PURPOSE DEVELOPMENT, ACCULTURATION, AND IDENTITY AMONG SOUTH SUDANESE UNACCOMPANIED REFUGEE MINORS: A MULTIMETHOD ANALYSIS OF LONGITUDINAL ADJUSTMENT OUTCOMES

By

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ABSTRACT

PURPOSE DEVELOPMENT, ACCULTURATION, AND IDENTITY AMONG SOUTH SUDANESE UNACCOMPANIED REFUGEE MINORS: A MULTIMETHOD ANALYSIS OF LONGITUDINAL ADJUSTMENT OUTCOMES

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This dissertation includes a qualitative analysis of individual interviews with 19 South Sudanese unaccompanied refugee minors (URMs) and a subsequent quantitative analysis based on 30 survey responses in an effort to understand how South Sudanese URMs have adjusted to their new country, the United States. Each of these studies concerns their sense of purpose, acculturation experiences, and identity development in relation to their educational and occupational achievements, as well as their psychological wellbeing over time.

For the qualitative analysis, the participants were interviewed during two different phases of the study. The first set of in-depth individual interviews was conducted in 2007 (Phase 1) with 19 South Sudanese URMs who had resettled in the United States in 2001. From 2014-2015 (Phase 2), 11 of the 19 participants from Phase 1 were interviewed again. Using a modified grounded theory approach, these two sets of qualitative data were analyzed in terms of the participants' purpose development, multidimensional acculturation, identity reformation and integration, educational and occupational achievements, and overall life satisfaction.

There are three theoretical frameworks that guide the current research project: a) Damon's purpose-development theory, b) Ferguson's tridimensional acculturation theory, and c) Portes and Zhou's segmented assimilation theory. Based on these three existing theories and their measurements, this study attempts to describe South Sudanese URMs' identified goals, life purposes, major achievements (especially in terms of education and occupation), changes and

modifications to their goals, resettlement challenges, social barriers, and how these factors have influenced their long-term adjustment in the U.S.

This study's findings reveal the prevalence of an other-oriented/beyond-the-self (BTS) purpose among the South Sudanese URMs that helped them to overcome resettlement challenges and promote positive adjustment and psychological wellbeing. The findings also describe how their process of purpose development was closely related to and influenced by their four-dimensional acculturation experiences, with identity reformation and integration providing insights into their educational and occupational achievements and general life satisfaction as the determinants of long-term adjustment.

In the following complementary quantitative study, a questionnaire was developed using existing scales and measurements to evaluate the levels of general purpose and BTS purpose, variables of resettlement challenges such as emotional strain and perceived discrimination, and key adjustment outcomes such as educational and occupational attainment. As a result of multiple regression analyses, the moderation effect of prosocial purpose was found to be statistically significant in promoting better adjustment outcomes by buffering the negative impact of resettlement challenges.

To
My loving parents, Hwajo Kim & Daesik Yoon,
My beloved husband, Hyungkyu (Tony) Choi,
My world, Jenny Choi & Eugene Choi,
My forever best friends, my sister, Minhee Yoon & my brother, Junyang Yoon.
For their love, endless support, encouragement, & sacrifices.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1955, the first Sudanese Civil War erupted, and it continued until 1972. The Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005) destroyed the country and uprooted the lives of its people. The political conflicts in Sudan made many children orphans by forcing them to cross the border, often in violent circumstances of civil war. Southern Sudan gained political autonomy in 2005 and became independent in July of 2011 (Qin, Salterelli, Rana, Bates, Lee, & Johnson, 2015). As of 2018, South Sudan is the world's youngest country, but the country is still facing an ongoing crisis of war.

According to the United Nation's High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), a prolonged Sudanese civil war has forced more than 2 million people from their homes and approximately 20% of those people are children and adolescents under the age of 18. These young people were displaced within the country and many of them fled to neighboring countries like Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya without their parents or guardians (UNHCR, 2016).

These children suffered from family separation as they either escaped persecution alone or became separated from their families during getaway. As children, they went through numerous traumatic situations such as experiencing torture, witnessing brutal murders, including those of family members, and living in refugee camps with inadequate food, shelter, and medical care (Bates, Baird, Johnson, Lee, Luster, & Rehagen, 2005).

To rescue these young individuals, approximately 3,800 South Sudanese refugee youth were recommended for resettlement in the United States in 2000. By the end of 2000 through 2001, a group of South Sudanese refugee youth arrived in the United States after years of maltreatment and hardship that they went through in Africa.

This group of refugee youth arrived and resettled without their biological parents or guardians. Approximately 500 of these unaccompanied youths were minors (under the age of

18), and were placed with the Unaccompanied Refugee Minors Programs (URMP) in the U.S. (Geltman, Grant-Knight, Mehta et al., 2005; Goodman, 2004; United States Conference of Catholic Bishops [USCCB], 2013). During the early resettlement, some of these minors were raised by American foster parents, and all of them have been educated in this country (Bates et al., 2005).

As of 2018, it has been 17 years since the arrival of these unaccompanied refugee young people from South Sudan. Now, these youths have entered a different stage of life (young adulthood) making transition from adolescence. As an indicator of this developmental transition, many of them have completed their education and entered into the workforce in America. Also, the majority of the minors are either in relationship or married, and some have become parents. Thus, over time, as these youth have transitioned from adolescence to young adulthood, their integration into the American society has deepened across educational, social, cultural, and economic domains (Luster, Qin, Bates, Rana, & Lee, 2010; Qin et al., 2015; Rana, Qin, Bates, & Saltarelli, 2011).

However, little is known about how they have adjusted within these key realms of life and what factors might have influenced their processes of adjustment in the U.S. over time (Lustig et al., 2004; Willis & Nkwocha, 2006). Often, researchers studying refugee children and youth tended to focus more on their behavioral or mental health outcomes such as depression or PTSD and pay less attention to what happens after the resettlement, such as the impact of acculturation and identity reformation (Keles, Friborg, Idsøe, Sirin, & Oppedal, 2016; Luster et al., 2010). Therefore, to fill this gap in the refugee literature, this study attempts to explore the long-term adjustment outcomes and its specific processes related to acculturation and their identity focusing on South Sudanese unaccompanied refugee minors (URMs, hereafter) across

different developmental periods. Now, as grown-up refugee minors, it is important to learn how they are doing after more than a decade of living in this country and what are the challenges and barriers preventing them from achieving their life goals.

Keles et al (2016) stated that young refugees have strived not only to overcome the trauma of war experience but also to thrive as new young residents in the receiving country. Thus, in few studies, their strong educational aspirations and achievements were highlighted (Lawrence et al., 2016; Lese & Robbins, 1994; Rana et al., 2011; Wallin & Ahlström, 2005). However, further investigation is needed to understand how they have gained their socioeconomic and cultural competencies as young adults based on their high academic aspirations and achievements.

Shanahan, Mortimer, & Kru¨ger (2002) insisted that academic achievement and skill sets gained during adolescence and early adulthood are indispensable for further career success in today's society. Similarly, obtaining education is a prominent task for refugee children and youths to be able to have better employment options during adulthood (Wallin & Ahlström, 2005). Thus, understanding educational achievement of young refugee populations in relation to their career development is important during long-term process of resettlement (McBrien, 2005).

Most of research focusing on South Sudanese URMs has focused on their adjustment in terms of education and foster care (Luster et al., 2010). Many of these refugee youth sought better educational opportunities and good jobs in hopes of helping those who were left behind in their country of origin and for helping themselves too, to make it easier for them to acculturate into American society (Lawrence et al., 2016; Lese & Robbins, 1994; Rana et al., 2011; Wallin & Ahlström, 2005). These refugee youth, even though they were critically disadvantaged by separation from their parents as children, maintained a positive outlook for the future through the

U.S. resettlement process. However, again, the studies could not examine what has happened in their transition from school to work, and what are the influences that have promoted or impeded their adjustment over time.

To address that gap in the literature, the current study focuses on the following overarching questions: a) How have South Sudanese refugee URMs progressed in achieving their goals after fourteen years of U.S. resettlement? and b) What are the difficulties and challenges in realizing their life goals and purpose through different life stages?

Throughout the study, I refer "Unaccompanied Refugee Minor"—URM—as a category of refugees who came to the United States when they were under the age of 19. Although they have emerged from their minor status over time, I continue to refer them as URMs in this study in order to emphasize their unique experiences and adjustment contexts (i.e., living with foster parents, experiencing transitional period of development).

In the previous studies focused on South Sudanese URMs, researchers have consistently reported a strong sense of purpose that helped these young refugees stay focused on their education and performed well in school (Duncan, 2001; Luster et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2015; Rana et al., 2011). However, none of the theoretical frameworks of purpose development have been adjusted and applied to explain the specific role of purpose in the adjustment of this unique group of youth.

In the purpose literature, the theory of purpose development (Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003) has been constructed delineating three components of purpose development—intention, engagement, and contribution—and based largely on the studies focusing on American majority youth populations within typical social contexts. Consequently, the literature overlooked diverse, immigrant or global populations which are embedded in a range of contexts. Therefore, the

current study will employ the analytical framework of purpose development, not only for providing empirical evidences of the purpose development among South Sudanese URMs, but also for increasing the existing understanding of purpose within a racial ethnic minority group in refugee context.

Recent researchers in the purpose literature have begun to emphasize a deep understanding of the diverse contextual influences on youths' life purpose to be able to suggest a broader picture of their purpose development across different gender, ethnicity, and country (Mariano, 2014). Therefore, in this sense, the impacts of acculturation and identity development were also explored as influential sociocultural and developmental aspects in the lives of South Sudanese URMs. Using tridimensional acculturation framework by Ferguson et al (2012, 2014), the current study seeks to understand multiple cultural dimensions of acculturation that affect participants' identity reformation and integration. Ultimately, how these factors relate to their purpose development over time is the main focus of this study.

To this end, this dissertation is designed to include a primary qualitative study and complementary quantitative survey analysis. Based on existing theoretical frameworks, main qualitative inquiry specifically focuses on the purpose development, acculturation processes and identity reformation, and long-term adjustment outcomes among South Sudanese URMs over time. Quantitative analyses were conducted based on 30 survey data to offer further insights into the main findings. The statistical tests suggest relationships between purpose and resettlement challenges (emotional strain and perceived discrimination experience), and adjustment outcomes (e.g., educational and occupational attainments) among the participated South Sudanese URM.

Purpose of the study

The study's purpose is to learn about the long-term adaptation processes of first-generation South Sudanese URMs in the United States. To gain an understanding of their unique needs, their obstacles to success, and the mechanisms that protect them from the barriers that they face, this study investigated their purpose development, acculturation experiences, resettlement challenges, identity development, and adjustment outcomes such as educational achievement, occupational status, and level of life satisfaction.

In particular, this study utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods based on the existing theoretical frameworks of purpose development (Damon et al., 2003), tridimensional acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), and segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Unique features of this project include its pioneering investigation of the prosocial components of purpose, and its relationships to unique resettlement challenges and key developmental outcomes over time among an understudied population of South Sudanese URMs in the United States.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The research with refugee populations has been largely focused on adults and considered the refugee status individuals as a homogenized social group in terms of forced migration and vulnerability (Balasundaram, 2014; Chatty, Crivello, & Hundt, 2005). The studies that include children, in particular, were mostly carried out from psychological and psychiatric perspectives, which tend to pathologize and individualize the experiences of refugee children and adolescents (Chatty et al., 2005). This type of research has primarily focused on assessing children's trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) to provide information on the psychological effects of conflict on children.

However, some researchers argued that there are various types of stressors, stress reactions, and ways of coping which often overlooked and understudied due to a greater emphasis on trauma and posttraumatic symptoms among children who experienced war (Lustig et al., 2004). According to Berman (2001), children were more distressed when they separated from their parents, than they experienced violence during war. Also, the existence of the adult caregivers was crucial in the lives of children under the adverse circumstances of war (Garmezy & Rutter, 1983). As such, the traditional dominant approach to studying refugee children and adolescents have relied heavily on the use of standardized questionnaires to measure psychiatric symptoms and problems (Chatty et al., 2005).

On the contrary, more recent scholars studying South Sudanese URMs have shifted their research paradigm from vulnerability to strength. A literature on South Sudanese URMs has been shown that their resilience including psychosocial risk and protective factors, and coping strategies have contributed to their successful adjustment in the U.S. over the early period of resettlement.

South Sudanese refugee population is one of the newest within the United States, and little has been known about their experiences in this country (Lustig et al., 2004; Willis & Nkwocha, 2006). However, after arrival of 3,800 South Sudanese refugee youths in the United States in 2000, researchers and practitioners have collaborated to support their new and different life in this country. From 2001 to 2018, a few research projects and individual studies have been conducted with this group of South Sudanese unaccompanied refugee adolescents aiming to understand their lived experience about displacement, loss of family, and the processes of US resettlement. As a result, eighteen articles have been published in the areas of medicine, adolescent development, child welfare, family psychology, communication and orthopsychiatry.

Successful educational achievement among South Sudanese URMs

The negative impact of war and displacement on child development has been well documented (Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Lustig et al., 2004; Thomas & Thomas, 2004). According to Sourander (1998), unaccompanied refugee children under the age of fifteen display more severe psychiatric problems than older youth. Also, according to Willis and Nkwocha (2006), South Sudanese refugees in the U.S., in general, are young, highly mobile, uneducated, and live in poverty. In their study with 263 South Sudanese refugee adults aged from 16 to 57 living in Nebraska, approximately half of the participants did not earn a high school diploma and the 40% of them were living on annual household incomes below $15,000 (Willis & Nkwocha, 2006). The results also indicated that refugees from South Sudan appeared to be less successful in their education and economy than other African-born refugees and immigrants in the U.S. (Willis & Nkwocha, 2006).

Surprisingly, however, researchers and practitioners working with South Sudanese URMs found that these young refugee adolescents are remarkably resilient and adaptable (Bates et al.,

2005; Duncan, 2001; Geltman et al., 2005; Goodman, 2004; Jeppson & Hjern, 2005; Luster et al., 2008; Luster et al., 2009; Rana et al., 2011; Tempany, 2009). For instance, studies by Duncan (2001) and Bates et al. (2005) reported that, six to twelve months after resettlement, South Sudanese URMs showed positive overall adjustment despite several challenges during resettlement: language barriers, difficulties in relationships, cultural misunderstandings, and financial constraints. Although some youth displayed symptoms of PTSD, such as nightmares and anxiety, severe mental health problems were not found (Bates et al., 2005; Duncan, 2001). Also, researchers studying resilience among South Sudanese URMs described that a strong desire to help Sudanese family and the society reinforced the refugee minors' to engage in their education and helped successful adaptation to a new country (Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011).

Researchers also assessed positive health outcomes among South Sudanese URMs based on the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) and the Child Health Questionnaire (CHQ). Geltman et al. (2005) surveyed 304 South Sudanese URMs approximately one year after their resettlement and revealed that the minors were healthy and highly functional especially in school and activities with peers. In this study, ninety percent of the respondents rated their general health as *good*, *very good*, or *excellent*. Although most youth (93%) directly witnessed or were victimized by war-related violence, only a minority (20%) of these youth scored in the diagnostic range for PTSD (Getlman et al., 2005). This is a noteworthy difference from the higher proportion of youth that had experienced severe symptoms of psychological distress and PTSD when they were in Kakuma refugee camp (Duncan, 2000; Jeppsson & Hjern, 2005).

In this situation, researchers have attempted to understand factors that promote successful adaptation of South Sudanese URMs, and identified risk and protective factors that played a key

role in their adjustment studies by utilizing the resilience framework (Masten, Powell, & Luthar, 2003). Mostly, South Sudanese URMs often displayed a strong belief in education and aspiration of gaining higher education during their resettlement (Bates et al., 2005; Luster et al., 2009; Rana et al., 2011). A study by Rana et al (2011) specifically focused the educational resilience among South Sudanese URMs and their successful achievement in their higher education during the first seven years of resettlement.

Importantly, researchers in the previous studies often discussed that South Sudanese URMs' successful educational adjustment was based on their strong a sense of purpose. That is, the youths frequently mentioned about themselves as having a responsibility to support those left behind in South Sudan and rebuild destroyed communities in their homeland (Bolea, Grant Jr, Burgess, & Plasa, 2002; Duncan, 2001; Jeppsson & Hjern, 2005; Luster et al., 2008; Luster et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2015; Rana et al., 2011). Their belief in social responsibility was the basis of their strong sense of purpose, motivating them to work hard and stay focused on their schooling (Qin et al., 2015; Rana et al., 2011).

In most cases, their adjustment was mainly characterized by successful performances in education and clear career path goals. Some refugee minors expressed their educational and career goals in relation to their future plans of building social infrastructures such as health care systems, schools, and churches in South Sudan (Luster et al., 2008; Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011; Qin et al., 2015). As such, previous literature indicated that South Sudanese URMs' strong desire to help their South Sudanese family members and society reinforced their aspirations to engage in education, overcome resettlement challenges, and thus, promoted their adaptation to a new country with the positive outlook for future (Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011).

Key factors that influence psychosocial adjustment of South Sudanese URMs

Personal characteristics. Researchers identified several protective internal factors that increased the social-emotional wellbeing and adaptability of South Sudanese URMs: spirituality and religious beliefs, high educational aspirations, a strong sense of purpose (Duncan, 2001; Luster et al., 2006; Qin et al., 2015); as well as personal characteristics like motivation, persistence, determination, and hard work (Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011). Psychological presence of parents, self-efficacy and optimism, and resourcefulness were also discussed as protective individual characteristics (Rana et al., 2011).

In addition, youth who were successful tended to have an internal locus of control and believed that they could be successful (Luster, Bates, & Johnson, 2006). The sources of resilience included having a positive outlook, use of healthy coping mechanism and religiosity, school attachment, belief that they had a role to contribute to their society in the future, and connectedness to prosocial organizations such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and church groups (Carlson, Cacciatore, & Klimek, 2012; Duncan, 2001).

A study by Goodman (2004) suggested that South Sudanese URMs maintained high levels of resilience using coping strategies such as suppression and distraction, a focus on the collective and communal self, making meaning, and retaining hope. In particular, believing in a promising future through education helped South Sudanese male URMs cope with war trauma and set high goals after resettlement in the United States (Goodman, 2004).

As indicated in the literature reviewed here, factors such as having positive outlook for the future, setting goals, and desiring for contributing to their home country were explained as positive individual characteristics in their adjustment.

Bicultural identity. In addition to the personal characteristics mentioned above, researchers have suggested another influential factor for their adjustment: bicultural identity. In particular, selective assimilation in which the youths maintain a strong orientation toward South Sudanese culture while they also adopt some positive aspects of American culture was found to be important (Desiree B. Qin et al., 2015). This bicultural orientation helped South Sudanese URMs avoid the distractions of American youth culture and make better decisions, including focusing on achieving their academic goals (Luster et al., 2010; Qin et al., 2015; Rana et al., 2011). However, the life experiences of South Sudanese URMs may not be fully explained by the two cultural dimensions as discussed in the biculturalism literature because they are, rather, embedded in multicultural context with more than two cultural contacts.

In fact, the bicultural perspective has not been able to capture the distinctive acculturation experiences of young African refugees and immigrants. For example, Asali (2003) pointed out that black Africans are often perceived and treated as African American by native-born White Americans, despite significant cultural differences between them and African Americans (as cited in McBrien, 2005). However, McKinnon (2008) further discussed about the difference between the black African immigrants and the US-born African Americans in terms of their skin color. Mckinnon (2008) stated that, "skin color, in this sense, is not only a marker of 'otherness' in the United States, it signifies 'an other otherness', or 'refugeeness,' a marker of displacement which further unsettles the men's resettlement in the U.S." (p. 407). In fact, in Geltman et al's study (2005), several youths indicated confusion about social and cultural interactions between themselves as African immigrants and the US-born African-Americans.

In this situation, what are the culturally appropriate psychosocial modalities for unaccompanied refugee youths from South Sudan? The current study is designed to answer this

question by using tridimensional acculturation framework to emphasize multiple cultures that utilized by South Sudanese URMs in their adjustment in U.S. (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). Integrating their native South Sudanese culture and mainstream American culture is crucial, however, there might be another important cultural aspect of acculturation that has been missed under this binary perspective. As discussed above, African American culture and American youth culture can significantly affect the lives of this young Black refugee population in the U.S. Therefore, this study examines this multidimensionality in their processes of acculturation and identity reformation.

Perceived discrimination experience. Many African refugees are frequently confronted with racism, discrimination, and racial mistreatments, which can complicate the integration process even more (Davies & Webb, 2000; Willis & Nkwocha, 2006). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) claimed that discrimination was the greatest barrier to adaptation for immigrant and refugee students of color. In fact, perceived discrimination was the best predictor of negative outcomes such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder in Somali adolescents refugees in the United States (Ellis, MacDonald, Klunk-Gillis et al., 2010). Victims of discrimination can experience lasting effects on their self-perceptions, social interactions, motivation, and achievement (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). For refugees, discrimination also influenced their acculturation and adaptation (McBrien, 2005).

However, researchers also reported an effective coping strategy used by African refugee youths to deal with racial discrimination. Luster et al. (2008) described South Sudanese refugee youths' sense of purpose as a buffer against negative racial remarks from others. One important way of coping was to dismiss those discriminatory experiences as trivial to their central purpose in this country (Luster et al., 2008). Similarly, McBrien (2005) also found that racism created

short-term, but not necessarily long-term consequences in refugee students' academic goals and career aspirations. The participants in his study were distressed by the incidents but were generally able to maintain their high academic goals and performance.

Similarly, Phan (2003) also illustrated that Vietnamese refugee children experienced depression due to negative discriminatory experiences. However, discrimination also seemed to reversely increase the children's academic aspirations at the same time. Phan (2003) suggested that their resilience gained from the past experiences in refugee camps and the desire to repay an obligation to their parents helped them to avoid the negative impact of racial discrimination and harassment experiences on their education.

Evaluation of the current state of research and findings

To date, majority of South Sudanese URMs research has been based on qualitative investigations and few quantitative studies. Findings from these studies indicated that the South Sudanese URMs became more focused on current adjustment challenges and difficulties than trying to resolve psychological distress from their past experiences. Although several studies (e.g., Bates et al., 2005; Geltman et al., 2005) attempted to understand psychological consequence of war by assessing PTSD symptoms, the main goal of the study was to seek personal and contextual influences in relation to their adjustment during U.S. resettlement. Without these efforts, researchers would not have been able to elucidate the various set of factors that are influential for South Sudanese URMs' adjustment. In sum, current analytical approaches to study risk and protective factors, and coping strategies among South Sudanese URMs on the basis of resilience, strength-based framework is appropriate and meaningful. Nonetheless, specific mechanisms that promote or impede their adjustment and the long-term outcomes still remain unclear.

In conclusion, the current state of literature on adjustment of South Sudanese URMs still needs further elaboration of the adaptation processes to understand what factors predict specific adjustment outcomes, the relative weights of their influences, and associations among the factors. Therefore, this review of literature reveals that there is an important reason for conducting the current study to provide further explanations on their purpose development, acculturation, and adjustment outcomes through different methodologies and multiple conceptual frameworks.

Gaps in the literature this study will fill

Notably, in previous literature, a qualitative method of research has been contributed to a greater and more holistic understanding of South Sudanese URMs in the United States. Overall, researchers displayed a profound reflexivity across the studies to reach unbiased conclusions. However, in most of the studies, researchers interviewed their participants only once at one point in time. Therefore, how their adjustment experiences have changed over time in individual, social, and cultural circumstances is unknown. Therefore, the current follow-up study will capture the variations in their processes of adjustment in terms of purpose, acculturation, and identity through different stages of life.

So far, little efforts have been made to examine developmental aspects, such as acculturation, identity, and a sense of purpose, which seemed to be crucial in the context of South Sudanese URMs' resettlement. In previous studies, diverse theoretical contents and relevant methods have not been explored and are basically unexamined to explain these influential aspects of development among South Sudanese URMs during resettlement. Therefore, current application and integration of the three existing theories will address this gap in the literature by offering theory innovation.

This study emphasizing aspects of developmental processes, contexts, and interplay between these factors will benefit the current literature of South Sudanese URMs. Using advanced multimethod research design, the study further attempts to provide a multifaceted knowledge that can be useful in the multiple contexts of researchers, educators, practitioners, and policy makers. Therefore, the findings from the current study can help not only the group of South Sudanese URMs but also the other groups of unaccompanied refugee and immigrant adolescents.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In the field of human development, in general, there has been a strong emphasis on understanding various contextual systems of individual development and its processes over time (e.g., bioecological model of human development, PPCT model of human development) (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). In particular, researchers who focus on minority child development have emphasized the importance of studying social contextual influences when examining developmental issues and processes among young minority populations from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. A group of researchers proposed an integrative model of child development (Coll et al., 1996) that provides a useful framework for understanding minority child development at the intersection of social class, culture, ethnicity, and race.

Based on these contextual approaches to human development, the present study focuses on South Sudanese URMs to understand their development of purpose, acculturation, identity, and adjustment during their 14 years of U.S. resettlement. In this chapter, theories of purpose development (Damon et al., 2003), multidimensional acculturation (Ferguson, 2012), and segmented acculturation (Portes & Zhou, 1993) are reviewed, and implications for implementing these principles in South Sudanese URM development are discussed. The theoretical frameworks are integrated into an overarching conceptual framework for this study.

Theory of the development of purpose

The constructs of purpose and meaning in life have been studied for decades, but few measurements have been developed and examined in existing research. From the 1960s to early 1990, literature on purpose was largely focused in the fields of clinical and individual psychology, theology, and gerontology. From the mid-1990s until early 2000, concepts and measures were applied in studies of personality and social psychology, mainly focusing on

adults. Although early literature indicated a positive effect of purpose on mental health and tragic life experiences (Crumbaugh, 1968; Frankl, 1985; Reker, Peacock, & Wong, 1987; Ulmer, Range, & Smith, 1991), purpose and meaning in life did not receive considerable experimental attention from scientific researchers because of its broad and abstract characteristics, vague and multiple definitions, and overlapping constructs.

With the introduction of "positive psychology" by Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi, (2000) that led to a major shift from clinical and pathological focuses of psychology to a focus on human strength and motivation, William Damon and his colleagues (2003) proposed a theory of the development of purpose during adolescence and provided a useful definition of purpose, defining distinct components of purpose during adolescence. Damon's theory of purpose drew much attention not only from psychologists but also from developmental researchers and educators due to its core aspects and elements that have important implications for adolescent development (e.g., positive youth development) and its qualitative and quantitative measurements that can be used for adolescent populations. Since the introduction of this theory, there has been a growing body of literature studying youth purpose within academic areas of child development (Hill, Burrow, & Sumner, 2013). In this line of research, the present study involves the theoretical framework to investigate South Sudanese URMs' purpose development over time in their unique context of U.S. resettlement.

Definition and key components. According to Damon et al (2003), purpose refers to "a stable and generalized intention to accomplish something that is at once meaningful to the self and of consequence to the world beyond the self" (p. 121). This definition of purpose emphasizes three constructs: a) "*intention* toward a long-term goal," b) "active *engagement*," and c) "a *contribution* to the broader world" (Bronk, Finch, & Talib, 2010, p. 134). In particular, the third

component of *contribution* was emphasized as a key feature of prosocial reasons for purpose. Contribution is motivated by a concern for others and commitment to social good and the well-being of others and often encourages youth to develop purposes that are other-oriented (Quinn, 2014). In purpose theory, contribution is a meaningful context that drives one's commitment to achieving his/her identified goals (Damon, 2009; Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003).

