توانید از طریق آدرس زیر تماس حاصل کنید.

Research Compliance Services

5237 University of Oregon

Eugene, OR 97403-5237

(541) 346-2510

ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

خط شفاهی از رضایت آگاهانه

نام من Pamaneai Chaiwat است و من یک کاندیدای دکترای معماری در دانشگاه اورگان هستم. من در مورد زندگی اجتماعی و انسجام اجتماعی در بعضی از شهر مهاجر/پناهنده پذیر در ایالات متحده تحقیق می کنم و برای دانستن به تجربیات شما به عنوان یک افغان تازه وارد علاقه مند هستم.

هدف از این تحقیق بررسی چگونگی تأثیر طراحی مسکن و فضاهای اجتماعی بر زندگی اجتماعی و انسجام اجتماعی در یک شهر مهاجر/پناهنده پذیر در ایالات متحده است.

شرکت شما ممکن است شامل یک مصاحبه یک ساعته باشد، مشاهده فضایی از محل سکونت شما باید حدود یک ساعت طول بکشد، ویا نقشه برداری یا عکاسی که توسط خود شما انجام می گیرد باید حدود 30 دقیقه مستند شده، طول بکشد اما ممکن است در یک دوره، زمان گیر باشد. شما میتوانید آنها را در چندین روز با انتخاب فعالیت های جداگانه انجام دهید.

1. در جریان مصاحبه: از شما خواسته می شود که شرایط مسکن و محله، فعالیت های روزانه و زندگی اجتماعی خود را شرح دهید. شما می‌توانید از طریق تلفن، جلسه مجازی یا حضوری مصاحبه کنید.

2. با یک مشاهده فضایی: شما با محقق در اطراف محله/منطقه تان قدم می‌زنید و از شما می‌خواهد که مکان‌ها و ویژگی‌های معماری فعالیت‌هایی را که در مصاحبه ذکر کردید، اشاره و توصیف کنید. یک مترجم در صورت نیاز به مصاحبه شما کمک می‌کند. در جریان این تحقیق مصاحبه را ضبط کرده و یادداشت برداری می‌کند و از محله شما عکس می‌گیرد، اندازه گیری می‌کند، طراحی می‌کند و نقشه می‌کشد.

3. نقشه برداری/عکاسی توسط شما: از شما خواسته می شود که سوابق مکان هایی را که به مدت دو روز بازدید می کنید، یکی برای یک روز کاری (روز کاری) و دیگری برای یک آخر هفته (روز غیر کاری) ارائه دهید. در عکاسی خودکار، محقق موضوعاتی را درباره مکان هایی برای شما فراهم می کند که نشان دهنده احساسات و فعالیت های اجتماعی شما باشد. از شما خواسته می شود که عکس های انتخابی که گرفته اید را با محقق به اشتراک بگذارید. این بخش نیاز به ارتباط بیشتر با محقق دارد.

این تحقیق برای جامعه دانشگاهی مفید خواهد بود زیرا به ما کمک می کند تا شرایط اجتماعی- فضایی را بهتر درک کنیم که ممکن است زندگی اجتماعی و ادغام جمعیت پناهندگان/مهاجرین در شهرهای پذیرنده ایالات متحده را تشویق یا مختل کند. لطفاً توجه داشته باشید که شرکت شما داوطلبانه است. شما می توانید هر سوالی را نادیده بگیرید یا مشارکت خود را در هر زمانی خاتمه دهید. می توانید اطلاعات تماس من و همچنین اطلاعات تماس خدمات انطباق تحقیقات دانشگاه اورگان را در سندی که من به تازگی با شما به اشتراک گذاشتم، بیابید. لطفاً در صورت داشتن هر گونه نگرانی یا سؤال در تماس با ما دریغ نکنید.

خاطر نشان باید کرد که، ممکن است خطرات استرس، ناراحتی عاطفی، ناراحتی و از دست دادن احتمالی حریم خصوصی و محرمانگی در ارتباط با شرکت در یک مطالعه تحقیقاتی وجود داشته باشد. لطفاً بدانید که من تمام تلاش را برای محافظت از حریم خصوصی شما انجام خواهم داد. هویت یا اطلاعات شخصی شما در هیچ نشریه ای که ممکن است نتیجه مطالعه باشد فاش نخواهد شد. یادداشت هایی که در طول مشارکت شما در تحقیق گرفته می شود در مکانی امن ذخیره می شود. سابقه مشارکت شما در تحقیق در یک دستگاه محافظت شده با رمز عبور ذخیره می شود و فقط من می توانم به آن دسترسی داشته باشم.

آیا در مورد این تحقیق و مشارکت خود سوالی از من دارید؟

_____ آیا من رضایت شما را برای شرکت در این مصاحبه را دارم؟
_____ اگر من مصاحبه خود را به صورت صوتی و/یا تصویری ضبط کنم، مشکلی نیست؟

_____ آیا من رضایت شما را برای حضور در مشاهده فضایی در محله/منطقه و در اطراف محل سکونت شما را دارم؟

_____ آیا اگر مشاهدات فضایی محله/منطقه شما را به صورت ویدئویی ضبط کنم، مشکلی نیست؟

_____ آیا رضایت شما را برای شرکت در نقشه برداری و عکاسی که توسط خود شما انجام می شود، دارم؟

B.1c Informed consent for Afghan participants (Pashto)

په څېړنه کې د گډون لپاره رضایت

عنوان: "سلام گاونډیانو!" په امریکایی مهاجرینو / مهاجرینو ټولنو کې د ټولنیز همغږۍ څېړنه

څېړونکی: پاماني چایوت

ځای: د اوریگون پوهنتون

د څېړونکي سره څنگه اړیکه ونیسئ: #####

pamaneec@uoregon.edu

پدې څېړنه کې، تاسو څخه غوښتنه کېږي چې په څېړنه کې برخه واخلي. لاندې فورمه تاسو ته د دې څېړنې په اړه کلیدي معلومات چمتو کوي چې تاسو د گډون کولو یا نه کولو پریکړه کولو په وخت کې په پام کې ونیسئ. په لاندې فورمه کې چمتو شوي معلومات په دقت سره ولولئ. که تاسو په لاندې موضوعاتو نه پوهیږئ، مهرباني وکړئ د پریکړې کولو یا گډون کولو دمخه پوښتنې وکړئ.

