Paper:

## Addressing the Health Problems After Immigration Faced by the Marshallese in Springdale, Arkansas: Lessons Learned from the City of Vienna

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More than 10,000 people have migrated from the Republic of the Marshall Islands to Springdale, Arkansas in the United States. That number is increasing. The Marshallese living in Springdale are not effectively integrated into the host society. Many Marshallese are mentally stressed not only in their home country, but in Springdale as well. This problem will be alleviated if those in Springdale are well-integrated into the host society. The city of Vienna, Austria, has a history of accepting large numbers of immigrants. In this study, we analyzed the experience of integration in the city of Vienna and examined ways in which this can be applied to the situation in Springdale. Many Marshallese make few preparations for migration to the United States; this becomes an obstacle when they start residing there. Vienna Start Coaching, implemented by the City of Vienna, is a mechanism providing the information that is needed by foreigners when they arrive at the city. The city of Vienna has many therapists to provide mental health care for immigrants and citizens. This is to ensure the possibility of having people who can listen to them in their native language. Moreover, the city offers German language courses to immigrants. Provision of more English language education could facilitate their integration with the host community.

**Keywords:** the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Vienna, integration, immigrants, mental health

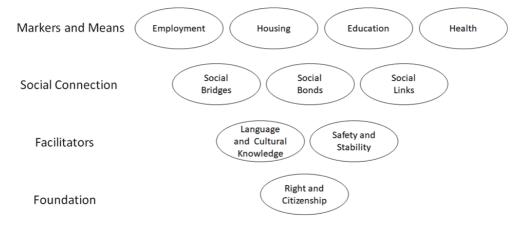
## 1. Introduction

Relocation to a new place, even if it is in the same country, can create various psychological pressures for migrants. They have to give up their homes and cope with various problems such as housing, occupation, health, and education at their new destination. This is especially true when they move abroad, where language, culture, and customs are different from those in their homeland. They

also miss their home countries. Such stress can lead to depression and/or domestic violence; however, stress can be alleviated when migrants are integrated into the host society and can socially and economically support themselves.

In this study, we analyze the issues that immigrants from the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) may face after migration to Springdale, Arkansas, USA. Many Marshallese have settled in Springdale, as described below, and their population will probably further increase due to the likely deterioration of living conditions in their home country due to the rise in sea levels [1]. In order to address these issues, the city of Vienna in Austria provides a useful comparison because its government has implemented unique and positive measures to integrate immigrants into its society. The city of Vienna particularly emphasizes the importance of mental health care for immigrants. In Springdale, there are quite a few Marshallese with mental issues, and the experience of Vienna seems to have been especially effective at addressing this issue. Vienna has become a city of minorities with a diverse ethnic composition from the inflow of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Vienna is making an effort to integrate immigrants into the host community [2]. The lessons accumulated in Vienna may be applied to the Marshallese immigrants in the United States as well as to future immigrants who will have to evacuate their home countries due to the adverse impacts of climate change.

No consensus seems to exist on the definition and metrics of "successful" integration [3]. Therefore, in this study, we utilize an analytical framework of "Indicators of Integration" developed by Ager and Strang [3] to examine the effectiveness of measures that encourage integration and to identify a possible solution for the Marshallese because it defines "successful" integration and because the proposed framework to attain it seems widely applicable. The framework consists of four domains: markers and means, social connections, facilitators, and foundation. The first domain, markers and means, includes four indicators: employment, housing, education, and health. The second domain, social connections, includes three: social



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Fig. 1. Conceptual framework defining core domains of integration.

bonds, social bridges, and social links. The third domain, facilitators, includes two: languages and cultural knowledge and safety and stability. The fourth domain, foundation, includes one: rights and citizenship (Fig. 1).

This paper first provides the situation of the RMI as well as of the Marshallese living in the RMI and Springdale. Next, we review the challenges experienced by Marshallese immigrants in Springdale according to the framework suggested by Ager and Strang [3]. Subsequently, we describe Vienna's integration policy, particularly the mental issues of asylum seekers and refugees. Finally, we discuss how lessons learned from Vienna may contribute to addressing the mental issues of Marshallese immigrants.

