

LOST AND FOUND: DIFFERENT INTEGRATION PATTERNS OF THE SUDANESE LOST
BOYS LIVING IN KANSAS CITY AREA AFTER RESETTLEMENT.

by

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B.A., United States International University-Africa, 1997

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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

The United States has resettled unaccompanied minors before. In the 1960s and 1970s, minors from Indochina were resettled in the United States. In the 1970s, the U.S accepted 14,000 unaccompanied minors from Cuba through Operation Peter Pan. Many of these Cuban minors, aged five to eighteen, were sent to the United States by parents fearing their children would be indoctrinated in communist schools. In the case of these minors, they arrived in the United States with the consent of their still-living family members. In contrast, about 3,500 Sudanese Lost Boys were resettled in the United States in 2000, and more recently in 2010, 53 “lost children” from Haiti were brought to the United States following a devastating earthquake.

This study investigated the integration and assimilation patterns of the Sudanese Lost Boys in the Kansas City area with the purpose of understanding the sociological impact on these Boys from their own perspective. As opposed to previous studies done on these Boys in Kansas and other areas in the United States, the present study used interview-based research and analyzed data using both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

The study concluded that the Lost Boys were both “Lost” and “Found” in complex ways. The study found that unaccompanied refugees labeled as minors at the time of resettlement integrated more “successfully” than those resettled as adults. Minor Boys received certain advantages over Boys who were labeled legal adults. Over time, those resettled as minors accumulated more social capital relevant in American society, while those resettled as legal adults fell behind. The findings highlighted problems associated with age-based treatment of refugees, especially in the case of the Boys who were arbitrarily classified as adults. Assigned ages significantly impacted their assimilation process into American society. Unlike those Boys resettled as minors, legal adults did not have access to structure and immersion opportunities afforded by foster families, formal education, and social activities. This study concluded that age-based disadvantage was evident in the case of the Lost Boys.

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“a doctoral student looking for a supervisor will have a better chance in the Norwegian town of Bergen than in New York, Massachusetts or California” (Waal's 2010 blog, Making Sense of Sudan ¶ 1)¹.

I am a testament of an upcoming scholar with interest in Sudanese affairs filling in for what Waal calls,

“missing generation of scholars on Sudan” (Waal, 2010 blog, The Missing Academic generation ¶ 1).

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the memories of my late brothers, Alex Nyangeri Gichana and Joash Nyabuti Gichana. *Mlale vyema peponi ndugu zangu na mungu awabariki.*

Preface

My motivation to study the Lost Boys grew out of my experience with refugees dating back to 1998-2000. I had an opportunity to work as an intern with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as an intern. This internship began when I met Mr. Philip Karani, who was then UNHCR's refugee law coordinator based in Nairobi, Kenya. After hearing him speak at the United States International University - Africa, he decided to offer me a chance to work with him upon expressing my great interest in refugee issues. He advised me to visit refugee camps in North Eastern Kenya. My first contact with camp life was shocking. I could not imagine how appalling living conditions were at the camps. Life in refugee camps was very depressing. Indeed, I met some refugees who had just completely lost hope in life. They could neither tell how long they had lived there, nor when they could see their homes again.

Kenya has two main refugee camps: Kakuma and Dadaab. Dadaab refugee camps refer to a group of three camps -Ifo, Dagahaley, and Hagadera - in a remote eastern region of Kenya near the Somali border. These particular camps are hot, dry, isolated and dangerous. They were set up in 1991 when civil war broke out in Somalia. More than 900,000 people fled from Somalia into neighboring countries, with approximately 400,000 of them fleeing to Kenya. The Dadaab camps also provided refuge for Sudanese, Ugandans, and Ethiopians.

My main duties at the Dadaab camps involved research on refugee education (see Figures P-1 and P-2), refugee environmental protection (see Figure P-3) and reproductive health of refugees. While visiting Dadaab I had my first interaction with some of the Lost Boys living in the camp. Some of them left for the United States while I was still in Dadaab.

Figure P-1 Myself and UNHCR partner officials during refugee education day at Dadaab



Source: *Danvas Mabeya*

Figure P-2 Somali school girls reciting a poem during refugee education day



Source: *Danvas Mabeya*

Figure P-3 Myself and young Somali refugees during a refugee tree planting day at Dadaab refugee camp



Source: *Danvas Mabeya*

Before concluding my internship, I benefited from attending a three week course on refugee and humanitarian law at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (2000), sponsored by UNHCR. This gave me a greater understanding of the issues associated with the international legal protection of refugees.

Figure P-4 School of refugee and humanitarian law participants at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania-2000 (inset: I am receiving certificate of participation from the vice chancellor)



Source: *Danvas Mabeya*

I came to the United States in 2003 to advance my education and wanting to learn what had become of the Sudanese Lost Boys in the United States since their resettlement in 2000.

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

This study is about the resettlement of Sudanese minors known as the Lost Boys of Sudan in the United States by the U.S government in 2000. They had been initially rescued by international agencies from the Sudanese authorities who were pursuing them. Scholars have studied the Lost Boys living in other areas in the United States (Ohio, Tennessee, South Dakota, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Colorado), but, no one has conducted an interview-based research study on the Lost Boys who live in the Kansas City area to find out their resettlement experiences. It is important to study and understand the sociological impact on these young men after they settled in the United States. Indeed changes in their environment, climate, and social surroundings have undeniably impacted the lives of the Lost Boys in different ways. This study is intended to give the Lost Boys who live in Kansas City an opportunity to describe their experiences since they resettled in the United States nearly ten years ago.

In the late 1980's, about 33,000 Boys and Girls were forced from their homes by Sudanese troops in southern Sudan. They walked 1000 miles fleeing the civil war that had erupted between the Sudanese government troops which were supported by Islamic militias and the Southern Sudanese who are mostly Christians, to arrive in an Ethiopian refugee camp. The government troops had systematically attacked villages in southern Sudan and killed many of the inhabitants, mostly women and children. In the process most of the Boys became orphaned or separated from their families. They fled first to Ethiopia and stayed in Ethiopian refugee camps for about nine years, but then an Ethiopian rebel group (Derg) that had taken control of the country after the fall of the Mengistu regime in 1991 forced them out. They returned to Sudan only to find war still raging, so they turned their route to Kenya and took refuge there. Most of officially reported survivors stayed in the Kenyan refugee camp of Kakuma. In early 2000, about 3800 Boys were resettled in the United States

This study was guided by examination of key integration indicators: employment, education, language proficiency, U.S citizenship, religion, place of residency, and marriage. The study identified which of these demographic and ethnographic variables had significantly helped the Lost Boys to integrate into mainstream American society. The study drew upon semi-structured interviews with the Kansas City based Lost Boys to identify factors that assisted their integration (see Appendix C). The interviews were then transcribed and the data therein become

the primary research source. A database of the interviews was created and data was coded relative to the major themes and research questions asked in order to secure findings and conduct an analysis. Recommendations were suggested that might improve refugee policies in the United States and finally a conclusion was reached. After reading my dissertation proposal, Dr. David Rine had this to say in an email he wrote to me,

“I think that the outcome of this study should be quite valuable in many ways, including improvements in the transforming of such refugees into diaspora cultures” (D. Rine, personal communication, June 27, 2009. 12:02 pm)².

The findings from this study indicated that the Boys resettled as minors had certain advantages over the legal adults. As time went by, those who were resettled as minors got ahead in terms of accumulation of social capital while those resettled as young adults fell behind. Those resettled as legal adults did not have access to structure and immersion provided by foster families and formal education. They were expected to successfully secure employment upon arrival and start the integration process into the mainstream society with little assistance. The Boys participating in this study answered questions in ten areas that indicated whether or not the Boys were well-integrated into mainstream U. S. society. Findings from this study supported the hypothesis that unaccompanied minors integrated more successfully than those resettled as adults. Minors lost their Sudanese social capital which was not applicable in America and acquired American social capital which enhanced their assimilation process into the American mainstream society faster. Lost and found social capital of the Lost Boys can be equated to a double-edged sword, where their lost social capital included; Sudanese culture (accrued from Africa), and anomie, while their found social capital included; education, employment and citizenship among others (acquired in America).

1.1 Historical Overview

According to McDonnell (2009), Sudan is Africa’s largest nation, geographically speaking, and is the tenth largest country in the world (Petterson, 1999). Also known as Bilad - al - Sudan, literally translated as ‘land of the blackened,’ Sudan’s history dates back to Biblical times when it was referred to as the land of the Kush “Cush” (McDonnell, 2009). Musa (2006) explains the origin of the name Sudan by saying,

With regards to the name Sudan, originally it comes from the term ‘Bilad -al- Sudan’ which means “Land of Blacks”. So the term is a mere derivation from the

Arabic word 'Sauod' meaning 'Blacks' as an indication to the skin color of the inhabitants living in the region. The term is said to be used by Arab travelers, geographers and historians who first wrote the history of the region (Musa, 2006, Ancient History of Western Sudan ¶ 3)

While Omer (2008) describes the physical location of Sudan:

the original term "Sudd", from which the modern term "Sudan" is derived, refers to a vast expanse of floating water plants or swamps. The earliest mention of the word "Sudd" in reference to modern Sudan appear in the writings of Seneca, who recorded an expedition sent by the Roman Emperor Nero to central Sudan. Later in history, Arab writers, unaware of the origin of the word "Sudan", interpreted the term as being derived from the Arabic word "Soud", meaning "Blacks" (Omer, 2008, Geography, Alternative Names for Nubia ¶ 5)

Figure 1-1 Map of northern, southern and the Darfur regions in Sudan



Source: http://africacarbonodyssey.blogspot.com/2008_05_01_archive.html

1.1.1 Political Exigencies and Origins of Conflict in the Sudan

During the colonial era, Sudan's population was composed of approximately 70 percent Sunni Muslims, 25 percent Animists or indigenous beliefs, and 5 percent Christians (CIA fact-book, 2000). Sudan is located in the northeast of Africa (see Figure 1-1). Werner, Anderson, & Wheeler (2001) say, since its independence in 1956, Sudan has continuously sustained civil wars for over four decades and also marginalized its black, African peoples for even longer than the start of its civil war.

According to a report published by UNICEF in 2001, the current conflict can be traced back to an event in 1983 when President Nimeiri chose to stop honoring the Addis Ababa Agreement, effectively ending the regional autonomy of the South where the African, animists and Christian population is located. Nimeiri also declared that Sudan would be an Islamic state and reinstated Arabized-Islamised education in all Sudanese schools. This infuriated the southern Sudanese who saw this as an act of aggression against their culture. Deng (2006) agrees stating that the Sudanese conflict is deeply rooted in cultural, ethnic, racial and religious identities³. In general, the north is dominated by Muslim Arabs while the south is mostly occupied by black Animists and Christians. These two cultural groups continue to confront one another about political power and control of natural resources. For many decades, the Khartoum government of the north has been trying to impose Sharia laws throughout Sudan and prompting Christian Sudanese to put up a lot of resistance. Southern Sudanese also feel national resources are not shared equally amongst all people of Sudan, including conflict involving Arab herders who go to the south practicing transhumance. This movement of the northerners to the south has led to serious conflict between the two groups causing black African farmers to remain protective of their crops and agricultural land against northern herders. Another key source of conflict is continuous taking of black Sudanese as slaves by some Muslim Arabs to be sold in other Arab countries. According to Werner, Anderson, & Wheeler (2001), these practices have caused the conflict between the central government and the southern population for over fifty years now, whereby the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) took up arms to counter Nimeiri's policies and the Khartoum government. Since 1983 the Khartoum government has killed many adults, taken young girls as slaves, and dispersed young boys who otherwise walked and worked together in groups.

1.1.2 The Plight of Young People in Southern Sudan

Challenges and hardships facing southern Sudanese children are significant and extensive. In schools, non-Muslim children in the South are forced to study the Koran (Julies, 2000). In the early 1980s, the government attacked the rebels in the south, killing civilians and enslaving young girls. Young Boys who had taken herds of cattle out to grazing fields were forced to run for their lives. These young Boys were completely cut off from any information pertaining to the affairs of their family members. The journey of the young Boys who managed to survive begins with them migrating from Sudan by joining together in small groups and made their way first to Ethiopia, then back again to Sudan, then to Kenya, and finally to the United States. These Boys have been named, “The Lost Boys of Sudan” (Messina and Messina, 2007, ¶ 2).

1.1.3 The Start of the Lost Boys Exodus

As the Lost Boys started their exodus in the early 1980s, they had no roads to follow in the wilderness and they had no compasses to guide their direction. They simply just kept going. Most of them were between the ages of eight to eighteen and uneducated. How the Lost Boys found their way to an Ethiopian refugee camp, back again to Sudan and finally to Kenya is in itself extraordinary. The majority of the Lost Boys did not survive the epic journey. Large numbers of the expellees died of starvation, disease, or attacks by lions and crocodiles on their long journey to Kenya. Roger Winter, former director of U.S Committee for Refugees (USCR), gave reference to relief workers’ comments flying in that region about the Lost Boys as, “the path of the refugees is an easy one to trace; all one has to do is follow the trail of bones and bodies left scattered on the ground behind them” (Hecht, 2005 p. 40).

The first phase of their journey was from their homeland in Sudan to Ethiopia (see Figure 1-2). On their way to Ethiopia they encountered a lot of hardships, including lack of shelter, water and medicine to encounters with wild animals. According to Hecht (2005), while all of these Boys fled persecution in Sudan, some of them were recruited by the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) to train as soldiers. Hecht goes on to say that some Boys were handed over to the SPLA by their parents in return for assurance that they would receive food and education in Ethiopian refugee camps. Bixler (2005) notes that the education they received at the Panyidu refugee camps in Ethiopia was minimal and conditions in the refugee camps were not

conducive to learning and thriving. The Lost Boys parents had hoped that military training would help them defend themselves against the government military once they returned home.

Figure 1-2 The path of the Lost Boys exodus



Source: www.hfncenter.org/files/lostboys_map.jpg

The Boys who reached Ethiopia stayed in the refugee camps until they were forced out by an Ethiopian rebel group (Derg) in 1991 which took control of the country after the fall of the Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime. Mengistu received support from the former Soviet Union until its collapse in 1991. Hecht (2005) says that the Derg leaders expelled the Sudanese Peoples

Liberation Army (SPLA) and Sudanese refugees from refugee camps in Ethiopia arguing that they had links to and were sympathetic towards Mengistu's regime.

The second phase of their exodus took the Lost Boys from the Ethiopian refugee camps back to Sudan after being expelled from Ethiopia. As they crossed Gilo River from Ethiopia, many of them were killed by marauding crocodiles and hippos; some drowned in the rivers or were shot by the Ethiopian militia. Unfortunately as they arrived in Sudan, war was still raging on, so they had to turn their route to Kenya. During the journey, many died of hunger and dehydration or were killed and eaten by lions or vultures. On their journey they had to eat leaves, carcasses of dead animals, and mud (Messina & Messina, 2007). Bixler (2005) quotes Daniel, one of the Lost Boys, as saying:

There was no water and foods, therefore, automatically, we would have died like the rest of colleagues who were dying....The foods we ate during desert include dry skin from cows, sheep, goats, some dry bones of animals no matter what animals is. We don't care in this. Other desert foods include termites, soft mud, and the others I don't know their names (p. 59).

While on the other hand Benjamin is quoted by Deng, Deng, Ajak and Berstein, (2005) as saying:

“when adults peed they drunk their pee” (p.73).

Jones (2007) says,

as many as 2,000 children are believed to have drowned, were shot or eaten by crocodiles as they tried to cross the Gilo River back to Sudan, according to Mapendo International. Once back in their homeland, they remained on the run. Constant bombing forced the children to flee from town to town. More than 10,000 made it to the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya (A success story, ¶ 31).

Most of these Boys contracted diseases associated with dirty water and uncooked foods. The Center for Disease and Prevention (CDC) later tested 466 of the Lost Boys for two diseases: schistosomiasis (Bilharzias) and strongyloidiasis. Half of these Boys tested positive for either of these diseases. These findings prompted the CDC to treat all the Lost Boys and Girls for those diseases (CDC, 2005).

The third phase took them to Kenya. As they approached Kenya in the early 1990s, Red Cross helicopters and planes dropped them supplies of food and water from the air since they could not make safe landings due to raging below. Those who arrived in Kenya Kakuma refugee camp managed to obtain food, shelter and education from international relief agencies such as

the Red Cross and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (Messina and Messina, 2007). During their journey, the Lost Boys walked between 700 to 1,000 miles. Sadly, only half of the original number that began the journey made it to Kenya (Kakuma refugee camps). It was in Kenya that they were sheltered, trained, educated and treated by international agencies such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Red Cross (IRC) and Lutheran Social Services (LSS). Some of the Lost Boys resided in Kenya for ten years prior to resettlement in different U.S. states in 2000. A handful of them were educated in Kenyan curriculum in refugee camps, though conditions of the schools in the refugee camps were appalling. However, Bixler's observations of the Lost Boys are powerful as he noted:

if anger is the permanent condition of life in the camps, getting an education is the constant dream...The Boys devise crude writing implements and scavenge for school supplies as they do for food. During the hardest times, groups of children often select one member to go to class while others hunt for food. After supper they sit around a dying fire and listen avidly as their surrogate recounts the day's lesson (Bixler, 2005, p. 12).

It was here that they were prepared for the long journey into the United States. They were randomly assigned ages by the United Nations if they did not know their exact age and were given January 1 as their date of birth. This was based on their physical appearance when examined in the refugee camps. The intention of randomly assigning them ages was to make them eligible to receive benefits under government programs for unaccompanied minors in the United States (Barry, 2000).

Each environment the Lost Boys encountered offered different challenges and experiences (Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and the United States). However, culturally and socially, these young men grew up together from Sudan as a unique group.

1.1.4 Justification for Resettlement in the United States by the U.S Government

U.S officials justified the resettlement of the Lost Boys for political and socio-cultural reasons.

First, as President George H. W. Bush remarked,

“Our tradition of refugee assistance reflects deep principles and abiding commitment to freedom and self-actualization”(Kitagawa, 1984, p .21)⁴.

Second, it was for Socio-Cultural need, a U.S advocacy organization (Refugees International) cited:

...Most lost boys did not fit the traditional Dinka or Nuer roles of a young man's place in society. Separation from relatives meant they grew up with limited education on cattle herding, the traditional skill that defines men as competent and whole in southern Sudan. The minors also lacked cows or money to pay dowry, so marriage seemed out of question. In addition many had not undergone the ritual scarification that marks a Dinka boy's passage into manhood (Bixler, 2005, p. 85).

1.2 The Research Question for this Study

The Sudanese Lost Boys arrived in the United States in 2000. Some of them currently live in the greater Kansas City area. Nearly a decade later, I wanted to examine their experiences in the Mid-West. The central research question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Have the Lost Boys living in the Kansas City area been integrated and incorporated into mainstream society or have they been marginalized or excluded from that community?

Integration of the Lost Boys in this study was realized through the action of incorporating the Lost Boys' racial and cultural values into the American community. The most important prior work examining the experience of the Lost Boys in America was done by Martin Masumbuko Muhindi and Kiganzi Nyakato in 2002 (funded by the Mellon-MIT Program on NGO's and Forced Migration)⁵. Muhindi and Nyakatos' research was carried out only two years after the resettlement some of the Lost Boys in Boston. Their findings about the integration of the Lost Boys were very interesting. The following were their findings and conclusion.

1.2.1 Research Findings and Conclusion.

After completing their research, Muhindi and Nyakato concluded that in general the Lost Boys had integrated into the U.S society. The authors described them as hard working and adapting fast. Though like any other refugee group in Boston, they faced various resettlement and reintegration challenges, but the authors thought that the Lost Boys were managing the challenges much better than other refugees (Muhindi and Nyakato, 2002). Muhindi and Nyakato explored the reasons behind the Lost Boys rapid integration into mainstream society. They concluded that although the Lost Boys arrived with high expectations of immediately going to school and becoming professionals, the majority of them had adjusted to the reality of first working while saving money for college, which they began upon arrival. Though Muhindi and Nyakato found some Lost Boys marginalized from the main stream society, they came up with an hypothesis which suggested that exclusion or marginalization of the Lost Boys was not due to

poor adjusting, but rather to the initial preparation of the Lost Boys for the resettlement process within the refugee camps followed by better preparations for life once they arrived in the U.S. After interviewing 20 Lost Boys, Muhindi and Nyakato found that some Lost Boys were disappointed to find that they would not be attending school as they expected to do prior to their resettlement in the United States. One Lost Boy said that he had expected to go to school the same day he arrived in the United States. What he did not know was that he was resettled as a refugee and not as a student. It was only after living for fourteen months in Boston that he finally got into school. Other Boys also expected to find people to help them go to school straight away after they arrived. But Muhindi and Nyakato (2002) found that the Lost Boys were disappointed because they had not realized that they needed to raise money so they could pay tuition to go to school. But they kept their desire of going to school alive by postponing school and instead worked to pay bills and saved some money for tuition. Muhindi and Nyakato quoted one Boy as saying, "I see things differently now that I have arrived in the United States. I now know that I can only get education through struggling"(p.9). Another said if he had stayed in Kakuma Camp, he would have attended high school by then, but in Boston he went to work instead. "All I wanted to do was set my mind on school. Yet I am not able to go to school because, if I go, who will take care of my other concerns?" (p. 9). Muhindi and Nyakato also quoted another Boy as saying that he had realized because he was over 18 years old, he had to take care of himself. All he wanted at that time was a permanent job so he could plan his future. He said, he liked it that way since he was in control of his life and could go to school anytime he wanted.

Muhindi and Nyakato (2002) carried out their research only two years after the Lost Boys arrived in Boston; I decided to carry out this study to determine how they are doing nearly a decade after they arrived. Based on my preliminary research, a review of the literature, and conversing with friends and colleagues at Kansas State University and in Kansas City about these Lost Boys, I found that after nine years of resettlement, the Boys with low levels of education and low language proficiency had not integrated and lived for the most part in ethnic enclaves. But the Boys with high levels of education and high levels of language proficiency had integrated into mainstream American society. From these preliminary findings I derived my dissertation hypothesis:

Have the Lost Boys been integrated or incorporated into mainstream Kansas community or have they been marginalized or excluded from that community?

This dissertation tested this hypothesis by conducting interviews with the Lost Boys in the Kansas City area to determine their individual degrees of integration using qualitative and quantitative research methodologies.

Using a snowball sample technique, I identified forty Lost Boys in the Kansas City metropolitan area who agreed to speak with me about their experiences here in the United States. As the first part of my research, I wanted to determine whether they had been integrated or excluded from the Kansas City community.

1.2.2 Measuring Integration of the Lost Boys

Ager and Strangs' (2004) criteria was used to measure the integration of the Lost Boys: whether the refugees were employed, owned or rented houses, had secondary or college degrees, had acquired English language proficiency, participated in community activities such as politics or sports or volunteer activities, had become U.S. citizens, whether they voted, whether they participated in U.S. cultural activities, whether they practiced "animism" (African religions) or "Christian" religions. Muhindi and Nyakato (2002) found through their interviews with the Lost Boys that all twenty participants interviewed possessed Christian first names and Sudanese middle names. Their middle names, they said, were their own names while the third name belonged to their fathers. However, it is important to note that having Christian names do not necessarily mean that all those Boys interviewed by Muhindi and Nyakato were Christians. Most African children are given Christian first names at birth while some get their Christian names when they are baptized or when they convert. All the Boys I interviewed were Christians though some did not actively practice Christianity. I also wanted to find out whether they lived in "segregated" neighborhoods (or enclaves), whether they sponsored other Sudanese immigrants who were trying to come to the United States, and whether they dated or married (Sudanese women, African women, African American women, white American women or others women). The following subsidiary questions helped me ascertain their degree of integration.

1.2.3 Subsidiary Research Question 1

The first subsidiary question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Why did the Lost Boys who were resettled around the United States choose to relocate to Kansas City area?

The agencies responsible for the resettlement of the Lost Boys believed that by spreading the Lost Boys around the United States would integrate them faster into the American society. Ironically, it turned out that separating these Boys did not help them integrate faster; rather separating them increased their stress level in America. The sociological aspect of this study was expected to reveal why it was difficult for individual Lost Boys to integrate rapidly into the mainstream American society. Abbott (1997) explored the practical and emotional impact of separation, that participants in her study of the Tamil refugees in Australia experienced feelings of worry, frustration and helplessness, guilt, hope, disappointment, sadness and isolation. They even had difficulty sleeping and getting focused from financial pressures as a result of supporting family members in their country which was experiencing conflict.

In their empirical research on why East African immigrants moved to live in Kansas City and Missouri, Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006) found that life was more straightforward in the Midwest than in big cities. East African immigrants found that educational opportunities were more readily available and it was possible to raise a family. These opportunities attracted African immigrants from other States and cities to Kansas City area. On the other hand James (1988) argues in his work “*The Racial State Theory*” that the movement of the blacks from the southern States to Kansas represented an escape from the South’s repression towards a free state. After conducting interviews with the Lost Boys, I found out that those Boys who migrated to Kansas did so because of the reasons given by Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz, Hartnett and James as their important motivation.

1.2.4 Subsidiary Research Question 2

The second subsidiary question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Why did a group of immigrants with the same cultural background end up having different experiences in the United States? In other words, why did some integrate and others segregate?

To answer this question, I interviewed Lost Boys and asked them questions enabling me to better determine why some integrated and others segregated. What strategies (such as education) did they develop to improve their living situations? How did foster parents, employers, educations, government agencies, and peers assist them? Would young adults who were required to start working immediately after their resettlement as required by the United States government argue that they did not integrate faster because they did not have equal

opportunities of accessing social utilities like those placed under foster families? What factors lead to marginalization?

I expected to find that education and language acquisition to be extremely important in shaping the outcome (as indicated in Donkors' study, 2008)⁶. Donkor (2008) argues that lack of proficiency in English language led some Lost Boys to socialize with fellow refugees rather than with American because they feared marginalization by the host society. I expected that the Lost Boys who were settled with foster families would have assimilated faster because they would have been more exposed to English language facilitated by interaction and socializing with those families. However, because of the bonds the Lost Boys had amongst themselves during their exodus from within and out of Africa that were so strong; they were not so easily broken by American influence and society, their interaction with other Lost Boys was still maintained.

Most of the Lost Boys who graduated from high school in the United States continued their education in collegiate environment. Those with college education increased their competitiveness against American colleagues in the job market, increasing their chances of economic success. Citizenship Acquisition was also advantageous in that it granted equal access to federal assistance that helped them to pay for college. The Boys who had not acquired English proficiency had problems finding employment and interacting socially. This also had an impact on their academic achievement because it often delayed their completion of college programs and lowered their self-esteem. Acquiring English language proficiency determined the degree of interaction between the Lost Boys and the dominant host American society. However, lack of proficiency in the English language was not seen as a measure of lack of integration, but provided the advantage of integrating and being accepted faster into the mainstream society.

1.2.5 Criteria used to Measure Segregation/Marginalization

The criteria used to measure exclusion/marginalization in this study was by investigating if the U.S. host populations in Kansas City perceived the Lost Boys as unwilling to embrace aspects of the mainstream culture of the host society (e.g. the Lost Boys living together in spatially concentrated ethnic communities could enhance this). Second, if elements in social welfare, educational and other relevant policies excluded the Lost Boys from accessing social utilities such as health care and education. Third, if the labor market discriminated against the Lost Boys by non-recognition of their qualifications from Africa (if the Lost Boys had been

excluded from some jobs on the basis of their cultural background rather than their qualifications and experience). Fourth, if citizenship guidelines restricted the Lost Boys from becoming U.S. citizens. Fifth, if the Lost Boys had experienced racism and discrimination at places of work or residencies. Sixth, if the Lost Boys culture was recognized by American society. These should be seen as basic rights for individuals in any society.

1.2.6 Subsidiary Research Question 3

The third subsidiary question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Have some Lost Boys assimilated/Americanized especially those that were determined to be minors by the United States government and subsequently placed under foster families?

Assimilation process in this dissertation was realized through the process of acquiring social capital values in the United States (see Figure 9-4). Most of the Lost Boys who arrived in the United States under eighteen years of age (classified) as minors under the US laws were placed under foster families. After nearly a decade, most of them are now young adults.

Colman (1990) expected that the Lost Boys who were placed in foster families to assimilate quickly into American society because their foster parents would facilitate their integration. He argued that family norms would be passed from parents and families to children who accepted them as a relatively normal part of their life. He expected that the Boys who were placed in foster families would learn American norms and sanctions faster than those that were over eighteen years and were living on their own. In his later work, *Sociology of Education* (1992), Colman says that parental care is enforced by strict, traditional values, rigorous discipline, and hierarchical order, relative to children.

This dissertation tested the extent of assimilation of the Lost Boys into the American society in Kansas City area by using four core benchmarks or indicators of assimilation discussed below.

There are four benchmarks typically used to study immigrant assimilation: 1. Socio-economic status; 2. Language proficiency; 3. Spatial concentration; 4. Intermarriage. Waters, and Tomás (2005), Mark and White, (2005), and Pagnini, and Morgan (1990) used these benchmarks to explore the assimilation process of European immigrants. Their analyses yielded the following benchmarks:

1. Socioeconomic status was realized via academic achievement, work, and income. Where socioeconomic status was used as a measure to find whether immigrants were able to

catch up with natives by looking at the rates of human capital and employment. However, in their study of immigrants (Bauer, Thomas K., Lofstrom, Magnus, Zimmerman, Kalus F, 2001) found that those economic immigrants selected according to their skills and not as refugees were more likely to assimilate and reach earnings parity with natives more quickly. Further individuals who migrated for economic reasons and as permanent migrants were expected to assimilate faster than non-economic and transitory migrants because they already had education and language proficiency (professionals) from their original countries.

2. Language is a key indicator of assimilation. They argued that language proficiency was realized through the ability to both speak and write English. Eventually, most immigrants became fluent English speakers.
3. Increased socioeconomic status, more time in the U.S, and higher generational status lead to decreases in concentrations of immigrant groups in ethnic or racial enclaves. Getting out of enclaves allowed children of immigrants to receive valuable social resources: education and social amenities allowed them to rise from a low social class to a high one.
4. High rates of intermarriages were signs of social assimilation as they indicated good relationships between immigrants and natives whereby intermarriages reduced the ability of families passing only one ethnic culture to their children. In this way their children were exposed to multiple cultures.

Other indicators of assimilation include homeownership, religious expression, and involvement and acquisition of citizenship.

In his book *"Immigrants and the American Dream Remarking the Middle Class,"* Clark (2003) asserted that owning a home was an indicator of assimilation. He argued this was a sign of becoming part of a neighborhood and thus society and an individual who owned a home became involved in the daily activities of that society.

Religion is also an indicator of assimilation. Salins (1997) said there were many reasons to become religious or change one's religion. First, are spiritual, and practical reasons (e.g. marrying a person of another faith), second, there is opportunity for materialistic gain (e.g. joining some churches can lead to jobs or subsidized housing). Once an individual or a group converts, they are then welcomed into the fellowship of believers. As Salins puts, they become part of "us" rather than "them." Religious groups assist immigrants, easing their transitions to

American life, and helped them participate in wider social networks. It was clear from my preliminary research that the church supported the Lost Boys in different ways, as will be discussed in chapter four.

The American political structure has also promoted assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream society. Salins (1997) argues that assimilation into American society was based upon four fundamental aspects: The liberal universalist ideas embedded in the U.S. Constitution; the universal commitment to an economy built on market capitalism; the density and political, religious, social/economic, and finally a society-wide characterized with modernity and progress. Salins theorizes that the American political structure enhances assimilation by preventing acts of discrimination against immigrants and ethnic minorities, whereby immigrants are granted civil legitimacy. This is done through acquiring formal societal membership through the granting of citizenship to immigrants after a brief stay in the United States. Naturalization and citizenship form one of the most significant indicators of assimilation. The process of naturalization and citizenship shows not only the number of immigrants accepted to join the American mainstream society but also the process of incorporation itself. Many of the Lost Boys have now acquired either permanent residency or U.S. citizenship by being naturalized.

1.2.7 Subsidiary Research Question 4

The fourth subsidiary question investigated in this dissertation was this:

What factors and developments shape the Lost Boys' experiences in America?

To answer this question, I interviewed the Lost Boys, asking them questions to enable me to determine how they utilized the social capital available to them, and how they compensated for any lack in social capital. Who were they planning to marry? This was a problem because they were not accompanied by many Sudanese girls. Did they plan to marry Sudanese Girls or girls from other ethnic/racial groups? If they were going to marry Sudanese Girls, how were they going to meet them?

The Lost Boys experiences in America are shaped by a series of events, environment and people they came into contact with. They also relied on spiritual guidance when they did not have immediate answers to their problems. According to Duncan (2001), the Lost Boys relied upon a few major protective tools as they started their exodus to be resettled in the United States. These tools included belief in God for (psychological stress); a desire to acquire an education to

empower themselves, and desire to be helpful to society maybe key. These desires are also held by most Americans. Duncan noted in his report prepared for UNHCR that the Lost Boys appreciated the kindness of strangers. This has helped them adjust to the American society. They approached interactions with strangers with openness and trust, which led to the creation of positive interactions. They looked forward to be contributing members of society in positive ways and did not seek revenge for their suffering. Religious belief gave them a framework which helped them evaluate their past experiences. Religious institutions in the United States have provided the Lost Boys with support they did not get from their parents. Therefore their experiences were shaped by religion which provided them with spiritual, social, physical and material capital though other government agencies provided for their safety, protection and employment. Religion also provided an avenue under which the Lost Boys met and interacted with other ethnic and racial groups. Some Boys met their wives through religious organizations. Participating in religious activities gave them the ability to connect and integrate with a wider population and to seek solace in religion. On the other hand, educational achievement gave them a sense of self-worth and belonging as they realize their long term dreams which they nearly lost in Africa. Indeed, their desire to become contributors to society in the future greatly airs their ability to be focused on future success and development.

1.2.8 Subsidiary Research Question: 5

The fifth subsidiary question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Did the fact that the Lost Boys did not go through customary African rituals (scarification, removal of teeth) assist them in America?