مهم معلومات په دقت سره ولولئ:

- **داوطلبانه رضایت:** له تاسو څخه غوښتل کېږي چې د څېړنې مطالعې لپاره رضاکار شئ. دا تاسو پورې اړه لري چې گډون وکړئ یا نه. هیڅ جزا یا د گټو ضایع به نه وي چې تاسو یې په بل ډول مستحق یاست که تاسو گډون ونه کړئ یا گډون بند کړئ.
- **موخه:** د دې څېړنې موخه دا ده چې وڅېړل شي چې د کور او ټولنیزو ځایونو ډیزاین څنگه د متحده ایالاتو په متحده ایالاتو کې د کډوال ښار ټولنیز ژوند او ټولنیز یووالي اغیزه کوي. څېړونکي د بیا میشتیدني ښار چاپیریال په اړه د کډوالۍ شالید سره د خلکو تجربو او چلندونو سره علاقه لري.
- **د څېړنې موده:** ستاسو شرکت تمه کېږي چې شاوخوا 2 ساعته او 30 دقیقې وخت ونیسي. پدې کې 1 ساعت مرکه او 1 ساعت د گاونډ تگ او 30 دقیقې اتومات نقشه او اتومات عکس اخیستل شامل دي.
- **میتودونه او فعالیتونه:** پدې څېړنه کې درې فعالیتونه/ میتودونه شتون لري، تاسو کولی شئ یو له هغو څخه غوره کړئ یا په لاندې دریو میتودونو کې برخه واخلي.
 1. د تلیفون له لارې مرکه، مجازی ناسته یا مخامخ مرکه: په مرکه کې به تاسو څخه وغوښتل شي چې ستاسو د کور او گاونډ شرایط، ورځني فعالیتونه او ټولنیز ژوند بیان کړئ. کوم چې تاسو کولی شئ په تلیفون، مجازی یا مخامخ ناسته کې ترسره کړئ.
 2. **د اوسیدو ځای مشاهده:** څېړونکي د اوسیدو ځای او شاوخوا ساحه څاري او له تاسو څخه غوښتنه کېږي چې د هغه فعالیتونو ځایونه او معماري ځانګړتیاوې په گوته او تشریح کړئ چې تاسو په مرکه کې یادونه کړې. د اړتیا په صورت کې یو ژباړونکی د مرکه کونکي سره مرسته کوي. د دې څېړنې په جریان کې، مرکه ثبت کېږي او نوټونه اخیستل کېږي، او ستاسو گاونډی عکس اخیستل کېږي، اندازه کېږي، پالن شوي او نقشه کېږي.

3. **پخپله نقشه کول:** له تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې هغه ځایونه ثبت کړئ چې تاسو یې د دوه ورځو لپاره گورئ، یو د کاري ورځې (رسمي ورځ) لپاره او بل د اونۍ پای (غیر کاري/غیر رسمي ورځ) لپاره چمتو کړئ. په اتوماتیک عکس العمل کې، څیړونکي تاسو ته د هغو ځایونو په اړه موضوعات وړاندې کوي چې ستاسو احساسات او ټولنیز فعالیتونه منعکس کوي. له تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې هغه عکسونه چې تاسو یې د خپلې خوښې سره سم اخیستي د څیړونکي سره شریک کړئ. دا برخه د څیړونکي سره لا ډیرو اړیکو ته اړتیا لري.

- **احتمالي خطرونه:** ستاسو د گډون ځینې وړاندوینې خطرونه یا ناراحتۍ عبارت دي له فشار، د ټولنیزو خطرونو له امله احساساتي اضطراب، او رواني خطرونه او ناراحتۍ. تاسو اړتیا لرئ هغه معلومات شریک کړئ چې تاسو یې په شریکولو کې د آرامۍ احساس نه کوئ، او تاسو کولی شئ په هر وخت کې په څیړنه کې برخه اخیستل ودرئ.
- گټې: په دې څیړنه کې د گډون کولو څخه تاسو ته هیڅ مستقیمه گټه نشته. په هر صورت، څیړونکي هیله لري چې د ټولنیز - ځایي شرایطو په اړه ښه پوهه ترلاسه کړي چې کیدای شي د متحده ایالاتو مهاجرینو / مهاجرینو ترلاسه کولو ښارونو کې د ټولنې ژوند او ټولنیز یووالي هڅوي.
- **بدیل انتخابونه:** په دې فعالیت کې د گډون لپاره د بدیل په توګه، تاسو کولی شئ په آنلاین سروې کې برخه واخلي یا په څیړنه کې برخه وانخوړئ.

که زه په دې څیړنه کې د گډون کولو موافقه وکړم نو څه به پېښ شي؟

1. که تاسو په مرکه کې د گډون کولو موافق یاست، ستاسو مسؤلیت به د مرکې پوښتنو ته ځواب ووايي چې په هغه کې به تاسو څخه د کور شرایطو، ګاونډیانو سره د اړیکو، د افغاني ټولنې ټولنیز ژوند او نور خلک چې د یو بل سره د تړاو، تړاو احساس لري. او منل. تاسو یې لرئ بیا هم، د احتمالي صدمې تجربې په اړه د خوندیتوب حساس پوښتنې پدې کې شامل دي:

- آیا کومه بده حافظه یا پېښه شته چې تاسو د ناامنی احساس کړئ؟
- آیا تاسو کله هم په خپل ګاونډ کې د جنسي تیري یا بد چلند سره مخ شوي یاست؟
- مهرباني وکړئ په خپل ښار او اوسني ګاونډ کې د ژوند توپیرونه او ورته والیونه شریک کړئ.
- تاسو په خپل هیواد کې د ټولنیز ژوند په اړه څه له لاسه ورکوئ چې تاسو یې دلته بیا غواړئ؟

یادونه: تاسو کولی شئ د مرکې طریقه، وخت او ځای وټاکئ. مرکه به ویدیو او آډیو ثبت شي. تاسو کولی شئ هغه پوښتنې پرېږدئ چې تاسو نارامه کوي او تاسو کولی شئ هرکله چې وغواړئ ودرئ.

