Acculturation and geographic mobility: The Sudanese refugees in Omaha, Nebraska

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ACCULTURATION AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY:
THE SUDANESE REFUGEES IN OMAHA, NEBRASKA

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Geography/Geology
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Geography
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

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May 15, 2002
THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Geography, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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Date June 20, 2002
ACCULTURATION AND GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY: THE SUDANESE REFUGEES IN OMAHA, NEBRASKA

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University of Nebraska, 2002

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Geographic mobility, defined simply as an individual’s ability to move from point A to point B, is a significant element in an individual’s process of adaptation - possibly affecting an individual’s social mobility. With more than 2,000 Sudanese refugees who have settled in Omaha, Nebraska, in the last few years, this study set out to identify the dominant cultural and situational factors that affect the mobility of this population. This thesis research incorporated both qualitative and quantitative techniques into the methodological design. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect the data, which was then utilized to create activity space maps. Though public transportation is underutilized amongst the Sudanese population, these maps showed that Sudanese refugees are mobile. The interviews explore and expand upon the cultural and situational factors affecting the mobility of Sudanese refugees in Omaha.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I first must thank the twenty Sudanese refugees who participated in this study, many of whom generously welcomed me into their homes and served me delicious Sudanese and Ethiopian dishes. I must also thank everyone at the Southern Sudanese Community Association who supported this project. In particular, I am very grateful for the interpretation and insight provided by Nhial. The research findings are all the richer because of his personal stories and anecdotes.

I would also like to thank Dr. Michael Peterson who took the time to listen to my sagas and help me turn my fieldwork into a meaningful research project. Though I am very pleased to be completing this project, I will miss our weekly meetings and conversations.

I would like to thank all the members of my thesis committee. Dr. Gildersleeve for his daily encouragement – he has a way of making everyone feel important. Dr. Karen Falconer- Al Hindi for the brainstorming sessions and direction – many of the themes explored in this research were conceived in those discussions. I would like to thank Dr. Boamah-Wiae for his perspective and insight. Last but not least, I would like to thank my husband, James, who has been an unofficial thesis committee member proofreading, reading, and proofreading again – I can’t thank him enough for his support over the last two years.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Sudanese Refugee Resettlement

In 1994, prompted by a civil war that began soon after Sudan’s independence in 1956, the United States government began granting resettlement and permanent residence to Sudanese refugees (Petterson, 1999). According to the United Nations, a refugee is defined as:

"...any person who is outside of his or her country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return to that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution. Claims of persecution may be based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion..."(U.S. Department of State, 2000, p. 1)

Nearly all of the Sudanese refugees that are being resettled in the United States are from southern Sudan. The on-going civil war in Sudan, which has taken over two million lives and has displaced more than four million people, is thought by many scholars to be the consequence of the nation's arbitrarily drawn political boundary (Abusharaf, Rogge, & Petterson). Although extremely simplified, Abusharaf perhaps states it best: "...the people of the Sudan are often classified into binary social categories on the basis of geography (North versus South), ethnicity (Arabism versus Africanism) and religion (Muslims versus Christians)" (Abusharaf, 1997, p.516).
As a result of the war, many southern Sudanese fled to refugee camps in neighboring countries like Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Bordering nations, especially in Africa, have historically admitted refugees and granted them asylum with non-refoulement.\(^1\) Often times, these refugees are provided with protection and support until repatriation is possible (UNHCR, 1997). Many Sudanese refugees have spent years living in, and traveling between, refugee camps in Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya. However, Sudan's neighboring countries are finding it more difficult to support refugees

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\(^1\) The legal term of *non-refoulement* is defined as "...the principle that people should not be forced to return against their will to a country in which their lives or freedom would be endangered because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1997, p. 5).
when their own countries are plagued with political upheavals, droughts, and internal
displacement.

Currently, the prevailing UN philosophy maintains that whenever possible,
voluntary repatriation is the best outcome for all parties involved. Third country
resettlement is reserved for situations where there is no end in sight to the ethnic tensions,
human rights abuses, religious intolerance, and political instability that caused the initial
displacement (U.S. Department of State, 2000, 5). These factors influenced the U.S.
government to offer permanent resettlement to the Sudanese.

1.2 Refugee Resettlement in the United States

In fiscal year 2002\(^2\), the U.S. set the admission ceiling at 70,000 refugees, with a
limit of 20,000 from Africa. At first glance, this number seems enormous, but those
numbers are relatively small when compared to the 3.5 million estimated refugees in
Africa (U.S. Department of State, 2000). Sudanese refugees began arriving to the U.S. in
significant numbers in the early 1990's. In 1996, the United Nations High Commissioner
for Refugees made arrangements for the resettlement of 210 Sudanese refugees. In the
following year, 660 Sudanese were resettled in the U.S. The number tripled in 1998 to
1810 refugees and then nearly doubled in 1999 to 3,180 Sudanese refugee resettlements
(www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs). All refugees resettled in the U.S. are granted permanent
residency after one year of residence and are eligible for citizenship after five years.

\(^2\) These limits were determined prior to the terrorist attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001. Nearly all
immigration centers were still closed in January 2002 (Branch-Briosso, 2002). Resettlement experts believe
that only half of the approved 70,000 people will be able to come to the United States by Sept. 30, the end
of the 2002 fiscal year (Taylor, 2001).
As the United States continues to accept more refugees for permanent resettlement than any other country in the world, the geographic dispersal of these refugees also increases. Since the Immigration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, the U.S. has purposely dispersed refugee populations to avoid a concentration of any one particular group in a certain area (Miyares, 1997). This "scatter" approach is often rationalized by citing the enormous impact the Cuban resettlement had on the character of the city of Miami (Holtzman, 2000). Initially, the Sudanese were resettled throughout the nation, but not to the typical gateway U.S. cities like Los Angeles and New York. Instead, states not normally considered gateways, such as Iowa, Tennessee, Minnesota, and Nebraska, made arrangements to resettle the Sudanese.

However, the federal government's dispersal plan didn't last long. While the first Sudanese family didn't arrive in Omaha, Nebraska, until 1996; by the spring of 1997, the Sudanese population had soared there. One-half of the Sudanese community in Minnesota "abruptly emigrated to Nebraska" (Holtzman, 2000, p. 129). Omaha is now widely believed to have the largest population of Sudanese in the U.S. The conservative estimate is 2,000, yet several community leaders believe the population could be over 4,000 (Gonzalez, 2002). Whichever estimate is believed, nearly everyone agrees that the number will continue to grow as more Sudanese choose to move to Omaha to benefit from the support offered by a large and active Sudanese community.

While the majority of Sudanese have recently relocated to Omaha from other U.S. locales, many have just arrived from refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya- lives quite in contrast to what they are now facing as they try to adapt to Omaha. In the U.S., initial
refugee resettlement has become the responsibility of voluntary agencies such as Omaha's Southern Sudanese Community Association (SSCA). One of the primary goals of these resettlement agencies is to promote the successful adaptation of Sudanese refugees into U.S. society. This goal is crucial to both the refugees themselves and the communities where they have been resettled.

1.3 Acculturation vs. Assimilation

While the U.S. has historically emphasized assimilation as the only mechanism of adaptation for immigrants, it is believed that this perspective is flawed. Assimilation requires a maximum of cultural shedding and cultural learning (Berry, 1992). The word *assimilate* is derived from the Latin word *assimulare*, meaning to make similar. In the case of the U.S., it has always meant Anglo-conformity (Feagin, 1999). In the interest of national identity and security, the U.S. found no benefit for an immigrant to retain his or her ethnic identity. This intolerance towards cultural pluralism can be seen in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the racial quota laws. Immigrants, like the Chinese, that the U.S. deemed not to be assimilating because of their "continued distinctiveness," were no longer welcome (Tollefson, 1989). Consequently, the term *assimilation* continues to have a negative connotation.

Acculturation, also referred to as integration or cultural-pluralism, is now viewed as an alternative to assimilation (Koehn, 1991, Berry, 1972, Feagin, 1999). The acculturation perspective acknowledges that change is inevitable in order for individuals to adapt and respond to a new environment. However, the acculturation model also "recognizes that migrants can retain and maintain much of their own distinctive culture
and that one outcome of such an adaptive response is the existence of 'multiple melting pots'' (Koehn, p. 301).

Though there are an infinite number of variables that affect an individual’s ability to adapt to his or her new environment (Goldlust and Richmond, 1974; Berry, 1980), geographic mobility or immobility may be considered an all-encompassing factor because it affects everyday life. Geographic immobility can force workers to accept low-paying jobs (Raphael, 1998). Geographic immobility can restrict individuals to impoverished segregated neighborhoods (Massey, 1985 and Feagin, 1999). It is geographic immobility that can isolate individuals from the community support and resources available to them.