The culture of the Dinka, Nuer, and other southern Sudan groups has changed over time as a result of long periods of war, leading to these groups migrating and assimilating with other cultures. The Lost Boys did not follow traditional ways of their tribes because they were separated from their parents and relatives. In this case, they developed coping responses (resilience) as they took their journey in the wilderness and while they lived in refugee camps. The culture of the Lost Boys is noticeably different from youths in their traditional cultures. Duncan (2005) says that the Lost Boys seemed to be more aware of their “rights” and decided not to participate in tribal rituals of manhood. Although they respected their elders, hardships they faced trained the Lost Boys to think for themselves unlike being in parental and communal

care. This was a kind of social capital that helped them to adjust to a new, U.S. culture. Ironically, the traditional conservative Sudanese elders will be expected to be uncomfortable with this since they are strong believers in Sudanese traditions/culture and keep their practice.

1.2.9 The Dinka Ritual

Bixler (2005) provided Francis Dengs' description of the Dinka initiation rituals as "the bloodiest and most painful operation...deep ...cuts are made on young men's forehead" (p.85). They also had their lower teeth removed. Dengs explained that this was usually done to young Dinka Boys (under the age of ten). The elders claim this was done to reduce much pain, before they became young adults. It is usually done by an elder using a fishing spear. The tip of the spear is placed between the teeth and pushed back and front to loosen the roots of the teeth and to get them out of the gum (p.197). Eventually the tip is then pushed into the roots and the whole tooth comes out. The elders say that pulling out the lower teeth makes the young men look more handsome. Some Americans think that those boys who have no teeth have some disease in the mouth. Sadly, the Lost Boys in the United States soon realized that Americans without teeth were often the poor and unintelligent (p.197). Most of the Lost Boys in the United States had not undergone these initiations because they were young and away from home when the war started.

1.2.10 Their Community Identity

According to Radda Barnen (1994), communal identity is a core feature in southern Sudanese culture. The Lost Boys were aware of extensive kinship networks. The southern Sudanese Boys have a tradition of communal living and take responsibility for each other. They were taught this at a very early age because they had to leave their families for long periods to tend cattle far away from home, searching for grazing fields. Because they also confronted raging war, the Boys were taught to expect hard times and told to take care of those younger than them. Immigrants often help each other when they move to a foreign country, and the Lost Boys are no exception.

CHAPTER 2 - Justification for this Study

2.1 Introduction

I decided to carry out this demographic/ethnographic study on the Lost Boys rather than the Lost Girls given that the vast majorities of Girls remained behind with their parents or were killed when the Lost Boys started their exodus from Sudan and some were captured and taken as slaves by warring factions. A few Lost Girls made it to refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya. Most of these Girls depended on foster families for their upkeep and protection while the Lost Boys depended on their peers who acted as their surrogate family in refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya. Thereafter, a small number of Lost Girls migrated to the United States. I will highlight later the plight of the Lost Girls of Sudan.

2.2 A Brief Comparative Study of the Lost Boys in Kenya, Australia, and U.S.

2.2.1 Introduction

While some Lost Boys were sent to refugee camps in Egypt, the vast majority were sent to Kenyan refugee camps, where some still remain, while others were resettled in foreign countries. This story remains focused on the Lost Boys that were resettled in the United States, with consideration given to Australian based lost Boys in the discussion below.

2.2.2 Kenya

Sudanese refugees in Kenya feel more at home due to cultural and geographic linkages and similarities. Browne (2006) points out that Kenya has received Sudanese refugees for many years. The cultural, political, and historical links between Kenya and Sudan exert major influence, dating back to British colonial rule up to the present in which both countries are members of the commonwealth (An intergovernmental organization formed by fifty four former British colonies). On the other hand, refugees who were resettled in the United States have adjusted and assimilated faster (i.e. integrate into the mainstream society) in part because the United States has a history of Africans from slaves to economic immigrants and refugees. A lot has also been written about African refugees who live in the United States. In the past, the United States has admitted refugees from war torn countries in Africa: Angola, Mozambique,

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Somalia, and Sudan. The United States also has a long experience of admitting minors and much has been written about unaccompanied minors: Cuba, Haiti, and Sudan (ORR, 2003).

2.2.3 Australia

According to Brown (2006) Australia was one of the countries recommended by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to resettle refugees. Coleman (2007) estimated that there are 22,000 Sudanese refugees living in Australia. Cassity⁷ and Gow⁸ (2005) report that about 400 southern Sudanese refugees arrived in Launceton in 2002, where a large number now live in Coifs Harbor. Amongst this group were some Lost Boys and Girls from Sudan (Tarczynski, 2007). Refugees, who arrived in Australia exhibited trauma stemming from civil wars, torture, rape, family separation, and social breakdown, just like those lost children who arrived in the United States in early 2000. It is even harder for the Australian community to accept African refugees because Australians are unfamiliar with African history. An observation made by Beattie and Ward (1997), Gow (2002) and Udo-Ekpo (1999) contend that there is a lack of major studies dealing with African refugees in Australia and none on unaccompanied minors resettled in Australia. They each conclude that, child specialists and educators lack the necessary skills to assist unaccompanied minors. Malual (2004) adds that while youth stage a major transitional period of life in Australian society, it is the opposite in Sudan because youths get initiated into adulthood at the age of twelve years while they are still very young and are expected to take communal responsibilities. In Australia, this stage is usually accompanied by the Western affluent lifestyle of leisure which greatly contrasts that of the lifestyles known by the Lost Boys' prior to their arrival in Australia. In Sudan, youths are generally viewed as a source of labor for the family and formal education is not given serious priority. This greatly contrasts with Australian culture, making it harder for the two groups to live in mutual trust. Lindsay Turner, who is a Federal Opposition Labor (FOL) representative from Melbourne and the spokesperson for the Federal Labor's Finance Department, urged the Australian community to help make the Lost Boys feel at home (Herald Sun, March 6, 2007).

The Lost Boys in Australia found that they had to combine school with domestic and family responsibilities. Additionally, they also retain moral obligations to their extended family members back in Africa. Coming from Sudanese society where they worked and stayed with

peers, the Lost Boys in Australia have often experienced loneliness and fear. Fancy (2004) quotes one of the Lost Boys, Jur Mamer, saying,

“Some are so young and inexperienced that they can’t even cope with things like paying bills. Without parental influence, they don’t have the discipline required to lead a successful life.”(Fancy, 2004, *The Lost Boys* ¶11).

A remarkable attribute that has helped the Lost Boys adjust in Australia is refugee policy. According to Browne (2006) in 1973 Australia expanded its definition of a “refugee” to include other refugees from the rest of the world. Previously, Australia only admitted European refugees. Like in the United States, many of the Lost Boys have changed their status from being refugees to be Australian citizens which have enabled them to enjoy the benefits of being a citizen like any other Australian. The director of the Lost Boys of Sudan Association of Australia, Akoc Manheim, says,

“There are no words to truly express how it feels for the stateless person to receive the privilege of citizenship in a country like Australia. It is a gift from God of priceless value” (Manheim, 2007, *Leader of the ‘Lost Boys’* ¶ 1).

To Manheim and other Lost Boys in Australia, acquiring Australian citizenship is a gift of great value, especially for those from war-torn countries.

A remarkable feature about the Lost Boys in the United States and in Australia is that they understand the value of education. They are eager to get educated, a tool that will not only help them in the United States or Australia but also in Sudan once they decide to return home. Through interaction with other students in the United States and Australia, the Lost Boys have learned that “education is power,” they have worked hard in schools and colleges to achieve higher education.

2.2.4 United States

In the United States, the Lost Boys who were resettled in California received mixed reactions from the locals. The locals saw the Lost Boys as a source of trouble in the neighborhood that they lived. This is illustrated by Brianna Higgins, a job developer for the International Rescue Committee:

“We thought it was going to be chaos when they got here, these men never had any parents. They’re all going to get into drugs. They’re going to be wild; it’s going to be ‘Lord of the Flies!’” (Weddle, 2003, p. 5)

But, the Lost Boys proved him wrong as they were polite, cordial and smiled easily.

“Everyone who meets them falls in love with them right away,” says Higgins. “They’re honest, they’re clean, they’re upstanding, dedicated and very, very caring about everybody. They’ve been able to maintain this purity and innocence that glows. It’s a strong testament to the human spirit” (Weddle, 2003, p. 5).

The International Rescue Committee, which was in charge of their welfare when they arrived was also surprised by their English skills and their level of education. After nine years in Kakuma refugee schools, most of the Boys were highly skilled in mathematics, well-versed in science, and spoke three or four languages.

2.2.5 Summary

One notable difference between the United States and Australia is that the Australian government has raised serious concerns about the Sudanese refugees and threatened to reduce the number of the Sudanese refugees the country will admit, the reason being that many African refugees had failed to assimilate into the local communities. Government officials cite low education and long stays in refugee camps as factors hindering adjustment and integration. Growing concerns have also arisen concerning Sudanese youth gangs and drunk drivers (AFP, Feb. 4, 2007).

2.3 Profile of the Lost Boys

The Lost Boys of Sudan are primarily refugees from southern Sudan (Dinka and Nuer cultures). They are a very social group, given that they were raised in rural areas of Sudan where they worked as pastoralists/herders, spoke the same language, belonged to the same ethnic group, practiced the same religion, were young Boys with similar economic status, and had little formal education. However, it is important to note that some Lost Girls made the arduous journey as well.

In the late 1980’s, more than 33,000 Boys and Girls were forced from their homes due to outbreaks of violence in southern Sudan (Messina and Messina, 2007)⁹. Their story is not only sad, but also important in understanding the psychological and sociological impact on these young men as they made their way to the United States. Changes in environment, climate, and social surroundings strongly impacted their lives before resettling in the United States. Their caravan was equivalent to the biblical exodus. The first leg of their journey found them walking

hundreds of miles, fleeing civil war in their country to arrive in Ethiopia and experiencing extreme hardships along the way. Those that were ten years and older were seen as elders and were responsible for dealing with emergencies, helping or carrying the younger boys once they got tired or sick and carrying their baggage. The older Boys become surrogate parents for the younger ones. They took care of each other's health, bound each other's wounds, and shared food and water. At times they had to bury the dead or watch vultures feed on their dead sojourners:

In the days after we crossed the River Nile, water became precious. It was the dry season: The grasses were brown and the rivers dry with dust. Nearly all the animals were gone except lions, snakes and the vultures that always hovered above, waiting. If you sat in the grass to rest, they thought you were dying and they'd come down and sit close by because they were used to finding corpses in the grass... We walked without water and food... When I wanted to forget walking and sit down, someone would say, carry on. I can hear a cock crowing from the next village. I'd force my eyes wide open but all I could see were little boys like me, only heads and hips, staggering along (Deng, Deng, Ajak and Berstein, 2005, p. 75).

Many of the Boys had no shoes or clothing, and some were as young as four years old. Research carried out by Early (1996) indicates that these Boys kept going for many days and weeks only to realize that they could not return home soon or see their families again.

When the International Red Cross found them, they named them the "Lost Boys" after the characters from the Peter Pan story because they were unaccompanied by their parents when they arrived in Kenya, the phrase Lost Boys was used to identify those who did not know where their parents or families were. However, Sadiq al Mahdi, the prime minister of Sudan at that time, wanted them to be called "Peace Boys" and not "Lost Boys" (Bixler 2005, p. 141). Many of the Boys did not know how old they were and were assigned ages by the United States government to facilitate their resettlement process (Messina and Messina, 2007). Commonly the Sudanese Lost Boys refer to themselves as "boys" regardless of their age.

2.3.1 How different are the Lost Boys?

Incredibly, the Lost Boys quickly adapted to harsh conditions, threats from animals, and the Sudanese army as they began their journey. Many of them were very young when they began their journey. They walked for long distances under very harsh conditions without food, water, and medicine. Those who made it to safety managed to escape from the Sudanese army who

attacked them using planes and bombing them from the air. They were not accompanied by adults who could guide them on their journey in the wilderness, nor did they have maps or compasses to give them direction. Their parents had remained in the villages while the Boys were out in the fields tending after cattle when war broke. For a long time the Lost Boys did not know the fate of their parents and families as they kept going on their journey. The communal relationship among these Boys which functioned in a way that reflected care and obligation was crucial throughout their exodus. This sense of communal relationship brings out an intricate relationship and peer responsibility which in the end creates solidarity among the Lost Boys. In general, this behavior is the cornerstone out of which the Lost Boys acquired both internal and external well-being that is not common among other refugee populations. This behavior has helped in a particular and positive manner throughout their exodus and final resettlement in the United States; how the Lost Boys found their way from Sudan to Ethiopian refugee camp, back to Sudan, and finally to Kenya is in itself an amazing feat of human survival.

Secondly,

“most refugees who came to the United States were met without fanfare because they arrived individually. Most refugees arrive in the United States to reunite with families already in the United States” (Bixler, 2005 p. 104).

But the Lost Boys had no families, relatives, or friends’ waiting for them; instead the United States government and relief agencies were responsible for their care.

2.3.2 A gendered movement

The Lost Boys movement is not the first largely male exodus to the United States. According to Carter and Sutch (1996), many past migrations to the United States have been gendered. For example, most Vietnamese migrants to the United States after the War in Vietnam ended were men; most of the Holocaust survivors admitted to the U. S. after WWII were men, and so on. So the fact that the Lost Boys’ migration to the United States was gendered was not a new occurrence. The Lost Boys were not accompanied by most of the Lost Girls to the United States who had accompanied them during their journey in Africa because the Sudanese culture does not allow women to live alone (Wal, 2004). According to Chanoff (2004) girls were usually in the villages with their parents when the civil war started and most of these girls were either killed or kidnapped by the enemy. Jones (2007) quotes one Lost Girl Riak as saying,

"They think that war only affected the men," she says. "They do have sisters. ... We do exist" ('Lost' in Sudan's violence, she's found hope in USA, ¶ 13).

Riak goes on to say,

“often when people learn that she is from Sudan, she says, they ask whether she knows the "lost boys." They are surprised to know that she is part of their group ('Lost' in Sudan's violence, she's found hope in USA, ¶ 12).

2.3.3 The Sudanese Lost Girls

The Lost Girls who managed to accompany the Lost Boys had the same experiences during the exodus, but had different fates in store. According to Matheson (2002),

“although an estimated 3,000 Girls arrived in Kakuma in 1992, most have simply vanished from official records” (New Start, ¶ 13).

Jones (2007) says,

many of the girls vanished into the fabric of camp life because cultural tradition dictated that they live with surrogate families. Most of the boys lived together in large groups. Some resettlement officials say that they initially were unaware that there were girls in the camp who had endured the same experiences as the boys (A success story, ¶ 32).

The resettlement procedures that were applied in the refugee camps were very subjective in terms of gender. As the Lost Boys arrived in the refugee camp, three to five Boys were allocated a hut in which they lived with one adult loosely taking care of them. The unaccompanied girls were immediately assigned foster families in the camp who limited their freedom and mobility. The foster families were given the responsibility to care for them and the Sudanese culture allocates special duties to females like cooking and cleaning their homes and often denies them access to education (Wal, 2004). Jones (2007) quotes Julianne Duncan, who traveled to the camp in 2000 for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees as saying about the Sudanese girls,

“they had somewhat disappeared into the general refugee population, so they were less easy to identify as needing attention and services” (A success story, ¶ 33).

When they became young adults, they were often sold off for marriage in return for a dowry, a practice highly valued by Sudanese elders as Jones goes on to say,

girls, traditionally married off as teens, also were a source of wealth, with the groom's family required to offer a dowry. Resettlement officials say that some

surrogate families forced girls to marry against their will, and such concerns also factored into why so few young women initially were resettled (Girls' situation more complex, ¶ 35)

2.3.4 The United Nations Policies and the Lost Girls

As selection began for resettlement in the United States in the early 1990s, most of the Lost Girls who lived in the camp had no access to the resettlement program; only about 89 Lost Girls managed to be selected for resettlement in the United States (Edgerton, 2002). Further, the United States government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) seemed less concerned about the plight of the Sudanese Lost Girls for a multitude of reasons (Chanoff, 2004). Bureaucratic obstacles in the United Nations prevented the tragedy of the Lost Girls from being adequately addressed. From the United Nations to the United States government, these Girls were totally given a blackout, though theirs is also a tragic story to be told. Rather than resettle them into third countries, the United Nations decided to place orphaned Lost Girls with foster families in refugee camps in accordance with U.N. policies. The U.N. policies did not qualify these Girls for resettlement as ‘unaccompanied minors’ DeLuca (2008) explains that such placement left no room for these Girls to maneuver as they were under strict surveillance,

“foster placement often amounted to indentured servitude. Moreover, foster parents frequently pushed girls into marriage so the foster family would receive bride-wealth - cash and cattle - from the groom” (Lost Girls of Sudan, ¶ 4)¹⁰.

According to Debra DeLaet, (Professor of Politics and International Relations at Drake University), the United Nations has no clause in its convention to protect the rights of women as refugees. The definition of a refugee in the U. N. charter states is just a general one which states:

“A refugee is anyone outside his or her country who has a ‘well-founded’ fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.”(UN, 1951, Article 1, A2).

This definition does not include gender discrimination and persecution, and therefore excluded women fleeing from violence they suffer because they are women, be it rape, “honor” killings, or genital mutilation.

2.3.5 The United States Policies and the Lost Girls

Like the United Nations, gender stereotyping shaped the United States refugee policies when refugee resettlement program commenced. The Lost Girls were treated as dependents in the refugee camp and very few of them were allowed to attend schools in the refugee camps yet the Lost Boys attended school and were treated as autonomous, therefore qualifying for resettlement. Further, the Boys were given preferential treatment because the Sudanese army had targeted them as potential enemy combatants, therefore it was ‘necessary’ for the Sudanese army to capture or kill them in order for the war with the south to end in the future since the southerners would lack manpower to fight. Jones (2007) quotes Larry Yungk, senior resettlement officer for the UNHCR in Washington as saying,

the State Department and the U.N. group contended that the boys were potential targets for forcible recruitment by rebel forces. "The reason for the resettlement (of the boys) was the vulnerability in the camp, particularly in this group setting, though he added that eventually workers sought girls for resettlement as well (Girls' situation more complex, ¶ 34)

Deluca (2008) says that, fortunately, some of the Girls managed to escape from the refugee camps in Kakuma and made their way to Nairobi, Kenya. There they were housed by the Dominican-managed shelters and were assisted in getting an education. They earned money to pay for their fare from Kakuma to Nairobi by selling handcraft. On their way to Nairobi they had to face hostile Turkana warriors and rough desert conditions. Also, they had to pay money to Kenyan police who demanded bribes to let them pass. A few girls who managed to make it to Nairobi were eventually accepted for resettlement in the United States (Lost Girls of Sudan, ¶ 5). Jones (quotes Peter Eisenhauer, spokesman for the State Department’s Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration saying,

“With the girls’ situations so much more complex, we agreed with UNHCR that each should be considered and referred individually,” He says some resettlement officials also did not want to separate girls who had bonded with their foster families” (Girls’ situation more complex, 36)

The Lost Girls who were resettled in the United States faced challenges like the Lost Boys as they integrated and assimilated into the American mainstream society. Jones (2007) explains,

“The girls have also had some distinct challenges. Many arrived with less education than the boys and little or no ability to speak English” (A plan to return, ¶ 42).

Further,

“Like many of the refugee boys, the girls who have come to the USA have slowly adjusted to life here, vigorously pursuing higher education, raising families and working to support themselves and often others back home (A plan to return, ¶ 38).

Like the Lost Boys, the Lost Girls have worked hard towards achieving their dreams. They have hoped for a better tomorrow and have shown their desire and spirit of working hard. Moreover they have been inspired by the Lost Boys in many cases.

CHAPTER 3 - Literature Review

3.1 Lost and Found: The Sudanese Lost Boys in the United States

3.1.2 Introduction

According to Bixler (2005), the United States has resettled unaccompanied minors before, including minors from Indochina in the 1960s and 1970s following conflicts there. The United States also accepted 14,000 unaccompanied minors from Cuba in the 1960s through a program called “Operation Peter Pan,” a program carried out by the State Department and assisted by the Catholic Church. Most of these minors, ranging in age from five to eighteen years, were sent to the United States by their parents fearing their children would be indoctrinated in communist schools (p.90). It is important to note that unlike the Lost Boys of Sudan, these Cuban minors arrived in the United States even though their family members were still alive. Additionally, they had not undergone any traumatic period. Officially, there are no other refugee groups that have been resettled in the United States and undergone similar circumstances as the Lost Boys. In 2010 the United States also resettled 53 Haitian orphaned “lost children” following a devastating earthquake in that country (New York Times, 01/19).

3.1.3 New Life, More Challenges and Culture Shocks

In the late 1990s, the Lost Boys learned that they could be resettled in the United States. Bixler (2005) says that first priority for resettlement was given to those Boys whose parents had died or whose whereabouts were unknown. Interviews were conducted with about 3,800 Lost Boys and the first 135 Boys left for the United States in November 2000. The recruitment exercise was supposed to go on for the rest of the Lost Boys, but was brought to halt by the terrorist attacks on the United States in September, 2001. Bixler (2005) says,

“about 100 of the 3,800 Boys were still waiting to be interviewed after 9/11” (p.133)

The United States had rarely resettled minors who were unaccompanied by parents or close relatives. A guidebook called “Welcome to the United States” was provided to those who had been cleared to relocate to the United States. The guidebook provided important instructions and key roles that the Lost Boys had to play once they landed in the United States; among the tasks was the need to be self-reliant, responsible as an individual and not as a group,

...You will be expected to go to work as soon as you can find a job and begin to support yourself and family.... As a refugee, you may have lost nearly everything, but in the U.S. you are offered a chance to start over again and rebuild your life. Starting over may not be easy but can be done (Bixler, 2005 p. 14).

In Africa, the Lost Boys were taken care of either by their peers or volunteers in refugee camps. In the United States, they fend for themselves. They were also told how important it was to shake hands with the people they met in interviews. They were told they might be fired if they did not maintain high cleanliness if they had body odor (some companies fired some refugees because of body odor and so they were advised to use deodorants daily), or missed work. They were told to learn to speak good English and to work hard. Bixler (2005) notes that while the United States government paid for the air tickets, the Lost Boys were expected to pay back the air tickets after securing employment.

The Lost Boys were also briefed about what to expect once they landed in the United States. They were warned of severe cold temperatures in the United States; the U. S. climate, which changes from one season to another but also challenging to newcomers like the Lost Boys. Most parts of Africa don't experience seasonal changes. Dau attests, a teacher who was preparing them for their journey had to carry out a mock demonstration about the United States weather in the winter by using ice cubes saying;

I will show you how cold it gets in America. He reached into a box and pulled out something that looked like a piece of glass, only rounded like a river rock. 'Feel this,' he said and he placed it in my hand. It felt so cold, yet it seemed to burn. 'Crush it,' he said. I tried to close my hand, but I could not crush it. 'That is water.' It gets so cold in America that water sometimes turns hard (Dau. 2007, p. 164).

The first batch of Lost Boys flew from Africa during the day and arrived in the United States at night (see Appendix D for the states they were resettled). Their surprises and culture shocks just began as they prepared to land in the United States. This was expected, given the nature of their migration and cultural differences with the United States. They could not believe what they saw when they looked outside the plane window. Dau recalled,

I looked out the window and saw rivers and oceans of light below me. I didn't believe these could be that light below me. I didn't believe there could be that much electricity in one place, so I figured the country must be full of forests, and all of them on fire (Dau. 2007, p. 181).

When they left the airport, they discovered that all the highways in America were lit all night.

“...Why did Americans put up lights in the middle of nowhere, where nobody lived, where cars had their own headlights? It seemed wasteful”(Dau, 2007, p. 189).

The Lost Boys had not seen so much light at night. It was all dark in southern Sudan at night because they did not have street lights. A small number of wealthy people could afford electricity in their homes. Ironically, the Lost Boys did not realize at that time that in the United States electricity was not just a luxury, but a necessity.

Yet this was only a preview of advanced technology in America. The Lost Boys were amazed by the complex lifestyle and technology they encountered. The Lost Boys faced other challenges. They had to learn how to use basic bathroom facilities. In Sudan, the Lost Boys did not have flushing bathrooms. Instead they used latrines. One Lost Boy recalled,

At La Guardia, I had to urinate. I asked somebody where I could do that. He did not understand me. I tried again, ‘Where is the latrine?’ I asked. He still did not understand me, but the man standing next to him said, ‘He wants the bathroom.’ They showed me where to go (Dau. 2007, p. 181).

As they prepared to leave the airport and go to the apartments prepared for them, something unexpected happened. The taxi driver who was to drive them to their assigned apartments was white. This shocked them as they had never thought that a white man would drive a black man.

He took me and the other Boys to a van outside, and we got in. Then he did a very strange thing. He got behind the wheel. In Africa, a white man never drove a car, or at least I had never seen a white man drive. That was a job of a poor man (Dau., 2007, p.181).

3.1.4 Their Expectations after Resettlement in the United States

According to Muhindi and Nyakato (2002), the Lost Boys expected to find a safe environment in the United States in which they could move freely, express themselves without fear, and realize their dreams of education and professional careers. They hoped to get well paying jobs and remitte money back home. The U.S. government and the Red Cross hoped to resettle the Lost Boys in the United States so they could get an education and also heal from extremely severe trauma (Bixler, 2005).

While in Sudan, most of the Lost Boys received little or no education because they were mostly sent out by their parents to look for grazing land for family cattle which are highly valued

in Sudanese culture. For most of them education was a way of moving forward and growing into adulthood. In the traditional Sudanese culture, adulthood meant marrying, but they needed dowry before they could get married. Since the Lost Boys had no families to provide them with dowry, the only way to acquire dowry was by getting an education and finding a job so they could earn money for dowry. But after resettling in the United States, most of them found it difficult to work two to three jobs and go to school to further their formal education or simply to learn English. Further, Omondi (2000) of the Daily Nation said that the Lost Boys were required to repay back the expenses incurred during their resettlement program, including medical screening, air fare, cultural induction, video shows, counseling, clothing, food, and accommodation. They had to fill in special forms that committed them to repay their expenses after they found jobs.

3.1.5 Daily Household Duties

After arriving at their apartments, each of the Lost Boys was given his own bedroom. In Sudan and Kenya they used to share rooms. They learned later that in the United States each person had their own bedrooms even, “Dogs have their own bedrooms,” (Bixler, 2005 p. 31). They were amazed to find that dogs were washed and cleaned like babies. In Africa, dogs are not given much attention and are not allowed to live in people’s houses. They are kept outside, used as security guards, and are fed mostly on the remains of human food as Dau attests,

My family had dogs in Duk Payuel, we gave them a little food from our dinner. If I wanted to feed the dog, I put a scoop of boiled maize on the floor and continued eating. My dog knew to wait until I had finished and left the room before advancing to eat what I had given him.....while in America dogs had special meals prepared for them (Dau, 2007, p. 196)

Life in the apartments was also amazing. Many of them had no idea how to work a doorknob, use a refrigerator, or turn on an electric switch. They also found out that they did not need to use brooms to clean their apartments, but there were special machines that could do that job. This was demonstrated to them by a caretaker named Dee,

they stood and stared at the dog hair and rice as Dee flicked on the vacuum cleaner and moved it back and forth. The rice and hair on the floor vanished. Jacob and his roommates laughed...who among them could have imagined, having spent their lives walking on a ground of dust and dirt, that they would one day live in a building where the floors were covered with fabric and that they would sweep an electric machine over that fabric to make dog hair and rice disappear? (Bixler, 2005, p. 33).

3.1.6 Education

Education and securing employment was very important to the Lost Boys. In the United States, education was the foundation for a good life. In southern Sudan education was not given such a high priority:

Yet the few southerners who attended the schools, mostly boys, learned to read and write and gradually realized how backward they were in comparison to other cultures. They saw that lack of education put them at a political disadvantage compared with the northerners. Indeed education was a form of social capital that not only empowered one but also placed one in a social status in society. Some came to appreciate the value of modern medicine over traditional remedies (Bixler, 2005, p. 47).

They discovered that the learning facilities in Sudan and Kenyan refugee camps could not equal those that were in the United States. U. S. schools were well equipped with buildings that had electricity and computers. Peter, one of the Lost Boy is quoted by Bixler as saying,

“The typewriter held magical appeal. Here was an instrument of the written word, a machine for the educated. It thrilled Peter to imagine his Dinka friends in Kakuma knowing he had a typewriter” (Bixler, 2005, p. 34).

Since their resettlement, most Lost Boys had progressed in their education. Many of them were in prestigious colleges and universities, while some were holding important government positions and had acquired American citizenship (see Figure 3.1). The Lost Boys employment, education and American citizenship will be discussed in detail in the research findings.

Figure 3-1 Gabriel Deng, left, and Daniel Geu from Co. C 2/46th Inf. both started out in Sudan, but found their way to the United States and then to the Leader's Training Course.



Source: DUNJA ZDERO: <http://www.usaac.army.mil/acce/eleaderstories/sudan.html>

3.1.7 Gender and Work

Gender equality and duties were bigger challenges for the Lost Boys. In Sudan, duties are defined by gender. There is work that men can do which women are not allowed to do, and vice versa. In Sudan, for example, men are neither allowed to cook nor do kitchen work; that is work meant for women. Bixler (2005) notes that one of the Lost Boys refused to work in a cafeteria on the grounds that it was a women's work. They learned that in the United States both men and women could perform the same duties because there is better gender equality in the U. S. It shocked the Lost Boys that in the United States women can perform the same tasks that men do. Further, women owned and drove their own cars. Dau asked one of the female officers who came to receive them whose car she was driving. She replied that she owned the car.

“Two shocks: that a woman would drive, which I had never seen in Africa, and that she personally owned the car, Dau recalled” (Dau, 2007, p. 187).

Many of the Lost Boys eventually bought cars so they could get to work and schools faster. They never imagined that they would drive, because in Sudan cars were used by only the rich.

“In Africa we have cows; here we have cars, Dau recalled” (Bixler, 2005, p. 188).

3.1.8 Family Life and Marriage

Family is a very important institution in Africa and divorce is rare. Once dowry is paid, it becomes hard to divorce because the process is long, slow, and tedious.

“American life raised a thousand questions for the four men. They heard that nearly half of all marriages end in divorce. How was that possible in so prosperous land?”(Bixler, 2005, p. 118-119).

Further, they learned that men could have relationships with other men. Though Bixler (2005) says that some Americans who saw Lost Boys holding hands mistakenly assumed that they were gay (their culture allows this), this was an example of cultural conflict (p.192).

Many Lost Boys have tried to date women after arriving in the United States, but from preliminary research on the Lost Boys, it appears that some were confused about whether to date American girls or try to go back to Sudan to marry a Sudanese girl. Benson (2003) found that some Boys in Bernstein dated American girls but had no serious relationship,

There are a lot of girls who are very pretty,” Benson observed, “but we hear that if you make them pregnant, you must take care of the child for eighteen years. You have to do something good with your life before you can think of getting married (Weddle, 2003, p. 13).

However, in the Sudan and Kenyan refugee camps there is competition to marry these Boys from the Sudanese girls once they flew there. Parents, who had daughters, want their daughters to be married by Lost Boys because of financial benefits. To both those Girls and their parents this is a way of eliminating poverty in the villages in Sudan or in Kenyan refugee camps. It has become a norm for parents or relatives of Lost Girls to inquire whether a Boy who wants to marry their daughter is from the United States or has relatives in the United States before marriage can be arranged. Dut (2005) gives an example of two Lost Boys who were competing for a girl in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya in 2001. They kept increasing the dowry so that they could marry the girl till one of them gave up. Competition for girls has increased the dowry price in Sudan and in Kenyan refugee camps. The more cash one has, the higher the chances one has to get married. The bride price has gone up as much as Kshs 1.25 million (about \$16,000). Wal (2004) estimates that men have paid as much as \$25,000 in dowry. Dut (2005) adds that because there is stiff competition for Sudanese girls in the refugee camps, most Lost Boys decide to take odd jobs in the United States so they can earn more money for marriage. This is to be at the expense of their education. What emerges from this need to get married is a new booming business of brokers who connect the Lost Boys in the United States and Girls in the Kenyan refugee camps. Brokers are usually paid a commission which at times can be as much as Kshs 3.8 million (\$50,000) from several Boys to arrange for marriages in Kakuma refugee camps. Once such money is paid (usually through Western Union), the Lost Boy who wants to marry takes a flight to Kakuma refugee camps from the United States to get wed. Dut warns however, that most Lost Boys anticipated marriages and family, do not prosper as he says,

All these wives will eat, grow, and become healthy thus have freedom hence these wives seek close relationships with so called found boys at Kakuma. They will be pregnant and eloped, some of these wives will then stay with these potential boys' friends whom they love but are poor individuals in wealth... at the end the Lost Boys lose their money, lose their wives, and reputation (Dut, 2005, p. 7).

For most of the Lost Boys in the United States, marriage remains a big challenge since many of them have got into the stage where they would like to get married but yet they find themselves not ready financially or have already experienced problems with their marriages.

CHAPTER 4 - The Sudanese Lost Boys as African Diasporas in Kansas City Area

4.1 Introduction

In their research on effects of recent eastern African immigration on diversity and multiculturalism in Kansas, Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2004) explored settlement patterns, institution-building, and community organizing for social services among eastern African individuals in Kansas. Additionally, they looked into the responsiveness of social service agencies to the immigrant communities, intercultural relations both between and among African and host communities, as well as relationships with other recent migrants from Asia and Latin America. Their main focus was on African immigrants and their recent settlement in the Kansas City area. The justification of their research was that scholars have paid attention to African immigrants in other states, but not in Kansas. They assert that in the last 30 years, Africans have immigrated to the United States mainly because of political, civil, ethnic, and economic problems. They state that four of the eight largest source countries of African immigrants' are in the greater Horn of Africa: Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Kenya. According to Arthur (2000), more than 20 percent of African immigrants in 2000 came from these four countries, the Sudanese Lost Boys among them. Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett estimate 200-300 southern Sudanese of the Dinka origin live in Olathe Kansas itself. In their final report to the Kansas Humanities Council, Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006) conclude that some of the most important reasons why many African immigrants moved to Kansas from other states was because,

“life was more straight-forward in the Midwest than in big cities of the East; educational opportunities were available more advantageously; raising families was possible” (Janzen, 2006, Findings and Reflections, ¶ 8).