Forms of purpose. Based on these three components of purpose, the researchers elaborated upon diverse forms of purpose among adolescents: *purpose, beyond-the-self dream, self-dream, self-oriented life goal, and drifting* (Damon et al., 2003; Damon, 2009; Malin et al., 2008; Bronk et al., 2010). The most desirable form is purpose, when a youth displays high levels of intention and active engagement based on other-oriented and prosocial reasoning (Damon et al., 2003; Damon, 2009; Bronk et al., 2010). This form of purpose is often called "other-oriented purpose" or "BTS purpose" in the literature. The terms are compatible in representing this form of purpose and its characteristics.

On the other hand, a youth who seeks self-oriented life goals is characterized as someone who actively engages in achieving their goals solely for the individual's own interest and benefit such as for money and self-pleasure (Bronk et al., 2010; Damon, 2009). Thus, based on the theory of purpose, adolescents who have self-oriented life goals are defined by their lack of contribution and other-oriented concern in their purpose development. The form of self-oriented life goal is also called "self-goal" (Malin et al., 2008).

Both self-dreamers and beyond-the-self (BTS) dreamers are characterized by their lack of action despite their self-oriented or other-oriented reasons for purpose. For example, BTS dreamers tend to show concern for others and broader society and desire to accomplish something for prosocial reasons (Bronk et al., 2010; Damon, 2009). However, they also tend not

to take actions that would lead them to accomplish their other-oriented, BTS goals. Lastly, youth are described as drifting when they are neither actively working toward their long-term aims nor providing prosocial reasons for doing so (Bronk et al., 2010). In addition, 17 categories of purpose and 10 domains of purpose are suggested to determine the form of purpose (see Appendix C).

Current literature on purpose. Recently, there has been an increased interest in the development of purpose among youth and young adults using Damon's theory of purpose. Earlier literature on purpose tended to focus on lack of purpose and its associations with negative psychological outcomes such as depression. However, more recent researchers have focused on the positive role of purpose in development (Bronk, 2014b), shifting its academic focus to strengths rather than problems.

In particular, the current purpose literature has substantiated the sense of purpose as both a developmental asset and a means of bolstering resilience for adolescents (Burrow & Hill, 2011; Burrow, O'Dell, & Hill, 2009; Damon et al., 2003). For example, youths who are more purposeful are also more hopeful and develop more positive identities (Burrow & Hill, 2011). In addition, strong purpose helps youths resolve identity crises during adolescence and form a sound sense of self (Bronk, 2011; Hill et al., 2013). Recent empirical efforts have demonstrated a significant relationship between purpose and identity development, coping, and psychosocial well-being among adolescents and young adults (Bronk, 2013; Hill et al., 2013; Malin, Reilly, Quinn, & Moran, 2014). Researchers have also indicated that purpose and meaning in life promote adolescents' well-being (Burrow et al., 2009) and life satisfaction (Bronk & Finch, 2010; Bronk, Hill, Lapsley, Talib, & Finch, 2009; Burrow, O'Dell, & Hill, 2010).

Despite positive developmental implications, the specific processes and outcomes of purpose development still remain understudied in the field of child and adolescent development (Hill et al., 2013; Sumner, Burrow, & Hill, 2018). In addition, virtually no study has examined this theory of purpose development across diverse minority youth populations who live in different socio-cultural environments. In fact, researchers have suggested that further investigation should focus on socio-cultural influences on youth purpose (Malin et al., 2014; Mariano, Going, Schrock, & Sweeting, 2011). However, less is known about how purpose develops within the diverse cultures and social circumstances of today's young populations.

To fill this gap in the literature, the present study was designed and conducted especially focusing on the South Sudanese URM population. As discussed in Chapter 2, previous literature on South Sudanese URMs provided strong evidence for their sense of purpose and its positive implications for growth and change. Therefore, the current theoretical framework of purpose was applied to the case of South Sudanese URMs to examine their purpose development and to provide a future direction for this newly developed theory.

Tridimensional acculturation theory

By depending solely on the framework of purpose, there is no way to accurately describe longitudinal adjustment processes of South Sudanese URMs living in the United States. Given the extreme differences between their traditional culture and American culture, acculturation is an inevitable task and challenge for these youths during resettlement. In the field of psychology, there has been a substantial body of literature examining acculturation processes, especially among diverse immigrant populations.

In particular, Berry's (1997) Bidimensional Acculturation framework has been widely used to assess the extent to which an immigrant accommodates his/her culture of origin and

assimilates into the host culture. Among Berry's four strategies of acculturation (*Assimilation, Integration, Marginalization,* and *Separation*), integration appears to be the most effective means of acculturation and has been associated with positive psychological adjustment across various groups of immigrants living in different countries (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010). In previous studies of South Sudanese URMs, this bicultural orientation and integrative attitude toward both South Sudanese and American cultures has been found to promote adjustment (Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011; Qin et al., 2015). In most cases, the youths adopted American cultural practices and social behaviors to adjust well to the new culture while maintaining a strong connection to South Sudanese cultural values and identities.

For more than a decade, the bicultural perspective has dominated previous research on acculturation across many countries. However, Ferguson, Bornstein, and Pottinger (2012) emphasized that diverse cultures exist in the United States and argued that Berry's (1997) traditional framework of acculturation that merely focuses on mainstream American culture and immigrants' culture of origin does not fully capture the experience of black immigrants, who are likely to be exposed to more than these two cultures. According to Ferguson and her colleagues (2012, 2014), black immigrants in the U.S. tend to experience three or four cultures based on their ethnic and racial backgrounds. Thus, the bicultural theory overlooks the existence of multiple dimensions within cultures of racially and ethnically diverse immigrants during acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2012).

To address this limitation, the researchers suggested the tridimensional (3D) model of acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2012) tested by their study of Jamaican immigrant youths and indicating that they experienced three relevant cultural dimensions in the U.S.—Jamaican, European-American, and African-American cultures

(Ferguson et al., 2012). Furthermore, the incorporation of tricultural dimensions (see *Figure 1*) was associated with more positive behavioral adaptation among black Caribbean immigrant youths compared to those who integrated bicultural aspects (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014).

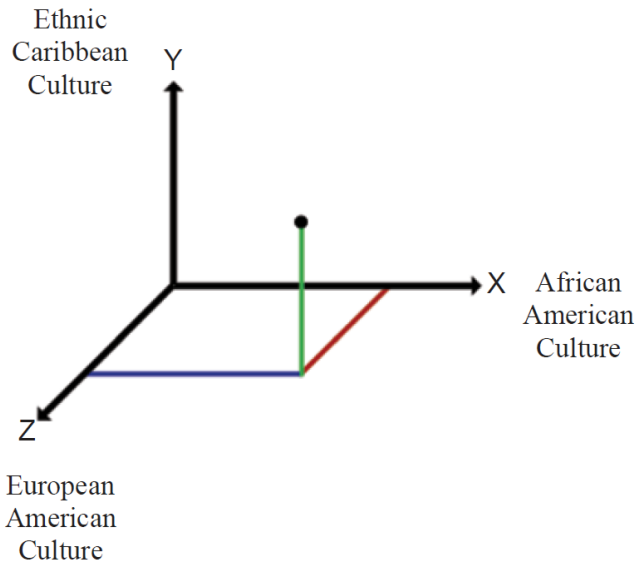

Figure 1. Tridimensional (3D) acculturation model for black Caribbean immigrants (Source: Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014, p. 35)

When studying acculturation, the tridimensional approach (3D) recognizes the simultaneous alignment of mainstream culture, minority subcultures, and one's culture of origin (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2012). Moreover, the researchers also suggested an expansion of the tridimensional approach to a multidimensional perspective to cover situations where more than three cultures are involved in shaping the lives of young immigrants of color (Ferguson & Birman, 2016; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014).

This multidimensional approach is especially useful to understand specific multicultural dimensions of acculturation among one of the newest black immigrant populations to the United States, South Sudanese URMs. By using this theoretical framework, the current study

investigates relevant cultural dimensions and acculturation within the lives of South Sudanese URMs during their U.S. resettlement.

Segmented assimilation theory

Classic assimilation theory assumes immigrants' linear progression of assimilation into mainstream American culture across generations over time. Researchers focused on this assumption to determine that the majority of immigrants tend to advance well in education and achieve middle-class socioeconomic status and beyond in the long run (Alba & Nee, 2009; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). Some researchers from this classic assimilation perspective have criticized the alternative explanation of segmented assimilation proposed by Portes and his collaborators (1993, 2001) that focused more on the different trajectories of assimilation among diverse immigrants in the U.S. across generations. By suggesting the importance of social and economic influences and determinants of key adaptation outcomes for today's immigrant youth and young adults, segmented assimilation defines three characterized paths of mobility that immigrants are likely to follow across generations—upward mobility, horizontal mobility, and downward mobility (see *Figure 2*).

In particular, even though the researchers noted that many younger immigrant populations have successfully integrated into mainstream American society, segmented assimilation highlighted "downward assimilation" as a problematic path that a sizable portion of immigrant youths and young adults are likely to experience as a consequence of multiple disadvantages and social barriers such as a lack of resources and support from family and neighborhoods, limited opportunities, racial discrimination, and subsequent misfortunes in their lives. Researchers of segmented assimilation have provided a method to systemically and structurally explain this "downward assimilation" by identifying its key components—1) three

major challenges confronted by today's immigrant second generations, 2) three background determinants that lead and shape their adjustment, and 3) five key adjustment outcomes in early adulthood.

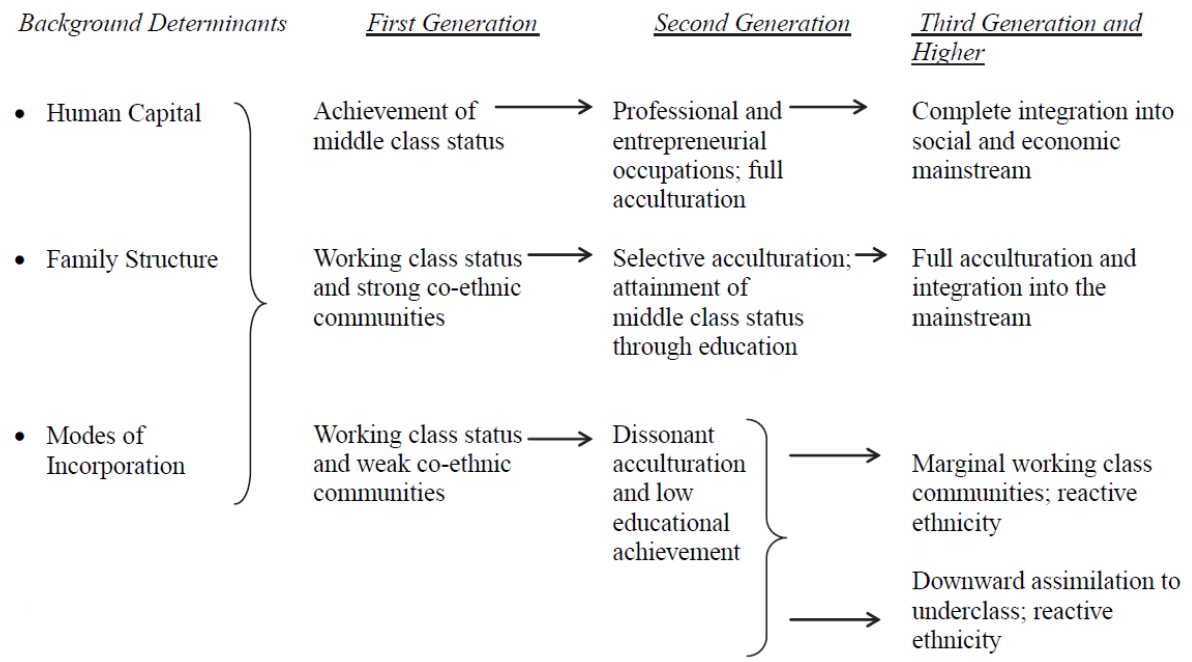

Figure 2. Paths of mobility across generations (Source: Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2005, p. 1011)

According to Portes and his colleagues (1993, 2001, 2005), there are three major challenges that today's immigrant youth and young adults confront—racial discrimination, bifurcated labor markets, and poverty and crime. Racial discrimination is pervasive, especially among black immigrants from Africa and West Indies based on strong racial prejudices that have extensively stratified American society across different domains of life. This persistent racism is likely to be a critical barrier that hinders occupational mobility and social acceptance, especially among disadvantaged black immigrant youths and young adults (Portes et al., 2005).

Also, the disappearance of manufacturing, blue-collar jobs in the U.S. due to de-industrialization has resulted in a bifurcated American economy that mainly seeks either highly professional workers or low-skilled, manual service workers, with diminishing opportunities in-

between (Portes, 1996; Portes et al., 2005). This bifurcation of the labor market impacts second-generation youths' adaptation such that it increases discrepancies between their ideal aspirations and the realistic expectations of obtaining a higher degree and a professional job resulting from the loss of blue-collar jobs that facilitated the upward mobility of earlier immigrants.

With this change in the labor market, poverty and crime become an external challenge that can provide alternative contexts in which undesirable adjustment and developmental outcomes are promoted and encouraged among more disadvantaged immigrant groups (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011; Portes et al., 2005). In this situation, the theory also identified different types of resources that are available within different contexts of young immigrant populations, such as *parental human capital*, *family structure*, and *modes of incorporation* (Portes, 1996; Portes et al., 2005). These resources and sources of support are critical determinants of assimilation and adjustment outcomes. Five key adjustment outcomes were addressed and examined in the studies of segmented assimilation—educational attainment, occupational status, family income, early childbearing, and incarcerated experience (Haller et al., 2011; Portes, 2007; Portes et al., 2005).

The current theory of segmented assimilation provides a useful perspective and points of investigation to capture the adjustment trajectory of South Sudanese URMs in the U.S. Instead of applying the "one size fits all" assumption, the theory allows researchers to explore diverse pathways that young immigrant populations can experience depending on their racial and ethnic backgrounds, immigrant histories, family socioeconomic status, and supportive social networks. Because of this utility of the theory, the current study explores various paths to long-term adjustment outcomes among South Sudanese URMs in terms of educational and occupational attainment through the lens of the segmented assimilation theoretical framework.

Linking the existing theories for analysis

In this study, the three existing theories are combined and closely connected to describe South Sudanese URMs' longitudinal processes of adjustment in the U.S. Each theory is not only independently useful but also critical when linked together to provide a breadth and depth of insight into South Sudanese URMs' development and adjustment over time across different layers of ecological systems. Therefore, by linking the existing theories, the current study attempts to reveal the interrelated aspects of developmental, psychological, and sociological factors in providing innovative explanations and further suggestions.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

The main focus of this study is to understand South Sudanese URMs' development of purpose over the 14 years of their U.S. resettlement in relation to their acculturation experiences, identity development, and adjustment. Based on the three existing theoretical perspectives and the current literature review as discussed in previous chapters, a conceptual framework was constructed for this study to capture underlying processes of South Sudanese URMs' development of purpose in connection with their specific experiences of acculturation, identity, and assimilation. The purpose literature did not include this integration of existing constructs, especially within qualitative research. Based on this conceptual framework, research questions were framed and formulated (see Table 1).

Table 1. Research Questions

Research Questions
Q1. How do South Sudanese URMs develop a sense of purpose in terms of intention, engagement, and contribution? *1a.* Which form of purpose they have developed? What are their identified goals? What is their main category and domain of purpose? *1b.* What have they experienced in achieving their goals? How has their sense of purpose changed and influenced their lives in the U.S. over time?
Q2. What are the acculturative experiences of South Sudanese URMs in seeking their goals and purpose? *2a.* What are the particular cultural dimensions of their acculturation process over time and how does this impact their purpose? *2b.* How does their race and multiple cultures impact their adjustment and psychological wellbeing?
Q3. What are the adjustment outcomes influenced by their purpose development and how their adjustment looks like?

To answer these questions, the current study was designed and conducted with qualitative research methods throughout two study phases: Phase 1, and then Phase 2 as a follow-up study. To provide a rationale for the use of qualitative inquiry, paradigm basis, purpose of the study, and mode of hermeneutics are articulated in this chapter. Specific qualitative research methods and procedures are also described in detail.

Rationale for the current qualitative research design

Haverkamp and Young (2007) noted that qualitative researchers must identify three philosophical components in their qualitative inquiry: a) paradigm base to address the study's assumptions, b) purpose of their study, and c) mode of understanding (hermeneutics) to evaluate the appropriate use of qualitative methods. This philosophical background is the core rationale for a qualitative research project and is critical to subsequent choice about qualitative research method and analysis (Creswell, 2012; Haverkamp & Young, 2007). In addition, different pragmatic approaches produce different standards for credibility and trustworthiness of data collection and analysis (Haverkamp & Young, 2007). For these reasons, it is important to elaborate the philosophical viewpoint in this study.

First, the current study is conducted within a *realist/postpositivist* perspective (Haverkamp & Young, 2007; Maxwell & Wooffitt, 2005). That is, this study is concerned with accuracy and objectivity in exploring the developmental issue from the postpositivist paradigm to precisely describe South Sudanese URMs' processes of purpose development and factors related to their own experience, avoiding researcher's subjective bias. For example, the prevalence of purpose was examined and reported as a result of using an existing codebook (*Youth Purpose Project Forms of Purpose Determination Codebook*, Malin, Reilly, Yeager, Moran, Andrews, Bundick, & Damon, 2008), and the four cultural dimensions of acculturation were assessed based on the model of multidimensional acculturation (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). In addition, the level of life satisfaction was examined and scored by the participants on the five-point rating Likert scale.

Although the present study relies on the existing theoretical frameworks and its measurements, the purpose of this study is *theory/construct oriented* (Haverkamp & Young,

2007). In other words, the current study's aim is not only descriptive and exploratory by applying the developed theories, but it is also critical in understanding the phenomenon by focusing on an underrepresented population, such as South Sudanese URMs to generate a theory of purpose based on their lived experiences. In this way, the study attempts to expand our understanding of specific constructs of purpose development by suggesting alternative ways of framing the issue.

To achieve this purpose of the current study, modified grounded theory approach (Corbin, 2016; Cutcliffe, 2005; Haverkamp & Young, 2007; Maxwell & Wooffitt, 2005; Strauss & Corbin, 1994) was selected. Unlike genuine grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1994), which emphasizes nonpredetermined ways of data collection and analysis, modified grounded theory approach allows the researcher to use existing theories and relevant research as a source for formulating the research questions, organizing and analyzing the data, and interpreting and presenting the results.

However, to avoid overuse of the developed theories and constructs, the current study utilized the grounded theory technique to understand the phenomenon (purpose development, acculturation experiences, and segmented assimilation) from the participants' voices and perspectives to their lived experiences. Overall, exiting theories were used as the key sources and useful modules to construct a theory that emerged from the data. Therefore, in this current qualitative research, both existing perspectives and grounded theory are legitimate and valuable (Maxwell & Wooffitt, 2005).

A mode of understanding is "the point at which one's choice of paradigm and purpose for research intersect" (Haverkamp & Young, 2007, p. 276). Working within a postpositivist paradigm, and a research goal of describing the participants' account as accurately as possible

reflect a *validation hermeneutics* approach (Haverkamp & Young, 2007). Using validation hermeneutics to interpret interviews, the central concern in this study is to determine key elements of purpose development in context based on the accurate interpretations. To that end, there were multiple coders, interviewers, and a participant involved in tackling confirmation and reaching a consensus on data analysis and the results of the study. Therefore, the current study established its accuracy in the mode of validation hermeneutics in understanding the particular phenomenon.

In summary, for the current qualitative inquiry, a specific qualitative method of modified grounded theory approach was selected and pursued, at the intersection of the realist/postpositivist paradigmatic stance and theory/construct-oriented purpose, to provide breadth and in-depth understanding of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs. In addition to identifying relevant contributing variables such as acculturation and identity, the study suggested the relation model (grounded theory) among the variables. Achieving this match between the study's purpose and paradigm enhances the credibility of this research and proposes appropriate standards for the trustworthiness and contribution of the findings (Haverkamp & Young, 2007).

Researcher reflexivity

It is important for a qualitative study to address the researcher's positionality and biases related to the study. Some might feel that as an international female researcher from South Korea, I may not relate to the study of South Sudanese URMs' development. However, the origin of the broader framework and the related concepts for this study were related to my direct experiences of the phenomenon in my home country and in the United States I grew up in South Korea constructing my identity as a South Korean female student. I was a high-achieving student

and attended privileged educational institutions throughout my childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood. As a young child, and a teenager, education was the overwhelming focus that overshadowed my social and emotional needs, and thus, had a negative impact on my psychological well-being.

Although I was a good student who made her parents and teachers happy and proud, during adolescence, I struggled emotionally and became distressed due to academic pressure. Most of the time, I experienced what is called 'identity foreclosure' by James Marcia due to the social and the parental expectations and did not think of exploring other options, except doing well in school. Culturally, South Korean society is a homogeneous country in terms of race and emphasizes conformity rather than diversity to its cultural standard. As expected, I attended university after graduating high school. However, I significantly lacked a sense of purpose. I always worked hard, but without inspiration and motivation, I felt stressed and unhappy.

Coming to the United States to attend graduate school provided me with a life-changing opportunity. I interacted with many people from diverse cultures all around the world. Instead of focusing only on my education, I learned about the different cultures, communities, societies, and their systems where diverse individuals were embedded. In particular, my direct and indirect experiences with diversity, major and minority statuses, social injustice, and racial issues in the United States opened my eyes and mind, which previously, the conservative Korean values and expectations had predominated over without question.

Meanwhile, in my effort to search for my life purpose and meaning, I studied purpose development theory by William Damon, even though the theory was not taught or introduced in a classroom. Since then, my own experiences of acculturation and purpose have been a strong motivation over the course of my doctoral research. I was benefited with these experiences, and I

am able to connect with the participants in terms of searching for purpose and identity, while achieving education and career development.

The Korean War, which started in 1950, resulted in the division of North and South Korea. As a citizen of South Korea, I was frequently taught about the war's history and, as a child, saw my fellow citizens affected by the war. Although I did not directly experience the violent conflicts, I was able to make a connection and shared a feeling of caring for my family and home country that I can relate to my participants.

Data collection and procedures

The present study is a continuation of a larger research project on South Sudanese refugee youth, known as the "Lost Boys," that began in 2001 and focused on their risks, resilience, and adaptation to a new culture. Data collection for this study has been done in two phases over time. A former group of researchers, led by Dr. Tom Luster, conducted the first phase of the interview study in 2007. This secondary data from Phase 1 was drawn from in-depth interviews with the 19 South Sudanese URMs to explore their experiences of adjustment to living in a new culture. Questions were asked about their goals when they came to the United States and the progress that they made in achieving their goals (Luster et al., 2010; Rana et al., 2011).

In the previous studies of South Sudanese URMs, many researchers found a strong sense of purpose as a resilience factor for the participants (Bates et al., 2005; Bates, Luster, Johnson, Qin, & Rana, 2013; Duncan, 2001; Luster et al., 2010; Qin, 2008; Rana et al., 2011). Motivating and inspiring from these reports, the second phase of the study was conducted from 2014 to 2015 to follow up with individuals who participated in Phase 1. As a result, the current group of researchers have conducted 11 follow-up individual interviews (Johnson, Bates, Qin, & Yoon,

2015, unpublished) regarding the participants' long-term adjustments focused on their life goals, accomplishments, challenges, changes, identity, and acculturation seven years after the first phase of data collection and fourteen years after their arrival in the United States.

Participants description

Phase 1

Nineteen South Sudanese refugees who had been placed in a foster care program for URMs in the United States participated in the retrospective interviews. This included 21% of the 89 minors resettled by Lutheran Social Services of Michigan in Lansing and neighboring communities. At the time of the interview, all the South Sudanese youth were adults, ranging in age from 18 to 26 years old (mean age was 22 years old). Of the 19 youth interviewed, 17 were male and 2 were female. Most of the participants identified themselves as Dinka, the largest tribal group in South Sudan. At the time of resettlement, the mean age of the youth was 15 years, and the youngest child was 11 years old. (Rana et al., 2011).

Phase 2

Among the 19 South Sudanese URMs who participated in Phase 1, 11 of the participants (57%) participated in follow-up in-depth interviews via Skype or face-to-face meeting. At the time of the interviews, all the South Sudanese youth were adults, ranging in age from 25 to 32 years old. Of the 11 follow-up participants we interviewed, 9 were male and 2 were female (see Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 2. Phase 1 Participants Information

Name (Pseudonym)	**Ali**	**Gabriel**	**Bul**	**Garang**	**Ater**
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Age	18	24	23	21	21
Academic status	In 2-year college	Graduated 2-year college	In 4-year university	In 4-year college	In 4-year college
Working	Not working	Not working	Working part-time	Not working	Not working
Relationship status	Not in a relationship	Not in a relationship	In a relationship	In a relationship	In a relationship
Number of Children	1	1	1	-	-
Name (Pseudonym)	**David**	**James**	**Adut**	**Diu**	**Dau**
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age	19	24	25	25	24
Academic status	In 2-year college	In 4-year university	Graduated 4-year college	In 4-year college	Graduated 2-year college
Working	Not working	Working part-time	Working full-time	Working part-time	Working part-time
Relationship Status	Not in a relationship	In a relationship	Not in a relationship	In a relationship	Not in a relationship
Number of children	-	-	1	-	-
Name (Pseudonym)	**Bor**	**Ajak**	**Majak**	**Wek**	**Alek**
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age	21	24	23	24	20
Academic status	In 4-year university	In 4-year university	In 2-year college	In 2-year college	In 4-year university
Working	Working part-time	Working part-time	Working part-time	Working part-time	Not working
Relationship status	In a relationship	Not in a relationship	In a relationship	In a relationship	Not in a relationship
Number of children	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2 (cont'd)

Name (Pseudonym)	**Chol**	**John**	**Gat**	**Bok**
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age	21	23	20	26
Academic Status	In 4-year university	Deferred college	In 2-year college	In 2-year college
Working	Working part-time	Working full-time	Not working	Working part-time
Relationship Status	In a relationship	Not in a relationship	In a relationship	Not in a relationship
Number of children	-	-	-	-

Table 3. Phase 2 Participants Information

Name (Pseudonym)	**Nya**	**Gabriel**	**Bul**	**Garang**	**Ater**
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Age	25	31	30	29	28
Highest level of Education	4-year college degree	Associate's 2-year college	Some college but no degree	Master's degree	Master's degree
Employment	Employed part-time	Unemployed	Employed full-time	Employed part-time	Employed full-time
Relationship status	Single and dating	Single and dating	Single and dating	Married	Married
Number of children	1	3	2	1	-
Name (Pseudonym)	**David**	**James**	**Adut**	**Diu**	**Dau**
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age	25	31	32	31	31
Highest level of Education	4-year college degree	Master's degree	4-year college degree	4-year college degree	4-year college degree
Employment	Employed full-time	Employed full-time	Employed full-time	Employed full-time	Employed full-time
Relationship Status	Single not dating	Married	Married	Single not dating	Single and dating
Number of children	-	-	4	-	-

Table 3 (cont'd)

Name (Pseudonym)	**Bor**
Gender	Male
Age	28
Highest level of Education	Some college but no degree
Employment	Employed full-time
Relationship status	Single
Number of children	-

Semi-structured interviews

For both phases 1 and 2, the study used a qualitative research design by using open-ended semi-structured interviews in which the participants were comfortable speaking about their experiences, and the researchers were able to follow the interview protocol. The interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of the participants and later transcribed. The interviews each began with a short demographic questionnaire and took approximately 1 to 1.5 hours to complete.