1.4 Geographic Mobility as a Measure of Social Mobility

In the U.S., mobility has come to be equated with opportunity and social mobility. Social mobility has been described as the movement or opportunity for movement between different social groups, including the advantages and disadvantages that go with this in terms of income, security of employment, opportunities for advancement, etc. (Aldridge, 2001). Several past studies have illustrated that location of residence influences geographic mobility, which in turn affects social mobility.

"Where individuals live often has direct impact on employment opportunities, information networks, services and amenities, and a host of other quality of life indicators, i.e. school quality, exposure to poverty and neighborhood decay, exposure to hazardous waste, risk of criminal victimization, and so on" (Valenzuela, 2000, p. 8).
Because geographic mobility is such a major component of social mobility, it is
sometimes considered synonymous with social mobility. In this study, geographic
mobility will be a representation of an individual’s ability to move from point A to point
B and will then expressed on a map depicting an individual’s activity space. An example
of an individual's activity space map is shown in Figure 2.

![Activity space map](image)

*Figure 2 Activity space map (Schensul et. al, 2000). Trips between home and school are shown with a thicker line to represent more frequent trips in a given time period.*

The current debate amongst transportation experts and social scientists centers on
the question; what level of mobility is desired? Some would argue that those individuals
with a larger activity space radius receive more benefits than those individuals whose
activity space radius is smaller, and appear less mobile. On the other hand, “...travel is
costly, both in time and money, so the rational individual seeks to minimize these costs”
(Giuliano, 2000, p. 106). Ultimately, the activity space is the outcome of an individual's choice of activities reflecting a balance of resources and constraints in a spatial context. Resources include income, transportation supply, and time while constraints can include the lack of these elements. Household income has been found to be one of the best predictors of mobility. Based upon the 1995 National Public Transportation Survey data, researchers found that the average distance traveled per day for the lowest income groups was 17.4 miles while the average for the highest income group was 28.6 miles (Pucher et. al., 1998).

While an optimal level of geographic mobility is not easily quantifiable, this statistic does exemplify the interrelatedness of geographic mobility and social mobility. In the study “Daily Travel by Persons with Low Income,” Murakami and Young found that given the dispersion of jobs in metropolitan areas, the ability to travel beyond three miles from one’s home is critical in accessing employment opportunities (1997). “Clearly, work requires mobility- safe and efficient transportation not only to jobs but to day care centers and other services that make work possible” (U.S. Dept. Transport, 1998, p. 1). The goal of decreasing welfare dependence and increasing social mobility is inexplicitly tied to increasing the geographic mobility of welfare recipients.

1.5 Research Purpose
The objective of this research is both to determine the mobility level of Sudanese refugees in Omaha, Nebraska, and to identify the dominant cultural and situational factors that affect mobility. Because geographic mobility is a significant component in an individual's level of adaptation to his or her environment, it is necessary to explore
and understand the factors that may curb an individual’s geographic mobility, consequently limiting his or her social mobility. By examining the activity space of Sudanese refugees as well as the situational factors in Omaha, spatial patterns may be identified which could have social policy implications for refugee resettlement agencies, city transportation planners and the city housing authority.

1.6 Overview of Methodology

Before the research design was developed, the characteristics of the Sudanese community and the problems associated with adapting to a new environment needed to be explored. During this initial stage of research, immersion in the Sudanese community was essential in order to gain the trust and cooperation of the Sudanese community. It was imperative to spend time with Sudanese people as well as leaders of refugee resettlement agencies in order to shape preliminary theories and hypotheses. Adopting a qualitative methodological design, this study strives to give precedence to the views and perspectives that Sudanese refugees themselves have of their own mobility.

The data collected in this research came from a combination of participatory observations and semi-structured interviews. After establishing what type of questions should be asked to best address the issues concerned with geographic mobility, a travel survey was administered in person to twenty Sudanese refugees. Participants were identified and recruited based upon criteria aimed at soliciting a broad-ranged group of personal characteristics including sex, age, length of time in the U.S. and Omaha, vehicle ownership, etc.
The data collected during the interviews was then used to delimit an individual's typical activity space. Utilizing a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software package, calculations were done to determine the average distance that individuals travel on a regular basis to locations such as work, the grocery store, church, school, and additional trips participants report. Responses from the open-ended survey questions as well as field notes from participatory observations and interviews were compiled and geographic mobility constraints will be identified.

1.7 Thesis Organization

This master's thesis is organized as follows. Chapter two, addressing the literature relevant to this study, consists of four sections. The first two sections address the potential mobility constraints implicit in residentially segregated communities where opportunities for employment may be spatially mismatched. The third and fourth sections introduce the possible GIS applications that could be used to delimit activity space and assist with mitigating mobility constraints.

Chapter three will present the methodological design. The justification for the qualitative research design adopted will be discussed. The second section will describe the fieldwork process. The third section, "Mobility Measurement," will address the various methods utilized and describe the instrument created to find out an individual's activity space. The fourth section will address the study participants and how they were selected. The methodology chapter will conclude with a look at the role of reflexivity.

Chapter four will contain the analysis and interpretation of the research findings. This chapter will be subdivided into three main parts with the first section offering a
summary of the interview responses. The second section is dedicated to a discussion of 
the mapped activity space. The third section is devoted to central themes brought out 
during the interviews and fieldwork.

Chapter five will conclude with a discussion of mobility constraints concerning 
not only the Sudanese refugees, but also many residents of Omaha, Nebraska. Finally, 
chapter six will conclude with a summary of the entire study and suggest directions for 
future research.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

As this research encompasses an interdisciplinary approach to the study of geographic mobility within a refugee population, several theories and concepts not necessarily developed within the discipline of geography are relevant. The research of sociologists, economists, and geographers will be reviewed with a focus on residential segregation and the spatial mismatch theory. These theories will illustrate many of the constraints on mobility faced by the Sudanese refugees in Omaha, Nebraska. The next section will review how GIS (geographic information systems) technology is being utilized in Welfare to Work applications, with the aim being an increase in geographic mobility of TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) recipients. The final topic of this section will be a look at how individual activity space is calculated and how it will be utilized in this study.

2.1 Residential Segregation

Historically, geographic research on immigration issues has focused on the distribution and spatial segregation of ethnic enclaves and its subsequent effect on mobility. Though a sociologist, Douglas S. Massey's research on spatial assimilation has been very influential in geographic literature. Massey contends that geographic location of residence is perhaps the biggest determinant of an individual's access to opportunities.

One of the key components of Massey's research on ethnic residential segregation is based on the inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and segregation (Massey, 1985). According to Massey's model, chain migration and rapid immigration reinforces enclave formation and residential segregation and succession. Succession is
the process of neighborhood change that occurs when a new ethnic group enters a residential area. In theory, if the economic and cultural dissimilarity between the immigrants and the native residents is great, then it is less likely natives will continue to settle in this residential area. However, residential segregation is offset by acculturation. As stated by Massey, "... acculturation provides the desire, and social mobility the means, for immigrants to achieve spatial assimilation" (Massey, 1985, p. 320).
Therefore, the pattern of ethnic residential segregation present in an American city reflects this constant interaction between succession and assimilation.

A study by James P. Allen and Eugene Turner, entitled, "Spatial Patterns of Immigrant Assimilation," is an example of the impact of Massey's theories on geographic thought. After compiling a study of immigrants in the greater Los Angeles area, Allen and Turner substantiate Massey's original theory that "...as distance from the (ethnic) concentration increases, the relative assimilation should also increase" (Allen and Turner, 142). Residential segregation research attempts to mathematically quantify the social mobility levels of ethnic groups based solely on the geographic location of residency.

Some geographers, like Ines M. Miyares, discount assimilation models such as Massey's and argue that a purely qualitative approach is necessary to understand the process of acculturation. In "Changing Perceptions of Space and Place as Measures of Hmong Acculturation," Miyares approaches the study of Hmong acculturation with a detailed analysis of Hmong peoples' changing perceptions of space and place. Miyares contends that spatial assimilation is not a direct function of acculturation for many ethnic groups. In her study, she found that even after Hmong people achieved a high level of
education, they still prefer to live amongst their own people (Miyares, 1997). She opposes the treatment of ethnic enclaves as merely a temporary phase for immigrants and argues that many of Massey's assumptions are jaded by the culture of Americans and their perspectives. Miyares contends that the underlying assumption of Massey's theory, "...spatial assimilation, suburbanization, and individually based residential choice serve as representative measures of entry into the dominant society..." is flawed (Miyares, 1997, p. 214). In other words, the basic assumption of Massey's assimilation model, that immigrants desire a home in the white suburbs, is questionable. In general, researchers like Miyares who adopt a more qualitative approach are able to account for the subtleties that arise in a culturally diverse study population. The sensitivity to cross-cultural issues inherent in a qualitative research design, makes it superior to a purely quantitative analysis.

