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ASSIMILATION ISSUES OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES AFTERMATH OF RESettlement IN U.S

by

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A Professional Contribution

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PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTION

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ABSTRACT

After years in Bhutanese refugee camps, over 90,000 Bhutanese refugees are being resettled around the world by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This study examines the relationship between religious coping and acculturation stress among newly-resettled Hindu Bhutanese refugees in the United States (US), the projected home of most Bhutanese refugees. The aims of this study were to: find out why the resettled Bhutanese especially the elderly Bhutanese refugees are not happy with resettlement process, investigates tons of challenges for the integration and assimilation because of cultural differences, find out about the pre-settlement hopes and expectations of the Bhutanese refugees, look at their short-term settlement outcomes, and to suggest implications of these findings to enable better support for the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees. The patterns of adjustment and resettlement behavior described below are applicable to the new refugees but in many cases the stresses and problems are greatly magnified. Resettlement, adjustment and assimilation is a complex and multifaceted process. There is a large volume of material on different aspects of the process so that, in contrast to the other stages of the refugee experience. One of the most notable goals for strengthening employment and financial self-sufficiency, and finding and recommendations for assisting refugees are very crucial parts of the paper.

Nonetheless, there are some significant gaps in our knowledge about resettlement and those who work with the refugees are aware that resettlement poses an increased risk of complexity and vagueness. Some researchers believe that adequate preparation for resettlement decreases those risks. Themes identified as possible risk factors included cultural duality, language and acculturative barriers, low socioeconomic status, and low educational level. Thus this paper will be a useful tool for Public Welfares, Resettlement Agencies, Case Workers, Service Providers, Employers, Hospitals, Schools, Universities, Business Owners, Donors, and many more that are related to the Bhutanese communities. The findings of the Research Project as a whole will help to inform future pre-arrival and on-arrival settlement information and orientation identify areas of priority when resettling new ethnic communities. This paper will enable better support for the resettlement not only to the communities, but also to the refugees as well.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION OF THE U.S. REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

A. OVERVIEW OF U.S. REFUGEE POLICY

At the end of 2012, the estimated refugee population worldwide stood at 15.4 million, with 10.5 million receiving protection or assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2013). The United States actively supports efforts to provide protection, assistance, and durable solutions to these refugees, as these measures fulfill our humanitarian interests and further our foreign policy and national security interests. Under the authority of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, the United States contributes to the programs of UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and other international and non-governmental organizations that provide protection and assistance to refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), victims of conflict, stateless persons, and other vulnerable migrants. These contributions are used to address the legal and physical protection needs of refugees and to furnish basic assistance such as water, sanitation, food, health care, shelter, education, and other services. The United States monitors these programs to ensure the most effective use of resources, maximizing humanitarian impact for the beneficiaries.

The United States and UNHCR recognize that most refugees desire safe, voluntary return to their homeland as their preferred solution. During FY 2013, the United States continued to support voluntary repatriation programs around the world. Refugee repatriation operations brought refugees home to Afghanistan, Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Sri Lanka. These operations were carried out to protect returning refugees as well as to help them contribute to the stabilization, reconstruction, and development of their home countries.

Where opportunities for return remain elusive, the United States and partners pursue self-sufficiency and temporary, indefinite, or permanent local integration in countries of asylum. The Department of State encourages host governments to protect refugees and allow them to integrate into local communities. The State Department further promotes local integration by
funding programs to enhance refugee self-sufficiency and support community-based social services. Groups that may avail themselves of opportunities for local integration include Afghans in India, Angolans in Zambia, Burundians in Tanzania, Eritreans in Sudan, Liberians and Sierra Leoneans in seven countries across West Africa, and Colombians in Ecuador, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela.

UNHCR estimates that there are 12 million people worldwide who are not recognized nationals of any state and are, therefore, legally or de facto stateless. Without recognized citizenship in any country, many stateless persons exist in refugee-like situations, unable to claim rights and denied even the most basic protections of law. The United States has supported UNHCR’s efforts to prevent and reduce statelessness, including addressing gaps in citizenship laws, eliminating provisions that discriminate against women, and promoting fair application of those laws. U.S. contributions to UNHCR’s core budget support efforts to prevent and address statelessness in Burma, the Dominican Republic, Kuwait, Nepal, Sudan, Turkmenistan, and elsewhere.

In addition, the Department of State seeks to use the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) to demonstrate U.S. leadership while encouraging other countries to do more to help stateless people and refugees stuck in protracted situations. This approach is reflected in the current resettlement of Rohingya refugees, as well as in past resettlement of Meskhetian Turks. The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) also uses diplomacy to mobilize other governments to prevent and resolve situations of statelessness. For example, over the past year PRM has conducted field missions and monitored the situations confronting stateless people in Burma, Kuwait, and Nepal. Diplomatic efforts include U.S. sponsorship of the July 2012 UN Human Rights Council resolution on the rights to a nationality for women and children, as part of the Department’s efforts to combat discrimination against women in nationality laws.

The United States and UNHCR recognize that resettlement in third countries is a vital tool for providing refugees protection and/or durable solutions in some particularly difficult cases. For some refugees, resettlement is the best, and perhaps the only, alternative. Stateless refugees who arrive in the United States for resettlement not only find a durable solution to their displacement, but are also placed on a path that will afford the opportunity to naturalize and resolve their stateless status.
For more than a decade, the U.S. Government has provided financial support to expand and improve UNHCR’s resettlement capacity, principally through staffing complements and facility construction. As a result, UNHCR has substantially increased referrals to the United States and other resettlement countries. We plan to continue to work with UNHCR and consult with host governments on group referrals. We will continue to assess resettlement needs and allow qualified NGOs to refer refugee applicants to the program.

The United States has also supported UNHCR’s efforts to expand the number of countries active in resettlement. In 2012, UNHCR referred refugees to 27 countries for resettlement consideration. Over 90 percent were referred to the United States, Australia, and Canada. Smaller numbers of referrals were made to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, and the United Kingdom. While the overall number of refugees referred by UNHCR and the percentage resettled by various countries fluctuate from year to year, the United States aims to ensure at least 50 percent of all refugees referred by UNHCR worldwide are considered for resettlement in the United States, depending on the availability of funds. Some 76 percent of UNHCR-referred refugees, who were resettled in 2012, were resettled in the United States (see Table VIII).

The foreign policy and humanitarian interests of the United States are often advanced by addressing refugee issues in first asylum and resettlement countries. In some cases, the United States has been able to use its leadership position in resettlement to promote and secure other durable solutions for refugees, or advance other human rights or foreign policy objectives. The United States is by far the largest single donor to UNHCR, providing over $775 million in FY 2012. During the past few years, U.S. resettlement efforts in Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia have helped energize efforts by UNHCR and other countries to ensure that first asylum is maintained for larger refugee populations or that local integration or third country resettlement are options offered to those in need. In certain locations, the prompt resettlement of politically sensitive cases has helped defuse regional tensions. In the case of refugees fleeing fighting in Libya, the U.S. was willing to resettle third-country national refugees who had fled to Tunisia and Egypt. The U.S. decision to assist ensured that the process proceeded apace and did not negatively affect the receiving countries’ abilities to manage their own democratic transitions.
during its history, the USRAP has responded to changing circumstances. Even before the events of September 11, 2001, the end of the Cold War dramatically altered the context in which the USRAP operated. The program shifted its focus away from large groups concentrated in a few locations (primarily refugees from Vietnam, the former Soviet Union, and the former Yugoslavia) and began to admit refugees representing over 50 nationalities per year. Interviews of refugees by American officials from the Department of Homeland Security’s U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) are often conducted in remote locations and are geared toward populations in greatest need of third country resettlement opportunities.

While maintaining the United States’ leadership role in humanitarian protection, an integral part of this mission is to ensure that refugee resettlement opportunities go to those who are eligible for such protection and do not present a risk to the safety and security of our country. Accordingly, the USRAP is committed to deterring and detecting fraud among those seeking to resettle in the United States and continues to employ the most rigorous security measures possible to protect against risks to our national security.

Refugees resettled in the United States enrich our nation. The USRAP is premised on the idea that refugees should become economically self-sufficient as quickly as possible. The Department of State works domestically with agencies participating in the Reception and Placement (R&P) program to ensure that refugees receive services in the first thirty to ninety days after arrival in accordance with established standards. During and after the initial resettlement period, the Office of Refugee Resettlement at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS/ORR) provides leadership, technical assistance, and funding to states, the District of Columbia, and nonprofit organizations to help refugees to become self-sufficient and integrated into U.S. society. ORR programs use formula and discretionary grants to provide cash and medical assistance, employment and training programs, and other services to newly arriving and recently arrived refugees. Moreover, refugees are Americans in waiting upon arrival. Refugees are eligible for lawful employment upon arrival in the United States. After one year, a refugee is required to apply for adjustment of status to lawful permanent resident. Five years after admission, a refugee who has been granted lawful permanent resident status is eligible to apply for citizenship.
A number of factors create challenges for resettlement agencies striving to meet the needs of refugees in the program. The refugee population is ever more linguistically diverse, with wide-ranging educational and employment histories. To better prepare refugees for arrival in the United States, the USRAP continues to improve overseas cultural orientation, including thorough curricula review and teacher training. In 2013, we conducted a second round of pilot English as a Second Language classes for some refugees in Kenya, Thailand, and Nepal. By introducing the study of English overseas, these classes are intended to provide basic English competency and promote continued language learning after arrival in the United States.

When UNHCR — or, occasionally, a U.S. Embassy or a specially trained nongovernmental organization — refers a refugee applicant to the United States for resettlement, the case is first received and processed by a Resettlement Support Center (RSC). The U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) funds and manages nine RSCs around the world, operated by international and nongovernmental organizations and one U.S. interests section. Under PRM’s guidance, the RSCs prepare eligible refugee applications for U.S. resettlement consideration. The U.S. has historically maintained a policy of admitting refugees of special humanitarian concern into the country. Following the admission of over 250,000 displaced Europeans in the wake of World War II, the first refugee legislation enacted by the U.S. Congress was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. This legislation provided for the admission of an additional 400,000 displaced Europeans. Later laws provided for admission of persons fleeing Communist regimes from Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Korea, China, and Cuba. Most of these waves of refugees were assisted by private ethnic and religious organizations in the U.S. which formed the basis for the public/private role of U.S. refugee resettlement today.

B. Major Administrative Agencies

The agencies responsible for managing the U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program are the following: Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), Department of State: PRM directs U.S. admission policies and coordinates the overseas processing of refugees. PRM is responsible for the transportation and initial reception and integration of refugees. It also administers U.S. funding to UNHCR and other overseas programs that assist refugees. US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), Department of Homeland Security (DHS): The
Immigration and Naturalization Service ceased to exist in March 2003. Most refugee functions previously handled by INS are now in DHS/USCIS. DHS/USCIS field officers are responsible for making individual refugee status determinations abroad. Refugee Officers in the USCIS Refugee Affairs Division focus exclusively on resettlement. Other departments of USCIS are involved in conducting security clearances for refugee processing, adjusting status of refugees to permanent resident, and naturalization.

Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) administers federal funding to state and local programs that assist refugees, including cash and medical assistance. They also fund special programs for social services, English language training, and employment services. Individuals granted asylum (asylees) are also eligible for ORR assistance and services. ORR also oversees programs for unaccompanied minors and foster care for refugees. ORR further funds programs for assisting children in detention and victims of torture and trafficking. Increased coordination and communication and a more reflexive management of the admissions and resettlement programs will help ensure that refugees in need of protection have access to the program, that the link between overseas and domestic resettlement is restored, and that the U.S. is a stronger leader in 21st century refugee protection. Resettlement can be a lifesaving tool but only if the U.S. is equipped to respond quickly and effectively to emerging crises. Refugees who have endured confinement in camps for decades, isolated from the world, deserve a chance to live again and have their social and political rights restored. When given a basic foundation from which to rebuild their lives, refugees have become successful entrepreneurs, engines of economic growth, and harvesters of unplanted land.

B.1. National Resettlement Agencies (Volga’s)

There are nine U.S. Refugee Resettlement Agencies that help newly arrived refugees settle into local communities. These organizations include: Church World Service, Ethiopian Community Development Council, Episcopal Migration Ministries, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, International Rescue Committee, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops/Migration and Refugee Services (USCCB/MRS), and World Relief. These organizations are also known as Voluntary Agencies (volags) or Resettlement Agencies.
B.2. Eligibility for U.S. Resettlement

In order to qualify under the U.S. resettlement program a refugee normally must meet the following.

(a) Be of a designated nationality and fall within the priority categories for that nationality in that region; or,

(b) Be referred by a U.S. embassy, UNHCR or a non-governmental organization (NGO).

(c) Meet the U.S. definition of refugee as determined by the DHS/USCIS.

(d) Not be excludable under INA Section 212(a).

(e) That the refugee must have access to a U.S. refugee processing post or DHS/USCIS officer and

(f) Not be firmly resettled in any foreign country.

B.3. USG Partners:

- Dept. of State: Develops policy and serves as overall manager of the USRAP. Responsible for initial support to refugees post-arrival.
- DHS/USCIS: Officers determine eligibility for admission.
- Congress: Consulted on annual refugee admissions.
- HHS/ORR: Administers cash, medical and social service programs through states and NGOs.
- UNHCR: Provides protection and refers applicants for resettlement.
- IOM: Transports all refugees to the U.S. and handles medical exams in some locations; manages four.

B.5. NGOs and Local Partners

- Resettlement Support Centers (RSC): Under cooperative agreements with DOS/PRM. Assist applicants with pre-interview paperwork and post-interview procedures.
• Domestic NGOs: Under cooperative agreements with DOS/PRM. Provide initial reception and placement.

• State and Local Governments: Provide cash, medical, employment services, transportation, education

C. PRE-INTERVIEW PROCESSING

Persons are eligible for a DHS/USCIS interview by one of three methods.

• First, referral by UNHCR, NGO, or by a US embassy (P-1).
• Second, by being eligible under a U.S. group definition (P-2).
• Third, on a family reunion basis (P-3).

In regard to family reunion (P-3), the process is initiated by a relative in the U.S. filing an Affidavit of Relationship with one of the designated resettlement agencies. Procedures for applying as a member of a P-2 (special groups) vary according to the particular group being defined. The U.S. has established Resettlement Support Centers (RSC) abroad to process refugee cases and to coordinate administrative aspects of U.S. refugee processing. Specifically, the RSC prescreens refugees to ensure they fall within the U.S. designated nationalities and processing priorities; creates case files for each case considered by the U.S.; and prepares refugees for their interviews with the DHS/USCIS. After the DHS/USCIS approval of a case, RSCs work with the IOM to arrange medical exams and transport to the U.S. for the refugees then coordinates with resettlement agencies for resettlement in the U.S. The RSC operated by Church World Service in Nairobi, Kenya serves Africa. The RSC in Bangkok, Thailand covers East Asia and is operated by the International Rescue Committee. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) also serves as a RSC and has offices based in Cairo, Egypt; Amman, Jordan; Moscow, Russia; Damak, Nepal; and Quito, Ecuador. The International Catholic Migration Commission serves as the RSC for Istanbul, Turkey. Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society operates the RSC in Vienna, Austria.