2. که تاسو په مرکه کې د گډون کولو موافق یاست، د استوګنې ځای، د لیدنې او عکس اخیستلو لپاره ځای چمتو کړئ او د معمارۍ له نظره مطالعه وکړئ او خپل ګاونډی او ورځني فعالیتونه وښايئ. له تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې ستاسو د ټولنیزو فعالیتونو او کلتوري کړنو سره تړلي ځایونه او معماري ځانګړتیاوې وپېژني او تشریح یې کړئ. دا څیړنه د معمارۍ اجزاو، ښو او ځای باندې تمرکز کوي چې د یو ځای سره د تړاو پروسې پورې تړاو لري، یو ځای سره نښلول، او په نهایت کې د ټولنې نبض کې مرسته کوي. تاسو به د خپل ودانۍ کمپلیکس او/یا شاوخوا ګاونډ کې هم څیړونکي ته لار شئ پداسې حال کې چې تاسو د خپل ورځني معمول په اړه خبرې کوئ. دا فعالیت په سایټ کې د مرکې سره یوځای ترسره کیدی شي.

یادونه: د خبرو اترو ویدیو او آډیو ثبت کول او د فضا مشاهدو اسناد به وي چې پکې عکسونه، نقشه کول او نقاشي شامل دي. تاسو کولی شئ هغه پوښتنې پرېږدئ چې تاسو نارامه کوي او تاسو کولی شئ هرکله چې وغواړئ ودرئ.

3. که تاسو په څېړنه کې د گډون کولو موافقه وکړه، تاسو به د نقشي جوړولو او عکس اخیستلو په برخه کې له ځانه سره همکاري وکړئ، چې په دې برخه کې به نور روزنه ورکړل شي. پدې څېړنه کې د هغه ځایونو ریکارډ چمتو کول شامل دي چې تاسو یې د دوه ورځو لپاره لیدنه کوئ او د موضوعاتو عکسونه اخیستل شامل دي لکه هغه ځای چې تاسو خوندي احساس کوئ، هغه ځای چې تاسو یې خوند اخلئ، هغه ځای چې تاسو یې ډیر خوند اخلئ، د نوي خلکو سره د لیدلو امکان شتون لري. تاسو یوازې احساس کوئ، هغه ځای چې تاسو هلته د ناامنی احساس کوئ، او داسې نور... د خپل ځان نقشه کولو لپاره، تاسو اړتیا لرئ پریکړه وکړئ چې کومې ورځې د کاري ورځې او د اونی پای یا غیر کاري ورځې لپاره ستاسو ورځني فعالیتونو لیدلو لپاره غوره ورځې دي. د اتوماتیک عکس اخیستلو لپاره، تاسو کولی شئ د لاندې انتخابونو څخه یو غوره کړئ.

- تاسو کولی شئ هغه کیمره وکاروئ چې ورکړل شوې وي او څیړونکي ته یې بیرته ورکړئ.
- تاسو کولی شئ خپل شخصي وسیله لکه تلیفون او کیمره وکاروئ ترڅو څیړونکي ته عکسونه او ویديوگانې واستوئ.

یادونه: لکه څنګه چې د هوا شرایط ممکن ستاسو ورځني فعالیتونه اغیزمن کړي، تاسو ممکن پریکړه وکړئ چې دا فعالیت د خپل مطلوب فصل په جریان کې بشپړ کړئ. په هر صورت، دا باید د اګست تر 2023 پورې بشپړ شي.

څوک کولی شي د دې څیړنې په اړه زما پوښتنو ته ځواب ووايي؟
که تاسو پوښتنې، اندیښنې لرئ، یا د څیړنې اړوند زیان تجربه کړی وي، د څیړونکي سره اړیکه ونیسئ:

Pamaneec Chaiwat پامنی چایوات

(###) ### #####

pamaneec@uoregon.edu

ستاسو د معلوماتو لپاره، د ادارې بیاکتنې بورډ ("IRB") د دې څیړنې څارنه کوي. IRB د خلکو یوه ډله ده چې د څیړنې مطالعاتو خپلواکه بیاکتنې ترسره کوي ترڅو ډاډ ترلاسه کړي چې د برخه اخیستونکو حقونه او هوساینې خوندي دي. د UO څیړنیز اطاعت خدمات هغه دفتر دی چې د IRB ملاتړ کوي. که تاسو د خپلو حقونو په اړه کومه پوښتنه لرئ یا غواړئ چې د څیړنې ټیم پرته بل چا سره خبرې وکړئ، تاسو کولی شئ موږ سره په لاندې پته اړیکه ونیسئ.

Research Compliance Services

5237 University of Oregon

Eugene, OR 97403-5237

(541) 346-2510

ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

د باخبر رضایت لفظي کرښه

زما نوم پاماني چایوات دی او زه د اوریګون په پوهنتون کې د معمارۍ په برخه کې د PhD نوماند یم. زه په متحده ایالاتو کې د مهاجرینو/کډوالو په ښارګوټي کې د ټولنې ژوند او ټولنیز یووالي څیړم او د یوه نوي راغلي افغان په توګه ستاسو د تجربو په اړه لیاوالتیا لرم.

د دې څیړنې موخه دا ده چې دا وڅیړل شي چې څنګه د کور او ټولنیزو ځایونو ډیزاین په متحده ایالاتو کې د مهاجر/کډوالو په ښار کې ټولنیز ژوند او ټولنیز یووالي اغیزه کوي.

ستاسو شرکت ممکن یو ساعت مرکه ولري، ستاسو د استوگنې ځای مشاهده باید یو ساعت وخت ونیسي، یا د خپل ځان لخوا ترسره شوي نقشه یا عکس اخیستل باید شاوخوا 30 دقیقې وخت ونیسي، مستند شوی، مگر دا ممکن د کورس وخت نیسي. . تاسو کولی شئ دا په څو ورځو کې د جلا فعالیتونو په غوره کولو سره ترسره کړئ.

1. د مرکې په جریان کې: له تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې ستاسو د کور او ګاونډ شرایط، ورځني فعالیتونه او ټولنیز ژوند تشریح کړئ. تاسو کولی شئ د تلیفون له لارې مرکه وکړئ، په مجازی ناسته کې، یا په شخص کې.

2. د ځایي مشاهدې سره: تاسو د څیړونکي سره د خپل ګاونډ/سیمې شاوخوا ګرځي او هغه له تاسو څخه غوښتنه کوي چې د هغه فعالیتونو ځایونه او معماري ځانګړتیاوې په ګوته او تشریح کړئ چې تاسو په مرکه کې یادونه کړې. د اړتیا په صورت کې یو ژباړونکی به ستاسو په مرکه کې مرسته وکړي. د دې څیړنې په جریان کې، هغه به مرکه ثبت کړي او نوټونه واخلې او عکسونه واخلې، اندازه کړي، ډیزاین او ستاسو ګاونډی نقشه.

