This study evaluated the adaptation and adjustment processes of 28 Khmer children (aged 10 to 15 years) in the Boston (Massachusetts) area in a summer school setting provided by the Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS). Using the Children's Acculturation Problem Index and the Children's Alienation Scale, supplemented with classroom observations and feedback from teachers and counselors, MICAS discovered an inverse relationship between adjustment and adaptation. As these Khmer children become more adapted to their environment, they become less well-adjusted. This conclusion has profound implications for existing services since most are geared toward the acquisition of English and basic survival skills that facilitate adaptation. Adaptation is defined as external functioning by which behavioral changes are undertaken to cope with changing environmental circumstances. Adjustment involves emotional and cognitive changes, and is mostly the product of internal functioning. Adaptation difficulties arise mostly from poor English fluency, while adjustment depends on other factors such as past experiences, refugee status, and physical and financial security. The summer school program, the research methods employed, and the interpretation of data and results are extensively discussed. Seven tables present study findings, and one appendix contains a detailed program description. Instruments used in the study are included in English versions with Khmer translations. (Contains 44 references.) (Author/SLD)
This study evaluated the adaptation and adjustment process of 29 Khmer children (aged 10-15) in a summer school setting provided by the Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS). Using the Children's Acculturation Problem Index and the Children's Alienation Scale, supplemented with classroom observations and feedback from teachers and counselors, MICAS discovered an inverse relationship between adjustment and adaptation -- as these Khmer children become more adapted to their environment, they become less well-adjusted. This conclusion has profound implications for existing services to these children since most are geared towards the acquisition of English and basic survival skills which facilitate adaptation. Functional definitions for and factors influencing both adaptation and adjustment are given and are essential to understanding the study's argument and the resulting recommendations. Adaptation refers to external functioning whereby behavioral changes are undertaken to cope with changing environmental circumstances. Adjustment involves emotional and cognitive changes, and are mostly the product of internal functioning. Adaptation difficulties arise mostly from poor English fluency whereas adjustment depends on various other factors such as past experiences in Cambodia, refugee status, and
physical and financial security.

The summer school program, on which this study is based, the research methods employed, and the interpretation of data and results are extensively discussed. Although there are weaknesses in the research, since only a small, non-representative sample of the Khmer Boston population was studied, several important problem areas are identified.

1 records printed.
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Staff of South Cove Community Health Center

The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement.
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2. The Children's Acculturation Problem

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OVERVIEW.

Khmer (Cambodian) refugees have been entering the United States in significant numbers since the late 1970's. An estimated 45% are children under the age of 19. Once in the United States, children, like adults, must learn a new language and how to function in a new environment. They must also cope with memories of past trauma, feelings of loss and issues of cultural identity. Refugee services currently available in the United States focus primarily on meeting the needs of newly arrived families and assisting adults in overcoming barriers to economic self-sufficiency. Few programs address the problems of children and adolescents as they try to adapt and adjust to life in the United States. Yet, within the general refugee population, children and adolescents constitute a high risk group since they have experienced severe trauma and stress during their formative years.

This report describes an outcome study undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of the summer school operated by Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS) in addressing the educational and psychosocial needs of Khmer refugee children age: 10-15. The larger purpose of this report, however, is to provide mental health and social service workers, teachers and other providers with information on the processes of adaptation and adjustment undergone by Khmer refugee children in the United States and to highlight characteristics of the population which are important to consider in program planning.
and implementation. Finally, the report presents recommendations for future research on Indochinese refugee children.

The study concludes that both newly-arrived refugee children and those who had lived in the United States for more than 6 months, including those suffering from emotional disorders, learning disabilities and family problems, made significant gains in academic and survival skills during the school. The study finds, however, that the adjustment issues which emerge after a refugee child has lived in the United States between 6 and 18 months were not adequately addressed by the school. From a broader perspective, the most provocative study finding suggests that there may be an inverse relationship between adaptation and adjustment; as children become better adapted, they may, in fact, become less well adjusted.

I. BACKGROUND.

A. METROPOLITAN INDOCHINESE CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT SERVICES.

Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS), a program of the South Cove Community Health Center, provides mental health and social services to children, adolescents and families from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Since its establishment in 1983, MICAS has served more than 500 clients, primarily in metropolitan Boston. Teams of Indochinese and American staff provide the following services:
* Individual, group and family counseling
* Career and educational counseling
* Core (special education) evaluation services
* Crisis intervention
* Information and referral
* Advocacy
* Summer school and day camp
* Summer youth employment services
* Consultation and education

These services are designed to reduce environmental stress on children and families and increase competence in coping with stress. Services are provided at several public schools, a Head Start program, a neighborhood health center and through home visits.

B. THE SUMMER SCHOOL.

The summer school evaluated in the outcome study described in this report is an integral part of MICAS year-round services. It provides staff with an avenue for reaching out and engaging youth in mental health services and a context for continuing work with clients seen at public schools between September and June.

During summer '84, 84 Khmer, Lao, Khmuu, Vietnamese and Amerasian students ages 9-21 participated in 7 weeks of English as A Second Language (ESL), math and arts and crafts classes as well as recreational activities. Students attended classes from 9:30 a.m. to 1:10 p.m. 4 days a week. They participated in
recreational activities from 1:10-4:00 p.m. 2 to 4 afternoons a week and all day on Fridays. ESL classes were taught by ESL teachers; math and career education classes were taught by bilingual teachers. Recreational activities including arts and crafts classes were planned by a coordinator and carried out by educational and mental health/social service staff with the help of high school students.

The school provided mental health services to targeted students and social services to all. The mental health/social service staff consisted of a part-time coordinator/social worker, a part-time senior clinician, 4 bilingual paraprofessionals and a bilingual aide. Services were provided weekdays from 8:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., with staff available by telephone in the evenings and at any time in emergencies.

The summer school drew upon the resources of 6 collaborating agencies: a health center; two refugee resettlement agencies; a private secondary school; and two Indochinese mutual assistance associations. Each contributed in kind services and supplies to the school. The school operated on very limited funds which were raised from diverse sources. Major funding came from Associated Grantmakers of Massachusetts donors, Action for Boston Community Development (A.B.C.D.), and the Office for Children. Additional support came from the Department of Social Service, churches, civic groups, individuals and participant fees.

A detailed description of the educational, recreational and mental health/social service activities of the summer school can be found in Appendix #1.
C. THE OUTCOME STUDY.

The outcome study described in this report was one of 5 activities undertaken during a one year demonstration project funded by a $126,000 grant from the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement and operated by Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS), Indochinese Psychiatry Clinic and Indochinese Paraprofessional Training Center at the Boston University School of Social Work.

The purpose of the outcome study was to evaluate the effectiveness of the summer school operated by MICAS in addressing the educational and psychosocial needs of refugee children. This service was chosen for evaluation for 2 reasons. First, public schools serve important functions both as a diagnostic and screening resource and as a site for protective and preventive intervention. Schools play a particularly critical role in the lives of Indochinese children due to the traditions of Indochinese societies and the realities of life for refugees in the United States. Second, despite growing attention to the educational needs of Indochinese refugee children, there has been little attention to their psychosocial needs. Indeed, many policy makers and providers share an implicit assumption that given instruction in academic and survival skills these children will adapt and adjust successfully to their new environment.

The summer school operated by MICAS provided a unique opportunity for initial examination of the psychosocial needs of
Indochinese refugee children and evaluation of certain protective and preventive interventions undertaken in a school setting using Indochinese paraprofessionals.

II. ADAPTATION AND ADJUSTMENT: FUNCTIONAL DEFINITIONS.

The terms "adaptation" and "adjustment" are used in this report in the sense articulated by Charron and Ness (1983). Adaptation refers to "behavioral changes undertaken in order to cope with changing environmental circumstances." Thus, for a Khmer refugee child, adaptation includes acquisition of English, daily living skills (e.g. using the telephone) and behavior appropriate to common social situations (e.g. school). The terms "adaptation and acculturation" are used interchangeably in this report.

In contrast to adaptation, adjustment refers to emotional and cognitive changes. Thus, for a Khmer refugee child, adjustment includes dealing with feelings about past events, making sense of present experiences and developing a new cultural identity.

In summary, adaptation focuses on external functioning (i.e. behavior) while adjustment focuses on internal functioning (i.e. emotion and cognition), both in response to environmental change.

III. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.

A. SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION.
The sample consisted of all the Khmer ages 10-15 attending the summer school, a total of 29 children. This sample, however, was not representative of Khmer refugee children living in the Boston area due to the priorities for admission into the school. Thus, new arrivals (i.e. in the United States less than 6 months) and children with academic, emotional, social, or family problems were greatly overrepresented in the sample.

The decision to focus on one ethnic group was based primarily on the study's financial limitations. Khmer children were chosen because MICAS staff felt that the Khmer community would be particularly receptive to the study.

B. DESIGN.

Because very little research existed on Khmer refugee children in the United States, the study utilized methods which had proven successful in similar research situations, most notably, methods developed by researchers working with adult Indochinese refugees in the United States (See Chon 1979, 1981, Kim 1980, Kinzie et. al., 1984, Kinzie 1980, Lin et. al., 1984, Nagler n.a.) and with disaster victims, Holocaust survivors and political prisoners (See Mollica 1984 for a summary, also Cohon 1981, Eitinger 1959, Chodoff 1975, Arthur 1982). Such efforts had relied heavily upon self-assessment scales which, along with interviews and observations, served as a means to diagnose mental health disorders of subjects. The 2 scales used in this study, The Children's Acculturation Problem Index and The Children's
Alienation Scale, followed the basic model of self-assessment scales used in past studies of refugees and disaster victims.

C. METHODOLOGY.

The study focused on 4 areas: 1) academic progress 2) adaptation 3) adjustment and 4) baseline demographic and family background data. The study design included quantitative and qualitative data gathering techniques as well as work with 6 case study children and their families chosen to be representative of the diversity found in the study subjects. Consideration in selecting case study children was given to age, sex, length of time in the United States and family composition.