One participant in this study said.

A lot of lost boys came from other states only 40 to 60 were directly resettled here from Africa. Many of the lost boys came to Kansas City because of jobs. Another thing is that if you have a lost boy who is your friend you can call him to come and live with you.

Indeed, as Berger (2004) said, Peter Nyarol Dut, one of the Lost Boys, left Houston, Texas for Kansas because he was frustrated with trying to make ends meet financially and trying to get to

school. He found it difficult to adjust to the urban environment in Houston. Dut thought the only reason he came to the United States was to go to school. His cousin in Olathe told him that Olathe East High School had accepted some Sudanese refugees and that he stood a chance of being accepted. That being the case, Dut made the decision to relocate to Olathe, Kansas. An article by Nancy Beardsley of Voice of America asserted that new waves of immigrants were transforming Kansas City and Missouri, including African-Americans moving from the southern U. S. to more northern states (Beardsley, 2005). Many immigrants are attracted to opportunities afforded them in Kansas, as confirmed by one Ethiopian immigrant Daniel Fikru. Fikru came to Kansas to seek opportunity and he had this to say,

“Kansas City is not a crowded place. There's a lot of opportunity. Housing, education is affordable,” (Beardsley, 2005, ¶ 6)

4.1.2 Politics and Kansas Demographics

Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006), assert that while Kansas has been demographically viewed as white, mainstream Americana by the media for a long time, Kansas is now a major destination for African immigrants. In the late 1990s, Kansas Senator Sam Brownback (R) opposed the resettling of about 10,000 Somali refugees admitted to the United States in Kansas. He was quoted in 2001 by Barnett (2003) as saying,

“I oppose any resettlement of Somali Bantu refugees in the State of Kansas”....Our office has contacted the Department of State asking them to not resettle any Somali Bantus in Kansas....Simply put, this should not occur”....."I never requested 10,000 Bantu to be placed in Kansas,...that's a huge population for a state of our size”(Barnett, 2003, Resettlement Raises Concerns, ¶1)¹¹.

Brownback’s statement was never reported in the national media where it may have aroused debate at both state and federal levels. Senator Brownback later retracted the above statement in part because states have no say or control over refugee resettlement programs, according to the Refugee Protection Act of 2001. Senator Brownback supported this bill and has been a key supporter of resettlement programs of Kansas refugees and more so the Sudanese Lost Boys, some of whom he has met with personally. One Lost Boy participant in this study who met Senator Brownback told me this:

I met Senator Brownback in 2002. That was a month after 9/11. I presented to him something about my family and Arabs in Sudan but I did not tell him much. I spent three days in Topeka in 2002 before even I knew anyone from K-State. He had invited some Sudanese guys and I was one of them. I met him again at 2007

at a football tournament between KU and K-State we just had a chat about Darfur but I did not reveal myself to him who I was. He just asked where I was from and I told him I was from Sudan.

4.1.3 The Lost Boys in Kansas City Area

According to Gak (2006), president of the Brothers' Organization for Relief, most of the Lost Boys who live in Kansas City relocated from other states in the United States. In May 2000, 9 Lost Boys arrived in Kansas City and were soon followed by 25 others. Later, 25 more Lost Boys arrived in Kansas City and by 2001; there was a total of 45 Lost Boys living in the greater Kansas City area. The Associated Press reported in March 29, 2007 that at that time, approximately 100 Lost Boys lived in Kansas City. In Kansas City, they were received by St. James United Methodist Church and former Kansas City mayor, Emmanuel Cleaver, who assisted in settling the Lost Boys. Refugees often receive services for up to five years from the date of arrival from resettlement agencies, if they are in need. Services include information, referrals, case management, and employment. In most cases, early arrivals assisted refugees who came later.

4.1.4 The Church and Lost Boys Organization in Kansas

The church has played a key role in shaping the experiences of the Lost Boys in Kansas through their assistance and provision of social structure and the opportunity for immersion in an English-speaking environment. Churches have been the primary channel for refugees resettled in the United States with assistance from government and non-governmental agencies. Brothers' Organization for Relief (BOR) is a nonprofit organization formed in 1999 with the help of St. James United Methodist Church. It was first designed to help Sudanese people back in Africa through donations of clothing, textbooks, and other items that may improve the quality of life of refugees living in the Kenyan camp of Kakuma. The organization received funds and donations from Community Christian Church, Bob Hill, and the 6800 Club. Although the main goal of the organization is to assist refugees in Africa, in 2000 the organization changed its priority after the first group of 9 Lost Boys arrived in Kansas City who needed immediate help after resettlement. St. James United Methodist Church immediately raised \$1,500 to assist these Boys.

BOR continued to help those refugees back in Africa. Further help came from the Don Bosco Center, which assists new refugees in securing social amenities such as apartments. The Gladstone Church of Christ donated an office for BOR and Wal-Mart stores donated clothing to

the Lost Boys. Gak flew to Kakuma camp in Kenya with money donated by the church for refugee children. Gak used the monetary donation to purchase more than 900 textbooks for refugee children. This type of ethnic or group organizations are common with immigrants in the United States; members pull together resources to help those in need not only in the United States, but also those who are in the original countries. An example is that given by Light and Bonacich (1998) of the Korean migrants in the United States who have rotating credit associations (RCAs) in which immigrants meet occasionally and every member is supposed to contribute some money to the association. The money is then used to start up small targeted businesses or to start community based organizations for the common good of the members or individuals.

4.1.5 The relationship between Africans and African Americans in Kansas

One of the most interesting parts of the research carried out by Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006) explores the relationship between African-American residents and African immigrants. Studies indicate that African immigrants integrate more with whites in Kansas City than with African-Americans. The relationship between African immigrants and African-Americans has never been good because of cultural differences and language. Ironically, one might have expected that the two groups would be friendlier to one another because they share a common ancestry. But in most cases, interaction between the two is very minimal. Issues of racism and discrimination influencing the African-American identity in the United States did not emerge as a way to develop African identity. Further, having the same skin color between the two groups did not help in homogenizing the two groups, rather the two groups have great differences in terms of culture and social life that do not help in creating common ground on which a positive interaction could emerge. However, both groups acknowledge they share the same ancestry and this could be a starting point under which a positive relationship could be created through more interactions and education.

African American critics have argued that it is not about common ancestry but competition over meager resources that they feel is left for them by the dominantly white community (the poor relationship between African-Americans and African immigrants should not be taken as the best means to measure African immigrants' integration or exclusion within American society, given that several other factors are important). Gitau (2000) found that

African-American and African undergraduates related poorly in an academic context. He concluded that this is because of stereotypical perceptions received from the media and individual or group experiences of the two groups.

In addition to the relationship examined by Gitau in an academic environment in Kansas, Buff (2008) also explored general relationships of African-Americans and African immigrants in the central district of Seattle. Buff concludes, African-Americans felt that the success obtained by African immigrants came from the fact that they had access to resources both from the United States and from Africa (e.g. some Nigerians receive assistance from their parents who own oil wells in Africa). Further, African-Americans felt that African immigrants did not understand their struggle for civil rights and justice. According to Buff, African-Americans feel that African immigrants have always pretended to do better than them. She quoted a radio correspondent, Chana Joffe-Walt, who works with world radio, and asked two African-Americans what they thought about African immigrants:

“They think when they get out here they are better than African-Americans that live here already and who have been here... You know what they think of you? ‘I am better than you! You are nothing’”(Buff, 2008, p. 170-171).

This type of perception is based on fear of African immigrants. This is further enhanced by the fact that many African immigrants think that white Americans perceive African-Americans to be lazy, violent, gun carrying athletes and seem unconcerned about the continent of Africa. Bill Fletcher, the founder of Trans-Africa, argued that to solve this conflict, African-Americans need to de-demonize Africa, and African immigrants needed to be educated about racial dynamics in the United States.

4.1.6 My Experience with African Americans in Kansas

My entry point to Kansas was getting admitted to Kansas State University as a student. Prior to coming to the United States, I had applied to several universities in the United States for my graduate studies. K-State was one of the first universities that accepted me and so I decided to take the opportunity. Coming from Kenya and settling in Manhattan, Kansas is not congruent with the findings of Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006), which assert that life is more straight-forward in the Midwest than in big cities of the East where advantageous educational opportunities are more readily available and raising families is more possible. Until

recently, I did not have the opportunity to travel to other states and cities to find what other African immigrants experienced, and knew few African immigrants in the United States.

After arriving in the United States, as an international student in 2003, my first task was to learn the dynamics of socialization in Manhattan, Kansas. I joined Kansas State University as a political science graduate student. I found myself to be the only African student in a class of forty and the rest were white students. In a short time, I found the majority of individuals living in Manhattan and /or attending Kansas State University to be white, with some Latinos and other international students from various countries. I often felt lonely, as I was used to having many friends and family back in Africa. I grew up in a society that was based on community, while American society is built upon the concept of individualism. My next step was to look around and find some African immigrants who I could easily relate with both socially and culturally. The few that I came across were either married and wanted to be with their families or were too busy to socialize. Then I decided to make friends with African-Americans. This was based on my perception that African-Americans were much like me. After interacting with a few I found that I could not understand their English and it was difficult to interact with African-Americans. I discovered that I had little in common with them in terms of culture, and even skin color. Although they are black, their skin color was lighter. This did not go well with me because I had thought that African Americans were my brothers and sisters. Some of the African international students who had more experience with African-Americans told me later not to expect cordial friendship from African-Americans. Indeed, some said that it was easier to make friends with whites than with blacks.

It was only with time that I managed to make real friends with African-Americans both in and outside of the university. I also slowly started understanding their language and culture. Buff (2008), I found that some of my African-American friends felt that I had an advantage over them because I had both economic and natural resources back in Africa. What many African-Americans did not know is that foreigners look at America as a country of opportunity. Many African immigrants come to America to fulfill their academic, economic, and social dreams, which they could not attain in Africa because of natural and man-made disasters. Further, many African countries are extremely poor with a lot of corruption. Most African immigrants have come to the United States to escape poverty war, and disease. In America, everything is possible

as is exemplified by Arnold Schwarzenegger, the governor of California, who arrived in the U. S. in 1968 from Austria,

What a special day it was. I remember, I arrived here with empty pockets but full of dreams, full of determination, full of desire.And one thing I learned about America is that if you work hard and if you play by the rules, this country is truly open to you. You can achieve anything..... In this country, it doesn't make any difference where you were born. It doesn't make any difference who your parents were. It doesn't make any difference if you are like me and couldn't even speak English until you were in your twenties. America gave me opportunities and my immigrant dreams came true (Schwarzenegger, 2004, ¶ 18, 23, 25).

4.1.7 The Lost Boys and African Americans experiences

Bixler (2005) says that,

“several Lost Boys said they had come to the United States expecting warm relations with African Americans and were surprised to sense indifference, if not hostility” (p.192).

The Lost Boys negatively perceived African-Americans even before they came to the United States. There was a rumor in the Kakuma refugee camp before the Lost Boys left for the United States that African-Americans were violent, took drugs, and did not work hard. In their movie, *The Lost Boys of Sudan* (PBS 2004), Mylan and Shenk interviewed the Lost Boys living in Kakuma refugee camp, including questions about African-Americans; some Boys responded with questions of their own, chief among them being if it was true that most young black men in the United States were in prison. This was what the Lost Boys had heard about African-Americans in Africa. The only contact two Lost Boys, Peter and Santino, had with African-Americans in Houston, Texas was the awareness that they had African-Americans for neighbors; otherwise, they had no physical interaction. Gordon and Santos (2004) assert that the Lost Boys feel that African-Americans are more discriminating against them than white Americans. Santino, one of the Lost Boys, said that African-Americans would walk up to his apartment at night with guns and demand cash from him. This was because he could easily be distinguished by his skin color which is so black as opposed to African-Americans whose skin colors are lighter. However, Gordon and Santos admired the Lost Boys' skin and are quoted as saying,

“but we loved that the Boys were so black. These days everybody is mixed and here are these pure black-skinned Boys that were so beautiful” (Gordon and Santos, 2004, *Discrimination & Race* ¶ 2).

Some Lost Boys realized later that America was not the heaven they had imagined. Their struggles and challenges still continued even in America. Gordon and Santos (2004) share a narrative from Peter, one of the Lost Boys, who moved from Houston, to Kansas City. Peter had a job at a grocery store with some other Lost Boys. At the grocery store, they were discriminated against not only by other workers but also by their boss. This was very stressful to them and they felt like outsiders. Their boss wanted them to work in the parking lot, because he assumed that coming from Africa meant that they were used to the heat. Peter was very angry with his boss,

“She thinks we're burnt already" (Discrimination & Race ¶ 18).

Though instances like this happen, not many of this type had been reported by the Lost Boys in Kansas.

CHAPTER 5 - Theoretical Framework

5.1 Social/Cultural Capital Theory, and Anomie

5.1.2 Introduction

Social capital is a sociological concept which refers to connections within and between social networks. Colman (1998) defined social capital by its function, "that is, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Colman, 1998). Whereas Bourdieu (1995), defined social capital as a resource available to individuals or groups that can be invested with anticipation of benefits. Social capital is generated by social networks, trust, reciprocity, and resource-sharing. Whereby, human resources such as social skills, education, and employment history enable an individual secure employment.

Social capital theory is used in this study because it has not been extensively used in the United States in the study of integration of immigrants (refugees) in the United States. Social capital theory presupposes that 'immigrants' social capital acquired in the host society will greatly influence the integration process, though contemporary Durkheimians would argue that those who don't integrate faster is because of rapid social change and lack of social bonding. As a foreigner like the Lost Boys, I have undergone similar challenges in adapting the mainstream American culture. However, my experience is slightly different because of my academic status and the fact that I am not a refugee who experienced severe trauma while in Africa. I can say that, it has not been very difficult for me to assimilate or integrate into the local community here in Manhattan, Kansas.

Integration of immigrants into a new culture is enhanced by the amount of social capital an individual possesses or acquires as asserted by social capital scholars. Social capital has recently been popularized by two proponents: Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman, each of whom has a distinct conception of social capital, while Emile Durkheim has been a major proponent of Anomie. In the following section social capital is discussed relative to integration experiences since their arrival in the United States nearly ten years ago.

5.2 Pierre Bourdieu and Social Capital

Contemporary social capital proponents argued that the first systematic analysis of social capital as a concept was done by Pierre Bourdieu. The synthesis of social capital as access to institutional resources was foundational in his works. Bourdieu defined social capital as the total aggregate of potential resources tied to possession of a sustainable network of essentially institutionalized relationships of required acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1995; p. 248; 1980). His argument about this concept was important in understanding how members of a particular organization/institution were able to realize their collectively owned capital through institutions. He said, members' shared common names, e.g. name of family, class, tribe, clan, and academic institution or party. For Bourdieu, institutions provided the means through which an individual or group acquired cultural capital (Bourdieu 1995, p.249). A crucial example was education; a person was able to acquire status in society through the acquisition of education as a cultural capital. Bourdieu argued that the sum of social capital that an individual had depended on the network connections that an individual was able to mobilize and utilize. From this perspective, the Lost Boys were able to better integrate into their new environment through acquisition of education as cultural capital (found: social capital in America). Bourdieu argued that school was a main source for the transmission of a dominant culture and was designed and managed by individuals thriving in mainstream society (Bourdieu 1997b; 1996; 1997). The Lost Boys exhibited passion for secondary or college degrees, English-language proficiency, participation in sports, religion, and U. S. citizenship because they acutely understood the need for these indicators of social capital to become successfully integrated and recognized in America's advanced society. Therefore, it was through their social obligations and/or connections that the Lost Boys incrementally converted their social capital into economic capital (Colman, 1990). Bourdieu (1986; 1997) would have argued that some of those Lost Boys who lived in ethnic enclaves were doing so because of self exclusion. They did so because they did not feel comfortable with members of the host society (American), mostly because of language barriers and cultural differences which affected the situation of their individual self-esteem.

5.2.1 Bourdieu and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's concept of social capital would be complete by exploring his other major concepts: cultural capital, habitus, and field. Social capital and cultural capital concepts overlap

each other and therefore, Bourdieu contended that integration was a process that involved the acquisition of the host society's cultural capital which was a form of social capital. So, cultural capital like social capital was utilization of different types of individual knowledge, and human capital (Bourdieu, 1986). He stated that cultural capital could exist in three forms: embodied (dispositions of mind and body - e.g. religion), objectified (cultural goods - e.g. sports), and institutionalized (educational qualifications - e.g. employment) as will be discussed in the next paragraph. Bourdieu would have categorized the Lost Boys' social capital into these three forms. He argued that some forms of cultural capital were valued more than others in society and that each individual brought what he called "a different set of dispositions (habitus) to the field of interaction" (Bourdieu, 1998). Giving reference to the above, though the Lost Boys were having the same cultural orientation, Bourdieu would not expect them to have the same habitus to the field of interaction. Each Lost Boy had his own potential and thus the level of integration was expected to differ. Bourdieu argued that the field was characterized by the "rules of the game," in which, they were neither explicit nor codified. Because the Lost Boys had different qualifications on arrival, Bourdieu would have expected the Lost Boys to have different employment opportunities, whereby some would get jobs immediately (legal adults), whereas some would go through the legal process of maturing to be allowed to work (age of minors).

5.2.2 Three Forms of Cultural Capital

5.2.2.1 Religion (embodied)

According to Bourdieu (1986), the form of *embodied* stated that religion was a major social institution that not only provided spiritual guidance but also norms and companionship in society. Proponents who supported Bourdieu would add that religion also remained a major factor in the formation of social networks and trust. More so, they did not expect religion to disappear from human society any time soon; rather it was seen to be a subset of social capital. In the United States, for example, Bunting (2007) quoted Robert Putnam in his view as saying,

“...religious affiliations account for half of all US social capital” (Bunting, 2007, *Capital ideas* ¶ 15).

Bunting went on to say that Putnam focused his attention on mega-churches that had thousands of followers and that they still allowed more memberships to join them. Thus the church provided community relationships. In this case, the church was in a position to help those who

were in need. (e.g. those who had lost jobs or became refugees). The Lost Boys have been beneficiaries of church related activities. They had received among others, funds for tuition, employment, health services and housing. More so Bixler (2005) said that the Lost Boys depended on their faith in religion to overcome problems as they made it through to the U. S. In this way, religion played a major role in the lives of the Lost Boys as a social capital as they made their journey from Africa to the United States.

5.2.2.2 Sports (objectified)

In his other form of cultural capital, *objectified*, Bourdieu argued that cultural capital consisting of cultural goods could be transmitted into both economic and social gain (e.g. sports). In athletics, Lopez Lomong, one of the Lost Boys of Sudan, was chosen as the U. S. flag bearer of the U.S. Olympics team in China, which is an indicator of social capital. According to Hersh (2008) of the Los Angeles Times, Lopez Lomong a Sudanese Lost Boy was one of the United States Olympic track team members in China having finished second in the 1,500 meters at the U. S. track trials. Lamong has not only acquired economic capital from sport but also social status among American society. Some modern Durkheimians contend that sports have or are replacing religion as a primary institution providing social codification, including normative behavior, role models in the form of star athletes and coaches, the sense of belonging, and overlaps generations. Some Lost Boys have joined college football and basketball teams and their physical height is advantageous in competitive sports.

5.2.2.3 Education (institutionalized)

Bourdieu (1985) contended that social capital was a process of acquiring resources from other people. He argued that those who had resources provided them to those who did not have in expectation that they would be repaid in the future. He gave an example of a church whose wealthy members contributed to build and sponsor church academic institutions and hospitals. Religious institutions had contributed a lot in sponsoring children, mostly from underprivileged families, to acquire education. In most cases these institutions did not expect those who had benefited from their contributions to pay back, but to help society in the future after completion of education. The Lost Boys benefited from sponsorship of religious institutions which assisted them in enrolling and completing education. Completing education helped them get jobs in the American labor market in turn becoming economically stable.

5.3 Bourdieu's Economic Capital and Consumption Patterns

On consumption of goods and products in a new environment, immigrants have been very cautious on what to buy and consume. Bourdieu (1984) asserted that the consumption of goods and products reflected a people's culture. In a new environment, divisions between an immigrant and the host society become readily apparent. Further, consumption of goods largely depended upon an individual's social background and economic status. Once an individual moved from a lower class to an upper social class (upward mobility), that individual tended to change his or her consumption pattern. That depended on the economic strength accrued by that individual (Bourdieu 1985; 1986). The Lost Boys arrived in the United States without economic capital and their first priority was to get an education. Education enabled them to secure employment, whereas employment gave them financial stability, which would be referred to as economic capital. Because the Boys came from an unstable and economically poor background in Sudan, their motivation for getting a job was to save money and send it back home to help those left behind and therefore, their consumption choices were very selective. They were keen on buying items that were extremely necessary in contrast to the American lifestyle which encourages people to consume. Bourdieu (1996) would argue that such type of selection of goods and products by these Boys would represent a loss of cultural capital, given that a situation where the immigrant and the host society do not share common consumption values. However, the American credit system, college education, and employment enabled the Lost Boys to be financially stable and most Lost Boys had managed to buy goods and products that they could not have afforded in Sudan or in the Kenyan refugee camps. But still their focus remained on saving money. In most cases, the Lost Boys shared housing and purchased cars which they used collectively in order to save money to remit back home to assist their families, develop schools, hospitals, and/or to pay dowry for marriages.

5.4 James Coleman and Social Capital

Like Bourdieu, Coleman argues that social capital was not a single entity but a variety of entities in a given society. Although Coleman (1988) conceptualized social capital differently than Bourdieu, he identified three forms of social capital: level of trust (obligations and expectations); information channels; and norms/sanctions. According to Coleman, social capital stressed the relationship between actors. Social capital was defined through its function, structures, and actors in society. It also determined a particular kind of resource available to an

actor. In the case of the Lost Boys, Coleman would expect that despite their same cultural and social background, the Lost Boys could not integrate into mainstream American society as a collective entity but as individuals with varying amounts of social capital. Indeed, those with education from Kenya were expected to get jobs immediately once they were resettled in the United States, while those who did not have an education were expected to be placed in schools to first acquire education and language proficiency. Coleman (1990) asserted that at institutional level, disciplinary environment(s) and academic rules developed by educational institutions were the foundations of social capital, an observation accepted by Bourdieu in his emphasis on the importance of education as a means of acquiring social capital. Those that were young (i.e. arrived in the United States with an assigned age of less than eighteen years and therefore classified as minors) were placed with foster families to take care of them as they acquired the necessary social capital to enhance their resettlement process, while those that were assigned ages of eighteen years or older were placed in institutions or apartments and were expected to work. Coleman would have expected those Lost Boys who were young and placed in foster families to adapt better and more quickly into American society, since their foster parents would facilitate their integration, including language immersion, structured activities, and formal education among Americans and Americanized individuals.

In *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990), Coleman said that norms were passed from parents to their children. Children were expected to accept them as part of their lives. Norms are part of the American social capital. Therefore, he would expect that the Boys who were placed in foster families would learn American norms faster than those who were adults and lived on their own and/or in ethnic enclaves. Coleman (1988) stated that, parents know the parents of their children's friends and it is through such a social structure that norms are learnt and adopted by children. The Lost Boys having been alone for a long time without parental care from the time they were grazing cattle in the fields in Sudan to their exodus to Ethiopia and eventually to Kenya, and rapid uncertain social change, would be expected to have grown without learning or acquiring formal norms and sanctions of the different societies that they went through. This was an observation compounded by their isolation from mainstream cultures as they were retained in refugee camps in Africa or being alone on their incredibly long journey (Lost: social capital). In his other work, *Sociology of Education* (1992), Coleman continued to focus on the role of parents in developing social capital of their children. Parental care he said could be enforced by

strict, traditional values, rigorous discipline, and hierarchical order and control. Some of the Lost Boys may have lacked this because they were taken care of by their peers and not their parents. Although what eventually developed out of this type of care by the older Boys taking care of the younger Boys was very strong trust and resilience among the Lost Boys. Coleman (1998) argued that the level of trust would emanate from obligations and expectations of each individual, though it would not be surprising if some of the Lost Boys become deviant due to a lack of strong social bonds (anomie), an idea supported by Durkheim and discussed in the following section.

5.5 Emile Durkheim and Anomie

Durkheim asserted that the behavior of a person indicated how much that person could integrate into the society that he or she lived and anomie (the lack of accepted moral codification or mismatched codification) often arose due to uncontrollable changes in one's living experience. Durkheim defined anomie as a condition where social and/or moral norms were confused, unclear, or not present. He blamed a lack of those norms on industrialization, which tended to dissolve restraints on the passions of humans, where traditional societies basically through religion, fairly taught people to control their desires and goals. Modern industrial societies separate people and weaken social bonds as a result of increased complexity and the division of labor. Interestingly, Durkheim derived a thesis suggesting the more an individual integrates into the individual's society, the more that society would be able to control that individual's behavior; individuals who were more integrated into their society were more likely to adhere to their society's norms and values while doing away with what mainstream society shuns. To him, lack of norms or pre-accepted limits on behavior in any society fosters deviant behavior. However, Durkheim would argue that society's punishment of deviance, and putting the deviant back to the "right track" provided open socialization on the normative expectations and toleration society.

Like Muhindi and Nyakato, Durkheim (1951) would argue that the marginalization of those Lost Boys could not be attributed to lack of social capital, but to rapid series of social change that they experienced in a short time and at an early age which fostered anomie. For the Lost Boys, lack of clear societal norms and values due to geographical, psychological, and cultural changes very likely to contribute to the presence of anomie among the Lost Boys. Durkheim's challenge to social capital theory required critics of Bourdieu and Coleman to argue

that marginalization or exclusion of the Lost Boys could not only be understood through social capital alone but must also include other factors, such as rapid social change and severe trauma associated with their status as refugees. For Durkheim, the Lost Boys who broke societal laws could be understood in terms of their individual lack of sense of social regulation due to the sustained period of unguided choices they had to make in unregulated environments. This included the African wilderness and southern Sudan where some of them were persecuted by the Sudanese army for political reasons. They were largely unaware the continuation of the civil war in their villages while they were in the grazing fields. In the following section I will use Durkheim's theoretical perspective to explore social problems experienced by some of the Lost Boys resettled in the United States.

5.5.1 U.S Laws and the Lost Boys

Seemingly, the long journey and stay of up to a decade for some in Ethiopian and Kenyan refugee camps, likely impacted the way the Lost Boys were adjusting and adapting to the laws of American society. Further, their dispersal throughout the United States cities could also have an effect on the integration process. One Lost Boy said,

“in America, everybody disappears into their rooms at night. Being alone makes me think about what's going on in Sudan” (Bixler, 2005, p. 98).

In this way then, out of loneliness, a new environment and trying to conform to new and formal laws could make some of these Boys react negatively and at times commit crimes as noted in the paragraphs that follow. All their lives, the Lost Boys depended on their peers for advice and discipline. There were no formal laws in the wilderness and in the refugee camps. The Los Angeles Times (2003) reported the Lost Boys learned that United States laws were very tough, unlike in Sudan. For instance, they found out that if they did not pay their bills, the law would force them to. Law enforcement officers were also uncompromising unlike in Africa.

5.5.2 Contact with Police Officers and the Sudanese Experience

There is some evidence that some of the Lost Boys experienced *anomie* as they were resettling and integrating into the American society like the following story will attest. One Lost Boy was arrested by police and charged for loitering in Atlanta at 3 a.m. The police stopped him while he was on his way home from work. They asked him why he was walking at night. Although he explained that he was coming from work, they gave him a ticket. He was taken to court, though the Judge dismissed the case (Bixler, 2005). In another incident, Flayton (2008)

says that one of the Lost Boys known as Abil, who lived in Arizona, went into the median of a highway during rush hour. A patrol officer asked him to get off the median but he refused. The officer fired a Taser at him and Abil in return threw baseball-sized rocks at the officer. The officer later killed Abil by firing three shots at him. Violence against police by the Lost Boys can be attributed to their socialization in Sudan before coming to the United States. Flayton (2008) alludes to Jany Deng who says,

“in Sudan young people don't trust police, who regularly kill civilians” (Flayton, 2008, *Lost in America* ¶ 34)¹².

Deng was not surprised that Lost Boys were afraid of the police when they came to the United States.

5.5.3 Traffic Violations

Some Lost Boys drove cars without licenses or insurance because they did not know the value of insurance and frequently got into wrecks. Some were killed in car accidents in Arizona and Pennsylvania (Bixler, 2005). Flayton (2008) described the case of an incident involving Peter Deng in 2001 in Phoenix, Arizona in which he had resided in the United States for only a year when he was beaten and carjacked and mistakenly accused of fathering a child. He was arrested, charged with driving a car without a license and insurance and fined \$1,200. In his defense, he said he did not know it was necessary to have a license or insurance. Peter Deng had to learn about the United States court system when he filed a restraining order against a former girlfriend who threatened to kill him because he was a refugee. Durkheim would classify the above behavior as deviance. Durkheim argued that deviance was likely to occur through individual experimentation with freedom. This would be done through originality, creativity, and change in society. Another example of what Durkheim would term as deviant behavior is exemplified by an incident occurring in early 2008 when a 23 year old Lost Boy diagnosed with schizophrenia (chronic, severe, and disabling brain disease which can lead to terrifying symptoms such as hearing internal voices) believed that there were people out to kill him, disappeared from his residence in Syracuse. After about six months, he had walked about 2,100 miles from his house to Mexico City. Ann Wheat the co-founder of the Arizona Lost Boys Center in Phoenix wondered why that Boy who had already walked several miles in Africa could do so here in the United States after being resettled¹³. She wondered whether the Boy knew where he was headed to and if he was conscious of what he was doing. Another Lost Boy named

Philip Ajack Cham, 33, went to the immigration office in Houston, Texas in September 2002 demanding to be repatriated to Sudan. He snatched a gun from a guard and started firing, threatening to commit suicide before he was apprehended (Salon.com, 2005).

5.5.4 Violence against Lost Boys

According to Bixler (2005) Americans have treated the Lost Boys in different ways. Five Lost Boys who had been resettled in Atlanta were attacked in their apartment complexes. One said that neighbors beat him up because they mistakenly believed he had insulted their girlfriends (Bixler, 2005). The Los Angeles Times in 2003 reported that Alepho Deng was kicked by two Latinos at the storefronts of east San Diego's Euclid Street at 10:52 P.M. as he waited for a bus to take him home after work. They had no reason why they kicked him. He kicked one in return as another pulled out a knife and so he had to run for his life. Durkheim would see gangster or street violence against the Lost Boys as an act of *anomie* (Durkheim, 1951).

5.5.5 Some Boys had real Problems with U.S Laws - Rape

Drawing from Durkheim's work, several factors can be attributed to the committing of rape by certain Lost Boys. One of the factors is the long journey from Sudan to Ethiopia back to Sudan and then to Kenya without socializing with girls before being resettled in the United States. The Boys were separated for so long from girls as they grew up and survived. Their constant contact with girls in the United States could be an inducement. Jany Deng, the outreach coordinator of Arizona Lost Boys Center in Phoenix, says,

“Some Lost Boys also have had trouble adjusting to American sexual mores”
(Flayton, 2008, *Lost in America* ¶ 34).

Most are naive of the American courting and dating system and moreover, some mistake the American culture of friendliness to be a sexual interest. On the other hand, for Sudanese men, being rejected by a woman one is interested in can lead to frustration and at times violence. Bixler (2005) said that police charged one Lost Boy in Atlanta with loitering for the purpose of soliciting a prostitute, resulting in a misdemeanor. He was walking from an Ethiopian restaurant towards a motel known for hosting prostitutes and their clients. It is not clear whether the Lost Boys knew that it is a crime to solicit a prostitute in the United States or that prostitution is illegal in the U. S. Bixler (2005) adds that the more the Lost Boys watched television and thought about women, the more they wanted them. In another incident, Bixler (2005) notes that police in Boston charged a nineteen-year-old Lost Boy with rape after saying he burned a woman

with a cigarette, threw her to the ground, and assaulted her. Flayton (2008) says that in April, 2004 in Fargo, ND, Chol Deng Chol, who was 25 years old and a student at North Dakota State University, was charged with two counts of raping teenage girls after drinking alcohol. While Latoya Taylor of Christianity Today (2001, Dec 10) said that a West Virginia-based neo-Nazi group spread leaflets targeting the 175-member church after 19-year-old Majok Daniel Kachoul was arrested in the rape of a 20-year-old woman on August 24. He has been charged with one count each of rape, assault, and battery with a dangerous weapon. In another incident, police charged Kachoul with sexually assaulting the woman with his finger and burning her hand with a lit cigarette. He had been in the United States for only six months (Salon.com, 2005).

5.5.6 Suicide

Durkheim argued that, “the term suicide is applied to all cases of death resulting directly or indirectly from a positive or negative act of the victim himself, which he knows will produce this result” (Durkheim, 1951). He used this definition to distinguish suicide from accidental death. Durkheim posited four ways of committing suicide based on social integration and moral regulation. Egoistic suicide results from too little social integration (mostly committed by unmarried men); altruistic suicide, spurred by too much integration (individuals integrated into social groups that they lost their individuality and were willing to sacrifice their lives for group's interests, such as is the case with military enlistment, and anomic suicide which he divides into four subcategories:

Acute economic anomie (based on religion, guilds, pre-industrial social systems, etc.)