## 2. Immigration from the RMI to Springdale

## 2.1. Situation of the RMI

The RMI is an archipelago nation composed of atolls. According to the 2011 American Community Survey, it has a population of 53,158 [4], and an average elevation of only two meters above mean sea level [5]. Under a lease agreement between the RMI and the US Department of Defense, as part of the Compact of Free Association (COFA), the US has access to the Kwajalein Atoll and controls some of the islands within the atoll. The most populated island in the Kwajalein Atoll is Ebeye – with an area of 320,000 square meters and a population of 12,000. It is one of the most densely populated areas in the world [6]. Many of these residents work at US military bases in the Kwajalein Atoll. Nevertheless, the infrastructure of Ebeye is poor. The capital of the RMI is Majuro, with a population of 28,000. Both Majuro and Ebeye have very limited fresh groundwater sources. Seawater intrusion into groundwater sources due to sea level rise has become a problem. Storm surges have begun to damage houses and buildings. The rainfall in the dry season has been decreasing, disrupting the supply of clean water [6]. As sea-levels rise, more migrants will likely

leave the RMI due to increasing difficulty in maintaining their livelihoods.

The Marshall Islands has the highest unemployment rate of any US-affiliated island in the Pacific [7]. Up to 50% of all working-age Marshallese are not participating in the workforce [8].

Medical facilities are poor. Non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are the most significant health problem and have placed considerable stress on the health system. Diabetes is the leading cause of death. Close to 63% of the population is overweight, and 34.9% of Marshallese between the ages of 20–79 have type 2 diabetes [6].

Mental health is also a serious problem. Suicide is a major societal problem in the RMI [9]. In 2011, 13 completed suicides were reported. The highest number of suicides reported till then was 28 in 2003. The corresponding rates for reported suicide attempts were 33 and 42, respectively. Alcohol was the number one contributing factor for suicide attempts in the RMI for the year 2007, and such alcohol-related suicides occurred when the victims were intoxicated [8]. According to a survey on mental health, domestic violence is an increasing problem. Among the 130 women interviewed, 86% had experienced abuse of various kinds (66% sexual, 87% physical, 84% emotional, and 74% verbal). In 92% of the cases, the abuser was the woman's husband. Furthermore, for about 65% of the women, the abuse occurred more than 10 times. Lastly, 52% of the abuse cases were alcohol-related, with the exception being in Majuro, where this was a contributing factor in 86% of the cases [8].

## 2.2. Immigration to the United States

The RMI concluded the COFA with the US [10], along with the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Palau. The Marshallese are allowed to reside and work in the US without a visa. They migrate to the US seeking better work, health care, education, and other opportunities. Migration from the RMI to the US tripled between 2000 and 2010, from 6,700 to 22,434, according

to census estimates. Since COFA migrants can come and go freely between the RMI and the US and its territories, the exact number of COFA migrants is difficult to ascertain. The actual number of Marshallese living in the US is estimated to be much higher [11]. The most popular destination is Hawai'i, followed by Springdale, Arkansas. In addition, many immigrate to Oregon and Guam.

The migration of Marshallese people to Springdale has been continuing due to several factors. First, the Marshallese population is already large and generally wellestablished in Springdale [12]. Second, the cost of living is low relative to other locales where Marshallese have settled, including Honolulu (Hawai'i), Sacramento (California), and Salem (Oregon). Most importantly, lowskilled jobs are readily available in Northwest Arkansas' vast poultry processing industry [13]. According to the US Census Bureau, 4,324 Marshallese resided in Arkansas in 2010, mostly in Springdale. However, the official census data on Marshallese populations in the US is unreliable. The Marshallese population in Springdale is estimated to be two-to-three times the official figure in 2010 [6]. Using school enrollment data, it is estimated that approximately 10,000 to 12,000 live in Arkansas [11].

# **3.** Addressing Problems Experienced by the Marshallese in Springdale

The Marshallese in Springdale face many challenges that have a negative impact on their mental and physical health. In order to address this issue, the effectiveness of their integration in the local community should be considered. Integration would mitigate their problems. In order to investigate the situation, we utilize the framework proposed by Ager and Strang [3].

