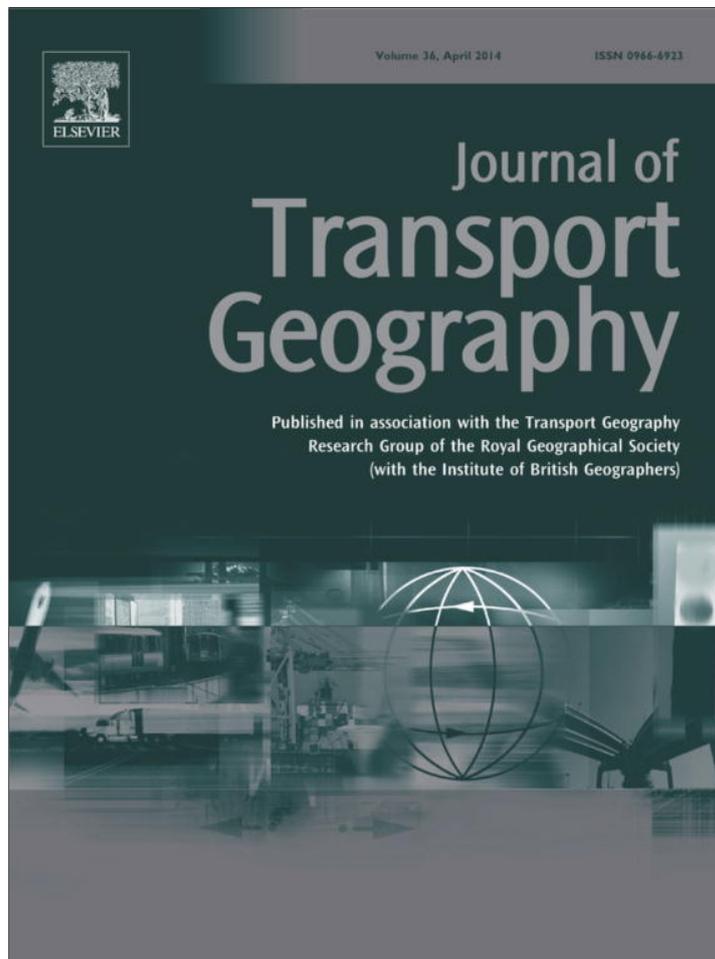


Provided for non-commercial research and education use.  
Not for reproduction, distribution or commercial use.



This article appeared in a journal published by Elsevier. The attached copy is furnished to the author for internal non-commercial research and education use, including for instruction at the authors institution and sharing with colleagues.

Other uses, including reproduction and distribution, or selling or licensing copies, or posting to personal, institutional or third party websites are prohibited.

In most cases authors are permitted to post their version of the article (e.g. in Word or Tex form) to their personal website or institutional repository. Authors requiring further information regarding Elsevier's archiving and manuscript policies are encouraged to visit:

<http://www.elsevier.com/authorsrights>

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](http://www.sciencedirect.com)

## Journal of Transport Geography

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/jtrangeo](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/jtrangeo)

# Refugees in Vermont: mobility and acculturation in a new immigrant destination



Pablo S. Bose\*

University of Vermont, 200 Old Mill Building, 94 University Place, Burlington, VT 05403, USA

## ARTICLE INFO

*Keywords:*  
 Refugees  
 Mobility  
 Travel behavior  
 Acculturation  
 Accessibility

## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the idea of mobility for recent refugees who have resettled in a non-traditional immigrant destination in the northeastern U.S. It is based on a multi-year qualitative study of travel behavior, preferences, and needs amongst these new arrivals in a small city in the state of Vermont. As a result of their experiences of both forced displacement from their home as well as stasis within camp settings and the refugee determination process, refugees are an example of what some have called “a dialectic of movement/moorings” (Urry, 2003: 125), both on the move and trapped in place. Their resettlement in the U.S., as this paper illustrates, may represent a further extension of this dialectic—placed by government agents in new immigrant reception areas not of their own choosing, forced to commute long distances and into unfamiliar environments for work and limited in their abilities to access healthcare, education and employment (amongst other services) due to a range of transportation barriers. I argue in this paper that refugee mobilities in a new settlement site are about more than inconvenience: barriers to movement may constitute obstacles to acculturation, integration, self-empowerment, and community building.

© 2014 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

## 1. Introduction: Refugees and new destinations

The ‘mobilities turn’ in the social sciences in recent years has significantly challenged our understanding of a wide range of flows—capital, labor, commodities, people, and ideas (Urry, 2007; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Adey, 2006). The complex and circuitous routes of travel, migration, and a wide variety of networks at different scales, intensities, and sites have renewed a strong interest in the meanings and implication of movement and stillness alike, in a number of different disciplines (Urry, 2012; Cresswell, 2010, 2012; Jensen, 2011). What does it mean to be mobile? How do we understand and analyze these disparate flows? What is the relationship between mobility and immobility? What is at stake politically and theoretically in such movements and migrations? In this paper I examine such questions in light of the experiences of refugees recently resettled in Burlington, Vermont, a small city that is representative of a growing trend in immigration to new destinations in the United States. The central concerns that animate this research are to understand: (a) whether refugees’ travel behavior and preferences are distinct from those of the broader

population, and (b) what impacts mobility and immobility might have on the acculturation and integration process.

In particular, I focus on refugees’ ability to access a range of opportunities and needs that either enable or limit their participation and integration into new societies. I argue that the mobility of refugees in Vermont is about much more than convenience and utility—being able to travel to jobs, healthcare, and educational opportunities leads to better quality of life outcomes, a sense of independence and agency, and a more established presence within their new communities. Conversely, limitations on movement and mobility may have profound effects on refugees’ notions of community, integration, and perhaps even citizenship itself. These effects may also be felt in the broader population, but they may be more pressing for refugees given their somewhat more tenuous place in their new homes.

The example used to explore this dynamic is that of refugees in Burlington, Vermont, a federally designated resettlement site for refugees since the late 1980s. The choice of both the subject and the site may not appear obvious for a discussion of migration and mobility at first blush. Refugees, after all, make up but a small fraction of immigrant flows within North America (Teixeira et al., 2011), and Vermont—a mostly rural and overwhelmingly white state—remains low on the list of immigrant destinations (Bose, 2013). Yet the travel behavior, needs, and desires of refugees in

\* Tel.: +1 802 656 5717.

E-mail address: [pbose@uvm.edu](mailto:pbose@uvm.edu)

such a location illuminate the complex ways in which we might understand what Papastergiadis (2000) has termed the “turbulence of migration”—the displacement of populations, their resettlement through various forms of globalization, their experience of mobility in a new location, and their reconstitution of identity and redefining of place.