C.1. DHS/USCIS Adjudication and Appeal Procedure

DHS/USCIS officers’ conduct all refugee status determination interviews, and all persons entering the US as refugees must be seen by DHS/USCIS. When interviewing family units, all
adults are interviewed. Only one member of the family unit, however, needs to meet the US refugee definition (this person is often referred to as the principal applicant). Other members of the same family may derive refugee status from the family member who is the principal applicant. DHS/USCIS regulations limit derivative status to the spouse and unmarried children (less than 21 years of age). Other family members attached to the case, such as parents, siblings, married children, children over the age of 21, nieces, nephews, etc. must meet the refugee definition themselves. Such persons cannot derive refugee status from the principal applicant, although they can be included in the principal applicant’s case for the purpose of obtaining an interview. For example, a 12 year old niece, living with her aunt's family may be included in their case; however, DHS/USCIS will adjudicate her refugee status separately from that of her aunt's family.

In addition to determining refugee status, DHS/USCIS also determines whether or not the person is firmly resettled in the country of first asylum or elsewhere. Persons who are firmly resettled are not eligible for resettlement to the U.S., even though they meet the U.S. refugee definition. If the person is accepted as a refugee by DHS/USCIS, the acceptance is conditioned upon the individual passing a medical examination and all security checks. In contrast to asylum processing in the U.S., persons rejected by DHS/USCIS during the refugee process cannot appeal the decision. An applicant, however, may request a reconsideration of his/her case on the basis of new information, or information that was not available in a previous interview. The request is made to the DHS/USCIS official or office who conducted the interview and whether the request granted is entirely within the discretion of DHS/USCIS.

C.2. Post Acceptance Processing

After a refugee has been conditionally accepted by DHS/USCIS, the RSC sends a request for sponsorship assurance to the US. The assurance process is managed by the Refugee Processing Center in Arlington, Virginia in coordination with the voluntary agencies with State Department Cooperative Agreements to resettle refugees. Requests for assurance are allocated to one of these voluntary agencies. The agency's assurance confirms that they are willing and prepared to accept the case for resettlement, and that all necessary arrangements will be made at the local level to receive the refugee. Once an assurance is received by the refugee processing post, travel arrangements can commence.
Also after acceptance by DHS/USCIS, refugees will receive medical testing. The U.S. screens for tuberculosis and certain venereal diseases. Persons testing positive for any of these conditions will have their admission to the US delayed while they receive medical treatment. On January 4, 2010, new regulations went into effect whereby the Center for Disease Control (CDC) removed HIV infection from the list of inadmissible conditions for immigration purposes and from the scope of the immigrant medical examination.

Starting in 2002, the U.S. instituted substantially heightened security background checks on all approved refugees; additional pre-arrival security checks have been implemented in recent years. These include numerous security checks through multiple federal and international databases. As a result, there are substantial delays in the post processing, especially for those nationalities requiring the highest level clearances. Also in 2004, DHS limited the number of refugees per flight into the U.S. to 35 - 70 persons, depending on the U.S. Port of Entry. Travel arrangements and medical screening are generally coordinated by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in cooperation with Resettlement Support Centers (RSC). In some countries where IOM is not present, travel may be coordinated with a U.S. embassy or by UNHCR. Refugees are entitled to receive an interest free travel loan to pay for the cost of their transportation to their final destination in the U.S.

**Pre-departure steps by IOM- Nepal**

**Cultural Orientation (CO)**

IOM conducts 3-5 day Cultural Orientation courses in eastern Nepal for refugees accepted for resettlement in the US, Australia, Canada and Norway. The course, based upon the curricula provided by the country of resettlement, focuses on the primary resettlement concerns of refugees – Housing, Employment, Education, Social Services and Legal Rights. In addition, IOM conducts a 2-hour course on the flight/transit process at the IOM Transit Centre in Kathmandu on the day prior to the commercial flight to the country of resettlement.

**Health Assessments**

Based on the specific protocols of the resettlement countries – US, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Norway and Denmark – IOM's Migration Health Department (MHD) conducts health
assessments to ensure that refugees are fit to travel to the country of resettlement. In addition, MHD coordinates diagnostic tests/treatments and specialist appointments. Furthermore, MHD conducts pre-departure exams in Damak (prior to the charter flight to Kathmandu) and Kathmandu (prior to the commercial flight to country of resettlement) to ensure that refugees are fit to travel. MHD also arranges escorts for refugees that require medical assistance during the resettlement flight.

**Movements.**

This activity is the responsibility of the Operations (OPS) team, which works from Damak and Kathmandu. In Damak, the team’s responsibilities include transporting (using 15 IOM buses) 500-700 refugees daily between the seven camps and the IOM office for interviews and medical appointments, and organizing transportation of 300 refugees per week on charter flights from eastern Nepal to Kathmandu. In Kathmandu, the Operations team receives refugees transported through charter flights from eastern Nepal and arranges accommodation for them at the IOM Transit Centre. The team also arranges commercial airline bookings for approximately 1,000 refugees per month, and facilitates airport formalities for all departing refugees. OPS-Kathmandu provides operational flight escorts on an as-and-when required basis. It also handles flight movements for cases Sri Lanka and India.

Other Resettlement Activities of IOM-Nepal

**Transit Center (TC).**

IOM Kathmandu operates a Refugee Transit Centre which has the capacity of accommodating 400 people a night. This 24-hour facility provides clean water, hygienic food, comfortable beds and a children's playground for the refugees. Typically, Bhutanese refugees from eastern Nepal spend 2-4 nights at the Transit Centre in Kathmandu prior to their commercial flight to the country of resettlement. During this time, refugees undergo a final fitness-to-travel examination, and a final Cultural Orientation session as a part of the transit process.

**Exit Permit (EP)**

Three representatives from the Government of Nepal conduct exit permit formalities at the IOM Damak office immediately after the countries of resettlement have accepted to resettle refugees.
This is a significant improvement over the previous process that involved a lengthy, cumbersome series of clearances from different hierarchies within the government. IOM provides air transportation and accommodation facilities for the representatives of the Nepal Government to IOM in Damak.

**D. Post Arrival Assistance and Benefits**

**E.1 Private Resettlement Agency Assistance**

According to the U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program, Refugees arriving in the U.S. are placed with one of the private resettlement agencies that have signed a Cooperative Agreement with the State Department. These agencies generally have local affiliates throughout the U.S. The affiliates are responsible for assuring that a core group of services are provided during the first 30-90 days after a refugee's arrival, including food, housing, clothing, employment services, follow-up medical care, and other necessary services. There are approximately 350 affiliates throughout the United States. Affiliates often work with relatives or others who have filed sponsorship papers (Affidavit of Relationship) to prepare for the refugees' arrival. Such sponsors will be responsible for assisting the agency with a refugee's resettlement. Sponsors may be relatives or friends of the refugee. In some instances voluntary agencies will accept refugees who do not have a sponsoring relative or friend. These are usually referred to as "free cases." For free cases an agency often locates an individual, a church, or other group willing to undertake sponsorship of the refugee. In some cases, the agency itself will act as the refugee sponsor.

**E.2 Public Assistance**

The Cash and Medical Assistance (CMA) Program is part of the Division of Refugee Assistance at the Office of Refugee Resettlement. CMA reimburses states for 100 percent of services provided to refugees and other eligible persons, as well as associated administrative costs. Programs eligible for reimbursement include: Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA), Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA), and Unaccompanied Refugee Minors. ORR clients determined ineligible for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Medicaid may be eligible for RCA and RMA for up to eight months from the date of arrival in the U.S., date of final grant of asylum for asylees and date of certification for trafficking victims. Refugees may apply for RCA and/or RMA in their state of residence within eight months from the date of arrival. CMA also
reimburses medical screening costs to identify and treat contagious diseases and medical conditions.

In FY 1998, new laws and regulations went into effect that prohibit immigrants from receiving many forms of federally funded public benefits, until such time as they become US citizens. Refugees, however, are excluded from this prohibition for the first seven years after arrival. After seven years, however, refugees will be unable to receive most benefits unless they have acquired US citizenship.

E.3 Education

All refugees under the age of 18 years old may attend public primary or secondary schools free of charge. Refugees have the same access to university education as US citizens and permanent residents; however, in most states there are tuition charges for public universities.

E.4 Employment Benefits

All refugees are entitled to receive authorization for employment. They are protected by civil rights legislation and cannot be discriminated in the workplace. They are not eligible; however, to work for the federal government (except in US armed forces) until they become US citizens.

E.5 Immigration Benefits

All refugees are entitled to receive the following fundamental benefits.

E.5.1 Travel Documents

Refugees are eligible to leave the US for up to one year provided they have obtained a refugee travel document from USCIS. Travel documents are valid for one year. Refugees who leave the US without first obtaining a travel document may apply for a travel document abroad. However, the refugee still must return to the US within one year of his/her departure. It is strongly recommended that refugees obtain the refugee travel document prior to leaving the US.

E.5.2 Adjustment of Status

One year after arrival refugees are eligible to adjust their status to permanent resident. Five years after arrival they can petition for naturalization, provided they have adjusted status to permanent
resident during this time and have continuously resided in the US for five years prior to petitioning for naturalization. Adjustment of status and naturalization takes place at the DHS/USCIS District Office covering the refugees’ residence.

**E.5.3 Family Reunification:**

Immediate family members of refugees have US refugee status on a derivative basis. This is referred to as the Visa 93 procedure; that is, a spouse or any unmarried minor child of a refugee receives refugee status automatically provided that the relationship existed prior to the entry of the refugee into the US. The spouse, parents, unmarried sons and daughters of persons with legal status in the US, who were initially admitted as refugees or granted asylum in the US, are eligible for family reunion, if the nationality is designated for priority three processing. However, unlike the Visa 93 process, persons in the Priority-3 category have to be interviewed by DHS/USCIS and meet the US definition on their own. They do not receive refugee status on a derivative basis. It should be noted that parents, spouse, and unmarried children of US citizens, are NOT eligible for US refugee status. They must enter the US through normal immigration mechanisms.

**E.5.4. Economic gains**

Critics have claimed that immigrants take on jobs, lower down wages, and drain too much tax money because of social services. However, what they do not realize that the jobs immigrants take are the job most citizens in the host country do not take. Immigrants filling up these jobs lighten the load of producers and consumers, and results in gains in economic welfare. It is a fact that immigrants are a source of low cost labor, but these cost reductions are eventually passed on to the consumer, so host country citizens benefit from this as well.
CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES

A. Historical Background of Bhutanese Refugees

Much like America, Bhutan is a land of immigrants; diversified and pluralistic; except for the fact that the government wants to reverse this diversity. A country of 38,000 square miles in area, Bhutan lies in the southern slopes of the eastern Himalayas, between Tibet and India. It is bordered to the south, east and west by India and to the north by China. Bhutan does not have a direct border with Nepal, another neighboring country in the South Asian region. An unknown and landlocked country, secured by a century of isolation, Bhutan was an island very shy of opening itself to the outside world. The reclusion of course did not safeguard Bhutan from the tumultuous seas of change ushered in by modernization.

In the west, Bhutan is generally regarded as the Shangri-La; a country of tranquil peace and harmony. Communities that are unaffected in similar ways, as the southern Bhutanese people, may think that the Shangri-La is just about infallible. And, Bhutan jealously guards this distinctiveness, rather too seriously. In a way Bhutan appears to have some of the ingredients of the Shangri-La. The country is isolated and nearly untouched by foreign visitors. It is idyllic, it has a rich pristine natural environment and it is in the Himalayas. There are no traffic lights; there are no railways. The legendary ‘yeti’ is supposed to roam Bhutan’s Himalayan snows. Up in the mountains, yaks easily out number humans; religious monks outnumber the national army. Dogs do not bark; they ‘smile’. And so that brings us the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH) a lopsided doctrine of happiness, the Bhutanese government has adopted as its ‘development policy’.

The westerners have romanticized this idea too far, that someone who does not actually know Bhutan will think it is a real paradise. Yet, appearances can be deceptive. Bhutan also has a fair share of the other ingredients. It has a polyandrous king, who married four siblings from the same parents. The King reversed a system of constitutional monarchy and ruled the kingdom like an absolute dictator for thirty four years; before he abdicated in 2008; in favor of his son. Bhutan is the ‘youngest democracy’ in the world – a cursor which elucidates the existence of an absolute monarchy until 2008. Bhutan’s ‘democratic’ constitution places the political and the judicial
system of the country under the tutelage of this King. A few families own Bhutan’s land, mines, quarries, forests, rivers, sands and mountains; others live in slums working for them. Majority of the Bhutanese citizens are poor and have no access to some of the modest amenities in life; some go shopping to foreign malls on a weekly basis. Cops with trained K-9 dogs hound people who smoke or chew tobacco. Above all, Bhutan slyly plots to marginalize its minorities. The government has a policy of cutting down the population of a certain ethnic group by 25%. So, a sixth of Bhutan’s population, today have been ethnically cleansed.

The Nepali-speaking Bhutanese, also called Lhotsampas (“People of the south”), are Bhutanese citizens of Nepali origin, a large number of who are refugees from Bhutan. The first report of Nepalese origin in Bhutan was around 1620 when ShamdrungNgawongNamgyal (a Tibetan lama who unified Bhutan) commissioned a few Newar craftsmen from the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal to make a silver stupa (monument) for his father, TempaNima. There are no references to any further movement of people from Nepal to Bhutan until the beginning of the 19th Century. People from Nepal were invited to populate the lowlands of southern Bhutan in the mid- to late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For a very long time the southern foothills of Bhutan; a vastly sub-tropical land infested with mosquitoes, was considered unfit for human settlement, until the first ‘Nepali speaking southern Bhutanese’ people entered the area from Nepal and India; cleared the forests and turned them into rich agricultural lands. New villages - large and small came into existence one after another; after the first settlements began. The northern Drukpas feared mosquitoes, so they did not occupy this area. The ‘Nepali speaking southern Bhutanese’ people originally settled as workers, laborers, farmers and skilled craftsmen. In the course of time, they flourished, economically as small business owners, farmers, teachers, doctors, bureaucrats and even politicians. Agriculture is the primary activity in Bhutan’s southern foothills. The southern Bhutanese farmers own lands on which they raise crops and cattle. However, they did participate in public life and politics, even attaining positions of significant leadership. The Lhotsampas coexisted peacefully with other ethnic groups in Bhutan until the mid-1980s, when Bhutan’s king and the ruling Drukpa majority became worried that the growing Lhotsampa population could threaten the majority position and the traditional Buddhist culture of the Druk Bhutanese. As a distinct, ethnic, cultural and a linguistic group, they are in a minority. Their number, though always a subject of dispute, is 25% of the population, even by the government’s own version. Some sources claim that their number could be as high as 45%.
The Bhutanese government uses a rubric called the ‘Lhotshampa’ to identify them. Many southern Bhutanese do like such an identity imposed on them. They would prefer identifying themselves as ‘Nepalese speaking southern Bhutanese’.

