

**Finding peace: A theory of neighborhood safety among Burundian refugees in
Knoxville**

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my family whose silent prayers and continuous words of encouragement sustained me through the ups and downs of my academic journey.

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. – 2 Timothy 4:7

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences of becoming a refugee among Burundian refugees resettled in Knoxville, Tennessee and to determine if these experiences shape how they define and perceive safety in their living environments. Specifically, the following research questions were addressed: 1) How is neighborhood safety defined among Burundians with refugee status residing in Knoxville, Tennessee? 2) How do participants perceive safety in their African living environments? 3) How do participants perceive safety in their current living environments? 4) How do these experiences compare and contrast?

Participants were recruited through purposeful sampling. Concept mapping and face-to-face interviews were conducted with twenty (20) participants. An exploratory, grounded theory approach was used to answer the study questions. Modified grounded theory methods guided data collection and analysis. Follow-up interviews were conducted with seven participants to expand upon the emerging framework developed from the initial interviews by exploring different dimensions of the ideas. A key informant interview was conducted with a community gatekeeper to provide insight to the nature of participant responses, to gain further understanding of participant responses, and fill in the gaps in the developing framework.

Participant experiences as refugees in Africa seem to be significant to definitions of safety among Burundian refugees living in Knoxville. These experiences influenced their perceptions of safety in their neighborhoods in the United States. Participants defined neighborhood safety in terms of three interrelated variables: experiences with

victimization, protection from victimization, and involvement in supportive interpersonal relationships. In examining their experiences, Participants described contrasting experiences in the two locations. The categories “experiencing decreased threat,” “finding security,” and “maintaining personal social networks” describe the comparative experiences of participants. Central to their descriptions was the core category “becoming free from distress.” The theory describing participant meanings of safety was “finding peace.” This theory of neighborhood safety among a refugee sample has potential to inform local resettlement policy.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Neighborhoods, both in the physical and social sense, have the potential to influence the health of their residents. Extensive work has been conducted in the area of “neighborhood effects” (Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Neighborhoods can become areas not conducive to achieving optimal health. They can negatively influence views toward health as well as create stressful environments devoid of resources (Gould, Mijarovich, & Dillman, 2001). Studies have linked neighborhood safety with psychological, physical, and social health issues. Living in an “unsafe” neighborhood is associated with physical and mental health issues such as depression (Hill & Herman-Stahl, 2002), cardiovascular disease occurrence and mortality (Chaix, 2006; Sundquist et al., 2006; Blakeley et al., 2006); decreased physical activity leading to obesity, diabetes, and hypertension (Burdette, Wadden, & Whitaker, 2005; Auchincloss, Diez-Roux, Mujahid, Shen, Berton, & Carnethon, 2009; Mujahid et al., 2008); and alcohol abuse (Stockdale et al., 2007). Groups with refugee status face additional psychosocial health implications. Ager and Strang (2008) established that housing, neighborhood safety perceptions, and the relationships established with others were vital to successful integration among an unidentified sample of resettled refugees in the United Kingdom. Many expressed that if they did not feel safe in their neighborhood, they could not feel integrated into their resettlement communities. For refugees, “the difference between a house and a home is the difference between a place to stay and a place to live. A home is a place of safety, security and stability, the lack of which was the main reason

refugees left their country of origin” (Dutch Refugee Council, 2001). Despite extensive literature about neighborhood effects and predictors of safety perceptions, there is minimal literature concerning the neighborhood safety perceptions of resettled refugees and no literature about Burundian refugees resettled in the United States.

Importance of Study

Limited literature exists pertaining to the safety perceptions of resettled refugee populations. Consequently, there are no models or theories that specifically examine the phenomena of safety among refugees. This study provides a culturally-relevant conceptual framework that describes and explains a theory of safety among Burundian refugees. Findings have implications for the creation of culturally-appropriate measures of neighborhood safety. Studies of neighborhood safety have mainly been conducted with non-migrant, North American populations. Consalves (1992) as cited in Matsuo et al. (2008) contends that instruments designed for Americans are often used with refugees, but they fail to account for individual, environmental, and historical differences that exist between the two groups. Existing empirically-tested instruments frequently used in neighborhood research are essentially based on references and social conditions that are characteristic of American societies. In essence, they may be inept in gathering perceptions of safety from groups that are culturally, economically, and politically different from the dominant populations of the United States.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences of becoming a refugee among Burundian refugees resettled in Knoxville, Tennessee and to determine if these experiences shape how they define and perceive safety in their living environments. The following research question was proposed: Does the experience of becoming a refugee, and resettling in the United States shape definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville, and if so, how?

Theoretical Approach

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model

An ecological perspective may be helpful to determine understand the underlying context influencing Burundian definitions and perceptions of safety. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model examines the dynamic, reciprocal influence of individual and environment on human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1999; 2005). In other words, as time progresses, people change as well as their interactions and the context surrounding their interactions. The model is characterized by the interaction among four interrelated principle concepts: *process-person-context-time* (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1999; Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Proximal processes, person-environmental interactions occurring within the immediate environment, are at the core of development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Bronfenbrenner, 1999). The individual can affect the interactions though the personal characteristics of demand, resources, and force (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998).

The model describes five nested systems of contextual influence representing both proximal and distal influential environments: microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, macrosystems, and chronosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). A diagram of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological is represented in Figure 1. The model indicates both immediate and distal environments. The microsystem is composed of the most proximal interactions between the individual and physical, social, and symbolic elements in their immediate environment. For example interactions between the individual and friends, family, and peers are considered to be microsystem influences. Mesosystem level of influence describes the associations and processes occurring between multiple microsystems. An example of mesosystem influence can be found in the effect of the interaction between the home environment (i.e. family relations) and the school environment on the individual. The exosystem consists of processes occurring between multiple microsystems that indirectly influence the developing person. The impact of decreased funding to a local resettlement agency on refugees in the United States can be considered an exosystem level influence. The macrosystem encompasses processes occurring in microsystems, mesosystems, and exosystems in the context of social, political, and cultural influences. Lastly, the chronosystem describes a temporal influence (either consistency or change) on an environment and the developing person.

Qualitative, Grounded Theory Approach

An exploratory, qualitative approach was used to gather information relating to the experiences of the refugee participants. Qualitative methods are used to gain deeper understanding about a phenomena and are hence hypothesis generating. Instead of

attempting to establish patterns of cause and effect, qualitative research seeks to understand why things and events exist as they do. Qualitative research methods are commonly conducted when little is known about a particular topic, to get new perspectives on a heavily researched topic, or to acquire information that can be later tested quantitatively (Hoepfl, 1997).

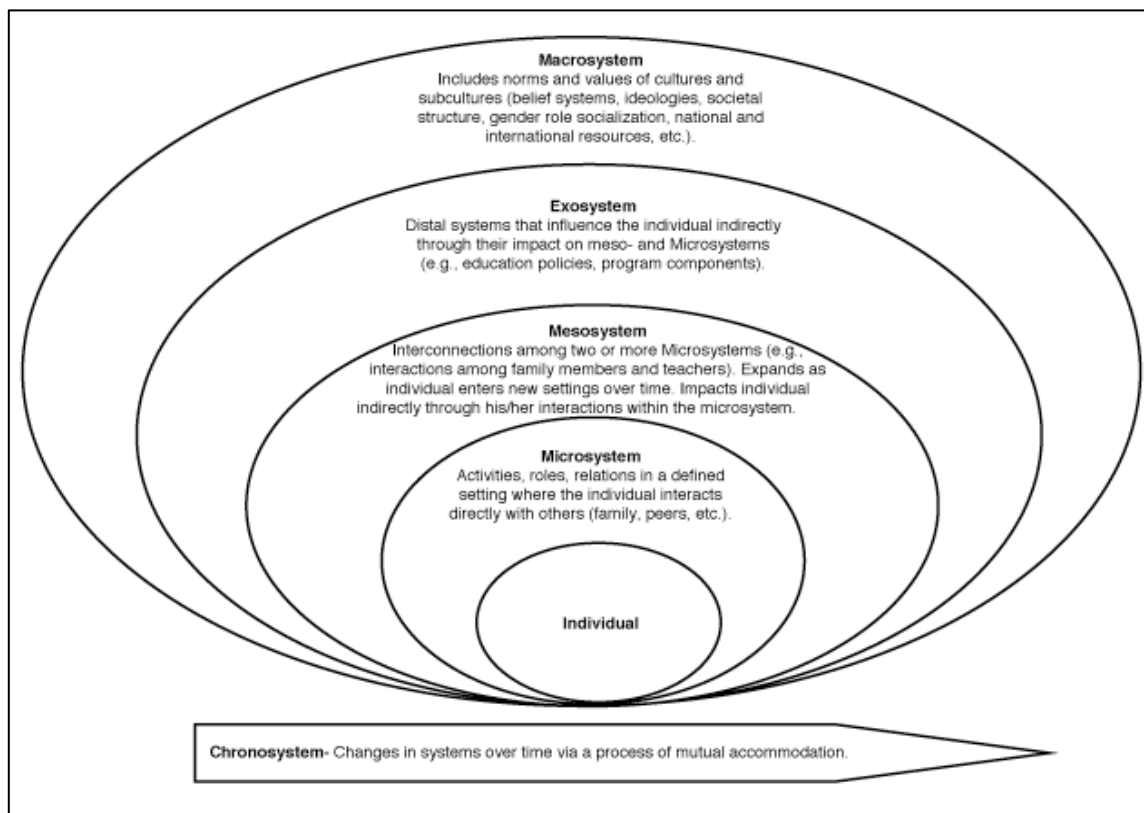


Figure 1. Bioecological Model

Image retrieved from: ici.umn.edu

Grounded theory was used to construct a theoretical framework of a conceptualization of safety. Creswell (2008) states that “grounded theory is a good design to use when a theory is not available to explain a process” (p. 66) or when models “were developed and tested on samples and populations other than those of interest...” (p. 66).

Grounded theory utilizes both an inductive and deductive approach to research using a cyclical data collection-data analysis process that requires constant comparisons among collected the data. According to Bryant and Charmaz (2010:6), grounded theory methods “should produce mid-range theories grounded in data, ‘fit’ the context, and generate applicable and useful analytic explanations.” Though the findings cannot be generalized to explain the phenomenon among all refugee groups, the resulting framework can be used to create a critical baseline that can be used to assess safety perceptions involving other resettled Burundian refugees. A qualitative, grounded theory approach was adopted to conduct this study because the interest of this research was in assessing the underlying context of how resettled Burundian refugees ascribed meaning to safety through their pre- and post-resettlement experiences rather than testing existing theory.

Definition of Terms

Refugee: The definition of refugee was based on the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) criteria for being a refugee and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) extension of the UNHCR definition. UNHCR defines a refugee as

a person owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

The OAU extension defines as refugee as

every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. (Article 1, Paragraph 2)

Neighborhood: The definition of neighborhood was based on the definition offered by Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon Rowley (2002). They define neighborhood as "...a variably interacting population of people and institutions in a common place.

Neighborhoods form a mosaic of overlapping ecological units (e.g. blocks, streets) that vary in size, boundaries, and social organizational features" (p. 228-229). For this study, neighborhood consisted of specific refugee camp in Africa and apartment complex in the United States.

Burundian Refugee Research in Knoxville

A relationship with the Burundian refugee community of Knoxville has existed since 2008. This ongoing interaction has largely been in the form of community based participatory research (CBPR) and a service learning project, Healthy Transitions, sponsored by the University of Tennessee. This prolonged period of engagement has allowed for the establishment of mutual trust between the local Burundian community and the university.

Four years of CBPR research with the Burundian refugee community of Knoxville precedes the current study. An influx of Burundians to the city in 2007 met a system largely unprepared to meet the vast array of needs of the newly arrived protracted refugee group. Interviews with local service providers (i.e. the county school system, resettlement agency and healthcare system) revealed failure of the Burundians to thrive post-resettlement and the difficulties of these providers in providing services. Focus groups with refugee community members were conducted to assess their journey from Africa to the United States, experiences in the United States, contradictions to pre-migratory expectations, worries about their family in the U.S., and suggestions for community betterment and hopes for their children in this country. Participants described mixed emotions because of resettlement. Focus group findings revealed that the Burundians were having troubles integrating into the United States due to frustrations with the resettlement agency, the belief of unfulfilled pre-resettlement promises, changing community dynamics, changing family dynamics, and dissatisfaction with their current living environments. Despite their difficulties, they possessed hope that their children will have the ability to achieve the American dream of education and opportunity for success. Community forums held after the focus groups to disseminate the research results to community members resulted in plan of action to address the raised concerns and included the goal of self-sufficiency, the development of youth programs, additional language learning opportunities, employment training, and the formation of a community-based organization to aid in achieving the aforementioned aspirations (Bates, Burman, Ejike-King, & Rufyiri, 2012).

Four years after Burundians' initial resettlement and at the brink of eligibility for United States citizenship, a new study was launched in 2011 building upon the initial research that was conducted three years earlier. This new pilot study sought to examine the psychosocial effects of real and perceived resources salient during resettlement. Specifically, the study assessed resource gain and loss throughout the refugee experience and its impact on resettlement. This dissertation, which examined the influence of the refugee experience on definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety, was a subset of the aforementioned 2011 study. My initial interest in studying neighborhood safety among Knoxville Burundians began from mere curiosity after engaging in community-based work with this group at the beginning of my doctoral studies. Upon learning where the families received housing placements by the local resettlement agency, I could not help but wonder if they felt safe in these areas, most of which are located in areas which are statistically more dangerous than the rest of the city (Barbrey, 2004). A search of the literature revealed an absence of studies on neighborhood safety among resettled refugees post-migration despite the link between safety and integration into host societies (Ager & Strang, 2008; Ryan, Dooley, & Benson, 2008). Even within the literature examining neighborhood safety among non-migrant populations, there was a lack of consideration for the potential effects of historical and political contexts among respondents in assessing neighborhood safety.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This study aimed to explore how the experiences of Burundian refugees have the potential to shape definitions and perceptions of safety within their living environments. This chapter will discuss the role of safety as a human need, present predictors of neighborhood safety in non-refugee groups, provide an overview of the refugee experience, and describe the history of Burundian refugees and their resettlement in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Safety Needs and Human Development

Human needs have been widely studied by social scientists, most notably by Abraham Maslow. Maslow's hierarchy of needs has become a highly influential model of human development since it was introduced in 1943. He describes humans as creatures constantly striving to achieve certain needs (Maslow, 1943). The hierarchy arranges what he deems five essential needs for human development: physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization into a pyramid (Maslow, 1943; Maslow, 1970). These needs are arranged in a progressively higher fashion, meaning that the immediately preceding need must be fully or partially satisfied in order to fulfill higher needs (Maslow, 1943; Maslow, 1970). For example, physiological needs must be met before safety needs can be addressed. Though these basic needs are thought to be the same in every culture (Maslow, 1943a; Tay & Diener, 2011), there are cultural differences in how these needs are met (Maslow, 1943b). The needs in the pyramid are divided into "lower"

and “higher” needs (Maslow, 1948). Lower needs include physiological and safety needs whereas love, esteem and self-actualization needs compose higher order needs. Lower needs are essential to basic survival and are present from birth (Maslow, 1948). However, higher needs are developed as an individual goes through life (Maslow, 1948).

On Maslow’s hierarchy, safety is positioned near the base of the pyramid and is surpassed only by physiological needs in necessity. Though safety is generally defined in broad terms as being free from hurt, harm, or danger (Merriam-Webster, 2011), Maslow specifically delineates categories of safety. Safety needs are characterized by “security, stability, dependency, protection; freedom from fear, anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, and limits; and strength in the protector...” (Maslow, 1970).

Maslow classifies safety as a deficiency need in that its absence has negative effects on human development.

The works of Alderfer (1969, 1972) and Max Neef (1991, 1992) among many others emerged after Maslow’s seminal work on human needs. Both of these subsequent perspectives identify the need for safety as a fundamental component to human development though they dispute the order of progression in needs satisfaction present in Maslow’s theory. Combining safety with physiological needs, Alderfer describes a basic “existence” need that is necessary for survival and contributes to physical well-being. Max Neef, on the other hand, describes a need for protection that is as equally important as eight other fundamental needs and can be satisfied through qualities, tangible items, actions, and settings.

Much of the more recent work studying human needs concentrates on psychological, higher order needs rather than physiological and safety needs. However there is some contemporary literature pertaining to human needs, examining relationships between need satisfaction and subjective quality of life. Studies examining the relationship between safety needs and subjective well-being have been prominent in international settings. Decreased fear of crime and perception of neighborhood crime were associated with better reports of life satisfaction among a sample in Croatia (Frane, Prizmic-Larsen, & Lipovcan, 2012). Similarly, Moller (2005) found correlations between likelihood of victimization, concern about safety and negative life satisfaction among South Africans.

Neighborhood Safety

Studies concerning neighborhood safety tend to examine one or more of three topical areas: demographic characteristics, victimization experiences, and neighborhood and urban conditions (Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002). Demographic variables commonly examined in neighborhood safety inquiries include age, gender, and socioeconomic status (Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002).

Demographic Characteristics

In regards to gender, literature indicates that females typically express more concern about fear of crime and report lower safety perceptions within their neighborhoods (Roundtree & Land, 1996; Myers & Chung, 1998; Borooah & Carach, 1997; Perkins and Taylor, 1996; Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002; Ackah, 2000; Lee &

Ulmer, 2000; Toseland, 1982). To enumerate this heightened fear among females, Borooah & Carach (1997) report that females in their sample of women in England were six times more fearful of crime than their male counterparts alone at night.

