

Resettlement and adjustment of Bhutanese refugees
in the Kansas City metropolitan area

by

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B.S., Missouri State University, 2003
M.S., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2012

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Since 1980, the United States has resettled over 3 million refugees in large metropolitan areas from coast to coast. They arrive in the United States after being compelled to flee their homes and the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees determines that third country resettlement is the only remaining option. This dissertation uses interviews with resettlement coordinators and Bhutanese refugees to probe some of the finer details behind refugee resettlement. The first question my dissertation answers is how Bhutanese refugees made critical migration decisions. My analysis concludes that decisions are often made at the household level, but social capital plays a significant role. Next, this dissertation explores the role of social capital in the Bhutanese resettlement experience. In particular, I focus on how Bhutanese refugees are integrating and interacting within their new host communities. My research found that the greatest barriers for Bhutanese refugees are experiencing underemployment and religious tensions. I also spent many hours with two sewing groups that provide a critical social outlet for isolated Bhutanese women. These groups are helping a small segment of the population adjust to their new life in the United States. Another key mechanism behind refugee resettlement are institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. Institutions determine which refugees are selected for resettlement and where they are resettled. Institutional involvement continues as they work beside refugees to ensure they become self-sufficient. My research also revealed that place is an essential component of successful refugee resettlement. Refugees that are resettled to cities with low rents and an abundance of low-skill jobs offer the greatest opportunities for self-sufficiency. Lastly, this dissertation explores how different generations of Bhutanese refugees experience the resettlement process. Refugees are often resettled as a large multi-generational family unit. This phenomenon provides a unique opportunity to explore assimilation from a

different vantage point. At the conclusion of my dissertation, I hope my readers will have a deeper understanding and appreciation of refugees that are living in our surrounding neighborhoods.

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Dedication

For my Bhutanese friends and those who help them on their journey.

To my family, Andy and Nathan, for giving me the freedom to pursue my dreams.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

*Refugee people are also human beings.
They only thing they don't know is the language.
It doesn't mean that they are fool.*

Refugee Interview Participant,
October 2017

One cannot turn on the news or pick up a newspaper without seeing a news story on immigrants. Immigrants and immigration policy have influenced national politics, in both positive and negative ways, since the founding of the United States. The 2016 national election cycle brought negative attention to the subject; from building a wall between the United States and Mexico, to banning the immigration of Muslims, or more recently the separation of immigrant children from their parents. As one subset of immigrants, refugees have also become part of the political discourse. President Donald Trump has frequently targeted resettled refugees in his speeches and has dramatically lowered the ceiling for resettled refugees allowed to enter the U.S. In 2017, he announced that he would lower the quota for refugees admitted into the United States, from 110,000 during the last year of President Barack Obama's term, to 45,000 for the fiscal year 2018. A recent proposal has lowered that figure to 30,000 for the fiscal year 2019 (Executive Office of the President 2018). This quota represented the lowest level of admissions since the passage of the Refugee Act in 1980 (Lynch 2017).

Despite the lower admission ceiling in the United States, the global trend for displaced persons continues to rise. The latest United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report estimates that in 2017 there were 68.5 million displaced persons globally, an increase of almost 3 million people from the previous year (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2018). Of those 68.5 million individuals, 25.4 million were classified as refugees, 40 million as internally displaced persons (IDPs), and 3.1 million as asylum seekers. The Syrian

Civil War, which began in 2011, has created the largest refugee population; followed by refugees from Palestine, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia. Each of these populations being displaced by violence in their country. In 2017, of the 25.4 million UNHCR registered refugees only 102,800, or 0.004%, were resettled to third-party states; the United States accepted less than one-third. Four other countries, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Sweden, were collectively responsible for resettling approximately 51,000 refugees, with the remaining scattered among the thirty other countries that participate in the resettlement program (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2018).

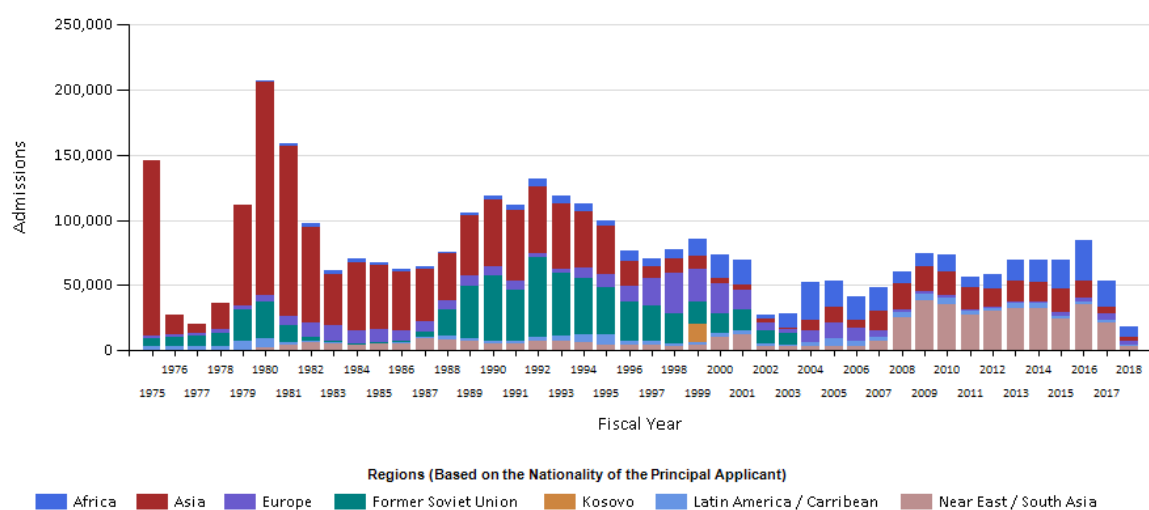


Figure 1-1, Refugee Resettlement in the United States by Region of Origin since 1975, (Refugee Processing Center 2018a)

The twentieth century has brought many opportunities for the United States to resettle refugees (Figure 1-1). The figure above begins in 1975 and illustrates the nearly 130,000 Vietnamese resettled to the United States at the end of the Vietnam War. Over the next five years, another 180,000 Vietnamese resettled within U.S.’s borders. From 1980 to 1992, lingering unrest in Asia continued to bring the largest portion of refugees, although political and religious refugees from the former Soviet Union soon began to equal those arriving from Asia.

As the number of refugees arriving from Communist countries dropped significantly, the United States began accepting refugees from other regions of the world to resettle. Beginning in 1999, the continent of Africa became a major source region because of long-standing ethnic animosity and civil unrest. While discord continued in Africa, the U.S. witnessed new regions and populations of concern. In 2008, individuals from South Asia and the Near East, particularly from Bhutan, Burma, Iraq, and Afghanistan, began to be resettled in large numbers (Refugee Processing Center 2018a). In total, more than 3.4 million individuals have been resettled to the United States. This represents the largest combined refugee population in the world. A total that exceeds all other refugee-receiving states combined (Refugee Processing Center 2018a, Eby et al. 2011).

Yet it is important to view refugees as more than a collection of statistics. They are unique individuals who were forced to make seemingly impossible decisions. As researchers, we can strive to understand those decisions and look for patterns to emerge. One set of patterns is migration. Refugees and traditional immigrants follow many of the same basic migration patterns. However, refugees, often do not have the same options or follow the patterns of traditional migrations (Black 2001). When there may be limited options, it is important to understand the mechanisms behind those decisions.

One mechanism that could explain the geographic distribution of refugees is international migration theories. International migration theories have their roots in E. G. Ravenstein's Push-Pull Theory, written in 1885 and later revised by Lee (1966). This theory points out that every migration has "an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles" (Lee 1966, 49). Lee summarized the purpose behind these acts with a list of positive and negative reasons that motivate migrants to move from their origin to a new destination. Refugees have identifiable

factors that push them from their homes. Yet the cause is often not their choice. They also have identifiable pull factors, often determined by other countries and international organizations. The absence of choices is one of the essential differences between refugees and traditional migrants. It is in the differences between traditional migrants and refugees that there is much knowledge to be gained (Ruiz and Vargas-Silva 2013, Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014, Hein 1993).

Research Questions and Dissertation Structure

The impetus for this dissertation began when I was listening to a pastor speak about the multitude of volunteer opportunities there are within the Kansas City Metropolitan area. One of the opportunities he mentioned was working with a struggling Bhutanese community in Kansas City, Kansas. I immediately thought this would be a remarkable opportunity for me to contribute my talents and add to my geographic knowledge; there is no better way to learn about a community than spending time with that community. I contacted the organization, which over several years had developed a strong rapport with the Bhutanese community. They reported a great need for tutors to help elementary age children of Bhutanese refugees learn English, math, and science. My decision to volunteer led me to spend the next five years building relationships with the children and participating in some of their cultural events.

During my first year of volunteering, I began to research refugees with a specific focus on why the Bhutanese had been expelled from their country. The more I researched, the more questions I had. The first question I had was after enduring years of persecution what finally compelled the refugees to leave their home? Was there a single event or was it the culmination of a series of events? The next question emerged in my background research on Syrian refugees. I learned that some Syrians had fled north to Turkey, while others had fled south to Lebanon.

How did they arrive at such a decision? Finally, what was the process behind how refugees began to concentrate in certain cities? These questions are the focus of this dissertation and I hope the results of my findings will contribute to new knowledge on refugees within the larger literature on migration theory

As I spent more time in the Bhutanese community, I observed that some individuals appeared to merge into American culture while others struggled to find their place. To better understand my observations, I began to research how refugees assimilate and integrate into their new country. In my research I found that refugees do not simply arrive and blend into American culture. Instead, they often create their own communities that help them maintain their prior cultural traditions. Many refugees also aspire to become an American and live the American dream they were sold. It is my hope that exploring the experiences of the Bhutanese refugee community will add to our understanding of refugee integration within the United States in general.

The purpose of my dissertation is to explicate how Bhutanese refugees came to live in the vacant urban cores of Kansas City, Kansas and Kansas City, Missouri and document their integration patterns. There are four research questions in this dissertation that focus on that purpose. First, ***what are the characteristics of Bhutanese refugee migration and how do they compare to existing literature on forced migration?*** Refugees create a migration flow as they move from their home country to their new home. Along the way, these migrants make a series of critical decisions that are influenced by family (representing social networks) and intermediaries (representing institutions). International migration theory is key in explaining the creation of migration patterns, but what role does social capital play in the migration of a

refugee? Through a series of semi-structured interviews, Chapter Three will explore how the stories of Bhutanese refugees align with migration theories.

Next, this dissertation will explore *the role of social capital in the Bhutanese resettlement process*. Permanently resettled Bhutanese refugees have had different experiences after they relocate to the United States. What are some of the challenges and successes they have found? Have they been able to maintain their unique cultural identity? What are the primary factors behind the differences in experiences, including how refugees integrate and interaction in their communities? Will they have different experiences based on their level of cultural integration and interaction with people and organizations in their new host community? These questions are answered in Chapter Four.

Refugees are not autonomous stakeholders in the resettlement process. At multiple points in the resettlement process, government and private institutions play an integral part in the placement of refugees. Yet their involvement does not stop when a refugee's journey to the U.S. ends. Governmental and private institutions continue to interact with refugee to ensure they become self-sufficient. Thus, the next question *focuses on the role of institutions in the refugee resettlement process*.

Lastly, this dissertation explores *how the different generations of Bhutanese refugees experience the resettlement process*. Single refugees are rarely resettled to the United States by themselves. Resettled refugees often arrive in family units comprised of multiple generations. Each generation will experience the resettlement process differently. This chapter explores what it looks like when family units are moved to a new culture and how their experiences compare with existing research on immigrant assimilation.

Chapter Six will summarize my findings on the role of social capital and institutions in the Bhutanese refugee resettlement process. It will also address the limitations in my research. At the beginning of the project, there were expectations which did not coalesce. Unforeseen barriers prohibited further exploration, while new opportunities came in unexpected places. The chapter concludes with some suggestions for conducting a similar research project, as well as new geographical avenues to pursue in refugee inquiry. After reading my dissertation, I hope people will want to explore their local immigrant communities and learn from their culture and determination to “make it” in America.

Chapter 2 - Background

*Equal to that of the Refugees, was the joy of they
receivers at the coming of such persons*¹

Sieur Benjamin Priolo,
1671

For as long as humanity has been dealing with conflict, people have become displaced from their homelands. One of the earliest known examples was Moses leading the Jewish people out of Egypt as they escaped persecution. During the American Civil War, hundreds if not thousands of people sought refuge in distant lands. This chapter clarifies what constitutes a refugee (as opposed to other migrants) and places refugee migration in a larger context. It describes the resettlement process of coming to the United States. Next, it will provide background on the Lhotshampa and why Bhutan forced an ethnic group that had lived within its borders for several generations to abandon their homes and livelihoods and move to Nepal. Lastly, migration theory, specifically social capital and institution theory, and integration are considered.

Refugees

There are two fundamental typologies of migrants. Traditional migrants decide to leave home to improve their circumstances. The other classification is forced migrants. Forced migrants are compelled to abandon their home due to a well-founded fear of persecution. They are further identified as Internally Displace Persons (IDPs), asylees, and refugees. IDPs are people who have found sanctuary within the borders of their own country, whereas asylees cross international borders to claim protected status. In the United States, asylees can make an asylum

¹ The first known written English use of the word refugee. Refers to the arrival of Carinal Mazarin to the Palace of the Elector of Cologne in 1651 (260).

claim at a U.S. port of entry or at any time during their residency (legal or illegal). Refugees are individuals that reside outside their country of nationality and meet a high legal and verifiable standard set by the United Nations. The standard is intentionally broad to cover a multitude of circumstances. However, the UNHCR requires the individual provide proof that their circumstance meets the standard. The standard was codified in the United Nation's 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Article I, A.2:

[O]wing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1951).

The responsibility of identifying individuals as refugees lies with the UNHCR. By assuming this responsibility, the UNHCR absorbs the burden of caring for the refugees. It also releases states from potential political complications.

Historical Background of Refugees

Historians have been reluctant to reexamine historical events with the purpose of identifying groups of people who could, under a modern interpretation, be labeled refugees. This equivocation stems, in part, from a reluctance to identify historical migrant groups as refugees simply to meet the demand for new refugee scholarship.² Geographers have acknowledged the challenge and in an upcoming edition of *Geographical Review* provided an analysis of articles published over the past 100 years to identify trends in refugee studies (Skop, Tonyan, and Cassiday 2019). Nonetheless, a growing number of scholars are beginning to reexamine some of

² The ongoing civil war in Syria, which has displaced nearly half of its population, and boats filled with refugees crossing the Mediterranean beginning in 2015, has prompted some scholars to search for a better understanding of refugee populations and the role of the state.

the world's various ethnic groups in this new light. For example, the fall of Jerusalem during the Roman Empire precipitated one of the largest refugee populations the world has seen; thousands upon thousands of Jews were scattering throughout the empire. In 1492, the reconquest of Spain compelled more than 200,000 Jews and Muslims to flee the Iberian Peninsula with many ending up in the New World (Gatrell 2017). Roger Daniels (1990) cites French Huguenots as the first true refugee population to reach American shores. The United States would later come to welcome other refugee populations, including Hungarians, Dutch, and Japanese, all prior to the twentieth century.

During the twentieth century, there have been three significant events that increased the number of refugees worldwide and triggered international attention. First was World War I with the collapse of the Russian, Ottoman, and Hapsburg empires. Many of the refugee populations from that era stayed in the same geographic region, but others fled to distant lands. The League of Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) were among the first to attempt to address the needs of the refugee population. The IRC appointed Fridtjof Nansen as the High Commissioner for Refugees in 1921 to focus on helping displaced persons from the newly formed Soviet Empire. Nansen was given no funding, so there was little he could do to improve the conditions of many. However, other European aid agencies were formed to provide direct assistance. The United States sent some investigators from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee to report on what they saw, but scant few refugees were brought to the United States, and the U.S. direct involvement was measured (Gatrell 2013).

Following World War II, the second major era, a wide variety of ethnic groups became refugees. Some were directly impacted by the war, while others were displaced due to the creation of new states; specifically, the Jewish State and the Partition of India and Pakistan. The

newly formed United Nations Organization created the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1947, the precursor to the UNHCR established in 1951, to intervene on behalf European refugees. It was not until 1967, when the “Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees” was adopted that the international community turned its attention to helping displaced persons from other parts of the world (Rogge 1978).

As the international community began to formulate refugee protocols, volunteer organizations mobilized to provide aid. Faith-based communities have worked to provide cash assistance and resettlement options for refugees since the late 1800s when the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was founded to assist Jews fleeing Russia and Eastern Europe. In the 1940s, a group of Protestant denominations created Church World Service (CWS) and the US Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) founded Catholic Relief Services (CRS). These organizations lobbied the Truman Administration to allow settlement of refugees from Europe to in the United States. They were allowed to resettle refugees if local congregations and communities paid the entire cost. These organizations, along with new religious organizations, continue to be the primary agent for refugees resettlement to the United States (Eby et al. 2011).

The final era unfolded during the 1960s when the United States passed three new pieces of legislation to address the large populations of refugees; products of the Cold War in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, Africa, and Central America. The Fair Share Law of 1960 helped resettle any remaining refugees located in Europe. While the Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 codified the definition of a refugee and ended preferences for people originating from communist countries. Lastly, the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act created a separate category for refugees. As congress was considering these pieces of legislation, refugees were being resettled throughout the United States by religious organizations. The U.S.

government provided limited funding in the form of loans for travel expenses and grants for resettlement work (Eby et al. 2011, Anker and Posner 1981).

In 1980 the U.S. government passed the foundational piece of refugee legislation. According to Ted Kennedy (1981), The Refugee Act of 1980 replaced the preceding ad hoc resettlement approach and codified six primary objectives:

1. Repeal the provision that refugee status only applied to those fleeing communism and opened it to any person granted refugee status by the UNHCR.
2. Establish a ceiling of annual admissions, beginning at 50,000 per year and decided each year thereafter by the President after consultation with Congress.
3. Allowed for populations “of special humanitarian concern” to be admitted even if the stated yearly ceiling has been reached.
4. Gave Congress control of the resettlement process.
5. Stipulated the immigration law for asylees.
6. Created federal offices and programs that would aid in the resettlement of refugees and construct refugee resettlement programs.

The goal was to approach refugee settlement from a humanitarian perspective but still allow the United States to focus on specific populations should foreign policy concerns or other needs arise (Eby et al. 2011).

The program proceeded smoothly, with very little political interference until September 11, 2001. Although the September 11th hijackers had entered the United States as legal immigrants (none were admitted as refugees) the tragic events prompted a hiatus in the refugee resettlement program until a full review of procedures was completed. Under the provisions outlined under the USA Patriot Act, the refugee resettlement program resumed two months later with dramatically reduced quota (from 90,000 in 2001 to 27,110 in 2002)(Acer 2004). Additional changes include increased security checks and creating new federal offices to administer the revamped procedures (Acer 2004). Since 2002, the fact that yearly refugee quotas have steadily increased suggests that the improved procedures and oversight have been successful. According to a report published by the CATO Institute (2018), of the 869,383

refugees resettled to the United States since September 11th, only three individuals have been accused of terrorist related activity. Two were individuals from Iraq accused of providing weapons to insurgents and the other was a Somali accused of sending \$100 to a friend who was a member of Al-Shabab. Despite the comparative success of extreme vetting of resettled refugees, President Trump proposed a ceiling of 30,000 refugees for FY19, down from 45,000 in FY18, citing concerns with providing adequate security checks and the backlog of processing asylum claims (Executive Office of the President 2017, 2018). President Trump's proposal overlooks a 2017 report that concludes resettled refugees brought at net positive of \$52.8 billion to the U.S. economy (Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation 2017).

Refugee Resettlement Process

Once a person has fled their country of nationality and crossed an international border in search of safety, that person must register in the country of first asylum if they wish to become eligible for the UNHCR refugee system. This requires the potential refugee to locate either a UNHCR camp or office. If they fail to register, they could be considered illegal immigrants, subject to the laws of the country of first asylum and deported. The UNHCR urges refugees with children to register as soon as possible so they can receive both medical and educational services (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2003).

The registration process begins by providing basic information to the UNHCR intake staff. This is followed by a face to face interview and photo documentation. A wide variety of pertinent information is collected and verified including the person's age, gender, ethnic origin, and household size. Each piece of information is subject to a verification process. The process does not include contacting their home country for information but looking for visual evidence

that the refugee story may be false. When questions arise, the burden of proof lies with the applicant (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2003).

After potential refugees have been registered and verified, the UNHCR begins the process of determining if they qualify for refugee status. While their status is being determined, registered persons are allowed to stay in their new location until a decision is made. When it is determined that the applicant meets the criteria of the definition laid out in the 1951 Convention, they are recognized as a refugee by the UNHCR. The next steps for newly recognized refugees depends on the ability of their new host country to support them and the likelihood of repatriation to their home country (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2003).

When refugees have been in the care of UNHCR for five years, they are designated as protracted populations and are evaluated for three possible long-term solutions. The first preference is repatriation to their own country. In most cases this is not possible, especially if the conditions which made them flee in the first place persist. Only 667,400 refugees of the 25.4 million counted by the UNCHR were repatriated in 2017. The second preference is for their host country to accept them as some type of legal resident and begin the integration process. The last preference is for resettlement to one of the thirty-five countries that have an agreement with the UNHCR for third country resettlement (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2018).

The UNHCR is responsible for screening and referring refugees for resettlement to a third country. The resettlement process takes between 18 to 36 months to complete. The first step to resettlement is to re-register and be verified, again, for refugee status. Then a needs assessment is conducted. Some of the needs include medical complications, family located in another country, or other emergency factors. A second review by a resettlement supervisor is completed before it is referred on to the interview stage. During the interview, an application is

filled out and refugees are asked again about their family and extended family. The UNHCR strives to keep all members of a family together when they are being considered for resettlement. This does not apply to individuals outside the nuclear family (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2011).

If the resettlement application is approved, the case moves to be assigned a country. The UNHCR consults with the countries that accept refugees to ascertain their quotas for the year and determine any priority populations. UNHCR officials then look at the application to determine any priorities or needs for the refugee. The UNHCR then submits the application packet to one of five regional processing centers to refer the case to the potential resettlement country for their approval (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2011).

When a referral is made to the United States, the United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) acts as the government entity that receives the application packet. Refugees that have been referred to the USRAP by UNHCR are categorized into three groups based on priority. Priority One (P-1) are individuals that have been referred by the UNHCR, to the local U.S. Embassy, or a non-governmental organization (NGO). Priority Two (P-2) are groups of special humanitarian concern. The Department of Homeland Security screens P-2 referrals carefully because this group can contain people with special security clearances or concerns (e.g. government contractors, religious minorities, and political opponents). Lastly, Priority Three (P-3) is for family reunification purposes. In the past this group has been reserved for additional family members of refugees. This category has frequently been misapplied and overused. Thus, it has undergone periods of suspension (Martin and Yankay 2014, Kerwin 2012). If the country accepts the application, the refugees are put on a path to resettlement.

There are special cases when refugees can avoid the UNHCR process and come directly to the United States. These are considered Special Immigrant Visa's (SIVs), a program which began in 2003 to aid Iraqi, Afghani, or Syrian citizens who have provided aid to U.S. military forces, primarily as interpreters and guides, and are no longer safe in their countries. As of October 2018, the program had resettled 18,359 Iraqi's and 52,064 Afghani's throughout the United States. Regionally, 37 Iraqi's were settled in Kansas and 387 were settled in Missouri. While 106 Afghani's settled in Kansas and 526 settled in Missouri (Refugee Processing Center 2018b, c).

A local Resettlement Support Center (RSC) is contracted to handle the documents associated with the application process. There are RSCs in areas that have large populations of refugees slated for resettlement to deal specifically with these applications. The RSCs can be run by either Non-Government Organizations or the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Once cases are given to the RSC, they are reviewed by the entity in charge of the center, then reviewed by both the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), a division of the U.S. Department of State (DOS), and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS), part of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Reviews by U.S. entities focus on determining if the applicants meet the requirements set up by the Refugee Act of 1980. If the U.S. agencies approve the application, the application is given to the United States Refugee Processing Center (USRPC), a committee that represents resettlement agencies across the United States (Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny 2011, Eby et al. 2011). Priority is given to resettlement agencies based on "capacity, needs of the refugee, and geographic location" (Eby et al. 2011, 591).

One duty of the PRM is to identify the populations the U.S. will target for resettlement. They accomplish this by establishing ceilings for specific regions (Table 2-1). The regional ceilings are set based on the geographic region where UNHCR refugees eligible for resettlement are located. Allocations may be transferred to other regions if circumstances change or a humanitarian crisis arises.

Table 2-1, Refugee Admissions by Region (Mossaad 2016, Mossaad and Baugh 2018, Office of the Press Secretary 2016, Executive Office of the President 2017, 2018)

Proposed Refugee Admissions by Region, Fiscal Year 2015-1019						
	Ceiling					
	2015	2016	2017*	2017**	2018	2019
Africa	17,000	25,000	35,000	19,700	19,000	11,000
East Asia	13,000	13,000	12,000	5,200	5,000	4,000
Europe / Central Asia	1,000	4,000	4,000	5,100	2,000	3,000
Latin America / Caribbean	4,000	3,000	5,000	1,600	1,500	3,000
Near East / South Asia	33,000	34,000	40,000	21,900	17,500	9,000
Unallocated Reserve	2,000	6,000	14,000	0	0	0
Total	70,000	85,000	110,000	53,500	45,000	30,000
*Determination submitted by President Barack Obama						
**Projected arrivals after election of President Donald Trump						

After the refugee passed the required medical and background checks, which can take 18 to 24 months, they are assigned a Voluntary Agency (VOLAG) resettlement agency and responsibility for their care is passed to the agency or sponsor (Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny 2011). There are currently nine VOLAGs operating in the United States; six are faith based, one is based on ethnicity, and the other two are secular. While the majority of the VOLAGs are faith based, they resettle and employ people from all religious backgrounds. According to the agreement they have with the PRM, faith-based activities must be kept separate from any government funded activity they provide. Each VOLAG operates at the federal level by

contracting with the State Department, as well as at the local level by contracting with local affiliates to resettle refugees. According to Rachael Pollack, Director of Refugee and Immigration Programs at Catholic Charities of Northeast Kansas (CCNEK), once the State Department determines a refugee has cleared each check and is ready to come to the United States, a meeting is held each week at the Refugee Processing Center near Washington D.C. with representatives from each of the nine VOLAGs. The cases are then divided among the among the representatives (Eby et al. 2011, Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny 2011).

Once a refugee has been accepted by a local resettlement agency, the IOM purchases the plane tickets. Refugees must reimburse the IOM for the cost of the ticket once they arrive via an interest free loan, unless a relative is able to provide funds to purchase the ticket. The IOM also arranges for a cultural orientation, providing country specific cultural tips and values that will be important upon arrival, as well as topics including “housing, health, money management, role of settlement service providers, education, cultural adaptation, rights and responsibilities, . . . and basic language and communication skills” (International Organization for Migration 2013, 4).

After their arrival on U.S. soil, refugees follow a similar path to citizenship as other legal immigrants. First, they must apply for Permanent Residency, or a green card, within one year of their arrival. Then they must wait four years to apply for citizenship, or three years if they are married to a U.S. citizen. To apply for naturalization, they must submit an application and \$725. After the application has been processed, potential citizens must go through a background check, biometric test, English test, and civics test before they take the oath of allegiance to become full U.S. citizens (International Rescue Committee 2018).

