

Struggling at the Golden Door: International Refugees in Utah

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The authors are grateful for data and suggestions from many agencies and individuals but take sole personal responsibility for their use of and conclusions from that data.

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I. Abstract

Billions of people in this world exist in the direst of poverty. Millions are driven from their homes by mortal enemies determined to steal what little they have. Hundreds of thousands are murdered and millions become refugees, having lost loved ones and hoping to preserve their own lives and the remainder of those they love. After years in refugee camps in changing locations throughout the world, a few thousand each year are brought to the United States of America and a few hundred of them arrive in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. They are better off than they were but rarely as well off as they had hoped to be. Most do not speak the language. Most have never experienced an industrial and even post-industrial society. They are without resources or income and without the skills required to obtain those in the environment in which they have arrived.

They are met at the airport by representatives of volunteer organizations, themselves with a minimum of available resources. The refugees are initially provided with housing and food, the continuance of which they will not be able to afford until they find some source of adequate income. A substantial proportion of these refugees are in female-headed families, their adult males having often been killed in the strife from which they have escaped. Four state government agencies oversee this arrival and resettlement process, assisting with limited federal funding. No state funds are allocated. The two private resettlement agencies which meet the refugees at the airport continue to guide most of them for the first six months. For those needing further assistance, a third volunteer agency provides services for a maximum of five years from their arrival. At least that long is required before most refugees become adequately functional in their new surroundings and lifetimes pass before they are fully acclimated. All have available to them instruction in English as a second language but many find it difficult to focus on that need in their existing stress. Organizations formed by their previously-arrived compatriots from their countries of origin try to assist and often come into disagreements with the state agencies and volunteer agencies providing the official guidance and resources.

A few of the female-headed families and far fewer male-headed ones are provided temporarily with limited public assistance. Most of the adults are helped to find employment within their limited skills with commensurate low incomes. Their children struggle in the local schools as they seek to find their way in the new society. All families confront a typically two year wait until subsidized housing is available and many are unsuccessful in obtaining such housing. Only some combination of multiple earners per family and additional skill training can bring these refugees to family-sustaining earnings. All need guidance and mentoring from the established citizenry but few receive it. Only continuing education can bring the following generation to full accommodation, leaving refugee status behind.

Despite all of those obstacles, they will all be better off here than they were from whence they came. The relevant question for all of us who are enjoying the benefits of our own ancestors having borne similar burdens is what can we do to ease this crucial but painful process? That is what this paper is all about. We end with the following recommendations, the discussion between here and there being necessary to explain our reasoning:

- Assign one state agency, along with a policy board, to oversee the coordination of all state agencies and private organizations involved in refugee resettlement to see that the highest possible quality of service is provided by and to all
- Provide sufficient state funding to enable the resettlement agencies to have adequate case managers and other staff to meet the requirements of the current and potential numbers of refugees in becoming housed, taught English, employed, and integrated into the community. Then see that the staff are adequately trained and supervised to contribute to the accomplishment of the following which should be primary objectives of all concerned with the well-being of the refugee community:

- See that English as a second language instruction is available in the home or elsewhere accessible for those providing child care and at accessible times for those employed and urge all to prepare themselves adequately in that regard
- Find immediately sufficient employment for enough numbers of family members to provide at least temporary adequate family income to meet all survival needs
- Arrange for those responsible for family support over the long run to obtain sufficient education and skill training to achieve family-sustaining earnings
- Urge initiation and maintenance of applications for subsidized housing and urge exploration of home ownership possibilities at relevant times
- Work closely with school districts to assure culturally sensitive education for children and youth and preparation for continuance into postsecondary education and skill training
- Follow up and urge access to needed health care through public programs. Repeat examinations periodically to determine if adequate treatment is occurring
- Encourage refugee associations to pursue the well-being of their refugee members, and listen to their messages as they do
- Explore potential mentorship sources and urge community organizations to make personalized mentoring available
- Expect refugee adults to use all of their existing capabilities and develop further capabilities to adequately support their families. Expect refugee children and youth to prepare themselves adequately to support following generations.
- For all of these purposes, see to it that adequate state and private resources are added to the available federal resources to get the job done.

Now, let's see how those recommendations are arrived at.

II. Introduction

The United States does have a golden door. Despite the shaking fists and curses at the “Great Satan” on international television screens, applicants the world over wait for years to be among the approximately 700,000 legal immigrants admitted each year into the United States on either family-based or employment-based preferences.¹ Ten thousand immigrant visas are even “bought” per year by investing a half million dollars or more in job-creating activities in the United States. Over ten million people enter the United States each year on temporary non-immigrant tourist and business visas and large but unknown proportions of those illegally over-stay, often permanently. In addition, an estimated 500,000 each year risk their lives to enter the United States illegally, bribing “coyotes,” walking across deserts, infiltrating shipboard cartons, and even crawling into the wheel-wells of airplanes. Hundreds of these migrants lose their lives. Those who were successful in crossing those borders surreptitiously now total an estimated twelve million illegal aliens resident in this country.

Those aggressive efforts of so many to immigrate to the United States may be insightful in understanding the contrasting situations of those brought to this nation as resettled refugees. Their numbers are much smaller but their backgrounds are even more stark and their preparation less promising. It is in that context that we review the prospects and experiences of the some 50,000 individuals brought to

¹ Ramon Carrion, USA Immigration Guide, Naperville, Illinois, Sphinx Publishing, 5th edition, 2004, p. 27.

the United States each year as refugees, about 700 of whom generally end up in Utah's Salt Lake Valley. In large measure, they leave almost certain death to face an uncertain future. They have escaped death or imprisonment in their home countries, losing loved ones in the process, spent years in refugee camps, and then have chosen to try to start life anew in the United States and in Utah. Here they are assisted relatively briefly by several state and three non-governmental organizations. Though years are necessary for successful integration, they are then left largely on their own to pursue survival in an unfamiliar land. Immigrants and refugees face substantially different situations but their motivations are usually the same: a new and better life in a new and better land. Neither are without challenge and pain, but neither are beyond the possibilities of success.

This publication reaches essentially four conclusions: (1) These refugees have been given an opportunity for a new life, dependent upon their own efforts to pursue and achieve self-reliance. However, few of them can make that transition without substantial assistance. (2) The resources made available to the resettlement agencies and their consequent management and human capacities are insufficient with too often painful results. (3) But despite the costs and pains, most of the refugees are grateful for their transitions to new lives and those modest accolades will be multiplied among their descendants. (4) Thus it is incumbent on the leaders, agencies and individual citizens of the State of Utah to find more effective ways of welcoming these future citizens and assisting them to better integrate themselves into what will undoubtedly be a better life.

A. The International Setting

To truly understand the refugees' situation, one must first understand their backgrounds. The term "refugee" has a technical meaning that differentiates them from other newcomers. According to the United Nations, a refugee is "a person who is outside his/her country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return to that country because of a well-founded fear that he/she will be persecuted because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group."² Refugees have typically escaped from their native country to an adjacent country (their "country of first asylum") where they have been given temporary protection in refugee camps, sometimes for as long as 15 years. They were then brought to the attention of the United Nations and choose to apply for permanent third country resettlement. As of January 2006 there were 8.4 million refugees in the world, most of whom were "warehoused" in countries of first asylum awaiting permanent resettlement.³ In addition, there were also more than 6.6 million internally displaced persons, 2.3 million stateless persons and other additional groups (asylees, returnees, etc.) to make up more than 20.7 million designated as "persons of concern," who the United Nations High

² 1951 Geneva Convention

³ Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson, "From 'There' to 'Here': Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America," Washington DC, Brookings Institution. Living Cities Census Series, September 2006,

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the U.N. body charged with oversight of refugee affairs internationally, recognize as living in refugee status even though they may not qualify under the technical definition of “refugee.”⁴ Resettlement in recent years has been complicated by the fact that the majority of refugees are women and children with limited self-support capability and often without adult male accompaniment.

B. National Agencies

A United Nations Refugee Convention in Geneva in 1951 established a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to identify and lead international efforts to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees. The United States Congress waited nearly thirty years to respond with the Refugee Act of 1980 to authorize services and assistance to refugees including financial and medical assistance, access to employment, legal residency and ultimate citizenship. The resulting U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program involves the U.S. Departments of State, Health and Human Services and Homeland Security. The Department of State’s Bureau of Population Refugees and Migration (PRM) maintains overseas relationships with the UNHCR, which continually apprises PRM of the numbers and sources of refugees in refugee camps needing third country resettlement. Annually, the president of the United States signs an agreement specifying the maximum number and countries of origin of refugees to be admitted to the United States during that year, 70,000 in recent years. That agreement establishes a ceiling with the actual numbers of refugees entering the country usually somewhat less than that, either because the Congress may not appropriate adequate funds or the processing may be delayed overseas

A total of 2.4 million refugees were resettled in the United States between 1975 and 2006. Between 1975 and 1983, an average of 98,000 refugees was admitted per year with a high of 207,000 in 1980 and a low of 61,000 in 1983. Appendix Table 1 shows the number of refugees authorized and arriving between 1984 and 2004.⁵ Note that the numbers admitted begin at about 60,000, rise to nearly 132,000 by 1992 in the aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union, decline back to a roughly 75,000 per year average after 1996, plunge to 27,000 in the immediate aftermath of 11 September 2001, then begin a climb again back toward the 70,000 target. The exact numbers were 28,420 in 2003, 52,868 in 2004 and 53,813 in 2005, dropping back to 41,264 in 2006.⁶ Appendix Chart I illustrates the flows of refugees to responding agencies while Appendix Chart II tracks the limited flows of money from federal to state

4 <http://www.unher.org/basics/BASICS/4523b0bb2.pdf>

5 Office of Refugee Resettlement, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Annual Report to Congress, 2004, pp. 1-2.

6. (See UNHCR Refugees at <http://www.unher.org/basics/BASICS/435189112.pdf>; <http://www.unher.org/basics/BASICS/416e3eb24.pdf>; and <http://www.unher.org/basics/BASICS/4523BOBB2.PDF>., respectively.

agencies. The fact that national funding is decreasing while the individuals needing and seeking to be resettled appears, at least until 2006, to be increasing is a cause for concern.

The primary country of origin for refugees varies depending upon the different political climate that exist around the world at any point in time. Appendix Table 2 indicates the international origins and their numbers and years of arrival in the United States from 1983 to 2004. During the 1970s and 1980s, the majority of the refugees came from Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam., Cambodia and Laos. Their homelands were very unlike the United States but, particularly in the case of victims of the Vietnam conflict, U.S. citizens probably felt a sense of obligation which created more welcoming conditions and helped with the refugee's adjustments. The Soviet Union was also a substantial refugee source during the 1970s and 1980s during the cold war period and after the USSR breakup. That was followed by a flow from Eastern Europe in the 1990s Balkans period, especially with the breakup of Yugoslavia, as well as a persistent flow from Cuba. These refugees had language difficulties, but they came from lands with cultures not dissimilar to that of the U.S. and had at least been exposed to the skills of an industrial society. Later in the 1990s and on into the early years of the 21st Century, Africa has been the primary refugee source, especially Sudan and Somalia, with additional substantial numbers from Rwanda, Togo, Congo, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. At the same time, there have been smaller numbers from the Middle East and South Asia such as Afghanis and Meskhetian Turks.

During 2006, refugee service providers were told to expect a large group of refugee newcomers from the Burmese refugee camps in the border regions of Thailand. Due to political constraints, these numbers never materialized and the substantial drop in refugee arrivals during that year was the consequence. Arrivals for 2007 and subsequent years are expected from the Burmese camps. There is also substantial expectation of Iraqi refugees during 2007, drawn from the more than two million who have already escaped to neighboring countries.⁷

Early in 2007, President Bush signed for another 70,000 refugees during that year and the U.S. Senate approved. However, as of March 2007 the House of Representatives had been unwilling to approve appropriations for more than 40,000 refugees during that year. How many will ultimately be approved and arrive in the country and how many of them will be assigned to Utah remains to be seen.

The State Department's PRM provides for reception and placement services through the ten different national voluntary agencies (commonly referred to as VolAgs) that are responsible for all basic core services for the newcomer families. Core services consist of anything from picking the family up from the airport to helping the young men register with the Selective Service. The Department of

⁷ Sudarsan Raghavan, "A Massive Migration: The war in Iraq is propelling a refugee crisis in neighboring countries," the Washington Post National Weekly Edition, February 12-12, 2007, PP. 6-7.

Homeland Security becomes involved as a refugee begins the process of coming to the United States. Homeland Security's Refugee Corps processes applications and coordinates security background checks. Provisions in the Patriot Act and the REAL ID Act have prevented refugee groups, such as the Burmese in Thailand, from gaining the necessary security clearance to enter the United States. According to the law, if at any point an individual refugee has provided assistance, either monetary or otherwise, to any terrorist organization, that refugee cannot be considered eligible for resettlement to the United States. The difficulty with these laws is that forced assistance, such as assistance given while being held at gunpoint, still qualifies as assistance to a terrorist organization and therefore disqualifies the potential refugee applicant. The law does allow an exception process through which the Secretary of State can offer a waiver of the requirement to allow specific groups to enter the United States despite their declared status. Currently, only a handful of refugees, almost exclusively from the Burmese camps in Thailand, benefit from that waived requirement.⁸

Once a refugee has arrived in the United States, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), a subagency of the Department of Homeland Security, becomes involved by providing official residency and putting the refugees on track for ultimate U.S. citizenship if they subsequently follow the necessary requirements. Significant numbers also find themselves blocked from progress to citizenship by confusion of their unfamiliar names with the names of those suspected of participation in terrorist activities.

C. The Utah Situation

Upon the arrival of the refugees in the United States, the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) within the Department of Health and Human Services coordinates domestic resettlement activities with the states. State requests determine the numbers to be resettled in each state. ORR arranges for their transportation and reception by the appropriate volunteer resettlement agencies. There are ten voluntary agencies or VolAgs involved in receiving refugees throughout the United States but only two in Utah. The two Utah VolAgs are the local chapters of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), known in Utah as Catholic Community Services (CCS). Initially refugees assigned to Utah are placed in the temporary care of one of these two agencies as discussed below. Following this brief resettlement period which does not currently exceed six months, the refugees are then either entrusted to their own abilities or referred to the Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center (URECC) of the Asian Association of Utah as further described and discussed below.

⁸ Section 411 USA Patriot Act amending Section 8 USC1182 (a) (3). http://www.theirc.org/news/latest/the_patriot-acts-terrible.html.

Those who have left the care of CCS and IRC and have then found themselves to still be in need of services available from URECC can also apply there until they have been in the country five years.

Appendix Table 3 lists the states to which those refugees were assigned by year, showing Utah as a relatively modest recipient. Appendix Tables 4 and 5 show the states of assignment by country of origin. Given that the entire refugee influx is now primarily focused on only one of the state’s 29 counties, the impact is not minor. During the 1980s and until the mid-90s, refugees were resettled along the Wasatch Front from Provo to Logan, but since then they have been concentrated in the Salt Lake Valley, the availability of relatively affordable high density housing units apparently being a major factor in that choice. Between 1983 and 2005, more than 15,000 refugees arrived in Utah. Focusing on the later years, between 1995 and 2005, 955 refugees arrived from various Asian countries, 565 from the former Soviet Union, 3,976 from other countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, 1,014 from the Middle East, 2,681 from Africa and 321 from other areas for a total of 9,552. Another 638 arrived from various countries in 2006. Refugees such as the Somali-Bantu not only lack English language capability; they often cannot read nor write in their own languages. They are not only unfamiliar with western culture but have often never had access to running water and electricity and generally lack any exposure to the skills of a modern economy. It is instructive to examine their experience upon arrival.

1. State Agencies

The Department of Workforce Services, the Department of Health, the Department of Human Services and the Department of Community and Culture have primary responsibility for overseeing the resettlement process. Each of these four state government agencies provides the same types of services they offer to other Utah residents but these services are adapted to refugee needs. The Department of Workforce Services (DWS) provides cash assistance, food stamps, medical assistance eligibility, child care, employment services, training services, youth services, unemployment insurance and community resource information. In addition, DWS administers federal funding allocated specifically to refugees as shown in Table 1, including an addition of short-term Refugee Cash Assistance for those not eligible for other public assistance.

Table 1: DWS Refugee Program Funding History

<u>Grant</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2006</u>
Cash/Medical Assistance	\$1,659,000	\$1,275,000	\$753,750	\$1,447,535	\$1,853,000	\$2,048,000
Social Services	972,037	831,442	660,892	684,669	585,496	778,882
Targeted Assistance Grant	728,727	717,905	620,593	563,379	574,477	535,967
School Impact Grant					175,000	218,750
Older Refugee Grant						67,302
Total	\$3,359,764	\$2,824,347	\$2,035,235	\$2,695,583	\$3,169,973	\$3,648,901

The Health Department provides initial health screening for all refugees, immunizations and medical follow-up and access to Medicaid or Refugee Medical Assistance to pay for continued health service needs. The Health Department is also aware of the possibilities of special refugee health risks and considers that possibility in its pandemic planning. The Department of Human Services offers the services of its Division of Child and Family Services, Office of Recovery Services, Aging Services and mental health and substance abuse services in accordance with the same rules applied to non-refugee residents and citizens. The Department of Community and Culture oversees and coordinates with the other agencies in the progress of refugee resettlement, a recent example being the Refugee Working Group appointed by the governor and the Salt Lake County mayor as discussed later. At the local level, public safety, public education and mental health services are also vital.