First, we examine the four elements that comprise the markers and means. Regarding employment, there are low-skilled jobs available, such as those at poultry processing factories, attracting immigrants from the RMI. However, it is not easy to get a better job with a higher income partly because educational qualifications in the RMI are not transferrable to Arkansas [12]. As for housing, extended families tend to live in a single house, as commonly practiced in the RMI. As will be described later, the opinions of younger people are seldom considered within the family, often resulting in a mental burden. Regarding health, mental and physical health among Marshallese are still as poor in the US as in the RMI. The Marshallese are low-income. Their diet is thus unbalanced, for many depend on the rice and cheap chicken available at their workplaces. Many people suffer from diabetes, like those in the RMI. Among the Marshallese in the US, untreated diabetes has frequently resulted in blindness, amputation, and other impairments [4]. In the early 2000s, when many Marshallese moved to Springdale, tuberculosis occurred frequently. Furthermore, some people developed Hansen's disease (informally called leprosy), a rarity in the US [6]. As for mental issues, it is reported that in the span of eight years from 2006–2014, more than

34 Marshallese men died by suicide across the US. Between 2006–2014, 18 Marshallese men committed suicide in Hawai'i, three in Guam, seven in Arkansas, two in Washington, and two in Oregon. All of the suicides were committed by hanging [14].

Social connections are indispensable to the mitigation of anxiety and loneliness from isolation and subsequent depression. These connections also increase motivation to help one another. Social bonds are the relations among immigrants by which they communicate in their own language, maintain their own customs and culture, and share information regarding their new livelihoods and experiences. In general, social bonds are effective as mental support; however, in the case of the Marshallese, such bonds sometimes prove counterproductive. In the RMI, a "family" refers to a large extended family including aunts, uncles, cousins, and other members. Older men dominate the family, and young people are expected to obey the elder's decisions. According to Marshallese immigrants in Springdale, this culture is maintained even among immigrants in the US, and often suppresses the young people in Springdale as well. In addition, older Marshallese men living in the US often encourage young people in the RMI come to the US by covering their travel costs. Young Marshallese tend to jump at such an offer and leave the RMI without sufficient preparation for migration [12]. They thus arrive in Springdale without sufficient understanding of American culture and customs. University students in the RMI readily terminate their studies once they have a chance to migrate to the States (e.g., via a generous offer by a relative living in the States). They find themselves unqualified in the US for high-income jobs and struggling in low-skill employment.

Social bridges are relationships between immigrants and the host community, a fundamental factor necessary for "two-way" integration. Small actions of friendship such as being recognized and greeted by neighbors make migrants feel "at home." The social bridges connecting the Marshallese and the host community in Springdale are weak. Social shyness and language barriers exacerbate their disconnection from the host community. Concomitantly, strong social bonds within the Marshallese community facilitate addressing many of the problems. They are, therefore, not keen to establish social bonds with the host community. The small city of Springdale affords relatively few opportunities for the Marshallese to interact with the host community on a daily basis. While the host community is generally friendly, limited interactions impede social bridging.<sup>1</sup>

Social links refers to the connections between individuals and structures of the state, such as government services. Cultural and political differences across US states engender different experiences for immigrants. In Arkansas, social links between the Marshallese and Springdale tend to be weak. Only English is allowed in

In Oregon, the interactions between the Marshallese and the host community are also weak, with the population (commonly thought to be Mexican immigrants) often being misunderstood or unknown. Micronesians, including Marshallese, frequently face discrimination in Hawai'i [15], probably due to the fact that they are working closely with local people.

formal documents in Arkansas, and a petition is needed to translate any documents into Marshallese. Healthcare is also a limiting factor, while they pay into a system that they do not benefit from. This is not the case in Oregon, where healthcare and translation services are provided to the community.

Ager and Strang concluded that language and cultural knowledge and safety and security are crucial factors in the integration of immigrants into the host society [3]. While safety and security is not reported to be a big concern in Springdale, language and cultural knowledge is a major obstacle for Marshallese immigrants. As young Marshallese tend to immigrate to the US without sufficient preparation, they arrive in Springdale without the basic knowledge required to live in the US, such as how to open a bank account, obtain a driver's license, and use public transport [12]. In the RMI, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) distributes a pamphlet in English containing the knowledge necessary to move to the US. The IOM also holds seminars for preparation training, though few Marshallese participate. Limited English proficiency poses a great challenge. As long as one engages in a low-skilled job, like working in a poultry factory, he or she can survive within the Marshallese community with familiar customs and language. However, speaking English fluently is essential to seeking opportunities for higher education and better occupations. Though a number of local NGOs, local schools, and businesses, such as Tysons, offer English language courses, only a small fraction of the Marshallese attend these courses. Further research is needed to identify the barriers to attendance in such courses as well as ways to encourage

