

7

1-1

The Voice of the People: An Understanding
of the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese
in Bowling Green, Kentucky

By

Callie Dalton	Xiaoge Cai
Susan Zurowski	Greg Jenkins
Carol Bell	Richard Hale
Nancy Hundley	Lisa Mason-Jones

Jim Browning

for a course in Oral History Materials
and Methods

Dr. Lynwood Montell

Department of Modern Languages and

Intercultural Studies

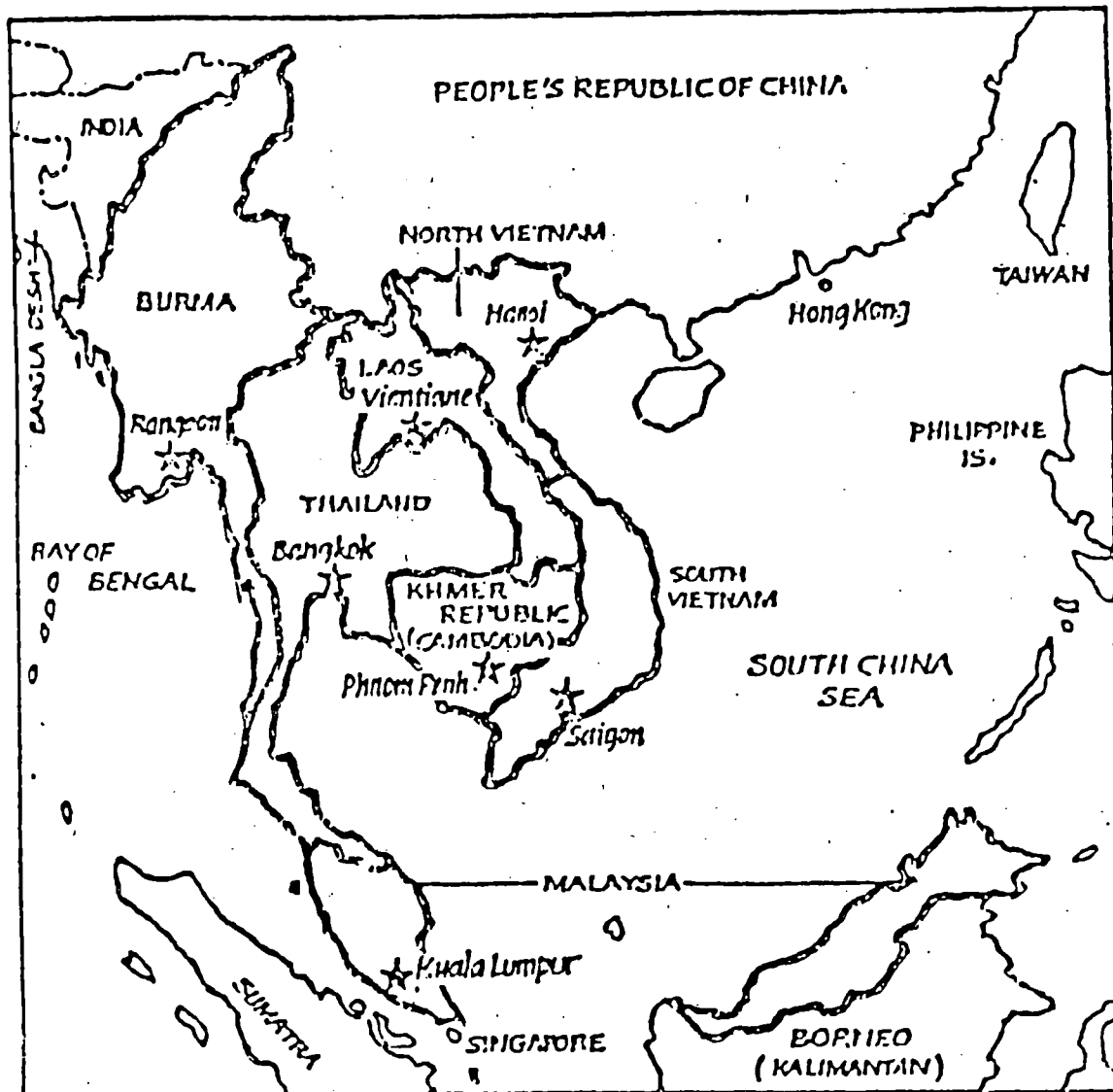
Western Kentucky University

The Essays

- I. Introduction - Callie Dalton, pp. 1-19. (#1, p.1-22)
- II. The American Promise - Susan Zurowski, pp. 20-28. (#2, p.1-10)
- III. Education: The Best of Both Worlds - Carol Bell, pp. 29-47. (#3, p.1-20)
- IV. A Silent Odyssey - Nancy Hundley, pp. 48-61. (#4, p.1-14)
- V. Coping with Tragedy: A New Beginning - Xiaoge Cai, pp. 62-76. (#5, p.1-16)
- VI. A Merging of Cultures - Greg Jenkins, pp. 77-88. (#6, p.1-13)
- VII. The Old and the New: A Bridge Built on Religion - Richard Hale, pp. 89-104. (#7, p.1-17)
- VIII. The Gift of Art - Lisa Mason-Jones, pp. 105-123. (#8, p.1-19)
- IX. The Coming of Tomorrow: Encounters with Technology - Jim Browning, pp. 124-148. (#9, p.1-25)

FA 44
11
10/1/88

We extend our thanks to all of you for your unending kindness, patience and invaluable insights. We think that you have made us a lot wiser and for that, we are forever grateful. We dedicate this project to you, the new Americans.



Indochina

It is difficult for the average American enjoying the rewards of his/her efforts to understand or even want to understand a fellow neighbor--perhaps, someone who looks and acts just like them. "There is simply not enough time," is the overwhelming response, while the reality of untried attempts prevails. Our circle of relationships seem to grow ever tighter--more inclusive and with definite boundaries. This tendency is not yet considered a problem. However, introduce a cultural "outsider" into this fragmented society and the tendency becomes more apparent and inescapable. The Southeast Asians have entered into and must deal with this sometimes difficult situation. With the most valiant of combined efforts, though, the valuable lessons that they can teach us and the endless inspiration that they can give us will not go unnoticed.