In Phase 1, the questions centered on their goals when they came to the United States and the progress they made in achieving their goals during the first 7 years of resettlement. Other questions were about the challenges they experienced and the support they received. In addition, they were asked about their views on why some of the youth were relatively successful since resettlement, whereas others struggled. The parts of the interview focused on their experience in American social context (e.g., experiences of harassment) and identity issues. We reviewed these sections of the transcripts to gather any relevant information.

In Phase 2, follow-up interviews were conducted with 11 minors among the 19 participants from Phase 1. The follow-up interview focused on the success, changes, and

challenges in achieving their goals and adapting to life in the United States since the first interview. Other sections focused on their acculturation experiences, especially their 'othering' experiences in the American social context, or "foreignness," and their views on race and identity formation during 14 years of resettlement.

Table 4. Connections between theories, sub-research questions, and interview protocol questions

Primary Research Question: How do South Sudanese URMs develop a sense of purpose in terms of intention, engagement, and contribution?		
Theory	Sub-Research Questions	Interview Protocol Questions
Purpose Development	1a. What are their identified goals? What is their main category and domain of purpose? 1b. What have they experienced in achieving their goals? How has their sense of purpose changed and influenced their lives in the U.S. over time?	Tell me about your main goals now. Would say those goals have changed in the last few years? If your goals have changed, how have they changed and what caused you to change your goals? Since we last interviewed you, what would you say have been your most significant accomplishments? What are you are most proud of? If you feel you have been or are being successful in achieving your goals what has helped you to achieve? What supports have you received that helped you? What would say motivates you to keep going and to continue working hard toward your goals? Have you had any disappointments along the way? What were they?
Primary Research Question: What are the acculturative experiences of South Sudanese URMs in seeking their goals and purpose?		
Theory	Sub-Research Questions	Interview Protocol Questions
Tridimensional Acculturation	2a. What are the particular cultural dimensions of their acculturation process over time? 2b. How does their race and multiple cultures impact their adjustment and psychological wellbeing?	How would you describe yourself these days… as American? Sudanese? Sudanese-American? or some other way? Why do you describe yourself this way?

Table 4 (cont'd)

Primary Research Question: What are the adjustment outcomes influenced by their purpose development and how so?		
Theory	Sub-Research Questions	Demographics
Segmented Assimilation	-	Highest level of education, employment status and occupation

Data analysis

For both data sets from Phase 1 and Phase 2, the transcribed interviews were individually coded and then converged together thematically to generate a theory grounded in data. Specifically, a three-step coding procedure was used: open, axial, and selective coding (Creswell, 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) on the areas of research interest.

In the open coding phase, the author reviewed the 30 interview transcripts (19 interviews from Phase 1, and 11 interviews from Phase 2), defined salient categories of information supported by the participants' narratives, and described the data into codes and themes. Some of the codes and themes included cultural differences, language barriers, active academic engagement and successful educational achievements, positive and negative work experiences, a strong sense of purpose, life meaning, and experience with racism, to name a few. Using the constant comparative approach, the categories were organized, and the codes and themes "saturated," until the new information attained did not provide further insight into the category (Creswell, 2012; Maxwell & Wooffitt, 2005).

Next, the author led axial coding based on the categories that were identified as the central phenomena of interest. The data were classified into codes and themes: purpose development, multidimensional acculturation, identity reformation, and segmented assimilation. A conceptual framework of this study was focused and directed by the existing frameworks and the relevant research; however, the categories recognized from the open coding process

identified the key phenomena under the conceptual model as it was extensively articulated by the participants. Accordingly, the researchers returned to the database to assess the major constructs and elements that related to these central phenomena.

For instance, applying an existing coding protocol for determining forms of purpose (Malin et al., 2008), the three constructs of purpose (intention, engagement, and contribution) were assessed and the different forms of purpose, category, and domain of purpose were systematically determined. In addition, four cultural dimensions were discovered, providing a substantial explanation on the multidimensional acculturation experience among the participants. The result from this axial coding around multidimensional acculturation was presented and confirmed with its theorist, Dr. Ferguson, Gail M., at the Society of Research for Adolescence (SRA) biennial meeting on March 2015 in Baltimore, MD.

In the last step of analyses, the researcher conducted selective coding and interpreted the data to generate a theory in which the categories were interrelated to represent the participants' story and suggest propositions. Based upon the organization of information from these coding phases, the theory grounded from data was represented and visualized into tables and figures.

Trustworthiness of data

Trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to "an attempt to assess the accuracy of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants" (Creswell, 2012, p. 250). In this study, there were several strategies used to ensure the trustworthiness of the data and the findings.

Data saturation. The author thoroughly read the interviews and constantly returned to the participants' scripts to saturate the themes and sub-themes suggested in the grounded model. Enough information was gathered with a repetition of themes, and it was repeatedly reviewed by

the multiple investigators to fully develop the model of purpose development in the context of South Sudanese URMs' life during resettlement in the United States. For this reason, the research team determined there was a good indication that data saturation had been reached.

Prolonged engagement. Most of the researchers have engaged in the original study project on South Sudanese refugee youth since 2001. In particular, their prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field allowed them as interviewers to build trust with the participants, learning the culture and checking for misinformation. Based on the researchers' close and long-term contact with the participants, 11 follow-up interviews were successfully conducted 7 years later. The follow-up interviews were conducted through multiple methods of communication (face-to-face and Skype) even though the participants are now living in various locations in the country.

Peer review/debriefing. To monitor researchers' bias and check the reliability of the codes and categories built on the basis of theoretical frameworks of purpose and tridimensional acculturation, we had peer debriefing sessions to carefully discuss methods, meanings, and interpretations of the data and the findings. As a result, only themes and interpretations that we can support with rich and thick descriptions without controversy among the investigators are included in the findings.

Member checking. After completing data analysis, findings were written, summarized, and returned to a participant to check for accuracy and resonance with their experiences (Birt, Scott, Cavers, Campbell, & Walter, 2016). In particular, the author re-contacted one of the participants and facilitated a face-to-face interview for this respondent validation. In the member checking process, the participant was given the written summary of findings and asked questions (Does this match your experience? Do you want to change anything? Do you want to add

anything?) to confirm or disconfirm the participant's resonance with the analyzed data. As a result, the study's findings were obtained in agreement with its participants and ensured the credibility and validity of the results.

Triangulation of data. According to Patton (1999), triangulation refers to "the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena" (as cited in Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, & Blythe, 2014, p. 545). In this study, there were three types of triangulation: 1) data source triangulation, 2) investigator triangulation, and 3) theory triangulation. First, interview data were collected in two different time periods by multiple interviewers. Furthermore, multiple theories were used to interpret data and examine the central phenomenon. Lastly, there were second and third coders to ensure the credibility and the reliability of coding processes, validity of analysis, and presentation of the data.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section describes the demographic background of the participants in two phases. The second section presents the qualitative research findings (main themes and subthemes) on purpose development, four-dimensional acculturation, identity reformation, and integration over time in relation to South Sudanese URMs' long-term adjustment outcomes (educational and occupational achievement and life satisfaction level). The last section is a complementary analysis of 30-survey data.

Demographic background

Phase 1

The first phase of data collection was conducted in 2007, seven years after the South Sudanese URMs' first arrival in the U.S. There were nineteen URMs from South Sudan (N = 19), including two females and seventeen males aged from 18 to 26 years old, with the mean age of 22.4 years old (SD = 2.29 years) (see Table 5). The participants comprised 23.5% of the total 89 South Sudanese URMs resettled by Lutheran Social Services of Michigan in Lansing and neighboring communities in late 2000 and early 2001.

All participants were born in South Sudan and were separated from their biological parents as children, and they lived in a Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya for several years before they resettled in the U.S. At the time of resettlement, the mean age of these nineteen South Sudanese URMs was 15 years old, and the youngest was 11 years old. All were placed in a foster care program for unaccompanied refugee minors in the U.S.

Regarding their education, all URMs completed high school and began attending college courses. In total, 78.9% of participants (n = 15) were in college, three (15.7%) graduated, and one deferred (see Table 5). In addition to pursuing their education, 63.2% of the nineteen

participants (n = 12) said that they also worked part-time jobs to provide for themselves as well as for their family members in South Sudan. Mostly, they worked as cashiers, utility workers, cooks at McDonald's, or servers at restaurants.

Table 5. Phase 1 Demographic information

Phase 1	Number of participants (%)
Currently in school	
Yes	15 (78.9%)
No	4 (21%)
Currently working	
Yes	12 (63.2%)
No	7 (36.8%)
Academic status	
Deferred college	1 (5.2%)
In college	15 (78.9%)
Graduated 2-year college	2 (10.5%)
Graduated 4-year college	1 (5.2%)
In Master's program	-
In Doctorate program	-
Highest level of education achieved	
Highschool diploma	14 (73.7%)
Some college but no degree	1 (5.2%)
2-year college degree	3 (15.7)
4-year college degree	1 (5.2%)
Master's degree	-
Doctoral degree	-
Relationship status	
Not in a relationship	9 (47.3%)
In a relationship	10 (52.6%)
Child(ren)	
Yes	4 (21%)
No	15 (78.9%)
Financially supporting families in South Sudan	
Yes	11 (57.9%)
No	8 (42.1%)
	(N = 19)

Phase 2

From April 2014 to June 2015, a follow-up study was conducted. The researchers interviewed 11 South Sudanese URMs who completed their first interviews in phase 1 (n = 11), which comprised 57.8% of the total number of participants from phase 1 (N = 19) and 12.3% of the total 89 South Sudanese URMs who were resettled in late 2000 and early 2001.

During this second phase of data collection, their ages ranged from 25 to 32 years with a mean age of 29 (SD = 2.28 years). Two female and nine male participants were included. Among the 11 follow-up participants, 4 were married, 3 were in relationships, and 5 became parents with one to four child(ren). All participants had completed higher education with diverse achievements (see Table 6). Some participants (n = 4) were still enrolled in school for a higher degree (e.g., bachelor's, master's, or PhD).

Regarding employment, 10 participants (90.9%) were employed either part-time or full-time, and one was unemployed (0.09%) at the time of the interview. A total of 54.5% of participants (n = 6) held unskilled or semi-skilled labor jobs, such as assembly line workers. Skilled occupations were reported by four participants, which comprised 36.3% of respondents. These occupations included a doctoral level research assistant, a medical technician, a staff accountant, and a case manager (n = 4).

Nine participants (81%) stated that they were financially supporting immediate and extended family members in South Sudan by sending them money periodically (e.g., monthly) and on a need basis. In addition, five participants (45.5%) said that they had been involved with non-government organizations in an effort to rebuild their home country and communities. Often, they were leaders and supporters involved in providing the most-needed public services, such as schools and health clinics, in South Sudan.

Table 6. Phase 2 Demographic information

Phase 2	Number of participants (%)
Currently in school	
Yes	4 (36.4%)
No	7 (63.6%)
Currently working	
Yes	10 (90.9%)
No	1 (9.1%)
Academic status	
Deferred college	-
In college	2 (18.2%)
Graduated 2-year college	1 (9.0%)
Graduated 4-year college	5 (45.4%)
In Master's degree	1 (0.0%)
In Doctorate degree	1 (9.0%)
Highest level of education achieved	
Highschool diploma	-
Some college but no degree	2 (18.2%)
2-year college degree	1 (9.0%)
4-year college degree	5 (45.4%)
Master's degree	3 (27.3%)
Doctoral degree	-
Relationship status	
Single not dating	4 (36.4%)
Single dating	3 (27.3%)
Married	4 (36.4%)
Child(ren)	
Yes	5 (45.5%)
No	6 (54.5%)
Financially supporting families in South Sudan	
Yes	9 (81.8%)
No	2 (18.2%)
Involving in rebuilding South Sudan	
Yes	5 (45.5%)
No	6 (54.5%)
	(n = 11)

Main themes and sub-themes

There were three major theoretical foundations of this study: Damon's purpose development (2003), Ferguson's tridimensional acculturation model (2012, 2014), and Portes and Zhou's segmented assimilation theory (1993). From the intersection of developmental, psychological, and sociological perspectives, the current study qualitatively examined how purpose develops over time and how it is linked with individuals and social factors, such as acculturation experiences and identity adaptation that affected the long-term adjustment of South Sudanese URMs over the 14 years of their US resettlement.

The main themes and subthemes emerged largely based on the longitudinal data set from Phase 1 and Phase 2, which took place seven years apart, and were supplemented by the field notes and debriefing memos of multiple interviewers. Quotes from the participants' interviews were used to support the themes and the subthemes. It is important to note that although the themes are discussed and organized based on the current theoretical frameworks, they were also identified and proposed in an attempt to advance the existing theory of purpose development by focusing on the one of most vulnerable populations—South Sudanese URMs.

Purpose development

The findings regarding purpose development include the prevalence of other-oriented, beyond-the-self (BTS) purpose among the participants, the core elements of purpose development—*category of purpose, domain of purpose, and driver* (Stanford Center on Adolescence Youth Purpose Codebook, Malin et al., 2008), and the changes in purpose over the two phases of the study.

Prevalence of beyond-the-self (BTS) purpose. Interview transcripts were coded and evaluated consistent with the Youth Purpose Codebook (Malin et al., 2008). Accordingly,

emphasis was placed on their most important objectives to accomplish, their specific goals, their current and future activities, and their reasons for pursuing the goals to determine the form of purpose. The first aim was to examine the prevalence of other-oriented, BTS purpose among South Sudanese URMs in two phases. The results revealed BTS purpose among 13 (68.4%) of the 19 participants in Phase 1, and 10 (90.9%) of the 11 participants in Phase 2 (see Table 7). Participants coded as demonstrating BTS purpose tended to describe their specific goals in relation to their larger purpose of helping others or supporting their families. For example:

> My goal was to come here, go to school, after school, go back home and try to help kid with no parent. I'm going to school right now for road construction and my goal, I think after I'm done, I'm going to go back home and get a job and try to talk with some church people, if they can help me try to open up a place like school for kid with no parents. Done with college probably work here for a year or two so I can save up some money, at least thirty to forty grands, and by the time I get that much money and go there that would be now to build a building to start it out. My goal is I really need to house orphan kids. (Bor, Phase 1)

> At that time (first arrival), my goal was to go to school and finish. I did finish high school which is great. I got my associate at a community college, which is also great. But I didn't finish my bachelor's, so it's another goal that I have to accomplish. Another thing, you have an opportunity to work, get a job and, trying to help people back home…I see myself being here is not just to be here to be here. To be here to help people back home. I think it is one of my biggest goals because there's no reason I'm here if I'm not going to help people back home. (Dau, Phase 1)

> One of my goals is to become a CPA type of accountant and after that it's probably to work for a CPA firm and then down the road is to start my own business and then I also see myself someday, starting a school somewhere in Africa. So, I would say, being a CPA, starting a school and working in a public accounting firm. Part of the reason I want to run my own business someday is because I go back to South Sudan and be able to employ people, so they can have their own job so now I'm not only paying them, but they are able to help their own. That's how I look at it. (Ater, Phase 2)

The preceding passages are indicative of responses that the participants provided when asked about their goals (e.g., tell me what your goals are, what goals did you have when you came to the U.S., and how are you doing in terms of reaching those goals?). In these passages, the participants convey a strong commitment to education and employment in order to help people, including their families, in South Sudan. These young South Sudanese refugee minors were

actively engaged in education and employment opportunities available in the U.S. pursuant to their overarching life goals of helping people in their home country. This is a manifestation of other-oriented, BTS reason for their current involvement, and their future endeavors are underscored by an eagerness to care for their people struggling in South Sudan, to whom they felt a strong "responsibility."

In addition to BTS purpose, the form of self-goals was identified for six (31.5%) of the South Sudanese URMs in Phase 1 (see Table 7). Statements representative of this form of self-goals include the following:

> Right now, I'm going to [a community college]. My plan is when I get done with this, because the program I'm doing at [this college] is a two-year program and once I get that done, I can either work or move on to [a university], where I can get some more training if I want to be an airline pilot. So that's where everything lies right now… [What I was here for was] to have a better life, to have an education. I would say that's pretty much about it. I could forget about everything else… Being able to get my private pilot's license. That's good enough to get me a job. (Gat, Phase 1)

> When I find a job, the thing is if I couldn't get a good job, I might go back to school [to get an advance degree], that's one of goals…after that, I consider it done, maybe buying house and stuff like that. (Ajak, Phase 1)

> I want to get my Associate degree, buy a house. Actually, first get a job, make some money, buy a house, get married and have more kids. (Nya, Phase 1)

These young participants were actively engaged in their education and cited self-oriented reasons, such as finding lucrative employment or buying a house, for desiring to pursue education and careers rather than citing other-oriented, BTS reason for doing so. As such, this group of South Sudanese URMs purpose was coded as self-goals rather than a BTS purpose.

Diu was categorized as having a self-dream purpose in Phase 2. He had completed his college degree when he was first interviewed in Phase 1 in 2007; however, he was not able to secure employment thereafter due to the recession in 2008. Although he entered a graduate program, he had to halt his education and earn money to provide for his parents and his two brothers living in South Sudan. He had been working in a food processing plant, but he wanted

to continue to pursue his education and further his career to avoid a factory job, though it provided enough money for himself and his family members.

> I want to go back to school…Right now, I am happy. I am happy for my job now but it's not a job that I am going to do for the life. (Diu, Phase 2)

This quotation illustrates his self-oriented reason for wanting to return to school to further his career; however, there were no current actions directly related to his goal of returning to school and securing new employment. Although he devoted himself to working to support his family members in South Sudan, other-oriented, BTS reason for purpose was not demonstrated. Thus, he was designated as having a self-dream purpose.

Table 7. Frequency counts and percentages of the form of purpose among South Sudanese URMs

	Form of purpose		
	BTS Purpose	Self-goal	Self-dream
Phase 1[a]	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.5%)	
Phase 2[b]	10 (90.9%)		1 (0.9%)

[a]n = 19. [b]n = 11.

The results suggest that South Sudanese URMs exhibited few forms of purpose throughout the two phases but clearly had a high proportion of BTS purpose. Their current goals and activities related to education and employment were the indicators of the participants' efforts in realizing the larger purpose (i.e., BTS purpose) of helping their families and communities of origin. For them, the most important goal to accomplish was to help those in South Sudan, and the steps that needed to be taken to fulfill their purpose included receiving an education and securing gainful employment.

Table 7 lists the forms of purpose identified in the two phases. To determine the form of purpose, there were two important constructs to examine—the category of purpose and the domain of purpose (see Appendix C, Malin et al., 2008). These two constructs allow for organizing and understanding various types of life purpose as well as the specific areas in which

an individual pursues his/her goals. Therefore, it is important to examine the categories and the domains of purpose to obtain a better understanding of the contents and processes of individual purpose development. The next section provides an analysis of the categories and domains of purpose that were identified during interviews with South Sudanese URMs.

Category of purpose. According to the codebook (Malin et al., 2008), the category of purpose refers to "the broad concepts that capture many of the more specific types of goals and activities that young people talk about as important" (p. 4). In other words, the category of purpose includes the larger ideas that create meaning and drive in one's pursuit of his/her specific goals. There are 17 categories of purpose defined in the codebook (Malin et al., 2008).

For those with a BTS purpose, the most common categories of purpose were "support my family" and "help others" among the 17 categories of purpose (Malin et al., 2008). Five of the participants (26.3%) in Phase 1 and eight of the participants (90.9%) in Phase 2 emphasized "support my family" as the most important driving force towards their goals (see Table 8). In addition, eight participants (42.1%) in Phase 1 and two participants (0.9%) in Phase 2 explained that they wanted to 'help others' by achieving their educational and career goals. In essence, their specific goals to accomplish related to education and employment were motivated by their broader concepts of supporting their families and helping others. Garang mentioned a lack of clinics and health education in South Sudan as a reason for choosing his major for his graduate degree:

> That's one of the things I pick this to be a doctor because based on what I have been through that simple diseases like Malaria are not being cured. I am not talking about AIDS or cancer. I am talking about simple sanitation. They don't have a still, it's not something that is done. (Phase 1)

His current academic endeavor was closely related to his career goal of being an expert (e.g., MD or PhD) in the field of medical or health care. Furthermore, these specific goals

were based on and reinforced by his fundamental life purpose—helping others in South Sudan.

Moreover, it was important to many of the South Sudanese URMs to remember and to help family members who continued to struggle with hunger, violence, and disease. To this end, the majority of participants expressed this sense of responsibility. For the refugee youth, supporting family members in South Sudan was identified as the most important category of purpose motivating them to become highly educated and economically active, toward ultimately achieving financial stability. Mostly, South Sudanese URMs demonstrated a BTS purpose by stating the following:

> I have to go to school here and finish what I was coming for and get a better job so that when I go back, [I] have to help people [family] out too. Those are the goals I think I have to accomplish for stay in the U.S. (John, Phase 1)

These two common categories of purpose (i.e., support my family and help others) resonate with their BTS, other-oriented reasons behind their purpose. For those who demonstrated a self-goal purpose in Phase 1 and a self-dream purpose in Phase 2, several categories of purpose were found to be important: "be successful," "make money," "have a good career," and "live life to the fullest." Participants' categories of purpose in both phases are listed in Table 8.

Table 8. Frequency counts and percentages of the category of purpose among South Sudanese URMs

	Category of purpose					
	Support my family	Help others	Be successful	Live life to the fullest	Make Money	Have a good career
Phase 1[a]	5 (26.3%)	8 (42.1%)	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (0.05%)	1 (0.05%)
Phase 2[b]	8 (90.9%)	2 (0.9%)	-	-	-	1 (0.09%)

[a]$n = 19$. [b]$n = 11$.

In the next section, the domains of purpose are discussed to highlight their short-term aims related to current activities and future plans. The ways these domains of purpose are related to the overarching categories of purpose are also described.

Domain of purpose. The domains of purpose are defined as "the broad areas of life in which the goal or activity resides" (Malin et al., 2008, p. 4). The 10 domains of purpose are also defined in the codebook (see Appendix C). Throughout both phases, the most frequently cited domains of purpose by participants were academic achievement and career. In other words, all the South Sudanese URM participants articulated their specific goals related to education and current employment as well as their plans for their future careers.

In Phase 1, all participants (n = 19) described academic achievement as the most significant domain of purpose. The following South Sudanese URMs' statements clearly reflect the extent to which they valued education because they strongly believed that education would promote their success and capacity to help others, including their families:

> You can go to school and get your education. That's what's going to help you to succeed in life and down the road. You have to have education. (Gat, Phase 1)

> My first priority was to get as much education as possible. Here if you decided to work instead of going to school, I think in the long run, they're not getting a lot. It'd be hard for you to help because it comes from the knowledge you gain from here. So, my main objective was to focus on school. (James, Phase 1)

> I think working in a factory or working in a restaurant is not making, is not safe. I am not saying as physically, but it's not safe for our future because we haven't secured our future. We need to secure our future for our little baby and then me and him. We have to go to school…we need to do that, and we know people are gonna suffer a lot [if] we can't help them anymore. But that [education] is the only way we can help them big. We can help them big if we finish our education. (Gabriel, Phase 1)

It is notable that their focus on education always extended the range of purpose domains related to their future goals, especially their career goals. It is obvious that being highly educated was not an end-goal for this group of refugee minors. Rather, it was considered an important process that would prepare them for the next level of career development, ultimately geared

towards reaching their broader concepts of purpose (i.e., category of purpose). Thus, the domains of purpose that were identified (i.e., academic achievement and career) implied a process of purpose development that included transitioning from school to the workforce as they developed.

Consequently, in Phase 2, all participants (n = 11) stated that their careers were the focal domain of purpose once they had completed higher education and transitioned to the labor force (see Table 9). Although some participants (n = 3, or 27.2%) still discussed returning to school for an unfinished degree and pursuing advanced academic degrees, such as bachelor's, master's, or PhD degrees, there was a clear change of focus in their domains of purpose—from academic achievement to careers—over the two phases of the study. This phenomenon could reflect the fact that many had completed higher education in Phase 2 and had shifted their focus to economic activities and financial goals through their careers.

Table 9. Frequency counts and percentages of the domain of purpose among South Sudanese URMs

	Domain of purpose	
	Academic Achievement	Career
Phase 1	19 (100%)	4 (10.5%)
Phase 2	3 (27.2%)	11 (100%)

Note. Sum of each row exceeds the total *N* due to the overlaps between the domains of purpose

The categories and domains of purpose demonstrated the specific paths of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs over time. All participants discussed two major domains of purpose (e.g., academic achievement and career) over time regardless of their form of purpose—BTS, self-goal, or self-dream purpose. While many of the participants focused on these specific domains of purpose and maintained BTS purpose from Phase 1 to Phase 2, there were also changes in the forms of purpose. In the following section, the ways the forms of purpose changed even when the same domains of purpose were maintained over time are discussed.

Changes in purpose form over time. From Phase 1 to Phase 2, nine participants (81.8%) maintained other-oriented/ BTS purpose, and two participants (18.2%) exhibited changes in their form of purpose. For example, Diu who demonstrated a self-goal purpose in Phase 1 was categorized as having a self-dream purpose in Phase 2. In addition, Nya with a self-goal in Phase 1 demonstrated BTS purpose when examined in Phase 2. She was the youngest (eleven years old) of the population of South Sudanese URMs resettle to the area under study arriving in 2000 to 2001. In Phase 1, Nya was 18 and attending school. During the first interview, she stated:

> I want to get my Associate degree, buy a house. Actually, first get a job, make some money, buy a house, get married, and have more kids.

Seven years later, during Phase 2, Nya elaborated on altruistic and BTS motives related to her purpose:

> My goal is to go back to school to get my RN, that's what I wanna do. 'Cause someday I wanna go back – when Sudan is a better –I wanna go back there and help and if I do become a nurse, I can help a lot there 'cause they are in need of anything in the medical field – Cause I wanna go back home someday and help; I wanna be a nurse so, and like I said, I came to America to pursue my dream and get my education and I just didn't wanna give that up so that kinda motivated me to like, this is what I came here for and I have a dream of becoming a nurse so I have to keep pushing it.

Consequently, in Phase 2, all but one participant demonstrated a BTS purpose under which they engaged in activities in specific domains of purpose. It was their other-oriented, BTS reasoning that connected their past and their current efforts with their long-term life purpose. In other words, their unique past in Africa and the current experiences in the U.S. created a life purpose to support their families in their home country and to help others in South Sudan in the future. In the following section, the explanation for this meaning being an important driving force for South Sudanese URMs continues.