Age tends to have an inverse relationship with neighborhood safety perceptions (Baba & Austin, 1989; Perkins & Taylor, 1996; Borooach & Carach, 1997; Toseland, 1982). As one gets older, their safety evaluations of their living environment decrease. However, Toseland (1982) found that there were limitations to this association among a survey of U.S. residents. Though the elderly were more fearful than their younger counterparts, fear of crime appeared to be lowest among those between the ages of 25-44. Fear was higher among those 24 years of age and younger but not as high as the oldest age group in the study. Contrary to the literature about the positive relationship between age and fear of crime, Yun, Kercher, & Swindell (2010) found an inverse relationship between age and fear of crime among Chinese immigrants. The authors attribute this contradictory finding to cultural context. The collective, familial nature of the Chinese culture promotes closeness to family and community.

Some studies have shown a positive relationship between income and neighborhood safety perceptions (Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002). This is evident through both a direct relationship and indirect relationships using satisfaction with individuals in the environment and housing quality as mediating variables (Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002). The effect of income on fear of crime in migrant population is consistent with findings among American samples. Chinese immigrants of lower socioeconomic status reported increased fear of crime (Yun, Kercher, & Swindell, 2010). Among Ghanaian

immigrants in Washington D.C., low wage earners were more fearful of crime in their neighborhoods despite individuals of higher socioeconomic status perceiving their current neighborhoods as being dangerous and expressing more concern about neighborhood crime (Ackah, 2000).

The theoretical underpinning of the impact of demographic variables on perceptions of neighborhood safety involves the issue of vulnerability (Toseland, 1982). Though they experience less actual victimization experiences than males and youth, females and the elderly are portrayed as being more fearful of crime and having lower safety perceptions. Garofalo (1979) attributes this to “role socialization.” Though Garofalo’s work is seminal in fear of crime studies, his explanations of the influence of demographics, namely gender, are now rather dated and essentialist. He claimed that society views females and the elderly as weak and in need of protection. These two groups are considered to be vulnerable and incapable of physically protecting themselves if the situation were ever to arise (Garofalo, 1979). Females in some societies are conditioned to depend upon their male counterpart for their protection (Garofalo, 1979). The elderly are subject to being in less optimal health and to be away from the protection of their family members (Garofalo, 1979). This may explain why elderly Chinese immigrants were not fearful of the crime in their neighborhood (Yun, Kercher, & Swindell, 2010). It is customary in Chinese culture to live with family members in one’s old age. Additionally, males and the young may not express their fear of crime though it may exist. Groups of low SES are also vulnerable. Individuals of low SES are often reserved to living in neighborhoods that are more prone to crime and violence. Borooah

& Carach (1997) reports that low wage earners are at a 60% increased risk of victimization within their neighborhoods.

Victimization

Victimization is commonly measured in terms of one's personal experience with violent crime within the last 12 months. Victimization can affect a person directly (personal victimization), a person's property (property victimization), or another person (vicarious victimization). A commonly measured dependent variable in neighborhood safety studies, fear of crime, is conceptualized as feelings that one will fall victim of the crime within their neighborhood. Literature has established that individuals that have been victimized feel less safe in their surroundings (Garofalo, 1979; Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002; Baba & Austin, 1989; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Myers & Chung, 1998; Yun, Kercher, & Swindell, 2010). Myers & Chung (1998) found that victims were 3 times more fearful of crime than those that had not experienced victimization. This relationship between victimization and perception of neighborhood safety is both direct and indirect (Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002). Austin, Furr, & Spine (2002) report that satisfaction with one's physical environment can serve as a mediator in the relationship.

Skogan and Maxfield (1981) and Garofalo (1979) acknowledge the limited role that victimization plays in predicting feelings of safety within a neighborhood. Only a small percentage of people experience victimization within a year's time (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). This fact may explain why Lee and Ulmer (2000) did not find a relationship between personal or property victimization on fear of crime among Korean Americans. Additionally, the relationship is often confounded by demographics (Skogan

& Maxfield, 1981). An individual may have an increased possibility of being victimized because of their living environment that may be dictated and limited by their SES.

Likewise, as explained previously, the socialization of gender and age lends some groups more vulnerable to victimization than others (Garofalo, 1979).

Neighborhood and urban conditions

The study of neighborhood and urban conditions explores one's appraisal of the physical and social environment of the community. Encompassing many things, neighborhood and urban conditions can be divided into two sections: neighborhood order and the social relationships with others within the neighborhood. Perceptions of these environments are influenced by the concept of order, both social and physical. The term social order describes formal and informal rules and norms set by society that set the precedent of how individuals should act (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Greenberg & Rohe, 1986), preserve social order, and promote collective well-being (Greenberg & Rohe, 1986). The power of societal members to ensure and maintain this sense of order is known as informal social control (Sampson, 2003). Social disorder occurs when there is a breakdown of these societal rules (Skogan, 1990). Skogan (1990) describes social disorder as a series of isolated incidences that can lead to trash accumulation, vandalism, abandoned buildings, noisy neighbors, loitering, substance use, and harassment (Skogan, 1990; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Though they are a sign of breakdown of social control, things that have a continual presence in the community such as deteriorating building, strewn litter, and vandalism are also referred to as signs of physical neighborhood disorder (Skogan, 1990).

Unlike personal victimization, the entire community is a victim to disorder (Skogan, 1990). Disorder can lead to social and physical withdrawal from the community and becoming fearful of more disorder and possible victimization (Skogan, 1990). Among refugees from the Former Soviet Union, a positive relationship was found between satisfaction with the appearance of neighborhood (i.e., collection of litter, pride that neighbors have to keep neighborhood clean, & spacing between the buildings) and perception of safety (Furr, Austin, Cribbs, & Smoger, 2005). The more severe the crime is thought to be, the stronger the fear of crime (Yun, Kercher, & Swindell, 2010). Relative perceptions of one's neighborhood are also influential to personal feelings of safety. Among international students, the more dangerous they saw their neighborhood compared to other neighborhoods, the more they feared crime (Sundeen, 1984). However, Ackah (2000) found that as perceived dangerousness of one's own neighborhood increases, fear of crime decreases.

Broken Windows Theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982) describes the progression of disorder within a neighborhood. According to their theory, a single broken window or any incivility such as litter, vagrants, abandoned buildings, and deteriorated structures can be seen as a symbol that no one in the community cares, and as a result, it can lead to increased incidence of vandalism which in turn creates a downward spiral of criminal activity committed by others in the neighborhood. The disorder represented by the incivilities is an indication of a breakdown in social controls within the neighborhood.

Satisfaction with social aspects of the neighborhood influenced safety perceptions among refugees from the Former Soviet Union (Furr, Austin, Cribbs, & Smoger, 2005).

Relationships with others within a neighborhood provide social support (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Additionally, relationships that are cohesive give rise to social control within the community (Greenberg & Rohe, 1986). The individuals in these networks can intervene on the person's behalf if the situation arises that the person's safety and security feels threatened (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981).

Integration has also shown to have a negative impact on fear of crime. The less integrated a person is within their neighborhood, they more likely they are to fear crime within that community (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Roundtree & Land, 1996). Though social relationships, particularly with those individuals of similar cultural backgrounds, can be seen as enhancements to integration and perceptions of safety, literature involving immigrants show that it can increase fear of crime because of lack of integration into the host culture, otherwise known as acculturation. Both Korean and Ghanaian immigrants that attended cultural events and associated mainly with those with similar ethnic backgrounds (hence less acculturated individuals) reported greater fear of crime (Lee & Ulmer, 2000; Ackah, 2000) despite the findings of Yun, Kercher, & Swindell (2000) who found that the more acculturated among Chinese immigrants expressed greater fear of crime.

Social Capital Theory (Bordieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993) can be used to explain the impact of social relations in regards to neighborhood and urban conditions as a predictor of neighborhood safety perceptions. Social capital is composed of connections and networks that give rise to actual and potential resources that can be accessed by members of the network (Bordieu, 1986; Coleman 1988). These

relationships are based on the shared expectation and obligation (Coleman, 1988) of acting in the interest of the collective described by Sampson (2003) as collective efficacy. They are held together through mutual trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 1993). Social capital theory appears to overlap Broken Windows Theory because networks with others serve to protect social order and deter deviant activities (Coleman, 1988).

Refugees and Neighborhood Safety

Every year, millions of individuals migrate from one location to another for various reasons, including fleeing persecution and seeking a better economic situation (UNHCR, 2010b). Though many tend to lump all types of migrants under the term *immigrant*, refugees do not fall under the traditional classification of an immigrant. The United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) specifically defines a refugee as a person with a

well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country..." (UNHCR, 2010a; UNHCR, 2010b).

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has extended the aforementioned definition in 1969 to include

every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his

country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality. (Article 1, Paragraph 2)

The involuntary nature of travel outside of one's native country is a key feature that distinguishes a refugee from other migrating groups including immigrants and internally displaced people. As a result of the dangers present that caused the refugee to flee, they may be in danger if they return to their homeland (Blanch, 2008). The United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are 15.2 million refugees worldwide (2010a). Keller (1975) as cited in Stein (1981) describes the refugee experience in nine stages: perception of a threat; decision to flee; period of extreme danger and flight; reaching safety; camp behavior; repatriation, settlement, or resettlement; early and late stages of resettlement; adjustment and acculturation; and residual states and changes in behavior caused by the experience.

Faced with the threat of persecution, acute refugees often leave their homes with no prior preparation (Kunz, 1981). As they flee from imminent threats from their country of origin, refugees may face additional dangers on their long, arduous journey. Refugees are at risk of rape, death, threats, harassment, and physical assault as well as the loss of family and friends (Schafer, 2002; Crisp, 2003). Those that survive these traumatic experiences must also contend with life-threatening situations such as extreme thirst, hunger, and animal attacks (Breswick, 2001). Many do not survive the journey. Often after days, weeks, or even months, individuals finally reach a country where they can seek asylum. When placed in a refugee camp, individuals receive humanitarian assistance

including shelter and food. Despite being welcomed into a safe haven, individuals are still confronted with the threat of rape, physical assault, theft, kidnapping, and murder (Breswick, 2001). Violence erupting in the country of asylum often forces families to relocate to camps in other countries (Breswick, 2001). Remaining in camps is not a permanent option for refugees. UNHCR (n.d.) names voluntary repatriation, local settlement, and resettlement to a third country as “durable solutions.”

Having welcomed nearly a quarter of a million refugees over as of the end of 2009, the United States ranks 9th in among countries that host refugees, but ranks 1st among industrialized nations in UNHCR resettlement (UNHCR, 2010a). As of 2003, over 33 million foreign-born individuals inhabited the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). In 2010, the United States received 73,293 refugees for resettlement (Li & Batalova, 2011). Upon resettlement in the United States, refugees commonly receive housing assignments in housing complexes that are not well maintained and have high levels of crime (Coen, 2010; Chang, 2010; Young, Spigner, Farwell, & Stubblefield, 2007). Their experiences are well documented in newspapers around the country and on the websites of many advocacy groups. Incidents leading to such feelings of non-safety include being victims of robbery, shootings, and homicides as well as hearing gunshots within the neighborhood (Chang, 2010; Gemmell, 2012; Cauthen, 2011).

Despite the vast amount of research concerning neighborhood safety, there is a gap in the literature pertaining to migrant perspectives of safety in the living environment, particularly for that of resettled refugees. A single study exists that examines resettled refugee perceptions of safety in the context of their current living

environment. The study compared the safety perceptions of refugees from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) living in Louisville, Kentucky to the perceptions of non-refugees living in the same city. The study assessed perception of safety, satisfaction with neighborhood, and satisfaction with safety and security in neighborhood. Furr, Austin, Cribbs, and Smoger (2005) found that a sample of refugees from the Former Soviet Union felt safer in their neighborhoods than a non-immigrant sample residing in the same city despite being less satisfied with aspects of the physical and social environment. The findings were contrary to existing literature that link lower satisfaction of neighborhood with lower safety perceptions. This unusual finding lead the researchers to hypothesize that the refugees' lived experiences in their country of origin could have shaped the way that they see their neighborhoods and appraise their safety. Though they were not satisfied with the environment in which they currently lived, their current living situation may be overall better than what they have left behind in their country of origin.

Background of the Research Community

The Republic of Burundi is a small country in eastern, central Africa bordered by Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Rwanda (U.S. Department of State, 2011). Once under German (1890-1916) and Belgian control, this nation has been plagued with long stretches of ethno-political unrest and violence since Belgian rule began in 1916 and extending past the nation's proclaimed independence in 1962 (Uvin, 2009). The roots of the long years of conflict reside in the 46 years of Belgian control (Uvin, 2009). The demographic breakdown of postcolonial Burundi indicates a Hutu

majority (85%) and a Tutsi minority (14%) (Lemarchand, 2011). Despite being an ethnic minority, the Tutsis were favored under the Belgian regime and, as a result, occupied the majority of government and military positions (Uvin, 2009). Simply regarded as farmers, the Hutu grew increasingly frustrated and staged many coups over the ensuing decades in attempts to change these status-quo discriminatory practices against them (Uvin, 2009).

The first major conflict in Burundi occurred in 1972. April 29, 1972 sparked the violence that led to what some consider a “silent genocide” (Lemarchand, 2011). The Hutu along with members of the Congolese Rebel Army began to attack the Tutsi military members, government officials, and civilians in two provinces in the southern region in Burundi: Rumonge and Nyanza-Lac (Lemarchand, 2011; Turner 2010). Hutus not joining this effort were also slain (Lemarchand, 2011). Between 2,000 and 3,000 individuals were killed. On April 30, 1972, the Tutsi-dominated Army was ordered to kill all Hutu that inflicted violence the day before (Lemarchand, 2011). This group was assisted by the youth from the UPRONA-affiliated Jeunesse Revolutionnaire Rwagae (JRR) (Turner, 2010). The educated were particularly targeted (Lemarchand, 2011). This new wave of violence continued until August 1972 (Lemarchand, 2011). It is estimated that between 100,000 and 300,000 individuals lost their lives during these four months (Lemarchand, 2011; Turner, 2010). In addition to those that perished in combat, hundreds of thousands mainly of Hutu descent fled across Burundi’s borders into neighboring Tanzania, Rwanda, and Congo (Turner, 2010; Uvin, 2009).

Though the true cause of the events leading to the massacre of 1972 remain unknown, it can be attributed in part to the fear of a shifting demographic and the power

issues that may have ensued. According to Lemarchand (2011), the purpose of the Tutsi-led violence was “to eliminate all future threats to the republican regime and at the same time reinforce its legitimacy in the eyes of the Tutsi population...” (p. 42). Turner (2010) adds that the Tutsi-dominant republic desired to “exterminate all potential Hutu leaders” (p.31).

After the 1972 conflict, recurring bouts of conflict involving interchanging opportunities as victim and perpetrator has sent individuals of Hutu and Tutsi ethnicity fleeing across international borders (Uvin, 2009). Despite the tremendous amounts of casualties and multitudes that fled for their safety, the ethno-political conflict continued due to the maintenance of imbalanced political and social power between the Hutu and the Tutsi (Uvin, 2009). In 1993, the Hutu gained governmental power upon winning the presidential election. Upon the assassination of the first Hutu president in October of 1993, approximately 25,000 Tutsi were killed and many were forced to flee their nation like their Hutu counterparts nearly 20 years earlier (Uvin, 2009). In the late 2000s, the Tanzanian government began to close many of the refugee camps which the Burundians had inhabited for more than 30 years. The refugees living in these camps were faced with a difficult decision: be repatriated back to Burundi where dangers and difficulties along with potential homelessness may await, stay in Tanzania where they would be denied particular rights, or seek resettlement in a third country (Cultural Orientation Resource Center, 2007).

The closure of Tanzanian refugee camps led to many of its inhabitants to be resettled in another country, including the United States. There are approximately 7,000

Burundians with refugee status that have been resettled in the United States (SODELA, 2011). Since 2007, the state of Tennessee has resettled 474 Burundians (Office of Refugee Resettlement, n.d.). The year 2007 marked the beginning of an influx of refugees from the 1972 Burundian conflict into Knoxville, a city of nearly 200,000 located in the eastern portion of Tennessee (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). A combination of direct resettlement and secondary migration once resettled yields over 250 Burundians currently living in Knoxville (Rufyiri, 2010).

As of December 2010, records from the Solidarity Development and Light Association (SODELA) report that approximately 90% of Burundians with refugee status residing in Knoxville dwell in public housing complexes operated by the Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC), mainly concentrated in four of KCDC's eight housing projects (Rufyiri, 2010). Barbrey's (2004) research reveals that KCDC housing complexes are more dangerous than the rest of Knoxville as a whole in regards to crime rates. Within these complexes, aggravated assault rates are four times higher, burglary is two times higher, murder is five times higher, rape is four times higher, and robbery is two times higher than the rest of Knoxville (Barbrey, 2004). In 2010, one Burundian family became victim of actions that contribute to the crime disparities evident in KCDC. Gunfire intended for a neighbor sprayed the home of the family (Armstrong, 2010). Five bullets hit the front of the apartment with one piercing the front window of the dwelling. This incident left the family feeling uneasy and reminiscing about the reasons why they were forced flee in Africa decades before (Armstrong, 2010): "*I came*

from Africa (to get away from the violence)...I thought I was going to be safe, but now I'm seeing the same thing. I do not feel very good about it" (Ntahbangana, 2010).