Our project, conducted by graduate students enrolled in a course in Oral History,¹ began and ended with this very premise. As all of us set out, individually and collectively, we sought a greater sense of understanding and the need to know about the individual's personal experience. Each person, whether Lao, Khmer² or Vietnamese, provided us with his/her own unique story. In doing so, all aided our task immeasurably and we cannot possibly thank each of them enough. Without their help, we feel that there would not be anything worth writing.

The essays which follow this introduction incorporate these different experiences and perspectives (combined with the writer's

own personal observations) into testaments which celebrate not only the spirit of survival but also the spirit of maintaining one's own identity as well. After all, both are inextricably interwoven and cannot be ignored. Topics such as education, beliefs and customs, family life, encounters with new technology, religion, the traditional arts, the life history of an individual and changing views of America are explored. This collection of materials is not meant to represent all aspects of the individual's or group's experience--rather, it reflects the similarities and differences of our individual findings. We sincerely hope that the information will inspire others to continue the recording of these important experiences and traditions. The time, without waiting a moment longer, is now.³

Looking at the overall picture helps put these experiences and perspectives into a presentable and easily understood framework. This introduction is meant to serve as your constant frame of reference--with the other essays providing the more intricate details. Beginning with a basic discussion of the Southeast Asian's plight, I will then address relevant problems all groups must face, and finally end with an overview of the Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Inc. As the material, for the most part, is of a general nature, all findings should not be considered equally representative. I have tried in certain instances to minimize any oversights. I trust, however, that you will find the information both insightful and worthy of attention.