The driver: meaning of their adverse past and current opportunities. *"You have to go back to the past to look ahead to the future" (Garang, Phase 1).*

As children, they suffered through devastating experiences due to war in their home country. They were separated from their biological parents, suffered from hunger and disease, and witnessed the deaths of their families and friends while they escaped from military attacks. Moreover, some were trained and abused as child soldiers before they fled to refugee camps. The detrimental effects of these experiences have been consistently reported among young refugee minors from various countries (Geltman et al., 2005); however, surprisingly, the participants viewed their pasts as strong drivers that inspired and motivated them to set and to achieve their specific goals while in the U.S. The participants designated their pasts in Africa as factors that shaped important meaning in their lives in the U.S. For instance, the participants commented:

> Whenever I do something I think about my background, how did I come here and why am I here. So, all these questions helped me to formulate what I will do. They motivated me to do my stuff. (Adut, Phase 1)

> You have to think hard of what you have been through and then to make a good decision. But if you forget Sudan, forget those cultures, and cut the whole thing [out] just America, you might make a bad choice. (Garang, Phase 1)

> Staying in Kenya without, sometime would go days without food and all those. Those kinds of struggle make me stronger. I know how to survive well and, when I came here, it's kind of easy. (Adut, Phase 2)

> I think my past experience kinda influence me. We went through the toughest situations to where anything that comes. It's like, 'okay it's tough but I can make it through'… From Sudan to Kenya and from Kenya to here, I was basically a war child. We were always getting shot at and I grew up in a refugee camp where we barely had food or water, and we were sleeping in hutches and stuff. So, I just look at the big picture like 'I'm here, I can do so much better'. Like when something faces me, it's like, 'okay, this is difficult but, I can make it through'. I try to be positive about it. (Nya, Phase 2)

Interestingly, most of the South Sudanese URMs in this study were motivated by the adversities that they faced in the past and related these experiences to their second chance to live their lives in the U.S. Participants expressed gratitude and felt humble about their survival and resettlement

in the U.S. They often mentioned their responsibility to those left behind in South Sudan. Therefore, this unique set of experiences in their early lives appeared to be the most important source of purpose development having meaning across their life courses. In Phase 2, Garang said:

> I mean, you come here with nothing, and now you're talking of high school diploma, you're talking about bachelors, you're talking about, master's degree, talking about family, wife, and child. you know, as a man, you are supposed to be a breadwinner.

Similarly, their current education and career goals were clearly connected to their larger purpose and a second level of meaning-making regarding their futures. They strongly believed that accomplishments in the domains of education and career would lead to the ability and the responsibility to help their families and communities in South Sudan. Many participants mentioned that they felt a collective responsibility to help rebuild their war-torn society and to help their people in South Sudan by utilizing their educational and career opportunities in the U.S.

Throughout the interviews, all participants continuously stressed the importance of obtaining an education and of being economically active in relation to their responsibility to help. Garang commented:

> We need a lot of help. Then now, I say the only difference between me and my fellow tribe back home is education. If I don't gain the knowledge here, there is no difference. I could sit here and go back and then be just the same. The difference is how much you want to go to school, how much you want it back…[I] Just don't think about myself. I could get married, have a nice house, become a doctor, even become a doctor here and don't even go back. Why, why should I care? But what they have been through, they lost hope. You have to somehow have to come back and give them hope. (Phase 1)

Ultimately, the meaning that was identified in the South Sudanese URMs' resettlement process was the driver of their purpose development, emphasizing not only caring for themselves but also for others and their home country. In sum, the meanings of their past experience and the

US resettlement promoted their broader conceptions of purpose, which then influenced their day-to-day activities. Dau expressed:

> I feel like me being here is not just for me to be here in America. It's not even just to get my bachelor's, but I think me being in American is to help people back home…Getting married, have kids, stay here. That's the life that everybody wants, but I don't see that as the reason I'm here. I see that as the reason I'm here, my focus sometime is to help people back home. (Phase 1)

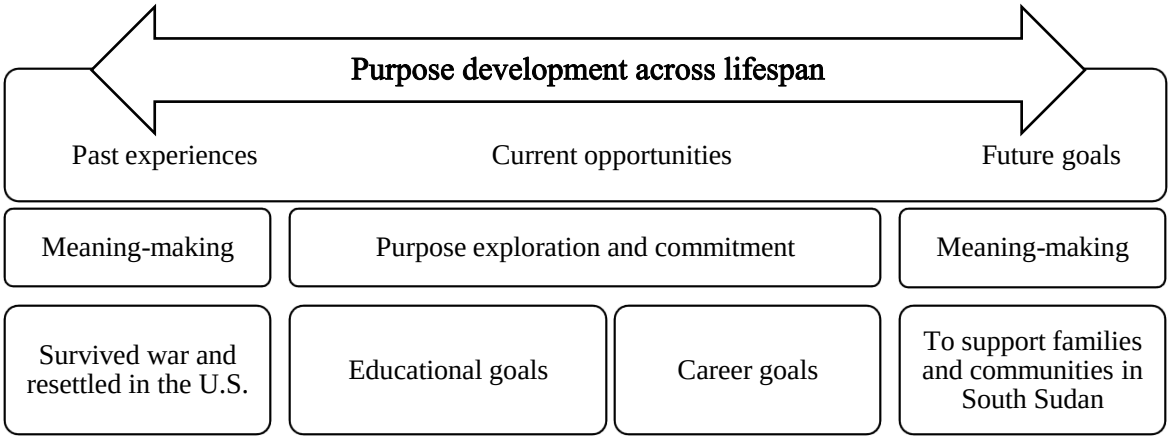

Figure 3. Conceptual model of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs over time based on open coding

Maintaining BTS purpose while dealing with financial constraints and acculturative challenges

The development of purpose among South Sudanese URMs also included several important contextual barriers in their lives when pursuing their goals. In particular, there were three influential forces of context that the participants often described as obstacles to achieving their goals and fulfilling their purpose: a) heavy workloads due to multiple responsibilities; b) financial constraints and emotional strain from transnational financial demands; and c) acculturative tasks and challenges as they integrated into the new and "diverse" American culture.

Heavy workload. One of the important characteristics of the lives of South Sudanese URMs was the multiple responsibilities that they carried out in everyday life. In most cases, they

were economically active with either part-time or full-time jobs while pursuing their education (see Table 2 and Table 3 for detail). In this situation, shift hours in work and time for school often conflicted and resulted in heavy workloads that the participants endured to fulfill multiple responsibilities—supporting themselves and their family members and performing well in school. For example, Dau attended school and worked full-time during both phases of the interviews. He described his life as follows:

> I am working forty hours, I am working eight hours a night starting 10:30pm-7:00am in the morning. Sometimes, I woke up at ten and my classes are from 11:00am, 10:00am, right there, if I woke up at 10:00am, I mean I come home trying to prepare for class and I will go to class and sit there do homework. So, was a bit challenging, it was really a bit challenging, but I have to do it because I have to live, I mean, I have to pay my rent, I have to have food, I have to send some money back to Africa. Um, but, yeah, I did it, so, yeah. (Phase 1)

> I'm doing school full-time, I'm doing ministry full-time, and I'm doing, this job full-time. So, I'm three full-time things. I have to have a job so that I [can] support my family back home. I have to make sure I get my bills paid and thing like that. So, all those three are big motivation, and I think that's what make me keep doing them, I think. (Phase 2)

Financial constraints and emotional strain. More than half of the participants (57.9%) in Phase 1 and nine of the 11 participants (81%) in Phase 2 stated that they were supporting their family members in South Sudan by sending them money on a regular basis (see Table 5 and 6). Most frequently, the money used for the medical, educational, and basic expenses of family members in Africa. To meet this transnational financial demand, many had been economically active since they were adolescents.

Despite their diligent work and perseverance, financial constraints sometimes thwarted their plans for pursuing their education. With overwhelming financial demands and limited resources, a number of participants experienced course failure requiring them to repeat classes. Sometimes the result was to end their programs in order to earn enough money to meet immediate financial needs. Majak and Dau explained:

> I've tried to, but it's not easy. I'm doing that, but sometimes this semester I failed my classes, because I was working, because my uncle was sick and dying…I tried to work many hours this semester, and I failed my class. (Interviewer: You wanted to make enough money to send back.) So, he can get treatment. That keeps me away from going to school. (Majak, Phase 1)

> I had seen people back home, and I have talked to people back home, and I wanted to support them financially. So, working at that time sound good, you know? so that I can at least do that, support them a little bit for a while. And I think I have done that. What happened, it was not just one year to do it; it took 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 without really going back to school…It would have been quicker [finishing bachelor's]. I think that's where kind of disappointment come in, because I – I know I have helped my family. Um, and I have had support myself financially and, you know, I have rent, bills paid and thing like that. (Dau, Phase 2)

To manage financial constraints, they negotiated their educational goals and plans to focus on employment by taking the most readily available positions. Under these circumstances, participants often felt stressed by the delay in schooling and pressured by the demands from the two countries. For instance, participants commented:

> My goal is here to finish school, but I don't go to school and I have a full-time job… It's not good thing… It's a personal problem, it's not somebody to blame because they need money too, like you do. So, if you have enough money you gotta send some to them left some to you, some to school, you know, and some for apartment…It's not like a problem, but it's kind of problem, but it's a personal problem, you know, you gotta deal with it, there's nothing you can do about it, you know…They need money too because, you know, it's your parents, you can't leave behind, if they need something you gotta give it to them and live where you live because they don't understand what we have here because you gotta pay apartment, you gotta pay for the car insurance, you know, everything, they don't know that. (John, Phase 1)

> It's so much pressure. And that's the biggest differences between us and America that there is so much pressure where you even have a million dollars, you will give. And I mean, it's the family life, people are just having so much hope on you. And since they see you are in America, 'O my God, you are wealthy rich' but no, it's not. So, I am getting that pressure now, but like I said, you know, so and so is sick, you think about it. And I was like what can I do to take her to get little medicine, so this and this. It's, it's a lot of pressure. (Garang, Phase 1)

> Because somehow, they don't really know how hard it is here, they wanted more. And that's where we came to disagreement, and I said, 'You know what, I'm not like a young man here. I'm like I have this big family to support, like I'm married, not just one wife, but more, because I have to think about you all the time. And it's been stressful when I send something I have and now you guys wanted more.' And so, it can get difficult. (Bok, Phase 1)

Furthermore, their financial burdens tended to intensify, especially when they formed their own families in the U.S. In particular, parenthood required more financial responsibility to raise their child(ren). Consequently, they often needed to compromise their educational goals and plans to fulfill their financial responsibilities to their families in both countries:

> My goal when I went to school when I didn't have a family yet, I was gonna go to medical school, but I didn't go because of my family. Because I wanted to raise the family. I wish I – but I cannot trade my children, my wife with any decision that I made. I didn't go to medical school. I'm happy with the way I am right now. My main goal now is to get that master's degree done. And get a job in that field. That [is] the major goal. That's my plan A. And always support the family. Make sure I don't go and leave the job…My disappointment would be I didn't make it to medical school. That's one of the things, but it's a decision I gotta live with it. That was my dream and I didn't accomplish that, but it's ok. I have completed some other things. (Adut, Phase 2)

> It's sort of like a financial change with having a family here in the states, you know, I don't have children here but once I do I would have to support two families, family here in the U.S and family back in Africa. So, all that change came I had to deal with. (Ater, Phase 2)

> The family…my family here and then family back there are really biggest responsibility…challenges are, you know, it's a financially burden because you have to, all these I had to do them with the money. I had to use money. I had to work really hard for it or find another job. Sometimes I find another job on the side to, in order to get it done. (Bor, Phase 2)

In regard to their careers, participants described difficulties in sparing the time to build a professional career trajectory and continue to meet the immediate and constant financial needs from two countries:

> They're struggling and I'm very happy to be helping. I can't just say, um – abandon that job, and go and try to find a way to get a professional job, which is going to take time out of it. But then I wouldn't be providing for the family… (David, Phase 2)

> I work at a warehouse. But they only require high school diploma. But the kind of job you do there I don't see myself doing that job for ten years or even five years. It's a little bit too much, you know… I have a family and I have to support my family and that's why I work, you know. Hopefully, in one day I will get myself out of here. (Bul, Phase 1)

Nonetheless, due to their perseverance and determination, these youth worked diligently and attained remarkable academic achievements (see Table 5 and 6 for the

levels of education) despite stressful situations and difficulties. Although many faced challenges that impeded them from pursuing a professional career path, it is important to note that the participants also mentioned remaining positive towards their BTS purpose, which helped them to modify their goals and plans without becoming disheartened. David, a four-year college graduate working at a factory to support family in South Sudan commented on his capabilities in the future:

> Being at this level right now and not being in a [graduate] school for two years, it's a disappointment. Not being able to have the professional job is a disappointment. So, I'm a little bit unsettled, but at the same time, I think I know the system and I have a, a good support. I feel equip enough and I know what I have to do. (Phase 2)

Acculturative tasks and racism experiences. Another important context that was frequently discussed among the participants was acculturation. Often, the participants mentioned significant differences between their culture of origin and that of the U.S. as well as how they balanced the differences by accommodating and assimilating the cultures to successfully adjust to the new cultural setting.

During the early period of resettlement, they encountered cultural and environmental differences as they experienced new ways of living, thinking, behaving, and interacting. Diu and David commented:

> The first one was, the first one was to understand the culture of United States which I do not know. And that was the big challenge. And then the second was the cold. I was daily too cold here. And the third one was like (food)…The problem was the cultural differences cause what I was seeing, it was I had never seen in my life. What even through the way they sit, living, eating and drinking, I have never seen that. (Diu, Phase 1)

> It was just very hard and different… whether, food, culture, socializing, what I say how to speak out to interact, but I have sort of learned a lot of that. (David, Phase 1)

During the latter course of their resettlement, overcoming cultural differences and being able to function in an "American" way was considered crucial among the participants in terms of

managing their daily activities to the extent that they could fulfill their purpose by acquiring an education, a career, a home, and a car.

They also experienced racial mistreatment based on pervasive racial prejudice in American society. Experiences with racism were frequently discussed by the participants, and they were mainly reported based on their interpersonal relationships with their peers at school, individuals in neighborhoods, coworkers, and customers at their workplaces. For instance, the participants discussed not being promoted at work and racial profiling:

> From work a lot of people did, you know like I don't know when I was in keeping for washing dishes for three years (laughing), not moving to next level, then I think that there is another reason something like that. So, I don't know, cause may be someone treated me like I don't know anything. (Diu, Phase 1)

> I've been stopped here by the police, I can maybe more than six times…, maybe for some reason they just stop me, um, and they would say something like, "oh your driver license, we saw, it seemed like maybe your driver's license plate expired" and it's not, it's not expired, but they just stop me. They will, they will stop sometime and say, "is that your car, is this your car?" Those things happen. They, they will, uh, I will get ticket that I don't deserve. (Dau, Phase 1)

> There were lot of problems, such as when kids are teasing you, how do you deal with it. Or when some kids are making fun of you, how do you deal with so, honestly that's the fair question that you asked but it was very very challenging. (Garing, Phase 1)

Regarding racism experiences, the participants also discussed American culture where race plays a significant role. Encountering diverse racial groups as they resettled in America as well as exposure to the complex power dynamics among ethnic-racial minorities and majority group members have initiated a (re)socialization of racial understanding and responsivity. Their dark skin added an important dimension to their acculturation and resettlement processes over time. For instance, Bor demonstrated their social understanding of race and racism in American society through the following statements:

> There is a lot of kids around and we were only 16 people in the whole high school. Me and [my cousin] we were living here then the neighbor yeah I know she, uh, it was just yeah we were just it was just not a place for black people I guess. And yeah that's what

> happened, and I just know it from there prejudice is a real big thing in America is here. (Phase 2)

Nevertheless, according to one participant, "this prejudice thing is nothing new [in this country]. It's just about how to deal with it" (Garang, Phase 1). The participants emphasized that they dealt with their racial discrimination and harassment experiences within American society in a way that their time and efforts would not be affected or obstructed by the incidents. In other words, to cope with racism, the participants tended to shift their attention to what was considered more important—their goals and purpose—so they continued to work diligently. By doing so, they attempted to avoid unnecessary conflicts and setbacks along the path of success to achieve their purpose. For example, John and Adut explained:

> But we kind of like if you face those things, if you, if you smart, you know, you don't want to worry about it because that's how thing goes. This, this is my color you know, I can't, I can't get rid of it, you know. So, if somebody laugh at you or wrong understand you, that's the culture differences. You gotta stay and stay focused and work it out. (John, Phase 1)

> Because it doesn't make me leave the focus of what I was doing and I'll, I focus on what I – if they kind of try to go somewhere out… here's what we were talking about when hear the topic –I'm not gonna talk about it and what you trying to say, but, this is what we're talking about. Let's, let's keep focus here. (Adut, Phase 2)

Over the 14 years of U.S. resettlement, South Sudanese URMs faced unique contextual factors that affected their purpose development as they attended secondary and postsecondary schooling while remaining economically active. The findings highlight that their scope of purpose became more family-oriented (support my family) based on the circumstances of their families, education, and employment. In particular, many participants tended to compromise financial security with immediately available positions rather than pursuing a professional career track.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that most participants sustained their BTS purpose despite the challenges and disappointments experienced while achieving their educational and career goals. This is particularly important given their BTS reasoning stemmed from their

hardships and responsibilities as 'South Sudanese,' which solidified the meaning of their lives in the U.S.

As such, the processes and the outcomes of their 14-year U.S. resettlement experience seems strongly connected to their purpose development and acculturation. This connection appears to have inevitably influenced the reconstruction of their identities in the process of assimilation to American society and its diverse cultures (see *Figure 4*).

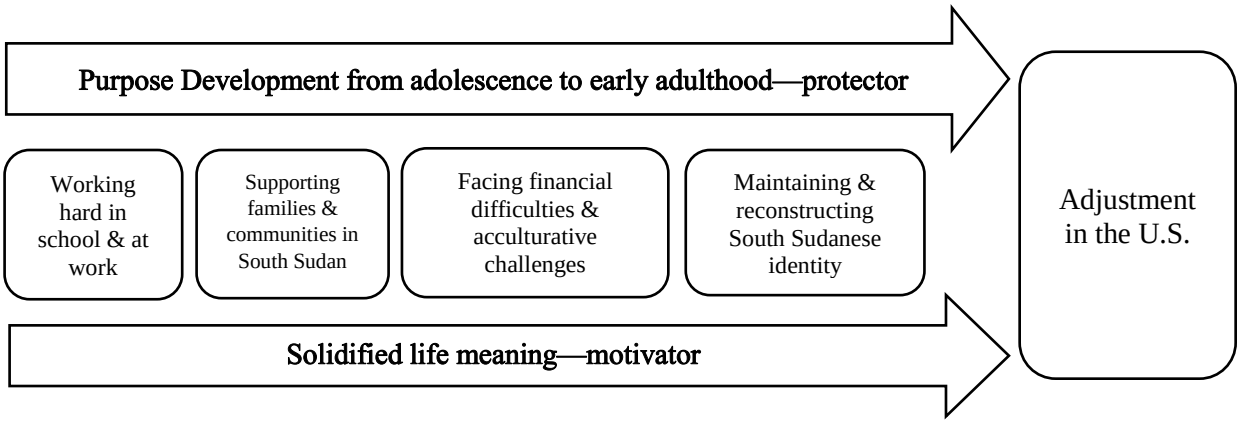

Figure 4. Conceptual model of the purpose development from adolescence to early adulthood over the fourteen years of US resettlement among South Sudanese URMs based on axial coding

Nevertheless, their process of purpose development from late adolescence to early adulthood further indicated that acculturation experiences and identity reformation were intertwined and played critical roles in promoting or impeding their adjustments. In the next section, four cultural dimensions of South Sudanese URMs' acculturation and their identity reformation are discussed to demonstrate the key cultural aspects of their paths to purpose.

Four-dimensional acculturation and identity reformation

Narratives of acculturation and identity reformation were frequently expressed among the interviewees. Like other immigrants in the U.S. from various countries, their process of resettlement began with the urgent need to perform acculturation tasks, such as learning the new language, customs, and values, to manage their daily lives and activities. As they learned,

internalized, and incorporated new social expectations, norms, and behaviors, this group of refugee youth from South Sudan assimilated into the mainstream American education system and economy. During this process, changes in their traditional customs and beliefs occurred and triggered a reconstruction of their traditional identities (i.e., South Sudanese). Due to the U.S. resettlement process for extended periods of time, South Sudanese URMs' narratives represented multiple cultural dimensions of identity reconstruction as they adjusted to the four relevant cultures: a) South Sudanese, b) mainstream American, c) African, and d) African American.

South Sudanese. Throughout the two phases of the interviews, maintaining South Sudanese culture and identity was a salient issue among the participants. All the participants discussed the importance of knowing who they were as South Sudanese individuals and their own South Sudanese tribes, culture, values, and languages, such as Dinka. When asked to describe themselves, many of them stressed their South Sudanese identity and heritage, even though assimilation processes of had occurred in culture and language over time. For example, Nya and Dau commented:

> I don't say Sudanese American so whatever. May be my kid would be able to say that. I am just Sudanese even though you know part of me is an American, but I am originally from Sudan because you know my mom and my dad are from Sudan. So, I am not going to change that. (Nya, Phase 1)

> I am Americanized in a way but I'm still South Sudanese…I haven't like left my culture behind to where I don't carry any part of me, I still have some of it with me, but I chose to leave negative stuff. (Nya, Phase 2)

> I describe myself as Sudanese, um, and I think American, a Sudanese more Americanized… I will never forget my culture. I see my culture very important as a lot influence to do with who I am and if I leave that then I don't even know what, what, where to start. (Dau, Phase 1)

> I call myself Sudanese. That's what I see myself. I'm a Sudanese. I happened to come to America and become a citizen in America. I see myself Sudanese. Yeah, reason I would call myself a Sudanese instead of African-American, because I'm not originally—I know where I came from, I still know where my people are, and I still know where the country is. (Dau, Phase 2)

A strong South Sudanese identity were also expressed when describing their collective responsibility for helping the country rebuild and their involvements in a variety of South Sudanese refugee assistance and cultural groups in the U.S. Garang, who was leading a non-governmental organization to support health and educational services in local communities in South Sudan, commented:

> It's so typical for us, we put ourselves saying every single of us has to go to college because we need to go back and help. (Phase 1)

It is important to note that South Sudanese identity keeps them alive and keeps their purpose here fresh, and it also means they are not forgetting the others. This concern for others who may have been left in the camps or who died or who may still be in South Sudan is vital and motivating aspect for their purpose over the fourteen years in the U.S.

American. Understanding and integrating into mainstream American society was a critical aspect that guided their behaviors and activities as well as allowed them to make progress in their domains of purpose (i.e., education and career). The participants began to learn English when they were in a refugee camp in Kenya, and they were briefly introduced to the basics of American culture and the programs for URMs (e.g., foster care) before they came to the U.S. Being selected for the U.S. resettlement program and arriving in America were life-saving experiences that fueled their hopes and dreams. Majak recalled the day he first arrived in the U.S.:

> It was a dream come true. It was nice. We were lucky. They waited for us at the airport, after we came, a lot of people came and greeting us. And took us to…it's like we were getting a new life, we still have feelings about it. (Phase 1)

According to the participants, mainstream American culture refers to the life and lifestyle that most privileged Americans seek in the U.S. (e.g., higher education and professional careers). Many participants demonstrated an extreme commitment to education and to economic activities

based on their strong sense of purpose. Wek emphasized opportunities that he was given in the U.S. to cultivate his potential to contribute to society:

> You know what have happened to them back and there's no point that you have crossed, you could have come all the way from here and then come and forget about what you are going here and, you don't appreciate what other people do to you as American people. They brought us up here, they didn't bring us up here so that we can spoil it. They brought us up here so that we can have a future and that future we can take it back and train our peoples and reverse it back, you know, to our people. There's a point that they brought us up here to open our eye and try [to help] the people back there. (Phase 1)

African and African American. All participants were born in South Sudan and immigrated to America, where diversity is a core value of society. In this context, their acculturation experiences occurred at the intersection of culture, race, and ethnicity. In particular, the dimensions of African and African American identities were commonly described by the participants and indicated their unique process of adaptation that incorporated African and African American culture, race, and ethnicity.

On one hand, all participants understood the meaning of race and the political dynamics between different races (e.g., Black and White). On the other hand, they were also able to articulate additional differences within the same race—African-born "African" and the U.S.-born "African American." The following statements describe the nuances of color, racial, and cultural differences between and within race(s) as well as identity as perceived by the participants:

> African is darker than African American…Everybody was mostly African American, not mostly, mostly White and then African American and among them, they're different, but African and uh, I did not understand them [African American]. Now I can, I like myself as African American better than before. Before you know, I was little bit darker and African American lighter. (Alek, Phase 1)

> Cause we got African American here, but they don't look like us, they kind of light skinned, you know, they different. Those are the culture thing we face, color, you know, color, racial, you know… because our color Sudanese is different, is too, it's not like, but [we are] part of African…only Sudanese are kind of dark, and Senegal's, but most West African people, they kind of lighter skinned. (John, Phase 1)

Nonetheless, the dimensions of African and African American tended to coexist and to be reciprocal rather than being completely differentiated and detached. For example, Alek responded that "it depends" when asked to describe his identity:

> It depends. if you ask me, it depend on the scenario. [I: Yeah] It matter, it depends on the scenario. I'm African no doubt. African American know that. But within a certain case I cannot, I'd be African American in certain case, like you know, like as I said before I can defend African American because I fall under the class. But internally and I call myself African. But I can, I can still relate myself to African American too. (Phase 1)

Participants also described a situational African American identity when they were (mis)identified as African American by others, though they did not view themselves as African American. David and Bor said:

> To be politically correct, that's what the documents say. I don't see myself as African American but, it's easier to say I'm African American. (David, Phase 2)

> I just get along with it and yeah sure. Well usually most the time when somebody calls me African American, I usually say no I'm African-African. So, there is time when people will say why? I always tell them I was born in Africa I was not born here, so. (Bor, Phase 2)

Diu also commented on the diverse cultures among Africans:

> Maybe, we are black together, but that doesn't mean we do the same thing…Africa has many countries! (Phase 1)

Interestingly, even if their African culture and identity was defined separately and distinguished from those of African American, if no other blacks were present, they viewed themselves as "African American" because they felt they had to "defend African Americans" against negative perceptions (Alek, Phase 1):

> If you say something in the class, if you say something, let's say in one of my public administration classes or political science class, if you say something to where African American and I'm there, I would guarantee I would say a word I would defend anything against African American. But, if it is some that just normal, I'll consider myself African, you know. But at the same time, some, if you say some and I'm the only black person there, I'm definitely African American. (Alek, Phase 1)

Importantly, these two dimensions were described as similar regarding racial marginalization—racism, prejudice, and discrimination. The participants mentioned

unfair racial treatment and an underrepresentation of blacks within American social settings:

> Choice is so limited either you're African-American or black… So, I, I just, I get frustrated in both side [African American, black (African)]. But, it just for us, we need to win – the African American would need to win the other side, too, the, the, the white Caucasians… I mean, I was joking with my friend, I'm like, 'Everywhere, since I started my masters and, and all this, the classes, when I look at demographic in the class, either I'm, I'm the only black person, or none.' It's just I'm like, 'I want more black people, here.' (Garang, Phase 2)

> I got treated differently, not because I'm a Sudanese, but because I'm black. (Dau, Phase 1)

Integration of multiple cultural dimensions of identity

The coded data also suggested that these four cultural dimensions were described in various ways and attributed to various causes among the participants when they were asked about identity (i.e., How would you describe yourself?) in both Phase 1 and Phase 2. The findings presented in this section illustrate South Sudanese URMs' processes of integration among the four cultural dimensions of defining self over time.