Being concentrated in public housing complexes with other Burundians may have a negative impact on perceptions of neighborhood safety. Ager and Strang (2008) describe a framework of factors that encourage successful integration among refugees. This framework places strong emphasis on the importance of social relationships with others. Though the authors suggest that residing among those with similar backgrounds promotes feelings of integration, the case of Burundian refugees may not fit this assumption based on their history of in-country conflict. Decades of recurring small and large conflicts sent both Hutus and Tutsis abroad seeking refuge. Uvin (2009) describes a non-conventional form of social capital possessed by Burundians that currently reside in country. He described a sense of daily coexistence among the two long-time feuding tribes characterized by relationships and compromise though largely based on mistrust. Uvin adds that the Hutu and Tutsi of Burundi have differing opinions on the origin of the nation's conflicts and which group is the true victim and the true victimizer. Even upon resettlement in the United States, these views may be important to consider when examining neighborhood safety in regards to social relationships. Some Burundians now find themselves living alongside members of ethnic groups that have threatened, persecuted, and killed their loved ones. As a result, some Burundians with refugee status may feel uncomfortable residing in areas with large numbers of other Burundians.

The literature reviewed in this chapter surveyed the array of microlevel factors that commonly predict safety and their related theoretical underpinnings. Participants

often called upon their subjective experiences to respond to inquiries about their safety. Immediate conditions impacting feelings of safety and security included recent victimization and perceived physical and/or social disorder. Literature is limited because it focuses mainly on microsystem and mesosystem level of influence. The literature does not account for how context might influence how or why a group may evaluate neighborhood safety in the manner that they do. There appears to be a widespread but silent assumption that everyone views safety through the same lens without accounting for cultural, experiential, or philosophical differences between population groups. Most of the studies reviewed in this research assess safety perceptions among and between North American populations, which may explain the lack of attention to external context in research. Subjective worldviews are rooted in and continuously shaped by social, cultural, and historical influences. As a result, the perspectives of refugee groups and North American populations may differ. As Furr, Austin, Cribbs, and Smoger (2005) infer, viewing safety from the historical context and experiential lens of one's past may provide insight of how refugees make sense of their current surroundings, particularly how they perceive safety in their post-migration neighborhoods. This research does not serve to dispute or undermine the effects of micro- and mesosystem influences on perceptions of neighborhood safety. Rather, it seeks to explore an ecological approach that examines micro- and mesolevel influences in terms of macrosystem context. The aforementioned deficiency in the neighborhood safety literature leads to the research question: Does the experience of becoming a refugee and resettling to the United States

shape definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville, and if so, how?

Chapter 3

Methodology

This study was a subset of a larger, existing study examining resources that assist resettled Burundian refugees integrate into the Knoxville community. The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences associated with becoming a refugee among Burundian refugees resettled in Knoxville, Tennessee and to determine if these experiences shape how they define and perceive safety in their living environments. Specifically, this research served to answer the following research question: Does the experience of becoming a refugee, and resettling in the United States shape definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville, and if so, how? A grounded theory approach was used to guide the research. This chapter presents the methodology that was used to conduct the study and to ensure the quality and trustworthiness of the data collected. The overarching study, *The Psychosocial Effects of Real and Perceived Resources Experienced by Burundian Refugees during Resettlement: A Pilot Study*, was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville (IRB Protocol# 8495 B).

A CBPR approach was used in the design, and implementation of the research study. CBPR involves the collaborative efforts of a diverse group of stakeholders including scholars, practitioners, and community members under the premise that everyone has some form of expertise that can be used to solve issues at hand. Members of the Burundian community served an active role in the preparation and implementation of this new pilot study. Five trained Burundian community liaisons provided suggestions

and feedback about interview questions and items to be included on the cards used in the concept mapping activity. Their participation provided a sense of ownership in the research and a check of the cultural appropriateness of the research materials. Three of these individuals were trained to serve as research assistants in the research process. Individuals attended intensive training sessions during the spring and summer of 2011. They received training in interviewing, translation, and concept mapping methodology. During these sessions, participants engaged in hands-on practice of the skills. They also received training in standard research protocol such as acquiring informed consent for research and the importance of confidentiality. Only two of the trained participants actively participated in data collection.

Semi-structured interviews and concept mapping were the primary means of data collection in the overarching study. Participants were asked about their experiences in Africa and the United States and the resources important to their survival in both locations. An in-depth description of the semi-structured interview process is provided in later in this chapter. It should be noted that concept mapping was not used as a primary means of data collection for assessing the safety definitions and perceptions of study participants. As a result, it is described below rather than with the data collection procedures discussed later in the chapter.

Concept mapping is a participatory, mixed-methods approach to developing a conceptual framework of a phenomenon (Trochim, 1989). Traditionally, the framework produced visually depicts the interrelationship between concepts that participants put forth as important to the topic (Trochim, 1989). In addition to the map, a rating activity

during the process also provides the researcher with a sense of the importance that participants assign to different aspects of the concept. The visual that is created can then be used to advocate for change (Trochim, 1989). Concept mapping was conducted after discussing participants' experiences in Africa and the United States, respectively. During the concept mapping activity, participants were presented with a series of photos of various items and concepts available in either the Africa or the United States. A listing of the cards is presented in Appendix A. They were told to examine the picture cards and decide whether the item on the card was important or not important to them in their life pre-resettlement and post-resettlement, respectively. They placed the cards on a table under the label "important" or "not important." Participants were asked to explain why the item was important to them in their life. They then chose the five most important items to their life in the camps. Participants were asked to explain any item's shifts from importance in the camps to unimportance in the United States.

Informed Consent

Potential participants were required to sign a consent form prior to participating in the study (Appendix B; Appendix C). The consent form provided the purpose of the study, the benefits involved with participation, the risks associated with participation, and informing the participants of their right to not participate or withdraw from the study without consequence. The consent form was translated into Kirundi. Individuals literate in Kirundi were afforded the opportunity to read the consent form prior to signing. Those who are non-literate had the consent form read to them by the translator. After the form

was reviewed, participants were allowed to ask any questions about the study and their participation. Participants signed a Kirundi copy of the consent form and returned it to the researcher. Signed consent forms were stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Early Experiences Research Center (EERC) on the campus of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Participants were provided with a copy of the consent form to keep for their records. Additional consent was obtained from participants participating in follow-up interviews (Appendix D). Of the seven participants participating in this later phase of research, all gave verbal consent for their continued participation.

Sampling

Initially, a purposeful, convenience sampling technique was used to select participants from a sampling frame of approximately 96 Burundian adults with refugee status residing in Knoxville, Tennessee. The target sample size was 20 participants ($n=20$). Eligible participants were identified within this sampling frame by a community liaison that served as the President of the Solidarity Development and Light Association (SODELA), a community-based organization serving Knoxville-area refugees. The liaison coordinated all communication with participants, including recruiting participants and scheduling interview sessions.

The initial interviews created baseline information for the study. After the 20 interviews were conducted, theoretical sampling was conducted within the purposeful sample. Unlike popular sampling methods that aim to control variables, theoretical sampling samples for concepts. Theoretical sampling directs further data collection by

indicating which people, places, or events should be targeted next in order to further explain emerging phenomena and expose the variation within it. After the interview transcripts are thematically coded, questions related to the codes and emerging themes were used to create a new interview guide to identify causes, outcomes, context, and actions related to the emerging theory of refugee safety. These follow up interviews continued until theoretical saturation was reached. Theoretical saturation is defined as the “point at which gathering more data about a theoretical category reveals no new properties nor yields any further theoretical insights about the emerging grounded theory” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2010, p. 611). Saturation was reached in five interviews with individuals in the theoretical sample.

Inclusion Criteria

Individuals eligible to participate in the study met the following criteria:

1. Participants were 18 years of age or older.
2. Participants were of Burundian descent.
3. Participants migrated to the United States as refugees.
4. Participants lived in Knoxville at the time of the interview.

Exclusion Criteria

Participants meeting the criteria listed below were excluded from the study.

Additional participants were recruited to create a sample size of 20 participants ($n = 20$).

1. Consent to a Recorded Interview- Participants unwilling to have either part of the interview process (demographic interview or resource/concept mapping interview) audio recorded were excluded from the study.
2. Inability to commit to prolonged engagement- Participants unable or unwilling to commit to participation in multiple phases/visits involved in the research or to allot adequate time for interview sessions were excluded from the study.
3. Mental Health Concerns- The mental health of participants in this inquiry was of utmost importance. There were concerns about the mental stability (related to prolonged trauma in Africa) of some recruited participants in discussing their life in Africa. Participants likely to adverse mental health outcomes related to recalling their experiences in Africa were excluded from the study. Additionally, participants experiencing mental or emotional strain due to major life events at around the time of research were excluded from the study. Decisions about participant exclusion due to mental health concerns were determined by discussion and agreement among the primary investigator of the research, the community gatekeeper, and myself.

Data Collection

The research was completed in three separate interview sessions: demographic interviews, concept mapping and resource interviews, and follow-up interviews. The demographic survey was reviewed prior to implementation by community members for cultural appropriateness. Interview guides were translated into Kirundi so that interview

questions could be read by the translator if he or she chose not to use spontaneous translation. The interview guides were piloted in a community meeting.

Demographic Interviews

Demographic surveys (Appendix E) were administered on the initial visit. This survey assessed information about the respondent (i.e. gender, age, etc.), information about members of the respondent's household, and information about social support available to the participant. Demographic characteristics gathered were used solely to describe the sample of participants. The survey was administered in the participant's home. Demographic information extracted from the survey used in the safety portion of the study included the following characteristics:

- Age (may be approximated)
- Gender
- Employment status
- Language(s) spoken
- Date of arrival to the United States
- Names of the refugee camp(s) in which the participant has resided
- Country (countries) housing the refugee camp(s) in which the participant has resided

At the conclusion of the demographic survey, participants were given a \$10 gift card to a local grocery store.

Resource Interviews

Participant interviews consisting of an assessment of perceived and real resources essential to refugees and a concept mapping exercise were conducted with participants. Though concept mapping was not the primary method of assessing participant perceptions of neighborhood safety, the cards used in the sorting activity and the ensuing discussion were thought to have the possibility to stimulate thoughts and instances regarding feelings of safety and unsafety in their living environments in Africa and the United States. For example, upon seeing a card of a flashlight, one participant was reminded that the light was associated with someone coming to harm them. Therefore, concept mapping proved to be a complementary approach to qualitative data collection among participants in this study.

The semi-structured interviews and concept mapping activity were conducted on the second visit with the participant and occurred in a quiet, spacious location. While Resident Association meeting spaces within five public housing complexes throughout Knoxville were reserved to be the primary interview locations, some participants preferred to be interviewed in their homes. Participants were interviewed in their respective neighborhoods. In-depth interviews were conducted to inquire about resources in Africa and the United States that are essential to successful living. The interview guide can be found in Appendix F. The participants were first asked about their experiences in Africa prior to living in refugee camps (if applicable) and their experiences while living in refugee camps. Probing questions were asked to gain additional detailed information

about participant responses. Specific questions relating to issues of safety included the following:

- Have you always lived in a refugee camp or have you lived somewhere else before the camp(s)?
- Where did you live before the camps?
- Describe how you remember life living there.
- Did you feel safe there? Can you tell me why you feel this way?
- Do you mind telling me about times when you felt unsafe there?
- Describe how you remember living life in the refugee camps.
- Can you tell me about times that you felt safe in the refugee camp(s)?
- Do you mind telling me about times when you felt unsafe in the refugee camp(s)?

After asking the participant about their experiences in Africa, they were then invited to participate in the concept mapping activity.

After the first sorting activity, participants were asked about their experiences living in the United States. Again, probing questions were asked to gain additional detailed information regarding the participant's response. Specific questions related to neighborhood safety experiences in the United States included the following:

- Describe your life living in the United States.
- Can you tell me about times when you have felt safe in your current neighborhood?
- Do you mind telling me about times when you have felt unsafe in your current neighborhood?

- Overall, do you think your neighborhood is a safe place to live? Why do you feel this way?

At the conclusion of questions about their experience in the United States, participants were invited to participate in another cognitive mapping activity.

Finally, participants were asked about things that help in their resettlement in the United States. At the conclusion of this interview session, participants were given a \$20 gift card to a local discount retailer. Audio recordings were stored on the researcher's password protected computer and password protected home server. The audio recordings were also stored on the password protected computer of the study's primary investigator.

Follow-up Interviews

Follow-up interviews were conducted with seven (7) participants. These interviews focused solely on their perceptions of safety in both Africa and the United States and were based on the analyses of the initial 20 interviews. The purpose of these interviews was to expand upon the emerging framework developed from the initial interviews by exploring different dimensions of the ideas in order to achieve theoretical saturation. Though a guide was used (Appendix H), additional questions based on participant responses during the interview were also asked. Participants were given a \$10 gift card to a local grocery store at the conclusion of the interview. Theoretical saturation was reached upon the fifth follow-up interview. Two additional interviews were conducted as negative case analyses. These individuals were interviewed because they described experiences that were contradictory to the emerging framework. Reasons

behind their different experiences were sought to add dimension to the identified concepts.

Key Informant Interview

After additional data analysis at the conclusion of second phase of qualitative interviews, a key informant interview was conducted. The key informant interview provided insight to the nature of participant responses, to gain further understanding of participant responses, and fill in the gaps in the developing framework. The key informant was a local community gatekeeper who also served as a translator for the majority of the interviews. Also a refugee due the Burundian conflict of 1972, she resettled to the United States in 2001. She has worked with the Knoxville Burundian community since 2008. Guiding questions for this interview can be found in Appendix I.

Data Analysis

Demographic characteristics of the sample were analyzed using SPSS 20.0. Descriptive statistics including mean, standard deviation, range, and frequency were computed.

The analysis of interview data was guided by a grounded theory approach. Data collection and data analysis occur simultaneously in grounded theory research. Corbin and Strauss (2008) name three phases in grounded theory data analysis: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Each type of coding represents a higher level of conceptualization. Open coding attaches conceptual and thematic labels to elements of

the participants' accounts (Creswell, 2007). If the participant's words provide the best description of a concept, in-vivo coding was used. The detailed notes and subsequent transcriptions were read sentence-by-sentence and codes were assigned to describe the information that the participant is conveying. The codes were recorded in a codebook maintained in Microsoft Excel and later were examined in regards to the relationships among them and grouped into themes. A listing of the codes, concepts, and categories can be found in Appendix G. Initially, the researcher took detailed notes on the content of the audio recordings of the translator's English interpretation during the interview process. Later, the audio taped in-depth interview sessions were transcribed verbatim in English based on the recorded English translation. This data transcription was conducted by a trained transcriber.

Experiences of Africa were analyzed separately from the U.S. Each code was written on note cards. Codes describing similar phenomenon were grouped in piles together. A conceptual label was assigned to each pile describing the occurring phenomenon. Concepts were identified using constant comparison of interview transcripts. This process led to the identification of five concepts: being preyed upon, experiencing freedom from mistreatment, encountering weak lines of defense, encountering reliable peacekeepers, and having a social support system. It became evident that some of the concepts formed diametric experiences. These concepts were paired and categorically labeled. Three interrelated categories emerged: experiencing decreased threat, finding security, and maintaining positive social networks. Axial coding was performed concurrently with open coding. This phase of coding asks questions of the

data to capture the various dimensions of categories (Creswell, 2007). Selected participants were revisited to expand the theories related to the central phenomena.

Upon reaching theoretical saturation in the themes identified, selective coding occurred. Selective coding established relationships with the central phenomena and the identified themes as well as posing hypotheses associated with these relationships that hold true with the population (Creswell, 2007). Upon the completion of selective coding, complete conceptual framework depicting the definitions and conceptualization of safety among Burundian refugees in Knoxville was formed. Examination of these categories revealed that they were linked by a central core category: *being free from distress*. *Finding peace* became an overarching construct describing the emergent theory of neighborhood safety among Burundian refugees.

Analytic memos were written throughout analytical coding. Creswell (2007) defines memoing as “a process in which the researcher writes down ideas about the evolving theory throughout the process of open, axial, and selective coding” (p. 67). Questions raised in the memos including “when, why, where, how, and with what consequence?” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 124). Memos ranged from brief jottings to lengthy paragraphs capturing my thought process as I tried to make sense of the abundance of data. These ideas were recorded in composition books. These questions raised provide context for the concepts and richness to the emerging themes in upcoming phases of interviews.

Trustworthiness of the Data

The terms validity and reliability are not traditionally used in qualitative inquiry. Rather, qualitative researchers are concerned with establishing the “trustworthiness” of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe four criteria to establish the trustworthiness of the data: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility pertains to having “true” findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking was used to ensure the credibility of the study’s findings. Member checking involves presenting study findings to members of the study population. After the analysis of the follow-up interviews, the emergent conceptual framework was presented to four participants to acquire their feedback about the accuracy of how I interpreted their collective experience.

Transferability addresses the applicability of the findings to other similar situations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While the specific findings of this research cannot be generalized to other refugee groups, providing rich description of the emerging phenomena will make it easier for those studying similar situations to be able to compare their data to the baseline information provided by this story. Interpretations of participants’ experiences were supplemented with direct quotes from interview transcripts.

