July 2019
Volume: 16, **No**: 3, pp. 379 – 387
ISSN: 1741-8984
e-ISSN: 1741-8992
www.migrationletters.com

First Submitted: 30 November 2018 Accepted: 1 March 2019

DOI: https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v16i3.639

Powerful in flight: Cambodian and Karen refugee narratives of strength and resilience

Denise C. Lewis[1] and Savannah Spivey Young[2]

Abstract

Traumatic experiences before and during flight and resettlement shape the lives and needs of refugee families. Yet, the agency of the refugees themselves —that is, their will and ability to make decisions regarding their present and future—is often ignored by caseworkers, policy-makers, and members of their resettlement communities. A better understanding of how refugees frame, respond to, and recover from stressors associated with their journeys will help illuminate their needs and personal agency. We focus on the power and resiliency refugees possess as they navigate the terrain of flight and settlement. We argue that when we, and others such as humanitarian service agencies and policy makers, clearly hear and respect refugees' voices, we can begin to co-create responses to refugees' needs in collaboration with the refugees who, themselves, exhibit resiliency and hold valuable everyday forms of wisdom surrounding what they need to live successfully in a host nation.

Keywords: *refugees; Southeast Asian; resilience; family; resettlement.*

Introduction

This article reveals the lives and needs of resettled Cambodian and Karen refugee families before and during forced migration from their home countries to resettlement in the United States. Our cases focus on how refugee families attain and maintain resilience in the context of multiple stressors associated with their journeys. Moreover, we focus on the power refugee families possess as they navigate both flight and resettlement. We advocate that including refugee families' voices is paramount to understanding their needs and resiliency as they navigate their lives in the United States. Our case study includes families from two ethnic groups from Southeast Asia: Cambodians (from Cambodia) and Karen (an ethnic group from Burma). Karen refugees refer to their homeland as Burma, rather than the current geopolitical name, Myanmar. We use their preferred label in recognition of the power and agency they hold.

The majority of the approximately 250,000 refugees from Cambodia arrived in the United States in the early to mid-1980s (Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). Many settled along the east and west coasts. However, in the early 1980s, three refugees purchased 180 acres of forestland and created a small village of approximately 45 Cambodian families in Mobile County, Alabama. That settlement has now grown to approximately 150 families. Since the early 2000s, approximately 30 Karen families have resettled in a rural community near Atlanta, Georgia. Karen families have been resettled in the United States due to

[1] Denise C. Lewis, Department of Human Development and Family Science, University of Georgia, 201 Family Science Center II (House D), 405 Sanford Dr., Athens, GA 30602, United States. E-mail: denise.lewis@uga.edu.
[2] Savannah Spivey Young, 5205 Nevada Ave., Nashville TN 37209, United States. E-mail: savannahespivey@gmail.com.

long-term, harsh ethnic violence and displacement in Burma. Many Karen families have, for decades, lived in refugee camps in Thailand. Over 18,000 refugees from Burma were resettled in the United States in 2015 (Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2016). Interviews were conducted near Mobile with Cambodian refugees and near Atlanta with Karen refugees. Anguish caused by disruption of sociocultural networks often follow these traumatic experiences but can also mobilize resilience in families and communities. Physical, behavioral, and social health are critical in order to withstand, adapt to, and recover from adversity and interact well with others (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2015). However social, cultural, economic, and political environments can break down communication, jeopardizing the health and wellbeing of refugee families. Nearly half of all Southeast Asian refugees speak primarily their native language and have very limited English language skills. (Geiger & Pécoud, 2013; Walters, 2015). Many with limited English proficiency have not established a relationship with a primary care physician and are much less likely to access other health services (Choi, 2013; Lewis, 2007). The cases presented here bring refugees' voices to light and show the resilience of these families despite their hardships and challenges.

Theories Addressing Family Stress, Systems, and Exchanges

Stress influences one's ability to engage in instrumental, affective, and symbolic exchanges across generations. Cambodian and Karen refugee families highlighted in this study lead complex lives, thus, we combined theoretical perspectives from family science, human development, and gerontology in order to aid our understanding of this complexity. *Family stress theory* (McCubbin, 1979; Robinson, 1997) illuminates how stress and resilience operate within families and reveals their adaptations and growth when faced with stressful situations. It also allows a way to understand how other families disintegrate, unable to withstand disruptions caused by transitions and change when faced with similar situations. Bowen's (1966) *family systems theory* argues that families are interdependent, complex, emotional, and intricately interwoven units. The third component of our theoretical framework is drawn from *family exchange theoretical perspective* (Lewis, 2008). This perspective helps in our understanding of how families interact during shifting conditions through adaptations of intergenerational exchanges. These perspectives, in concert with each other, provide a lens for understanding resilience of refugee families (Lewis 2001, 2008).