As viewed by the United States government, the 750,000

Southeast Asians now resettled in America constitute the largest single contemporary group of individuals admitted into this country.⁴ The arrival of these Indochinese peoples (from the three countries which had formerly comprised French Indochina--Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam) in the last decade has occurred in three distinct phases--contrary to the popular perception that all these people collectively entered the country and that they all came for the same reason. The first phase, precipitated by the fall of Saigon in April 1975, was an American-sponsored evacuation.⁵ These arrivals came from their home country directly to refugee camps on the United States mainland.⁶ This first group was predominantly Vietnamese.⁷

After a lull of two or three years,⁸ the second phase was introduced with the doubling of United States admission quotas (to 14,000) in July 1979 and was marked by the expulsion of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. Not only consisting of those who arrived by boat but also those who traveled overland routes, these people spent considerable and harrowing time in refugee camps in Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and other parts of Southeast Asia. These individuals were not part of the United States evacuation. In fact, many were forced to seek assistance wherever possible.⁹

By 1982, the beginning of the third phase, large groups of Khmer, Lao (from the highlands, e.g. Hmong) and Lao minorities (from the lowlands, e.g. Mein) were entering the country. The Khmer left as a result of their country's engagement in a bitter civil war and famine as well as its occupation by Vietnam. Lao

minorities fled as the new Laotian government attempted to consolidate its control over these ethnic minorities. But all together, the United States had admitted only a fraction of these peoples. Over one million Southeast Asians still remain in refugee camps today.¹⁰

Current statistics indicate that there are 322,000 Vietnamese in the United States, 150,000 Lao and almost 200,000 Khmer survived the "Trail of Tears" to cross over into Thailand. As one may notice, the resulting population is far from ethnically homogeneous.¹¹ While the Vietnamese constitute the largest group, many of them are in fact of Chinese origin.¹² Furthermore, each group has a distinctly different language, different religious patterns, very diverse colonial experiences under the French and a variety of other cultural beliefs and patterns which are not shared.¹³ These people are not merely "boat people" or just "refugees." Rather, these terms have simply been used by those who have not taken the time to understand the complexity and totality of these rich and expressive cultures. Perhaps, the differences need to be further clarified.

Referring back to the three phases of entry by these groups, distinctions become readily apparent. In the United States-sponsored evacuation, most of the individuals came from South Vietnam's urban middle class and were considered second-time migrants.¹⁴ Over forty-six percent were under eighteen. The majority were familiar with Western culture, possessed some degree of English language skills, were relatively well-educated and subscribed to the Catholic faith.¹⁵ Furthermore, most came to

the United States with their families.¹⁶

The following groups, however, could not be judged by the same set of criteria. As a whole, the Lao, Khmer and ethnic Chinese were less likely to have had any contact with Western society. Most came from rural areas, where the importance of education was downplayed and technical skills were not needed.¹⁷ The 20,000 or so Hmong (from northeast Laos) who arrived in the late 1970's, for the most part were illiterate. In addition, the majority were non-Catholic, first-time migrants. Many family members were lost or left behind in the homeland or refugee camps; while their resettlement helped bring about further separation.¹⁸

Since World War II, there has been no single policy governing the entry of these ethnic groups into the United States. Rather, admission and resettlement have been handled ad hoc. Those individuals who arrived in the United States before 1980, for example, were admitted as parolees. While they could work in the country, they and their children were not eligible for American citizenship until such a time as resident-alien status was obtained. This status is given to a limited number of individuals yearly, based upon their skill levels and occupations.¹⁹

Between 1975 and 1979, the United States Attorney General issued ten separate authorizations allowing Vietnamese into the United States as parolees. These authorizations initially gave priority to dependents and relations of American citizens or resident-alien already in the country, included were employees of American businesses or the federal government. Those

individuals receiving the lowest priority had fled a Communist government or a civil war. In 1976 and 1977, the United States refused entry to the Vietnamese except for the purposes of family reunification.²⁰

After 1978, the policy changed to reflect the times. Hmong, Laos and Khmer who had been employees of the United States government were now given parolee status. And especially with regard to those who had arrived by boat, criteria shifted to give priority to individuals persecuted by Communist governments. Before 1980 all entering the United States were parolees. In 1980, the Refugee Act granted all individuals resident-alien status. A unified policy of admission and resettlement is now in place.²¹ Despite the advances, however, these processes have not gotten any easier. The journey to the United States, fraught with refugee camps, transit camps and endless days of waiting, is still the same--you either are selected to come here or you anticipate the day when you might be.²²