Dependability refers to being able to replicate findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). External auditing with two members of the larger research team not involved with this aspect of the study was used to ensure the dependability of the study findings. External auditing involves presenting findings to unbiased parties to ensure that the interpretations,

codes, and emerging framework are supported by the data that is collected. An external audit was conducted with two members of the larger research team not associated with this segment of the study. Preliminary open codes of five interviews were presented and discussed with the team members. Agreement with the current coding scheme was sought. Disagreements with preliminary codes were discussed until consensus was reached of how best to represent the data.

Lastly, confirmability ensures that the data is truly from the participant in order to reduce researcher bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). External audit and an audit trail were used to ensure the confirmability of the findings. The audit trail was comprised of the coded transcripts and memos written throughout open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. It also contained a collection of notes logging deviations from the initial methodological protocol. The memos served as a written record of thought process during analysis and data collection. The records maintained in the audit trail indicated a need for cultural clarification of participant verbal and bodily responses which were later satisfied through conducting a key informant interview with a community gatekeeper. Methodological notes also lead to excluding participants due to mental health concerns.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of this study was to better understand how the experience of becoming a refugee and resettling to the United States affected how Burundian refugees in Knoxville perceived safety in their neighborhoods. It also served to identify how the participants defined the concept of safety through their experiences. A modified grounded theory technique guided data collection and analysis. Extensive demographic characteristics were assessed from participants in order to thoroughly describe of the study sample in regards to individual-level characteristics. Subsequently, a qualitative, exploratory inquiry was conducted. Initial data was used to establish a baseline of constructed meanings of neighborhood safety and the context surrounding these conceptualizations. Follow-up interviews based on the preliminary findings of the initial interviews were conducted with seven of the participants to expand and saturate the emerging conceptual framework. This section will report the findings of the study.

Demographic Characteristics of Study Sample

Responses given during demographic interviews were analyzed with SPSS 20.0. Descriptive statistical analyses (i.e. frequencies, means, ranges, standard deviations) were performed. Qualitative responses from the demographic survey were recorded. The demographic characteristics of the study participants can be found in Table 2. Twenty (20) individuals participated in the study. The sample was nearly equally distributed between males (45%) and females (55%). The mean age for participants was 47 years

(SD = 16.59), ranging from 20 to 73. The majority of participants were married (70%). Twenty percent of participants were widowed. Insignificant numbers of people were either divorced or single (10%). Seventy percent (70%) were currently employed.

Fourteen participants were born in Burundi, but 50% of that subsample of the sample population had little or no recollection of life in their country of origin because of migration as young children. The remainder of participants was born to refugee parents and had never lived for any period of time in their native country. Upon the developing conflict in 1972, participants of this study mainly fled into neighboring Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire). Conflict occurring in Rwanda and Congo in the mid 1990s drove many of the participants to Tanzania. Two (2) participants sought refuge status in Zimbabwe. Participants had lived in 19 different camps in four different countries (Table 3). Congo, Rwanda, and Tanzania were the most cited locations for settlements. Refugee housing locations consisted of Burundian enclaves including settlements formed from land granted by host governments and refugee camps.

The majority (80%) of participants have lived in the United States for 4-5 years. Likewise, the majority (75%) of participants have lived in Knoxville for the same duration. Nineteen (19) participants live in public housing. The majority of the sample (50%) lived in Complex B. The remainder of the participants was nearly evenly dispersed in other neighborhoods. Half of the participants have lived in their current neighborhoods between 4 and 5 years.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Demographic	N	%
Gender		
Male	9	45
Female	11	55
Age Group		
20-29	4	20
30-39	2	10
40-49	5	25
50-59	2	10
Over 60	7	35
Marital Status		
Married	14	70
Widowed	4	20
Divorced	1	5
Single	1	5
Employment Status		
Employed	14	70
Unemployed	6	30
Years Lived in United States		
Less Than 1 Year	0	0
1-2 Years	0	0
2-3 Years	2	10
3-4 Years	2	10
4-5 Years	16	80
Years Lived in Knoxville		
Less Than 1 Year	0	0
1-2 Years	0	0
2-3 Years	3	15
3-4 Years	2	10
4-5 Years	15	75

Demographic	N	%
Knoxville Neighborhoods		
Complex A	3	15
Complex B	10	50
Complex C	1	5
Complex E	2	10
Years Lived in Current Neighborhood		
Less Than 1 Year	0	0
1-2 Years	4	20
2-3 Years	4	20
3-4 Years	2	10
4-5 Years	10	50

Table 2. Refugee Settlements and Camps Inhabited by Participants

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Camp</i>
Rwanda	Rilima Rukomo Ngarama Rwagitima
Congo	Tanga Nundu Baraka Uvira Kagunga
Zimbabwe	Tongogara
Tanzania	Kanembwa Mutabila Muyovozi Lukole Benako Nduta

The following research question was addressed in this study: Does the experience of becoming a refugee and resettling to the United States shape definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville, and if so, how?

Conceptualizing Neighborhood Safety

A modified grounded theory technique was used to analyze the qualitative data garnered through a series of semi-structured interviews. Interview transcripts were coded in-vivo, sentence-by-sentence. Analyses for experiences in Africa and experiences in the United States were conducted separately. Codes for each time period were written on note cards and sorted by similarities. Conceptual labels were assigned to the group describing the phenomenon occurring among the codes. The analysis of interviews of 20 Burundian refugees residing in Knoxville yielded a total a total of five emerging concepts: *being preyed upon, being free from mistreatment, experiencing weak lines of defense, encountering reliable peacekeepers, and having a social support system*. The concepts were compared and grouped according to similarities. Categorical labels were assigned to the group of concepts. Like the conceptual label, the categorical label also described a more abstracted version of the occurring phenomenon. The categories identified referred to opposing perceptions and were paired together, creating 3 categories: *experiencing decreased threat, finding security, and maintaining positive social networks*. These categories captured the positive impact of resettlement on perceptions of safety.

With a preliminary framework emerging, follow-up interviews were conducted with participants. The aim of these interviews was to achieve saturation of the emergent categories. Theoretical saturation was reached on the fifth follow-up interview. Data from these interviews were also open coded and placed in relation to the preliminary framework. Memos were written throughout the analysis process to organize my thought process and make sense of the abundance of data. In these notes, I record my observed trends, my hypotheses, emergent ideas, links among categories, and new areas to potentially explore.

A layout of the theory of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville is presented in Figure 2. Detailed descriptions of the emergent concepts and categories are presented in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Experiencing Decreased Threat

Experiencing decreased threat describes Burundians' involvement in intentional physical violence in the U.S. and Africa, particularly their transition out of the victim role. They describe shedding fearfulness because they no longer feel vulnerable to threats to their sense of safety. In the United States, they are not constantly confronted by violence and people coming to maliciously harm them. This category is composed of concepts: *being free from mistreatment* and *being preyed upon*.

Being Preyed Upon

Chronic victimization was one of the most perilous obstacles to achieving personal safety for Burundians during migration and in settlements. Due to the intentional and violent nature of these attacks, the category was titled *being preyed upon*.

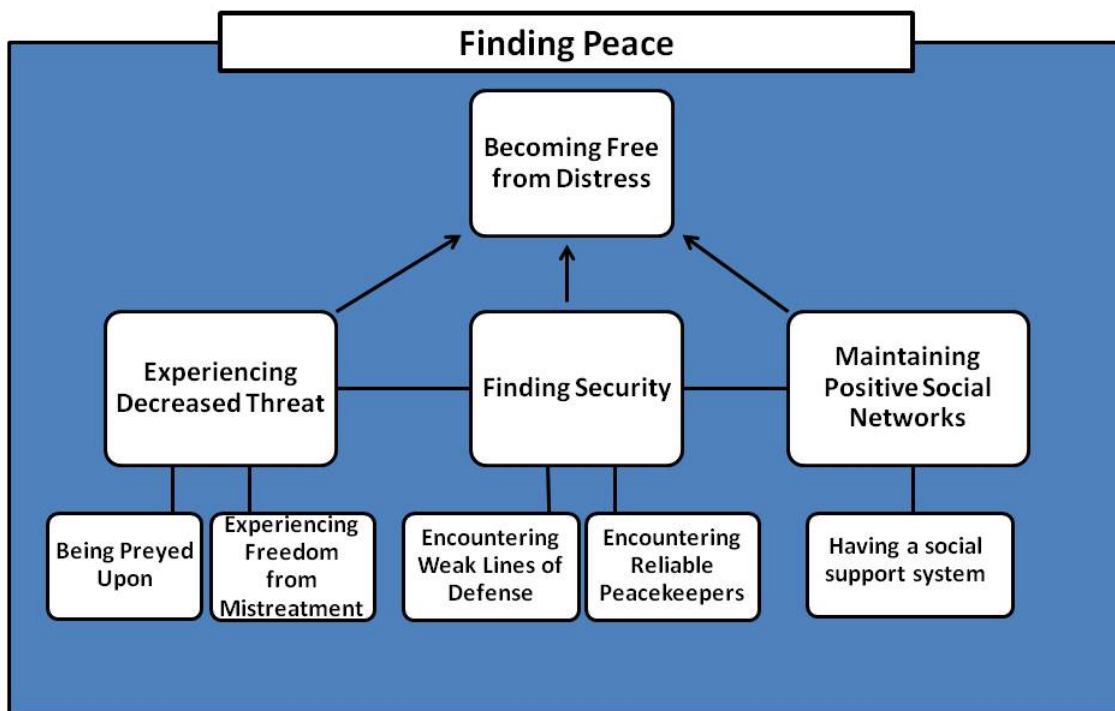


Figure 2. Participant Conceptualization of Neighborhood Safety

While in the settlements in Africa, Burundians spent their days socializing, operating businesses and planting crops, and otherwise trying to gain some sense of normalcy. However, as the sun began to set in the settlements, it was common for residents to become fearful as nighttime was often associated with attacks. They knew that with the approaching darkness came the risks of becoming victims to violence.

25B: But in the evening we were shaking because of fear. And the kids were so scared. When they shoot, we found that normal. It is not normal.

But in the camp, when you heard the shoot, people were dying. They were killing. Shoot and kill. Yeah, that time it was so scary.

28A: Every night you will hear that family's crying because someone break into [their home] and you don't know when it will be your turn.

Many times Burundians found themselves as prey to more powerful predators in regards to weaponry or authority. As a result, participants encountered loss and were confronted with death on a daily basis. The victimization experiences recalled by participants were more than mere coincidences. Individuals prospering in business or agriculture were frequently targeted for visits by “thieves and killers.” Harassment, force, and intimidation were used to obtain these resources. As people travelled across the continent to resettlement areas, many times they were confronted by people wishing to do them harm. Individuals not complying with the demands were often killed.

22C: Oh, the militaries in the Congo, they were not paid. And whenever they meet somebody like a business man, like I was, they stop you and they ask you to give some money. If they stop me, I gave some money and they let me go. That was really not good, because we had to pay money all the time when you meet them.

30A: Even if I was doing some business, if you go inside those bad guys who didn't do anything, who was a killer, they come at night and take all your stuff. And sometimes they could even kill you.

22B: *They were guys from Tanzania. They are really those guys who steal and kill. They were coming in the camp also. When they see that you are prosperous and are doing business they want to...they do their best to come and take your stuff.*

29A: *Even if you are doing business and you are...you get...you are prospering, they can kill you. Like in Tanzania, in Tanzania, where we were at that time, if they see that you have good business, they come at night and they kill you. And many people were killed that way.*

22A: *And those guys in the camp was looking. They say, 'That guy, he has money.' And they come to our house. Oh, our neighbor who was doing business with my husband...so they come at night and they kill him. In the morning, when we went to see but he was already dead.*

Ever-present dangers in the camps placed hardships on conducting basic daily activities. Trips to adjacent forests were needed to collect firewood for cooking, collecting water, or tending crops. However, trips to the forest could prove deadly.

25A: *Oh my, you see, in the camp, people were dying every day. You could go to look for water and they kill you or your die. You could go in the forest to look for wood to make fire, you die. You could go to plant something or work for money, you die.*

25B: *When you were...many people went in the forest to look for wood to make fire. And they were killed. You meet dead body all the time in the forest.*

4A: If you went there [to the garden] by yourself, they could kill you. They used to kill people and [indistinguishable 18:55]. You couldn't go by yourself in there...in the garden.

Though the identities of perpetrators were sometimes unknown, they were most commonly identified as Burundian insurgents or settlement guardians. Within Tanzanian camps, participants recalled being bullied by Burundian insurgents. According to Participant 25A: “... in Tanzania, no one there felt safe. How could you feel safe? Those who came to kill us and steal and kill were our brothers.” Though they shared commonality in fleeing Burundi in 1972, time and political sentiment began to divide the group of refugees. As Burundians in camps drifted towards a more neutral political role, rebels remained politically charged and continued to oppose the ruling party in their country of origin. As their dissatisfaction grew, rebels began engaging in physical conflict with the Burundian government resulting in them being expelled from the refugee camps. Though they then began to operate in the periphery forests of the camps, rebels continually infiltrated the camps of Tanzania. Rebels viewed Burundians in the camp as resources to further their mission to overthrow the current regime in Burundi. Repetitive raids of the camps yielded food, money, man power, and the satisfaction of sexual needs.

22C: But with trouble and war in Burundi, they [rebels] were going to fight and come back in the camp, go fight, come back...they were fighting against the government. So we didn't have peace at that time.

32A: *You see, with the order in the country, they were in conflict because of different politicals. And there were guerillas in the forest. All guys who were militaries who hunted against the government. It was conflict within the government and those guys in the forest. Those guys were coming in the camp and oblige people to be [indistinguishable 28:57]. If you refused it was a big deal. So that's why really it was not safe at that time. Because they had ... they could shoot.... They have [indistinguishable]. They have everything in the forests. And they could come in the camp. They speak the same language. They are all Burundian. They could come in the camp.*

25A: *OK, it was in Burundi at that time, they have a ... the opposition had guerilla in the forest. And those guys, they were soldiers also. They come in the camp and they say, 'You know, we are fighting the government in Burundi because we are the opposition. And we have our military in the forest.' If you get cots or [indistinguishable] or anything. You get cold beans, anything you get that they give you to eat, you had to give something to those guys. If you resist, you were murdered. You were a target to be killed. So we have to give them ... first to give them so they can feed the guerillas that were there in the forest. So it was really a bad situation. We couldn't go into Burundi because those guys who were fighting the government were coming in the camp to ask us. If you try to go into Burundi, you are an enemy to them. Yeah. So those guys ...*

soldiers said, 'If you don't give your contribution. We are fighting against the government. If you try to go in Burundi, you are not going to step one foot over. We are going to kill you and put you in the river.' So it was like that. You couldn't go anywhere. It was a bad situation.

In addition to attacks by rebels, participants also were victimized by settlement guardians, namely police officers and military members, specifically military members and police officers. Participants held very negative perceptions of their intended guardians, and blamed them for the poor state of safety in the settlements. Blinded by corruption, guardians suspended their duties as protectors and adopted the role of a perpetrator. At times, their harmful acts were in conjunction with those of the insurgents.

22A: So those militaries really were...they were not...they were supposed to be there for security, but they were almost...most of them...they were stealing [from] people.

29B: ...So there were some police and the militaries and those who come....they say they come to assure security, but those guys were bothering the camp. Yeah. Oh, they didn't come to...officially they came to assure the security but they were the cause of trouble in the camp.

29A: In Tanzania, if the police could do this job very well, we could get peace. It was not safe. But they were the ones to disturb our peace. Those killers and thieves, among them were police...those police. If the police were doing its job, we could get really peace and security, but they were among the thieves and killers. Yeah, they had a kind of...team, if I can say

team of crime, I don't know...and they were working with those bad guys in the camp. That's why we didn't...we have never, never have peace in the camp. Because the police was involved.

Both rebels and guardians inflicted gender-based violence on female refugees. No one spoke about personal experiences with rape; subsequent conversation during the key informant interview revealed that it is taboo for Burundian women in this community to talk about their personal experiences with rape. However, their stories depicted the risks of rape of women living in refugee settlements. Regardless of marital status, adolescent and adult females were subject to unwanted sexual advances.

25B: There was no peace in Congo. No security because of the militaries. Even those militaries, even a wife inside a small house with her husband, they came, knock on the door and took the lady out and when with her. I was still a young girl, but if you had really teenager girls and a wife, they took them. [...] They took them and take them away. When they finish to rape them, they say, 'go back to your house.' No peace. It was not safe to stay in the Congo. They afraid of those militaries because they were taking...they were abusing and raping their daughters and their wives.

30A: Oh, and now, you know, in the camp I was a widow. And the widows were really in a bad situation. They used to force in their house and come to rape them. So sometimes, it's really...it was bad sometimes

24A: *They [the military] were coming to take the teenager girls and rape them. They took them away in the bush and raped them.*

4A: *The camp in Tanzania in the beginning, but after that it was really bad, because they used to kill women and rape women in the forests. [...]*
The guys waiting for women to rape them and kill them. It was really awful.

Families were left helpless to the gender-based attacks. According to Participant 25B, “You couldn’t say anything if you are a husband or a father. [...] If they come and pick up your wife or your daughter, you couldn’t say anything because they were beating you or killing you.”