3. ستاسو لخوا نقشه / عکس اخیستل: تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې د هغو ځایونو ریکارډونه چمتو کړئ چې تاسو د دوو ورځو لپاره لیدنه کوئ، یو د کاري ورځې (د کار ورځې) لپاره او بل د اونی پای (غیر کاري ورځ) لپاره. په اتوماتیک عکس العمل کې، څیړونکي تاسو ته د هغو ځایونو په اړه موضوعات وړاندې کوي چې ستاسو احساسات او ټولنیز فعالیتونه منعکس کوي. له تاسو څخه به وغوښتل شي چې هغه غوره شوي عکسونه شریک کړئ چې تاسو یې د څیړونکي سره اخیستي دي. دا برخه د څیړونکي سره لاپروړو اړیکو ته اړتیا لري.

دا څیړنه به اکاډمیک ټولنې ته ګټه ورسوي ځکه چې دا موږ سره د ټولنیز - ځایي شرایطو په بڼه پوهیدو کې مرسته کوي کوم چې کولی شي د متحده ایالاتو کوربه ښارونو کې د مهاجرینو / مهاجرینو نفوس ټولنیز ژوند او ادغام هڅوي یا خنډ کړي. مهرباني وکړئ په یاد ولرئ چې ستاسو ګډون داوطلبانه دی. تاسو کولی شئ هره پوښتنه له پامه وغورځوئ یا په هر وخت کې خپل ګډون لغوه کړئ. تاسو کولی شئ زما د اړیکې معلومات او همدارنګه د اوریګون پوهنتون د څیړنې اطاعت خدماتو لپاره د اړیکې معلومات په هغه سند کې وموئ چې ما یوازې ستاسو سره شریک کړی. مهرباني وکړئ له موږ سره اړیکه ونیسئ که تاسو کومه اندیښنه یا پوښتنه لرئ.

دا باید په پام کې ونیول شي چې د څیړنې مطالعې کې د ګډون سره د فشار، احساساتي مصیبت، ناامني، او د محرمیت او محرمیت احتمالي ضایع خطرونه شتون لري. مهرباني وکړئ پوه شئ چې زه به ستاسو د محرمیت ساتلو لپاره ترټولو غوره هڅه وکړم. ستاسو هویت یا شخصي معلومات به په هره څېړنه کې نه افشا کېږي چې ممکن د مطالعې پایله وي. په څیړنه کې ستاسو د ګډون پرمهال اخیستل شوي یادداشتونه به په خوندي ځای کې زیرمه شي. ستاسو په څیړنه کې د ګډون ریکارډ په پټنوم کې خوندي شوی وسیله کې زیرمه شوی او یوازې زه کولی شم ورته لاسرسی ومومئ.

ایا تاسو د دې څیړنې او ستاسو د ګډون په اړه کومه پوښتنه لرئ؟

_____ ایا زه په دې مرکه کې د ګډون لپاره ستاسو رضایت لرم؟
_____ ایا دا سمه ده که زه خپله مرکه آډیو او/یا ویډیو ثبت کړم؟

_____ ایا زه ستاسو رضایت لرم چې په ګاونډ/سیمه کې او ستاسو د استوګنې په شاوخوا کې د فضا مشاهده کې ګډون وکړم؟
_____ ایا دا سمه ده که زه ستاسو د ګاونډ/سیمې د فضا مشاهدې ویډیو ټیپ کړم؟

_____ ایا زه ستاسو رضایت لرم چې په نقشه کولو او عکس اخیستلو کې برخه واخلم چې پخپله ترسره کېږي؟

B.1d INFORMED CONSENT VERBAL SCRIPT

My name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am a PhD candidate in Architecture at University of Oregon. I am conducting research about the social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States, and I am interested in your experiences as a recently arrive Afghan. The purpose of the research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. Your participation may involve a one-hour interview, a spatial observation of your dwelling unit which should take about two hours, and/or auto-mapping and auto-photography which should take about 30 minutes of documentation but may span over a period of several days. You may choose to participate in any selected activities or all of them.

1. During the interview, you will be asked to describe your housing and neighborhood conditions, daily activities, and your social life. You can choose to give an interview can be given via phone, a virtual meeting, or in-person.
2. During a spatial observation, you will be walking the researcher through your dwelling unit and surrounding neighborhood and asked to point and describe the locations and the architectural attributes of the activities that you mentioned in the interview. A translator will assist an interview when needed. The research will record and take notes of the interview and photograph, measure, sketch, and map your dwelling unit and neighborhood.
3. In an auto-mapping, you will be asked to provide records of places you visit for two days, one for a weekday (workday) and another for a weekend (non-workday). In auto-photography, the investigator will provide topics about place for you to take photo representing your feelings and social activities. You will be asked to share selected photos you have taken with the researcher. This part requires further communication with the investigator.

This research will benefit the academic community because it helps us to better understanding of social-spatial conditions which may encourage or impede social life and integration of refugee populations in US receiving cities. Please keep in mind that your participation is voluntary. You can skip any questions or terminate your participation at any time. You can find my contact information as well as University of Oregon's Research Compliance Services contact information in the given document that I just share with you. Please do not hesitate to reach out if you have any concerns of questions.

There may be risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in a research study. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location. A record of this interview will be stored in a password protected device and can only be accessed by me.

Do you have any questions for me about this research and your participation?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in an interview?

_____ Would it be all right if I record our interview?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in a spatial observation of your dwelling unit?

_____ Would it be all right if I record our interview?

_____ Do I have your consent to participate in an auto-mapping and auto-photography?

B.2a Informed consent for a community leader participant

Title: "Hello, Neighbors!" Investigations of Social Cohesion in American Refugee Receiving Communities

Researcher(s): Pamanee Chaiwat, University of Oregon

Researcher Contact Info: (###) ### ####, pamaneec@uoregon.edu

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision whether or not to participate. Carefully consider this information and the more detailed information provided below the box. Please ask questions about any of the information you do not understand before you decide whether to participate.