Citizenship and rights are unclear for Marshallese living in Springdale. Per the COFA, they are allowed to reside and work without a visa, but they are not regarded as US citizens or nationals. They are obligated to pay taxes, but it is difficult for them to access social services such as Medicaid. Arkansas' health insurance for low-income residents is limited and difficult to access. Marshallese families often send their elderly people with medical problems to such states as Hawai'i, California, or Oregon, where more generous medical services are provided [13]. The I-94 card in the passport, which they receive at the port entry to the US, is the only document that proves their stay in the US is legal. If an official ID card proving their legitimacy were to be issued, such as a state ID card, they would feel more secure in Arkansas.

## 4. A City Profile of Vienna

Austria covers an area of 84,000 km<sup>2</sup> and has a population of 8.8 million people. As it was located adjacent to the "Iron Curtain" during the Cold War, a large number of evacuees fled from the socialist countries in the "east" to Austria. The number of evacuees resulting from the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and the Prague Spring in 1968 reached 180,000 and 160,000, respectively. After

the Cold War ended, 115,000 evacuees fled due to the collapse of Yugoslavia from 1991 to 1993, and many escaped from conflicts in Kosovo (1998–2000) and Chechnya (2001–2003) to Austria. From the early-1960s to the mid-1970s, many people immigrated as guest workers from Turkey and former Yugoslavia to Austria [16]. After the oil crisis and subsequent economic stagnation, most former Yugoslavian workers returned home, but most Turkish people remained in Austria and reunified with their families. Now, 46,039 Turkish people are in Vienna and live in a highly concentrated area [17].

Franz interviewed Bosnian refugees evacuated to Austria and the US during the 1990s and compared the countries' refugee policies [18]. In her book *Uprooted and Un*wanted, she concluded that Austria's policy is xenophobic and exclusive compared to that of the US. They are "unwanted" in Austria. Employment before refugee recognition is strictly prohibited, and the criteria for refuge recognition are strict. Asylum seekers have to wait at least several months and often years until the results of the refugee status examination are communicated. They feel discriminated against by the Austrian bureaucracy. However, once they obtain refugee status, they can enjoy better social welfare services than those in the US. On the other hand, the refugee policy of the US is tolerant, but the government is less interested in acclimatization and provides fewer opportunities for English language education. Refugees in the US will remain strangers and "uprooted" there.

When the so-called "refugee crisis" occurred in 2015, a large number of evacuees rushed to Europe from the Middle East and Africa. The number of asylum-seekers, which was previously around 20,000 a year, increased to 88,000 in 2015 and 42,000 in 2016 [19]. In the beginning, they were welcomed. However, when the European mass media finally started reporting sex crimes committed by evacuees after not reporting the crimes for months, the backlash among Europeans, including Austrians, turned xenophobic [20]. In 2017, the Conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) and the right-wing Free Party Austria (FPÖ) formed a coalition government, and ÖVP's leader, Sebastian Kurz, took office as the prime minister. He opposed the German-led EU refugee acceptance policy and strengthened border control. In October 2017, the government's ban on full-face veils in public came into force. Moreover, in May 2019, Austria's parliament approved a law to ban "ideologically or religiously characterized clothing" in elementary schools, with certain exceptions - essentially targeting the headscarves worn by Muslim girls. The parliament announced that it would reduce the amount of monthly social security paid by 300 Euros for unemployed people who lack German language skills [21].

Despite this xenophobic federal policy, Vienna continues to adhere to a policy to pursue diversity [22]. Today, Vienna is becoming a minorities' majority city. Half of the Viennese have a migration background, which means that they themselves or at least one of their parents were born abroad or have foreign nationalities. As of January

2018, 40.2% of the residents were born outside Austria or held a foreign passport [17]. Vienna has accepted more asylum seekers than the quota assigned by the federal government [23].

Vienna initiated the "Vienna Start Coaching (*Start Wien*)" program. From its website (http://www.startwien. at/), immigrants can obtain necessary information in their native languages to start their life in Vienna, such as the required procedures to stay legally in the city, vocational education, German language courses, job search strategies, etc. Many stakeholders, including the municipal government and NGOs, provide language courses.