Bhutan



Figure 2-1, Location Map of Bhutan (Google Maps)

Refugees from Bhutan

The modern-day country of Bhutan is sandwiched between India and China. Bhutan is a classic example of a buffer between these two competing countries. Historically, Bhutan has struggled to maintain its individual identity in the shadows of such powerful neighbors. There have been three main ethnic groups in Bhutan; the Ngalong, Sarchop, generally known collectively as the Drukpa, and Lhotshampa, the focus of this dissertation. Religiously most of Bhutan's population align with Tibetan Buddhism, although variations among ethnic groups does exist (Rizal 2004).

The Drukpa are considered the dominant ethnic group in Bhutan. The Ngalong are believed to be of Tibetan origin and generally live in the north and west of Bhutan. They are mostly Mahayana Buddhist and speak Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan. The Sarchop are considered the earliest settlers of Bhutan and reside mostly in the eastern part the country.

This group is the largest in population size but align themselves culturally with the Ngalong people. The Sarchop are also Mahayana Buddhist and speak Tsangla (Hutt 2003).

The group of interest to this dissertation are the Lhotshampa. The Lhotshampa have lived mostly in southern Bhutan. They were very different from the other ethnic groups in Bhutan because they spoke Nepali and generally follow Hindu religious beliefs. Many Lhotshampa chose to maintain their own ethnic identity. Consequently, the group was commonly regarded as unwilling to assimilate into Bhutanese society (Hutt 2003).

Conflicting evidence and varied histories make it difficult to precisely determine when the Lhotshampas came to Bhutan. There is some evidence of Nepali Hindus in Bhutanese literature and art dating back to the seventeenth century. Yet it is hard to prove that these early settlers have a direct lineage to today's Lhotshampas. Scholars believe this group likely assimilated into Bhutanese society and were no longer identifiable as Nepali. There is some documentation that supports the arrival of the Nepali Gurung and Dorjee families in the late

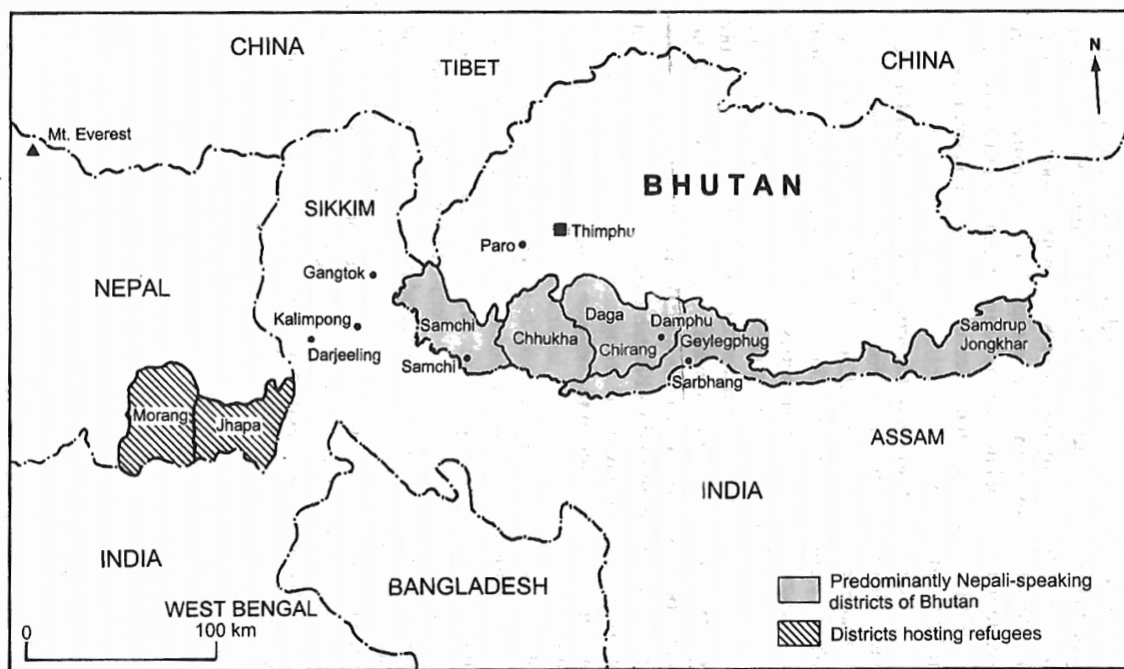


Figure 2-2, Nepali Speaking Districts (Hutt 2003)

1880s, when they were allowed to cultivate land in southern Bhutan. Additional families from the same ethnic group soon followed. There is analogous evidence of the presence of Nepali Hindus in writings from British officials. One of the first was in 1909, when John Claude White, the British Political Office for India, noted that there were Nepali Hindus present in southern Bhutan. Additional pieces of evidence date back to 1932 and 1947, when subsequent British officials reported this unique ethnic group (Hutt 2003, Rizal 2004, Banki 2008, Pulla 2016).

Exclusion and Expulsion

The isolationist proclivity of the Bhutanese people makes the history behind exclusionary measures difficult to untangle. The common consensus among scholars is that the discontent between the government and the Lhotsampa began to grow in 1952 when the Lhotshampa leaders organized the Bhutan State Congress to help advance more rights for their people. The Bhutan State Congress succeeded in passing the National Law in 1958, which granted citizenship to Nepali immigrants. The National Law has since undergone many revisions, ultimately being replaced in 1985. The formation and moderate success of the Bhutan State Congress was interpreted as a threat to the rest of the people in Bhutan, in part because there had always been an underlying tension between Nepali Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. By the mid-1970s, the political elites of Bhutan began to fear that they were losing power and that individual groups within their borders would demand greater autonomy. As a result, by the 1980s, the Drukpa began to exert more control. They established policies that would set the tone for national religion, culture, dress, and language. The remaining ethnic groups were expected to adopt their practices (Hutt 2003, Rizal 2004).

There were many other sources of tension between the Drukpa and Lhotshampa. First was the alleged illegal immigration of ethnic Nepali's to the southern portion of Bhutan tied to

extraterritoriality. The Drukpa feared that the Nepali immigrants would encourage the Lhotshampa to recognize Nepal as their sovereign state rather than Bhutan. Second, many Lhotshampa educated their children in India and traded extensively in India, increasing the tension between them and the government of Bhutan. Third, the Lhotshampas maintained contact with the Nepali community, both in Nepal and scattered throughout India. Fourth, they were large land holders, acquiring larger tracts of land than their northern neighbors; on average of eight acres in comparison to two acres the Drukpa owned. Finally, as the Lhotshampa became relatively wealthy, the distrust among ethnic groups continued to grow. The increasing success in the Lhotshampa population led many Drukpa to fear that the balance of power would eventually tip toward the Lhotshampa (Ghosh 2004).

Albeit the ethnic differences and resulting tensions were elevated, there were also multiple incidents outside Bhutan that contributed to the unease felt by the Drukpa. First, they saw the annexation of Sikkim in 1975, when the people of Sikkim voted to merge with India. There had been a great number of Nepali residents in Sikkim and the Bhutanese elite blamed them for the successful referendum. They feared that if the Nepali in Sikkim had led to the rejection of the Bhutanese monarchy, the Nepali living within their borders might do the same. In 1986, this fear rose again when a group of Nepali Indians, the Gorkhaland National Liberation Front (GNLF), petitioned for independence in an area close to West Bengal (Banki 2008).

To solidify the country under Drukpa rule, three acts were passed that changed citizenship laws. In 1977, an act amended the citizenship requirements that had been established in 1958, adding time, language, and educational components. The second act passed in 1980 with the goal of enacting retroactive marriage laws that would punish Bhutanese citizens for marrying non-Bhutanese citizens. If a citizen were found to have violated this law, the

government could take away their rights to hold any public office or participate in any type of national social programs. The third was the Citizenship Act of 1985, which replaced the 1958 citizenship law. This act changed the citizenship requirements whereby both parents must be of Bhutanese descent and the individual must have resided in Bhutan since before December 31, 1958. It declared that all children born to non-Bhutanese mothers between 1985 and 1988 would be considered illegal immigrants. In addition, to be declared a citizen one must also prove they can speak and write national language of Dzongkha (Hutt 2003, Rizal 2004, Pulla 2016).

A census was taken in 1988, focused in the south, to determine how many Nepali were in the country. This census was used to classify Lhotshampas according to new citizenship criteria enacted by the 1985 Citizenship Act. The census takers placed the Lhotshampas into one of seven categories based on their ancestry and time in Bhutan. For some, there was great confusion about the process and criteria for categories. The confusion led some Lhotshampa, many of whom were natural citizens of Bhutan, to identify as other ethnicities and allowed the government to confiscate their property (Banki 2008). The people were also asked to produce receipts for real estate taxes paid prior to 1958, but many did not pay such taxes until after it was required in 1968. Many others did not retain the receipts. Curiously, Dhurba Rizal (2004) actually found some people in the refugee camps that had kept their tax receipts, some dating back before 1907 when the House of Wangchuck, the current monarchs family, came into power.

In 1980, the Drukpa established the “One Nation, One People” policy that eventually led to outright discrimination against the Lhotshampa. This was an attempt to encourage the rest of the country to mirror their traditions and practices. The policy was promoted as a way to unify the country, promote harmony and understanding between ethnic groups. According to Pulla, “[t]he king stated that while cultural diversity may be beneficial in a large country, in a small

country like Bhutan, such diversity would only lead to the disruption of social harmony and unity” (2016, 6). Part of the policy was Driglam Namzha, a set of rules that established the national customs and etiquette. The Driglam Namzha created a national dress, a new national language, and forbade the teaching of Nepali in schools. This Bhutanization was an attempt to guard the country from outside influences. Anyone who was uncomfortable with the changes could simply leave. The passing of this policy led to political protests not only in Bhutan, but also in Nepal and India. Rather than being seen as protests by ethnic groups attempting to maintain their identity, they reinforced the fears of the Drukpa that the Lhotshampas had too much power (Hutt 2003, Rizal 2004, Banki 2008).

Amidst all the changes in Bhutan, generally peaceful protests conducted by Nepali Hindus continued. The government responded by arresting the protesters, confiscating land and homes, and evicting the rightful owners. New restrictions were introduced in 1990 requiring Lhotshampas to produce a No Objection Certification or Police Clearance Certificate. These documents were designed to require Lhotshampas to verify their citizenship, and therefore their right to participate in schools and take government jobs. If they were unable to produce the appropriate documents, their children would not be allowed to attend school. The same documents were soon required of anyone that voiced support for the Lhotshampas as well. The culmination of these actions led to the first wave the Lhotshampas fleeing Bhutan (Hutt 2003, Rizal 2004, Pulla 2016).

Not all the protests, however, were peaceful. A group called the “People’s Forum for Human Rights Bhutan,” (PFHRB) was organized in 1989 to bring attention to the treatment of Lhotshampas in Bhutan. Some had accused this organization of acts of violence, while other outside monitoring agencies considered them peaceful demonstrators (Hutt 2003). Many

members of the PFHRB were arrested, tortured, and ultimately fled Bhutan. A year later, the Bhutan's People's Party (BPP) was created by a group of expelled Bhutanese living in India. Some Lhotshampa claimed that they were coerced into protests and other demonstrations by the BPP. Michael Hutt (2003) acknowledges that violence was most likely committed by both sides of the argument, but it is hard to untangle local legend from government propaganda.

In 1988, the first cohort of Lhotshampa left Bhutan. They were forced to give up their citizenship paperwork and sign a voluntary migration form. When they signed the form, it allowed the Bhutanese government to claim the Lhotshampas departed of their own free will. Thus, they did not qualify for refugee status. By 1990, thousands of Lhotshampa had fled Bhutan to find safety in the southwest portion of Nepal. The people came from different socioeconomic groups; educated, uneducated, farmers, merchants, tradesmen, and even government officials. By 1992, approximately 600 people were arriving in refugee camps each week; however, in 1995 the flow of arrivals almost stopped. At its peak, it was estimated that

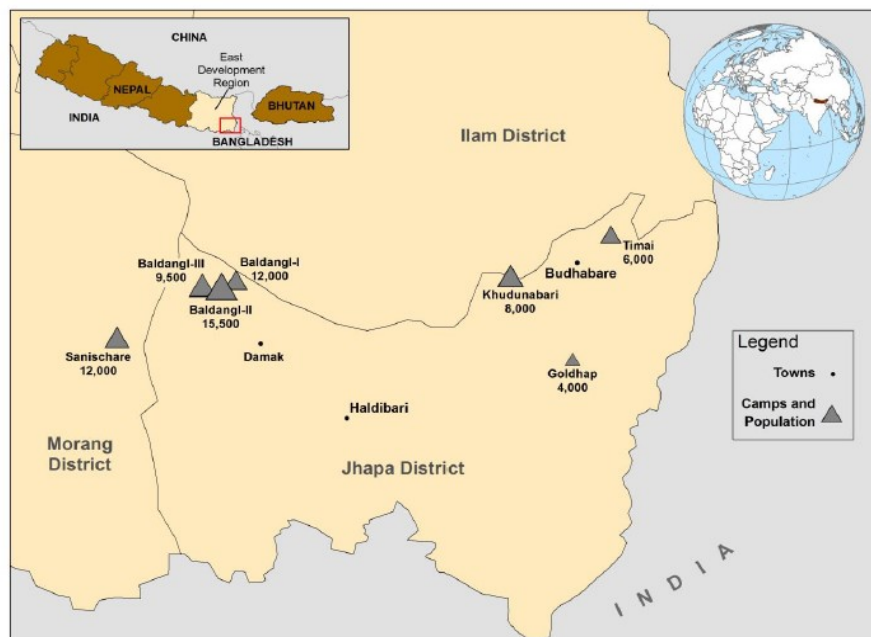


Figure 2-3, Refugee Camps in Nepal, Populations as of April 2010 (Division of Global Migration and Quarantine 2014)

there were approximately 107,500 refugees living within seven UNHCR sponsored camps, while an additional 10,000 resided outside the official camps (Banki 2008). While the Lhotshampas were the primary ethnic group of refugees in Nepal, there were other people that fled Bhutan. Approximately 100 Sarchop became refugees when the Bhutanese government identified them as sympathetic to the Lhotshampas (Ghosh 2004)

The Nepali camps were designed to only provide basic necessities (e.g. food, water, and shelter). In the absence of proactive medical attention, communicable diseases and malnutrition became widespread. Furthermore, most people were restricted from leaving the camp. Therefore, they were not able to find jobs to support themselves. Eventually, a few teachers were allowed out of the camps to work in nearby schools, but they were paid significantly less than local Nepali teachers. Other refugee residents earned a little extra income by completing odd jobs at nearby farms or selling handmade goods. The refugees were sorted according to male heads of households, restricting the rights and voices of single or elderly women. Food was distributed based on how many people were in your family, regardless of their age. Residents learned that having more children would increase their food rations. This was an effective strategy as long as the additional children were young; the additional food could be divided among older children and adults. Yet as time passed, the children grew older and food supplies became scarce (Banki 2008).

Permanently Resettled Lhotshampa Refugees

Nepal did not sign the 1951 Convention on Refugees, so the treatment of Bhutanese nationals was not protected under International Law. There was a small number of Tibetan refugees already living in Nepal, but they were treated differently and allowed to live more freely than the Bhutanese. The sheer number of Bhutanese and the presence of Maoist insurgents in the

country, led Nepal to restrict the movements of refugees. In 1993, Nepal and Bhutan considered repatriating or dispersing the refugees. Nothing ever came of the plans, but in 2000, a joint commission devised a category system that was to be applied to the refugee population. After visiting one refugee camp, officials determined that only 3% of the camp residents were Bhutanese citizens and allowed to return. The remainder were given different options, but the end result rendered them stateless. There were many problems with the categories and verification process, including the previous charges of discontent against the monarch. Further complaints arose when a joint team of Nepali and Bhutanese officials visited a refugee camp. The residents attacked the Bhutanese officials which halted almost all movement on the repatriation issue (Banki 2008).

A culmination of factors led to the ultimate outcome of permanent resettlement of the Lhotshampa to other countries. First was the policies and position of Nepal and Bhutan. Nepal would not accept a plan for integrating the Lhotshampa and Bhutan would not repatriate them. Second was the lack of long-term funding for the UNHCR. Funding shortages eventually led to food rationing and a cut in services for camp residents. The third factor was India. Their official stance was that Nepal and Bhutan should be conferring to reach a resolution and wanted no part in the discussions. The Indian government wanted to be rid of the tensions without angering anyone. Lastly, the U.S. and other developed countries were looking for new populations to resettle. Due to terrorism concerns, the Lhotshampa became the viable option over refugees from the Middle East (Banki 2008, Ghosh 2004).

Migration Theory

A migration flow is created when migrants, including refugees, leave their home and move to their final resettlement location, establishing “both a demographic event and a

geographic process” (Gober and Tyner 2003, 187). Along this migration flow, many decisions must be made. When there are limited options, it is important to understand the mechanisms behind those decisions. One mechanism that could explain the geographic distribution of refugees is international migration theories. International migration theories have their roots in E. G. Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration. Ravenstein (1885) presented eleven laws on migration that were based on his study of two previous censuses taken in Great Britain. While critics will claim Ravenstein relied purely on observation and lack traditional theoretical grounding, others acknowledge his work as the foundation of most modern migration theories (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998).

Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration were followed up by Everett S. Lee (1966) when he proposed an elegantly simplistic theory. Lee’s Push-Pull Theory focuses on the factors that compel (push) migrants to leave their place of origin and factors that attract (pull) migrants to other locations. Potential migrants or households evaluate the positive reasons, such as family or social groups, and negative reasons, such as low wages, to stay in their location. Migrants then weigh those elements against the positive, higher wages, and negatives, poor climate and no family, of the potential new destination. The costs of moving are also factored in through intervening obstacles. Intervening obstacles can include the literal cost of moving, physical barriers such as oceans, or political barriers such as international boundaries. Critics of Lee’s Theory claim that it is too simplistic and only describes a list of variables, rather than trying to explain the migrant’s decision (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014, Petersen 1958).

Since the publication of these foundational theories, scholars and other migration experts have adjusted the principles to sharpen our understanding of why people move. These new attempts generally fall into four categories; functional, historical-structural, behavioral, and life

course. Functional theories treat migration as part of a larger system (most commonly an economic system) that seeks to find balance. Neoclassical, New Economics, and Dual Labor Markets are just a few of these theories that attempt to seek that balance. The theories see the world as a place where certain areas need jobs and other places have workers that would like to find or take better paying jobs. These theories begin to deviate when the factors behind economic decisions are fleshed out. Another functional theory is the Human Capital Theory. This approach postulates that migrants see their move as an investment bettering their social, cultural, or environmental position. For some, that investment may be in a better education, in which a higher return over a longer period of time is anticipated. These theories work well in a general sense, but often place too much emphases on wage differentials and the availability of information (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014).

Historical-structural theories focus on how social and other structures, along with historical ties between countries, encourage migrations. World Systems, Dependency, and other Globalization theories fall into this category. These theories often focus on the role of capitalism, colonialism, and the exploitation of the developing world by the developed world. These theories work well if viewed strictly from a historical point of view or from the role of social structures, however, they tend to downplay the role of individual agency when migrants make independent decisions (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014).

One philosophical method to understand migration is the behavioral approach, which analyzes choices that individuals or households make. Behavioral approaches provide rich details regarding decision making on both the individual and household level but are hard to verify and conduct for the same reason. These models focus on migration flows and the feedback provided to origin communities by members who had left. The assessment and other

social structures would then effect the behavior of origin community members. The criticism of the behavioral approaches is that individuals and households only have access to a certain amount of information, thus their rationale can be limited (Piguet 2018, Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014, Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998, King 2012).

There are three basic models that fall under the life course migration theory. The first, life cycle, compares the moves that households make to stages in their life cycle, not just to income differentials. For example, a couple who has just had a child might move to a larger home in a nicer neighborhood. That same couple, after they have retired, would move to a smaller home in a more amenable neighborhood. The life course approach was designed to address some of the flaws of the life cycle approach by focusing on one person and how life transitions dictate household migrations. This approach would follow individuals over a long-time span and collect more detailed survey data to better understand their decisions. The last approach focuses on the life transitions that most individuals undergo during their lifetime; a young person leaving home, marriage or divorce, retirement, and death of a spouse. Each stage of the individual's life may initiate a migration because it requires different living arrangements (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998).

Chain Migration and Social Networks

Once a migration stream has begun, migrants often follow the same path of those who went before them. This is true for refugees. Once the initial decision is made by the first group, later groups will often follow the same path as those who went before them. This process of one group following another on a similar migration route is called cumulative causation. Cumulative causation can be caused by different factors. One of those factors is known as Network Theory. Massey (1993) described Network Theory as a cumulative cause for international migration to

continue because it lowered the costs and risks for migrants, while increasing the returns for the network as a whole. This is achieved because migrants draw on the social capital that has developed in their target location. It is plausible to assume that migration networks, or ties to family and other social groups, would guide the first migration of refugees into either a relative's home, a nearby large city, or a specific refugee camp in another country. In interviews with refugees preparing for resettlement, they most often requested a particular country based on having family already there; the influence of social networks. Refugees also stay in contact with family members abroad about job prospects (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). While this theory is particularly application to refugees leaving their homes, one facet of this theory holds very true for refugees. Once the flow has begun, it is very difficult for governments to control it (Massey et al. 1993).

Local churches and religious groups are a great example of social capital and social networking. The larger church organizations, including the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, or any other national organization are hereby be classified as an institution. National church organizations often determine what the quota is for their organization and provide large scale support for refugees. This leaves local church congregations to provide specialized programs for their community. These local congregations are often a primary social network for communities (Everton 2015). Eby et. al. (2011) made a similar distinction when writing about the role of the local church in the integration of refugees, providing social connections, language classes, and employment in their community.

Institutional Theory

After the initial migration, migrants granted refugee status become part of the UNHCR system. When it is deemed they have no reasonable expectation of returning to their homes,

refugees can enter the resettlement process. At multiple points in this process, government and private institutions play an integral part in the placement of refugees. This forms the basis for another type of cumulative causation, Institutional Theory. In this theory, Massey (1993) focused on the role of public, private, voluntary, and government institutions meeting the demand of migrants. The institutions often react to the demand that migrants have, either by legally arranging employment or illegally by providing aid to cross an international border. Over time, these institutions become quite proficient in their services and migrants seek their assistance. In some cases, institutions begin to lessen the need for social networks and they become the primary conductor in the migration flow (Massey et al. 1993).

Institutions (e.g. resettlement organizations) have changed the geography of foreign-born individuals in the United States. Lawrence Brown *et. al.* (2007) noted how institutions have accomplished this change. First, after World War II, migration-chains developed when European refugees were resettled in cities where similar ethnic groups were present. The resettlement agencies would target those cities because it would ease refugee transitions. Next, institutions would assign free cases, refugees with no ties to a community in the U.S., to “non-traditional immigrant destinations.” The resettlement assignment of free cases in turn created migration-chains which created new ethnic communities (Forrest and Brown 2014).

Assimilation and Integration

When migrants of any background arrive in a new place they undergo a transformation, just as their new community begins to adapt. Traditionally, there have been two terms, assimilation and integration, that describe how new migrants transition into their new community. Traditional assimilation, the shedding of the old culture and embrace of their new culture, has been the expectation of many Americans of their new neighbors. It was a one-sided

process in which the immigrant gave up their cultural identity and the receiving culture remained static (Alba and Nee 2003). Modern views of assimilation allow for a more informed approach, recognizing the need for both the immigrant and host culture to go through some level of change, but with the outcome of “the disappearance of newcomers as a separate group” (Carmon 1996, 23).

Integration, a concept similar to assimilation, tends to be more closely associated with the expectation of migrants in European states. Many European countries record demographic information to measure the integration of its migrants. Like assimilation, integration expects movement by the new migrant to adopt certain culture traits of the host community. Integration, however, includes the role of social structures to help migrants achieve specific targets such as stable housing, educational achievements, full employment, and citizenship (Schneider and Crul 2010, Ager and Strang 2004, Carmon 1996). Another key component to integration is the end goal; to promote “civic unity while protecting ethnic diversity” (Carmon 1996, 24).

Creating a sense of home is an essential tenet of integration. According to Paolo Boccagni (2017) home is more than a building to park your car and rest your head at night. Instead home is a particular “relationship with place” that relocates with migrants (Boccagni 2017, 4). It is a collection of factors that include security, familiarity, and control. When migrants move they face the challenge of straddling two averse ideas of home. First, they carry intricate memories of home. It is their place of origin where they are the locals, not the foreigners. Many migrants attempt to recreate the same experience in their new locale. However, it is a challenge for migrants to leave behind the old notion of home and create a new one. Nevertheless, successful transference of a sense of home can be an effective coping mechanism.

Segment assimilation theory proposes that each successive generation of migrants will be better assimilated into the new host society than the one before it. Early in America's history this may have been true, however; current immigrants, their children, and even their grandchildren may face a different future. The lack of higher paying jobs in urban areas, ethnicity, lack of good schools in the urban areas, and the growth of ethnic enclaves all contribute to lower levels of assimilation by new migrants and their children (Farley and Alba 2002). Hauck, et. al. (2014) reported similar findings of Burmese, Bhutanese, and Iraqi refugees, but added lack of English proficiency and safe housing to the list. Simply viewing the experiences of a refugee through assimilation or integration paints an incomplete picture. It may take multiple generations for an ethnic group to achieve full integration. In the interim, research shows that ethnic groups maintain elements of the cultural identity after they move; elements including food preferences, dress, language, religion, modesty, and relationships between men and women are a few examples of such identities (Dupree 2002, Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny 2011, Hauck et al. 2014).

Methods

As the framework for this study evolved, I reviewed various qualitative research methods. John W. Creswell (2013) lists five basic approaches to qualitative research; narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic, and case study research. Although a narrative or ethnographic approach would have worked in this dissertation, I chose a case study approach based on differences. Narrative studies generally focus on one or two people and retell their stories in a contextually meaningful way. While ethnographic study would focus more on a specific group of people. This dissertation aims to analyze findings both inside and outside the Lhotshampa's ethnic group, so I saw the case study approach as the best fit (Creswell 2013).

Descriptive single case embedded

Robert K. Yin (2014) describes a case study approach as research conducted to better understand a real case that has real world context, looks at a distinct situation with multiple variables, relies on evidence to describe the context, and relies on established theories to “guide data collection and analysis” (Yin 2014, 17). Within the case study approach, there are multiple avenues to pursue. The first choice is between a single or multiple case design. A single case study can be compared to a single experiment, while a multiple case study can be compared to multiple types of experiments that can be replicated multiple times. I chose a single case study because it focuses on a unique, at least within the United States, group of people: Lhotshampa Bhutanese refugees. Within a single case study, one can interview many different people within the unusual case, but in a multiple case study the interview participants would need to fit within specific parameters and the differences between participants would be a key outcome of the study (Yin 2014).

The next decision in designing the case study is to choose the approach. A descriptive approach to this research was chosen over exploratory and explanatory approaches. This would facilitate the description of data and processes as they appeared. Rather than an exploratory approach, which looks at various points in the research and poses questions that might open opportunities for further exploration. While an explanatory approach looks much deeper, into the “why,” of the choices a case may make (Yin 2014).

Lastly, an embedded rather than a holistic focus was chosen. A holistic case study looks at the nature of a case from a general overview, while an embedded case study looks at the different units within a case. Embedded in this case study are three distinct units; the Refugee

Resettlement Placement Coordinators, aid workers and volunteers that engage with the Bhutanese refugee community, and the refugees themselves (Yin 2014).

The dissertation also utilizes ethnographic methods following the tradition of a focused, or mini, ethnography. This type of ethnography is designed to be narrower, more focused than a traditional ethnography. Researchers still commit to participate and observe their population of inquiry, but the time frame is much shorter. The purpose of focused ethnographies is to richly describe the culture's norms, values, and roles. I utilized semi-structured interviews because they allowed me to collect stories, memories, and hopes for the future. Participant observation was also utilized for this portion of the research project (Fusch, Fusch, and Ness 2017).