Research Methods

Ethnographic research methods, including participant observation, group meetings, and interviewing (Bernard, 2011; Patton, 2015; Wolcott, 2008) allowed us to gather narratives from Cambodian and Karen refugees. Lewis has conducted research since 1997 with more than 125 Cambodian refugees, gathering narratives about multiple topics, including war experiences, survival, health and wellbeing, and everyday family life. Young conducted research within a Karen community from 2014 through 2016, including in-depth interviews with 14 individuals. All interviews were conducted with adults. Both Lewis and Young were, and continue to be, participant-observers at special events, celebrations, and everyday activities such as gardening, cooking, and family interactions with members in these communities. Lewis and Young encountered people of all ages at these gatherings.

Ethnographic research allowed us to uncover trends, patterns, issues, and themes as they unfolded (Bernard, 2011). We gained a richness and depth needed to frame the lived experiences associated with social, cultural, and political processes. The power narratives of refugees' voices

are dominant in our case studies. They reveal, in refugees' own words, how they adapt, survive, and grow with a sense of family wellbeing and cultural identity.

Refugees' Voices

Refugees' voices provide the foundation of the cases described herein. They speak of everyday existence and extraordinary feats. Ordinary and extraordinary circumstances associated with lived, experienced, and told narratives are molded into a review of their pathways (Eastmond, 2007; Ghorashi, 2007). The refugee voices in this case study provide a widely varied story of instability, liminality, resettlement, and secondary migration. Cambodian and Karen refugees' narratives also reveal their power, resilience, and quest for wellbeing (Lewis & Young, 2018; Sleijpen, Boeij, Kleber, & Mooren, 2016).

Discussions with refugees about the traumatic events that have shaped their lives are infrequent. Instead, most discussions focus on prioritizing basic needs and miss the opportunity to contextualize and understand the lived experiences of refugees. It is through a focus on individual stories that researchers and practitioners can establish trust and build rapport. By including conversations about the mundane, it becomes possible to learn about the more painful aspects of their lives. Such conversations also reveal the strength and power refugees possess, even during the most trying times of escape, trauma, and rebuilding.

Perilous Flight

Social order, community, home, and family were continuously disrupted. Families described how they had little time to prepare for leaving their homes. Both Cambodian and Karen became nomads within their home nations. They experienced internal and external displacement to Thailand before resettlement agencies from around the world began to aid in their resettlement outside Southeast Asia. One Cambodian narrative highlights the necessity of immediate flight. Showing Lewis a photo of his family he had salvaged from his former home, he explained[3]:

> All killed. The Communist killed my youngest brother the first day because he was in high school. Our family saw what the Communist were doing, who they killed first. We knew we must hide who we are. We tried, but my wife and all seven children were killed before we could leave the city. Another brother was tortured. He died too. The rest of my family, we knew must go right away. (Cambodian refugee, male, age sixty-nine)

Karen refugee stories are chillingly similar. They faced multiple physical and psychological difficulties throughout their journeys. The following narrative reflects a similar urgency to flee. One Karen refugee recalled the near constant movement of his family:

> When I was a child, we always had to flee. We had to flee when we lived in the village, and when the enemy came to the village we had to run out to hide. When the enemy left the village we would come back. We were always running, hiding, and coming back to the village. Our lives were just to hide, float around, go here and go there to hide until we moved to the Thailand refugee camp. (Karen refugee, male, age sixty)

Families' stress fueled chronic trauma, heightened fear, instability and liminality. As shown when applying Family Stress Theory (McCubbin, 1979), some families were able to survive in spite of the continued need to hide their identity. Stress and resilience permeate refugees' narratives.

[3] Narratives have been edited for grammatical clarity.

