

Compassion and Culture: Southeast Asian Refugees and California Mennonites

Brian Froese, *Canadian Mennonite University*

In the fall of 1975 Ken Neufeld, the West Coast MCC Director, observed: “During the past year, Vietnam finally seemed to come to a halt.”¹ While the American war with Vietnam had officially ended, by the end of the decade the powerful image of South-east Asian refugee “boat people” was a reminder that tragedy continued. Neufeld continued his brief report with a description of MCC activity since Vietnam had “halted”: they had sent canned meat to South Vietnam, although occupied by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. The Saigon Mennonite Church – closed when the pastor was evacuated to the United States – reopened and twelve Vietnamese families with “some connection with the Mennonite Church” were resettled.² These events would most likely have been considered successes by the readers of the report, but there was much more work to come.³

In 1992 the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) reported that since 1975, 1.435 million refugees had come from the regions of Vietnam (835,000), Laos (360,000) and Cambodia (240,000), with the peak year of 1979-1980 resulting in the following refugee numbers: Vietnam (193,000), Laos (245,000) and Cambodia (205,000).⁴ In the peak year of 1980, 168,000 Vietnamese refugees came to the United States and by the late 1990s, as a sign of economic growth, Vietnamese refugees remitted almost \$1 billion dollars a year to relatives in Vietnam.⁵ Accordingly, the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), for the years 1975-1981, reported that 1,059,232 refugees left Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) for the United States (503,906), China (260,000) and Canada (76,537).⁶ From these bare statistics we can see that what happened in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Southeast Asia was both monumental and global in scope.

In the United States the government’s intention was to disperse the refugee population throughout the country, primarily through the efforts of churches and voluntary organizations. Dispersal efforts, however, largely failed. The majority of refugees initially settled in California, Texas, Washington, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Minnesota.⁷ By 1995, however, over 50%

of the Indochinese in America lived in California.⁸ According to the Office of Refugee Settlement/U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, from 1975-1986, 318,200 refugees from Southeast Asia came to California, the largest host state, followed by Texas at 60,700 and Washington at 36,500.⁹ In the period from April 1975 to June 1981, of the approximately 500,000 refugees who came to America, approximately 200,000 resettled in California with San Diego as the major resettlement area.¹⁰ In 1990, 56% of Asian Americans lived in the western United States compared with 21% of the total American population living in the same region. By percentage of the Asian-American population in 1990, the states with the largest populations (not just refugees) in descending order were: 39% in California, 10% in New York, 9% in Hawaii and 4% each in Texas, Illinois and New Jersey.¹¹

As Jeremy Hein has noted, Hmong and other Indochinese refugees came to America in a somewhat peculiar historical context: they were refugees in a political context tied to an American military adventure that in many respects failed, and there were few existing Indochinese communities in America at the time. These “allied aliens” evoked a sense of responsibility for the American government, but their numbers over time also evoked a sense of nativism. In 1980, 66 percent of Americans supported a ban on the admission of political refugees.¹² Within this complex context of war, politics and refugee migrations, Mennonites in California played a small, though interesting, role. For those who participated in resettlement programs for refugees their religious and national contexts revealed a complex web of identities. In examining their understandings of their participation, the evolving nature of identity emerged at the intersection of Mennonite Brethren/Anabaptist religion, American national identity, and the global impact of modernity.

Methodology

In this essay I explore the response of California Mennonites to the Southeast Asian refugee crisis of 1979-1980. In particular, I am interested in how they articulated their experiences to other Mennonites. Through a cultural analysis of various Mennonite responses to this crisis, I find that there are interesting and significant congruencies with and also subversions of such classic theorists as Edward Said and Hayden White. In the parlance, we could simply read that the sponsor (colonizer) at times idolized the refugee (native). However, in an important nuance, the context of power resided in a nation that failed at war and could not subjugate the “natives” abroad; yet when those abroad came as refugees a form of “idolization” took place in the context of sincere Christian belief and social practice.¹³ Said’s observation that “the rhetoric of power

all too easily produces an illusion of benevolence when deployed in an imperial setting,” found itself strangely relevant in Mennonite refugee relief discourse.¹⁴ However, there is more to this story than the monochrome readings of White and Said. Scholars of missionary discourse, such as Ryan Dunch and David Howlett, are moving historiographical discussions of Christianity and missions properly beyond reflexive uses of “cultural imperialism” to account for the agency of the subaltern.¹⁵

Such correctives are necessary, as cultural analysis seeks to understand larger historical landscapes from which to interpret the past and in so doing contextualizes local responses to crisis. Or, as Anthony Mora explains, “understanding how individuals deployed, disrupted, and lived identities through local spaces unravels meta-discourses surrounding national and racial identities.”¹⁶ Contextualization is at times controversial as historians seek to understand how identity is shaped and understood over time while taking seriously the commitments and cultural meanings of past actors. While it may be provocative to culturally contextualize and interpret the sincere response of Mennonites to a truly needy group of people in difficult circumstances, such interpretations may reveal something of the “lived identities” developed in such contexts.

As Mennonites enacted their religious faith in a context of social need they were limited by cultural location. Nonetheless, they understood their immediate actions as an affirmation of a particular religious identity and critique of the imperial powers in a manner that ironically reflected aspects of that power. Recent academic work on church mission work in North America has deepened our understanding of the complex cultural issues in tension that move well beyond older scholarly stories of triumphalism or imperialism.¹⁷ In the context of the American West, Anthony Mora recently argued that the study of religion “raises questions about accommodation and resistance to U.S. expansion.”¹⁸ For Mora those seemingly contradictory impulses co-exist in the actions of historical actors.