The staff for the study consisted of a principle investigator, who was an anthropologist, and a bilingual Khmer assistant. These individuals gathered data working together as a team. Dr. Maurie Eisenbruch, a child psychiatrist who acted as a consultant to the study, provided instruments for evaluating adaptation and adjustment. While designed specifically for Indochinese refugee unaccompanied minors, primarily age 14 and above, living with foster families in the United States, these instruments were among the very few which were available to use with refugee children. Dr. Eisenbruch provided guidance in adapting these instruments to the study population and direction in administering them and analyzing the data collected. Data analysis was done by the principle investigator.
Below is a summary of the data collection methods used in each area of the study.

1. Academic Progress.

The primary tool for assessing academic progress was a series of tests in oral English, English reading comprehension and math administered to all children before and after their participation in the school. With the exception of the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test, a standardized test used with the higher level reading students, the tests were competency-based instruments developed by summer school staff in accordance with curriculum objectives. Qualitative information on academic progress was obtained through 3 weeks of classroom observation by the principle investigator.

2. Adaptation.

This area of the study examined how well children were coping with areas of life in the United States such as communication, tasks of daily living, social relations with Americans and retention of Khmer culture. Each child was given a pre and post interview structured around The Children's Acculturation Problem Index. The index was administered orally in Khmer and/or English by the study team.

The Children's Acculturation Problem Index is an adaptation of a scale developed by Dr. Maurie Eisenbruch for use with
unaccompanied minors in the United States. It lists 27 problems. The child rates the severity of each problem by marking on a line with an X. Each problem is also discussed with the child and remarks are recorded. Analysis of the markings is done statistically. Verbal comments are also analyzed for content. The Children's Acculturation Problem Index can be found in Appendix #2.

In addition to conducting pre and post interviews using the acculturation index, the study team discussed topics from the index with the 6 case study children in informal settings and observed classroom discussions of similar topics.

3. Adjustment.

This area of the study examined the children's more deep-seated feelings and thoughts about life in the United States. Each child was given a pre and post interview structure around The Children's Alienation Scale. The scale was administered orally in Khmer and/or English by the study team.

The Children's Alienation Scale is an adaptation of a scale used by Dr. Maurie Eisenbruch in research with unaccompanied minors in the United States (See also Kim 1980). This scale focuses on 10 areas which together complete the concept of alienation. These areas include how out of place a child feels, how different he feels from Americans and how much control he believes he has over his life. The scale consists of 10 questions which the child answers by marking on a line with an X.
Each question is preceded by a series of lead-in questions which cover different aspects of the area. All responses are recorded. Analysis of the markings is done statistically. The extensive verbal comments are also analyzed for content. The Children's Alienation Scale can be found in Appendix #3.

4. **Family Background.**

This area of the study provided baseline information on each family including: basic demographic data; information on the number of people living together and their relationships; occupational and educational history of parents; and indicators of current social stability such as the number of times a family had moved in the United States and the extent of their contact with relatives in the Boston area.

In addition to this basic family background, the study team conducted 2 extensive interviews (i.e. 1-3 hours each) with the families of the 6 case study children. These interviews covered family history over the past 20 years and discussion of experiences in Cambodia, Thailand and the United States. Further information was gathered from summer school records and discussions with teachers, mental health/social service staff and school administrators.

IV. **RESULTS.**

This section is divided into 4 parts. The first summarizes
the major study findings. The second discusses the baseline demographic and family background data collected on the study population. The third summarizes the statistical results of the pre and post academic tests and acculturation and alienation interviews. The final part analyzes verbal data gathered during interviews, observations and informal conversations with subjects.

A. SUMMARY OF MAJOR STUDY FINDINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Population Profile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of subjects = 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>- Mean age = 12.3 years. Range 10-15 years.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>- 19 boys, 10 girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Months in the U.S.</td>
<td>- Mean # of months in the U.S. = 16. Range 1-36 months.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People per Apartment</td>
<td>- Mean # of people per apartment = 9.5. Range 5-17 people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status of Parents</td>
<td>- 38% with both parents 38% with widowed mothers 14% with biological mother and stepfather 10% with biological father and stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Residence in Cambodia</td>
<td>- 41% urban 59% rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Educational Level</td>
<td>- Mean years of education = 1.4 years. Range 0-6 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's Educational Level</td>
<td>- Mean years of education = 7. Range 3-13 years.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quantitative Findings

1. Significant academic improvement in:
   a. oral English (28% improvement)
   b. math (25% improvement)
   c. reading Level I (22% improvement)
      reading Levels II and III (1.4 months gain)

2. Significant progress in adaptation. Overall "problem" scores as measured by The Children's Acculturation Problem Index dropped 13%.

   Significant progress in 3 specific areas of adaptation:
   a. communication (20% increase in ability to speak and understand English)
   b. survival skills (16% improvement in knowledge of survival skills)
   c. feelings of worry (23% less worried)

3. No significant change in adjustment. Overall scores as measured by The Children's Alienation Scale increased 1%.

   Significant change in one specific area:
   a. feeling different from Americans (14% increase in feelings of difference)

4. Length of time in the United States was the most significant factor in the children's background in finding correlations with other variables.

   a. The longer a child was in the United States the less his math and oral English scores improved. (Oral r = -.65, Math r = -.48)
   b. The longer a child was in the United States the more confident he was in speaking and understanding English. (r = .44)
   c. The longer a child was in the United States the lower his attendance was in the school. (r = -.53)

5. Attendance had a positive correlation with improvement in oral English (r = .44) and math (r = .43) scores.

6. There was a significant negative correlation between change in acculturation scores and change in alienation scores (r = -.54), suggesting that as children became better adapted (as measured by The Children's Acculturation Problem Index), they became less well adjusted (as measured by The Children's Alienation Scale).
Qualitative Findings

1. Children associated increased academic progress with an increased knowledge of survival skills.

2. Past events of life under Pol Pot and the Vietnamese were significant in children's dreams and memories, often emerging as recurrent nightmares or bad memories. Children also had an active interest in ghosts.

3. Most children viewed a refugee as someone who had escaped from one country to another. They believed that at some time in the future they would no longer be refugees.

4. Many children indicated a significant level of insecurity regarding their physical well-being and the financial status of their families.

5. Racial/ethnic differences among non-Indochinese in the United States and racial/ethnic tension between Indochinese and non-Indochinese in the United States were major issues in children's lives.

6. Adolescents, particularly girls, had difficulty with American teenage gender roles.

7. Most children did not have visions of the future or of themselves in it. Most wanted to stay in school and carry out the wishes of their parents for the future.

B. STUDY POPULATION.

The study population contained 10 girls and 19 boys whose mean age was 12.3 years. These children came from 18 different families. The mean number of months that children in the study had been in the U.S. was 16.34. However, 45% of the children had been in the U.S. less than 6 months and 42% had been in the U.S. for more than 25 months. Mean attendance of children in the summer school was 28 days out of a possible 34. Please see Table 1 for frequency distributions of these characteristics.
Additional data was gathered about each child's living situation. The mean number of people with which each child lived was 9.5, with an average of 2 families living together in one apartment. About half of the children lived with one or more unrelated families and the remaining half lived alone with their own families or with another related family. Thirty-eight percent (38%) of the children lived with both biological parents, 38% with widowed, single mothers, 14% with their biological mother and a stepfather and 10% with their biological father and a stepmother. Please see Table 1 for frequencies.

Data was also collected on the geographical, educational and occupational background of parents. Approximately 41% of the children came from families with an urban background while 59% came from a rural background. The mean number of years of education for mothers was 1.42, although 52% of the children had mothers with no formal education, 17% with 1-3 years of education and 21% with 3-6 years of education. The mean number of years of education for fathers was considerably higher, at 7.7. Mother's former occupations (before 1975) included: farmer (28%), housewife (28%), factory worker (20%), seamstress (10%), miner (7%) and petty merchant (7%). Fathers' former occupations included: soldier (38%), farmer (31%), taxi driver (3%) and dead or occupation unknown (28%).

Several indices of family stability were recorded including number of moves in the U.S., church and Buddhist temple attendance and number of relatives in Boston. The information was tallied for each child, even if it was duplicated by a
sibling also included in the study population. The mean number of moves per family was 2.2. This figure correlated to some degree with length of time in the United States. Fifty-five percent (55%) of the families indicated that they didn't attend church and 42% indicated that they attended at least twice a month. Sixty-six percent (66%) of the families indicated that they did not attend a temple and 21% that they attended once a month. The mean number of relatives each family had in the Boston area was 2. Fifty-one percent (51%) of the families indicated that they had no relatives, 21% had from 1 to 5 relatives and 28% had between 9 and 15 relatives.
Table 1. Profile of Study Population

### AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YRS.</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>% OF SAMPLE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 12.3  
median = 12

### MONTHS IN THE U.S.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>MONTHS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>% OF SAMPLE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 16.34  
median = 15

### SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
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</table>

66%  
34%

### NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN APARTMENT

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38%  
42%  
17%  
3%

### TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN APARTMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
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<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
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<td>9-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38%  
41%  
7%   
7%   
7%

### STATUS OF PARENTS

| Both parents | 11 | 38% |
| Widowed mother | 11 | 38% |
| Mother, stepfather | 4 | 14% |
| Father, stepmother | 3 | 10% |
| Widowed father | 3 | 10% |

### RELATIONSHIP OF FAMILIES IN APARTMENT

| All unrelated | 14 | 48% |
| All related   | 12 | 42% |
| Unknown       | 3  | 10% |

### FAMILY RESIDENCE IN CAMBODIA

| Urban | 11 | 41% |
| Rural | 16 | 59% |
### MOTHER'S EDUCATION IN YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 1.42  
median = 0

### MOTHER'S OCCUPATION BEFORE 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factory worker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seamstress</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petty merchant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NUMBER OF MOVES SINCE ARRIVAL IN U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moves</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 2.19  
median = 1.5

### FATHER'S EDUCATION IN YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 7.76  
median = 6

### FATHER'S OCCUPATION BEFORE 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxi driver</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead/unknown</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHURCH ATTENDANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>don't attend</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attend 2/month</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NUMBER OF RELATIVES IN BOSTON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mean = 2
C. QUANTITATIVE RESULTS.