The Saga of Forced Expulsion and the Refugee Problem

The government has a knack for making laws, nobody can. It then executes the laws retroactively to disenfranchise, incarcerate and expel its own citizens. In Bhutan relationship, not rules matter a lot, even in governance. Citizens could be intimidated on the basis of ethnic affiliations, religious practices or political views. Most laws make people subservient to the supremacy of the ruling clan of Bhutan, known as the Drukpas. The law blows a shrill and strident whistle against all sundry organizations or individuals who seek justice. The rulers claim ‘democracy’ and ‘human rights’ are inimical to the national interest of the country. The government therefore initiated a campaign, known as “One country, one people,” or “Bhutanization” to cement Bhutanese national identity. The policies imposed the Druk dress code, religious practices, and language use on all Bhutanese regardless of prior practices. These changes negatively impacted the Lhotsampa people, because they did not wear the same traditional dress, practice the same religion, or speak the same language as the northern Bhutanese. The use of the Nepali language was prohibited in schools, many Lhotsampa teachers were dismissed, and textbooks were burned. Television and internet were banned for several decades to protect the Bhutanese people from its influences. Bhutan is closed for outsiders; even journalists. Except the sporadic spate of articles, written by some paid western journalists, there is hardly anything in the media. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, a crisis had developed. Human rights violations, including detention, imprisonment without trial, and torture, were not infrequent. In addition, stringent and unrealistic requirements for proving citizenship were imposed on the Lhotsampa people, most of whom were denied recognition of their citizenship even when they were able to provide documentation. When the act went into effect in 1988, the government instituted a special regional census in southern Bhutan, primarily Lhotshampa territory. Despite efforts to maintain citizenship by registration via production of land tax receipts granted in 1958, the citizenship of many Lhotshampas was revoked. There are multiple reports of rejection and/or confiscation of land tax receipts and other valid documentation when Lhotshampa people produced these necessary proofs (International Organization of Migration –
Nepal [IOM Nepal], 2008; Immigrant and Refugee Board of Canada, 2008). As another component of this special census, the government began a procedure of classifying the Lhotshampa into seven categories, identified as F1-F7

The categories are as follows (Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review, 2009):

F1: Genuine Bhutanese

F2: Returned migrants

F3: People not available during the census

F4: Non-national woman married to Bhutanese man

F5: Non-national man married to Bhutanese woman

F6: Children legally adopted

F7: Non-nationals – migrants and illegal settlers

Many Lhotshampas who had previously been considered citizens were re-classified as non-nationals in the F7 category. Human Rights Watch described the granting of citizenship as both “selective” and “arbitrary” (Human Rights Watch, 2007, p.17).

By the 1990s, the political climate of Bhutan had changed; a notion of drukpa revivalism had taken firm roots in Bhutan. A tide of very invasive and discriminatory policies violently had shaken the ‘southern Bhutanese’ community. Their language, Nepali was banned from school. Fines or imprisonment were imposed on people who did not wear the official attire prescribed by the government; even while working in the fields or visiting temples. This was the attire worn traditionally only by the Drukpas, who lived in the cold climates of the north. Such a dress code was not suitable for the hot and humid climate of southern Bhutan. That they were mostly Hindus living in a Buddhist country made matters even worse. Meanwhile, the government continued promulgating new laws on citizenship and implemented them with retrospective effect. One such law abrogated all previous provisions on citizenship and brought in new criteria. The law divided the citizens into seven different categories. Census exercises were carried on in southern Bhutan every six months; only to discover that, over night, many would disqualify
under the new law. This discovery then gave the government a ploy to evict these people. This inflicted great injury and the life and status of the southern Bhutanese, all of a sudden became fragile and precarious. What remained only a simmering discontent initially now became a cause for antagonism and open conflict. The southern Bhutanese at first tried to resolve the issue with the government, peacefully. Appeals were sent to the king through appropriate channels and peaceful marches were organized to draw the government’s attention. Yet, the government failed to respond positively. In what appears to be the most dramatic development in the history of the southern Bhutanese, a series of protest demonstrations were organized, all across the southern belt in September, 1990. The demonstrators marched to the government offices and chanted slogans against its policies. This became a perfect recipe for the government to launch its eviction plan. Then, started discrimination, arrests and atrocities. The government’s activism took a far greater psychological and a human toll. The southern Bhutanese were shocked to see their own government systematically unleash a tide of brutal tactics to suppress them.

The government forces seized properties and expelled people from their hearth and homes. In less than three years 1990 - 1993, approximately 108,000 southern Bhutanese citizens were reportedly evicted. The task of sanitizing Bhutan was carried out through a combination of weapons as crude as torture, death or rape. Fear tactics, intimidation, arbitrary arrest, torture, economic deprivation, legal harassment, political suppression and direct expulsion were but a few of the malevolent tactics employed by the State to expel citizens. There were stories of Bhutanese soldiers setting people’s houses ablaze, throwing arrested people into the rivers, raping women in villages, forcing them to eat beef, cutting hair, inflicting torture, robbing people of their valuables, tax receipts, citizenship documents and forcing them to leave the country. People were fleeing leaving behind properties, homes, farms and bank balances. Such incidences were ubiquitous not only in my village but in the whole of southern Bhutan and even parts of eastern Bhutan. A sixth of the country’s population was successfully evicted. With this, Bhutan has earned a new distinction – the world’s highest per capita generator of refugees.

The mass exodus of people from southern Bhutan led to the creation of the ‘Bhutanese refugee’ camps far away in Nepal. Nepal and Bhutan do not share a direct border. So, the evicted Bhutanese people first arrived in the bordering towns and villages of India in hordes. The Indian authorities quickly loaded them on trucks and buses and dumped them into Nepal. Before the
United Nations took over relief efforts in 1992, these refugees lived under extreme conditions; in makeshift huts, located on river banks. It was hard for me to understand the actual reasons why we were evicted; it was even harder for our parents to explain why we left our homes and chose to live in refugee camps, said one of the innocent Bhutanese refugee student who was a child when his parents left Bhutan.

II.1 Cultural Profile of Bhutanese refugees

Language and Literacy

Nepali is the primary and most common language spoken by the Bhutanese refugees. Nepali has its own script. All children raised in the camps have been taught English along with Dzongkha (Bhutanese national language). Among the generations not born in the camps, men speak more English than women. The estimated rate of English speakers is around 35% but this is higher among youth. Many elderly people will speak no English.

Settlement Considerations: There are highly educated former teachers and professionals who could serve as interpreters and even caseworkers for agencies working with Bhutanese refugees across U.S.

Child and Youth Education

Education is highly valued amongst the Bhutanese. The Bhutanese refugees have been an important and valuable source of teachers for the country of Nepal. Education in the camps is free until grade 10. From 10th to 12th grade refugees must pay a portion of the tuition as Caritas, a donor supported implementing partner of UNHCR, which only partially funds those grades. Many children from the camps go to boarding schools in Nepal and India for 10th-12th grade. There are many schools in the Nepalese camps starting from kindergarten and below the age of five through primary and secondary school. Students are all provided with free textbooks.

Settlement Considerations: Students leaving for third country resettlement are given School Leaving Certificates from their respective schools which can be useful to their future school in U.S. The school system in the camps is what Westerners would consider strict and hierarchical. Teaching methodology is old-fashioned and includes rote memorization and recitation exercises. Many will be unfamiliar with the Western model of expressing individual opinions and creative
thinking in the classroom. Parents will also not be used to the educational model in U.S that encourages family participation and involvement in the learning process. (IOM)

**Religious beliefs and practices**

The main religion of the Bhutanese refugees is Hinduism (estimated at 60%) followed by other religions including Buddhism, Kirat and Christianity respectively. The majority of the Lhortsampa people are Hindu, in contrast to the northern Bhutanese, who are almost exclusively Buddhist. However, significant minorities among the Lhortsampas are Buddhist or Christian. Among Hindus, religious leaders and teachers are chosen early in life and taught by the previous generation of Brahmin. They have many responsibilities in the community, including teaching the next generation, leading ceremonies such as weddings and baby-naming, and providing prayer leadership to members of the community on a regular basis. Practices among Buddhists or Christians are largely dictated by their individual religion. In the U.S., assistance from resettlement agencies typically ends just a few months after refugees arrive in the U.S., rarely enough time for individuals and families to successfully establish themselves in their new lives. Christian churches have been a source of much-needed support for Lhortsampa refugees, inspiring a spirit of conversion and leading some families to choose baptism. Now almost all Bhutanese perform their religious task in their own home because they don’t have common place temple.

**Birth, Wedding and Death Rituals**

**Birth:** Bhutanese refugees have increasingly accessed the hospital care provided in the camps versus giving birth at home. Children are named in a special naming ceremony eleven days after their birth. After giving birth, a new mother traditionally rests for eleven days. During this time, she will stay with the baby and nurse the baby, but she does not perform any work or prepare any food. On the eleventh day, the child is named, and a purification ritual, which consists of sprinkling a holy mixture of cow’s urine, yoghurt, milk, a seed named til, and grass on the mother and her home. This is performed by the Brahmin. After this time, the mother will return to work. When the Lhortsampas lived in Bhutan, the mother would often leave her child alone in the home while she went to collect water or work in the fields, although another common practice was to use a cloth to tie the baby on the back and carry water for the day’s work at her
side. Infants are typically breastfed exclusively for the first six months of their life. At six months, solid food (usually rice) is started, a transition called pasni. In Bhutan, if the mother did not have breast milk, babies were typically fed cow’s milk from a bottle; however, in the refugee camps, baby formula (known by its brand name, Unilitto) was widely available. In Nepal and Bhutan, when babies begin crawling, they are massaged with mustard oil and are placed in the sun to give them strength.

**Marriage:** Polygamy and child marriage are increasingly less prevalent but were initially common among the Bhutanese refugee population. As far as marriage goes, there is some cultural practice whereby young girls and young boys select their partners and later consult their parents accordingly. In many cases parents do agree and love marriages take place. Arranged marriage still exists although this is mainly practiced among the pre-literate and elderly population.

**Death:** Hindus practice cremation; Buddhists and Kirats bury their dead. At the time of death, members of the deceased person’s immediate family spend thirteen days in formal mourning. This is challenging for those in the U.S. who are employed and do not have bereavement leave. Some Lhotsampa have lost their jobs after taking time off to observe the mourning period. The deceased person’s sons traditionally isolate themselves in one room of the house and are not allowed to speak to female family members or other friends, extended family members, or neighbors. The mourners shave their heads and dress in white cloths that are not permitted to have any stitching. They smear the floor with cow dung and then cover it with straw; this is the surface they will sit and sleep on for the duration of the thirteen-day period of mourning. They will refrain from eating salt or meat, and generally will limit their intake to one meal of plain rice per day, as well as fruit, pickled ginger, lemon, and water. The women in the immediate family will engage in similar rituals, but they must be separated from the men. The ritual mourning activities are believed to assist in the purification of the deceased family member’s soul, allowing a smooth transition to heaven, where he or she will await reincarnation. If mourning is not performed properly, there is a risk that the deceased person’s spirit will not be able to make the transition to the afterlife and will remain on earth in the form of a ghost to disturb the living. So far seven cremations have done by the Bhutanese Refugee in Scranton through McGoff-Hughes Funeral Home, Inc. since they came.
Religious Festivals and Holidays

Here, the writer have included only the major festivals with very short description, however Bhutanese Nepali have many other festivals and holidays.

**Dasain (VijayaDasami)**-This is the biggest and most widely celebrated national Hindu festival in Nepal, usually falling in early October. There are roughly two weeks of celebrations. The main deity worshipped during Dasain is Goddess Durga.

**Tihar (Deepawali /Diwali)**-This is another Hindu festival celebrated in Nepal and as well as India. This is the festival of lights which falls in late October or early November. The celebrations continue for five days.

**Mani Rimdu**- It is one of the most fascinating High Himalayan Buddhist festivals observed every year, usually in November.

**Buddha Jayanti**- Celebrating the birth of Lord Buddha in the first week of May.

**Shiva Ratri**- Shivaratri or the night of Lord Shiva, is observed in March and celebrates Lord Shiva.

Family and Kinship Structure

The average family size ranges from 6 to 8 children. Family is one of the highest priorities among the Lhotsampa people. Doors are usually open, and members of the extended family, as well as friends and neighbors, will come and go quite freely. Meals typically include anyone who happens to be at the house at the time.

The community is very tightly knit, and people remain closely connected throughout the life cycle. The elders in the community command deep respect and affection. Very often family issues, health problems, and financial issues are first discussed with the elders in the family. The elders, in turn, may decide to involve additional community elders to deal with the situation and/or find solutions to the problems. The community is generally patriarchal in structure; sons are expected to take care of their parents and provide for them financially and emotionally.
Within the family, there are strong bonds of love and obligation. A daughter-in-law is obligated to care for her mother-in-law (regardless of her age or state of health) from the moment she joins the family. The new bride’s priority must be to keep her mother-in-law happy by preparing food, doing her washing, and massaging her legs in the evenings. This tradition is fading with the transition to life in the refugee camps, and now with the beginning of the transition to life in the USA; however, respect and courtesy will still define this relationship. In the U.S., the demands of work on the younger generation make it difficult to care for elders in traditional ways.

**Three Generation structure**

The writer found that Bhutanese refugees by now are three generations. The old folks who are now almost 60s spend half of their life in Bhutan and came to the refugee camp. The second generations who were in the schools and colleges in Bhutan and came to the camps. Third generations are those who were kids in Bhutan and came to the refugee camps with their parents and who were born in the camps. This group is still the students in U.S. Among these three generations the first generation are in depression and sadness and has experienced some loss of social status and increased vulnerability in the post-resettlement context, but individuals in this group are still largely catered to by their younger relatives and actively served through community-based programs. The working generation, on the other hand, has limited access to the professional jobs and force to work in the factories in spite of their higher education and experiences tremendous distress associated with the responsibilities of resettled life, including an increase in the number of dependents and a decrease in the quality of employment available to them. Third generations again are in distress because of their low productivity in education. The fourth generation who were born aftermath of resettlement in U.S would be better if they harness them properly but no hard predictions now, only time will test, how that goes.

**Housing**

Houses in the camps are constructed of bamboo and measure 6 by 3.5 meters. Extended families live together and the average household size in the camps is six to seven people. Partitions are made inside the huts for privacy. Flooring is dirt and swept daily with handmade brooms.

**Settlement Considerations:** Refugees voice concern over not being able to have entire extended families living in one apartment or house due to occupancy standards. They will want to be able
to host large gatherings to celebrate festivals, weddings, births and mourning periods. There will have been little to no exposure to western housing and appliances for many families. Special attention should be given to using toilets, sinks, showers and ovens. Littering is common and should be given attention in post arrival orientation upon arrival along with proper disposal of waste. Recycling (in regards to waste disposal) will be a new concept.

**Family Roles**

The Bhutanese refugees are a patriarchal society; however women do play an active role in the camps. For example there are female Camp Secretaries and it is common for some of the younger generation to go outside the camps to attend universities. In the past, women in the camps traditionally did not have opportunities to work outside the home. Women are responsible for cooking, cleaning and chores. Children pay respect to elders. Spanking or other use of physical discipline is common but not practiced by all Bhutanese.