Similarly, while Vermont may continue to receive a far smaller number of newcomers than states like California or Texas, it is representative of a growing trend of immigrants and refugees settling beyond the so-called ‘gateway cities’ of the U.S., such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles (Massey, 2008). The presence of newcomers in non-traditional destinations—in rural regions, in the southern and midwestern United States, and in suburban enclaves—has been a focus of considerable recent geographic research (Nelson and Nelson, 2011; Singer et al., 2008; Smith and Furuseth, 2006). Much of this work focuses on labor as well as professional class migrants—both legal and undocumented—who constitute the majority of such flows. Refugees make up a much smaller proportion of the newcomers in non-traditional sites, often numbering in the hundreds rather than the thousands. Yet the trend of movement to such destinations is steady and on the rise—for example, while 8300 refugees were placed in the metropolitan New York City area between 2000 and 2010, about 2000 were placed in the metropolitan area of Burlington, Vermont (Refugee Processing Center, 2013). Similar patterns are discernible in Chicago (9000) and Los Angeles (2600) versus towns with a population similar to Burlington, such as Utica, NY (4300), Bowling Green, KY (2700), or Twin Falls, ID (1900), a trend repeated across the U.S. during the same period between large versus small cities (Refugee Processing Center, 2013). This paper, therefore, focuses on the example of refugees in Burlington, Vermont, as a way of exploring the particular experiences of mobility for newcomers in these types of destinations. Examining the transportation challenges for refugees in such a location helps to expand the literature on immigrants and travel behavior—which, like the study of migration as a whole in the U.S., has tended to focus on labor, familial, and economic migrants—and more broadly on mobility itself by interrogating the specifics of the refugee experience. The experiences of refugees settled in a small city in the U.S. are not the same as those of labor migrants in agricultural areas in the Midwest, immigrants working in manufacturing in gateway cities like New York or Chicago, or professional class immigrants in Silicon valley. Over sixty thousand refugees are accepted each year by the U.S., increasingly, as noted above, in new destinations similar to Burlington, VT. It is important, therefore, to understand the specific implications that barriers to mobility might have for refugee populations in such places.

The findings in this paper are based on a multi-year, community based qualitative study conducted with recently resettled refugees in Burlington, Vermont, and the social service providers who support their transition to their new home. They provide particular insight into the nature and the number of challenges facing refugees in Vermont, especially in light of the particularities of the state – the low levels of population density and urbanization, the lack of historical immigration, the predominantly homogenous and white population, the cold-weather climate, and the economic and cultural background of refugees. The findings suggest that for refugee families and individuals for whom transportation is less of a challenge – because they live closer to their travel destinations or to transit options, or due to their access to a car – their acclimation to a new environment is potentially much smoother. Indeed, those for whom transportation is less of an obstacle have considerable advantages over those who do not live either in close proximity to the work, stores, services, and schools that they need to reach or have access to modes of transport that render such distances manageable. Access to viable transportation options, both public

and private, is clearly lacking for refugees in Vermont, and this gap acts as a significant barrier to the adaptation of refugees to their new homes. Furthermore, limited transportation options can, in substantial ways, restrict the autonomy and independence of refugees, leaving them dependent on the services and schedules of others. This, in turn, can adversely affect their ability to seek and secure gainful employment, receive necessary medical care, and access other goods and services vital to both basic survival and social advancement.

The paper begins with a review of two related sets of relevant literature: the first on mobility and, more specifically, immigrant mobility, and the second on accessibility, with a particular focus on equity and spatial mismatch. The paper then introduces the study site, presents the methodological framework, and describes the process of data collection. The next section presents some of the results of the study, highlighting three aspects of the acculturation and resettlement experience in the Vermont case that have been especially affected by constraints on mobility: employment, education, and healthcare. I conclude by suggesting that the implication of such limitations is a lessening of opportunity for the refugees in their transition to new lives. Finally, I argue that a more expansive notion of refugee mobility – one that recognizes that access to better, more reliable, and more independent travel options can improve integration – is a crucial component for policymakers to consider if improving resettlement outcomes is their goal.

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Migrants and mobility

The study of mobility in a multiplicity of forms has been an important theoretical exploration in a range of disciplines in recent years. Cresswell (2010), in the first of a series of reviews of the concept distinguishes between the more established field of transport geography—dominated broadly by approaches in social sciences and engineering—and the more emergent literature on mobilities that draws as much from the humanities as it does geography or sociology. Indeed, he describes mobility as a “geographical fact that lies at the centre of constellations of power, the creation of identities and the microgeographies of everyday life” (Cresswell, 2010: 551). Jensen (2011) similarly argues that mobilities research is important not for its descriptive capabilities but for the potential of such work to make critical interventions in the contemporary crises of modernity by engaging directly with the question of power. A flat notion of mobility – where all subjects have undifferentiated access and power – is at odds with the realities of the world in which we live. Indeed, Urry (2012: 27) suggests that what he calls “network capital”—the ability to unfold one’s life through highly interconnected, networked societies—“points to the real and potential social relations that mobilities afford.” Conversely, the lack of such capital can lead to disparate experiences of mobility and profound consequences—as seen, he suggests, in a case such as Hurricane Katrina in terms of who could and who could not escape the effects of the storm.

One of the key contributions of mobilities research is then a focus on the construction of meaning rather than a mapping of movement—Cresswell (2010) urges, for example that in building a bridge between mobilities research and transport geography, the focus should be not only on travel times alone but what those travel times signify. Some researchers have shown, for example, that the embodied experience of mobility and being a passenger tells us much more than documenting their trajectories or explaining their socio-political contexts alone (Bissell et al., 2011; Jain, 2011). For example, Budd’s (2011) analysis of first-hand accounts of airship travel in the early years of the 20th century help to

historicize and, literally, ground the modern fascination with technology and transportation, while Burrell's (2011) account of Polish migrant workers' use of low-cost airlines to fly home shows the ways in which identities and connections can be forged and maintained in the face of seemingly insurmountable distance. A similar focus on the transnational practices of labor migrants can be found in Conradson and McKay's (2007) introduction to a special issue on affect and mobility, drawing on prior notions of translocality to illustrate the ways that the boundaries and reach of seemingly fixed locations can be extended through such flows. This type of research brings us back to the mobile subject and their experiences, rather than retaining a focus on the path taken. Martin's (2011) work, for example, on undocumented Afghans and their tortuous journeys, or Yaghmaian's (2005) ethnographic narratives of Muslim migrant laborers on their travels west, raises the question of the 'legitimate' versus the 'illegitimate' traveler and reminds us of the collision between parallel networks of mobility, migration, ideologies, and geopolitics.

Yet this is not simply descriptive work. As Adey (2006) argues, for mobility to be a useful analytical concept it must be seen as relational, to recognize the distinctions between forms of movement and stillness and what each can materialize in the world. It is not simply movement and flows that are the focus of mobilities research; rather, it is the dialectic described by Urry (2007) of what he calls mobility and moorings. Such a dialectic is exemplified, in Jensen's (2009) view, by urban landscapes, where cities themselves are sites of mobility, flow, sedentariness, and fixity in the relationship between enclaves and armatures—in this sense, the city is reconstituted continually by the actual movement of people and ideas through and within it. The refugee is a similarly effective example of the dialectic of mobility and immobility. Refugees' departure from homes, livelihoods, and social networks has been anything but voluntary; the migration they have experienced is a forced one, driven by conflict or resource crisis across a border or away from their homeland. Yet the refugee can also experience a great deal of stillness, such as those marooned in refugee camps in Nepal, Kenya, and Lebanon for months, years, and generations by protracted conflicts with no end in sight (Loescher and Milner, 2005). Often they are physically restricted to the camp space, barred from working or going to school outside of its boundaries, and barred from integrating into their host country's society in multiple other ways. If and when they are resettled, unlike other immigrants, refugees have little say on where they might go—it is not chain migration, family reunification, or economic opportunities that drive the flow, but rather the directives of the state and its agents that determine where one will be placed (Haines, 2010; Bloemraad, 2006). Once in their resettlement site, refugees may choose to relocate to another place (as other immigrants) but, in the U.S. at least, to do so would mean relinquishing significant initial financial assistance (Pipher, 2002). For such reasons, the vast majority of refugees in this study have remained in their original settlement site.