2. Resettlement Agencies

As noted above, refugees assigned to Utah by the U.S. Departments of State and of Health and Human Services are initially assigned to the national offices of the two local VolAgs, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Catholic Community Services (CCS). Each of these is an international private organization with national headquarters and local organizations in nearly every state. The national offices are responsible for operational guidance and oversight of resettlement outcomes. The state staffs are responsible for meeting, housing, and guiding the refugees into employment, public programs and education. The annual numbers of refugees arriving in Utah and served by these two VolAgs are shown by country of origin in Appendix Tables 6 and 7.

Representatives of the local offices of CCS and IRC meet the refugees at the airport, bring them to previously arranged and furnished housing with utility connections, and provide an immediate meal and additional food for one day. These representatives are required to return for a home visit within 24 hours. They then undertake an intake interview including an acculturation orientation. The housing must be safe, sanitary and in good repair. Furnishings must include a bed for each person, one chair for each person, one couch or equivalent seating, a kitchen table and chairs, lamps as necessary and storage units such as chests of drawers. Refugees are also provided with kitchen items, linens and other household supplies, cleaning supplies, toiletries and additional clothing as needed. Because the resettlement agencies do not receive the funding needed to buy all of these items new, they rely upon community donations for most of the furniture, clothing and other household goods. The furniture is likely to have been previously used and there is occasionally subsequent dispute about its quality.

The initial intake interview and subsequent follow-up involves employment orientation, including assessment of employability, development of an employment plan, instruction in job-seeking skills, referral to employment agency services, and assistance with job placement. Considerable competence is

required for this assignment. The initial home visit interview includes application for a Social Security number and card. The refugees also receive assistance in application for benefits such as food stamps, medical assistance and financial assistance as necessary. Arrangements must be made for health screening and child immunization. Arrangements are also required for school enrollment for children and for English as a second language training for all who need it. The newcomers are also advised about the need to register at housing authorities for public housing and Section 8 housing as discussed below. All in all, the requirements for that first home visit are overwhelming and require considerable follow up.

The VolAg staffing is designed to meet these responsibilities. The IRC staff ordinarily consists of a program manager, a receptionist, three case managers, two job developers, one housing facilitator, one health coordinator, one immigration coordinator, an accountant, a part-time maternal and child services coordinator, and two Vista volunteers. CCS typically fields three or four case managers, (depending on the number of expected arrivals), three job developers, a housing coordinator, a health services coordinator, a volunteer coordinator, a program manager, a warehouse manager and assistant who manage the CCS donation warehouse known as the Sharehouse, and a special projects coordinator. The director of refugee resettlement at CCS also oversees an immigration program that employs one full-time immigration attorney as well as three immigration specialists who will also later help many of the refugees apply for permanent residency and subsequent citizenship. The adequacy in terms of numbers and staff training is often questionable.

The first month in Utah is the most intensive time for the refugee family and the case manager. The time is typically spent in getting the refugees housed, getting the children in school, getting adults started in English as a second language instruction if needed (as most do) and helping them to either seek employment or enroll in public assistance programs, depending on family structure and employability. Obviously, case managers and job developers can be overwhelmed by the numbers of refugees requiring continuing service. Since the State Department funds are largely limited to the first month, other sources of funding such as public assistance or the Match Grant Program discussed below must be accessed by the beginning of the second month. Even though a refugee applies for a Social Security card within days of arrival, thereby allowing them to be legally employed, because the processing of that application can take up to six weeks, employment is not often seen as a possibility until the second month after arrival.

3. Initial Efforts of Resettlement Agencies

A resettlement agency is given a small amount of funding to assist refugees in the resettlement process through the first 90 days after arrival. Reception and Placement funding is provided to the national VolAgs by the State Department. However, this funding is so limited that it rarely covers the costs of the new arrivals for more than the first 30 days. The national offices of IRC and CCS receive from the U.S.

government only \$850 per refugee. A small portion of that money is kept at the national level in order to pay for their overhead costs. The rest is sent on to the local offices where it is again divided for two purposes. First, \$425 is allotted specifically to cover direct expenses of the refugees. This includes the payment of a deposit and the first month's rent on an apartment, utilities, transportation, food and any other items that the refugees may require that cannot be obtained through donations. Any part of the money that is not directly used by the resettlement agency on behalf of the refugee is then paid out to the refugee at the end of a 90 day period. The remaining amount of the funding is allotted to help cover the expenses and overhead of the resettlement agency.

Other costs incurred by the resettlement agencies are covered by separate grants from different sources. The Department of Workforce Services in the State of Utah offers a grant to assist job developers employed by the agency find employment for the refugees. Another grant offered through the Health Department helps the agencies pay for the required health screening for all newcomer refugees. These grants are shown in Appendix Charts I and II. Initially, in the 1980s, these grants from the State Department provided for up to 36 months of support to refugee families. That time was subsequently reduced to 18 months and then to six months as a consequences of reduced funding.

CCS and IRC also pursue monetary grants from their own national organizations and from governmental and charitable foundation sources to help fill the gaps in their funding. The grant requirements do not always leave enough room to meet the most pressing needs. However, there is still a great deal of competition for such grants. During the initial resettlement process, as already stated, CCS and IRC provide their assigned refugees with initial housing, along with limited used furniture and one month of free rent. All of the refugees are immediately eligible for Food Stamps and Medicaid at levels based on family size and income and remain eligible until their earnings become sufficient to reduce and then cancel that eligibility. During their four to six months of providing services, CCS and IRC are supposed to provide bus passes, clothing and other necessities to each individual. IRC, CCS and the Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center each also receives a yearly \$5000 voucher from the LDS Church's Deseret Industries stores to be expended for clothing, furniture and other such items for the refugees.

Each refugee and refugee family arrives with the requirement to repay to the U. S. Department of State the full cost of the air fare which brought them from the country of their initial refuge and on to Utah. The value of this travel loan varies depending upon the location from which each refugee came, the number of members of the family and the current flight costs at the time. It generally ranges from \$2,000 to \$10,000. The loan is not a market loan and does not accrue interest. Also, if the refugee is unable to repay the loan due to an economic hardship the refugee can apply for either an extension of the loan or a

complete deferral through the original resettlement agency. The purpose of the loan is not to create an undue burden on the refugee family. However, its existence causes significant stress if the implications of the loan are not fully understood. Failure to pay without filing for an extension or deferment may result in collection procedures and will be reported to a credit reporting agency where it may later affect the refugee family's ability to purchase a home, an automobile, or other major items. Not fully understanding the implications, the travel loan process and its implications can be frightening to the refugee family.

Employment and self-sufficiency are clearly the primary objective of the resettlement program. Federal regulation 45 CFR 400 states the requirement explicitly. "The State must use its social service grants primarily for employability services designed to enable refugees to obtain jobs within one year of becoming enrolled in services in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency as soon as possible. Social services may continue to be provided after a refugee has entered a job to help the refugee retain employment or move to a better job. Social service funds may not be used for long-term job training programs such as vocational training that last for more than one year or educational programs that are not intended to lead to employment within a year." But in reality, federal refugee resettlement funds are available to support the refugees for only one month, not one year after arrival. Resettlement agencies and state agencies must move much faster than indicated by the federal regulation.

Resources given to IRC and CCS allow the agencies to work with the refugees for up to six months after their arrival in Utah. Thereafter, the refugees are either left to their own cognizance or they are transferred to the Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center (URECC) of the Asian Association of Utah, depending upon the needs of the family at the time. The Asian Association became involved with refugee resettlement during the years when refugees were primarily from Indochina as a result of the Vietnam conflict. It has continued its refugee services, even though few are now from those sources of origin. However, the refugee activities of URECC involve only those who are still struggling after the expiration of the IRC and CCS responsibilities. Refugees can be directly referred by IRC or CCS if they are not self-sufficient at the end of the first six months. If they go on their own and then find themselves in difficulties, they can apply to URECC for help anytime until they have been in the United States and Utah for a full five years.

URECC is financed from a currently \$536,000 per year federal Targeted Assistance Grant (TAG). An initial portion of the grant is used to pay for some DWS and Salt Lake County administrative costs. The approximately \$400,000 per year left for URECC activities covers both administrative and staff costs and direct assistance. URECC's primary effort is helping refugees obtain employment with emphasis on job referrals, career planning, and job coaching. But assisting refugees to obtain and retain employment also requires intensive training in English as a second language and access to various social services and

medical services. URECC is also involved with potential employers to help overcome cultural differences. URECC serves not only refugees but also asylees and second migrants. Asylees are those who come on their own rather than with State Department sponsorship and prove thereafter that return to their native countries would result in their assassination or inappropriate imprisonment. Second migrants are those who came to another state as refugees and subsequently made their way to Utah, usually to unite with family members. To make employment and related services possible for all of these groups, URECC employs four job developers, one social services staff person, an office coordinator, and a director. An ESL instructor and two assistants are paid from other funding. Direct assistance items such as tools, bus passes, safety clothing and required work uniforms, as well as salary and administrative costs, are all dependent on the remaining approximately \$400,000 of the Temporary Assistance Grant which is also actively pursued by those who would like to be competing organizations.

All three agencies assisting refugees in Utah are grossly under-funded compared to the numbers of refugees they are expected to serve and the range of services they are expected to provide. The question of management capacity remains an issue. Recognition of that fact is essential to understanding the assignments, performance and outcomes discussed herein.

4. Summary of Utah Arrivals and Agency Assignments

The Deseret News reported 30,000 to 50,000 refugees living in Utah as of 2005 without specifying their dates of arrival or durations of residence.⁹ The U.S. Department of State reports 16,557 refugees having arrived in Utah between 1983 and 2004 (Appendix Table 3). A total of 5,003 refugees from 38 countries arrived in Utah under the care of Catholic Community Services between 1994 and 2006 (Appendix Table 7). Of those, 2,733 arrived between 1994 and 1999 and 2,270 between 2000 and 2006. The International Rescue Committee was responsible for 2,627 arriving from 31 countries during 2000-2006 (Appendix Table 8). CCS and IRC serve the refugees for no more than six months after their arrival. If they perceive that the refugees require further service, they may refer them to URECC for up to 42 months of further service. Or, refugees who have left CCS and IRC and then find that they need further service can themselves apply to URECC for further service as long as they have been in Utah no longer than 60 months. About 80% of refugees do receive services from URECC at some point. URECC served 7,618 refugees between July 2000 and October 2006, all of whom had been previously served by IRC and CCS and some of whom might have arrived in Utah before 2000 when URECC came into existence. No information is available on the number served by IRC before 2000 and URECC did not exist before 2000. At the close of 2006, URECC was serving 396 families involving an estimated 800-1000 individuals, a large proportion of whom were children. The search for employment and other income sources is

⁹ Deseret Morning News, 10 April 2005.

URECC's major assignment. At the close of 2006, URECC was helping 600 in the pursuit of employment, 200 of whom had obtained jobs and 400 of whom were currently seeking them. Another 75 had obtained public assistance through the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) or Family Employment Program (FEP).

Thus of the approximately 5000 refugees who had arrived in Utah between 2000 and 2006 and the approximately 10,000 who had arrived during the previous 15 years or so, probably 1200 were being actively served by the three agencies at the close of 2006. A substantial number of refugees who had arrived in Utah prior to 2000 may have been served by URECC during the first few years after its formation in 2000. Some of those served by CCS and IRC do not transfer to URECC initially but instead seek URECC help thereafter. Some apparently continue to function independently after their period of CCS and IRC service. But most refugees who arrived after 2000 and some of those arriving before were and are obviously served by URECC at some point. The services they received and the results thereof are detailed later.

Of particular note is the family structure of the arriving refugees which varies widely by nation. URECC provided the following estimates concerning the family structure of those it has and is serving. Those from Eastern Europe and Asia are primarily two-parent families. However, Afghanistan is an exception to that finding in that an estimated 80% of the refugee families from there are female-headed. But, as noted, most of the refugees of recent years have been Africans, most of whom have escaped from circumstances where high proportions of the male family heads have been killed. Thus an estimated 80% of those families arriving from Liberia, Sudan, Togo, Chad, Congo and Sierra Leone have been female-headed. Those from more stable countries such as Nigeria are primarily male-headed. Somalia is mixed in that the Somali Bantu are about 80% male headed whereas the rest of the Somalis are reported to be about 80% female headed. The female-headed families, of course, have special problems of child care and employment along with their lack of English language capability and their unfamiliarity with the facilities of housing and the community. High proportions of those families are relegated to the relatively low incomes of public assistance.

5. Refugee Associations

The patchworks of nationalities that comprise Utah's refugees share durable threads with their counterparts in other refugee serving states, resulting in interstate refugee associations with state chapters of various size and vigor. As Utah has become home to ever-growing numbers of refugees from Jews and Meshkheijan Turks from Russia, Bosnians, Croats, Iraqis, Buddhist Burmese and other Asians, and Christian and Muslim Africans, their associations have followed them from other states. These refugees join groups like the Salt Lake American Muslim Association, the Somali Bantu Association, the Ahiska

Turks Association and the Bosnian Herzegovina Association. Refugees from various countries tend to associate with each other because of the familiarity of their customs, become acquainted and join forces with others from their own backgrounds. There are individual associations among Africans from Cameroon, Togo, Liberia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Mali, Nigeria, and the Congo, and separate ones of the Somali Bantu and all other Somalis, as well as an overall or umbrella African Association of Utah.

Numerous examples of the activities of these refugee country associations are available. The Vietnamese Volunteer Youth Association provides educational, social, service-oriented and art activities for local Vietnamese youth. Their activities seek to build camaraderie among the upcoming generation and strengthen pride in Vietnamese heritage. Participation in traditional folk dancing is an important part of their programs. The American Bosnian-Herzegovinian Association helps to maintain cultural ties by establishing a folk performing group for young people. Today there are over fifty dancers in a group from that association which performs at churches, schools and festivals to the live music of local Bosnian musicians. The Ahiska Turks Association with an objective of advocating for those of common heritage ensures cultural preservation and promotion of Islamic heritage as a peace factor for the Ahiskans. It seeks to serve as a cultural bridge between American and Ahiskan society in Utah. It also encourages and supports the Ahiskan people to pursue educational opportunity and constructive lifestyles. The ALRASOOL Islamic Center is a multiethnic Muslim association with the goal of organizing lectures on religious tolerance, providing social services with regards to acculturation, employment, health, housing, medical and legal aid. Education support is provided through a Sunday school curriculum that consists of Islamic and Arabic history. The Salt Lake American Muslim Association, has a mission to improve the quality of life and to foster mutual understanding and goodwill between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the greater Salt Lake area. It seeks to do so by contributing to social and cultural activities for and by Muslims in the area. The association meets this goal by providing acculturation and cultural programs to Muslims from Bosnia to Sudan, Morocco to Indonesia and helping them seek social services, employment, vocational education, refugee assistance, housing, health, and legal aid.

Statements of commitment from the African Association may provide useful understanding of the intents and potential of all of these nationally-based refugee organizations:

- to create opportunities for members from the African continent and members of the African descents in the Diaspora to understand each other and their different backgrounds.
- to foster the unity of all African organizations, clubs, and religious groups through collaborative activities.
- to promote the economic, social, cultural and political empowerment of all African organizations and clubs through shared information and active engagement.

- to maintain and enhance the good name and image of Africans by promoting positive events that highlight community awareness of African people's accomplishments here.
- to actively organize and enthusiastically embrace events that foster the progressive development of Africans in Utah and in the United States.

The respective international communities in Utah seek to welcome newcomers who have had to flee persecution within their home country, arriving with little but possessing great hope about their lives in America. These community associations conduct informal educational and social service orientation activities that help refugees adjust and acculturate; recover from past trauma; gain personal independence and economic self-sufficiency and become able participants and productive, contributing members of the new society. They seek to offer a variety of social services as well as acting as advocates and support for refugees during the early arrival period. These organizations also seek to help the refugees overcome culture shock through cultural adjustment workshops as well as by matching them with their country people as friends. They work with local service providers to provide technical assistance to develop the leadership capacity within local immigrant populations. Their community outreach also seeks to promote awareness about their new country in general as well as refugee issues and the challenges faced by them as they move through the resettlement and cultural adjustment process.

Utah's close-knit ethnic associations strive to keep members active and their cultural traditions alive through a variety of parties, picnics, cultural and folk dance classes, as indicated above. Some of these organizations continue to dedicate their services to teaching language skills and traditional arts to children of their ethnic descent. In sum these associations in bringing families together through regular monthly meetings play a unique role in socializing refugees, furnishing them with opportunities to discover and experience the host culture in unique ways through their own past experiences. Similarly, as a quick accessible unit of intervention, refugee associations can play a crucial role in reaffirming an imagined future and in restoring an element of hope for refugees who have lost hope as circumstances prove different from their expectations at the Golden Door. Both in providing a safe and caring atmosphere and in providing appropriate support, such associations make a substantial contribution to the effective integration and adjustment of refugees. They encourage refugees to share their experiences with each other, seek to help them by giving them a voice and dignity, and enable them to connect with society and for society to engage them with culturally sensitive programs.

As perceived by refugee association advocates, the refugees depend upon these associations to facilitate their integration and preserve their ethnic identities through many culturally sensitive programs. In this sense, national refugee associations seek to provide communal moral support through sharing life's experiences, maintaining open lines of communication, and contributing significantly to the resettlement of communities of refugees. These country associations are socially, economically and culturally bound

together in direct service to develop leadership, promote friendship, and provide service to members in the community. They offer support to non-profit, non-political community organizations for many of the physical tasks necessary to put on an event or program.

In summary, the services these ethnic associations could offer to arriving and resettled refugees include joining in the welcoming of them during their arrivals at the airport. Often when they later need or prefer other housing, the associations can seek to help them to find such safe and appropriate affordable housing. Some of the associations also seek to inform the refugees as to their rights, refer them to medical assistance, take them to and help them with their enrollment into schools, as well as to federal, state and local assistance programs, or simply be there to listen, interpret and comfort them.