Interview Procedures

In August 2017 I received IRB (8763) approval to conduct semi-structured interviews with Bhutanese refugees and refugee placement coordinators. I developed the list of interview questions based on extensive background reading and identification of gaps in existing literature. The use of semi-structured interviews was very important because it provided guidance for the specific themes I wished to explore, but it also permitted each interview to flow in a direction which was most comfortable for the individual. This approach may have produced some inconsistencies in the content gathered, but it fostered a relaxed environment and resulted in valuable insight for my research.

In late 2017 I requested a revision to my semi-structured interviews and in January 2018, IRB granted me greater latitude in who I could interview. Furthermore, the office of IRB extended the expiration date another year to accommodate the need for any follow-up interviews. I conducted the interviews in both public and private settings. I performed the interview with a minor in the presence of adults (e.g. parent or grandparents). Of the eleven refugees I

interviewed, five allowed me to record the exchange on my mobile device, three chose not to be recorded, and three provided me with scrapbook they had made. None of the participants over 50 allowed me to record the interview. The semi-structured interviews were downloaded and saved to a password protected external hard drive. I utilized a variety of transcription services, including Happy Scribe, Rev.com, Scribie.com, and GoTranscript.com. I was compelled to use different online transcription services because the Bhutanese participants had heavy Nepali accents that were a challenge to decipher.

My research began by identifying the organizations within the Kansas City metropolitan area that help with refugee resettlement. Jewish Vocational Services (JVS) is the agency that covers the Missouri side of the metropolitan area. My main contact person was Steve Weitkamp (Director of Refugee Services). He has worked with refugees around the globe for more than 30 years. On the Kansas side of the metropolitan area, Catholic Charities of Northeast Kansas (CCNEK) is responsible for assisting refugees. My contact at CCNEK was Rachel Pollack (Director of Refugee and Immigration Programs) who has spent the past 11 years working with refugees. I met with said individuals and recorded the entire exchange.

Near the end of each interview I asked for contact information of a Bhutanese refugee who might be willing to talk with me. The coordinators provided solid leads which resulted in two interviews. I also contacted a local Bhutanese business owner who has spoken at several public events in Kansas City, Kansas. From the initial interviews with Bhutanese refugees, I utilized the snowball technique to identify additional informants. Of the four additional individuals identified, only one was willing to participate in a formal interview. There were a variety of reasons why the refugees declined my interview request including scheduling conflicts, lack of English proficiency, reservations about being part of a university research

project, and the assertion that their story was not interesting enough to be recorded. One Bhutanese refugee was referred to me by several contacts. He agreed to be interviewed but failed to appear at the scheduled time and place. I attempted to contact him at least six more times. Each time my call was sent to voicemail.

Five months into the study, I had completed only four interviews with male refugees. To expand my data set I employed a different strategy. I began by interviewing volunteers and charity directors who work closely with the local Bhutanese population. This approach resulted in one additional interview. The hesitancy of the Bhutanese to open up to outsiders can be attributed to several factors. The International Organization of Migration (2011) conducted research on suicides in the Bhutanese community. Their report suggests one reason could be mental vulnerability. Many Bhutanese currently over the age of thirty were exposed to violence in Bhutan and continuous anxiety in refugee camps. Another factor recounted to me is distrust of outsiders. I was told two stories of Bhutanese men who decided to partner with Americans. They recalled how the Americans tried to change their cultural identities and not feeling valued. These experiences are shared throughout the Bhutanese community resulting in a general distrust of outsiders.

In my continued effort to increase my list of interviews, I contacted individuals working at government agencies, including Refugee Asylum and International Operations, the state of Kansas Settlement Coordinator, and the IOM representative in Nepal. None of these individuals responded to my requests for an interview. Next, I reached out to local religious institutions (both Christian and Hindu) that had ties to the Bhutanese community. My intent was to gain access to the Bhutanese population that attended religious services. The local Hindu temple replied that they did not “deal with immigrants,” while multiple attempts to contact Nepali

Christian churches went unanswered. I continued the convenience sampling strategy by looking for Bhutanese business owners in Kansas City, Kansas. This yielded only one additional interview. I reached a breakthrough when I began to spend an hour each week with Thinley, one of my previous interviewees, at a sewing group. After several weeks, four women began to feel comfortable enough with me to share their stories. My final interviewee (Heema) was someone I had spent time with at another local charity organization.

In total I secured 11 interviews with Bhutanese refugees living in the greater Kansas City metropolitan area. This was a disappointingly small sample size, but the quality of each interview more than makes up for the dearth in numbers. Each in-depth interview lasted approximately 1.5 hours. In addition, I spent extended periods of time with eight of the individuals. We ate together at the sewing club, I played with their children as they learned to maintain their sewing machines, and created life-long friendships conversing at the Asian grocery store. Through the interview process I feel that I got to know each of the individuals extremely well. Furthermore, they helped educate me about the resettlement process.

Although my sample size is much smaller than I would have liked ($n=11$), there is a wide cross-section of individuals who provided me with valuable information. In case study type research, a small sample size is acceptable if the individuals provide in-depth information that is representative of the larger population. The key informants I interviewed met this criterion. They provided a level of expertise and insight that is representative of the majority of the community (Fusch, Fusch, and Ness 2017).

Questionnaire

I developed the questionnaire to provide basic demographic information and uniform answers to questions related to integration. The questionnaire was part of the URCO (8763)

approval process and given to the interview participants at the end of the interview. The survey was transcribed into Nepali by Balram Kaderiya and his wife, Suhma Parajuli. Mr. Kaderiya is a member of the Nepali Student Association at K-State and a Graduate Research Assistant in the Physics Department. I compensated them for their work with a small gift and gift card.

I utilized the survey to illustrate the levels of integration in individual Bhutanese refugees. I based the design of the questionnaire on a survey developed by a member of the K-State Department of Geography alumni, Dr. William Wetherholt. Multiple individuals in the Geography Department and other K-State alumni, reviewed the questionnaire for clarity, logical progression of questions, font size, and background color.

I based the questions primarily on research conducted by Alastair Ager and Alison Strang (2008, 2004), with supplemental information pulled in from Don Dillman, et. al. (2009). A full description and rationale for each survey question is provided in Appendix F. The organization of the survey centers around ten domains that demonstrate the integration of refugees in the United Kingdom. The important first steps to integration are in the Means and Markers category. They include employment, housing, education, and overall health. These are the

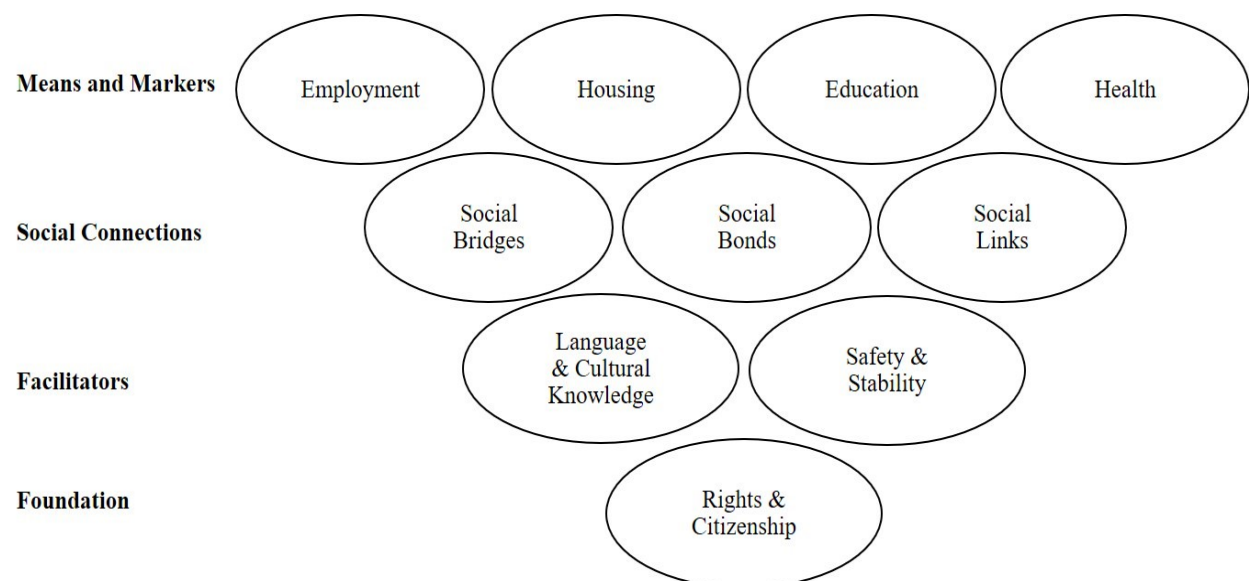


Figure 2-4, Indicators of Integration Framework - Ager and Strang (2008, 2004)

public face of integration. The next step is evaluating their private Social Connections. These connections including social bridges, bonds, and links. The theory is the stronger the social connections, the better the chance for successful integration. Illustrating the “process of integration” are facilitators of language, culture, safety, and stability (Ager and Strang 2004, 4). Learning English is critical in this domain. Lastly, the Foundation domain examines rights and citizenship, the culmination of integration by becoming a citizen of their new country. I did not collect the Foundation domain as part of the survey. I determined that inquiring about the legal status of refugees (e.g. the possibility of lapsed residency status or failure to pass the citizenship test) may create unneeded stress during the interview.

This chapter has detailed pertinent information regarding refugees and immigration. Each section provides information that is foundational to my dissertation. It began by describing the moniker of refugee and the legal weight it carries. Next, I explicated how refugees are resettled to third countries. I also provided a historical background for the Lhotshampa in Bhutan, including why they were expelled from their home. The chapter then recounted a brief overview of migration and assimilation theory. Lastly, the chapter detailed my research methods. This is a vital step in qualitative research to provide credibility and replicability to my research. In the next chapter I utilize the interviews I conducted with Bhutanese refugees to explore how they made migration decisions. This is the important first step to better understand how refugees fit into migration theories.

Chapter 3 - Bhutanese Refugee Migration

*I never want to forget my days in Bhutan, working in the fields
with friends, and being close to my brothers and sisters,
but I am so grateful for my new life here.*

Interview Participant
May 2018

I started recruiting Bhutanese refugee interview participants at an Asian grocery store situated on a busy street in Kansas City, KS. There were bold advertisements posted in every window and a chain link fence around the back lot. I was familiar with the store because I had been there before to purchase tickets to a Bhutanese cultural festival. The gentleman behind the counter, Rhythm, greeted me warmly but with a bit of skepticism. I introduced myself and explained the purpose of my visit. Rhythm replied that he might consider being interviewed. I returned to the store several consecutive Fridays before he agreed to sit down with me in the back storeroom. Thus, I began the acceptance process into the Bhutanese community.

To be successful in my research goals, I needed a degree of acceptance by the Bhutanese community. Without acceptance, the community would not feel comfortable sharing their stories. In this chapter, I focus on one aspect of their stories; how refugees make migration decisions. The goal of this chapter is not to form a forced displacement theory. Following the analysis approach of Stephen Castles (2003), David FitzGerald and Rawan Arar (2018), and Etienne Piguet (2018), I used the data collected from my interviews with Bhutanese refugees to identify specific tenets within existing migration theory that corresponds with my findings. By pulling out these tenets, I hope to add to the ongoing discourse that may lead to the formation of a coherent forced migration theory. The first section begins with an analysis of how refugees fit into migration theory. Next, the chapter examines why refugees decide to leave their country of origin and how they chose their destination. It includes an examination of the motivations

behind their decision to apply for resettlement assistance. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how my findings compare with the basic tenets of various migration theories.

Refugees in Migration Theory

William Petersen (1958) was among the first to earnestly begin to look at why people were compelled or forced to leave their home. He began by categorizing people into classes based on the amount of agency to choose the people had; impelled migrants maintained some power to choose while forced migrants had no power to choose. The second criteria he set was the intentions of the agent who compelled them to move. Agents with the conservative approach just wanted the people gone, while the innovating approach wanted to use the migrant as labor. To be classified as refugee rather than an émigré, however, the intention of the move must be permanent. While setting the classifications of forced migrants may seem trivial, Petersen's inclusion of forced migrants in his typology helps set them in the realm of migration theory.

E.F. Kunz (1973) also sought to refine the refugee definition. In addition to the accepted UNHCR definition, he included "the reluctance to uproot oneself, and the absence of positive original motivations to settle elsewhere" as distinct characteristics that separated voluntary migrants from refugees (Kunz 1973, 130). John R. Rogge (1978), on the other hand, argued that there was no definition that could possibly cover all possible scenarios and characteristics. Instead, he used a description by Varnant: "a refugee is . . . someone who is homeless, uprooted; a helpless casualty, diminished in all his circumstances, the victim of events for which, at least as an individual, he cannot be held responsible" (Rogge 1977, 50).

There are three main points at the heart of the dispute over the definition of a refugee and if they should be classified as a forced migrant. The first is that there are different degrees of moving involuntarily. Aside from those forcibly removed from their homes and taken to a new

location, it is perhaps better described as one's ability to withstand and adapt to pressures applied by hostile agencies. The second is IDPs; identified as persons who were forced to flee their home but have not crossed an international border. Yet in all other outward characteristics, they meet the UNHCR definition of a refugee. The next dispute is over the reason to move; is it politically or non-politically motivated. A popular term in climate change discussions are climate refugees. These are people forced to leave their home, yet most do not cross an international border and they are not politically motivated (Kunz 1973, Rogge 1977).

Moving past the definition or accepting the current status quo, the initial moves of refugees fit well into the earlier theories. If we accept the concept that refugees are migrants, specifically forced migrants (Rogge 1978), then according to Lee's Push-Pull Theory, refugees have been pushed from their place of origin and pulled to a new destination. And just like the typical migrant experience, they will also encounter some type of intervening obstacle. In the case of resettled refugees, those that have no logical expectation of returning to their homes, there are two migrations, each with their own unique set of push and pull circumstances. The initial push for refugees is generally a negative reason that causes them to move. The initial pull is generally to a camp, urban area, or to family members in safer areas (Black 1991). The secondary push is from the area of initial resettlement to a location, most often a developed country, where the refugee can permanently resettle, the secondary migration (Black 1991).

Unfortunately, aside from the basics of Lee's Push-Pull Theory there is not any one migration theory that satisfactorily explains forced migration. One would need to create a new migration theory that pulls from different approaches. First, we could exclude many elements of the Neo-Classical approach. While refugees do complete a cost benefit analysis before they flee, if their flight is based on the threat of violence, then wage differentials would be a relatively

insignificant factor in making a decision to move. In some cases of forced migration, an individual representing a larger household is sent to find a place that would afford more safety for the family. This would minimize risk for the family as a whole and fall in line with the New Economics approach. Another key element of the New Economics approach, in relation to refugees, is the household being the decision-making unit, not an individual (Piguet 2018). Prior to fleeing one's home, a social cost must be tabulated; what will be lost in terms of family history, social ties, or cultural practices if a household leaves? This falls in line with the Human Capital approach.

Although there is not a broad migration theory for refugees, an analysis can be performed to test the tenets of theories. This can be accomplished by looking at the factors behind how refugees make the decision to leave their home. The next section utilizes data collected from my interviews to provide an overview of how my interview participants made migration decisions. It includes firsthand accounts to remind us that refugees are more than a group of people to conduct research on. They are unique individuals with complex stories.

How Refugees Make Migration Decisions

Leaving your home as a traditional migrant is a difficult decision. Being forced to leave behind a life you cherished can be heartbreaking. This section begins by retelling the stories of three women, "Joyti," "Mana," and "Anisha." These women provided me with scrapbooks they had made during their first year in the United States. Their stories illustrate how strong the push factor was to desert their homes and the hardships they endured on their journey to the United States.

"Jyoti" is almost 70 years old now. She grew up in a household run by her two older brothers, as her parents had passed away when she was a small child. Her brothers arranged her

marriage to a migrant worker from Nepal when she was 15 and he was 30. Jyoti recalls how nervous she was to marry a near stranger, but that she respected the role of her brothers and married. Jyoti and her husband eventually purchased multiple farms; moving from one to the other during different seasons. She recalls, “we made enough to have enough food for ourselves and sell what was left over. In Bhutan, this meant that we were very rich.”

However, Jyoti’s husband was from Nepal and a target for the army. After being kidnapped, beaten, and held by the army for 5 days, her husband fled across the border to India. Jyoti stayed behind long enough to sell their cattle and land. When her husband was forced to flee after being beaten by Bhutanese police, Jyoti left her home behind to join him in India. She writes:

I had to leave behind my parents and all the relatives from my birth family in Bhutan, so I lost many loved ones by leaving Bhutan. But I knew I couldn’t leave my husband and my children, so we went to India. I was so sad to leave all my animals in Bhutan. I had goats, two sets of bulls, and nine cows. I loved my life, and it was hard to say goodbye to it, but I wanted to be with my family in safety.

“Mana’s” story is similar. She recalls, “My husband and I lived together in Bhutan for about three years. I had three children there. As an adult, I loved my life in Bhutan. I especially like having livestock and farming. We had orange and cardamom orchards. During the fall, everything would be ripening, and people would be reaping from their fields. It was a very good life. I did the domestic work, while my husband worked in the fields.” Mana and her husband began hearing rumors of rapes, beatings and murders in nearby villages. To avoid the violence, they hid in the jungle during the day and return to their homes at night. Mana, her husband, and three small children eventually left Bhutan in the night and walked across the border to India. She recounts:

We had to leave Bhutan and go to Nepal because there was a political movement going on. We lived close to the border with India, and we heard that women in

the nearby villages were being raped and killed. We didn't know what was happening, and we were very scared. My husband said it wasn't good to stay in Bhutan any longer. We worried that things might happen to us, and my friends were all scared, as well. We heard that the army was coming to villages and beating people, so we were hiding in the jungle during the day, and then returning to our homes at night to prepare food and eat.

Finally, we decided it was too dangerous to stay in Bhutan. Very late one night we headed for the Indian border. It took us about two hours, walking. My eight-year-old daughter walked, and my husband carried our six-year-old and our newborn baby. All we had with us was any money that we had been able to save. We were too scared to eat anything. We were afraid of the army police the whole time we travelled. In India, four or five of our families had reserved a vehicle, and we all rode together to Nepal. We were uneducated, so we weren't sure where to go, but some of the people with us knew that there was a refugee camp. We followed them to the camp.

“Anisha” also lived on a farm. She tended their cattle, worked in the fields, and was responsible for the family home. When Anisha remembers what was left behind, she does not speak of land. Anisha remembers the loss of her eight-month-old daughter who died in the middle of the night and is buried at the side of a river in Bhutan. She would also lose an infant son during her stay in the refugee camps in Nepal. Anisha also recalls the good times, “My favorite thing about my life was going to help neighbors on their farms. After the work, we would gather together, play music, and play around. I was very strong and healthy then.”

The three women paint heartwarming descriptions of life in Bhutan. Therefore, one may ask why the Lhotshampa left. The reasons are the documented atrocities committed against the Lhotsampa by the government of Bhutan (Hutt 2003, Pulla 2016). Yet the Lhotsampa stayed and persisted despite the persecution. Therefore, what was the terminal event that caused them to decide to abandon their home? A minority of my interview participants were too young to remember why they fled. There were a variety of responses among those who did remember (Figure 3-1). In general, I found the decision to flee Bhutan was made at the household level. Those who had specific remembrances included a married couple that made the decision to flee

after receiving an anonymous warning in the night. She recalled that her husband had offered her a divorce, so she could stay in Bhutan with her family, rather than being forced to leave. While Jyoti indicated that the government began imposing a new family membership fee. She had the choice of paying a fee for each of their seven children or leaving. In the end, she left her land, her animals, and her family to join her husband.

Another account came from Tara. He was in the sixth grade at school and it was a Tuesday. He remembers men in trucks carrying weapons driving into his village. He left all his belongings in the classroom and ran home. From then on, he did not return to school and worked at home with his parents. Tara described people being arrested and punished, and that everyone was afraid. One day, the army assaulted Tara’s father as he was walking home. They beat his father until he was unconscious, remaining in that state for more than two months.

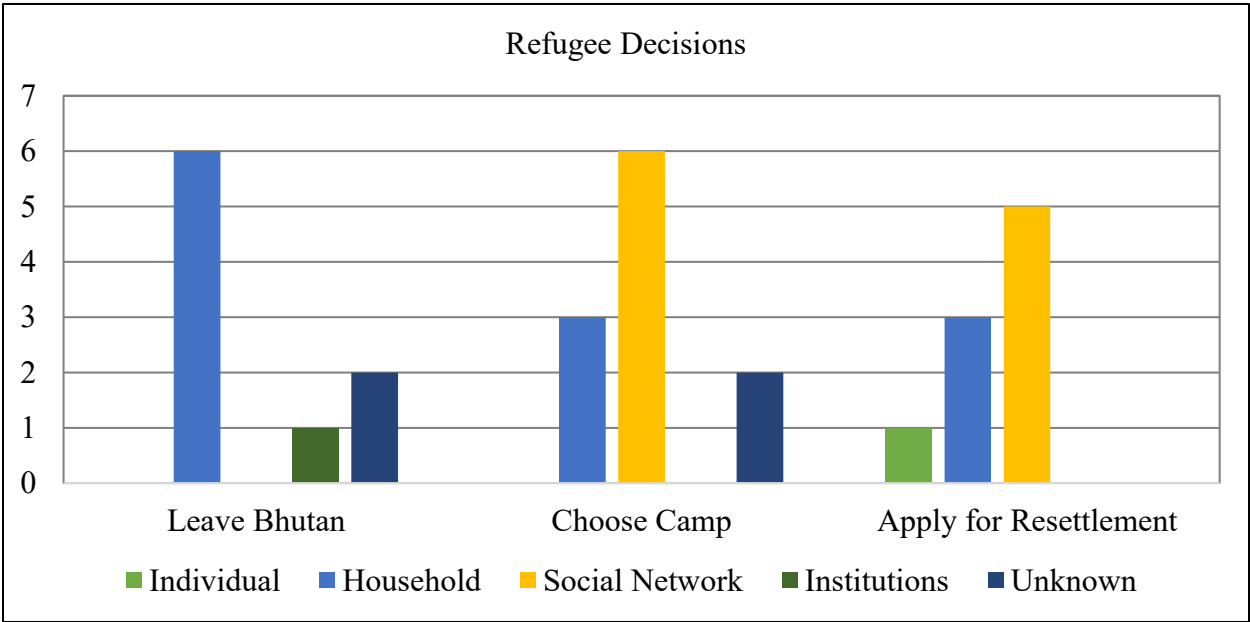


Figure 3-1, Primary Decision Factor When Migrating

The results of my interviews illustrate that the decision to leave Bhutan was predominately made at the household level (Figure 3-1). None of my interview participants reported they made the decision as an individual, nor did social networks play a significant role.

This finding is an important first step in resolving where Bhutanese refugees fit into migration theories. Yet caution should be heeded. We cannot infer that every refugee group makes the decision to leave their home at a household level. David Scott FitzGerald and Rawan Arar (2018) report that other factors, including age, gender, and ethnicity, influence the difficult decision to flee.

After the decision to leave was made, I asked how they decided where to go? The majority of my interview respondents revealed that information gathered by other family members was key. Jyoti recalls:

All of my children and I walked to India on foot. I was very worried, and I cried the whole time. My son Sunil was only eight months old, and the oldest child was 16. My brothers helped us to complete the journey, which took six hours of walking. After we crossed the border between India and Bhutan, we had to go through a jungle, where there were many elephants and tigers. It was dangerous because of all of the animals, and because there were no bridges that we could use to cross the rivers. My brothers helped myself and the children to cross the rivers.

After we reached my sister's place in India, we stayed there with her for one month, and then left for Nepal. We were not the first family to come to Nepal. One of our relatives was already in the refugee camp in Nepal and had come back to Bhutan to get his father, so we left my sister's in India and went to Nepal with my cousin. We had already decided when we left for India that we would go to the refugee camps in Nepal. It took us about three or four days to get there. We rode in a truck. The other family that went with us helped me to care for my children during the trip. We overcame so many obstacles to get to Nepal.

While others depended on their community ties to decide where to flee to. Anisha recounted her story:

On our journey, we started out walking. We couldn't use Bhutanese transportation because we were leaving the country. We walked for three days to get to Kalikhola, a city in Bhutan. It was very difficult to travel that way, because my husband and my mother were both disabled, and had trouble with so much physical activity. We spent about seven days in Kalikhola because one of the women who were with us, one of our former neighbors, was pregnant and gave birth there. We took a truck from Kalikhola to a town in India. It seemed that we were in that truck for so long. The Bhutanese government had paid some of the families for their houses and land, but not all of us. Some of us didn't have any

money, so we just ate beaten rice. Any money that we had, we had to hide, in case people tried to steal it.

After we crossed the border to India, we spent a night in a city in India, and then made it to Nepal. The trip felt unsafe, because we didn't know where to go or how to get to the refugee camp. Only the driver that we were paying to take us knew where to go. We bought one of our dogs with us and having him with me in the truck helped me to feel safer. The thing that made us brave enough to go was our desire to survive. Being with my family on the trip also helped me to keep going.

Some arrived early when there were no refugee camps. They had to construct their housing out of material that they found. When Tara arrived in the camp, they used a plastic tarp for a roof. Their home had no walls and they had very little food. Daily life in the camps was very difficult. According to Jyoti, she witnessed many people die each day. Deaths generally occurred due to starvation, but diarrhea and water-borne diseases also took many lives. Two refugees, however, had a much different story. Thinley and his wife, Deki, are Ngalong and considered illegal immigrants in Nepal. Wanted by the government, Nepal unsuccessfully attempted to deport Thinley and Deki back to Bhutan. Their illegal status left them without food and housing assistance from UNHCR and denied their basic rights by Nepal. Their status made it was difficult for them to move around Nepal or travel to India for conferences and meetings due to lack of documents.

The analysis of data collected from my interview participants revealed that they used information gathered by social networks to decide where they could find safety after they decided to leave their home. Although households also played a significant role (Figure 3-1). None of my interview participants reported that institutions were part of the decision. While in the camps, the extent of social capital is fundamental to the psychological and emotional well-being of the people. On an ongoing basis they work together to ensure their temporary homes will withstand the wind, rain, and cold. The children and young adults are educated by members

of their community and workers in the camp. When tragedy strikes (e.g. illness or death), the community rallies around the affected household providing aid and comfort.

The last question I analyzed about individual refugee's migration decisions was how they decided to apply for third country resettlement. Rhythm recalled he had been picked by his camp to apply for resettlement first because he had studied English in college. He considered himself a test case for those he left behind. He would go to the United States first and report back if others should follow. Rhythm's positive feedback to his community led his family to slowly begin the resettlement process to the United States. Thinley applied to go to Australia because he had visited the country before and thought it would be a good place to live. At the time, Australia did not accept refugees from Bhutan, so the United States became his best option. When the reports from refugees abroad came back positive, more refugee family members used resettlement applications as an approach to join their family or community. Anisha provided further insight:

I lived in the refugee camp in Nepal for 19 years. I never had a thought in my mind to move somewhere else. But then other refugees started going to the U.S. The local villagers encouraged me to go to the U.S. because they said it would be better and my children would have a better future. I began to think about going. My family and children began wanting to go, also. My parents decided to apply to go to Canada. We were planning to go to Canada, as well, but then my son and daughter-in-law came to the U.S. My parents suggested that we come to the U.S. because it would be a better place for a family. So we decided to apply to go to the U.S.