The aspect of refugee mobility with which I am primarily interested in this paper, however, is that experienced by refugees once they have arrived in their new homes in Vermont. Mobilities research has much to offer such an inquiry, extending the extant literature that is, for the most part, centered on the study of transportation services and access for immigrants as a broad category and, to a limited extent, on the experiences of refugees as well. Several important analyses of immigrant travel behavior have begun to highlight more systematically the crucial role that mobility plays in the acculturation process (Tal and Handy, 2010). For example, Blumenberg and Smart (2010) and Lovejoy and Handy (2011) demonstrate the utility of carpooling by recent immigrants in California as a way of strengthening social networks and overcoming shared obstacles. Chatman and Klein (2009) illustrate the

reliance of foreign-born populations on bicycling, public transit, walking, and shared private transportation as a way of adjusting to the demands of a new environment. Similar studies in Canada indicate a high use of transit amongst immigrants (Heiz and Schellenberg, 2004). Indeed, Lo et al. (2011: 470) argue explicitly that "transit needs to be recognized as a key ingredient for the success of the immigrant settlement process."

On the other side of this dynamic, studies have repeatedly shown the adverse effects of constrained mobility on the lives of immigrants. For example, transportation barriers appear among the most significant challenges to accessing both employment and healthcare for Burmese Karen refugees in Texas (Mitschke et al., 2011). In Neidell and Waldfoegel's (2009) research on immigrant children in Head Start programs across the U.S., parental access to transportation emerged as an important factor for low rates of participation. Outside the North American context, Abdelkerim and Grace (2012), in their study of refugees and immigrants from Africa in Australia, highlight the deleterious impact that a lack of personal mobility has had on self-sufficiency and political agency. Similarly, Uteng (2009: 1057) suggests that "constrained mobility [is] a constitutive factor of social exclusion" in the case of non-Western immigrant women in Norway. Such themes are repeated in the narratives from this study – ad-hoc strategies to overcome obstacles through cooperation, for example, and a sense of isolation and dependency when these barriers cannot be addressed. Accessibility, then, is the second important conceptual framework in which this study and its arguments regarding refugee mobility are based.

## 2.2. Accessibility

While mobility as a concept has been focused on the notion of flows broadly understood, accessibility is generally viewed as referring "to the ability to reach desired goods, services, activities and destinations" (Litman, 2011: 5), usually in a timely fashion. It is not movement per se that is the goal, but rather the ability to reach specific destinations. The effect of not being able to reach destinations, therefore, has been at the root of much of the work in transportation and accessibility. For many European researchers this dynamic has been framed around questions of integration and exclusion – in which members of a given society are excluded from full and vibrant participation because of their lack of access to services such as public transit (Clifton and Lucas, 2004; Lucas, 2006; Lyons, 2004). In the U.S. context, the idea of accessibility is often grounded in the concepts of environmental justice, civil rights, and anti-racism (Bullard et al., 2004; Deka, 2004; Hanson and Guiliano, 2004). Here, the focus has been on the displacements caused by transportation planning and projects (Freilla, 2004; Forkenbrock and Schweitzer, 1999), on the lack of investment in infrastructure serving working class and racialized neighborhoods versus affluent, white suburbs (Ramsey, 2000; Nogrady and King, 2004), and on the disconnect between certain populations and the destinations they seek to reach.

This last, the so-called "spatial mismatch hypothesis" proposed by Kain (1968) and others, has been especially influential and argues that jobs have followed middle-class white populations to the suburbs, while minorities such as African-American populations remain trapped in hyper-urbanized concentrations in inner-cities. Similar studies have suggested that such trends have continued over subsequent decades and that, in order to reach their jobs (primarily in the service sector), marginalized groups have been forced to undertake so-called 'reverse commutes' from central cities to the suburbs (Kennedy, 2004). Indeed, this phenomenon has been so widely recognized as to have federal programs dedicated to addressing the gap, such as the Job Access and Reverse Commute Program (JARC) (Cervero, 2004). More recently, some scholars have

suggested that the spatial mismatch hypothesis needs to be reformulated to look more specifically at mode choice rather than geographic distance alone (Grengs, 2010; Blumenberg and Manville, 2004; Kawabata and Shen, 2007). From this perspective, access to certain forms of transportation – especially the personal automobile – is of more significance than the distance between home and work (Blumenberg, 2007; Horner and Mefford, 2007). Others argue that traditional notions of spatial mismatch do not correlate with new immigrant settlement patterns. Liu and Painter's (2012) study of job decentralization and employment opportunities in sixty of the largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. shows that immigrants are more spatially mismatched than the White population, though less so than African-Americans. This mismatch increasingly is being offset, they argue, by the movement of certain immigrant groups to suburban areas, or to what Li (2011) characterizes as “ethnoburbs.”

Yet even if the idea of spatial mismatch needs to be updated to take new demographic and economic realities into proper context, the issue of accessibility to jobs and other opportunities for various populations remains a crucial one. For example, in their study of transit equity in Toronto between 1996 and 2006, Foth et al. (2013) suggest that, contrary to popular perception, the socially disadvantaged groups in their research did not have lower levels of transit access than many others in the region in terms of travel time, distance and employment destinations. This does not take into account quality or reliability of transport—when the latter are factored in, these marginalized populations continue to have diminished economic opportunities compared to the broader public. Similarly, Paéz et al. (2012), in their review of a range of measures of accessibility, distinguish between what they call positive and normative definitions – how far is reasonable to travel versus how far one ought to travel. Indeed, Morency et al. (2011) suggest that, when a wider number of factors than space–time are taken into account, there were significant differences in three Canadian cities between the accessibility afforded low-income, elderly, and single-parent households and the general population. The impact of a lack of accessibility has significant implications on economic self-sufficiency (Rogalsky, 2010; Garasky et al., 2006; Jacobsen, 2005) and socialization (Miller and Rasco, 2004; Shen Ryan, 1992)—especially important considerations for the refugees in this study. Scholars who have followed this line of analysis and critique have urged, therefore, that those who advocate ‘smart growth’ and less automobile-centric-modes of regional development avoid planning that reinforces transportation racism and entrenches existing inequities (Haynes et al., 2005; Schweitzer and Valenzuela, 2004).