The West Coast Mennonite Central Committee

There were several refugee migrations in the late 1970s, including refugees from Southeast Asia, Central America, Africa and the Middle East. These tragedies brought refugee concerns to the fore of Mennonite thought and concern throughout North America. In the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* three reasons are given to explain that concern. First, the words of Jesus in Matthew 25:35, “I was hungry and you gave me food ... I was a stranger and you welcomed me” compelled action. Secondly, the twentieth-century phenomenon of restricting travel with visas and passports created groups of unwanted people unable to move in or out of nations. Thirdly, there may have

been concern, “perhaps also a sense of guilt” as a consequence of America’s lengthy involvement in Vietnam.¹⁹

According to one Mennonite couple who visited refugee camps in Thailand, “The refugees, when asked where they want to go, invariably specify the U.S.A. and most are more specific and ask for California.”²⁰ Yet interest among California Mennonites appeared thin. Don Sensenig, the refugee resettlement coordinator of MCC, spent two-and-a-half weeks in the West Coast region, including, Idaho, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia to spread his message that “the red tape is not lessening and sponsors are still needed.”²¹ On that trip he found interest for refugee sponsorship in Oregon to be high, but in “other communities” (not named) there was less awareness of the situation and of MCC’s work. This seeming lack of interest may have been, according to Sensenig, due to MCC having a lower priority in these communities, or a concern that if America brought in refugees others would be encouraged to follow, or even a preference that the work of MCC be focused on making the places where refugees came from better.²² However, there were some California Mennonites interested in sponsoring refugees.

In December 1979 the West Coast MCC, based in Reedley, California, held their annual meeting in Blaine, Washington.²³ Paul Quiring, its director, was pleased to announce that the West Coast MCC was incorporated as a tax-exempt organization – which strengthened its “regional concept” – and two new projects were approved: development of programs and facilities for developmentally disabled persons and Reedley area farmers donating slightly damaged fruit to MCC.²⁴ In this context, while focused on important local concerns, they also heard from Don Sensenig, who had spent a decade in Vietnam with the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charity, on refugee resettlement. A Mennonite Brethren church in Federal Way, Washington was sponsoring one refugee and Sensenig asked others to help. Sensenig, in fact, reportedly “urged other congregations to overcome hesitancy and apply for families.”²⁵ What this implies is not so much a rejection of the need for action in response to a particular crisis, but an understanding that something had to be done—but how and why?

Edmund Janzen, president of Fresno Pacific College, then called on West Coast Mennonites to help the refugees. His talk, apparently building on Sensenig’s opening appeal, was titled after the evening’s theme, “MCC: Faith in Action.” In his remarks Janzen said:

Jesus is our model for faith in action...A faith that acts will express itself in an act of love. Do we think that these refugees somehow don’t feel quite the way we do, that it doesn’t hurt them to lose a child because they have so many? You know that when we tickle them, they’ll laugh; cut them, they’ll

bleed; pray with them, they'll pray. They are just like us.²⁶

Here the understanding of why one should help the refugees was based on a dual conception: that of Christian duty – faith must be active and derived from Jesus' life and teachings – and common humanity. A year later historical memory would be added to the dialogue between identities and action.

In 1980 Lynn Roth, Director of the West Coast MCC, established a context for the West Coast Mennonite response to the refugees which emphasized both the history of MCC and the New Testament teachings of Jesus Christ:

In 1920, the Mennonite Central Committee began in response to the hungry, sick and destitute in Russia. In 1980, it continues to serve its Mennonite founders as servants to the starving, homeless, naked, ill and oppressed. This year began with stories of fleeing 'boat people' and tales of genocide in Cambodia. Acknowledging these and other growing refugee problems world wide, the Mennonite Central Committee recommitted itself to the word of Christ in Matthew resolving to provide for the "least" of our brothers. This was done in a spirit of obedience and grew out of a desire to serve in the name of Christ.²⁷

There is a significant rhetorical staging and use of historical memory in this explanation: the Mennonites of the West Coast were to help the Boat People but the service so performed was not only in the name of Jesus Christ, but also because of a particular rendering of historical experiences by the Mennonite founders of the MCC. To make the case to assist the Boat People and Cambodian victims of genocide, a line was first drawn to Jesus from the "memory" of past suffering Russian Mennonites and MCC founders.²⁸

Roth continues by saying that "many of our West Coast Mennonites and Brethren in Christ churches and individuals responded to the needs of Southeast Asian refugees in 1980."²⁹ That response was quantified as twenty-five refugee sponsorship requests were made, not counting any made to MCC's head office in Akron, Ohio directly or to other service agencies, and \$17,000 was received by West Coast MCC to support the Southeast Asian refugees.³⁰

A year later Roth reported on West Coast MCC activities but did not mention the Southeast Asian refugees. In fact, the only comment to indicate that the crisis existed was a vague statement that, "The material ministry of MCC continues to be a major focus of its outreach. As refugees continue to increase throughout the world, material aid becomes increasingly important."³¹ Roth underscored this statement with the statistic that in 1980 the MCC in general [not just the West Coast] shipped to thirty-eight countries twenty-three million pounds

of material aid, more than in the previous four years combined.³²

Mennonite leaders in MCC certainly marked Mennonite identity through such indicators as aid shipments, but even when describing the need to help refugees in Cambodia certain markers were used. The transport of food to rural Cambodia was logistically quite difficult and air-freight transportation was paid for by “private donors (non-Mennonite).”³³ Note the significance of identifying the donors as “non-Mennonite” as opposed to identifying donors with a sense of who they actually were, thereby limiting the narrative to a binary of “Mennonite” and “non-Mennonite”.