Phase 1. Bidimensional identity. In Phase 1, the integration of the dimensions between South Sudanese and American culture was salient among the participants (see Table 10). During the initial period of resettlement (Phase 1), more than half of the participants (n = 12, or 63.1%) tended to focus on bicultural dimensions, including South Sudanese and mainstream American culture. In other words, they primarily discussed South Sudanese and American cultural aspects together when they were asked to define their identity. Three participants (15.7%) cited only the South Sudanese dimension, and two participants (10.5%) defined themselves as American based on their current residence and U.S. citizenship status as well as their assimilated way of living, thinking, and behaving. For instance, Chol, who defined himself as American, commented:

> I would say that I'm American, you know, so think of like the way American thinking, so I would say I'm American. (Phase 1)

Lastly, one participant defined himself as a Dinka, which is the largest tribal group and a type of language in South Sudan.

Table 10. Frequency counts of the cultural dimensions of identity in Phase 1

Cultural dimensions of identity	South Sudanese & American		African & African American	Only South Sudanese	American	Dinka
	South Sudanese, NOT American (Type A)	South Sudanese AND American (Type B)				
Number of participants (%)	8 (42.1%)	4 (21%)	1 (0.05%)	3 (15.7%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (0.05%)
	Subtotal 12 (63.1%)					

(N = 19)

It must be noted that there were two different types of integration between the South Sudanese and American cultural dimensions of identity. Therefore, type A and type B integrations were defined based on the identity narratives provided by the 12 participants.

Type A (n = 8) refers to those who showed a strong South Sudanese identity but also described themselves as "Americanized" rather than "American." That is, they recognized that American culture has a substantial influence on their lives, but they were reluctant to define themselves as American or South Sudanese-American. For example, Bok explained how he viewed the two cultural dimensions in relation to his identity:

> Culturally, I'm Sudanese. But it's my obligation to learn my new life... Citizenship will bring the name. I am Sudanese, but later I will be Sudanese-American. [But] I will never be a Sudanese-American culturally. I will always be Sudanese… I consider myself as just being knowledgeable about America. I know more about America. I know more to behave enough. I can behave Americanly. That's not a word. But I can behave like Americans and be an American if I want to be an American. (Phase 1)

In contrast, type B (n = 4) refers to those who expressed a more integrated and assimilated self than the type A individuals based on the two cultural dimensions (i.e., South Sudanese and American). As a result, four participants were categorized as type B because they described ways that they have incorporated both the American and the South Sudanese cultures by adopting and retaining the positive characteristics of the two cultures. They seemed to be

comfortable in stating that they were both South Sudanese and American. Participants were classified as type B based on the following quotations:

> I can't say that I am Sudanese, even though I know what culture means. I don't think I am Sudanese, I am just a mix. I reject bad things from Sudanese side, I reject bad things from American side, so I am in a middle. I only want to take good things and that's what I need. I need good things, I don't need bad things. (Gabriel, Phase 1)

> I am between two cultures and trying to make it work, I am making good thing out of it. (Adut, Phase 1)

Phase 2. Complex understanding of identity with multiple cultural dimensions. From 2014 to 2015, seven years after the first interview and 14 years after their arrival in the U.S., the participants were asked again to define themselves (How do you describe yourself these days?). Compared to Phase 1, in Phase 2, the participants demonstrated a more intricate understanding of their identities in relation to the four cultures that were found to be important in the context of South Sudanese URMs' lives in the U.S. (i.e., South Sudanese, mainstream American, African, and African American).

It was found that more than half of the participants (n = 6, or 54.5%) discussed all four cultural dimensions when they described themselves, specifically providing explanations of how they viewed and incorporated these different cultural aspects (see Table 11). For example, Nya stated:

> I'm still 100% by blood South Sudanese but I live in America and I deserve to become American citizen too…, I am Americanized in a way but I'm still South Sudanese…. I am the true African-American. My origin is Pure African and because I am in America, African-American. black African-American, I'd say. (Phase 2)

Two participants (18.1%) demonstrated a bidimensional identity (type B) by referring to South Sudanese and American cultures. Only one participant expressed a unidimensional national identity based on the culture of origin without mentioning any other cultural dimensions. Lastly, there were two participants who emphasized their South Sudanese identity, while they resisted identifying themselves as American or African American (see Table 11).

Table 11. Frequency counts of the cultural dimensions of identity in Phase 2

Cultural dimensions of identity	South Sudanese, American, African, & African American	South Sudanese, Not American, Not African American	South Sudanese, Not African American	South Sudanese & American	South Sudanese
Number of participants (%)	6 (54.5%)	1 (0.09%)	1 (0.09%)	2 (18.1%)	1 (0.09%)

(N = 11)

Identity reconstruction: changes of expressed identity from Phase 1 to Phase 2. The findings also suggest changes in self-descriptions over the two phases. Six of the participants (54.5%) who tended to discuss two cultural dimensions in phase 1 discussed all four cultural dimensions in phase 2. This indicated an important characteristic of increased cultural dimensions and incorporation, especially when the participants more frequently mentioned African and African American cultural dimensions in phase 2 in comparison with their first interviews in phase 1. In addition, two participants appeared to maintain bidimensional identity, whereas three participants were consistent in focusing on South Sudanese identity but were reluctant to embrace other cultural dimensions, such as American or African American (see Table 12).

Table 12. Characteristics of identity reconstruction from Phase 1 to Phase 2

Characteristics of identity reconstruction from Phase 1 to Phase 2	Number of participants (%)	Changes in self-description (Phase 1 → Phase 2)
Increased cultural dimensions and incorporation	6 (54.5%)	2 dimensions (type A) → 4 dimensions (n = 4), 2 dimensions (type B) → 4 dimensions (n = 2)
Maintained Bidimensional identity	2 (18.1%)	2 dimensions (type B) → 2 dimensions
Maintained and insisted strong South Sudanese identity without incorporating other cultural dimensions	3 (27.2%)	1 or 2 dimension(s) → 1 or 2 or 3 dimension(s)

It is noteworthy that these findings not only suggest which different cultural dimensions the participants assimilated and adapted but also propose different processes of identity

integration according to multiple cultures among the South Sudanese URMs. Hence, in the following section, two patterns of identity integration are defined to explain the ways in which the participants combined and balanced different cultural dimensions.

Identity integration: integrated versus unintegrated views. There were three characteristics of identity reconstruction over time: a) increased cultural dimensions and incorporation; b) maintained bidimensional identity; and c) maintained and insistent strong South Sudanese identity without incorporating other cultural dimensions. Based on these characteristics of identity reconstruction, two patterns of identity integration were identified—integrated and unintegrated views.

Overall, eight participants (72.7%) who exhibited the first two characteristics of identity reconstruction were also likely to display integrated views of their identities. They tended to demonstrate a balanced perspective and attitude towards the four cultural standpoints. In other words, the participants tended to show an in-depth understanding of the coexistence of diverse cultures as well as their capability and flexibility in aligning themselves according to multiple cultures depending on the different situations in which the primary culture varies. Ater commented:

> I wouldn't describe myself as just American or just Sudanese because I mean I've lived in America for almost half of my life now same I would say in Africa, I've lived there for quite some time so I'm a citizen of both countries you know. There are things that I appreciate about each nation and there are things I don't appreciate about both nations. So, I wouldn't consider myself saying I'm just Sudanese, I'm also an American. (Phase 2)

In contrast, an unintegrated view was expressed by the three participants (27.2%) who exhibited the third characteristic of identity reconstruction: maintained and insistent strong South Sudanese identity without incorporating other cultural dimensions. In Phase 2, they were likely to demonstrate a conflicted or unbalanced view with more emphasis on the South Sudanese

cultural origin without embracing other relevant cultural dimensions in their lives. For example, Diu and Bor demonstrated a strong South Sudanese identity in both phases by stating as follows:

> I am Sudanese (laughs) I am not American. I am Sudanese. Cause I am from Sudan. I was born in Sudan. (Diu, Phase 1)
>
> I am Sudanese refugee living in America. (Diu, Phase 2)
>
> Sudanese (Bor, Phase 1)
>
> I'm Sudanese…[I] Don't feel belong here… I'm Sudanese in general. Well, usually most the time when somebody calls me African American, I usually say no I'm not African-African. (Bor, Phase 2)

Association between identity integration and the level of life satisfaction. As discussed, the participants showed an evolution of their identities over time by successfully redefining themselves in relation to the four different cultural dimensions; however, it was not a smooth process. Rather, many participants contended with balancing different cultures and finding ways to resolve conflicts and to incorporate differences. For example, Gabriel described the complexity of explaining the multiplicity of her identity to her children when they encountered several different cultures. She commented:

> My kids are having a hard time 'cause I tell my kids they're not African American. I said, "I am Sudanese. Your father is Sudanese. You are American. You're born here. But you are Sudanese, if you wanna know. But you are American." So I – that's very unique and very crazy, I know, here, but it feels that way. (Phase 2)

Nonetheless, it appeared to be psychologically adaptive and useful to adopt an integrated view through which participants could resolve conflicts between the cultures and could incorporate the positive elements of each culture. In fact, Garang discussed the benefits of integrating multiple cultures for a successful adjustment to the U.S. He commented:

> People who are actually winning now in my three cultures or four cultures, Dinka and then American culture, so I try to take best out of it and leave the junk out of it and then to have both. I think it is very useful rather than having Dinka, but it's having both cultures. (Phase 1)

Consistent with this comment, in Phase 2, life satisfaction was reported to be higher among those who had an integrated view than among those with unintegrated and conflicted views (Table 16). More specifically, eight participants (72.7%) who displayed an integrated view were likely to report higher levels of life satisfaction in comparison with the three participants (27.2%) with an unintegrated view. From these analyses, it is concluded that integrated attitude promoted psychological wellbeing among South Sudanese URMs. Whether they have two or four cultural dimensions in the process of identity reconstruction, how they integrate those dimensions matters more when they reconstruct their identity in the US resettlement context (see *Figure 5*).

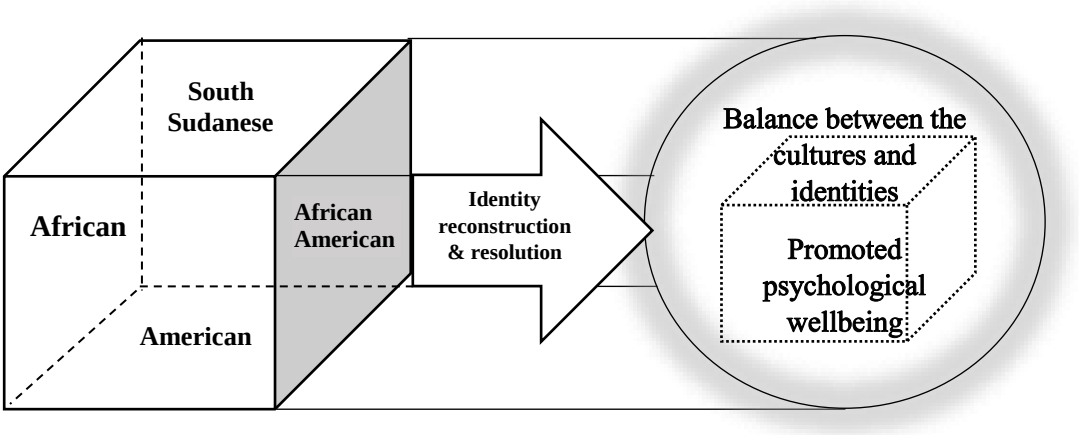

Figure 5. Conceptual model of four-dimensional acculturation, and identity reconstruction and resolution based on axial coding

Long-term adjustment outcomes: educational, occupational achievements, and the levels of life satisfaction

Over the 14 years of resettlement, the participants experienced personal growth and emerged from adolescence to young adulthood. Overall, the participants adjusted well, demonstrating significant achievements across the important realms of personal success. In particular, two important areas of adjustment were education and careers, which were also the key domains related to purpose.

Educational achievement. Most participants stated that they felt successful in terms of academic performance. In a few cases, they felt unsuccessful and "disappointed" when they had to leave school and thus their high expectations were not met; however, in Phase 2, all participants had completed varying levels of higher education from some college to professional doctoral degrees. Moreover, most of the participants in Phase 2 reported that they had completed higher education, whereas in Phase 1, many participants were still in school or planned to proceed to advanced degrees (see Table 13).

Table 13. Educational achievement of South Sudanese URMs over time

Educational Achievement	Number of participants (%)	
	Phase 1[a]	Phase 2[b]
Academic status		
Deferred college	1 (5.2%)	-
In college	15 (78.9%)	2 (18.2%)
Graduated 2-year college	2 (10.5%)	1 (9.0%)
Graduated 4-year college	1 (5.2%)	5 (45.4%)
In Master's degree		1 (9.0%)
In Doctorate degree		1 (9.0%)
Highest level of education achieved		
Highschool	14 (73.7%)	-
Some college but no degree	1 (5.2%)	2 (18.2%)
2-year college degree	3 (15.7)	1 (9.0%)
4-year college degree	1 (5.2%)	5 (45.4%)
Master's degree	-	3 (27.3%)
Doctorate degree	-	-

[a]n = 19. [b]n = 11.

Occupational achievement. Almost all participants had some employment history starting in adolescence, even if they were not employed at the time of the interview. Being economically active was an important factor in their adjustment to the U.S., primarily due to their financial responsibility for themselves and their families in the two countries.

In Phase 1, 63.2% of participants stated they were currently working, and most of them were employed part-time with unskilled, manual labor jobs, such as cashiers or factory line

workers. In contrast, in Phase 2, 91% of participants reported that they were currently employed, and most were employed full-time; however, of those who were employed, only 40% of the South Sudanese URMs secured skilled, professional jobs, such as a medical technician and an accountant. In other words, 60% of the employed South Sudanese URM young adults still held unskilled, manual labor jobs even though they completed their education (see Table 14).

Consequently, many of the employed participants expressed "disappointment" and the desire to pursue a professional career path rather than remaining at their manual jobs. A four-year college graduate who worked at a factory, David, commented:

> At first, I was doing these jobs, a temporal job to have an income when my brother and my parent call me, I can send. But now it's very stressful 'cause I feel like I'm stuck there. So, I have to pull myself out and not be so – not be comfortable with that job I have, because that's not what I want. So taking this, making progress at making the next – you know, going into the next step, it is stress right now that I have. It's not a big stress, but it's – I'm constantly just thinking when I find time to think about my next move or what I, what I should be doing next in life. (Phase 2)

Table 14. Occupational achievement of South Sudanese URMs over time

Occupational achievement	Number of participants (%)	
	Phase 1[a]	Phase 2[b]
Currently working		
Yes	12 (63.2%)	10 (90.9%)
No	7 (36.8%)	1 (9.1%)
Employment status		
Not employed	7 (36.8%)	1 (9.1%)
Part-time	11(57.9%)	2 (18.2%)
Full-time	1 (5.3%)	8 (72.7%)

[a]n = 19. [b]n = 11.

Table 15. Types of occupations among the employed South Sudanese URMs

Types of occupations	Number of participants (%)	
	Phase 1[a]	Phase 2[b]
Unskilled, manual labor jobs (e.g., factory line worker, restaurant server, cashier, etc.)	12 (100%)	6 (60.0%)
Skilled, professional jobs (e.g., medical technician, accountant, etc.)	-	4 (40.0%)

[a]n = 12. [b]n = 10.

Levels of life satisfaction. In Phase 2, all participants were asked to rate their levels of life satisfaction on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly dissatisfied, 5 = strongly satisfied). The mean was 3.36 (*SD* = 1.12). Most participants (*n* = 8, or 72.2%) reported a moderate level of life satisfaction and beyond—three of the 11 participants (27.2%) reported three points, another three participants (27.2%) reported four points, and two participants (18.1%) reported five points regarding their levels of life satisfaction. In contrast, three participants (27.2%) reported the lowest level of life satisfaction with two points.

Although the association between identity integration and the levels of life satisfaction seemed to be important, other relationships between the levels of life satisfaction and the form of purpose, educational, and occupational achievements remain unclear. Furthermore, given the stressful circumstances discussed that the participants experienced, the relationships could be moderated or mediated by specific stressors and resilience factors. Therefore, further investigations must be conducted to understand the distinct relationships between the factors discovered during the current study.

Table 16. Selective coding for form of purpose, identity integration status, educational and occupational achievement, and life satisfaction score in Phase 2

Participants	Form of purpose	Identity integration	Academic status	Highest level of education	Types of occupation	Life satisfaction score
1. Diu	Self-goal→ Self-dream	Unintegrated	Not in school	4-year college degree	Unskilled, manual labor job	2
2. Dau	BTS Purpose	Unintegrated/conflicted	In college	4-year college degree	Skilled, professional job	2
3. Bor	BTS Purpose	Unintegrated/conflicted	Not in school	Some college but no degree	Unskilled, manual labor job	2
4. Gabriel	BTS Purpose	Integrated	In college	Associate's 2-year college	Not employed	3
5. David	BTS Purpose	Integrated	Not in school	4-year college degree	Unskilled, manual labor job	3
6. Bul	BTS Purpose	Integrated	Not in school	Some college but no degree	Unskilled, manual labor job	3
7. Nya	Self-goal→ BTS Purpose	Integrated	Not in school	4-year college degree	Unskilled, manual labor job	4
8. Garang	BTS Purpose	Integrated	In Doctorate program	Master's degree	Skilled, professional job	4
9. Ater	BTS Purpose	Integrated—bidimensional identity	Not in school	Master's degree	Skilled, professional job	4
10. James	BTS Purpose	Integrated	Not in school	Master's degree	Skilled, professional job	5
11. Adut	BTS Purpose	Integrated—bidimensional identity	In Master's program	4-year college	Unskilled, manual labor job	5

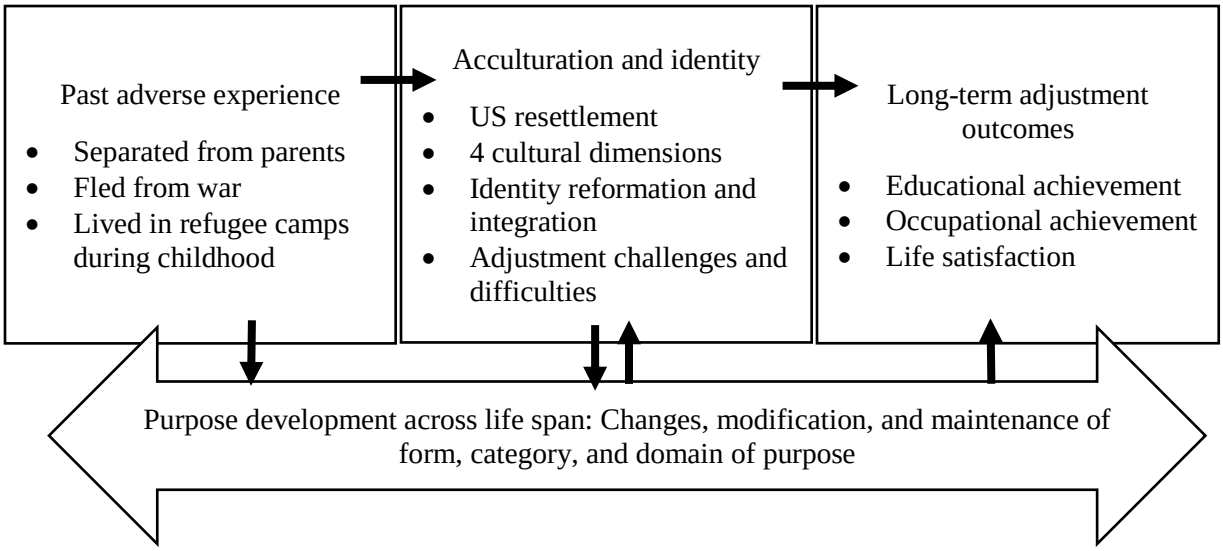

Figure 6. Grounded theory of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs

Complementary analysis of 30 survey data

To further examine theory emerged from the qualitative data, a survey study designed to test whether general purpose and prosocial purpose interact in their effect on adjustment outcomes such as educational attainment, average annual income, and life satisfaction. Moderator effect of prosocial purpose and adjustment challenges (i.e., percieved discrimination, emotinal strain) on the adjustment outcomes among South Sudanese URMs was also examined. Unfortunately, a small sample of South Sudanese URMs (N = 30) participated in the survey in a given period and this small sample size did not allow a rigorous statistical analysis. Nonetheless, exploratory and descriptive analyses were conducted in order to boradly understand the characteristics of this group of refugee minors and the possible relationships among the variables.

Measures. Using existing constructs, measures, and scales, a survey questionnaire for national sample of South Sudanese URM population was developed and administrated via Qualtrics. There were four independent variables and three dependent variables. The interaction

among the four indipendent variables served as predictors in this anlaysis. Constructs and the variables are listed in table below.

Table 17. Constructs and variables

	Constructs	**Variables**
Predictors	General Purpose	Level of general purpose
	Prosocial Purpose	Level of prosocial purpose
	Resettlement Challenges	Perceived discrimination experience
		Emotional strain
Dependents	Adjustment Outcomes	Educational attainment
		Average annual income
		Life satisfaction

General purpose and prosocial purpose

Levels of general-purpose was measured by the Brief Purpose Measure (Hill et al., 2015) and the levels of prosocial purpose was assessed by the Prosocial youth Purpose Scale (Malin, Colby, & Damon, Unpublished survey instrument, Stanford University Center on Adolescence, 2014).

Resettlement challenges

a. *The emotional strain* from supporting families in South Sudan financially was assessed with 5 items. This scale was developed by Stoll and Johnson (2007) to examine the difficulties South Sudanese refugees encounter when sending remittances to Africa while resettling in Canada. Factor analysis revealed the underlying dimensions and 5 items were selected from the original 8 items that formed a coherent scale.

The scale includes the following items: 1) I feel like I am letting my family down if I cannot send money to them. 2) I feel guilty when I cannot send money to family members in Africa. 3) I can easily send money to my family and meet my own financial needs. 4) I am pleased about my ability to send money to my family. 5) It is stressful not to be able to send

enough money to family members. Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Items 3 and 4 were reverse scored (Stoll & Johnson, 2007).

b. *Perceived discrimination experience* includes 5 statements indicating varying degrees of cultural victimization (Berry, Kwak, Liebkind et al., 1993). The participants responded to questions like "I have been attacked because of my ethnic background" on a four-point scale ranging from fully disagree (1) to fully agree (4). Cronbach's alpha was .73. The scale was used in a study on the role of social support in the acculturation and mental health of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers by Oppedal and Idsoe (2015).

Adjustment outcomes

In a study on segmented assimilation (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2005), items such as living situation, education, employment, income, and family were recommended and examined as key adaptation outcomes of immigrants during early adulthood. Therefore, in this study, a) educational attainment, b) average annual income, and c) life satisfaction were selected as determinants of adjustment outcomes.

Participants. Total of 30 South Sudanese URMs completed the survey. Participants included 1 female and 29 males, and most of them aged between 25 and 35. Of the 30 survey respondents, 93% (n = 28) were arrived in the U.S. in 2000 and 2001, and group living with other South Sudanese refugees was the common living arrangement for this group of South Sudanese URMs (70%, or n = 21). Only 30% of the respondents (n = 9) were placed in foster families. About 37% of the participants were single and not in a relationship (n = 11). Also, seven of the participants (23.3%) were married, and four were divorced. Thirty percent of the participants are a parent (n = 9).

Results. The 30 survey data were subjected to multiple linear regression using genral linear model in SPSS. Nine independent univariate tests were conducted for the separate models due to the small sample size.

Interaction effects of general purpose and prosocial purpose on adjustment outcomes

As a result of these analyses, the interaction effects of general purpose and prosocial purpose on adjustment outcomes were found to be statistically significant. Table 18 summarized the results of multiple linear regression analysis of the general purpose, prosocial purpose, and adjustment outcomes. All three models of interaction effect on adjustment outcomes were significant ($p < .05$).

Table 18. Summary of multiple regression results of prosocial purpose and general purpose

	β	*SE*	t	*p*	95% CI
Model 1. Educational attainment					
Prosocial purpose	-2.963	1.172	-2.528	.018	-5.372 – -0.554
General purpose	-3.995	1.335	-2.992	.006	-6.739 – -1.250
Prosocial * General purpose	.978	.319	3.064	.005	0.322 – 1.634
Model 2. Average annual income					
Prosocial purpose	-3.952	1.101	-3.589	.001	-6.216 – -1.689
General purpose	-4.716	1.255	-3.759	.001	-7.295 – -2.137
Prosocial * General purpose	1.140	.300	3.803	.001	0.5241 – 0.757
Model 3. Life satisfaction					
Prosocial purpose	-2.292	.746	-3.070	.005	-3.829 – -0.754
General purpose	-1.725	.841	-2.052	.051	-3.456 – 0.007
Prosocial * General purpose	.577	.205	2.812	.009	0.155 – 1.00

Note: β = standardized coefficient; *SE* = standard error of the standardized coefficient; t = coefficient divided by *SE*; *p* = significance level of the t test; 95% CI = 95 percent confidence interval of the exponent of the standardized coefficient; *N* = 30.

Educational attainment

In general, those who have a high level of prosocial purpose (above average = 3.8811) tended to have higher levels of education compared to those who have a low level of prosocial purpose (below average). However, there is a significant interaction effect between the levels of prosocial purpose and the general purpose ($F\ (3,1)$ = 9.387, p = .005). This means that the effect of having a high level of general purpose is different depending on a level of prosocial purpose. The results show that increased general purpose promotes education only when prosocial purpose is also high. Increased general purpose without prosocial purpose negatively affects participant's educational attainment.

Figure 7 shows the pattern of this effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose. Participants who have high levels of prosocial purpose are likely to have a high educational attainment as their level of general purpose increases. Also, high levels of prosocial purpose significantly promote the positive relationship between general purpose and educational attainment. However, in contrast, increased general purpose without prosocial purpose negatively impacts their education. This was interpreted to mean that prosocial purpose plays a significant role in promoting education when general purpose is above average.

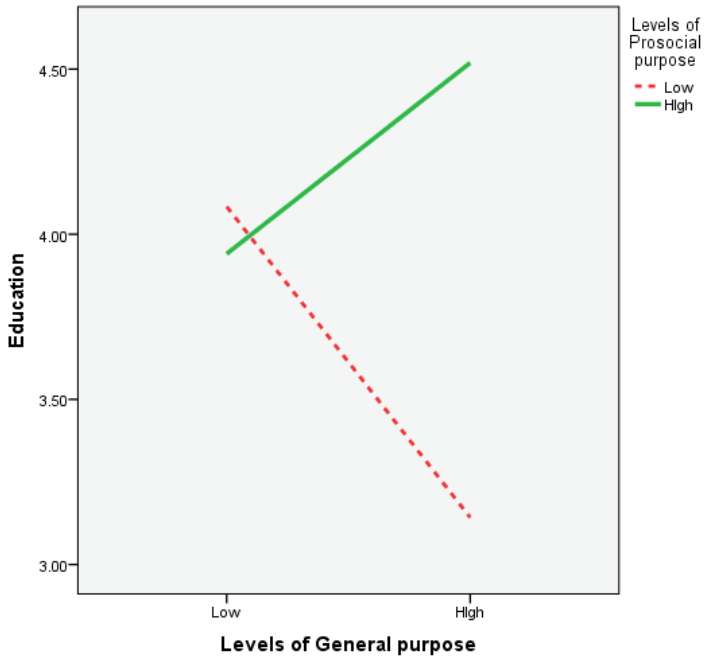

Figure 7. Effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose on education

This result indicates that prosocial purpose moderates the effect of general purpose on education in a positive way, a critically important role of prosocial purpose. In other words, South Sudanese URMs tend to do better in school when they have a strong purpose with prosocial reasons. However, a strong sense of purpose without prosocial reasoning negatively affects their educational adjustment. Further investigation is needed with a larger population to validate these relationships as other factors likely obstruct the relationship between general purpose and the level of education. Perhaps, life stressors such as financial constraints, emotional strain, discrimination experiences, or lack of supporting systems might moderate this negative relationship whereas the prosocial purpose positively moderates the relationship by buffering the negative impacts of these stressors.