2.2 Spatial Mismatch Theory

Geographers are not the only scholars to address the relationship between geographic location and mobility. Urban economists also consider the spatial component of location of residence and have developed the concept of spatial mismatch. First stated by economist John Kain in 1968, the spatial mismatch hypothesis holds that poor inner city residents are becoming more and more isolated from employment opportunities due to the decentralization of employment in American metropolitan areas. Implicit in all spatial mismatch models since Kain's is the concept of accessibility. However, the indexes used to determine proximity (high levels of accessibility) and distance (low levels of accessibility) vary in studies (Perle et al., 2002). A direct measure of an
individual’s access to job opportunities is generally difficult to assess because individual data sets are usually not available.

Spatial mismatch proponents argue that minority workers in particular are isolated from the high-employment areas because barriers make it difficult for these workers to get to suburban jobs. In the 1970’s, an economic restructuring of cities began. The result today is that more than 70% of all manufacturing, retailing, and wholesaling jobs are now located in the suburbs, creating a time-consuming commute for inner-city residents (U.S. Dept. Transportation, 1998). For some inner-city residents a commute to the suburbs is not possible due to their lack of mobility. In “Geographic Mobility, Race, and Wage Differentials”, Raphael and Riker found that geographically immobile workers are more likely to accept low-paying job offers (Raphael et. al., 1999). Inner city residents without their own vehicles are further constrained by the lack of transit service in suburbs, gaps in existing service, long travel times, numerous transfers, and inadequate schedules. The problems resulting from spatial mismatch have now become a federal priority.

2.3 GIS-based ‘Welfare to Work’ Applications

In 1996, the federal government enacted the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, creating the new welfare program known as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). This act mandated a five-year limit on welfare benefits and required TANF recipients to find a job within two years. Seeking a way to address the urgent challenge of getting this relatively immobile population into the workforce, the Federal Transit Administration sponsored the research for the “Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) for Welfare to Work Transportation Planning and
Service Delivery” handbook. This handbook was distributed to human service agencies as well as transportation planners to provide guidance on how agencies can implement a GIS.

GIS has proven to be a powerful tool for understanding the dimensions of mobility problems in some cities (Federal Transit Administration, 2000). The GIS software system links electronic databases with computer-mapping capabilities, enabling planners to determine a recipient’s access to public transportation and to analyze the availability and distribution of jobs in the metropolitan area. The GIS functions of geocoding, overlaying, and buffering have been widely used in mobility research (Federal Highway Administration, 1998).

In Omaha, Nebraska, the Metropolitan Area Planning Agency (MAPA) currently uses GIS to assess the mobility of some of the city’s welfare recipients. By mapping the locations of welfare recipients and employment opportunities, spatial and temporal mismatches become apparent. With two-thirds of all new jobs in the suburbs and three-quarters of welfare recipients living in central cities or rural areas, transportation remains a major obstacle in the ‘Welfare to Work’ reform policies.
2.4 Activity Space

In order for GIS technology to be useful, the activity space of individuals must be known. An individual’s activity space is defined simply as:

"... the area in which time is spent (which) is built up out of daily travel and activity patterns and includes the home base, other activity sites, and the pathways connecting these locations" (Johnson et al., 1994, p. 4).

While the pathways connecting the home and destinations are included in an individual's activity space, it is possible that the space between activity locations is unknown by the person because no time has been spent there (Schensul et al., 1999). For example, a person working in Council Bluffs, Iowa but living in Omaha, Nebraska may know very little about the area between the two locations. According to research done by Hagerstrand, an individual’s activity sphere is defined as the geographic range of activities conducted over the course of a day, thus reflecting his or her level of mobility (Hagerstrand, 1970). After determining individuals’ aggregated activity space, studies can be done to reveal public transportation gaps. In the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey sponsored by the U.S. Department of Transportation, the travel patterns of all Americans are studied with the intent of implementing future transportation policies that will benefit society.

2.5 Summary

In the discussions above, the disadvantages faced by immobile individuals are illustrated. Whether an individual’s predicament is the result of residential segregation or a consequence of spatial mismatch makes little difference. The end result is the same: relatively low geographic mobility. In order to apply these academic theories to the real-
world mobility constraints of the Sudanese refugee population, an interdisciplinary
approach is imperative. Issues related to mobility are of concern to sociologists, urban
planners, economists, and geographers, with GIS being a useful tool for all these
disciplines. However, a purely quantitative technique will overlook some of the
complicated issues associated with mobility in a cross-cultural context. Therefore, a
qualitative methodological framework similar to the philosophy adopted by Miyares is
required to determine the factors that affect the mobility of Sudanese refugees in Omaha,
Nebraska.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Methodological Overview

Several stages were incorporated into the research design. The exploratory fieldwork began in February of 2001 and continued for more than sixteen months. It was during these months that I met many Sudanese refugees, learned where they lived, and began to see the many problems that they faced as they tried to adapt to their new lives in Omaha, Nebraska. Mobility constraints seemed to be one of the major obstacles confronting many Sudanese refugees as they began carrying out the activities of everyday life like grocery shopping and commuting to and from the workplace.

Geographic mobility as it relates to the broader concept of acculturation became the focal point of the research. The next step was to devise an instrument to gauge an individual's geographic mobility. Several established tests for mobility measurement were examined and modified appropriately to capture the dynamics of the Sudanese refugee population. Based upon field note observations and conclusions, a list of questions aimed at determining the factors limiting mobility was prepared and pre-test interviews were conducted.

In total, twenty-four interviews over a three-month span were conducted at over ten locations in the Omaha Metropolitan area. Responses from the interviews were not tape recorded so as to limit the intrusiveness of the interview process. The replies to each question were recorded by hand with direct quotes recorded when possible.
The data collected were then compiled and used to generate an individual's
typical activity space. This activity space was then mapped utilizing ESRI's ArcView
3.2 geographic information system software. The research culminates with a quantitative
analysis of the activity space as well as qualitative analysis of the mobility constraints
highlighted by individuals during the interviews.

The Methodology Chapter is organized as follows. The next section will expand
upon the merits of employing a qualitative research component in the research design.
The rationale for the selection of mobility measurement instrumentation will then be
discussed. The qualitative techniques of fieldwork and interviewing utilized in this study
will then be addressed. Finally, an overview of the research participant recruitment
process including a description of the research setting will be given.

3.2 *The Merits of Qualitative Research*

"The danger in utilizing a purely quantitative approach to study human
behavior is that while the conclusions may be statistically precise, they fail
to capture reality" (Berg, 2001, p.7).

Qualitative researchers have a variety of methods to choose from for data
collection including but not limited to, interviewing, focus groups, ethnography, and
participatory observation. As illustrated earlier in the study of Hmong refugees by
Miyares, qualitative strategies permit the researcher to interact with the research
participants and share in the understanding and perceptions they have of their own lives
(Miyares, 1997). A map illustrating the activity space of a Sudanese refugee can aid in
the understanding of where the individual travels. However, it cannot explain the reasons
for the individual’s activity in space. Where quantitative methods tend to aggregate and potentially mask individual responses, qualitative research techniques allow the researcher to collect data that has the potential to emphasize the unique experiences of individuals.

3.3 *Field Work: Entering the Field*

"First, the ethnographer enters into a social setting and gets to know the people involved in it; usually, the setting is not previously known in an intimate way. The ethnographer participates in the daily routines of this setting, develops ongoing relations with the people in it, and observes all the while what is going on (Emerson et. al, 1995, p. 1)."

Interviews were conducted with the directors of Omaha’s three largest refugee resettlement agencies, the Southern Sudanese Community Association (SSCA), Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, and Heartland Refugee Resettlement agency. Ongoing discussions with several members of the SSCA staff have offered invaluable insight into this research project. Two months were spent volunteering at the Parkcrest Apartment Learning Center. During these after school tutoring sessions, I met Nhial, a staff member of SSCA, who not only interpreted for this research, but also facilitated the introductions with study participants.