The quantitative results which follow should be reviewed in the context of the limitations of the overall study. In particular, limitations in sample selection and size should be considered. The study subjects were not representative of the Khmer refugee population in the Boston area. New arrivals and children who had lived in the United States for more than 12 months and had academic, emotional, social and family problems were greatly overrepresented. The small sample number (n=29) and the number of children who dropped out of the study or were unable to complete all tests, scales and interviews (n = 9) made correlational analysis difficult. There were not enough cases with complete data to generate more than a few statistically significant bivariate correlations. Most statistics were analyzed in terms of variation within one variable. Because of these limitations, the quantitative results should be considered in conjunction with the information presented in the "Qualitative Results" section of this report.

1. Analysis of Individual Variables.

Statistical analysis done on the scores gathered from the pre and post academic tests and acculturation and alienation interviews indicated significant progress in academics and adaptation, but no significant changes in adjustment. Oral English scores increased by 28.2% (mean), math scores by
25.6% (mean), Level I reading scores by 22% (mean) and Level II and III reading scores by 1.4 months (mean). Total acculturation scores improved by 1.2 on a 9 point scale or by 13%. Total alienation scores did not change significantly. In fact, they dropped by a fraction of one point.
Table 2. Change Scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral English</th>
<th>Total Acculturation (27 Items)</th>
<th>9 point scale</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>-9% - 73%</td>
<td>-1.1 - 4.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Math</th>
<th>Total Alienation (10 Items)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>-.086</td>
<td>-.95%</td>
<td>-2.9 - 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>8% - 59%</td>
<td>-2.9 - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reading Level I

| Mean                             | 22%                            |
| Median                           | 22%                            |
| Range                            | 5% - 51%                       |

Reading Level II, III

| Mean                             | 1.3 months                     |
| Median                           | 1.0 month                      |
| Range                            | 0 - 4.0 months                 |

When the 27 items on The Children's Acculturation Problem Index were grouped into 6 clusters, significant changes were found in these clusters:

a. "Communication" which includes feelings about speaking and understanding English

b. "Survival Skills" which includes feelings about getting around town, finding help with daily living problems, and doing daily chores

c. "Feelings of Worry" which includes feelings about missing Cambodia, leaving Cambodia and communicating with relatives left behind

Children's identification of "Communication" as a problem decreased by 1.78 points on a 9 point scale or by 19.7%.
Children's identification of "Survival Skills" as a problem decreased by 1.43 points or by 15.8%. The mean score for "Feelings of Worry" as a problem dropped by 2.07 points or by 23%.
Table 3. Change Scores on Selected Clusters of Acculcuration Index Items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>9 Point Scale</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Feelings of Worry</th>
<th>9 Point Scale</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>-3 -6.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
<td>-2.85 - 5.28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Survival Skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9 Point Scale</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>-1.38 - 3.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the scores on the individual items of The Children's Alienation Scale varied significantly, except that of "Feeling Different From Americans". The mean change score for this item was 1.25 points (13.8%) in a negative direction, meaning that the children felt 13.8% more different from Americans in the post than the pre interview. Racial/ethnic differences were a major theme in children's pre and post interview commentary. This concern may have been intensified by a curriculum which focused on issues of racial/ethnic similarities and differences among Americans and Indochinese of various backgrounds.

Table 4. Change Scores on Selected Alienation Scale Items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling Different From Americans</th>
<th>9 Point Scale</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>-1.25</td>
<td>-13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>-.5</td>
<td>- 5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>-5 -3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All scores from the acculturation index and alienation scale were given the student t test to determine whether change was due to sampling error or significant change in the data. Thus, while there were small changes in certain other acculturation clusters and alienation items, they did not meet the t test of significance.
Table 5. Pre and Post Scores for Clusters on The Children's Acculturation Problem Index.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRE-TEST SCORES (On a 9 point scale)</th>
<th>POST-TEST SCORES (On a 9 point scale)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survival Skills</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation (S.D.)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feelings of Worry</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.45</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Retention</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Relations With Khmer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Relations With Americans</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Change scores statistically significant.
Table 6: Pre and Post Scores for the Children's Alienation Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale Description</th>
<th>Pre-Test Scores</th>
<th>Post-Test Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Out of Place</strong> (0 = not out of place, 9 = very out of place)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard Deviation (S.D.)</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American Friends</strong> (0 = easy to make Am. friends, 9 = very hard to make Am. friends)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hopeful about the Future</strong> (0 = very hopeful, 9 = not hopeful at all)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contribute to American Society</strong> (0 = contribute a lot, 9 = contribute nothing)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Khmer Customs</strong> (0 = Khmer customs useful, 9 = Khmer customs not useful)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Understand American Lifestyle</strong> (0 = easy to understand, 9 = very hard to understand)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feel Different From Americans</strong> (0 = not different, 9 = very different)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 (cont.): Pre and Post Scores for the Children's Alienation Scale

**Improve My Life** *(0 = can improve a lot, 9 = cannot improve)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liked By American Children** *(0 = liked very much, 9 = not liked at all)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Feel Lonely** *(0 = never lonely, 9 = very lonely)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Change scores statistically significant.

2. **Bivariate Correlation Analysis.**

All of the bivariate correlations came from a small number of cases *(n=20)*. The following section discusses correlations between baseline data *(i.e. demographic and family background, school attendance)* and academic, acculturation and alienation scores. The correlations were found to be statistically significant using Pearson r correlations. Level of significance was .05 for one tailed and two tailed tests.

"Months in the United States" and "School Attendance" were the baseline variables which had the most effect on academic and acculturation change scores.
Table 7. Correlations With Months in the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes in oral scores</th>
<th>(r = -.65)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changes in math scores</td>
<td>(r = -.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in &quot;Communication&quot; cluster score</td>
<td>(r = .44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Attendance</td>
<td>(r = -.53)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As expected, "Months in the United States" had significant correlations with changes in scores for the "Communication" cluster of the acculturation problem index (r = .44). Interestingly, though, the number of months a child had lived in the United States was found to have a significant negative correlation with oral English (r = -.65) and math (r = -.48) scores. This negative correlation suggests that a longer a child was here, the less dramatic her/his academic improvement was in these subjects. These results may, however, have been due in part to the skewed study population. Children who had been in the United States more than 12 months were given priority for admission to the school if they had academic, emotional, social or family problems. As a result of their problems, these children may have been less motivated and less able to concentrate in class. This negative correlation also may have been due in part to the complexity or the material studied by children in different class levels. The academic tests given to the children were leveled so that the scores reflected how much a child improved within a certain level. Children who had been here short period of time tended to be placed in lower levels where the instruction emphasized very basic skills. Instruction
at higher levels of oral English and math required a wider range of thinking skills, and may, therefore, have been achieved at a slower rate.

The negative correlation \((r = -0.53)\) between "Months in the United States" and "School Attendance" was an interesting one. Again, there may have been several explanations. As mentioned above, children who had lived in the United States for longer than 12 months were given priority for admission to the school if they had academic, emotional, social or family problems. These children not only had the lowest attendance, but seemed to be more distracted by problems outside school. Indeed, many of them were involved in crises during the summer such as homelessness after fires, domestic violence and the hospitalization of family members. They were more likely to be proficient in basic English and have networks of peer support outside the summer school than the new arrivals. Thus, these children may have had less educational and social motivation to attend school. In contrast, the new arrivals were involved in fewer crises. They had little knowledge of English and may, therefore, have seen attending school as very important. They also had yet to establish friendships in the United States and may have used the school as a way of making friends.

For those who attended school regularly, attendance had a positive correlation with progress in oral English \((r = 0.44)\) and math \((r = 0.43)\). No significant association was found between attendance and acculturation or alienation scores, indicating
that the school was successful in helping all children who attended regularly progress academically.

The other significant correlation associated with baseline data was one between age and the "Communication" cluster of the acculturation index (r= .44). Younger children felt less able to improve their oral English skills. This trend was also reflected in interviews with younger children. Indeed, younger children may initially feel more overwhelmed by process of attending school and the task of learning English than older children. These feelings may be explained by the fact that most of the children under age 13 had never attended school in Cambodia or the refugee camps and had been enrolled in school in the United States for less than 1 year.

The final significant association found at the .05 level was between Level I reading scores and the "Communications" cluster (r= .654). Higher reading scores correlated closely with a child's increased confidence in his ability to speak and understand English.

Two milder associations were found at the .10 level of significance for r. The first was an association between sex and changes in alienation scores (r= .40). Male students in the study population were slightly more likely than female to remain on the higher level of the alienation scale. This may have been due to the slightly more confrontative stance male students seemed to take towards their position in the United States or simply to their greater willingness to articulate feelings of alienation.
The final association which was significant on the .10 level was between change in total acculturation scores and change in total alienation scores (r= -.54). This result suggested that lower acculturation scores were associated, to some degree, with higher alienation scores. This inverse relationship implied that issues such as feeling different from Americans, having American friends and feeling in control of the future may have become problematic only after children had achieved a certain level of adaptation to their new environment.

In general, children's post interview scores on The Children's Alienation Scale were slightly higher than on The Children's Acculturation Problem Index. The overall post mean score for the acculturation index was 3.32 while the overall post mean score for the alienation scale was 4.04. This result was in accordance with the overall trend revealed by the data; children gained in academics and adaptation, but did not gain significantly in adjustment. The lack of change in adjustment is not surprising given the nature of the issues involved and the length of the school. While children did seem to improve on the "Feelings of Worry" cluster on the acculturation index, the questions asked were short and did not involve in-depth discussion before children recorded their answers. Furthermore, these questions were asked in the context of daily activities and functioning. In contrast, the questions on the alienation scale were longer, requiring the child to respond to several lead-in questions before marking the scale. These questions were clearly
focused on emotions. Thus, both the format and material may have been more threatening to the children.

D. QUALITATIVE RESULTS.

In addition to statistical analysis of the data gathered from The Children's Acculturation Problem Index and the Children's Alienation Scale, comments made in response to lead-in questions in pre and post interviews were analyzed for content. In some instances the number of comments relating to a particular topic was totaled and their content analyzed. In other instances, general themes found within the comments were examined. Comments made by children during observations and informal conversations with the study team supplemented material from the formal interviews.