Asylum seekers of compulsory school age (up to 15 years old) participate in education at primary or secondary schools. When the number of asylum seekers increased, the city of Vienna realized that no functioning "system" existed to educate those over 15 years of age. First, they needed German language skills to the level of B1, which is mandatory for any further training or education towards securing jobs [24]. In order to fill the gap, the "Youth College" was established based on the experiences that Vienna gained while addressing the influx of migrants from Central and Eastern European member states of the European Union after the latest EU-enlargements in 2004 and 2007. The "Vocational Training Guarantee" was formulated in 2010, aimed at providing young people (14 to 21 years of age) with the opportunity to receive education towards formal qualifications. The Viennese Educational Hub (Die Wiener Bildungsdrehscheibe) was established in November 2016 to offer asylum seekers over 15 years of age initial consultation regarding educational opportunities. Since its establishment, it has provided 7,341 asylum seekers with advice in 27 different languages as of December 2018 [25].

Regarding employment, the Vienna Employment Promotion Fund, an organization under the auspices of the municipal government, takes part in Vienna Start Coaching and provides a module including an initial consultation concerning the labor market and job opportunities. The "Vocational Training Guarantee" is an initiative that provides young people with the education necessary for securing jobs. To integrate asylum seekers who have not yet obtained their legal residence permit or asylum status, the Vienna Social Fund started a welfare-job program.

The city of Vienna emphasizes the importance of mental health care. Asylum seekers arriving at a foreign country tend to have predisposing factors such as separation from family, loneliness in the host community, lack of communication with others due to insufficient language skills, and lost socio-economic status in their home country [26]. According to a survey carried out in Vienna, half of the asylum seekers who arrived in Vienna in fall 2015 lost a family member due to violence and conflict after leaving their own country [27]. It is thus important to consider the mental wellbeing and past traumas of asylum seekers so that their pain may be mitigated or resolved in preparation for the re-establishment of their livelihoods in the host community. There are more than 100 facilities in Vienna, such as the Vienna Integration House (*Inte*-

grationshaus Wien), that provide basic care support for asylum seekers to reestablish their daily lives, including German language courses, counseling, and provision of information about and opportunities for non-profit work. There is an extensive funding network, including the Vienna Social Fund, to support such activities. The Vienna Social Fund is financing nine facilities operated by NGOs for people who need mental support.

Due to the increase of housing costs in Vienna, like other metropolitan areas in Europe, finding housing is an increasingly difficult task. Immigrants tend to be concentrated in certain places in the city, resulting in residential segregation. This is one of the potentially troubling side effects of residential segregation and large-scale immigration and hinders migrant integration. In Vienna, the share of public housing is high, and 63% of the Viennese population lives in social housing or in public subsidized dwellings. In 2001, there were 168,872 buildings in Vienna: 15.8% (26,733) of them were owned by the local authority, and 9.3% (15,741) were owned by housing associations, most of which belonged to the municipal government [28]. Utilizing public facilities, the municipal government has been keeping residential segregation at a relatively low level. There are various indices presenting residential segregation, and a dissimilarity index is one of the most commonly used. This index ranges from zero to 100, with higher numbers indicating more segregation. Dissimilarity scores over 60 are high in absolute terms, those from 30 to 60 are moderate, and those below 30 are low; Vienna's scores for foreigners remain at 30 [29].

In 2015–2016, the municipal government rapidly created 8,000 emergency shelters in addition to their ordinal facilities accommodating asylum seekers in response to their rapid increase. The aim was to avoid urban concentration of refugees, and the focus was on flat-sharing communities with three or four people per flat. At the same time, an appeal was made to the citizen population to donate housing for this purpose. For recognized refugees, provision of housing is possible under certain circumstances; conversely, they have to rely on the housing market or on private help via the support of specialized NGOs. The Vienna Social Fund possesses around 6,500 flats in 100 locations in the city for homeless persons, and allows refugees to stay there for two years.

The motto of the city of Vienna is "Living Together." The municipal government has established more than 64,000 flats (*Gemeindebau*) since 1923 in order to provide affordable public housing or subsidized apartments to about 220,000 people [30]. This is a shift from the 1970s, in which the houses of Turkish guest workers were concentrated in specific areas and thus were not sufficiently integrated with the local communities. Based on that failure, the municipal government is providing immigrants with public facilities so that they can live in a dispersed manner and thereby keep the level of residential segregation at a minimum.