But the refugee associations have their negative impacts as well, much on the order of the relationships between employers confronted by labor unions representing their employees. Seeking to greet refugees from their countries arriving at the airport, they sometimes are perceived negatively by the staff of the VolAgs having official responsibility for the meeting and resettling. Seeking to educate the refugees as to their rights, helping them find access to community services, intervening between the refugees and the schools, guiding them to re-housing possibilities, helping in the search for employment, or simply serving as listeners and counselors, all has the possibility of conflict with resettlement agencies pursuing the same objectives. Some staff of resettlement agencies perceive the refugee associations as “the blind leading the blind.” They argue that the association promoters often do not have the expertise the agency staff do and give faulty advice to their refugee colleagues. As they see it, friction between the agencies and associations occurs when the associations give advice that the refugees accept because it comes from supposed friends but ultimately proves detrimental to the refugees overall progress. An example cited is advice to seek public assistance rather than pursue employment.

Particularly troubling to many of the resettlement agencies and government offices has been the Utah Consortium of Multicultural Groups (UCMG) which has sought to pull the refugee associations together in common causes. In that effort, UCMG has undertaken and published the results of a number of studies and surveys, which, though the results are not surprising, are still troubling to those agencies seeking to serve the refugees with inadequate resources. One of those studies reported that most refugees are employed in low skilled manufacturing jobs, and even those coming from professional backgrounds were finding it hard to obtain employment in their own field.¹⁰ That conclusion surprised no one under the circumstances since certifications brought from another country are rarely recognized in the United States and since other barriers to good employment, such as English language limitations, discourage

¹⁰ “Report of Past and Present Issues Related to Utah’s Refugee Mutual Assistance Association,” Utah Association of Minority Groups. Salt Lake City, 2006.

employers from hiring refugees at higher wages. The results were perceived as undue criticism of those who felt they were doing their best to resettle the refugees, given the limited resources available to the resettlement agencies. Similarly, a survey which reported the feelings of approximately one-half of the refugees that they had not received all they had expected from their passage through “the golden door” implied that the agencies were not doing all that might be expected of them.¹¹ The publications have not improved UCMG’s acceptability among refugee-serving agencies. The quality and accuracy of the surveys have been challenged. But, despite the conflicting views, having an oversight function underway is not to the long-run disadvantage of anyone involved.

III. Critical Services

Housing, income and health care are the obvious priority needs of the refugees. This section examines how these critical needs are met and what can be done to improve refugee quality of life.

A. Housing

The first priority for the newly arriving refugee is, of course, housing. As noted above, IRC and CCS have that initial responsibility. Coordinators from the two resettlement agencies maintain constant contact with potential landlords and pursue additional ones as expected arrivals dictate. Interested landlords also contact the agencies when they have vacancies. As they are notified of the imminent arrival of a refugee family, housing specialists from the resettlement agencies assigned make the necessary arrangements for both rental housing and for furniture adequate to meet the arriving families perceived needs. Upon arrival, refugee individuals and families are brought directly from the airport and placed by case managers of the supervising agencies in those housing facilities.

In mid-2006, the largest numbers of refugees were housed in the Landing Point, Hartland Place, Lexington Square, Riverview, Tuscany Cove, Hill Avenue and SouthPark Townhomes apartment facilities. These facilities housed from 60 to 300 refugee families each while an additional 32 facilities are known to house substantial but lesser numbers of refugees. Many of those residents have dispersed and are no longer identified as refugees. Hartland Place is a prime example of refugee housing because it contains the University of Utah’s Hartland Community Center discussed below. In 2006, Hartland, a 300 unit apartment complex at 1700 South and Redwood Road, was home to some 800 adults and children from all over the world, three-quarters of whom at any point in time were not native English speakers. Of the Hartland residents in mid-2006, 225 families were refugees and most of the others were immigrants. Such concentrations seemed advantageous for the provision of services until Hartland Place was sold to new owners in early 2007 who, relieved of some of the restrictions imposed on the original owners by governmental financing, raised rents beyond the financial capabilities of many of these families.

11 . Ibid.

Throughout all of these apartment complexes, rent for a single bedroom apartment typically ranges from \$475-\$495, two bedrooms at \$500-\$550, three bedrooms at \$700 and above and four bedrooms usually cost over \$1000 a month. After the first month, if the refugees do not qualify for the Match Program discussed later, they are expected to pay their own rents. Remembering that full-time employment at the federal minimum wage grosses about \$900 a month and nets far less while Utah's Family Employment Plan was shown in Table 4 to bring in \$632 a month plus food stamps for a five person family, paints a rather stark living standards picture. It is far better than their past but not a promising future. Yet it is not a circumstance unique to refugees, being confronted by all low-income residents of Utah and the United States.

Again, the refugees are under the tutelage of IRC and CCS for six months or less. At those incomes, most refugees qualify for public housing and Section 8 voucher housing subsidies. Any family obtaining access to one or the other of those housing programs pays only 30% of their income in rent. However, the waiting lists for those housing programs are typically two years or longer. IRC and CCS recommend that their refugee families sign up for housing subsidies at Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County, or West Valley City Housing Authorities and assist them in doing so but, because of the short time that they are able to work with each refugee family, cannot oversee continuance of that listing.

Taking over after six months, URECC can and does recommend application or continuance of housing subsidy pursuit. However, applying and perpetuating that application until waiting time is completed is primarily the applicant's responsibility. Because applicants often make other arrangements during their long waits, the housing authorities periodically send out notices to determine whether subsidized housing is still desired. If the applicants have moved from their listed address or if, because of their English language limitations or for any other reason, they fail to respond, their application is discarded. Since the Housing Authorities do not record refugee backgrounds among their applicants, the extent of refugee access to subsidized housing is unknown. Having to pay only 30% of their income in rent is a prime accomplishment. Most refugee families who continue their applications for the usually two year waiting period and do not rise to ineligible levels of income do end up with either public housing or a Section 8 voucher. However, knowledgeable housing authority staff report that failure to respond to requests for updating is a major problem for refugee applicants. Once the refugee family's name rises to the top of the list, they confront another challenge. Even though they will only have to pay 30% of their income monthly for rent, they are still initially confronted with the requirement that they pay an up front deposit, usually something like \$1000 which hardly any of them have. URECC helps them with that deposit to the extent it has the funding. The Community Action Program also helps if it has funding. The refugees often borrow from each other for their deposits. URECC staff does not know the precise number

or proportion but report that a high proportion do ultimately become housed at the 30% of income figure— but, once again, only after they have struggled to pay rent during their first to years while they are also struggling to learn English, obtain employment and so forth. Of course, they must also find landlords willing to accept the rental ceilings imposed by the housing authorities, the decision of the new owners of Hartland Place to cease Section 8 voucher acceptance being a painful example.

Habitat for Humanities, the Community Development Corporation of Utah and Salt Lake Neighborhood Housing all have programs designed to make homeownership accessible to low income families, as long as their source of that income is a stable and dependable one. The original owners of Hartland Place had estimated that 30% of those who left its environs did so for home ownership. No other information appears to be available as to ultimate refugee home ownership.

B. Employment and Public Assistance

Once the new arrivals are housed, the resettlement agencies assess the employability of their new charges. One of the prime responsibilities of a VolAg, once the refugees have arrived in the United States, is to help them apply for Social Security numbers. All refugees of requisite age arriving in the United States are legally employable once they have acquired a Social Security card. Those who appear employable are referred to known employment opportunities. The numbers obtaining employment are discussed later, beginning with a discussion of the Match Grant Program. Those who are not initially employable, whether because of age, health or family responsibilities are referred to the Department of Workforce Services where applications for public assistance are filed. Families including at least one qualifying child and with sufficiently low incomes are generally eligible for Utah’s Family Employment Program or FEP for single parent families and FEP-TP if there are two parents. FEP has a 36 month lifetime limit. FEP-TP is available for no more than seven months out of each 13 months for no more than a lifetime total of 36 months. Table 2 indicates the maximum FEP and FEP-TP grant levels by family size. FEP and FEP-TP participants must meet various program requirements preparing their recipients for employment. They are also eligible for Food Stamps. Refugees who are either 65 years of age or older or who are physically or mentally disabled may be eligible for Supplemental Security Income receiving \$564 per individual or \$846 per couple.

Table 2: Family Employment Program Monthly Grants by Household Size

Household Size	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Maximum FEP Grant	\$274	\$380	\$474	\$555	\$632	\$697	\$720	\$763	\$799	\$831

Refugees not eligible for FEP—usually because they have no children—or SSI because they are neither aged or disabled, and who are not likely to succeed under the Match Grant approach, can receive financial assistance from the Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) program for as long as eight months after

their arrival. The RCA income limit is \$336 a month for one person, \$450 for two, \$570 for three, \$685 for four and \$70 for each additional person, significantly higher than the longer-lasting FEP grants. During the last quarter of 2006, 305 refugee families were receiving FEP and FEP-TP while 23 families were receiving Refugee Cash Assistance. Compared to the previous quarter, 69 new refugee families had begun receiving public assistance while 91 families had ceased that receipt. That has been the typical rate of access. So far, it is rare for a refugee family to remain on FEP until the 36 month lifetime limit, though it appears that some of the Somali Bantu families may have that experience in the near future.

Those refugees not eligible for FEP, FEP-TP, RCA or SSI are dependent for support upon their ability to successfully pursue jobs or self-employment. The three refugee resettlement agencies provide job developers who assist them in finding employment as follows.

1. The Match Grant Program

The Match Grant employment program is the overall preferred option for most refugees entering the United States. Federal law explicitly dictates that, “employable refugees should be placed on jobs as soon as possible after their arrival in the United States.”¹² The term Match Grant refers to the fact that the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) under the auspices of the Federal Department of Health and Human Services meets two-thirds of the cost up to a maximum of \$2000 per client while the resettlement agency is providing one-third of the cost, up to 80% of which can be through in-kind services. Put more simply, for every \$1 the agency provides to the refugee through cash or in-kind goods, ORR will match the funding with \$2. Food, housing, a cash allowance and transportation assistance must be provided for a minimum of 90 days and can continue until at least the 120th day unless the recipient either leaves the program or becomes economically self-sufficient. The Match Grant core maintenance services may continue for an additional 60 days as long as the federal \$2000 ceiling is not breached and the client remains within the rules of the program.

The participating resettlement agency must develop and carry out a resettlement and self-sufficiency plan with the refugee as part of the requirements of the program. That plan includes meeting the subsistence needs of the family including a cash allowance of at least \$200 per month per adult and \$40 per month per minor, obtaining medical services as needed, providing or referring to English language training and/or employment training as needed. The resettlement agency must also provide or obtain employment services including job counseling, job development and direct job placement, follow up with the employer and the employed client and pursue job upgrades. Those elements must be accomplished successfully for at least 70% of the clients involved, all within that 120 or 180 days.

¹² USC Title 8 Chapter 12 subchapter IV sec. 1522(a)(1)(B)(i).

The three general guidelines that a resettlement agency commonly uses to determine if a refugee is eligible for the Match Grant program are: (1) is the person physically capable of working, (2) does the refugee want to work, and (3) is the refugee willing to accept the first job that the resettlement agency is able to find for him or her? Circumstances may prevent many from becoming employed, or maintaining employment once it has been attained. For instance, if a refugee qualifies for disability benefits, meaning that they are found incapable of working, he or she will not be enrolled in the Match Grant Program. Reasons for receiving disability benefits include major physical impairments as well as emotional and psychological impairments. If a refugee suffers from some type of disability, yet would still be able to work, they may still be able to enroll in the program. Many have had little formal work experience in their native lands or in the refugee camps. Some refugees come to the United States with a notion that the government will pay all of their expenses and that they do not need to work. Although the majority of refugees do manifest a desire to work, the resettlement agency takes care to emphasize to the refugees the need to work in order to become truly self-sufficient. Some refugees come to the United States hoping primarily to go to school and to advance academically. Unfortunately, that desire often conflicts with the pressing need the refugees have to be able to provide for their own welfare. The pursuit of education, although it would help them in the long run, does not help them pay rent now. On the other hand, family-sustaining earnings are rarely attained in the United States without substantial education or skill training. The most successful refugees tend to find employment quickly, and then, although it is a difficult challenge, seek to improve their educational status while working.

Life will continue to be a struggle for those who do not choose to or are not able to follow that path. The refugee is expected to accept the first job that the resettlement agency is able to find. The agency does not have the resources to find the “perfect” job for every refugee. Likewise, without some degree of compliance, the whole purpose of the program would be frustrated. A refugee would simply be able to refuse a job and still receive all of the benefits of the program. As noted earlier, regulations explicitly state that employment is the focus in order to help the refugees become self-sufficient. By beginning a job quickly, even a poor paying entry level position, a refugee will begin to build up an employment history that they will then be able to use to help find better employment later on. The Match Grant program requires that the resettlement agency staff help the refugees make that essential transition to employment.

Match Grant services “must be provided to the maximum extent feasible in a manner that is culturally and linguistically compatible with the client’s language and cultural background.”¹³ For the Match Grant program, the relevant resettlement agencies—IRC and CCS--commit to help the refugees

13 ORR Matching Grant CY 2005 Program Guidelines.

achieve economic self-sufficiency within 120 to 180 days after the date of eligibility. In Utah, Catholic Community Services has 300 Matching Grant slots per year and the International Rescue Committee has 100. To continue their assignments with the U.S. Department of State, the national IRC and CCS agencies must be successful in placing 70% of their Matching Grant Participants. CCS reports that it has been placing 85% of its Matching Grant participants and IRC reports 83%. Both agencies report continuing employment from the effort thereafter

2. Other Employment Access

Obviously, as discussed earlier in introducing the Match Grant Program, the key element of refugee resettlement is employment and not just any employment but employment at family-sustaining wages, preferably accompanied by satisfactory benefits related to both health care services and ultimate retirement. Jobs are plentiful in Utah at present, but employment with those wages and benefits is not easily found for those with limited employment preparation which is generally true for most refugees coming to Utah. Utah's wages average 18% below national averages and are substantially influenced by education and training as Table 3 suggests. Family-sustaining earnings in Utah typically require more earners per family, more jobs per earner or substantial education and training, compared to the rest of the nation. Utah's average non-agricultural annual wage in 2006 was \$34,600 requiring an hourly wage of \$17.30 at full-time full-year employment.¹⁴ To earn the federal poverty rate for a family of four would require full-time full-year employment at \$10 per hour--\$11.70 per hour for a family of five (Table 4). The median household annual income in Utah in 2006 was \$54,513. If one were to consider one-half that amount--\$27,257--to be the minimum realistic family-sustaining level, full-time full-year employment at \$13.62 an hour would be necessary if there was only one earner in the family. Multiple earners, of course, make the task easier. For instance, one fulltime earner at \$10 an hour plus a half-time earner at \$7 per hour would also produce one-half the median household income. Obviously, some combination of multiple earners and on-the job or classroom education and occupational training will be essential if the refugee family—like any other family--is to have adequate income. Obtaining that will be a substantial challenge to the refugee generation and essential to the generations which follow.

Table 3: Average Hourly Earnings of Utah Workers by Level of Education and Training, 2004

<u>Training Level</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Ave. Hourly Wage</u>	<u>Full-Year Wage</u>
Bachelor's Degree or Above	256,600	19.9	\$30.30	\$60,600
Associate's Degree	45,500	3.5	20.60	41,200
Applied Technology Certificate	62,600	4.9	14.90	29,800
Work-related experience*	100,600	7.8	21.10	42,200
One or more years OJT**	104,300	8.1	16.70	33,400

¹⁴ 2007 Economic Report to the Governor, p. 56.

1-12 months OJT	265,400	20.6	14.40	28,800
Less than 1 month informal OJT	453,700	35.2	9.80	19,600
Total	1,288,700	100.0	\$16.90	\$33,800

*Typically people promoted to supervisory positions after substantial work experience

**OJT= On-the-Job Training

Table 4: 2006 HHS Poverty Guidelines

Persons in Household	48 States and D.C.
1	\$9,800
2	13,200
3	16,600
4	20,000
5	23,400
6	26,800
7	30,200
8	33,600
Each additional	\$3,400

Source: Federal Register, Vol. 71, No. 15, January 24, 2006, pp. 3848-3849

3. Initial Job Placement Rates and Sectors

Using \$11 to \$14 an hour—whether earned by one earner or more for at least 2000 hours per year--as an example of minimum family sustaining earnings, how well have the resettlement agencies been able to do so far in assisting refugee job search?

a. Catholic Community Services

In 2006, Catholic Community Services assisted 168 individuals who were considered employable. The remaining 171 refugees and asylees were considered unemployable due to multiple different circumstances ranging from being too young or too old and physical or mental disability to simply being unwilling to work. Of the 168 employable individuals, 112 were employed at the end of their 180 period with CCS and employment was being pursued for 14 more. The average wage was \$7.47 an hour with a maximum of \$14 and a minimum of \$5.15. The most frequent wage was \$8 an hour. Of those employed, 78 were men and 34 were women. The majority of jobs were in production, assembly, warehouse and food service.

b. International Rescue Committee

The International Rescue Committee sought employment for 142 men and 88 women during 2006. It was successful in helping 34 men and 14 women obtain full-time employment and two women and one man obtain part-time employment. The men averaged \$7.67 an hour with 31 obtaining health care benefits and the women \$7.75 an hour and all 14 with health benefits in the full-time jobs. IRC also assisted 12 men and 12 women in enrolling in the FEP or TANF program, eight of the men and nine of the women entering employment thereafter.

c. Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center

Those for whom job search assistance was provided by the Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center of the Asian Association of Utah had been in the country and state at least six months and had further opportunities for employment preparation and job search. URECC’s job developers guide all adult refugees for whom employment is a reasonable likelihood through a series of steps consisting of life skills workshops which include financial literacy, employment workshops which include employability assessment, career planning, job coaching, skill assessment and upgrading, counseling in relation to short-term education and vocational skills training, language specific assistance with job search, and licensing and recertification of licenses and diplomas. The job developers then accompany the job seekers to interviews with potential employers the job developers have previously contacted. Despite those efforts, the job opportunities attained by those refugees have often been inadequate. As noted earlier, between July 2000 and September 2006 the Center assisted 7,615 refugees of all ages and genders. Only 4,259 refugees were brought to Utah during that period of time and many of those (such as those engaged in the Match Grant Program or otherwise employed) would not have been referred by those agencies to URECC. Therefore, many previous arrivals must also have applied to URECC for service.