Experiencing Freedom from Mistreatment

When asked about safety in the United States, 70% of participants began speaking about being free from mistreatment in this country. They describe the absence of harassment, confrontation, or physical abuse directed towards or inflicted on them or their family in their current neighborhoods. With this lingering sense of relief, Burundians can live peacefully, without constant fear and worry about if and when something will happen to them as they go about their daily routines.

32A: *When you take your kids at school, pick up them back home, and you don’t meet anybody... anything wrong, that’s peaceful. That’s real security. Nobody stops you or asks you anything.*

22C: *You see, so I thank God because I’m alive and I can sleep and nobody comes to disturb me or to kill me.*

25B: *Nobody comes to disturb us. Never. I don't know if I can live in another area. Everybody is quiet and really safe. [...] I come home and I sleep. I cook. No one disturbs you. I feel really safe.*

4A: *Here I can think of nothing that will risk my safety or my peace. I go to school. I walk from my house, come to the school. I don't fear anything. I feel safe and in peace.*

22A: *I'm really secure at home with my family. We...my children rest in the morning. They go to school. I left in the afternoon...I leave in the afternoon. I go to work. Come back at night. Nobody bothers my children or me. It's why I say that really, I feel safe.*

24A: *I come home, I go back to work, I come back to my house, nobody bothers me, there is no problem here.*

26C: *There is safety in America. No one will spank me. No one will attack me.*

30A: *In this country it's safe. We have the security in this country [indistinguishable 60:20]. When I say security here - widows in Africa, they are really miserable. Because once you are a widow in Africa, anybody can force you ... to have sex with you if I can say that. It's like that. But here in America, nobody can force you.*

26B: *Nobody is trying to kill us. No one will come, open our door, and attack us.*

Though participants discuss being free from people inflicting harm on them, participants residing in some complexes were especially concerned with chronic gun violence occurring in their neighborhoods. The sights and sounds of gunfire refreshed traumatic memories of Africa. They remained fearful of becoming innocent victims of this violence among neighbors.

12A: *If you hear shooting in your neighborhood, you don't feel safe.*

Maybe... maybe they might shoot each other and accidentally shoot

[me]... right. So you don't feel safe.

31A: *And then, one guy came with a gun. A big gun, not small. Yeah, and they tried shooting people. [...] They kill one guy. [...] Yeah, I saw it, but...I saw the guy...the man who had the gun...get inside and then shooting. I heard the guns that he shoots.*

24A: *I went to work. And back home I found that there had been kids shoot on my house when I leave. [...] It was so scary. I was so afraid.*

32A: *You know, even if they were American guys shooting each other, but they can't control where the shooting goes. You know, they can shoot anybody. Even if they are shooting each other outside, they can shoot...they don't know where the bullet goes. It can come through the window and hit me in my house. [...] That reminds us of the situation we did flee. Because when we fled our country, it wasn't safe. It was because of shooting and killing. And when they do that in our neighborhood, we don't feel safe.*

29A: *Sometimes we hear shots. We just moved. Where we were in the same complex but a different house, they killed three people. Just in front of us. Died. Killing. No, this place is scary. We are really afraid to live here. [...] We came to look for security, a safe country, and we are experiencing the same thing.*

31A: *It [neighborhood shooting] made me feel like back to Africa when I was [indistinguishable]...when they practiced genocide in Burundi. Like people killing each other, you know. And it leaves you wondering why in America now? Why are they doing this? We came to America just to get safety. You know. They have more freedom in the America. The America is to make us forget about what happened in Africa.*

Despite their intrinsic fearfulness, participants found consolation in knowing that they were not the intended targets of the conflict and ensuing violence unlike their experiences in Africa.

32A: *They don't want really ... they are not looking to shoot toward us. No probably because we are so nice or because we are... they don't care about us. They shoot ... they shoot each other, but not us. [...] But here, it's between those guys. I don't know if they ... they smoke or do something, but they know what is between them, not ... it's not really They don't really bother Burundian refugees. It's between them. We heard shooting but we don't know what is wrong between them. It's not really against us. I can say we are safe in this area.*

12A: *But not ... they would not just shoot me for no reason, you know. I would have to be involved for them... I would have be convict and have to commit a crime and that kind of stuff to be in that kind of situation. They're not going to just shoot somebody just walking around the street.*

Participants explain how personal conduct is vital to being free from mistreatment in the United States. Though they describe unproblematic existence in their current communities, they also note how individuals can bring trouble onto themselves. In the United States, Burundians believe that they exhibit some degree of personal control of whether or not they are harmed. Participants acknowledge that negative personal experiences can result in becoming involved in potentially harmful situations. Freedom from mistreatment is contingent upon positive behavior choices.

25A: *I tell you, this country is safe. We have security. Nobody comes to bother me. I sleep. I do whatever in my house. If they stop me, I think something is wrong...against the rule. But they can't stop you if you didn't do something wrong. If you are all right, you follow the rules, you are OK.*

32A: *But here, it's really you are wrong or you are right. If you are right, no problem. If you are, you don't break the rules, you aren't in trouble.*

30A: *Besides that, to get peace or security, you can get it by yourself by the way you decided to live is what I can tell you. It's like here. If you want to get peace and live in peace, you have to follow the rules and try to live in peace with everybody.*

12A: *But ... as long as I stay inside, see the friends that I have first, as long as I don't hang out with people that I don't recognize, I think I feel safe.*

Finding Security

As they traversed international boundaries, Burundians hoped and longed for protection. The category *finding security* represents the participants' transition from vulnerability to security due to provisions of a country to assure safety. Two categories: *encountering weak lines of defense* and *having dedicated peacekeepers* were included in this category.

Encountering Weak Lines of Defense

Countries accepting refugees typically have a number of security measures in place to ensure a place of physical and mental safety for the new residents. Burundians experienced a flawed system in which they were at the mercy of *losing state protection* and *encountering ineffective law enforcement*. Consequently, they were forced to adopt strategies to compensate for the deficient protective system through *practicing self-defense* and *resorting to a Higher Power*. The category *encountering weak lines of defense* represents the destabilization of a protective infrastructure intended to safeguard refugees and alternative protective strategies employed by individuals in desperation.

Losing State Protection

Government forms an influential component of refugee protection. Individuals are typically protected from violence through laws, rules, and regulations. Though countries

granted access to many fleeing refugees, over time, the government's ability to assure the safety of refugees became compromised. After years of providing refuge, governments became unable or unwilling to protect protracted Burundian refugees in Africa. As conflict erupted in a nation, the state was not able to ensure the safety of any inhabitant of the country. Having experienced nearly 25 years of relative peace in Rwanda and Congo, conflict in 1994 and 1996 respectively as well as continual conflict in Burundi since 1972, Burundians could not be assured protection from victimization because of political conflict. As a result, they were forced to seek refuge internationally.

25A: No, we left Mutalla when it was a state of war in Rwanda. We became again refugees. We wished to go back to Burundi home, but it was...there were no peace. [...] So we were walking towards Tanzania, because we couldn't go back to Burundi and the war in state...the civil war. We couldn't go. Uganda was on the border...just across the border. But we couldn't go to Uganda because the ones who were attacking Rwanda were coming from Uganda. So we went towards Tanzania.

22B: After two years that they killed that guy, the president of Burundi and the many refugees coming in the Congo, it was two years that in Congo the war starts. And it was no security at that time. So I think it was around two years after that guy was killed. It was around 1995 or 96. Yeah it was two years after the Burundi war and then war starts in the Congo. We saw people from Burundi coming in our land. We were really running and we say. 'It's bad in Burundi. Everything is bad. They are killing.' And those

who stayed in the first camp...Kisangani...they were also fleeing, coming inside the country in Bubembe where we were. When we saw that everyone was getting far from Burundi from the border, coming to our area and keep going away, we say. 'That's not secure. We have to go too.' And we started to wrap our stuff and we decided to flee, again. We went to Tanzania.

Sometimes governments become unwilling to assure protection. By initiating forced repatriation of Burundians, some host nations were in violation of international refugee protection policy regarding non-refoulement. According to Article 33 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2011), “No Contracting State shall expel or return (‘refouler’) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.” Despite this well-known international policy, some states became disinclined to assure the safety of the Burundians.

28A: The only problem we had in the camp was that those authorities [of Tanzania] forcing us to leave to go back home. We couldn't go back home in the country. And that was really insecure because they were forcing us all the time.

32A: Oh, there has been a time, almost a whole year in Congo. You know, the government, it was one of those authorities said, 'No. All the Burundian refugees need to go back in their country.' It was really bad at

that time. How can they force you to go back in your country and there is not peace there? They are shooting. And at that time, we didn't have...peace. We didn't have security because it was almost a whole year.

32A: See in Tanzania, also, one time, those guys from Burundi, from the country came and shoot. They were shooting in the camp. And people died that time. And the government said, 'OK.' The government...they were mad, you can understand that. And they say, 'OK, we're going to close all the camps and you are going to go back home. You in your country.' A few of the camps were closed and there was no security that time. It was bad.

4A: And they didn't want us to stay [indistinguishable 9:28]. The government [of Tanzania] wants us to go back to Burundi.

Encountering Ineffective Law Enforcement

Police officers, responsible for the maintenance of security of refugee camps, were assigned the responsibility of protecting and serving camp residents. However, the corrupt nature of local law enforcement inhibited many efforts to assure adequate protection in settlements. Bribes paid by rebels operating on the peripheries of the camp provided access to the secured living areas and also served as a guarantee for not intervening in the havoc they were to release on the camp.

28B: The police in the camp, I can say that they were accomplice [...] they had a fence around the camp. And through the main door you have the police station. So nobody could come in without passing through the police station. So those bad guys were talking with the police. And they let

them come to do what they were doing. And they come and do that bad stuff and shoot and rape women. And when they were screaming in the camp, after 30 minutes to one hour, you could see the police going after. And they were hearing all that screaming and shouting and shooting. They didn't show up on time. They come late like after 30 minutes or after one hour. So we think that police were accomplice.

29A: You see, the police officers in Tanzania were so afraid. You see, we have been here over one hour. You can call them and in one hour, two hours, they don't show up. You call them, they come after two hours.[...] So those bad guys already gone.

22A: Once they catch them, they [bad guys] go to the police and pay [...] They pay money so they can just let them go [...] It is just to say don't say anything about this; let me go really. They pay a big amount of money. And you just think that they come to your house and steal. They stole and just after a week you see them coming back. Whoa. Why are you coming back like this? You know because he gave money to police. Corruption. That's corruption.

28A: When they [male camp residents standing guard at night] run and call police, they would come after two hours. While the family back and they already killed them and take everything.

The “sungusungu” served as a supplemental community-based law enforcement group similar to that of a neighborhood watch group resulting from government response

to growing violence in Tanzanian camps. Participant 30A describes the importance of the sungusungu: *“Those people [abasungusungu] that the government sent to maintain security in the camp were really very important for me. Because without them, we couldn’t stay. If somebody was coming to bother you or try to...or try to get trouble, put you into trouble...you could go and report the incident and they [the police] would put him in jail.”* Though their continual presence contributed to the safety of residents, the unarmed security guards were sometimes no match for armed insurgent attacks. Outpowered, some sungusungu members were killed trying to protect residents or resigned from their duties fearing for their life.

29A: *When they saw that the killing and stealing was really bad in the camp, the government and the United Nations they did a meeting and see how to handle the situation. And they did law enforcement and sent a lot more police officers in the camp. And they elect a security committee inside the camp. The name is abusungusungu. And the camp security were doing a round all the time inside the camp. [...] You see those security inside the camp, they didn’t have guns. And those bad guys came with guns.*

30A: *Security was assured by the refugees. They called them abusungusungu. The security agents were refugees. They didn’t have the guns. This is why the security refused to work really nights. They were so afraid. And they said, ‘we can’t do that without guns because they gonna kill us because those they come to attack with guns.’*

Practicing Self-Defense

As higher, more powerful levels of security began to fail, camp residents engaged in self-defense. Men in the camps often assumed responsibility for the safety of their families, keeping vigil in the plots at night armed with clubs, ready to ward off perpetrators if necessary.

25A: *I didn't used to sleep in the house because I was afraid they could come and kill me in the night. I had to sleep outside. It's my duty. When you finish it [dinner], most...the husband...the men...you entered in, you take your cot and you go out. And your wife and the children asked you. 'Where are you going?' And you come back in the morning.*

22C: *We stayed there, men couldn't sleep. We were ... we were ... we were up the whole night to protect our family.*

28A: *It was like a time when they decide all men like 20 [...]there would be like four on guard every night. Four today and four tomorrow. At that time, if they are [indistinguishable] and hear one family's crying back, those four would go and report to the police.*

Other times, participants sought shelter during the night away from the home in the hopes of escaping potential danger. The security of the home was lost because of the threat of physical harm finding them in their homes.

22C: *When they stole ... they come to steal in my house, since that time I couldn't stay... I couldn't sleep at home. If I want to sleep, I went somewhere else so they can't follow me home. They couldn't kill me.*

25B: *We didn't sleep inside the house. We were sitting the whole night.*

We used to cook early. If it was a little bit dark ... if you don't finish to cook, you forget to eat that day and you go in the forest to hide yourself.

30A: *Also sometimes, we couldn't stay inside the house during the night because they were shooting. We didn't know where the shoot come, but at sometime night you could hear shoot and people shooting. And we were obliged to go and hide in the forest or in the bush. And spent the night outside.*

29A: *When we went in...a little different from there, we went in the forest and we were trying to hide ourselves there. In the forest...we stayed in the forest until morning.*

22A: *I say, 'I feel like...I'm scary...I feel a kind of fear. And I don't want to sleep in this house.' I was so scared and I say 'Let's go take some stuff and go to sleep somewhere else. With a friend. Then we will come back tomorrow in the morning.'*

Resorting to a Higher Power

When no other source was available, participants resorted to spiritual means for protection. They attribute their deliverance from many difficult, hopeless situations to the power of God.

4A: *[During flight from Burundi] But suddenly it was a miracle. A mountain come and...come and...it was like a...an island in the rain. A mountain came down and come to rest and stayed there. We could go*

through the river by the mountain. It...took like some [indistinguishable 7:12] two hours. The mountain went away when we were on the other side. Those groups who were behind, they were killed by the enemy. All of them. We were saved by God like that.

22A: I tell you, in the camp, God protected me. I was scared. I was dead. I was saved because of my Jesus. And the neighbors were hearing what I was telling the killer [during a robbery]...that I talked to the killer lie that. I say, 'It was not me. It was from God, it was not me.

29A: Just pray to God. Only God. Everywhere we passed in the country, we were praying to God. Because I was saved in Burundi in 1985 and everywhere we were going, we were passing...stopping...we were praying to God to help us. Asking God to help us.

Encountering Reliable Peacekeepers

The presence of reliable peacekeepers is an added assurance to the safety and security of Burundians in Knoxville. Bolstering the notion of being free from mistreatment, police officers and office management staff were described as being committed to assuring the tranquility and order of the neighborhood. The peacekeepers are responsible for deterring, mitigating, neutralizing problems occurring among complex residents. They were praised for their presence, accessibility, organization, and efficiency. Participants also discuss the respect that Americans have for protectors.

22C: *And we have the police. They are coming. [...] No, if we don't see police, if we don't have police then the country is going to be a mess. We need them.*

29A: *All the time the police officers are turning around ... all the time. If we can still live here and play and safe ... it's because we see the police ... the police is around all the time. Even at night they are. They stay.*

22A: *They know if they come to disturb me or bother me in my house, I am going to call the police. American police...they don't beat you, but they are serious.*

29A: *The staff we have in the office, they are really good. They are helping us a lot. [...]Our office manager is good. And he try to just to send away just those bad guys.*

30A: *Yeah, I feel safe. So one neighbor wants to mess up with me and wants to disturb my peace, but ... the problem is OK now. They [the complex office staff] did arrange the problem and really now I can say I'm safe. [...] If the problem comes back, the one who will need to take care of the situation [the complex office staff] will handle that. I think that it's over now.*

27A: *I am not in fear because they [office complex staff] helped me [when home was burglarized] and protect me.*

Maintaining Positive Social Networks

Having a social support system

Participants cite relationships among their neighbors as contributing to feelings of safety within their neighborhood in both Africa and the United States. Neighbors have the potential to help, harm, or hinder. Throughout their experience as refugees, Burundians have seen changes to their social group structure, but from their narratives, they have been able to re-establish social relationships within their living environments. In both locations, participants describe amicable interactions with neighbors resulting in a peaceful existence. Bonds with neighbors results in four forms of functional support: emotional, tangible, informational, and companionship. Characteristics of these neighborly bonds include trust, camaraderie, acceptance, respect, equality, and assistance. In addition, sometimes neighbors were identified as friends. Relationships ranged from associations with family members to friendships to passing, and interactions with acquaintances.

Participants fondly recall memories of their neighbors in the settlements in Africa despite the chaos occurring around them.

22A: We had really good neighbors. They...that guy who were doing business with my husband, they went together and do the business...he was a good, good, friend and neighbor.

22B: But they [the Bubembe of Congo] did welcome us very well. And they were...in the beginning, they used to give us bananas and crops, because we didn't have any crops. And they used to pick up their garden and say,

“You can get one banana, you can get this if you want it.” They were so nice and they were welcoming us very well. And when we started to plant crops, we were going with them together like friends and family. We were really good in that area and it was safe. And the people were good.