1. Adaptation.

Initial interviews revealed that the children associated their ability to speak English with many other survival and social skills. For example, getting around town, going to the doctor and making American friends were all difficult because of an inability to speak English. One student related his inability to speak English to virtually every potential problem involved with living in the United States.

"I'm worried about welfare because I can't speak English. Going to the doctor is a problem because I can't tell him the problem. I get lost on the subway because I can't..."
Once their level of English had improved to the point where they could ask questions, the children seemed to feel more confident about accomplishing the tasks of daily living. They might still identify some daily living problems, but would give different explanations why these were problems. Thus, improved English proficiency was an indicator not only of linguistic skill, but also of increased confidence about functioning in daily life.

The children felt that the most important aspect of the school was the instruction. They seemed to feel that the school had helped them to understand more English. In many instances they also felt that their speaking ability had improved. Almost all of the children suggested that the school include more English and math instruction. Many also suggested that arts and crafts was "not useful" and, along with other non-academic subjects, might be eliminated to make room for more English since "that is what we really need to know".

2. Adjustment.

Comments the children made relating to their adjustment could be divided into 6 broad categories. In general, children expressed anxiety about at least 2 of these categories and many expressed anxiety about 4 or more.
a. Past Experiences and Cambodia.

Out of the 29 children interviewed, 15 described bad memories related to their experiences during the Pol Pot regime or the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. Many of these descriptions involved recurrent dreams or the appearance of ghosts. Other children stated that they didn't remember anything because they were too young, but marked bad memories as being a problem on the alienation scale.

Descriptions of specific events which fostered bad memories often focused on the presence of soldiers, guns and fighting as did the following memory described by a 15 year old Khmer girl.

"When I was small and lived in Cambodia I saw a gun. There Pol Pot soldiers shot at me. They shot at me and I had no clothes on. I cried. Then the Vietnamese came and they helped some, but they wanted to take everything from Cambodia. They were not very smart."

As reflected in this short story, specific incidents were often connected to a train of events. Several children told "my story" in the style of a monologue. They had to tell the entire sequence of events in one breath. Interviews with families revealed that Khmer refugees might be accustomed to telling their stories in a monologue style because they had to do so with immigration officials before being permitted to come to the United States. Children usually did not have to tell their stories, but often rehearsed them in preparation for interviews with officials.

Other descriptions of bad memories focused on the presence of ghosts, either in dreams or during waking hours. The topic of
ghosts seemed to be a very popular one among the children. Throughout the course of the data collection period, children were observed engaging in spontaneous conversations about ghosts and discussing where they had seen them. On one field trip, 5 children described having seen a ghost together. The children often debated whether ghosts only existed in Cambodia or they existed in the United States as well.

Several children expressed their firm belief that the ghosts of dead relatives had come with them to the United States. In one discussion all 5 children in a class related specific experiences each had had with ghosts and various methods one could use to make them go away, including "pointing between their eyes," "killing them again with a knife," "shooting them" or "tying a string around your wrist to protect you from ghosts."

What follows is one of the more elaborate descriptions given of ghosts appearing recurrently in the dreams of a 14 year old boy.

"I dream a lot about my father dying in Cambodia. My father visits me every night as a ghost and asks me to come to Cambodia. My mother does a ritual to make the ghost go away. In my dream my real father takes me and we go back to Cambodia. We see a lot of strange things there. All of the houses are destroyed and there are many, many ghosts. We see people eating people. Everything is eating everything else. Everything is all bleeding and bones. Everything is eating everything and there are many ghosts. My mother prays for the ghosts to go away and she does a ritual to get rid of them."

Belief in ghosts and spirits are incorporated into many local religious traditions in Cambodia. Thus, it is common for Khmer to have personal experiences with ghosts and spirits. The intense interest and frequent comments expressed by subjects in this study may be an example of children's struggle to make
sense of past and present experiences by transferring or integrating traditional beliefs into their new culture, a culture which they knew did not recognize ghosts and spirits as a part of daily life.

A majority of the children in the study (21 out of 25) made specific comments about missing Cambodia. These comments appeared a bit more frequently in initial interviews, but also in more than half of the final interviews. Comments usually concerned missing familiar people and places, with a focus on rural surroundings. Many young boys expressed a sense of loss for "cows" and regret that they could not be in the country taking care of animals. Other children related missing Cambodia to the death or disappearance of people they had been close to. For example, from a 10 year old girl:

"When I think about Cambodia, I miss all my relatives who died. One named Rin got hit in the head in an attack. He was my real brother who got killed."

Most children who expressed a clear sense of being lonely related this feeling to thoughts of missing Cambodia. Children who had been in the United States for longer periods of time expressed homesickness for Cambodia, but seemed to feel that they could cope with this feeling and that it became less of a problem the longer they were here. Several expressed an interest in going back to Cambodia to visit later, but did not want to return now for fear of being killed, not having enough food or not having "freedom."
b. Refugee Status.

Some of the most interesting comments related to children's adjustment to American culture concerned their perceptions of what a refugee was and how long one remained a refugee. Eleven out of the 29 children interviewed defined a refugee as "someone who escapes from one country to another." Another 6 children added to this definition that a refugee was "someone who lives in someone else's country." Two children defined a refugee as someone with "no country."

The children varied greatly on how long they thought they would remain refugees. One 15 year old girl thought that she would be a refugee "until I die." One 10 year old boy indicated that after he learned how to speak English he would no longer be a refugee. Older children seemed to associate refugee status with dependence on welfare. These 2 statements typified this attitude.

"If I stay here a long time in the U.S. and I am independent, then I am not a refugee. When I can take care of myself and am not getting anything from the state, then I am not a refugee."

"A refugee is someone who comes from Thailand camps to live here in the U.S. and eats from welfare. When I'm 30 and working, I won't be a refugee. When we live here a long time and don't have welfare, then we are American."

Other children associated changes in refugee status with legal changes of status such as citizenship or permanent residency. One 14 year old boy commented, "In 5 years you stop being a refugee when you are a citizen, but I don't want to be a citizen." While 5 children stated that they would always be
refugees, most seemed to feel that refugee status was temporary, but that it took a long time and a lot of hard work before one was no longer a refugee.


A basic indicator of a child's adjustment to a new environment is her/his sense of physical security. Interviews with children in the study indicated that they had been involved in quite frequent physical confrontations with American children and teenagers, often incidents of hitting, kicking or rock throwing. In addition to discussion of incidents which had actually occurred, 6 children stated that they were afraid of violence such as kidnapping or being stabbed or killed on the street. Four younger children responded to a question about what made them feel uncomfortable in the United States with "I'm afraid someone will kidnap me and kill me." Most children associated going to the bank, school or other places around the city with fears of being hurt. The majority felt most afraid when they were alone. In general, as their knowledge of English and the public transportation system improved, they seemed to feel more confident. Several, however, expressed great fear of traveling alone in the final interviews.

In addition to fears of physical danger, about one half of the children indicated that they were worried about shortages of money in their families or welfare cut-offs. Obtaining public assistance and managing money were significant parts of
many children's lives since they served as interpreters for their parents in the welfare office, bank, unemployment office and in stores. Thus, many children were all too aware of the precariousness of their family's finances. Several older children stated that they were very worried that when welfare was cut off they would have to quit school to go to work to support their families. They felt a lot of pressure, therefore, to learn as much as they could right now since they were uncertain how much longer they could attend school.

"I worry a lot about studying--about when my family goes off welfare. How will we be supported without welfare? If there is no welfare, I will have to go to work and quit studying."


Analysis of comments from the pre and post interviews indicated that the issues of racial/ethnic differences and tensions were of major concern to the children in the study. Twenty-two out of 29 children indicated an awareness of racial/ethnic differences between themselves and others. Twenty-four made specific comments about racial tension or conflict. In addition, 26 mentioned specific incidents or problems with Americans in which race/ethnicity was not specified as the cause.

When they discussed differences between Americans and Khmer, the children focused first on physical characteristics and then
on linguistic and cultural differences. Many described Khmer as having dark skin and black hair while Americans had white skin, hair of varying colors and long noses. Some of them then amended these statements by saying that some Americans were also black-skinned. In discussing Americans, there did seem to be a trend among the children, however, to use the word "American" to describe a white person. Children usually specified "black American" if they were referring to a black person.

"Yes, I feel really different. I dress differently and I am black and most Americans are really white, but some are black. And we don't speak the same language."

In discussing themselves and other immigrants and refugees, the children did not view the fact that people lived in the United States as sufficient reason for them to be American. Being American related to certain physical characteristics, language and, to a certain extent, "how people think." Many children characterized Americans as not only looking different, but also as "doing everything different," "thinking different" and sometimes "not knowing how to behave". Most of the children were aware of Spanish-speaking people and had had some contact with them on a summer school field trip and at the West End House, but did not view them as American. They thought Spanish speakers were "Spanish" rather than American. These comments suggested a strong association in the minds of the children language and ethnicity.

When discussing other Indochinese ethnic groups, specifically, Lao, Vietnamese and Chinese, most children indicated that they felt different. They did not focus on
physical differences, but on differences in language, food and "the way we live".

Comments children made about racial tension were related to feelings or experiences with white Americans, black Americans, and Vietnamese. The comments focused primarily on events at school and in their neighborhood and problems in making friends with Americans. The children varied in their opinions about other racial/ethnic groups, particularly black Americans. Some were uncertain about what people of other backgrounds thought of Khmer. This 13 year old had been in the United States for 3 months.

"I don't know what Americans think about me, but I can tell that black kids don't like me by the way they look at me. They keep staring and I am afraid. There are only a few or my street and some at school. White Americans like me a little better."

A 14 year old who had lived in the United States considerably longer presented this opinion.

"Khmer kids like to play with each other because we never have trouble. We don't get along with American children. We are always fighting with them. White people and black people are different though. They act differently. There are a lot of bad black people. White people are good... I don't like Vietnamese. I don't like Lao. I don't like Chinese. I only like Khmer."

Other children expressed negative feelings about white children as well.