The rhetorical strategy used by Mennonites to describe their work and the refugees for readers of the *West Coast MCC Memo* presented to a Mennonite audience language that affirmed particular cultural and religious dualisms. Those dualisms, ironically, located the power of rhetoric through attention and benevolence with the very people whose compassionate impulses were to bridle the much larger “illusion of benevolence” operating at the level of nation-states.³⁴ Dr. Bruce Flaming, a physician from Dallas, Oregon and member of the Dallas Mennonite Brethren Church, wrote a report on a month-long visit to the refugee camp of Sa Kaeo in Cambodia. Understandably, he began his travel report with a recitation of misery:

Upon entering the refugee camp I was overwhelmed by the immensity and depth of the tragedy. The desperate Cambodians were all in deplorable condition—malnourished, anemic and suffering from malaria; may also have pneumonia and parasites. The refugees were Khmer Rouge and had suffered emotional and physical abuse under the Pol Pot dictatorship. Very few families were complete.³⁵

Yet where there was misery there soon was also rescue. Having described the real tragedy of the denizens of a refugee camp, Flaming established quickly a narrative of hope that rendered meaningful Christian social action to the needy. Nevertheless, it was constructed in a cultural language informed by the realities of dualist international political engagement—dictatorships and the free world. Though, it must be said, he complicated that reality by prefacing his remarks with, “in this setting, I learned much about patience, friendship, and the way God works through His people.”³⁶ Language and action were in a complicated dialogic relationship—one did not create the other, but they gave each other meaning.³⁷

Despite the social and political maelstrom of Southeast Asia, when Flaming discovered the presence of the global relief community he found hope. As he wrote, “But the feeling of despair soon gives way to optimism at the sight of many volunteer agencies from all parts of the world, coordinated by the United Nations High Commission for

Refugees.”³⁸ In particular, the hospital Flaming was a part of was a great success. However, upon opening for service it, “admitted many curious stares and all the flies and bugs that wished to enter;” however, despite its “crude” condition in only a matter of days, “facial expressions quickly changed from agony and desperation to hope and gratitude.”³⁹ That the hospital was needed and welcomed is not the interpretive issue; what is significant here is the self-understanding contained in the report. Written for a general West Coast Mennonite audience, the story was situated in the complexity of cultural interactions in a context of genuine need and relief, yet presented in the language of outside deliverers and helpless, grateful “others,” and then complicated further by a Mennonite historical memory formed by having experienced much history as an outsider.⁴⁰

The remainder of the article describes the Mennonite relief team as the agent making possible healthy human interaction. It also described the agency of local resistance by children: “People who had lived in fear of each other and had been too afraid to communicate were now sitting in groups and visiting. Children who had been too listless to move about began laughing, playing games and soon constructed clever toys.”⁴¹ The refugees replaced the drab clothing issued by Pol Pot’s regime with colorful clothing and in this new atmosphere fear gave way to hope. Seemingly without gradations of improvement, the presence of western relief teams chased out the darkness of hopelessness so that “friendship and appreciation” could move in. Yet there was, even if no sense of an evolving situation was given, another account of resistance. That much of the tone of the report is set to praise the results of Western aid to the readers who support their work is certain, yet within that rhetorical structure are instances of local action – the children described above – but also village leaders working with Americans to rebuild “their former village structure.”⁴²

Despite this display of the power of benevolence, the influence the suffering and response of the refugees had on the authors’ cross-cultural perspectives is significant. The author made friends with “some of the lovely and gentle Khmer refugees” and revealed that “This was my first cross-cultural experience and I soon came to realize that God’s people everywhere were precious.”⁴³ At once elements of White’s idolization of the native, Said’s rhetoric of power disguised by benevolence, Howlett’s cultural-hybridity, and Dunch’s coinciding agent/product of global modernity seemingly touch upon each other.⁴⁴ Yet, the religious language of realizing “God’s people were precious” tempers these interpretive lenses. The tension is revealed—the refugees were not only the objectified suffering ones, but also the subjective agents transforming the author’s cosmology and now seen as some of “God’s children.” In fact, the language of

God's children was used, it seems, without knowledge of the refugees' religious beliefs. As Miguel Cabrera argued, categories of religious, social and political understanding formed previous to the encounter influence action and action transforms the meaning of those pre-existing categories.⁴⁵

Flaming concludes his article by globalizing his experiences and describes the assistance made possible by "volunteer individuals and agencies...and response from the people of the Free World." Included in this self-understanding was a distillation of the good accomplished in the context of a global, benevolent modernity that healed the sick, fed the poor, began to "bring them back to a useful productive life," and "demonstrated a lifestyle they will never forget; one that the Maos didn't teach—a life committed to love and caring for a brother and sister in need."⁴⁶ In a report on visiting a refugee camp, apparently the identifying marks of Mennonite compassion and the globalization of modernity were branded together.

It would be incorrect to conclude that the Mennonite response was anything but authentic. Pacific Coast Mennonites were certainly not wittingly exercising compassion to advance a colonialist project of hegemonic presence in the lives of refugees. The West Coast MCC even gave space to a Vietnamese voice to explain the refugee flight and plight to the Mennonite readership. Minh Nguyen Kauffman, originally from Vietnam but in 1981 of West Point, Nebraska, visited a Vietnamese refugee camp in Thailand at MCC's request and reported on the reasons refugees were fleeing their homes. Reporting from Camp Songkhla in Thailand, Kauffman noted that it had a population of 6300, of which ninety-eight percent were ethnic Vietnamese from a variety of occupations, including unaccompanied children. Most of the refugees were from the cities and not rural areas and stayed behind in 1975 thinking the new government, after South Vietnam fell, would rebuild their country. It did not, so they decided to leave. The dissipated hope that things would get better was a major reason given by these refugees for leaving. Kauffman concluded her article by noting that the American government did not recognize the government of Vietnam. That policy seemingly hampered relief efforts; therefore, it was the role of the church to "help heal the broken relationship with the people of Vietnam and to give concrete evidence of this through providing carefully coordinated assistance to a people in distress."⁴⁷

As Howlett illustrated, issues of paternalism, colonialism and hegemony are complex but through such ideas as "contracting colonialism" deeper understanding is possible. This "contraction" occurs when subalterns exercise agency through their own use of media--for example in translation work – but in this case the use of Western Mennonite media to educate a Western audience brings

nuance to the relationship between Mennonites and the refugee. Here we find that desires to assist, to understand what assistance was desired, and the ability to reach wider audiences were all articulated towards mutual respect.⁴⁸ That there were power dynamics in these relationships is not denied nor should they be, but there were occasions of “cultural hybridity that established a relationship of genuine respect and understanding.”⁴⁹ Appeals such as Kauffman’s, through the networks of Mennonite media, exposed some contradictions of globalization: if exports of Western modernity and colonialism created in part the war in Vietnam, they would also create a rescue narrative. That Mennonites reflected a cultural language of modernity and colonialism in describing their work; that it was performed sincerely and received as such, deepens the complexity of the relationship between Christian relief work and questions of power and politics.