**Settlement Considerations:** As with many refugee populations family roles can be greatly altered by many factors including stress and culture shock. A woman getting employed before her husband or earning more money could be a major stressor however this is changing for the younger generation.

**Gender Roles**

Traditionally, women participate in equal measure to men in the hard labor associated with farming and other work outside of the home. In addition, women are the primary caregivers for the children in the family and are expected to do virtually all the housework and cooking. An exception is the four-day period during each month, at the time of the woman’s menses, when she is expected to rest. Because she is considered unclean during this time, she may not touch, prepare, or serve any food or drink, and there is a widely held belief that any fruit tree touched by a menstruating woman will become sick and cease to bear good fruit. During this time, other women in the household may take over her work, men may cook and clean, or, where economically feasible, the family may choose to pay a woman from outside the family to prepare meals and help keep the house in order. In the U.S. Lhotsampa women and men are adopting the American way of life, with women and men sharing family and household responsibilities and women working outside the home. Many are planning to go to community college but first need
to take English as a second language (ESL) classes in order to be proficient enough in English to enroll.

**Work Ethics**

Bhutanese refugees are painstaking and workaholic people so in this tough economic downturn also people hire them. Majority of Bhutanese work in the company and factory but slowly some started professional jobs. At least one member of each family is working to maintain rent, utilities and basic need for the family. Some families have even five-six members who are employed and earning well. Many people even do two jobs.

In the refugee camp, technically refugees are restricted from working however it is common for many to travel freely outside the camps and engage in employment (primarily for men) or attend universities. Generally, women and girls do domestic work such as cooking, cleaning watching and taking care of their kids. Work outside the camps includes teaching and construction jobs throughout Nepal and India. Additionally, some are engaged in farming and teaching in the refugee camps as well as in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal and other parts of the country. Many sacrifice their life while working as construction worker because of high risk and low safety.

**Settlement Considerations:** The notion of being able to freely work without restriction is encouraging to Bhutanese refugees. They may be inquisitive about their rights as workers given that as refugees some were taken advantage of by local employers who were able to exploit them with lower pay due to their legal status.

**Food**

Many Lhotsampas, like most other Hindus, are vegetarians, although there are certainly exceptions to their rule. The World Food Program (U.N. food agency) supplies food rations to tens of thousands of Bhutanese refugees in Nepal. Rice (white) in big quantities, lentils (all kinds, yellow, red, black), beaten-rice (chewra), rice pudding (kheer&dhakane), somasa, bread, salroti, steam dumpling (momo), dried green peas (split peas), ginger, garlic, onions, hot peppers, turnip greens, spinach, cabbage, okra, potatoes, fresh coriander (cilantro), plain yogurt, whole milk, apples, oranges, bananas, grapes, salt, sugar, peppercorns, turmeric and Indian curry
powder, dried coriander, fennel, fenugreek, oil (Soybean, corn or mustard), cookies, biscuits, cereal, and loose tea are some of the major food and food items of Bhutanese-Nepali people. Other items of importance for purchase will include bangles (important for women on festival days, weddings) and also herbal powders used for making ‘tika’ for blessings. These things can all be found at local South Asian shops.

Staple foods include rice and lentils, known as dal. Supply of other foods in the refugee camps was limited, whereas, in Bhutan, the season and farming practices determined other foods that were consumed at various times of the year. Specifically, most Lhotsampas will not touch or eat beef or pork, as this is considered sin in the Hindu religion. It is therefore essential to be respectful of these dietary restrictions when counseling Lhotsampa patients about nutrition. In addition, when religion prohibits touching beef or pork, work in meat processing plants is not feasible. Some members of the younger generation may not adhere to these restrictions.

Meals are generally eaten together as a family. However in the U.S., individuals may be more likely to prepare and eat meals alone in order to balance the demands of work and competing schedules. The kitchen of the home is traditionally considered a sacred space and should not be entered without permission. The caste system is at the root of this belief, intended to keep persons of lower caste from entering. Many older members of the refugee group (and most of the older orthodox Hindus of higher caste populations) will not eat food that has meats, eggs, or any cooked food. Therefore, resettlement agencies should focus more on providing fruit, bread, lentils, rice (to be cooked later by the refugees themselves), and other vegetarian items. Wives divorced by polygamous husbands obligated to divorce all but one wife in order to gain admission to the U.S may require extra attention.

**Settlement Considerations:**

Breakfast in the western sense is not a common meal but rather an early lunch taken between 10 and 11 am. Daily school meal routines will be new to families. This includes children eating breakfast before going off to school. Using cutlery will be new for some, especially among the older generations. It is advised to let families buy their own meat and eggs rather than stocking for them before they arrive.

**Dress**
The younger generation wears Western style clothing. Older women wear the Nepalese sharee and men wear the daursuruwal. Dhaka-Topi is Bhutanese- Nepali’s pride and wear in cultural ceremonies and religious festivals. Bhutanese older women feel discomfort to wear pants and vest men wear them freely. Bhutanese dresses are colorful however most widows wear white or yellow dress after their husband death. Bhutanese, like Nepalis, always take their shoes off before entering one’s home.

**Interpersonal Relationships**

A Lhotsampa person is generally known by a first name and a family name. Children are usually given two first names at birth or within the days following. The first name is given to the child by a priest. The second name is given by the parents, which is the name used on the birth certificate. Parents may decide that only one name is needed if they like the priest’s name choice. Parents also decide which of the two names the child will go by.

Like the Nepalese in Nepal, the Bhutanese citizens of Nepali origin in Bhutan (Lhotsampas) traditionally divided themselves into castes; a person’s family name often denotes the caste to which s/he belongs. The caste system creates a social hierarchy, identifying individuals’ position in society and influencing their choice of spouse, as well as other social relationships. Caste also typically dictates an individual’s choice of profession and role in society. Historically, among more traditional Lhotsampas, members of different castes did not visit each other’s homes, pray together, or share meals. Southern Bhutanese society is becoming increasingly quite liberal; among those living in Bhutan; the remnants of the caste system are now confined mostly to the Brahmin (priest) community. In the refugee camps in Nepal, and now in the U.S., caste may no longer an issue for some people, while still having importance for others. Some members of the community are casual/nonobservant of caste rules, while among others, an active awareness of caste still has social and behavioral consequences. This system is kept somewhat underground vis-a-vis interactions with Americans. Living arrangements typically include many members of an extended family, and the younger generation assumes the responsibility of caring for elderly relatives. Within a family, respect is owed to elders, particularly – and regardless of age – by a daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law. The Lhotsampas remove their shoes upon entering a house and consider it good manners to offer tea to any guest. Eye contact during conversation is standard and is not a sign of disrespect.
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

This chapter provides an overview of material that describes how integration and associated concepts are defined and applied within this thesis. Berry’s Model of Acculturation (Berry, 1997) is briefly discussed to introduce the terms “integration” and “assimilation” within the general discussion of immigration, followed by a brief summary of how these terms have developed and are now commonly viewed. A more detailed examination of recent influences on the definition and concept of integration is provided with particular attention to Ager and Strang’s Indicators of Integration (IoI) Framework (Ager & Strang, 2004a) and similar scholarship from the European context. Finally, the US focus on “economic self-sufficiency” is introduced before a conclusion which describes the influence of all these factors on the conceptual approach to this thesis.

3.1. Introduction: Locating “Integration” and “Assimilation”.

Numerous theories have been devised to describe the many dimensions and implications of immigration since the social sciences first took interest in the phenomenon. The many facets of immigration research include the push and pull factors that drive human movement, the legal and political aspects of nationhood and citizenship, and the process of immigrant incorporation or integration, to name a few. As for this thesis, I am primarily interested in examining the social processes that take place at the local level as a particular group of immigrants—Bhutanese refugees—come into contact with and adjust to their new place of residence—the “receiving community” of Scranton, PA. This general interest guides the selection of material reviewed below.

As a starting point, cultural psychologist John Berry offers a basic typology of social strategies and processes that may guide immigrants’ adjustment and acculturation in new societies (Berry, 1997). They are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization; each is characterized below. According to Berry, integration is a course of “mutual accommodation” whereby immigrants are able to preserve their own cultural identity while creating meaningful connections within the host society as well.
Assimilation occurs when immigrants shed their cultural identity, replacing old norms and behaviors with those of the host society. Notably, both assimilation and integration involve connection and interaction with the host society, while separation and marginalization do not. Separation implies preservation of the immigrant’s cultural identity, but without connection to the host society. When marginalization occurs, both social connection to the host society and cultural preservation are absent. Berry’s conceptualization of immigrant adjustment does not capture the complexity of social processes, the range of strategies that immigrants may pursue, or the many distinctions that exist between immigrant groups. For example, refugees do not share the same impetus for immigration as those who are attracted by economic opportunity, which may affect their adjustment and acculturation. Also, research shows that second generation immigrants generally have many more options available to them than those suggested by Berry (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Nonetheless, Berry’s model does provide a basic introduction to the concept of immigrant adjustment and acculturation, the social pathways available to immigrants in new societies, and key terms that are relevant to this thesis. Two of these terms—integration and assimilation—have dominated recent and past discussions within the immigration debate, creating much political and scholarly contention along the way. They are thus discussed in the sections below.

3.2. The Concept of Assimilation

To gain an understanding of the discussion surrounding integration, it is helpful to examine the development of assimilation, which has roots in the Chicago School of sociology during the early twentieth century, a time when immigration to the US had reached a historic peak. Sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess offered one of the earliest definitions of assimilation, which quickly became a classic point of reference in immigration studies. They suggested that assimilation is “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life” (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 735). Park further defined his conception of assimilation as the end stage of interaction between migrants and non-migrants, preceded by contact, conflict, and accommodation in the so-called “race relations cycle” (Park & Hughes, 1950).
Like Park, sociologist Milton Gordon later saw assimilation as the dominant explanation for the process of adjustment and incorporation of immigrants in twentieth century America. Gordon viewed assimilation as a sequential process that advances in predictable stages, from acculturation, to structural assimilation, intermarriage and the eventual formation of a common, shared identity among minority and majority groups (Gordon, 1964). Gordon’s contribution quickly became the decisive account of assimilation theory regarding the absorption of immigrants into mainstream American society. However, not long after Gordon’s seminal scholarship, assimilation theory became the source of much criticism and began to fall out of popularity. In particular, during the heightened social consciousness of the Civil Rights Era, the concept was attacked for its perceived Anglo-centric orientation and one directional burden on minorities (Rumbaut, 1997).

Despite the stigma acquired by assimilation in the later part of the twentieth century, several scholars have attempted to revive the concept and adapt it for modern use. Sociologists Ruben Rumbaut, Alejandro Portes, and Min Zhou have advocated for a more flexible, multi-directional model of assimilation to accommodate the growing heterogeneity of the immigrant population in the US and provide space for deviation from the classic linear model developed by Park and expanded on by Gordon (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1997). Portes and Zhou in particular contributed to a substantial reformulation of assimilation theory that emphasizes the effect of contextual and structural factors on individual and group paths of assimilation for immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Although modern adaptations of assimilation theory have received significant attention, much of which has been positive, the term “assimilation” remains unpopular. Sociologists Richard Alba and Victor Nee, both notable proponents of new assimilation theory, admit that “in recent decades assimilation has come to be viewed by social scientists as a worn-out theory which imposes ethnocentric and patronizing demands on minority people struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic identity” (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 827). In addition, other scholars suspect that the process of adaptation and incorporation itself may be fundamentally changing in response to technological advancements, increased mobility, and greater immigration from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, all of which may diminish the meaning and relevance of assimilation theory (Brown & Bean, 2006). Regardless of their legitimacy, these criticisms have stigmatized
assimilation, which, along with the popularity of the concept of multiculturalism, has paved the way for different terms and theories to describe immigrant adjustment and incorporation. Although integration is not a new concept in immigration research, its development and popularity has certainly been influenced by the discussion above. The following section describes the concept of integration in more detail.

3.3. The Concept of Integration

For critics who view assimilation as paternalistic and suppressive of minority cultures, notwithstanding the validity of such a stigma, the concept of integration may be an attractive alternative. This is especially true in the European context, where recent use of the term has been far more prolific than in the US. European sociologists Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann propose that integration may be preferable in light of the stigma attached to assimilation, stemming from its association with “nationalism, fascism and the suppression…of minorities,” concluding that the term integration may be more “pragmatic and communicative” than assimilation (2006, pp. 4, 6). Such views reflect the common European aversion to assimilation and may explain why integration has been researched and promoted more heavily in Europe than in America.

The term “integration” has been widely and broadly characterized. As a starting point, immigration scholar Rinus Penninx offers a basic definition: “integration is the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups” (2003, p. 1). Political scientist Jennie Schulze offers a similar definition, highlighting the multidirectional nature of integration: “integration may be summarized as the ongoing process of mutual inclusion and understanding between the ethnic minority and ethnic majority in a given society” (2012, p. 287). Bosswick and Heckmann emphasize “social integration,” which they describe as the “the inclusion and acceptance of immigrants into the core institutions, relationships and positions of a host society” (2006, p. 11). They further describe social integration as “a learning and socialization process” that is “interactive” and “ongoing,” requiring effort from both immigrants and the host society (2006, pp. 9, 11).

Although much of the research behind the above definitions comes from the European context, several research efforts from America agree on these basic points. The Integration Working
Group, established by the US Office of Refugee Resettlement to explore and identify successful integration practices, suggests that “integration is a dynamic, multidirectional process in which newcomers and receiving communities intentionally work together based on a shared commitment to tolerance and justice, to create a secure, welcoming, vibrant, and cohesive society” (Brown, Gilbert, & Losby, 2007, p. iii). Also, in a recently conducted study of refugee resettlement sponsored by the Church World Service, integration was identified as “a long-term process, through which refugees and host communities communicate effectively, function together and enrich each other” (Dwyer, 2010, p. 6). These descriptions indicate a growing consensus around the essential characteristics of integration and draw basic distinctions with the concept of assimilation.

Beyond these fundamental characteristics, debate has surrounded the development of integration theory. Indeed, one comprehensive review of contemporary literature concluded that “there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration” (Castles et al., 2002, p. 14). Similarly, at a hearing of the European Council of Refugees and Exiles, integration was described as “a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most” (Robinson, 1998, p. 118). In any case, recent efforts have provided additional insight into a deeper theoretical understanding of integration. For example, Boswick and Heckmann attempt to classify the components of integration based on Hartmut Esser’s basic forms of social integration (2000). In their view, social integration can be divided into the following four dimensions:

1. Structural Integration – acquisition of rights and access to position and status in the core institutions of the host society.

2. Cultural Integration – acquisition of the core competencies of host society culture.

3. Social Integration – acceptance and inclusion in the primary relationships and social networks of the host society.

4. Identificational Integration – feeling of belonging to and identification with the host society (Boswick & Heckmann, 2006).
The authors go on to propose specific factors for these dimensions with particular attention toward policies that may facilitate integration, conceived as individual and group progress within each dimension. A similar notion of integration emerged from a study commissioned by the European Refugee Fund and conducted by a team of social researchers, including Roger Zetter, David Griffiths, Nando Sigona, and Margaret Hauser (2002). In their report, these authors propose a typology of integration that divides the concept into four distinct domains: citizenship, governance, functional, and social. The latter two are of particular interest to this study as their components are appropriate for local interviews, including language skills, employment, social networks, and cultural identity, to name a few.