In order to understand how members of the Omaha community were responding to this recent influx of Sudanese refugees, I attended several conferences and community outreach programs. In March of 2001, I attended a Refugee conference sponsored by Methodist Children’s Hospital and Creighton University. During this conference, I met several of the key figures active in the Sudanese community. On September 13, 2001, a
presentation sponsored by the League of Women Voters of Greater Omaha entitled, "Immigration and the Omaha Community," was held. Vard Johnson, an immigration attorney, Susan Mayberger, the Director of ESL for the Omaha Public Schools, and Albino Kueth of SSCA were amongst the panelists exploring various perspectives on the issues associated with immigration. On September 24, 2001, I observed the Monday night outreach program for Sudanese youth at the Hope Center on 20th and Burdette Street. Over 200 Sudanese youth attend this activity center every other Monday night for both recreation and religious teachings staffed by volunteers from Omaha’s Trinity Church at 156th and Dodge Street. All of the above combined experiences provided me with background knowledge and entry into the Sudanese community.

3.4 The Concept of Mobility Identified from Field Work as Central Theme

When I began volunteering as a mentor for a Sudanese refugee in September of 2001, the problems of immobility became evident. As I helped her in her job search, it became apparent how limited she was because of her inability to move around the city. While this individual was able to utilize the public bus to commute to work, without her own vehicle, she was forced to depend upon others for rides when public transportation was not available. Over time, the focus of this research began to concentrate on the specific adaptation issues of geographic mobility within the framework of acculturation. After narrowing down the focus of the research, activity space and mobility constraints were selected as the two central themes of the travel survey. Several leaders of the SSCA, as well as the director of the Sudanese National Community were consulted to determine what type of questions should be asked during the interviews. The format of the travel
survey was then constructed based upon this insight and advice, as well as on existing instruments that measure mobility.

3.41 Mobility Measurement: Travel Diaries

The mobility measures utilized by the U.S. Department of Transportation's Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS) are based on total daily travel. Total daily travel is measured in terms of total distance traveled; total time spent traveling, number of person-trips, and trip mode (Giuliano, 2000). Participants in this study are required to record their travel behavior on a travel diary form. However, self-report time diaries have not been successful with participants from lesser-developed countries who are "not accustomed to monitoring and documenting their behavior" (Ricci et al., 1995, p. 305). Because of the low literacy rate of some of the members of the Sudanese population, the travel diary method utilized by the U.S. Department of Transportation was not feasible. Again, the goal of the research was to be as inclusive as possible. A mobility study that only included English-speaking Sudanese refugees would not accurately reflect the experiences of the Sudanese refugee population in Omaha.

3.42 Mobility Measurement: Information Recall

As an alternative to the time diary method, this survey incorporated an information recall strategy. When research participants are asked to recall events or information, two approaches are frequently used; the activity-recall method and the sequential method or the "yesterday interview" (Ricci et al., 1995, Schensul et al., 1999). The activity-recall strategy requires an interviewer to prompt the participant with a series
of activities from a pre-determined list. In this study, the goal was to ascertain typical activity space. Therefore, the questions were organized into categories according to work, school, shopping, church, family, and free time trips.

The “yesterday interview” requests a detailed chronological depiction of how that individual negotiated his or her activity space for a particular day. While participants were asked to recall “yesterday” and the time it took to travel to each destination, it was beyond the scope of this research to quantify the travel time of each trip in an individual’s activity sphere. The intention of these questions instead was to illicit factors that limit geographic mobility.

3.5 A Word on Cross-Cultural Instruments

“Asking questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first. The spoken or written word has always a residue of ambiguity, no matter how carefully we word the questions…” (Fontana and Frey, 1998, p. 47).

Insuring that the instrument measures what it was designed to measure is always a challenge. Cross-cultural interview instruments require additional considerations to assure that the concepts under investigation are culturally valid within the study population (Brislin, 1986). Fortunately, several guidelines have been written to aid researchers in creating translatable instruments. Simple adjustments like employing the active voice vs. the passive voice and avoiding pronouns and sentences with two different verbs can increase the accuracy and validity of the questions (Brislin, 1986).

3.6 Piloting the Instrument

A crucial stage in the methodological design is administering the questionnaire to a small group of respondents from the study population. During these interviews,
attention is paid to the language use, comprehension, flow, and overall construction of the research instrument (Schensul, 1999). It is during this period that researchers have a chance to identify what works and what doesn’t.

The pilot interview was conducted with four women. Most interviews were conducted in the late morning because Nhial said that was the best time to talk, especially with the women. All of the women were in their twenties, married, and had young children. Though interpretation was not needed for every question, Nhial was present and actively participated in each interview when clarification or translation was necessary. The television and/or stereo was left on as we went about with our conversations.

Three of the four women were, for the most part, forthcoming with responses. When asked the question “Why?” however, the typical response was “I don’t know.” After one of the interviews, I asked Nhial if asking “why” was appropriate in his culture or even possible in the Nuer language. He responded by saying that it was “fine” in Nuer, but if people don’t know “the answer” then they will say that they don’t know. If a question required their personal opinion as opposed to a verifiable fact-based response, many participants hesitated to reply. Drawing out their opinions was a challenge. Many seemed to think that an opinion wasn’t an answer. I made a note of this and in subsequent interviews, a series of objective questions were asked about a topic before I requested an explanation.

I also discovered during pilot interviews that regardless of whether or not an individual had access to a vehicle, none of the four made use of public transportation.
Therefore, the revised interview questionnaire included more direct questions aimed at determining why public transportation is underutilized. The revised interview also contains more precise questions regarding access to automobiles, the possession of a driver’s license, as well as the individual’s level of comfort with driving.

The pilot interviews were immensely valuable not only to discover the shortcomings that became evident in the questionnaire, but also as an initiation into the cross-cultural interview process. While I had visited the apartments of single Sudanese people before the pre-tests interviews, I had never spent any time in the homes of Sudanese families. I was able to observe the interactions the mothers had with their children, smell the stew cooking on the stoves, and hear the Kenyan music playing on the stereo. Conducting the interviews in the women’s homes allowed me to observe their lives from an intimate viewpoint. The Sudanese refugee, whose stories I had been reading (Holzman, 2000) now took on the faces of these Sudanese women. The observations I made enriched the interviews and furthered my understanding.

3.7 Interview Format

The interview was divided into the following sections: a general mobility section, a “yesterday” interview, an activity recall section, a demographic section, and a supplementary list of questions. The first and supplementary section of the survey contained questions that focused on the mode of transportation. Participants were asked whether or not they drive and have access to a vehicle. Questions regarding experience using public transportation were also asked. Responses in this section of the interview
were particularly useful in bringing forth specific mobility constraints. The second and third parts of the interview were designed to capture an individual's activity space.

Because this study relied upon participants to recall a week of travel behavior, it is unlikely that every trip the participant made over the course of the week was reported. Because of the imprecise nature of recall\(^3\), the activity space mapped for each Sudanese participant will not be all-inclusive but instead will represent a more typical activity sphere of that individual. Nonetheless, it is the typical travel behavior of a sample of Sudanese refugees that is the most useful information if and when transportation policies are reconsidered. The interview questionnaire used for the study is included in the appendix.

3.8 Participant Recruitment

An accurate count of the total Sudanese population is not available through the Census Bureau or the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A count would have been possible if the refugees would have been resettled in Omaha directly, but it is estimated that as many as 90% of the Sudanese residing in Omaha are secondary migrants (Gonzalez, 2002). In other words, these Sudanese were initially settled in another part of the country but chose to relocate in Omaha. In March 2002, Maria Diaz, Nebraska's refugee resettlement coordinator, estimated that more than 1,600 Sudanese refugees in Nebraska would be considered secondary migrants (Gonzalez, 2002). However, leaders of local Sudanese organizations regard this recent population estimate as too low.

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\(^3\) Unless a researcher's methodological design includes participatory observation, information reported by a study participant can never be relied upon completely (Engle, 1992). Due to the prohibitively high costs of participatory observation, even the travel dairy survey administered by the U.S. DOT sacrifices some degree of accuracy.
Because the population is not certain, a probability sampling technique is not possible. Instead, two non-probability sampling techniques were combined. The strategies of both the purposive and snowball sampling techniques were incorporated into this research. In purposive sampling, the researcher is able to rely on his or her expertise about the population and select participants who display certain attributes essential to the study. After several participants who have the desired characteristics are identified, the snowball strategy allows for the recruitment of additional study participants (Berg, 2001).

Accessing a relatively inaccessible population required support from the Sudanese community itself. Therefore, subject identification and recruitment was based upon consultations with members of the Southern Sudanese Community Association (SSCA). Nhial of the SSCA facilitated the introductions for each interview. In his position as tobacco outreach prevention specialist, he had been visiting and surveying Sudanese households for several months. He was a well-known member of the Sudanese community and readily gained the consent of the participants.