Churches

When the Mennonite media focused on the refugee crisis the coverage tended to be educational – giving the context, for example, of the issues – describing Mennonite response, and appealing for increased sponsorship and the need for sponsors in general. MCC often made such pleas by impressing upon readers the conditions faced by refugees. Early in the crisis, for example, *The Christian Leader* reported on MCC’s involvement, which had resettled approximately 600 Indochinese refugees in the United States between 1975-1978. MCC recommended that church groups and Sunday school classes were “ideal” for sponsoring two to three families. Sponsorship included assistance with such basic services as help with finding jobs, housing, schools, and immunizations. Sponsors were cautioned that they could incur major expenses.⁵⁰

By the summer of 1979, 160 Canadian churches had committed to take in 1000 refugees, while American churches committed to take 200 refugees.⁵¹ As this was developing, there remained an estimated 200,000 refugees in Southeast Asian camps.⁵² By 1979 there was still no mention of California congregations providing refugee sponsorship in Mennonite newspapers, despite stories of Mennonite Brethren in Hillsboro, Kansas and Eugene, Oregon assisting families.⁵³ Yet already in January 1980, MCC had listed six California Mennonite Brethren Churches and one college as sponsoring refugee families.⁵⁴ Through 1980 three brief articles appeared in two American Mennonite periodicals that described the work done by people in their congregations, as well as the pleasure they derived from such work. *The Christian Leader* reported that Bethany Mennonite Brethren Church in Fresno, in an effort to sponsor a Cambodian refugee family, raised over \$600.00 at their Christmas program.⁵⁵

Also that year, in two brief “Community News” pieces in *Mennonite Weekly Review*, the Reedley Mennonite Brethren Church reported that a couple in their church sponsored a Cambodian refugee family. First we learn that, “Mr. And Mrs. Ralph Lovering have made it their responsibility, with the help of the Reedley MB Church, to sponsor a Cambodian refugee family, Oun Kim and Louy Chheun. They are now settled in their home in Reedley.”⁵⁶ Later, we discover that Ralph and Julie Lovering “‘adopted’ a Cambodian family, and that the membership is enjoying helping the Loverings with that family.”⁵⁷ Marking the word “adopted” signifies an understanding of a relationship that appears more personal than “sponsored,” yet maintains a meaningful distance from actual inclusion in their “family.” This marking of the relationship occurs in several contexts and hints at multiple social possibilities concerning citizen-refugee relationships.

In Fresno there was a community called “Kerckhoff.” Kerckhoff consisted of several Mennonite Brethren families that had moved to Kerckhoff Avenue in south Fresno intentionally to form a community. It began in 1973 with five families moving to the area and it continued to grow in the following years, so that by 1992 some 250 people attended a reunion for everyone who had been involved in Kerckhoff activities—which included potlucks, swimming, tool and food co-operatives and Easter and Christmas gatherings. Yet there was a service component to Kerckhoff that included the resettlement of refugees. Many of these families also attended the College Community Church: Mennonite Brethren in Clovis.⁵⁸ According to one couple I interviewed, the College Community Church: Mennonite Brethren “hosted” a Vietnamese family and the Kerckhoff group also “adopted” a Hmong family on their own.⁵⁹ The couple owned a large house that the wife renovated, and the Kerckhoff community helped furnish it and also provided clothing and utensils. It could house up to twenty people. New families would live there until they found an apartment of their own. Catholic Charities rented the house from them and then used it to house refugee families on a short-term basis until an apartment was found.⁶⁰

When asked about their motivation to help, they replied that the refugees needed lots of help and they had the resources to help. The husband said, “Mennonites used to do this,” and he pointed out that at the time there was a large influx of Hmong people into Fresno, which created an “overwhelming need.” In addition, he noted, they were “pacifists and objectors to [the] Vietnam war” and that “Mennonites looked at this as bringing something positive to something so negative,” considering American involvement in the Vietnam War. And also that “motivating our part [was] to bring reconciliation and healing restoration to something bad.”⁶¹ In preparation for their

sponsoring of refugee families there was no formal training, but the husband went to the Fresno State library to learn about the Hmong and read and distributed around the Kerckhoff community a *National Geographic* article from the mid-1970s.⁶² There is here rhetoric of power at play: a Mennonite Brethren audience exercising agency in response to an understanding of national and religious identities and historical memory required a social response.

The wife described the Clovis Church's work, where people from the congregation took turns taking refugee family members to doctor appointments. The husband/father of the refugee family had been a teacher before coming to California, but finding there no such work he took a computer course at Fresno State. Soon thereafter the family moved to Southern California for work. The wife also described an interesting dynamic in their house of how refugees brought with them to California a "pecking order" that she thought replicated class or cultural hierarchy in the house with the Vietnamese in the top position, followed by the Cambodians, Laotians, and the Hmong. One result of this was that communication went through an interpreter and then through the chain until the person addressed received the question or comment and responded back through the chain to the interpreter. She found it complicated, especially when different groups were mixed in the house and the conversation was about illness.⁶³

The Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church was another congregation that sponsored a Vietnamese refugee family. In July 1979 Paul Quiring, the West Coast MCC Director, sent the church a letter informing Butler of the hundreds of thousands of refugees from Southeast Asia and presented a similar appeal to sponsorship as mentioned earlier: first, Jesus describing the righteous in Matthew 25:35 as assisting the stranger, and secondly the appeal to historical memory when, "many Mennonites know what it means to flee their country in search of a new future. The experiences of other peoples in similar circumstances remind us to respond with a special understanding and compassion."⁶⁴ By December 1979 Butler MB Church indicated their interest to sponsor a family.⁶⁵