"The dream of a country where unlimited social, economic and religious possibilities exist--persists to draw the Southeast Asian to the United States."²³ Here, after all, is where "freedom" can be found. After an analysis of the complex process all must undergo, though, one wonders how anyone survives. It all begins in the refugee camps.²⁴ Representatives from the Joint Voluntary Agency (JVA), an American refugee organization under contract to the State Department, conduct initial interviews. The information gathered is then sent back to the United States. Eventually those who possess the necessary qualifications

for acceptance are interviewed by a representative from the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).²⁵

Potential resettlement cases involving individuals who crossed into Thailand by sea or land are handled by the largest JVA office in the world located in Bangkok. Interviews conducted by the office, using appropriate interpreters, are referred to as "pre-INSing." At this time, individuals or their family members are questioned about their backgrounds, previous activities and their reasons for wanting to come to the United States. Immigration and Naturalization Service officers conduct the crucial interrogations and ultimately decide who is eligible for acceptance as a political refugee.²⁶

Once accepted for what is known as "third-country resettlement," individuals then proceed to transit camps--like Sungei Besi A, located outside Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia--before boarding their flights. Many of those approved proceed directly from Southeast Asia. Others are sent to Refugee Processing Centers (RPCs) such as the large facility at Bataan in the Philippines. Several months are spent in English language training programs and learning how to adapt to life in America. JVA resettlement officers, one again, meet with the individuals and determine suitable programs for their stay. When it is time to leave, "exit interviews" are conducted. Individuals will be shown where they are going, given instructions about their move to the United States and information on their sponsors.²⁷

Transportation is made in arrangement with the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM). Whether flying directly or

indirectly to the United States, most land at Oakland, California. There, arrival boards list fights for those in the Orderly Departure Program and those operating under regular provisions. The Orderly Departure Program handles a special category of individuals who are allowed to leave Vietnam. They do not spend time in refugee camps but move quickly from Bangkok to America. The others are taken to a large waiting room to await processing by a variety of officials from Immigration, Customs and Public Health Services.²⁸

Eventually, sponsors are met.²⁹ The new arrivals, wherever they are being resettled, are welcomed and interviewed by their supporting organizations, generally one of the voluntary refugee agencies, or VOLAGS, such as the International Rescue Committee. After the initial meetings and the checking of documents, individuals are given bedding and taken to their new home.³⁰ As the evidence clearly informs, differences between ethnic groups are never recognized nor made the object of any serious discussion. The importance of conformity, meanwhile, is emphatically stressed.

In deciding how to best handle the issue of resettlement, the United States government opted initially for a policy of intentional dispersion.³¹ When Southeast Asians arrived, they were promptly scattered throughout the country--with every state receiving an allotted number.³² However, what made good economic and political sense³³ only served to magnify the individual's feelings of loneliness and isolation. Separated from lifelong friends and removed from a familiar social setting, the individual's

internal support system was pushed to the breaking point.³⁴ What public officials failed to realize was the tremendous importance placed by these groups on extended family ties, especially on duties and obligations within this larger framework.³⁵

Aside from ignoring this different interpretation of "family," religious differences have also been overlooked. It is the policy of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to process Southeast Asians without regard to religion. Considered as unimportant, many simply come to feel that a change in religion is mandatory for acceptance into this culture.³⁶ How sad that our government chooses not to recognize so many "vital" aspects of these Southeast Asian cultures. Are we really helping these individuals to readjust or is the fact that we are involved at all enough? Policies change, as I have indicated, but what about ideas?

Lacking, amidst all the statistics and hard information, is an understanding of how the Southeast Asians themselves are coping with resettlement. Differences, from the viewpoint of the federal government, only serve to get in the way--evidently, an easy way out is being sought. The voluntary agencies are then left to deal with the resulting problems. Whether officially recognized or not, dissimilar prearrival conditions and cultural differences account for the varied individual and group adjustment experiences.³⁷

Problems such as housing, job placement and language training still exist, dependent on these differing levels of adjustment. Culture shock, intergenerational conflict and radical readjustment

of roles within the immediate family must also be taken into account. Sometimes, though, these problems are concealed for fear of jeopardizing one's residence in the United States.³⁸ Despite everything, however, the individual's spirit has triumphed. Obstacles are faced and surmounted day after day. In the end, we are faced with people "who may bend but will not break." Perhaps, they have decided to take matters into their own hands.