The work of Zetter et al. (2002) and Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) may reflect a recent trend in immigration research, which is an effort to establish working definitions that capture the common factors, barriers, and facilitators of integration, rather than an all-encompassing definition of the concept. In general, these efforts view integration as a subjective, two-way, non-linear process that takes place across legal, functional, and social dimensions, mutually experienced both by refugees and receiving communities (Atfield, Brahmbhatt, & O’Toole, 2007). Another well-known study within this paradigm was conducted by Alastair Ager and Alison Strang (2004a; 2004b). Based on extensive documentary analysis and interviews with refugees and members of receiving communities in the UK, the study resulted in a functional model of integration that is relevant to the conceptual development of this thesis. Ager and Strang suggest that the process of integration for refugees occurs as individuals or groups progress within ten general domains, evaluated by indicators provided for each domain (2004a). Their model, known as the Indicators of Integration framework (IOI)

![Diagram of Indicators of Integration framework (IOI)]

Source: Ager & Strang, 2004a
The IoI Framework combines the structural and functional elements of integration that are often the focus of resettlement policy with social, relational, and cultural elements that may play an equally important role. The four components within the category of “markers and means” are labeled as such because achievement within these areas can be seen as both an indication that integration is occurring and as a catalyst for further integration across the dimensions of the framework. The three components comprising the category of “social connection” are derived from Robert Putnam’s work on social capital (2000), conceived as relationships within common groups (social bonds), with members from other groups (social bridges), and with institutions and organizations (social links). The third dimension of the IoI Framework includes language and cultural proficiency, as well as the sense of safety and stability in the lives of refugees, all of which may impede or facilitate integration. Finally, the “foundation” of the IoI Framework includes “perceptions of rights and entitlements” and “ideas of citizenship and nationhood,” including the obligations that accompany these factors (Ager & Strang, 2004a). Ager and Strang suggest that social activity within these domains of integration is complexly interconnected; however, they do not define the nature of the connections or propose a process through which integration can be expected to progress. Several field studies have been conducted using the IoI Framework and other models as a conceptual foundation. One such study, conducted by Gaby Atfield, Kavita Brahmbhatt, and Therese O’Toole, employed a combination of the typologies described above, dividing the concept of integration into legal, statutory, functional, and social domains (2007). Within the social domain, Atfield et al. utilized Ager and Strang’s conception of social connections to explore and describe the functions of social networks among refugees in the UK with promising results. Ager and Strang encourage this type of flexible application of the IoI Framework. They explain that its purpose is not to define integration or to suggest uniform measures, but to provide a flexible, “sound basis for dialogue around issues of integration policy and practice” (Ager & Strang, 2004a). Although they provide a range of possible indicators for each domain, they also encourage use of the framework to facilitate “middle-range” analysis of integration theory and particular experiences, which is its intended use in this thesis.

3.4. The ORR and Economic Self-Sufficiency

Departing for a moment from scholarly discussions and refocusing on refugee resettlement policy in the US, it is important to recognize the strong focus on the concept of “economic self-
sufficiency.” The concept has roots in the Refugee Act of 1980, which established modern US resettlement policy “to provide for the effective resettlement of refugees and to assist them to achieve economic self-sufficiency as quickly as possible” [emphasis added] (US Congress, 2012). The central agency charged with pursuing this objective is the US Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), which mainly works toward helping refugees become “integrated members of American society” (US Office of Refugee Resettlement, 2013c). In much of ORR’s operations, the concept of “economic self-sufficiency” drives refugee programming, which the agency defines as “earning a total family income at a level that enables a family unit to support itself without receipt of a cash assistance grant” (Newton, 2007).

In other words, ORR views economic self-sufficiency as early employment for refugees without utilization of public assistance. Whether or not ORR expects this approach to facilitate progress within additional dimensions of integration is unclear. The timeframe by which refugees are expected to achieve economic self-sufficiency after arriving in the US is particularly relevant to the discussion of integration. Considering the reduction of income support for refugees over a short duration, it may be reasonable to assume that ORR expects refugees to become economically self-sufficient within a timeframe of four to eight months after arrival in the US (Brandt, 2010). In other words, it seems that ORR views economic self-sufficiency as a central factor in refugee integration. It is not a central goal of this thesis to explore the concept of economic self-sufficiency in detail, but it is nonetheless important to recognize its emphasis in the US context while discussing integration experiences with refugees.

3.5. Conceptual Approach to the Research

This thesis approaches the concept of integration for refugees with a conceptual lens that aligns with the work of scholars described above, including that of Ager and Strang (2004a; 2004b; 2008), Boswick and Heckmann (2006), Zetter et al. (2002), and Atfield et al. (2007). In other words, I view integration as a dynamic, ongoing process that occurs within broad, interconnected dimensions, influenced by both refugees themselves and the communities that receive them. I recognize that numerous processes influence the overall experience of integration, which unfolds uniquely for those who participate in it, based on various personal and environmental factors. Several studies in recent years have applied this notion of integration to qualitative research with refugees in local contexts to better understand the diversity of integration experiences and how
emerging frameworks can describe the occurrence of integration (Ager & Strang, 2004b; Phillimore & Goodson, 2008; Phillimore, 2012; Atfield et al., 2007). Although this thesis is much smaller in scope, I approach the study of integration with a similar view, which is reflected here in the research design, methodology, and analysis of results.
CHAPTER 4

SOME COMMON ISSUES OF RESETTLEMENT IN BHUTANESE REFUGEES

As mentioned above, UNHCR has identified three "durable solutions" to refugee concerns: voluntary return to the country of origin, local integration in the host community, or resettlement to a third country. Resettlement is most often promoted by UNHCR "when individual refugees are at risk, or when there are other reasons to help them leave the region."

There are 10 traditional countries of resettlement: Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland (which froze its resettlement program entirely in FY 2002), and the United States (UNHCR, 2013). Of these 10 traditional resettlement countries, the United States is by far the largest in that it has routinely accepted more refugees for resettlement than all other countries combined. For example, in FY 2000, the U.S. resettled 72,515 refugees - over 57,000 more refugees than the rest of the traditional resettlement countries combined. However, this gap has all but disappeared with the dramatic decline in U.S. resettlement in the two years since the September 11 terrorist attacks. In FY 2002 (the last year for which worldwide numbers are available) the United States resettled 27,110 refugees, almost 43,000 persons short of its ceiling. In that same year, Australia accepted 11,566 persons for resettlement, Canada took 10,559, Denmark resettled 545, Finland accepted 610, the Netherlands took in 168, New Zealand accepted 729, and Norway resettled 1,618 persons and Sweden just over 1,000. In addition, several emerging countries of resettlement, perhaps most notably the UK, accepted several hundred more refugees for resettlement throughout FY 2002-2003. In the last two years, therefore, the U.S. has resettled roughly the same number of refugees as the other resettlement countries combined.

According to UNHCR and IOM, as of February 29, 2014; 86,900 Bhutanese refugees have already relocated in eight different countries in which about 75,000 are resettled in US on humanitarian grounds. Followed by Canada (5376), Australia (4190), New Zealand (747), Denmark (746), Norway (546), the Netherlands (326) and Britain (317) are the countries which accepted and welcomed the Bhutanese refugees. In 2013, UNHCR will liaise closely with other UN agencies on issues of common interest. Once the program has been approved by the Government of Nepal, development agencies will be involved in implementing the CBDP/TSI
activities that would benefit both refugees and host communities. With regard to access to citizenship certificates, UNHCR will work with other UN agencies, local NGOs and academic institutions to advocate for laws and practices that meet international standards as well as for the adoption of a national refugee law. UNHCR will continue to work closely with the Government, receiving countries and IOM on the resettlement of refugees from Bhutan. A roof over their heads and freedom was all they needed. A fledgling group of new immigrants, a hopeful influx – they are in the process of creating a burgeoning Bhutanese community in the west. They have found a relief from their plight and have started a new life in their new homes. Total strangers in a totally new setting; they may be overwhelmed but they are happy putting things behind and moving on. With the freedom and opportunities available, they have a chance to lead a normal human life again. To some, this could mean that the case is permanently settled. But the strong scars of oppression, does not seem to heal easily. The ugly memories of suppression will continue to haunt them for a long time, perhaps forever. Their expulsion was a flagrant violation of human rights or any other rights per se. Many refugees want an apology from the Bhutanese government for its wrongs. From Norway to North Dakota, from Australia to Alaska, they are now sharing their stories, disputing Bhutan government’s false campaign against the refugees.

4.1 Integration and assimilation Issues of Bhutanese Refugees aftermath of Resettlement

Life in the United States represents an almost unimaginable change for most refugee immigrants, and it is no different for the Lhotsampas interviewed for this article. The writer found many have at least some proficiency in English, but many others speak little or no English and have skills that are not relevant to the U.S. labor market. There has been no exposure to computers as the refugee camps do not have electricity. Many do not know how to drive, so transportation to places of work, clinics, and other sites is a great challenge. Due to the fear, trauma and persecution they have undergone with the Bhutanese government and the fear of the police, Lhotsampa refugees are afraid and fearful about calling the police for assistance or seeking any help from them.

There are many aspects of American culture that are in stark contrast to some of the core practices and values of Lhotsampa culture. For instance, the tendency of American families to retreat into the privacy of their own homes is quite different from the Lhotsampa practice of welcoming anyone into their home without advance notice. The concept of privacy, and the
value that is placed on it in American culture, is new and may be perceived as somewhat strange. In addition, the culture of consumerism, the language differences, and the overt presence of sexuality (e.g., on television) are all significant culture shocks common for recently arrived Lhotsampa refugee immigrants. Isolation, substance abuse, domestic violence, depression and other mental health issues are common major concerns in refugee communities, especially where people have not been able to find jobs and resettlement benefits have ended. Lhotsampa refugee community leaders in Scranton expressed worry that their community will be facing these same issues.

The culture of the United States is totally different than Bhutanese cultures. The life style and society of America is free and independent than Bhutanese life style. Men and women are equally treated and given equal rights as compare to the Bhutanese cultures. Bhutanese usually observe big difference in the cultural aspect and eventually face cultural shocks also. In few cases, emotional stress and cultural shocks even lead to chronic depression. Suicide of nineteen Bhutanese is one of the results of emotional stress and cultural shocks. The Office of Refugee Resettlement mentions that suicidal rate in the Bhutanese community is the highest among the other resettled communities. Integrating into American society is long term and very challenging process for immigrants.

Exile was stressful, painstaking and very uncertain. ‘Resettlement’ is no less intriguing. Resettlement has given us opportunities to rebuild their lives and carve out a new destiny. At the same time their new premise is as intimidating and stringent, as it is vastly in orderly and naturally challenging. Resettlement thousands of miles across, in countries with various political make and models and in societies; complex and hitherto unknown, could be full of new realities and challenges. They need to re-discover, re-define, re-shape and re-frame our landscape in the new environment. But the insecurities they have gone through in the past will motivate us to do anything to live our new dreams; the opportunities and freedom available to them in these societies will inspire us to seek betterment.”

Though the fact that we have moved to developed countries does not offer us much excitement, we look at our stay in the host countries as permanent. Two things will pose a big challenge
1. The need to strike a balance between wholly integrating into the political, economic and cultural life of the host country and the desire to escape the cultural ‘melting pot’ at the same time; not to mention the stress and hardships of going through a cultural assimilation.

2. The need to overcome the challenges of this transition and the burning desire to surpass others in achieving a social mobility. That may not be necessarily easy. The attitude of the host population will make a crucial difference in that adjustment.

Resettlement is not an end in itself. It has only given them a new experience, a new existence; and some challenges because we need to go through a state of rapid transition. Their experiences sharply contradict the American way of doing things. In America, life revolves round the clock and the hour people make working; in our culture people worship more, work less. Bhutanese know manual work, not mechanization. They know the plough, the field, the crops, orchards, cattle, the villages, the rivers and rivulets, temples, monasteries, dzongs, foot trails, extended families, the ritualistic life, traditions, festivals and celebrations; none of these will be part of their social life any more. The role of the village head man, the priest and the temple in their lives, perhaps will never be the same. From food habits to work habits, from customs to culture, from ways of life to personal habits and etiquette; the need for change is absolutely demanding.

4.2 Employment issues

Most South Asians including the Scranton Bhutanese know more than three or four languages. English is not one among the languages they know; if not it could be their fourth or fifth language. Taking a logical corollary from this, their proficiency could be very devastating. In sharp contrast to this, the ‘English only’ culture in the US does a great disservice to the limited English speaking Scranton Bhutanese. The writer found that most Bhutanese refugees attribute distress to the daily struggles they face as residents of a strange new land: language barriers, inability to transfer higher education credits, social isolation, being stuck in the house, and navigating “the system,” among others. These mundane obstacles to thriving on a daily basis were perceived as great threats, and actively avoided. The writer drew simultaneously on parallel theoretical frameworks in community psychology and anthropology, including ecological models of suffering and ethnographic orientations towards the study of daily life, in framing and making sense of the post-resettlement distress of the refugees with whom I interacted.
Employment is very essential and is hard to find. As most of the Bhutanese come with very limited English and is challenging for them to find jobs in competitive market. Employers always want to hire employee with good communication skills and work history. Most of the Bhutanese lack both good communications skills and work history in their resume, which is another challenge for them in early days. Most of the Bhutanese go to English class in early years and is hard for them to manage time to do jobs. Resettlement organizations working for finding employment for new immigrants say that it is hard to find job for Bhutanese because of problems with English proficiency and work history. Emotional and cultural shocks are very common to Bhutanese in America. Lack of communication skills and hard to find a job often lead to emotional problems.

4.3 Language Barrier Issues

As the writer discussed, most South Asians including the Scranton Bhutanese know more than three or four languages. English is not one among the languages they know; if not it could be their fourth or fifth language. Taking a logical corollary from this, their proficiency could be very devastating. In sharp contrast to this, the ‘English only’ culture in the US does a great disservice to the limited English speaking Scranton Bhutanese. The Scranton Bhutanese speak Nepali at home. Most of them are illiterate even in their own native Nepali language and can only orally communicate with each other. They do not know how to read and write Nepali. Having lived in Bhutan and Nepal for most of their lives, they never had a chance to learn English nor did they feel it necessary to do so. The paradox is that they have been resettled in the west; which are mostly English speaking countries. Bhutanese focus group participants highlighted their concerns for community members over 40 years of age. The Bhutanese community of Scranton particularly noted that people between 45 and 64 are most vulnerable. This generation did not have a chance to attend school and primarily worked as farmers or construction workers in Bhutan and the Nepal refugee camps. They are non-literate in both Nepali and English. According to the focus group participants, due to the poor living conditions in the camp, “they aged much earlier,” leading to health issues that prevented them from performing manual jobs. As younger generations enter the broader community for school and work, older adults suffer severe social isolation.
One focus group’s participants articulated the struggle of the older population: “Many older Bhutanese refugees are totally illiterate and they don’t know where to go or what to do. So they have become hopeless…they struggle for existence.” The use of language involves a wide range of cognitive functions, including comprehension, memory, and decision making. As people get older, they gain in some problem solving skills at the expense of others. They may become slower and have more memory lapses, but if they are very familiar with a problem or a type of problem, they can get to a solution more quickly and effectively than a novice. Bhutanese who suffer largely from amnesia have profound memory loss. Their amnesia may involve an inability to learn or remember information encountered after the damage (anterograde-into the future) or the inability to recall information learned prior to the damage (retrograde-going back into the past). Because of amnesia people couldn’t learn in the refugee camp.