At the first meeting of the Refugee Sponsorship Committee (RSC) they listed five Bible verses that were to "govern our attitudes and motivations for participation in the Refugee Resettlement Project."⁶⁶ The verses and their message to the situation according to the RSC included: Luke 19:12-14 ("Banquet-invite those who cannot repay"); Luke 17:7-10 ("Servants doing our duty"); Matthew 25:31-45 ("Sheep and Goats - done unto the least of brethren, done unto me"); I Timothy 6:17-19 ("rich to be rich in good deeds"); and I Peter 4:10-11 ("each use gifts to serve others.")⁶⁷ The inclusion of these verses and commentary at the first meeting established a set

of ideals and understandings for their task defined by their religious faith and their obligations as rich people in the world. The RSC spent the next month establishing nine sub-committees and a three-member executive to efficiently coordinate their responsibilities as a sponsoring congregation. The nine sub-committees covered the areas of housing, food, furnishing and clothing, transportation, education, community relations, medical, employment and finance.⁶⁸ At that same planning meeting they agreed to set no time limit for their assistance.⁶⁹

After the Chor family arrived a document by John Franz of RSC called "Planning for Resettlement," (dated October 30, 1980) was given to them. It opened with a heartfelt sentiment: "In the very short time since you have arrived, we have begun to know you and to love you. We think you are a lovely family and we are very pleased to be your sponsors."⁷⁰ Franz explained it was just an outline of the committee's thinking on how the future could be, but that the Chor family was free to disagree and offer their own thoughts. The family's response was not reported, but the document covered topics from "Orientation to American Life" to such issues as moving into their own home and advice on "living on your own," which offered to help them find jobs, learn to drive and own a car. It ended with, "We want to continue to be your friends and to help you in the future in any way we can – though the longer you are here in the U.S the less you will need our financial help."⁷¹ The Butler MB Church ran their operation with what appeared to be efficient precision, including circulating a list of phone numbers of contact persons to the congregation, divided according to the nine sub-committees so that when a need was discovered the church would "avoid duplicating efforts" and would "prevent misunderstandings." Both of those were underlined, indicating they were of special concern to the RSC.⁷² We see here further intersection of religious and national identities and modernity.

In a rather unusual letter to the editor of *The Mennonite* in the summer of 1981, the collision of religious and national identity was made, for some, jarringly clear. Milton K. Staufer of Reedley – "the First Church here at Reedley," as he put it – complained of several issues concerning the journalism and editorial spirit of the periodical. Of particular concern for Staufer was the cavalier attitude of many Mennonites toward the American flag and Christian flag in churches, draft dodging, and a seeming over-abundance of things Canadian. Staufer concluded that because the local Mennonite Brethren church had an American flag prominently displayed behind the pulpit, never discussed draft dodging, and "they praise our government," they were rewarded with over 2000 members.⁷³ To further demonstrate the moral supremacy of the American government and nation Staufer

listed several significant accomplishments, including the sheer size of American foreign aid in dollar amounts: “we take in boat people, Cubans, Haitians, Mexicans, and all other starving, destitute people, when we could use the space, the jobs, and the money for our own people.”⁷⁴ However discussed, the articulation of identities (religious and national) provided context for action chosen.

College Students and Faculty

In late 1979 faculty, staff and students at Fresno Pacific College (now Fresno Pacific University) sponsored a refugee family through a program called “Operation Good Samaritan.” It was a joint effort between the College and MCC to support one family beginning two weeks after Christmas 1979. Some faculty and students expressed interest in such a project and then Don Sensenig, Refugee Resettlement Coordinator from MCC, Akron, PA, came to their campus and spoke about the crisis. The Mennonite media framed the story of “Operation Good Samaritan” in a narrative that stressed their own agency, rational structures of committee work and details of administration. Members of the FPC community created a support committee to run Operation Good Samaritan comprised of faculty, staff, and student groups, followed by the creation of a series of subcommittees for focusing on employment, language training, and other concerns. FPC raised \$1300 for the project by Christmas 1979.⁷⁵

John Fast, coordinator of Campus Ministry, described the enthusiasm as part of something like Operation Good Samaritan with an appeal to Mennonite history: “We at the college are excited about being involved concretely in helping people in need...many of us as Mennonites know the refugee experience first hand.”⁷⁶ Fast’s appeal to historical memory, similar to that of Roth at the West Coast MCC above, provided a meaningful narration of crisis and response that coincided with another meaningful narration, that of a rational and bureaucratic response.⁷⁷

In *The Christian Leader* the language used to report on the response of those involved demonstrates that language, meaning and constructs of identity were evolving. That is, the meaning of social action and constructions of identity were not static, but in conversation with their actions. For example, “Operation Good Samaritan” was soon called “the Good Samaritan Committee,” a transformation away from the more militaristic image of “Operation” towards the rationality of the bureaucratic language of “Committee.” It was a “support group” for the three young Vietnamese men housed on the campus.⁷⁸ As the important relationship between “accommodation and resistance” was introduced earlier, we can see that the actions of the refugees and hosts are significant, for in working through some

of the very real results of global instability in Fresno on a Mennonite college campus that same tension was found. There the refugees lived, learned English and became “accustomed to American life.”⁷⁹ The categories of identity—Christian, Mennonite, student, and American—all intersected in the sponsorship of a refugee.

Even the concept of “family” was invoked to explain the relationship, though with some reservation. In the photograph of the three Vietnamese men – Bui Van Nam, Nguyen Van Trung, and Vu Van Phuoc – the caption reads: “Fresno Pacific’s new ‘family,’” followed by their names.⁸⁰ What makes the quotation marks around “family” significant is that two of the three were related as family: Trung and Phuoc were uncle and nephew. Were the marks, signifying a contingent use of the word family, intended to differentiate between them and Nam, or between the three and FPC? Perhaps this is too vague to argue conclusively, although the article ends with the comment, “For the three who have left virtually all friends and family behind, FPC has an opportunity to become their new family.”⁸¹ The article casts FPC, and the Good Samaritan Committee as friendly, generous and helpful, which was no doubt the case, and the Vietnamese men were given a voice to articulate their own different and individual stories.