How many of the 7,615 the Utah Refugee Center has served were potentially employable is currently unknown. Many, after all, would have been children. Table 5 provides the employment seekers served by URECC and the results for 2002-2006. The numbers of refugees admitted to the United States declined temporarily following the September 11, 2001 attacks and the results diminished the numbers of refugees admitted to the U.S. and therefore the numbers of URECC jobseekers for 2002-2003. Since the state of the economy was improving and Utah’s unemployment rate was falling over the 2002-2006 period, the decline in the job placement rate after 2003 was disappointing. A major factor was the sharp decline in the number of agency job developers as a result of a decline in the budget available. Those remaining intensified their efforts with commendable results. However, the realities were still difficult for those who

Table 5: URECC Employment Performance, FY2002-2006					
Employment performance indicators	FY02	FY03	FY04	FY05	FY06
Number seeking employment	510	379	478	526	542
Number of job placements (includes multiple jobs and upgrades)	532	417	467	478	501
Number of job seekers placed in employment	436	334	386	424	389
Employment rate	85%	88%	81%	81%	72%
Job retention rate (% still employed after 90 days)	78%	85%	88%	81%	92%
Health benefit rate (% of jobs providing health benefits)	70%	74%	78%	71%	79%

Number full-time equivalent job developers	6.0	6.0	6.0	5.5	4.0
Number job placements per full-time job developer	88.7	69.5	77.8	86.9	125.5

failed to obtain employment and income. The job retention rate was encouraging. Since the refugee job seekers served by URECC had been in the country and state at least six months longer than those served by IRC and CCS, the somewhat higher average placement wage of \$7.83 per hour was also encouraging. However, the \$15,660 that \$7.83 per hour would provide at full-time full-year employment is below the federal poverty level of \$16,600 for a family of three and hardly represents family-sustaining earnings. However, if those jobs were only early steps on an upwardly climbing skill ladder they could ultimately lead to a family-sustaining level. Obviously, on-the-job training and employment-related education is essential for the heads of these refugee families and for youth growing up in these families. As is the case with all U.S. residents living in poverty, education and training are among the keys to a better life.

Of a total of 213 eligible persons who were helped to enroll in the DWS FEP public assistance program, 104 were subsequently placed in jobs averaging \$11.32 an hour which full-time full-year would have consisted of \$22,640, something more acceptable as family-sustaining earnings, though still below the federal poverty line for a family of five. During the same period, 563 individuals who had been receiving Refugee Cash Assistance were placed in jobs at unspecified earnings. A total of nearly 2000 families consisting of 7,600 persons were also enrolled by URECC in a variety of social services during the 2000-2006 period, 1,000 people from 250 families receiving various services in 2006 alone.

d. LDS Sheltered Workshops

The most frequent employers of refugees in Utah are the Deseret Industries stores, the Deseret Industries Manufacturing facility and the LDS Humanitarian Center. These facilities have the dual objective of providing low cost necessities of life to low income people and providing work experience and increasing the employability of people having low earning capacity. The Deseret Industries stores collect and sell donated clothing, furniture, books, sports equipment and other items as well as selling the furniture, mattresses and other items manufactured at the manufacturing facility. The Humanitarian Center sorts, packages and prepares for shipping to needy parts of the world the items donated to that facility as well as to Deseret Industries stores and not sold there. At the same time, all of these facilities hire individuals who have difficulty finding other employment, provide them with various types of life skills as well as work skills training on site and then encourage them to move on to other employment. Beginning in 2006, these facilities also pay the tuition to enable many of their employees to obtain, after working hours, education and skill training at such institutions as the Utah Colleges of Applied Technology and the

Skills Center of the Salt Lake Community College. Refugees fit well into the sheltered workshop intents of those facilities.

During 2006, 175 refugees were employed by the Humanitarian Center. On a single day, 14 February 2007, there were 150 refugees employed by the Deseret Industries related facilities in Salt Lake Valley, 61 at the Humanitarian Center, 28 at the Welfare Square Deseret Industries store, 20 at the downtown store, 13 at the Sugarhouse store and 7, 7, 5, 2, and 1 at Murray, Sandy, West Valley City, West Jordan and Tooele stores, respectively, and 6 at Deseret Industries Manufacturing. The fact that the Humanitarian Center had 61 refugees employed on a single day and 175 over a year is an indication of the rate of turnover as workers are encouraged to take other jobs as soon as they are available. Their duration of employment ranged from two to 18 months and averaged eight months. The Humanitarian Center also reports that about 42% of its employees over time are refugees. Though English as a Second Language, introduction to computers and other instruction is provided on-site during paid hours, these sheltered workshops report that they have included refugees only in the Commercial Drivers License (CDL) courses among those for whom they have paid tuition at local post-secondary schools because of their general English language limitations

4. Employability of Refugees.

Clearly, the refugee population is struggling in its efforts to adjust to the unfamiliar labor market. Due to education levels and lack of English and life skills, few in their early stages of residence can expect to rise to family-sustaining earnings. Multiple earners per family or multiple jobs per earner are alternatives for some. Though it is difficult to do so while employed, many must eventually pursue education and skill training to improve their earning capacity. Life is undoubtedly better here than it was from whence they came. However, it is probably not as much better as they expected when they heard they were going to the United States. Initial earning capacity from employment is a major factor in that lack.

C. Education

Education is an overwhelming problem for refugees in the United States for at least four reasons: (1) few of those who have arrived in recent years had significant amounts of education and those who had received an education rarely had done so in English. (2) The refugee resettlement program emphasizes employment as the key to self sufficiency and does not permit a great amount of time for refugees to seek further education. (3) They are becoming immersed into a totally new society and culture which even lifelong Americans learn to understand as much by formal education as by osmosis and of which refugees will understand little until they have been immersed in its schools. (4) Even lifelong Americans living in Utah rarely achieve family-sustaining earnings without at least a year of post-secondary education and skill

training, as Table 3 has already shown. Multiple earners or multiple jobs per earner are the only alternatives to that.

Over 90% of Utahns now graduate from high school, half of them enroll for some post-secondary education and one-fourth of them obtain a bachelor's degree. Of those who do not complete a bachelor's degree, only those who complete an associate degree's or obtain an applied technology education certificate find that their postsecondary education makes a significant difference in their subsequent earnings. Of course those whose employers provide them with substantial on-the-job training also gain improved earnings, but that is usually left to the employer's discretion. Few employers invest much in the training of those who do not have a substantial educational foundation. For those refugees who come with little or no formal education, it is difficult to attain the higher education levels needed to sustain a comfortable lifestyle, but it can be accomplished with time and dedication. On-the-job training or vocational and technical training are the most available alternatives. Even those with considerable formal education from abroad may face serious limitations of language or of degree recognition.

Almost by definition, few adult refugees and almost no refugee children and youth of recent years have significant English language capability. Immigrants—documented and undocumented—from many European, Latin American and a few Asian countries may find communities in the United States where they can survive reasonably effectively without speaking and writing English, but that is unlikely for Africans and Middle Easterners. Children can survive on the nurture of their parents and children and youth can become immersed in school and learn English eventually. However, no refugee family can hope to survive in the United States if there are not English speakers and readers in the family capable of earning a living and interpreting on behalf of the others. Hence the necessity of access to and learning from English as a Second Language (ESL) courses for adults. Those courses are available. The trick is to take full advantage of them.

The Utah Refugee Employment and Community Center shares the primary responsibility for adult ESL classes for refugees with the Granite and Salt Lake School Districts. Federal funding is provided through the Department of Workforce Services. Like many federal programs at present, the funding is declining substantially while the need is increasing. The two school districts have some access to state and local moneys for adult ESL but URECC is totally federal-dependent. The Asian Association of Utah began providing adult ESL as early as 1977 when Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians refugees were added to the Japanese, Korean and other Asian refugees already arriving in the United States and Utah. Its primary motivation was to enable those Asian immigrants and refugees to pursue employment and earnings opportunities through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) programs. The Salt Lake School District followed during the 1980s and

the Granite School District in 2000. URECC came into existence in 2000 and currently provides ESL to 275-300 refugees and immigrants per year compared to 600-800 for Salt Lake School District and 250 for Granite School District.

URECC's Center for Applied Linguistics provides adult ESL during the daytime and, until lack of funding forced recent closure, in the evening in its headquarters office. Salt Lake School District's adult ESL program is provided daytime and evening at the Horizonte Training Center. Granite School District provides ESL for adults at its Granite Peaks Center and for youth living within the district at its Newcomers academy in its old Granite High School building. Both Horizonte and Granite Peaks also offer high school and general education development (GED) instruction for adults including refugees at these two facilities. The three adult ESL providers cooperate closely under DWS tutelage, allocating students among the providers, both to meet the adult students' needs and choices and to adapt the enrollments to the capacity of the facilities. Allocations also seek to consider and adapt to residential location, educational background, vocational pursuits and student requests as well as institutional capacity. The school districts have the advantage that their adult ESL activities can be accompanied by and intermingled with GED and high school completion courses. URECC has the advantage of smaller classes, greater time flexibility and lower dropout rates, as well as a focus on refugee specific needs and issues. Adult ESL is divided into six skill levels, only the lower four of which are provided by URECC. All three of the instructional institutions use the learning of spoken and written words as opportunities to teach life skills, develop employability and build familiarity with the social environment. Basic computer familiarity is also built into all of the adult ESL programs. URECC allowed 10-17 year-old youth to accompany their parents to the evening ESL courses to familiarize themselves with computers, software and other facilities as their parents were being instructed, but that is no longer available.

As noted, the Horizonte Instruction and Training Center performs the adult ESL instruction for the Salt Lake School District. It does so on a full school day academic year schedule. Its greatest advantage is that it covers the full six levels of the ESL program rather than just the first four levels. ESL levels 5 and 6 overlap substantially in content with the GED and adult high school completion programs, using the content of those programs as subject matter to be read. Therefore, it is a relatively short step between meeting the ESL requirements and meeting the GED and adult high school requirements. Horizonte adult ESL instructors therefore encourage their students to continue on to GED or high school completion and many respond positively. Those who complete the four adult ESL levels available from the URECC program are eligible to and often do continue at Horizonte to compete the fifth and sixth levels and then continue on to a GED or high school diploma. In 1997-98, 832 refugees enrolled in the adult ESL program at Horizonte, followed by 814 in 1998-99, then dropped to 654 for 1999-2000, rose back to 870 in

2000-01 and fell again to 667 in 2001-02, 504 in 2002-03, 535 in 2003-04 and 625 in 2004-05. A change in data processing practices made comparable data unavailable for 2005-06. It is highly significant that in recent years an estimated 150 to 200 refugees per year have completed ESL levels 5 and 6 and have continued on to either complete a GED or obtain a high school diploma from Horizonte.

In contrast with Horizonte for the Salt Lake School District, the Granite School District's adult ESL program serves only approximately 250 adult refugees per year, most of them being parents of K-12 students in the Granite schools. Granite offers the six ESL levels and the GED and high school graduation accompaniments but few take advantage of the more advanced steps. The refugee women have a particularly difficult struggle. Most of the African women enrolled in adult ESL have had no education of any kind previously. They are not just doing English as a second language, they are learning to speak in a foreign tongue while learning to read for the first time in any language. It is a very difficult task at which they tend to function on a K-1 level, though they place a high value on the possibilities of education. Both the Salt Lake Community College Skill Center and the Salt Lake/Tooele Applied Technology College have ESL programs for their students but refugees would not be involved in those until they had undertaken postsecondary education.

Refugee residents at the Hartland Place located at 1700 South and Redwood Road have the special advantage of the Hartland Partnership Center established by the University of Utah. Several university departments and colleges are involved at no cost to the residents or the owners, other than the provision of an apartment to serve as office space for the participants. Educational programs involve and enroll Hartland residents only and do not replace but supplement those educational programs already discussed. The programs are also staffed totally by faculty, other staff and students of the university and are used for the education and training of the students and research by the faculty. For instance, the adult ESL program is overseen by the Department of Linguistics at the university and is conducted by two graduate students. It is designed for those who cannot leave home to attend ESL programs elsewhere and is provided in both an on-site classroom and in home apartments. Sessions are typically two hours per day in length and approximately 150 per year are served. While teaching English, there is an effort to stress preparation for employment and developing parent/youth relationships. There is a four-hour per day advanced course that is reported to DWS. Academic assistance is available for children and youth aged 2- 18, serving about 200 per year and including recreation as well as tutoring by graduate students. There is an eight-hour per week youth program for those 8-12 in partnership with the Utah Federation of Youth which includes a youth leadership program. There is also a year-round four hours for four days a week early childhood program enrolling 50 children which, beginning in September 2006, was taken over by Head Start for children 3-5.

Responsibility for a Financial Fitness and Homebuyer Education class is shared by the University Department of Family and Consumer Studies, Salt Lake Neighborhood Housing Services, two local banks and IRC. Residents learn about money management, debt avoidance, credit resources and home ownership. Thirty percent of those who leave Hartland do so as first-time homebuyers, despite the fact that high rates of mortgage fraud and early payment default in that part of Salt Lake City. A partnership with the S.J. Quinney College of Law offers a series of classes for adults on relevant legal issues such as landlord/tenant relationship and immigration. A class is offered to prepare residents for the citizenship exam, including involvement of the ESL staff to help them prepare for the English portion of the exam. About twenty refugees participate in this instruction fall and spring. Health education is provided for about thirty refugees each fall and spring by a partnership of the Department of Family and Preventative Medicine, the College of Nursing and various community clinics and includes weekly on-site health screenings and referrals. A family practice physician, a pediatrician and physicians' assistants provide on-site health screening and referrals. Medical students train under the supervision of the physicians and help residents better understand the complex issues of health care access. A Life Skills program administered under the Division of Occupational Therapy offers classes in home safety, transportation, employment and other basic skills essential to living in a modern society. This training occurs in the homes for about ten people per week and a total of 200 per year. Students from the College of Social work focus on capacity-building, referral to community organizations and field practicum training. An on-site adult resident instructor accompanied by six resident adult leaders and one resident adult youth leader oversee the entire process, working with a resident committee to identify need and coordinate services.

A similar program of family-adapted adult ESL is provided to refugees throughout the Salt Lake County by the English Skills Learning Center. The organization's title was formerly Literacy Volunteers of America. Its emphasis is on family literacy and its primary contribution is to train volunteer ESL teachers who go into the homes to teach parents—most often mother and children together. The volunteer teachers are charged \$30 for training materials but there is no charge to the students. Teaching is extended throughout the valley and is primarily limited by the number of volunteer teachers. During August 2006, 61 teachers were teaching 113 families and small groups from 24 countries who had 21 different native languages. The number of hours and the duration of the teaching was highly informal and determined by the time availability and interest of both teachers and learners.

The children of refugee families are concentrated in those schools of the Salt Lake and Granite School Districts serving those areas of refugee housing cited above. These schools are responsible for recruiting the students which state laws require them to serve, attracting and enforcing their attendance, bringing them to English language competence to a degree that they can perform and learn adequately with

the other students in their classrooms, and then bring them to a level that they will desire to and be able to absorb education to at least the extent of the average participants in their classrooms. The challenges are seemingly endless. Most of the current students have arrived in the United States after having been born during their parents' long residence in refugee camps in various parts of Africa where little or no schooling has been available. They are also primarily the children of uneducated and non-English-speaking parents—many of them single—who are also overburdened and confused and unable to assist them in their education. The parents must be contacted and made aware of the availability of schooling, the legal requirements of attendance and the parental responsibility to see that the children attend. The children must be appropriately fed, clothed and transported to the assigned school. If not fed at home, the children and parents must be made aware of the availability of breakfast at school. The interaction between health problems and educational performance must be addressed. Those without adequate English language capability must be identified and enrolled in a setting where they can learn English quickly but adequately. Those who enter the American schools as children have time to adjust, but the challenge is greater for those who enter at high school level without language facility or familiarity with the social scene.

From the school's standpoint, it is a challenge to know to which classroom to assign refugee children. Age is rarely an indicator of their past education exposure and many of them do not know their own ages anyway. The written word is everywhere in America but it is not universal in the countries from which these refugees come. It is generally unknown whether the refugee child has previous exposure to alphabets and written words and how long it will take to catch up. Whether to separate the refugee student into English as a second language classes first or integrate them into the regular classes accompanied by additional instruction after school is a challenging decision to be made. Either way, special preparation of the teacher is necessary. What assistance the teacher gets in accommodating the refugee student to the classroom varies widely by circumstance but rarely by policy. Social integration in the school and the classroom is an additional challenge, especially for the older students, lacking in English language capability and illiterate and innumerate as most of them are. The role of school counselors in these matters is also in flux. Whether the new refugees and the existing students will relate well or find themselves in conflict is a matter of trial and error. Some refugee youth are likely to drift into gangs as time passes, depending upon how well they are progressing in school. As noted earlier, family-sustaining earnings in the American economic environment requires completion of high school followed by substantial post-secondary education and skill training. Whether the current and future refugee streams will continue on to the needed amount of education remains to be seen.