This negative impact extends to the rest of the family. Because the majority of refugees from Bhutan arrive with large families, unemployed middle-aged and older family members strain the whole family unit, putting enormous pressure on the young generations who must quickly find jobs and work long hours. The younger generation expressed their sense of guilt for not caring for elders left at home. The older generation, in turn, expressed their sense of guilt for depending on young family members and thus depriving them of educational opportunities. Female focus group participants who often stay home and take care of young children say that they are unable to communicate with their children’s teachers and that their children require tutoring and homework support. Some also indicate issues of social adjustment of children to their school environment. Both men and women lament that older children who just missed the age cut-off for school are put to work right away with no opportunity to continue their education and improve their chances for future advancement. For example, one focus group participant commented, “My grandson, who is over 18, is just working and has no education.” Men from both locations say that they want education in order to find better jobs and to better advocate for themselves at their current jobs, such as demanding legally guaranteed breaks during the workday. However, no options have been presented to them. As one participant put it, “I want to study, but cannot enroll in high school because I am too old, but I want to attend ESL classes. What can I do?”
Lack of proficiency in English can be a major problem for those who do not come from the English-speaking world. Adults encounter a strong language barrier in destination countries if they come from a culturally different landscape. The more aged an immigrant is, the more unlikely he is to learn and speak the language of the destination country. However, as new immigrants transitioning and making new adjustments in new countries and new societies, they are required to learn a new language even for the sake of obtaining and understanding information which could be necessary to overcome the challenges the face. It could be difficult and challenging. The work place has witnessed a variety of problems – work related injuries, accidents, poison leaks and exposure to hazardous substances. The findings suggest that in some societies not speaking English may generate shame and insult whereas a proficiency in English evokes pride and a cultural status.

4.4 Opportunity and Challenges to the students

In this research process the writer also found vast gap in education system. Since Bhutanese kids attended school in the refugee camp with limited resources, their educational standard was not good. Bhutanese children under eighteen can join Public schools to complete their high school education. The high school education system in the US is different than the one run by the Caritas Nepal in the refugee camps. The United Sates use most of the technological equipment to deliver education such as audio-visual. Bhutanese children can’t use computer and other electronic equipment. They also go through transition from their home country’s education system to the US education system. Bhutanese come from yearly education system, which focuses for one or two final exams per year whereas the US semester based educational system is hard for them to understand and get success at. Therefore, Challenges are not limited to communication only but getting formal and higher education is another challenge. Continuing formal and higher education for children and adult is another big challenge.

Bhutanese adults who already received high school and higher degrees prior to getting resettled and want to continue education in US also face many challenges. During the certification reevaluation process, sometimes they won’t get any credit from back home. And even if they do, it will be few credited hours. Most of the time, adult college students need to re-take the same classes, which is frustrating and time consuming. For Bhutanese adults of age 20 to 35, those with an incomplete degree due to the resettlement process, there lie real challenges to continue
their education. Many present college students happen to be former students of those with incomplete degrees. So, they do not want to go to schools together with their own previous students. Indeed, it looks awkward but there are other options like online education to continue education. It is well said that education is life long process and one should not hesitate to grab that opportunity. There is also another big misunderstanding to the Bhutanese students about differences of Community colleges and Universities. Some of the adults who already attended universities in Nepal feel that going back to community colleges is to start from zero. But difference of community colleges and University is not big. Actually, community colleges are much cheaper and affordable than universities and also hold the same value of freshman and sophomore courses of universities. For those who want continue education also face financial problems; and they need to get loan at a high interest rate. In my own experience as an adult college student, it is challenging for immigrant students to get in track of the US college systems and be successful. It is noteworthy that all refugee college students will be eligible for financial support from federal and state government. Both educational supports are first come –first serve basis and can be filled out through web link www.fafsa.gov starting from January for each educational year. The FAFSA application automatically sends the information to state financial support. Both Federal and State grants go up to eleven thousands per year depending upon family financial status and contributions. Below are the criteria to be eligible for the FAFSA program:

- Demonstrate financial need (for most programs);
- Be a U.S. citizen or an eligible noncitizen;
- Have a valid Social Security number (with the exception of students from the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, or the Republic of Palau);
- Be registered with Selective Service, if you’re a male (you must register between the ages of 18 and 25).

Beside challenges Bhutanese have many opportunities as well because “America is the land of opportunity.” Almost all Bhutanese refuges in the US meet all above criteria. This financial support programs go up to six years. This is one of the grants (unlike the loan, grants are free and should not be re-paid.) in the US for almost all Bhutanese refugees those want to continue college education. The US education system offers free higher education to those who have
perform educational excellence and good GPA which is one of the best opportunities for immigrants to achieve success. The US education system is very practical and job oriented; and most of the time trainings are available for free and at low cost. Few Bhutanese have already became successful businessman by taking advantage of the US loan system to start business. All the opportunities are not that easily available, it requires a lot of struggle and hard work and commitment. But it definitely pays at the end. The key opportunities and success for Bhutanese are hard work, struggle and commitment. One who works hard, struggles and commits to his/her goal see the US as land of opportunities. Bhutanese people’s habit of saving further added opportunity in the days to come. They can start big business, super markets, gas stations, or work in the professional field and federal offices after gaining experience or completing education. It’s very easy to find challenges and problems than to find opportunities so they must struggle harder to achieve their goals.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to investigate why the resettled Bhutanese refugees are not happy and there is a high rate of suicide among the resettled Bhutanese refugees, and to identify the cultural, structural, financial, and personal barriers to overcome the resettlement difficulties. A primary goal of this thesis is to better understand the extent to which prevailing conceptual frameworks explain the experience of integration and assimilation for refugees. Toward this goal, this thesis employs a qualitative research approach guided by the IoI Framework that utilizes semi-structured interviews with Bhutanese refugees and resettlement professionals focused around the topic of integration, assimilation and related factors. Once the access barriers are identified, the focus of the study will be to improve the service delivery system for better accessible to such vulnerable refugees. The following chapter articulates the research question and describes the research design, including interviews with participants and the inductive approach used for data analysis and discussion.

Operational Terms and Issues

There are three key terms to define that are mentioned in this proposed study. They are as follows:

a) Bhutanese Refugees-The government forces seized properties and expelled people from their hearth and homes. In less than three years 1990 - 1993, approximately 108,000 southern Bhutanese citizens were reportedly evicted. More than One hundred thousand innocents Bhutanese people were banished from Bhutan in between 1990-1993 because of race discrimination, torture, hideous treatment, awful and repeated injuries, Fear tactics, intimidation, arbitrary arrest, economic deprivation, legal harassment, political suppression and direct expulsion and the jarring tyranny and brutality of the cruel king and his government. The task of sanitizing Bhutan was carried out through a combination of weapons as crude as torture, death or rape were but a few of the malevolent tactics employed by the State to expel citizens. There were stories of Bhutanese soldiers setting people’s houses ablaze, throwing arrested people into the rivers, raping women in villages, forcing them to eat beef, cutting hair, inflicting torture, robbing people of their valuables, tax receipts, citizenship documents and forcing them to leave the
country. People were fleeing leaving behind properties, homes, farms and bank balances. Such incidences were ubiquitous not only in my village but in the whole of southern Bhutan and even parts of eastern Bhutan. A sixth of the country’s population was successfully evicted. With this, Bhutan has earned a new distinction – the world’s highest per capita generator of refugees.

From the early 1990s the majority of Bhutanese refugees resided in the seven UNHCR camps in south eastern Nepal. Some 16,673 low-cost, temporary shelters, made from local materials with an expected lifespan of three years house over 108,000 refugees in seven camps. According to UNHCR, there were seven Bhutanese refugee camps for almost two decade holding an estimated population of 108,000. Now around 80,000 refugees have chosen the path of third country resettlement, 26000 on their way. The camps are located in the south eastern part of Nepal, in the districts of Jhapa and Morang. Because of the resettlement process the number of refugees are declined so seven camps were merged in to four. When first established in the early 1990s the camps were hailed by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UHNCR) as models of good practice. From the beginning, high levels of participation from the refugee community meant that a highly effective infrastructure was put in place. The education system and general living conditions were seen as some of the best for refugee camps around the world. However, as the Bhutanese refugee situation has become more protracted, standards in the camps have become worse. A combination of donor fatigue, which has resulted in cuts in the budget, and the exodus of the young and the educated, which have gone to seek work outside the camps, has meant that the quality of living conditions has dropped dramatically in recent years. Bhutanese who were once know wealthy in Bhutan turns poor, pathetic, and pessimistic overnight and spend decades in the refugee camps.

b) Resettlement of Bhutanese Refugees-As of February 29, 2014; 86,900 Bhutanese refugees have already relocated in eight different countries in which about 75,000 are resettled in US on humanitarian grounds. Followed by Canada (5376), Australia (4190), New Zealand (747), Denmark (746), Norway (546), the Netherlands (326) and Britain (317) are the countries which accepted and welcomed the Bhutanese refugees.(IOM 2013). In 2013, UNHCR will liaise closely with other UN agencies on issues of common interest. Once the program has been approved by the Government of Nepal, development agencies will be involved in implementing the CBDP/TSI activities that would benefit both refugees and host communities. With regard to
access to citizenship certificates, UNHCR will work with other UN agencies, local NGOs and academic institutions to advocate for laws and practices that meet international standards as well as for the adoption of a national refugee law. UNHCR will continue to work closely with the Government, receiving countries and IOM on the resettlement of refugees from Bhutan. Partnerships with the local authorities and Armed Police Force will be strengthened, particularly in the areas of refugee safety, delivery of assistance and third-country resettlement.

c) The Local Refugee Resettlement Organization (LRRO)-The first wave of resettlement to the US began in early 2008. The U.S. government has identified ten Voluntary Agencies to implement the resettlement program. These agencies have their own branch offices or sub-working partner agencies in different cities/states (Bhutanese Refugees: The Story of a Forgotten People). In this state, where refugees began arriving in January 2009, a local non-profit organization, Local Refugee Resettlement Organization (LRRO), is responsible for resettling the Bhutanese families. LRRO is a small local organization that is part of a larger voluntary agency that resettles refugees throughout the USA. LRRO’s main head office is located in X-Metropolis with a branch office in Y-town. The U.S. State Department gives a one-time resettlement grant of $450 per person for resettlement, according to one LRRO staff member. The modest support places the bulk of the resettlement burden on the organization for finding funding sources from private donors. For the first three months, following arrival, LRRO supports refugees financially by paying housing rent, providing small stipends for food and bus passes, and other services. Refugees are also enrolled in Federal and State welfare programs such as Food Stamps, Wilson-Fish Program, and Temporary Assistance Program. Although Federal welfare grants continue to support refugees anywhere from a year to 5 years, it is a very modest monetary support. Therefore, LRRO tells refugees that the organization expects them to be self-sufficient and independent (i.e. find a job and support themselves financially) by the end of the third month. This expectation is a source of constant pressure for both refugees and LRRO staff members. The limited funding sources and meagre support that the organization receives from the Federal government amplify the stress and pressure. The continual financial burden impacts how refugees and employees of LRRO perceive and understand these pressures and expectations of one another as refugees integrate into the new society. Examining these issues of resettlement is important for identifying challenges and barriers in the integration of refugees.
Research Questions

The following three research questions were analyzed:

1) To what extent do prevailing conceptual frameworks explain the experience of integration for refugees?

2) If there are barriers to care, are these barriers related to cultural issues or integration and assimilation issues?

3) Is there a problem with periods of services that the newly resettled refugees are getting from the Local Refugee Resettlement Organization (LRRO), and Federal and State welfare programs?

The research design is largely shaped around the IoI Framework, which aligns well with the above question and objectives. As the primary method of data collection, the writer utilized semi-structured interviews with Bhutanese refugees and resettlement professionals in Scranton, an approach designed to attain information-rich, nuanced data regarding the experience of integration at the local level. In addition, the writer conducted a document analysis, described in the following section, in order to incorporate resettlement policies, the general background of Bhutanese refugees, and local resettlement details into the framework of the thesis.

In summary, this thesis seeks to explore the intersection of the concept of integration, experiences of Bhutanese refugees, perceptions of resettlement professionals, and refugee resettlement policy. Specific details regarding data collection and analysis methods are provided below.

Data sources and data organization

Subjects

The subject for this study is to find out how the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees is going on and to find the significance of efficient integration and assimilation. This study will examine why Bhutanese refugees, especially the older generation are not happy aftermath of resettlement even though they came from poor life. This study will also examine how cultural and traditional
issues play a significant role for the people to integrate and assimilate in the new place and new environment.

**Instrument**

Interviews consisting of ten closed-ended questions were utilized to find out the perceptions of subjects on the resettlement process and the barriers they are facing aftermath of the resettlement. Focus group discussion was conducted in the Bhutanese Community of Scranton. Key questions were constructed for one-on-one interview and focus group discussions.

**Method**

**Sample Description**

The sample was chosen from the population of individuals 18 years of age or older residing in Scranton or Lackawanna County. The individuals should be the Bhutanese refugees or the resettlement agencies case workers or related employees. Phone interview was conducted to the Bhutanese community leaders who are actively working with the Bhutanese refugees in the resettlement process.

**Document Analysis**

Document analysis focused mainly on understanding the social and policy context for the thesis through a review of the Bhutanese refugee situation, the framework of the US Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP), and the history of Bhutanese relocation and reception in Scranton, PA. Sources for this document analysis included historical reports and newspaper articles, resettlement policies and program descriptions, and similarly conducted studies with attention to factors that are reasonably expected to influence the experience of resettlement for Bhutanese refugees. This information was used to inform and guide research design, interviews with refugees and resettlement professionals, and analysis of interview content; related references can be found throughout this thesis.

**Interviews with Refugees and Resettlement Professionals**

One-to-One Interviews, Focus Group Discussion and SWOT-Analysis
As the primary research method for this thesis, the writer chose semi-structured interviews with Bhutanese refugees and resettlement professionals regarding the experience of integration, toward the development of a particular understanding through interviewee perspectives. Qualitative research specialist Irving Seidman (2006) offers a convincing rationale for such an approach in similar projects: “social abstractions…are best understood through the experiences of the individuals whose work and lives are the stuff upon which the abstractions are built” (p. 10).