George Martzen, author of the 1980 article in *The Christian Leader*, cast the Vietnamese men as heroic victims smiling in the face of adversity but human enough to have “unfortunate” thoughts towards the people (and their nationality) who pirated their boats and raped the women aboard. All this they encountered at sea and alone, “who in apparent desperation took to the sea after the takeover of the South Vietnamese government by the Vietcong.” In Fresno they overcame their first major obstacle – language – with the generosity of the FPC community providing language tutoring, television, dinners and athletic activities.⁸² Even the effort by Nam to ride in a 115-mile bike-a-thon to help raise money for the new FPC gymnasium was mediated through the FPC experience. It was “a surprised look” that FPC students had when told of Nam’s efforts. Nam’s involvement was the result of a student recruiting him, and the Good Samaritan Committee gave the bicycle to him.⁸³

The issue raised by such a description is a mixture of a language of ambivalence and heroism in describing the refugees combined with a Mennonite sense of piety. That tension was underscored by qualifying the refugees’ taking to the sea to escape dire straits as “apparent;” and their thoughts regarding pirates and rapists as “negative” and “unfortunate” seem to involve certain pieties. The Mennonite response to the particular circumstance was complicated and understood naturally enough through received categories.

In an expanded version of *The Christian Leader* article, similar tropes of helpless and grateful others benefiting from the generosity

of the agent is repeated—at times quite explicitly. As the trio from Vietnam moved around both the campus and city of Fresno, students reflected on their own encounters with the refugees that shaped their experiences through the power to narrate.⁸⁴ As George Martzen reported, “Cross-cultural friendships such as with the Vietnamese men has its inconveniences. For example, what do you do when a non-English-speaking friend knocks on your door at 9:30 p.m. – just as you reach a critical part of the philosophy text? ‘Toi hoc,’ you say, ‘I study.’ But more crucial is the calling most students have felt to be friendly and to explain what it is ‘I study.’”⁸⁵ Similar to the example above of a received category of religious understanding coming across as unnecessarily critical of the refugees’ responses to their desperate situation, here the religious language of “calling” is invoked to provide readers with a meaningful explanation of the complex relationship between sponsor and refugee. The inconvenience of being interrupted while studying reveals at least two categories of meaning—student and Christian. The former employed language to dismiss; the latter employed the language of religious “calling” to engage.

Another student, a freshman and “A member of the ad hoc Good Samaritan Committee,” was described as one who “helps with the grocery shopping. Though not attempting to learn the language of the refugees, she has found opportunity to teach English. For example, how do you explain where to find the lettuce in the grocery store? Or even what ‘lettuce’ is? ...[her] motto is, ‘Where there’s a need I want to be there.’”⁸⁶ The generosity and sincerity of the students and news reporting are not in question, but one element that is significant is the framing of the story and the rhetorical structure which situates the refugee as one who sometimes gets in the way of work, or as one who provides a context for help.

In that expanded article Matzen also provides the reader with other competing stories of student-refugee interaction. Two other students and a head residence couple actively learned Vietnamese to communicate better with their new friends and articulated their desire to do so from a particular understanding of their Christian faith, as illustrated in such comments as, “he wants his actions to be expressive of Christian love.”

The rhetoric of superiority, while present, was never the whole story, as there was a myriad of possibilities to understand one’s role in sponsoring refugees. As one of the students involved with Operation Good Samaritan commented upon reflection, though somewhat “impressionistic” twenty-five years later, there were a multitude of possibilities for that cultural encounter. The former student defined those possibilities in relationship to personal development, which illustrates the impact such involvement can have in one’s own

life.⁸⁷ The student wanted to be involved in order to do something “concrete” out of a sense of “commitment.” It was an opportunity, as expressed, to “flex my Anabaptist muscles” by exercising free choice to do something “grown-up” in college. That context of dawning adult consciousness, historical memory, and living one’s life deliberately in a context such as refugee sponsorship, reveals one of many possible meanings such a cross-cultural exchange may carry, an exchange of “mutual indebtedness.”⁸⁸

Conclusion

It seems that the Mennonites in California made sense of their encounter with Southeast Asian refugees through appeals to a historical memory of Mennonite/Anabaptist experiences and ideals, an understanding of national context, and through a socially active reading of the New Testament. Through their experiences in helping others, questions of identity at first appear stark (are they generous or imperialist?); later we find identity to be more fluid, even unstable. In that multi-layered context, working towards mutual indebtedness, respect and understandings of uneven power distribution were made possible. Mennonite descriptions of their intercultural exchanges, however, often cast the refugees in the role of a mirror reflecting back several images of themselves as they worked through their own place in Californian and American society.

That this interpretation involved a seemingly minor event in California Mennonite history (and why it was minor adds another layer of interpretation, though not examined here) is not a problem, for it still illustrates the complexity of religious, cultural and national identities and the conversation between them as new situations arise. That is, “racial and national identities have historically been dependent on the complexity of local events.”⁸⁹ In that interaction we see some of the “patterns of meaning” their language provided as they decided upon a course of Christian social action.

Mennonite schools and churches were sites of both support and resistance to large forces of imperial political power. They brought several categories of understanding together in a new situation where competing social meanings clamored for articulation and response. Mennonites in their growing geo-political awareness drew off historical memory – formed through past relief work originally performed for co-religionists, and past Mennonites who were once refugees themselves-which gave meaning to their new situation. As the twentieth century advanced, political realities changed and Mennonites responded with their historical memory and Christian hermeneutics already in place to shape their response. However, other meaningful articulations of their identities were also in place, and among them were assumptions about the place of liberal

democracy, capitalism and the role of the first-world in the rest of the world.