### 3. Method: Case study and approach

#### 3.1. Study site

Refugee resettlement in Vermont has mirrored national patterns seen across the U.S. over the past three decades (Portes and Rumbaut, 2008). This includes the influx of predominantly Southeast Asians during the late 1980s and early 1990s, Central Europeans and those from the former Soviet Union during the 1990s, various African groups from approximately 2000 onward, and those from South Asia and the Middle East in recent years. The largest refugee populations currently in Vermont are Bosnians, Bhutanese, and Vietnamese, with significant numbers of Somali Bantu, Burundians, Congolese, and Sudanese as well as many smaller groups also present (VRRP, 2013). All of these refugees from very different backgrounds and contexts bring with them diverse experiences of transportation and mobility from their countries of origin. Some come from cities with well-developed public

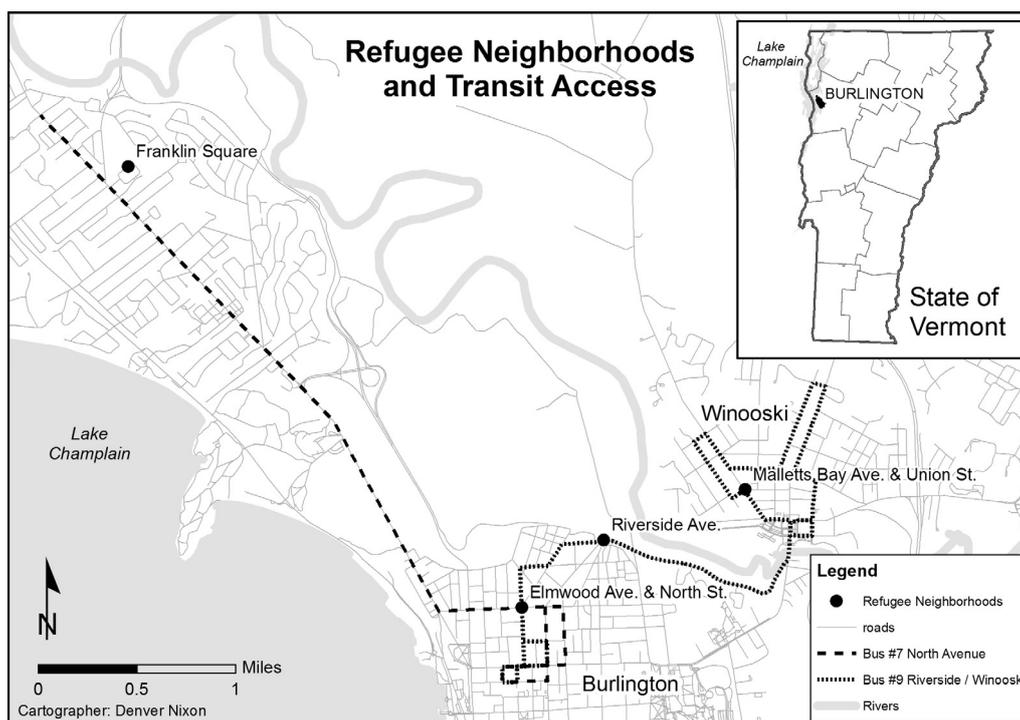
transit or road systems – such as Sarajevo or Baghdad, before the onslaught of war and crisis crippled such infrastructure. Others come from rural regions – often mountainous and forested – or slums lacking any form of services at all. Some have been displaced relatively recently from the sudden onset of violence, while others have languished in camps for decades due to protracted conflicts.

All have been resettled directly in Vermont, joined by a relatively small number of secondary migrants who have relocated from an initial resettlement site elsewhere in the U.S. While the absolute number of refugees in Vermont is small compared to states such as California, Texas, or New York, the program as a whole has had a significant and successful history, with close to 6000 refugees settled since 1987, almost entirely in the city of Burlington and surrounding towns such as Winooski and Essex (VRRP, 2013) (Fig. 1). The county in which these towns are located has been the primary destination for refugees in Vermont because it has the most extensive public transit system within a mostly rural state. Since it has not been a traditional immigrant destination, refugee resettlement programs in Vermont cannot rely on the same institutions and organizations that have provided social services – including housing assistance, healthcare coverage, language and job training, transportation, and childcare – that immigrant networks and service providers have developed in ‘gateway’ cities and many of the secondary destinations that have become prominent in the past decade such as Atlanta, Seattle, Nashville, and Detroit (Singer et al., 2008).

#### 3.2. Methodology and data collection

This research is grounded in a participatory, action-oriented, and community-based approach—working, for example, with mutual aid societies and refugee organizations to identify and refine key research questions. Such a lens has long been important for a range of scholars and has been emphasized in recent years by work on healthcare inequality in low-income neighborhoods (Hawthorne and Kwan, 2012), emergency food needs in underserved areas (Robinson-Allen, 2011), citizen participation in urban planning (Merrick, 2003), and action-oriented research with ‘hidden’ or potentially marginalized communities (Browne, 2005). One of the hallmarks of such approaches has been the use of mixed- or multi-methods to conduct the inquiry. This means relying on multiple instruments and methodologies to study populations that often are difficult to define or demarcate and marked by hybrid or shifting identities and, as a research strategy, remaining adaptive and flexible in the face of changing circumstances. What such flexibility affords – either within or across qualitative and quantitative traditions – is the opportunity to triangulate results (Denscombe, 2003). Emergent approaches in mobility studies have similarly affirmed the importance of interdisciplinary methods, as a way of building a more holistic portrait of migration and flows. Such “mobile methodologies” draw on ethnographic techniques including the movement of the researcher alongside the research, connecting multiple sites (Cresswell, 2012) and utilizing narrative and performance practice (D’Andrea et al., 2011). Others combine these innovative methods with extant forms of analysis of flows, as seen in Jones and Evans’ (2011) proposal for developing a ‘spatial transcript’ of qualitative GIS methods that combine GPS data with individualized travel narratives. Within transportation research as well, the idea of focusing on the individual’s experience of travel – or, as Carse (2011) suggests, assessing the transport quality of life – has gained increasing traction.

In order to develop such a comprehensive and multi-faceted view of the experience of refugees in Vermont with regard to mobility, this study employs a range of primarily qualitative and ethnographic tools to conduct its inquiry. In particular, the research project has used surveys and interviews to collect empirical



**Fig. 1.** Burlington Transit Map, with Franklin Square, Riverside Avenue, Elmwood Avenue/North Street and Malletts Bay Avenue/North Street the four largest concentrations of refugee populations in the Burlington Area. Green = #7 Bus (North Avenue). Blue = #9 Bus (Riverside/Winooski). (For interpretation of the references to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

data on refugee travel behavior, needs, and preferences. The study began by interviewing refugees who had arrived in Vermont prior to 2001, and service providers who had worked a minimum of five years resettling newcomers in Vermont, in order to identify key questions and themes to help refine survey questions. This initial work helped to create two sets of surveys: one for service providers who work with refugees and one for refugees themselves. These surveys include questions on travel times, mode choice and usage, destinations, and a series of more open-ended questions regarding opinions on transportation experiences. Participants in both surveys were solicited through a random sampling method—service providers were recruited via their professional network, while refugees were recruited from the resettled population at large. Thirty-two service providers completed surveys, representing organizations that provide support at the time of arrival up to a maximum of five years. The specific types of support provided by respondents are diverse and include healthcare, language training, employment assistance, tax preparation, family services, interpretation and translation, education and outreach, advocacy, mental health, civic engagement and, for over 20% of respondents, primary transportation assistance.