Uncertainty and liminality are ubiquitous in Cambodian and Karen narratives surrounding forced migration and resettlement. Once families arrived in refugee camps, a dull, inactive existence became the norm (Chandler, 2000; Lewis, 2001; Lewis & Young, 2018; Tanaka, 2013). An impenetrable barrier stopped families' movement toward freedom and fueled impoverishment, dependency, and lack of opportunity for education (see Chandler, 2000; Tanaka, 2013). Despite the despair they faced and many tragic circumstances taking place while fleeing their homes, those we spoke with maintain memories of loved ones they lost and celebrate births of their newest family members. Their resilience is further illuminated as they describe the events they have overcome, many including surviving torture and brutal murder attempts by the enemy, and how they have grown stronger after resettlement. They remain dedicated to maintaining their unique cultural identities for current and future generations. Families, such as these who survived the perilous flight to resettlement, illustrate positive ways they have tapped into a systematic interdependence (Bowen, 1966) to build resilience and wellbeing as they navigated multiple perils.

Life in Camps

Few from outside Southeast Asia were knowledgeable of the wars waging throughout the region. Narratives of some of the earliest Cambodian refugees who escaped to Thailand highlight the bewilderment felt by both Cambodian refugees who describe not knowing what to expect or where to go for help and Thai officials who were unsure how to accommodate the surge in refugees seeking safety. One Cambodian refugee spoke of his experiences after crossing the Cambodian-Thailand border. He said:

> I went to Surin, Thailand. There were not too many refugees in Thailand then [in mid-1975]. They don't know what to do with me. They took me to police station like I was a criminal or something like that. . . . Then I moved to a camp for refugees. I live there for eight months. I had no place to go. (Cambodian refugee, male, age sixty-two)

Nearly 30 years later, Karen refugee families' experiences are quite similar. One Karen woman said that she and her family went to Thailand because of the war: "My mother, she had to flee, flee, flee, flee along with my father. They have a big wide hut at the border of Thailand and Karen State. They transferred us to our first refugee camp in Thailand." (Karen refugee, female, age thirty-two).

In spite of Thailand's history of establishing refugee camps in the 1970s to house Cambodian refugees, Karen refugees' experiences reflected the same uncertainty and inhospitable environment that characterize Cambodian narratives. One Cambodian man revealed, "Life in Thai camps is very bad. Mud is everywhere, everybody is sick. Nobody knows what to do. We do not have enough food. Lots of people are just hungry and scared." (Cambodian refugee, male, age fifty-nine). These conditions were the norm in the mid-1970s, when Cambodians first fled to Thailand and little had changed by the time Karen refugees began arriving in the early 2000s. Although the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) (2016) became involved in the establishment of the first UNHCR-formed camp in Thailand in 1979, many of the original UNHCR camps also served Karen refugees in such a way that little has changed. Families continue to experience overcrowding, too little food, no privacy, family separations, illnesses, injuries, and profound uncertainty. One Karen refugee noted, "There were a lot of people in the camp. We walked on dirt roads. Our house was made of bamboo and the roof was made with leaves. We never had enough food and sometimes the Burmese soldier attacked people" (Karen refugee, male, eighteen). These narratives demonstrate that the instability within the camps that had been experienced by Cambodian refugees in the late

1970s was still the norm when Karen refugees arrived in the Thai camps (Chandler, 2000; UNHCR, 2016).

Eventually Karen refugees reported improvement in the camps. Some camp leaders increased their tolerance for Karen refugees' movement in and around the camp as refugees foraged for food. Tanaka (2013) reported that life in refugee camps was all that was known by many younger Karen refugees. Two Karen refugees (ages eighteen and twenty-one at the time of interviews) described playing soccer, acquiring education through occasional classes, and engaging in religious practices. Such tolerance, however, was not uniform. One Karen woman described her experiences in two very different camps:

> I remember a lot about the first camp I lived in. We had much more freedom than the other camps. We could go anywhere to collect vegetables in the forest, and we also had a school there. But the second camp was not free and was close to the highways so we had a fence around us and we could not leave. If the guards found out, the Thai soldiers would arrest us if they knew we went out of the camp to find vegetables or food in the forest like bamboo shoots, mushrooms, and squirrels. (Karen refugee, female, age thirty-two)

Another Karen refugee (age eighteen) described finding enough money and food to survive. He said:

> All we have to eat is rice, yellow rice. We would cook it with yellow beans and make our soup with fish paste, oil, salt, all of that. But all the other foods, like meat, we have to go and find these on our own. If my dad made money, we would buy food from the store. They didn't give us any meat to eat. Only salted fish, fish paste, and oil. No vegetables. They gave us the food once per month. My mom went with my dad to buy meats. The store was really close to our home. It was not a big store; it was really small in the camp. Not many people had money to buy food. (Karen refugee, male, age eighteen)

From the initial establishment of the first UNHCR camps in Thailand in the late 1970s to the time Karen refugees began to arrive in Thailand, the number of camps had grown to nine along the Thai/Burmese border with multiple satellite camps. The massive influx of refugees and internal movement from camp to camp fueled a continuous struggle by refugees for a bit of stability in their lives (UNHCR, 2016).

Extremely harsh conditions created physical and psychological challenges for both Cambodian and Karen refugees. Many held firm to identities established in their home countries and sought opportunities that would allow them to meld those identities with new identities of strength and growth. Yet starting over also meant a redefinition of who they were and why they were in the United States all while striving to establish a foundation for personal and familial recovery. Narratives often described the processes of starting over and feeling overwhelmed in their new home while also recognizing that their new home offered peace. One Cambodian man spoke about resettlement in the United States:

> I came here because of the Communist take over. I first went to Thailand and finally came here [the United States] on August 23, 1976. I arrive in California but came to Alabama right away because this where my sponsor lived. I have a hard time at first. I cried a lot. Finally I moved to Pennsylvania for two years. . . . I went to Pennsylvania with my girlfriend. But after six years that relationship failed. So I came back to Alabama. In 1985 I still didn't speak much English, couldn't drive, and had no skills. But I worked in different jobs and saved some money. I tried to find a quiet place to live. . . . Most people came here [to Mobile County]

> because of the seafood industry. You don't need skills for working in seafood. So I bought over 100 acres of land. I split the land up for families, Cambodian families. . . . This is a good place, close to seafood industries and there is unskilled work available here. I have a good spiritual life here, peaceful and quiet. (Cambodian refugee, male, age fifty-nine)

A Karen refugee similarly described her family's early days of resettlement in the United States. She explained that those days were filled with an amalgam of feelings of sadness, hope, and strength as she struggled to adjust in a way that allowed her to go beyond coping. Her resiliency is shown partly through her strong faith:

> Every day I trust God. Sometimes I am very sad, when I pray and read the Bible, it is very good. I feel like I have strength, I am stronger. When you are sad, you are weak. You don't want to go anywhere and you just stay inside thinking too much. (Karen, female, age thirty-two)

Similar narratives of Cambodian and Karen refugees speak to the profound sadness, loss of home and country, and struggles to find jobs. Both groups also reflect the desire to re-establish strong family relations and engage in collective rebuilding of their identities. Many spoke of their desire to move beyond merely coping. They aimed to attain resiliency so they and their families could bounce back from adversity with increased vibrancy and higher levels of functioning. These families fit within the category described by McCubbin (1979) as those who successfully navigate stressors from outside the family unit, thus providing a foundation for positive adaptations within the family unit. Similarly, these families also fit within the framework described in Bowen's Family Systems Theory (1966) through the emotional connectivity within the family that fosters intergenerational support, resilience, and wellbeing.

Intergenerational Identities

Younger family members can gain wisdom from older family members. This is one of the most important intergenerational exchanges within families. Affection across generations fosters a strong interdependence. Symbolic exchanges in the form of stories and shared foodways impart health, language, history, and culture (Spivey & Lewis, 2016). Yet, various pressures on both young and old can change the structure of intergenerational relationships to create uncertainty and conflict, even where there is considerable intergenerational solidarity (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Such ambivalence may change how intergenerational exchanges function, and how resources, such as time, housing, food, care, or financial assets, are managed and allocated across the generations. Many families seek a balance between adhering to traditional patterns and adapting to their host country's way of life. The following narrative shows adaptations in intergenerational affective and instrumental exchanges and illustrates their resilience:

> Our parents do a lot for us so we can concentrate on school. We won't be able to give our parents the same kind of care they give our grandparents because we will have professional jobs. But, that's okay, because with our jobs we can afford to buy them a big house so we can all live together. (Cambodian refugee, female, age nineteen)