A great effort was made to select males and females with varying characteristics in respect to length of time in Omaha and the U.S., marital status, employment status, location of residence, vehicle ownership, and English language ability. These desired participant characteristics were communicated to Nhial who then recommended potential research subjects. Four apartment complexes, housing primarily Sudanese refugees, were visited. In this study, it was imperative that the researcher went to the participant so that the more immobile members of the population could be interviewed. It was also reasoned that participants felt more comfortable at home and were more able to carry on their usual daily activities like child caring. In order to have an opportunity to interview
Sudanese refugees who had just recently arrived in Omaha, Nhial also assisted with introductions and interpreting for interviews conducted at an ESL (English as a Second Language) class and at the SSCA office.

In total, twenty Sudanese refugees over 19 years of age were interviewed. Pseudonyms were created for the participants and any identifying information offered during the interviews was modified to protect each individual’s privacy.

3.9 Summary

Building upon the understanding gained from over a year of fieldwork and the insights gleaned from the pre-tests, the interviews were constructed to concentrate on the two tasks of determining each individual’s activity space and identifying the factors that constrain mobility. Activity space maps were produced and will be discussed in chapter four. Because a non-probability sample of the Sudanese population was studied, the conclusions regarding typical activity space are not generalizable characteristics of the entire Sudanese refugee population (Berg, 2001). However, an analysis and discussion of the research findings will reveal the perceptions that many Sudanese have of their own lives in regard to mobility.
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first section will offer a summary and analysis of the interview responses. Data collected during the interview will reveal the research participant characteristics in regard to driver's license possession, vehicle ownership, and employment status. Distance comparisons will be made between sexes. Distance traveled by Sudanese refugees in Omaha will also be compared to national travel behavior results calculated by the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS). The next section will present the activity space maps generated and offer mileage comparisons amongst research participants on the basis of gender, length of time in Omaha, and employment status. Finally, the third section will address the central themes that emerged throughout the fieldwork and, in particular, during the interview process. In this section, I will relate how Sudanese refugees describe their personal experiences in regard to mobility.

4.1 Data Summary

Many of the characteristics of the study participants were diverse as can be seen in Table 4.1 on the following page. It was possible to interview a full range of refugees, from those who have just recently resettled in Omaha to a few of the first Sudanese residents in the area. At the time of the study, all participants had been residing in the U.S. for at least six months. However, two participants relocated to Omaha from Des Moines, Iowa, only three weeks prior to the interview. The age of participants ranged
from 19 years of age to 30 years of age. It may seem as if only young people participated in the study. However, there are very few older Sudanese in the U.S. because very few Sudanese elders applied for refugee resettlement (Holzman, 2000). Six of the ten women and nine of the ten men possessed a driver’s license. The only male who did not possess a driver’s license was also the only individual not to have “access” to a vehicle in his household. Then again, two of the participants’ vehicles were not in working order. Three of the ten women work outside of the home whereas nine of ten men were employed outside of the home.

**TABLE 4.1: Research Participant Characteristics (Distance was calculated by utilizing Map Quest software which determines the shortest route between locations.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Time in Omaha</th>
<th>Time in U.S.</th>
<th>License</th>
<th>Vehicle</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Furthest Distance Traveled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>shopping 9.7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>church 11.1 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>work 6.94 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deng</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>school 15.25 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.5 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>work 6.44 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuoth</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>work 8.23 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pur</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>church 11.04 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>visit friends 10.71 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>work 6.88 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakan</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>shopping 7.73 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>church 13.52 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyadeng</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>broken</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>school 3.15 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>church 5.59 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>school 12.09 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meggan</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>shopping 6.6 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>shopping 7.0 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>church 11.85 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakir</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>work 3.75 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>church 13.52 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riek</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>school 8.92 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.12 Gender and NPTS Comparisons

Although the "distance data" presented in the Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS) is generated differently, some reasonable comparisons can be made between the distance traveled amongst Sudanese refugees in Omaha and the average distance traveled by all Americans in the U.S. According to NPTS data, men travel 27% more miles than women in urban areas (Valenzuela, 2000 p. 5). As illustrated by Table 4.2, the furthest distance traveled away from home by Sudanese women in this study averaged 8.5 miles with the furthest destination for many being church. One woman travels over 13.52 miles to attend a church in West Omaha. As illustrated in Table 4.3, the furthest distance traveled away from home by men in this study averaged slightly higher at 9.46 miles. The furthest distance traveled by any person in this study was Deng's trip from his home in central Omaha to Iowa Western Community College.
### Table 4.2 Distance Traveled by Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Distance to Work</th>
<th>Distance to School</th>
<th>Distance to Church</th>
<th>Distance to Shopping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>8.43 miles</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>9.7 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selina</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>11.11 miles</td>
<td>5.24 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakan</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7.73 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2.81 miles</td>
<td>13.52 miles</td>
<td>3.98 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyadeng</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3.15 miles</td>
<td>1.11 miles</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>.37 miles</td>
<td>5.59 miles</td>
<td>5.49 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12.09 miles</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>9.06 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meggan</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1.18 miles</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6.60 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>11.85 miles</td>
<td>7.0 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyakir</td>
<td>3.75 miles</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.3 Distance Traveled by Men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Distance to Work (miles)</th>
<th>Distance to School (miles)</th>
<th>Distance to Church (miles)</th>
<th>Distance to Shopping (miles)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deng</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>7.79</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>6.44</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuoth</td>
<td>8.23</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>6.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pur</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>11.04</td>
<td>4.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>13.52</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riek</td>
<td>7.46</td>
<td>8.92</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13 Does the Spatial Mismatch Theory Apply to Sudanese Refugees in Omaha?

Because no standard index exists to determine proximity, which is both a function of accessibility and distance, it is difficult to concretely measure the circumstances of Sudanese refugees in Omaha. (Perle et al., 2002). Though the majority of Sudanese interviewed reside in North Omaha neighborhoods that spatial mismatch proponents would consider isolated from suburban jobs, the average work commute for all participants was only 6.05 miles. As illustrated in the table below, the work commuting
distance range was from 1.24 miles to 8.43 miles. When the home and work addresses of study participants were input into a MapQuest software application, the longest drive time for any Sudanese in this study was 19 minutes. City planners have long considered Omaha a “20 minute city” (MAPA, 1999); twenty minutes by car, that is. All of the employed Sudanese commuters in this study substantiated this claim. Bear in mind that all of the participants who work commute by car. The seven-mile distance from where many Sudanese live to the IBP factory where many of them work would not be possible without a vehicle.

4.2 Activity Space

Data describing the locations that each participant frequented in a typical week were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Street Shape files (an ESRI file format) for Douglas, Sarpy, and Pottawattamie counties were merged. The locations visited by the Sudanese were then geocoded using GIS software. The maps below depict the activity space of two selected study participants. Because each individual’s activity space map differs considerably in the number of locations visited as well as the distance traveled, it difficult to generalize. For this reason, each individual’s activity space map is included in the Appendix.

4.21 A Comparison Between Nyakan and Deng’s Activity Space

To demonstrate the variety of responses received to the series of questions regarding locations visited over a one-week time frame, the activity space maps of Deng (male) and Nyakan (female) follow. It is interesting to note that Deng and Nyakan have resided in the U.S. for at least six years and in Omaha for over four years. While they
share similar resettlement histories, the daily lives of Deng and Nyakan are quite
different. Deng is employed full-time and is also taking college courses. Nyakan is a
homemaker and stays at home with her four children. Both have licenses and a vehicle in
their household, though Nyakan must share the car with her husband. The furthest
distance traveled by Nyakan is 7.73 miles while the furthest distance traveled by Deng is
15.25 miles.
4.3 Interview Findings

The following sections highlight some of the common themes that emerged throughout the interview process. While it was originally hypothesized that Sudanese refugees would be a relatively immobile population, as the maps show, this was not necessarily the case. Many Sudanese have overcome the mobility constraints associated with not owning a vehicle or, in many cases, owning a vehicle that, as they would say “is broke” by relying on the social networks of friends and family.

4.31 Almost Nobody Rides the Bus

Interview after interview, I soon came to realize that Sudanese people avoid public transportation. I remember almost boasting to Nhial about my first successful bus commute when he interrupted me and said that I should have called him and he would have come to pick me up. To most Sudanese in Omaha, taking the bus isn’t even a last resort - they would rather stay home. Responses to the question, “Have you ever taken the bus?” demonstrate the resourcefulness of many of the interview participants.

“No…A person makes transportation for me,” Lam.

“SSCA (The Southern Sudanese Community Association) will take us anyplace we want to go,” Joseph.