## 5. Discussion and Conclusion

We are aware that every country has different national policies for dealing with immigrants and that every host community has different geographical, historical, and social backgrounds. It is thus not easy to apply an experience gained in one place to another location. We, however, firmly believe that Vienna's immigration policy should contribute to the resolution of some problems faced by the Marshallese in Springdale.

The host society's actual willingness to integrate the Marshallese should be taken into consideration. Vienna has a firm policy about diversity, but the Austrian federal government is seeking integration by fostering assimilation [18]. In order to avoid social conflicts, such as those that occurred between local citizens and guest workers from Turkey, both the federal government and the city of Vienna require immigrants to learn the German language and live separately to promote integration with the host society. Vienna has been gradually increasing their supply of flat-sharing communities in order to prevent segregation. In other words, Vienna seeks to foster solid *social links* to host communities for immigrants.

Social links between Marshallese immigrants and the host community of Springdale seem weak compared with those in Vienna, even after taking differences in the situations of the two cities into consideration. To a large extent, it could stem from the fact that local governments (both for the city of Springdale and the state of Arkansas) do not intend to have an effective policy to integrate immigrants to the host community as much as the Vienna municipal government does, which has been keen to strengthen these social links. Additionally, in Springdale, conflicts between Marshallese immigrants and those in the host community do not seem likely to occur as people are living in a dispersed manner, unlike in the densely populated city of Vienna. Marshallese immigrants have fewer chances to interact with Americans in the host community. Everyday problems can often be solved within the Marshallese society, for they have strong social bonds under the large extended family system. Of course, this does not imply that Marshallese immigrants are free from problems. Many of them suffer from mental illness. They are exposed to various stresses before and after their arrival at Springdale. If the social links with the host community were strong enough, some problems would be solved with the support of those in the host community, at least to an extent. However, this is not quite the case. Young Marshallese in Springdale, for example, cannot escape from the social and cultural bonds that are inherent to the large extended family system of the Marshallese.

Regarding *rights and citizenship*, the Austrian federal government issues official ID cards to asylum seekers upon their arrival in Austria. This serves multiple purposes, though one result is that asylum seekers obtain an official proof of status. In the case of the Marshallese in the US, however, only the I-94, a piece of a paper that is only effective with the RMI passport, offers proof of status.

As for the difficulties immigrants first experience after migration, Marshallese immigrants who are new to Springdale face a number of them. It is not easy to get along with the lifestyle and customs of the host community of Springdale due to the lack of preparation before leaving the RMI. The manual offered by the IOM is not widely known. On the contrary, the support given by Vienna Start Coaching after arrival is very helpful. Asylum seekers who manage to arrive in Vienna in most cases have literally only the clothes on their backs and no opportunity to prepare for a new life in Europe. It makes sense to provide them with the information and knowledge they need in their native language. In Vienna, the municipal government serves very effectively as an executing agency, while the local government in Springdale may not carry out such a function. Sectors other than the local government, such as NGOs, should meet the needs of Marshallese immigrants – in particular, newcomers.

Among the various measures conducted in Vienna, the most notable is mental health care. A number of experts, including therapists, pedagogical experts, and social workers, are working to care for not only Austrians but immigrants who suffer from mental problems. Individual mental illness is sufficiently addressed through consultation with these experts. They are also employed in some facilities that accommodate entire families of asylum seekers and treat family-bound illness. In Springdale, such therapy does not seem easy to access. It would be difficult to secure specialists immediately, but it would also be effective to a certain extent just to have someone listen to their problems in their native language.

Regarding society and culture-bound mental illness, no effective measures exist in Springdale because the Marshallese immigrants maintain a relatively closed society that is based on the extended family system. This system can create psychological stress for young people. On the other hand, the "integration" policy implemented in Vienna effectively avoids the emergence of society- and culture-bound mental illness, which is inherent to a large isolated ethnic community.

It is also necessary to promote English education. In Austria, German language learning is a requirement, and citizen volunteers are also involved in this education. Vienna Start Coaching provides the necessary information. In Springdale, there exists a number of opportunities for Marshallese to learn English; however, because most of the daily problems are solved within the Marshallese society, English language skills are not as readily developed. Their willingness to learn is thus weakened. Ironically, skill in English is essential to the development of a career. The second and subsequent generations who are born in the US may have English as their first language and thus may be in the position of assisting the first generation. However, in the near future, as increasing numbers of Marshallese decide to move to Springdale, English education should have greater importance than it does presently.

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