Average annual income

A significant interaction effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose was also found in predicting annual average income among the respondents (F (3,1) = 14.466, p = .001).

Increased general purpose was positively associated with average annual income only among those with a strong prosocial purpose. In contrast, a higher level of general purpose without prosocial reasons, associated with the lower levels of annual average income (*Figure 8*).

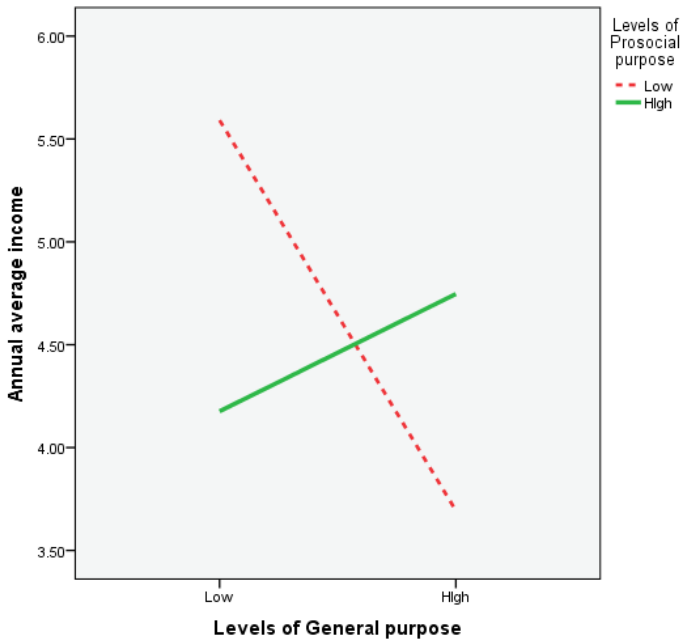

Figure 8. Effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose on annual average income

Life satisfaction

The interaction effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose was significant (F (3,1) = 7.91, p = .009) in predicting the level of life satisfaction among the 30 respondents. Life satisfaction was positively associated with the general purpose only among those who have above average prosocial purpose. When the levels of prosocial purpose were below average, increased general purpose did not predict the higher levels of life satisfaction. Rather, as general purpose increased among those who have low levels of prosocial purpose tended to show a decreased level of life satisfaction. Again, it is likely that there are other factors that negatively mediate the relationship between general purpose and life satisfaction. It might be that increased

general purpose can cause achievement stress from the high expectations that are not met due to reduced life satisfaction. Of course, further investigation is needed to prove the relationship.

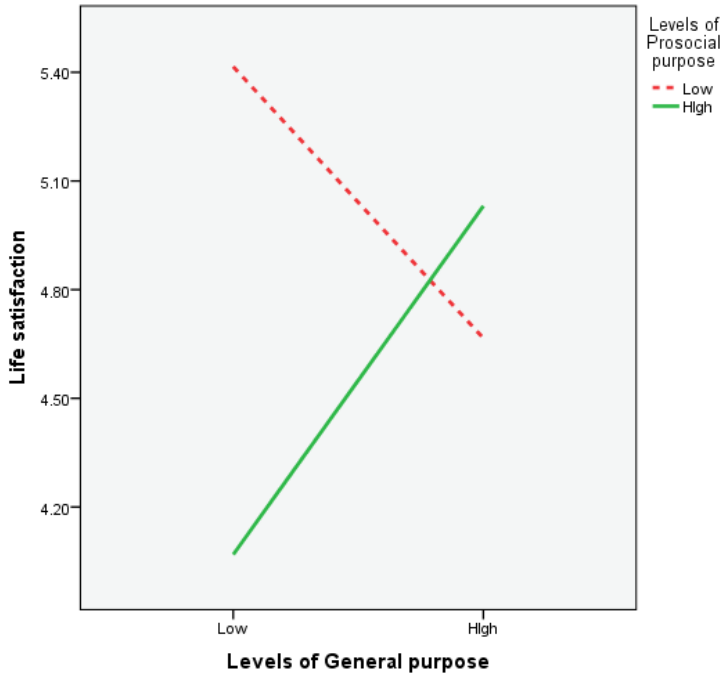

Figure 9. Effect of general purpose and prosocial purpose on life satisfaction

Prosocial purpose as a moderator between perceived discrimination experience and adjustment outcomes

The moderator effect of prosocial purpose was significant in the relationships between percieved discrimination and adjustment outcomes of educational attainment and annual average income (see Table 19).

Table 19. Summary of multiple regression results of prosocial purpose and perceived discrimination experience

	β	*SE*	t	*p*	95% CI
Model 4. Educational attainment					
Prosocial purpose	-5.704	2.813	-2.028	.053	-11.486 – 0.078
Perceived discrimination experience	-11.132	4.807	-2.316	.029	-21.012 – -1.252
Prosocial * Perceived Discrimination experience	2.367	1.084	2.184	.038	0.139 – 4.595
Model 5. Average annual income					
Prosocial purpose	-6.515	2.910	-2.239	.034	-12.497 – -0.533
Perceived discrimination experience	-11.210	4.973	-2.254	.033	-21.431 – -0.989
Prosocial * Perceived Discrimination experience	2.523	1.121	2.250	.033	0.219 – 4.828
Model 6. Life satisfaction					
Prosocial purpose	-2.149	1.823	-1.179	.249	-5.903 – 1.605
Perceived discrimination experience	-3.972	3.106	-1.279	.213	-10.368 – 2.424
Prosocial * Perceived Discrimination experience	.759	.701	1.083	.289	-0.685 – 2.202

Note: β = standardized coefficient; *SE* = standard error of the standardized coefficient; t = coefficient divided by *SE*; *p* = significance level of the t test; 95% CI = 95 percent confidence interval of the exponent of the standardized coefficient; *N* = 30.

Educational attainment

The moderator effect of prosocial purpose was significant ($F(3,1) = 4.768$, $p < .05$). That is, when the participants have low levels of prosocial purpose, the negative impact of perceived discrimination experience is stronger than those who have higher levels of prosocial purpose (see *Figure 10*). This means that strong prosocial purpose tends to protect the participants from detrimental impact of discrimination on their education.

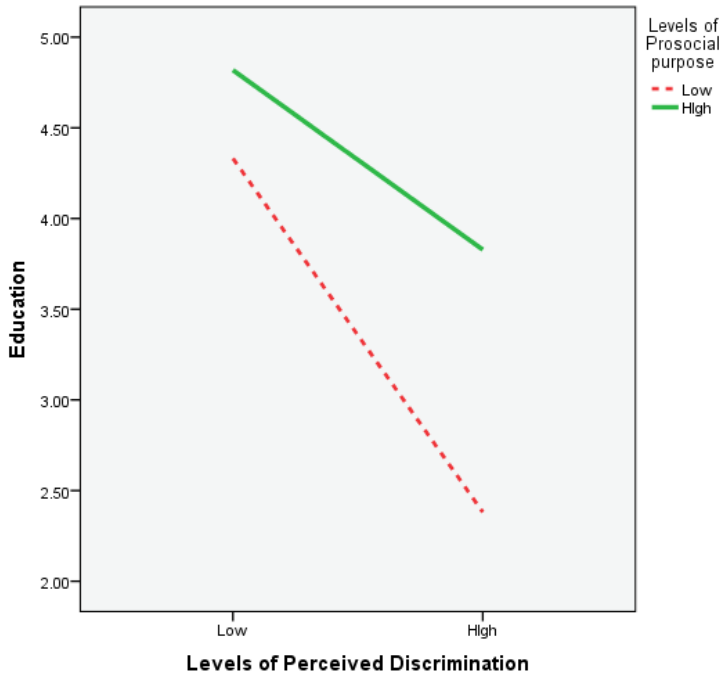

Figure 10. Effect of perceived discrimination experience and prosocial purpose on education

Average annual income

Regarding average annual income, high levels of perceived discrimination experience significantly associated with decreased average annual income among those who have low levels of prosocial purpose. However, the participants who reported the high levels of prosocial purpose were less likely to be affected by their perceived discrimination experiences. Thus, when the prosocial purpose is high, discrimination has no effect on average annual income. This result implies that the strong prosocial purpose buffers the negative impact of discrimination on their average annual income.

Life satisfaction

Levels of life satisfaction was not significantly related to the levels of prosocial purpose. The interaction effect of prosocial purpose was not observed; however, perceived discrimination experience was negatively associated with the participant's life satisfaction (see *Figure 12*).

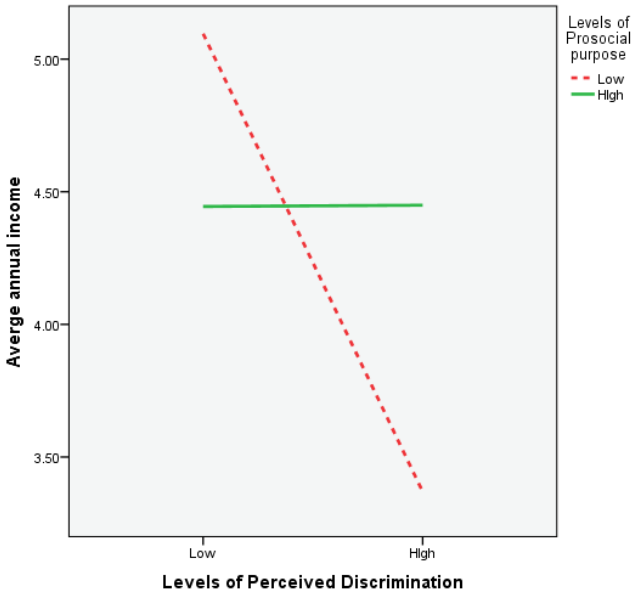

Figure 11. Effect of perceived discrimination and prosocial purpose on average annual income

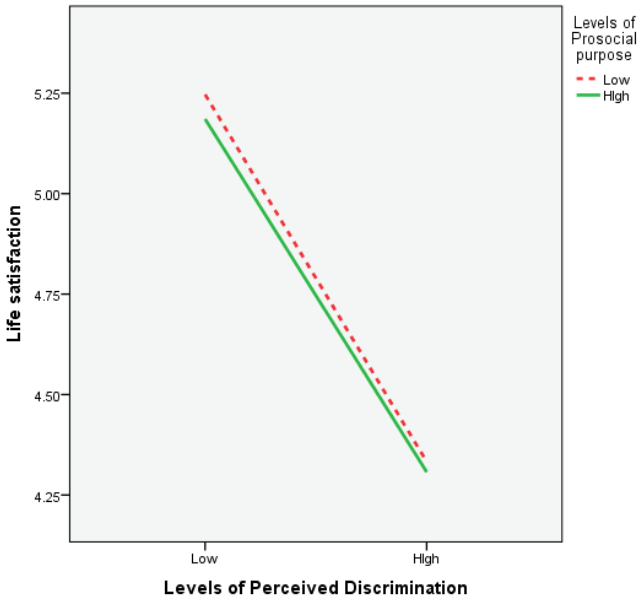

Figure 12. Effect of perceived discrimination and prosocial purpose on life satisfaction

Prosocial purpose as moderator between emotional strain and adjustment outcomes

No significant effects were found among the variables of prosocial purpose, emotional strain, and adjustment outcomes. However, the figures below demonstrate the patterns of the

relationships among the variables. In general, high levels of emotional strain associated with the poorer adjustment outcomes than those who experienced low levels of psychological stress. Also, if participants have high prosocial purpose, the impact of emotional strain is bigger compared to those who have low levels of prosocial purpose. If you have high emotional stress, increased prosocial purpose lower the average annual income. However, if you have low levels of emotional stress, increased prosocial purpose promote the income (see *Figure 14*).

Considering the nature of their multiple responsibilities and transnational financial burden, negative relationships between high levels of prosocial purpose and the adjustment outcomes are possible to occur. For example, in qualitative analysis, South Sudanese URMs demonstrated a strong other-oriented purpose, especially for their families. That is, their life purposes were appeared to be centered around supporting families or helping their home country by achieving education and economy in the U.S. However, it was also found that there were challenges and difficulties that this group of young adult experiences when they work hard to achieve their educational and occupational goals to support their families transnationally.

For example, the participants frequently described about stress factors such as financial restraint, disruptions of their education, and delayed further career development due to financial demand from their family members in Africa as well as in the United States. Also, ongoing conflict in their home country still struggles their family members and thus, supports from these young URMs who resettled in US are more expected and needed. In this situation, new family that they form in the U.S. and parenthood are likely to intensify their responsibilities and financial burdens. Therefore, it is highly possible that their high levels of purposes might significantly associated with the delays in their education and further career development since they more focused on meeting immediate needs of their families. However, again, due to such

small sample size, further investigation is needed with a larger population to verify these relationships.

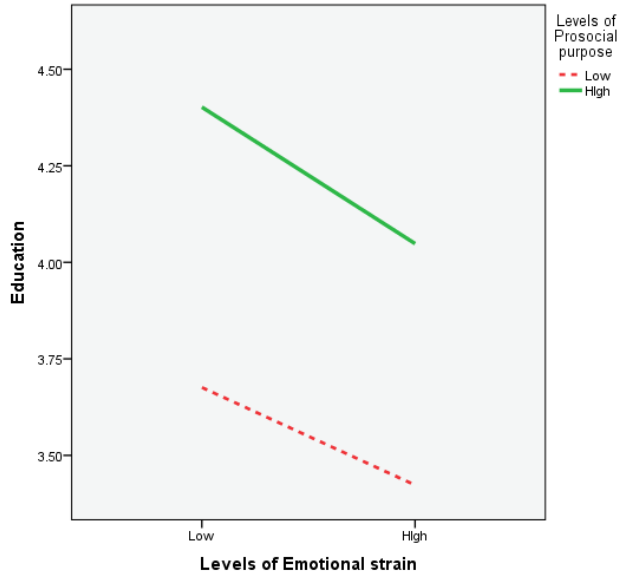

Figure 13. Effect of emotional strain and prosocial purpose on education

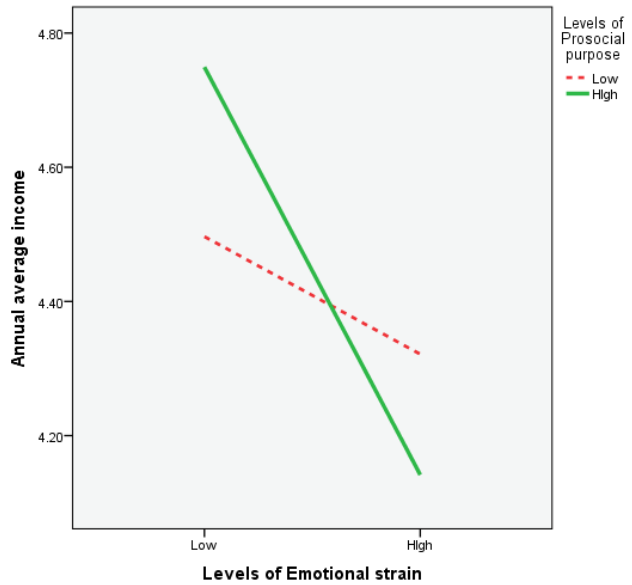

Figure 14. Effect of emotional strain and prosocial purpose on average annual income

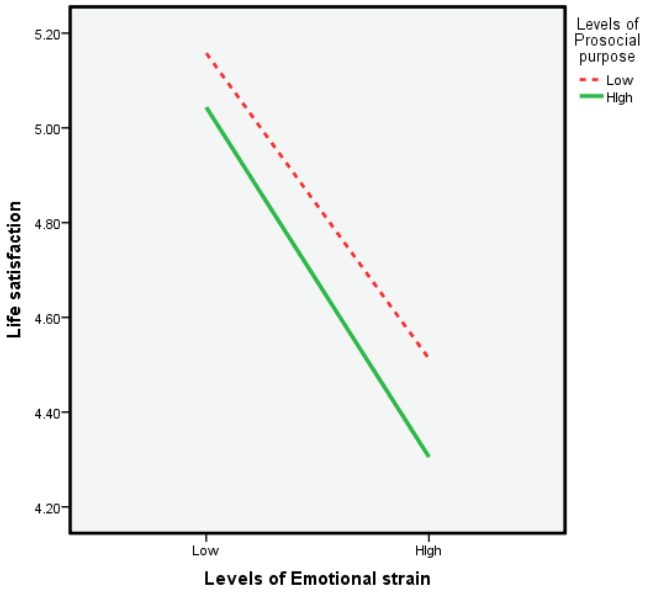

Figure 15. Effect of emotional strain and prosocial purpose on life satisfaction

Conclusion

In conclusion, overall positive effects of prosocial purpose and general purpose were significant in predicting better adjustment outcomes. However, as discussed earlier, it seems that the contexts of their resettlement challenges and difficulties also played a significant role in predicting the adjustment outcomes. The contextual variables must be considered and included into the current formulation because the strong family-oriented characteristic of their purpose might imply the increased levels of stress or the delayed in their education and career development resulted from their multiple responsibilities and demanding circumstances from two countries (Western and non-Western) as well as their acculturative challenges (i.e., perceived discrimination experience). In fact, prosocial purpose did not significantly change the impact of perceived discrimination experiences. Therefore, the adjustment outcomes in relation to these multiple contextual variables needed to be reexamined with a larger population to accurately test the associations.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

This study investigated South Sudanese unaccompanied refugee minors (URM) over time, centering on their a) purpose development, b) four-dimensional acculturation, and c) identity reformation and integration in relation to their adjustment outcomes, such as educational and occupational achievements, and levels of life satisfaction. The analysis revealed that the participants have developed BTS purpose with specific educational and career goals and plans, acculturated to as many as four different cultures, and reformed and integrated their identity over time.

Summary of the findings

Many of the participants demonstrated other-oriented, BTS purpose that could largely be categorized as "support families" and "help others." The specific goals and plans resided within two domains of purpose: education and career. The nature of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs particularly highlighted their unique life context and the meaning that fostered the onset of purpose development, based on strong prosocial reasoning. In addition, the participants also experienced multidimensional acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson et al., 2012), indicating that there were four cultures involved: South Sudanese, American, African, and African American. This four-dimensional acculturation also influenced their identity reformation and integration.

Long-term adjustment outcomes were assessed with their educational and occupational achievements, and levels of life satisfaction to measure their psychological wellbeing. The findings indicated that almost all of the participants had achieved higher levels of education with linear progression as they developed over time. However, their occupational achievement showed varied trajectories and often demonstrated underachievement compared to their levels of

education. Nonetheless, overall, the participants displayed moderate to high levels of life satisfaction and those who reported higher levels of life satisfaction were more likely to have an integrated view of their identity regarding the four cultural dimensions.

Throughout both phases, the participants faced a number of resettlement challenges. They frequently discussed financial constraints and demands from families in two countries, emotional strain, and acculturative stressors, such as racism. To deal with these resettlement challenges and difficulties, the participants negotiated their educational goals and career plans, and compromised with regard to employment opportunities. In many cases, they have been economically active with unskilled, manual labor jobs while enrolled in school to provide for themselves and their families. However, even after they completed their educations, the participants still struggled to find skilled jobs and build career paths based on their majors.

Though their specific goals have been revised, negotiated, and sometimes unachieved, most of the participants demonstrated and maintained a strong BTS purpose over time. It appeared that their purpose played an important role in motivating their hard work, overcoming challenges, and dealing with difficulties to stay focused and achieve their life purpose. This mechanism of purpose development, therefore, was found to be an important protective factor for South Sudanese URMs against the negative impacts of resettlement challenges on their adjustment in the U.S.

The remainder of this chapter will provide a broader and more comprehensive understanding of the experiences of South Sudanese URMs by interpreting and integrating the current study's findings on the development of multidimensional acculturation processes, identity reformation, and integration with their long-term adjustment outcomes.

Importance of purpose development among South Sudanese URMs during late adolescence through early adulthood

In purpose literature, many researchers have documented the importance of purpose during late adolescence through early adulthood (Bronk, 2011, 2013, 2014b; Bronk, Hill, Lapsley, Talib, & Finch, 2009; Hill, Burrow, & Sumner, 2013; Hill, Sumner, & Burrow, 2014; Sumner, Burrow, & Hill, 2015). For example, purpose was found to bolster identity and positive youth development during adolescence (Bronk, 2011, 2013; Burrow & Hill, 2011), and was associated with increased subjective wellbeing and a greater income during emerging adulthood (Hill, Turiano, Mroczek, & Burrow, 2016; Sumner et al., 2015).

Yet, the way that purpose develops has rarely been investigated during these critical periods of development among non-White (Euro or Caucasian) immigrant refugee youth and young adults, who are more likely to be at risk, vulnerable, and ultimately disadvantaged in the larger society. To bridge this gap, the current study's findings offer valuable insight into how South Sudanese URMs develop their sense of purpose along with their identity and acculturation processes during the developmental transition from late adolescence to emerging adulthood. In particular, this study highlights the importance of purpose in the lives of South Sudanese URMs who resettled in the U.S over time.

First, the results of the study suggest that purpose acts as a buffer against the detrimental effects of acculturative challenges and adjustment difficulties and supports the maintenance of a strong South Sudanese identity balanced often with multiple cultural dimensions of identity. This mechanism of purpose development is likely to encourage South Sudanese URMs' positive adjustment in the U.S.

In addition, the findings capture the key domains of purpose that the participants have transitioned (i.e., education to work) as they develop from adolescence to emerging adulthood. The participants have completed their education and progressed into the workforce as they planned to achieve their larger purpose. Thus, their purpose appears to be developmentally adaptive and desirable in their U.S. resettlement because these domains are also considered important developmental markers in Western culture (Arnett, 2000, 2001; Luster, Bates, & Johnson, 2006).

Prevalence of prosocial purpose based on the meaning of life history

The current findings on the prevalence of prosocial (BTS) purpose (63.1% in Phase 1 and 90.9% in Phase 2) among South Sudanese URMs is compelling given the prevalence of BTS purpose among high-ability adolescents (34%) (Bronk, Finch, & Talib, 2010), female high school students from affluent families (few) (Spencer, Walsh, Liang, Mousseau, & Lund, 2018), and young white male adults from upper-middle-class families (19.7%) (Mariano & Vaillant, 2012).

Surprisingly, what made possessing a prosocial purpose so important was the meaning of the participants' adverse past and the current opportunities. In fact, they often spoke about how their traumatic survival of war and U.S. resettlement have been meaningful to them and reinforced their prosocial reason for purpose. The participants also explained the meaning of the U.S. resettlement that carried them to a potential future with educational and career opportunities that would not have been possible if they were not selected and recommended for resettlement and otherwise perished. Thus, life history appeared to act as a motivator to generate BTS purpose for South Sudanese URMs as they constructed important meanings out of their life-threatening experiences in the context of their U.S. resettlement.

According to Hill, Sumner, and Burrow (2014), there are three pathways to embark on one's purpose: a) proactive engagement, b) reaction to significant life events, or c) social learning. For South Sudanese URMs, their purpose was clearly generated from their reaction to significant life events rather than from proactive engagement or social learning. That is, their early adversity and vulnerability did not necessarily curtail and inhibit the development of purpose. Rather, it even spurred their BTS purpose on the basis of personal meaningfulness.

A study by Hill, Turiano, and Burrow (2018), however, showed that early life adversity, such as physical and emotional abuse, were destructive to the development of purpose in life over the course of adulthood. Perhaps these inconsistent findings are due to the different kinds of adversity that young people face within different social contexts and individual circumstances. The inconsistency of the findings may also depend on personal meaningfulness as indicated by the current findings on the South Sudanese URM context. Indeed, Frankl (1959) believed that "it is not suffering per se but suffering without meaning that is devastating to the individual" (as cited in Bronk, 2014, p.138).

Another study by Sumner (2017) showed a weak relationship between education and purpose in that education was not a predictive factor for purpose development. In other words, she argued that finding one's purpose does not depend on one's level of education. This supports the current finding on the prevalence of purpose among South Sudanese URMs that emerged from their distressing life circumstances. The findings in this study thus indicate that purpose is largely based on one's life experiences, social contexts, circumstances, and personal meaningfulness. Perhaps, considering the current research findings, education is the outcome of purpose development in that a strong sense of purpose reinforces educational aspirations and engagements based on lifelong meaning and drive.

Roles of prosocial purpose in successful adjustment of South Sudanese URMs

In this discussion, there are three global points of interest that can occur throughout the lifespan to capture different processes of purpose development: 1) the genesis of purpose, 2) the paths to achieve purpose, and 3) the outcomes of purpose development. The previous section pointed out how South Sudanese URMs have generated purpose by making meaning of their adverse backgrounds. Consequently, their early life history appeared to be an important source of purpose in their U.S. resettlement context. Next, the roles of their prosocial purpose are discussed to illustrate their paths to achieve purpose and the outcomes.

Prosocial purpose as motivator. In most cases, through their social responsibilities, South Sudanese URMs' prosocial purpose serves as a strong motivator (i.e., driver) for utilizing educational and work opportunities in the U.S. A strong desire to help their families and communities in South Sudan enhanced their aspirations and active involvement in education, economic activities, and career development. Although their vulnerabilities as URMs could yield various psychosocial risk factors, their prosocial purpose seemed to significantly increase their resiliency and thus aid in their positive adjustment.

Prosocial purpose as protector. Purpose also played a role as a coping strategy and a protection against being distracted and distressed by acculturative challenges and resettlement difficulties, such as racial harassment and financial constraints. For example, staying focused on their purpose served as a useful strategy for the participants to deal with racism. In particular, it protected them from anger and fighting in response insults and bias or being depressed and discouraged by these and other negative experiences emerging in various interpersonal relationships or social settings. Their coping strategy that focused more on what they were here

for (purpose) motivated them to concentrate meaning and outcomes without jeopardizing purpose when negative transactions took place.

Similarly, Machell, Disabato, and Kashdan (2016) found that the higher levels of general purpose attenuated the effects of poverty on antisocial behaviors, but did not improve prosocial behaviors. The protective role of prosocial purpose was notable in a study conducted by Spencer and her colleagues (2018). The findings indicated that, compared to students with general purpose, students with prosocial purpose were more likely to manage achievement stress and pressure in a positive way, and develop positive and supportive peer relationships rather than competitive ones. Combined with the current study, these findings imply the important role of prosocial purpose as a protector in facing stressful life experiences.

The development of purpose in association with acculturation and identity development of South Sudanese URMs

Maintaining prosocial purpose in the face of challenges and difficulties. Besides pre-migration traumatic events, the participants faced another set of challenges and difficulties after resettlement that hindered their progress in achieving goals. It is important to consider the effects of their pre-flight traumas; however, it is also important to understand their current difficulties and social challenges to adequately support URMs' purpose development and thus, promote their adjustment. According to Keles, Friborg, Idsøe, Sirin, and Oppedal (2016), unaccompanied refugee minors of color were likely to experience high levels of general life challenges, such as financial strains, and high levels of acculturation stress, including discrimination, over an average three year mandatory resettlement period.