My interviews with other participants indicated they chose to follow family or friends already in the United States. Jyoti remembers:

Awhile after my husband died, I decided that I wanted to come to the U.S. All my friends had come to the U.S. My children wanted to come too, I thought, "If it's good for the kids, then I will go, because I will be gone eventually and then my children will have what will be good for them." I thought that my children would have a good future in the U.S. We didn't have to wait long-only three months after our application.

The analysis of my interviews revealed that the decision to apply for third country resettlement was often a household decision. That decision, however, is different for each family. Often one member is sent abroad for further investigation. Only after positive reports are received will the remaining family take the next step. Thus, social capital is a critical component when understanding the refugee resettlement process. With these results in mind, the next section compares the results of my interviews with migration theory.

Analysis

When the refugee interview results are analyzed in light of Lee's Push-Pull Theory, we can identify primary migration factors. The primary push factor, what causes migrants to leave their place of origin, is the real and intimidating violence that pushed the Bhutanese refugees from their home. The costs of moving, intervening obstacles, are both positive and negative. A positive outcome was that they found work and their children attended school. However, the negative costs of leaving their physical homes in Bhutan are felt acutely when one reads the stories about Bhutan. The pull factor was finding safety and increased security in the refugee camps. These results can curtail the criticisms that Lee's Push-Pull Theory is too simplistic.

The interview results also correspond with some the basic principles of the New Economic Migration Theory. It advances the idea that migration decisions are made primarily at a household level and are a risk-aversion strategy (Piguet 2018). Though FitzGerald and Arar (2018) note the complications with this analysis. They remind us that not all families will flee when faced with violence and not all members of the family will leave their homes.

Social capital in migration decisions is also a key factor. Susan Hardwick (2003) defines social capital "as the webs of trust, mutual obligation, and cultural knowledge that flow through local, regional, national, and international information systems" (167). It is a value held by an

individual of a larger community that can create pathways to new locations, gainful employment, and introduce migrants to new relationships (Airriess et al. 2008). Where uncertainty abounds in the instance of refugees, social capital can provide structure and assistance (e.g. financial and emotional). The role of social capital and family is present throughout refugee migration process. When a refugee makes the agonizing decision to abandon their old life and begin anew, the principles of New Economics of Migration demonstrate that members of the household make the initial decision to leave their home. The social capital of the household will be the primary determining factor in the type of transportation they utilize and their final destination.

The Bhutanese have utilized their social capital throughout in many circumstances. First, several of the refugees I interviewed had lost family in the camps; including parents, spouses, and children. Their social capital has provided an important coping mechanism for many. They find comfort with people they know when life becomes difficult. When the individual refugee had been resettled, the interview participants reported that keeping in touch with as much family and friends was a top priority in their life. Others reported they have maintained friendships from the same villages in Bhutan. The refugees also interacted with people outside of the camps. Thinley had to rely on others in the Bhutanese community and people he knew in Nepal and India to help provide money to survive. Each of these examples provides evidence that refugees work to maintain the networks created within social capital.

Overall there has been a reluctance to design a migration theory that explains the causes of expulsions and the resulting movements of refugees. Kunz (1973) lists several reasons for the lack of a refugee specific migration theory. First, he blames this, in part, on the distinct nature of each refugee population; all from different backgrounds, historical time-frames, and political situations. Next, the creation of refugee populations causes the world to stop and act. Another

reason is because once a population is resettled, they are considered immigrants in a new country and will eventually assimilate into that country. Perhaps the most salient reason is there are too many “seeming contradictions and aberrant patterns [to] fit them into one conceptual framework” (Kunz 1973, 129). Kunz then reveals his kinetic model that, building on Lee’s Push-Pull Theory, describes the type of refugee that leaves, the basic movement patterns followed by refugees, the mode of displacement, demographic characteristics, and how these variables can predict how future refugee populations may be managed. Kunz (1981) expanded his kinetic model by adding factors arising from host countries.

Tamar Mott Forrest and Lawrence A. Brown (2014) and Stephen Castles (2003) make a loose connection between refugee migration and the World Systems approach. The U.S. began accepting displaced Jews from Russia, Eastern Europe, and other African nations in the late 1800s. These sending regions would have been considered lesser developed, the periphery, in relation to the United States, the core. The draw for the Jewish refugees were large global cities, where local religious organizations were willing to provide material support. World Systems may be a way to evaluate the initial waves of refugee migrations to the United States, but this approach does not explicate how refugees from forced migrations are redistributed today. While these models provide a solid typology and refugee migration adheres to elements of migration theories, a clear migration theory for refugees is lacking (Hardwick and Meacham 2005, Forrest and Brown 2014).

This chapter begins to paint another important factor in refugee migrations, that of personal autonomy. When living in Bhutan, many of my interview participants made their own decisions. The decisions may have been made in consultation with family and community, but ultimately is made at an individual level. After they began to experience ethnic prejudice and

violence, the level of autonomy in their decisions begins to lessen. The government became the primary restrictor of their choices. Consequently, social networks stepped in and provided an alternate path to safety. Their level of autonomy is further restricted as they crossed the Bhutanese border and entered refugee camps. In the refugee camps, institutions (Chapter 5) remove almost all personal autonomy. Yet before the analysis of institutions begins, the next chapter analyzes how Bhutanese refugees are integrating in the Kansas City Metropolitan area.

Chapter 4 - Bhutanese Refugee Integration

*Talk to him. His story is just like my story.
We've all been through the same.*

Bhutanese Business Owner
August, 2017

Resettled Bhutanese refugees have lived a complicated life. When residing in Bhutan, one of their distinguishing characteristics was speaking Nepali. Living in refugee camps in Nepal, they were Bhutanese. In the U.S., the nationalities are often combined as Nepali speaking Bhutanese. One interview participant explained that you could tell where the allegiance of the Bhutanese refugee lies by how individual Bhutanese refer to themselves. If they refer to themselves as Nepali speaking Bhutanese, then they have no fealty to Bhutan. While if they indicate they are Bhutanese who speak Nepali, they recognize the sovereignty of the Bhutanese monarch. Irrespective of how the Bhutanese are described by outsiders, this hybrid and muddled sense of self identity aids some Bhutanese refugees in adopting additional cultural traits indicative of Western culture (Hoellerer 2017).

This chapter focuses on how the Bhutanese refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area are integrating into their neighborhoods and creating a new home. It will describe some of the challenges, successes, and how they maintain pieces of their cultural identity. The first section of this chapter utilizes interviews with refugees to understand how they perceive the culture of their new community. The next section examines the trend of underemployment and the role of religion in the Bhutanese refugee community. This section is followed by a review of two sewing groups that serve Bhutanese refugees. These groups are utilizing their social capital to improve their community and provide employment opportunities. The last section reveals the

results of a questionnaire given to my interview participants. This chapter concludes with an analysis of how Bhutanese refugees fit within geographic theory.

Coming to America

I heard many stories from the Bhutanese refugees about their first weeks in the U.S. Rhythm recalled his first night in an apartment in Boston. He had turned on the faucet in the shower and didn't know how to turn it off. A large African American neighbor came to his rescue and demonstrated how to work this new device. Another whimsical story came from Heema. She and her family were brought to an apartment that had been stocked with typical housewares. She noticed a bag of kitchen utensils as they looked through the what the volunteers had provided them. It took her some time to determine the uses of some utensils, particularly the pizza cutter.

Thinley told me he had never heard about Kansas City, Missouri. Camp workers had informed him that Missouri was a backward state, with lots of lakes, trees, and some industry. Therefore, he was surprised by the tall buildings he saw on the skyline. He was also shocked by the "sagging pants" worn by younger people and how hard it was to pass the driver's exam. Thinley explained that driving is much different in Bhutan where there are few rules of the road. He had to take the written portion of the driving test three times before he passed. He justified his failure by saying the context of the English used caused him confusion.

My interviews also revealed emotional topics and trauma. Several interview participants mentioned the high suicide and depression rates within the community. They reported that some in their community do not know what to do. They don't feel part of the United States and they want to return to Bhutan. The feeling of loss is a constant undertone. Some have lost their position in Bhutanese society. Thinley had been the leader of the Bhutanese Chamber of

Commerce in Bhutan. Other interview participants reported they could not earn a living in an occupation they enjoy. Lack of fulfilling employment, or underemployment, is the first key theme this chapter explores.

Underemployment

My adult interview participants came to the United States expecting to work. They looked forward to respectable work for modest pay. A few wanted to achieve the American dream through business ownership. Instead, the predominate occupations reported by my interview participants were repetitive manual labor jobs (e.g. Amazon, FedEx, meat packing plants, and a local soap factory). Refugees with English-speaking skills have found limited opportunities as interpreters for schools, legal proceedings, medical procedures, and meetings with government officials. However, working as an interpreter does not pay well and jobs are intermittent. Those who lack formal education, such as livestock farmers, do not know what to do in the United States. The urban areas where they live do not allow animal husbandry. The Bhutanese community does maintain a community garden for produce farmers to practice their skills. New Roots for Refugees, a local charitable organization, also provides limited agricultural possibilities.

The wife of my interviewee, Tara, found work as a housekeeper in Buffalo, New York, while Tara worked in a chocolate factory. He recalled their surprise at the type of work they were doing. They had expected to work hard, but not on an assembly line doing repetitive tasks. Tara eventually became the owner of a local jewelry store, which also carries Nepali dresses, shoes, and other items. However, he is worried about his long-term success. He sees many Bhutanese refugees moving away from Kansas City, Kansas. A significant Bhutanese out migration from Kansas City would hurt his business. He reported several people he knew had

left the area to go to Columbus, Ohio. Columbus was described to me as place that feels like home. It has a large Bhutanese population and community organizations that provide critical social support.

Diane Griffiths and Christopher Loy's (2018) work supports this finding. They report that the Bhutanese generally have lower rates of employment than other refugee groups. This is a result of their protracted situation in refugee camps where education and employment opportunities were limited. Griffiths and Loy's (2018) research found these obstacles led to a "mismatch between their human capital and the economic and resource opportunities" which may result "in continued low levels of social integration and downward mobility" (Griffiths and Loy 2018, 14). A more direct and concentrated effort by social networks and institutions may be necessary to ensure the long-term successful integration of this community. Although underemployment is a genuine concern for the community, another is religious baggage the refugees brought from across the sea.

Hindu vs. Hindu vs. Christian

Religion was a topic I had decided to briefly touch on in my interviews. Despite this intention, I found myself deeply immersed in the topic. Particularly when I shared my experience working with the Bhutanese community. I had volunteered for five years tutoring elementary aged Bhutanese students. The program took place in a building which housed a Christian based outreach program. My role was to help the students, not proselytize. Each of the interview participants on the Kansas side of the border had heard of the organization and all but one, Tara, had participated in some type of program there. Hari had volunteered there for three years but left after a disagreement. He was unwilling to disclose the nature of the disagreement,

confirmed by other members of the outreach community. I did not pursue the topic but he did relate the following information:

Refugee people are also human beings. The only thing they don't know is the language. It doesn't mean that they are fool. Lot of time people took advantage. I was the victim of changing the religion. People think that, I will not tell who did that but they have person they will send and then they force me to change into their religion. I say, "All religions are equal. Only the way you see is different." I don't find any difference. Why should I go to such and such religion? Once your heart is pure. I didn't want to hear from one's religious goal to show someone. I am okay serving my people. It's okay. I follow Jesus. I follow all religion.

During our interview Hari continued to speak about religion. His primary concern is that the caste system had followed the Bhutanese to America. He explained to me that their community was "not functioning correctly because of the caste system." He explained further by illustrating how the priests and those in the higher castes would like the community to function:

The person who follow are also only, I mean we call priest. Priest or the pastor are the wise men in religion, am I right? They need to interpret the right thing to the public. This priest they don't. They know that there is nothing written in the religious book, like caste. The caste only is two, male and female. That is the caste in every . . . The priest are the ones who also don't want to assimilate caste systems.

Don't follow. I'm not in their track. I am with everybody. For me is equal unless they follow the law. They want me to follow their caste system. They don't want me to give good advice to the lower caste when they come here because in Nepal, if you are officer or if you work in a certain office, you can do whatever you like based on the caste level. They want me to do.

Most of the people in higher caste they instruct me in a different way. I understand and I have no way to do this things here, not in my mind, in my heart. I just keep quiet.

Hari had hoped that the caste system would not be as important in America; "We establish community, that community should not be related to religion, politics or I think in the caste. You can observe your caste system in your house but in a unity, in a community, forget everything." Other participants reported similar views. One individual felt that the caste system was responsible for most of the discord within the community and blamed the Hindu priests for

hindering assimilation by maintaining adherence to the caste system. Tara mentioned he felt the caste system was a negative in their community. He denounced the caste system as a means to separate people in the community and treat the lower castes poorly.

Other interview participants reported their openness to different religious ideologies. Rhythm thought it acceptable to practice a religion or choose not to practice one at all. While not expressing a specific religious ideology himself, Rhythm spoke about conversions to Christianity. Rhythm reported that some Bhutanese refugees felt that other's in the community converted to Christianity because they wanted to fit in to American culture. Or perhaps to show their gratitude to an organization that provided them valuable social services. Other interview participants echoed this sentiment. They felt that polytheistic Hindus could not truly understand monotheistic Christianity. While Hari thought, "They went to that religion because they feel that they have equality there. They can preserve their dignity." The implication is their conversion was a social and economical choice, not a change in religious ideology.

Lhotshampa conversions to Christianity have occurred in Bhutan, Nepal, and the United States. The Christian Lhotshampa I spent time with, converted after they came to the United States. Heema explained why she converted to Christianity:

I think it is God's will. God's will is always strong. I was not interested anymore in Nepal or here but my husband used to hear the word of God. His prayers and some of the pastors can pastor us. He had some little faith in his mind. When we came here, my pastor always was very helpful. He went to Nepal and saw the conditions, how we were living there. When we came here, we did not know Him but he knew us.

Her American pastor has even visited Nepal to better understand the people and where they came from. She continued:

He went to us and asked us, how are you and this and that. I went to Nepal this year and saw your people, where they live and they were in a critical condition in Nepal. I saw everyone I think, and I was so full in my heart when I saw you. He used to

say like that. Sometimes he told us about from the Word of God and he asked whether we are interested in believing in Jesus and accepting Jesus as our savior.

He told us to went to the source and we went to the source one of the time. We were interested to go to the source and hearing from God, God's word and that changed our heart.

Heema recounted that the Christian Lhotshampa community is often excluded from family events. One member of the community was not allowed to participate in Hindu funeral rites for a fellow family member. Heema also felt alienated from her own parents and siblings who did not convert. She explained that her parents want her to “come back.” Hari confirmed the difficulties Christian Lhotshampa encounter in their community. He explained observant Hindus place Christians in the lowest caste. This distinction can make participation in the greater community difficult. Despite their differences, there are groups that strive to bring community together. The following section details two sewing groups that are increasing the social capital of Bhutanese women.

Sewing Group

Over the last year, I spent more than fifty hours with two sewing groups whose attendees are predominantly Bhutanese women. I was introduced to the group in Kansas City, Missouri when I met Thinley for an interview. Thinley, his wife Deki, and Jewish Vocational Services formed the group approximately three years earlier to provide social connections for Bhutanese refugee women. The women gather every Tuesday at 4:00 p.m. in the basement of an old stone church. Many of the ladies walk to the gathering regardless of the weather. In the winter, they are bundled in hats and coats from their walk. In the summer, they fan themselves with whatever they can find.

When the doors to the basement have been opened, the first task the ladies address is making chai tea in the kitchen. Tea and homemade snacks always come before sitting down to

sew. When the tea is gone and the gossiping complete, the sewing machines are wheeled out from a back room and set up on folding tables. American seamstresses volunteer their time to teach the women to use American sewing machines and different types of stitches. They use donated scrap fabrics to create items the ladies can sell at farmer's markets, church sales, or other local venues that allow local artisans to sell their products.

Across the state line in Kansas, in a larger, newer church, a different sewing group meets every Friday and Saturday. The founder, "Devina," created the group for refugees from South and Southeast Asia. The more novice sewers meet on Friday afternoons. They begin by learning how to use the sewing machines and basic sewing techniques. The advanced students meet on Saturday to make cloth bags that are lined with color coordinated fabrics and grocery produce bags. The finished products are sold at a local Fair-Trade store. Devina also brings their wares to art fairs throughout the metropolitan area. The women receive 60% of the profits. Nine of her students have saved enough of their earnings to purchase sewing machines for their homes.

Devina has a more organized and holistic approach to her group. She often transforms sewing sessions into a health class. There the women can learn how to control their diabetes and high blood pressure. One cold Saturday, Devina brought in a sewing machine repairman. He repaired the women's machines and taught them how to complete preventative maintenance. I have spent a lot of time with Devina and spoke with her at length about the group's future. She was excited to tell me that a commercial building had been secured for their organization. It will be located in the heart of the immigrant community of Kansas City, Kansas. Architectural planning was well underway and renovations would begin soon. The new location would provide consistent access to the sewing studio, an option for a retail storefront, and office space for other businesses. Her only disappointment was the lack interest from of younger ladies. She

believes many of them would rather have a career and go to college rather than attending sewing class.

The time, experience, and expertise of those leading each group will likely influence the participants' lives for years to come. The informal Tuesday group has strong bonds of companionship. Each woman knows when another is sick or out of town. The knowledge is then passed along throughout the group. They provide a support system that could serve as model for other struggling immigrant communities. They are also learning valuable sewing skills. The women can pass along their knowledge to other members of their household and families.

The more formal Kansas group is more likely to achieve monetary success. They are led by an extraordinary woman. Her skills in leadership and entrepreneurial ideas will provide modest incomes for the ladies. Their formal training will result in a higher likelihood of gaining employment in the garment industry. They will also find success in other areas. The classes staged by Devina gives them life skills. If these are areas one would use to define success, then the Kansas group has the best outlook. Yet, if success is defined as self-sufficiency and ability to navigate daily life in the United States, both groups are incredibly successful.

Thus far, this chapter has provided an analysis of the cultural themes that emerged from my interviews. It has reviewed underemployment, religious tension within the Bhutanese community, and how Bhutanese women are creating a sense of community. The next section will utilize my survey data to explore additional characteristics of integration. The results compare integration variables by gender and geographic location.

Results of Questionnaire

The resettled Bhutanese refugees all speak Nepali. However, I did not deploy the Nepali version of the questionnaire because most of my participants could not read Nepali.

Approximately one-half of my participants could not read English either. For these participants I read the text to them and marked the corresponding answer. Table 4-1 reports the gender, age, and marital status of the nine individuals who completed the questionnaire. There was a nice mix of males and females falling within various age groups. It would have been ideal if I could have surveyed some unmarried individuals.

Table 4-1, Interview Participant Profile

Demographic Profile of Refugee Participants (<i>n</i> =9)			
	Gender	Age Group	Marital Status
Male	5		
Female	4		
30-39		4	
40-49		1	
50-59		1	
60-69		2	
70-79		1	
Single			0
Married			7
Widowed			2
*Does not include demographic information for minors nor one female participant.			

The data I collected illustrate some interesting trends (Table 4-2). First, more females requested my assistance in completing the survey than males. This may correspond with the lack of education for nearly half of the female participants. All of the male participants received an equivalent high school education and almost one half earned a college degree. Despite higher levels of education, only one male reported working full time. Two males reported they were

self-employed. Even though males reported high levels of employment, less than one half said they found their jobs very satisfying.

Table 4-2, Education and Employment Results by Gender

Abbreviated Results of Questionnaire by Gender		
Parameter	Male	Female
Total	5	4
Filled out by researcher	1	4
Received minimal or no education	-	2
Equivalent High School education	5	2
Equivalent College education	2	-
Educated in U.S. (any form)	3	2
Not employed, seeking employment	-	1
Employed part time	2	-
Employed full time	1	-
Self-employed	2	-
Homemaker	-	2
Retired	-	1
Job Satisfaction: Very satisfied	2	-
Somewhat satisfied	3	-

A few trends emerged when comparing housing and social participation by gender (Table 4-3). Men and women reported living in a single-family dwelling at nearly an equal rate. Women were the only participants that reported living in an apartment or used public transportation. Men were more likely to report utilizing public healthcare options, at twice the rate of women. While participation in formal social networks was reported by both genders. Men being marginally more likely to attend religious meetings. The feeling of safety was virtually the same, with women reporting slightly higher feelings of safety.

Table 4-3, Results of Questionnaire Compared by Gender

Abbreviated Results of Questionnaire by Gender		
Parameter	Male	Female
Total	5	4
Lives in apartment (rent)	-	2
Lives in home (rent)	3	2
Lives in home (owns)	2	-
Uses public transportation	-	1
Owns a vehicle	5	2
Use public healthcare	4	2
Participates in social organizations	1	1
Attends religious meetings	3	2
Feeling of Safety: Very safe	2	3
Somewhat safe	3	1
Children involved	2	1

As the survey results by gender show, there is little variation between men and women beyond education. Another way to compare the survey data is by the geographic home of the refugees (Table 4-4). The comparison is intended to explore the differences of refugee integration based on geographic location (Kansas City, Kansas vs. Kansas City, Missouri). The small sample size prohibited extensive analysis for the results. The primary factor to note when visually comparing the data is difference in age. This variable is a consequence of the population that participated in the study. It cannot be implied that older refugees were sent to Missouri and younger generations to Kansas. If the age difference is dismissed, it reduces the significance of the other variables reported.

Table 4-4, Results of Questionnaire Compared by State

Abbreviated Results of Questionnaire by State		
Parameter	Kansas	Missouri
Male	4	1
Female	1	3
Filled out by researcher	2	3
Received minimal or no education	-	2
Equivalent High School education	5	2
Equivalent College education	2	-
Educated in U.S. (any form)	4	1
Educated in Bhutan	-	2
Educated in India or Nepal	5	-
Not employed, seeking employment	1	-
Employed part time	2	-
Employed full time	1	-
Self-employed	1	1
Homemaker	-	2
Retired	-	1
Job Satisfaction: Very satisfied	2	-
Somewhat satisfied	2	1
Lives in apartment (rent)	1	1
Lives in home (rent)	3	2
Lives in home (owns)	1	1
Uses public transportation	-	1
Owns a vehicle	5	2
Use public healthcare	4	2
Participates in social organizations	1	1
Attends religious meetings	4	1
Feeling of Safety: Very safe	3	2
Somewhat safe	2	2
Children involved	3	-

The survey did not include a citizenship question, which Alastair Ager and Alison Strang (2008, 2004) report is a primary integration indicator for refugees. Regardless, it is possible to look at the overall trend in resettled Bhutanese refugees. The Bhutanese began resettling in the Kansas City Metropolitan area in 2008. For the first three years they were only resettled to the Kansas side of the metropolitan area. The Missouri side began to accept resettled Bhutanese refugees in 2011. The next year represented the peak of 163 resettlement cases. By 2018, the numbers dropped to only five resettled Bhutanese in Kansas City, Kansas (Table 4-5).

Table 4-5, Bhutanese Arrivals by City and Year (Refugee Processing Center 2018d)

Bhutanese Refugee Arrivals – January 1, 2008 – September 15, 2018												
Placement City	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
Kansas City, KS	68	97	76	104	106	63	53	23	26	27	5	648
Overland Park, KS	3	10	22	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	37
Kansas City, MO	0	0	0	42	45	9	36	0	23	7	0	162
Total	79	116	108	157	163	85	103	40	65	51	23	847

It is very difficult to determine the number of Bhutanese refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan area that have taken the oath of allegiance. Yet we can look at national trends (Figure 4-1). Immigration data gathered by the Department of Homeland Security reveal there were Bhutanese immigrants in the United States prior to 2008. This group is represented by the I-94 Non-Immigrant admissions form. The form is collected when foreigners legally enter the country. It is often used by visitors and students for short visits. The next significant change happened in 2008 when Bhutanese refugees began resettling to the United States. As U.S. Immigration law allows, one year after their arrival refugees can apply for Legal Permanent Status (LPR). Four years later the number of Bhutanese who became naturalized citizens shows an upward trend. The number of naturalized citizens is not rising at a rate comparable to those who had applied for LPR status.

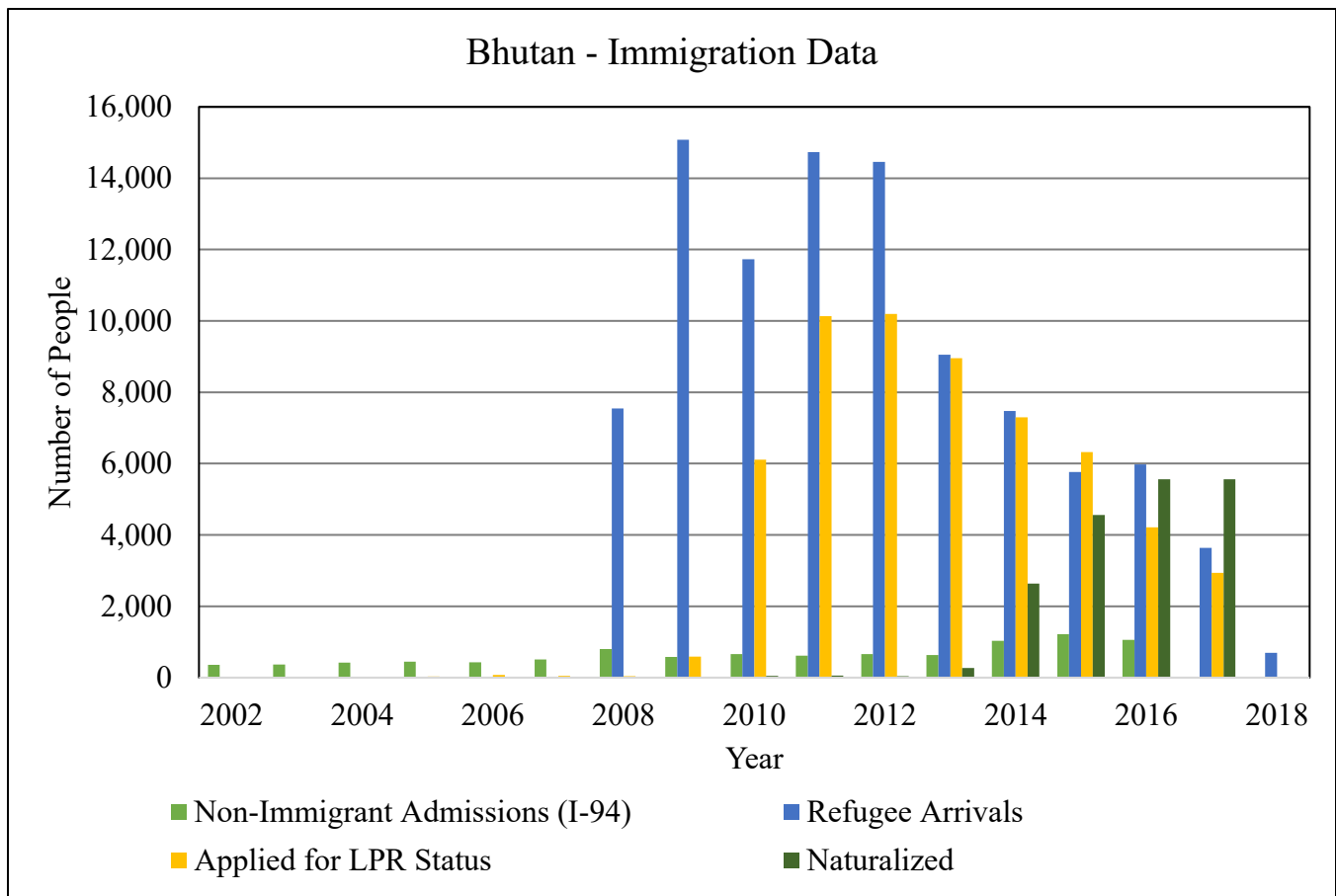


Figure 4-1, Bhutanese Immigration Data - (Office of Immigration Statistics 2002-2018)

The cause is likely linked to the findings in my questionnaire. One component of the citizenship exam is demonstrating basic English skills. Potential citizens must be able to read and write English sentences. This component of the citizenship exam is very difficult for adults with limited education and English proficiency. Just over half of my participants did not have the necessary English skills to read the questionnaire. When we extrapolate this pattern to the larger Bhutanese community we might be able to explain the lower rates of naturalization.