22A: [during robbery] I was talking so loudly. So I want the neighbor to hear that we are in trouble. And I was really speaking loudly. We wanted them to hear that we were in trouble, so they can come and try to catch them.

4A: Let me tell you, one day I can one day I was safe in the camp. That’s Sunday on the weekend. It was a time to enjoy life in the camp. If you had something, food, good food that you get and hid in your small house, you invite friend and go with children and sit down, mostly on the weekend. But inside, not outside. Had to cook there and eat. That’s the safe time, and you can say I did enjoy to eat with family one day in a week. That’s the only thing I can tell you that was good for me. And it was sometimes on the weekend.

Participants describe similar amicable relationships with their neighbors in the United States.

25A: I have my neighbor, he's a white guy. He speaks to me. He is my friend. He opens the door and greets me and I greet him. And we respect each other as equal. There is no injustice. There is really security. Safety in America.

22B: *I hear that when you live somewhere to get security it's to have friends and a good relationship with the neighbor. So here in [Complex B], my good neighbors and relationships is those who come from Africa and the same country than me. It's was ... it's Nizigiyimana¹ the family down there. And it was Manirambona¹ the family that has a good friend. So I was feeling good because if was I was I was feeling that I need to talk to somebody, I go to Nizigiyimana's house or they come to visit. Or I go to Manirambona's house and they come to visit also. Now, Manirambona's gone with his family, so we still ... we are just two in that area.*

32A: *When you have a good neighbor, a good relationship with your neighbor, he doesn't bother you; you don't bother him. You feel peaceful. You feel good. And he trust you. And he trust you. And if you want to go somewhere, you can say 'OK. I'm going. Can you check [on] my children' Or 'Take care of my children.' So you feel good with them, and you trust them. And you can borrow stuff if somebody need something or I can ask him to give me something. And when you have a good neighbor you can exchange your ideas.*

28B: *I feel safe because I have good neighbors. They have kids this one on the right; she has kids like me. And the one on the left they have kids even if they grow up and the next one also have kids. [...] And we know the kids play together outside. We don't worry if you leave your kid. You know the*

neighbors are there. And really we feel safe even if we are not there. So now the neighbors are really so good.

Antagonistic relationships with neighbors undermine the receipt of social support. Despite most having amicable interactions among neighbors, some participants have had negative run-ins with neighbors. Ranging from harassment to assault, participants emerge fearful of the potential harm that can be inflicted by their neighbors. Instead of having good relationships with neighbors, they are fearful of them. These neighbors are described as unsavory characters with questionable behaviors including drug abuse and alcoholism. Problems escalate when negative characters approach or harass participants. Though none have been physically harmed by these individuals, they become fearful of what may happen. A common strategy used in these encounters is avoidance.

29A: In this area, African-Americans ... we don't ... I can say that their behavior is not good. And we don't really approach them. We are afraid to approach them.

28A: We live with those people around you, you know that they smoke. They take...eh...they take what is drugs. Yeah anytime something can happen. But those people are kind of possessed. They are not on their own; they can do some action way bizarre.

31A: So in [Complex D], if you go outside you see the people drinking, smoking, you know. It can scare them. Sometimes they can kill you.

Concepts, Categories, and Definitions

Overall, five concepts emerged from the accounts of participants: 1.) *being preyed upon*, 2.) *experiencing freedom from mistreatment*, 3.) *experiencing weak lines of defense*, 4.) *encountering reliable peacekeepers*, and 5.) *having a social support system*. Further abstraction of the concepts resulted in three categories: 1.) *experiencing decreased threat*, 2.) *finding security*, and 3.) *maintaining positive social networks*. From these three categories, three variables emerge as influences used to define safety within their neighborhoods: victimization, protection, and social relationships.

Core Category: Becoming Free From Distress

The three identified core concepts yielded the development of a core category that reports a process that ties the concepts together: *Becoming Free from Distress*. This core category represents participants' freedom from being restrained and inhibited by persistent anxiety and hardships that bear negatively impacting their feelings of safety in their current living environments. Participants describe difficulties faced in Africa. According to Participant 32A, "*Burundians have suffered long time for being refugees for years.*" Participant 4A adds, "*We came from the camp, come to the United States, we thank God because it was a bad, bad situation in there.*"

Central Organizing Construct: Finding Peace

The central organizing construct of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville is *Finding Peace*. Living in peace in the United States was a recurring, prominent topic present throughout participant interviews. For Burundians in Knoxville,

peace represents both a physical state of being without harm and a mental state of having peace of mind, not having to worry or living in fear of intentional hurt, harm, or danger. This theoretical construct captures finding a feeling that participants have longed for since leaving their country of origin and have attained since resettling in the United States. Living in peace was a goal and driving force behind their multiple migrations. Burundians appear relieved to finally have found a peaceful existence in the United States.

4A: Here I can sleep the whole night. Nothing touch me and wake me up.

In Africa, I couldn't sleep because we were worried all the time. We have peace in America.

25A: Now we sleep, but we sleep peaceful, because there is nothing...we are not afraid of anything.

26B: I think we have peace. We feel like our hearts are at peace right now [...] Compared to where we were in Africa and here, I think it is OK here.

26C: One place I live in peace is America.

32A: Here is the best place and the most securest place...safer and secure...more secure and more safe place than everywhere I have been.

28B: Burundians have been in a bad situation and getting peace in America is very important to them.

22A: Yeah. We need peace, the people that come to America because really in the camp, we couldn't sleep. We need security. We couldn't sleep

because anytime we were saying they gonna come steal; they gonna come kill us.

Participants held stark contrasting perceptions of life in refugee camps.

4A: Never, never safe in the camp. Never, no. No, no way. Never. No peace, no safety in the camp.

29A: In the camp, there is no security. There is no security in the camp.

[...] Uh-uh. In the camp, there's never, never safety. No security.

28B: There was no peace in the camp. No one day you could spend in the camp without hearing some people being killed, without hearing shooting, hearing running away because of insecurity.

Summary

A poignant quote from Participant 22A describes the evolution of safety among of Burundians living in Knoxville: *“I’m comparing America and Africa in the camps. In America, we have security, we have ... it’s safe. Even it’s not perfect here, now they start to kill some people... we hear that they are killing in Burundi. But we’re still safer in America than in Burundi ... than in the camp.”* This widely supported statement, conceptual framework, and theoretical construct presented in this chapter provides evidence supporting the notion that past experiences as a refugee serve as a reference point to Burundian criteria for feeling safe in their U.S. neighborhood.

This research sought to describe the refugee experiences of Burundians in Knoxville and to determine if their past experiences as refugees in Africa impacted their

appraisals of their current living environment. The results of this study suggest that the past of the Burundians do influence how they evaluate their perception of safety in their current neighborhoods. They divide safety into three distinct and interrelated categories: experience with violent personal victimization, availability of protection, and interpersonal relationships with neighbors. Being refugees in Africa, Burundians describe their experience as *being preyed upon* and *encountering weak lines of defense*. However in the United States, they describe themselves as being *free from mistreatment* and having *reliable peacekeepers*. As a result, Burundians perceive *decreased threat* and experience a sense of *security*. A consistent variable in their transitions is the maintenance of social networks. Overall, resettlement to the Knoxville is characterized by finding a peaceful existence.

Chapter 5 will summarize study findings and present conclusions. The section will also discuss implications for resettlement policy, describe limitations to the study and offer recommendations for future research.

Chapter 5

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This study served to answer the following research question: Does the experience of becoming a refugee and resettling in the United States shape definitions and perceptions of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville, and if so, how?

Specifically, the following research questions were addressed:

1. How is neighborhood safety defined among Burundians with refugee status residing in Knoxville, Tennessee?
2. How do participants perceive safety in their past and current living environments?

In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with 20 Burundian adults living in Knoxville. Follow-up interviews were conducted with seven participants to gain additional information about emergent in the initial round of interviews. Categorical findings of the study were member checked by four participants and a key informant interview was conducted with a community gatekeeper. Modified grounded theory methods were used to guide data collection in follow-up interviews and to analyze interview transcripts. The purpose of this study is to review and discuss the relevance of study findings, acknowledge the limitations of the studies, and offer evidence-based suggestions for local refugee resettlement policy.

Major Findings

Major findings from the study include:

1. Experiences as refugees in Africa appear to influence definitions of safety among Burundian refugees living in Knoxville. These experiences also appear to influence their perceptions of safety in their neighborhoods in the United States.
2. For participants, neighborhood safety is defined in terms of three interrelated variables: experiences with victimization, protection from victimization, and involvement in supportive interpersonal relationships.
3. In regards to their perceptions of neighborhood safety, participants discuss hardships faced in Africa, particularly *being preyed upon* and *encountering weak lines of defense*. On the contrary, they speak positively of their lives in the United States because they are *experiencing freedom from mistreatment* and *report having reliable peacekeepers*. In both locations, they are surrounded by a *social support system*. Resettlement to the United States represents *experiencing decreased threat, finding security, and maintaining positive social networks*. These experiences describe the process of participants *becoming free from distress*. *Finding peace* emerges as a theory describing the phenomenon of neighborhood safety among Burundians in Knoxville.

Discussion

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be presented and discussed in relation to how participants define safety: experiences with victimization, availability of protection, and social connections.

Experiences with violent personal victimization

The largest component of participants' conceptualization of neighborhood safety concerned their experiences with victimization. Consistent with existent literature, the findings of this study suggest that personal victimization is positively associated with feelings of unsafety (Garofalo, 1979; Austin, Furr, & Spine, 2002; Baba & Austin, 1989; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Myers & Chung, 1998; Yun, Kercher, & Swindell, 2010). An extensive examination of participant narratives reveals multi-faceted aspects of the impact of victimization on their perception of neighborhood safety. Rather than describing solely fear of crime which was the indicator of perceived safety in the aforementioned studies, participants describe a three-part indicator of violation defined by Rader (2004; 2007) as threat of victimization. This construct addresses three interrelated indicators: fear of crime, perceived risk, and constrained behaviors that reflect emotional, cognitive, and behavioral responses to a threatening situation, respectively. Threat of victimization emerges as a relevant influence to neighborhood safety among Burundian refugees.

Unsafe feelings were abundant in recollections about life in Africa. Predatory behaviors against residents in African settlements often dominated the conversation about

safety in these locations. The concept *being preyed upon* captured this collective experience. Residents recalled being terrorized by “thieves and killers” that saw them as convenient means to satisfy resource deficiencies. The high perceived susceptibility, escalated daily fears, and routine cautious behaviors attached to these distressing experiences contributed to a heightened perceived threat of victimization in Africa and resulted in feelings of unsafety. Conversely, description of life in the United States was by and large devoid of negative accounts viewed as threatening to their feelings of safety despite residing in neighborhoods that are statistically more dangerous than other parts of the city. The concept *freedom from mistreatment* represents their lack of experience with intentional victimization post-migration. Participants describe the absence of persons inflicting harm upon them in their neighborhood hence suggesting a decreased perceived risk of victimization and fear of maltreatment. As they do not perceive a risk of becoming a victim, they do not practice constrained behaviors and carry out their daily activities without incidence or interference.

Protection from Victimization

Protection can prevent or otherwise mitigate the effects of victimization leading to feelings of safety. Protection is a major component in the experience of a refugee. Refugees flee with expectations of reaching a safe haven that provides security from unwarranted abuses that they have endured or can potentially endure. Routine Activities Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) offers insight to the importance of protection in regards to neighborhood safety among participants. The presence of capable guardians is an

integral factor in this theory that examines factors necessary for crime to occur. Capable guardians are credited with interrupting or discouraging the actions of offenders against potential targets. Hollis-Peele et al. (2011) define a guardian as “any person and every person on the scene of a potential crime that may notice and intervene (whether they intend to or not)” (p. 57). Capable guardians can be hired protectors (i.e. police officers and security guards), members of one’s social network (i.e. family, friends, concerned neighbors), or inanimate objects (i.e. security cameras). Managers of housing complexes have also been referenced guardians in existing literature (Sampson et al, 2011). The findings of this study have the potential to support the positive association between presence of capable guardians and feelings of neighborhood safety.

The sub-concept of *experiencing ineffective law enforcement* describes the dilemma participants faced in Africa in regards to capable guardians. The presence of ineffective guardians further complicated their persistent issues with the receipt adverse treatment. Participants lacked protection from abuses occurring in the camps and settlements. Guardians, namely police officers and military members, often participated in these activities directly and indirectly. Residents were left vulnerable because of the inability of guardians to thwart external and internal attacks. Participants and members of their personal social network (i.e. friends, family, and neighbors) often assumed protective duties in response to the deterioration of law and order in the area. On the contrary, participants reference their access to protective agents in their U.S. neighborhoods. The concept of *encountering reliable peacekeepers* describes the role of formal (police and apartment complex management staff) and informal guardians

(neighbors) in the maintenance of safety in their respective neighborhoods. In contrast to their lives in Africa, the presence of the aforementioned capable guardians within their neighborhood may diminish the need to initially turn to self-defense or Divine intervention when faced with threats to their safety.

Though they mention the safety that they receive because of local guardians, perhaps more important to refugees are the protection of a state and the feelings of safety and security that it offers. As the definition of capable guardians only extends to local influences, the host government cannot be considered in that role. However, it can be viewed as a safeguard against abuses for refugee populations. Though protection is expected in crossing international boundaries, participant stories accounted not being guaranteed assurance of state-sponsored protection in Africa. The sub-concept *losing state protection* captures the dilemma faced by participants. The state's role and responsibility in assuring protection is notably absent from discussions of security in the United States. This observation may indicate an implied awareness of their protected status in the U.S. and possibly an automatic association of U.S. resettlement with the notion of protection. In discussing their experiences in the United States in general, participants mention the systematic predictability of the United States. Participants refer to the United States as a nation possessing laws, rules, and regulations to ensure order. Their discussion suggests that this organization and stability may contribute to the provision of nationwide protection that result in their personal feelings of security.

It is worth noting that protection was not discussed as much in the context of living in the U.S. as in Africa. Conceivably, it is because minimal threat to their safety is perceived. In other words, they may feel that they have no threat to be protected from.

Having Interpersonal Relationships

Participants discuss their relationships with others within their neighborhood. In both Africa and the United States, participants describe having amicable relationships with their immediate neighbors. The interactions described camaraderie, degree of comfort, and an absence of conflict. Life as a refugee was fraught with losses and gains in their social networks. Family members and friends were killed or left behind as they migrated from one camp to another. Though the social network dynamic changes in characters the network is maintained throughout their experience in Africa into their resettlement in the United States. This supports existing literature indicating a positive association between social relationships and perceptions of neighborhood safety (Ziersch, Putland, Palmer, MacDougall, & Baum, 2007; Baum, Ziersch, Zhang, & Osborne, 2009; Greenberg & Rohe, 1986; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Though the network is maintained, the function of these social networks appears to change. In stressful environments, positive interactions with others can have a buffering effect. Khawaja et al (2008) found that Christian Sudanese refugees living in Australia used their social networks as coping mechanisms for the traumatic events that they had experienced. Based on the findings of this research, the sample population seemed to follow this premise. The social networks

that Burundians had in Africa were used to buffer their violent environment and the hardships they faced.

In the United States, the social network can be seen as a tool for integration. Ager and Strang (2008) identify three areas of connections that are integral to refugee integration: social bonds, social bridges, and social links. Social bonds and bridges are particularly important in regards to refugee social networks and integration in resettlement contexts. Social bonds are relationships with like others whereas social bridges are relationships with those from different backgrounds living in the neighborhood. Participants describe the relationships that they have with other refugees in the neighborhood as well as their non-refugee neighbors in their current neighborhood.

The majority of participant relationships with neighbors in the U.S. were in the form of social bonds. They often describe socializing with other Burundian families within the neighborhood. These relationships may provide a sense of familiarity and relation, maintenance of culture, and a degree of comfort in a strange environment. However, language skills may heavily influence this observation in the U.S. as many of the participants possess low English proficiency. They may also be substitutes for family and friends left behind in Africa.

While social bonds were observed in both Africa and the United States, social bridges were unique to living in the United States. Interactions with American neighbors diversify the existing social network and were seen mostly with those displaying higher English proficiency. These interactions may prove important because they have the potential to provide support that other Burundian refugees cannot; they can serve as a

resource to navigating an unfamiliar environment and culture in addition to serving as informal guardians. Relationships between Burundians with refugee status and their American neighbors almost certainly do not occur quickly or organically as would social bonds. Relationships between these parties develop over time, sensitization, and repeated encounters. Optimally, mutual trust among neighbors would develop as time progresses. Conversely, there is also the potential for conflict among neighbors to develop.

Ecological Impact on Refugee Perceptions of Neighborhood Safety

Microsystem

Study findings indicate that neighborhood safety is a social and ecological concept. In chapter one, the reciprocal relationship between the developing person and their immediate environment, proximal processes, were mentioned to be at the center of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model. As referenced in the concepts at the base of the framework of neighborhood safety among Burundians (Figure 2), direct social interactions were observed between the participant and individuals within the physical environment. The relationship between the immediate social environment and the individual is evident throughout the emerging concepts and subsequent definitions of safety. Encounters with victimizers have a negative impact on perceptions whereas access to dutiful guardians and participation in localized social support systems encourage feelings of safety. Despite findings that are consistent with neighborhood safety literature, only the interactions with members of social support systems indicate a positive, bidirectional relationship with their immediate environment.