Like other URMs of color who resettled in developed countries, our South Sudanese URM participants frequently reported heavy workloads from school and work, financial

constraints, and emotional strain resulting from multiple responsibilities, acculturative tasks, and racist experiences as important resettlement stressors. Nonetheless, over the 14 years of their U.S. resettlement, they maintained a prosocial purpose and achieved high levels of education. Although a number of participants expressed "disappointment" regarding their career, they did not necessarily lose their positive view of their future and expectations of further development in their career path. As a result, our participants' prosocial purpose may contribute to their positive psychological wellbeing, despite these life challenges and difficulties.

Four-dimensional acculturation and identity development. Acculturation occurred through South Sudanese URMs' daily life along with their commitment to their goals in school and at work. Four cultural dimensions (i.e., South Sudanese, American, African, and African American) were found to be relevant in their acculturation process and triggered identity reformation. Each cultural dimension was emerged from their acculturation experiences and simultaneously affected their identity reformation. This process, in turn, was closely related to their purpose forms, categories, and domains. To be specific, their prosocial purpose significantly reflected who they were as South Sudanese individuals and their culture of origin. However, their specific goals were successfully achieved or challenged as they assimilated into mainstream American society and encountered racialized situations in which they were often (mis)identified as African or African American.

The findings show that all participants maintained a strong South Sudanese identity over time together with their prosocial purpose. It seems that their strong national identity (of origin) bolstered the maintenance of their purpose, where emphasis is on contributions to their families and South Sudan communities. This mechanism is considered to be a protective factor against adjustment problems. Similar findings were reported by Martinez and Dukes (1997). In their

study, the greater levels of ethnic identity (*unexamined, searchers, identity achieved*, Phinney, 1992) were associated with increased levels of purpose in life. For example, identity-achieved students in their study were more likely to score higher levels of purpose in life (low, moderate, high). This relationship, furthermore, buffered against discrimination and stereotypes toward ethnic minority women (Martinez & Dukes, 1997).

In seeking successful integration into American educational and economic systems, learning and internalizing mainstream American culture was the key aspect of South Sudanese URMs' adjustment and purpose development. However, "mainstream fit" socialization and bidimensional acculturation (Berry, 1997) perspectives are critically lacking in examining racialized factors, such as racism, discrimination, and marginalization (Coll et al., 1996; Stevenson, 1998; Stevenson & Davis, 2004) to precisely explain the processes of acculturation and identity reformation among these black refugees from Africa.

Under the process of acculturation, immigrants of color often faced racial harassment, discrimination, and segregation, and consequently experienced downward assimilation across generations (Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011; Portes, 2007). Therefore, this study viewed the participants' learning, and life experiences in diverse cultural dimensions to capture racial, ethnic, and culturally specific influences on their adjustment instead of seeing it only within a predominantly White, mainstream American cultural context. As a result, the study revealed African and African American cultural dimensions that were influential in South Sudanese URMs' acculturation, identity development, and adjustment.

It is noteworthy that South Sudanese URMs have reconstructed their identity as African and African American. Their traditional South Sudanese identify before resettlement was transformed and amalgamated with different cultures and labels. The participants developed an

"African" identity in order to differentiate themselves from U.S.-born African Americans. However, in the face of pervasive racial prejudice, the participants tended to align themselves with African Americans. Therefore, it was found that African and African American dimensions were inherently different and thus separated by participants but, simultaneously, they tended to coexist and were interconnected by racism depending on the situation.

Identity reformation and integration. Based on four-dimensional acculturation, the current study explained identity reformation and integration among South Sudanese URMs. Identity reformation and integration were discussed by all participants in both phases of the study and these identity processes seemed to represent inevitable developmental consequences of their multidimensional acculturation. Specifically, the current findings suggested that there were integrated and unintegrated views on these four cultural dimensions of their identity. In fact, in Phase 2, the participants tended to present increased cultural dimensions and suggest a more integrated view in explaining their identity than in Phase 1. In addition, compared to the unintegrated view, the integrated perspective appeared to be favored because it was likely to promote their psychological wellbeing as measured by their levels of life satisfaction.

These findings are consistent with acculturation literature that has documented the positive impacts of the integration status facing various different cultures (traditional and multiple destination cultures) on the lives of diverse immigrant youths and young adults (Berry & Hou, 2017; Berry et al., 2006; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006; Schwartz & Unger, 2017; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Therefore, this study concluded that being fluent with different cultural dimensions in successfully redefining themselves was influential in promoting South Sudanese URMs' psychological adjustment, even though they felt it was difficult to do so.

Long-term adjustment outcomes and psychological wellbeing

In studying the adjustment trajectories of diverse immigrant populations from various countries across generations, researchers have proposed a framework of segmented assimilation to illustrate divergent trajectories of integration—upward, downward, and horizontal assimilations—according to the unique contexts of exit and reception (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 2014). The current study's findings on South Sudanese URMs' long-term adjustment outcomes clearly demonstrated their segmented assimilation trajectories across domains of purpose: education and work.

Segmented assimilation across domains of purpose. In this study, there was clear evidence of linear progression in education as participants aged from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Even though there were varying degrees of achievement (some college to PhD), all participants reported that they had completed higher education despite challenges. However, when it came to occupation, less evidence of linear progression was found. Therefore, it is questionable whether the participants are moving solidly into the middle class given their current occupational trajectories—in Phase 2, more than half of the participants were overeducated for their unskilled, low-wage jobs, meaning that their education was higher than expected for their job.

Education-occupation mismatch, especially the smaller effect of a year of schooling on occupation and earnings ("overeducated"), was commonly observed for immigrants in the U.S. during early periods of migration (Chiswick & Miller, 2008; Poot & Stillman, 2010). Researchers examined the effect of this education-occupation mismatch on economic integration and the returns to their education and experience, comparing between immigrants and the native born/non-immigrants (Chiswick & Miller, 2008). They concluded that "overeducated" immigrant workers were likely to move upward in terms of occupation and income according to

longer duration in the host country. In particular, they rejected the hypothesis of discrimination that results in a pattern of overeducation among immigrants (Chiswick & Miller, 2008). However, it is highly possible that the findings and explanations may vary by country of origin because of different "modes of incorporation" in different destination countries (Haller et al., 2011; Portes, 1996; Portes & Zhou, 1993).

According to Haller, Portes, and Lynch (2011), for immigrants of African origin (Black Caribbean) in general, the host culture is less receptive and perceives that there is less human capital (parental level of education, income, stability) available among these groups. They were also more likely to face social barriers related to their race in the host nation. As a consequence, black immigrants' ability to achieve educational and occupational success appeared to be significantly lower in comparison to immigrants from other racial/ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Chinese) (Haller et al., 2011).

South Sudanese URMs were found to be successful attaining their education goals (Rana et al., 2011; Qin et al., 2015). By applying segmented assimilation theory, this kind of educational success is attributed to a) the positive context of their arrival (Luster et al., 2010)—refugee legal status, popular media coverage, and public support—and b) the foster parents' human capital as members of middle-class American household environments with a deep knowledge of the host culture that can help unaccompanied minors to transition (Qin et al., 2015). Thus, it seems that their "mode of incorporation" was quite positive, and their human capital was relatively high early on in the process. However, this study's findings on their occupational achievements, after 14 years of resettlement, challenges whether the impact of such a favorable mode of incorporation and human capital has been maintained over time as these youths transitioned to adulthood seeking a successful assimilation into the U.S. economy.

Comparable findings were suggested in a follow-up study of unaccompanied young adult refugees conducted in Sweden after an average of 10 years of resettlement (Wallin & Ahlström, 2005). The researchers found that the jobs the participants held were rarely consistent with their full training. Instead, in order to take care of themselves, and particularly to provide for their families, they had taken the most readily available positions. Despite having spent more than 10 years in the host county, they still expressed the hope of attaining a better job in the future. The study participants attributed their difficulty in obtaining a job to their immigrant/refugee status. They believed that employers probably did not have the same trust in them as they did in native Swedish individuals.

Although unaccompanied South Sudanese refugee youth were accepted and served well by the U.S. government and local communities through Unaccompanied Refugee Minors Programs (URMP) across the country, as they became independent from foster parents and integrated into the U.S. economy, experiences associated with skin color and their refugee status emerged more clearly. For instance, McKinnon (2008) described that South Sudanese refugee young adults experienced the racial inequalities more at work than in school. Participants described their struggles to find a quality job and get promotion at work even though they did well in school and achieved academic success (McKinnon, 2008).

Consistent with this finding, the South Sudanese URM participants in the current study are also likely to be at risk of undergoing downward assimilation with regard to occupation, even though they have progressed well in the U.S. education system (education-occupation mismatch).

Purpose development, status inequalities, and perceived discrimination. A study by Hill, Turiano, Mroczek, and Burrow (2016) found that a strong sense of purpose predicted

greater income and net worth among their adults participants, who ranged in age from 25 to 74 and were mostly white (approximately 93%). However, it is questionable whether this finding can be replicated with racial minority populations, who are more likely to face social barriers and disadvantages (e.g., racism, racial discrimination, oppression) in developing their career paths in the larger society. It is highly possible that they earn less than their White counterparts, even when they have a stronger sense of purpose.

In fact, Ryff, Keyes, and Hughes (2003) found a heightened level of purpose among well-educated blacks compared to well-educated white adults due to status inconsistency (e.g., being a highly educated racial minority). Thus, researchers proposed that high levels of education may contribute to life purpose differently for the racial minority and majority, leading to a greater gap between blacks and whites in terms of sense of purpose when they have the same level of education. However, they also pointed out that the opposite directional influence can be plausible, such that a stronger sense of purpose may also have contributed to the pursuit of higher education. In this line of study, the current findings support the opposite direction in which a heightened sense of purpose enhanced educational performance despite minority status and racial disparities and discriminations. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the validity of both directions of influence is probable and can be explained depending on one's context.

Levels of life satisfaction. Overall, South Sudanese URM participants reported relatively moderate to high levels of life satisfaction. It seemed that levels of life satisfaction varied by identity integration; however, this relationship may be moderated by a strong purpose and sense of meaning in life or other relevant factors, such as marriage status. For male South Sudanese young adults, there was a social cultural expectation to marry and form their own family as young men. However, three of the participants who showed a lower level of life satisfaction were

single and strongly expressed their desire to find their partner and current frustration. Still, it remains unclear how these factors were linked to one another in affecting their life satisfaction. Further investigation would be helpful.

Connecting purpose development, acculturation, and identity development focusing on the South Sudanese URMs: The new and innovative perspective

Interdisciplinary and integrative perspectives for the purpose theory innovation.

With interdisciplinary and integrative perspectives, this study synthesizes developmental, psychological, and sociological disciplines, and enriches the overall understanding of purpose development and the long-term adjustment of South Sudanese URMs over time. In focusing on their prosocial purpose, the current study shows how early life adversity has been converted into developmental strength and established, lifelong meaning and prosocial reasoning. Under the umbrella of their prosocial purpose, the participants' current efforts and future plans for education and career were highly inspired and motivated. This study shed light on how they have cultivated a sense of purpose in such disadvantaged pre- and post-resettlement contexts, and how that purpose has developed over time related to other individual and social factors, such as acculturation and identity. The interdisciplinary approach significantly benefited the study in illustrating participants' unique adjustment trajectories during resettlement.

Purpose as a developmental process. A growing body of literature has emerged in recent years on the development of purpose, based largely on psychological foundations. However, considering the ecological systems of human development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), this study primarily focuses on understanding South Sudanese URMs' development of purpose in interacting with their unique environment and its influence on their socialization and integration in a new country. Basically, their purpose development, acculturation, and identity

reconstruction and integration have occurred at and deepened across personal, educational, social, cultural, economic, and multinational systems concurrently over time.

Some researchers viewed purpose as a positive developmental outcome that might have resulted from educational attainment. However, this study sees purpose development as a developmental process, rather than an outcome, which can take place over time in any life contexts and situations at any points. In the case of South Sudanese URMs, purpose has been developed over time with different forms, changing roles, and processes in the U.S. resettlement context. Finally, this development of purpose captures the diverse trajectories of goal achievement and purpose engagement (successful, unsuccessful, ongoing, incomplete, and accomplished) and thus explains adjustment.

Generalizability and transferability of purpose development. Sumner (2017) suggested a generalizability of purpose development based on her empirical study that discovered the same levels of purpose between populations who did not have college degrees and those who did. She concluded that purpose identification occurs irrespective of a higher level of education (Sumner, 2017). In agreement with her work, the current study contributes evidence for the generalization of purpose development across different contexts and life circumstances by showing a context-specific influence on purpose and the prevalence of prosocial purpose among one of the most deprived and vulnerable populations. As such, this study argues that the development of purpose is generalizable as well as transferable because its conceptual frameworks can be used to clarify the diverse pathways of purpose development among individuals within various developmental, social, cultural, and political contexts.

CHAPTER 7. FUTURE IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Practical implications and future directions

The present study showed how South Sudanese URMs have cultivated purpose within such a deprived social context and how their purpose development has interacted with their acculturation experiences. It has also shown how identity reformation and integration has influenced their long-term adjustment and subjective well-being. In essence, the purpose development of South Sudanese URMs was described as an important developmental asset and process that have occurred over time.

Under the development of purpose, the participants meaningfully transformed their adversities into strengths, and their current efforts and the future plans in terms of education and career were inspired and motivated based on a prosocial drive. Furthermore, purpose development helped the participants deal with acculturative stresses and adjustment difficulties over the course of achieving their specific goals and the ongoing pursuit of their purpose in life. As a result, the participants showed high levels of academic achievement and life satisfaction. However, their occupational achievements appeared to be relatively less successful compared to their higher educational attainment.

Current research on purpose development in relation to four-dimensional acculturation, identity reformation and integration, and segmented assimilation among South Sudanese URMs provides innovative and alternative ways of explaining the long-term adjustment among refugee youth and young adults of color in the United States. Most importantly, the study enhances theoretical understanding by adding valuable perspectives within racial ethnic minority immigrant contexts and provides a strong empirical foundation that could be useful for assisting the future cohorts of unaccompanied refugee minors coming to the United States.

For example, foster families, educators, and health professionals who work closely with refugee minors can utilize the theories of purpose and four-dimensional acculturation when interacting with URMs and planning culturally and developmentally sensitive psychosocial interventions and programs. To be specific, future services and programs need to consider the importance of purpose in URMs' resettlement and support their sense of purpose as an important contributor for successful adaptation, as well as a buffer against stressors (e.g., racial discrimination). In particular, meaning-making processes and prosocial aspects should be emphasized and encouraged because it appeared to be an important drive and psychological resource that can focus on cultural orientation for the refugee youths.

Although they demonstrated a remarkable resilience as URM, given their vulnerability in nature, social supports and community services were essential for their successful development and adjustment. According to Gutowski, White, Liang, Diamonti, and Berado (2018), social support could help to mitigate stress, propelling youth to develop a sense of purpose. Therefore, the current study calls for attention to develop resettlement programs and services for newer groups of African refugee youth using a theory of purpose generated from the South Sudanese URMs' case.

Moreover, by looking at South Sudanese refugee URMs' experience based on Coll et al.'s integrative model (1996), the aspect of the family racial socialization process under the family dimension seemed to be critically lacking in this population due to their unaccompanied childhood and adolescence. Understanding and dealing with racism might become a more salient issue as these black workers integrate into the U.S. economy. Furthermore, as they become parents of U.S. born children of color, the family racial socialization process is also important because it has an impact through generations. Therefore, further investigation is needed to

understand the unique racial socialization processes among groups of racial minority URMs, and to understand their parenting skills to socialize their children in terms of race and their own ethnicity. Perhaps the racial socialization process might be associated with their purpose, which has been found to be a protective factor for South Sudanese URMs in this study.

Lastly, future studies using quantitative or advanced mixed method research designs with a larger population are more preferable than the research designs restricted to an investigation with the limited sample. With constant theory application and methodological advancement, future scholarships will be able to inform practitioners and policy makers with strong evidence-based knowledge. This will benefit not only the group of South Sudanese URMs, but also the other groups of unaccompanied refugee and immigrant adolescents.

Limitations of the study

Lack of female context

Current findings are largely based on sets of data collected from South Sudanese male URMs. However, there is a small but notable number of female URMs who will likely develop a different pathway of adjustment due to unique social barriers and risks, such as early marriage and childbearing during resettlement. It is highly possible that they experience different series of adjustment challenges and cultural contexts at the intersection of gender and race, according to both South Sudanese and American cultures. Therefore, research on adaptation, purpose, and acculturation processes among South Sudanese URMs needs to be expanded to its female population.

Limited sampling

It should be noted that the participants in this study were a highly selected group of URMs and might not be representative of the whole South Sudanese URM populations in the

United States. The participants in the present study tended to adjust well and be successful in their education**;** however, it is possible that there is a group of South Sudanese URMs who are more likely to struggle, and thus, are significantly marginalized in the larger society.

Sample size

The sample sizes of 19 in Phase 1 and 11 in Phase 2 are small, but considering the difficulty in following up with this group of refugee minors over time (Spring et al., 2003), it seemed adequate for the scope of this qualitative inquiry. Nonetheless, future research with a larger sample size will be desirable to replicate the current findings and validate patterns and interactions around the focal areas of the study.

Other factors

There are other social individual factors that might be important in the participants' adjustment as they entered adulthood. For example, marriage status and parenthood were often discussed by the participants, with many of them expressing a desire to be in a relationship and form their own family. In fact, some have already become a parent raising a U.S.-born child, and they face conflicting situations when the multiple cultures intersect. Thus, further study should investigate the role of marriage and the parenting experience among the South Sudanese unaccompanied refugee URMs who are now grown-ups. This is especially important due to their unique history of unaccompanied childhood. Therefore, future research should explore factors that contribute to romantic relationships and parenting practices as the youth have grown to form their own families and care for their children.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current study's theoretical and practical implications must be noted despite its limitations. By focusing on South Sudanese URMs, existing theoretical frameworks

were intertwined, examined, and challenged. As a result, a grounded theory of purpose development is generated and advances understanding on 1) the detailed processes of purpose development that interplay with acculturation and identity reformation and integration, and 2) the outcomes of purpose development, such as educational and occupational achievements, and psychological well-being measured by life satisfaction.

A strong practical utility of purpose development is worthwhile to be noted. A sense of purpose is a developmental strength and asset that can significantly reduce detrimental impact of various life stresses and adversities. In particular, the study highlights other-oriented and prosocial purposes that can be encouraged and promoted within various sociocultural circumstances of young people. Therefore, customizing programs and social support for purpose development during adolescence through early adulthood will be influential for the successful integration of young refugee and immigrant populations into American society.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Informed consent for interview participants in Phase 2

South Sudanese Youth Follow-up Study Consent Form

Dear Participant,

We are asking you to be a part of a follow-up study of Sudanese refugees who participated in our research over the past 12 years.

Project Information. This study is an extension of The Sudanese Refugee Youth Project involving Michigan State University, Lutheran Social Services of Michigan, and Catholic Social Services of Lansing/St. Vincent Home, Inc., from 2001 to 2010. In this newest study, we will interview the Sudanese refugees who have participated in interviews previously in 2002, 2007-8 and 2010. The purpose of the project is to learn about the accomplishments and experiences of Sudanese refugees after living in the U.S. since 2001. Information from each individual will be used to help us understand how the Sudanese refugees as a group have continued to adapt to life in the United States, particularly during times of enormous change. The interviews will also help us determine the nature of challenges refugees faced and how they coped with those challenges.

If you decide to be part of this research, you will be asked to participate in an interview via phone or Skype because you do not live in the area. The interview will take about 90 minutes (1 ½ hour) of your time. During the interview, you will be asked about your feelings about yourself, school/work experiences, resettlement, challenges and coping, your satisfaction with your achievements, and future goals. Also, you will be asked about your psychological and physical health, work, family, and about your strengths.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you can refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you can stop participating in the research at any time without penalty.

You will receive a $20 gift card for participating in the interview. We really appreciate your time and participation.

Benefits and risks. You will not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study. However, we do believe that the knowledge gained from studying the long-term adjustment process for refugee youth resettled in a very different culture will help agencies plan better approaches to assist new refugees.

Participating in this interview may cause you to experience negative feelings related to remembering your previous traumatic experiences in Africa or in discussing challenges and disappointments you have experienced since you resettled in the U.S. Of course, you are free to discontinue participating at any time.

Confidentiality. The interview will be audio recorded for the purposes of accurately recording the talk. We will only ask your first names in the interview in order to protect your privacy. Several other steps will be taken to help ensure your rights to privacy. Each participant in the study will be assigned a number and only that number will be used to identify the files and transcripts of files. Recordings and transcripts of interviews will be protected in a secured database at the University. Access to the interview files will be limited to the research team or for educational purposes which may include audio clips or portions of the record to be used in classroom instruction or conference presentations of research findings. If any

quotes from your interview are used in publications or presentations, we will remove any identifying information so that no one can identify the individual being quoted. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. You should also be aware that if you report ongoing child abuse we must by law report it to the proper authorities. As a participant you have the right to ask questions and to refuse to answer a question at any time. Your individual responses to questions will not be shared with other participants in the study.

Contact information. If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researcher Deborah J. Johnson, Ph.D., Department of Human Development and Family Studies. You can reach her by mail at 552 W. Circle Drive, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824; by phone at 517 432 9115; or by email at john1442@msu.edu.

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or email irb@msu.edu or regular mail at Olds Hall, 408 West Circle Drive #207, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824

Consent to participate. Your signature below means that you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

Signature_____ **Date**_____

Print name _____

I agree to allow audio taping of the interview.

☐ Yes ☐ No **Initials**_____

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

APPENDIX B. Demographic questionnaire in Phase 2

Sudanese Youth Follow-up

Demographics Questionnaire (2014-2015)

Contact Information

Date _____

Your Name _____

Your age: _____ Number of years in the US _____

Below are just some quick background questions that I would ask you to fill in.

(Please check the answer that best fits your situation)

1. Gender: ❍ Male ❍ Female

2. What is your Marital Status?
   - ❍ Single and not dating
   - ❍ Single and dating
   - ❍ Cohabiting (living with partner), how long?_____
   - ❍ In a long-distance relationship (in a relationship with someone living in another city or country)
   - ❍ Married
     - How long have you been married?_____
     - Does your wife/husband live in the same city as you?
       - ❍ Yes ❍ No
         - If no, where does he/she live? _____
   - ❍ Legally Separated
   - ❍ Divorced
   - ❍ Widowed

3. Have you obtained the U.S. citizenship?
   - ❍ Yes (when? _____) ❍ No

4. What is the citizenship of the person you are dating/ married to?
   - ❍ South Sudanese ❍ American ❍ Other (please specify)

     _____

5. What is the racial-ethnic affiliation of the person you are dating/ married to?
   - ❍ Black/African
   - ❍ Caucasian/ White
   - ❍ Asian (Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Indian-India, Vietnamese, etc)
   - ❍ Hispanic/Latino (Mexican descent, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc..)
   - ❍ Biracial and multiracial

6. Do you have children?

❍ Yes ❍ No

- If you have children, please list your children and tell us their age and gender

Child	Age	Boy or Girl
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

7. Are you currently in school?

❍ Yes ❍ No

- If yes, answer the following questions:

  Where (at what school) are you studying? _____

  What degree are you working toward? _____

  What major are you studying? _____

8. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Check the highest grade level that you have completed	**Check all degrees acquired in the U.S.**
❍ Some elementary school (grades 1-6)	❍ Some elementary school (grades 1-6)
❍ Completed elementary school (6th grade)	❍ Completed elementary school (6th grade)
❍ Some middle school (7th – 8th grade)	❍ Some middle school (7th – 8th grade)
❍ Completed middles school (8th grade)	❍ Completed middles school (8th grade)
❍ Some High School (grades 9-12)	❍ Some High School (grades 9-12)
❍ High school diploma or GED	❍ High school diploma or GED
❍ Some college but no degree	❍ Some college but no degree
❍ Associate's (2-year college) degree	❍ Associate's (2-year college) degree
❍ Vocational or trade school certification (Type of Certification: _____)	❍ Vocational or trade school certification (Type of Certification: _____)
❍ Four-year college degree (B.A. or B.S)	❍ Four-year college degree (B.A. or B.S)
❍ Master's degree (MA or MS) (What was your major?_____)	❍ Master's degree (MA or MS) (What was your major?_____)
❍ PhD (What area? _____)	❍ PhD (What area? _____)

❍ Professional degree (e.g., law, medicine, or pharmacy) (What field? _____)	❍ Professional degree (e.g., law, medicine, or pharmacy) (What field? _____)

9. Are you currently working?

❍ Yes ❍ No

- If yes, where do you work? _____

  What do you do? _____

  How long have you been in your current job? _____

- Are you currently supporting family members in Sudan? ❍ Yes ❍ No

  How many?_____

- Please list other jobs you've held since 2002 and for how long you worked in those positions

Position	How long?	What did you do?

10. The US has experienced tremendous economic difficulties in the last 5 years. Has the economic downturn had an impact on your life circumstances (ex: job, housing, education, marriage, international travel, sadness)?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Very little	Some	A lot	Devastating

- If you answered a lot or devastating, please tell us how it affected your life circumstances

_____
_____
_____

11. How old were you when you left Africa? _____ years old

12. Did you leave with any other members of your family? (e.g., brothers and sisters, cousins)

    ❍ Yes ❍ No

    - If yes, who? _____

13. Were you and your family members resettled in the same place?
    ❍ Yes ❍ No

14. Did you live with a foster family immediately after arrival in the US?
    ❍ Yes ❍ No

15. How long did you live with foster families? _____

16. How many foster homes did you live in and who did you live with? (Please list household members in each place including other Sudanese youth. Start with your 1st foster home and list them in order)

Foster homes: Parents Names, Location (City, State)	Others Household members/siblings	How long?(in years & months)
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

17. What tribe or ethnic group do you belong to? _____

18. What languages do you speak? _____
    - Which do you consider your first language?_____

16. What language do you read and write in best? _____

17. Do you practice any religion?

    ❍Yes (if yes, which religion _____)

    ❍ No

18. Have you returned to South Sudan since living in the U.S.?

❍ Yes ❍ No

- If yes, when? _____

19. Are you currently involved in fundraising or development efforts in South Sudan?

❍Yes ❍No

- If yes, examples? _____

20. What are your plans regarding residence in the United States?

❍ I plan to return to South Sudan permanently to live and work.
❍ I plan to live in the US and visit home when I can.
❍ I plan to live sometimes in Sudan and sometimes in the U.S.
❍ I will be permanently living and working in the U.S.

21. Where are most of your friends from (Sudan or the US)?

❍ South Sudanese
❍ South Sudanese and other African
❍ South Sudanese and American
❍ American

- If your choice includes "American", please specify ethnic/racial groups included in your "American" friends.
  - ❍ Black/African
  - ❍ Caucasian/ White
  - ❍Asian (Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Indian-India, Vietnamese, etc)
  - ❍ Hispanic/Latino (Mexican descent, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc..)
  - ❍ Biracial and multiracial

❍ Other nationalities (Not African or American)

- Which nationalities? _____

22. Please rate your life satisfaction at the current time.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all satisfied	Slightly satisfied	Moderately satisfied	Very satisfied	Extremely satisfied

(Thank you!)