“I cannot ride the bus because I don’t know where the bus will take me. We have a car. I will wait for my husband if I want to go somewhere,” Sarah.

When one is not familiar with one’s surroundings and is not comfortable speaking English, the bus can be intimidating. Though they may not be able to go where
they want, when they want to go, it is much less stressful for many Sudanese to wait for a ride from a friend or the SSCA.

4.32 "Your own car is very good" - Rebecca

In Nuer Journeys Nuer Lives, anthropologist, Jon Holzman investigated the special significance car ownership has to many Sudanese people. He observed the high priority many Sudanese place on car ownership and made the amusing analogy that "A car is a bad cow." In Neur culture in Sudan, cows play a central role in the economic and social status of their owners, just as automobiles have taken on a similar role for the Sudanese in the U.S. Even people who have only been here six months already have a license. Many of the Sudanese proudly replied "Yes" to the question "Do you have a driver’s license?" For example, Joseph enthusiastically replied, "I drive well -no problem-no ticket...Let me show you my driver's license."

Many Sudanese don’t have as good of a driving record as Joseph. Holzman interviewed Sudanese men in Minneapolis about car ownership and found that more than 84% of those interviewed had either been in an accident, had a car repossessed or impounded, or had been forced to abandon a car because of irreparable mechanical problems (Holtzman, 2000, p.67). This statistic is even more alarming considering the fact that these men had only been driving for less than three years. The high accident rate can be partially explained by the fact that for many Sudanese, the steps in obtaining a learner’s permit, a driver’s license, and a car tend to be squeezed into one event. Even
after failing the test three times, Nyakir was finally able to pass the driver’s test and receive her license in one month.

Car ownership often brings about additional problems for Sudanese refugees. Because of the absence of a credit history, many refugees are required to pay higher than normal down payments and are charged higher than normal interest rates by car dealers who view them as a credit risk. Many legitimate dealers require two-year credit histories- an impossible request for refugees who have just arrived from Sudan. Several Sudanese interviewed complained about how difficult it was to buy a good car. After spending some time with Yak, I was asked if I would be willing to co-sign on a car loan for him, confirming how tough it is for many Sudanese.

Even with all of the problems as a result of car ownership, many Sudanese will work with the sole intent of purchasing a car. Cars are valued more than for the convenience they bring to daily life. They are also prized for the social benefits they bring. A man in Holzman’s study noted, “In Africa, if you have no money in your pocket but you have a car, you are a rich man” (p. 70).

4.33 Conceptualizing Space

“I drive like a professional driver, the matter is only that I don’t know some places,” Jacob.

For those without a car, learning the way around the Omaha Metropolitan Area can be a challenging endeavor. Meggan had been in Omaha for 3 weeks. Though a resident of Des Moines for more than two years, she was not able to describe where she lives or goes to church.
"My husband cannot drive in this city because he doesn't know the city so somebody picked us up," Meggan.

Her family (husband and two children) is now living with friends. She had gotten a ride to ESL class that morning in the SSCA van. Even Mary, who has lived in Omaha for more than two years, seemed to have very little knowledge of her surroundings. When I asked Mary where she shops, she said Target in Council Bluffs, IA. At first her response seemed logical, she must stop at that store on the way to her job in Council Bluffs. When I asked her if this was the case Mary replied, "I only know how to drive that way (gesturing in the air) not to drive that way (gesturing in the air the opposite way)."

Though there is a Target store closer to her apartment, she drives to Council Bluffs, because she knows that area and lacks a spatial knowledge of her immediate surroundings. Her knowledge of the environment is a function of her route to work. Mary's example confirms Schensul's theory that it is possible for the pathways connecting the home and destinations to be included in an individual's activity space, without any knowledge of the space between activity locations because no time has been spent there (Schensul et. al., 1999).

4.34 Interstate Travel

When asked for the location of his church, King of Kings (11615 1 Street- West Omaha), Pur responded, "...very far man...exit 4-2-1." The interstate, with its abundant signs, make travel in and out of Omaha more straightforward than travel within the Omaha city limits. Even many Sudanese refugees who have just recently arrived have visited several surrounding states by car. "West Omaha.... I have never gone there...
here on the streets there's no direction to show you where to go.” When asked how he navigates to places outside of Omaha, “I follow the signs- they tell me to go to Lincoln” (Joseph). Though the layout of the city of Omaha follows a grid system and the street names are labeled, very few signs exist that direct drivers to common destinations like the grocery store. Unless drivers possess a mental map of the major North/South and East/West streets, travel within city limits would be constrained.

When I asked participants where they went yesterday, I was imagining that they would reply with locations in Omaha. Yet, many Sudanese refugees travel. David went to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for the weekend. Pur went to Kansas City, Missouri, the week before. Travel to far off places seemed more common amongst the Sudanese interviewed than travel within the city limits. Another interesting finding was that while many Sudanese are reluctant to take the city bus, many have experienced Greyhound bus travel. When asked whether or not he has ever taken the bus, “I use the Greyhound bus to go to another state,” answered John. State to state speaking, many Sudanese are mobile.

4.4 Dependence on Social Networks: Generalized Reciprocity

Social networks are vital to immigrant and refugee populations because of the widely acknowledged financial, material, and emotional assistance they provide with resettlement (Menjivar, 2000). The choice of Omaha as a secondary migration destination is no coincidence. In their candid statements, Sabrina and Mary demonstrate the significance of social networks in their daily lives. Both of these accounts were in response to the question “Why don’t you use the bus?”
"Because I come to the U.S. and have my friends here and they took me to the store," Selina.

"It is because whenever I call my friend, somebody will give me a ride," Mary.

The majority of Sudanese refugees at one time or another have relied on social networks for assistance. Reliance on the social network, in addition to meeting specific needs, serves to reproduce the social network. The one "taking" from the social network today will be "giving" to the social network when his or her circumstances permit. The foundation of a social network in this instance is based upon the principal of generalized reciprocity, which is defined by anthropologists as "informal gift giving for which no accounts are kept and no immediate or specific return is expected" (http://www.iversonsoftware.com/anthropology). The social network established in Omaha continues to bring secondary migrants here. Sarah, who was initially resettled in Des Moines, convinced her husband to move to Omaha. When I asked her, "Why Omaha?" she replied, "There are a lot of Sudanese." The more members in social network, the more possibilities for assistance exist.

Most Sudanese refugees live within close proximity of each other - many times living in the same apartment complexes. This not only makes it easier to catch a ride somewhere, it also helps Sudanese refugees in their daily lives. For instance, Sudanese children and adults were constantly coming and going during my interview with Regina at her apartment. A ten-year old Sudanese girl came in to borrow the oversized griddle to make Ethiopian pancakes. Another woman came by to pick up her child. A man stopped in to have some dinner before taking off for work. Soon, I lost track of who lived here
and who was just in for a visit. Towards the end of the interview, a middle-aged Sudanese woman stopped in to pick up Regina to go to Wal-Mart. As they left, Regina’s two-year old son was playing with a neighbor girl. Even the responsibilities of parenting are shared in Sudanese social networks.

While the majority of immigration research concentrates only on the positive aspects of social networks, Cecilia Menjivar argues “…social networks, particularly those based on kinship, are not infallible and can weaken under extreme conditions of poverty, when too many demands are placed on individuals” (Menjivar, 2000, p.33). This negative side of social networks was uncovered during a conversation I had with Pur.

The day I met Pur, he was outside his apartment complex looking for a ride to Metro Community College Campus. When we spoke inside his apartment during the interview, he proudly showed me his driver’s license and said that he has had the license and the car for four months. “If you have a car, why were you looking for rides?” I asked. Last week “somebody from Bellevue, man… made an accident.” He had lent his car to a friend and the friend “made an accident.” I never found out what, if any, compensation Pur’s friend offered for the financial burden and inconveniences he caused Pur. If I were to make a guess based on my observation of the Sudanese community, I would say that nothing was exchanged. In Pur’s case, his social network compelled him to give more than he could economically afford to give; but clearly maintaining his connection to or, his position within the social network is even more valuable to him than his car.
If you are one who has something, then you have an understood responsibility to give to those who don’t. When I asked Kuoth what he did yesterday, he explained that he spent a couple of hours taking his friends places they needed to go. Several Sudanese interviewed who owned vehicles recounted how they often spent many hours transporting friends around. I was curious if these people who were depending upon others for rides did something to return the favor. I asked Kuoth and he said, “Nobody gives you money for gas. There’s no obligation.” Because some members of the Sudanese community are able to take on the added responsibilities of transporting friends, the social networks are a tremendous help to those Sudanese just establishing themselves in Omaha.