To confront many of these issues, Granite School District has established a Newcomer Academy at the Granite High School for grade 9-12 refugees and immigrants of limited English language capability.

The Academy began in the fall of 2006 with 45 students and many others clamoring to enter. By January 2007 there were 75 students registered at the Academy, 40 of them Hispanic immigrants, 15 of them other immigrants and 20 of them refugees. Students are bussed from their home schools to the Newcomer Academy Center. The intent is “to prepare students to become successful and contributing members of their new society while increasing the academic achievement of newcomers for successful acculturation into mainstream society in a nurturing and supportive environment.” The objectives are to increase English language proficiency and academic achievement, reduce the dropout rate and increase the graduation rate. The process begins with a beginner or pre-emergent level, transcripts, an oral interview with the student and the parents and a home language survey. Classes are offered to help parents learn the education system and support their children in the academic process. Small class sizes are maintained. A diagnostic assessment is done every nine weeks to assess individual progress and determine where the individual students fit among the alternatives available. A half-time social worker is available to counsel the students on issues other than academic matters. The students receive high school credit and can return to the regular high school program when they have arrived at the necessary level of English language capability and acculturation. Most do so after one academic year at the Academy. The intent is to introduce similar programs at a K-8 level when it becomes feasible.

Examples of the possibilities and limitations can be found in the 160 “lost boys” from Sudan who came to Utah as refugees in 2001. They were from the Christian and animist Dinka Tribe from Southern Sudan who had escaped death at the hands of the Muslim rulers from Northern Sudan by walking the long distance to Kenya and spending many years in refugee camps before being rescued and sent to the U.S. and Utah as young men by the process already described. Now, five years later, about 90 of the 160 have advanced substantially in their education, three of them having graduated with bachelor’s degree from the University of Utah in 2006. Those three had completed two years at the Salt Lake Community College before transferring to the university. Several others are still at the Community College, or are enrolled in other institutions of higher education in the state, and intend to continue on to at least bachelor’s degree. One is an art student at the Brigham Young University. But the other approximately 70 have dropped out of school because of lack of funds or the stresses of combining work and education or have simply disappeared from the view of those concerned for their future. Those still on the education track intend to ultimately apply their added knowledge and research capability in bringing peace and productivity to their native land, if ever given the opportunity. Some in other states have even completed Ph.D.s through the combination of their own determination and the encouragement of host families and support of volunteers in those communities.

For the Salt Lake School District, the refugee education responsibility falls primarily upon the Mountain View, Backman, Glendale and Riley elementary and middle schools and West High School. (Mountain View is said to have 20% refugees among its students.) As of October 2006, 716 refugee children were enrolled in these schools, fairly equally distributed among the 12 grades. They came from 43 countries, 415 of them being from Africa, 125 of them Asian, 99 Caucasian, 30 Pacific Islanders, 25 Hispanic and 22 other, and they spoke a total of 52 different languages, To meet the additional costs of educating this population, the district was successful in obtaining a \$115,000 grant from the Department of Workforce Services. The grant was, of course, welcome but insignificant in the context of the district's multi-million dollar annual budget. One additional social worker was hired to circulate among the five schools to train and work with the administrators and teachers in meeting the needs of these students and establishing and maintaining relations with their parents. Refugee needs have been an added motivation for the extended day and summer programs provided by the district

The James E. Moss, Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson Elementary, the Granite Park Middle School and the Cottonwood and Granite High Schools are those most used by refugees in Granite School District. Eleven percent of the Woodrow Wilson student body are refugees. As of October 2005 there were 981 refugee students from 25 countries in Granite School District as shown in Table 6: For these schools, the refugee challenge is a small addition to the overall problem of inadequately prepared youth from immigrant families or from other children and youth from troubled families. For the refugee children and youth, however, their reaction to and success in education will be crucial.

Table 6: Numbers and Country of Origin of Granite School District Refugee Students

Country of Origin	Number of Students	Country of Origin	Number of Students
Afghanistan	40	Liberia	9
Albania	8	Laos	42
Bosnia	318	Nigeria	14
Bulgaria	14	Poland	4
Cambodia	56	Romania	4
Croatia	28	Somalia	92
Cuba	13	Sudan	59

Czechoslovakia	2	Vietnam	190
Ethiopia	9	Yugoslavia	16
Iran	42	Other	4
Iraq	16	Total	980

D. Health Care Needs and Services

A total of 3,185 individual refugees went through health care screening during July 2001-June 2006. Focusing on 2006, of 621 arrivals, one refused health care screening and 12 out-migrated, resulting in health screening being performed on 608 of those, 268 reacted positively to a tuberculosis skin test which does not necessarily prove active tuberculosis. Of those, 254 received a chest x-ray, the other 14 having either delayed further testing because of pregnancy, left the state or refused treatment. Other reportable conditions were:

~353 tested for hepatitis B, 28 positive

~134 tested for hepatitis C, 2 positive

~378 tested for HIV, 3 positive (all 3 known to be positive prior to arrival)

~582 tested for parasites, 73 positive for Giardia (other parasites identified not communicable)

~78 children tested for lead, 12 elevated Blood Lead Levels identified

Also performed at the health screening was a physical examination that includes, at a minimum, examination of the eyes, ears, nose and throat, extremities, heart, lungs, abdomen, lymph nodes, skin and external genitalia, symptoms that suggest cardiovascular, pulmonary, musculoskeletal, psychiatric disorders and communicable diseases (mentioned above). The resettlement agencies were informed of the health screening results and are expected to make referrals to the appropriate health care providers. What happened thereafter is unknown to the state health agency providing the testing. That agency should have the assignment and resources to follow-up to see if appropriate health care is obtained, to see that mental and dental health is included in both testing and service and that subsequent retesting after perhaps a year is undertaken to assure progress. Most of the health care costs can be met by Medicaid eligibility, at least during the first few years of residency until income exceeds eligibility. The primary challenge appears to be bringing to the attention of individuals and families that assistance is available but they must pursue it. A personal and family challenge related to health care appears to be the incidence of pregnancy opposed by the increasingly Americanized women but considered by the men to be their prerogative. All of these are understandable issues of integration into a new and substantially different society. Resources should be available and responsibility clear to assure adequate health care.

IV. Summary and Conclusions

Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore, send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door. (Emma Lazarus, 1883)

In many ways, this is an old and familiar story. With the exception of Native Americans, each of us either has ancestors, or perhaps ourselves, who perceived the “golden door,” came through it and sometimes even expected and were disappointed not to find “streets of gold” on the inside of that door. They or we came as adults, sometimes with children, sometimes having children later. Expectations were rarely fulfilled for the first generation. Life was a struggle here but still better than in the “old country.” Adaptation was still difficult, though not as much so, for those who came as children and youth. But usually the third generation was on track in the new country and, if they bothered to do so, looked back at a door which appeared really to have been golden.

The story was not much different for Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians who had been in service to the U.S. in their home countries and to whom, because of the American involvement in Southeast Asia at the time, most of us felt obligation and provided assistance. The transition was also easier for Eastern Europeans who were from industrialized countries with primarily only language limitations to overcome. Life in the United States was not all that unfamiliar to refugees from Cuba who also had many predecessors here. The story intensified for Iranians, Iraqis and others from the Middle East who had many cultural and religious customs to adapt as well as language and employability obstacles to overcome. It deepened for Africans who, in addition to language, experienced steep cultural as well as economic challenges. In the end, the results will probably be the same down the generational road. The challenge is to ease the transition for those first two generations. But, when all is said and done, they must become self-sustaining. Refugees and immigrants of earlier generations could facilitate the process for those we have invited to join us. There is no reason that recent refugees should not be expected to bear their share of the load—but only their share.

Being refugees rather than immigrants has both advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages lie in the backgrounds from which the refugees come, primarily from the years spent in refugee camps, usually without opportunities for education or transferable work experience. The major advantage lies in having public and private resettlement agencies on hand to receive and house the refugees, see that they are initially fed, provide them access to English language learning opportunities, and then help them search for employment. Advantages are lessened as the resources available to assist refugee integration shrink. Stresses among refugees include lack of English language skills, job and life discrimination, unsatisfactory employment, isolation, lack of difficulties with climate and food, and, often, tensions within the family. A

common pattern is for refugees to experience an initial period of excitement and enthusiasm on arrival which is soon replaced by feelings of distress, loneliness and bewilderment.

A. Toward Realistic Perceptions

All of these are obvious difficulties confronted by refugees and those who seek to assist in their resettlement. The challenge is to recognize those issues and find means to ease the obvious difficulties. Providing adequate resources, enabling organizations to make competent use of those resources, building agency capacity and designing culturally sensitive programs, and clarifying the range of responsibility between agency and individual or family are essential steps in that process. Accomplishing those assignments requires a realistic understanding to the lengths of time involved and the perceptions of those being served. After clarifying those experiences and perceptions, we examine and make recommendations for agency performance and then focus on the services to be provided.

1. An Anthropological Viewpoint

This cultural shock confronting refugees is a familiar pattern to anthropologists.¹⁵ It begins with a transition process. Families are pulled out of their cultural contexts. In the new country, there is an adaptation stage, generally of one week to six months, during which the families are focused on tasks, getting settled, establishing legality, learning lots of “how to’s,” such as how to get a driver’s license, how to rent an apartment, how to use a bank. As they settle, say the anthropologists, they go through a honeymoon period. There is relief from the pressures of war and famine back home. They feel safe and have uplifting experiences. Yet, the families are still in a crisis mode and are dealing with survival. They are putting on their best faces and showing only their best behavior.

That adaptation stage tends to be followed by a six month to two year destabilization stage. The families settle into routine. The children are in school and the adults have found housing and jobs. Then depression arises from feelings of isolation. Nothing is the same as “back home.” Time is handled differently. The friends are gone or different. The food is different. Cultural practices are different. There is a greater risk of negative mental health symptoms. There is also a greater risk of marital problems, an increasing risk of abuse, both domestic violence and substance abuse, and a decreasing sense of personal value. People are searching for their cultural identity and deal with it in either of two ways: they cling to their own culture fanatically, or they feel ashamed of their own culture and try to hide it.

Re-stabilization, the anthropological study continues, occurs in two to seven years. Newcomers are still deciding what to keep from their own culture and what to take from the new one. Some try to hold too tightly to their past. Others abandon their own culture and assimilate excessively into

¹⁵ Ana Morante, “Culture, Assimilation, and Adjustment in Immigrant and Refugee Families,” Family Wellness, April 4, 2004.

the new one. There is a need to be flexible, to deal with the ambiguity of the positives and negatives of the two cultures, to look at both with a critical eye and pick the best features from each.

Final stabilization is said to occur only after seven to ten years. The immigrants and refugees take up their new identities. They have learned that, in order to belong to a culture, they must first belong to themselves. Looking back, they see that the acculturation process can often be painful, especially for the refugees who did not choose to leave their own culture but were forced to depart from it. But by now, after a decade or close to it, they have generally accepted their fate and have become acculturated.

The alleged transition timing may or not be accurately applicable to the Utah scene, but it is illustrative of an obvious process. Accepting that anthropological pattern as the general process, can it be accelerated or softened? Given that the refugees are here and have been put on track to become American citizens, how can the Utah society facilitate the process, ease the challenges of resettlement and facilitate the necessary adjustments and adaptations? Some of the barriers to resettlement are closely related to identifiable gaps in the refugee process. Others are results of social dislocation. Most refugees have to adapt to a new lifestyle and cultural norms that are very different from those to which they were accustomed. While government focuses more on employability, family reunification and ability to understand and speak to be understood are of prime concern to refugees. English language capability remains an important determinant of both labor market participation and social integration. Refugees, most of whom are illiterate in English from the outset of resettlement, are at risk of becoming socially excluded from the mainstream, since the main source of regular social contact with other groups is generally through English. All of that is the responsibility of Utah's communities as well as its newcomers and the government and resettlement agencies assigned to the task. But integration is further constrained by inadequately resourced integration processes and programs.

B. Service Providers

The resources and services of public agencies and private resettlement organizations are essential in easing the transition of refugees to a new country and culture through coordinated support on arrival. All relevant parties should be involved in the design and the delivery of culturally-sensitive programs. But the tasks involved are complicated and difficult and the resources are scarce and capabilities are limited. The results are not always pleasing to the recipients. Those negative reactions, when they occur, are not difficult to understand, considering the refugees' long histories of poverty, their continued language problems, sometimes poor accommodations, at times an apparently culturally insensitive educational system, and often inadequate health care services. That is especially true when viewed in contrast to the high expectations the refugees often bring with them. Difficulty with English language capability often negatively influences appropriate access to health services, education, employment, and everyday

negotiation in shops, postal services and other life essential institutions. Confronted with all of these challenges, refugees sometimes feel that they end up at the bottom of the poverty pile in our society.

A recent survey argued that a major barrier to the resettlement of refugees is the lack of coordination and consultation between the government and service providers, including community organizations.¹⁶ The authors call for a comprehensive policy, empowerment of refugee associations, stressing the need for refugee involvement in decisions concerning service provision and for public education to increase the receptivity of the community to refugees. Service provision to refugees could be substantially improved by developing an integrated strategy to co-ordinate government policy with service delivery across departments and other agencies. The development of an overarching strategy for refugee resettlement, according to these authors, must ensure clear objectives, improve the use of resources and services, and provide accountability, particularly among governments, resettlement agencies and auxiliary servicing organizations.

The present approach to resettlement policy and program design is not always consistent with the principal of equality of life chances. Such policies are not always accessible by all who need them. They may not provide a welcoming environment and culturally appropriate services in a language the refugee can understand. Services are not always offered in an inclusive manner, respectful of, and sensitive to human dignity. Even when offered in that manner, services do not always encourage refugee involvement nor do they necessarily build on the refugees' communication and experiences, resources, skills and capacity. Agency staff frequently lack a common background with the arriving refugees and cannot be knowledgeable about the culture of all of those being served. The staff hiring process does not always allow for team building, favorable working relationships, effective information sharing, making it difficult to provide service delivery accountability to refugees.

Though the expectations of recently arrived refugees may be unrealistic, it is useful to visualize their expectations and disappointments (Appendix II). It is agreed by the Refugee Working Group established by the Utah governor and the Salt Lake County mayor that resettlement strategies need to be comprehensive, well co-coordinated, properly funded and innovative as well as accountable in order to meet the expressed needs of refugees. Yet the Governor's request for a mere \$100,000 to supplement the federal funding of refugee resettlement in the state was ignored by the legislature then in session. The parallel involvement of several state agencies in the refugee resettlement assignment without any identifiable primary responsibility is an open invitation to confusion. Assigning one state agency and agency head with primary overall supervision and direction of the refugee resettlement task involving all of the others should clarify and coordinate the responsibilities more effectively.

¹⁶ See Appendix II.

C. Adequacy of Agency Resources

A primary need is to adequately support the welcoming process as conducted by resettlement agencies. The anthropological perspectives cited may provide realistic perceptions as to how long the process of resettlement can be expected to require. Perceiving the difficulty refugees are likely to have in understanding the system by which they are being served should aid accommodation among the agencies and organizations comprising that system.

Whatever may be said about the quality of agency staff, given their level of pay, the first issue is to assure that there are enough of those staff to meet the challenges of case management. For instance, three case managers from IRC individually prepared housing and furniture for 124 refugee families from 12 countries during 2006. Three and sometimes four case managers from CCS had that assignment during the same year for 97 families. Thus, on an average of nearly once per week but more generally several times in some weeks and none in others, these case managers have met refugee families at the airport, took them to their assigned location, introduced them to the housing and instructed them briefly how to use those facilities. The arriving family should have been provided with 24 hours of food or more and then the case managers left, promising to return the following day. Each family having a variety of languages which the case manager may or may not have spoken, members of the arriving families may have been flustered by the overwhelming experience. Thereafter, it was necessary for each case manager to assist each family to obtain adequate food on a continuing basis, teach them to prepare it, teach them to understand and to use public transportation, get them signed for subsidized housing, arrange for them to participate in English as a Second Language programs, enroll the children in school, and get the adults in touch with the job developers whose task it is to get them employed. Then the case managers should have kept an eye on each family for six months along with all of the other previous families while picking up other new families and adding them to their total responsibilities.

While that was going on at IRC and CCS, four job developers at URECC were assisting 542 individuals to seek other employment, helping 389 or 72% of them to find a total of 501 jobs during that year. Meantime, during that year, one social services coordinator was on potential call from 7,600 individual refugees assigned to URECC for the period from six to 60 months after their arrival and actually provided various social services to nearly 1000 persons from 250 families.

Looking back on that experience, it is not surprising that many of the refugees express dissatisfaction with the services they initially received. Although the agency responsible probably provided the best service they could, considering their resources, settling several hundred new arrivals each year while still serving and guiding several thousand not yet adapted arrivals from previous years is overwhelming for the handful of staff currently available for funding reasons. Whoever provides it,

refugees should have access to guidance from an adequate number of integrating staff of adequate competence to help them with adaptation issues for at least five years after their arrival. Available resources are currently inadequate to meet that need. Responsible resettlement cannot be achieved without adding to the resources available and then seeing to it that those resources are competently used.