Maintenance of beliefs and modifications of behaviors relating to filial piety (respect and care for elders) often includes straddling cultures by adjusting one's behavior to suit the context of the interactions (Lewis, 2010). Karen refugees also report shifting between newly adopted American cultural traditions and Karen cultural traditions. One young Karen refugee said:

> I can be American, I can be Karen. If I go to an American friend's home, I can be American. If I go to Karen people's house, I can be Karen. If I go to Karen people's house I will sit on the floor. If I come to an American house, I sit on the sofa. (Karen refugee, male, age eighteen)

Another young Karen parent added: "We teach our children, always, always even if you live in a different culture, never lose your culture . . . always show your tradition to other people. All Karen people teach this" (Karen refugee, female, age thirty-two). It was not uncommon for Cambodian and Karen refugee families to report that they "live two lives" as they selectively assimilate into an American culture, keeping some aspects of their home culture while engaging in aspects of the host culture. They demonstrated agency in making the decisions to maintain family traditions while also adapting to fit into local, American communities.

Families and communities provide the platform for a collective identity through affective, symbolic and instrumental exchanges such as outlined in the *Family Exchange* perspective described by Lewis (2008). Sharing traditions in both original and modified forms allows for the creation of identity as a unique group (as Cambodian or as Karen people). A forum for cultural strength and group resilience, knowing one's history, and rebuilding lives resides within such a shared identity, an identity that facilitated resiliency. This concept is shown in one Cambodian refugee's description of her family's importance and its growth:

> My family is my life. We came to this country broken and not sure who we would become. But my family has survived very well. We are, most of us, together now. We have grown because of children born and new family members coming together (Cambodian refugee, female, age sixty-eight).

A young Karen refugee who stressed the importance of family exchanges expressed a similar sentiment:

> We pray; my family prays every night before we go to sleep. When we lived in the refugee camp in Thailand, we prayed one time in the morning, and one time before sleep at night. We always do that and we are friendly to others. My family is a Christian family; we go to church together every week. We eat rice [he laughs]; that's the most important food because we eat it every day. It's part of our life. (Karen refugee, male, age eighteen)

Wars, turmoil, adaptations, and strength described in refugees' narratives and shown in their actions speak volumes to their resilience. Although their time of resettlement to the U.S. is decades apart, their experiences are quite similar: They need food and shelter, they require safety and security, and they hold onto the power to maintain many of their cultural beliefs and behaviors. They show tremendous resilience in the face of extreme adversity, and their wellbeing is directly related to the strength of their community and cultural identity.

Conclusion

The lives of resettled refugee families are often unimaginable to those of us who have not experienced such trauma. The use of qualitative methods allows their voices to be heard and strengthens our understanding of the journey from home countries to resettlement in the United States. Every voice is unique; every exertion of power and agency tells the story of resilience and determination. Social workers, caseworkers, healthcare providers, friends, and other non-refugee community members may all become part of refugees' lives in their host country. While these relationships can be nourishing, they can also be stressful, taxing, and usurp the power of refugees

who struggle with myriad transitions in relationships. Refugees' lives were often fraught with losses of friends and family members, as well as dependence upon others for help and guidance as they search for peace and safety. Regularly relying on others for help as they seek safety, a sense of community, and collective responsibility may become a learned means of survival along their journey to a third host country.

A label of "refugee" in today's world is a loaded identity. Technological advances have loosened connections that hold society together as a human family. Oftentimes, refugees fled from those who imposed the most violent, unthinkable, inhumane actions upon their neighbors. People labeled "refugees" today are some of the most resilient, unyielding, and adaptable people in our world. Rather than feeling supported and secure in their host country, they may feel further traumatized by their unfamiliar setting, lack of community, and difficulty integrating to the host culture. What is most invaluable to these families often can be found in a relationship with a listening ear, assistance with translating a confusing letter, and providing encouragement for a more hopeful future.

Narratives of refugees show that stress has influenced their ability to survive and grow but has not stopped families from developing resilience. These narratives provide a way to understand the role stress has on family relations. Just as set forth by McCubbin, the families in this article who have experienced considerable and long-lasting stress have adapted and gained a resilience that moves beyond mere coping. Disruptions described by these families are shown to be insufficient to cause permanent disruption in family units. Instead, families remain interconnected and hold fast to emotional bonds (Bowden, 1966). In spite of such massive disruptions within home nations, life in refugee camps, and resettlement, families continue to engage in family-centered exchanges, even though many of the exchanges have been adapted to better fit with life in the host nation.