Chronic economic anomie (based on ongoing industrial revolution, which may erode traditional social regulators and often fails to replace them)

Acute domestic anomie (based on sudden changes on the micro-social level which result in an individual's inability to adapt and the subsequent committal of suicide)

Chronic domestic anomie (based on marriage as an institution that regulates sexual behavior which leads certain bachelors to commit suicide at higher rates than married men due to a lack of regulation, established goals, and/or expectations)

Fatalistic suicide stemming from over-regulated and unrewarding lives, as is the case for many slaves, childless married women, and young husbands. According to Flayton (2008), a Lost Boy named Simon wanted to bring his girlfriend from Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya to Arizona failed and bought a 9 mm rifle in 1997. He had neither a job nor cash and started

contemplating suicide. On April 10, 1997, he rode a bus with his firearm to the Catholic Social Services office in North Phoenix. He got off the bus and started firing as he was headed towards the Catholic offices. He went into the Catholic Social Services office and started looking for his case workers. Police arrived and shot him dead. In May 2005, Kero Riiny Girr, 27 stabbed his ex-girlfriend Roda Bec to death alleging she was “rude” to him. Roda was a Lost Girl. After the incident, he tried to commit suicide by jumping off a highway overpass. Bixler (2005) notes that Ajoung Manuer, 21, died of injuries that he sustained following a fight with fellow Lost Boy, Mayen Biar Diing, over ten dollars after drinking alcohol in the summer of 2004 in Atlanta. Police charged Mayen Biar Diing with involuntary manslaughter. Flayton (2008) recounts that in Rochester, Minnesota, Christopher Atak, 31, in September 2002 crossed in front of a police car shouting, “I want to die” after an argument. A police officer ended up shooting him point-blank, though he survived. A blood test revealed that Atak had a high level of alcohol in his blood. These incidents might be caused by post-traumatic stress and/or anomie. Durkheim would describe these types of suicide as acute domestic anomie in which those Lost Boys were unable to cope with the situation that they were in and so contemplated suicide as a very viable option.

5.6 Summary

Based on the above literature on social capital theory and anomie of the Sudanese Lost Boys, I found that after nearly a decade of resettlement, most Boys who had accrued minimal social capital values of American society (i.e. level of education and language proficiency) had tended not to integrate and lived in ethnic enclaves (see total sum of acquired social capital on Figure 9-4). But Boys who had accrued high levels of social capital values of American society had jobs and had integrated into mainstream U.S. society.

CHAPTER 6 - Research Methodology

6.1 Research Question Restated

The Sudanese Lost Boys arrived in the United States in 2000. Some of them currently live in the greater Kansas City area. Nearly a decade later, I decided to examine their experiences in the Mid-West. The central research question investigated in this dissertation was this:

Have the Lost Boys living in the Kansas City area been integrated or incorporated into mainstream society or have they been marginalized or excluded from that community?

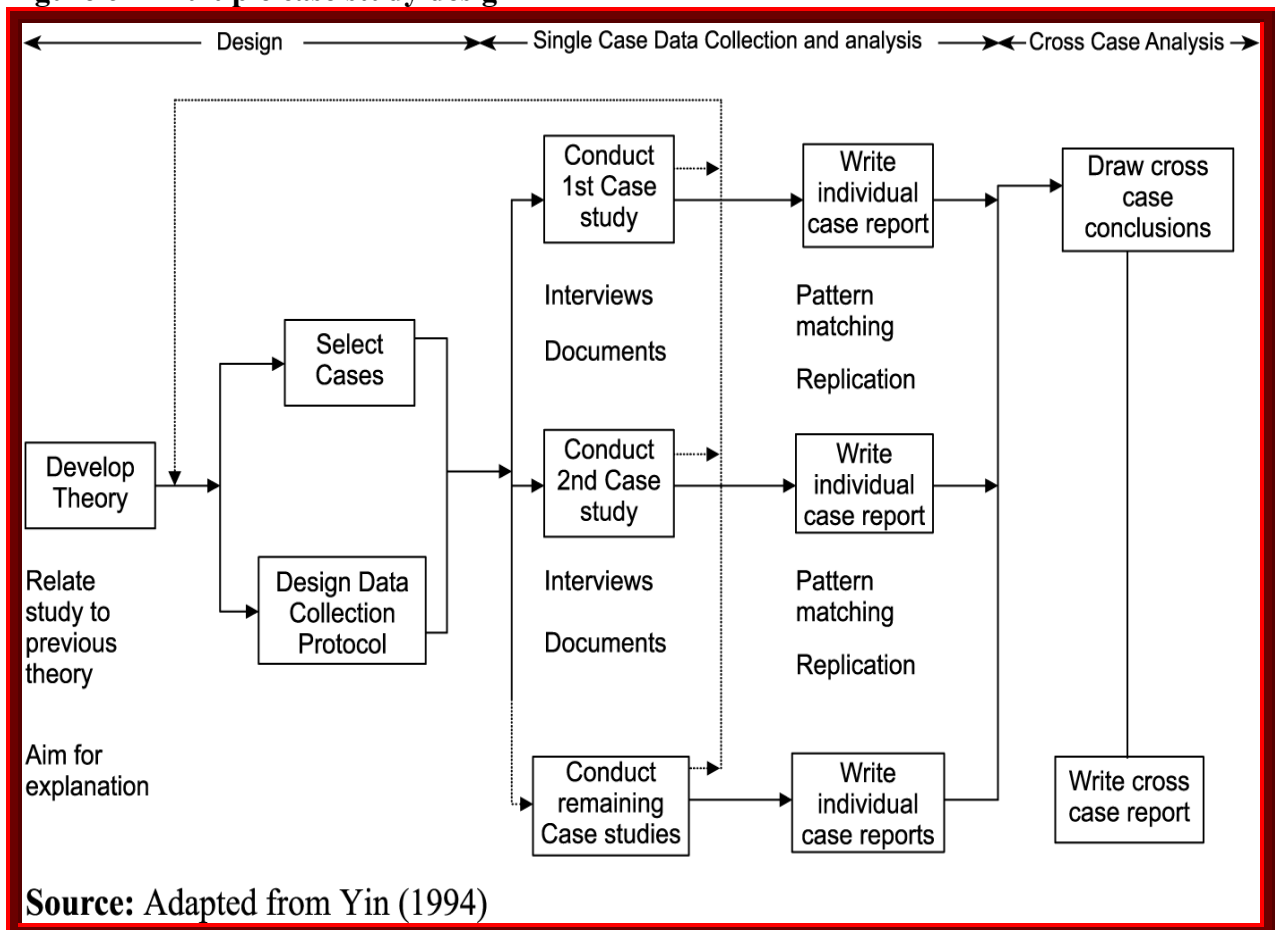
6.2 Case Study Research Design

This is a diversity-oriented study in which Yin's (1994) multiple case study model largely provides the methodology for the collection of data from participants. Multiple case studies are used primarily when researchers wish to obtain an in-depth understanding of a relatively small number of individuals, problems, or situations (Patton, 1990). Methods for case studies assist the investigator in identifying the root cause of a contemporary phenomenon as it is situated in reality through the use of multiple sources of evidence support the investigator's conclusion(s) (Yin, 1989). Case studies involve in-depth, longitudinal examination of a single instance or event, and provide a systematic way of perceiving events, collecting data, analyzing information, and reporting results (see Figure 6-1). Consequently, the researcher may gain a better understanding of why the instance happened and important aspects that may be more extensively examined in future research.

In collecting data, the researcher devised a set of questions used to obtain data from the participants in order to answer the primary research question stated above. The questions were asked repeatedly to each participant and each participant was treated as an independent variable. This process was repeated several times until it reached its saturation point of 40 interviews. Information-oriented sampling was used in this case for a case study to obtain a representative number of participants, where the representation was reached at the saturation point of 40. Getting to a saturation point provided a wide variety of information and various experiences for this research. Case studies lend themselves to generating and testing the researcher's hypothesis (Bent, 2006). Yin (2004) says that the findings of a case study are more accurate and convincing if they have multiple sources of evidences. Eisenhardt (1989) supports Yin's assertion, arguing that if all

or nearly all the variables provide similar results, there exists substantial support for the development of a preliminary theory describing the phenomena. Together, these are the main themes in the formation of a case study methodology in this study. Yin (1994) compared the use of replication strategy as opposed to the carrying out of a number of different experiments on related topics to achieve replicated results. He performed replication in two stages. First, was the literal replication stage in which variables were selected at different locations to obtain similar results. Second, there was the theoretical replication stage during which variables were selected to explore and subsequently confirm or reject what was identified in initial cases. This study also employs information-oriented sampling technique (snowball) in which the participants were allowed to refer or name their friends or other individuals in the population as potential interviewees (Patton, 1990).

Figure 6-1 Multiple case study design



Source: Adapted from Yin (1994)

6.3 Research Methodology for Qualitative Research

In order to achieve the objectives outlined in this study, I employed a qualitative multiple case studies method for the purpose of triangulation. O'Donoghue and Punch (2003) define triangulation as,

“a method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data” (p.78).

While Harding (1987) defines methodology as,

“theory of analysis of how research should proceed and that epistemology concerns theories about knowledge construction by questioning whose knowledge is validated and what constitutes knowledge” (p.2).

Therefore, the method of this study was intended to find whether the Lost Boys had been integrated into mainstream U. S. society or marginalized. The study was based on individual interviews with Kansas City area-based Lost Boys during which data was accrued and observations were made by the researcher. Importantly, this study provided the Lost Boys with an opportunity to describe their experiences and feelings while treating them with confidentiality. Moreover, the protection of individual identities may have contributed to candor on the part of the Lost Boys participating in this study. After collecting data, I identified and analyzed the subjective and objective data in order to describe and explain the attitudes of these Lost Boys, a task which allows the researcher and other researchers interested in the assimilation of the Lost Boys into American society to find larger patterns among different populations of Lost Boys. Further, this process helped me understand the Lost Boys' internal and external feelings, enhancing my understanding of their experiences. Respondents in this study are referred to as participants because they participated in generating original information. All interview data transcripts were subjected to full analysis in which a categorization system was derived based on theoretical propositions, allowing subunits to emerge from the analysis and subsequent evaluation of each question asked. These categories reflect major indicators of integration and/or marginalization as well as the impact of American society on the participating Lost Boys.

6.3.1 Ethnography

It was important to give this study an ethnographic approach, given that cultural elements (language, beliefs, values, and practices) of the Lost Boys are included in this study to

greatly enhance understanding of the processes of integration, assimilation, and/or marginalization of these Boys. Johnson (2000) defines ethnography as "a descriptive account of social life and culture in a particular social system based on detailed observations of what people actually do." Although Harris and Johnson (2000) defined ethnography as a description of behaviors, values, beliefs, and practices of the participants in a given cultural setting, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) go a step further to say that ethnography referred primarily to a particular method or set of methods used in research or study. This study drew from Ager and Strangs' (2004) demographic and ethnographic criteria to measure the integration of the Lost Boys. This included whether the Lost Boys were employed, had an education, had acquired English language proficiency, participated in community activities such as politics, sports, had become U.S. citizens, participated in U. S. cultural activities, and practiced religions.

Research conducted by Muhindi and Nyakato (2002) on the resettlement of Lost Boys in Boston, Massachusetts contributed greatly to my understanding of how to develop an ethnographic approach to refugee resettlement experiences. After completing their research, Muhindi and Nyakato conclude that generally speaking, the Lost Boys had successfully assimilated into U. S. society. Their research explored the reasons behind the rapid integration of the Lost Boys into mainstream American society. They argued that although the Lost Boys arrived with high expectations of immediately going to school and becoming professionals, the majority of them have adjusted to the reality of working first while saving money for college, which they began doing almost immediately after arrival in the United States.

Based on preliminary research carried out via a literature review and conversations with friends and colleagues at Kansas State University and in Kansas City about the Lost Boys, I found that after nine-plus years of resettlement, most Boys with low levels of education and language proficiency had not assimilated and lived for the most part in ethnic enclaves. Conversely, Boys with high levels of education and language proficiency had integrated into mainstream U. S. society. From these preliminary findings, I derived my dissertation hypothesis. This dissertation tested this hypothesis by conducting interviews with the Lost Boys in the greater Kansas City area to determine their degree of integration through qualitative research methodologies.

After collecting and analyzing data from the participants in this study, I found that as time went by, some Lost Boys had integrated, some had been marginalized, and some fall in

between, findings that are similar to those found by Castles (1993) on migrants living in Europe. Those Lost Boys who were resettled as minors got ahead in terms of accumulation of social capital and those resettled as young adults fell behind. Those Boys that were resettled as minors integrated more successfully than Lost Boys resettled as adults who were expected to start working upon arrival. There was a clear reverse trend in terms of acquisition of social capital of these Boys since their resettlement. Those Boys that were resettled as adults seem to be struggling with both work and going to school. While those that were placed under foster families started off as dependants got a better opportunity of acquiring English language from foster families and going to school. However, Ager and Strang caution that achievement in any of the above indicators does not necessarily suggest successful integration, but rather serve as means to achieve integration.

6.3.2 Selection Process for Participants

Forty participants were recruited for this study with the help of Dr. David Rine (Volgenau School of Information Technology and Engineering/editor of Sudan Sunrise), and Julie Pitts, program director of the International & Immigrant Student Services (Johnson County Community College). The information-oriented sample of 40 participants was drawn from the Lost Boy community in Kansas, in which a snow-balling technique was employed to reach the study population and to achieve the saturation point of 40. Yin argued that six to ten cases were sufficient to “provide a compelling support for the initial set of propositions” (1994, p. 46). By November 2001, there were a total of 40 Lost Boys in Kansas City (Gak 2006). Primary investigation with Lost Boys participating in this study indicate that there are currently between 100 and 150 Lost Boys living in the greater Kansas City area (this number was not verified, given that official data was not available). Initial research consisted of a simple group survey administered to five potential participants to collect socio-demographic information from each one of the respondents relative to their experiences as a distinct population. This gave additional information regarding their employment, educational, and social life history. This was important in that it gave the participants a chance to complement each other and reduced chances of the interviewer giving subjective interpretations. All participants signed a consent form (see Appendix B) and appropriate screening was conducted to ensure they were genuine Lost Boys

and were adults. This was done in accordance with approval guidelines outlined by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Kansas State University.

6.3.3 Start of the Interviews

On July 25, 2009, I began interviewing participating Sudanese Lost Boys in Kansas City. I arrived at the residence of one participant, a student attending Johnson County Community College who acted as my liaison by coordinating the ten interviews conducted in his home (many of the Lost Boys were working and could not be interviewed there). The ten Lost Boys that I met were very friendly once they learned that I was not only from Africa and thus their own demographic kind, but I was Kenyan which built rapport, given that many of the Lost Boys present had been hosted in a refugee camp in Kenya for more than ten years prior to resettlement in the United States. Some had friends and relatives who continued to live in Kenya. This contributed a lot to the establishment of trust between me and the participants. They became even more open knowing that I understood their plight well after my work with the UNHCR in Dadaab refugee camps. Our shared status as African immigrants living in the United States created a platform to converse about our common history and similar problems. I needed this type of understanding for the sake of my research and with all the above, a bond of trust was created. I made a total of five trips to Kansas City to complete all forty interviews.

6.3.4 Data Collection Protocol

Phase one of this research consisted of collecting all available information about the Lost Boys available from sources associated with Kansas State University. This provided basic general important information about the Lost Boys, e.g. where they lived, how many there were in Kansas City area, and what they did for a living. The information obtained from these sources provided basic tenets for the approach to this research.

Phase two of the research focused on an extensive literature review concerning these Boys. This was a crucial step in preparing for the research process to involve Kansas City area-based Lost Boys since various scholars have written about the Lost Boys living in different areas of the United States. At the time this study commenced, very little had been written about these Boys living in the greater Kansas City area (primarily in the state of Kansas). This study uses social capital theory to assert that parental care and education are important factors in shaping the well-being and upbringing of children in a given society. Because these Boys were not

accompanied by their parents when they arrived in the United States, it was important to find how they adjusted to the new culture.

Phase three of the research was the initial contacts via phone with the participants. This enabled me to pre-test my questionnaire, allowing me to modify it for better accuracy and relevancy. During these phone calls, plans to make physical contact with each participant in Kansas City were made.

Phase four of the study consisted of making numerous visits to Kansas City to interview the Boys in person where they lived. 40 of the information-oriented selected Boys were interviewed to ascertain whether they were adjusting and integrating successfully into the Kansas City community. The study identified both successful and challenging aspects of the United States, as well as contributing factors associated with each area of inquiry. It was important to find out what had helped those who have adapted well since most of them have been in the United States for more than eight years. I found that one of the most important tools that helped them adapt well was education. This was identified through interviews carried out with an interview structure devised to maintain consistency in the information collected. The interviews were confidential and private so that participants felt confident and comfortable speaking freely without any external influence. Interviews were conducted with participants in comfortable place chosen by the participants. Whenever interruptions occurred, by the arrival of friends or other people during the interview process, the interview was stopped until they left, unless the participant requested that the interview continue with friends in the vicinity.

6.3.5 Data Collection Techniques from Multiple Case Studies

The main method used to collect data for this study included in-depth and standard unstructured interviews, life stories, participant observation, informal conversation, and spending time with some of the Lost Boys. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, contributing observational data. Each interview was recorded and later transcribed for analysis; those interviews that had common traits were given serious consideration as these became the main themes of this study.

This research used a semi-structured method in which a short list of questions was provided to the interviewees to help them provide information needed (see Appendix C). The reason for choosing this method was because it gave the person being interviewed authority over

the process and ended up providing information which might otherwise not have been willingly provided. This was a more open-ended type of approach, chosen by the researcher for several reasons. This was particularly important for the Lost Boys because they had undergone a lot of traumatic experiences and might have felt threatened once again. Further, it gave them an opportunity to air their views by identifying issues that were important to them, as opposed to surveys where the researcher pre-determines what questions the participants were to answer. In total, I interviewed forty participants (all participants were at least 18 years of age at the time of their respective interviews).

Per qualitative research methods discussed above, both primary and secondary data collection were used in this study. Primary data was obtained through interviews and observations with the participants who were the primary source. Wiersma (1995) defines a primary source as, “*an original or first-hand account of the event or experience*” (p. 234). Secondary data was obtained from review of existing published and non-published literature relevant to this study as a secondary source (A secondary source is any account that is not primary). Materials reviewed include:

- Published and unpublished literature on the Lost Boys, including books, journal articles, online sources, and the media (both print and electronic). Much of what many people know about the Lost Boys of Sudan was garnered through the media (electronic and print). Little scholarly work had been done on these Boys. Consequently, it was likely that the media could create a bias when reporting because the media, in most cases, served to address special interests. Media accounts can be either positive or negative. Though media information still remains a powerful source of information, over-reliance on the media can be very subjective. Thus, I very carefully selected where I got my secondary information from as supplementary or secondary sources. Indeed, getting the Lost Boys to speak about their experiences firsthand through interviews was the most powerful tool I provided them. Their direct quotes used in this study not only eliminated biases which could lead to misreporting, but also allowed the Boys to speak directly to the reader instead of having others speak on their behalf.

Use of secondary data contributed greatly to becoming familiar with different background information which greatly contributed to the quality of this study. It enabled me to understand how other researchers and scholars have applied both theoretical and methodological

approaches to their studies and the obstacles they faced when carrying out their research. Data from past studies helped to compare and complement my primary data.

6.3.6 Individual Interviews

According to Patton (1990), there are three ways of carrying out qualitative interviews: informal conversational interviews, semi-structured interviews, and standardized open-ended interviews. A combination of all three methods proved suitable for this study. I prepared an interview guide with a list of questions to help explore salient topics that arose during each interview and recurred throughout the multiple case study interview process. In this way, I made sure that the information obtained from each participant was reliable and importantly, participants had the freedom and safety to add additional information that they may not have readily supplied. The semi-structured interview guide was useful as it allowed the participant to probe and explore in-depth any question in the study without restriction. The interview guide ensured that participants remained focused on the questions, as there was limited time to conduct each interview. The interview guide was pre-tested using one participant to ascertain how effective it was. At the time, this participant was attending Kansas State University and is a Lost Boy (name withheld).

6.3.7 Observations

Researchers who employ qualitative research most often use observation as their primary means of data collection. Data obtained in this study is original in that the Kansas City area-based Lost Boy population has not been extensively interviewed in person; very little data existed to date on the Lost Boys of Kansas City. Patton (1990) says that the natural behavior of the participant is observed or heard as it is recorded. I was able to see the participants in their familiar environments and to observe their actions and activities as a given interview progressed. This enabled me to understand more of the context in which some events occurred. I observed some things that the person being interviewed might not have wanted to articulate, for instance facial expressions and visible sadness. To ensure accuracy, I used a tape recorder and took field notes, helping me in the reconstruction and description of important events that participants described during the interviews. Direct observations during the interview process gave me increased understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which a given Boy lived, as well as of the relationship among the Lost Boys and with other people. More so,

direct observations helped me to understand complexities associated with their experiences as African refugees resettled in the United States.

6.3.8 Steps I took to Ensure Protection of Human Subjects

The first step was to invite and explain the purpose and procedure of my study to the Lost Boys prior to the conducting of interviews. They needed to know that this study involved personal interviews. I informed them that I had acquired permission to interact and interview them only with their own consent and that they had the right to participate in this research as participants. Each participant had to sign a consent form prior to interviewing (see Appendix B). They had an option to choose the site of their individual interview and interviews were all conducted in English. A letter was composed and sent to Julie Pitts program director international & immigrant student services of Johnson County Community College to invite Lost Boys studying there to participate in this research, which may be reviewed in the appendices of this dissertation (See Appendix A).

The second step ensured that names of participants were coded or given false names. This form of confidentiality protects participants from any harm that might be done against them as a result of the interviews. One participant had this to say:

Well, I don't want my name to be on print. My name should be secret because I am very aware the psychological of a human being. When I grew up in my home town village, I went through problems. I have been to a lot of places. I went to Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and back to Sudan.

All recordings and any written form of material were highly secured and protected by myself and will be kept for not less than five years. The reason for this will be to reference them if any developments or questions arise. After that period, I will shred all written materials and destroy all associated digital recordings.

The third step involved explaining to the participants the benefits of this research. Below is the script from which I read in order to standardize their informed consent:

1. This is a scholarly research. This is a significant piece of original, seminal research that will later be published, promoting the cause of both the Lost Boys (and Girls) and the plight of Sudanese peoples.
2. This research is not funded by any organization or individuals and so there are no financial benefits, however here is how the participants will gain by participating.

- A. This study is about resettlement and integration of the Sudanese Lost Boys in the United States. The study replicates important studies done on these Boys by scholars in other U.S states. Those previous studies were based in those states in which Sudanese of the Diasporas live (Ohio, Tennessee, South Dakota, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Colorado). So far no one has conducted an interview-based research study on the Lost Boys who live in Kansas City. Most of their situation have been primarily told or discussed by professionals, scholars, policy makers and those agencies that support them. The purpose of this study is to give those lost boys in Kansas City a platform through which they can also tell their experiences since they arrived in the United States.
- B. The study is important in understanding the sociological impact environmental, climate and social changes on the Lost Boys.
- C. The participants will see their direct quotes in this dissertation without their names being mentioned after the study is complete.
- D. A copy of my dissertation will be given to each participant after the study is complete and published.
- E. I will acknowledge all those who participate as contributors to the success of this dissertation.
- F. Last, but very important, is that, U.S policy makers rely heavily on published work to come up with refugee policies and solutions. This research intends to analyze refugee problems and finally come up with recommendations so that refugee problems and issues can further be improved. In this case those who will contribute will not only improve their situation as refugees in the United States but also the future refugees especially from Africa.

6.3.9 Data Analysis

Wiersma (1995) contends that data analysis is the, “*organization of information and data reduction*” (p.217), While Wolcott (1994) defines data analysis as, “the more orderly, less speculative side of data transformation” (p.26). Wolcott asserts that subjecting data to rigorous analysis gives the data a lot of credibility during the actual process of data analysis. Mishler (1986) states that “*referential meaning-that is, content expressed through themes and their*

relations to each other, is fundamental to analysis and interpretation” (p. 87), while Berg (1995) says that the role of the researcher in the process of analysis of data is to keep focused on the questions that will ensure that the data collected is relevant to the research topic and is addressing/answering the primary research question. After conducting interviews with the Lost Boys, I transcribed the digitally-recorded interviews and used the data as the primary research source. I assigned the responses in a coded form where respondents were just called participants instead of using their real names. I employed a thematic system for my data analysis in which I identified common themes from the data (Importantly, a thematic system protects the confidentiality of individual participants as opposed to presenting individual cases: confidentiality of the participants in this research was of great importance, as they demanded this type of protection). A table was designed with which I developed the major themes and sub-themes which I later transformed into categories. In this case, all data was classified according to the main themes and sub-themes. A multiple case study framework was used to analyze the 40 cases. A copy of this analysis was sent to each participant for the purpose of validation and to verify accuracy. Education and employment were common areas of interest among all the participants in this study and are two examples of common themes. From the common themes, I derived sub-themes, such as the level of education a given participant had achieved: high school diploma and/or college degree. The type of education they had was often reflected in the type of job or employment secured by a given individual. However, this did not mean that those who were highly educated and had better jobs made more money than those who did manual work. Some manual jobs paid highly, including those working as mechanics, in construction, and/or electricians, all of which command a high hourly wage. Berg (1995) and Wolcott (1994) each cautioned researchers against drawing hasty conclusions and suggested that researchers should conduct open “coding,” which would not only lead to “opening the inquiry widely,” but, also, as Wolcott put it, ...keep breaking down elements until they are small enough units to invite rudimentary analysis, then begin to build the analysis from there” (Wolcott, 1994 p. 30).

6.3.10 Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative data were classified into 11 demographic and ethnographic categories. Demographic categories were; education, employment, housing, friends, citizenship, and place, while religious, secular, social networks, safety, and family were ethnographic. Cross-analysis

was possible through quantification of key indicators of successful integration (i.e. the accrual of social capital values in American society). Data was arranged by themes and sub-themes, which made it possible to assign relative scores for each sub-category (0-3, for a total possible score of 33, where 33 indicated the highest degree of assimilation and acquired social capital in U. S.). The accumulation of the average total social capital of the Lost Boys since their arrival in the United States is indicated by the total score. Boys settled as minors scored between 30 and 33 on the assigned relative average score, while those settled as legal adults scored as low as 11 on the assigned relative average score. Results of the quantitative data analysis are displayed in Table 9-4, where the results of the quantitative data analysis are consistent with the findings of qualitative analysis.

6.3.11 Advantages

I can safely say I had advantages in carrying out my research. First, I am African and therefore the Lost Boys felt at ease with me. Importantly, as they learnt that I was from Kenya, they felt even freer to speak because most of them had lived in a Kenyan refugee camp, where they had learned about Kenyan culture and learned to speak some Swahili, which is the national language of Kenya. Most of them had gone to school in the Kenyan camps. Naturally, this created some bonding. My own bond with these Boys is significantly strengthened by my actual visits to refugee camps in Kenya in 2000. While I have not met any of the Lost Boys I first encountered a decade ago, my interest in the Boys remains strong and the participants in this study appreciated my ties to their time as refugees housed in Kenya. Secondly, Dr. David Rine, a staff member of Sudan Sunrise (NGO), and Professor Emeritus and a founding Chair of the Volgenau School of Information Technology and Engineering at George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia), gave me immeasurable assistance. He not only helped me locate the Lost Boys but also arranged for me to meet them.

6.3.12 Challenges

One of the most serious challenges that I faced involved a lack of funding. I did not have enough funds to carry out this research because I was self-sponsored. I relied on my student stipend, which was not sufficient to carry out this intensive research. However, I managed to complete my research at Kansas State University with minimal assistance which included transport to and from the Kansas City area by a trusted friend Dr. Jay Siebert from Manhattan,

Kansas. The second challenge I faced in this study was to locate participants. The Lost Boys are spread throughout Kansas City and some were either taking summer classes or working. The third challenge was finding the right person in Kansas who had direct links with the Lost Boys. First, I contacted Mr. Lewis Kimsey, the refugee coordinator for the state of Kansas. He seemed to have insufficient information about these Boys and he referred me to a Mrs. Karen Janas, who works with the Jewish Vocational Services in Kansas City, Missouri. She introduced me to some Lost Boys and their leaders in Kansas City after a period of time. Fourth, I needed the services of a transcriber who would have helped me to transcribe the 40 interviews. But, I could not afford to pay for one, so I transcribed the interviews on my own. This consumed a lot of time and delayed my data analysis.

6.3.13 Time Frame

The data collection process took about a month. Each interview took between twenty to forty five minutes. The interview start date was July 25, 2009.

6.3.14 Unit of Analysis

My unit of analysis was integration/assimilation of the Lost Boys. Subunits were derived from participant responses which were then categorized and quantified by the researcher. This data is displayed and discussed in Chapter 9

CHAPTER 7 - Presentation of Qualitative Findings

7.1 Introduction

Chapter Six underlined the criteria for data analysis procedures used in this study. Chapter Seven presents both the findings and subsequent analysis of results derived from the interviewees. The goal of this study was to determine the varying degrees to which individual Sudanese Lost Boys were integrated or incorporated into mainstream Kansas society and to determine if individuals experienced marginalization and/or exclusion. A multiple case study framework was used to analyze the 40 cases. The multiple case study model derived by Yin (1994) was integral to the research model employed in the present study to collect data from 40 Sudanese participants living in the Kansas City area. In collecting primary data for this research, direct observation and a set of semi-structured questions were used to both obtain data from the participants and to answer the research question. During interviews, each participant was repeatedly asked all survey questions and each was treated as an independent participant (see Appendix C). This process was repeated several times until it reached its saturation point of 40 interviews. Information-oriented sampling was used to obtain a representative number of participants, where the representation was reached at the *saturation point*. Getting to a saturation point yielded a wide variety of relevant information and experiences. Data was initially collected in a digital recorder. In the process of transcribing primary data interviews, I made great effort to maintain the original story as told by the primary participants (quoting their exact words with few grammar corrections, given that English was not their first language). Data collected from participants was assigned in coded form rather than by the participant's name. According to Eisenhardt (1989), if all or nearly all of the variables provide similar results, there exists substantial support for the development of a preliminary theory that describes the phenomena. These were the main themes in this study. A thematic system for data analysis was employed, identifying common themes derived from the data. A table was designed to develop major themes and sub-themes that were later transformed into categories classifying data according to the main themes and sub-themes.

7.2 Key Participant Questionnaire, Responses and Analysis of Results

The following section gives the titles of research categories, followed by assertion(s)/rationale(s) then details the interview questions, responses/findings and summary for each subsidiary topic at the end. A summary of major recurring responses to questions was derived from the digitally recorded interviews. Recurring responses were used to identify major themes and sub-themes among answers given by participants. From these, I interpreted and subsequently analyzed responses to each question.

The interview process applied the designed questionnaire consisting of eleven ethnographic and/or demographic and cultural categories:

1. Education/Demographic.
2. Employment/Demographic.
3. Housing/Demographic.
4. Religious/Culture.
5. Secular/Culture
6. Social Networks/Culture.
7. Friends/Demographic.
8. Family/Culture.
9. Place/Demographic.
10. Citizenship/Demographic
11. Safety/Cultural.

Each category consists of three sections:

1. Rationale for the question(s) and assertion(s) contributing to the given question(s).
2. Question(s)
3. Reported responses and findings from the question(s).

NOTE: *The participants' responses are italicized. I made every effort to maintain the original story as told by the participants in this study by quoting their exact words (though with very little grammar corrections - English is not their first language). This allowed challenges that some of these Boys face in becoming familiar with and fluent in the English language to be made apparent. The brevity of their responses may have indicated that language is not an*

impediment to success for those who were determined to thrive in the social environment of the greater Kansas City area.

7. 2.1 Research Category 1: Education

Assertion:

According to Ozturk (2001), education plays an important role in securing and acquiring economic and social progress. It is also an avenue under which human development is achieved.

Rationale:

In the United States, education is integral to the foundation of a good life, yet education is not given high priority in southern Sudan. An empirical investigation conducted by Collier (2000) on civil wars suggested that concentration of civil wars often occurs in countries with little education; these findings greatly support the thesis that education plays a key role in promoting (healthy) development. Of particular relevance to the current study is Collier's finding that countries with higher percentages of youths in school show significantly less potential for conflict. Sommers (2002) arrives at similar conclusions, observing that:

it is war that makes the case for providing educational responses to the needs of children and youth who are at risk of civil war more than any other circumstance as their education is a vital protection measure from child soldiering (Sommers, 2002, Summary findings ¶ 6).

Questions: **What kind of schooling/education have you had?**
 Did you go to school in Africa?
 What kind of education would you like to have?
 How would that help you reach your goals?

Responses and Findings:

The responses given by the participants to the questions about education supported the assertion that education is a major component of integration. The importance of education is established by the recurring theme of education throughout all of the interviews. The Lost Boys came to the United States with a strong desire to acquire education and professional skills that they did not have the opportunity to acquire in Sudan or in Kenya. They viewed education as a way to recapture control of their lives, which depended for several years upon other people and organizations. Most of the participants indicated they did not go to school in Sudan prior to the start of their exodus. About ten participants said they had some education in the Ethiopian

refugee camp before being forced out by the Derg rebel group that overthrew Mengistu. Most of them received primary and secondary education in the Kenyan refugee camps of Kakuma. One participant's response expressed the desire for education:

I got my elementary education in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya but I also went to school in Ethiopia before we were chased from Ethiopia to Sudan when Mengistu was overthrown. We only spent two months in Sudan then to Kenya. I was in Ethiopia for three months. I made some of the videos in Ethiopia. I sat for my KCPE in Kenya. I graduated in 1997 and got a certificate. I got "A's" in nearly all the classes that I took. I got an "A" in Mathematics.

The interviews revealed that most participants were not interested in learning and speaking Swahili while in the Kakuma refugee camps in Kenya. Swahili is Kenya's national language, which was made a compulsory subject in both primary and secondary Kenyan schools in the late 1980s. Kenyan students sit for national examinations at the end of their eight years in primary school and four years in secondary schools and Swahili is one of the exam subjects. Swahili is also the language of business in Kenya. Here is what one participant said about Swahili courses:

Ohh that one I think I got a "D" if not "E" that was the subject that gave us problems because we did not bother. It is just saying "kiti" (Chair) and then you say "viti"(chairs) but if you want to write essay then that was very difficult. Even when I went to secondary school I never took a lot of interest in Swahili.