While initial resettlement reflected a pattern these groups had little power over, by 1976 the initial entrants had started to relocate--in the process, abandoning sponsors and often their isolation. The development of concentrated, nationality-based communities became even more apparent with the second and third groups (like the Hmong and Lao).³⁹ In the process, the self-help and unity necessary has been found. The formation and interdependence between cultural, religious and ethnic organizations indicate their time has come.

The Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Inc. of Bowling Green, Kentucky also stressed equally the importance of the individual and the larger community. Founded in July 1981, the organization was originally started to help individuals from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam adjust to life in America. The organization now deals with a current Southeast Asian population of 300--with Khmer representing 60 percent and Lao and Vietnamese each 20 percent.⁴⁰ The Society's Board of Directors is comprised of members from each ethnic group, all holding office. Individual nationality presidents also represent the respective

138
 3.1
 1-14 P

groups.⁴¹

Martha Ann Deputy, active in the Society since 1981, currently serves as its Director but is quick to point out, "I work for them." She firmly believes in helping these individuals to help themselves and in doing so, foster the attitude necessary for a better life. Not only is this accomplished through a one-on-one basis, she herself has sponsored numerous individuals and families, but more importantly, through creating an understanding that "we are all in this together." As she says, "the society works like it should. Different people share different ideas and in the process, help one another."⁴² In fact, as those who participated in the project have found, the Khmer, Lao and Vietnamese are making the biggest difference right here in Bowling Green-- both separately and together.

Endnotes

¹This course was taught by Dr. Lynwood Montell in the Spring of 1989. The project was undertaken by folk studies graduate students in Western Kentucky University's Department of Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies. The interviewers were Jim Browning, Greg Jenkins, Nancy Hundley, Callie Dalton, Susan Zurowski, Carol Bell, Xiaoge Cai and Richard Hale.

²The people of Cambodia have traditionally referred to themselves as Khmer. However, this designation is beginning to change. Many participants in our project referred to themselves as Cambodians, in order to separate themselves from the Communist Khymer Rouge. In essence, they are trying to make it easier for those Americans ignorant of their culture.

³Altogether, the project generated thirty-eight tapes. These tapes, along with the individual essays, are deposited in Western Kentucky University's Folklife Archives. All materials are available to the public for further study and future reference.

⁴According to the United States government, these people are refugees. However, this label has been imposed and does not reveal the full range of their experiences. As K. D. Suter states in her article, "The Indochinese refugee issue is one in which virtually no country or group of officials emerges with a good record. That is about the only generalization which can be made about this issue; for it involves such a wide variety of people and motives." K. D. Suter, "Indochinese Refugees: Pawns of Power Politics," Contemporary Review 236 (May 1980): 233.

⁵The reaction was swift. In 11 days, some 140,000 people, including 12,000 Khmer were taken out by plane and ship. Jacqueline Desbarats "Indochinese Settlement in the U.S." Annual of the Association of American Geographers (1985): 525-26.

⁶These camps were located on military installations in Pennsylvania, Florida, California and Arkansas. Roger Rosenblatt, "The road to Khao I Dang" (Khmer refugee camp in Thailand), Yale Review 72 (Spring 1983): 464-65.

⁷As indicated in note five, Khmer were present. However, because they live in South Vietnam, they are considered Vietnamese by the United States government. Gail Kelly, "Coping with America: Refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in the 1970's and 1980's," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 487 (September 1986): 139.

⁸This lull came primarily in 1976 and 1977, when the number of those entering fell to 14,000 and 3,000 respectively.

⁹Kelly, p. 139.

1-17
10 Ibid.

11 Deborah J. Pinckard, "From Trails of Tears to the Promised Land: Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement in Texas, 1975-79," (Master's thesis, Baylor University, 1987), p. 4.

12 Vietnam was originally settled by the Viets from central China. David Haines, "Southeast Asian Refugees in the United States: The Interaction of Kinship and Public Policy," Anthropological Quarterly 55 (July 1982): 172.