Key Information for You to Consider

- **Voluntary Consent.** You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation.
- **Purpose.** The purpose of this research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. The researcher is interested in experiences and behaviors of people with refugee background in relation to their neighbors and environment of a resettlement city.
- **Duration.** It is expected that your participation will last about 1 hour.
- **Procedures and Activities.** During an interview, you will be asked to describe your roles in a community, your observation of residents, your assistance to receive new residents, interactions with neighbors, social life among ethnically diverse community. Sensitive questions about potential traumatize experience are:
 - Have how Afghan community here being perceived and welcome including bias and mistreatment?
 - Have you heard or witnessed any conflicts between Afghan refugees and others?You can skip any question that makes you uncomfortable and you can stop anytime. A translator may assist an interview if needed. The researcher will record and take notes of the interview.
- **Risks.** Some of the foreseeable risks or discomforts of your participation include stress, emotional distress due to social risks and psychological risks, and inconvenience. You do not have to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. You can stop the participation in the interview at any time.

- **Benefits.** There are no direct benefits to you from taking part in this research. However, the researcher hopes to gain better understanding of physical conditions which may encourage or impede social life and integration of refugee populations in the US.
- **Alternatives.** Participation is voluntary and the only alternative is to not participate.

Will it cost me money to take part in this research?

There are no costs associated with participation in this research study.

Will I be paid for participating in this research?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions, concerns, or have experienced a research related injury, contact the researcher at:

Pamanee Chaiwat
541-220-6070
pamaneec@uoregon.edu

An Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. UO Research Compliance Services is the office that supports the IRB. If you have questions about your rights or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Research Compliance Services
5237 University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97403-5237
(541) 346-2510 ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

B.2b INFORMED CONSENT VERBAL SCRIPT

My name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am a PhD candidate in Architecture at University of Oregon. I am conducting research about the social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States, and I am interested in your experiences as a representative of Afghan community in _____. The purpose of the research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States.

Your participation will involve one interview that will last about an hour. During the interview, you will be asked to describe your roles in a community, your observation of residents, your assistance to new residents of refugee backgrounds. [A translator may assist an interview if needed.]

Please keep in mind that your participation is voluntary. You can skip any questions or terminate your participation at any time. You can find my contact information as well as University of Oregon's Research Compliance Services contact information in the given document that I just share with you. Please do not hesitate to reach out if you have any concerns or questions.

Some of the foreseeable risks or discomforts of your participation include stress, emotional distress due to social risks and psychological risks, and inconvenience. You do not have to share any information that you are not comfortable sharing. You can also stop the participation in the interview at any time. Please know that we will do everything we can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location. A record of this interview will be stored in a password protected device and can only be accessed by the research team.

_____ Do you have any questions for me about this research and your participation?

_____ If this is ok, may I have your consent to proceed this interview?

_____ Would it be all right if I audio and/or video record our interview? Saying no to recording will have no effect on the interview.

B.3a Informed consents for a refugee resettlement organization

Title: "Hello, Neighbors!" Investigations of Social Cohesion in American Refugee Receiving Communities

Researcher(s): Pamanee Chaiwat, University of Oregon

Researcher Contact Info: (###) ### ####, pamaneec@uoregon.edu

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision whether or not to participate. Carefully consider this information and the more detailed information provided below the box. Please ask questions about any of the information you do not understand before you decide whether to participate.

Key Information for You to Consider
• Voluntary Consent. You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation. • Purpose. The purpose of this research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. The researcher is interested in experiences and behaviors of people with refugee background in relation to their neighbors and environment of a resettlement city. • Duration. It is expected that your participation will last about 1 hour. • Procedures and Activities. During an interview, you will be asked to describe refugee resettlement strategic placement plans specifically on housing, their implementation, and actual practical methods. The interviews will also cover personal experiences and opinions on recurring and common problems refugees needs, and organization roles in facilitating integration and promoting interactions with a local community. • Risks. There may be risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in a research study. • Benefits. There are no direct benefits to you from taking part in this research. However, the researcher hopes to gain better understanding of social-spatial conditions which may encourage or impede social life and integration of refugee populations in US receiving cities. • Alternatives. Participation is voluntary and the only alternative is to not participate.

What are the risks if I participate in this research?

The risks or discomforts of participating in this research include psychological risks (e.g., embarrassment, trauma, or guilt) and social risks (e.g., social ostracizing or discrimination). There may be risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in this study.

What are the benefits of participating in this research?

You may or may not benefit from participating in this research. There are no known direct benefits to you from participating in this study. However, it is hoped that information gained from this study will help expand and deepen the understanding of social-spatial in relation to social life and integration of refugee populations in US receiving cities.

What if I want to stop participating in this research?

Taking part in this research study is your decision. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you can stop at any time. You have the right to choose not to participate in any study activity or completely withdraw from continued participation at any point in this study without penalty. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Oregon.

You can withdraw once the study has begun. You can request your information not be used for research, and the researcher will delete the obtained information and documentation (including any measurements, video recordings and photographs) in the hard drive. If you decide to leave this research, you can contact the researcher so that the researcher can orderly terminate your participation and delete any information that you have provided.

Will it cost me money to take part in this research?

There are no costs associated with participation in this research study.

Will I be paid for participating in this research?

You will not be paid for taking part in this research.

Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions, concerns, or have experienced a research related injury, contact the researcher at:

Pamanee Chaiwat
###-###-####
pamaneec@uoregon.edu

An Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. UO Research Compliance Services is the office that supports the IRB. If you have questions about your rights or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Research Compliance Services
5237 University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97403-5237
(541) 346-2510
ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu

B.3b Informed Consent Verbal Script

Hello, my name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am a PhD candidate in Architecture at University of Oregon. I am conducting research about the social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States, and I am interested in your experiences as a resettlement agency. The purpose of the research is to examine how design of housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. Your participation will involve one interview that will last about an hour. During the interview, you will be asked to describe refugee resettlement strategic placement plans specifically on housing, their implementation, and actual practical methods. This will also cover personal experiences and opinions on recurring and common problems refugees needs, and organization roles in facilitating integration and promoting interactions with a local community. This research will benefit the academic community because it helps us to better understanding of social-spatial conditions which may encourage or impede social life and integration of refugee populations in US receiving cities.

Please keep in mind that your participation is voluntary. You can skip any questions or terminate your participation at any time. You can find my contact information as well as University of Oregon's Research Compliance Services contact information in the given document that I just share with you. Please do not hesitate to reach out if you have any concerns of questions.

There may be risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy and confidentiality associated with participating in a research study. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location. A record of this interview will be stored in a password protected device and can only be accessed by me. Would it be all right if I record our interview? Saying no to recording will have no effect on the interview.