APPENDIX C. Interview protocol in Phase 2

Interview Protocol for Sense of Purpose Follow-up Study (Face, Phone and Skype)

2014 - 2015

ID#_____

My name is _____, and I am a member of the research team at Michigan State University that has been following the progress of you and other Sudanese refugee men and women who arrived in Lansing, Michigan in 2000-2001. You may remember Dr. Tom Luster, who headed our team until his untimely death in 2009. We are contacting you because you participated in earlier interviews about your experiences in Africa and since you arrived in the U.S. We would like to talk about what has happened in your life since our last conversation and how your early experiences in Africa may have influenced how you look at life today.

Now I would like to talk about your experiences regarding family, work, education, life changes and your continuing goals. First, I would like to find out about your current situation:

1. You have been in the U.S. for over 10 years now. How are things going?

2. Please tell me about any big changes in your life in the last few years? (Family, school, work?) Do you consider these good changes or a mix of good and perhaps difficult?

More about your current situation:

3. Have you moved in the last 5-6 years? Each time you have moved, why did you choose to move?

4. (REFER TO DEMO Q#6) Are you employed now? [LOOK OVER DEMOS TO DETERMINE IF YOU SHOULD SKIP TO a] If so, are you satisfied with your current job? Do you consider it a career?

- If not employed, what has been the challenge of either finding or keeping a position?

5. Have you become a U.S. citizen? [If Yes] Was it important to become a U.S. citizen? Why? [IF NO] Are you planning to in the future? [IF NOT], Why have you chosen not too?

Relationships and Family

Family and relationships are important. We would like to take a moment to talk about some of the significant relationships in your life.

6. (REFER TO DEMO Q#2) According to the survey (FILL IN)… tell me more about your marriage/engagement/ partner? How did you meet her/him? (change gender if speaking with female)

- We know that some of the Sudanese have spouses or fiancé's in other countries. Can you tell me the experience of living apart? Do you expect that to change in the future?
  - PROBE: Stresses and supports given the circumstances. If you are a different ethnicity than your partner/spouse how have you been received or treated in the community? Any experiences facing the prejudice or discrimination?

7. (REFER TO DEMO Q#3) If you have children, can you tell me more about them (and their Moms)? (BOYS OR GIRLS, AGES? WHO DO THEY LIVE WITH?; HERE OR ABROAD?)
- PROBE: What has been the impact of distance on your relationship with your children?

8. (IF THEY HAVE CHILDREN): Now that you have a child/children,
a) Can you talk a little bit about your experiences and feelings of being a father/mother? What is it like to be a father/mother? Has being a parent changed you or your perspectives? How?
b) You left Sudan as a young child and did not have parents in your life for quite some time growing up. Do you think this experience has influenced how you parent?
c) Parenting a child in two different cultures, e.g., the Sudanese and the US culture can bring both challenges and opportunities. What have your experiences been like? How have the Sudanese culture and the US culture influenced your parenting?
d) What hopes do you have for you son (daughter) in the future?

9. Can you think of other significant individuals who served as parental figures for you and how did those people influence your parenting?

10. Sudanese youth that we interviewed before had various relationships with their foster parents and mentors (or other parental figures that were influential). What is your current connection with your foster parents/mentors? [PAUSE, IF NO RESPONSE THEN GO ON]

- PROBE: Are you still in touch with your mentors/foster parents? How often do you see them or speak with them? Helpful relationship now? How have they helped you?

Success and Achievement

We are interested in learning more about your progress since you came here, what challenges you have faced, and how you have coped with those challenges.

11. Since we last interviewed you, what would you say have been your most significant accomplishments? What are you are most proud of?

12. Tell me about your main goals now? Would say those goals have changed in the last few years? If your goals have changed, how have they changed and what caused you to change your goals?

- Alternative: If goals have not changed, how well is he/she doing in achieving those goals – in what ways are you meeting your goals? In what ways, have those goals not been met?

13. If you feel you have been or are being successful in achieving your goals what has helped you to achieve (e.g. personal attributes, people, opportunities)? What supports have you received that helped you?

(Probe categories:

a) Financial supports: from where
b) Personal supports; housing, mentors/foster families
c) Own family here or in Sudan?)

14. What would say motivates you to keep going and to continue working hard toward your goals? Have you had any disappointments along the way? What were they?

- PROBE: What has helped you to cope with your disappointments

Current goals and purpose

We will now talk more about your goals and responsibilities.

15. What do feel are your biggest responsibilities here or in Africa?

16. What challenges do you face in meeting these responsibilities and obligations? How do you manage multiple responsibilities if you have them?

[NOTE: IF THE PARTICIPANT HAS REFERRED TO "GIVING BACK TO SUDAN" ASK THIS QUESTION].

- Earlier you talked about "giving back" to Sudan. (If this is true). What does it mean to you to be able to do that?

Identity

In this section we will be asking about your feelings of belonging both here and in Africa.

17. How about your feelings of belonging…do you ***feel*** you belong here? (Follow up, what increases or undermines sense of belonging?)

18. How would you describe yourself these days… as American? Sudanese? Sudanese-American? or some other way? (Pause) Why do you describe yourself this way?

19. Have you ever been described as African American by others? How did you feel about this description? What does that mean to you?

20. Has it been difficult to retain your Sudanese culture in the U.S.? How have you gone about doing that?

21. Have you returned to Sudan? What were your experiences like going back? Was it easy to fit in again? Language, customs? Did family and friend think you had changed? How?

Stressful experiences

Daily life including, work, family and sometimes school can be challenging and as a result we sometimes experience stress in our lives. In this section, I will be asking you about some of those stressful experiences.

22. At the moment, what is the biggest stress in your life here, in the US?

23. There have been serious economic problems in the US since 2008. Has this had an impact on you or your family? If so how so? What kinds of things did you do to ease or overcome these problems?

24. In our last interview some people found that they had problems with prejudice. Have you had any recent experiences with prejudice at work, school or in the community? If yes, can you tell me about those experiences? What kinds of things did you do to ease or overcome these problems?

25. Some of the Sudanese refugee adults seem to have adjusted well to life in the US over the years and some of them seem to have more problems. How would you explain these differences?

26. You have had many difficult experiences in Africa and here in your American life. Have those experiences taught you something in any way?

Future goals: We'd like to end this interview by talking about your hopes and dreams for the future.

27. What do you want your life to be like in the next five years? (e.g., where living, with whom, married, children, etc.). Any additional hopes for the future?

28. Is there anything more you would like to tell us about how would you define success now?

29. Is there anything else that you would like to tell us about you or your current situation that we have not asked about?

Conclusion: Speaking on behalf of myself and the research team, we want to thank you for letting us interview you again. We certainly have learned a lot now and over the years that we think is of importance. We appreciate your time and patience. If you have any questions about this please email or call at any time.

GIFT CARD. We have a gift card to show appreciation for you time. Again, we really appreciate your time and wish the best for you (and your family).

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Youth Purpose Project
Interview Coding Process
For
Forms of Purpose Determination
October 2008

By
Heather Malin, Tim S. Reilly, David Yeager, Seana Moran, Matt Andrews, Matt Bundick, and William Damon

Forms Determination Codebook

This document outlines the process used to determine whether a young person is engaged in purposeful pursuit, and the form that purpose takes. There are 4 steps to determining the form of purpose. Step one is to identify the most important goal or area of activity for the person. Step two is to select the category and domain of purpose that the important goal or activity best aligns with. Step three is to determine whether that important goal or activity is a driving force in their life. Step four is to determine the form of purpose through selected indicators.

Step One:

Pass 1
Read the interview through once to get a sense of the person and what is most important to them. Do not code anything but identify the most important thing for the person to accomplish. For this analysis, you will only need to identify the one goal that stands out as most important for the individual at the time of the interview.

Pass 2
In a second pass, code the thing that you identified as most important to accomplish. An accomplishment is a goal or end state that the interviewee identifies as important. These things to accomplish are the areas of the person's life that may be purposeful. The person does not have to imply that he or she will be the one to achieve the end state. For example, if world peace is identified as an important goal, the person may suggest that it could only be accomplished by many people or by someone with a lot of power.
A thing to accomplish should be a goal. Some things that they say are most important to them are not goals, but instead are important aspects of their life, like family and friends. You will need to determine if there is a goal to accomplish related to that important thing.

<u>Examples of Things to Accomplish</u>

- [WHAT MATTERS TO YOU?] To me, it would be helping out other people
- [IDEAL WORLD?] Well, I'd like to see maybe less fighting, wars and stuff. [SURE. OKAY.] Peace. And unfairness and justice.
- Me and my friend were talking, and we started thinking about how it would be cool to go to B.B.C., or whatever, and become kind of like a youth pastor.
- I'd like to be educating. If I could teach something to them. Help them understand stuff and just yeah, be an educator. [WHAT KIND OF EDUCATOR?] For children. When they grow up helping them get all the necessities they need to learn as they grow; all the important things; like that.
- [WHAT ARE YOUR HOPES?] Maybe to be a doctor or something.
- [IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE IN THE WORLD THAT YOU WANT TO BE DIFFERENT?] My mom to have better health.

Pass 3

After identifying the most important thing to accomplish, code the other components of purpose that will determine what form of purpose the goal takes. The components of purpose are:

Current Action
Physical, social and mental doings done in the past or currently by the interviewee that are related to the most important thing to accomplish. Actions are indicators that the person is engaged in realizing the goal.

Future Action
Physical, social and mental doings the interviewee expects or plans to do in the future that are related to the most important thing to accomplish. Future actions are indicators that the person is future-oriented and understands that steps need to be taken to accomplish a goal.

Accomp Reason
Why the person says they are pursuing the most important thing to accomplish. Accomp reasons indicate whether the goal is self-oriented or beyond the self.

Action Reason
Why the person does or plans to do the current and future actions. Action reasons indicate whether the person is acting out of self-interest or for the interests of others.

Examples of Current Actions

- [WHAT KIND OF THINGS DO YOU DO?] …we helped clean up our own neighborhood,
- Well this year, I'm in two AP classes, so I'm doing a lot of reading, a lot of studying.
- When there's, like, I go to different schools and help; I go to the library and help people who look for books.
- I spend time with my family.

Examples of Future Actions

- I know that there's nothing that I can do for other people, until I do for myself, so I figure like what I said, I'm going to go through college and get my degrees. I'm going to try and get my job and be as successful as possible.
- And after that, I just want to probably become a realtor, and sell a few houses, make a little money that way. Save up. Open a board shop. Like surfing and wakeboarding and snowboarding. And then the restaurant will be last.
- And for now, I want to expand my business, so that's my goal. I will take – on this point, I will take more classes about regarding to business or economy for now.

Examples of Accomp Reasons

- I think that influences my life because if I do good in school now, I'll always know that I tried my hardest.
- I plan to get to college and make something with my life to show that my parent's work, my family's work has paid off. I want to make them proud. I want to be successful for them.
- Because it makes me sad how people are just like they've been thrown out in the street and the sleep out there in the same clothes. They have no food. Some people died.
- [WHAT'S IMPORTANT ABOUT MAKING MONEY?] To buy stuff for my mom and dad because when I was a little baby, they bought me stuff and they're taking care of me.

Examples of Action Reasons

- [WHY DO YOU LIKE WORKING WITH KIDS?] I like helping kids learn about things. It's really cool to watch them. They're kind of like, yeah I get it, I get it, and then it clicks. And they're, oh I get it. And it's really great to watch that happen.
- [WHY PLAY SPORTS?] Because it keeps my – it lets – it builds sportsmanship and being a team player, and it's just really fun to do outside of school.
- The reason why I really joined the breast cancer walk is because a lot of my family members on my mom's side and a couple on my dad's side have suffered from cancer, and just recently, maybe about a year ago, my auntie had passed away from breast cancer.

Step Two:

In order to align the interview findings with the survey findings, you will need to identify the overarching *category* of purpose for the goal you identified, as well as the *domain* of purpose. The *categories* are broad concepts that capture many of the more specific types of goals and activities that young people talk about as important. The *domains* are the broad areas of life in which the goal or activity resides.

The categories of purpose were drawn in part from studies of young people's sources of meaning conducted by De Vogler and Ebersole (1983, 1981, 1980), and Showalter and Wagener (2000), and adapted by our research team. These categories are used for this analysis because they align with the categories that are used in the survey.

The categories of purpose to select from are:

1. Help others
2. Serve God/a Higher Power
3. Make the world a better place
4. Change the way people think
5. Create something new
6. Make things more beautiful
7. Fulfill my obligations
8. Do the right thing
9. Live life to the fullest
10. Make money
11. Discover new things about the world
12. Earn the respect of others
13. Support my family and friends
14. Serve my country
15. Have fun
16. Be successful
17. Have a good career

The domains of purpose to select from are:

1. Family (immediate or extended family, family of origin or future family, individual family members, etc.)
2. Academic achievement (doing well in school, getting good grades, etc.)
3. Values, beliefs, faith (spirituality, religiosity, guiding belief(s), etc.)
4. Career (work, job, future career or present job, etc.)
5. Country (USA or other countries)
6. Sports
7. Arts (theater, ceramics, painting, singing, playing an instrument, etc.)
8. Service (community service, helping others, helping community, etc.)
9. Political / social issues (women's rights, gay rights, anti-war interests, etc.)
10. Other hobbies or leisure activities (gaming, gardening, etc.)

In a spreadsheet, list the category and domain of the most important goal that the interviewee talks about, and then provide a brief summary or quotes to illustrate why the most important thing to accomplish, category and domain were selected. In providing content, try to elaborate on the most important thing to accomplish and give the reasons that the interviewee feels it is important.

Sometimes there is nothing to accomplish that is most important, for example, if there are no goals identified, or if there are several lesser goals with none seeming particularly important to the person. In these cases, choose one of the goals or something that they talk about that is important, and then note that it is not a driver (to be explained in the next step). If possible, identify something they do that is beyond the self, that is, something that is done for reasons that are not self-oriented.

Example

Case	Category of purpose	Domain of purpose	Content from interview that describes why the accomp, category and domain were chosen	Driver
	help others	career	wants to be a nurse so she can support her parents and future family. Wants to have children and take care of her family. Chose nursing because it's a way to help others, and so she can care for her family's health.	
	support my family and friends	family	family is important so I love them	no
	be successful	academic achievement	"go to college and feel proud of yourself like you have accomplished something"	

Step Three:

The next step is to determine whether or not the identified thing to accomplish is a driving force in the person's life. This will be determined by the ways that they talk about the goal during the interview, and by the role it plays in shaping their dreams, plans and actions.

First, how do they talk about their goal? Do they bring it up spontaneously, or does it have to be coerced from the interviewer? Do they offer it up multiple times, or is it only brought up briefly during the interview? Do they find ways to connect it to most of the things they talk about? If it is something that they talk about several times during the interview and connect to different aspects of their life, it is likely to be a driver.

Second, does it drive their dreams, plans or actions? Are <u>any</u> of the following true:

- The person envisions a future involving this goal
- The person makes plans in order to accomplish the goal
- The person's current actions reflect a *consistent* effort to pursue the goal

If the most important thing to accomplish is not driving any dreams, plans, or actions, it is not a driver. If an interviewee's most important thing to accomplish is not a driver, they will either be considered dabbling or drifting, to be determined in the next step. If the most important thing to accomplish does appear to be driving the dreams, plans, or actions of the person, it is likely to be a driver.

Example

Case	Category	Domain	Content	Driver
	have fun	other hobbies or leisure activities	participates in adrenaline sports	no
	have a good career	career	wants to be a medical assistant because her cousin is one	no
	support my family and friends	academic achievement	is trying to get good grades to go to a good college so he can support his family when he's an adult.	yes
	create something new	career	wants to be an architect because it is a field in which he can use creative thinking and doesn't have to follow the rules.	yes
	be successful	career	is "going with the flow" but wants to finish school and get a good career to do "the whole American dream thing."	no

Step Four:
The final step is to determine the form of purpose for the most important thing to accomplish. This will be determined using the components of purpose that were coded in step one. The process used to determine the form will vary depending on whether or not the most important thing to accomplish was found to be a driver.

If the thing to accomplish is a Driver:

First, determine whether the most important thing to accomplish is motivated primarily for self-oriented reasons or beyond-the-self (BTS) reasons.

<u>BTS Examples</u>

- [WHY JOIN NATIONAL CHARITY LEAGUE?] Because I feel sorry for them, and I think they should have homes just like the rest of us.
- [WHY WAS THE MISSION TRIP A VALUABLE EXPERIENCE FOR YOU?] I mean you make those people happy and they're a new language and you get to know the people and besides giving.
- [WHY HELP PEOPLE IN INDIA?] Since I live in a country that has lots of resources, so some people don't have that – [YOU'RE TRYING TO –] Keep it fair, yeah.

Self-oriented Examples

- [WHY DOES SPORTS MATTER TO YOU?] Because it keeps my – it lets – it builds sportsmanship and being a team player, and it's just really fun to do outside of school. We're a team. [IS BEING A TEAM PLAYER REALLY IMPORTANT TO YOU?] Because all the players who look up to you as being a team leader. You're just, like, known around the school as mostly a team leader too.
- [WHY CHURCH?] I feel happy. Yeah. I'm never sad there. There's a good feeling there.
- [WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT WORKING ON CARS?] I like hands on stuff. I like to learn a lot.

The action reasons can also indicate whether the individual's goal is motivated by beyond the self or self-oriented reasons.

Second, determine whether the person has any current or past actions related to the most important thing to accomplish.

- If the reasons are BTS and there are current actions, the form is Purpose.
- If the reasons are self-oriented and there are current actions, the form is Self Goal.
- If the reasons are BTS and there are no current actions, the form is BTS Dream.
- If the reasons are self-oriented and there are no current actions, the form is Self Dream.

If the thing to accomplish is not a Driver:
If there is no driver, the form of purpose is either Dabbling or Drifting.

If there is no driver, but the person is engaged in some current actions that are beyond the self, such as recycling programs, volunteer work, or creative activity, the form of purpose is Dabbling.

If there is no driver and the person is not engaged in any beyond the self actions, the form of purpose is Drifting.

Definitions of the Forms

BTS Purpose
DEFINITION: A purpose is a stable and generalized intention to accomplish something that is at once meaningful to the self and is of intended consequence to the world beyond the self. A purpose functions as an 'ultimate concern' or overall goal for one's life, helping to organize one's life decisions and actions, and is thus manifested in one's behavior. The purpose is internalized, or 'owned' by the individual, and therefore may be seen as central to his or her identity.

The operational criteria of purpose are:

a. The person must have ALL elements of the definition: something to accomplish, beyond-the-self rationale, plans for future action, meaningfulness to self and incorporation into one's identity (that is, not driven by oughts).
b. The concern must function to organize the person's decisions and activities in support of the concern
c. The person must manifest the concern with visible action

d. The person cannot imagine him/herself without the concern, it is necessary to do the activities related to the concern

Self Life Goal

DEFINITION: Same as BTS Purpose except primary focus/beneficiary (or intended consequence) is toward the self

BTS or Self Dream

DEFINITION: The person has mentioned a goal that includes the self doing some kind of action in the future. To this point, however, this goal has not been the reason for any actions.

Dabbling

DEFINITION**:** Dabbling is engagement in activity that may appear to be purposeful, but lacks planning and drive. The activity shows no long-term perspective, and is not projected into the future. The rationale for the activity is ill-defined and not recognized as beyond-the-self. Because there is no beyond-the-self rationale in a dabbling activity, it is difficult to distinguish self- and beyond-the-self.

Drifting

DEFINITION: Drift involves activities that lack meaningful connection. The person may participate in activities, but lacks a rationale for why s/he is doing so. S/he seems to focus mainly on the present, engaging in activities on whim, attached meaningfully to very little. The self/beyond-the-self distinction has very little use in the drift category.

APPENDIX E. Informed consent for online survey respondents

South Sudanese Youth Follow-up Study (ONLINE) Consent Form

Dear Participant,

We are asking you to be a part of a study of South Sudanese refugees whom arrived in the United States as unaccompanied youth. Our research has been following some of these youth over the past 15+ years. We are expanding our research to include new and former participants across the United States.

Project Information

This study is an extension of The Sudanese Refugee Youth Project conducted from 2001 to 2014 at Michigan State University. In this online study, we survey the South Sudanese refugees who have resettled in the U.S. between 1999-2002 as unaccompanied refugee minors and majors. The purpose of the project is to learn about the accomplishments and experiences of South Sudanese refugees after living in the U.S. Information from each individual will be used to help us understand how the South Sudanese refugee youth have adapted to life in the United States, particularly during times of enormous change. The survey will also help us determine the ongoing nature of challenges refugees face and how they cope with those challenges.

The survey will take about 30-45 minutes of your time. During the survey, you will be asked about your feelings about yourself, school/work experiences, resettlement, challenges and coping, your satisfaction with your achievements, and future goals. Also, you will be asked about stress, identity, work, family, and about your strengths.

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you can skip any questions that make you uncomfortable. You can stop participating in the survey at any time without penalty.

You will be received $20 gift card via email after completing the survey. In order to receive this credit, you will be asked to provide contact information at the end of survey. This will be separated from any survey information provided. We really appreciate your time and participation.

Benefits and risks

You will not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study. However, we do believe that the knowledge gained from studying the long-term adjustment process for refugee youth resettled in new cultures like the U.S. will help other refugees and agencies to better assist refugee populations.

Participating in this survey may cause you to have some negative feelings related to remembering your past experiences or in discussing challenges and disappointments you have experienced since you resettled in the U.S. We will provide with support resources that may useful for you at the end of the survey questionnaire.

Confidentiality

Several steps will be taken to help ensure your rights to privacy. Each participant in the study will be assigned a number and only that number will be used to identify the files. Access to the survey files will be limited to the research team or for educational purposes which may include written portions of the survey to be used in classroom instruction or conference presentations of research findings. If any quotes from your survey are used in publications or presentations, we will remove any identifying information so that no one can identify the individual being quoted. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. You should also be aware that if you report ongoing child abuse we must by law report it to the proper authorities. You may be asked for follow-up contact information but providing that information is strictly voluntary. Your individual responses to questions will not be shared with other participants in the study.

Contact information

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researcher Deborah J. Johnson, Ph.D., Department of Human Development and Family Studies. You can reach her by mail at 552 W. Circle Drive, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824; by phone at (517) 432-9115; or by email at john1442@msu.edu. If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at (517) 355-2180, Fax (517) 432-4503, or email irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 4000 Collins Road, Ste. 136, Lansing, MI 48910.

□ Yes, I AGREE to participate in the study

□ No, I DO NOT want to participate in the study

APPENDIX F. Online survey constructs, measures, and scales

General purpose

Brief Purpose Measure (Hill et al., 2015) (5-point scale: Strongly disagree—strongly agree)

1. There is a direction in my life
2. My plans for the future match with my true interests and values.
3. I know which direction I am going to follow in my life.
4. My life is guided by a set of clear commitments.

Prosocial Purpose

Prosocial youth Purpose Scale (Malin, H., Colby, A., & Damon, W., 2014, Unpublished survey instrument, Stanford University Center on Adolescence)

The Prosocial Youth Purpose Scale measures the extent to which an adolescent is engaged in and committed to an intention to accomplish something that contributes to the world beyond the self. Engagement in and commitment to a beyond-the-self oriented intention indicates the presence of purpose in an individual's life.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTRATION
The first question screens for presence of a constructive and meaningful beyond-the-self oriented life goal. From the list of items, the following are considered "beyond the self":

1. Improve the lives of others;
2. Create, invent, or discover things that will make a difference in the world;
3. Serve God or a higher power;
4. Provide support for my family;
5. Contribute to solving a problem in the environment or society.

When administering the survey to a group of students, the order of the ten items should be randomized.

Questions 2-7 comprise a scale that measures engagement in and commitment to beyond-the-self oriented goals. If respondents ranked any of the beyond-the-self goal items in their top three, those items should be piped into the questions as shown below. Those who select two or three beyond-the-self items should complete a scale for each item.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCORING

Respondents who did not rank a beyond-the-self item in their top three goals do not complete the follow up scale and receive a Prosocial Purpose score of "1". Those who selected one beyond-the-self goal receive the scale mean score for that goal. Those who selected more than one beyond-the-self goal will have two or three scale mean scores. Their Prosocial Purpose score is the highest of their scale mean scores.

1. Think about the things you want to accomplish in your life. From the items listed below, choose UP TO THREE that come closest to describing the goals that are most important to you and drag them into the box.

- Be physically strong or athletic
- Improve the lives of others
- Live an adventurous life
- Serve God or a higher power
- Provide support for my family
- Create, invent, or discover things that will make a difference in the world
- Live a life full of fun
- Have a high paying career
- Contribute to solving a problem in the environment or society
- Have good friends

2. The next questions ask about some of the goals for your life that you ranked as most important. (5-point scale: "strongly disagree—strongly agree")

a. I have a plan for how I will [Beyond the Self Goals piped here].
b. In my free time, I am usually doing something to [Beyond the Self Goals piped here].
c. I feel that it is my mission in life to [Beyond the Self Goals piped here].
d. Every week, I do things to work on my goal to [Beyond the Self Goals piped here].
e. When I'm an adult, one of my most important goals will still be to [Beyond the Self Goals piped here].
f. The main reason I want to [Beyond the Self Goals piped here] is so I can be someone who makes a positive contribution to the world.

Resettlement challenges

a. The Emotional Strain (Stoll & Johnson, 2007).

Q. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (5-point scale)
   a. I feel like I am letting my family down if I cannot send money to them.
   b. I feel guilty when I cannot send money to family members in South Sudan.
   c. I can easily send money to my family and meet my own financial needs.
   d. I am pleased about my ability to send money to my family
   e. It is stressful not to be able to send enough money to family members.

b. Perceived discrimination experience (Berry et al., 1993).

Q. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Strongly disagree = 1, Somewhat disagree = 2, Somewhat agree = 3, Strongly agree = 4)
   a. I think that others have behaved in an unfair or negative way towards my cultural group.
   b. I don't feel accepted my people from other cultures.
   c. I feel people from other cultures have something against me.
   d. I have been teased or insulted because of my cultural background.
   e. I have been threatened or attacked because of my cultural background.

Adjustment outcomes

a. Educational attainment

Q. How much education have you completed in the U.S?

1. No schooling completed
2. Elementary school (1-6 grades)
3. Middle school (7-8 grades)
4. High school/ GED (9-12 grades)
5. Some college but no degree
6. 2-year College Degree
7. 4-year College Degree
8. Master's Degree
9. Doctoral Degree
10. Professional Degree (e.g., JD, MD)

b. Average level of annual income

Q. What is your average level of yearly household income in the last 2 years?

1. Less than $10,000
2. $10,000--$19,999
3. $20,000--$29,999
4. $30,000--$39,999
5. $40,000--$49,999
6. $50,000--$59,999
7. $60,000--$69,999
8. $70,000--$79,999
9. $80,000--$89,999
10. $90,000--$99,999
11. $100,000--$149,999
12. $150,000 or more

c. Life satisfaction: The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)
(1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree 5 = slightly agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree)

Q. Please rate your life satisfaction at the current time.

1. In most ways, my life is close to ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far, I have gotten the important things I want out of my life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

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