D. Refugee Associations

Despite occasional conflicts with service providers, ethnic associations play an essential role in refugee integration. They help to reduce stress and to promote understanding of the new society as well as helping to develop better relations with community members and employers. Refugees most often turn to their respective ethnic associations for emotional, material and financial strength that are critical to the refugees' socio-economic success. These associations based on social relations are obviously an important source of practical help and advice. One role of such networks is to help refugees to look for work or to start businesses. Other roles include acting as interpreters of information provided in English and as translators to other ethnic group members. In sum, while these associations provide refugees with ethnic solidarity, they also provide refugees with valuable social, economic and information resources. The State of Utah does not appear to have facilitated or provided support to these associations to build the capacity of these informal organizations to the degree stipulated by the Human Resource Development Department of the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the State Department. Recognizing the potential of these associations and incorporating them within the resettlement system should ease relationships while facilitating the resettlement process.

E. Mentoring

What is most needed and is almost totally absent in the current system because it is so difficult to obtain is mentoring of refugees by Utah residents manifesting unselfish friendship. Agency staff are overburdened and are unlikely to be totally trusted by their recipients, even if they had the essential time to give attention to need. What is needed in this regard is not monetary resources but time, attention, frankness and manifest and reassuring friendship from people of long experience in the U.S. and Utah, preferably those who are Americans by birth. Many refugees are satisfactorily mentored by members of their national associations who have been longer in residence in this country. However, many refugees do not have the depth of knowledge that is usually only achieved by living long in an area. Churches are another obvious potential source for mentoring. A small proportion of the refugees of recent years have joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints after accepting doctrinal principals being taught by proselyting missionaries representing that church. Attending LDS congregations, these refugees have been befriended by fellow members of long and usually lifetime U.S. residence. Men and women representing

the church visit two by two every member home every month, including refugee members. More casual friendships also emerge, providing warm and unofficial mentoring. Other churches and religious organizations make similar efforts, but the LDS Church membership comprising approximately 70% of the Utah population is the essential example. Developing similar relationships for other refugees, both from their fellow refugees or from long-term American residents of various motivations, is a challenge but would be the best possible tool for refugee integration.

F. Housing

During the inevitable low income years, rent will be a major burden. Nearly every refugee family because of their low income is eligible for public housing and Section 8 housing. Once housed under these programs, families only have to pay 30% of their income in rent. Unfortunately, because of limited funding, the subsidized housing waiting list is approximately two years long. IRC and CCS staff have a policy to and should not neglect to encourage refugee families to sign up immediately at the Salt Lake City, Salt Lake County and West Valley City Housing Authorities and urge those families to keep those applications updated. URECC shares that policy and must continue to urge the updating of those applications and immediate response to any request for confirmation of continuous interest. Staff of the local housing authorities confirm that failure to respond to such requests is a special problem with refugees. Also, as noted earlier, the subsidized rent does not eliminate or reduce the initial rental deposit requirements which is a major obstacle to all Section 8 recipients. URECC, DWS and the Community Action Program seek to assist with meeting that requirement when they have the funds to do so.

In addition to the subsidized rent programs, the Utah Community Development Corporation, Habitat for Humanities, and Salt Lake Neighborhood Housing Services all have home ownership programs for those with low but steady and dependable incomes. Substantial numbers are said to have left Hartland Place for home ownership by these means but no hard data is available. Home ownership is available and affordable for any low income refugee family, as long as that income is regular and dependable. Those agency staff and mentors guiding refugees should explore that possibility and assist in making contact for those with the potential and interest. Again, it is unrealistic to expect the new arrivals with all of their limitations to be able to pursue this cause by themselves without enlightened guidance.

G. English Language Capability

Once initially housed, the next essential requirement is English language capability. Without it, no adult can be either individually or family-supporting in the Salt Lake Valley setting. Nor can children and youth otherwise succeed in Salt Lake Valley schools. ESL training also provides an excellent opportunity to teach at the same time seriously needed knowledge of the community, the culture and the economy at the same time. Several organizations provide ESL training to Spanish speaking immigrants. Deseret

Industries and the LDS Humanitarian Center provide on-the-job ESL training to their employees, many of whom are refugees. The Salt Lake Community College Skill Center and the Utah College of Applied Technology do so for their students, but very few of them are refugees. The combination of Salt Lake and Granite School Districts and URECC's ESL programs is adequate and well-qualified for those refugees able to attend out of their homes and in the daytime.

The school districts do not offer evening ESL programs and URECC cancelled its evening ESL program for lack of funding. That is a serious obstacle for those still needing further ESL training while holding day time jobs. At least one of the ESL programs should be readily available in a convenient location during the evenings. There is also a great need to bring ESL into the home or neighborhood for those with childcare responsibilities. The efforts of the University Neighborhood Partners under way at Hartland Place for residents there and those of the English Skills Learning Center which recruits and trains inevitably limited numbers of volunteers to teach ESL in refugee and immigrant homes are prime examples of what is universally needed. The obstacle is simply inadequate funding. All of these ESL programs, of course, are designed to meet adult need, primarily to promote employability but also to broaden community understanding and contacts. School level ESL needs are addressed below in the education section.

H. Employment

In the United States, employment is generally the only source of adequate family sustenance. Family-sustaining earnings can be accomplished by either multiple earners per household, multiple jobs per earner, or by an earner of substantial skills and education. As noted earlier, the target should be at least one-half the state's median household income, \$27,000 per year—full-time full-year at \$13.50 an hour for one earner, less for more earners and hours. It is a simple fact of the Utah economy that such a level of earnings is available to only those with substantial postsecondary education or skill training as noted earlier. Few refugees will be found to have that level of skill, even when language limitations are overcome. Income is immediately essential upon arrival and, along with the temporary and limited potential of FEP, Refugee Grant Assistance and other public assistance sources, as many members as possible of the refugee family need to be immediately employed at the best earnings they are able to obtain. But at least one potential earner and preferably more will need to be immediately immersed in some kind of education or skill training program to reach as rapidly as possible the capability of a family-sustaining income.

The Match Grant Program is apparently an effective means for getting the most capable of the refugees on track for family-sustaining earnings. On-the-job training, including apprenticeship, will be the most effective means of skill attainment for adult refugees to the extent it can be obtained for them. But

that is totally within the control of employers who are highly selective in their choices of recipients. For most older and less educated adult refugees, the most effective avenues are likely to be technical training from the Utah Colleges of Applied Technology, the Skill Center of the Salt Lake Community College or some of the private propriety schools in the valley. Examples are obtaining a commercial drivers license for truck or bus driving jobs, a career ladder approach such as moving from certified nurses assistant to licensed practical nurse and possibly ultimately to a registered nurse. Other medical technician opportunities, automobile and diesel mechanics, or various computer-related training would also lend themselves to initial employment while continuing training. Those adults with more previous education, those without families to support and the younger refugees can target more advanced education.

There are ample sources of such training in the Salt Lake Valley and, at least at present, ample employment opportunities for those who undertake and complete the required preparation. There is also ample funding through the Workforce Investment Act and Pell Grants to provide the needed tuition for low income residents. The LDS Deseret Industries and Humanitarian Center which are the most frequent employers of refugees in the Salt Lake Valley also provide tuition to enable their employees to increase their skills and employability. However, their periods of employment are relatively brief and may be fully absorbed in ESL training which is provided on-site. Combining full-time employment and substantial additional time in education and training while still meeting family responsibilities is an imposing burden. But some such combination, encouraged and aided by other family members or external mentors, is essential to successful resettlement.

I. Education

With adult family members on track for family-sustaining earnings, family attention can focus on educational preparation for the next generation. Salt Lake Valley schools struggle with the education of those from families with limited resources and limited English language capability. In those categories, refugee children and youth have substantial company from children of immigrant families from other parts of the world.

Adjusting to school is one of the most difficult experiences for young refugees. They are often marginalized through lack of English fluency, insecurity, self-consciousness, and feeling different, including having their differences cited by well-meaning teachers. Refugee children often have difficulty interacting with other students due to cultural barriers, religion, and behavioral expectations. Boys and young men among the refugees who come from male dominate societies often demonstrate combativeness and anti-feminism toward teachers as well as students. Teachers sometimes contribute to the problem by

displaying a lack of cultural knowledge as well as a lack of understanding of refugee experiences and of the special learning needs of refugee students. Yet all of those difficulties must be overcome and the refugee children must complete substantial post-secondary education and training if they as the next generation are to have family-sustaining earnings.

A major problem of teachers in the United States and especially in Utah is low pay and low prestige. Adding the special needs of refugees to their already overloaded classrooms is sometimes seen as adding insult to injury. Greater effort is needed in training teachers to develop culturally and age-appropriate measures of teaching. Fostering pluralism and diversity within the structure of schools, school policies and teaching practices is essential. So also are effective communication channels, induction processes, leadership, knowledge of refugee culture and community, and professional development of teachers to ensure that teachers are receptive and supportive to initiatives for teaching refugee students. Higher salaries or bonuses should be added for teachers in schools where the student body is characterized by special problems, therefore attracting the best teachers to those problem schools. Such teacher competence should be particularly useful in the prevention of learning difficulties and successful integration of refugee students into the schools of the community.

J. Health Care

As noted earlier, all refugees receive a health screening, the results of which are referred to the resettlement agencies with which they are involved at the time. Those agencies are then expected to refer those in need of it for further medical care to be paid for by Medicaid or, in the case of children from slightly higher income families, the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP). How many are appropriately treated for any ills discovered at entry or emerging later is unknown. Refugees are in the unique situation that almost all of them are eligible for these publicly financed health care programs. The primary question is whether they take adequate advantage of what is available to them. Follow-up health examinations should be provided to identify persistent maladies and determine that treatment is occurring. Many refugees then need the guidance of agency case managers or of friends and mentors to help them be aware of their health care needs and how to get those cared for.

V. Recommendations

Critical needs and recommendations, therefore, are:

- Assign one state agency, advised by a policy board, to oversee the coordination of all state agencies and private organizations involved in refugee resettlement to see that the highest possible quality of service is provided by and to all

- Provide sufficient state funding to enable IRC, CCS and URECC to have adequate case managers and other staff to meet the requirements of the current and potential numbers of refugees in becoming housed, taught English, employed, and integrated into the community. Then see that the staff are adequately trained and supervised to contribute to the accomplishment of the following which should be primary objectives of all concerned with the well-being of the refugee community:
- See that English as a second language instruction is available in the home or elsewhere accessible for those providing child care and at accessible times for those employed and urge all to prepare themselves adequately in that regard
- Find immediately sufficient employment for enough numbers of family members to provide at least temporary adequate family income to meet all survival needs
- Arrange for those responsible for family support over the long run to obtain sufficient education and skill training to achieve family-sustaining earnings
- Urge initiation and maintenance of applications for Section 8 and public housing and urge exploration of home ownership possibilities at relevant times
- Work closely with school districts to assure adequate education for children and youth and preparation for continuance into postsecondary education
- Follow up and urge access to needed health care through public programs. Repeat examinations periodically to determine if adequate treatment is occurring
- Encourage refugee associations to pursue the well-being of their refugee members, and listen to their messages as they do
- Explore potential mentorship sources and urge community organizations to make personal and loving mentoring available
- Expect refugee adults to use all of their existing capabilities and develop further capabilities to adequately support their families. Expect refugee children and youth to prepare themselves adequately to support following generations.
- For all of these purposes, see to it that adequate state and private resources are added to the available federal resources to get the job done.

Resettlement strategies need to be comprehensive, well co-coordinated, properly funded and innovative. They need to involve refugees themselves at every stage to ensure that expressed needs are met. They should extend into the host community in recognition of the fact that integration is a two-way process, and requires engagement, understanding and generosity on the part of the host community as well as learning and adaptation by refugees and their representatives. The needs appear to be particularly great

in the provision of language and education classes, the availability of appropriate and competent interpreters and access to social services, particularly education. When all is said and done, it is the responsibility of the refugee to take advantage of all of the resources and opportunities provided. But few can do it without help, at least initially.

This study reveals a refugee community that has continued to struggle to meet daily challenges and to learn how to live, work and prosper in their new home. This work demonstrates that the barriers to successful resettlement are strong. Some of the barriers are closely related to inability to meet refugee needs; others are related to attitudes and behaviors of so many of all backgrounds. What has been deduced from an examination of the refugee community and literature shows a population in various stages of struggle and the state's responding support system laboring to handle challenges posed by the newest arrivals. Conditions have not met expectations. Life is better than it was but not all that was expected. That reality must be learned and accepted by refugees who must become self-reliant to the full extent of their potential capability. There must also be realistic opportunities to which they must adequately respond.

A major issue is that so many refugee families are female-headed—job seekers who are both limited in their employability and overburdened by childcare needs. Other respondents complain that job-search agencies do not provide adequate services for educated refugees to take advantage of their superior preparation. That complaint deserves further examination. Refugees are sometimes reluctant to persist through the official channels which are often perceived as too bureaucratic and to consist of “endless useless form-filling.” But that is a reality of modern life.

As of now, Utah does not have a well-integrated resettlement strategy for refugees generally, which has the capacity to deliver solutions to essential needs. Priority should be addressed to English language training in convenient circumstances, initial employment at survivable income followed by skill training programs leading to increased earning capacity, and effective mentoring to see that these and other essential needs are met. We cannot change their history that brought them the label of refugees. However, our society can do a great deal to change their employment prospects, their education, their children's education, and their struggle to deal with everyday life in situations of poverty. The door can be kept open to the ultimate establishment of what they assumed would be normal life in their new home. It is their responsibility to take advantage of all of the opportunities provided. It is the responsibility of the rest of us to make certain those opportunities are adequate and accessible.

In sum, we come to the conclusion that Utah's refugee service provisions could be substantially improved by developing centrally-based policy, planning and information gathering. Resettlement services, whether formal or informal, are in turn only one factor in determining the success of refugee

integration. Institutions, such as schools, faith-based organizations, individuals and communities, government departments, legislators and the media all play a key role in integration, but success depends on their relationship to the refugees. If existing relationships make refugees feel helpless, hopeless, threatened or not wanted, then integration is made more difficult or even impossible. On the other hand, if refugees do not take advantage of every opportunity offered, they cannot hope and expect to find theirs or their families' ways to a better life.

In the realm of refugee policy, current gaps suggest that a call for substantial reforms is in order. In that regard, the examination of refugee status by the working group established at the end of 2006 by Governor Jon Huntsman and Salt Lake County Mayor Peter Corroon is most welcome. Hopefully that entity will exchange and share information on what has worked well and what has not, develop new initiatives and find means for the closing of gaps that will give refugees a sense of belonging. The advantage of such a body is its ability to ensure transparency in funding and accountability in terms of resettlement services to be effective and to see that refugee issues are included on relevant agendas. That entity should be especially persuasive in recommending the assignment of primary responsibility of leadership among state agencies.

With encouragement and preparation, and adequate efforts by the refugees, the entry door can prove to have been golden. Considering the continual refugee stream, we can, in good conscience, do no less.

Appendix I: Data Tables and Charts
(contact authors for tables and charts)

Appendix II: Refugee Interviews

Interested students from the David O. McKay College of Education at Brigham Young University interviewed more than fifty refugee families in the Salt Lake Valley during 2006. Their research methodology consisted of semi-structured interviews, in which the researchers and the participants worked together to arrive at common interests. The logic of the questionnaires and their relationship to the refugees' experiences meant that they were covered naturally, with minimal prodding from the interviewers. All interviews were tape recorded and coded. As a first step in the interview process, each participant was visited numerous times by the researchers to obtain the interviewee's subjective representations to the questions without prodding from the researcher. This enabled the interview to be participant driven, with the researcher only having to set the stage. Interviewees generally expressed positive feelings towards the process at the conclusion of the interview. The authors are grateful to the McKay School of Education of Brigham Young University for compensation of the student interviewers. The interviews are differentiated by country of origin:

Somalis

One Somali family came to Utah in 2000 after five years in a refugee camp in Kenya. The husband and father was 30 in 2006, the wife and mother 24, with two children brought with them and two born here. The husband had a few years of elementary schooling in Africa and learned limited English. The wife had no schooling and no English but was attending ESL classes at Horizonte. The husband was not, citing inadequate time to do so. They recounted being assisted for the first six months with food stamps, medical care, a bus pass and free rent. She recounted having worked at a Deseret Industries store for a year at \$5.25 and at WearHouse for a short time at \$7.00 but was no longer working. He had worked for the Red Cross in Kenya and, after six months here, became employed in a mail room for \$8.50 an hour. Since rent is \$730, utilities \$180 and food \$500 a month, they are barely getting by. He would like to get more education to improve his earning capacity but does not see that as a realistic possibility but hopes that it will be a reality for their children. Life is hard here, they say, but better than in Africa.

Another Somali couple, after 13 years in Kenya, came to Utah in 2005 with four children, a fifth having been born since their arrival here. For six months they received \$500 to \$600 in food stamps, free medical care, bus passes and \$500 a month which they say is for a sick daughter. The other benefits have stopped but they still receive the child benefit. Since two of the children are ill and one is only six months old, the mother does not work but cares for them. The father received a minimum amount of schooling in Kenya but the mother has never gone to school. He is currently pursuing English as a second language but no other schooling. He works at Deseret Industries at a wage which he states as \$5.00 an hour but is more likely around \$7.00. With rent at \$700, utilities at \$150 and food costing \$300 to \$500, they have fallen

behind \$900 on their utility bills and do not know how they will ever catch up. Life is difficult here, though better than where they came from.