"I have trouble at school. American kids are fighting and they hit me. When I play basketball American kids hit me and run. White kids. When I was riding bikes with my friend, American kids threw rocks and hit my friend's head. They broke his head and we fought back."
Most striking in the children's discussions of incidents involving tension or confrontation with Americans was the level of physical contact. Hitting, kicking and rocking throwing were a part of many incidents described by both boys and girls. For some, fear of physical confrontation inhibited them from venturing far from home.

I'm afraid to go out. One time someone threatened my mother on the way home from welfare. We're afraid to go outside now."

Physical confrontation also fostered negative feelings about going to public school, where many of the incidents the children mentioned had occurred.

I don't like to go to school because Americans hit Khmer kids. One time someone hit me and chased me up the stairs."

While some children stated that they tried to make friends with Americans, others stated that they preferred to play only with Khmer and avoid Americans. While most children felt it was easier for Khmer to play with each other, some felt it was just not possible for Khmer and American children to get along.

"I like to play with Khmer children because it's easy for us to understand each other. When I play with American children I fight. We don't play with American people because we always fight with each other."

"I like to play with Khmer. I hate Americans. I just hate them, I don't know why."

"American children and Khmer children are different from each other. American kids are always making trouble. I feel different because I am afraid. I'm afraid Americans will kill me. I don't like anything about Americans."

A few children had successfully made friends with Americans and expressed pleasure in these relationships. These children
stated that they often went to their friends' homes or would go out with them. Two remarked that they never brought their friends to their own homes because things were too different. They seemed to look at their friends' homes as places where they could practice English and American customs which they could not practice in their own homes.

Although in the summer school Khmer children attended classes and recreational activities with Vietnamese, Amerasians, Lao and Khmuu, most of their socializing was done with other Khmer. Many children expressed a strong dislike for Vietnamese although, when they discussed themselves as refugees, they pointed out their similarities to the Vietnamese. These feelings of dislike were not surprising given the long history of political tension between Vietnam and Cambodia and the current Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. There were incidents of conflict between Khmer and Vietnamese children at the school. Lack of a common language contributed to many misunderstandings. Children assumed that someone was "saying something bad" about them in a language they did not understand. Over the course of the summer, however, several Khmer became friends with Vietnamese. For example, one 15 year old Khmer girl in the study developed a close relationship with a 16 year old Vietnamese boy.

e. Teenage Gender Roles.

The Children's Alienation Scale contained a specific question about how it felt to be a Khmer boy or girl in the
United States. Most of the younger children in the study stated that it felt different to be a Khmer boy or girl in the United States than in Cambodia, but they did not relate this difference to gender. All of the adolescent girls and 2 of the boys, however, responded by expressing discomfort with American teenage gender roles.

The biggest difficulty for the 2 boys was talking to girls. The 5 girls, however, indicated that just associating with boys was difficult for them personally as well as something of which their parents and community would not approve. The girls explained that in Cambodia girls played with girls and boys with boys. Girls did not talk to or have relationships with boys until they were ready to get married. If a Khmer girl dated a boy, she was seen as a "bad girl".

The girls stated that they not only had difficulty relating to American and Khmer boys, but also to American girls, most of whom they saw as strongly focused on "getting boyfriends". All of the girls stated that the difference between Khmer and American teenage gender roles was a source of great stress in their social lives.

"American girls know how to drink beer and smoke cigarettes. They look different and think different. I have no boyfriend because I am a Khmer girl. That's different."

"American girls are different. I feel embarrassed because they have boyfriends. They play with boys and go out. Different boys every month. Sometimes it's hard when I go somewhere and people talk to me, like boys. Because the boys are bad, they make me embarrassed. I'm afraid and angry at boys."

"It's very hard to be like American girls. Older Khmer people get upset with girls who have boyfriends. It's o.k.
to be with a boy if you are married, but, if you are unmarried, they call you a playgirl."

In general, the children in the study socialized together in same-sex groups, with the exception of siblings. In classrooms seating arrangements almost always reflected a grouping by gender as did spontaneous social groupings of children during recreational activities. Same-sex physical affection such as holding hands or linking arms was frequently observed among the children. In general, Khmer children who were friends appeared to be more physically affectionate with each other than American children. This observation was supported by comments made by a few children in their interviews.

f. The Future.

In general, the children (20 out of 29) stated that they did not think much about the future. Many of the younger children simply answered "I don't know" when asked questions about the future. According to Piaget (1970) and Selman (1976), uncertainty about the future is developmentally normal for most children under age 13.

Most of the children in the study of any age, however, were unable to focus in any detail on events which would happen beyond the next school year. They simply felt that they should go to school and beyond that could not articulate any plans. Only a few had long-term plans and could talk about the steps they would go through in order to carry out these plans.
In the post interviews more children were able to articulate a career choice or job they would like to have in the future. This increase may have resulted from the emphasis in the ESL curriculum on jobs and careers. Below is a summary of the jobs which students mentioned. Some children mentioned more than one job.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th># of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse/Hospital worker</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office worker</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat Market</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus driver</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While many children were unclear about how they would pursue these careers, most seemed to feel that they would be successful if they studied and worked hard and were "good". A few, nevertheless, particularly older children, remained pessimistic about their ability to control their future.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

This study leads to a number of conclusions which will be points of departure for the service and research recommendations presented in the following section. These conclusions have ramifications not only for the summer school operated by MICAS,
but for policy makers, funding sources and refugee and mainstream providers.

A. ADAPTATION.

The study indicates that Khmer refugee children can make significant progress in academics and adaptation during a short-term program such as the summer school operated by MICAS. Such progress can be achieved by both new arrivals and children who have lived in the United States for more than 6 months, including those with academic, emotional, social and family problems. The rate of progress, however, may be affected by how long the children have lived in the United States. Among subjects in the study, those who had lived in the United States for more than 6 months had a slower rate of progress in learning academic and survival skills than those who had just arrived.

B. ADJUSTMENT.

The study indicates that Khmer refugee children, including those who are able to function successfully in their new environment, experience adjustment problems of varying severity. These issues seemed to be of particular concern to the children in the study:

* Past events, memories and homesickness (for Cambodia)
* Refugee status
* Physical and Financial security
Racial/ethnic differences and tensions
American teenage gender roles

The study suggests that Khmer refugee children do not make significant progress in working through these adjustment problems in a program such as the summer school operated by MICAS. While short-term programming of this type may help children maintain their current level of adjustment, it does not seem to help them adjust further.

C. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADAPTATION AND ADJUSTMENT.

Statistical analysis of the data from The Children's Acculturation Problem Index and The Children's Alienation Scale suggests that an inverse relationship may exist between adaptation and adjustment (i.e. the better adapted a child is, the less well adjusted he is). While the negative correlation found between adaptation and adjustment was only moderately significant, it was supported by the qualitative data.

A study done by Starr et. al. (1979) with Indochinese heads of household in the United States suggested that individuals' post-arrival projections about the future did not meet their pre-arrival level. As pointed out by Cohon (1982), this lends support of Tyhurst's observations (1951, 1977) that there is an initial period of optimism for refugees which disappears between 2 and 6 months after arrival. A period of "general personal disequilibrium" (Tyhurst 1951) predictably follows. As the
refugee becomes more aware of what is really involved in trying
to build a new life in the United States, expectations and
optimism about the future may decrease.

Refugee children, many of whom assist in managing family
finances and serve as intermediaries between their families and
the American world (e.g. welfare workers, landlord,
salesperson,), may also undergo this same process. Thus,
difficulties in adjustment may emerge in conjunction with, and
perhaps, in part, caused by, progress in learning English and
daily living skills.

D. METHODS OF RESEARCH AMONG REFUGEE CHILDREN.

A final set of conclusions concerns the design and
methodology of the study itself. Some of the assumptions
involved in the design of scientific data gathering techniques do
not hold true when applied to Khmer refugee children as a
research population.

The assumption behind a self-assessment scale is that the
participant is willing and able to sit down and talk with an
unfamiliar questioner. The majority of the children in the study
had seldom, if ever, participated in such a situation. Many were
either unable or unwilling to function in a structured interview
with strangers. They tried to appease the study team with "the
right answer" and often seemed afraid to express what they really
felt. Several had to be approached a number of times before they
could be persuaded to participate at all. A few quit talking in
the middle of interviews. Once personal relationships had
developed between the study team and the children, they were more
receptive to questioning and more willing to engage in informal
conversations. Thus, the post interviews were conducted with
relative ease, although, even then, several children did not wish
to participate. In all these situations, the children's wishes
were respected.

Most children under age 12 tend to tie their responses to
questions to particular recent events rather than abstract
concepts (Piaget 1970). The Children's Acculturation Problem
Index and The Children's Alienation Scale were developed for
unaccompanied minors, most of whom were age 14 or above. Despite
revisions, the scales were inappropriate for many of the subjects
in the study under age 12, resulting in many answers of "I don't
know" and changes of scaling in accordance with recent events
known to the study team. Given the 8 week interval between pre
and post interviews, the quantitative results probably serve more
as an indicator of recent events in the children's lives or of
how they were feeling on particular days than as measures of
their feelings about some of the abstract concepts included in
the scales. Statistical results, therefore, had to be analyzed
in conjunction with comments made by the children in the
interviews, informal conversations and observations.
VI. RECOMMENDATIONS.

The final section of this report presents recommendations for services and research based upon the findings of this study. While this study dealt only with Khmer, many of the recommendations are applicable to refugee children from other ethnic and racial backgrounds.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SERVICES.

1. Target Population.

Khmer refugee communities are diverse. Organizations should collect and regularly update information on the refugees in their community.

These factors are particularly important in planning services for children:

* length of time in the United States
* economic status
* family composition
* family background (e.g. rural or urban, parents' occupations, length of time spent in refugee camps)
* educational background of children and parents prior to migration as well as in the United States
* extent and nature of support network for children and adults

Based upon this information, organizations should identify a target population. Program structure and content should address
the specific needs of the specific children and families to be served.