The target population for the refugee survey numbers close to 3000 individuals: those refugees who have been resettled between 2001 and 2012 (roughly half of the overall total settled in the state). Three hundred members of this group were sampled at random in this study, with respondents primarily from Bhutan (61), Iraq (20), Somalia (38), Burundi (55), Congo (35), and Burma (16). Respondents divided relatively evenly between male (153) and female (147) participants, while a majority (228) were aged 25 or older at the time of the survey. Two thirds listed their English proficiency as basic or below, and nearly half live in a household of four or more persons. Nearly a quarter of households include someone over the age of 65, and a significant number (37) include persons with disabilities. All survey respondents live within Chittenden County, with a majority residing in the town of

Burlington or immediately adjacent towns within the Greater Burlington Area. Sixty-four survey respondents (22.5%) stated that they were looking for work but were currently unemployed (compared to Chittenden County's rate of 4% unemployment during the same period), while another 31.9% (91) reported full-time employment. One hundred and seventy-one participants noted that they were receiving supplemental income assistance from various resettlement or government agencies, while 60% of survey respondents reported an annual household income below \$15,000 (as compared to the Chittenden County median household income of \$62,260).

Following completion of the refugee survey, a further set of semi-structured interviews were conducted with respondents who had agreed to participate in a follow-up. These interviews were designed to probe the research questions in more detail—in particular, how was the acculturation and integration process been affected by refugee mobility and accessibility? A total of 40 such interviews were completed, transcribed, and coded in order to identify common themes and narratives<sup>1</sup> Some important patterns that emerged from this analysis included recurring references to climate, distance to destinations, opportunities (gained and lost), the challenges to/of car ownership, aspirations for greater mobility, and various forms of access dependency. Coupled with the results of the surveys, the interviews begin to suggest—as is explored more fully in the following section—that mobility and access are indeed important elements of the acculturation experience for refugees in Vermont.

#### 4. Results and findings

The first step in analyzing the findings was to examine whether refugee experiences in Vermont are distinct from those of the

<sup>1</sup> Participant anonymity has been preserved in this paper by referring to an SP (service provider) or R (refugee), followed by a numeric identifier.

broader public. It is already clear that, while there are some similarities with the behavior and needs of other immigrants, refugee contexts are quite distinct – unlike Latino labor migrants or urban professionals, refugees are both supported directly by the state and given little choice in their initial placement in the U.S. Their primary migration pattern also is not economic. But is the mobility of refugees unique from what other Vermont residents confront, as they are faced with the same cold climate, rural landscape, and limited public transit options?

To examine this question, the survey responses from refugees were compared to the travel behavior of the general population by using the 2012 Transportation Survey (RSG, 2012) conducted with some 519 residents by the Chittenden County Regional Planning Commission.<sup>2</sup> While the questions asked in these studies are not identical, there is enough overlap between the inquiries to yield some interesting comparisons. For example, while 73% of the general population sampled in the county report satisfaction with the public transit system, only 23% of refugees in the study concurred (RSG, 2012). While 65% of the general population reported a preference for automobiles as its main mode of transportation, amongst refugees in the survey some 80.9% listed the car as their preferred choice. Although bicycling and walking were mentioned as desired modes by 57% of the general population, only 2% of refugees in the study listed bicycling and 5% listed walking as preferred modes of travel. Using the RSG (2012) study as a baseline allows the current research to determine whether refugee travel behavior mimics that of the broader population, or whether it has unique characteristics. Other comparisons based on mode choice, travel distances, and transportation options revealed similar disparities.

In light of such distinctions and the findings from this study, what does refugee mobility mean in Vermont? Building on the literature on mobility, immigrant acculturation, accessibility and spatial mismatch, this research suggests that constrained mobility has direct and negative impacts on several aspects of refugee resettlement. To begin with, it is clear from the refugee survey that significant numbers of respondents have lengthy travel times to reach many destinations (Table 1).

Yet these travel times are not spread out across the metropolitan area; refugee settlement is clustered primarily within two neighborhoods—the Old North End of Burlington and Mallet's Bay Avenue in the nearby town of Winooski. Both of these are poorly served by transit in terms of both route and frequency, a fact reflected in part by the mode currently used by respondents versus what they would prefer (Table 2).

While the car is a clear aspiration for many refugees, several obstacles stand in the way of acquiring one. Cost appears to be a factor, as is the absence of a driver's license—well over half of the respondents did not have a license, while 70% did not own a car. The bus emerged as the only option for many refugees, yet it remains an unsatisfactory solution. Some 84% of respondents evaluated evening and weekend transit service as poor or in need of improvement, while some 91.3% (274) listed lack of direct service and 57.2% (127) mentioned infrequent service as reasons why they rate the transit system as inadequate.

The context of Vermont, then, is of refugees settled in neighborhoods that are located at some distance from various services and destinations, and are poorly served by public transit, requiring them to scramble to make adjustments:

My friends and I, we use carpooling when we go to work everyday at 10:45 pm because there is no public transportation

**Table 1**  
Refugee travel destinations and times.

Destination	<5 min	5–15 min	15–30 min	30> min
Medical	2.4% (n = 7)	25.4% (n = 75)	44.7% (n = 132)	27.5 (n = 81)
Shopping	2.4% (n = 7)	32.3% (n = 95)	39.1% (n = 115)	26.2% (n = 77)
Employment	1.8% (n = 5)	23.1% (n = 64)	45.5% (n = 126)	29.6% (n = 82)
Social	12.7% (n = 37)	27.7% (n = 81)	29.8% (n = 87)	29.8% (n = 87)

**Table 2**  
Refugee mode choice and preference.

	Car	Bus	Walk	Bicycle
Choice	23.8% (n = 67)	57.3 (n = 161)	16.4% (n = 46)	2.5% (n = 7)
Preference	80.9 (n = 228)	11.7% (n = 33)	5.3% (n = 15)	2.1% (n = 6)

running at this time. Sometimes we get to work late, which may result in a job loss. I feel that transportation is the most important issue for most people, especially for many refugees who cannot easily afford it (R25).

Many refugees in Vermont faced with such circumstances rely on similar ad-hoc solutions comparable to those used by immigrants in other contexts, as identified by Blumenberg and Smart (2010) – carpooling with coworkers, relying on the generosity of friends, neighbors and, often, service providers, and on the willingness of employers to arrange transportation or overlook late arrivals to work. Refugees also revealed other coping mechanisms for their lack of adequate transportation to work. For example, several of the former refugees who work at the University of Vermont and Fletcher Allen Hospital mentioned a “delicate dance” involving carpooling and the passing over of prime parking locations to coworkers coming for the next shift. Others mentioned an “early morning stroll” of workers one can see coming and going from Winooski and Colchester along one of the major streets during the early hours of the morning.