Nearly all the participants in this study stated that they were working hard in school and that most of their professors were happy with their performances. The Lost Boys were not only eager to receive an education but many were able to do so, according to their scholastic performances in Africa. They worked hard in school even though they had other responsibilities of working to pay their bills. Research conducted by Speer (1994) found African immigrant populations were among the most educated foreign born immigrants in the western world. One participant confirms Speers' assertion by explaining:

My professor always tells me he has never met someone who is so determined in education like me.

Most participants pursued their education in colleges located in the greater Kansas City area. A great number of them lived in Olathe and attended Johnson County Community College. They said they would like to pursue their education at the post-graduate level. However, they

were quick to point out that they might need a break to work, make money, and have a family before pursuing higher education. As one participant said:

In future, if I will be settled down, I would like to continue my education to a Masters level. After settling down and having like a family or some... You know what (light moment),

Five participants said they graduated from college and were now working. Three among these said they worked two jobs in order to make more money to help family members living in Sudan or in Kenyan refugee camps. Two others indicated they were not going to school at that time but were working hard to make money to buy air tickets to Sudan and to the Kenyan refugee camps located in Kakuma. Their mission was first to find girls to marry and eventually pay dowry after marrying. One participant indicated that he not only wanted to acquire more education but also wished to raise funds to help build a school in his village in Sudan for those left behind. He said:

Most of my family members didn't go to school. I was planning to help them by getting a school to that village. And that can help them. I have paperwork that I need to hand over to people who will assist me. But I don't know where to start. No matter what, I will not forget my people back home. My mom, my dad, my cousin, my village, I can't forget. We have to help them in order for them to help themselves, so that they don't depend on me. But I need to educate them so that they become independent. They can do work and pay for themselves.

Summary

Nearly all participants in this study indicated ten years after arriving in the United States, they did not now receive any educational support from the United States government, religious organizations (the church) or other public organizations:

In Africa, we Lost Boys used to receive everything from the United Nations and other western countries including the United States. But after resettling here, we received some assistance and then they cut it off after six months. We are now independent and working hard to support ourselves and paying bills. In America you can die if you don't work because no one cares. But we the Lost Boys care for one another when we have problems.

They worked and they attended school, paid their own tuition and education related expenses. Those who had become U. S. citizens or permanent residents had the advantage of being able to apply for and secure federal student loans, as do many other American students. Some Boys said they had attained partial scholarships to help them. Those who were placed in foster families had

an advantage because their respective foster families helped pay some of the educational expenses.

I can say I was very lucky to be placed in a foster family. I learned a lot through the family. They showed me a lot about American life. They took care of me when I was sick. Paid my tuition and bought food for me. I thank them a lot.

7. 2.2 Research Category 2: Employment

Assertion:

According to the U.S. citizenship and immigration services (2009), refugees enter the United States with permission to work. The U.S. government requires adult refugees (eighteen years of age and older) to find employment within six months, assisted by agencies specializing in resettlement aid and services.

Rationale:

For the Lost Boys, getting a job in the United States was very important. Most of them did not work in Africa due to a lack of education and professional training. They discovered after arriving that they needed to work hard and fend for themselves. U. S. society is based on an individual being self-sufficient rather than depending on family and friends, as it is in Africa. The Lost Boys paid bills, paid their tuition, and remitted some money to help those left behind in Africa. Further, they had the obligation to help develop their society by building schools and hospitals for those left in Africa. The Lost Boys found that getting a good job in the U.S. largely depended on getting a good (i.e. higher) education. Soon after acquiring social security cards, the Lost Boys looked for jobs and most enrolled in educational programs. Those with a college education (especially American) increased their chances of competing for American jobs with American citizens; this increased their chances of economic success.

Questions: **What kind of jobs have you had?**
 What kind of work are you prepared to do?
 Do you count yourself as successful in economic terms?
 What kind of work would you like to do?
 What would it take to get that kind of job?
 Is it difficult for you to get a job here in Kansas?

Responses and Findings

Some participants found it was difficult to find employment because they lacked language proficiency, work experience, and skills. Most of the participants did not work in

Africa because they were either too young or because the civil war in Sudan had drastically reduced employment opportunities. Further, refugees were not allowed to work while living in the refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya. All participants indicated that they didn't care what type of job they had because they wanted to pay their bills and go to school. One participant, who was not fluent in English, seemed very frustrated. He felt disadvantaged by his inability to communicate effectively with American employers. Moreover, he maintained no close relationships with African immigrants, other than the Lost Boys. This participant blamed all of his problems on a lack of education and language proficiency. He said employers seemed suspicious of individuals who were unable to speak in English and expressed his predicament in this way:

Yea, it is difficult to get job because people from Kansas don't trust you. Some people, they don't need somebody (sifar) who don't know English. That one is difficult. They are good people but problem is English. You don't know how to speak good English; you don't want to write good English, some people don't trust you. That one is difficult.

Other participants, who spoke better English, indicated that it was not difficult for them to get well-paying work as manual laborers:

I got a job when I came to the U. S. I have worked in a lot of places and I have made a lot of money. I work with a construction company and they pay me very well. They pay like \$20 an hour. It is not very difficult to get a job. If you do your job well you are able to stay longer.

One participant said that he worked in Nairobi, Kenya before coming to the United States. But the job was not satisfying and not well paying, but he only did it for survival. He had a family to feed and parents to provide for back in Sudan. He said that his wife and three children still lived in Nairobi, Kenya. He recently returned to Kenya to try and bring them to the United States but he was not successful because he did not have a marriage certificate, a document necessary as a proof of marriage at the United States embassy. He said he was married in the Sudanese traditional way of paying dowry. In the process of obtaining a marriage certificate in Sudan, he was delayed in Kenya and therefore lost his job in the United States. Since then he had been looking for work but had been unsuccessful to find one. Here is what he said:

In April, I went to bring my family over. But the way it is in my country, you marry, pay some dowry in order to get a Dinka girl, but we don't get a marry license. Those who get marriage license are those who live in cities but not everybody in Sudan and Kakuma got license. So when I came to apply for my

family I did not have a license. I told them, you know what... my dad gave the cows to my in-law. And that is a custom we are using. I said what, I am going to obey your laws and abandon my Sudanese laws because I need to bring my family here. So I dismantled my law and I went back to the court for the paper. When I was in Africa, I lost my job. I had asked for permission. I told them I had been away from my family for four and half years and I needed to go and see my family. My boss said ok. So when I left my boss assumed that I was only going for one month. I didn't know that I was going for two months. So when time came, they cancelled me and give my job to somebody. In one month, I got a letter saying that you have been terminated because you abandoned the job. So say now there are two things. I did not want to abandon the job. How could I abandon the job and yet I was not consulted. Which is which now? So I went back and talked with them. My manager say, you come back. Then she told me ok. Go to human resource and talk with her. She said we will call you and set a date. That day came and they did not call me. So I called them. They never answered and I left a message. They called me later and said your position has been given out. That was in July 17th. Since then I have tried to apply for a job. It is hard for get it.

Several participants said they were asked by potential employers whether they had American work experience, or if they had been convicted of crimes before. This made some of them uncomfortable as they did not know what type of crime could bar them from getting a job.

Getting a job here is at times difficult. When they ask about your background check then you just get lost. You don't know if you will get the job or not. I know I have had one DUI and I don't know whether that is a crime that can bar me from getting a job. I don't see the connection between driving and working. The struggle for survival still continues even in America.

Summary

The interviews revealed that education and fluency in English were very important in helping Lost Boys secure jobs in the United States. Nearly all of the participants in this study had no work experience prior to coming to the United States. All participants indicated that employment was important in achieving economic self-sufficiency. Several participants changed jobs, motivated by the search for better pay.

7. 2.3 Research Category 3: Housing

Assertion:

According to U.S. committee for Refugees and Immigration (2010), refugees who arrive in the United States need permanent housing. Resettlement agencies and government institutions that work on refugee issues try hard to find housing for refugees at safe locations with basic utilities and proximity to public transportation.

Rationale:

The right to adequate housing was first recognized in Article 25(1) of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and is now embedded in various human rights standards. According to these provisions, it is the duty of the hosting government to make sure refugees receive government-provided security of tenure: protection against arbitrary or forced racial discrimination in the housing industry; assurance of affordable housing; regulation of landlord-tenant relations, and access to housing resources that accommodate the needs of marginalized groups, people with disabilities, individuals with health problems, the elderly, and refugees, including the Lost Boys.

Questions: **What kind of neighborhood do you live in?**
 Who would you like to have as neighbors?

Responses and Findings

Typically, the participants in this study lived in apartments with two to four housemates. In these cases, they not only shared living expenses but also household tasks and company. It is interesting that rather than adopting the American way of being self-sufficient, the participants maintained the African way of helping each other, especially during periods of stress and unemployment. If one participant was laid off, then those working took over his financial tasks until he found another job. One participant described his living situation:

Aaaahhh, I live in a medium income neighborhood, it is not like high income neighborhood. The apartment rent run from \$400 to \$700. Three bedroom apartments go for \$700, two bedrooms for \$570 to \$600. The crime rate is not threatening. It is very convenient.

No participant indicated that race was an issue in choosing where they lived. They said they did not care who their neighbors were so long as they lived in peace. All of the participants indicated that they were comfortable in living in their respective neighborhoods. Although some indicated that they were willing to relocate to other states and cities to find good jobs after completing their studies in Kansas:

Ohh ohhh, I will be willing to relocate to anywhere where I find a job. If I find a job in California, I will relocate there. If I got a job in New York, I will move there. All this will be determined by the job that I get. I will have no choice but to move.

A number of participants said they had no desire to relocate or to even look for housing in other neighborhoods. None of the participants indicated encountering any problem with their neighbors, though some said it was difficult to know who their neighbors were because they had not had an opportunity to meet them. Most of the Lost Boys lived in predominantly Caucasian neighborhoods. One participant said:

Well, I have been here for four half years in this apartment. I have been going very smoothly. I never see or will never see, I don't know my neighbor (laughter) which is very strange. Some neighbors in this community know me though. Because my stay here with them, I don't want to interfere in their affairs. I need to respect them. Whatever they do, that is their own. When I meet them on the way, I greet them, "hi," their kid, whatever. I go to my work but now I don't have work. But I go to school and go to church. There is some tutor who is a Unity teacher in Unity Theatre. So I go to ANU or go back to library to study there.

Summary

It is clear from the responses from the participants that though they lived in nice neighborhoods, their primary goal was to save as much money as they could so that they could pay their bills, pay tuition and also remit some back home to Africa. Many of them shared housing utilities, and cars to minimize living costs.

7. 2.4 Research Category 4: Culture/Religion

Assertion:

According to Iqbal (2010), religion was very important to people facing problems. It helped calm them down. Iqbal went on to say that, in the modern society, religion was gaining importance in young people's lives and that it had become "*a type of specialized education*" (Iqbal, 2010, p.2).

Rationale:

Religion is a very important pillar of any society and plays a key part in shaping the culture of society. Religion influences a history of a people, politics and even the sciences. In the United States, religion continues to influence American history, politics, and development, where religious heritage of pluralism is firmly embedded in American culture and identity. According to a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey done in 2002, the United States was the only developed nation in the survey where a majority of its citizens said that religion played a "key" role in their lives. The Lost Boys relied on religion to keep them going whenever their spirits were low:

“Duncan noted, religion was one way the Lost Boys would sustain sense of purpose and belonging in the United States” (Bixler, 2005, p. 142).

**Questions: Do you practice a religion/faith?
Do you belong to a "church/mosque"?
What assistance/support has the church and its members provided you?**

Responses and Findings

All of the participants in this study were from the Dinka tribe and culture. They believed in the Christian religion and had Christian first names. They did not practice animism and did not know much about or practice the conservative traditions of Dinka cultures. Most of them were Catholic, though some belonged to the Lutheran church and others to the Episcopalian church. A number of them attended Unity Church (a religious movement within the new thought movement) in Overland Park, Kansas. Churches were the primary channel for resettling refugees in the United States through co-sponsorship with government and non-government agencies. As a result, the churches played an important role in shaping the experiences of the Lost Boys in Kansas City area. Though all the participants belonged to religious institutions, some of them were members because of the moral aspects of being affiliated to a church or because of peer pressure. Here is what one had to say:

Well I do go to church. You know what; I have been to several different countries. I study different religions. I don't have any clue. We are in a culture of money. Not in a human being culture. I very hard try not to jump into fire. I just go to church and pray and back to my home. I am a Christian.

Another participant said:

(Laughter) ohhh men. There are some religions that are so radical. It is not all religions that are bad. It is not the religion but the people. I am an advocate of

freedom of worship. I have no problem with religion but what you do. Part of your ideologies - that is what I have problem with.

While another noted:

I am a Christian, yes; I go to First Lutheran Church. I just go to the Lord and come back home (laughter).

Over the course of nine years, the participants became more independent and self-sufficient. Most of the participants indicated they received some form of support from the church in the past, but that support had ended. The relationships between churches and the participants of this study was now solely in the form of spiritual and social fulfillment. One participant had this to say when asked if he received any support from the church:

Ahhh no, not all. I just go and worship God and that is all.

Another one said he was a new resident in the area and no one knew him. He said he only went to church to worship and no one had paid attention to the arrival of a new member in the church.

No, I don't get any assistance from the church. I just go to church to pray and then back home. I live here with my cousin. He live here for a long time. Nobody knows me here now. I go and pray and back home.

However, one participant said that he received donations from Unity Community Church where he was a member. That is before he left for Africa early in that year. He received donations from the church to assist him purchase a plane ticket and to help his family in Africa. He was so thankful to the church members who had generously donated to him.

The community church here gave me some money when I went to Africa to go and see my family. And I really appreciate their help. Unity Church Overland Park. People there, they are really human beings. They really contributed to my charity. I went and saw my parents in Sudan, my friends, my family. The situation in Sudan was still terrible. I used NGO's plane to fly there. I flew from Nairobi to Juba. Then I took another plane from Juba to Lualaba. Then from Lualaba to Khadof to the village. Very stressed. My father had not seen me for twenty years. We have not even been communicating for long. My wife called them and told them I was on my way home. I gave what I have to them.

Summary

It was clear from observations and interview conversations that all participants in this study still held to some Sudanese culture. This was clear through the foods they ate and the way they dressed. Though many said they did not mind eating American foods, they tried as much as

they could to get what resembled the foods that they ate in Africa. Some wore African attire (clothes and hats).

7. 2.5 Research Category 5: Culture/Secular

Assertion:

According to (Kendall, 2008), American culture is composed of material and nonmaterial culture. Material culture includes: the arts, material objects and innovations. Whereas nonmaterial culture includes: traditions, language (English), customs, values, beliefs, and ideals. Most of American innovations are developed locally though some are imported. Some of the major American ideals are democracy, capitalism, freedom of speech, religion and civil liberties.

Rationale:

The most important American cultural activity is education. Students from all over America and the rest of the world attend learning institutions to obtain knowledge, employment opportunities, and social status. National holidays (Independence Day, Halloween, Christmas and Thanksgiving) and sports are also part of American culture. American sport is different from that of the rest of the world and thus makes it unique. Americans like baseball, American football, basketball and ice hockey, while soccer, which is the most popular sport in the world, is not popular with Americans. Sports became a major part of a new consumerism during the 20th century. Before this period, sports were mostly viewed as a leisure activity. Sports reflect American values. The American public holds its sports icons in high esteem; celebrity athletes serve as role models for young people and aspiring athletes. They can influence powerful marketing strategies like advertising and public relations. Marketers have linked those celebrities with products. New technologies help to create better and advanced sports gear and facilities which enhance performance. As a result, many sports teams became employers. Players played to earn a living like any other job. Sports then became a big business as those who did not compete in sports pay a fee to see others compete. The American political structure allows the separation of powers between, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. Many African countries do not have clear separation. Good political structure is meant to create governments that take the responsibility of providing for its people, and that should be the function of politics. Therefore, politics should maintain the rules and regulations of a society by ensuring the

protection of the people's rights and by enhancing the feeling in people that they are taken care of.

Question: Do you follow or participate in American cultural activities like sports, and politics?

Responses and Findings

Cultural activities

I could clearly see amusement and brightened faces when I asked about participation in American cultural activities. It was clear from observations and interview conversations that all the participants in this study retained aspects of Sudanese culture, such as the foods they ate and the way they dressed. Although many said they did not mind eating American foods they tried hard to get African foods. Approximately 30 participants said they enjoyed and liked American cultural festivities. The Lost Boys seemed to have clung to other aspects of Sudanese culture, such as using their Sudanese family names as their surnames, while a few had Sudanese traditional marks on their foreheads. Most said they were amused by cultural activities like Halloween, which they considered to be a form of witchcraft. One participant thought witchcraft was only practiced on the African continent and that it signified doom and fear. Some Halloween costumes were too scary for him:

The first time I participated in Halloween festivities I was so scared. I just felt that something bad was about to happen. I did not sleep at night as this kept reminding me of bad things that were happening in Africa. When I did sleep I had bad dreams that scared me and at one moment I had to wake up and scream.

Most participants said they enjoyed Thanksgiving because American friends invited them to their homes to share meals with them. One participant had this to say:

Thanksgiving is one of the most generous holidays for Americans. They invite anyone, even strangers, to their homes to share food with them. I like Thanksgiving holiday a lot.

Participants in this study also enjoyed American Independence Day. They said they liked the fireworks, which lit the sky with amazing networks. However, some participants had reservations about the fireworks because it reminded them of the horrible days in Sudan. This one participant observed:

I like the American Independence Day. Americans like it a lot. I like going out to watch the fireworks. Though I don't like the sound of...the sound and noise

reminds me of Sudan and the militia's running and killing people indiscriminately in my village.

All participants said they liked Christmas. Most said they did not think that Americans celebrated Christmas; they thought it was an African holiday. They noted that Christmas was one of the most important holidays in Africa equivalent to American Independence Day where business activities were brought to a standstill. Most cities and towns were deserted by individuals and families who traveled to rural areas to celebrate the holiday with friends, families and communities. The celebrations went from the 24th of December to around the 4th of January. Some Boys noted that there were differences between Christmas celebrations in the United States and those in Africa. They said they did not feel there was a Christmas mood in the United States because people seemed to exchange gifts and then go back to work. In Africa, people slaughtered cows, goats and sheep, drunk locally brewed beer, and sang and danced, while some went to church. People did not return to work until all the food they prepared was gone:

Yea, I celebrate Christmas. Thanksgiving is good. Like my country in Sudan, Christmas, that one is big part for everybody because of long days. Some people go outside. Singing and dancing for seven days or fourteen days. In Egypt, Christmas in Egypt is like America. People in Egypt and the U. S. go to church during Christmas and pray there and that is all. I am confused about that. What is Christmas here? No friends to enjoy with.

Sports

The Lost Boys used sports to relax after a day of work or school. Their views of American sports differed from one participant to another. Some blamed a lack of time to participate in sports, some said they did not understand the rules associated with particular sports, and some said they felt little or no excitement for American games. No participant said he liked watching or participating in baseball, citing difficult rules to follow, the long season, and long hours the game is played. Most participants said they liked watching sports on television. The most-viewed sport by the participants in this study was basketball because of their icon, Manute Bol (he was a Sudanese basketball player who played for the NBA. He died in June 19, 2010). Here is what one participant said:

Ehhh ahhh (laughter), I play basketball for fun and I love watching it. You know Manute Bol? I also like American football. I am a sport guy. I like sports. I am a big sport guy. But I don't participate in competition level. I wish I could, but I just watch it a lot.

They cited lack of time and money as the main reason for not going to see professional games. Nearly all the participants indicated it was too expensive to pay for entrance to sporting events when they had family to help and bills to pay. One participant said:

I did participate in sports in high school up till I got here, I go to work and I don't have time. I like watching sports, my favorite would be basketball because I don't know nothing about football, I don't even know how the game ended. I mean, I catch it for real like almost for hours or whatever and I would still not figure it out, how did it end, for real, what is touchdown (laughter), what is that, I don't know, I don't anything about it. I know basketball and I try it out in high school, I play it for one year. And I play tennis, tennis is my second, I love it, and I went cross country in high school so those are the three things that I get. I can still run, I'm not that bad, I weigh 140bs, I run on my own for my own exercise but I don't do it for anything.

Most participants also said it was more fun sitting and watching sports with close friends:

I like watching American football with friends who understand how it is played and its rules. I don't know the rules and I always feel comfortable sitting with someone who will tell me what is going on in the field. TV is good because they at times have playbacks which help me understand what had past.

Politics

Several participants were indifferent to the question of participation in politics and most indicated they did not like politics. They said politics were dirty and that politicians had not helped them a lot. Some felt participation in politics was just a waste of time and instead said they should do something more constructive. One participant said:

I don't participate in politics. I want to take care of myself first. Go to work, my family, my career, and set my goals.

Other Lost Boys said that politics transformed their country into chaos and thus therefore, they did not enjoy or like politics at all, as this participant noted:

Sometimes I do like politics, but sometimes I don't. The reason I don't, the camp that I was living in, the things that were going on back home. I feel like if it wasn't the politics, a whole bunch of kids shouldn't have died, if it wasn't the politics a whole bunch of adults shouldn't have died so I feel like the politics is a part of losing games so I don't really care that much about politics at all. I feel like sticking with truth is better. And this people gonna die from war, this people gonna die from hunger, this people gonna die from so many sickness, then why talk politics. So, I don't, I don't like politics at all. I can participate, so long as I know the truth behind it and it is not going to take away lives.

Although some Boys categorized themselves as liberals or moderates, saying they enjoyed following local and national politics on television, listening to the radio, and/or reading on the internet, many indicated they did not vote because they had not become U. S. citizens.

Summary

It seemed from the responses given by the participants that they liked to participate in cultural activities. However, many of them seemed confused when it came to Christmas day. They felt that though Americans were Christians, they did not celebrate Christmas like people do in Africa. Instead they compared the way Americans celebrate the Independence Day to the way they celebrate Christmas in Africa. In sports, though many of them did not physically participate in sports, they watched sports on television. They all seemed to like sports in general. What most did not like was politics as it seemed to remind them of horrible past day in their country Sudan. They disliked politics because bad politics that had led to conflict in Sudan.

7. 2.6 Research Category 6: Support from Social Networks

Assertion:

According to Aja (2000), social networks are part of a larger environment comprised of a set of individuals or organizations. These individuals or organizations are connected by depending on each other through friendships, common interest, financial interests, sexual relationships, beliefs, knowledge, and prestige (class).

Rationale:

In the United States, social networks may emerge through friendships, family, sports, gender, religion, beliefs, race, political affiliations, and professional associations. Aja (2000) says that social networks can influence behavior, problem solving and norms of network members. They play a great role in promoting social participation of members and also social engagement like group activities such as attending church, participating in politics and in community engagement. Through participation of members, intimacy and companionship is established.

Questions: **What kind of assistance/support did your foster family, refugee groups, the government provide since coming to the United States?
Did they help or prevent you from achieving your goals?**

Responses and Findings

Several participants said they were not placed with foster families when they arrived in the United States because they were over eighteen years of age, the legal age of adulthood in America. However, most participants said they were assigned mentors who helped them settle down and also taught them about the American lifestyle during the first days and months after they arrived. Most of them said they were on their own now, but still communicated once in a while with their mentors. One participant said:

Yea, I have like mentor, he is an American. He and his wife helped me get used to American orientation. They introduced me to American way of living here, the weather and foodstuffs and also showed me around. But that is all the help I got. Now I am more independent and I don't call them a lot. Almost every Thanksgiving I go to their place. That is another way I socialize with them.

Those who were minors were placed in foster families. The foster families served as their surrogate parents by providing them with all the basic needs (clothes, shelter and food). But when they turned eighteen years, they moved out and started living on their own, as indicated by this participant:

I did get support from foster families, they gave me all the support I needed, they were very good people. They encouraged me a lot to keep going to school. They told me that was to be my mother and father. I can't forget that. They liked sports a lot more especially football. I did not like it at first but as I sat with them every game time. I started to learn and enjoy it. Now I am a great fan. They also bought me clothes, books and food. That was great.

Thirty-five participants said that they had not received financial assistance from other Lost Boys after resettling in the United States. They said they did not anticipate such assistance because they were in the same situation. However, five of the participants said that they had received other forms of assistance like housing by other Lost Boys when they did not have jobs. They were also provided food by other Lost Boys till they were able to get new jobs. The participants in this study indicated that the most important social aspect is their socialization together, being able to console each other and even tell stories about their lives and families. In most cases, this is a forum in which they get information from those who had communicated with individuals back home about the situation in Sudan and also from their friends and families in Africa. One of the participant commented on his relationship with other Lost Boys:

Hanging out with them. Just to socialize with them but I don't get any financial assistance from them. We play a lot of basketball together. Go to church together.

The research revealed that all participants had received assistance from the United States government. The United States government paid for their plane tickets from Africa (though they had to repay it back after they got jobs), paid their house rents for three to eight months after their resettlement, provided food stamps for three months and also helped them to get jobs. Most of these services were not provided to them directly but through non-governmental organizations and religious institutions. One participant said:

Ahh...right now no. Every Lost Boy in every state once we arrived was given food stamp, depending again on what state you are, we were given like \$300 or some per month. For the first three months after arrival they took care of us. Helped us look for jobs. As soon as you get a job they cut out all those services. Then you are on your own. They also paid for the apartments for three months. We also got \$800 air tickets from African to the U. S. but we had to pay it back. Otherwise, if you don't pay it, they will forward it to credit collection or whatever you call it.

All participants indicated that the United States government provided a lot of assistance in the realization of their dreams and goals. They said that without American assistance, they would not be where they are now. Many said they could have perished in Africa. They said the United States was a land of plenty and opportunity where each person can achieve his or her dreams, so long as one worked hard. All participants said they looked forward to a bright future. Although several of them indicated they were struggling, they felt their problems were not as burdensome as they were in Africa. One said:

At least there is hope in America. People here smile and wave at you even when they don't know you. The U. S. is the opposite of Africa.

Summary

As it is noted in the Literature of this study, the Lost Boys grew up in one community. Although they were not blood related, the way they were bonded to overcome hard times from Africa did not end after being resettled in the United States. They always helped each other and were in constant communications even with Boys who lived far away.

7. 2.7 Research Category 7: Friends

Assertion:

According to Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett (2006), African immigrants tend to make friends with American Caucasians more often than with African Americans.

Rationale:

Generally speaking, relationships between African immigrants and African Americans have not been good, in part due to conflicts between the two groups involving issues such as cultural differences and language barriers (Janzen, El-Hasan, Lohrentz and Hartnett, 2006). Gitau (2000) found in his research at Mid Western University that African American and African undergraduates related poorly in academic settings. Gitau concluded this was due to stereotypical perceptions perpetuated by the media and reinforced in the experiences of individuals and groups of African Americans and African immigrants. In most cases, interaction between the two groups was very minimal.

Questions: **Who are your friends and colleagues in the United States?**
 How have they assisted you?
 How do you assist/support them?
 Do you have any African American friends?
 What are your feelings towards African Americans?
 What can you say about your relationship with them as compared to American whites?

Responses and Findings

The questions about friends in the United States were met with mixed responses from the participants. Most participants said they had different kinds of friends, including individuals from African, Sudanese, Latino, Caucasian and Asian backgrounds. Many participants indicated they had not received any assistance from their friends. They met to socialize in stadiums, places of worship, and schools. They provided a variety of answers to questions about their relationships with African Americans. Some felt that not all African Americans were bad, while some had reservations. One participant who received financial assistance from a disabled African American said:

There is an African American man who was disabled in Johnson County. He heard that I need to go back home. He contributed \$100 and gave to my cousin. He is a very good man though he is disabled.

One participant recalled a bad interaction with African Americans. This participant had a bad encounter with four African Americans teens in a night club in Kansas City over an African American girl. He ended up disliking African Americans after the incident:

I went with my friend to one night club in Kansas City, there I saw a black girl who looked like a Sudanese Dinka girl. She was so black like Sudanese. So I approached her to say hi. I did not know that some African American boys standing nearby were with her. Immediately they saw me talk with her they came straight to me. They told me to get my ass off her. I told them I just wanted to talk with her because she was a Sudanese. They looked at each other and asked what I meant by Sudanese. They thought I was abusing her and told me to get of the club before they broke my neck. Before long they called a bouncer who shoved me out of the club. I tried to explain to him what had happened but he could not listen. He just said I was a trouble maker. My friend tried to plead with him but was also told to leave.

Still others said they liked African Americans because they felt personal connections with them. Here is what one had to say:

Oh, I love them, oh my god, I'm gone tell you this. I don't, just, like being racist, and all any of that, I don't do that, cause I don't see it taken me anywhere, these are my people, I love 'em. I don't have problems with them at all. The friends that I have, the girls that I have, are very very good friend and they have been very nice, so I can't say that I don't like them, or our relationship is not good, I love 'em. They haven't shown me any negative things at all. They are always there for me and yeah.

Summary

From the responses in this subsidiary topic, it was clear that most participants got along well with African Americans and felt personal attachment since they shared common history. Some African Americans offered to help the Lost Boys, as indicated in the responses.

7. 2.8 Research Category 8: Family

Assertion:

According to Gallagher (2002), marriage is a private, intimate, emotional relationship. Marriage stems from understanding of two individuals for their personal reasons. Two people can decide to marry because of social, economic, and legal benefits. People of diverse cultures race, religion can decide to join together to make a family after marriage.

Rationale:

When American children reach the age of young adults at age eighteen, they are often encouraged by their loved ones to get married and start their own families. As is the case all over the world, family is a very powerful institution in America. According to Ahlburg and De Vita (1992), America led the world in marriage; in 1990, 95 percent of women and 94 percent of men ages 45 to 54 were either married or had been married. According to McFadden, and Moore (2000), contemporary American families often include married individuals of similar racial and ethnic backgrounds, though the number of interracial marriages continues to increase. This is due to increased tolerance within American familial structures of multicultural partnerships entered into by family members.

Questions: **What kind of women have you dated?**
 What kind of woman (from the United States or from Africa) would you like to marry?
 What kind of woman did you marry?

Responses and Findings

Generally speaking, the participants in this study had dated girls of different ethnicities and races though several indicated they would like to marry from their Dinka tribe. Marriage was not a personal issue but rather a familial issue in which parents were closely involved in the choice of one's spouse. The following participant gave his account of what marriage entailed.

My first wife should be a Dinka. I don't even think my mom can accept any other lady from other tribes or race.

When I asked him how he planned to get a Dinka girl, since there were very few of them in Kansas and in the U.S., he said,

Are you expecting me to live here forever? (laughter) No, I can't live here forever. I can even go to another state and get a Dinka girl or go to Australia, Sudan, Kenya and get a Dinka girl.

However, the above participant said there were some Lost Boys who had married American women:

Yea, in Kansas City I know one of my friends. Even we have similar names. He does not want to go to school but he is very smart. His wife is white.

Fifteen participants indicated they did not care who they married so long as there was a clear, good understanding in their respective marriages. One participant said that several Americans had asked him who he'd like to marry in the future:

Yes, I get a lot of people ask me, even at my work place. I say, 'Myself, I don't care, my culture or whatever.' I need at least someone I can get along with. It doesn't matter whether a Dinka, white, or black. Someone that God will give me. Some that will like me and we can get along with. I will just marry no matter what color one is. I am not married for now as school is most important to me for the moment.

Another unmarried participant said, he had had many different relationships with girls of different races and ethnicities:

(Laughter) I had American and I had African. I have also had a Sudanese girlfriend. I am not married.

While another said:

(Laughter) to me I think when it comes to marriage. That is a very loaded question. I am color blind on that. I don't care whether white or black as long we have a good understanding, same plans and same goals. We have mutual respect, we are good to go. That will be like the ideal woman, someone who is caring, loving and patient.

Some married participants described their journeys back to Sudan and to Kenyan refugee camps in search of a Dinka girl to marry. Those who married a Dinka girl paid dowry, according to Dinka customs. All of the married participants in this study said it was very expensive to marry, and that way a necessity, no matter what the cost. Here is what one married participant said:

Yea, I paid fifty cows and ten bulls. Into dollars, that will be like..before...when paid dowry, it was costing one cow for \$150 so times fifty that will be around \$7500, but now one cow can cost two hundred or three hundred dollars. So that will be between \$13,000 to \$15, 000. That is apart from bull. We don't use goats. There are some tribes that use goats, but Dinkas use only cows. But we do have goats in the village. We only slaughter them when visitors are coming. Then give them local beer.

Interestingly, some participants considered themselves to be officially married in Africa because of the dowries they paid though their marriages are not legally recognized in the United States.

I'm considered married, the culture says if the man paid for certain amount of money or cattle, then you guys are married, but in the American way we are not. I paid about \$20,000 for dowry. Yes, in Sudanese way, yes, I am married. In

American, no not in American way. I don't know how to, I don't know how to explain this because I don't have a marriage certificate.

The unmarried Lost Boys considered finding a spouse to be a major goal. One participant said he was discouraged by his inability to find a girl to date in Kansas City. He felt that the language barrier, created by his lack of fluency in English, prevented him from connecting with a potential partner. He said he had a girlfriend back in Sudan, but had yet to find one in the United States:

Aaahh. I had a girlfriend in Sudan but here, no. I cannot speak English so I can't get a girlfriend. I would like to marry any girl in future. A human being, no difference. American, Asia, Chinese. Good thing, love. Safar (somebody) love you and then you love her, too. That one is good for you. But no love, it is difficult.

Because there were so few Lost Girls in the Kansas City area, let alone the nation, Lost Boys worked hard to make money, to travel to Africa to find brides to marry before returning to the United States. Another participant shared his perspective on the issue of marriage and family:

I got dowry in 2007 (15,000 Australian dollars, which is equal to 13,000 U.S. dollars) which was paid for my sister. She lives in Australia. They also gave us twenty-one cows. If you add the money they gave us plus the cows they gave us, then it will be like thirty-something cows. That is an equivalent of a medium dowry that is paid in Sudan. Even that amount that they gave us, I gave about \$5000 back to my sister for her to buy some of the things she needed. Because I am the eldest son, I am the one who is responsible for the family. Some people just take it that if you are given dowry, then that is all yours but my sister is my family, too. Right now, my sister is with my mom but the husband is also there but my sister is right now with my mom. Once you marry someone's sister and dowry is paid, you have to give back something small to show that you appreciate.