13 Ibid.

14 Formerly, a substantial number of Vietnamese had migrated from the North to the South. Kelly, pp. 141-42.

15 This group and those following were all young. So, similarities between these groups do exist but are not elaborated upon at this time. Kelly, pp. 141-42.

16 The following groups were often comprised of sole individuals. However because of the emphasis on family reunification, entry is now granted to both families and individuals. In fact in Bowling Green, the population currently reflects an equal representation of both.

17 Unlike the first group who tended to be skilled workers, technicians and professionals, these people were formerly in the military. Kelly, pp. 141-42.

18 Ibid. No group, however, adequately represents a cross-section of Laos, Khmer or Vietnamese society.

19 Kelly, p. 140.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 American citizenship is no guarantee that family members will be allowed to come to the United States. The system devised by the federal government is insufficient and arbitrary. One informant, Thach Chea, told me that those in the camps who are not chosen to come often commit suicide. Interview with Thach Chea, Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 1 March 1989.

23 Felix Moos and C. S. Morrison, "The Vietnamese Refugees at Our Door Step: Political Ambiguity and Successful Improvisation," Policy Studies Review 1 (August 1981): 28.

1-8

²⁴Most refugee camps in Southeast Asia are set up for specific purposes: as temporary encampments (border camps), as holding centers, or as transit stations. Peter I. Rose, "Long Night's Journey into Day: the Odyssey of Indochinese Refugees," Society 22 (March - April 1985): 75.

²⁵Ibid., p. 76.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 77.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Initially sponsors were American families and institutions (usually church groups). Now, though, they tend to be organizations specifically created for this purpose. The sponsor was said to assume a moral but not legal responsibility for the individual's successful adjustment. G. Brown, "Issues in Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees," Social Casework 63 (March 1982): 158.

³⁰Rose, p. 78.

³¹Brown, p. 157.

³²This geographic dispersal was a high priority--for reasons mentioned by Kelly, p. 143. Kentucky is currently fiftieth in this allotment.

³³While the province of resettlement was said to belong to voluntary agencies, the federal government nevertheless influenced their decisions--chiefly through financial support.

³⁴Brown, p. 157.

³⁵Ibid., p. 155.

³⁶Many informants indicated the importance of religion--stressing the role of the monk in Southeast Asian society. Ronald J. Burwell, Peter Hill and John F. Van Wicklin, "Religion and Refugee Resettlement in the United States: A Research Note." Review of Religious Research 27 (June 1986): 356 and 364.

³⁷David W. Haines, Dorothy Rutherford and Patrick Thomas, "Case for Exploratory Fieldwork: Understanding the Adjustment of Vietnamese Refugees in the Washington Area," Anthropological Quarterly 54 (April 1981): 95 and Woodrow Jones and Paul Strand, "Adaptation and Adjustment Problems Among Indochinese Refugees," Sociology and Social Research 71 (October 1986): 44.

³⁸Brown, pp. 155 and 158.

³⁹Kelly, pp. 144-5.

1-9

⁴⁰The society also handles a small percentage of individuals from Panama, Cuba and Afghanistan.

⁴¹Informal Interview with Martha Deputy, Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Bowling Green, Kentucky, 18 April 1989.

⁴²Ibid. Thank you.

Bibliography

This bibliography is composed of sources cited in the endnotes and other sources which provide general information on the Southeast Asian arrivals.

Borman, L. D. 1984. Self-Help/Mutual Aid in Changing Communities. Social Thought 10: 49-62.

Brown, G. 1982. Issues in Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees. Social Casework 63: 155-59.

Burwell, Ronald J., Peter Hill, and John F. Van Wicklin. 1986. Religion and Refugee Resettlement in the United States: A Research Note. Review of Religious Research 27: 356-66.

Butler, B. N. Humanity, U.S. Immigration and Refugee Policy and the Select Commission. Crisis 88: 497-503.

Chea, Thach. Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Interview, 1 March 1989.

Deputy, Martha A. Western Kentucky Refugee Mutual Assistance Society, Bowling Green, Kentucky. Informal Interview, 18 April 1989.