The bioecological model suggests an impact of the person on their environment. The influence of personal characteristics on safety exchanges within their social and physical environments is not immediately evident on perceptions of safety. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the influence of demand characteristics, particularly age and racial appearance, have the potential to influence neighborhood safety in refugee populations.

Mesosystem

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model indicates that activities occurring within the microsystem processes are not happening in isolation. Though encounters with victimization, protection from victimization, and the active participation in positive interpersonal relationships each have individual impacts on perceptions of neighborhood safety, they also have a combined effect upon safety as evident through the categorical process of *becoming free from distress*.

Experiences with victimization in Africa and the lack thereof in the United States dominated the conversations about safety. Though victimization is a system in itself, the presence of protective agents can decrease the chances of victimization or decrease the effect of the threat; without them, the likelihood of harm is increased. Likewise, formal protective agents in the United States were mentioned in their role to maintain and restore order in the living environment. Inefficiencies and inadequacies in protection were linked to becoming a victim of violent acts. In addition to these formal protective agents, members of the individual's social network can serve as informal protective agents, a feature present both in Africa and the United States.

Exosystem

Exosystems are composed of processes that indirectly effect individuals and their development and interaction within proximal processes. According to some participants, low wages received by camp security personnel led to their involvement in crimes against camp residents to acquire resources. Also, participants were affected by the constant conflict between Burundian rebels and the Burundian government. Camp residents often found themselves caught in the middle as a neutral party between ongoing conflicts. Consequently, they were used as a resource to fuel a conflict in which they had no involvement. Exosystem influences also existed in the United States. Participants living in particular apartment complexes described witnessing gun violence in their neighborhoods. Though they were not involved in the conflict occurring within the neighborhood, they could still become injured or killed as innocent bystanders.

Macrosystem

A review of the Burundian refugee history indicates that participants are coming from an environment of prolonged political instability and conflict arising from longstanding ethnic inequalities. Sociopolitical issues were a major contributor to the predatory behaviors experienced by participants during flight and in settlements as well as leading to a compromised protective infrastructure in Africa.

The presence of victimizers and predatory behaviors arose from competition for resources. As refugees, participants became a marginalized part of society oftentimes embodying the proverbial sitting duck due to their physical and social vulnerability. The political instability of the region also contributed to the weakening of the African

protective infrastructure. Newfound political instability in countries of asylum prevented state protection guarantee for refugees within their borders. Though the cause of state unwillingness to assure refugee safety was not discussed by participants, literature indicates that refugee influxes can tax already tight resources within countries of asylum (World Bank, 2010). Resource stressed host countries may look to rid themselves of its refugee burdens through encouraging voluntary or involuntary repatriation.

Participants are members of a collective culture that places value on relationships. This communal nature appeared to be preserved throughout the refugee experience despite the loss of family and friends due to death and migration. The adoption of new members into the social support system maintains some form of social network intact.

The post-migration experience in the United States is characterized by a lack of many of the hardships and difficulties faced in Africa. The macrosystem context of their experiences as refugees frames their microsystem and mesosystem interactions. These extended periods of insecurity became the norm of experience and instinctively became the lens through which they now evaluate their current perceptions of safety. In the case of Burundians in Knoxville, the macrosystem consists of a knowledge base of information based on their refugee experience. The accumulation of experiences in Africa has served as the reference point by which they judge their current circumstances. Their overall perception of safety is socially constructed from their daily experiences in Africa compared to those in the United States. It can be surmised that Burundians continue to view their safety in terms contextualized by the refugee experience although they have transitioned to a new environment.

Chronosystem

This study did not capture the life course of Burundians through a longitudinal approach to examine a possible effect of time on the influence on definitions and perceptions of safety. Rather, the study relied upon the recollection of meaningful events throughout participants' lives. Study findings indicate that life interruptions influence perceptions of safety among Burundians in Knoxville. Major life interruptions to the lives of participants included war and resettlement. Political conflict led to the contextual issues arising in the macrosystem. In contrast to the negative experiences arising from political instability and conflict, resettlement brought about a positive change in the real and perceived safety of participants. The safety experiences are clearly demarcated by the event of resettlement.

Assessing neighborhood safety in cross-cultural contexts

Examining neighborhood safety in cross-cultural contexts brings about the argument of universalism versus relativism. In other words, are there universal patterns apparent in regards to perceptions of safety among various cultural groups? The findings of this study suggest that there are fundamental similarities in perceptions of safety presented in the literature on North American populations and the definitions of safety conceived by Burundian refugees. Experiences with victimization, protection from victimization, and involvement in supportive social relationships are each microlevel influences that have direct bearing on feelings of safety. These concepts are indicative of a cross-cultural definition of neighborhood safety. However, explaining variance in safety

perceptions, particularly in the case of multicultural study populations, may require an understanding of the context that embeds particular indicators. Are there societal influences that provide explanation for differences in perceptions of safety between different study populations? Researchers must be cognizant that macrolevel social influences shape how that safety is perceived. Despite its relevance and importance in this study as well as its potential importance to cross-cultural work, the consideration of societal factors on safety may be unnecessary because most studies assessing neighborhood safety perceptions consist of quantitative, cross-sectional examinations of perceptions based on microsystem and mesosystem influences.

Applications to Camp Policy

Evident through participant descriptions, refugee camps were oftentimes not the place of refuge they had anticipated. This raises a question of the protection capacity of refugee camps. Can relocation to refugee camps adequately protect such a vulnerable population from additional trauma? Jacobsen (1999) describes security issues plaguing refugee camps, many of which were also described by the participants in this study. Consequently, she proposes a “safety first” approach to remedying these problems. Measures identified to address safety concerns include demilitarization, distancing camps from border regions, and the creation and maintenance of law and order. These measures are consistent with those offered by UNHCR (da Costa, 2004). Both Jacobsen and UNHCR assert that a sound protective infrastructure must be in place to counteract any threats to the safety of camp residents. However, these two guides for safety development

fail to address police corruption and misconduct as a critical issue to be addressed within refugee camps. Preventing military factions from settling or infiltrating camps is a primary concern, as both Jacobsen and UNHCR stress, but attention should also be given to decreased resident safety due to the corruption of law enforcement officers. While external insurgent acts significantly contributed to much of the chaos in the camps, ineffective enforcement of law and order contributed to and exacerbated camp insecurity. Simply stated, residents were not adequately protected from abuse. As described in this study, police officers often accepted bribes that allowed insurgent entry into the camp, neglected to respond effectively to requests for assistance during attacks, and failed to prosecute offenders. At times, they were the direct offender. Despite their involvement in these acts, violators went unpunished.

The causes of officer corruption are speculative. Some participants suggested that poor compensation among police officers was the cause of participation in the victimization of camp residents. Economic constraints lead to acts committed in desperation. Another potential cause for negative behaviors stems from not being held accountable for their compromising actions. Potential policies to deter unethical conduct among camp law enforcement to promote camp safety include the following:

1. Promoting the payment of adequate wages to law enforcement officers
2. Developing and enforcing UNHCR-sponsored punitive sanctions against those in guardianship roles that are accused of engaging in activity that threatens the safety of residents.

Personal Reflections on the Research

Conducting interviews with participants, I experienced two incidents that call into question participant ability to assess danger. The argument of this research is that the lens with which we view safety situations influences our perceptions. In one instance, I was interviewing participant who appeared to be rather distracted by an event occurring outside his window. In turning to see what was captivating his attention, I saw a group of males standing in a semicircle while two males very near the window were engaged in a physical altercation. I was alarmed by the event that I was witnessing, but I was more taken aback to realize that the participant was telling about his feelings of safety all while watching this fight outside his window. In another situation, I was travelling from one interview to another in the same complex when I noticed an abundance of police officers in the neighborhood, some of which were blocking the entrance of the complex with their cars because of a neighborhood shooting occurring a short time before. The interviewee, despite learning that there had been a resident shot very near her home, continued to discuss her feelings of safety as if the incident had not occurred.

Reflecting on these experiences, I realize that there is an obvious dissimilarity in my perception of safety in these situations and the perceptions of the interviewees. The findings of this study indicate that societal and historical contexts influence how Burundians view safety within their resettlement neighborhoods. Though participants expressed strong feelings of safety in their current neighborhoods, I saw cause for concern that they downplayed such proximal encounters with such hazardous situations. Perhaps their evaluation of these dangerous and potential deadly events is due to distorted

perceptions engendered by dramatic experiences in Africa. Being resettled to the United States does not negate the fact that many Burundians continue to live in settings deemed dangerous by objective measures such as crime statistics. Despite efforts to improve public housing areas throughout Knoxville, the areas in which many Burundian families live continue to have high criminal activity (D. Bates, personal communication, November, 2012). Though they are not the intentional targets of the violence that they may see in their respective neighborhoods, a certain degree of precaution still needs to be taken by Burundian residents.

Local Refugee Resettlement Policy Implications

This study highlights the impact of the social environment on refugee appraisals of neighborhood safety. In turn, the environment has an effect on the health of the individual. Healthy People 2020, the nation's plan to improve health for the next decade, defines social determinants of health as "conditions in the environments in which people are born, live, learn, work, play, worship, and age that affect a wide range of health, functioning, and quality-of-life outcomes and risks." One of the overarching goals for Healthy People 2020 is to "create social and physical environments that promote good health for all." Creating health promoting environments is vital to refugee resettlement and integration. Resettlement has brought about many changes for the lives of Burundians, notably a safe living environment. The findings of this study indicate that the absence of personal conflict and victimization, availability of protection, and positive social interactions are major elements that promote safety in their immediate living

environments. The findings can inform steps that local resettlement agencies can do to promote healthy, safe living areas. Based on the findings of this study, the following suggestions for local resettlement policy are presented:

1. *Promoting safety conscious practices for resettlement*—The findings of this study reveal that participants feel at peace in their neighborhoods. However, the neighborhoods in which many refugees are resettled may have high crime rates. Based on my personal reflections mentioned in the previous section, there needs to be education about safety issues in America. The aim of the education should be to encourage newly arrived refugees to adopt protective practices pertaining to safety threats that they may face in the United States. The education should begin in the camps as refugees are oriented to life in the United States and are prepped for resettlement. The information given in the camps should be basic, broad talking points that will be discussed further in orientation given once they arrive in the United States. The local resettlement agency should take an active role in educating newly arrived refugee about safety issues in the United States to equip them to prevent unwanted threats to the safety of their family. The education session(s) should occur during orientation. Potential topics include “stranger danger” and the importance of adequate supervision of children within the neighborhood, being cognizant of one’s surroundings, an overview of local gangs and their symbolic identifiers, and tips for securing the home.
2. *Cultivating social connections in neighborhood (Building social bonds and bridges)* – As Ager and Strang (2008) have noted, the establishment of social

connections is important in refugee integration. As indicative of this study, positive relationships with one's immediate neighbors are beneficial. Local resettlement agencies can create outreach initiatives that can perform the following activities to promote social bonds and bridges:

- Prior to the family's arrival, provide brief education to immediate neighbors about the refugee experience and an overview about the family that is to move in. The goal of this education is to reduce chances of stigma and discrimination.
 - Introduce newly arrived refugees to their immediate neighbors shortly after arrival
 - Allow current refugees from the same background living in the neighborhood to assist in welcoming the family to their new home.
3. *Orientation to Formal Protective Agents* – Orientation sessions provided by the resettlement agencies should educate newly arrived families about the presence and functions of formal guardians. Though police officers and the emergency system are typically covered, apartment complex staff should be included in talks about protection.

Limitations

The limitations of this study were as follows:

1. Due to the qualitative nature of this study, the information gathered with this sample cannot be generalized to represent other refugee groups.

2. The results of this study may not represent the collective experience of all Burundian refugees in Knoxville. It should be noted that many family member (i.e. husband-wife, parent-child) combinations were interviewed.
3. Though the study sought to examine the entirety of participant experiences in Africa, participant safety perceptions often centered on their experiences in Tanzania.
4. Special care was given in asking the participants to recall their experiences in Africa in order not to prevent secondary victimization. Some participants appeared reluctant to share certain details about their past because of not wanting to dredge up painful memories. This reluctance was noted to occur both verbally and through body language. Not wanting participants to face mental harm, the researcher did not press participants to provide any information that would threaten their mental health.
5. Trust of interviewer. Participant trust level of the interviewer and translator may have impacted the information provided in the study. Though the researcher has established trust with the study population through work with them for three years, participants may still be reluctant to reveal the most intimate portions of their experiences in Africa.
6. Social desirability. The theory produced from the research findings is very optimistic in nature. Through prolonged engagement with the community, I have personal knowledge of adverse events affecting some participants. However, these participants chose not to speak about these events. Participants may have

chosen to respond to the interview questions in a pleasing manner rather than discussing negative experiences.

7. Bias against one of the two translators may have impacted the data. The key informant interview revealed that this partiality was due to cultural reasons. One of the translators used in this study was Rwandese by birth and of a different ethnic group. Due to the similarities in the conflict in Burundi and the conflict in Rwanda, some individuals interviewed with that particular translator appeared hesitant to speak freely.
8. During the initial interviews there were doubts in the ability of one of the translators to translate properly because Kirundi was not her native language. Because the information was coded directly from the English translation of the interviews, some of the information may be skewed.

Recommendations for Future Research

The following three suggestions for future research described below are based on an ecological approach to studying neighborhood safety among Burundian refugees.

1. Though the developing person is at the center of the bioecological model, this study did not assess the influence of personal characteristics on perceptions of neighborhood safety. Neighborhood safety literature suggests a relationship between personal characteristics such as age and gender on perceptions of neighborhood safety. Human-environment relationships in Bronfenbrenner's ecological model are bidirectional. This study found effects of the environment on

the individual. In future studies, the individual and combined effects of personal characteristics, particularly age and gender, on perceptions of safety among Burundian refugees should be examined.

2. Due to the qualitative nature of this study, the magnitude of the individual or the combined influence of the microsystem variable was not measured. In future studies, the degree to which the microsystem and mesosystem influences perceptions of neighborhood safety should be measured quantitatively.
3. The chronosystem accounts for temporal influences on the person-environment relationship. In future research, a longitudinal study design can be used to determine if there is a chronological influence on perceptions of safety among Burundian refugees. This research can examine if perceptions of safety in the United States change over time among this population.

Additional suggestions for future research include the following:

4. The qualitative nature of this study prevents the generalizability of the findings to other refugee populations. In future research, this study can be replicated with another Burundians resettled in the southeastern United States (i.e. Nashville, Memphis, Atlanta).

Conclusions

While many inquiries about resettled refugee and housing pertain to finding affordable housing options, this study examined a rare insight into the housing issue: neighborhood safety. One known study examined neighborhood safety among refugees

(Furr, Austin, Cribbs, & Smoger, 2005). Due to the findings in this study that the refugee sample felt safer in their neighborhood than non-refugees, authors speculated that their experiences in their country or origin shaped their perceptions of their current neighborhoods. This study sought to explore this thought by investigating if and how their experiences as refugees and resettlement shaped how Burundian with refugee status in Knoxville defined and perceived neighborhood safety. Findings support the informal hypothesis of those researchers. Safety is shaped by many levels of influence including experiences with victimization, protection, and interpersonal relationships, but their perceptions of safety in the United States is heavily shaped on comparison with the past that they left behind in Africa.

Overall, the conceptual framework established in this study is consistent with non-migrant literature about neighborhood safety identifying victimization, protection, and interpersonal relationships impact perceptions of safety. However, this study recognizes the strong influence of socio-historical context on refugee perceptions of safety.

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Appendices

Appendix A

LISTING OF CARDS USED IN CONCEPT MAPPING ACTIVITY

Africa Concept Mapping Cards	
Machete	Food (Rice, beans, and potatoes)
Lantern	Church Congregation
Calling Card	Man listening to Radio
Flashlight	Doctor in Africa
Women Dancing	African Clothes
Men Talking	School in Africa
Men Drumming	Having a Child in Africa (Midwife Checking a Pregnant Mother)
Women Talking	Bicycle
Extended Family	Car
Small Family (Father, Mother, and One Child)	Motorcycle
Large Family (Father, Mother, and Six Children)	Man Building a House
Gardening	Cows
Women Carrying Food Rations in a Camp	Domestic Animals (Goat and Chicken)
Garden Tools	Water Pump
Government (United Nations Flag)	Red Palm Oil
Tanzanian Money	Soap
Women Fetching Water from a River	

United States Concept Mapping Cards	
Women Dancing	School in the United States
Men Talking	Television
Men Drumming	Washer and Dryer
Women Talking	Microwave
Extended Family	Computer
Cell Phone	African Clothes
Small Family (Father, Mother, and One Child)	Education/Graduation
Large Family (Father, Mother, and Six Children)	Having a Child in the United States (Ultrasound)
Gardening	ESL/Learning English
Garden Tools	Airplane
American House	White Doctor
American Apartment	
Playground	
Food (Rice, beans, and potatoes)	
Water from Kitchen Faucet	
Children's Toys	
Baby Stroller	

Appendix B

Inumero y'uwubazwa_____

Urupapuro rw'ubwumvikane

Turiko turagusaba kugirango udufashe kumenya neza ivyo wibuka mu bintu war'ufise muri Afrika vyagufashije wewe n'umuryango wawe gutera imbere mu buzima. Kandi turongera tukubaze ico wewe n'abana bawe mwoba mukeneye kugirango mutere imbere mu buzima bwanyu muri Amerika, mukongerako uko mwabayeho hamwe n'abana banyu mugeze ino hamwe nuko mwabayeho muri Afrika.