Summary

The responses in this subsidiary topic indicated that the Lost Boys still adhered to some Sudanese cultural aspects even though they had lived in the United States for nearly ten years. Most of them felt they still had to seek advice on who to marry from their families in Africa. A large number of them ended up marrying girls from their tribe, even if it meant flying to Africa to find her (one).

7.2.9 Research Category 9: Citizenship.

Assertion:

According to a report to Congress (June, 1997), the United States immigration policy provided the means for refugees to become citizens. This is unlike most countries that have accepted refugees. An example is Kenya which hosts a lot of African refugees however does not allow them to become Kenyan citizens or even work outside the refugee camps.

Rationale:

The United States immigration policies have a provision that allows refugees to apply for Permanent Resident Alien (PRA) status (green card) after one year of residence in the country, and the opportunity to apply for U. S. citizenship after five years of residence (USCRI, 2010).

Questions: **Have you become a U.S. citizen?**
 If so, what persuaded you to take that step?
 If not, why haven't you done so?
 What does/would American citizenship mean to you?
 How would it affect your life, how you think of yourself?
 Do you intend to stay in America for a long time or at some point you may want to go back home?

Responses and Findings

Nearly a decade after many of the participants relocated to the United States most were permanent residents and not citizens of the United States. The rest of the participants were in the process of becoming permanent residents. Some cited financial constraints as the main factor hindering them from going through the process of becoming a U. S. citizen. As one participant said:

Not yet .. not yet. Working on it. It is very expensive men. It is \$675.

One participant described the process he underwent to secure American citizenship, explaining the five year residency required for citizenship. He had lived in the United State for nearly four years and was counting down the time until he would qualify for citizenship:

No, not yet. Three years and four months. I have to have five year. I still have some months to go. I want to become a U. S. citizen. You can get citizen. It is good for me. I go back see my friends. See Africa and come back. Now I don't have citizen.

This one had acquired citizenship.

I am so happy to be an American citizen. I can travel wherever I want in the world. When I came to the United States, I was just sixteen years. I did not know what was ahead of me. My foster family encouraged me a lot to work hard. They promised to process my naturalization papers when time came. Indeed after my high school, they did process my papers. With this, I was able to get a job easily as an American.

Summary

Acquiring American citizenship has helped Lost Boys to access American welfare. It has enabled them to compete with Americans in the job market. They could also get loans. Most immigrants who are not either permanent residents or citizens cannot access most public agencies, and they cannot vote.

7.2.10 Research Category 10: Safety.

Assertion:

According to Muhindi and Nyakato (2002), resettlement of the Lost Boys in the United States was meant to be a safe haven from the dangers often the Lost Boys faced in Africa. They expected to have security and safety in the United States.

Rationale:

Safety is a major concern for the Lost Boys. They experienced countless rough times in their lives, including the threat of death from Sudanese military and wild animals during their journeys out of Sudan (Bixler, 2005). In the United States, the Lost Boys hoped for an environment in which they would freely move, express themselves without fear, and realize their dreams of education and professional careers. In this way, they hoped to better their lives and to contribute to a better quality of life for individuals left behind in Sudan and Kakuma by getting good paying jobs and remitting money back home. The United States and the Red Cross resettled the Lost Boys in the United States so they could get an education and receive assistance in healing from traumatic experiences (Bixler, 2005).

Questions: **You came from a dangerous place; do you find the U.S. to be a dangerous place?**
 Are you concerned for your safety in America?
 If you are, what do you do about it?

Responses and Findings

Most participants felt safe and secure in the United States, while others were hesitant about the concept of safety. Some felt security was merely a perception and not real. This is because they had run away from police harassment in Africa only to encounter it from American law enforcement. Jones (2007) quotes Duncan as saying,

“Upon arriving in the USA, "they didn't all of a sudden feel completely safe and confident...Naturally their fears remained with them, so they've had to overcome those kinds of emotional issues" (A plan to return, ¶ 43).

Some had even started to question the meaning of freedom, learning that freedom indeed comes at a cost or in less than ideal forms. One participant said:

I don't think it is safe here. There is a lot of law and one can get into trouble any time. In Africa, I never used to close my house door or even at Kakuma refugee camp, one can just sleep outside and no one will bother you. Here, once I step out of my house, I have to make sure that my door is well closed otherwise someone will just walk in and pick my stuff.

However, several participants felt far safer in the United States than they had in Africa. The following is a representative narrative of what several participants said:

Yes, you know what, seeing what I seen, that there are guns around, me personally, American is better. I'm not gonna say it's great because there are bad people everywhere in the world. But I will say American is a safe place to live, it's a better place for me and for my kids because right now to have a great life is my choice. It's either I go to work or I don't and if I don't then we will go homeless, like. ... And so I feel like being here and having that choice, cause back home we didn't have jobs and then there is no food from the U. N., then you could spend a day and a day and a day with no food. Most of us become thieves and I can't blame any of them. Most of them become robberies broken into people's houses, so I don't blame any of them, it's because they wanna feed themselves. So you know, here you go to work, you can have a better life. So I won't say America is a good place, safe place, but I would say better than where I was.

This participant saw a great difference between the U. S. and Africa:

U. S. is a good safety. It is a good safety. You cannot compare it with African countries. That one is crime. You know, Africa because if you were in my country now. I work for, you know, people who are staying together. Safar (somebody) don't want safar (somebody), you know. That one is high and then that one down. That is a problem. But in the United States you don't do that. Everybody the same. Everybody in the United States same. If safar (somebody) has good

car, you go buy, but in Africa, no, you know. Africa, you have cow, you are rich. People who have something in one place and those who don't have something over there.

Another Boy had this to say:

Ahhh...(laughter), ehhhh...I think the United States is, ehhh...is a very safe place compared to all the countries that I have been but at the same time, you can get yourself in trouble and you can also stay out of trouble if you, too. Ideally, United States is a safe place. I am not concerned about my safety in America. As long as I am on the good side with the law, I am good...I am good.

Yet this one had a challenging experience:

U. S. is...what can I say, about the U. S. U. S. is better than Africa. You can go wherever you want and no one can bother you. There is no war here. You only need to abide by the laws. If not, then you are in trouble. Then you will start thinking about Africa and you think of it being better than the U. S. When you go to Africa, you will get nothing. Then you start thinking U. S. is better. Life is good when you know bad things and good things. I am 30 years, almost 40 years. Maybe 40. My age when I came over here, they gave me 35 years.

Summary

After several years of suffering and uncertainty, it is clear that the Lost Boys were now settling down in the United States and were trying to focus on building their lives without fear of being persecuted. Safety was now not a major issue for most of them in the United States. They now had freedom and security that they had not known before.

7.2.11 Research Category 11: Place.

Assertion:

According to Patrick (2004) "*the United States resettles refugees largely according to country of origin as well as the urgency of the individual situation*" (Patrick, 2004, ¶ 2). This is in accordance with the U.S immigration policies where "*resettlement patterns in American states are generally dominated by certain ethnic communities*" (Ssengendo, 2010, ¶ 8). Patrick (2004) says,

Though refugees are not usually able to choose precisely where in the US they would like to be resettled, resettlement agencies try as much as possible to place refugees in areas in which the refugee may already have family members or where there are pre-existing ethnic communities.....Many Somali and Ethiopian refugees were resettled in Minnesota, and the largest number of Sudanese refugees arrived in Texas (State resettlement..., ¶ 1).

Rational:

Most of the Lost Boys moved to Kansas after experiencing trouble in adjusting to the urban environments where they were first resettled. The Lost Boys had never been exposed to life in big cities, which were not only expensive but also very fast paced. They heard of better living conditions in Kansas from their Sudanese friends who praised life in the American Midwest. They could more easily secure employment and also go to school in the Kansas City area.

Questions: What brought you to Kansas City?
Would you like to stay here?
Was it a good decision?
Where else might you like to live?
Are you likely to move there?

Responses and Findings

The following account typifies the responses of several participants as to why they moved to Kansas City:

I came from Africa to Dallas, Texas first in 1993. I moved from Dallas to come and live with my friend. I actually did not speak English by that time. I could not also get a good job. I was paid four dollars an hour in 1993, which was actually a lot of money that time. I was not going to school at Dallas so I moved here to go to school. It was difficult to go to school over there and at the same time take care of myself. So, I needed friends. So, now I live here with my friend and we can share bills. I would like to live here. I am not going to go back to Dallas because I got a good job and I am also going to school. If I went back to Dallas that will be a lot of struggle to get another job. I know life in Kansas better than Dallas.

Another said:

I came to Kansas City straight from Africa. This is my home. I call Kansas City home. I have lived here all my life in America though I have visited other places just either for weekend or two three weeks for vacation.

Another participant said:

My cousin called me here but now he left for South Dakota. I live here and I like it here. I don't want to go back to California. I don't like big city.

Most participants indicated they did not intend to move to other cities or states. They said they would like to settle in Kansas City and even buy homes there. One explained why he found life in Kansas to be easy:

I'm thinking of buying a house later in the future, like about one or two years from now. I want to settle here in Kansas. Get a nice job and get my family here. I have a whole bunch of friends in Kansas City. It is nice to be here.

However, some are willing to relocate for good employment after completion of their studies.

One participant said:

I like travelling around and more, so I like big cities. I am a big city guy. I am willing to relocate anywhere but again, it all comes to the job. It will be my job that will determine where I relocate to.

Summary

Like most immigrants, most of the Lost Boys relocated to Kansas City to look for better jobs and institutions of higher learning. Life in Kansas City seemed more conducive for one to go to school and at the same time work. Americans in Kansas City welcomed the Lost Boys and employers gave them jobs. It is clear from the interviews that those who had been resettled in Texas did not enjoy living there.

7. 4 Summary

Chapter seven presented the summary of findings from the interviews that I carried out with the Lost Boys in Kansas City area. From this interviews major themes emerged that were crucial in enhancing faster integration of these Boys. Chapter eight will discuss the analysis of both these demographic and ethnographic integration variables in this chapter and find out which of these variables were more important in aiding their “successful” integration.

CHAPTER 8 - Discussion of Findings

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this diversity-oriented study in which a multiple case study model was employed for the collection of data from forty Sudanese Lost Boys participating in this interview-based study was to find out Lost Boys experiences in Kansas after resettlement. The resettlement program began in early 2001. The Lost Boys are Sudanese refugees relocated to the United States as a result of intensely bloody and protracted warfare in their home country. The specific goals of this study included the description, analysis, and interpretation of experiences told firsthand by participants in order to better quantify the degree of integration achieved by the Lost Boys during their nine-plus years of living in the United States. The specific goals of this study included a deeper understanding of the experiences and achievements of the Lost Boys through the use of existing scholarship, semi-structured interview questions, and research observations. Achieving these goals was important in that it will assist policy makers to come up with better policies that will improve refugee life in the United States. The main question of inquiry was whether the Lost Boys who lived in the Kansas City area were being integrated into the mainstream U.S society or were being marginalized. As indicated in the preface of this study, the researcher worked for two years as an intern with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in Dadaab refugee camps, located in northeastern Kenya. It was there that the researcher first came into contact with many Lost Boys living there before resettling in the United States in the early 2000s. The researcher's experiences with Sudanese Lost Boys both in Africa and in the United States, combined with an extensive literature review, and a wealth of data collected during the interview process all contributed greatly to the primary goal of this study: to create sociologically valuable data and insights in accordance with qualitative and quantitative research methods.

This chapter contains a discussion of the data. Data collected in the field allowed the researcher to better understand the integration process Lost Boys in Kansas City had undergone, the challenges that faced these Boys, and their strategies for overcoming them.

A multiple case study framework was used to analyze the 40 cases generated during the interview process. Interview questions were created relative to eleven demographic and

ethnographic categories: education, employment, housing, culture/religious, culture/secular, social networks, friends, family, place, citizenship, and safety. After successfully interviewing 40 Lost Boys, data was first recorded in coded form in order to protect the confidentiality of participants. Confidentiality was an issue of great importance to the researcher and was demanded by the Lost Boys participating in this study. Rather than presenting individual cases, the researcher employed a thematic system to ensure the confidentiality of study participants.

At the end of the interview process, transcription of responses and analysis thereof culminated in a greater understanding by the researcher of the Kansas City population of Lost Boys. The researcher is now in a better position to understand the daily lives and challenges faced by the Lost Boys as they struggle to redefine themselves within a new environment. Education, employment, and citizenship were identified as major indicators of integration by the Lost Boys into mainstream American society. At the time of the interview process most of the Lost Boys were enrolled in higher education institutions located in the Kansas City area, several were working while attending school, many were permanent residents and only a couple had secured citizenship in the United States. Three major themes emerged during this research and recurred among nearly all participants: *education/professional skills*, *economic empowerment*, and *naturalization*. According to Eisenhardt (1989), if all or nearly all of the variables provide similar results, there exists substantial support for the development of a preliminary theory that describes the phenomena. A table was designed to develop major themes which were later transformed into categories classifying data according to the main themes and sub-themes (see Appendix E). These three themes are presented and discussed in the following section.

8.2 Presentation of Main Themes

8.2.1 The first theme

Education/professional Skills: To reiterate, education is viewed as crucial to successful living in the United States. The Lost Boys were acutely aware that education was the primary means of securing a good paying job. Education remains one of the most important tools of societal development; it is through education that individuals and societies achieve economic and social progress.

Education is highly valued in the United States as a cultural capital, while it has been given low priority in regions such as southern Sudan and according to Brophy (2003), "*the education system in Southern Sudan has always been under resourced*" (p. 2). Collier's (2000) investigation reveals that protracted civil war is concentrated in poorly educated countries and regions. Collier found that chances for conflict are drastically reduced in countries where a higher percentage of their youths are attending schools. For the Lost Boys, education was the way into adulthood and a successful life in the United States. The Lost Boys did not have a chance to get an education in Sudan, mostly due to a hostile environment and lack of resources. Furthermore, most of their families valued cattle over education and in most cases, the participants were sent out to the fields to look for grazing land. Because education is highly valued in American society, the Lost Boys who have successfully climbed the educational ladder have gained status similar to that of American citizens. In reality, some have managed to surpass many American citizens who are not as highly educated and are of a lower economic class. All the Lost Boys interviewed in this study have or are attending an educational institution and some have graduated from a two-year program of study.

In order to qualify for resettlement in the United States, the Sudanese Lost Boys met several requirements which the researcher used to categorize study participants in this study relative to the major theme of education. The first group was comprised of Lost Boys resettled in the United States with no education in English while in Africa and with the help of resettlement agencies were placed in foster care and enrolled in school. The second group arrived in the United States without any English language skills but was expected to work upon arrival in the United States. The third group consists of Lost Boys who arrived in the United States with elementary (and in some cases, high school) education. While very few participants attended school in Sudan, all of the participants in the third group received some education at refugee camps in Ethiopia or Kenya where they studied Arabic or English, respectively.

The first group: Eight participants were classified as minors upon their arrival in the United States and were subsequently placed in foster care. All participants in this group indicated this gave them opportunities for interaction with the American families who hosted them and this greatly helped them improve their English language proficiency. Furthermore, foster families assisted them in paying their tuitions, provided housing for them, and helped them with daily living. The following participant stunned me with his level of language proficiency:

I did get support from foster families, yes I did. They would take me to school; take me to my aaam.....,like if I had to run they would come and pick me up or drop me off until I had my car. And they actually gave me my third car, it was a Chevy Malibu '98. It was a very nice car and they paid for it till it was done. I am now independent...it's not like I need help from them anymore. I'm living on my own.

Another one said:

They are the most wonderful people I have ever met. They were just like my parents. They provided me with all that I needed. They made me forget the problems that I had in Africa. Once they learnt that I had family back in Africa, they asked me to give them their phone number. They used to call them every weekend and would assure my family that I was doing great. They would also let me talk with my family. That was great. Now that I don't stay with them, I call them once in a while. They have visited me several times though.

The second group: Eight participants in this study had not acquired English language skills prior to resettling in the United States. This is the group of Lost Boys that went through the refugee camps in Ethiopia where they were instructed solely in Arabic. This group had faced great challenges in trying to learn English, getting jobs, and integrating with Americans. They felt isolated from the rest of mainstream American society. Moreover, this group found it difficult to integrate with other African immigrants without a common African language with which to communicate. According to a United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO) study on "Linguistic Diversity" published by UNESCOPRESS (2007), there are approximately 1,400 dialects in Africa. At the time of this study nearly all the Lost Boys lacking any significant proficiency in English were enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) courses in Kansas City. With some hard work in their studies of the English language, they hoped not only to communicate with Americans but also with other nationalities present in the United States. From my observations and listening, the following participant described the great challenges to speaking English proficiently:

Yea, it is difficult to get job because people from Kansas don't trust you. Some people, they don't need somebody who don't know English. That one is difficult. They are good people but problem is English. You don't know how to speak good English, you don't want to write good English, some people don't trust you. That one is difficult.

The third group: Twenty-four participants went through the Kenyan refugee camps of Kakuma and had the opportunity to receive instruction in both elementary (primary) and high school (secondary) subjects. This group of Lost Boys joined institutions of higher learning in

Kansas City after resettling in the United States. Some of them had already graduated from a two-year program of study and were working, although they looked forward to furthering their education as one participant explained:

You know what, whenever you have a higher level of education, it is almost guaranteed will have good living standards, having a house or raising a family, helping those back home. This is the important things that come with having high education level. That is how I look at it.

Another participant was attending college:

I went to school in Sudan before war become too dangerous. But as it raged on I quit school. I did not go to school at Ethiopian refugee camps. I did go to school in Kenyan refugee camps. I now go to Johnson County Community College. My major is Criminal Justice.

The following participant went to school in Ethiopia before the Ethiopian government lead by Mengistu Haile Mariam was overthrown. Like the above participant, he also had an opportunity to go to school in the Kenyan refugee camps:

I got my elementary education in Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya but I also went to school in Ethiopia before we were chased from Ethiopia to Sudan when Mengistu was overthrown. We only spent two months in Sudan then to Kenya. I was in Ethiopia for three months.

Summary

Preliminary research indicated that nearly ten years after resettlement, most Boys with low levels of education and language proficiency tended not to integrate well into mainstream society, and for the most part lived in ethnic enclaves. However, those who had faced language challenges were trying to learn English language by attending schools that taught English as a foreign language (ESL). In this case, they could be said to be on the integration process because institutions of learning are integration facilities. Conversely, Boys with high levels of education and language proficiency had integrated into mainstream U. S. society. These participants had acquired English language proficiency and many had graduated from colleges. They had jobs where some were even supervising Americans working under them. For example, three participants joined the military and were training as army officers (see Figure 3-1).

An annual report published for the U. S. Congress in 2003 by the Office of Refugees and Resettlement (ORR) indicated that the Lost Boys had responded well to their resettlement program, and that included enrolling and attending schools. At the time of the report, 65 percent

of the Boys were attending school and 79 percent were becoming fluent in English (ORR, 2003).

8.2.2 The second theme

Economic Empowerment: For the Lost Boys and other similar groups of refugees, economic empowerment can only be attained through employment. This is certainly the case in developed countries, including the United States. Unfortunately, from the days of early childhood in Sudan up to and including their exodus in Africa, the Lost Boys never had a conducive learning environment. It is only after resettlement in the United States that they recaptured their chance to get an education. With education, most Lost Boys were now in a position to gain employment in the American job market and those who were employed had become economically self-sufficient. According to Halpern's (2008) report prepared for U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, economic self-sufficiency is very important for successful resettlement of refugees, per stipulations stated in the U. S. Refugee Act of 1980. According to federal regulations, economic self-sufficiency is defined as the total earnings of a family that enables it to support itself without external financial assistance (Halpern, 2008). McKinnon (2008) argued that the resettlement program for the Lost Boys in the United States was one of the most successful ever in U. S. history, given that nearly all the Boys who were legal adults got employed after resettlement. The Office of Refugee Resettlement published the employment percentage of the Lost Boys at 85 percent, whereas that rate was 55 percent for other refugees in the United States in 2003 (ORR, 2003). Moreover, the ORR found economic opportunity, language, and education to be key for economic self sufficiency (ORR, 2007e). A study done by Potocky & McDonald (1995) identified the length of residence, citizenship, and secondary migration to be closely related to economic self-sufficiency.

This section categorizes the Lost Boys into four groups relative to the major theme of employment. Participants in the first group were resettled as minors and were legally barred from working and instead were placed in foster care and educated in American schools. The second group was comprised of Boys who possessed no labor skills prior to their resettlement in the United States. The third group arrived in America with some skills and education accrued in Africa. The fourth group acquired employment experience and skills only after arrival in the United States.

The first group: Due to their young ages and scarcity of employment opportunities, ten participants did not work in Africa. Although they were sent out to the fields to look after family cattle, this was not generally considered to be a job. Rather it was considered to be an obligation to the family. Children who were sent out to graze cattle were not paid. This group of Lost Boys was resettled in the United States and placed with foster families legally entrusted with their welfare. Foster families received assistance from the government and other refugee agencies in support of resettlement programs (according to the participants the foster families got financial, food assistance and tax breaks). These Boys were not allowed to work in the United States because they were still minors according to U. S. law. However, they had the opportunity to go to school while growing up. At the time of this research, all of these Boys had become adults and had moved out of the homes of their respective foster families and lived on their own, with other adults. One participant said:

When I first came to the United States I was placed in a foster family in California. I was told I was a minor by resettlement agencies. I did not know my really age though they said my age was thirteen years. The foster family took care of me. They paid for my school. They were nice people. They let me play with their children. They bought me clothes, books, and food. I really felt at home. When I become nineteen years, they assisted me to get a job. I got a job in a store and wanted to start living alone. So I looked for my own house and moved out. Live in California was too expensive and so I had to relocate to Kansas City where I have friends and life here isn't very expensive.

Another participant who moved to Kansas City from Dallas, Texas said:

I don't know what would have happened if I was left to live alone. In the United States, life is so expensive. My foster family helped me a lot. They took me as their child. They provided me with all that I needed. They took me to school because I did not get a chance to go to school in Africa. They even allowed me to use their phone to call family and friends in Africa. I am so grateful of them. I call them once in a while. They always want me to go visit but I don't have time now that I have to work two jobs.

The second group: This group of eight Lost Boys were young adults when they arrived in the United States. They were required to start working immediately after arrival in the United States. However, this group of Boys possessed no working skills prior to their arrival because they did not have a chance to go to school in Africa. Those who had a chance to go to school did not speak English because they went through Egypt, where they were instructed solely in Arabic. This group had problems getting jobs because they lacked working skills and English language

proficiency. As a result, most of them could only secure temporary jobs as manual laborers. One participant said:

I did not have a job in Africa. I lived and depended on my parents. I just went to school and then back home. I got a job when I came to the U. S. I have worked in a lot of places and I have made a lot of money. I work with a construction company and they pay me very well. They pay like \$20 an hour.

However, they were all enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) classes in Kansas City. Some of them graduated from these programs and had enrolled in two-year college programs in Kansas City. Here is what one participant said.

I don't have a job in Africa. I did not go to school in Africa. I only took care of my family cattle. My parents had a lot of cattle. I think the number was between seven to one thousand. My grandfather gave my dad a lot of them before he died. I like cattle a lot. Now that I am in the United States, I have to be on my own. I have to pay my bills. I have to go to school and pay tuition. Man, it is a lot difficult here. I can't get a nice paying job because I don't speak good English. But one day when I speak good English I will get a good job.

Another participant provided a very interesting response:

I don't know whether Americans really understand Africa and Africans. They just resettled us in different states without asking us where we wanted to settle. I moved here because I did not want to live in New York. That one is big for me. I like small towns. I can't even speak English of big towns. I don't have any work experience that they require in big cities. I just wish they could resettle me in a farm where I could take care of cattle like I did in Sudan.

The third group: This group of ten participants possessed some education and working skills accrued in Africa. McKinnon (2008) would identify the resettlement of third group of participants as "successful" because they secured employment and enrolled in post-secondary educational programs. Although their English was not perfect, they were able to learn American English, and as a result American employers were ready to hire them. Some had work experience from their days in Africa. In addition, this group received educational instruction in the Kenyan refugee camps, where English was a part of the Kenyan educational curriculum. It was easy for participants in this group to fill out an application form for employment on their own. Some of them had already earned two-year degrees and were working. One participant described his work experience in Africa and in the U. S. in the following way:

In Africa I worked. I worked with a Chinese company in high-rise in Nairobi. There was an estate which was being built over there. That was in 1996. I worked with them up to 98, then left to join St. Kizito. I finished in 2000. I did my

practices then I worked in a workshop. It was inside St. Kizito. They were not paying me very well. But I was just forcing myself because I needed to provide for my family and I needed some money. I have a family. I did not come with my parents. If I was to be with my parents I would not have suffered. I would have just concentrated on my education. My dad is there for me and my mother is there for me. I came to the United States through Catholic Charities. They sponsored me for three months. They gave me food stamps and some household stuff. They looked for me a job. Then from there I never saw them again. That was in 2005. Four and half years ago. They don't know what I am doing, how I am surviving.

Another participant said:

Yea, yea, in Africa, I work in, you know, just in a lab. Like in Khartoum, I work in a market. I worked for somebody, not for me. We stay in the market and someone came to buy something you know. That one I do in Sudan. Then Egypt, too, I work in a company like America but I don't have money because America here you work two company. Is good. They give, you know, five hundred two weeks. In Egypt I think it is...aaahhh \$60 for a month. You don't work for hour. I now work here for \$8 an hour. Is good. You work 8 hours for \$8 is not bad. But in Egypt no hours. It is a month.

He went on to say,

In the United States it is difficulty here. You don't have job, that one is difficult because no friends to go to live with. People don't do that here because you can work and go to school and you go to do something good. You don't have job, that one is difficult. In Africa, you don't have job, it is good because some people don't care about money. You friends, your uncles, your aunties can help you. You know. You eat food free, you sleep free. You know. That one is different here. It is a nice place. Everything is good. But if you don't have help, it is difficult. We agree. I don't have English to write application because somebody is busy and don't have time to fill my application. I don't have to do anything.

Further,

In work, too. You don't have to speak good. Some people don't address you because they see you like different...different because, you know, another language, it is difficult to learn. In the future I don't know what I want to be or do because I don't have English or education for now. Aaahhh, I try this one for three years. I know something for that one. That, I think, I will know what I will want to be. Now...Doctor is good for me because how can people here in the United States be good and help me. I go help people in a lot of place, too.

The fourth group: This group of fourteen participants did not have work experience in Africa. Though some of them went to school in Kenyan refugee camps, they did not have a chance to work there as work opportunities in refugee camps were limited. This group acquired working skills in the United States only after they arrived. This group did not have a lot of problems getting simple manual jobs because they could speak English and most of them

received on-site job training. Six of these participants worked in nursing homes and were already trained as certified nursing assistant (CNA). They took care of elderly populations. Here is what one participant said:

I did my high school from Kenya in the refugee camp of Kakuma. When I arrived in the United States, I was advised that it was easy to get a good paying job at a nursing home but I had to have some training. So I took a three month course and graduated as a *CNA*. It was not hard for me to get a job because they need people to work in nursing homes. Many Americans don't like doing that job. I like it and it pay so well.

Another one said:

I work at the....My first job was in a hotel at Casino (inaudible), that was my first year when I got to the United States, I worked a year or so, I was going to a community college. My second job was working at the nursing home as a nursing aid (nursing assistant). And my, ahhhh, I don't think I can remember all, I worked at a chemist (a pharmacy company). I am working now at what they call Wall Fund. There are different jobs. There is no really single job that I have worked.

Summary

From the above discussions, among the challenges the Lost Boys must overcome in order to secure employment, the acquisition of English language skills was the primary one. Another challenge was the lack of previous work experience because most of them never worked in Africa. Only in rare cases did school-aged children work in Africa. The vast majority depended on their parents to provide everything, whereas in the United States children as young as sixteen years of age are permitted to work. Orphaned and resettled in the United States, the Lost Boys who were not placed in foster care had to learn quickly to fend for themselves. They soon found out that nothing was coming to them for free. This point was driven home when they were informed that as soon as they started working, they had to repay the purchase price of the airplane tickets that had allowed them to leave Africa as well as certain medical expenses. Some Boys found it necessary to work two or three jobs in order to raise enough money to pay their bills and tuition, to remit some money to people back in Africa.

8.2.3 The third theme

Naturalization: *Naturalization is the process by which an individual acquires citizenship of a country other than the individual's country of origin. In most cases, countries require that a person applying for naturalization reside in the new country for a minimum period of time. In the United States, this is termed a probationary period during which authorities evaluate that*

individual's behavior and obedience to U. S. laws. The Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution provides the legal framework for individuals of foreign countries to be naturalized in the United States. In 1945, President Harry Truman signed a statement that allowed displaced people and refugees to be given priority over other immigrants (Woolley and Peters 1999). From that time, a number of acts have been passed by congress which stipulates refugee policies. The Refugee Act of 1980 allowed refugees to be accepted into the United States on humanitarian grounds for unlimited stay so long as the countries of origin were still in conflict or having problems. The act also removed the cap that allowed only refugees from Europe (anti-communist) to allow refugees from the rest of the world especially from Africa (Newland, 1995). Refugees accepted into the United States can change their status to permanent residents after physically staying in the United States for one year. This is done by individual application to change status through the United States citizenship and immigration services (Congressional Report, June 1997). Permanent residents are allowed to stay in the United States for an unlimited period of time and after five years; permanent residents can further change their status to become fully naturalized citizens. There are rights and responsibilities that go with a foreign individual (s) becoming naturalized. The rights include, voting in federal elections, serving in a jury, bringing family members to the United States for family reunion, obtaining citizenship for children born abroad, traveling with a U.S passport, running for a federal office and becoming eligible for federal grants. The Lost Boys who become U.S. citizens had to learn responsibilities of citizenship. This included; support and to defense of the constitution, serve the country when required, participate in the democratic process, respect and obey federal, state, and local laws, respect the rights, beliefs, and opinions of others, and participate in your local community (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2009). For the Lost Boys becoming an American (naturalization) was important because this was a way of being accepted and integrating into mainstream American society. It also provided them with the ability to access important privileges accorded to American citizens. Those who have become U.S citizens could travel freely in and out of the United States; they could also get student loans, among other privileges.

In this section I will categorize the Lost Boys into three groups. The first group was those who had not become American citizens. The second group was those who had become U.S. permanent residents. The third group was those who had become U.S naturalized citizens.

The first group: Fifteen participants had not become U.S. permanent residents or citizens. They cited different reasons as to why they had not become either permanent residents or U.S. citizens. Among some of the reasons they gave were the costs of processing the application to change status. Some said it was not their first priority because no one forced them to leave, while others said they had not met the required stay period for them to change status. However, everyone in this group indicated that they were eager to change their status when the time came. They were aware of the benefits of becoming a permanent resident or a U.S. citizen. One participant said:

Oh no, not yet, I'm supposed to but not yet. I do, I do, that can be done, in a month or two, yeah because when you become American I mean the if you join American forces and they said you have to be American citizen and they do it over night, so that's what I'm waiting for. I haven't passed the aptitude test yet, I have the book right here in front of me, so then I gonna take it in two weeks. I took the practice test on Friday and I passed that, then in two weeks I study and take the test and when I pass that, then that's when I file everything to be an American citizen, so it should be done in about one or two.

Another Boy had this to say:

I would have been long time ago but I was not able because I had a lot of financial problems. However I would like to become a citizen so that I can be able to fly to Africa and other places in the world. I don't want to go to Africa and then get stuck over there. I don't want to struggle coming back. I need to get my citizenship so that I can be a free man.

This group of participants said they had not visited Africa because they were afraid that they would be prevented from re-entering the United States. They had heard from people who stayed in the United States for a long time that when they went to visit families in Africa and then tried to renew their visas, they were barred. So citizenship could guarantee their ability to travel freely to and from Africa, and to obtain other benefits. Citizenship would also enable them to bring their families to the United States under the family reunion act. As one participant said:

This will help me in two ways. It will allow me to bring my family. It will allow me to travel to and from Africa easily. I intend to stay in the US for a long time.

One participant gave an interesting account of what American citizenship would offer him:

Freedom. You gonna be treated like other Americans. There will be no difference. You will be treated for what you do and not where you are from. Like now I can't

be treated like a regular American citizen. If I commit a crime I can get deported. Citizenship is one of my most important goals.

The second group: This group of participants was composed of fifteen participants who had already successfully applied for and become U.S. permanent residents. They said life for them was a bit easier than when they were just refugees. They could get student loans, travel in and out of the United States, but they could not vote.

I am not yet a U.S citizen. I am a permanent resident. I have four months to be a full citizen. This might enable me to bring my family. I am planning next month to fill in a form for citizenship but that will cost 600 to 700 dollars. I don't have money but I need to do that.

This one was very interesting:

Man you need to understand what being a U.S permanent resident is. Are you one or are you a citizen? Being a permanent resident is different from being a refugee. Refugees are treated like not really human beings. Now that I am a permanent resident I can do a lot of things like travelling in and out of the United States, I can also claim unemployment if I don't have a job. I don't care if I don't vote because I don't like politics after all.

The third group: This group had ten participants who had already become U.S. citizens. They looked more relaxed and talked more freely than other Lost Boys. They said they considered themselves like any other American. Among other things they cited they could do like any American was to vote in federal elections. One participant had this to say:

I don't care whether I travel out of the United States because I am going to stay here for so long. What is important to me now is that I have managed to bring my family here. My two boys and wife who have been staying in Kakuma refugee camps. I did not want them to live in a horrible situation while I enjoy myself here. That is why I become an American citizen. Just to bring my family here.

One participant said that he was proud to become an American citizen:

When I was living in Kakuma, there are those Americans who were working in the refugee camps. They were so proud of themselves. They put on everything American. I just felt like a very low class person as compared to them. Now that I am an American, when I travel to Africa, my friends in the refugee camps are jealous of me. I told them I am an American and I showed them an American passport (smile).