Would you like the name of your affiliated organization to remain confidential or I have a permission to disclose the name of the organization?

Do you have any questions for me about this research and your participation?

If this is ok, may I have your consent to proceed this interview?

APPENDIX C
RECRUITMENT MATERIALS

C.1 Interview recruitment email for a resettle agency

Dear [Name]:

My name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Oregon. I am conducting a research study examining how designs housing and social spaces have influenced social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. I would like to invite you to participate in an interview because someone refer that you have been working closely to assisting refugees in their resettlement in (Eugene/Sacramento).

The purpose of this research is to seek a better understanding of how housing design and communal spaces impact refugees' social life and community cohesion within a receiving city.

An interview is anticipated to take no more than an hour via an online platform. Questions will cover refugee resettlement strategic placement plans specifically on housing, their implementation, and actual practical methods; your work experiences and personal opinions on recurring and common problems refugees needs; and organization roles in facilitating integration and promoting interactions with a local community.

Your identity will be kept confidential. This study presents no more than minimal risk and there are no direct benefits to you.

If are interested to give an interview, please contact the investigator Pamanee Chaiwat by simply reply to this email. You may request to review interview questions in advance.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. If you prefer to speak with someone else, call the UO Research Compliance Services at (541) 346-2510.

Thank you for your consideration.

Pamanee Chaiwat
pamaneec@uoregon.edu xxx-xxx-xxx

C.2 Verbal script

Afghan refugee participants

OPENING:

Salaam! My name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Oregon. I am conducting a research study on how housing and social spaces have influenced community life and social cohesion of a refugee-receiving city in the United States. I am reaching out to you because you have expressed your interest to participate in more research activities. The purpose of this research is to seek a better understanding of how housing design and communal spaces impact refugees' social life and community cohesion within a receiving city.

Additional research activities include:

- Giving an interview (approximately one hour at a location of your choice).
- Guide spatial observation around your neighborhood area.
- Take photos and maps of your daily routine (one weekday and one weekend).

Your participation is voluntary and there is no direct benefit to you to partake in this research. Here is the consent form for your information. There might be risks of emotional discomfort involved and you can terminate your participation at any time.

SCREENING:

Before we start, I have few screening questions here.

- Are you 18 years of age or older?
- Are you considering yourself refugees?

If you are still interested to participate in any part of the research activities, we can schedule an interview, or I can provide more details instructions.

CLOSING:

Do you have any questions you would like answered now?

You may contact the researcher Pamanee Chaiwat at pamaneec@uoregon.edu. If you prefer to speak with someone else, call the UO Research Compliance Services at (541) 346-2510.

A community leader participant

OPENING:

Hello! My name is Pamanee Chaiwat, and I am from the University of Oregon. I am conducting a research study on how housing and social spaces have influenced community life and social cohesion of a refugee- receiving city in the United States, specifically for recently arrive Afghans. I would like to interview you about your experiences because you have actively assisted other newly arrivals immigrants and refugees. The purpose of this research is to seek a better understanding of how housing design and communal spaces impact refugees' social life and community cohesion within a receiving city.

The interview will take about one hour. We can schedule time and location according to your convenience. Your identity will be kept confidential. This study presents no more than minimal risk and there are no direct benefits to you. Would you be interested in participating?

CLOSING:

Do you have any questions you would like answered now?

You may contact the researcher Pamanee Chaiwat at pamaneec@uoregon.edu. If you prefer to speak with someone else, call the UO Research Compliance Services at (541) 346-2510.

C.3 Research Advertisement distributed via social media

English version

**Refugee resettlement, housing,
and US receiving communities**

This research seeks to understand how housing design and communal spaces impact your social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city.

- Participate in a research study at a location of your choice.
- Share your experiences living in America.
 - Help us understand your needs.

Are you eligible?

- 18 years and older
- Afghan refugees or immigrants

Please contact the researcher Pamanee Chaiwat at pamaneec@uoregon.edu or 541-xxx-xxxx
Pamanee Chaiwat is a PhD Candidate at University of Oregon.

*This study presents no more than minimal risk and there is no direct benefits to you.

اسکان مجدد برای مهاجرین؛ تهیه مسکن و پذیرش جامعه ایالت متحده
این تحقیق به دنبال دانستن چگونه گی طراحی مسکن برای مهاجرین؛ پناهنده گان و تاثیر آن بر زنده گی اجتماعی و انسجام آنها در یک شهر مهاجر/پناهنده پذیر بوده؛ است.



- انتخاب محل برای اشتراک در این تحقیق مطابق خواست شما خواهد بود.
- تجربیات خود را از زنده گی در آمریکا به اشتراک بگذارید.
- با اشتراک نمودن در این تحقیق به ما کمک کنید تا نیاز های شما را درک کنیم.

آیا شما واجد شرایط جهت اشتراک هستید؟

- سن شما ۱۸ و بالاتر از آن باشد.
- پناهنده یا مهاجران افغان سکن ایالت متحده باشید.

لطفاً از طریق ایمیل آدرس زیر با محقق پامنی چایوت تماس بگیرید.
خانم چایوت کاندیدی دکترا در دانشگاه اورگان است.
pamaneec@uoregon.edu or 541_908_7357

نوٹ: این تحقیق هیچ گونه خطر یا سود مستقیم برای شما ندارد.

د مهاجرینو لپاره بیا میشتیدنه؛ د متحده ایالاتو په ټولنه کې د کور او منلو چمتو کول
دا څیړنه هڅه کوي چې پوه شي چې څنګه د مهاجرینو لپاره کور ډیزاین کړي؛ کډوال او په یوه مهاجر/کډوال دوستانه ښار کې د دوی په ټولنیز ژوند او بیوالي باندې د هغې اغیزې دی.



- په دې څیړنه کې د ګډون لپاره د ځای انتخاب به ستاسو د هیلو سره سم وي.
- په امریکا کې د ژوند په اړه خپلې تجربې شریکي کړئ.
- په دې سروې کې د ګډون له لارې مور سره ستاسو د اړتیاوو په پوهیدو کې مرسته وکړئ.

ایا تاسو د ګډون کولو وړ یاست؟

- ستاسو عمر 18 یا ډیر دی.
- یو افغان مهاجر یا مهاجر اوسې چې په متحده ایالاتو کې اوسیږي.