Amongst the service providers, it became clear through surveys and interviews that many organizations provide support well beyond their mandate, providing rides for clients to and from appointments, work, and shopping, helping refugees to learn bus schedules and the public transit system, assisting with obtaining taxi vouchers for medical appointments, and even teaching clients how to drive. For service providers, transportation emerges as a key challenge to a successful resettlement experience, especially in terms of employment:

Transportation is a serious barrier to refugees looking for work. The bus schedule usually does not accommodate second shift and third shift workers. Even first shift workers cannot get to their destination via bus on Sundays (SP 3).

Some are able to pass the driver's license test and get a car in order to work late shifts and carpool. Most clients, however, spend hours per day commuting on one or more buses, walking, or riding a bicycle (or a combination). If the bus routes reached further, operated more frequently and on the weekends, newly arrived refugees would have a greater likelihood of becoming economically self-sufficient (SP 5).

Geographic distance/spatial mismatch was a consistent theme in both surveys and interviews—many businesses are seasonal and ill served by transit, as with a local inn and farm estate:

[The] bus doesn't go to Shelburne Farms where I work. It takes me 70 min. I take the bus to the museum and then walk or bike or hitchhike (R28).

<sup>2</sup> There is also a 2009 National Household Travel Survey of the Vermont general population (an oversample to compensate for the state's small population against national measures); however, since all the refugees surveyed by this current study are residents of Chittenden County a more accurate baseline comparison group is the general population of the county, rather than the state as a whole.

There is no bus at late evening and nighttime. More newcomers (refugees) who work at nighttime (second and third shifts) have to pay for a taxi or co-workers for their transportation. (R26).

One of the major new employment sites – an industrial park with multiple businesses in the town of St. Albans – is located 30 miles away, a significant challenge for survey respondents (67) with full and part-time jobs there. Other jobs most immediately available to refugees are with large institutional employers—hospitals, hotels, a few manufacturing plants, schools, universities, retail and food services—but many of these are part-time, shift-based, and often late-night positions. It is little wonder, then, that despite all the other challenges refugees face, such as enormous hurdles in learning a new language, having their existing skills and training recognized, and understanding a foreign workplace culture, the most significant barrier to employment reported by respondents (85.3%) is transportation. Despite creative solutions to overcome barriers to travel, a significant number of respondents (75.3%) reported either turning down work or being unable to apply for a particular job because of a lack of transportation.

Another accessibility issue identified by refugees through the study was the relocation of various medical services—including orthopedic, pain management, physical therapy, cardiac rehabilitation, and gynecological—from several different locations in Burlington to a hub in the town of South Burlington. While the centralization of these various offices is potentially more convenient for some users, such benefits are undercut for those without access to a car by the fact that the nearest bus stop is half a mile away from the various clinics and offices—a relatively major undertaking for those with a range of medical needs and conditions. As one service provider notes:

There are increasing numbers of health-related appointments for resettled refugees at orthopedics, cardiologists, Maitri and other health care providers on Tilley Drive in South Burlington. Of utmost concern is the lack of a bus to Maitri, the often-preferred pre-natal care clinic for Africans, who already have high-risk of dropping out of care in VT (SP 12).

This situation is of considerable concern for a large number of stakeholder groups – including low-income, elderly, and physically challenged individuals – but has an especially significant impact on newly arrived refugees. A full third of our respondents in the refugee survey listed this as their top priority with regards to transportation challenges during their resettlement experience. In particular, the relocation to Tilley Drive of the Maitri Health Care for Women – a group of female health-care providers offering alternative and holistic approaches, whose offices are especially popular amongst many refugee women – was seen as one of the most problematic. Getting to and from medical appointments in general was listed as an important priority for many respondents within the refugee community. One reported showing up to an appointment by bus and finding—in the midst of a snowstorm—no sidewalk leading from the bus stop to the medical facility and promptly got back on the bus. In his words, “I came to fix my back, not get hit by a car” (R 12).

While access to employment and health care are two significant issues in the resettlement process, one of the most visible signs of acculturation is language acquisition—nearly half of the respondents in the refugee survey listed their English skills as basic. Accessing English Language Learning programs, therefore, is a necessity rather than a luxury – yet, for many refugees, simply getting to the classes is a challenge. While every refugee resettled in Vermont is entitled to participate in a wide variety of ELL opportunities, some 24% (72) of survey respondents reported being unable to attend a class due to transportation issues. While some classes are held in community centers in both refugee neighborhoods,

many others are offered in the evening and at locations some distance away. Even the Vermont Refugee Resettlement Program offices – where many classes are held – are between three and five miles away from these refugee neighborhoods, with unreliable bus service connecting them.

The impact on refugee education goes further, however, according to service providers and refugees alike. Several respondents noted the lost opportunities for children:

A lot of my Head Start children ride the SSTA van to school (Trinity Children's Center). The hours aren't great. Many children get to school at 10:30 and get picked up at 2 pm. They are missing out on opportunities at school for education and social interactions with other children. By the time they arrive at school, open playtime is over and children are going outside. Then the children have lunch, rest time and many children leave in the middle of rest time (SP 7).

I feel that there is a large need for transportation of young children to their childcare settings for refugee populations who do not own a car or may only own one car. It is very challenging for parents to take a bus to drop their child off at preschool and then wait to take another bus to work or school. Many children are being denied access to an early education because of transportation challenges. More SSTA services would be very helpful to this population and would also increase later school success for refugee children (SP 8).

Similar to the service providers, refugees in this study were concerned about the negative impacts that diminished transportation options would have on their children's education and welfare. Being unable to travel to and from school in a timely fashion has particular impacts on young children attempting to acclimate to new educational systems, language, and social networks.

## 5. Conclusion

It is clear from the refugees' survey responses and narratives that accessibility and some form of spatial mismatch are clear concerns in their settlement experience within Vermont. Yet, following the lead of the mobilities literature, it is important to ask what such limitations on movement actually mean. What do the barriers represent in terms of the integration and acculturation process, and in terms of developing, maintaining, and strengthening the social networks that are at the heart of establishing new communities? The study findings would suggest that a lack of access to desired and required destinations may lead to less optimal outcomes – fewer job opportunities, poorer health, and missed chances to improve skills and education. Refugees are told, on the one hand, that they must become economically self-sufficient in order to integrate into American society, that they must maintain good health to be functioning members of their new communities, and that they must learn English and better their educations to improve their social standing (VRRP, 2013). On the other hand, missing out on jobs because refugees cannot reach them (or reach them on time), missing medical appointments due to a lack of transportation, and having skills stagnate and lessons go unlearned because they cannot get to school, put these key elements of the refugees' successful transition to new homes in jeopardy.