Nearly all participants said they intended to stay in the United States for a long time after becoming U.S. citizens, though many of them said they will be going to Africa to visit family and friends. Some were reluctant to answer this question, and answered like this participant:

That is the same question senator Sam Brownback asked me when I met him 2007. I don't know how long I will stay here but at some time in my life I will go back to Sudan. For now I am here to stay.

This one said:

In the US. Helloooo.... Please that would be the one thing cause um, I have a family back home that I didn't know, I just find that out, back in 2005. When I come to America, it's like I don't have parents cause I never see my dad, and the last time I saw my mom was when I was 6 years old, so when I came here, my plan was just, since I never have nobody, forget you know, forget about Africa, let me just come here and start my new life. And then when I find it, it will make me take a u turn in my life, now I have people back home, it doesn't matter what all is in here, I will always call Africa home, so I'm thinking to be in between. I mean, I can live here in America, my kids are American citizens, and so whenever I achieve my goal, I feel like going back home for a few years and still come back. So these...going to be like...I'm an African and then become American, so I'm not planning on moving back home and I'm not planning on living here forever. Back and forward.

However, what I found from the participants is that most of them did not care much about the responsibilities that went with American citizenship. Most of them said they did not want to serve in the jury, serve in the military, or vote. This participant summarized and said what he looked forward to by saying.

I did not become an American citizen by coming here to charge Americans. Americans gave me a chance to come over and live with them. That is why they gave me citizenship. I am proud of that. I am not going to send Americans to jail. That is the work of Americans who were born here. I don't even understand some of the American crimes. I also won't want to serve in the military. I run from war and I did not come here to go to war nor do I want to vote. I don't like politics at all. I just want a quite life. Build myself and my family.

Summary

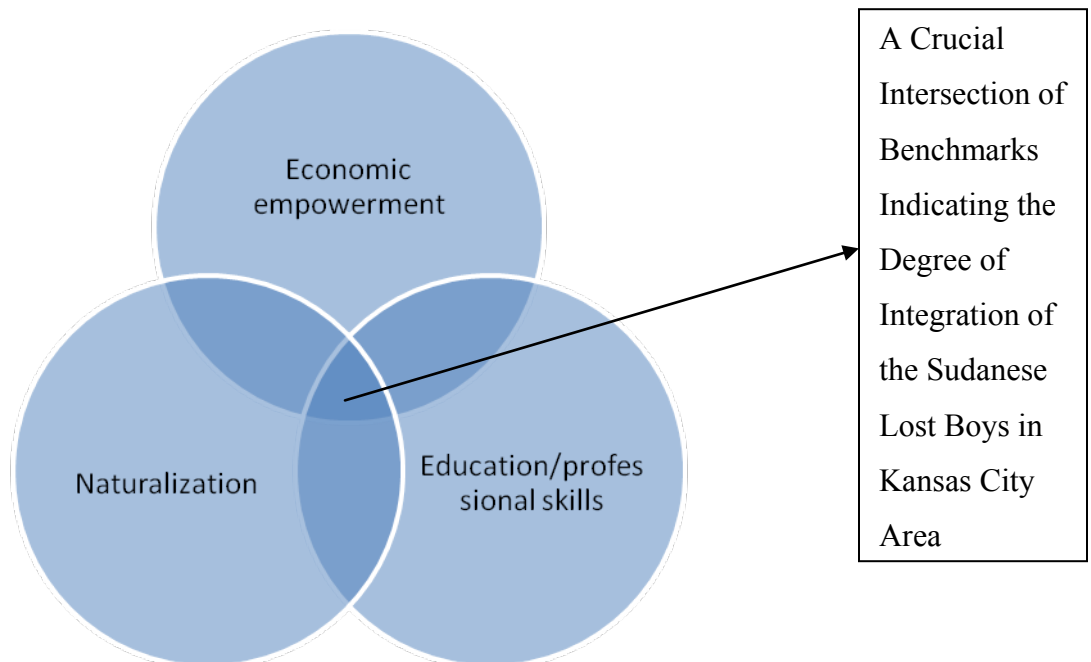
The Lost Boys found that it was very important to change status to become American citizens. This enabled them to secure students loans, travel in and out of the United States freely, carry an American passport, bring their family members to the United States, and claim unemployment benefits if they lost their jobs.

8.3 Chapter Analysis

The following cross-analysis draws upon the above discussions derived from responses given by the forty Lost Boys participating in this study. Eight participants arrived as minors in the United States with little education and no prior exposure to the English language and were placed with foster families, enrolled in schools, and were not permitted to work at that time due to their status as minors. The majority of these eight Boys had yet to acquire citizenship as they had just turned eighteen and were working to both pay their bills and ultimately save enough to apply for the costly change in naturalization status. The second group consisted of eight participants who arrived in the United States without any English language skills. This group faced serious challenges when applying for jobs due to reluctance on the part of potential employers to hire non-English speaking Boys. As a result, most of these Boys had not changed their status because they were unable to find long-term, well-paying jobs, they moved from one job to another when employers either fired them or they grew uncomfortable working in an environment in which they felt insecure. However, they had all enrolled in programs in learning institutions to acquire education and to improve their proficiency in English. This could help them secure better employment in the future. The twenty-four Lost Boys in the third category acquired some education in the Kenyan refugee camps before they became nearly fluent in English. Not surprisingly, they have not had great difficulties in getting jobs. All of the Boys in this category were working and several have two or three jobs. Some of the Boys arrived in the United States with labor skills and education accrued in Africa was able to secure high-paying technical jobs. Moreover, the Boys in the third category have attended American colleges and universities and some have already graduated from their respective programs of study. The economic status of this group of Boys had improved greatly in the nine-plus years they had lived as resettled refugees in the United States. Most of them had managed to change their naturalization status to that of a permanent resident or citizen. Most of the Boys in this category had travelled out of the United States to visit family members living in Africa or in Europe. The fourteen Boys who arrived with working skills from Africa also indicated that they were doing well with life in America; they indicated that employers readily hired them because they had acquired skills relevant to American work places. Although some said they had experienced problems with a number of employers who were uneasy with credentials earned in Africa upon their arrival.

The following figure will illustrate how the three major themes in this study are interlinked:

Figure 8-1 Diagram showing interdependency of major integration themes



Source: Danvas Mabeya

The above figure illustrates the interdependency of education/professional skills, economic empowerment, and naturalization as crucial elements for successful integration into mainstream American society; these elements are closely interlinked and together enable (and often impede when there is a deficiency in one or more of these areas of social livelihood) the degree of integration achieved by a given Lost Boy living in the greater Kansas City area. In the following chapter, I will quantify the data collected from Lost Boys interviews to ascertain their degree of assimilation into the American society in the Kansas City area.

CHAPTER 9 - Quantitative Findings and Analysis

9.1 Introduction

Most of the Lost Boys overall were integrating, a development that may be attributed to their resilience in the face of anomie. After resettling the Lost Boys in the United States from Africa, the U.S. government expected that Lost Boys resettled as legal adults would get jobs to repay the cost of their airfare to the United States and to support themselves; minors placed in foster care were not expected to work until they turned eighteen. The legal adults entered the job market immediately after their resettlement. Unfortunately, those who immediately went to work had few opportunities to go to school, secure secondary and post-secondary degrees, or become proficient in English, all of which are key components of social capital in America.

9.2 Assimilation

Basically, all immigrants face the task of adjusting and adapting to a new culture by doing away with some of their own traditional culture. The classic assimilation perspective states that some of the cultural traits that have to be done away with when an immigrant adapts may include the immigrant's own language, ethnic identification, beliefs and traditions (lost social capital). Gordon (1964) asserts that immigrants must do away with their original culture in order to assimilate. Over time, the original immigrant culture disappears as the new generation assimilates and becomes 'Americanized' (found social capital). However, Donkor (2008) indicated in her study that a lack of proficiency in English language led some Lost Boys to socialize only with fellow refugees and were marginalized by the host society. They often banded together in enclave communities to provide mutual support and, as a result, did not integrate very much into U. S. society. Thus, Donkor argued that the Lost Boys living in ethnic enclaves were less assimilated in American society because it was difficult for them to develop social networks that included Americans. They relied instead on friendships with other Boys to develop the kind of skills that improved their chance of finding jobs that paid them well enough or gave them time off so they could attend school. As one participant said:

I don't have friend now. Here are a lot of things. You have to know English. And then to speak safar (somebody) and the safar (somebody) will know what good to say. You don't have English, then you don't have safar (somebody). Most of my friends are Sudanese.

9.3 Assimilation Patterns of the Lost Boys in Kansas City Area.

After concluding my preliminary research, it became apparent that those who had settled with foster families adjusted and integrated faster than Boys who had not been placed in foster family care. Going to school helped minors acquire English language skills and integrate them into U. S. culture by participating in school-related activities and immersion in their home environments. Those who had earned degrees and acquired language proficiency integrated faster than those with low levels of education and English language proficiency. Park (1928) said the process of assimilation for 1.5 generation immigrants is long and painful as they try to retain their native culture while adopting a new one. Alba and Logan (1992), Zhou and Komo (1994), and Logan, Alba, and Leoung (1996) contend that the longer an individual is in contact with the culture of the host country, the more the individual acculturates. Although the process of assimilation is long, some of the Lost Boys have managed to assimilate into the American culture and some have even become U. S. citizens. Child (1943) says that demography scholars refer 1.5 generation immigrants as persons who migrate to a new country as teenagers. Jimenez (2008) added that 1.5 immigrants are unique in that they carry their home culture with them to the new country. As they assimilate and socialize in the new country, they exhibit a combination of new and original cultural traditions. They learnt their original cultural values but they also learn new cultural values of the new country as they settle and become part of the host American society. As time goes by, immigrants start to lose the social capital that they had brought with them from their original countries and acquired new social capital of their host country.

The ones who went to school found that the social capital they brought with them was not really valued by Americans and was insufficient at best (Donkor, 2008). In school, they learned to discard their low-value capital and replaced it with higher-value capital of the kind esteemed by educators, employers, and American society, generally speaking. Their degree of integration could be measured by the extent that they discarded the values of their homeland and adopted American values. In this case, they increased their stock of American social capital, which made them more likely to integrate into U. S. society (Donkor, 2008). By contrast, the Lost Boys who did not go to school clung to the social capital that they brought with them and valued things that neither encouraged nor made them integrate into U. S. culture (i.e. socializing and living only with other Lost Boys). Ports and Zhou (1993) contend that physical proximity to other minority groups in the new society, who might also be disadvantaged, can hinder immigrant assimilation

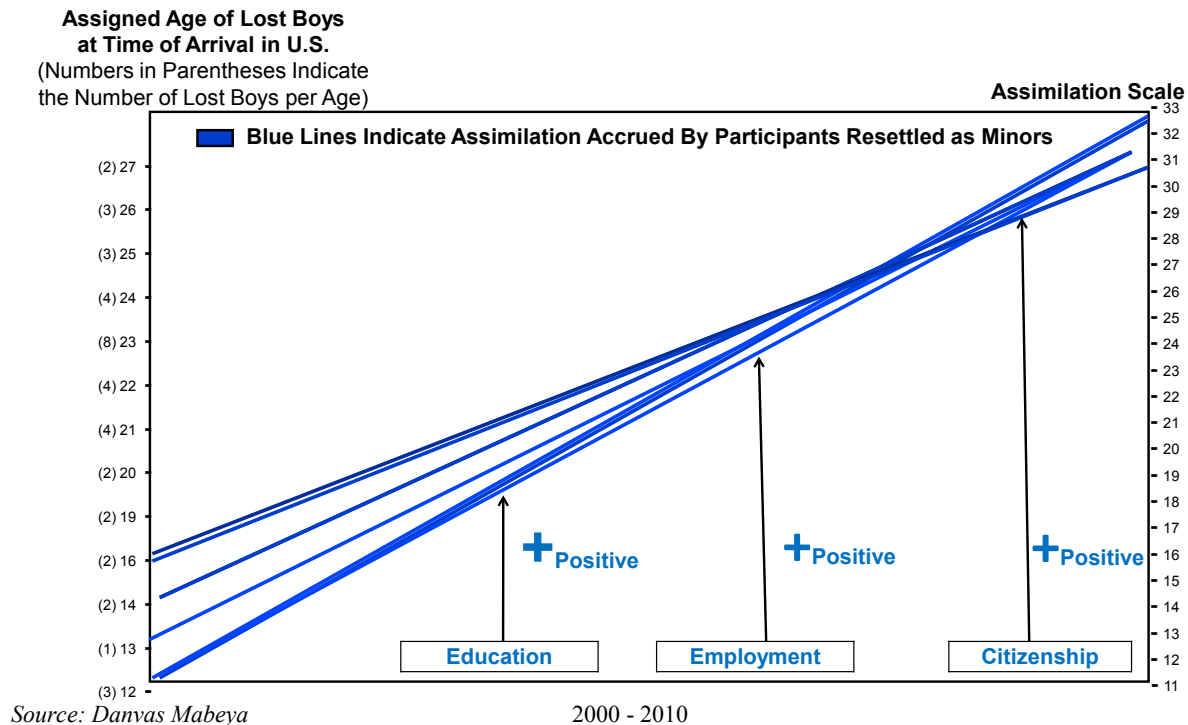
because they relate more to those groups than to the larger host society. For the Lost Boys, these reference groups included immigrants from other parts of Africa even though these groups from other parts of Africa were relatively small in number; they had a powerful influence on the degree of assimilation for those Lost Boys living in close proximity to them. Further, Warner and Srole (1945) explain that from the assimilation perspective, 1.5 generation immigrants are disadvantaged in terms of language skills, because their accent is different from the “American” accent and at times their physical appearance, like skin color can also be different. For the Lost Boys, English language posed a major challenge because most of them did not have an opportunity to speak or learn the language, which is a problem because English is the only official language in the United States. Further, their physical appearance is very distinct from that of African Americans and most Africans because most of them are distinctly slim and tall, in addition to their rich, dark skin color. These preliminary findings from reviewing literature compelled me to arrange interviews proceedings with forty Lost Boys volunteers for confirmation of the above assertions. This was then followed by analysis of the interviews as will be discussed in the following section.

9.3.1 Those Resettled as Minors

The following Line graph showing assimilation scores accrued by the those Boys considered as minors by the United States government was designed from the data collected from the interviews with the Lost Boys (data for this line graph was drawn from figure 9-4 on page 136).

Figure 9-1

Total Relative Assimilation Accrual of Eight Participants Resettled as Minors



After reviewing the interviews with the Lost Boys, I was struck by the fact that some of the younger participants felt that they had greatly adjusted and assimilated successfully (see Figure 9-1). This participant confirmed,

I was resettled in the United States at the age of thirteen and was placed in a foster family. My foster family took care of me well. I owe them a lot. I will invite them to visit my country after peace returns. I gained a lot from them. They allowed me to play and interact with their children. In this way I became fluent in English as you can tell (laughter). I am proud to speak good English and

Americans like this. After I graduated from college I easily got a job with a phone company here in Kansas City. I am now an American citizen.

Another participant said he was fortunate:

A teacher would come to my foster family's house every Sunday to teach me how to pronounce and write English. In that way I was getting better and better in English. The only thing which was hard here was to make friends. I had nobody to talk to. During lunch hour I would stay by myself and that was so painful. So the only way for me was to learn how to speak English and in that way then I could make friends. I tried and tried and my teacher could encourage me to speak and to open up. I was shy at first but I would push myself to speak. I kept on talking and talking until I become fluent. Living with a foster family helped me a lot to improve my language.

A participant who was resettled as a minor said:

After completing my college education, I now have a nice job. I spoke little English when I arrived in the United States. My foster family boosted my English skills a lot. Many Africans who don't know that I am a Lost Boy think I am African American (laughter). I am really proud of this. What you think of my language?

One participant felt it was the duty of the American government to help those who were suffering not only in America but around the world. He attributed his success to the American government goodwill and hospitality:

Ohh, yea, that is the role of freedom, an American role. They gave me food stamps, gave me air ticket, social security, I got 1-94 green card. So with this I can be able to find my own job and build myself.

The following participant said he was lucky to have gotten a state-subsidized apartment. He said he was very comfortable living there. He said he had saved a lot of money by living there and used his savings to help his family living in Australia and in the Kenyan refugee camps:

I know my goal. I care about my family and want to save money to help them. I can live in an expensive place but I don't want to. I know in the future I might live in an expensive place. However, my family is now doing well. All my brothers in Australia are successful. My mother is okay and my brother who follows me is now making a lot of money. My youngest brother is about to finish school in electronic engineering and my sister just got married and her picture of her daughter is in my computer now. I have my aunt that my dad follow in South Dakota. I also have a lot of friends and a lot of women but my goal is to have a degree then continue.

The successful assimilation of many Lost Boys can partly be attributed to education they accrued in refugee camps in Kenya. This Lost Boy resettled as a minor said:

I did go to school in Africa and when I came here I was fifteen and my school level back home was from first grade to seventh and when I came here I took class online so I was doing it every summer and after that I worked at KC airport as a security officer. I did that for a year and then I moved to Jacksonville, Florida for six months for a training course. I am about to join the military.

Another key aspect of successful assimilation in America entailed the acquisition of U. S. citizenship. Citizenship signifies the acceptance of the Lost Boys into American mainstream society and gave them access to American welfare and the labor market. However, the process of becoming a citizen is a long one, as this participant noted:

The process of acquiring American citizenship is not easy. It takes time and money. They have to check your background history for criminal record. If you have a felony then it will be difficult for them to accept you. I am lucky that I have not committed any crimes in this country. I know I am a foreigner and need to behave well. I know how much I have suffered and won't want to mess my life. I want to build myself into a respectable person and I am happy I am on that process. I have also a job that I like so much.

Regarding the right to vote as a privilege associated with American citizenship, this participant said:

You said your name is Dan...vaa what? Are you an American citizen? Do you know how it feels to vote for an American while you know you are from Africa? Man, I had an opportunity to vote for Obama as the president of the United States, the strongest man on earth. I just can't believe it. I have never voted before. I did not vote in Sudan nor did I vote in Kenya (laughter)

In general, most participants who were resettled as minors were optimistic about their prospects for long-term employment, as one noted:

I will... (Laughter), I want to use my degree, I am going to school now for clinical lab tech. I will be working in a hospital. That is what I want to do in the future.

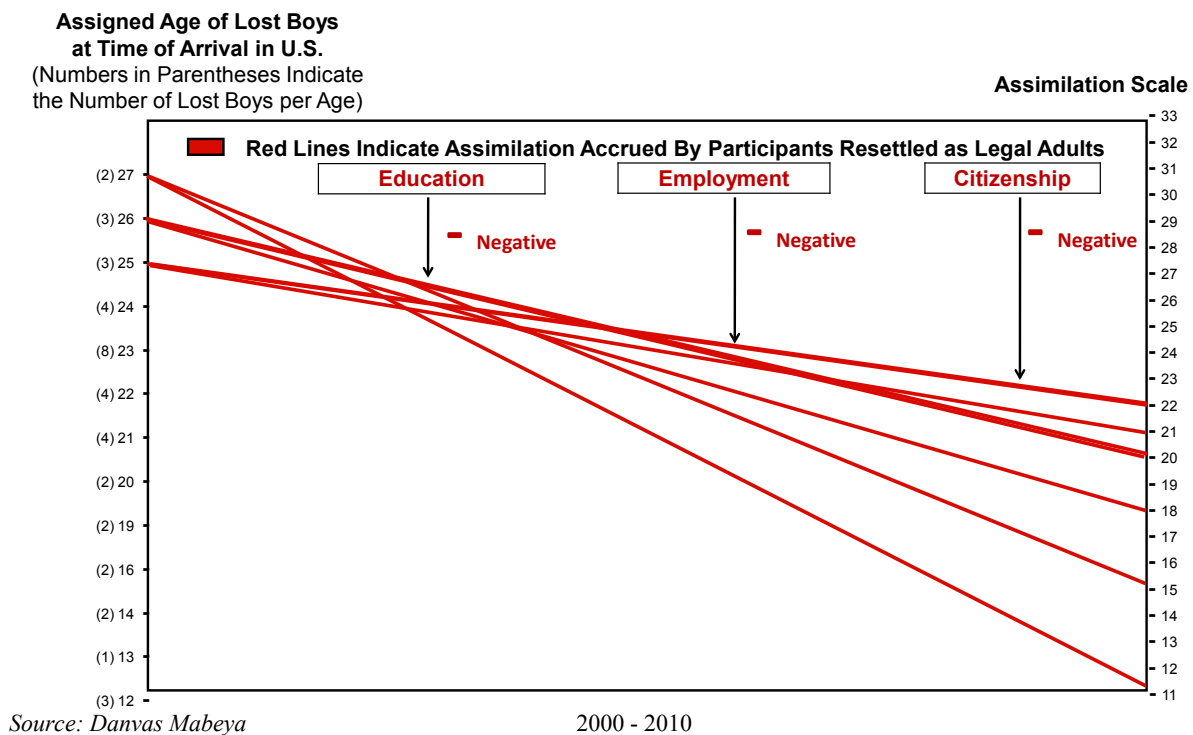
Minors had advantages over those resettled as legal adults. Their adjustment process was facilitated and enhanced by foster families and the schools that they attended. Although they started off without much American social capital after resettlement, they started to accumulate American social capital as time went by. After ten years, most of these minors have or are becoming successful both economically and socially. Some of whom are living the "American dream."

9.3.2 Those Resettled as Legal Adults

The Line graph below shows assimilation scores accrued by the those Boys considered as legal adults by the United States government was designed from the data collected from the interviews with the Lost Boys (data for this line graph was drawn from figure 9-4 on page 136).

Figure 9-2

Total Relative Assimilation Accrual of Eight Participants Resettled as Legal Adults



Those Lost Boys resettled as adults described their experiences differently from those of the younger Boys, and this was a very unfortunate development in my research. One might have thought that the older Boys, the ones who had acquired many social and survival skills during the long journey and in the camps, cared for and supervised the younger Boys, would have more social capital and would therefore be more likely to succeed in the United States than the younger Boys (see Figure 9-2). But this was not the case. Although the Lost Boys all received government assistance as part of their relocation (in addition to church-based support), the younger Boys received substantially different treatment than the older Boys because they were

treated as minors rather than adults. This age-based advantage had important consequences, giving the younger Boys real advantages and opportunities that were not made available to the older Boys, who were burdened with responsibilities not put upon the minor Lost Boys. To make matters worse, these ages were often arbitrarily assigned. This participant said.

I don't know my exact age. I think the only people who know my age are my parents. Unfortunately they all passed away during the war. I did not spend much time with them. I don't have birth certificate. When I arrived here American agencies that were given the responsibility to resettle us just gave us random ages. I don't know how they did it. They just looked at you and maybe decided you are old if you had a beard (laughter) or they talked with you to hear if you had a deep voice. They said I was nineteen years when I arrived. I really don't know. I could be thirty years or even thirteen (more laughter). Anyway my assigned age helped me to start working.

Therefore as a policy matter, these findings suggest that government officials should reassess the age-based treatment of refugees and consider ways to give them more or less equal opportunities as part of the relocation process. Some older Boys expressed the view that they had found it difficult to assimilate, as indicated by this participant:

Man, before coming to America, I was told that in the refugee camp in Kenya that I only needed to step in the United States and my problems would end. That is what people think in Africa. Actually to me, my problems started immediately I arrived here. They grouped us (older Boys) into fours and allocated us good apartments. They told us they were to pay for us for three months and provide all we needed to survive in America. After three months, they cut everything. They told us we had to work and pay bills. It was so hard for us and we decided to work, pay bills and save some money before going to school. Since then, I have not managed to go to school full time. I also don't have a good job and I have to send money to Kakuma refugee camp to help my mother and sister.

Another participant said:

There is a saying that says 'welcome to America,' I think that saying has more than just welcoming people. It means that you should be prepared to face the really world. America is not an easy society to live in. You have to work, go to school, pay bills, and support family in Africa. If you don't have working skills and good English, America is not for you. America is for smart people like you. I don't speak good English because I don't have time to learn and interact with Americans. I work and work and work.

The following participant did not go to school in the Kenyan refugee camp as he was placed in an Egyptian refugee camp where education was given in Arabic, making English difficult for him :

Me, I need help for English. If you can get a volunteer safar (somebody) to help me. You can get me DVD's, good for me I want that because my friends. Some people Lost Boys come from Kenya. It is good they don't have a problem with English. What about me. I don't know something. I come from Egypt. I speak Arabic but English is difficult.

As opposed to those resettled as minors, legal adults were expected to secure employment upon arrival and did not have access to structure and immersion provided by foster families and formal education. This legal adult participant said:

Some people don't address you because they see you look different...different because, you know, another language it is difficult to learn. In the future I don't know what I want to be or do because I don't have English or education for now. Aaahhh, I try this one for three years. I know something for that one. That I think I will know what I will want to be. Now...Doctor is good for me because how can people here in the United States be good and help me. I go help people in a lot of places, too.

He was so frustrated because he lacked English language proficiency:

Americans in Kansas can't trust to give you a job with no English. This one is difficult. They don't need somebody (safar) who don't know English. Even for a dirty job like cleaning toilets. You don't know how to speak good English, you don't know how write good English, Americans don't trust you.

However, he said he was now enrolled at an English learning center in Kansas City. This has helped him to significantly improve his spoken and written English. He said going through Egypt before being resettled in the United States caused him to be more disadvantaged than the Lost Boys who went through Kenyan refugee camps where they began to learn English in refugee camp schools. He said that in Egypt, Arabic was the language of communication and instruction.

When it comes to searching for work he needed help to fill out the application forms:

My first time in the United States, I don't have a little English to speak. I have my language only. Aaahh. I can't get work easily because I can't fill an application. I don't have English. My friends help me for application. Now I went to school. Aaahhh, we call, aaahhh, NSC grade in Olathe, Kansas. For five or four days in the week. I do have morning class till 12.

More important, refugees need to be better educated about day-to-day matters ranging from traffic laws to appropriate sexual behavior. One participant said:

In Sudan we were not even aware of formal laws. People just lived so long as you killed nobody. In Ethiopia and Kenya we were made aware that we were in a foreign country and were restricted from moving out of the refugee camps. Now

in the United States, we are expected to learn and know all the laws on our own. The only way that many of us learn how the U. S. laws work is when one of us is arrested. Otherwise, nobody taught us about the laws of this country when we first resettled.

Another participant said:

In Sudan, car tags don't expire like here in the U. S. Once you buy a car and it is registered then that is all. Here in the U. S. you have to renew car tags every year. My friend was arrested for driving a car with expired tags. How could the police expect him to know that tags expire? I just think it is just a way of making money for the state from innocent people.

This participant described part of his difficulty with sexual practices in the United State:

Mwalimu (teacher), it is funny that one can be arrested in this country for just touching a woman. Imagine, I was going to my apartment one summer day and my neighbor who is a young girl was lying outside on the drive way. She was just naked. The only cloth she had on her was a pant and a bra on her breasts. What do you call that (laughter), a naked woman. That can incite a man to rape her if it was to be in Africa. This was quite disturbing.

Some legal adults had problems acquiring U. S. citizenship because of the costs of processing naturalization documents. Although they knew it was important to acquire citizenship in order to successfully live in America, they felt it was not an immediate priority, what with the limited amounts of income that they made from temporary jobs. As this participant explained:

I would have been a U. S. citizen but, you know, it does not come free. It is very expensive and my priority right now is to pay my tuition and complete my studies. I will become citizen one time. Maybe when I get a job and have a lot of money to do that. My family in Africa depends on me and I pay my young sisters and brothers' tuition in Kenya. That is important to me.

From the findings in this study, the Lost Boys resettled as minors found it easier to get an American identity after accumulating American social capital but “lost” Sudanese influence and culture as young individuals. Those that were resettled as legal adults had a harder time finding American identity because did not have equal access to welfare opportunities like the minors. *Would this be the case if they were all resettled as minors?*

9.4 Quantitative Analysis of the Lost Boys Assimilation Process

Because of these striking findings, I decided to explore the assimilation process of the Lost Boys more carefully and systematically. Therefore, I decided to measure how much each of the Lost Boys had assimilated. To do this, I came up with a series of measures (education, employment, housing, religious, secular/culture, social networks, friends, family, place, citizenship, and safety). I chose these because they are all direct and indirect measures of assimilation, as explained in chapter one of this dissertation. I thought it would be important to use as many indicators as possible to provide a more complete picture. I constructed a 0-3 point scale, which was a simple way of assessing assimilation, given the information that I had collected from each individual participant (see Figure 9-3). I then went back and scored each of the forty Lost Boys, summed the total, and came up with a composite score that measured the extent to which each Boy had assimilated (see Figure 9-4). I wanted to derive a clear understanding of how this particular group of Lost Boys had assimilated into mainstream American society. I preferred to keep my analysis simple and clear-cut. Because I had to derive my quantitative scale from subjective interview content, I felt it was best to identify strong, simple indicators (benchmarks).

The cross-analysis in chapter eight was possible through quantification of key indicators of successful integration. This is possible as data was arranged by themes and sub-themes. I then assigned scores for each sub-category and designed a ranking scale and a table showing the range of assimilation (0-3 per category for a total possible score of 33, where 33 indicated the highest degree of integration).

Figure 9-4 shows the degree to which each of the Lost Boy had assimilated. For example, in the category of education, participant 1 who was assigned the age of twelve years old at arrival was assigned a score of 3 after nearly ten years of resettlement, whereas participant 40, aged 27 years at arrival was assigned a score of 0, respectively. Boys settled as minors scored between 30 and 33 on the scale measuring assimilation, while those settled as legal adults scored as low as 11.

The following section presents the criteria for the ranking scale of indicators of assimilation that I used in my analysis.

9.4.1 Indicators of Assimilation

Figure 9-3 Ranking Scale

Education:

- 0 = No education at all
- 1 = Education from Africa
- 2 = Gone to school in America finished high school
- 3 = Gone to University

Housing:

- 0 = Unemployed and supported by fellow Lost Boys
- 1 = Enclave but employed
- 2 = Mixed neighborhood
- 3 = Mixed household

Secular/Culture:

- 0 = No participation, no understanding
- 1 = No participation, some understanding
- 2 = Participate in, some interest and understanding
- 3 = Regular participation in structured activities

Friends:

- 0 = Only Lost Boys
- 1 = Lost Boys and Africans
- 2 = Lost Boys and African Americans
- 3 = Lost Boys and other Americans, non Africans

Place:

- 0 = Uncomfortable doesn't know neighbors
- 1 = Knows neighbors
- 2 = Is comfortable
- 3 = Likes their neighborhood; finds it desirable to live

Safety:

- 0 = Africa was safer
- 1 = Barely better (been a victim of crime)
- 2 = Okay but not comfortable
- 3 = Is better

Employment:

- 0 = Unemployed
- 1 = Unskilled Labor, little English required
- 2 = Stable employment but wants more
- 3 = Skilled (higher education)

Religious:

- 0 = No faith, no participation
- 1 = No faith, participate
- 2 = Faith, don't participate
- 3 = Faith, participate

Social Networks:

- 0 = Socialize with Lost Boys only
- 1 = Accepts some support from others
- 2 = Active in support networks
- 3 = Beyond support networks

Family:

- 0 = Don't know, don't care
- 1 = Marry Dinka
- 2 = Marry African
- 3 = Marry non-African

Citizenship:

- 0 = Refugee
- 1 = Not yet (on transition)
- 2 = Permanent resident
- 3 = Citizen

9.4.2 Laying out Quantitative Data

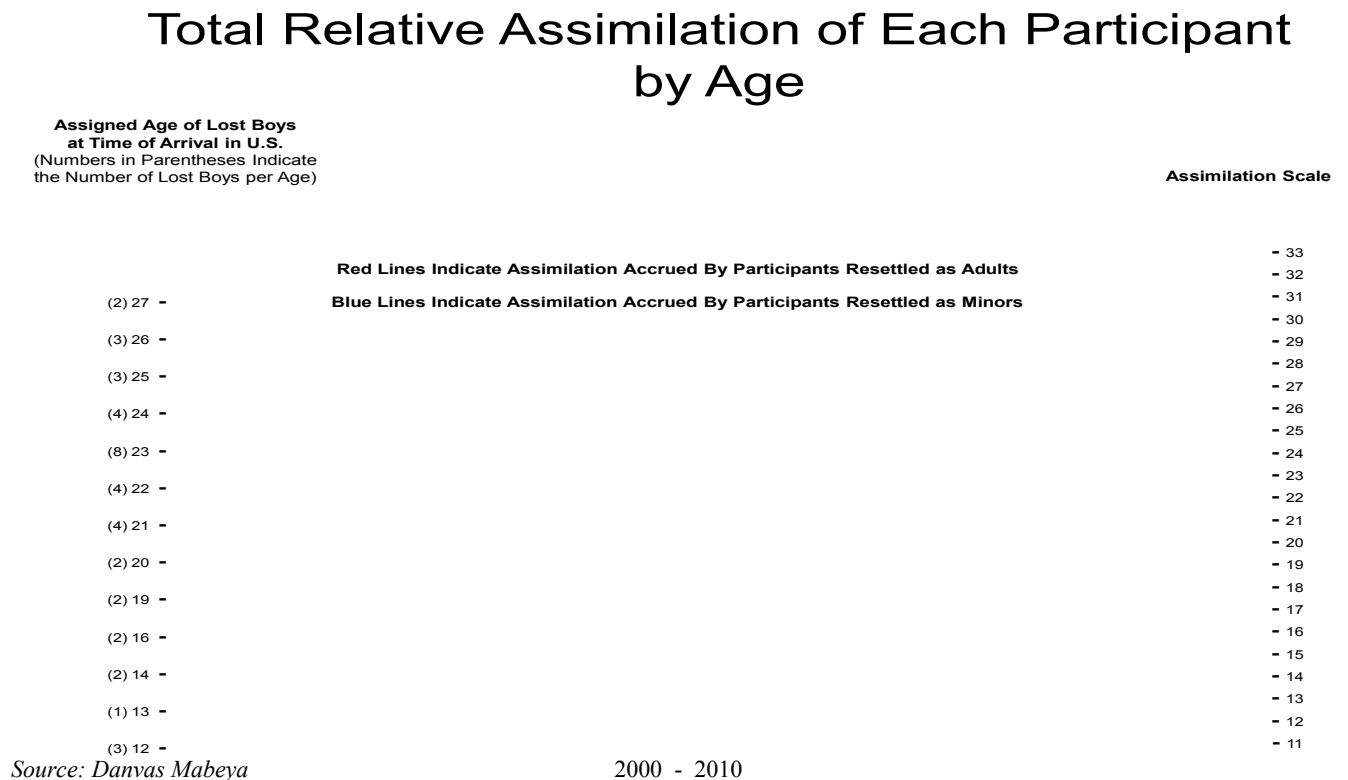
Figure 9-4 Degree of Assimilation (*Findings are relative to each other*)

Participant No.	Arri ag	Pres ag	Edu	Empl	Hse	Rel	Sec	So Net	Frie	Fam	Plc	Cit	Saf	Sum
Participant 1	12	21	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	33
Participant 2	12	22	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	33
Participant 3	12	22	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	32
Participant 4	13	22	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	32
Participant 5	14	23	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	32
Participant 6	14	23	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	32
Participant 7	16	25	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	31
Participant 8	16	25	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	31
Participant 9	19	28	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	30
Participant 10	19	27	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	32
Participant 11	20	29	2	1	3	3	2	0	0	2	3	2	3	21
Participant 12	20	28	2	1	3	3	2	0	0	2	3	1	3	21
Participant 13	21	30	2	1	3	3	2	0	0	2	3	1	3	20
Participant 14	21	29	2	1	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	1	3	22
Participant 15	21	30	2	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	20
Participant 16	21	28	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	19
Participant 17	22	31	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	20
Participant 18	22	31	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	1	1	14
Participant 19	22	30	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	1	2	22
Participant 20	22	31	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	1	23
Participant 21	23	32	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	23
Participant 22	23	32	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	1	1	22
Participant 23	23	31	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	3	2	2	21
Participant 24	23	31	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	3	3	2	22
Participant 25	23	32	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	3	2	2	21
Participant 26	23	32	1	2	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	21
Participant 27	23	32	2	2	3	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	22
Participant 28	23	33	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	1	3	23
Participant 29	24	32	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	24
Participant 30	24	33	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	19
Participant 31	24	32	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	0	19
Participant 32	24	33	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	23
Participant 33	25	34	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	22
Participant 34	25	33	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	3	2	3	22
Participant 35	25	34	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	3	21
Participant 36	26	35	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	20
Participant 37	26	34	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	20
Participant 38	26	34	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	0	18
Participant 39	27	36	1	2	0	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	15
Participant 40	27	35	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	11

Source: Danvas Mabeya

In this section, I decided to arrange the Lost Boys by age, and then match them with their ranking on the assimilation scale. The results were striking (see color coded chart below). It was immediately clear that the Boys who had arrived as minors had much higher assimilation scores than the Boys who had arrived as adults. To be more precise, the youngest Boys had the highest scores; while the oldest Boys had the lowest assimilation scores (see Figure 9-5). The following Line graph that was designed from the data collected from the interviews with the Lost Boys provides striking illustration of differences in social capital accrued by the Lost Boys resettled as minors versus those resettled as legal adults, as defined by the U.S. laws, resulting in a wide range of assimilation (data for this line graph was drawn from figure 9-4 on page 136).