Notes

- 1 Ken Neufeld, Director West Coast MCC, "West Coast MCC Director's Report," *Yearbook 66th Session Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches*, November 6-9, 1975, p. 5.
- 2 *Ibid.* Neufeld did not report where the families were located.
- 3 For analysis of 1960s-early 1970s Mennonite involvement in Vietnam see, Perry Bush, "Vietnam and the Burden of Mennonite History," *Conrad Grebel Review*, 17, 2 (1999), 5-27.
- 4 Michel Mignot, "Refugees from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, 1975-1993," *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 452. See also, W. M. Spellman, *The Global Community: Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 203-204.
- 5 Spellman, 204; and, John M. Liv, "A Comparative View of Asian Immigration to the U.S.A.," *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 257.
- 6 Edgar Metzler, "Southeast Asia Refugees—Continuing Needs and MCC Response," *MCC News Service*, 27 November 1981, p. 1. IX-12-8 Reel 9, *Mennonite Central Committee Data to 1984* [Section Title: Indochina Refugees 1980-1983], frame 1197, MCUSA-Goshen.
- 7 Spellman, 204; and, Mignot, 454.
- 8 Mignot, 454.
- 9 Dennis Gallagher, "United States and the Indochinese Refugees," *Indochinese Refugees: Asylum and Resettlement*, ed. Supang Chantavanich and E. Bruce Reynolds (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1988), 235.
- 10 Paul J. Strand, "The Indochinese Refugee Experience: The Case of San Diego," *Refugees as Immigrants: Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese in America*, ed. David W. Haines (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989), 105.
- 11 Liv, 257.
- 12 Jeremy Hein, *States and International Migrants: The Incorporation of Indochinese Refugees in the United States and France* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1993), 19-44, 37.
- 13 Hayden White, "The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish," *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 186.
- 14 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), xvii.
- 15 Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41 (October 2002), 301-325; and, David Howlett, "Historians on Defining Hegemony in Missionary-Native Relations," *Fides et Historia*, 37, 1 (2005), 17-24.
- 16 Anthony Mora, "Resistance and Accommodation in a Border Parish," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 36, 3 (2005), 303.
- 17 Some very recent examples of historical interpretations that complicate the relationship between Christian social action and social location include Rennie B. Schoepflin, "Making Doctors and Nurses for Jesus: Medical Missionary Stories and American Children," *Church History*, 74, (2005), 557-590; Anthony Mora, "Resistance and Accommodation in a Border Parish," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 36, 3 (2005), 301-326; and, Letty M. Russell, "God, Gold, Glory and Gender: A Postcolonial View of Mission," *International Review of Mission*, 93, 368 (2004), 39-49. In addition, the complex relationship between Christian mission/conversion and realities of modernities in a global context is usefully explored in, Peter van der Veer, ed. *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
- 18 Mora, 302.
- 19 Peter J. Dyck, "Refugees," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. V, A-Z, ed. Cornelius J. Dyck and Dennis D. Martin (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1990), 755.
- 20 Art and Leona Defehr, "Report on Visit to Thailand by Art and Leona Defehr—December 6-15, 1979," p. 10, IX-12-7 Reel 6, MCC Data Files 1975-1979 [Section Title: Indochina Refugees

- 1979], frame 2650, MCUSA-Goshen.
- 21 Don Sensenig, refugee resettlement coordinator of MCC, "West Coasters Hear Continuing Plea for Refugee Sponsors," *MCC News Service*, 9 November 1979, p. 1, frame 2708. IX-12-7 Reel 6, *MCC Data Files 1975-1979* [Section Title: Indochina Refugees 1979], MCUSA-Goshen. Though the West Coast MCC consisted of Mennonite churches from California, Arizona, Idaho, Oregon and Washington, the membership from California was more than that of the other states combined, and in California the Mennonite Brethren were the great majority of Mennonites by denomination. California had 9541 church members, while Oregon had 4219, Arizona had 764, Washington had 745 and Idaho had 649. Lynn Roth, Director, West Coast MCC, Memo to West Coast MCC Board Members, "California Regional Representation," IX-12-8, Microfilm Reel #19, *Mennonite Central Committee Data to 1984*, frame 2472, MCUSA-Goshen.
 - 22 Don Sensenig, refugee resettlement coordinator of MCC, "West Coasters Hear Continuing Plea for Refugee Sponsors," *MCC News Service*, 9 November 1979, p. 1, frame 2708. IX-12-7 Reel 6, *MCC Data Files 1975-1979* [Section Title: Indochina Refugees 1979], MCUSA-Goshen; published also in the Brethren in Christ periodical, *Evangelical Visitor*, 25 December 1979, p. 11. See also, "Need for Refugee Sponsors Still as Great as Ever," *Mennonite Weekly Review* (hereafter MWR), 22 November 1979, p. 7.
 - 23 Peggy Newcomer, "'Faith in Action' Stressed at West Coast MCC Meeting," *Christian Leader* (hereafter CL), 4 December 1979, p. 20.
 - 24 *Ibid.*
 - 25 *Ibid.*
 - 26 *Ibid.*, 21.
 - 27 Lynn Roth, "West Coast Mennonite Central Committee Report," *Yearbook 71st Session Pacific District Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches*, November 6-8, 1980, p. 83.
 - 28 For an insightful analysis on the quasi-religious quality memory has in recent academic historical discourse see Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000), 127-150.
 - 29 Lynn Roth, "West Coast Mennonite Central Committee Report," 1980, p. 86.
 - 30 *Ibid.*
 - 31 Lynn Roth, Director West Coast MCC, "West Coast Mennonite Central Committee," *Yearbook 1981 Pacific District Conference 72nd Session*, Nov. 5-8, 1981," p. 74.
 - 32 *Ibid.*
 - 33 *Ibid.*
 - 34 Bruce and Janette Flaming, "'Hope is the Most Powerful Medicine': Oregon Doctor Spends Month with Campodian [sic] Refugees," *West Coast MCC Memo* 4 (January-February 1980), 1. Said, xvii, 40-41.
 - 35 Bruce and Janette Flaming, 1.
 - 36 *Ibid.*
 - 37 For a detailed analysis of this form of historical interpretation see Miguel A. Cabrera, "On Language, Culture, and Social Action," *History and Theory*, 40 (2001), 82-100.
 - 38 Bruce and Janette Flaming, 1.
 - 39 *Ibid.*, 4.
 - 40 For a helpful example of the complicated relationship between insider/outsider in the context of Christian mission see Myra Rutherford, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002), 29, 106; and, Richard Horsley, "Religion and Other Products of Empire," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 71, 1 (2003), 13-44.
 - 41 Bruce and Janette Flaming, 4.
 - 42 *Ibid.*
 - 43 *Ibid.*
 - 44 Dunch, 318.
 - 45 Cabrera, 86-91.
 - 46 Bruce and Janette Flaming, 4.
 - 47 Minh Nguyen Kauffman, "Vietnamese Refugees—Why do they Leave?" *West Coast MCC Memo* 5 (May-June 1981), 5. See, Fred Kauffman, "Kampuchea...Helping the Children Learn" *CL*, 15