Conclusion

The physical act boarding a plane to come to the United States is a courageous first step. What resettled refugees experience when they arrive is also difficult. The interview participants I spoke with shared some of those difficulties. First is the trend of underemployment in the

community. Many resettled refugees find that their education and skill sets do not transfer to quality jobs in the U.S. This finding corresponds with Griffiths and Loy's (2018) research. The next challenge my interview participants faced was religious conflict. The Bhutanese Hindu community continues to impose their traditional cultural and religious practices on the larger Bhutanese community. Those who choose to quit following the Hindu faith community can be subject to disdain and cast aside. Yet, there are groups that accept members of the community regardless of their religious differences. The sewing groups, for example, are open to everyone (even a timid researcher trying to learn the Bhutanese community). Groups such as these play an important role in the development of social capital.

If the ultimate goal of refugee resettlement programs is to foster social capital and increase the likelihood of integration, geographic theory may provide an important theoretical perspective. Heterolocalism was proposed by Wilbur Zelinsky and Barrett A. Lee (1998) as an alternative theory to sociospatial assimilation and pluralist theory. Assimilation theory asserts that the arrival of immigrants within a given metropolitan area would eventually mirror that of American society. Specifically, they would move from the city centers to the suburbs as socio-economic status improves. This theory fits some immigrant communities, specifically Caucasian Western European groups. However, it does not consider how the patterns of non-European, non-Christian immigrants might differ.

By comparison, pluralist theory focuses on explaining how immigrants create a "mosaic of self-sustaining ethnic communities, each firmly engaged in the larger polity, economy, and society (i.e., Americanised to a notable degree) but still retaining a traditional identity and complex of cultural practices in perpetuity" (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, 284). According to

Zelinsky and Lee (1998), the primary detractor from this theory is the “fuzziness” of spatial patterns and multicultural groups.

To overcome the deficiencies in these theories, Zelinsky and Lee (1998) proposed a new model of *heterolocalism* to illustrate how ethnic groups can maintain their cultural identities while not living in distinct ethnic communities. Although there are five main tenets to the model, it is tenet three that is significant to this study. This tenet posits that increased mobility and access to telecommunications can create an “ethnic community without propinquity” (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, 288). Heterlocalism (the ability to maintain social connections without being in close geographic proximity) was something I observed within the Bhutanese community. Jyoti related that she maintains connections with her children through video conferencing. A similar story was told by other participants. Some of the Bhutanese people I spoke with use social media to maintain friendships made in the refugee camp. In other cases, some members of the Bhutanese community travel great distances to visit family. Heema often drives to St. Louis to visit with her parents and Jyoti spends several weeks each year in Canada visiting her daughter and grandchildren. Thus, when applied on a national or global scale, the tenets of heterolocalism are applicable. Through increased mobility and the use of modern technology (especially social media) individuals can maintain strong social connections to the larger ethnic community, despite geographic separation.

In closing, I want to return to the idea of personal autonomy. As we examine the idea of personal autonomy in relation to integration, we find social capital maintains its influence on Bhutanese refugees, particularly in regards to the role of religion in their everyday lives. By comparison, organizations (clubs) such as the sewing groups illustrate that greater autonomy is

still possible. It appears that the longer resettled refugees spend in the United States, the more opportunity they have to make decisions on their own.

Chapter 5 - Institutions and Resettlement

*I mean, sometimes wonderful things happen.
But for the most part it's a slog. It's a true slog.*

Steve Weitkamp
September 2017

There is a sizable gap within existing literature regarding the role that institutions play within the refugee resettlement process. Research has shown that refugees that have time to prepare for flight will choose a country they are familiar with. Refugees that lack time for planning choose “neighboring or nearby” countries that will accept them (Kunz 1973, 132). Yet, we know nearly nothing about what refugees go through as they are being placed in a distant country (e.g. United States). My interviews with resettlement coordinators yielded some highly useful information. In particular, they were able to elucidate the role their organization plays in placing refugees in the Kansas City metropolitan area and how they work with refugees upon their arrival. This chapter presents the results of my analysis of the interviews with key actors. It explains in detail the four main lessons learned.

First is the providential role of national institutions in resettling refugees. Specifically, how the placement of refugees that have been approved for permanent resettlement in the United States lies with the decisions made at a national level. Second, is the lack of decision making of local institutions in the resettlement process. My research revealed that local resettlement agencies have little control in the placement of refugees in Kansas City. Third is the importance of place. My investigation indicated that the Kansas City metropolitan area has many of the ideal characteristics needed for effective refugee resettlement, integration, and self-sufficiency. Lastly, institutions are key actors in assisting refugees after they arrive in the United States. Without the aid of institutions, many refugees would be at risk of failure.

How National Institutions Determine Placement

As discussed in Chapter Two, the process to refugee resettlement involves many different institutions that are vital to successful refugee resettlement. At a national level, Voluntary Agencies (VOLAGs) determine where (which specific city) refugees will be resettled. The strategy they employ is to identify incoming refugees with specific health concerns as well as individuals who claim to have direct ties to U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents. According to Rachel Pollack at Catholic Charities of Northeast Kansas (CCNEK), the day before the meeting between the nine VOLAGs and the State Department, a packet is given to each of the VOLAGs with a list of approved cases and supplementary information about each individual refugee. The VOLAG representatives then identify if any of their affiliates specialize in the needed health services (e.g. hearing loss) and which of their affiliates have potential U.S. ties. Then, cases are assigned based on those criteria. After those initial cases have been assigned, each VOLAG representative picks the remaining cases that help meet the capacity goals of their local affiliates. This process continues until all the approved cases have been assigned to a VOLAG. At this stage in the process the selection of destination cities is largely random. The random selection of destination cities plays a key role in the formation of new refugee communities.

Under typical circumstances, a refugee is eligible for special consideration if they qualify for family reunification or have a direct tie to a U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident. A refugee's claim that they have a direct tie to a U.S. citizen is not always dependent upon family reunification. According to Steve Weitkamp at Jewish Vocational Services (JVS), when Vietnamese refugees resettled in the United States during the 1970s, many had ties to military personnel, government workers, or other Americans physically present in Vietnam. Afghan

refugees who resettled in the U.S. during the 1980s had U.S. ties (USAID workers, construction firms who build dams and roads, U.S. workers in American owned hotels, and U.S. embassy personnel). Today, refugees often have similar contact with U.S. citizens prior to their resettlement.

When a refugee claims to have ties to a U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident (e.g. brother, son, or aid worker), the case is passed to the national VOLAG that has an affiliate in the same city for verification. Case managers for the local VOLAG affiliate are responsible for validating the claim. This task is easily completed with a home visit. Pollack says matching refugees with their U.S. ties whenever possible makes the most sense. If the resettlement agency ignores the family or U.S. tie, the refugee will often move there any way to be close to their community. The finding coincides with Tamar Mott Forrest and Lawrence Brown's (2014) research. They found that honoring family reunification requests will ultimately discourage secondary migrations. Regardless of the refugee request, institutions will consistently determine placement based on their ability to provide housing, medical care, and other social services.

Local Institutional Involvement in the Resettlement Process

Local resettlement agencies may not have control over who they resettle, but they do control the number of refugees they resettle. This process begins with the completion of a capacity survey which asks local resettlement agencies what type of refugees they can accommodate. Agencies tend to specialize in the characteristics (e.g. marital status, family size, disabilities, medical conditions) of refugees they help resettle. As Weitkamp explains, the survey is then sent to the national VOLAG which meets with the Office of Refugee Resettlement to determine the distribution of cases.

The resettlement coordinators were a wealth of information and they helped clarify many aspects of the resettlement process. Each year refugee resettlement agencies are asked to provide their best guess (a projection) of how many refugees they can serve. The number is based on the availability of support staff, housing, and local employment opportunities. Working in tandem with the projections is the refugee ceiling as established by the U.S. government. The last factor of the refugee resettlement process relates to capacity (the maximum number of refugees they can manage in a given year). This is typically computed to be 110 percent of the projection each local resettlement agency provides. For example, if JVS projects it can accommodate 600 refugees, their capacity would be 660 refugees. However, Weitzkamp explains the reality is “our capacity is whatever they can send us, and we cannot stop it.”

The President of the United States is the most important actor in the resettlement process and his or her's actions have direct implications on the local agencies. Each year, in consultation with Congress, s/he determines the admissions ceiling and signs an appropriations bill that funds the resettlement program. The 1980 Refugee Act provides an annual general guideline of 50,000 refugees, but in most years the number of refugees admitted into the U.S. exceeds that amount. Likewise, the 1980 Refugee Act does not stipulate that the ceiling must be met. Instead, the President and Congress can decide the exact number based on a variety of factors including political climate and changing international crises.

Local resettlement agencies are directly affected by the President's decisions. If a lower cap is established, local resettlement agencies are compelled to lay off some of their personnel. This is significant because experienced case managers are necessary to resettle refugees successfully. Likewise, if the President delays in signing the annual bill, it places a tremendous financial strain on local resettlement agencies due to funding uncertainty. Given the current

political environment, some resettlement agencies have chosen to close their doors. They simply cannot continue to operate when there is a dearth of refugees to resettle or when vital federal funding is cut. Overall, the local refugee resettlement agencies are pawns in the entire process. The Kansas City metropolitan area needs fully operational resettlement agencies to continue the humanitarian mission of third-party refugee resettlement.

The number of refugees that qualify for third country resettlement exceed the quotas set by refugee receiving countries. Nevertheless, on an annual basis the President determines how many qualified refugees the U.S. will welcome. National VOLAGs are left to determine where those refugees are placed. In the meantime, local resettlement agencies do their best to plan for resettling as many refugees as they can manage. Yet, these factors do not determine if refugee resettlement will be successful.

The Importance of Place

While analyzing the interview transcripts, it quickly became apparent that *place* is one of the most important factors in the refugee resettlement process. Essentially, place is what makes a location unique (Tuan 1979). Every place has its own dynamics and characteristics. Places with a higher cost of living, fewer job opportunities for low skill laborers, and high crime rates may hinder integration and encourage secondary migrations. Places with more affordable housing, a wide variety of job opportunities, and lower crime rates are often more suitable for refugee success. Thus, the character of place can be the reason why some refugee resettlement works well or not.

The program directors I interviewed explained to me why the Kansas City metropolitan area is such an optimal place for refugee resettlement. In my interviews Steve Weitkamp noted that Kansas City is an ideal location for resettling refugees. There is a mixture of important

ingredients that make it attractive to refugees. As a medium sized city, Kansas City has lots of vacant land and housing. Additionally, it has a diverse economy that is able to weather most economic downturns. One of the most attractive elements is that there is a great diversity in the types of jobs that people can fill. Plus, Kansas City has a hollow urban core with inexpensive rent. Finally, the metropolitan area is blessed with a reliable and well-distributed public transportation system. It was interesting to learn that refugee resettlement has been particularly successful in Wyandotte County, Kansas, because the area is already ethnically diverse, local residents are accustomed to interacting with people of various backgrounds and any new populations that move in just add to the rich culture and economic diversity within the community.

Another key component present in the Kansas City area is willing partners. Much of the institutional work done by resettlement coordinators is conducted through public and private entities (e.g. landlords and social services agencies). It takes the entire community to make refugee resettlement successful. Weitkamp repeatedly emphasized the importance of the public-private partnership as central to the success of the refugee resettlement program. Together these institutions determine where in the city the refugees will resettle and the types of state funded programs for which they may qualify.

One partnership that agency officials utilize is working with local employers to fill job vacancies for difficult positions (e.g. meatpacking plants and low-skilled, repetitive jobs). The local resettlement agencies have been so successful in placing refugees in these difficult positions that meatpacking corporations from across Western Kansas and Southwest Missouri have attempted to recruit refugees to their area. Coordinators stop short of saying they are a labor supplier for specific companies, but it is clear that the agencies work closely with

companies who are willing to hire refugees, even individuals who may not speak English. As Weitkamp noted, many companies are looking for authorized workers who can pass drug and background tests and are willing to work for lower wages. Being able to place a resettled refugee in a job is one of the most important responsibilities of refugee resettlement agencies.

Another element key to refugee resettlement success is critical mass. Once there is a large enough population of refugees from a particular ethnic group, they create institutions that foster their success and integration into American culture (Airriess et al. 2008). Weitkamp provided an example of a family from Russia. They came to the United States as resettled refugees and were assigned to JVS who provided resettlement services. Rather than settling the entire family (17 individuals) in Kansas City, Missouri, JVS moved them to Sedalia, Missouri where there was already a large, community of Russian Pentecostals. The Pentecostal community was able to find housing and jobs for the family with limited assistance from JVS.

National and local resettlement agencies have a humanitarian mission, but they are not always able to fulfill the goals they set out to accomplish. The national VOLAGs may have the best interests of refugees in mind, but they cannot always accommodate the desires of each refugee. If the local resettlement agencies had more control over who they receive, their success in family reunification and integration may be increased. These agencies are providing the highest quality services they can within their particular circumstances. But what I have discovered is the importance of place in potential refugee success. The resettlement place must have the key set of characteristics for the refugee resettlement program to accomplish its mission.

Institutional Aid

Unlike refugee resettlement in Germany and Canada, who's governments provide targeted integration programs for refugees, the U.S. government leaves those duties to resettlement agencies and charitable organizations. The Reception and Placement program, funded by the U.S. State Department, is designed to provide financial aid to resettled refugees. The program pays a onetime allotment of \$925 dollars per person to the resettlement agency. This money must be spent within the first 90 days for refugees housing and basic essentials. The resettlement agency is also provided a per capita payment of \$200 to be spent ad hoc. The money can be spent on any refugee in their program. It is designed to be an efficient way to pool resources to ensure the basic needs of a newly arrived refugee are met. The per capita dollar amount does not fluctuate by geography. Curiously, it is the same for refugees resettled in Boston, Massachusetts as it is for refugees in Kansas City, Missouri; places with significant cost of living differences.

Steve Weitkamp provided an example of how the program works. When a single refugee is placed with JVS, \$925 is not enough to provide utility deposits, rental deposits, and other basic supplies. When JVS resettled the family of seventeen from Russia, they received a \$15,725 payment. That allotment provided very generous housing, supplies, and food. There was no need to use the additional \$200 per capita payment. JVS can take the extra money and use it to provide a better home and supplies for a single refugee. Rachel Pollack made a different observation regarding the per capita funds. The resettlement agencies cannot provide monetary assistance to refugees that have moved as a secondary migrant. Therefore, it is beneficial to honor U.S. tie requests in resettlement to reduce the likelihood of secondary migrations.

The U.S. State Department also funds a matching grant program. This program pays \$1,000 per person to the resettlement agency to help refugees become self-sufficient within six months of arrival in the United States. The program is designed to provide additional cash resources to meet special needs, additional case management, or employment services. Refugees must register for this program by their 31st day in the U.S. Refugees who participate in the matching granting program can come back to the resettlement agency for additional support any time during the next five years.

Refugees are eligible for public benefits for eight months after their arrival. The type of assistance varies by state, but most are eligible for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) (e.g. food stamps, Medicaid, and cash assistance). Some states administer the refugee resettlement program themselves (e.g. Missouri). Kansas follows the Wilson-Fish Model. It is named after the two Congressional sponsors of the bill, former California Senator Pete Wilson and former New York Congressman Hamilton Fish. The Wilson-Fish Model is an amendment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1984. The Model provides an alternative for states that did not want to be directly involved in refugee resettlement. Instead, a resettlement agency would coordinate the program, including case management, cash assistance, or employment services. Twelve states currently utilize the Wilson-Fish Model to administer their refugee programs (Office of Refugee Resettlement 2017).

My interviews also revealed the importance of institutions in providing mental health resources to refugees. At a national level, the Office of Refugee Resettlement develops videos to aid workers and refugees. JVS focuses on identifying refugees with PTSD and gets them in touch with social workers. Catholic Charities has been working with the Bhutanese community to help reduce the rate of suicide in their community. JVS worked with Bhutanese leaders to

form one of the sewing groups. They wanted to create a community where women could socialize and reduce the feeling of isolation.

The interview participants resettled by JVS speak highly of the services they provided. Jyoti wrote, “JVS helped us a lot, and taught us how to use everything in the house, because it was all new to us.” While Anisha wrote, “The staff at JVS (the resettlement agency) helped us learn how to get to the hospital and learn where things were. All the staff helped us to get any services we needed, such as health care.” Thinley told me, “the pre-departure orientation in Nepal was brief and limited. Arriving here, Jewish Vocational Services (JVS) put us through several programs opening more doors to the beautiful side of the historical and cultural aspects of this great land.” It is clear that institutions play an important role in resettlement and self-sufficiency. So how do they define success?

Success?

I asked the resettlement coordinators, “What would you consider some of your biggest success stories?” They concurred that success is hard to define but described some of their observations. First, success is often tied to purchasing a home. Pollack felt that the Bhutanese had “really latched on to homeownership” as a measure of success. Weitkamp recalled a Montagnard family of nine from Southeast Asia. For three years the household saved their wages. They were able to purchase a home with the help of the local Vietnamese Credit Union. Weitkamp recalled, “I thought, holy smokes, this is this is how you realize the American dream.”

Another way to view success is through the cultural background of individual refugees. One example they provided is Somali refugees. They observed the Somali population generally clustered together and did not interact much with institutions or other outsiders. The hesitancy of Somali refugee population to interact with outsiders has led to higher levels of self-employment.

Their businesses often serve the Somali community and not the greater Kansas City population. Success to the Somali's is to be dependent on each other and developing their social capital. As a consequence, they are not dependent on any form of government systems.

Weitkamp also spoke at great length about the success of Vietnamese refugees. He felt their success was based on the decades they have lived in the United States. Another reason he cited the high value they placed on business ownership and education. The Vietnamese families sent their children to college with the goal of finding higher wage jobs. The Vietnamese also came in larger numbers and tended to cluster together in neighborhoods. Weitkamp says, "They created immigrant aid societies and they did all sorts of things to help themselves. Because in those days, also more so, the federal government was no help at all. They were indifferent. Now the Vietnamese, they created credit unions and stuff like that."

Differences in cultural background, specifically disparate tribes within a refugee population, can also hinder success. One interview participant drew my attention to the Congolese. The conflicts between the tribes of the Congolese did not disappear when they came to America. They are also one of the newest groups resettled to the United States and among the most traumatized. Yet differences in tribes are not always predictive of failure. There are at least four different Burmese ethnic groups resettled in the Kansas City area. Despite the tribal differences, the Burmese population has created a closely-knit community.

Another qualifier for success is access to education in their home country. Some refugees who are resettled to the United States (e.g. the Burmese, Congolese, and Somali) often lack basic educations. This lack of education hinders the refugee's path to citizenship. Imagine being an older adult learning to write a foreign language when you have never been taught to hold a pencil. Another vulnerable population is teens ages 17 to 21. These teens often do not

have the same level of schooling as their younger siblings. Weitkamp noted that some high schools in the Kansas City area would not accept group. The schools refuse to admit them because they not graduate before they turned 21. Their lack of success would negatively change the school's graduation rate. The decision not to admit the students is a failure of institutions to support the refugee population.

Ultimately, what is viewed as success is dependent on perspective. Success for native born Americans is often home ownership and financial independence. Each immigrant community, refugee or traditional immigrant, has their own measurement of success. . Somali's have found success by creating self-sustaining businesses. The Vietnamese found success through community businesses and education. While higher education does not always guarantee a white-collar job. According to Weitkamp, success for the refugee resettlement agencies can be summered up by not being "dependent on the system."

The Role of Charitable Organizations

Charitable organizations are another critical piece to refugee integration. I interviewed five charity workers involved with the Bhutanese refugee community. They are local advocates providing social, economic (jobs), and cultural support. They also work as intermediaries between Bhutanese families and local schools. Each participant recalled how long it took to gain the trust of the community. Cultural mistrust and language barriers make it hard to create connections. They noted the need for volunteers that understand how to have important conversations with people from different cultures. One bad experience can create long-term suspicion and isolation from other well-meaning aid. Their observations provided me assurance that my difficulties finding Bhutanese interview participants was common.

Each interview participant identified ESL classes as a need in the community. They felt that large-scale participation in ESL classes would help build the community and connect people with jobs. While lack of early education prohibits many Bhutanese from quickly learning English, another problem is the classes themselves. Many of them have become isolated due to the wider geographic location of Bhutanese in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area. ESL classes have become a social function for those isolated individuals. Their purpose is to socialize with other members of their community. Learning English is secondary. The interview participants found this to be particularly true of the older generations. Yet each one stressed that learning English should be a priority. Without learning English, it is very difficult to succeed in the United States, let alone become self-sufficient.

According to my interview participants, families, including extended families are very important in the Bhutanese community. One family concern is the roles between parents and children. Many parents do not know how to interact with their children's schools. Some of these parents have forfeited their parental role and let their older children take charge of the younger one's education. Parents also forfeit their traditional role because of employment demands. An example provided to me is a recently divorced Bhutanese gentleman. He has five children at home and works the night shift at Triumph Foods in St. Joseph, Missouri. He depends on the older children to make sure the younger ones get to school and complete their homework.

One local organization was created to meet the social and cultural needs of the Bhutanese women through weekly meetings. These meetings are a place for women to learn modern sewing techniques and knitting. In Bhutan, men and women were both tailors, but it is not a common practice in the United States. The founder, "Devina," created it only for women

because she found that women would open up more about their concerns when men aren't around. As with all the charity workers interviewed, she noted how long it took to gain the women's trust, observing the community for about seven years before launching the program. While observing the community, she noted that many women had worked at Tyson and were very tired, they wanted to do something new and more fulfilling. Other women were suffering from varying degrees of isolation and depression.

All the charity workers reported the reliance of Bhutanese refugees on both social networks and institutions to aid their transition in the United States. Many Bhutanese have learned how to use social safety programs; including food pantries, medical assistance, and have used their social networks to teach others in the community how to fully utilize those programs. They are also creating their own institutions. The Kansas Bhutanese Community Foundation was formed to help preserve Bhutanese culture and provide resources for resettled refugees.

Conclusion

Throughout the interview process, I noted disparate ideas on the integration of Bhutanese refugees. First was the monetary focus utilized by local resettlement agencies to ensure an acceptable level of self-sufficiency. This approach may seem clinical, but the responses of the interview participants illustrate their deep passion for the holistic success of refugees. Further, success looks different for each ethnic group. For some communities, success is independence from government support. While others, including the Bhutanese, home ownership is the terminal marker of success. Lastly, charitable organizations and volunteers provide a critical bridge between resettlement agencies and full self-sufficient. The volunteers I interviewed understand the Bhutanese community and attempt to provide assistance when needed.

Finally, I want to return to the idea of personal autonomy discussed in the previous chapters. Institutions significantly reduce the level of personal autonomy of refugees. After refugees are accepted into the system, they become wards of the process and are at the mercy of institutions. Non-governmental and government organizations decide where people can move in the camps, what they can do, and when they can apply for resettlement. Institutions determine if family ties are acceptable and often randomly place them in geographic locations. According to Steve Weitkamp, refugee resettlement choices “creates pipelines back to the country and to those populations,” allowing for institutions to influence chain migration.

Chapter 6 - Generational Differences

*For my family, I always want them to have
a good life. I want my children to
have a bright future and learn more.*

Interview Participant
April 2018

Volunteer organizations (VOLAGs) seek to resettle refugees with their extended family members. Keeping extended families together is beneficial to mental health, creates stronger communities, and provides broader economic opportunity. This type of simultaneous multi-generational migration is atypical in migration or assimilation theory. These theories focus on the outcomes for a series of successive generations. Generation 1 represents the original migrants to the United States. This generation either brings their small children (Generation 1.5) or have children on American soil (Generation 2). Their grandchildren are Generation 3 and so forth. Assimilation theories suggest that each successive generation will discard elements of their original culture and adopt features of their new host culture (Alba and Nee 2003, Portes and Rumbaut 2014). This chapter reveals how the Bhutanese refugees perceive their generational differences. The questionnaire data are utilized to illustrate some of the differences. The conclusion examines how the results correspond with literature on assimilation theory.

Generational Differences

Although I understood generational differences as detailed in assimilation theory, I did not expect it to become a dominant theme in my interviews. Yet it was broached in my first interview at Jewish Vocational Services (JVS) and continued in most of my interviews with the remaining refugees. After finishing the interviews, I took the information I gathered back to a Bhutanese community leader to assess the veracity of my findings. The sixty-year-old Bhutanese man told me the information I obtained was highly credible. Because the information

was presented by age group rather than generations, I followed the same convention. The age groups varied slightly by interview participant. Yet the consensus was the same. The three age groups (i.g. generations) are experiencing life in the United States differently.

Cultural Profile of the Bhutanese

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2008) and Maya Maxym (2010) created cultural profiles of the Lhotshampa to provide social context for resettlement workers. Their work includes a description of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan and Nepal. The Lhotshampa led a traditional patriarchal lifestyle. Most lived on farms where the men cultivated a variety of crops, including rice, oranges, and lentils. Women helped with the farm work and bore the responsibility for tending the home and children. Family is a central tenet to the Lhotshampa. It is common for multiple generations to live the same dwelling. Thus, the younger generations can care for the older ones. The Bhutanese recognize the importance of elders in the community and bestow great respect on them. In the refugee camps, Lhotshampa of all ages and social standings worked together to govern their district. The culturally wide-ranging level of involvement has created stronger communities and developed community leaders (Maxym 2010, International Organization for Migration 2008, Hutt 2003).

As detailed in Chapter Four, the Lhotshampa are primarily Hindu. Hindu Lhotshampa recognize approximately 64 different castes. In Bhutan, there was a stricter adherence to the caste system. Practicing Hindus did little co-mingling outside their caste. Caste segregation began to diminish when the Lhotshampa transitioned to life in the refugee camps. Members of different castes were forced to live side by side and rely upon each other when hardships emerged. The Brahmins, the highest caste, have been most ardent in enforcing the caste

divisions after refugee resettlement (Maxym 2010, International Organization for Migration 2008, Hutt 2003).

In Bhutan, educating the male children was important to the Lhotshampa. Families preferred to keep female children at home so they could “help with the housework” (Griek 2013, 12). The emphasis on male education led to many male Bhutanese teachers in the refugee camps. In the refugee camps, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) encouraged universal education from the age of five through ninth grade. The schools were strict and parental involvement was discouraged. If parents wished to continue their children’s education, they had to pay tuition to UNHCR or pay for a boarding school. Children that graduated from refugee camp schools were awarded certificates to verify their participation. The camps provided vocational training, including construction and carpentry. However, the programs were not designed to meet Western construction standards and practices (Maxym 2010, International Organization for Migration 2008, Hutt 2003).

The IOM (2008) and Maxym (2010) also identified cultural traits that could hinder assimilation in a third country. First, the Lhotshampa typically ate two meals a day in Bhutan and Nepal. They traditionally did not eat breakfast and began their day with an early lunch. The Western tradition of eating breakfast would be a cultural trait they would feel compelled to adopt. The Bhutanese also traditionally eat with their hands. It has been a challenge for many Bhutanese to transition to eating with a knife and fork.