A now 42 year old left Somalia for Kenya in 1992 with his parents, his wife and two children because of the tribal fighting then extensive in Somalia. Two more children were born in Kenya. He, his wife and the two youngest children came to the United States and Utah in 2004. His parents, a 19 year old son and a 16 year old daughter remain in Kenya. Upon arrival on Utah, this family was assisted by the International Rescue Committee. It was convenient that their first case worker was a Somali but he was assigned to them only for the first week. During the first three months, they report having received food stamps, \$777 in cash, a bus pass and free medical care. Thereafter, they continued to receive \$600 in food stamps and \$400 for their small children, possibly through FEP-TP. He reports having worked at Deseret Industries for three months at \$5.15 an hour. He then obtained another job at \$7 but left because it was too far away. He had a temporary job at \$8 an hour for two months but has not been employed since. His wife continues to work at Deseret Industries but will soon complete a year there and expects to be let go. She wants to stay at home and would like to go to school so he will have to get another job. Their rent is \$615 a month along with heat which was \$348.45 for the previous two months and \$17 for electricity. They are also supposed to be paying for their plane fare and she is in need of medication. He is glad they came and his children in Kenya would very much like to join them. However, he feels that promises to them were never fulfilled. He reports that they were promised five years of assistance but received only three months and were promised schooling and a good job which never happened. He has never been to school and has learned very little English so his employability is limited.

Another couple, ages 63 and 57, are Somalis who spent five years in Kenya before coming to Utah in September 2005. They were served by Catholic Community Services and attended ESL classes at the Asian Association. They received food stamps, bus passes and free medical care initially but not recently. The wife is employed at Deseret Industries at \$5.50 an hour where she has worked for seven of the nine months prior to the interview but he cannot work because of his health. Her earnings are inadequate to pay their rent and other costs of living. They left 10 children in Kenya, five boys and five girls to whom they attempt to send financial help. They had been happy to come to America but no longer are. However, they have no choice but to stay and adapt.

A 30 year old Somali—nephew of the older couple--also spent five years in Kenya before coming to Utah in 2000 with his wife and two children, two more having been born since. He had some schooling in Somalia but his wife had none. He had also worked for the Kenyan Red Cross, had some hospital work experience and had learned some English. They were assisted by the International Rescue Committee for the first six months with food stamps, medical care, a bus pass and rent but, he says, no “pocket money.”

He now works nights in a mail room (or for the post office—it wasn't clear which) at \$8.50 an hour, a job which he found after six months. His wife went to Horizonte for ESL and worked for Deseret Industries for a year at \$5.25 an hour and then temporarily at WearHouse for \$7.00 but no longer works. With \$730 a month rent, \$180 utilities, and \$500 for food they are surviving but barely. He sees the need for more education but does not think he can do that and work.

A Somali family of seven, one of whom was born here, have been in Utah 18 months after 13 years in Kenya. (Since she is 25 now and he 29, they must have gone to Kenya as children and married there). Neither she nor her husband speak English but both are participating in ESL. They were helped by IRC during their early months but never had much help from their case worker. Initially, they received \$500 or \$600 in food stamps and \$500 for a sick daughter, the latter of which they still receive, the rest having stopped after five months. Her husband works at Deseret Industries, she says at \$5.00 an hour though it is obviously more, while she cares for the five children, ages 1-8, two of whom are one mentally disabled. They face rent of \$700 and utilities of \$150 plus \$300 to \$500 for food and are behind on their payment of utilities. He would like a second job and schooling. They are glad they came but feel that life is far more difficult here than they were led to expect.

Another Somali, 42 years old, came to Utah in 2004 with his wife and seven children after 14 years in Kenya. They were assisted by Catholic Community Services and initially received used furniture, food stamps, medical care, bus passes, rent and some cash for the first seven months. He worked for 14 months at \$10 an hour in a meat packing plant, then quit because of the cold. He had worked in housing construction in Kenya and now works for a wood working business here at \$8.00. His wife worked for Deseret Industries for seven months, then quit to take care of the children. He reports that, after two years here, only the oldest son who just graduated from high school speaks English, though obviously the other children in school must be doing so as well. His income is inadequate to support his family, specifying car insurance and his inability to pay for the circumcision of his sons as his greatest worries. Still he is glad they came to save his children from poverty, hunger and illiteracy.

A Somali woman, now 30 years old, came to Utah in 2004 with six children and one month pregnant while her husband remained in Kenya where they had lived for 13 years. They were initially assisted by CCS, receiving used furniture, \$788 per month in food stamps, rent of \$725 a month, medical care and a bus pass, but that has all ceased. She has never had cash for such items as diapers for her baby. She worked at Deseret Industries for five months but was ill with headaches and infection and was told by her doctor to cease work and stay home. She says she currently has no source of income, though she should be eligible for FEP. She has applied for Section 8 and public housing but has not yet received approval. She is being helped by her brother and other Somalis but is falling far behind in her debts

That Somali woman's older brother, also here, does not know his own age. Farmers in Somalia, they went to Kenya to escape civil war and stayed 13 years. He also came to Utah in 2004 with a wife and four children and was assisted by IRC. They received used furniture, \$750 in food stamps, \$690 in cash and free medical care, bus passes and rent for the first eight months. He attended ESL at the Asian Council for a month and his wife continues there. After three months here, he obtained a job at Deseret Industries for eight months, he says at \$5.00 an hour, though it was obviously more. He then washed dishes in a restaurant for \$6.00 an hour and now works in a fine food restaurant at \$8.50 from 3 a.m to 7:30 a.m. after which he takes the children to school. His wife worked for Deseret Industries for 18 months, again reportedly at \$5 an hour and then quit to have a baby. They still receive food stamps, though reduced to \$470 a month and have found housing at \$200 [perhaps through public housing or Section 8] He would like to go to school but says he cannot because of his work. He is glad they came and would be afraid to go home.

A 25 year-old man came to the United States from Somalia, having won a lottery which provided a visa, allowing him to follow his parents, three sisters and two brothers, the siblings all younger than he. After leaving Somalia, the family spent a year in Yemen followed by two years in Jordan, coming to Utah in 2001. His father, who had been a medical doctor and hospital administrator in Somalia, was hit in the head by a rock while working on construction in Jordan. As a result, his 62 year old father died shortly after arriving in the United States. The family, except for the 25 year-old, was originally served by Catholic Community Services but was transferred to the Asian Council after six months. They initially received \$800 per month in food stamps, \$700 a month in cash assistance, bus passes and free medical care, but that ended after eight months. Since that time, the family has struggled to be independent. His mother who is now 50 and his 24, 20, and 14 year old sisters and his 18 and 10 year old brothers knew no English when they arrived, though he did as a result of six grades of schooling in Somalia and one more in a private school in Yemen. He and the oldest of his sisters (who had four years of school in Somalia) are the only ones who have been employed since their arrival here. She works as a housekeeper in a hotel for \$7 an hour. He worked first in a gasoline station for \$7 and then in the post office at \$8.50. He now earns \$9.50 an hour working in industrial relations quality control for a business firm. That has been possible because of his English language facility and because he has been attending the Salt Lake Community College from which he will graduate with an associate degree in 2007. The two oldest of his sisters are also SLCC students whereas the remainder of his siblings are still in the public schools.

The 34 year-old mother in a nine-person Somali family reports that they spent 14 years in Kenya before coming to the U.S. and to Utah seven months ago. Her husband is 36 and they have seven children from 12 years down to seven months. None of them has any schooling or work experience and none of

them speak English well. They are assigned by Catholic Community Services to a Spanish-speaking caseworker with whom they cannot communicate. They complain that they telephone CCS but get only an answering machine and never get a return call. Her husband works at \$8 an hour for 36 hours a week but that is not enough to pay their rent and meet their other needs. She says she cannot work because she has to care for the children. She complains that they cannot wash their clothes because they have no washing machine. She has not washed their bedding during their seven months here because she cannot afford soap. She wishes they were back in Africa. "Bullets were flying but no one told me to leave my seven children and go to work."

An 18 year old from Mogadishu, Somali spent four months in Ethiopia and six years in Kenya with his mother, six brothers and two sisters with his father dying along the way before arriving in Utah in 2004. They were assisted by IRC, receiving food stamps, bus passes, medical care and child care. His 42 year old mother is the only one in the family who works, earning \$7.50 an hour as a housekeeper. They had learned some English in Kenya and were helped greatly by a case manager from Sudan. All of his siblings are in school. He hopes to be both a soccer player and a doctor and thinks that all is going well.

A 20 year old Somali young man is from a family of two parents, nine brothers and two sisters. They left Somalia when he was four, living in South Africa briefly and Kenya for five years before coming to California in 1996 and Utah in 2002. Only one member of the family spoke English when they came to California. They went through all of the service agency assistance in California before being attracted to Utah by a brother and an uncle who were resident here. Therefore, they were given no further assistance when they arrived in Utah. However, enough of them have jobs at hourly wages ranging between \$7.30 to \$9.40 to get by. He is in his first year of college and expects to be followed by his siblings as the only route to prosperity.

A 22 year old is the oldest of six boys and three girls who, with their parents, came to Utah in 2005 after fleeing Somalia and spending 15 years in Kenya. He has other brothers in Minnesota and Canada. They found the Catholic Community Services case manager from Zaire to be especially helpful. They were assisted for three months with food stamps, bus passes and free medical help. Then he got a job at \$11 an hour and then became a teacher's aide in an elementary school where he is paid \$20 an hour. He is also attending Salt Lake Community College where he hopes to take nursing and ultimately become a medical doctor. Though he is the only one working in the family while the other children are in various levels of schooling, he feels that the family is doing well and is relieved to be in the United States.

A 14 year old boy who is the oldest of six siblings in a two-parent Somali family which came to Utah in 2005 after 13 years in a refugee camp in Kenya is not so positive. He complains that the provisions of food stamps, bus passes, medical care and rent from CCS for the first three months was

inadequate and the Spanish-speaking case worker was no help. The \$5.00 an hour he says his mother earns at Deseret Industries combined with the \$6.50 an hour that his father receives at a food market is not adequate to meet their living costs. He likes America but says his mother would rather go back to Somalia where it is not cold in the winter and they would not have to pay so much for housing and other living costs.

Another two-parent, eight children family which arrived from Somalia in 2005 after 15 years in Kenya is struggling because only the father is working and in a low wage job which does not compare well with his employment as a shop keeper in Kenya. They all speak little English but complain that they were helped for seven months and then left on their own. .

A 42 year old Somalian with a wife and two children spent five years in Kenya before coming to Arizona in 1997 and Utah in 1999. When he had been healthy he was a grocer but was injured with broken legs from soccer and now is a dishwasher in a hotel.

Another 28 year old Somali mother of six children between 10 years and 4 months old had spent 12 years as refugees in Kenya before coming here in 2005. Though there had been schools in the Kenyan refugee camp, they did not attend because they had to spend their time obtaining food. She knew no English when she came and has not had a job since coming here. CCS assisted them here for three months. She had a difficult time understanding them because there were no Somali case workers among the CCS staff. She says it is “like hell” here—no job, no money, no English. At least in the refugee camp they had food and a home, even if it was a tent. But at least there are no bullets here. She wants to go to school to become a nurse. She wishes they could go to Canada because she understands the schools are free there.

A 24 year old Somali is apparently single and lives with nine others in an apartment. He spent 15 years in Kenya, worked there as a medical lab technician and learned English there. He had been in Utah four months, coming in 2005. He complains that, though they get food stamps and food, they have no money and can't get things like laundry soap or hair shampoo. He complains that CCS and its caseworkers close their ears and don't respond. He has had only temporary work and doesn't feel like CCS helps him look for work. “We struggle like in Africa from one hell to another.” He has made \$6 and \$6.50 an hour in temporary employment. He has contacted the University of Utah hospital for work but they say they have nothing for him. His certificate is not recognized here and it would take six months of schooling which he has no money to pay for to renew his certificate here. He wishes he could go to Europe.

A young woman, age 22, is one of an eleven member Somali family, a father 52, a mother 42, seven daughters and two sons. She as the oldest, is married and living in Arizona but was visiting the

family in Salt Lake City. A farm family in Somalia, they left because of the violence and spent 13 years in Kenya before coming to Utah in 2005. All are in good health except the father. The youngest five of the nine children were born in Kenya. As the oldest child, she had finished high school in Kenya. Others had attended but not finished. Upon arrival in Salt Lake City and with assistance from IRC, during the first three months, they received food stamps, \$300 in cash, beds and clothing, a bus pass and medical services. She was the first to go to work after two months. She had learned English in Kenya and had worked there as an education supervisor but she attended Horizonte upon arrival here for further English. She worked seven months for the Salt Lake School District as a translator at \$9 an hour before she got married and moved to Arizona. Her father who had been a health care worker in Kenya also obtained a translator's job at the Salt Lake School District but only for 2 ½ hours a day, only during the school year, and is in ill health. As a result, two sisters who are currently working as house keepers at \$7 an hour are the primary supporters of the large family. Given the alternatives, they were fortunate to come to the U.S. but she wishes the two working sisters could get more schooling and her father more work and better earnings.

A 25 year old Somali wife and mother, had also escaped to Kenya for five years where they rented a house rather than living in a refugee camp. He husband came to Utah in 2001 and she followed in 2003. They were assisted by CCS and found the Sudanese case worker from there very helpful. Her husband had received the cash, food stamps and free medication when he arrived alone and soon found employment. He worked for a number of employers including a car rental and is now a taxi driver. She worked as a stocker in Kenya and also had a small grocery market. Upon her arrival here, the Asian Council helped her find a job at WallMart at \$9 an hour which she continued for three years until she had her second baby. They have a well-furnished apartment and an automobile and seem to be doing well. She would prefer life in Africa if there was peace there but she is pleased with the peace and safety here.

A 17 year old girl from Somali has a 64 year old father who is blind. Her mother has to stay home to care for other small children so her 21 year old brother is the only one in the family who works. He earns \$12 an hour as a school translator. She hopes to get further schooling as the key to success here. She feels that they are getting by without excessive difficulty.

A 26 year-old woman had a good life in Somalia until the government fell apart and people started killing and raping each other. Her family escaped to Kenya in 1992 and came to America in 2005. By that time she was married and, with her husband, had five children. They came to Chicago first where they were well taken care of by Catholic Community Services. They were given food stamps, cash and six months of free rent. The help stopped at six months. Her husband had friends in Salt Lake City who said things were better here so they came but found that was not true. The Asian Association has helped them during the 11 months they have been here. They were given five beds and have food stamps, bus passes

and medical assistance but no cash. They need diapers, soap and other items which they can't afford. Neither she nor her husband went to school in Kenya and they could not speak English when they came to America. Some of their children are now in school. They have day care for the others so she can go to school where she has been for seven months. However, this is their last month of day care so she will have to stop school. Her husband has not gone to school here because he has had to work. He worked for an ice cream company for \$8 an hour but it closed. Now he works for a car rental and makes about \$150 a week. However, their rent is \$780 plus utilities, food, clothes, car expenses and they are also supposed to be paying back \$800 apiece for air fare. All of this comes to about \$3000 a month and his \$150 a week doesn't come near to covering it. They have applied for housing assistance but were told they would have to wait a year. They were treated much better in Chicago. If they couldn't pay the rent there it was paid for them. Now when they are late paying they are charged an extra \$30 and are told if they don't pay they will be evicted.

Sudanese

This is one of the 160 Sudanese "Dinka lost boys" now in Utah. His family lived a nomadic and subsistence life, cultivating and growing their own food and herding cattle. Other members of his family were killed and he as a boy of about eight to ten years of age escaped to Ethiopia for four years and then to Kenya for nine years in refugee camps. He came to Utah in 2001 when he was 22 or 23 years old and now assumes himself to be about 27. He had no schooling until Kenya where he considers that he received the rudiments of a high school education. In addition to his native Dinka language, he learned Swahili, Arabic and English in the refugee camps. He lives with other Dinka boys as roommates. Initially assisted by IRC, he received food stamps for two months and rent for one month on his arrival, but those ceased when he obtained employment. He has worked at Western Nut for four years starting at \$7 an hour and is now paid \$9 an hour which is sufficient for him to support himself and an automobile. He has completed an associate's degree at the Salt Lake Community College and is continuing as a junior at Westminster College. He plans on obtaining American citizenship and then might go back to Sudan to see if he can be of help.

Another 25 year old Dinka remembers living in a village cattle camp in Sudan which was attacked by government troops when he was 7, forcing him to leave the country to escape. He spent 14 years in a refugee camp in Kenya before coming to Utah in 2001 where he was initially helped by IRC. He has had other refugees as roommates including cousins during his stay here. He had a difficult time learning the community, bus system, filling out applications, etc., but went to Horizonte where he learned English and graduated from high school. The lost boys were supposed to be helped for the first six to eight months by IRC and CCS but they had difficulty communicating with their case managers. Therefore, most of them

found their own first jobs, but they were single and only had themselves to take care of. He received food stamps for two months and then obtained a job at the airport at \$6 an hour. He went to the Community College, obtained an associate's degree, became a case manager for IRC, a position that working for UNICEF in the Kenyan refugee camps helped him prepare for. He is now pursuing a bachelor's degree at the University of Utah after which he intends to pursue an MSW.

Another Dinka lost boy from Sudan thinks his age is 25. He had lived there with a maternal uncle who was a soldier. He does not remember how old he was when he had to escape from their Muslim persecutors but knows that he was very young. He spent four or five years in Ethiopia and nine years in Kenya. He came to Utah in 2001 with five other Dinkas, all of them assisted by the International Rescue Committee. They were housed in Hartland Place and each was given \$75 in food stamps, \$200 in cash, a bus pass and free medical care for three months, along with housing, furniture and clothing. He had never gone to school but had learned English in the refugee camp in Kenya. He spent 12 days in ESL at Horizonte but left because he found it difficult. He found employment at UPS during his second month at \$8.50 an hour for six months but left because it was too strenuous. He worked at an alternative job for \$7.50 for four years, returned to Kenya for three months and returned to the same employer at \$8.45. He later moved to another employer at \$9.30 where he is currently employed at \$11.50 an hour while also attending the Salt Lake Community College. He is happy here, even though he finds his income inadequate because he earns too much to receive a Pell Grant to pay for his education, yet is sending some of his money to his wife and brother back in Kenya.