- December 1981, p. 12 for information on Minh's residence.
- 48 Howlett, 20, 23.
- 49 Howlett, 23. We see the same process enacted as both refugees and sponsors worked together to decide upon the best course of action to make resettlement possible. See, for example, the article on refugee interest in English-language seminars in Goshen, Indiana by Stuart W. Showalter, "Asians, Sponsors Probe Refugee Need," *MWR*, 22 January 1981, p. 1. According to the article, English acquisition was the most pressing concern expressed by resettled refugees, and sponsors provided seminars—another example of Howlett's "contracting colonialism," perhaps, or "cultural hybridity." Despite power differences that were real, subaltern agency and mutual respect were present.
- 50 "Sponsors Sought for Viet Refugees," *CL*, 16 January 1979, p. 15.
- 51 "Sponsors Still Needed for Viet Refugees," *CL*, 14 August 1979, p. 20.
- 52 "More Sponsors Sought for Viet Refugees," *CL*, 24 April 1979, p. 18.
- 53 "To Sponsor Refugees?" *CL*, 23 October 1979, p. 22; and, "Refugee Family to Arrive Shortly," *CL*, 20 November 1979, p. 26.
- 54 "West Coast Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches and Individuals Sponsoring Indochinese Refugees," Paul Quiring West Coast MCC Director to John Franz, Fresno, CA, correspondence, 14 January 1980, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 55 "Sponsorship Offering Taken," *CL*, 15 January 1980, p. 22.
- 56 Mary Gerbrandt, "Community News," Reedley, California, 22 June 1980, *MWR*, 3 July 1980, p. 8. See also, "Refugee Sponsors Still Needed," *West Coast MCC Memo* 4 (May-June 1980), 2.
- 57 Mary Gerbrandt, "Community News," Reedley, California, 31 October 1980, *MWR*, 13 November 1980, p. 11. Julie Lovering worked for the West Coast MCC in 1979. Her signature is on a letter to Harold Gaede, from West Coast MCC. Julie Lovering, West Coast MCC to Harold Gaede, Fresno, CA, correspondence, 6 December 1979. CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 58 "Adapting to the City: The Kerckhoff Community," Sidebar in, John H. Redekop, "Mennonite Brethren in a Changing Society," *For Everything a Season: Mennonite Brethren in North America 1874-2002*, ed. Paul Toews and Kevin Enns-Rempel (Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 2002), 152.
- 59 Mennonite Brethren couple from Fresno, California, Interview with the Author, 22 September 2005 [hereafter, "Couple"]. In the interest of privacy, I have kept the identities of all interview participants confidential. The author has notes and copies of emails of the interview participants and the conversations cited in this article.
- 60 *Ibid.*
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.* The article in question was most likely, W. E. Garrett, "No Place to Run: The Hmong of Laos," *National Geographic*, 145, 1 (1974), 78-111.
- 63 Couple, Interview with the Author. [Wife's Comments]
- 64 Paul Quiring, West Coast MCC Director to Pastor Sanchez of Butler MB Church, Fresno, CA, correspondence, 26 July 1979. CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 65 Julie Lovering, West Coast MCC to Harold Gaede, Fresno, CA, correspondence, 6 December 1979. CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 66 Refugee Sponsorship Committee (RSC) Agenda, 16 December 1979, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS Fresno, CA.
- 67 *Ibid.*
- 68 RSC, Refugee Project Meeting, [Agenda], 6 January 1980, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 69 RSC, Refugee Sponsorship Meeting, Minutes, 6 January 1980, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 70 Memo, John Franz, RSC to the Chor family, 30 October 1980, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite

- Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 71 Memo, John Franz, RSC to the Chor family, 30 October 1980, CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 72 "Contact Person: Butler MB Refugee Resettlement Project," CB511 Butler Avenue Mennonite Brethren Church, Box 4, File: Refugee Sponsorship Committee, 1979-1980, CMBS-Fresno, CA.
- 73 Milton K. Stauffer, Letter to the Editor, *The Mennonite*, 9 June 1981, p. 370.
- 74 *Ibid.* The letter of complaint is a lengthy one which included several inaccuracies as noted by the Editor, see, "Editor's note," *The Mennonite*, 9 June 1981, p. 370. Stauffer's letter also resulted in seven published responses from readers between 14 July 1981 and 22 September 1981. Two of the responses were from Canada and none were from California.
- 75 "College Group Sponsors Refugees," *CL*, 18 December 1979, p. 15. See the same article as, "Fresno Pacific: Teachers and Students Sponsor Asia Refugees," *MWR*, 20 December 1979, p. 12.
- 76 *Ibid.*
- 77 Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000), 127-150.
- 78 George Martzen, "Viets Find Home at Fresno Pacific," *CL*, 22 April 1980, p. 15.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.
- 83 *Ibid.*
- 84 Said, xiii, xvii.
- 85 George Martzen, "Refugees Adjusting to Life in the U.S." *Fresno Pacific College The Messenger*, vol 6, no. 2 (April 1980), p. 1.
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 FPC Student, Fresno, California, Interview by Author, 19 September 2005.
- 88 *Ibid.*; and, Howlett, 20.
- 89 Mora, 325-326.