2. Resources.

Organizations planning new programs for refugee children should assess existing services offered by mainstream-specific as well as refugee-specific agencies, particularly public schools. Information should be collected on the nature of the service, its accessibility, availability and appropriateness for different segments of the Khmer population (e.g. those with very limited proficiency in English, adolescent girls).

The needs of Khmer refugee children are so diverse that they rarely can be met within one agency. It is important, therefore, for organizations to develop linkages with other providers. In particular, in many communities linkages between refugee-specific and mainstream agencies should be strengthened. Organizations should also explore ways to collaborate since such collaboration can greatly expand the range of services available to refugee children.

Funding sources should increase support for technical assistance, consultation and education provided by refugee-specific organizations to mainstream agencies, many of whom have little experience with the Khmer refugee population and/or no bilingual/bicultural staff. This assistance is critical in ensuring that existing services are accessible, available and appropriate for refugee children.
3. **Service Needs.**

Khmer refugee children have diverse service needs. In many communities, however, programming for school-age children focuses primarily on instruction in academic and survival skills, particularly for newly-arrived children. This study suggests that children have a significant need for services beyond those designed to facilitate adaptation.

a. Adaptation.

Both new arrivals and children who have lived in the United States for a longer time need and can benefit from instruction in academic and survival skills and programming which facilitates their adaptation such as field trips and seasonal activities. Children who have lived in the United States for less than 6 months may make more rapid progress academically, however, than those who are more settled. Thus, it is important that children receive intensive instruction immediately upon their arrival when they can benefit most from it. Instruction in English should not overshadow instruction in survival skills and math. Finally, in meeting the needs of new arrivals, organizations should not overlook the needs of children who have some knowledge of English, but require extra help in study skills and content subjects such as science and social studies.
b. Adjustment.

A large number of the children in the study were experiencing adjustment problems. Instruction in academic and survival skills and activities designed to facilitate adaptation were not effective in addressing these problems. While few programs exist for Khmer refugee children which address these problems systematically and effectively, the results of this study provide some basic guidelines for designing such programming.

The programming should be preventive in nature and, therefore, provided to all children who have lived in the United States for at least 6 months and have begun to adapt to their new environment. It should be provided on an ongoing, rather than a short-term, basis and, ideally, should take place in the context of ESL and bilingual programs in public schools, the only institution with intensive contact with all school-age refugee children.

Because there is such a lack of information and expertise on children's adjustment, funding sources should support several demonstration projects to develop and disseminate information on program models and materials.

c. Mental Health.

Thirty percent (30%) of the children in the study were involved in individual or family counseling during the summer. Additional children would have benefitted greatly from these
services. This figure highlights the importance of organizations working with refugee children developing linkages with mental health agencies so that consultation and direct services are available when needed. Staff in regular contact with refugee children, particularly teachers and day care workers, should receive basic training in identifying and referring children in need of mental health services. This training should emphasize: 1) differences between behavior which results from cultural differences and that which results from emotional problems and 2) identification of children with emotional problems who are not in crisis or disruptive.

Funding sources should provide more support for refugee child and family mental health services. The Indochinese refugee population is young. In Massachusetts 42% of this population is under age 19. Prevention and intervention services for children and families produce an enormous long-term impact on the community. Yet, at present, many children/families are identified as in need of mental health services, but not referred because there are no appropriate services available while other children/families are not seen until they are in crisis due to insufficient services.

d. Families in Crisis.

More than one third of the children in the study had families involved in crises during the summer. These crises included fires, racial harrassment, eviction, serious illness.
accidents and domestic violence. In order to respond rapidly and effectively when such situations arise, organizations working with refugee children should develop linkages with agencies which can provide consultation, information and referral or crisis intervention.

4. **Service Delivery.**

   a. Focus of Services.

   Unlike American society in which the primary unit is the individual, in Khmer society the primary unit is the family. Yet, in many communities services to refugees are fragmented. Refugee-specific programs provide ESL and employment services to adults. Public schools provide educational services to children often with little or no contact with parents.

   Organizations working with refugee children should use a family focus to service delivery. Regular contact should be maintained with parents through phone calls, written notices, and, most importantly, home visits. Parents should be involved in the resolution of children's problems at school and in the community. Finally, efforts should be made to involve families in programming through assisting in seasonal or special activities, attending children's performances and participating in regular parent meetings.
b. Site of Service.

Despite the limitations of the mental health and social service component, the MICAS summer school was extremely successful in identifying, engaging and serving the children and families most in need of service. This success can be attributed to the tremendous amount of outreach done, the comprehensive nature of the services and, most importantly, to the context of the services.

Organizations should provide most mental health/social services to refugee children and their families in the context of schools or day care centers. When this is not possible, close communication should be maintained between the mental health/social service agency, the school and the family.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH.

1. Design and Methodology.

   a. Sample Size

   The small sample size (n=29) and the number of children who dropped out of the summer school or were unable to complete all the tests, scales and interviews (n=9) made correlational analysis difficult. Future research should involve larger groups of children to allow for substantial drop out rates and incomplete material.
b. Sample Selection.

The sample used in this study was skewed because it consisted only of children in the summer school, many of whom had been enrolled because of their academic, emotional, social and family problems. In order to reach any conclusions about Khmer children in general, a representative sample of children should be selected.

c. Use of Structured Interviews and Self-Assessment Scales

Many of the children in this study were unwilling or unable to function in structured interviews with strangers. In working with refugee children, researchers should work to establish relationships of trust first, focusing on informal conversations and observation. Later structured interviews may be used. Cultural background and cognitive development of the subjects should be considered carefully in developing the content of the structured interviews and self-assessment scales. Furthermore, the concentration span of the subjects should be considered in arranging interview schedules. Finally, self-assessment scales and structured interviews should be supplemented by informal conversation, observation and interviews with key informants such as teachers to help in interpreting statistical results.
2. Areas for Research.

a. The Relationship Between Adaptation and Adjustment.

Major questions raised by this outcome study relate to the type of relationship which exists between the adaptation and adjustment of refugee children in the United States and the factors affecting this relationship such as a child's past experiences as a refugee and his current living situation. Family interviews done as part of this study and research focusing on these issues (Indochinese Health and Adaptation Research Project 1984) suggest that past life events, current living situation and available resources are very important in determining the degree and rate that individuals adapt and adjust to life in the United States.

Future research on the adaptation and adjustment of Khmer refugee children should include more thorough collection of family background and current household data. In addition, scales similar to The Children's Acculturation Problem Index and The Children's Alienation Scale should be administered to family members as well as children.

b. Intergenerational Research.

This study focused primarily on children. Intergenerational
research should be undertaken to determine if children adapt and adjust at the same rate as their parents, and, if they vary, the specific areas and factors contributing to this variation.

c. Interethnic Research.

This study dealt with the adaptation and adjustment of Khmer refugee children. Research being conducted in the San Diego area suggests that significant differences exist in the ability of Khmer, Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong and ethnic Chinese refugees to adapt to life in the United States. These differences appear to be related to two sets of variables researchers call "stressful life events" and "adaptational resources" (Indochinese Health and Adaptation Project 1984). Interethnic studies of children's adaptation and adjustment should be undertaken to complement this research.

d. Longitudinal Studies.

This study indicated that the length of time a child had lived in the United States was a critical factor in his adaptation and adjustment. It also suggested that an inverse relationship may exist between adaptation and adjustment. Longitudinal research of children over one, two and five year periods should be undertaken to further explore these processes.
APPENDIX #1

Description of the MICAS Summer '84 School

In 1984 the summer school operated by Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services (MICAS) provided educational, recreational, mental health and social services to 84 Indochinese youth ages 9-21 from metropolitan Boston. The description which follows highlights those aspects of the school affecting Khmer students ages 10-15, the subjects of the outcome study.

A. NEEDS.

The summer school was designed to meet several specific needs of the Indochinese communities in Boston as well as the needs of individual youth.

1. Educational Services.

Many Indochinese youth have a limited knowledge of English. Most cannot read above a third grade level and about 60% are pre or semi-literate in their native language. Most need not only to learn English, but also to "catch up" in other subjects such as math, science and social studies. Those entering public school in the United States for the first time in September need orientation while those already enrolled need to maintain what they have learned.

2. Child Care.

Due to lack of child care, many children are left alone during the summer when the public schools
are closed and their parents go to work or ESL and skill training programs. Children who play outside often encounter harassment and sometimes physical abuse from neighborhood youth. Other children engage in unsafe or undesirable activities such as playing in the middle of the street or in garbage dumpsters or shoplifting. Lack of supervision is dangerous for the children and often contributes to heightened racial tension in the neighborhoods.


In many communities few Indochinese refugees utilize mainstream (i.e. non-refugee specific services) because of linguistic and cultural barriers. While staff in mainstream agencies need to become more skilled in dealing with the Indochinese population, refugees need to develop more skills in accessing services at such agencies. Such skills include: greater English proficiency; more confidence in dealing with individuals from other racial and ethnic backgrounds; and greater understanding of bureaucratic procedures.

In addition to meeting these community needs, the summer school was designed to meet the following individual needs of refugee youth:

a. Instruction in English and survival skills
b. Instruction in math
c. Recreational activities
d. Mental health and social services
e. Maintenance of pride in native culture and language
f. Knowledge and appreciation of other Indochinese cultures
g. Exposure to American culture
h. Exposure to limited-English speaking youth from the same background
i. Exposure to youth from other racial and ethnic backgrounds
j. Exposure to Indochinese adult role models.

B. OBJECTIVES.

The structure and content of the school were designed to meet 7 broad objectives which reflected both sets of needs.
described above.

1. Improving the English and math skills of program participants.

2. Facilitating the participants' adjustment to American culture and the urban environment of Boston.

3. Increasing each participant's pride in his/her ethnic background and his/her understanding and appreciation of the racial/ethnic background of others.

4. Fostering the personal growth and social development of participants.

5. Developing the professional skills and encouraging the personal growth of staff at all levels.

6. Expanding and improving collaboration among agencies working together in the program.

7. Providing summer educational and recreational activities to youth involved in the year-round programs or school year services of agencies collaborating in this project.