What is the solution to this dilemma? In a primarily rural state with a cold climate and limited resources, the same strategies utilized in more densely populated urban areas that are home to many other immigrant groups may not make sense— a focus on public transit, for example, or on alternative modes of travel. Some efforts, as noted previously, are being tried – carpooling and volunteer driver programs organized by service providers, employers, and refugees themselves – are similar to those one might find in

tribal and other rural contexts (Stoddard and Sampson, 2012). Yet one of the most difficult challenges is the fact that refugees' notion of, and need for, mobility is often significantly at odds with that of the broader population. Burlington is emblematic of an active and healthy lifestyle, full of outdoor recreation and sustainable options, at least in the ways that it is represented and marketed in the popular imagination. Indeed, its civic representatives have launched several initiatives designed to promote walking, transit, and cycling (City of Burlington, 2013). But refugees are already walking and taking transit, 20.7% and 56.4% respectively, not as an environmental good or lifestyle choice, but as a necessity. When asked their preferred mode of travel, 80.9% responded 'the car'. This is not surprising when considering what having a car means for refugees – not only the ability to access destinations but indeed to access a better life. In their own words:

We do not have a car. It will be very convenient. We could go anywhere we wish to. It will be easy to go anywhere. I think it is very important part of the resettlement process (R 30).

If I had a car then I would be self-dependent, I wouldn't have to rely on other people to help me move from one place to another. It would be very easy and I could go anywhere in a convenient way. I would feel that I am very independent (R 6).

I am very happy to have a car. I have never imagined that someday we will have a car and will drive someday. I am very happy that god helped us get a car and helped us own one (R 14).

In light of such sentiments, it is imperative that policymakers, urban and transportation planners, community activists, and scholars embrace a wider concept of refugee mobility to engage with the challenge in a more holistic and meaningful way. This may include considering more carefully where refugees are placed – both in communities and specific neighborhoods – vis-à-vis specific destinations, working with transit authorities to provide affordable fares, developing car- and ride-share programs that specifically address refugee populations (dealing, for example, with a lack of insurance paperwork), supporting translation and interpretation services for driver education and licensing, and working with employers to create vanpools and flexibility in job start and end-times.

## Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank David Keeling, Denver Nixon, and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful feedback on earlier versions of this paper. He would also like to thank Supriya Serchan, Sameera Ibrahim, Elizabeth Wolfe and Tony Hollop for their assistance with data collection and analysis in the project on which this paper is based.

## References

- Abdelkerim, A., Grace, M., 2012. Challenges to employment in newly emerging African communities in Australia: a review of the literature. *Aust. Social Work* 65 (1), 104–119.
- Adey, P., 2006. If mobility is everything then it is nothing: towards a relational politics of (im)mobilities. *Mobilities* 1 (1), 75–94.
- Bissell, D., Adey, P., Laurier, E., 2011. Introduction to the special issue on Geographies of the Passenger. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1007–1009.
- Bloemraad, I., 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Blumenberg, E., 2007. Immigrants and transport barriers to employment: the case of Southeast Asian welfare recipients in California. *Transp. Policy* 15, 33–42.
- Blumenberg, E., Manville, M., 2004. Beyond the spatial mismatch: welfare recipients and transportation policy. *J. Plan. Literature* 19 (2), 182–205.
- Blumenberg, E., Smart, M., 2010. Getting by with a little help from my friends...and family: immigrants and carpooling. *Transportation* 37 (3), 429–446.
- Bose, P., 2013. Building sustainable communities: immigrants, acculturation and mobility in Vermont. *Res. Transp. Business Manage.* 17, 81–90.
- Browne, K., 2005. Snowball sampling: using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *Int. J. Soc. Res. Methodol.* 8 (1), 47–60.
- Budd, L., 2011. On being aeromobile: airline passengers and the affective experiences of flight. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1010–1016.
- Bullard, R., Johnson, G., Torres, A. (Eds.), 2004. *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism & New Routes to Equity*. South End Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Burrell, K., 2011. Going steerage on Ryanair: cultures of migrant air travel between Poland and the UK. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1023–1036.
- Carse, A., 2011. Assessment of transport quality of life as an alternative transport appraisal technique. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1037–1045.
- Cervero, R., 2004. Job isolation in the US: narrowing the gap through job access and reverse-commute programs. In: Lucas, K. (Ed.), *Running on Empty: Transport, Social Exclusion and Environmental Justice*. Policy, Bristol, pp. 181–196.
- Chatman, D., Klein, N., 2009. Immigrants and travel demand in the United States: implications for transportation policy and future research. *Public Works Manage. Policy* 13 (4), 312–327.
- City of Burlington, 2013. Mayor Miro Weinberger Promotes Active Transportation Options and Unveils "Go for Gold" Walk-Bike Blueprint during Multi-Modal Tour. Office of the Mayor, Burlington, May 16.
- Clifton, K., Lucas, K., 2004. Examining the empirical evidence of transport inequality in the U.S. and the U.K.. In: Lucas, K. (Ed.), *Running on Empty: Transport, Social Exclusion and Environmental Justice*. Policy, Bristol, pp. 15–36.
- Conradson, K., McKay, D., 2007. Translocal subjectivities: mobility, connection, emotion. *Mobilities* 2 (2), 167–174.
- Cresswell, T., 2010. Mobilities I: catching up. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 35 (4), 550–558.
- Cresswell, T., 2012. Mobilities II: still. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 36 (5), 645–653.
- D'Andrea, A., Ciolfi, L., Gray, B., 2011. Methodological challenges and innovations in mobilities research. *Mobilities* 6 (2), 149–160.
- Deka, D., 2004. Social and environmental justice issues in urban transportation. In: Hanson, S., Giuliano, G. (Eds.), *The Geography of Urban Transportation*, third ed. The Guilford Press, New York, pp. 332–355.
- Denscombe, M., 2003. *The Good Research Guide: For Small-scale Social Research Projects*. Open University Press, New York.
- Forkenbrock, D.J., Schweitzer, L., 1999. Environmental justice in transportation planning. *J. Am. Plan. Assoc.* 65 (1), 96–112.
- Foth, N., Manaugh, K., El-Geneidy, A., 2013. Towards equitable transit: examining transit accessibility and social need in Toronto, Canada, 1996–2006. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 29, 1–10.
- Freilla, O., 2004. Burying Robert Moses's legacy in New York City. In: Bullard, R.D., Johnson, G.S., Torres, A.O. (Eds.), *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New routes to Equity*. South End Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 75–99.
- Garasky, S., Fletcher, C., Jensen, H., 2006. Transitioning to work: the role of private transportation for low-income households. *J. Consumer Affairs* 40 (1), 64–89.
- Grengs, J., 2010. Job accessibility and the modal mismatch in Detroit. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 18, 42–54.
- Haines, D., 2010. *Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in America*. Kumarian Press, Sterling, VA.
- Hanson, S., Giuliano, G. (Eds.), 2004. *The Geography of Urban Transportation*, third ed. The Guilford Press, New York.
- Hawthorne, T., Kwan, M.P., 2012. Using GIS and perceived distance to understand the unequal geographies of healthcare in low-income urban neighborhoods. *Geogr. J.* 178 (1), 18–30.
- Haynes, K., Gifford, J., Pelletiere, D., 2005. Sustainable transportation institutions and regional evolution: global and local perspectives. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 13 (3), 207–221.
- Heiz, A., Schellenberg, G., 2004. Public transit among immigrants. *Can. J. Urban Res.* 13 (1), 170–191.
- Horner, M.W., Mefford, J.N., 2007. Investigating urban spatial mismatch using job housing indicators to model home-work separation. *Environ. Plan. A* 39 (6), 1420–1440.
- Jacobsen, K., 2005. *The Economic Life of Refugees*. Kumarian Press, Bloomfield, CT.
- Jain, J., 2011. The classy coach commute. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1017–1022.
- Jensen, O., 2009. Flows of meaning, cultures of movement – urban mobility as meaningful everyday life practice. *Mobilities* 4 (1), 139–158.
- Jensen, A., 2011. Mobility, space and power: on the multiplicities of seeing mobility. *Mobilities* 6 (2), 255–271.
- Jones, P., Evans, J., 2011. The spatial transcript: analysing mobilities through qualitative GIS. *Area* 44 (1), 92–99.
- Kain, J.F., 1968. Housing segregation, Negro employment, and metropolitan decentralization. *Quart. J. Econ.* 82, 175–197.
- Kawabata, M., Shen, Q., 2007. Commuting inequality between cars and public transit: the case of the San Francisco Bay Area, 1990–2000. *Urban Stud.* 44 (9), 1759–1780.
- Kennedy, L., 2004. Transportation and environmental justice. In: Lucas, K. (Ed.), *Running on Empty: Transport, Social Exclusion and Environmental Justice*. Policy, Bristol, pp. 155–180.
- Li, W., 2011. *Ethnoburb: The New Ethnic Community in Urban America*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Litman, T., 2011. *Measuring Transportation: Traffic, Mobility and Accessibility*. Victoria Transport Policy Institute, Melbourne, Victoria.
- Liu, C.Y., Painter, G., 2012. Immigrant settlement and employment suburbanization: is there a spatial mismatch? *Urban Stud.* 49 (5), 979–1002.
- Lo, L., Shalaby, A., Alshalfah, B., 2011. Relationship between immigrant settlement patterns and transit use in the Greater Toronto Area. *J. Urban Plan. Dev.* 137 (4), 470–476.