Planning and implementation for interviews took place in two main categories; the first for resettlement professionals and the second for Bhutanese refugees themselves. As for resettlement professionals, the objective of interviews was to gather the perspectives of those who work with Bhutanese refugees or who are familiar with their situation in Scranton. As for Bhutanese refugees, the objective of the interviews was to collect refugee perspectives regarding their own experience of integration and that of their community in general. These interviews aimed to establish the concept of integration by using relevant language that is likely within the experience of interviewees, including the feeling of being “at home,” “accepted,” or “well-adjusted” to new surroundings. Interviews with both groups were guided by topical protocols informed by the conceptual sources described in chapter three, particularly the IoI Framework and its major dimensions of integration.
CHAPTER 6
DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

The goal of this chapter is to tell a detailed story of the findings from the descriptive analysis of interview data. First, background factors including various family elements, their cultural, some common resettlement issues, U.S refugee resettlement policy, and role of the local resettlement agencies will help to find how Bhutanese refugees are living now. The study requires multiple methods to analyze the research questions. The first method involves an inductive analysis of the interview content to identify and describe prevailing themes associated with the perception, feeling, or experience of integration, income sources, and educational status in the family, problems with appointments, problems finding jobs, English Language and translation problems, and transportation problems.

The second analysis was a correlation focusing the IoI Framework and similar typologies of integration to develop and expand on these emerging themes. This section presents and discusses the results of interviews with Bhutanese refugees and resettlement professionals. Aiming to address the primary question and objectives of this thesis, the writer have situated interview data below into three conceptual dimensions—functional dimensions, social connections, and identification dimensions—acquired from Zetter et al. (2002), Ager and Strang (2004a), and Bosswick and Heckmann (2006), respectively. Here the writer employ this arrangement in order to logically organize interview data, facilitate a descriptive and conceptual discussion of the results, and build a foundation for further elaboration in chapter six. Although I refer to this construct as a “proposed framework of integration,” it should not be viewed as an alternative to the IoI Framework, but rather a supplement, intended to increase the presentation and general understanding of the interview results.

Sections 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 each define one of the three dimensions of the proposed framework and then develop descriptive and conceptual discussions of the interview content according to groupings and themes within these dimensions. Furthermore, these sections are arranged in a possible hierarchy, from the urgency of self-sufficiency in the functional dimension, to the more intricate aspects of social connection and the subjectivity of identification and belonging. Ager and Strang’s IoI Framework serves as a useful point of reference throughout these sections and
the following chapters, even though the work of others is drawn in to add further meaning and support the framework proposed here.

Section 6.4 introduces a number of significant issues that may not fit clearly into the proposed framework but were identified by the majority of interviewees as factors affecting their integration, including the unique functions of age, gender roles, expectations upon arrival, and resettlement services. Some of these issues are typical to the refugee experience while others are distinct to Bhutanese refugees; regardless, they pervade the interviews and the discussion of interview content. Finally, section 6.5 summarizes this comprehensive chapter, providing a more concise account of the interview data. Throughout the analysis, interview results are referred to in general and in the form of direct quotes where they add value to the discussion and to incorporate refugee voices.

**Results and discussion of the analysis**

Bhutanese are legal and the latest refugee population in America in general and Scranton, PA in particular and hundreds of Bhutanese refugees have made Scranton their home in the past years. Bhutanese refugees are the latest immigrants who are resettled in Scranton through Catholic Social Services of Lackawanna on a humanitarian ground. Life in the United States represents almost unimaginable changes for most refugee immigrants and it is no different for Bhutanese. Fortunately they got a chance to resettle in this great land to rebuild their life.

According to the BCS, since 2009, more than 2000 refugees from Bhutan have resettled in Scranton. Nearly 70% of the Bhutanese are primary migration who came directly from the refugee camps and 30% are secondary migration who migrated from different states for various reasons. Nearly all Bhutanese refugees in Scranton speak Nepali with 25 percent estimated to know some English 10% speak very good English. Most are identified as farmers or students, but also list other occupations, such as teachers, social workers, tailors, weavers, and housekeepers. Bhutanese are very hardworking people so in this tough economic downturn also people hire them. Many people are doing two jobs. Bhutanese are very closely connected to the community where they are caring, sharing, and helping each other well. These people wanted to be independent very soon. They want progress and develop like any other communities but all they need is shape, support, direction and platform. On the other hand some families have problems
and struggling harder because they cannot speak English, many are sick and elderly so they need English classes, vocational training and employment empowerment in order to get the jobs. Bhutanese wanted to be a good citizen and responsible partner in the communities by respecting each other values and culture. Despite the current economic climate, 90% of refugee families have at least one wage earner and can begin paying their bills within 4 months of arrival.

A typical Bhutanese household consists of a father and mother, elderly parents, children, and the wives and children of married sons. Aunts, uncles, and cousins are considered part of the immediate family. In order to provide equitable and effective health care, clinicians need to be able to function effectively within the context of the cultural beliefs, behaviors, and needs of consumers and their communities.

Failing to support and foster culturally competent health care for racial and ethnic minorities can increase costs for individuals and society through increased hospitalizations and complications. Culture is essential in assessing a person’s health and well-being. Understanding a patient’s practice of cultural norms can allow providers to quickly build rapport and ensure effective patient-provider communication. Efforts to reduce health disparities must be holistic, addressing the physical, emotional, and spiritual health of individuals and families. Also important is making connections with community members and recognizing conditions in the community. Get to know your patients on an individual level. Not all patients from diverse populations conform to commonly known culture-specific behaviors, beliefs, and actions.

The catholic social service of Scranton provides financial assistance for the refugee families and helps them find housing and jobs. The resettlement services are offered to refugees for a ninety-day period and are funded by United States Conference of Catholic Bishops on a per capita basis. From ninety days to a year period, funding for employment and English as a second language services are provided by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania via Catholic Social Services. These are the services which have been needed to guide the refugees to self-sufficiency. Immigration services are provided for a minimal fee. Income from these components allow for employment of both a full-time and part-time caseworker. In keeping with the tradition of recognizing all as a part of God’s family, Catholic Social Services continues in welcoming strangers into our midst and offers services to refugees, immigrants and migrants. Immigration Services has been recognized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.
Bhutanese community of Scranton working closely with other communities of Scranton

One of the board members of BCS said, Bhutanese community of Scranton is a non-profit organization formed to support vulnerable people and accommodate and integrate Bhutanese community within the basic framework of American society. The Bhutanese community of Scranton is a small and the most recent group in Scranton. It consists of about 2000 (change to the exact figure) community members. Being fresh and new, the community had to face many challenges in the beginning. Despite the efforts of the local communities, the Bhutanese community continues to face problems of every kind every day. The Bhutanese community had to decide one thing – either continue depending endlessly on others or become an engine of self-empowerment. We decided to go with the later. To constitute a community organization was a felt need, and the right thing to do.

Another member said, Since Bhutanese people (Nepali speaking community) started coming to this beautiful city of Scranton in the late 2009, and since then, a very serious concern about safe guarding their culture as well as integration in the mainstream American society. At the same time we have got to eliminate the traumatic experience of this people facing now and then due to language, and the completely new system. The result of such experience has been a seriously challenging issue in the new place. So, in 2010, newly arrived Bhutanese in Scranton proposed the list of interim board of directors and unanimously elected and gave responsibility to formally register the organization and create peaceful on going atmosphere. BCS shall always make effort to enrich our unique culture and tradition. It shall organize cultural events, and work to preserve our tradition. It's a great achievement to understand and call for the common platform to address the need of these vulnerable people. Beside this, being a part of the community, our responsibilities are much more to collaborate and act as a team to develop the locality and neighborhood and always add flavor in the society and be positive towards development.

He further said, The Bhutanese Community of Scranton (BCS) is the child of our own necessity. It is a non-profit organization dedicated to the overall achievement and advancement of Bhutanese living in Scranton, PA. It was established in April 17, 2010 in Scranton. The BCS has a list of some short term and long term priorities. Considering our constraints, they will sound ambitious. But we have no options either. Our short term priorities include some social, cultural and educational activities. Such activities shall aspire to preserve and transfer community
heritage to our future generation. BCS shall always try to maintain the Bhutanese community as a 'bi-lingual community' which can speak both 'Nepali' and 'English' languages. In addition, the community shall always be there to help our members during hard times - birth, deaths, weddings, accidents; hospitalization etc. We shall also participate in programs that will foster mutual friendship and cordiality between the Bhutanese community and the local communities in Scranton.

The leaders said, our long term objective shall be to uplift and strengthen the BCS as a strong non-profit organization. It should have sufficient capacity; manpower and logistic wise to accomplish the missions we have set. The efforts to retain the community's cultural heritage, history, art, music, folk dance, customs, and traditions shall be a continued process. As much as we are permitted by time and resources, we shall make endeavors to provide skill development trainings, vocational skills as well as opportunities for higher education to our most deserving and promising children or youths. BCS acknowledges the resettlement agency and all the service providers, social organizations, employment agencies, schools, colleges, supporters, well-wishers and volunteers under whose care and guidance we have found a good second chance to experience life again.

Out of fifty randomly selected recently resettled Bhutanese refugees in Scranton. Ten people were contacted and interviewed. This observation limits to the small sample taken in Scranton, among an age group that was above forty years old. Issue responses particularly in terms of gender differences were not noted. Also, problems and concerns of a large section of the Bhutanese population in Scranton could not be mentioned as they remained outside the scope of this research. Again, the Scranton Bhutanese group provides just a tiny glimpse of the larger Bhutanese population in the US, who could also be regarded as the stake holders. But, that too was outside the area prescribed for this study. I would assume quite safely that the results would be fairly similar even if studied among a larger Bhutanese universe in America. There are younger pockets among the Scranton Bhutanese for whom English language is a barrier too. They either do not have jobs or if they have one, it is temporary and they are not sure when the lay-off is coming. They have problems paying rent and bills. The writer could not include their problems here as they too are not in the scope of this study. The following analysis state what the interviewees had said in the interview.
During the one to one interview one of the recently resettled refugee was expressing that resettlement is not an end in itself. He said, “It has only given us a new experience, a new existence; and some challenges because we need to go through a state of rapid transition. Our experiences sharply contradict the American way of doing things. In America, life revolves round the clock and the hour people make working; in our culture people worship more, work less. We know manual work, not mechanization. We know the plough, the field, the crops, orchards, cattle, the villages, the rivers and rivulets, temples, monasteries, foot trails, extended families, the ritualistic life, traditions, festivals and celebrations; none of these will be part of our social life any more”.

The biggest challenges we are facing is language barrier because we don’t understand the instructions and our work experience contradict the American way of doing things. The role of the village head man, the priest and the temple in our lives, perhaps will never be the same. From food habits to work habits, from customs to culture, from ways of life to personal habits and etiquette; the need for change is absolutely demanding. The economic side of the language barrier is no less significant. In most households either a son or a daughter is working. They earn and pay bills while their parents sit at home idling. The responsibility has shifted and so has their role. The sons and daughters control the household at least while making financial decisions. In the Bhutanese society which is strictly founded on hierarchical relationships, this entails a bigger cultural shift. The father has lost the grip and control over his family. He has lost his respect and self-esteem not only within the family but also within the society. This means that language barrier extends and grips every one, every day causing serious problems. Employers have difficulty training and implementing job safety requirements and instruction manuals. So, they do not hire. If they do hire, such employees have confidence problems which affects the quality of their interaction with customers and co-workers; which affects the overall, the quality of their work and services. As a result they may be laid off from jobs. And the possibility of being hired again is remotely poor. One interviewee said, “I had applied for work and called but I couldn’t keep the job not because I didn’t work well but because I couldn’t understand the instructions and employer feel insure to keep me”. Inadequacy can be big a problem. The inability in English language stands as a strong barrier for the Bhutanese. English language is required to navigate the normal chores of life in the US. From making informal conversations at a grocery store or accessing help in a hospital emergency room; to communicating formally in the Social Services
Office; or accessing service experience in a local bank; they form a part of regular experiences for the Bhutanese. People with language barriers often have difficulties having meaningful access to facilities or they end up getting substandard benefits.

The target group cannot read any letters or official correspondences. They depend on their sons and daughters or even grandchildren for help with reading letters, visiting hospitals or social service offices. They cannot eat outside or even entertain themselves on television as they do not understand English language. English dominates the entertainment media too. Most of them do not know how to operate the ‘remote’ control of a television set and they need to depend on their kids to start and shut them. This makes them too dependent on their children and they often compromise their privacy. Most importantly, it has reversed the relationship between parents who are going through a language barrier and their children who speak English. It makes them feel helpless, stressed and anxious. And this very problem becomes the ill of all their undoing. Frustration creeps in and then anxiety, depression, domestic violence, alcoholism, gambling and even suicide gradually make up their way. Studies have revealed that the Bhutanese have the highest rate of suicide among all the immigrants in the US (ORR, 2013). The worst part is that these people often blame themselves for the problems. The problem of intergenerational communication is made worse if the older person tends to focus on his or her current disabilities or health limitations. Talking extensively about a topic in which the listener has no interest or that makes the listener uncomfortable can have an effect opposite to that intended and possibly isolate the older individual.

6.1 Functional Dimensions of Integration

This section discusses interview results within the “functional dimension” of integration (Zetter et al., 2002). After a brief examination of the term “functional integration,” the writer offers a definition of its use in this thesis, which guides the placement of interview content into the following sections: self-sufficiency, the importance of language proficiency and employment, safety, residential location, and cultural competence, and educational experience and perspectives. The integration and assimilation process is harder for Bhutanese refugees because the whole family from the age of one day to the age of hundred years came in the resettlement process and mostly the Brahmin elderly are strong in Hindu faith culture which contradicts with American way of living.
6.1.1. The significance of Efficient Integration

The IoI Framework contains a collection of four domains—employment, housing, education, and health—which Ager and Strang call “markers and means” (2004a). They are called “markers” because achievement by refugees within these domains indicates possible progress along the track of integration and “means” because such achievement may lead to progress in other domains. However, a broader conception of these domains is developed below to include additional factors that interviewees often discussed in conjunction with those mentioned above.

In a large-scale study of local refugee integration, Atfield et al. (2007) adopted the “functional domain” of integration identified by Zetter et al. (2002), comprising the factors of employment, education, housing, and language ability. The same study also cites Jeff Crisp (2004), who suggests that success in the functional dimension is central to the achievement of self-reliance, a connection that often emerged during the interviews.

Indeed, many interviewees spoke of employment, education, housing, and language skills as building blocks of self-sufficiency, which interviewees identified as crucial to integration. The inclusion of self-sufficiency into the functional dimension, as defined Zetter et al. (2002), parallels much of the interview results. It also allows for the incorporation of three additional factors into the functional dimension, based on their association with self-sufficiency by the majority of interviewees—cultural competency, safety, and stability.