Second, the IOM (2008) and Maxym (2010) described the living conditions in the Nepali refugee camps. Extended families lived in small huts that were generally constructed with bamboo. Their homes had dirt floors, no appliances, and no indoor plumbing. Thus, when the Bhutanese arrived in the U.S. it became necessary to teach the Lhotshampa to use Western

appliances and indoor plumbing fixtures (Maxym 2010, International Organization for Migration 2008).

Marriage traditions were another focus of the IOM (2008) and Maxym (2010). They recount that arranged marriages were common in Bhutan. Today, however, many young Bhutanese prefer to select their future spouse with the parents providing the ultimate consent. As women became more educated and began to pursue careers, pure love matches became more commonplace. Parental arranged marriages continue at a smaller scale (Maxym 2010, International Organization for Migration 2008). Having identified some of the most relevant cultural traits of the Lhotshampa, I now turn to an examination of how those traits are changing within the United States.

The Youngest Generation – Ages 25 and Under

According to the majority of my interview participants, the Bhutanese population under the age of 25 appears to be having few struggles as they adjust to life in the U.S. Most of the individuals in this youngest age group came to the United States at a very young age or were born in the U.S. Individuals in this cohort have learned English quickly and are largely fluent. Their ease which this cohort speaks English should give them the best opportunity to succeed in the United States.

Despite this considerable upside, this generation feels significant pressure to choose between cultures. The charity workers I interviewed provided some excellent examples of the cultural tensions these young people are experiencing. As was customary in Bhutan, some female children of traditional, conservative Bhutanese families wear their hair down to their waist. Moreover, they are not allowed to expose their shoulders or knees in public, though bare midriffs are permitted. These young women find living in the U.S. a struggle because some of

their peers who originate from less traditional Bhutanese households are permitted to wear more revealing American fashion and experiment freely with hair length and style.

Based on information gleaned from the interviews, children who were born in the refugee camps and have entered the U.S. educational system find integration difficult at first. For example, Tika remembered how hard it was to learn to speak English during the first few months in the U.S. Tika's preferred English teacher became American cartoons; Sponge Bob Square Pants on Nickelodeon being a strong favorite. Yet they reported that food was the most memorable. Tika, then a practicing Hindu, was culturally discouraged from eating beef. Their diet includes considerable amounts of rice and lentils. Yet, when the local school served hamburgers, Tika and her Hindu friends had only two options; eat the beef or go without. In the long run, Tika has had positive experiences at school and has adapted to the U.S. educational system quite effectively. Moreover, Tika explained that many of her younger Bhutanese peers see education as their path to success. They believe that if they study hard and attend college, they will be able to achieve the American dream.

There are different views of marriage among this youngest generation. In Bhutan, Lhotshampa family members arranged the pairings for marriage. The practice of arranged marriages began to dissipate when the Bhutanese began living in refugee camps (Maxym 2010). Yet, some individuals in this youngest age group have held fast to this tradition. For example, the practice was so important to one Bhutanese family that they chose the mate for their child from the Bhutanese community in Minneapolis, Minnesota (approximately 425 miles away). On the other hand, the majority of these youngest individuals are marrying for love. More to the point, in some cases they have even married outside their culture. When I talked with

individuals from some of the older age groups they told me that a loss of cultural traditions is one of their biggest fears.

The Middle Generation – Ages 26-65

The Bhutanese population between the ages of 26-65 are distinct from the youngest age group because they have vivid memories of life in Bhutan and Nepal. As discussed in Chapter 4, most of the people in this generation actively seek out employment, yet securing a job can be a considerable challenge. As Bigyan reported, a good number of individuals in this age group feel paralyzed; they want to be gainfully employed and provide for their family, but their lack of English skills prevent them from realizing those ambitions. I learned that individuals with moderate fluency in English have more opportunities for employment than people who cannot speak English. Data gathered from my questionnaire supports this finding (Table 6-1). Among this large and diverse cohort, I discovered that some individuals, especially those between the ages of 26 and 40 tend to report average or above average English-speaking skills. These individuals tend to have higher wage employment. By comparison, the older individuals in this cohort (ages 41-65) report lower levels of English-speaking skills and are more likely to have low skill repetitive jobs. It has been particularly difficult for some Bhutanese to learn English because the dialect of English they learned in Nepal does not readily conform with American dialects. Moreover, the speed with which Americans speak, along with various accents and slang words, further inhibits their ability to learn and understand English. While speaking English is difficult for some, reading English is an insurmountable task.

Another difference in this age group is the type of education they received. The interview participants in their late 20s, 30s, and 40s received a 12th grade equivalent education in the refugee camps. The schools were taught by Bhutanese refugees, international aid

organizations, and Nepali citizens. In fact, one of my interview participants was able to earn a Nepali college degree.

Tara, a middle-aged male interview participant, was an interesting case study. He left school in Bhutan when he was in sixth grade. He did not return to his formal education until he was 18 years old. Even though he was in school, he married in the 7th grade and became a father by 9th grade. Tara graduated from high school despite these challenges. He found work in the refugee camps teaching general subjects that he had completed in school.

Individuals in this age group share another common theme. Participants in the younger end of the age range, 26-40, are often responsible for taking care of both their children and their parents. They become fiscally responsible for both the younger and older because they are able to speak English and have developed specific job skills. In some cases, being caught in the middle between two dependent generations has led to some considerable strains for these Bhutanese households. On the other hand, other members of this cohort have embraced the advantages of having their entire family together. They relish in having their parents around and take advantage of having built in child care. At the upper end of the group, 41-65, the interview participants tend to be living with their older children. A longitudinal study would be beneficial to determine if the tradition of cohabitation continues.

Table 6-1, Results of Questionnaire Compared by Age

Abbreviated Results of Questionnaire by Age					
Parameter	Age 30-39	Age 40-49	Age 50-59	Age 60-69	Age 70-79
Male	3	1	-	1	-
Female	1	-	1	1	1
Filled Out by Researcher	2	-	1	-	1
Educated in Nepal or India	4	1	-	-	-
Lives with Family	1	-	1	1	1
English Fluency:					
Very Fluent	-	-	-	-	-
Above Average Fluency	1	-	-	1	-
Average Fluency	3	1	-	1	-
Somewhat Fluent	-	-	-	-	1
Not Fluent	-	-	1	-	-

The Older Generation – Over 65

According to my interview participants, individuals who are 65 years of age and older have the most difficult time adjusting to life in the United States. In most cases they simply do not want to accept the change in their life. Individuals in this oldest age group hold out hope and yearn to return to Bhutan. Some have learned that returning to Bhutan is no longer an option and they have become heartbroken. Hari had to mislead his mother before she would sign the papers to come to the United States. He told her everything would be perfect. Most people in this age group have had little or no formal education. This makes learning to speak, read, and write English especially difficult. Thus, they tend to live in isolation from larger society. For example, at one of the citizenship training sessions, I interacted with an older couple who were particularly frustrated. The couple with struggled with repeating English words. Only the man attempted to hold a pencil and copy English phrases. Nevertheless, they remained focused on learning about America.

My observations of females in this age group from the sewing groups were a bit different. The ladies I spent time with reported being happy in the United States. They actually look forward to spending time with their Bhutanese and American friends. These ladies were eager to learn from more knowledgeable younger women and eager to teach anyone who needed help. Moreover, they were very attentive to children and grandchildren within the community. They had a sense of purpose and that sense of purpose enabled them to adapt to life in the U.S. more easily. For example, these women enjoyed sharing traditional Nepali food with other culture groups and they even adapted elements of American culture. I observed that they are particularly fond of American sweatshirts worn over their traditional Bhutanese saris.

Suicide Among the Bhutanese

One of the most concerning things I learned from my interview participants is the high rates of suicide among the Bhutanese. Rachel Pollack at Catholic Charities of Northeast Kansas (CCNEK) reported that some Bhutanese individuals have threatened suicide when their lives became difficult. The leaders at the Tuesday sewing group shared the same information. In fact, their group began as an outgrowth of the higher rates of suicide among the Bhutanese living in the United States. I confirmed the reports of suicide among the Bhutanese with data from the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR). In 2012, the ORR contacted the Center for Disease Control (CDC) after reports of sixteen suicides within the Bhutanese population. They found that at the time of the study, the suicide rate among the Bhutanese was almost twice as high as the national average. In 2010, the IOM also reported higher than usual numbers of suicides in the refugee camps, citing 67 suicides and 64 attempts between 2004-2010 (Ao et al. 2012). The CDC, working alongside the academic and medical community, confirmed the reported number within the United States.

Table 6-2, Common Reported Reasons for Committing Suicide (Ao et al. 2012)

Common Reasons for Committing Suicide Among Bhutanese Community	
In the Refugee Camps	
Gender-based violence*	
Family history of mental illness*	
Untreated mental illness*	
*Percentages unavailable	
In the United States	
Language Barriers	77%
Concern about family in Bhutan and Nepal	57%
Separated from family	43%
Frustration with preserving cultural and religious traditions	43%

The demographic profile of those committing suicide “were males (64%), married (79%), completed primary or secondary school (64%), and Hindu (79%)” (Hagaman et al. 2016, 821).

The study found also found:

[T]hat many of the decedents were having financial trouble and experienced extreme stress related to work. One respondent indicated that, ‘(he) did not get what he expected when he arrived in the US; (He) didn’t have a job, and the 9 months of support he received was not enough to enable him to make a transition.’ Shifting to a different occupation, schedule, and social setting was difficult for many cases. A wife of one case noted that, ‘I guess it was his work. He had to stand all day, he got tired. He used to say that when he was in Nepal, he didn’t have to stand all day.’ Another mentioned that the decedent was ‘stressed about his new job, paying the bills and being able to support his parents’ (Hagaman et al. 2016, 821).

The majority of suicide victims were between 26-59 of age. This does not correspond with the sense of hopelessness reported among the older age group. However, it does correspond with the desperation felt among the underemployed.

The CDC worked alongside the ORR to recommend a series of measures to intervene in the community. These measures included connecting mental health services with resettlement agencies and other organizations that have a relationship with Bhutanese refugees, strengthen and expand mental health services, and improve community training and awareness. Institutions, working alongside social networks, will be critical in providing support in mental health of the community. Full integration cannot be successful without this involvement.

Conclusion

Milton Gordon used the word *acculturation* to describe “multidimensional concept of assimilation” (Alba and Nee 2003, 23). His theory proposed that learning English and adopting American dress would be some of the first things migrants would embrace. Other patterns, including goals, values, and music, will take longer to change. Religion would be the trait

migrants would be most likely to preserve. However, over time children would marry outside their ethnic group and their cultural traits would disappear.

From my research among the Bhutanese, acculturation appears to be taking place. Those willing to learn English are attempting to do so. The younger generations have adopted Western dress while the older generations are adapting at a slower pace. Their goals, values, and music are taking longer. I attended a Bhutanese cultural festival as part of my participant observation. The music and dance correlated more with south-Asian culture than American. In fact, Western music and dance was absent. However, the younger generations are very eager to learn Western dance moves and enjoy a blend of music traditions (e.g. Western, Korean, and Indian). As detailed in Chapter Four, religion has become a difficult issue amongst the resettled Bhutanese refugees. This is another area that would benefit from a longitudinal study. When the older generations have passed away, will the younger generations adhere to the caste system? Or perhaps they will eschew religion as many Americans have chosen to do. More time must pass before a conclusion can be drawn.

Linear assimilation, or straight-line, envisions the process of shedding the old and adopt the new as a generational process. Each generation will move farther from their “home” (traditional) cultural norms and towards American (host) cultural norms. Most of the cultural identifiers from their home are gone by the third generation (Alba and Nee 2003). The theory of linear assimilation is not appropriate for simultaneous multi-generational migrations. The traditional third generation, the grandchildren, have more similarities with Generation 1.5. This group speaks Nepali amongst themselves and at home with their families. There is some shedding of their home culture, however, the large Bhutanese community prevents a complete shedding of old norms. The community holds cultural festivals and provides access to Nepali

food. These elements will significantly slow the shedding of the old. Yet it will not prevent the adoption of Western culture.

The other variant is *segmented assimilation theory*. This theory proposes that migrants will take one of two paths. The first, upward assimilation, leads to similar outcomes as someone who is born in the United States. Downward assimilation, however, proposes some migrant groups will become marginalized and fall into extreme poverty (Gratton, Gutmann, and Skop 2007). My research among the Bhutanese would lead me to conclude that downward assimilation is most common. As a group, the resettled Bhutanese refugees struggle with low wages, English proficiency, and racial stereotyping. Similar to all ethnic groups, native born and immigrant, there is the distinct possibility that if the middle generation (age group 26-65) fails, then their children may follow a similar path.

The best way for the youngest generation to succeed is through education. One young individual I interacted with lives in an apartment building where prostitution and drug dealing are common. The parents work long hours and have little time to prepare meals or ensure homework is complete. For this individual, video games have become a favorite pastime and junk food has replaced nutritious, well-balanced meals. The results have produced an overweight young person with little ambition and limited opportunities for success in school. If this pattern becomes common amongst the entire community, downward assimilation may be the most likely outcome. Yet if students like Tika become the majority, the cohort will have a much better chance of upward mobility. The drive possessed by this young person is contagious. The siblings in the family have taken note and are on track to follow their older sibling's path.

Traditional assimilation theory does not adequately address migrants that move as multi-generational units. If the model is applied chronologically, Generation 1 would represent

refugee grandparents. Their children become Generation 2 and grandchildren are Generation 3. Yet when the Bhutanese came to the United States, they came en masse (multiple generations at once). Therefore, the traditional generational labels and corresponding outcomes are not suitable for multi-generational refugee resettlements. I propose a new approach is warranted to understand how refugees are studied in relation to assimilation theory.

When multi-generational refugee family units arrive, the oldest generation (65 years of age and older) are what we traditionally consider retirees. They have limited employment options and their health may prevent them from working. Learning English is more difficult due to the limited access to formal education. Since they do not fit the profile of a traditional Generation 1 immigrant, I propose designating them as *Generation Familia*. They represent the original family with the strongest ties to the traditional “home.” The creation of a new generational label allows their children to be studied as Generation 1 because they align closer to the profile of a traditional immigrant. This generation has better employment opportunities and are more likely to adapt to their new home. It is Generation 1’s influence on their children that will determine the outcomes for Generation 2 (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2009).

Paolo Boccagni (2017) may provide a different way to view this generational phenomenon. Boccagni writes that migrants will attempt to create a new version of home when they settle. The presence of multiple generations makes the task of replicating home easier. During my research, I visited the homes of several Bhutanese. I observed that they created an Bhutanized version of their lives in America. There are Nepali prayer flags hung outside their homes. Those living with their grandparents are blessed with firsthand accounts of Bhutan, including their history, cultural habits, and traditional food. Access to global markets also allow the Bhutanese to continue their traditions. Local Asian stores I frequented carried a

variety of clothes, household goods, and food the refugees are familiar with. This, along with the presence of multiple generations, create a Bhutanese home for the resettled refugees.

The findings from my interview participants exposes that the presence of multiple generations may impede refugee integration. This impediment will be reinforced by a large, organized refugee ethnic community. Yet, it is also important to include access to technology and global markets when levels of integration assessed. If the community replicates their Bhutanese home and provide job opportunities that cater to the culture of the Lhotshampa, there would be less impetus for change. Thus, a longitudinal study on refugee communities is warranted to determine how each successive generation assimilates into American culture.

Chapter 7 - Reflect on the Project

*I would say, if there is any heaven on earth,
it is America.*

Thinley Pejore
October 2017

My research was designed to help us better understand the experience of Bhutanese refugees in the Kansas City metropolitan area. Although its scope is on a specific population (Bhutanese refugees) in a specific place (Kansas City metropolitan area), my research reveals some new information that adds to our understanding of how refugees fit within the larger migration theory. First, as the stories recounted by Joyti, Mana, and Anisha illustrate, most refugee migration decisions are made at the household level. This finding corresponds with a primary tenet in New Economics of Migration theory (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014, FitzGerald and Arar 2018). Next, I detailed the role of social capital. For example, Joyti and Anisha shared their journey and how central social networks were in their migration to the refugee camps. Other narratives demonstrated the importance of social capital in enduring hardship within the camps. Lastly, I found that institutions did not play a significant role in the decision-making process for refugees. Instead, the decision to apply for third country resettlement was made among households and the Bhutanese community. Although these findings were collected from a small sample size, the data provides a template for future researchers to complete similar research with other refugees.

In addition to adding to our understanding of how refugees fit within existing migration theory, my research reveals important integration themes among the Bhutanese in the Kansas City metropolitan area. The data I collected from interview participants between the ages of 26 and 60 revealed underemployment as a major concern within their lives. Despite earning a

college education, Rhythm is currently a part-time clerk at the local Asian grocery store. It is unfortunate for Bhutanese refugees that higher educational attainment does not correlate with better paying jobs. Yet, this finding corresponds with previous research conducted in other U.S. cities (e.g. Roka 2017; Griffiths and Loy 2018). My research also exposed religious tension in the Bhutanese refugee community. For example, “Hari” described the uneasiness between the upper caste Hindus and the rest of the community. Hari also outlined the relationship between Bhutanese Hindus and Christians. As Heema reflected, divisions between Bhutanese Hindus and Christians have created tension amongst her family members. Next, I described how two sewing groups are adding to the social capital among of Bhutanese refugee women. The groups not only provide training in sewing skills, but they offer a social outlet for isolated Bhutanese women. This is helping one segment of the refugee population to adjust to life in the United States. Lastly, I analyzed the results of an integration questionnaire. The results revealed that lower levels of educational attainment and a lack of English proficiency are significant barriers to integration. Without these vital characteristics, it is difficult for refugees to navigate their new American life smoothly. The information gained in Chapter Four is important in understanding the role of social capital in the larger refugee community.

Institutional Theory (Massey et al. 1993) posits that institutions play a key role in migration. My research supports this finding and reinforces how important institutions are in refugee resettlement. Nationally, volunteer organizations (VOLAGs) and government institutions decide where refugees are resettled and provide limited cash assistance. Locally, resettlement agencies calculate the number refugees they can support and work alongside other stakeholders to provide needed monetary and social programs for resettled refugees. One important piece of the puzzle missing from the Institutional Theory literature is the importance of

place. My research revealed that place is an essential component for successful resettlement. Place, including the Kansas City metropolitan area, with affordable housing and abundant low-skill jobs offers the greatest chances for successful refugee resettlement. On the other hand, places where rent is expensive and job opportunities are limited offer an environment where there are significant challenges to successful resettlement. Nevertheless, success looks different for each refugee community. Success is commonly characterized by the purchase of a home and the children reaching a higher socio-economic level than the parents.

Finally, in Chapter Six I introduced a new line of inquiry that calls upon a longitudinal study to fully explore the assimilation patterns among different generations of refugees. As indicated above, refugees do not fit neatly into traditional assimilation theory models. Instead of one generation migrating to a new country on their own, entire families of refugees move at the same time. Consequently, assimilation patterns unfold differently when multiple generations of a family are relocated. The oldest generation, 65 and older, do not have the characteristics of a traditional first-generation immigrant. To fully explore the traits of refugees that are 65 and older, I proposed the category *Generaton Familia* to appropriately study this generation. Thereby, traits ascribed to the traditional first-generation in assimilation theory could be applied to those 26 to 65 years of age. Finally, I concluded that assimilation patterns in refugee populations would differ from traditional immigrants. The presence of multiple generations, a large refugee community, along with access to technology and global markets will alter assimilation.

Self-Reflection

During the process of conducting this ethnographic research, I was afforded the opportunity for self-reflection. I was amazed at how much I take for granted. I witnessed a

citizenship class taught by a local charitable organization. I doubt I could answer half of the 100 possible questions on the citizenship test. I watched elderly women walk several blocks in inclement weather to spend time together. I also began to ponder the importance of individual agency in refugee settlement.

In the final part of this chapter, I offer a new lens through which to view and understand the process of refugee resettlement. I also address some of the limitations to my research, including the small sample size, and provide recommendations on how similar research should be carried out. My time spent in the field also revealed other avenues for future research. These areas would provide further insight into refugee resettlement and integration. Lastly, the prologue recounts a harrowing experience I had during my research. It is a reminder that field research can be hazardous.

A New Perspective on Autonomy

Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993) utilized the hourglass to understand labor markets and immigrant assimilation. They proposed that children of immigrants have to navigate a narrow passageway to succeed in American labor markets. Above and below the passageway are a large pool of laborers (low paying jobs at the bottom and high paying jobs at the top). The narrow passage between low paying and high paying jobs is best navigated when the children's parents push them to achieve at high levels and they are compelled to complete higher levels of education. If the children do not make it through the narrow passage, they, and successive generations, are typically stuck in low paying jobs.

I believe that a similar hourglass analogy can be applied to understanding refugee resettlement and personal autonomy. The cap at the top of the hourglass represents the refugee's life before they are displaced (Figure 7-1). Prior to being forced to leave their home, the

individuals possess considerable autonomy. The older generations have a say over most aspects of their life (e.g. housing, family size, career, etc.). Children have expectations of a life with similar options afforded their parents. This stage represents their life prior to becoming a refugee.

Life changes dramatically when the individuals are forced to flee their home; they enter the constraints of the hourglass. From the moment they leave their homes their choices immediately become restricted. First, they are restricted by method of transportation (e.g. by foot or vehicle). The next restriction arises when the refugees are compelled to live in a refugee camp rather than alternative housing. This restriction is placed on refugees by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to ensure their safety and protect the “host” country from political instability. Institutions can also place economic restrictions if refugees are not allowed to leave the camp to find work. Constraints placed by social networks are also present. Extended families often live together in small houses in the camps. This restricts the ability of individuals to pursue their own agendas.

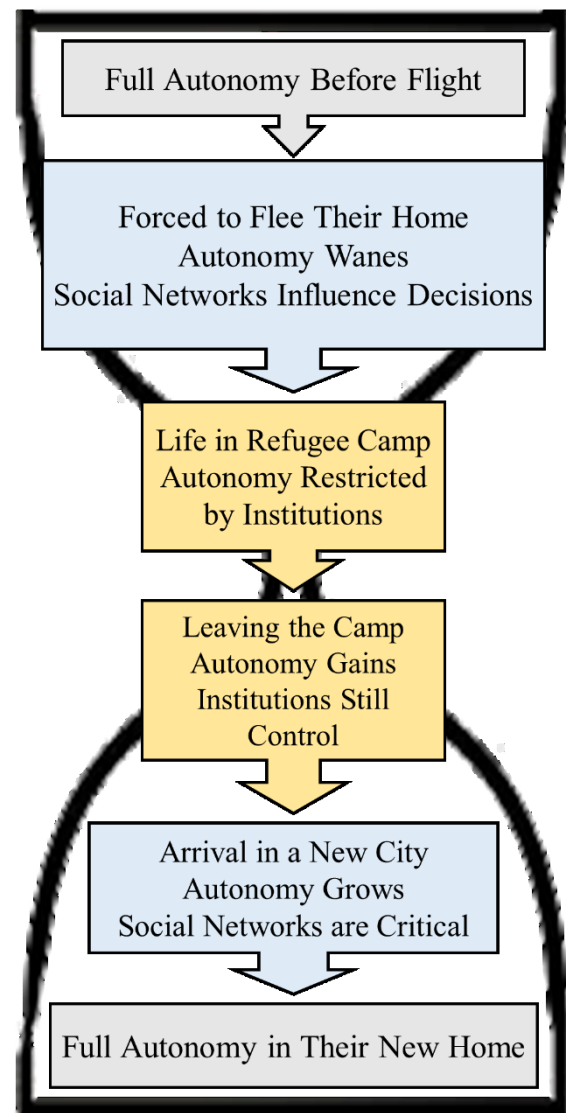


Figure 7-1, Hourglass Analogy for Refugee Personal Autonomy

Eventually, refugees enter the narrow passageway of the hourglass. This represents the lowest level of personal autonomy experienced by refugees. These tight constraints are placed on refugees by institutions as they move through the durable solution process. Institutions decide if a refugee can return home or stay in the country of first asylum. When the first two solutions are untenable, institutions initiate the process of resettling the refugees to a third country. Institutions decide if the refugees are able to pass medical and personal background checks. When the first two hurdles have been cleared, institutions determine where refugees should be resettled. Lastly, voluntary organizations (VOLAGs) accept their case and forward them to local affiliates. Refugees are rendered with practically no individual autonomy as they pass through the narrowest part of the hourglass.

The refugee's personal autonomy begins to expand as they move through the passageway of resettlement and into their new homes. Institutions are still present, instructing them where they can live and providing job opportunities. However, as their time in the United States accrues, their personal autonomy begins to grow. Refugees become more mobile, moving either to a new home or to a new city. They can explore new job opportunities, perhaps even attend college or vocational training. Their personal autonomy continues to grow until they achieve a level independence similar to the life they experienced before being displaced. It does not mean full self-sufficiency nor complete assimilation, but they are free to make many of their own decisions.

Successful navigation of the hourglass will differ significantly amongst refugees. Alejandro Portes *et. al.*(2009) cite some contributing factors. Immigrants with strong social capital, favorable receiver community characteristics, and the presence of extended family are positive factors that can lead to favorable outcomes. A hostile receiver community and fractured

“co-ethnic community” produce significant disadvantages (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2009).

Portes *et. al.* (2009) further explain that the characteristics of *place* is one of the most important factors in how immigrants navigate the hourglass. If immigrants settle in a safe suburban environment, their children are free to safely explore their new home and surrounding environment. However, immigrants relocating to “poor urban neighbourhoods” are not afforded a similar safe place to explore. Exploration of many poor urban areas introduces a higher likelihood of drug uses and exposure to gang related violence. In either scenario, the presence of a significant person that takes a sincere interest in the children will commonly lead to a higher success rate (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2009). Although I am confident my new approach to immigrant autonomy is echoed in my research findings, I recorded some limitations and adjustments that are important to future research.

Limitations and Adjustments

I am confident that my research adds to our understanding of the refugee resettlement process and adds to existing literature on immigration and assimilation. However, there were some deficiencies I am forced to acknowledge. I had much higher expectations for the number of resettled Bhutanese refugees that would be able to interview in this study. I tried my very best to gain access to the Bhutanese community and develop rapport with local residents. I had hoped that this would allow me to interview a good number of individuals. To my chagrin, my efforts to gain access to members of the community were not successful. A forthcoming article by Emily Frazier (2019) reports a similar experience. Frazier found it was difficult to access refugees because they are hidden within the larger community. Once found, they are often wary of outsiders because they do not understand their motivations. Frazier and I had similar

experiences. Refugees were often confused about who I worked for and why I was contacting them. They often thought I was an employee of Jewish Vocational Services (JVS) or Catholic Charities of Northeast Kansas (CCNEK). One potential informant I made repeated contacts with often referred to me as a case manager from CCNEK.

This outcome also corresponds with the results of a study conducted by Laura Abrams (2010). Abrams led a study that interviewed juveniles in three different prisons. Abrams concluded that the sample size of hard to reach populations (e.g. incarcerated, homeless population, developmentally impaired individuals, and sex workers) are most likely going to be much smaller than an ethnographic study using more traditional informants. The complex barriers present during recruitment of participants can lead to smaller sample sizes. Although Abrams did not identify language barriers as a hard to reach population, the lack of basic English skills creates similar recruitment barriers.

I was fortunate to establish contact with three Bhutanese individuals with proficient English skills. On the other hand, there were so many more individuals I would have liked to interview but could not. Because of poor language skills (for both me and the individuals) I was unable to talk with many people. To compensate, I spent countless hours with Bhutanese women in the sewing groups. Through participant observation techniques I was able to learn an incredible amount of information. The primary reason the women declined my interview request was lack of English proficiency. I offered different remedies to accommodate the language barrier, including a translator. These offers were never accepted.