مهرباني وکړئ د لاندې بریښنالیک له لارې د محقق پامی چایوت سره اړیکه ونیسئ.
اځلي چایوت د اوریګون په پوهنتون کې د پی ایچ ډي نوماند ده.
pamaneec@uoregon.edu یا 908_7357_541

یادونه: دا څیړنه ستاسو لپاره مستقیم خطر یا ګټه نلري.

C.4 Survey Recruitment Posters

English version

Community Cohesion Study

Refugee resettlement, housing, and US communities

How refugee-friendly is your neighborhood?

This online survey will take
about 10 minutes!



Use this QR code or
click [HERE!](#)

This research seeks to understand how housing design and communal spaces impact your social life and community cohesion of a refugee-receiving city.

Are you eligible?

- 18 years and older
- Afghan refugee /SIV/asylum seekers/parolee

For more information contact the researcher

Pamaneec Chaiwat at: pamaneec@uoregon.edu or 541-357-9087

Department of Architecture, University of Oregon

*This study presents no more than minimal risk and there are no direct benefits to you.



نظرسنجی در مورد انسجام اجتماعی

اسکان مجدد برای مهاجرین، تهیه خانه و پذیرش جامعه ایالت متحده

در محیط که شما زندگی میکنید فضا چقدر دوستانه و صمیمی است؟

این نظرسنجی 10 دقیقه طول خواهد کشید!



برای دریافت لینک اینجا را کلیک
کنید!

این نظرسنجی به دنبال درک چگونه گی تاثیر طراحی مسکن و فضا های جمعی بر زنده گی اجتماعی و انسجام اجتماعی شما در یک شهر مهاجر/پناهنده پذیر میباشد

نوت: این تحقیق هیچ گونه خطر یا سود مستقیم برای شما ندارد

آیا شما واجد شرایط برای اشتراک هستید؟

- داشتن سن ۱۸ سال و بالاتر از آن
- مهاجران افغانستانی SIV/asylum seekers/parolee

برای اطلاعات بیشتر با محقق به تماس شوید.

یا دیپارتمنت استادان دانشگاه اورگان
pamaneec@uoregon.edu or 541_357_9087



د ټولنيز يووالي په اړه څيړنه

د مهاجرينو لپاره بيا ميشته كيدل، د كور چمتو كول او د متحده ايالاتو په ټولنه كې منل

ستاسو د ژوند چاپيريال څومره دوستانه او نږدې دی؟

دا آنلاین سروی به 10 دقیقې وخت ونیسي



دی سروی لینک دلته دی!

دا څيړنه هڅه كوي پوه شي چې د استوگنې او ټولنيز ځايونو ډيزاين څنگه
په مهاجر/كډوال ښار كې ستاسو ټولنيز ژوند او ټولنيز يووالي اغيزه كوي

ايا تاسو د ګډون كولو وړ ياست؟

- د 18 كلن يا ډير عمر درلودل
- د افغان مهاجر SIV/asylum seekers/parolee

د نورو معلوماتو لپاره د څيړونكې يا د اورېدونكي په پوهنتون كې د پروفيسورانو
څانګه سره اړيکه ونيسئ:

541-357-9087

يا pamaneec@uoregon.edu

يادونه: دا څيړنه ستاسو لپاره مستقيم خطر يا ګټه نلري



APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

D.1 Interview guide for an Afghan participant

1. Could you please tell me about yourself?
2. What brings you here to (Eugene / Sacramento)?
3. How long have you lived here?
4. Could you please describe your household situation?
5. How do you like living in this place? Are there other options?
6. Please describe (preferred) places or environments that you usually hangout with others? Why?
7. We are interested in communities. What comes to mind when you think of a community?
 - 7.1 What about your community? Who are they?
 - 7.2 How would you define “your community” here?
8. We are interested in your thoughts about connectedness in your community.
 - 8.1 Tell me about how connected the community is. Please share a few examples of connectedness.
 - 8.2 Do you feel unwelcome or left out from the community?
 - 8.3 What could be done to help you feel more connected?
9. With a neighborhood becoming more diverse with immigrants and refugees, do you have any concerns?
10. Would you personally want to be friends with your neighbors?
11. Do you feel comfortable with people in your neighborhood?
 - 11.1 Does it impact your decision to settle or to move elsewhere?
 - 11.2 Does it impact your daily life and places you visit regularly?
12. Neighborhood safety
 - 12.1 Do you feel comfortable walking alone around a neighborhood area? During the day or night? What makes you feel comfortable/uncomfortable?
 - 12.2 Was there any bad memories or incidents that make you feel unsafe?
 - 12.3 Have you ever encountered any assault or mistreatment in your neighborhood?

D.2 Interview guide for an Afghan community leader

1. Could you please tell me about yourself (age, family, marital, education, employment)?
2. Why do you choose to settle here (Eugene / Sacramento)?
3. Tell me about your roles in your community.
 - 3.1. Among your own ethnic group
 - 3.2. Among Afghan immigrants
 - 3.3. Connections to none-Afghan people
4. How do you help and assist newly arrive Afghans?
 - 4.1 Housing
 - 4.2 Socializing
 - 4.3 Employment/Education
 - 4.4 Health
 - 4.5 Finance
5. Have you organized or facilitated any social gatherings for your community? Please explain.
 - 5.1 Types of events
 - 5.2 Avenue
 - 5.3 Participants
6. Have how Afghan community here being perceived and welcome?
 - 6.1 Any bias or mistreatment
 - 6.2 What makes it better or worse?
7. Have you heard or witnessed any conflicts between Afghan refugees and others?
8. In your opinion, what are the most challenging tasks for Afghans to integrate or adjust to?
9. Since you have been living here for xx years, how have Afghan community evolved?
 - 9.1 What kind of spaces are needed to support the community?
 - 9.2 Migration within the US
 - 9.3 What about relationships to other immigrant groups and American community?
10. Do you think Afghan community are being treated justly?
11. Is there any customs or culture that make it more challenging for Afghan men and women to adjust to American lifestyle especially when they first arrive?
12. In your opinion, what are the most challenging aspects for *Afghan women* to integrate or adjust to?
13. How are women and children engaged and impacted differently than other members of the community?