Ubu ndiko ndasaba uruhusha ngo munyemererere ndababaze ivyo bibazo.

Nimba wemeye gukorana natwe, turakubaza ibibazo. Tugusavye ngo uduhe ibisubizo nyavyo vyiza ushoboye gutanga.

Inyungu: Ibi bibazo bizodufasha gutahura neza ibintu wiyumvira ko bifise umumaro mu kubaho kwawe kwiza muri Amerika.

Ingorane zirimo: Nta ngorane nimwe tubona uzogira kubera kuba muruyu mwihwezo. Ariko nimba wumva utavyiyumvamwo cangwa wumva bigutesha umutwe, ushobora guhagarika kubazwa kandi ugaca ushobora kuja kuvugana n'umuntu abifisemwo ubumenyi bwo hejuru.

Ibintu vyose bizovugwa muruyu mwihwezo bikaba bishobora kuboneka ko vyavuzwe nawe bizoguma ari ibanga. Ufise uburenganzira bwo kubaza ikibazo icarico cose mbere yo gutangura, cangwa nimba ufise ikibazo twamaze gutangura, ushobora naho nyene kukibaza. Ibisubizo vyawe nituzobishirako izina ryawe muruyu mushinga wo kwihweza.

Icemezo cawe co gukorana natwe ntakintu nakimwe bizogutwara kuri kubu kawe cangwa kazoza kawe, no mu mubano mugirana na Kaminuza ya Tennessee cangwa abashinzwe kubaza ibibazo. Ushobora guhagarika kubazwa igihe cose. Nimba ufise ikibazo kuri uyu mwihwezo, usabwe kubaza Denise Bates. Nimba ugize ikibazo hanyuma twarahejeje, nuguhamagara 865-974-1102.

Ushobora kugumana ikopi y'uru rupapuro.

Ubu uriko urafata icemezo co gufatanya natwe mukwishura ibi bibazo. Umukono wawe aha hasi utwemeza ko usobanukiwe ibiri kururu rupapuro vyose. Niwumva hanyuma twamaze gutangura wiyemeje guhagarika kwishura ibibazo, usabwe kubibwira Denise Bates, cangwa umusimuzi. Ushobora guhagarika kwifatanya natwe igihe cose ubigombeye.

 Umukono w'uwubazwa

 Italiki

 Umukono w'umushakashatsi

 Italiki

Appendix C

Participant # _____

Consent Form

We are inviting you to help us understand what you remember about the things you had in Africa that helped you and your family to live a successful life. Also we will ask what you and your children need to live a successful life in America and about experiences you have had here and in Africa with your children. I am asking for your permission to ask you these questions.

If you participate, we will ask you questions. Please provide us with answers to the best of your ability.

Benefits: These questions will help us understand the things you think are important to adjust well in the United States. Also this will help us understand what things your children need to adjust in America.

Risks: We do not expect any risks due to your participation. But, if you feel uncomfortable or feel stressed, you may stop the interview and you may be referred to talk to someone who is a specialist.

Any information that is collected with this study and that can be identified with you will be private. You are welcome to ask any questions in the beginning or if you have questions once we have begun, you may also ask them. Your responses will not be identified with your name in any report of this research project.

Your decision to participate will not affect your present or future relationship with the University of Tennessee or the interviewers. You may stop this interview at any time. If you have any question about this study, please ask Denise Bates. If you have any question later, call 865-974-1102.

You may keep a copy of this form.

You are making a decision to participate in these questions. Your signature below tells us that you understand everything on this form. If you later decide that you wish to stop your permission, please tell Denise Bates or the translator. You may stop your participation at any time.

Signature of Participant_____
Date_____
Signature of Researcher_____
Date

Appendix D

Participant # _____

Consent Form (Follow-up Interview)

I would like to talk with you more about your thoughts about safety in the camps in Africa and in your neighborhood in the United States. Our conversations will help us understand the things that make you feel safe and unsafe where you live in the United States and where you lived in Africa. I will ask questions based on our conversation in the last interview. Please provide us with answers to the best of your ability.

Like the last interview, we do not expect any risks due to your participation. But, if you feel uncomfortable or feel stressed, you may stop the interview and you may be referred to talk to someone who is a specialist.

Again, your name will not be associated with any information that you tell me. Please feel free to ask any questions at the beginning of the interview or anytime during the interview.

Your decision to participate will not affect your present or future relationship with the University of Tennessee or the interviewers. You may stop this interview at any time. If you have any question about this study, please ask Denise Bates. If you have any question later, call 865-974-1102.

You may keep a copy of this form.

Though you have agreed to participate in the study previously, you are now making a decision to participate in these questions. Your signature below and/or your participation in answering these questions tells us that you understand everything on this form. You may choose not to sign this form and still participate in answering the questions. If you later decide that you wish to stop your permission, please tell Denise Bates or the translator. You may stop your participation at any time.

Signature of Participant_____
Date_____
Signature of Researcher_____
Date

Appendix E

Demographic Interview

In this interview we have some questions about you and your children, and your household and community. If you feel uncomfortable at any point in this interview, you are free to not answer and I will stop the interview if you would like.

I. Screening and Caregiver-Child Information

1. What is your name? _____

2. Do you live in this house? Y / N

3. Do you have any children of any age? Y / N

If No, skip this section and go to Question 8

4. Are you the primary caregiver or parent of a child between 3 months and 3 years? Y / N

If No, skip to Question 4

If yes:

a. What is the name of that child (or children)? _____

a. What is the age of the child? _____

b. Who are this child's biological or blood parent(s)?

If the respondent is not the biological parent ask:

this How did you become the person to take care of (or be in charge) of
child?

Are you related (i.e., biologically or by blood) to this child?

c. What is this child's date of birth? _____

d. Where was this child born (i.e., city U.S. or Africa)? _____

e. Who normally takes care of this child during the day? _____

f. Please tell me about this child:

What does he/she enjoying doing?

How is he/she similar or different from other children (i.e., siblings, cousins, friends, etc.)?

5. How many biological children have you had (i.e., for women – how many have you given birth to)? _____

a. How many of your children are living? _____

b. What are their ages? _____

c. How many of these children were born in Africa?

d. How many of these children were born in the U.S.?

6. Do you have any other children, for example step-children or adopted children? Y / N

a. If yes, how many? _____

b. What are their ages? _____

7. Who helps you with your children? _____

a. How do they help? _____

b. Who helps you with your youngest child (if between 3 and 36 months)?

How do they help with your youngest child? _____

II. Information about the respondent

8. How old are you? _____

9. What is your gender? M / F

10. What year did you arrive from Africa? _____

11. When did you arrive in Knoxville? _____

- a. Where did you live before Knoxville in the U.S.? _____
12. What was the name of the camp you stayed in in Africa?

13. How long have you lived in this neighborhood/community?
14. What language do you speak at home with your family?

- a. What language do you speak to your children?

15. Are you employed in a job? _____
- a. Please tell us all the jobs you do: _____
[ask for clarification regarding how often and where]
- b. How many hours do you work in one week? _____

III. Household and family characteristics

16. Who lives in this household?

[Use the following chart to note the names, relationships, approximate ages, etc. –
Include the respondent as the first person and then list all other people who live in
the house including children]

Name of Person	How is this person related to you (i.e., family or social relationship)	What Age is this person? (Approx.)	Is this person here during the days, nights, or both? [or describe]	Does this person provide support for the household in any way [money, help with children, household chores, etc.]? If yes, how?

17. Do you feel that there are too many people living in your house? Y / N

a. Why do you feel this way? _____

IV. Community Characteristics

18. Do you have family who live close to you (but not in your house)? Y / N

a. If Yes, where do they live? _____

How often do you see them? In a month, in a year?

b. If No, where is your nearest family? _____

19. Do you have family members that help you in any way? Y / N

a. If yes, who helps you? _____

b. How do they help you? _____

20. Do you have friends that live nearby? Y / N

a. If yes, where do they live? _____

How often do you see them? In a month, in a year?

b. If no, where is your nearest friend? _____

21. Do you have friends that help you in any way? Y / N

a. If yes, who helps you? _____

b. How do they help you? _____

Appendix F

Resource Interview Guide

Interview Questions: Life before Refugee Camps

1. Have you always lived in a refugee camp or have you lived somewhere else before the camp(s)?
2. Where did you live before the camps?
3. Describe how you remember life living there.
4. Did you feel safe there? Can you tell me why you feel this way?
5. Do you mind telling me about times when you felt unsafe there?

Interview Questions: Refugee Camps

6. Describe how you remember life living in the camps in Africa.
7. Tell me about a typical day in the camps that you had.
8. What was important in your life every day?
9. What do you miss most about living in the camps?
10. Describe things you could not live without in the camps.
11. Who were the people who were important to you in the camps?
12. What do you wish you had more of when you lived in the camps?
13. Describe a time when you felt stable in the camps?
 - a. What did you have or experience that made you feel this way?
14. Can you tell me about times when you felt safe in the refugee camp(s)?
15. Do you mind telling me about times when you felt unsafe in the refugee camp(s)?
16. Overall, did you feel safe in the refugee camp(s)?

- a. Why do you feel this way?
- 17. Can you tell me about times when you felt safe in your neighborhood in Africa before you went to the refugee camp(s)? (if applicable)
- 18. Do you mind telling me about times when you felt unsafe in your neighborhood in Africa before you went to the refugee camp(s)? (if applicable)
- 19. Overall, did you feel safe in your neighborhood in Africa before you went to the refugee camp(s)? (if applicable)
 - a. Why do you feel this way?

Card Sort Activity: Africa

Interview Questions: U.S. Resettlement

- 20. Describe your life living in the U.S.
- 21. Do you feel that your family is stable in the U.S.?
 - a. What did you have or experience that made you feel this way?
- 22. Tell me about times that you have not felt stable or secure in the U.S.
 - a. What made you feel that way?
- 23. Who were the people who were important to you in the U.S.?
- 24. Is there anything that you must have to feel secure in the U.S.?
- 25. Can you tell me about times when you have felt safe in your current neighborhood?
- 26. Do you mind telling me about times when you have felt unsafe in your current neighborhood?

27. Overall, do you think your current neighborhood is a safe place to live?

a. Why do you feel this way?

Card Sort Activity (United States)

Interview Questions:

28. Describe things you could not live without in the U.S. to be happy.

29. What is important to have in your everyday life?

30. What do you wish you had more of here in the U.S.?

31. What helped you on your journey to the U.S.?

32. What could have made your journey easier?

33. Did you have something that others did not?

34. Are there things you could have that would make it easier for you and your family to feel secure or stable?

Appendix G

Experiencing decreased threat	
Being preyed upon	Experiencing freedom from mistreatment
growing population of "killers"	fearing stray bullets
presence of rebels	following rules to prevent problems
presence of thieves	having "no problems"
targeted for theft	not being "bothered" or "disturbed"
gender-based violence	ability to do daily routine without incident
being "bothered" or "disturbed"	not targeted for violence
home invasion	feeling not in danger
burglarization by rebels	having "peace"
extortion by military	having freewill
harassment by rebels	feeling secure
being on constant alert	"quiet" environment
rebels preventing return home	living fearlessly
recruitment by rebels	no harassment
robbery by police	need to provoke trouble
risk of murder	<i>home burglary</i>
assault by police	<i>assault of family member</i>
burglary by police	<i>victim of community violence</i>
targeting because of prosperity	<i>being "bothered" or "disturbed"</i>
murder conducting daily activities	<i>violence reminiscent of Africa</i>
coercion	<i>faring stray bullets</i>
murder stealing peace	<i>witnessing gun violence</i>
harassment from military	
murder for non compliance	
living in fear	
experiencing uncertainty	
feeling helpless	
feeling hopeless	
normalcy in violence	
threatened by police	
no peace	
feelings of insecurity	
infrequent feelings of safety	
witnessing assault	
witnessing violence	
witnessing destruction of property	
witnessing murder	
witnessing shootings	
witnessing torture	
<i>periodic tranquility</i>	* italicized codes indicate contradictions to emerging conceptual framework

Finding security	
Encountering weak lines of defense	Encountering reliable peacekeepers
Losing state protection	police maintenance of order
frustration of host country	continual police presence
host government role in ensuring safety	office intervention
fearing mandatory repatriation	
feeling unwanted in host country	
receiving governmental protection	
Encountering ineffective law enforcement	
military not performing job	
police not doing job	
police and military causing trouble	
police as accomplices	
limited protection	
negative perception of police	
paying for security	
delayed response of police	
<i>protection by security agents</i>	
<i>prosecuting perpetrators</i>	
<i>restricted access to camp</i>	
<i>reporting troublemakers</i>	
Practicing self defense	
lifestyle influence of safety	
protecting the family	
safety in numbers	
protecting possessions	
seeking refuge away from home at night	
Resorting to a Higher Power	
praying for protection	
praying for Divine intervention	
receiving Divine intervention	
thanking God for protection	
	* italicized codes indicate contradictions to emerging conceptual framework

Maintaining positive social networks
Having a social support system
African social support
neighbor intervention during trouble
comfort in family
sharing among neighbors
comfort in friends
socializing with family and friends
good relationships with neighbors
living among friends
losing family
losing friends
<i>selfishness among neighbors</i>
<i>jealous neighbors</i>
<i>hateful neighbors</i>
<i>bad relationships with neighbors</i>
U.S. social support
reciprocal peace with neighbors
equality among neighbors
comfort in friends
good relationships with neighbors
associating with familiar faces
help from neighbors
avoiding dangerous neighbors
<i>harassment by neighbors</i>
<i>unruly neighbors</i>
<i>having altercation with neighbor</i>
<i>fearing neighbors</i>
<i>potential unintentional harm by neighbors</i>
* italicized codes indicate contradictions to emerging conceptual framework

Appendix H

Follow-up Interview Guide

Mistreatment

1. Many people have mentioned that they feel safe in their American neighborhoods because nobody comes to “bother” or “disturb” them. Why are Burundians not “bothered” in their American neighborhoods?
2. Some people have had some instances where they have been “bothered” or “disturbed” in their neighborhood. Why you think people “bother” Burundians living in America?
3. Tell me about why you think people “bothered” Burundians living in the camps.
4. Do you think these attacks were intentional? Why do you think this way?
5. When did attacks occur?
6. How often did attacks occur?
7. Could these attacks have been prevented? Why? How?

Social Networks

Some people have friends in their neighborhood and some do not.

1. What do you feel are the benefits of having friends where you live?
 - a. How is this important to your feelings of safety within your living environment?
 - b. Tell me about times that you have benefitted from having friends in your living environment.
 - c. Describe your relationship with your friends in the neighborhood.

- d. Does it make a difference of who your friends are (i.e. Mzungu, African American, Burundian, etc.)?
 - e. What about in Africa? Did having friends in the camps influence your feelings of safety? How?
 - f. Describe your relationship with your friends in the camps.
2. Some people have good relationships with their neighbors and some have bad relationships. Describe how your relationships with your neighbors (good or bad) affect your feelings of safety in your neighborhood.
 - a. Prompt: How can having good relationships with neighbors make you feel safe? How can having bad relationships with neighbors make you feel unsafe?
3. What about in Africa? How did your relationships with your neighbors influence your feelings of safety?
4. Tell me about your relationships with your neighbors in Africa.

Freedom from Distress and Living in Peace

Many people have mentioned that they “live in peace” in their American neighborhoods.

1. Describe what it means to “live in peace”.
2. Describe what it would be like if you did not have peace in your neighborhood.
3. Why is living in peace so important among Burundians living in America?

Security

1. Many people mentioned that they have security once they moved to America.
2. Describe that it means to have a “secure life”.
3. Describe this sense of security.
4. Why was this feeling widely missing in Africa?

Thank you for speaking with me again today. Is there anything that you would like to add?

Generic Prompts: tell me more about that

Appendix I

Key Informant Interview Guide

1. I have noticed that some people appear guarded or closed in discussing their experiences. Can you tell me why that is?
2. I have noticed that many participants speak about their African experiences in a collective sense. Why so?
 - a. Do you think that some things happened to them personally, but they spoke collectively instead?
3. Why do you think neighborhood safety important to the Burundian community living in Knoxville?
4. What do you perceive are outcomes of feelings of safety/peace in the United States among the Burundian community in Knoxville?

Vita

Lacreisha Ejike-King earned a Bachelor of Science degree in biology from Austin Peay State University in 2007. She continued her education at the same institution, earning a Master of Science degree in health and human performance with a concentration in public and community health in 2009.

As a student in the Department of Public Health, Lacreisha served as a graduate teaching associate. She taught Advanced First Aid and Emergency Care as well as Introduction to Public Health. Later, she was awarded the opportunity to serve as grant coordinator for an NSF-funded grant to foster an international collaboration between UT, a Kenyan NGO, and a Kenyan university.

Lacreisha has participated in many global health-related endeavors. Since 2009, she actively participated in *Healthy Transitions*, an interdisciplinary service learning and research project that partners with community stakeholders to assess and addresses the health, education, and social needs of local Burundian refugees. Her dedication to the group resulted in her serving as the group's project coordinator for nearly three years. She has also travelled internationally representing UT Department of Public Health, once to attend the Global Health Education Consortium Conference in Cuernavaca, Mexico in 2010 and twice to Kenya in 2011 to conduct community health outreach and research in urban slum areas.