C. TARGET POPULATION:

The summer school served 84 refugee youth ages 9-21 from metropolitan Boston. Of these, 54% were Khmer, 30% Vietnamese, 8% Amerasian and 8% Laotian. All of the students came from low income families, with 96% receiving public assistance. Children had lived in the United States from 3 weeks to more than 3 years when they entered the school. Fifty-two percent (52%) were emotionally-disturbed, learning-disabled or neglected/abused. Forty-five percent (45%) were receiving ongoing mental health services at MICAS prior to the summer.
D. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT.

The summer school provided 7 weeks of educational, recreational, mental health and social services. Students spent 4-7 hours per day, 5 days a week, at the school. Some also had contact with staff outside of school hours through counseling sessions, home visits, phone calls or crisis intervention activities.

The theme of the summer school was "Communities": the community of the school (i.e. staff, students, outside helpers); ethnic communities (i.e. Hispanic and Indochinese); and geographic communities (i.e. two neighborhoods in Boston with concentrations of Indochinese refugees). This theme which was explored through educational and recreational activities was selected because it addressed the students' need for information about and involvement with their new environment.

The summer school staff was diverse, including white and black Americans, Europeans, Khmer, Vietnamese, Lao and Khmuu. This multi-racial, multi-cultural staff provided students with positive role models and positive interaction with individuals from many backgrounds. Many children in the study commented on the importance of this interaction in their interviews.

Below is a brief description of each of the 3 major components of the school; educational; recreational, and mental health/social service. Descriptions are based upon review of planning and implementation materials, records, 7 weeks of observation and interviews with students and staff.
1. Academic Component.

Students attended four 40 minute classes per day, Monday through Thursday. They attended 2 periods of ESL and one of math. In addition, students aged 15 and above attended one period of career education while younger students attended arts and crafts. Students were grouped for all subjects on the basis of their scores on competency-based oral English pre-tests. Classes ranged in size from 8 to 16 students. Daily homework was assigned in ESL and math classes and most students turned it in regularly.

ESL instruction was offered at three levels: 1) low beginner for students who had no knowledge of English; 2) high beginner for students who had some knowledge of very basic spoken English; and 3) low intermediate for those with a good knowledge of basic spoken English, but very limited reading and writing skills. Beginning classes emphasized oral communication and low intermediate classes emphasized vocabulary development and basic reading and writing skills. The curriculum for all levels was oriented toward survival skills such as giving personal information, using public transportation and understanding how to use neighborhood services. ESL classes were taught by 4 ESL teachers supervised by an educational coordinator. The teachers used an active approach in their instruction. Students spent about one third of class time on individual written work. The remaining time was spent in group discussion, games and other participatory activities.
Given the large number of emotionally-disturbed, learning-disabled and neglected/abused children, the level of participation was remarkable. While some students acted out or disengaged at times, most tried hard to concentrate and learn. For some students, their major achievement in ESL was learning how to function in an American classroom. Others gained self-confidence in their speaking ability and learned to work in groups more cooperatively.

The arts and crafts curriculum reinforced the language and concepts taught in the ESL classes, provided students with an opportunity to work together on projects and gave them a break from academic classes. Students engaged in a variety of projects including making maps of their neighborhoods, murals, puppets, painting and photography.

Most children used arts and crafts classes as a time to socialize in a structured atmosphere and express themselves artistically. Classes were ethnically mixed and provided students with another opportunity to interact informally with children of other ethnic groups.

Students attended math classes in their ESL groups. As a result, each class consisted of students of widely varying math levels. To respond to this situation, math was individualized, with students working independently in small groups on particular curriculum objectives. Five levels of math instruction were offered: whole numbers; fractions; decimals; ratios, percents and introductory geometry; and algebra readiness. The curriculum at all levels also covered survival skills such as using American
money, comparison shopping, telling time and banking. Classroom instruction involved board work and individualized written exercises. Students with little or no knowledge of English were taught by bilingual math teachers while those with low intermediate level English were taught by an American high school student. All of the instructors were assisted by bilingual teenage aides and supervised by the educational coordinator.

Due to the limitations of having several levels in one classroom, students who were in the very lowest levels or who had few other children in their level tended to receive less overall instruction time. Despite this difficulty, most students were enthusiastic about their math classes.

2. Recreation Component.

In addition to academic classes, students participated in extensive recreational activities. These activities were designed to provide students with opportunities to hear and speak English in an informal atmosphere, develop friendships with peers and staff and interact with youth from other racial and ethnic backgrounds. The activities were planned and led by the recreation program coordinator and the director assisted by teachers, mental health/social service staff and high school students.

Each student spent 2 to 4 afternoons a week at the West End House, a Boys' and Girls' Club located in Allston, a neighborhood with a concentration of Indochinese refugees. Students travelled
as a group to the West End House on public transportation. Once there they were free to engage in the activities of their choice. These included swimming lessons, free swim, basketball, volleyball, pool, table tennis, board games and arts and crafts.

Most students participated in a variety of activities while some, primarily older girls who were not comfortable swimming or engaging in sports, watched T.V. and played board games. Most students used the West End House as an opportunity to play with other children from the school. Khmer, Lao, Amerasian and Vietnamese students interacted in non-verbal activities such as swimming. All of the students were exposed to white, black and Hispanic youth from the neighborhood who were also using the facilities. Some students engaged these youth in conversation and a few established friendships.

Each Friday students and staff participated in a field trip or special activity. Field trips exposed students to places to which they would not ordinarily have had access. Trips included the seashore, rollerskating, a boat ride to a local island and going to an American movie ("The Karate Kid"). Students also engaged in a one day cultural exchange with Hispanic children from another program, a scavenger hunt and Olympics. On the Friday of school, an awards ceremony was held. Both students and staff enjoyed the Friday trips and events because they were able to develop closer relationships and participate in more informal, unstructured activities.
3. Mental Health and Social Service Component.

This component was designed to provide social services to all the students in the school and mental health services (i.e. diagnostic evaluation, individual and family counseling) to targeted student, many of whom were ongoing MICAS clients.

The component staff consisted of:

* one part-time coordinator/social worker (25 hrs./wk.)
* one part-time senior clinician (15 hrs./wk.)
* two full-time and one part-time (20 hrs./wk.) Khmer paraprofessional
* one part-time Vietnamese paraprofessional (20 hrs./wk.)
* one part-time Laotian aide (25 hrs./wk.)

Unlike the other components, most of those working in the mental health/social service component were year-round MICAS staff.

The coordinator/social worker planned and coordinated services, scheduled staff, supervised the paraprofessionals, directed crisis intervention cases and served as a liason between mental health/social service and other school staff. The senior clinician supervised the coordinator/social worker and provided diagnostic evaluation and counseling services to a small number of the most seriously disturbed children. The paraprofessionals provided diagnostic evaluation, counseling and crisis intervention services in conjunction with the coordinator/social worker and the senior clinician, assisted with student discipline, handled attendance and tuition problems and
assisted students and their families with welfare, health, housing and other problems. In addition, all mental health/social service staff participated in field trips and special events with the students on Fridays.

Each student in the school was assigned to a paraprofessional ("caseworker") who was responsible for maintaining regular contact with him. Caseloads ranged from 12 to 28 students. Services were available from 8:30 to 5:30 p.m. and at other times by appointment. Students were encouraged to contact their caseworkers with problems before and after school, at lunch and during afternoon recreational activities. In some situations mental health/social service staff also pulled students out of class for services.

Of the students in the school, 24% were involved in substantiated abuse/neglect cases and another 18% were receiving individual or family counseling from MICAS for a wide range of emotional problems. These students required a great deal of staff time. In addition, over the summer 5 students were victims of a fire which left their families homeless and 4 more were involved in medical emergencies. The enormous workload combined with limited supervision from the coordinator/social worker meant that the caseworkers did not maintain contact with every student assigned to them.

From the perspective of the children in the study, mental health and social services were available to them as a result of disruptive behavior or a major personal or family crisis. Except for assistance with school-related problems such as absences of
class schedule changes, children rarely sought help. Girls were particularly underserved. Most of the girls in the school were well-behaved, conscientious students. Furthermore, they were more reluctant to seek help than the boys due to cultural norms which encouraged reticence for teenage girls and the fact that all the caseworkers were male.
THE CHILDREN'S ACCULTURATION PROBLEM INDEX

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South Cove Community Health Center

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Name of Child:

Date of Evaluation:

Children who have come to settle in the United States often find different problems in daily living. Let me ask you about some of these problems and see how you feel about them. Anything you say is O.K. There are no right or wrong answers.

For each problem, I would like you to show me how much of a problem it is for you, by marking it on the line. The left part of the line means that it is a big problem. The right part of the line means that it is no problem at all. The line in between means that the problem is somewhere in between.