Figure 9-5 Assimilation experiences of the Lost Boys according to age



This chart illustrates the advantages experienced by those Lost Boys resettled as minors as opposed to legal adults. As time went by, those Lost Boys who were resettled as minors assimilated more fully than those who were resettled as legal adults. The illustration from this chart raised a new and important question:

Why did the younger Boys assimilate more successfully than those resettled as legal adults?

To answer the above question, the participating Boys in this study answered questions in eleven areas that indicated whether or not the Boys were well-integrated into mainstream U. S. society (See Appendix B). Their answers were assigned values of 0-3, for a total possible score of 33, with 33 indicating the highest degree of assimilation and integration, which is depicted in the above graph. Findings from this study indicated that the younger Boys were more assimilated because they acquired more social capital which was made available to them by government refugee policies and foster families than the legal adults (see Figure 9-6). As minors, the younger Boys were placed with foster families and went to school for a period of time before going to work. This gave them the opportunity to acquire important kinds of social capital and provided structure for immersion in American culture. They were in a situation where they could more easily learn English. Both at home and in school, they could complete their education in American schools, where they could establish social networks and friends (an important kind of social capital), and they could devote themselves to their studies and acquire the kind of skills that would make it possible to advance in school, complete high school, go to college, and in some cases, obtain advanced degrees.

One of the most significant findings of this study was that defining “experience” as a function of (assigned) age proved problematic for most of the Boys; younger Boys did not enter the job market at a “low” level. Interestingly, one can discern from this study how much more social capital was possessed by Lost Boys who were resettled as minors nearly a decade ago. There was a clear reverse trend in terms of acquisition of social capital of the adult Boys since their resettlement: the Boys that were resettled as young adults and were immediately placed to work seemed to be struggling with balancing work and getting an education, including English acquisition. The legal adults started earning an income, to the envy of minors who were not allowed to work at the time of their resettlement.

I was resettled as a minor and because of my status that time, I was not allowed to work though I considered myself above eighteen years. I was so envious of those Lost Boys who were allowed to work because they made an income on their own. Minors were just dependents, mostly on foster families. I didn't think I would work all my life. We had no source of income but we were taken to good schools by foster families. I graduated from college one year ago with a nursing degree and now work in a hospital as a registered nurse. I actually make thrice as much as those Lost Boys who were resettled as adults and started working. They never got a chance to go to school. They envy me now (laughter).

However, those who were placed under foster families and started off as dependents had a better opportunity to acquire English language from foster families. They were also placed in school, where they socialized with American children, and this helped them greatly improve their English language skills. Because of their English proficiency, this group of Boys easily got better jobs after completing their education.

9.5 Sociological Explanation of Assimilation Patterns of the Lost Boys in the United States.

In general, the integration process experienced by the Lost Boys did not take the classical form as defined by Parks (1928), but was instead more segmented, as defined by Rodriguez (2004). Parks's (1928) classical assimilation states that people of diverse origin eventually end up acquiring enough "cultural solidarity" to sustain a group's survival in a new society or country. In the Lost Boys, they arrived in the United States as a group with the same culture. However, each one of them possessed different social capital accrued from Africa. In most cases the social capital accrued in Africa did not help their faster integration in the United States. Interestingly, those Boys that acquired American social capital faster helped those that did it more slowly, which is an indication of Sudanese cultural values in contrast to American valuation of individualism (lost and found social capital). Gregory Rodriguez, a scholar of assimilation, supports Parks assertion that before the 1970's, assimilation was seen as a process in which people of different racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds become more homogenous. Contemporary proponents of assimilation have argued that the process of assimilation entails the notion of dynamism (Rodriguez, 2004). This means that immigrants may experience either upward or downward mobility. Figure 9.3 illustrates the upward and downward mobility of the Lost Boys compared to their relative social capital. Portes and Zhou (1992) argue that there are two possibilities which can result from a person having two cultures. The Lost Boys are 1.5 generation individuals with striking differences between their native Sudanese culture and that of mainstream American society. The first scenario sees the person successfully assimilated into the new culture through "upward movement." The second possibility is that the immigrant may remain poor and of low class in the host society. Portes and Zhou (1993) add that the process of adaptation may take different forms. First, an immigrant can be assimilated and integrated into the white middle class; second, an immigrant can be assimilated into the

underclass; and third, immigrants can remain adamant and preserve their culture and traditions through social networks of the individual's own community where they vie for resources rather than social capital.

This third scenario can result from low self-esteem. In the case of immigrants, self-esteem is an important indicator of psychological resilience and their ability to overcome feelings of anomie, which is certainly true for the Lost Boys who have been resettled without familial support or direct knowledge of America.

Mudede identifies Peter Nyarol Dut (a Lost Boy) as a representative example of the kind of upward mobility some Lost Boys have achieved¹⁴. Mudede asserts that Dut retained his African identity while socializing with suburban white teenagers in Kansas City. Further, Dut attended a prestigious, mostly white high school and remained friendly with white Americans who also liked him. After completing his education, he faced a very bright future. Scholars who support the notion of segmented assimilation theory have argued that different groups of immigrants assimilate by either moving from low to high or from high to low on the social and economic ladder. The rate of mobility varies from one immigrant cohort to another and from one individual to the next within a given cohort. This model can be applied to the Lost Boys: some of the Lost Boys have become academically and economically successful while some have not. Those who have achieved high educational status have not only managed to earn higher incomes and more desirable employment, but they have also managed to close the gap between their achievements and those of American-born citizens. This can be further explained by the value chain model, discussed below.

The value chain model, a concept from business management first described by Michael Porter (1985), provides another way of illustrating how those Lost Boys resettled as minors acquired more social capital over time. In this model, products pass through all activities of the chain to gain some value. Like products, all the environments and social life experienced by the Lost Boys from Sudan all the way to and in the United States transformed their lives in significant ways. In general, it seems that every step they made improved the lives of those who survived their perilous exodus in terms of their resiliency, allowing many of them to successfully become productive members of not only American society but also in Sudan. Despite the presence of anomie in each Lost Boy, challenges associated with successful living in the United States might be said to pale in comparison to the life and death situations faced by the Boys in

Africa. With time, those resettled as minors overtook those resettled as adults in their accumulation of social capital. Moreover, meaningful opportunities for educational advancement abound in the United States. Those who have climbed the ladder of education have gained intellectual capital which they used to enter into desirable U. S. labor markets.

9.6 Summary

In his study of migrants living in Europe, Castle (1993) found that some had “integrated,” some joined “multi-cultural” communities, and some were marginalized and experienced cultural “segregation.” Like Castles, I also found the Lost Boys had a fairly wide range of experiences during their 10 year stay in the United States, which provides evidence of their segmented assimilation. After conducting interviews with Kansas City area-based Lost Boys, I found that some had integrated, some were marginalized, and some fell in between. Bol Biong Bol (executive director of the Sudanese Community Association, a San Diego-based organization that helps refugees assimilate in America) supports my assertion by explaining:

“The hard fact is that in the United States, Social Darwinism is still the operating principle. As time goes by, we will have some Lost Boys who will be very successful, and we will have some people who will remain on the lower economic level, and we will have some people who will be frustrated” (Weddle, 2002 p. 11).

The Lost Boys assimilation experiences in Kansas City area and elsewhere in the United States is a clear testimony that refugee resettlement programs need to be improved to further make refugee life better and more comfortable. Equal opportunity for all resettled refugees should be the key guiding policy.

CHAPTER 10 - Conclusions and Recommendations

10.1 Introduction

It was a privilege to carry out this research with this group of young adults (Lost Boys) living in the greater Kansas City area. I sought to understand their identity/status in American society relative to aspects of social capital valued in American mainstream society. By the time this study was carried out, the Lost Boys in Kansas had undergone nearly a decade of transformation in the United States and had worked hard to achieve their goals. Their ‘successful’ integration process required both social and economic integration according to the eleven benchmarks identified in this study. In the face of incredible anomie, some of them have become proficient in English, acquired U. S. citizenship, found jobs, and coped with the violent loss of family members and familiar social structures and values. As reported in the previous chapter, education played a crucial role in acculturation and integration of the Lost Boys. Without education and language acquisition, the Boys had little hope of securing desirable employment, financial stability and/or prosperity, or acceptance in American social groups. Employment helped elevate their status among Americans, education empowered them economically, and citizenship helped them gain admission into American mainstream society. Those who have acquired citizenship have obtained the right to vote, secure student loans, and the ability to freely travel in and out of the United States.

10.2 Conclusions

Research in this study identified advantages and challenges associated with the arbitrarily assigned ages to each of the Lost Boys. While they were doing well, challenges still existed that test their individual resilience to anomie. Minors received social and educational support from foster families while those who were legal adults largely had to fend for themselves; they were provided with apartments rent-free for three months and banded together to minimize expenses and to provide stability in their new environment. Importantly, both groups benefitted from support given by church-based communities and organizations. Those minors who were placed in foster families were better integrated socially but were behind relative to employment, naturalization, and college education, let alone their retention of Sudanese culture as compared to those Boys settled as adults. Those Boys settled as legal adults endured unique hardships, like

caring for younger Boys during their exodus and time spent in refugee camps; trying to find employment immediately after resettlement without the benefit and care of foster families, acquiring English in a new country. The elder Boys felt obligated to remind the younger Boys of Sudanese culture, values, and ways of life, once again fulfilling a sort of parenting role that was critical to the development of normative behavior, though younger Boys differ in their receptivity to retaining Sudanese culture. Overall, the greater Kansas City area has proven to be a nice place to live for the Boys participating in this study, due to lower levels of deviancy associated with highly urbanized areas, more and better educational opportunities, lower costs of living, which allowed them to remit money back home.

It is important to note that some sub-categories of this study indicated anomie to be a source of frustration. One example is the sub-category of family; some Lost Boys would not be able to get girls to marry here in the United States and so they had to fly to Sudan or Kenyan refugee camps to get married. The process of arranging to fly was not only tedious because of bureaucratic reasons but also very expensive for some of them. A second sub-category exemplifying the presence of anomie is employment; the Lost Boys who were resettled as young adults found it very difficult to secure employment because some of them lacked working skills and were not proficient in English on arrival. Therefore, as stated earlier, “experience” defined by age was a handicap, once the social capital of the participants was analyzed. It was interesting from this study to find out how much more social capital was possessed by Lost Boys resettled as minors relative to those resettled as adults, especially given the fact that all of these Boys are now legal adults living in the United States. From the findings, those Boys that were settled as minors and had little social capital from Africa eventually “lost” or did away with social capital that they brought with them. Whereas, those settled as adults had the disadvantage of having to start working immediately, which did not facilitate their integration into American society. They also did not get the support the minors had from the foster families and could not go to school immediately after their resettlement. In this case, the Lost Boys, though resettled at nearly the same time in the United States, had a wide range of assimilation experiences. Some Boys have disappeared into the margins of American society, while some have “found” success as Americans though they may have “lost” their ties to the Sudanese culture.

These findings are consistent with sociological theories of social capital. Sociologists have argued that it is important for people to acquire social capital, and that the acquisition of

social capital can improve a person's material and social circumstances. This assertion is supported by Coleman (1988) who argued that social capital could determine what kind of resources were made available to individuals and/or groups. Coleman also made the argument that integration of people into a new society was done on an individual basis and not as a group. This was because each individual had different amounts of social capital. Coleman said parents were an important source of social capital to their children; indeed, nearly all the Lost Boys lacked parental guidance and upbringing. Durkheim has supported Coleman on the importance of parental presence to their children by arguing that those Lost Boys who became deviants were doing so due to a lack of strong social bonds, which would have emanated from parental care and guidance. Thus, Durkheim would see an individual behavior to indicate how much that individual integrated into society. If an individual's social bonding with society was lacking, then that individual might succumb to anomie. Durkheim would argue that the marginalization of some Lost Boys resulted from rapid social change (i.e. from a third world country to a developed one without a proper transitional period). For Bourdieu, the institutions in the United States provided a means in which the Lost Boys acquired social capital. It was through these institutions, including schools and familial structure, that the Lost Boys were able to acquire cultural capital such as education. To Bourdieu, schools provided a source of transmission of America's valued culture which is education. Through acquisition of education in schools as cultural capital, the Lost Boys were able to convert social capital into economic capital by securing employment and earning an income. Bourdieu divided social capital into three forms (embodied, objectified, and institutionalized). He argued that each person brought into society what he called "a different set of disposition-habitus." In this case, Bourdieu would have expected the Lost Boys to integrate differently according to the social capital that each one had. He would expect those who had acquired education and secured a job to change their class in society. Because of income and status change, then he would expect those with good paying jobs to change their consumption patterns in keeping with mainstream American values.

The findings in this dissertation suggest that one's age, and the treatment of people by their legal age (minors/adults), can play an important role in shaping the kind of capital and opportunities made available to individuals. In the case of the Lost Boys, successful assimilation could be attributed to their amazing resilience in the face of harsh and violent circumstances experienced prior to their arrival in the United States. This study also highlighted the importance

of preparation of 1.5 generation immigrants for a vastly different way of life, especially for those resettled without the benefit of relatives who already live in the new environment.

10.3 Framework for Action

Presenting the findings of this study and other studies of the Lost Boys living in the United States to relevant policy makers would allow the Lost Boys to speak for themselves, which could provide important insight into their resettlement and that of other refugees accepted by the United States. Moreover, this and other research has identified areas of integration that remain challenging for the Lost Boys and perhaps other refugee populations, such as traffic laws and socially-acceptable interactions with the opposite sex that may be contrary to those interactions disseminated in popular culture. The Lost Boys are a unique population and should continue to be studied in order to further the goals outlined above. In addition, the Lost Girls have their own narratives and are worthy of being studied in their own right. Therefore I propose the following recommendations:

10.3.1 For scholars

- Lost Boys should continue to be studied for their progress towards integration, including areas where assistance is needed to overcome anomie, such as issues involving rape, traffic policies, English language acquisition, and suicide cases.
- The findings of my study and of other scholars interested in the Lost Boys should be brought to the attention of policy makers. Moreover, Lost Boys already interviewed for research purposes may be receptive to talking about their experiences with policy makers.
- It is important to find out whether the resettlement procedures marginalized some of the Lost Boys. Muhindi and Nyakatos' main hypothesis states that exclusion or marginalization of the Lost Boys was not due to them not adjusting well, but rather the initial preparation resettlement process within the refugee camps and the need for better preparations for life once they arrived in the U. S., an issue closely linked to those addressed in the first recommendation outlined in 10.2.1.
- Anomie is a key issue for the Lost Boys who had never lived in urban areas in Africa. In addition to drastic differences in the environmental and climatic landscapes, most of them were not formally educated but were taught to graze cattle in the fields for long periods. It is important to find whether resettling them in the U. S. metropolitan areas had an

adverse impact on their integration process. That is, would it have been better to resettle them in the U. S. cattle ranching communities or in more agrarian areas, especially given the fact that most Lost Boys in the Kansas City area chose to relocate and resettle themselves in suburban areas instead of urban areas where they were resettled initially by government agencies? Probably this would have been a slow way of making them adapt to the advanced and complex American society, given that they were cattle keepers in Africa.

10.3.2 For policy makers

- Consider getting first-hand information about refugee problems from refugees themselves and scholars who have studied refugees instead of relying solely upon the media and/or accepted policy and procedures.
- Find out what kind of environment refugees would consider most comfortable for their resettlement and their reasons for these preferences.
- Consideration should be given to the logic of settling refugees by state, nationality, or age, especially in cases when age is arbitrarily assigned.
- Most important; all refugees, no matter what their age, should be provided constructive access to both public and social welfare utilities for better settlement and integration processes.
- Was it fair for the government to demand the legally adult Lost Boys to repay their air tickets and other expenses they incurred during their resettlement processes from Africa, while the minors were not required to? This was an extra burden for the adult Lost Boys who also lacked the benefit of language immersion in foster families and formal education.
- Would this have assisted them to become self sufficient faster? Compounding the above questions is the fact that ages were arbitrarily assigned to the Lost Boys before resettlement in the United States, Australia, and Canada.

10.3.3 Application for research

1. Research should be carried out on other orphaned refugees population using the criteria (i.e. benchmarks of assimilation/integration), theoretical frameworks, and methodology used in this study.
2. Research should be carried on the 89 resettled Lost Girls in the United States using the criteria, theoretical frameworks and methodology used in this study. This would highlight their resettlement experiences and provide better understanding of any challenges and/or advantages they may have experienced during their resettlement processes.

Endnotes

¹ Alexander William Lowndes de Waal (born in 22 February 1963). A British writer and a researcher on African affairs. Previously a fellow of the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative at Harvard University, program director at the Social Science Research Council on AIDS in New York City and also a co-director of Justice Africa, London (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alex_de_Waal)

² David Rine is Professor Emeritus and Founding Chair, of Computer Science, Volgenau School of Information Technology and Engineering (Gorge Mason University).

³ Francis Deng is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute. He is a retired Sudan Ambassador to Canada and the United States, former minister of state for foreign affairs and has written several books on law and conflict resolution. He has also taught in many American universities.

⁴ Bush George H. W (1984), "Remarks on United States Refugee Policy," In Joseph Kitagawa, ed, *American Refugee Policy: Ethical and Religious Reflections*. Presiding Bishop's fund for world relief in collaboration with Winston Press, Oak Grove, Minneapolis, MN

⁵ Martin Masumbuko Muhindi was involved with the Sudanese refugees from the time they were received in the Lokichoggio transit center in Kenya in 1982. Being part of the UNHCR protection staff and specifically this resettlement exercise in Kakuma Camp, he is personally known to and trusted by the majority of the Sudanese refugees. Martin was in Boston during the year of this research, studying in the MAHA (Master of Arts in Humanitarian Assistance) program at Tufts University. The second team member, Kiganzi Nyakato, worked for five years among vulnerable Sudanese refugee groups with the UN World Food Program in Uganda, host to over 200,000 Sudanese refugees. She has experience in participatory interviewing and is conversant with Sudanese culture. She was also in Boston studying in the MAHA program. After arriving in Boston, the authors interacted with the resettled boys, their host families, and the NGOs providing the boys with services. They were involved in the Roca Community Center in Chelsea, which serves the largest number of Sudanese refugees in Boston. They hosted the boys at Tufts University and maintained weekly meetings with the boys in Boston.

⁶ Donkor Martha is assistant professor of History at Edinboro University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include African/African American women's history, women and education, and the African immigrant experience in North America. She has written a book on Sudanese refugees in the US titled, "Sudanese Refugees in the United States: The Collateral Damage of Sudan's Civil War."

⁷ Cassity Elizabeth is a Researcher at the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney. Her area of interest is in comparative education, youth and African studies. She is also involved in the 'Young Africans in Schools' project.

⁸ Gow Greg is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney. His area of specialization is on the settlement of African communities in Australia. He is also involved in 'Communities Across Borders' project investigating the transnational dynamics of emerging refugee groups from Africa; and also the 'Young Africans in Schools' project.

⁹ James J. Messina, Ph.D. & Constance M. Messina, Ph.D. are authors of Coping.org, home of the Tools for Coping Series for coping with a variety of life's stressors.

¹⁰ DeLuca Laura teaches courses on anthropology, African studies, and international development at the University of Colorado-Boulder.

¹¹ Don Barnett writes frequently on asylum and refugee immigration. His most recent Backgrounder was *"The Coming Conflict Over Asylum: Does America Need a New Asylum Policy?"*

¹² Jany Deng is a Sudanese who is the outreach coordinator of Arizona Lost Boys Center in Phoenix.

¹³ Ann Wheat, co-founder of the Arizona Lost Boys Center in Phoenix. The center, which opened in 2003, offers more than 400 lost boys a place to gather, speak with career counselors, and get legal and medical advice

¹⁴ Mudede Charles is an Associate Editor for The Stranger, a Seattle Weekly and Adjunct Professor for Pacific Lutheran University

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Appendix A - Invitation for interview session

Invitation for interview session

Julie Pitts (Se hablo Espanol)
Program Director
International & Immigrant Student Services
Johnson County Community College
Student Center Room 260

Dear Julie Pitts:

I would be ever so grateful if you could please help me get in touch with the Sudanese Lost Boys in your College or any other place that they reside. I am a sociology Ph.D. student at Kansas State University. I am writing an original and innovative research dissertation on the Lost Boys of Sudan and I would like to interview some to confirm what I have written. The results, with your help, of this research will have profound outcomes. Once the doctoral dissertation is published the complete results will be shared with those who participate as Lost Boys interviewees and those who gave me assistance like you. The invitation for those Lost Boys who will volunteer to participate is below, as well as the attachments, which fully explains the Sudanese research being undertaken. I got your email contact from a good friend Brittany Mccoy who you spoke with on phone a [yesterday](#). Thanks in advance for your anticipated assistance.

Respectfully yours,

Danvas Mabeya M.A. Ph.D. Candidate
Kansas State University
Manhattan, KS 66502

Invitation for interview session

[Friday, July 20, 2009](#)

Dear Sudanese Lost Boy Member:

Thank you for allowing me to study your group. I am a sociology Ph.D. student here at Kansas State University. I am looking forward to graduate in [December](#) of 2009. I am writing my

doctoral dissertation on the Sudanese Lost Boys experiences after resettlement ten years ago. My dissertation title is " LOST AND FOUND: DIFFERENT INTEGRATION PATTERNS OF THE SUDANESE LOST BOYS LIVING IN KANSAS CITY AREA AFTER RESETTLEMENT". I am, graciously, inviting and requesting you to please attend an interview session which will be carried out by me on the 25th of July 2009. These interviews are meant to confirm what I have already written in my doctoral Ph.D. research proposal. The interview session will last anywhere between 10 to 30 minutes. I would prefer meeting with you at a place that will be chosen by Professor Dr. David Rine, George Mason University and Sudan Sunrise, if possible or a place that will be convenient to you. I would prefer to meet you any time between 10.00am to 5:00pm of that day. Your names will not be revealed in this interview and no one will get access to the interview data except me. Please if you know some of your friends, as well as yourself, who might be willing to interview with me, please inform them and come with them. My cell phone number is 785-410-4503 if you have any questions or want to reach me in advance. Attached please find the abstract/cover letter of my dissertation and IRB approval letter to carry out this research. Thanks for your willingness to participate in this study. See you then.

Respectfully,

Danvas Mabeya

Ph.D. Doctoral Dissertation Candidate, Kansas State University
Kansas State University
Manhattan, KS 66502

Appendix B - Consent Form

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

INFORMED CONSENT TEMPLATE

PROJECT TITLE: **LOST AND FOUND: DIFFERENT INTEGRATION PATTERNS OF THE SUDANESE LOST BOYS LIVING IN KANSAS CITY AREA AFTER RESETTLEMENT.**

APPROVAL DATE OF PROJECT: **June 25th 2009**
PROJECT: **June 25th 2010**

EXPIRATION DATE OF THE

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: CO-
INVESTIGATOR(S):

**Dr. Robert Schaeffer and Danvas
Mabeya**

CONTACT AND PHONE FOR ANY
PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS:

785-532- 4974

IRB CHAIR CONTACT/PHONE
INFORMATION:

- **Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.**
- **Jerry Jaax, Associate Vice Provost for Research Compliance and University Veterinarian, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.**

SPONSOR OF
PROJECT:

Self

PURPOSE OF THE
RESEARCH:

This is a research project meant to give the lost boys in Kansas a chance to air their experiences since their resettlement in the United States about ten years ago through semi structured

interviews. Scholars in other U.S. states have carried out different studies on the lost boys in those states that they live (Ohio, Tennessee, South Dakota and Colorado). So far no one has interviewed the lost boys who live in Kansas City. This will help eliminate biases which some boys might feel do not represent their views and feelings. In the end, an analysis will be done. Come up with possible solutions and recommendations which will lead to improvements of refugee policies for the incoming refugees.

PROCEDURES OR METHODS TO BE USED:

You will be required to answer short semi structured questions which will be recorded and later transcribed for analysis. Your participation in this research is voluntary and there are no payments. However, I highly appreciate your participation.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES OR TREATMENTS, IF ANY, THAT MIGHT BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO SUBJECT:

LENGTH OF STUDY:

The question time will last between thirty to one hour at a place of your choice. Be free to express your feelings and thoughts about refugee life here in the United States.

RISKS ANTICIPATED:

Some questions may remind you of good or past bad memories which may hurt your feelings. My belief is that though this may happen, this will be a positive way of airing your feelings

and experiences. I will try to involve minimal risks in this research as I can and if you feel uncomfortable at any time, let me know so that we can talk about it until you are comfortable again. If you feel at any time that you are being hurt by past bad memories and wish to terminate the interview, let me know and we can end the interview.

BENEFITS
ANTICIPATED:

Once people have undergone difficult times especially after war or having lost a beloved one, they struggle to forget quickly and move on with life. Perhaps it is not good to be reminded of the past that you are trying to forget, however such memories may come back through times of stress or in dreams. Scholars have argued that talking to other people about traumatic times reduces stress greatly. According to Jennifer Jamison Griebenow (2006) “Tell people who need to know that you are having a hard time and ask for support.” This study is meant to give you that chance to air your views so that those concerned with refugee issues can get a chance to hear you. Further, this research is meant to analyze the challenges and problems of the lost boys and come up with new solutions and recommendations so that refugee problems can further be improved. You will receive a copy of my dissertation once I complete the research and my study.

EXTENT OF
CONFIDENTIALITY:

You will not be individually identified in this research. Your participation is confidential. However my research findings and dissertation will become a public document once completed. The place of our meeting will be mentioned in this research but you will just be called participant instead of using your really name to protect

your identity. My dissertation committee and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) may want to review any records obtained from this research. However, any information that will identify you will be kept confidential and will not be available to my dissertation committee and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) unless required by legal system (court) at an extra ordinary circumstance. All records will only be kept and reviewed by myself.

**IS COMPENSATION OR MEDICAL TREATMENT
AVAILABLE IF INJURY OCCURS:**

**I don't anticipate any
injuries during the interview
process therefore there is no
compensation or medical
treatment available**

**PARENTAL APPROVAL FOR
MINORS:**

**You must be 18 years and above to
participate in this study**

TERMS OF PARTICIPATION: I understand this project is research, and that my participation is completely voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.

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.

Remember that it is a requirement for the P.I. to maintain a signed and dated copy of the same consent form signed and kept by the participant

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness to Signature: (project staff): _____

Date: _____

Appendix C - Interview Questionnaire: Accumulation of Social Capital after Resettlement in the United States.

Research Question

The Lost Boys arrived in the United States in 2000. Now, nine years later, I want to examine their experiences in the United States. The central research question to be investigated in this dissertation is this:

Have the Lost Boys living in the Kansas City area been integrated and incorporated into mainstream society or have they been marginalized or excluded from that community?

Subsidiary Research Question: 1

The first subsidiary question of this dissertation is this:

Why did the Lost Boys who were resettled around the United States relocate to Kansas City area?

Subsidiary Research Question: 2

The second important subsidiary question of this dissertation is this:

Why is it that a group of immigrants with the same cultural and group experiences end up having different experiences in the United States? In other words, why did some integrate and others segregate?

Subsidiary Research Question: 3

Most of the Lost Boys arrived in the United States under eighteen years of age (classified as minors under the US laws). Those that arrived in the United States under the age of eighteen were placed under foster families (US laws-minors). After nine years most of them have now become young adults. The third subsidiary question that I would like to investigate in this dissertation is this:

Have some Lost Boys assimilated/Americanized especially those that were placed under foster families?

Subsidiary Research Question: 4

The fourth subsidiary question that I would like to investigate is this:

What developments shaped the Lost Boys experience in America?

Subsidiary Research Question: 5

The fifth subsidiary question that I would like to investigate in this dissertation is this:

Did the fact that the Lost Boys did not go through customary African rituals (scarification, removal of teeth) assist them in America?

Indicators of integration

I will use Ager and Strangs' (2004) criteria to measure the integration of the Lost Boys: whether the refugees are employed, own or rent houses, have secondary or college degrees, have health insurance, have acquired English language proficiency, participate in community activities such as politics or sports or volunteer activities, have they become U.S. citizens, do they vote, do they participate in U.S. cultural activities, do they practice "animist" African religions or "Christian" religions.

Interview guide for the Lost Boys

The interview process has 11 parts

1. Education/Demographic.
2. Employment/Demographic.
3. Housing/Demographic.
4. Religious/Culture.
5. Secular/Culture
6. Social Networks/Culture.
7. Friends/Demographic.
8. Family/Culture.
9. Place/Demographic.
10. Citizenship/Demographic
11. Safety/Cultural.

Education.

- What kind of schooling/education have you had? *Did you go to school in Africa?* What kind of education would you like to have? How would that help you reach your goals?

Employment.

- What kind of jobs have you had? What kind of work are you prepared to do? Do you count yourself as successful in economic terms?

What kind of work would you like to do? What would it take to get that kind of job? *Is it difficult for you to get a job here in Kansas?*

Housing.

- What kind of neighborhood do you live in? Who would you like to have as neighbors?

Culture/Religious.

- Do you practice a religion/faith? Do you belong to a "church/mosque"? What assistance/support has the church and its members that you belong to provided you.

Culture/Secular.

- Do you follow or participate in American sports, politics, cultural activities?

Social Networks.

- What kind of assistance/support did your foster family, refugee groups, the government provided you since coming to the United States? Did they help or prevent you from achieving your goals?

Friends

- Who are your friends and colleagues in the United States? How have they assisted you? How do you assist/support them? *Do you have African American friends? What can you say about your relationship with them as compared to American whites?*

Family.

- What kind of women have you dated? What kind of woman (from the United States or from Africa) would you like to marry? What kind of woman did you marry?

Place.

- What brought you to Kansas City? Would you like to stay here? Was it a good decision? Where else might you like to live? Are you likely to move there?

Citizenship.

- Have you become a U.S. citizen? If so, what persuaded you to take that step? If not, why haven't you done so? What does/would American citizenship mean to you? How would it affect your life, how

you think of yourself? *Do you intend to stay in America for a long time or at some point you may want to go back home?*

Safety.

- You came from a dangerous place. Do you find the U.S. to be a dangerous place? Are you concerned for your safety in America? If you are, what do you do about it?

Appendix D - Resettlement Locations

Number of “lost boys (and girls)” of Sudan resettled in the united States as of June 2001

Arizona	221	Nebraska	104
California	144	Nevada	34
Colorado	50	New York	137
Connecticut	27	North Carolina	86
District of Columbia	1	North Dakota	29
Florida	105	Ohio	37
Georgia	156	Pennsylvania	132
Illinois	132	South Dakota	30
Iowa	32	Tennessee	137
Kentucky	108	Texas	265
Massachusetts	126	Utah	109
Michigan	116	Vermont	39
Minnesota	6	Virginia	97
Mississippi	5	Washington	92
Missouri	43		

Source: <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions/lessons/09/g68/migrationjourney.pdf>