The eleven individuals I interviewed represented a homogenous population of resettled Bhutanese refugees, the single case in this study. The participants were Lhotshampa, with two negative cases, the primary culture group of the resettled population. The results of the

information provided to me by the participants was found credible based the triangulation of findings and considered qualitatively representative of the community. Representativeness focuses on how research can best provide the broadest level of generalization. To achieve a level of generalization, researchers seek different types of variables and experiences, and allow for negative cases in order to describe a cultural process (Katz 2001, Becker 1990). For this research, participants were of varying age, gender, and located in different geographic locations. This inclusion of a variety of different backgrounds and positions helped illustrate a wider experience of Bhutanese refugees. Patricia Fusch *et. al.* (2017) addressed smaller number of research participants when conducting ethnographic research in a limited time frame. They conclude that “participants who have the knowledge, skills, and expertise to answer the research questions” can provide quality data (Fusch, Fusch, and Ness 2017, 933).

After reviewing my field notes, I came to realize that I was hindered by a key gatekeeper to the Bhutanese community. I had sought out an influential member of the Bhutanese refugee community for my first interview. I thought if it went well, I would gain access to the larger community. Yet my request for a formal interview was declined multiple times. We remain friends and maintain a congenial relationship. The only reason provided to me was “my story is just like everyone else’s. I’ve told my story enough.” Although I was genuinely disappointed by this decision, I recognized the decision as research fatigue. Certain members of the Bhutanese community were tired of being interviewed and researched.

There are some adjustments that should be made when replicating the study. First, it would be important for me to participate with the ladies in the sewing groups. The observations and relationships would have been much stronger had I learned to sew alongside the women. It would have illustrated my sincere interest to share experiences with my participants. Another

adjustment would be to pursue interviews with resettlement directors from a wider geographic area. The information collected would strengthen the data found regarding the role of institutions in resettling refugees. Lastly, a Freedom of Information Act should be submitted to the Refugee, Asylee, and International Operations Directorate, the Office of Refugee Resettlement, and the State Department to learn as much about the resettlement process as the government would release. There may be more information to learn from these documents if they could be obtained in a timely manner.

Critical Reflections

After my first interview I wrote down a reflection on what I learned. I initially believed this study was conducted about five years too late. The Bhutanese began arriving in the Kansas City Metropolitan area in 2008. Those individuals have been in the United States for nearly ten years. The study should have started within two years of their arrival. The community was new, additional families were coming each year, and there would have been more variety in the answers I received. On the other hand, it would have been much harder to successfully connect with the community. It was hard enough to gain entry into the community with the friendships I cultivated. However, after further consideration, I believe my research may have occurred at exactly the right moment. The elapsed time between the Bhutanese arrival in Kansas City and the beginning of my research provided more complex experiences. The lapse in time allowed me to explore the initial outcomes of the resettlement process.

Another reflection I had was that the questions I designed simply didn't work. I had developed a detailed set of questions that fit my research goals. Yet when the interviews began, the resettlement coordinators wanted to know about my background and goals. Only after that pertinent information was provided did we begin to speak about their work in refugee

resettlement. It became a relational process rather than a question and answer session. The same phenomenon happened in my interviews with the refugees. Prior to my first interview, I had repeatedly gone over my list of questions. Yet I knew the logical progression of data I wanted to collect would not produce rich descriptions. Instead I chose to open the interview by asking about their first days in the United States. From there I attempted to work through the list of primary questions I had developed, always allowing the interviews to progress organically. If I had rigidly asked the scripted questions, I would never have learned about religious tensions or been introduced to the sewing groups. The interview participants I engaged with simply wanted someone that would listen and cared about their story.

I recorded other reflections as I spent time in the Bhutanese community. One was my status in the community. I thought I had been accepted in the Bhutanese refugee community because I served as a volunteer worker. I was not a stranger; I had been seen at a variety of functions by parents and children. My contacts within the community, however, granted me only limited creditability. It also worked against me. One interview participant had a very negative experience with the organization I had volunteered for, so my work did not add credibility with him. Additionally, my position as a PhD student at K-State University did not help me gain entry into the community. Some potential participants demonstrated an element of respect for me. People were willing to talk to me on the phone and showed an interest in my research. Yet that status did not translate into interviews. There was an overall wariness of my intentions; did I have ulterior motives? They were uneasy about my research being published on a public platform. Others reacted that they were not good enough, interesting enough, or their English was not good enough. They admired my research goals, but not enough to become involved with me. I tried to explain to potential interview participants that I was interested in

them as a person and wanted to hear their story. I attempted to position myself as an advocate for their community, not someone who was there to fulfill an obligation to complete their dissertation research. This position did not yield additional interviews.

My personal identity, a middle-aged, white woman, did not appear to be a barrier to my interview participants. Respondents became more receptive when I revealed that I was a parent. I was always mindful to dress appropriately. Bhutanese women dress modestly. This means covering your shoulders and wearing pants that cover your knees. I also made sure to not dress in professional attire. I did not want to make people uncomfortable with the implied status of a business suit. I did not disclose another piece of my identity, my job. I currently work full time at the National Records Center, part of the United States Immigration and Citizenship Service and the Department of Homeland Security. My job duties do not involve adjudicating cases or reviewing immigrant files but disclosing this type of information might have caused a heightened sense of unease in the current political environment. Perhaps the reflections on my research process will afford future researchers some positive hope in the uncertain realm of refugee research.

Future Research

There is room for future research. One area of interest would be the geographic locations where the Bhutanese are residing. A community foundation in Kansas City, Kansas has provided funding to many families to purchase new houses near downtown. It would of academic interest to determine what types of families they are loaning money to and where they are targeting the placement of new homes. Another area of interest is the migration of refugees to the suburbs. One interview participant disclosed that the community is beginning to move farther out of the urban core in search of better schools and safer neighborhoods.

Another area of interest would be the community gardens. The Bhutanese community maintains a garden off Central Street in eastern Kansas City, Kansas. A CCNEK program, New Roots for Refugees, provides refugees with plots of land to farm. The organization also provides modern farming techniques and business classes to resettled refugees. There is an abundance of information to learn these gardens; the age and backgrounds of people tending the plots, the type of produce they are growing, and the available markets for their crops. The information could be shared amongst other refugee communities to develop a business model for refugee farmers.

Secondary migrations of refugees are another area of research interest. Refugees are not restricted to the city of first resettlement. They are moving throughout the country to be with family and find better employment opportunities. For the Bhutanese community, it would be interesting to document why people are moving. There are large communities of Bhutanese in Columbus, Ohio, Nashville, Tennessee, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Atlanta, Georgia. A study could be completed that attempts to predict which of these cities would be the greatest magnet for resettled Bhutanese and why other locations are losing community members.

Lastly, there are opportunities to learn from participant observation in citizenship and ESL classes. One can observe the various ages, level of writing skills, and the types of people who attend the classes. It would be of interest to learn how many of the Bhutanese have become United States citizens and the reason why others do not. Another area of research could examine if new citizens are exercising their right to vote. One of my interview participants became a U.S. citizen in 2017, yet he did not vote in the 2018 election. He explained that he did not want to vote for something, or someone, he did not fully understand. ESL classes would provide insight into why resettled Bhutanese are trying to learn English. Are they trying to gain citizenship, attempting to find a better job, or just trying to communicate better with their child's teacher?

There are many avenues to pursue in refugee research, although researchers must be mindful of research fatigue among the refugee population. Researchers must also be aware of some of the inherent hazards.

Closing Thoughts

It was a Tuesday evening and I had spent almost two hours with a spirited group of ladies. I had left the church and was making my way through the neighborhood back to the Interstate. Although there were several vacant buildings along my route, I had never been nervous visiting the church. As I sat at a the stoplight, I looked up and noticed the street names; Independence and Prospect. Somehow these street signs were new to me. I had visited the group for more than a year and never noticed where I was at. When I finally took note of my location, I became quite nervous and began scanning the surroundings. The street signs had triggered the memory of a news report from the previous year. It named this intersection one of the five most dangerous in the United States (Holmes 2017).

That cold day in October 2018 was different. I made the left turn onto Prospect and noticed something didn't seem right. I heard a series of pops and observed four men running through the street. I stopped my vehicle and watched the scene unfold. One man ran beside me and turned to shoot at someone in an nearby apartment building. Two men were returning fire from the other side of the street. As the four men scattered behind the buildings, I wondered when it would be safe to leave. Would they come back from behind the storefront and commence shooting?

It took some time for me to calm down and evaluate my experience as a researcher. My first observation was it probably wasn't a smart idea to observe a gunfight. It would have been better if I had ducked below the window. But a good researcher observes and records. That

aside, I realized I was feeling what my refugee friends had felt. Several of my Bhutanese interview participants had told me they heard gunshots at night and it made them fear for their family. I recorded their observations and moved on with my research. But that day I felt what it was like to fear for my safety. It is not just an observation. It is a stunningly frightful experience. Particularly when you realize you have no control over your safety.

Now imagine you have escaped personal violence and discrimination. After twenty years in a refugee camp you are sent to America, where your dreams could be realized. You can relax with your family and build a new life. Instead, you did not escape violence. Now you are placed in vacant urban housing with some of the highest crime rates in the city. You must still fear for your life and the lives of your family. This is the reality for many of the refugees resettled to the United States. They traded fear of violence in their home country and for more of the same.

So, are we as a country doing our best? Are we doing enough to protect the emotionally traumatized population of resettled refugees? There are brave, tenacious resettlement workers doing their best. But their options are limited due to lack of funding. Others are forming charities to fill in the gaps. Scholars and researchers can draw attention to their personal stories. But we must stop seeing the differences in people and start seeing humans. Only then can we claim that we are giving resettled refugees the best chance for a new life.

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Appendix A - Potential Questions for Interview Participants

Program Directors and Resettlement Personnel

1. Tell me about the history of your organization, how did it get involved in the resettlement of refugees?
2. Based on your understanding of the process, describe the steps involved in the resettlement of a refugee to the United States.
3. Describe the relationship between your organization, the UNHCR, and the Resettlement Support Center.
4. What would you change about the process?
5. Your organization is assigned a quota each year of how many refugees you can resettle. What is the process behind assigning that number?
6. How does the RSC select refugees to place in your organization?
7. Can your organization choose to focus on certain groups or is the process of placement mandated by the RSC?
8. Has your organization every made a request to the RSC for specific refugees, perhaps for family reunification purposes?
9. Has your organization ever made a request to the RSC for additional refugees? If so, was this request tied to local labor demands?
10. How has the number and ethnic background of refugees resettled by your organization fluctuated during your tenure?
11. Describe the placement process, including reimbursement of travel expenses, monetary support, housing options, and job placement.
12. Is the placement process the same for each person, or is family and ethnic background factored in?
13. Tell me about some of the larger ethnic groups you have seen resettled in the last ten years.
14. Which group(s) do you believe have integrated, mutual adaptation, the most into their communities? Which group(s) have experienced the most difficulties?
15. Which group(s) do you believe have chosen to assimilate, or adapted local customs, to fit into their communities?
16. Tell me about your experience with the Bhutanese population.
17. What would you consider some of your biggest success stories? Failures?
18. What would you like the general public to understand about resettled refugees?
19. How has your job changed in the last four months?
20. What have I not asked that you think is important?

Volunteer Agencies

1. Could you describe your work with refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area?
2. Have you worked with multiple agencies?
3. Describe how you see your role in their community?
4. What types of job opportunities do you see refugees engaging in?
5. Describe one of your most positive encounters with refugees.
6. Describe one of the most unusual or upsetting encounter.
7. What have been some of the success stories? Failure?
8. Could you describe the differences you see in the generations?
9. How important is language?
10. What are some of the biggest needs in the community?
11. What types of institutions do refugees most often utilize?
12. Could you describe how social networks play a part in their assimilation?
13. What should I know but have failed to ask?

Government Officials

1. Could you tell me how did you become involved in (agency) work with refugees?
2. What have been some of the roles you fulfilled?
3. Could you provide me with some basic generalizations:
 - a. Motivation of refugees to leave.
 - b. Who informed refugees they needed to leave?
 - c. How refugees decide where to go.
4. Describe what you are looking for in the refugee interview.
5. Based on your experience, what works in the refugee resettlement process?
6. Based on your experience, what needs some revision?
7. Could you tell me about some of the other government organizations that play a role in the refugee resettlement process?
8. What is the feedback, if any, that you receive from the general public?
9. What should I know but have failed to ask?

Refugees

Leaving Place of Origin

1. Could you tell me a little bit about yourself? Are you married? Do you have any children?
Is there anything else you would me to know about you?
2. Tell me about where you are from.
3. Describe a typical day for me.
4. Were you aware of any unrest?
5. Could you walk me through the day you realized you must leave? What day did you leave?
6. What did you do then? Tell me about the process of leaving.

The Refugee Camp

1. You probably spent some time in some type of transition area. Describe the process of getting to a safer location and how you were able to gain refugee status.
2. What camp did you go to? Do you remember how long it took you to get there? What was the journey like?
3. Could you tell me about your experiences there? Were there any educational opportunities or health care available?
4. Vocational training – working in the camp or off the camp
5. Tell me a little bit about your family. Were all of the members of your family able to join you?
6. Describe the interactions with local and international government agencies.
7. Tell me about the process of leaving. How were you told? What was the application process like?
8. I would like to understand how the process of permanent resettlement works. Could you walk me through the people you encountered and the experiences you had?
9. What types of orientation process?
10. Did you want to resettle?

Resettlement

1. Describe how did you feel when you found out about your destination?
2. Walk me through the move. What were you able to bring with you? How was your trip?
3. Tell me about the first thing you remember when you came to Kansas City.
4. Now tell me about the first person you encountered.
5. Could you walk me through your first living arrangements?
6. What about job opportunities? What kinds of jobs were you able to interview for or find?
7. The resettlement agency had a role in bringing you here. Could you tell me about your experiences with them?
8. There are several other aid agencies available to refugees. Have you had any interaction with any other type of organization? If so, tell me about your experiences with them.
9. What has been the most unusual encounter in the United States?
10. Walk me through a normal day for you and your family.

11. Moving so far from home must be very challenging. Tell me about some of the challenges you have experienced.
12. What have been some of the most positive experiences since your move?
13. Refugees have been referenced in two Executive Orders in the last few months. Have these orders impacted you in any way?

Assimilation and Integration

1. What type of work did you do before you left? Did you have any formal training or professional education?
2. Have you maintained any social ties to people still living in Nepal, India, or Bhutan?
3. Have you maintained any economic (remittances) ties to people still living in Nepal, India, or Bhutan?
4. What about in the United States? Do you maintain any social or economic (remittances) ties to family or friends in other cities?
5. Could you explain to me how you communicate with friends or family in other cities? Maybe by phone, email, or the internet?
6. Tell me about your comfort level with the English language. Do you find easier to speak with non-Nepali's than you did when you first arrived?
7. Do you ever speak English at home?
8. Tell me about your living arrangements. Do you live with family members?
9. Tell me a little bit about your family. Do you have children? If so, tell me about their schooling. Do they utilize any school programs or extra-curricular activities?
10. Tell me about the Bhutanese community you are familiar with. Have any of the younger generations married outside the community?
11. What else would you like for me to know that I have not asked?

Appendix B - Informed Consent Form



Informed Consent

Resettlement and Adjustment of Refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area



Project Description:

This study involves research being conducted by Christie Anderson, a graduate student in the Department of Geography at Kansas State University, as partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctoral degree. The purpose of this research is two-fold. The first goal is to better understand how decisions were made during the resettlement of refugees to the United States. The other key component of the study is to learn more about the integration and adjustment experiences of refugees. Although you may receive no direct benefit from the study, the results may contribute to a better understanding of the refugee resettlement process and how to better address the needs of the resettled population. There are no known risks anticipated with participation in this study.

Participants in the study will be interviewed by the Student Investigator, Christie Anderson. An audio recording of the interview will be made for the purposes of transcription and analysis of responses. If you would prefer not to be audio-recorded, notes will be used instead. All responses will be kept secure and confidential, and will be shared only between the study investigators. We will not identify you by name in any report or presentation, unless you notify us in writing that you consent to have responses identified as your own. The results of the project will be published and may be presented at academic conferences.

If you have questions about this study or would like a summary of the results, please contact:

Principal Investigator:	Dr. Max Lu, Professor of Geography 785-532-7310 – maxlu@k-state.edu
Student Investigator:	Christie Anderson, Doctoral Candidate 913-620-8987 – clanderson@k-state.edu

If you have concerns or complaints about this project, please report them to:

Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
785-532-1483 – rscheidt@k-state.edu, or
Cheryl Doerr, Associate Vice President for Research Compliance
785-532-3224 – cdoerr@k-state.edu

Length of Study: One to three interviews conducted over an approximate 4-month time frame.

Approval Date of Project: August 8, 2017

Expiration Date of Project: August 8, 2019

Terms of Participation:

You have been asked to participate in a research study. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, you may refuse to answer any particular question you

do not wish to answer, and you may withdraw from participating at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits.

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

It is a requirement for the P.I. to also maintain a signed and dated copy of the same consent form.

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

I give my consent to use my name in research publications: _____

Witness to Signature: _____ Date: _____

Minor Assent

We are doing a research study about **refugees in the United States**. A research study is a way to learn more about people. If you decide that you want to be part of this study, you will be asked general questions about your life experiences. There are not any direct risks to you that we know of.

There are some things about this study you should know. With your permission, we would like to record your answers to make sure we get everything right. I will only share your answers with people helping me with the study.

Not everyone who takes part in this study will benefit. A benefit means that something good happens to you. Answering my questions may not benefit you personally, but we may learn new things that will help others.

When we are finished with this study we will write a report about what was learned. This report will not include your name or that you were in the study.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. If you decide to stop after we begin, that's okay too. Your parents know about the study too.

If you decide you want to be in this study, please sign your name.

Child's Name: _____

Child's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Parental Consent:

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to allow my child to participate in this study under the terms described and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

Parent/Guardian Name: _____

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness to Signature: _____

Date: _____



Appendix C - Debriefing Statement



Debriefing for Participation in Research Study

Resettlement and Adjustment of Refugees
in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area



Purpose of the Study:

The consent forms you received earlier informed you that the purpose of the study was to better understand how decisions were made during the resettlement of refugees to the United States. Another key component of the study was to learn more about the integration and adjustment experiences of refugees. The goals of our research were to better understand the refugee resettlement process and how to better address the needs of the resettled population.

Confidentiality:

Participation in this study was completely voluntary and you may decide that you do not want your data used in this research. If you would like your data removed from the study and permanently deleted, please sign at the end of this form.

Final Report:

If you would like to receive a copy of the final report of this study, or a summary of the findings, when it is completed, please feel free to contact:

Principal Investigator:	Dr. Max Lu, Professor of Geography 785-532-7310 – maxlu@k-state.edu
Student Investigator:	Christie Anderson, Doctoral Candidate 913-620-8987 – clanderson@k-state.edu

Useful Contact Information:

If you have concerns or complaints about this project, please report them to:

Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
785-532-1483 – rscheidt@k-state.edu, or
Cheryl Doerr, Associate Vice President for Research Compliance
785-532-3224 – cdoerr@k-state.edu

If you feel upset after having completed this research or find that some questions or aspects of the study triggered distress, talking with a qualified clinician may help. If you feel you would like assistance please contact the Kansas Community Mental Health Center at 785-296-4516 or the Missouri Department of Mental Health at 1-800-364-9687 for a referral to a local mental health professional. In case of serious emergencies, please call 911.

I would like to withdraw my consent to have personal information used in this study.

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Witness to Signature: _____ Date: _____

**Thank you for your participation in our study! Your participation is greatly appreciated.
Please keep a copy of this form for your future reference**



Appendix D - Survey

Assimilation and Integration Survey

“Resettlement and Adjustment of Refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area”

The purpose of this study is to better understand the assimilation and integration of resettled refugees in the United States.

The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. You may skip questions you do not want to answer and you are welcome to write extra comments in any open space on the survey.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your answers are confidential and will not be reported in a way that can identify you personally unless you indicate a desire to have specific responses identified with your name. You may freely withdraw from this study at any time without repercussions. There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participating in this study. By returning this survey form you are consenting to the inclusion of your answers in this study.



Q1: What is your gender:

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other

Q2: Which category below includes your age?

- ☐ 17 or younger
- ☐ 18-20
- ☐ 21-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49
- ☐ 50-59
- ☐ 60 -69
- ☐ 70 or older

Q3: What is your marital status?

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced or Separated
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Domestic partner

Q4: What was your date of arrival in the United States?

Q5: If primarily educated in Bhutan or Nepal, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- ☐ Pre-Primary
- ☐ Primary
- ☐ Lower or Middle Secondary Education
- ☐ Higher Secondary Education
- ☐ Tertiary Education
- ☐ Technical Education

Q6: If primarily educated in the United States, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- ☐ Less than high school
- ☐ High school diploma or equivalent (e.g., GED)
- ☐ Some college but no degree
- ☐ Associate degree
- ☐ Bachelor degree
- ☐ Graduate degree

Q7: If you have received any type of education that was not listed above, please explain:

Q8: What is your current employment status?

- ☐ Employed full time (40+ hours a week)
- ☐ Employed part-time (1 to 39 hours a week)
- ☐ Homemaker
- ☐ Not employed, seeking work
- ☐ Not employed, not seeking work
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ Disabled, not able to work

Q9: What sort of work do you do? If retired, what sort of work did you do?

Q10: Have you participated in any vocational training?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q11: If yes, what type of training did you receive?

Q12: How would you rate your job satisfaction?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Neutral / Neither satisfied or unsatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied

Q13: What type of residence do you live in?

- ☐ Apartment
- ☐ Attached, single family dwelling
- ☐ Single family dwelling
- ☐ Mobile home
- ☐ Other: _____

Q14: Do you own or rent your current residence?

- ☐ Own
- ☐ Rent
- ☐ Live with family
- ☐ Other: _____

Q15: How many people live in your home? _____

Q16: Do you use public transportation as your primary means of transportation?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Q17: Do you own a vehicle?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Q18: Do you use public health care programs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Q19: Do you participate in any social organization other than work or school?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, what type of organization?

Q20: Do you attend any type of religious meetings?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, where do you regularly attend?

Q21: Do you have an affiliation with any other religious organization?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, what type of organization?

Q22: How would you rate your fluency in English?

- ☐ Very fluent
- ☐ Above average fluency
- ☐ Average fluency
- ☐ Some fluency
- ☐ Not fluent

Q23: How safe or unsafe do you feel in your community?

- ☐ Very safe
- ☐ Somewhat safe
- ☐ Neither safe or unsafe
- ☐ Somewhat unsafe
- ☐ Very unsafe

Q24: Do you have any children?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, how many children do you have?

Q25: Do your children participate in any preschool programs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, which program?

Q26: Do you have any children in school that participate in after school or extra-curricular programs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, which program?

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please contact Christie Anderson, 913-620-8987 or Dr. Max Lu, 785-532-7310. This study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University (8763). If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University Compliance Office at 785-532-3224.

KANSAS STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

Appendix E - Survey Results

1. What is your gender?

Male – 4

Female – 5

Other – 0

**One male participant marked the “female” box.*

2. Which category below includes your age?

17 or younger – 0

18-20 – 0

21-29 – 0

30-39 – 4

40-49 – 1

50-59 – 1

60-69 – 2

70 or older – 1

3. What is your marital status?

Single – 0

Married – 7

Divorced or separated – 0

Widowed – 2

Domestic partner – 0

4. What was your date of arrival in the United States?

September 2008

March 2009

December 2010

2011

August 2011

September 2011

March 2012

July 2012

May 2017

5. If primarily educated in Bhutan or Nepal, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

Pre-primary – 1

Primary – 0

Lower or Middle Secondary Education – 0

Higher Secondary Education – 6

Tertiary Education – 1

Technical Education – 0

No response – 1

6. If primarily educated in the United States, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

Less than high school – 1

High school diploma or equivalent (e.g., GED) – 0

Some college but no degree – 0

Associate degree – 1

Bachelor degree – 0

Graduate degree – 0

No response – 7

7. If you have received any type of education that was not listed above, please explain:

GNA, Paraprofessional, completed 40 hours of interpreter training

Working for BSW

ESL

JVS Refugee Family Training and Catholic Charities interpreter

Don Bosco ESL

Online classes at Penn Valley

None – 1

No response – 2

8. What is your current employment status?

Employed full time (40+ hours a week) – 1

Employed part-time (1 to 39 hours a week) – 2

Homemaker – 2

Not employed, seeking work – 1

Not employed, not seeking work – 0

Retired – 1

Disabled, not able to work – 0

Other, self-employed – 1 (not an option on survey)

No response – 1

9. What sort of work do you do? If retired, what sort of work did you do?

Presently, I am a manager

Refugee case management

Refugee case aid (part-time)

Working in the store

La Costa, soap

Watches grandchildren

Just in camp

Self-employed interpreter

No response – 1

10. Have you participated in any vocational training?

Yes – 1

No – 6

No response – 2

11. If yes, what type of training did you receive?

Catering

None – 1

No response – 7

12. How would you rate your job satisfaction?

Very satisfied – 2

Somewhat satisfied – 3

Neutral / Neither satisfied or unsatisfied – 0

Somewhat dissatisfied – 0

Very dissatisfied – 0

No response – 4

13. What type of residence do you live in?

Apartment – 2

Attached, single family dwelling – 0

Single family dwelling – 7

Mobile home – 0

Other – 0

14. Do you own or rent your current residence?

Own – 0

Rent – 7

Live with family – 2

Other, mortgage – 1

**One participant marked two boxes.*

15. How many people live in your home?

3 people – 2

4 people – 3

5 people – 3

6 people – 1

16. Do you use public transportation as your primary means of transportation?

Yes – 1

No – 8

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Bus

17. Do you own a vehicle?

Yes – 7

No – 2

18. Do you use public health care programs?

Yes – 6

No – 2

No response – 1

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Immunizations

Sunflower

Medicaid – 2

No response – 5

19. Do you participate in any social organization other than work or school?

Yes – 2

No – 6

No response – 1

If yes, what type of organization?

KBCF

Sewing club and gardening

No response – 7

20. Do you attend any type of religious meetings?

Yes – 5

No – 3

No response – 1

If yes, where do you regularly attend?

Hindu Buddhist community center and church

Meet in houses

In different houses on turn wise

Church, Shiloh Baptist Fellowship

Church, Mission Adelante

No response – 4

21. Do you have an affiliation with any other religious organization?

Yes – 1

No – 8

If yes, what type of organization?

Catholic Charities and JVS

No response – 8

22. How would you rate your fluency in English?

Very fluent – 0

Above average fluency – 2

Average fluency – 5

Some fluency – 1

Not fluent – 1

23. How safe or unsafe do you feel in your community?

Very safe – 5

Somewhat safe – 4

Neither safe or unsafe – 0

Somewhat unsafe – 0

Very unsafe – 0

24. Do you have any children?

Yes – 9

No – 0

If yes, how many children do you have?

1 – 1

2 – 2

3 – 4

4 – 1

7 – 1

25. Do your children participate in any preschool programs?

Yes – 1

No – 8

If yes, which program?

KCKPS USD 500

No response – 8

26. Do you have any children in school that participate in after school or extra-curricular programs?

Yes – 3

No – 6

If yes, which program?

Soccer – 3

Rock climbing – 1 (*two programs listed for one respondent*)

No response – 6

Appendix F - Rationale for Survey Items

Purpose of survey: **The purpose of the survey was to explore the core tenets of integration as explicated by Ager and Strang (2008, 2004).**

Within each of the elements of demographic and integration, measurement objectives include:

- **Collection of basic personal demographic information,**
- **Determine the education level and engagement in employment of the participant, and**
- **Ascertain the level of integration through participation in social programs demonstrated by each participant.**

Working Informational Statement: The purpose of this study is to better understand the assimilation and integration of resettled refugees in the United States.