1. Speaking English and making yourself understood.

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I_________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

2. Understanding what Americans are saying to you.

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I_________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL
3. Having enough money

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

4. Learning skills that will help you find a job

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

5. Getting medical care

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

6. Finding help from American people for things like welfare and food stamps

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

7. Understanding American lifestyle (culture)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL
8. Knowing how to get things done in Boston (e.g., finding a house, shopping, going to the bank)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

9. Getting around town (Probe: too far away; no car; no buses)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

10. Climate

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

11. Food/diet: getting the right Cambodian food (e.g., don't like American food)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

12. Having other Cambodian people to talk with (Probe: difficulty finding other Cambodians)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

13. Having someone to talk with about personal problems

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I __________________________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

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14. Talking with boys/girls (specify opposite sex of child)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

15. School (Probe: trouble with schoolwork, teachers)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

16. Life in your neighborhood (Probe: trouble with landlords, neighbors, and roommates, privacy at home)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

17. Getting along with other refugee groups (Vietnamese, Lao, Chinese)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

18. American racial prejudice and discrimination against Cambodians

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ——— I NO PROBLEM AT ALL
19. Setting along with people in your family

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ___________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

20. Doing Khmer religious ceremonies (Probe: upset because no longer able
to do them, ceremonies bring back bad memories, don't understand
meanings of ceremonies)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ___________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

21. Keeping in touch (letters) with relatives and friends you left behind
in Thailand or Cambodia

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ___________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL

22. Worrying about family members and friends you left behind (in Thailand
or Cambodia)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM I ___________ I NO PROBLEM AT ALL
23. Thinking a lot about your Cambodian land (homesickness)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM  I _____________________________  I  NO PROBLEM AT ALL

24. Separation from family members (worrying about)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM  I _____________________________  I  NO PROBLEM AT ALL

25. Loneliness

A VERY BIG PROBLEM  I _____________________________  I  NO PROBLEM AT ALL

26. Bad memories of war in Cambodia (Probe: both war and departure)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM  I _____________________________  I  NO PROBLEM AT ALL

27. Feelings about leaving Cambodia (e.g. sadness, regret)

A VERY BIG PROBLEM  I _____________________________  I  NO PROBLEM AT ALL
SUMMARY SHEET TO BE COMPLETED BY INTERVIEWER

TIME SPENT ON INTERVIEW:

WHERE INTERVIEW TOOK PLACE: (Include who was present)

HOW ANXIOUS WAS INTERVIEWEE:

NOT AT ALL ANXIOUS I _______________ I HIGHLY ANXIOUS

HOW OPEN AND REVEALING WAS INTERVIEWEE:

HIGHLY DEFENDED AND GUARDED I _______________ I OPEN

SALIENT SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW:

____________________________________________________________________
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THE CHILDREN'S ALIENATION SCALE

as adapted by

Maurie Eisenbruch, M.D.
Consulting Child Psychiatrist
Metropolitan Indochinese Children and Adolescent Services
South Cove Community Health Center

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THE CHILDREN'S ALIENATION SCALE

Name of Child:
Date of Evaluation:

You have been living with your parents/foster parents in the United States for some time.
Please let me ask you some questions about how it feels living here.
Don't worry.
There are no right or wrong answers, and nothing that you tell us will be told to your parents/foster parents.

Most children can feel uncomfortable, awkward, and out of place when they are in a new country. (i.e. the child feels uneasy when relating to Americans around him).
What sort of things make Cambodian children feel awkward and out of place in the United States?
When children feel uncomfortable and out of place, some feel angry. Some children feel sad. And some children may not worry. Do you get any of these feelings when you feel uncomfortable and out of place? How do you feel when you are uncomfortable?

How awkward, uncomfortable, and out of place do you feel, living in the United States? Do you feel very uncomfortable and out of place, or not uncomfortable and out of place at all?

I FEEL VERY OUT OF PLACE
I DO NOT FEEL OUT OF PLACE AT ALL
2) It can be hard to make friends in a new place. How do Cambodian children make new friends?

Do they like (prefer) to play (mix) with one another?

Or do they like to play with American children?

What kind of friends do you have?

How did you get to know them?
How much difficulty do you have in making American friends? Is it very difficult, or not difficult at all?

Very difficult I — Not difficult at all

3) All people who come (to settle) in a new country worry about what will happen (how things will turn out in the end). What do you feel are the good things that will happen to you, in the future, here in the United States? (Probe: education, work, American way of life, etc.)

People can also worry about their future in the United States. People can worry that things may not turn out so well. What kind of worries do you have about your future in America?
Sometimes, Cambodian people feel that they want to go back to their country. Do you ever feel like this? (Probe: Why do you feel this way?)

In what ways would it be better for you to go back to Cambodia?

In what ways would it be better for you to stay here in the United States?

How do you feel about your future in the United States? Are you very optimistic and hopeful, or not optimistic at all about the future?

I FEEL VERY HOPEFUL ABOUT THE FUTURE

I DO NOT FEEL HOPEFUL AT ALL ABOUT THE FUTURE
How much difficulty do you have in making American friends?
S it very difficult, or not difficult at all?

Very difficult | Not difficult at all

People who come (to settle) in a new country worry about what will happen (how things will turn out in the end).

What do you feel are the good things that will happen to you, in the future, here in the United States? (Probe: education, work, American way of life, etc.)

People can also worry about their future in the United States.
People can worry that things may not turn out so well.

What kind of worries do you have about your future in America?
Sometimes, Cambodian people feel that they want to go back to their country. Do you ever feel like this? (Probe: Why do you feel this way?)

In what ways would it be better for you to go back to Cambodia?

In what ways would it be better for you to stay here in the United States?

How do you feel about your future in the United States? Are you very optimistic and hopeful, or not optimistic at all about the future?

I FEEL VERY HOPEFUL ABOUT THE FUTURE

I DO NOT FEEL HOPEFUL AT ALL ABOUT THE FUTURE
All children wonder what they will be when they grow up. What do you want to be (now that you are in the United States) when you grow up (i.e. when you leave school)?

Cambodian children can feel that they will be able to make a valuable contribution, in the future, to American society. In what ways could you make a valuable contribution?

How much of a contribution do you think you will make, in the future, to American society? Do you think that you will make a very valuable contribution, or not a great deal (i.e. nothing much of a contribution), to American society?

I WILL CONTRIBUTE A LOT TO ALL TO AMERICAN SOCIETY

I WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE MUCH AT ALL TO AMERICAN SOCIETY
When people come to live in a new country (land), they bring their customs (culture) with them. (For example,) the language they speak, the food they eat, the music they like. They learn some of these things from their parents. Which of these things are important for you (i.e. as a Cambodian)?

Cambodian children learn how to do (other) things the American way. Do you ever want to do things the American way at home? (Probe: which things in particular?)

How are these things important to you?
What do your parents/foster parents think when you do things the American way at home?
(Probe: are they encouraging, tolerant, or disapproving? Does the child need to take their opinions into account? Does he try to please them? Is he afraid of their reactions?)

And what do your parents/foster parents think when you do things the Cambodian way at home?

How useful and important to you are the Cambodian ways (customs, values and manners) you learned from your Cambodian parents when you were young? Are those customs still very useful and important to you, or not useful and important at all, here in the United States?

CAMBODIAN CUSTOMS
STILL VERY USEFUL AND IMPORTANT HERE IN U.S.
CAMBODIAN CUSTOMS
NOT USEFUL OR IMPORTANT HERE IN U.S.

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6) When Cambodian children come to America, they learn (about) American customs (i.e. culture and way of life).

Some American customs are easier for Cambodian children to learn.

Other American customs are harder to learn.

Which American customs are easier to learn?

(Probe: Why, and in what ways, are these American customs easier to learn?)

Other American customs are harder for Cambodian children to learn.

Which customs are harder to learn?

(Probe: In what ways are these customs harder to learn?)
It's not the same to be a boy, or a girl, in the United States as (it was) in Cambodia.

How are American and Cambodian boys/girls different?
(Probe: How is it difficult to be a Cambodian boy/girl in the United States?)

Let's imagine that you have children when you are grown up.
Do you think your children will be Cambodian?
Or will they be American?

In what ways will they be Cambodian?
In what ways will they be American?

How difficult is it for you to understand the American way of life?
Is it very difficult, or not difficult at all?

7) All people are a bit different from one another. Sometimes we feel different because we DO things differently from other people. Sometimes we feel different because we LOOK different from other people—our hair or skin may be a different color.
In what ways are American children different from Cambodian children?
How do you feel different from American children?

Sometimes, American children can also be very different from each other. In what ways are they different from one another?

Other children from Vietnam and Laos have also come to the United States. Some of them are in school with you. In what ways are these children the same as you?
In what ways are they different (i.e., from you)?
(Probe: Does child dislike Vietnamese children, and why?)

A lot of people come to the United States. Some of them are refugees. What do you think a refugee is?
(Probe: How does child feel as a refugee?)

For how long will you still be a refugee?
(Probe more deeply: How does child feel as a refugee? Does it make the child feel very different from other people?)
How do you compare yourself with American people in general? Do you feel that you are very different from them, or not different at all?

I FEEL VERY DIFFERENT FROM OTHER AMERICANS

I DON'T FEEL DIFFERENT AT ALL FROM OTHER AMERICANS

8) All children who come to America want to have a good life here. (They want to do whatever they can to make life better for them in America.) Some children study very hard. Some children try to make a lot of friends. What can you do to make your life better in America?
But sometimes it makes no difference what we do--
to get better.
How has it felt for you?
(Probe: How effective are child's efforts? Does
and in what ways? How does he deal with these fe
them.)

How much can you make your life better (i.e. improve your life), here in
the United States?
Do you feel you can do a lot, or nothing much, to make your life better?

I CAN DO A LOT
TO IMPROVE MY LIFE HERE

I CAN DO NOTHING
TO IMPROVE MY LIFE

I CAN DO A LOT
TO IMPROVE MY LIFE

I CAN DO NOTHING
TO IMPROVE MY LIFE
9) We all like some children more than we like others. Sometimes, children like us because we look the same as they do. Sometimes, they like us because we speak the same language as they do. Or sometimes, they may even like us because we are a bit different from them. What things do American children like about Cambodian children?

What things don't American children like about Cambodian children?
How much do American children like you as a person?
Do they like you very much, or not at all?

American children like me very much.
American children don't like me at all.

10) Children who come to a new country sometimes feel lonely. Sometimes, children feel lonely because it can be hard to make new friends. Other times, children feel lonely because they think about their family. What sort of things make you feel lonely?

What do you do when you feel lonely?
(Probe: Who can you talk to? How much does it help?)
It can be very difficult when children feel lonely. How does it feel when you feel lonely?
(Probe: Does child feel suicidal, want to run away from home, or even want to go back to Cambodia?)

How isolated and lonely do you feel in the United States?
Do you feel very isolated and lonely, or not isolated and lonely at all?

I FEEL VERY LONELY AND ISOLATED IN THE U.S. I DON'T FEEL LONELY OR ISOLATED AT ALL IN THE U.S.
SUMMARY SHEET TO BE COMPLETED BY INTERVIEWER

TIME SPENT ON INTERVIEW:

WHERE INTERVIEW TOOK PLACE: (Include who was present)

HOW ANXIOUS WAS INTERVIEWEE?

NOT AT ALL ANXIOUS I ___________________________ I HIGHLY ANXIOUS

HOW OPEN AND REVEALING WAS INTERVIEWEE?

HIGHLY DEFENDED AND GUARDED I ___________________________ I OPEN

SALIENT SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW:

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