- Loescher, G., Milner, J., 2005. *Protracted Refugee Situations: Domestic and International Security Implications*. Routledge, New York.
- Lovejoy, K., Handy, S., 2011. Social networks as a source of private-vehicle transportation: the practice of getting rides and borrowing vehicles among Mexican immigrants in California. *Transp. Res. Part A: Policy Pract.* 45 (4), 248–257.
- Lucas, K., 2006. Providing transport for social inclusion within a framework for environmental justice in the UK. *Transp. Res. Part A: Policy Pract.* 40 (10), 801–809.
- Lyons, G., 2004. Transport and society. *Transp. Rev.* 24 (4), 485–509.
- Martin, C., 2011. Desperate passage: violent mobilities and the politics of discomfort. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 1046–1052.
- Massey, D. (Ed.), 2008. *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Merrick, M., 2003. Reflections on PPGIS: a view from the trenches. *URISA J.* 15, 33–40.
- Miller, K., Rasco, L., 2004. *The Mental Health of Refugees: Ecological Approaches to Healing and Adaptation*. Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers Inc., Mahwah, NJ.
- Mitschke, D., Mitschke, A., Slater, H., Teboh, C., 2011. Uncovering health and wellness needs of recently resettled Karen refugees from Burma. *J. Hum. Behav. Social Environ.* 21 (5), 490–501.
- Morency, C., Paéz, A., Roorda, M., Mercado, R., Farber, S., 2011. Distance traveled in three Canadian cities: spatial analysis from the perspective of vulnerable population segments. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 19, 39–50.
- Neidell, M., Waldfogel, J., 2009. Program participation of immigrant children: evidence from the local availability of Head Start. *Econ. Educ. Rev.* 28 (6), 704–715.
- Nelson, L., Nelson, P., 2011. The global rural: gentrification and linked migration in the United States. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 35, 441–459.
- Nogrady, B., King, A., 2004. Transit activism in steel town, USA. In: Bullard, R., Johnson, G., Torres, A. (Eds.), *Highway Robbery: Transportation Racism and New Routes to Equity*. South End Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 121–144.
- Paéz, A., Scott, D., Morency, C., 2012. Measuring accessibility: positive and normative implementations of various accessibility indicators. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 25, 141–153.
- Papastergiadis, N., 2000. *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Pipher, M., 2002. *The Middle of Everywhere: Helping Refugees Enter the American Community*. Harcourt Books, New York.
- Portes, A., Rumbaut, R., 2008. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, third ed. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Ramsey, K., 2000. Riding the freedom bus in LA. *Forum Appl. Res. Public Policy* 15 (3), 77–80.
- Refugee Processing Center, 2013. *Refugee Arrivals as of January 2013—Population, Refugees and Migration Admissions*. U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC.
- Robinson-Allen, J., 2011. *Points, Lines and People: Plotting a Course for Community Geography*. Public Lecture, University of Vermont, October 14.
- Rogalsky, J., 2010. The working poor and what GIS reveals about the possibilities of public transit. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 18, 226–237.
- RSG (Resource Systems Group), 2012. *Chittenden County Regional Planning Commission Transportation Survey Report of Results*. RSG, Burlington.
- Schweitzer, L., Valenzuela, A., 2004. Environmental injustice and transportation: the claims and the evidence. *J. Plan. Literature* 18, 383–398.
- Sheller, M., Urry, J., 2006. The new mobilities paradigm. *Environ. Plan. D* 38 (2), 207–226.
- Shen Ryan, A. (Ed.), 1992. *Social Work with Immigrants and Refugees*. Haworth Press, New York.
- Singer, A., Hardwick, S., Brettel, C., 2008. *Twenty-first Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC.
- Smith, H., Furuseth, O., 2006. *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place*. Ashgate, Aldershot, UK.
- Stoddard, A., Sampson, D., 2012. *Developing, Enhancing and Sustaining Tribal Transit Services*, TCRP Report 154. TRB, Washington, DC.
- Tal, G., Handy, S., 2010. Travel behaviour of immigrants: an analysis of the 2001 National Household Transportation Survey. *Transp. Policy* 17 (2), 85–93.
- Teixeira, C., Li, W., Kobayashi, A., 2011. *Immigrant Geographies of North American Cities*. University of Oxford Press, New York.
- Urry, J., 2003. *Global Complexity*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Urry, J., 2007. *Mobilities*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Urry, J., 2012. Social networks, mobile lives and social inequalities. *J. Transp. Geogr.* 21, 24–30.
- Uteng, T., 2009. Gender, ethnicity and constrained mobility: insights into the resultant social exclusion. *Environ. Plan. A* 41 (5), 1055–1071.
- VRRP (Vermont Refugee Resettlement Program), 2013. Reports online at: <<http://www.vrrp.org>> (accessed 14.06.13).
- Yaghmaian, B., 2005. *Embracing the Infidel: Stories of Muslim Migrants on the Journey West*. Dell, New York.