The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. You may skip questions you do not want to answer and you are welcome to write extra comments in any open space on the survey.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your answers are confidential and will not be reported in a way that can identify you personally unless you indicate a desire to have specific responses identified with your name. You may freely withdraw from this study at any time without repercussions. There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participating in this study. By returning this survey form you are consenting to the inclusion of your answers in this study.

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please contact Christie Anderson, 913-620-8987 or Dr. Max Lu, 785-532-7310. This study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University (8763). If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University Compliance Office at 785-532-3224.

Questions designed to collect respondent's general demographic information

Question type: Multiple choice.

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

Question type: Multiple choice.

Which category below includes your age?

- 17 or younger
- 18-20
- 21-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70 or older

Question type: Multiple choice.

What is your marital status?

- Single
- Married
- Divorced or separated
- Widowed
- Domestic partner

Question type: Open-ended response.

What was your date of arrival in the United States?

Objective: determine if and how many children the respondent has.

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you have any children?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how many children do you have?

Employment domain: questions designed with the objective of recording the respondent's type of employment and job satisfaction

Objective: determine the respondent's employment status.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use employment as one of the primary indicators for potential success in the new host country.

Question type: Multiple choice.

What is your current employment status?

- Employed full time (40 + hours a week)
- Employed part-time (1-39 hours a week)
- Homemaker
- Not employed, seeking work
- Not employed, not seeking work
- Retired
- Disabled, not able to work

Objective: determine the respondent's type of work.

Rationale: Type of work can establish social roles and larger connections within a community (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Open ended response.

What sort of work do you do? If retired, what sort of work did you do?

Objective: determine if the respondent has participated in any job training.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use job training to indicate the potential for job growth in the new host country.

Question type: Multiple choice.

Have you participated in any vocational training?

- Yes
- No

Objective: determine if the respondent has participated in any job training.

Rationale: Type of job training indicates the participants job interest and where they see potential job opportunities (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Open ended response.

If yes, what type of training did you receive?

Objective: determine if the respondent has found satisfactory work.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use job satisfaction as an indicator of full employment, not underemployment.

Question type: 5-point closed-ended Likert scale.

How would you rate your job satisfaction?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Neutral / Neither satisfied or unsatisfied
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

Housing domain: questions designed with the objective of recording the respondent's housing circumstances

Objective: determine the type of residence the respondent lives in.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use type of housing as a measure of physical and emotional fulfillment.

Question type: Multiple choice.

What type of residence do you live in?

- Apartment
- Attached, single family dwelling
- Single family dwelling
- Mobile home
- Other

Objective: determine if the respondent is grounded in the community.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use home ownership as a measure of establishment in a community.

Question type: Multiple choice.

Do you own or rent your current residence?

- Own
- Rent
- Live with family
- Other

Objective: determine if the respondent lives in multi-generational household.

Rationale: Residing with multiple generations in one household indicates attachment to cultural norms of folk cultures.

Question type: Open-ended response.

How many people live in your home?

Education domain: questions designed with the objective of recording the respondent's educational attainment and other training

Objective: determine the respondent's highest level of education **outside** the United States.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use education as an indicator for potential employment and social adjustment in the new host country. Multiple choice options were based on Zam (2008).

Question type: Multiple choice.

If primarily educated in Bhutan or Nepal, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Pre-primary
- Primary
- Lower or Middle Secondary Education
- Higher Secondary Education
- Tertiary Education
- Technical Education

Objective: determine the respondent's highest level of education **inside** the United States.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use education as an indicator for potential employment and social adjustment in the new host country.

Question type: Multiple choice.

If primarily educated in the United States, what was the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- Less than high school
- High school diploma or equivalent (e.g. GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate Degree
- Bachelor degree
- Graduate degree

Objective: determine if the respondent has participated in any **alternate form** of education.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use education as an indicator for potential employment and social adjustment in the new host country.

Question type: Open-ended response.

If you have received any type of education that was not listed above, please explain.

Objective: determine if the respondent utilizes educational programs for their children.

Rationale: Use of educational programs can indicate participation in the community, as well as potential educational attainment for second generation (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do your children participate in any preschool programs?

- Yes
- No

If yes, which program?

Health domain: question with objective of recording the respondent's use of public health care programs

Objective: determine if the respondent participates in public health care options.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use this measure to determine the level of engagement with social service programs and access to medical care.

Type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you use public health care programs?

Yes

No

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Social bridges domain: question with objective of recording if the respondent associates with other communities

Objective: determine if and what type of activities the children of respondents participate in.

Rationale: Participation in extra-curricular programs is an indicator of wider community involvement (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you have any children in school that participate in after school or extra-curricular programs?

Yes

No

If yes, which program?

Social bonds domain: questions with objective of recording if the respondent engages with their community

Objective: determine if the respondent participates in any social activity.

Rationale: Participation in social activities promotes a sense of belonging (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you participate in any social organization other than work or school?

Yes

No

If yes, what type of organization?

Objective: determine if the respondent participates in religious activities.

Rationale: Participation in religious activities promotes a sense of belonging (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you attend any type of religious meetings?

Yes

No

If yes, where do you regularly attend?

Objective: determine if the respondent participates in other institutional activities.

Rationale: Participation broader community activities promotes a sense of belonging (Ager and Strang 2004).

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you have an affiliation with any other religious organization?

Yes

No

If yes, what type of organization?

Social links domain: questions with objective of recording if the respondent utilizes public amenities

Objective: determine if the respondent owns their means of transportation.

Rationale: Owning a vehicle denotes participation in local government services (e.g. taking driver's test and registering vehicle), a measure of connection with their community (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008).

Question type: Multiple choice.

Do you own a vehicle?

Yes

No

Objective: determine if respondent utilizes public transportation.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use of local amenities as a measure of connection to the host community.

Question type: Multiple choice and open-ended response.

Do you use public transportation as your primary means of transportation?

Yes

No

If yes, what type do you most commonly use?

Language and cultural knowledge domain: question with the objective of recording the respondent's familiarity with English

Objective: determine the respondent's familiarity with English.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) use knowledge of English has a practical measure of how respondents can navigate daily life outside their community.

Question type: 5-point closed-ended Likert scale.

How would you rate your fluency in English?

Very fluent

Above average fluency

Average fluency

Some fluency

Not fluent

Safety and stability domain: question with the objective of recording the respondent's confidence in their community

Objective: determine if the respondent feels safe in their community.

Rationale: Ager and Strang (2008, 2004) tie the feeling of safety to community engagement.

Question type: 5-point closed-ended Likert scale.

How safe or unsafe do you feel in your community?

Very safe

Somewhat safe

Neither safe or unsafe

Somewhat unsafe

Very unsafe

Appendix G - Nepali Consent Document

मन्जुरी नामा (Informed Consent)

क्यान्सस सिटी महानगर एरियामा शरणार्थीको पुनर्वास र सामयोजन (Resettlement and Adjustment of Refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area)

परियोजना विवरण (project description):

यो अध्ययन अनुसन्धान क्यान्सस स्टेट युनिभर्सिटीको भूगोल विभागमा स्नातकतह अध्ययनरत कृष्टि एन्डरसनले बिद्यावरिधीको आँशिक आवश्यकता अनुसार गर्न लाग्नुभएको हो। यो अनुसन्धानको उद्देश्य दुई वटा छन्। पहिलो उद्देश्य, शरणार्थीहरूले संयुक्त राज्यमा पुर्नबासको निर्णय कसरी लिएका थिए राम्रोसँग बुझ्नु। अध्ययनको अर्को उद्देश्य, शरणार्थीहरूको एकीकरण र समायोजन अनुभवको बारेमा थप जान्नु हो। हुनत यो अनुसन्धानले प्रत्येक फाइदा नदिन सक्छ तर यसबाट आउने परिणामले शरणार्थीको पुर्नबासका बारेमा राम्ररी बुझ्नु र पुर्नबास गरिएका जनसंख्याको आवश्यकता सम्बोधन गर्न मद्दत पुग्नसक्छ। यो अध्ययनका सहभागीहरूलाई कुनै पुर्वानुमानित जोखिम छैन।

अनुसन्धानकर्ता विद्यार्थी कृष्टि एन्डरसनले सहभागीहरूको अन्तरवार्ता लिनेछिन्। अन्तरवार्ताको अडियो रेकर्डिङ अनुसन्धानको दस्तावेज र प्रतिक्रियाहरूको बिश्लेषणको लागि प्रयोग गरिन्छ। यदि तपाईं अडियो रेकर्डिङ गर्न चाहनुहुन्न भने, यसको टिप्पणीहरू सट्टामा प्रयोग गर्न सकिनेछ। सबै प्रतिक्रियाहरू सुरक्षित र गोप्य राखिनेछ र अध्ययन अनुसन्धानकर्ताहरूसँग मात्र साझेदारी गरीनेछ। तपाईंको लिखित स्वीकृति बिना तपाईंको नाम कुनै रिपोर्ट वा प्रस्तुतिमा उल्लेख हुनेछैन। यो अनुसन्धानको नतिजा प्रकाशित हुनसक्छ अथवा शैक्षिक सम्मेलनमा प्रस्तुत हुनेछ।

यदि तपाईंको यो अध्ययनबारे प्रश्न छ भने वा नतिजाको केही सारांश चाहानुहुन्छ भने निम्न व्यक्तिलाई कृपया सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस्:

प्रमुख अनुसन्धानकर्ता: डा. म्याक्स लु (Dr. Max Lu), प्राध्यापक, भूगोल विभाग

७८५-५३२-७३१० - maxlu@k-state.edu

विद्यार्थी अनुसन्धानकर्ता: कृष्टि एन्डरसन (Christie Anderson), विद्यावरिधी उम्मेदवार

९१३-६२०-८९८७ - clanderson@k-state.edu

यदि तपाईंलाई यस परियोजनाबारे चासो वा उजुरी छ भने, कृपया तिनीहरूलाई रिपोर्ट गर्नुहोस्:

रिक सायट (Rick Scheidt), प्रमुख, मानविय विषय वस्तु अनुसन्धान कमिटी

७८५-५३२-१४८३ -rscheidt@k-state.edu

सयार्ल दोउर (Cheryl Doerr), सहायक उपाध्यक्ष, अनुसन्धान सहयोग

७८५-५३२-३२२४ -cdoerr@k-state.edu

अध्ययनको लम्बाइ: अनुमानित चार महिना समय अबधिमा एक देखि तीन अन्तरबार्ता लिइने।

परियोजनाको अनुमोदन मिति:

परियोजनाको म्याद समाप्त हुने मिति:

सहभागिताका सर्तहरू:

तपाईंलाई अध्ययन अनुसन्धानमा भाग लिन अनुरोध गरिनेछ। यो अध्ययनमा सहभागिता पूर्ण स्वैच्छिक हुनेछ। तपाईं सहभागी हुन इन्कार गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ, तपाईं कुनै बिशेष प्रश्नको जवाफ दिन इन्कार गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ र कुनै व्याख्या, दण्ड वा लाभको हानिबिना कुनै पनि समयमा सहभागितादेखि फिर्ता हुन सक्नुहुन्छ।

मैले पढेर अनि बुझेर यो सहमती फारममा हस्ताक्षर गरेकोछु र सर्तहरू वर्णन अनुसार यो अध्ययनमा सहभागी हुन सहमत छु र मेरो हस्ताक्षरले स्वीकार्छुकी मैले यस फारमको एक हस्ताक्षरित र दिनांकित (मिति उल्लेखित) प्रतिलिपी पाएको छु।

यो सहमति फारमको एक हस्ताक्षरित र दिनांकित (मिति उल्लेखित) प्रतिलिपी आफूसँग राख्नु पि.आइ. को लागि आवश्यकता हो।

सहभागीको नाम:

सहभागीको हस्ताक्षर: मिति:

म अनुसन्धान प्रकाशनमा मेरो नाम प्रयोग गर्न सहमति दिन्छु:

साक्षीको हस्ताक्षर: मिति:.....

सानातिना सहमति (Minor Assent)

हामी संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा शरणार्थीबारे अध्ययन अनुसन्धान गरिरहेका छौं। यो अनुसन्धान मानिसहरूको बारेमा अझ बुझ्ने एउटा तरिका हो। यदि तपाईं यो अध्ययनको एउटा अंश बन्न चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई तपाईंको जीवनका अनुभवको बारेमा साधारण प्रश्न सोधिनेछ। हामीलाई थाहा छ की तपाईंलाई कुनै प्रत्यक्ष जोखिम छैन।

तपाईंले यो अध्ययनको बारेमा जान्ने पर्ने केहि कुराहरु यहाँ छन्। हामी तपाईंको सहमतिमा जबाफ रेकर्ड गर्न चाहान्छौं ताकि पाएका सबै जबाफ सहि हुन्। म तपाईंको जवाफलाई मलाई अध्ययनमा सहयोग गर्ने मानिसहरु वीच मात्र बाड्नेछु।

यो अध्ययनमा भाग लिने सबैलाई लाभ हुनेछैन। फाइदा भनेको तपाईंलाई केहि कुरा राम्रो हुनु पनि हो। मेरो प्रश्नहरुको उत्तर दिदा तपाईंलाई व्यक्तिगत फाइदा नहुन सक्छ तर हामी नयाँ कुरा सिक्न सक्छौं जसले अरुलाई मद्दत गर्नेछ।

जब हामी यो अध्ययन सक्छौं, हामीले यो अध्ययनबाट सिकेका कुराहरुलाई एउटा रिपोर्टमा लेख्नेछौं। त्यस रिपोर्टमा तपाईंको नाम वा तपाईं त्यो अध्ययनमा हुनुहुन्थ्यो भन्ने उल्लेख हुनेछैन।

यदि तपाईं चाहानुहुन्न भने यो अध्ययनमा बस्नैपर्छ भन्ने छैन। शुरु गरीसके पछि रोक्ने निर्णय गर्नुभयो भने पनि ठिक छ। तपाईंको अभिभावाकलाई यो अध्ययन बारेमा जानकारी छ।

यदि तपाईं यो अध्ययनमा सामेल हुन चाहानुहुन्छ भने, कृपया तपाईंको नाम लेख्नुहोस्।

बच्चाको नाम:

बच्चाको हस्ताक्षर: मिति:.....

अभिभावकको सहमती (Parental Consent):

मैले पढेर अनि बुझेर यो सहमती फारममा हस्ताक्षर गरेकोछु र सर्तहरुको वर्णन अनुसार यो अध्ययनमा मेरो बच्चालाई सहभागी गराउन सहमत छु र मेरो हस्ताक्षरले स्वीकार्छेकी मैले यस फारमको एक हस्ताक्षरित र दिनाँकित (मिति उल्लेखित) प्रतिलिपी पाएको छु।

अभिभावक (संरक्षकको) नाम:

अभिभावक (संरक्षकको) हस्ताक्षर: मिति:

साक्षीको हस्ताक्षर: मिति:

Appendix H - Nepali Debriefing Statement

अनुसन्धान अध्ययनमा सहभागिको लागि प्रश्नावली (Debriefing for Participation in Research Study)

क्यान्सस सिटी महानगर एरियामा शरणार्थीको पुनर्वास र सामायोजन (Resettlement and Adjustment of Refugees in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area)

अध्ययनको उद्देश्य:

तपाईंले पहिले प्राप्त गर्नुभएको सहमति फारममा जानकारी गराइएको छ कि अध्ययनको उद्देश्य भनेको शरणार्थीहरूले संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा पुर्नबासको लागि कसरी निर्णय लिएका भन्ने राम्रोसँग बुझ्नु हो। अध्ययनको आर्का मुख्य उद्देश्य, शरणार्थीहरूको एकीकरण र समायोजन अनुभवको बारेमा थप जान्नु हो। हाम्रो अनुसन्धानको लक्ष्य शरणार्थी पुर्नबासका बारेमा राम्रोसँग बुझ्न र पुर्नबास गरिएका जनसंख्याको आवश्यकता कसरी राम्रोसँग सम्बोधन गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने हो।

गोप्यता:

यो अध्ययनमा सहभागिता पूर्ण स्वैच्छिक हुनेछ र तपाईं यो अनुसन्धानमा तपाईंको तथ्याङ्क प्रयोग नगर्ने निर्णय गर्नसक्नुहुन्छ। यदि यो अध्ययनबाट तपाईंको तथ्याङ्क हटाउन र स्थायी रूपमा मेटाउन चाहानुहुन्छ भने, कृपया यो फारमको अन्त्यमा हस्ताक्षर गर्नुहोस्।

अन्तिम प्रतिवेदन:

यो अध्ययन पुरा भएपछि यसको अन्तिम प्रतिवेदनको प्रतिलिपी वा निष्कर्षको सारांश प्राप्त गर्न चाहानुहुन्छ भने, कृपया निम्न व्यक्तिहरूलाई कृपया सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस्:

प्रमुख अनुसन्धानकर्ता: डा. म्याक्स लु (Dr. Max Lu), प्राध्यापक, भुगोल विभाग
७८५-५३२-७३१० - maxlu@k-state.edu

विद्यार्थी अनुसन्धानकर्ता: कृष्टि एन्डरसन (Christie Anderson), विद्यावरिधी उम्मेदवार
९१३-६२०-८९८७ - clanderson@k-state.edu

उपयोगि सम्पर्क सूचना:

यदि तपाईंलाई यस परियोजनाबारे चासो वा उजुरी छ भने, कृपया तिनीहरूलाई रिपोर्ट गर्नुहोस्:

रिक सायट (Rick Scheidt), प्रमुख, मानिवय विषय वस्तु अनुसन्धान
कमिति

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सयार्ल दोर (Cheryl Doerr), सहायक उपाध्यक्ष, अनुसन्धान सहयोग

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यदि तपाईं यो अनुसन्धान सकिएपछि दुखी महसुस गर्नुभयो वा अध्ययनको केहि प्रश्नहरु वा पक्षहरुले दुख बनाएको छ भने योग्य क्लिनिसियनले मद्दत गर्न सक्छन्। यदि तपाईंलाई सहायता चाहिन्छ भने कन्सास कम्युनिटी मेन्टल हेल्थ सेन्टरको फोन न. ७८५-२९६--४५१६ अथवा स्थानिय मानसिक स्वास्थ्य विज्ञको सिफारिस लागि मिसैरी डिपार्टमेन्ट अफ मेन्टल हेल्थ सेन्टरको फोन न. १-८००-३६४-९६८७ मा कृपया सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस्। गम्भिर आपतकालिन मामलामा, कृपया ९११ मा फोन गर्नुहोस्।

म यस अध्ययनमा मेरो व्यक्तिगत विवरण प्रयोग गर्ने पूर्व सहमति फिर्ता लिन चाहान्छु।

सहभागीको नाम:

सहभागीको हस्ताक्षर:

मिति:

साक्षीको हस्ताक्षर:

मिति:

हाम्रो अध्ययनमा तपाईंको सहभागिताको लागि धन्यवाद। तपाईंको सहभागितालाई उच्च मुल्याङ्कन गर्दछु। कृपया यो फारमको प्रतिलिपि आफ्नो भविष्यको लागि राख्नुहोला।

Appendix I - Nepali Survey

प्रश्न १: तपाईंको लिंग के हो?

- पुरुष
- महिला
- अन्य

प्रश्न २: तपाईंको उमेर कुन बर्ग अन्तर्गत पर्दछ?

- १७ वा सो भन्दा सानो
- १८-२०
- २१-२९
- ३०-३९
- ४०-४९
- ५०-५९
- ६०-६९
- ७० वा सो भन्दा ठूलो

प्रश्न ३: तपाईंको बैवाहिक स्थिति के छ?

- एकल
- बिवाहित
- पार्षाचुके वा छुटेको
- बिधुवा वा बिधुर
- घरेलु साझेदार (domestic partner)

प्रश्न ४: तपाईं संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका कहिले आउनुभएको हो?

प्रश्न ५: भुटान होस् वा नेपालमा, तपाईंले पुरा गर्नुभएको स्कुलको उच्चतम स्तर अथवा उच्चतम डिग्री के हो?

- पूर्व प्राथमिक
- प्राथमिक
- निम्न वा मध्य माध्यमिक
- उच्च माध्यमिक
- उच्च शिक्षा

- प्राविधिक शिक्षा

प्रश्न ६: यदि संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा हो भने, तपाईंले पुरा गर्नुभएको स्कुलको उच्चतम स्तर अथवा उच्चतम डिग्री के हो?

- उच्च माध्यमिक भन्दा कम
- उच्च माध्यमिक वा सो सरह
- केहि क्याम्पस तर डिग्री छैन
- एसोसियट डिग्री
- स्नातक तह
- स्नातक डिग्री

प्रश्न ७: यदि तपाईंले कुनै शिक्षा हासिल गर्नुभएको छ जुन माथि उल्लेख छैन भने कृपया वर्णन गर्नुहोस्।

प्रश्न ८: तपाईंको तत्काल रोजगारीको स्थिति के छ ?

- पूर्णसमय कार्यरत (एक हप्तामा ४०+ घण्टा)
- आंशिक समय कार्यरत (एक हप्तामा १ देखि ३९ घण्टा)
- घर निर्माता
- बेरोजगार, काम हेर्दै
- बेरोजगार, काम नखोजेको
- सेवा निवृत्त
- असक्षम, काम गर्न नसक्ने

प्रश्न ९: तपाईं कस्तो खालको काम गर्नुहुन्छ? यदि सेवा निवृत्त हो भने, कस्तो खालको काम गर्नुहुन्थ्यो?

प्रश्न १०: तपाईंले कुनै व्यवसायिक प्रशिक्षणमा भाग लिनुभएको छ?

- छ
- छैन

यदि छ भने, कस्तो खालको तालिम लिनुभएको छ?

प्रश्न ११: तपाईं आफ्नो कार्य सन्तुष्टि कसरी मुल्याङ्कन गर्नुहुन्छ?

- धेरै सन्तुष्ट
- केहि सन्तुष्ट
- तटस्थ(नसन्तुष्ट अनसन्तुष्ट)
- केहि असन्तुष्ट
- धेरै असन्तुष्ट

प्रश्न १२: तपाईं कस्तो खालको निवासमा बस्नुहुन्छ?

- एपार्टमेन्ट (भाडाको घर)
- जोडिएको एकल परिवार वासस्थान
- एकल परिवार वासस्थान
- मोबाइल घर

अन्य

प्रश्न १३: तपाईंको तत्कालको वासस्थान निजि वा भाडाको के हो?

- निजि
- भाडाको
- परिवारको साथ बस्ने
- अन्य

प्रश्न १४: तपाईंको घरमा कति जना बस्नुहुन्छ?

प्रश्न १५: सार्वजनिक यातायात तपाईंको पहिलो प्थमिकतामा पर्छ?

- पर्छ
- पर्दैन

यदि पर्छ भने, तपाईं कुन किसिमको प्राय प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ?

प्रश्न १६: तपाईंको स्वामित्वमा सवारीसाधन छ?

- छ
- छैन

प्रश्न १७: तपाईं सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य सेवा कार्यक्रम प्रयोग गर्नुहुन्छ?

- गर्छु
- गर्दिन

यदि गर्नुहुन्छ भने, तपाईंले सामान्यतः प्रयोग गर्ने के हो?

प्रश्न १८: तपाईंले काम वा स्कूलबाहेक कुनै अरु सामाजिक काममा भाग लिनुभएको छ?

- छ
- छैन

यदि छ भने, के किसिमको सँगठनमा?

प्रश्न १९: तपाईं कुनै प्रकारको धार्मिक बैठकमा उपस्थित हुनुभएको छ?

- छ
- छैन

यदि छ भने, कहाँ नियमित रूपमा उपस्थित हुनुहुन्छ?

प्रश्न २०: तपाईंसँग कुनै अन्य धार्मिक संगठनको मान्यता छ?

- छ
- छैन

यदि छ भने, के किसिमको सँगठनमा?

प्रश्न २१: तपाईं आफ्नो अंग्रेजीको धाराप्रवाह कसरी मूल्याङ्कन गर्नुहुन्छ?

- धेरै प्रवाहक
- औसतभन्दा प्रवाहक
- औसतसत प्रवाहक
- केहि प्रवाहक
- प्रवाहक छैन

प्रश्न २२: तपाईं आफ्नो समुदायमा कति सुरक्षित वा असुरक्षित महसुस गर्नुहुन्छ?

- धेरै सुरक्षित
- केहि सुरक्षित
- नसुरक्षित, नअसुरक्षित
- केहि असुरक्षित

- धेरै असुरक्षित

प्रश्न २३: तपाईंको कुनै बच्चा छ?

- छ
- छैन

यदि छ भने, कति जना बच्चा छन्?

प्रश्न २४: तपाईंको कुनै बच्चा पूर्वप्राथमिक कार्यक्रममा सहभागी हुन्छन्?

- हुन्छन्
- हुदैनन्

यदि हुन्छन् भने, कुन कार्यक्रममा?

प्रश्न २५: तपाईंको त्यस्ता बच्चा छन् जो स्कुलपछि अथवा अतिरिक्त कार्यक्रममा सहभागी हुन्छन्?

- हुन्छन्
- हुदैनन्

यदि हुन्छन् तपाईंको, कुन कार्यक्रममा?

तपाईंको यो अध्ययनका बारेमा कुनै पनि प्रश्न छ वा थप जानकारी आवश्यक भएमा, कृपया कृष्टि एन्डरसन, ९१३-६२०-८९८७ वा म्यक्स लु ७८५-५३२-७३१० सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस्। यो अध्ययनको समीक्षा र स्वीकृत क्यान्सस स्टेट युनिभर्सिटीको संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्ड (फाइल) द्वारा स्वीकृत गरिएको छ। यदि तपाईंलाई यो अनुसन्धानसम्बन्धी कुनै सल्लाहसुझाव वा सहभागीको अधिकारका बारेमा चासो छ भने, कृपया युनिभर्सिटीको उजुरी कार्यालयमा सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस्।

विलय तथा सामायोजन सर्वेक्षण (Assimilation and Integration Survey)

क्यान्सस सिटी महानगर एरियामा शरणार्थीको पुनर्वास र सामायोजन ("Resettlement and Adjustment of refugees in the Kansas City metropolitan area")

यो अध्ययनको मुख्य उद्देश्य संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा पुर्नबास गरेका शरणार्थीको विलय र सामायोजनबारेमा राम्रोसँग बुझ्नु हो।

यो सर्वेक्षण पूरा हुन २० भन्दा मिनेट भन्दा बढि समय लाग्ने छैन। कुनै प्रश्नको जवाफ दिन चाहानुहुन्न भने छोड्न सक्नुहुन्छ र सर्वेक्षण फारमको खुला ठाउँमा तपाईंको अतिरिक्त टिप्पणी लेख्न चाहानुहुन्छ भने तपाईंलाई स्वागत छ।

यो अध्ययनमा सहभागिता पूर्ण स्वैच्छिक छ। तपाईंको जवाफ गोप्य छन् र तपाईंको इच्छा अनुसार रिपोर्टको विशिष्ट प्रतिक्रियाहरूमा आफ्नो नामको पहिचान गरिनेछ, अन्यथा व्यक्तिगत पहिचानलाई गोप्य राखिनेछन् । तपाईं कुनै पनि समयमा बिना सङ्कोच यो अध्ययनबाट फिर्ता हुन सक्नुहुन्छ। यो अध्ययनमा सहभागीलाई यस अध्ययन सम्बन्धित कुनै ज्ञात वा पूर्वानुमानित जोखिम छैन। तपाईंले यो सर्वेक्षण फारम फिर्ता दिई यो अध्ययनमा तपाईंको जवाफ समावेश गर्न स्विकृति दिनुभएको छ।