A 27 and a 26 year old live with three other Sudanese "lost boys." They stayed four years in Ethiopia and nine years in Kenya before coming to Utah in 2001. They had some elementary education in Ethiopia and Kenya and could speak a little English upon arrival here. One left a family including a wife in Kenya. They were helped by IRC and CCS for six to eight months and received food stamps, bus passes, medical care, a little cash and help in finding a job. Their arrival was timely. They did not like the jobs obtained for them by the agencies but the Olympics were on and jobs were plentiful. One worked for the Olympic games for \$7.50 an hour and Smith's for \$5.60. He worked for Huish making soap for 3 1/2 years for \$8 but was fired for reading a book on the job. He had no difficulty finding other employment and now works for Microtext for \$9. He sends money to his family in Africa as well as meeting his own needs. He is in his second year at the Salt Lake Community College and will soon finish an associate's degree. The other young man worked first for Western Nut and then the Delta Center and is now back at Western Nut at \$8 an hour. He has not gone to school here but is planning to begin at the Community College. They have been well satisfied with their life here, though they would like more financial help with school and one would like to bring his wife and family here.

Another Dinka age 24 had lived briefly in Ethiopia and a longer time in Kenya before coming to the United States and Utah in 2001 with assistance from CCS. He had learned a little English in Kenya. He received food stamps and a small amount of cash for two months and struggled on a \$5.15 an hour job but did better after finding another at \$8.50. He had expected things to be free in America but is happy now that he is earning \$11 an hour. He is now a permanent resident and plans to seek citizenship. He has not gone to school here so far but plans to do so in the future.

A few of the Dinkas had acquired families before coming to the United States. A young woman from Eritrea met her Sudanese husband in Ethiopia where she had come to assist her father who was in business there. Her husband had been in Ethiopia for eight years before they were married and they stayed for two years after their marriage. The Sudanese were subsequently required to leave Ethiopia. Her husband went to Egypt where she joined him after a year. They stayed nine months in Egypt and then returned to Sudan, back to Ethiopia and then back to Egypt. They were given some help by the United Nations and her family sent them money but there was neither help for refugees nor adequate employment in Egypt. In 2000, they had the opportunity to come to the U.S. and to Utah where they were assisted by IRC. When they arrived it was snowing and cold. They were placed in Eagles Landing with no furniture or food for two days. Then a case worker came with beds and no other furniture. The case worker went to Smith's to buy them food but the milk had on it a date which was passed so they threw it away. They received food stamps after a month had passed. They took the food stamps to a restaurant to buy a meal but found it could not be used for that purpose. They were given medical care but no bus passes or cash. Both had completed high school and spoke some English. She attended Horizonte for ESL and computer classes for a time but was pregnant and did not have a bus pass so she stopped. Her husband found a night job at \$9 an hour which he left because, with his wife pregnant, he wanted to be home at night. He then moved to a day job at \$10 which he left because they would not give him the day off when he was ill. He attended Salt Lake Community College for a time, intending to major in mechanical design but stopped because his work, now as a taxi driver, does not give him time. She would like to attend school to become a pediatrician but enjoys being home with their six year old daughter and infant son. They are now U.S. citizens, have their apartment under Section 8 so pay 30% of their income (which she is unable to estimate) for rent, and have brought his parents to this country. She has also visited her own family who are now in Italy. Though she still feels they were misled and mistreated when they first arrived, she feels that all has turned out well for them.

And not all of the Sudanese are male. A 43 year old woman from Southern Sudan has a husband, three daughters and one son. They went to Egypt for a year because of the strife in Sudan and then came to Utah in 2001. She knows very little English, though both she and her husband have participated in ESL

at Horizonte. They were assisted here initially by IRC. They received food stamps and other benefits before obtaining employment. Her husband had worked for UNICEF before coming to the U.S. He now drives a truck. She started at Deseret Industries at \$5.50 an hour but now works at the airport for \$9.44. She would like to get more education and also would like to revisit her own country but is satisfied here.

A 57 year old woman followed a different pattern. She is originally from Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. She is northern Sudanese and Muslim and does not get along well with other Sudanese. She has a husband, 65, daughters 24, 23, 20 and 15 and sons 33 and 21. The oldest son and daughter have university educations, are now married and no longer living with the family. They left Sudan because of the war, spent a year in Egypt and came to the U.S. and Utah in 2003. She has limited English but the rest of the family are fluent. Their Iraqi case worker has been helpful. Her husband and oldest son had been in the U.S. before and her children have all learned well in school. Her husband had been a teacher and office worker in Sudan, but is now retired because of his health. The second son is supporting the family as a taxi driver, despite having a bachelor's degree in architecture, after working at two other jobs at \$7 an hour. The other children are in school but the family is struggling.

A 43 year old Sudanese woman, with her husband and four children, after escaping from Sudan, also spent a year in Egypt before coming to the U.S. and Utah where they have been for more than five years. They were assigned to IRC whose services she does not feel to have been adequate and she felt were biased against Africans. She and her husband both attended the ESL program at Horizonte but quit because of their employment. She worked at Deseret Industries for six months at \$5.50 an hour and now has a part-time job elsewhere at \$9.44 while her husband drives truck. She wishes she and her husband had more education but does not consider it possible. Her reaction to the experience has been negative. She wishes she could go back to her own country but knows that is not possible.

A 40 year old Sudanese with a wife and children has a university degree. They left Southern Sudan to escape being killed by the Muslims from the northern part of the country. They went to Egypt where he worked as a teacher. They were helped during their first year in Utah. Then he went to Nebraska where he found employment but has returned to be with his family and must find employment here. He has been disappointed because they were told there was plenty of money and plenty of jobs here.

A 40 year old Sudanese went with his mother and six brothers to Egypt to escape the fighting in Sudan. They then came to Georgia for 1 ½ years and have now been in Utah for a year. He is very unhappy here but his mother is the family decision-maker and prefers to stay. He spoke no English when he arrived. He feels that they have not had enough help since they arrived and have been discriminated against by the legal system. He was pulled over when driving by a policeman just because he was black. He says he had drunk liquor the day before but not that day but he still got a DUI. He had good employment in Egypt but believes he is discriminated against here because of his race. He is working in a warehouse stacking pallets and not earning much. He would like to leave the country but cannot.

A 39 year old Sudanese wife and mother of four graduated from college in accounting and her husband in geology in Sudan and worked there in those fields. They left Sudan because of the warfare and because her husband would have had to serve in the military if they had not. They went to Egypt for 20 months and then came to Utah in 2000. They were assisted by IRC and initially received housing, furniture, food stamps, cash, bus passes and free medical assistance. They both spoke English well and her husband found employment in less than a month and was given a bicycle to get to work. He worked at various jobs for \$7.50 and \$8 an hour and was then employed by IRC at \$10 an hour to help others find employment. She worked at the airport for 18 months at \$6.50 and then at the post office at \$8 for six months and then stopped to have a baby. They have both attended the community college and two of their children are in elementary school and the other two are preschoolers. They like everything here except for the cold weather.

Female and 22, this woman went from Sudan to Uganda with her family when she was four years old because of the civil war and so that older members of the family, male and female, could escape serving in the army. They spent 13 years in a refugee camp in Uganda, helped by the United Nations. She attended high school and learned some English there. She came to Utah in 2003 with her mother, a sister and a nephew. They were assisted here by CCS and were initially provided with housing, some furniture, food stamps, cash, medication and a bus pass but it was not enough to meet their needs. She met and married here a young man who had also escaped from Sudan to Uganda and then to the United States. After marriage and needing dishes, a television and so forth, and she having had a baby, they were having difficulty paying their rent and utilities. They were also under pressure to pay for the air fare which brought them here. She says they went to Welfare Services (more likely the Department of Workforce Services) for help but were told her husband had a well-paid job which should meet their needs. Thereupon, her husband left her and the baby and went to live with friends as roommates. She then went back to Welfare Services or DWS and asked for help which was given her (probably FEP). Her husband returned after several months and has been living with her and their son for five or six months now. They are paying \$683 a month for rent and \$200 for utilities as well as \$30 each per month on their \$863 apiece for air fare, as well as food, clothes, car expenses and so forth. She earns \$890 per month while her husband earns \$1000 but their expenses add to \$1800 so they are just getting by. Still they are glad to be away from the war, disease and hunger they escaped. They just need more education so that they can earn more.

She is 34 and the mother of seven children. As residents of the capital, Khartoum, her husband, parents and three brothers were killed in the civil wars of Sudan. She went to Egypt for two years where

she was sick and homeless. The United Nations helped her to come here six years ago. They were helped by IRC and were provided with some cash, \$500 in food stamps, furniture, free rent and medication, all for three months after which the assistance stopped. After that, she received some assistance once when one of her daughters was ill and disabled. She considers the staff of IRC, AAU and the public agencies to have been of little or no help but an LDS bishop was very helpful. She had no previous schooling. She attended Horizonte for ESL for a time but quit to go to work. It was about a year after her arrival that she finally found employment. She worked first at Deseret Industries and in a hotel and is now working for AMSCO at \$10.50 an hour. Taking home about \$600 every two weeks plus food stamps, they are just getting by, helped by Section 8 which reduces their rent from \$723 to \$207. She is angry about many things but loves it here where there is no war and she has housing and a job to keep her and her family together.

Other Africans

One woman was separated from her husband in 1998 by civil war in Liberia. She took her two young daughters and her mother with her to the Ivory Coast for three years and to Ghana for another five or six years, arriving in the United States in 2005. Now 30 years old, she has persistent illness related to having only one kidney. They were originally assigned to the International Refugee Committee but have since been transferred to the Asian Association. She is unable to work and her mother is too old and her daughters too young. Therefore, they receive \$300 in Food Stamps in addition to \$400 each month from the Family Employment Program. In addition to rent, utilities, food, clothing, medicine and other needs—a total of about \$2000 per month, she is being pressed to pay \$1000 to \$2000 for the family's transportation to the United States.

A 28 year old Liberian man was victim to terrible war for 14 years. His grandmother and four uncles were killed. One uncle had been a soldier. The rebels searched houses and, if they found anyone who had been a soldier, they killed everyone in the house. He escaped to Sierra Leone for two years, Guinea for one year and Ivory Coast for four years and came to the United States three years ago. He spent one half of that time in Ohio and the rest in Indiana before coming to Utah. He had the advantage of speaking English, being descended from slaves sent back to Liberia. CCS has been very helpful to him. He has his family with him. He has been trained by C.R. England and is now employed as a truck driver. His wife is in ESL and is training for home care. His father was an engineer in Liberia and he wanted to be trained in criminal justice. He wants to get back in school at some point but all is going well at present.

A Liberian mother with three children ages 17, 15, and 12 has been in the U.S. and Utah for about two years. She has been united with Liberians who she knew in the refugee camps. They have helped her

to adjust to her new life. One Liberian had joined the LDS Church. Based on her discussion, she and her children joined as well. They lived in a stable east side ward. The ward missionaries were very supportive, but the rest of the ward did not fellowship the new family.

Non-Africans

A single mother of two daughters and a son, came from Afghanistan in 2001 after five or six years in Pakistan. She says that her father had spent 41 years in Washington DC as a professor, though it is not clear whether she was with him and she says she did not speak English upon her arrival in Utah. She had been a teacher in Afghanistan where her husband was a member of parliament. There, they lived in a large house with four bedrooms. They fled Afghanistan when the Taliban took over in about 1995, leaving one child behind. She does not know where her husband is or what may have happened to him. Upon arrival in Salt Lake City, they were met by an African case worker of whom they were afraid. She and her children were placed in a fearful (to her) basement apartment with filthy mattresses which they threw away. She says they arrived on a holiday and were left in the apartment for two days without food. She was frightened and depressed but was helped by some Pakistanis in the neighborhood. After 16 days, she was taken to Welfare Services where she received \$200 in cash, \$300 in food stamps, a bus pass and access to free medical care. She reports that Welfare Services ceased to help them after two or three months and insisted that she accept employment which she felt she was too ill to do. After six months, they were moved to the Hartland apartments. At some point, she obtained Supplemental Security Income of \$575 per month because of mental depression and back problems. She is now 48 and her children are now 15, 17 and 21. Her oldest daughter obtained employment and is now married. The other daughter is attending the Salt Lake Community College and her son is in high school. She reports receiving \$320 a month for her children (from whence is not clear) as well as \$180 in food stamps. She returned to Pakistan for four months at one point, hoping to return to Afghanistan to rescue her other child but was unable to do so. She is glad to be in the U.S. and Utah and has adequate financial help but only yearns for the other child.

A 35 year-old Bosnian, came to Utah at 24 with his 63 year old father and his 61 year old mother in 1996. They are Muslims who were forced out of Bosnia by the Serbs. They were assisted here by Catholic Community Services. They were initially given some cash and food stamps, along with furniture which was so filthy that they threw it away. His father had been a firefighter but died soon after their arrival in Utah. Amir took 16 days of English as a Second Language, then found a job, first fast food for three months at \$6.15 an hour, then at wood working for two years starting at \$7.50 and rising to \$8.50 an hour and now at a steel company where he started at \$8.50 and now makes \$11 an hour. He supported his

mother until she was placed in a nursing home. He returned to Bosnia long enough to take a wife and bring her back with him. She was employed at \$7.15 an hour for three or four years but ceased employment when she was hurt in a work accident for which she was not compensated. They now have one child. They no longer consider themselves refugees because they are both now American citizens. He regrets never having obtained more education but they are very pleased with their life in America and Utah.

A Russian couple in their late 20s with three daughters arrived from Russia in 2006. They were helped by CCS for four months. The husband who speaks a little English now works for Deseret Industries at \$7 an hour. They are just getting by but are being helped by Russian friends. The parents have high school educations and need more to get better jobs.

A 36 year old Russian with a wife and two children is very positive about their experience. They have been in Utah for 11 months. IRC and the Asian Association were helpful to them, though he does not like the housing they were provided. He had technical college training in Russia and knew some English. He is working as a mechanic at \$7.25 an hour and expects to move up in the company. They have made many friends. He is very satisfied here except that he would like to be in subsidized housing to reduce rent costs.

A 30 year old Russian lives with her husband and two children. They have been here 11 months and are assigned to IRC. She had finished high school and knew some English. They were helped by IRC for eight months and well treated. They were provided clothing, furniture, Medicaid, food stamps and cash. They are now being helped by the Asian Association. She is not working because she will have another baby within a week. She does not say who is working. She expresses a need for money and schooling, both for herself and her children. They need subsidized housing and want their children to go to college. A son wants to be a policeman. "In Utah things are good."

A 27 year old Russian Muslim woman lives with her husband and his elderly parents. They came here 10 months ago and were served first by IRC and subsequently by AAU. She was a nurse and her husband was a mechanic and salesman but neither have been employed here because of their language and health problems. Her mother-in-law has diabetes. Her husband has heart, stomach and back problems and she has had surgery. They have been provided with housing, furniture, food stamps, cash and bus passes in the past but only food stamps are continuing. Their major problem is health care from a hospital which she says charges them \$300 for every visit. IRC and AAU have been helpful. Their main need is jobs and a cheaper hospital.

In a Burmese family, the wife's lawyer father was on the wrong side politically so they escaped to Thailand where they spent 10 years illegally with continuous persecution. In May 2005, they went to a refugee camp in Thailand where they were helped by the United Nations and the International Rescue Committee. Husband, wife, two sons in their twenties and a younger daughter came to Utah in July 2005. They were provided beds, along with food stamps, some cash, medication and child care during their first three months. The sons learned some English in Thailand and have attended Horizonte and learned further English here. The oldest son worked at Seven Eleven and at the Marriot Hotel, then left for Texas. The husband/father was employed for a short time, became ill, had surgery and has not worked since. The mother worked for a time, became ill and did not work for six months and now works only on Saturdays. The daughter has also had serious health problems. The remaining 21 year-old son is the primary support of the family, working at the Marriott Hotel at \$8 an hour. Their monthly costs are \$1500, in addition to which they are supposed to be repaying their air fare costs. The son would like further education but sees little possibility for it.

At age 45, she and her younger brother and their families are Muslim Turks from Russia who escaped because of the persecution there. She, with her husband, two sons and a daughter came to the U.S. and Utah in January 2006. They are in the Matching Grant program and received \$620 in food stamps, \$530 in cash, bus passes and free medication for six months with the help of IRS. They do two days volunteer work for IRC, spend two days in school each week and one day searching for employment. A 17 year old son is at the university and the rest are in high school. Her mother, her brother, his wife and three children came three months earlier. They are also in the Matching Grant Program and receive \$600 in food stamps, \$610 in cash and bus tokens and medical care. They went to Germany before 1989 but were sent back to Russia where their father and two brothers were killed. The brother spent three months in the Asian Association's ESL program but quit to go to work. His wife is still going to ESL after six months. He was a high school teacher in Russia, learned some English in Germany and is now working at Canyon Craft Cabinet for \$8 an hour. His wife has been working for one month at Farm Land for \$9 an hour, having found her own job. Each month they pay \$50 toward the \$3000 they owe for air fare. They have found some of their case managers to be helpful and others not. They find it particularly difficult to have caseworkers assigned who do not speak their language, but, all in all, they are pleased with the freedom of religion and other aspects of their life here.

About the Authors

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