4.5 Summary: What Level of Mobility is Expected by Sudanese Refugees?

As mentioned earlier, many participants would respond to questions with a one-word answer. When I was probing Jacob to find out what other stores he shops at besides the grocery store, I asked him the more direct question, “Where do you go shopping for clothes?” Jacob responded, “But even here at Baker’s we have clothes.” Though he eventually added Target to the list of stores he frequents, it was interesting to see the cultural differences of expectations. Very few Americans I know would consider buying their clothes at the Baker’s Supermarket, but to Jacob, Baker’s is close… they sell clothes… so why not?

In retrospect, it would have been interesting to somehow determine what expectations Sudanese refugees have for their own mobility based upon their cultural background. During my five months of travel and cultural research in Africa, my expectations of public transportation dropped considerably; to the point where I would be
pleased if the bus, train, or boat would actually depart the same day as promised.

Whereas the Sudanese refugees have managed to work around their mobility constraints - possibly even unbothered by their relative lack of mobility – many Americans would not easily tolerate the same circumstances. While I feel certain Sudanese community leaders would be quick to articulate their expectations, it would be challenging to address a topic of this depth with many of the participants in this study due in part to laconic answers typical in the interviews. Before conducting the interviews, I would have thought that many Sudanese people would have had many complaints about mobility issues, but this was not the case. Though the lack of complaints could stem from the appreciativeness refugees can be compelled to portray to native-born Americans, it is also very possible that they did not see themselves as limited. Because of their cultural background, their expectations for mobility may not be as high.
CHAPTER FIVE: MOBILITY CONSTRAINTS IN OMAHA

"The looking feature of Omaha is not as nice as other cities, but it is good because there are jobs to do," Mary.

Omaha has above minimum wage jobs, the cost of living is lower than many cities, and it has good schools. I heard this from so many Sudanese interviewed that I wouldn't know whom to quote. Because the majority of Sudanese now living in Omaha have experienced life in other cities in the U.S., most are well aware of the pros and cons of life in Omaha.

The purpose of this chapter is to document the situational factors that may contribute to both the geographic and social mobility potential of Sudanese refugees in Omaha, Nebraska. Because previous research demonstrates that where you live can affect an individual's geographic mobility, racial distribution maps of the Omaha population are presented in the first section of this chapter. This discussion continues with an illustration of the distribution of subsidized public housing and the regulations concerning Section 8 housing vouchers.
5.1 A Look at Residential Segregation in Omaha

One of the negative aspects of life in Omaha for many Sudanese is the residential segregation prevalent in Omaha. The maps below validate the separation of Blacks and Hispanics within the city. The first map is a distribution of the Sudanese refugee population. The Sudanese population is concentrated in the north parts of Omaha coinciding with the location of the greatest percentage of the city’s Black population. The second map is a population distribution of Blacks and the third map is a population distribution of Hispanics in Douglas county.

Black Americans are not the only minority population that is residentially segregated in Omaha. The Hispanic population is primarily concentrated in South Omaha, particularly east of 25th Street and South of “L” Street. Three of the census tracts depicted in the Hispanic map are nearly 50 percent Hispanic.
Sudanese Residents in Douglas and Sarpy County
Percentage of Hispanic Population
by Census Tract for Douglas County - 2000

Hispanic Population in %
- 0.7 - 4.4
- 4.5 - 9.8
- 9.0 - 20.7
- 20.8 - 37.2
- 37.3 - 55.4
5.12 Section 8 Housing

Though residential segregation theorists would attribute these residential spatial patterns in part to discrimination, there are other factors at play. North and South Omaha make up the older parts of the city and consequentially the older homes and apartments. In Sudanese culture, large families are common. Several of the married participants interviewed had four children. Section 8 housing regulations dictate the number of bedrooms required based upon the number and age of the children in the family. The majority of apartments in Omaha considered large enough and affordable for many Sudanese families are located in the older parts of North Omaha.

Though vouchers may now be used towards rent expenditures for any “qualifying” dwelling, landlords are not legally required to accept the subsidies and may turn down tenants who want to use them. The lack of credit history prevents many Sudanese from obtaining housing in other parts of Omaha where apartment managers require a rental history. This discrimination has kept the overwhelming majority of Section 8 recipients in North Omaha, specifically east of 52nd Street and north of Cuming Street (Omaha Housing Authority website). In figure 6, it is possible to see the correlation between Sudanese residents (from the previous map) and Section 8 Housing (Figure 6).
Still, some parts of North Omaha are preferred to others. Rebecca was comparing two apartment complexes where Sudanese people live. "Most people at Burt Street are Sudanese - Wintergreen apartments - more criminals - African Americans." Rebecca was not the only one to mention her dissatisfaction with life in North Omaha.

"Even my son is not liking this place. In the summer there are many people on the streets - many people with troubles...even now I am looking for a new street" Nyakan.
Nyakan’s statement is illustrated by the recent move of Sudanese refugees to Bellevue suburbs. It is now estimated that over 1000 Sudanese have left Omaha and have moved to Bellevue. The apartment complex on Nebraska Drive, shown in figure 7, actually rents to more than 37 Sudanese families (Aksamit, 2001).

![South Omaha and Sarpy County](Image)

Figure 7 Sudanese Population in South Omaha and Sarpy County (December 2001)

According to the director of the Bellevue Housing Authority, “...(the) agency has funding and authorization from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to provide 51 housing units and 220 Section 8 rental assistance vouchers in Bellevue” (Aksamit, 2001). The new trend to move to Bellevue is not surprising in light of Sudanese cultural preferences and the geographic availability of more affordable housing in Eastern Omaha and now in Bellevue. According to Dhalbeng Malual, a resident of an
apartment complex in Bellevue with a large Sudanese population, “We have a culture that likes to live together in one place. Here we can do that. Also, the Bellevue area is peaceful. We are a society that likes peace” (Aksamit, 2001).

5.2 Public Transportation Gaps

In Omaha, social networks are heavily relied upon to meet the transportation needs of Sudanese refugees. However, several individuals interviewed commented that when they lived elsewhere in the U.S. they utilized public transportation. Yak relied upon Denver’s Park and Ride System for his commute to work. Meggan took the bus to the store and work in Des Moines. While it could be argued that the large and supportive Sudanese community in Omaha allows individuals to rely more heavily on social networks than was or is possible in other cities, there are many other factors that make public transportation in Omaha less attractive.

While offering 45 routes and 120 buses that travel 14,107 miles a day, Omaha’s Metro Area Transit (MAT) is still not able to meet the transportation needs of the Sudanese population (Denny Hirz, 2002). Of the twenty Sudanese refugees interviewed in this study, only two people had ever used the bus in Omaha. When without a license or access to a car, nearly all Sudanese refugees interviewed relied upon their social networks, not public transportation, to get rides to work, church, shopping, etc.

The Metro Area Planning Agency (MAPA) task force identified several major transportation gaps in the Omaha Metropolitan area. Perhaps one of the most significant transportation gaps is the lack of scheduled route times providing service both to and from evening work shifts (MAPA, 1999). Many Sudanese refugees are likely to find employment in service and production industries that require evening and weekend-shifts
and therefore remain not served by public transportation. Of the twelve employed study participants, seven people worked evening shifts, prohibiting them from commuting by public transportation. According to one Sudanese man "The bus hours are short. There are some people who are working until 1 or 2 at night," Yak.

For six months while saving enough money to buy a car, Deng used to spend $40 per week on taxi fare to get to and from his job at Ameristar Casino. He worked the late shift and wasn’t able to take a bus. Ironically, Deng bought a car and is now working at an office only three blocks away from his apartment. He drives.

Additionally, certain areas in the Metro area have been identified as particularly underserved by the current transit routes. The lack of regular routes between Douglas, Sarpy, and Pottawattamie counties and the lack of routes to and from Eppley Airport are especially of concern (MAPA, 1999). International Beef Packaging (IBP) of Council Bluffs employs four of the Sudanese refugees interviewed and many more Sudanese in the community, yet is outside of MAT’s service area.

5.3 Public and Private Transportation Services Overlap

Another concern is the lack of coordination between public and private providers of transportation. The Omaha metropolitan area’s main public transportation provider, MAT, is dependent on federal subsidies and is therefore legally restricted in its interaction with both profit and non-profit transportation providers (Denny Hirz, 2002).