D.3 Interview guide for a refugee resettlement agency

1. Could you please tell me about yourself (position, organization, roles & responsibility)?
2. Please explain how each case is being handled and assign resettlement assistance here.
3. What policy or strategy the organization has employed and implemented to a resettlement practice?
4. How do you help and assist newly arrive Afghans refugee?
 - 4.1 Housing
 - 4.2 Socializing
 - 4.3 Employment/Education
 - 4.4 Health
 - 4.5 Finance
5. Have you organized or facilitated any social gatherings for the community? Please explain.
 - 5.1 Types of events
 - 5.2 Venue
 - 5.3 Participants
6. How Afghan community here being perceived and welcome?
 - 6.1 Any bias or mistreatment
 - 6.2 What makes it better or worse?
7. Have you heard or witnessed any conflicts between Afghan refugees and others? Please explain.
8. In your opinion, what are the most challenging tasks for Afghans to integrate or adjust to?
9. Is there any customs or culture that make it more challenging for Afghan men and women to adjust to American lifestyle especially when they first arrive?
10. In your opinion, what are the most challenging aspects for Afghan women to integrate or adjust to?
11. How are women and children engaged and impacted differently than other members of the community?
12. What are unique conditions when resettling Afghan refugees in comparison to other refugee groups?
13. How can the resettlement agency improve a resettlement experience for refugees and Afghan specifically?

APPENDIX E
ONLINE SURVEYS

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

I. Please identify yourself

- ☐ Recently resettled Afghan (arrive in the U.S. less than 3 years)
- ☐ I am a foreign-born person having been living in the U.S. for (3-5) years
- ☐ I am a foreign-born person having been living in the U.S. for (6-10) years
- ☐ I am a foreign-born person having been living in the U.S. for more than 10 years

II. Which city do you live in? (city), (state)

III. Gender

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Female | ☐ Nonbinary |
| ☐ Male | ☐ Prefer not to respond |

IV. Age range

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ☐ 18-30 | ☐ 30-45 |
| ☐ 45-60 | ☐ Above 60 |

V. Marital status

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Single | ☐ In a domestic partnership |
| ☐ Married | ☐ Separated |
| ☐ Divorced | ☐ Widowed |

VI. Number of Children

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ☐ 0 | ☐ 1 |
| ☐ 2 | ☐ 3 |
| ☐ 4 | ☐ more than 4 |

VII. Education Level

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Primary or less | ☐ Secondary |
| ☐ High School | ☐ Some college, no degree |
| ☐ Associate degree | ☐ Bachelor's degree |
| ☐ Post-graduate degree | ☐ Other_____ |

VIII. English Proficiency

- ☐ Advance English Proficiency
- ☐ I can communicate in basic English
- ☐ I can communicate in basic English but not in reading or writing.
- ☐ I cannot understand much English, but I am learning English.
- ☐ I cannot understand any English and I have no plan to learn English.

IX. Employment Status

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Currently unemployed | ☐ Employed |
| ☐ Housewife/Househusband | ☐ Retired |
| ☐ Student | ☐ Other____(i.e. Disabled)_____ |

X. Household Income Level:

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ No income | ☐ Receive Social Assistance |
| ☐ \$0-1500 per month | ☐ \$1500-3000 per month |
| ☐ \$above 3000 | ☐ Prefer not to respond |

SOCIAL COHESION SURVEY

5. Describe your living conditions (check all that apply)?

- ☐ I live by myself
- ☐ I live with my family
 - ☐ Parent(s)
 - ☐ Partner (husband, wife, domestic partner)
 - ☐ Children
- ☐ I share my apartment with my roommate(s)
 - ☐ I have known (him/her) before migrating to the U.S.
 - ☐ I have met (him/her) in the U.S. and become friends
 - ☐ I don't really know my roommate(s). We just share the housing cost.

2. Describe your dwelling unit.

- ☐ a shared space without a private room
- ☐ a bedroom in a shared apartment
- ☐ a unit in a low-rise apartment (four-story or fewer)
- ☐ a unit in a high-rise apartment (more than four-story)
- ☐ a townhouse unit
- ☐ a single-family home (detached)

3. Rent:

- ☐ No rent or rent Assistance ☐ less than \$500 per month
☐ \$500-999 per month ☐ \$1,000-1,499 per month
☐ \$1500-1,999 per month ☐ more than \$2000

4. number of people living in the same residential unit:

4.1 Adults

- ☐ 1 ☐ 2
☐ 3 ☐ 4 or more

4.2 Children (age under 18)

- ☐ 1 ☐ 2
☐ 3 ☐ 4 or more

5. Why do you choose to live in this house/apartment (check all that apply)

- ☐ Affordable rent/price
☐ close to my friend(s) or family member(s)
☐ close to a religious center
☐ I have no choice. It is provided to me
☐ Others (please specify _____)

6. I feel like I belong to this neighborhood.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

7. I visit my neighbors in their homes.

- ☐ Very often, a few times a week ☐ Often, once a week
☐ Sometimes, about once a month ☐ Rarely, only a few times on special occasions
☐ Very rarely, only in emergency ☐ Never

8. My neighbors visit me at my home.

- ☐ Very often, a few times a week ☐ Often, once a week
☐ Sometimes, about once a month ☐ Rarely, only a few times on special occasions
☐ Very rarely, only in emergency ☐ Never

9. The friendships and associations I have with other people in my neighborhood mean a lot to me.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

10. If I had the opportunity I would move out of this neighborhood.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

11. If the people in my neighborhood were planning something, I would like to be part of an activity.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

12. I believe my neighbors would help in an emergency.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

13. I borrow things and exchange favors with my neighbors.

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
-------	-----------	--------	-------

14. People in my community are aware of community issues that they might want to address together.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

15. People in my community discuss issues so they can improve the community.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

16. I would like to work together with others on something to improve my neighborhood.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

17. I plan to remain a resident of this neighborhood for a number of years.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

18. I like to think of myself as similar to the people who live in this neighborhood.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

19. I feel left out of communal activities in my own neighborhood.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

20. I casually stop by and talk with people in my neighborhood.

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
-------	-----------	--------	-------

21. Living in this neighborhood gives me a sense of community.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

22. I would not mind sharing my apartment building with ethnically diverse communities.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

23. I am happy that my children are becoming friends with people from other ethnic groups.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

24. I feel scared walking in my community.

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
-------	-----------	--------	-------

25. I feel scared in my own home.

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
-------	-----------	--------	-------

26. I feel that the people in my neighborhood are trustworthy.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

27. I or someone in my home has been a victim of (mugging / robbery / assault / rape / threat).

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
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28. My family and I hold a chance at a bright future in the U.S.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	No opinion
----------------	-------	---------	----------	-------------------	------------

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