Desbarats, Jacqueline. 1985. Indochinese Resettlement in the U.S. Annual of the Association of American Geographers 75: 522-38.

Dung, T. N. 1984. Understanding Asian Families: A Vietnamese Perspective. Children Today 13: 10-12.

Dunnigan T. 1982. Segmentary Kinship in an Urban Society: The Hmong of St. Paul-Minneapolis. Anthropological Quarterly 55: 126-34.

Etzioni, Amitai. 1981. Refugee Resettlement: The Infighting in Washington. Public Interest 65: 15-29.

Finnan, Christine. 1982. Community Influences on the Occupational Adaption of Vietnamese Refugees. Anthropological Quarterly 55: 161-9.

Gay, P. 1976-77. At Home in America. American Scholar 46: 31-42.

Haines, David W. 1982. Southeast Asian Refugees in the U.S.: The Interaction of Kinship and Public Policy. Anthropological Quarterly 55: 170-81.

7/28/80
10
100

Haines, David W., Dorothy Rutherford, and Patrick Thomas. 1981. Case for Exploratory Fieldwork: Understanding the Adjustment of Vietnamese Refugees in the Washington Area. Anthropological Quarterly 54: 94-102.

Hawley, Janet. 1977. Vietnam's Forgotten People: Refugees Get Scant Help in Readjusting. Atlas World Press Review 24: 49.

Horner C. 1980. America Five Years After Defeat. Commentary 69: 50-58.

Howell, L. 1979. Boat People: The Roots of the Tragedy. Christianity and Crisis: 194-96.

Jones, Woodrow and Paul Strand. 1986. Adaption and Adjustment Problems Among Indochinese Refugees. Sociology and Social Research 71: 42-46.

Kelly, Gail P. 1986. Coping with America: Refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in the 1970s and 1980s. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 487: 138-50.

Kerpen, Karen S. 1985. Refugees on Welfare: Is the Dependency Rate Really a Problem? Public Welfare 43: 21-5.

_____. 1983. Working with Refugees. Public Welfare 41: 18-22.

Kurth, James R. 1979. Refugees: America Must Do More. Foreign Policy 36: 12-19.

Moos, Felix and C. S. Morrison. 1981. The Vietnamese Refugees at Our Door Step: Political Ambiguity and Successful Improvisation. Policy Studies Review 1: 28-46.

Moyer, L. L. 1986. From Laos to Oakland. Christianity and Crisis 6: 234-35.

Nguyen, M. A. 1984. Vietnam: A Television History: A Case Study in Perpetual Conflict Between American Media and Vietnamese Expatriates. World Affairs 147: 71-84.

Palmieri, Victor H. 1982. The Refugees: What Infighting? Public Interest 68: 88-90.

Pinckard, Deborah. 1987. "From Trails of Tears to the Promised Land: Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement in Texas, 1975-79." Master's thesis, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

Rabinove, S. 1981. Toward An Immigration Policy. Commentary 71: 55-58.

Handwritten notes and markings at the bottom left corner of the page.

- 1-22
=
- Rose, Peter I. 1985. Long Night's Journey into Day: The Odyssey of Indochinese Refugees. Society 22: 75-80.
- Rosenblatt, Roger. 1983. The Road to Khao I Dang. Yale Review 72: 463-481.
- Rubin, Barry S. 1976. Vietnamese Refugees in America. Contemporary Review 229: 117-20.
- Suhrke, Astri. 1981. Indochinese Refugees and American Policy. World Today 37: 54-62.
- Suter, K. D. 1980. Indochinese Refugees: Pawns of Power Politics. Contemporary Review 236: 233-9.
- Teitelbaum, Michael S. 1980. Right Versus Right: Immigration and Refugee Policy in the U.S. Foreign Affairs 59: 21-59.
- Thanh, Van Tran and Roosevelt Wright, Jr. 1986. Social Support and Subjective Well-Being Among Vietnamese Refugees. Social Science Review 60: 449-59.
- Tillema, R. G. 1981. Starting Over in a New Land: Resettling a Refugee Family. Public Welfare 39: 34-41.