Many non-profit groups, such as the Southern Sudanese Community Association, dedicate vehicles and man-hours to shuttling people around. The department of transportation at SSCA now employs four drivers for the three vans and one car owned
by the organization. Transportation is provided free-of-charge to refugees needing a ride to the store, work, the doctor, and appointments with Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the Social Security Administration, or Health and Human Services. In addition to the free ride, the drivers often help their passengers by interpreting for them at their destinations. Refugees can call on this service 24 hours a day and several people depend upon this ride to get to and from their second or third shift jobs. However, the SSCA usually only offers rides to work for the first month after which the person is on their own to find a new way to get to work (Jioklow interview, 2002).

MAT is aware of these gaps in service and plans are currently underway to modify the routes to incorporate a hub and spoke system. However, the real question remains; will these changes actually increase the bus ridership of Sudanese refugees in Omaha? The map below portrays the residency of the majority of Sudanese in Omaha overlaid with the current bus stop locations offered by MAT. As the map on the following page depicts, many Sudanese refugees currently live within walking distance to a MAT bus stop. Proximity clearly is not the issue.

While route modification and schedule expansion may be beneficial to Sudanese refugees, the matter of low bus ridership rates among the Sudanese is multifaceted. The interview data clearly demonstrates that Sudanese refugees, without their own means of transportation, utilize social networks for their travel needs. While it is unlikely that public transportation will replace the preference Sudanese have for rides from friends and family in their social networks, public transportation still remains a beneficial second option.
Omaha Metropolitan Bus Stops & the Sudanese Population
With the exception of two interviewees who owned their own vehicles, a bus could provide increased mobility for the majority of Sudanese households sharing one vehicle. Public transportation could also provide a backup for several of the participants interviewed who own older and less dependable vehicles. The many hidden costs associated with car ownership for the Sudanese in particular could be a motivating factor for more Sudanese to take advantage of the comparatively lower costs of bus travel.

Before public transportation can be become a desirable option for the Sudanese, the biggest obstacle remains education. Christie Abdul of the SSCA, commented that one of her goals for the year is to organize programs that teach Sudanese refugees how to ride the bus. She plans to arrange a day when mentors can accompany Sudanese refugees on the bus and show them how to catch the bus, signal for their stop, read the bus schedule, and learn how to call MAT operators for schedule times. One of the only interview participants to have relied upon public transportation for work commutes, Meggan, told how it was her ESL teacher who actually took her out and taught her how to use the bus. After that initiation to public transportation, Meggan took the bus to and from work for two years, enabling her to save money.
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS

"Patterns of distinct travel behavior are critical to understanding job access, residential segregation, other economic opportunities, and mobility constraints. There are clear residential and socioeconomic patterns among people of color... implementation of future transportation policies such as those that foster higher density, transit, and pedestrian-oriented developments or private auto use and infrastructure would be wise to consider how and who these policies will ultimately affect" (Valenzuela, 2000, p. 2).

6.1 Summary
More than half of the Sudanese refugees interviewed decided to take on the challenge of driving in a new environment. They took on the financial burden of acquiring an automobile and decided to share the benefits of car ownership with their social networks. It is because of these individuals and the support of the SSCA that many of the Sudanese refugees in Omaha are mobile. All of the participants interviewed traveled beyond the minimum 3-mile radius deemed critical in accessing employment opportunities in Murakami and Young’s study (1997). That this level of mobility is accomplished without any reliance on public transportation only allows for increased levels of mobility in the future, providing MAT schedule modifications are made and public transportation educational programs are initiated.

6.2 Contributions of this Study
Documenting both the cultural and situational factors that currently affect the geographic mobility and consequentially the social mobility of the Sudanese refugee population in Omaha, this research aids in the understanding of the geographic nature of the refugee resettlement process. The spatial aspects of mobility were explored and may serve as a starting point for policy makers and refugee resettlement agencies. The maps depicting the activity space describe the spatial patterns and travel behavior, which could
be helpful to transportation planners and resettlement agencies. Few of the Sudanese interviewed have a 9-to-5 job; therefore public transportation options are very limited in Omaha. Without a vehicle or an extensive social network, would Sudanese refugees be able to meet their daily transportation needs? - Probably not.

It is because of strong Sudanese social networks and the support of the Southern Sudanese Community Association that many of the Sudanese refugees interviewed are able to attend ESL classes and secure rides to satisfy their daily needs. In effect, it is the sheer number and residential concentration of Sudanese refugees that make mobility possible for those members of the community without their own means.

6.3 Future Research

In many ways, evaluating the factors that affect the geographic mobility of the Sudanese refugee population in the Omaha Metropolitan Area is an on-going task. The Sudanese population in Omaha is still fluctuating with secondary migrants continuously relocating to the metropolitan area. At the time of writing, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have precluded the admission and resettlement of additional Sudanese refugees from refugee camps in Africa. Recent demographic changes within the Sudanese population, like the succession towards Bellevue suburbia, highlight the ever-changing mobility of the Sudanese population.

It would be useful, in five to ten years, to study this population again to see what new spatial patterns have developed. Would Sudanese refugees still be as reliant on social networks for their daily transportation needs? Will the high concentration of Sudanese refugees in North Omaha migrate to the outskirts of the city or relocate to an
entirely different part of the country as occurred in the mid-90's in the move from Minnesota to Nebraska? Will the Sudanese residents in the Bellevue suburbs have more access to opportunities, as research suggests, than their friends and family in North Omaha? Will the preference of Sudanese to live amongst other Sudanese continue? If so, will the process of acculturation be hindered or as Miyares suggested will the concentrated Sudanese communities act as a buffer to allow individuals to adapt to American life at their own pace.
APPENDIX

Travel Survey

Part One: Mobility

Driving
1. Do you have a driver’s license? Yes No
   Do you feel comfortable driving on smaller streets? Yes No
   Do you feel comfortable driving on the interstate? Yes No
2. How many people drive in your household/family? Yes No
3. Does someone in your household own a car? Yes No
4. How many cars does your family have? Yes No
5. Do you have access to that car anytime? Yes No

Public Transportation
1. Have you ever taken the bus? Yes No
   If yes:
   Where did you go?
   How much did it cost?
   Where is the closest bus stop for you?
   How long did you have to wait for the bus to come?
   Do you use the bus regularly? Why or why not? If no: Why not?
2. Have you ever taken a taxi? Yes No
   If yes:
   Where did you go?
   How much did it cost?
   Do you use a taxi regularly? Why or why not?

Part Two: Activity Space “Yesterday”
1. Did you leave your home yesterday? Yes No
2. What time did you first leave your home?
3. Where did you go? (address)
4. What time did you arrive there?
5. –Or- How long did it take to get there?
6. How did you travel? (drive, ride from someone, walk, bus)
7. Where did you go next?
8. What time did you arrive there?
9. How did you travel?

Part Three:
The following questions are about your travel pattern in a usual week:

Family
1. Do you have children? Yes No
   If yes: How old are your children?
   Did you take them anywhere last week? Yes No
   Where did you go? Where is it?
   How many times last week did you go? Once Twice More
   How did you get there?

Shopping
2. Do you go shopping for groceries? Yes
   Where do you usually go? Where is it? 
   How many times last week did you go? Once
   How did you get there? 
   Twice
   More

3. Do you go shopping at any other stores? Yes
   Where do you go? Where is it? 
   How many times last week did you go? Once
   How did you get there? 
   Twice
   More

Work
4. Do you have a job? Yes
   Where do you work? Where is it? 
   How many days a week do you work? 
   How many hours do you work each day? 
   How do you get there? 

School
5. Do you attend school? Yes
   What school? Where is it? 
   How many times last week did you go? Once
   How did you get there? 
   Twice
   More

Church
6. Do you go to church? Yes
   Where do you go? Where is it? 
   How did you get there? 

Free Time
7. Do usually visit friends or family? Yes
   Where do they live? 
   How often do you visit them in a week? Once
   How did you get there? 
   Twice
   More

8. Did you go anywhere else last week? Yes
   Where did you go? Where is it? 
   How did you get there? 

Demographic Questions
Approximate Address
Length of Time in Omaha
Length of Time in the U.S.
Besides the U.S., what other countries have you lived in?
Age
Male/Female
ACTIVITY SPACE MAPS
FOR EACH
STUDY PARTICIPANT
David's One-Week Activity Space

- David's Home
- Immaculate Conception Church
- Metro Comm. College
- SSCA
- Omaha Metro Area Streets

Scale: 10 Miles
Joseph's One-Week Activity Space

Joseph's Friends
No Frills Grocery
Metro ESL Class
Joseph's Work
Omaha Metro Area Streets
Martha's One-Week Activity Space
Nyakir's One-Week Activity Space
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Southern Sudanese Community Association (adult address data)

Applied Data Consultants (Douglas, Pottawattamie, and Sarpy County Arc View Shape files)

Interviews