We strive to illuminate the lives of Karen and Cambodian refugees living in the United States through their narratives. Both groups experienced extreme violence, oppression, and persecution and were forced to flee their beloved homes. The United States can offer a new start, but resettlement will never erase their unique histories. Instead, we must consider the gravity of our responsibility to welcome families who have endured unthinkable pain into a place where they may find hope for a future. These powerful voices reflect a monumental resilience of spirit in light of the long, arduous journey they travel.

References

Bernard, H. R. (2011). Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches (5th ed.). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Bowen, M. (1966). The use of family theory in clinical practice. Comprehensive Psychiatry, 7(5), 345-374. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0010-440X(66)80065-2

Chandler, D. (2000). A history of Cambodia (3rd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Choi, J. Y. (2013). Reconstruction of health-seeking behaviors: A comparative study of three Asian Pacific immigrant groups. Qualitative Health Research, 23(4), 517-530. doi: 10.1177/1049732312469731.

Eastmond, M. (2007). Stories as lived experiences: Narratives in forced migration. Journal of Refugee Studies, 20(2), 248-64. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem007

Geiger, M. & Pécoud, A. (2013). Disciplining the transnational migration of people. London: Palgrave MacMillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137263070

Ghorashi, H. (2007). Giving silence a chance: The importance of life stories for research on refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 21(1), 117-132. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem033

Lewis, D. C. (2001). From Cambodia to the United States: The disassembly, reconstruction and redefinition of Khmer identity. Southern Anthropologist, 28(1), 28-49.

Lewis, D. C. (2007). A hierarchy of medicine: Health strategies of elder Khmer refugees in the United States. The Qualitative Report, 12(2), 146-165. Retrieved from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR12-2/lewis.pdf.

Lewis, D.C. (2008). Types, meanings, and ambivalence in intergenerational exchanges among Cambodian refugee families in the United States. Ageing and Society, 28(5), 693-715. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X08007034

Lewis, D.C. (2010). Cambodian refugee families in the United States: 'Bending the tree' to fit the environment. Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 8(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/15350770903520635

Lewis, D.C. & Young, S.S. (2018). Parallel pasts, presents, and futures: Narratives of Cambodian and Karen refugees in the United States. In, A. Garnier, L.L. Jubilut, & K.B. Sandvik, (Eds.), Refugee resettlement: Power, politics, and humanitarian governance (183-202). New York: Berghahn.

Lüscher, K., & Pillemer, K. (1998). Intergenerational ambivalence: A new approach to the study of parent-child relations in later life. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60, 413-425. https://doi.org/10.2307/353858

McCubbin, H. I. (1979). Integrating coping behavior in Family Stress Theory. Journal of Marriage and Family, 41(2), 237-244. https://doi.org/10.2307/351693

Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2016). FY 2015 Served Populations by State and Country of Origin (Refugees Only). Retrieved from http://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/resource/fy-2015-served-populations-by-state-and-country-of-origin-refugees-only.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Robinson, D. L. (1997). Family Stress Theory: Implications for family Health. Journal of the American Academy of Nurse Practitioners, 9(1), 17-24. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7599.1997.tb01268.x

Sleijpen, M., Boeij, H. R., Kleber, R. J. & Mooren, T. (2016). Between power and powerlessness: A meta-ethnography of sources of resilience in young refugees. Ethnicity and Health, 21(2), 158-180. https://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.2015.1044946

Spivey, S. E. & Lewis, D. C. (2016). Harvesting from a repotted plant: A qualitative study of Karen refugees and foodways. Journal of Refugee Studies, 29(1), 60-81. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fev013

Tanaka, A. (2013). Assessment of the psychosocial development of children attending nursery schools in Karen refugee camps in Thailand. International Journal of Early Childhood, 45(3), 279-305. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13158-012-0077-7

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2016). Thailand. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/thailand.html.

United States Department of Health and Human Services. (2015). Community resilience. Retrieved from http://www.phe.gov/Preparedness/planning/abc/Pages/community-resilience.aspx

Walters, W. (2015). Reflections on migration and governmentality. Journal für kritische Migrations und Grenzregimeforschung, 1(1), 1-25.

Wolcott, H. F. (2008). Ethnography: A Way of Seeing (2nd ed.) Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press.