In summary, the writer apply the term “functional integration” to discuss a broad range of factors related to the urgent goal of self-sufficiency, including employment, housing, education, language proficiency, cultural competency, safety, and stability. This arrangement also accommodates the apparent association of these factors during the interviews. Indeed, one resettlement professional described many of these factors in close proximity when asked about the state of Bhutanese integration, articulated below. Overall, the writer thinks [Bhutanese refugees] are doing very well. Most of them are able to pay their rent, manage their lives. Kids are in school, parents are working. Health needs are taken care of, many started grocery stores. People are slowly enrolling in the schools and colleges and gain necessary education for better jobs. People have cars and homes. Kids are in post-secondary education. Those are all very good signs.
6.1.2. Self-Sufficiency

Although the term self-sufficiency can be applied broadly, it has a specific, economic connotation in the context of refugee resettlement policy. The achievement of economic self-sufficiency is a primary goal of many government-funded programs for refugees, which the US Office of Refugee Resettlement defines as “earning a total family income at a level that enables a family unit to support itself without receipt of a cash assistance grant” (Newton, 2007). Regardless of the policy context, the majority of interviewees indicated that self-sufficiency and self-reliance were of utmost concern. The extent to which this concern results from the influence of refugee assistance programs, the pressure of economic realities, or the ambition and agency of individuals is unclear. Interviewees expressed the concept through various terms and phrases, including “standing on your own feet,” “getting out of welfare,” and the ability to “sustain your family,” to name a few. More practically, interviewees often described the importance of employment that provides for the independent payment of all necessary and regular expenses. The comments of one resettlement professional reflect a common theme from the interviews, which is that self-sufficiency is an urgent concern of many refugees and that its achievement may act as a foundation or enabler of integration:

Interviewer: What's most important, in terms of integration?

Respondent: “I think the most important component is to be economically self-sufficient”. Because after you do that, then you have freedom to do other things, to become more integrated into the community. Although the concept emerged from the interviews as a central theme, many interviewees explained that self-sufficiency for refugees, in and of itself, is not integration but a vital component thereof.

The writer found that the distinction is important to highlight due to the intense focus on self-sufficiency in resettlement policy and the potential diversion it may create away from integration as a separate phenomenon. In any case, the theme of self-sufficiency was often discussed by interviewees alongside functional factors of integration, indicating a possible association. One good thing the writer found from their past life is that Bhutanese are very hard working and want to be self-sufficient. Their work ethic, seriousness, and saving habits for the future shows they are determined people.
6.2.2 Dietary Acculturation in Bhutanese refugees

Interviewer: Compare and contrast your past eating habits and choices before coming to the United States to your current eating habits and choices after moving to the United States.

Respondent: “When we talk about the past, it goes back to Bhutan where we were born then we come to Nepal where we lived as refugees for decades. While in Bhutan, most of the population was farmers that mean growing different types of crops which also mean sufficient food for living. So Bhutan was rich in fresh vegetables, fruits and grains etc. Bhutan had traditional way of growing crops and always used composed manure /fertilizer so we found only organic vegetables and fruits in Bhutan. We cooked food directly picked from garden before an hour or a day. There was no freeze or cooler in Bhutan at that time to store food items. Our frequently ate food items were bread, rice, beans, green vegetables, meat, dal etc. There are some fruits and vegetable that we hadn’t seen in Bhutan or Nepal, such as avocado etc. Some fruits we find here are variety in color and taste. We saw many types of green leaves in American market but we didn’t find the mustard green which is popular in every Nepali dish. Ostrich was not found in Nepal. Chicken, goat, pork, are popular meat item .Meats are sold directly from the butcher, which means they were just killed and sold fresh. We never stored vegetable, fruits and meat for later use. We cooked required amount of food for lunch or dinner or breakfast. We also never stored precooked food items or our daily meals for later. This may be the reason of unavailability of right type of storage. In other side this is traditionally forbidden everyone from consuming stale or pre-cooked food. We found new food like hot dog, bun, patties, nuggets, pizza and many more in our new place. We took three meals in a day breakfast, lunch, and dinner; sometimes we go to the restaurant with our children and parents”.

Interviewer: Describe the major factors that you believe influence your current eating.

Respondent: “We still cook food here in us because this has been our tradition. Everyone in the family loves to cook food. Usually elder people in the family cook food most of the time. We sometime go to the restaurant with our children. Children love new food. We go to mc Donald and pizza restaurants. We buy food from American grocery store such as price-rite, wal mart, gerrety, price chopper etc. we buy fruits, cheese, butter, milk, chicken, green vegetables from these stores. we buy Nepali food items from Nepali grocery stores such as karela(bitter melon), lauki (long square), mushroom, yam, hot chilly, noodles, mustard green etc”. The writer found that the Bhutanese kids are slowly leaving their traditional food and started to take American food but the older generation face hard times with such food.
6.1.3. The Importance of Language and Employment

Of the functional factors discussed in the interviews, English language proficiency and employment were among the most salient and often discussed. Regarding employment, interviewees repeatedly described work as an immediate priority and often the first essential step for many Bhutanese refugees in the US toward self-sufficiency. Beyond immediacy, discussion of employment during the interviews was multi-dimensional, ranging from economic necessity to the learning opportunities that can be found at the workplace. Another clear theme was the frustration, stress, and family tension that many Bhutanese refugees experience as they try to progress beyond low-paying, entry-level jobs. Frustration with employment seemed especially acute for those who arrived in the US with advanced degrees or professional experience and now find themselves underemployed. Several interviewees had bachelor’s and even master’s degrees from abroad but were working in unrelated sectors or positions that do not utilize their qualifications. Some interviewees also described tension between refugees and other local residents in the workplace varying from harmless misunderstandings to hostile confrontations. As is common in the mainstream immigration debate, one interviewee suggested that other American workers may view refugees as unfair competition. Regardless of the difficulties they face, the majority of interviewees viewed the general progress of Bhutanese refugees in terms of employment as largely encouraging. Many interviewees suggested that Bhutanese refugees are eager to enter the workforce and support themselves through earned income. One Bhutanese interviewee attributed employment success to the perceived work ethic that Bhutanese refugees may value and exude: Wherever Bhutanese people work…so far, I don't say [one hundred percent], but I say ninety [percent] of our people are successful. Our people, they work really hard, and are very sincere and very punctual.

Shifting to the topic of language, all interviewees viewed English proficiency as a significant factor in securing gainful employment above the entry-level. Due to the positive correlation between English proficiency and employment, and the important association of employment and self-sufficiency, language is salient to the discussion of the functional dimension. However, English proficiency also spans the many factors of integration discussed throughout this thesis and has a meaningful, pervasive impact on the experience of resettlement for any refugee.
Many factors likely relate to the achievement of self-sufficiency and success within the functional domain; however, employment and English proficiency are prominent for Bhutanese refugees in Pittsburgh. Furthermore, when specifically asked about the most important factors of their own integration, many interviewees offered employment and language proficiency as primary contributors.

6.1.4. Safety, Residential Location, and Cultural Competence

Interview results suggest an association between safety, residential location, local cultural competence, and social cohesion or stability. The IoI Framework includes safety and stability in the category of “facilitating factors” to accommodate refugee perceptions of their locality, including concerns over harassment, crime, and social unrest (Ager & Strang, 2004a). The IoI Framework also identifies cultural knowledge as a facilitating factor to capture refugees’ understanding of “national and local procedures, customs and facilities.” Interviewees often discussed the above factors in relation to residential location, housing, and self-sufficiency. Consequently, the writer draws these items together within the functional dimension for a combined discussion below.

Interviewees expressed a wide range of perceptions regarding safety, offering several anecdotes involving harassment, assault, and racial tension as potential sources of perceived danger based mainly on residential location, with some areas evoking more concern than others. One resettlement professional proposed that differences in culture and communication may contribute to the sense of danger that some Bhutanese refugees feel toward their neighborhood: “[We] explain that different cultures communicate differently…African American cultures are verbal…. In the Bhutanese culture, they're very quiet and passive…. So, we have to help them understand…that doesn't make you unsafe”. In any case, for refugees who perceive a high level of danger in their neighborhood, fear may negatively affect functional integration by creating anxiety and complicating essential tasks such as transportation, work, and educational participation. Fear may also extend beyond the functional dimension to discourage the formation of social connections and belonging. No matter where Bhutanese refugees live, many interviewees suggested that a basic understanding of American social etiquette and local competence is essential to the maintenance of safety, citing behaviors ranging from common pleasantries to more nuanced “street smarts.” Specifically, interviewees stressed the importance
of knowing which areas are safe to travel through, when and how to exchange basic remarks with other residents, and how to look like you “belong” in a neighborhood.

Many refugees also described housing conditions and status, especially home ownership, as important mechanisms and indicators of integration, which aligns well with Ager and Strang’s classification of housing in the category of “markers and means.” Indeed, within the sample of interviewees, Bhutanese refugees who owned their own home seemed to be very well-adjusted and integrated. One Bhutanese interviewee confirmed this possible association according to this own personal experience.

Interviewer: When did you really start to feel well-integrated? How long did it take you?
Respondent: He said “Maybe a couple of years…. I feel like when I bought the house, that was a big boost and, feeling that when you buy a house, you are here permanently”. From the majority of interviews, it is reasonable to conclude that safety, stability, housing, and social cohesion have a significant impact on functional integration and the sense of wellbeing that Bhutanese refugees experience in their neighborhoods. At the same time, their residential mobility is affected by numerous considerations, including the factors of employment and self-sufficiency discussed in the previous sections. These observations illustrate another layer of the relationship between these factors, as well as additional rationale for discussing them within the functional dimension of integration.

6.1.5. Educational Experience and Perspectives

This section describes the broad perspectives and experiences of Bhutanese refugees regarding education as it relates to the experience of integration. To begin with, interviewees explained that basic educational backgrounds within the community are somewhat predictable, based primarily on age and gender. More specifically, there is a division of educational attainment rooted in the extension of public education in Bhutan to Nepali-speaking people, the educational system established in the refugee camps, and the ability to leave the camps to pursue post-secondary education. All these factors create an observable scaffolding of educational attainment in the Bhutanese refugee community.

The role of education in the process of integration may be most significant to younger members of the Bhutanese refugee community who are enrolled in elementary and secondary schools.
Indeed, many interviewees described the hope they have for their children through educational opportunities in the US, the concern they have for rapid changes in their behavior, and the frustration they feel when they are unable to help their children navigate the American educational system. Regarding higher education, several interviewees who earned their advanced degree abroad lamented the difficulty of transferring their experience and achievement to the US workforce. Reflecting a common theme in the immigration literature, interviewees explained that employers are often unable or unwilling to verify their overseas credentials or do not recognize the equivalency of international degrees. Consequently, some interviewees expressed a desire to attend college in the US, drawing a connection between education earned domestically and new economic opportunities.

Nonetheless, access to and utilization of higher education systems for Bhutanese refugees is understandably challenging. Still, most interviewees viewed the educational progress of the community as a success in general. For example, many Bhutanese refugees have completed nursing assistant programs and are now employed in the healthcare sector. References to education by Bhutanese refugees also seemed to apply beyond formal educational experience, indicated by the commonly used phrase, “he/she is not educated” to suggest a lack of competency or understanding in another person. These nuanced usages of the word “education” may indicate a unique cultural understanding of the term, although specific meanings are difficult to determine from the interviews.

In summary, interviewees offered accounts of education in Bhutan, in Nepal, and in the US to explain levels of individual job readiness and access, language proficiency, and general competence, which they also discussed in conjunction with self-sufficiency and the process of integration. Furthermore, these accounts highlight the dynamics of age and gender in the resettlement context, discussed further below.

6.2. Social Connections

This section discusses interview content within the category of “social connections,” as defined by the IoI Framework, which may be the most useful dimension identified by Ager and Strang for discussing interview data without the assistance of additional sources. In developing the category of social connections, Ager and Strang draw from Robert Putnam’s work on social
capital (2000) to incorporate three distinct domains into the IoI Framework: social bonds, social bridges, and social links. These may be viewed as connections and relationships within the same community, between different communities, and with mainstream institutions, respectively. In this case, the Bhutanese refugee community defines the boundaries of “social bonds;” relationships between Bhutanese refugees and all other residents are viewed as “social bridges;” and relationships between Bhutanese refugees and mainstream institutions comprise the category of “social links.”

In general, interview content fits nicely into these three categories, which are discussed individually in the sections below. Notably, the word “integration” was encountered more often while discussing these social issues than it was while discussing the functional domain. This may be especially true regarding social bridges. The full implications of this observation are difficult to determine; however, such an association may indicate a perception that Bhutanese refugees have of integration as a predominately social process.

6.2.1. Social Bonds: Strength of the Bhutanese Community

The factor most often cited for the success of the Bhutanese refugee community is the strong connection among its members and the support available through its social networks. One Bhutanese interviewee described this connectedness as an intrinsic characteristic of the community that has guided Bhutanese refugees in Scranton from the beginning of their resettlement, “We always look for our ethnic connectedness…. We try to find people who can speak our same language and share our feelings, and then we help each other in the beginning”. Explanations for this closeness varied, although it may be viewed as a product of pre-migration factors and the general cultural nature of the group. Regarding the former, interviewees spoke of the shared experience that many refugees mutually endured before their resettlement. Their common life together in Bhutan, their displacement and flight from the country, their prolonged stay in the refugee camps of Nepal, and their resettlement in the US all provide a rich milieu that may bond the community together, as explained by one Bhutanese interviewee: In the camps, everybody lived like a family, because everybody has the same situation…. So, that's what they expect here too.
Another theme from the interviews regarding social bonding was the tendency of community members to provide material assistance to one another. Although such assistance seemed strongest within family networks, it also transcended these traditional boundaries. One interviewee described how the community responded to a recent death by collecting money to pay for funeral expenses. Other examples were also offered to describe the ways in which the community supports its members. If these comments are somewhat representative, they may depict a “collective sufficiency” that the community has achieved, which appears to be a major asset to its members, described by a Bhutanese interviewee below: I'm doing well, [but that] doesn't mean that I should not give back to my community. My idea of this community is [that] those people who can do well need to pull up those people who cannot do well.

A few interviewees did express mild concern over the negative effects that strong social bonds may have on other aspects of integration. However, the majority agreed that connections within the Bhutanese community provide advantages across multiple dimensions of integration, facilitate the preservation of culture, and promote social and emotional stability without necessarily impeding other factors of integration, such as English language development or participation in mainstream American society. Thus, Bhutanese refugees generally do not view strong social bonds as impediments to the development of social bridges and links.

Another factor that was repeatedly mentioned during the discussion of social bonds was the role of a volunteer organization called the Bhutanese Community of Scranton (BCS). The mission of BCS is “to ensure a high quality of life for all members of the Bhutanese community in Scranton and to support their integration into American society through culturally-informed services and activities. Several interviewees discussed the ways in which BCS strives to connect and mobilize the community, provide forms of informational and material support to its members, and advocate for general community empowerment. Many interviewees also suggested that BCS helps raise awareness of Bhutanese refugees in Scranton which emerged as an important aspect of integration during many interviews. Although some interviewees were less enthusiastic about BCS than others, the majority spoke positively of the organization, some even passionately.

Strong social bonds were clearly a vital component of integration for all Bhutanese interviewees. The relationships they form with fellow members of their community seem to provide deep personal satisfaction and material stability, as well as social capital that can be utilized to
increase integration across many different dimensions. A deeper understanding of social bonding within the community would certainly provide a clearer, more detailed picture of Bhutanese integration.

5.2.2. Social Bridges: Relationships outside the Bhutanese Community

The next classification of social connections within the IoI Framework is social bridges, defined here as relationships between Bhutanese refugees and others from outside their community. Many interviewees identified social bridges as an essential aspect of integration, even though most did not report a high level of development. Furthermore, the nature and characteristics of relationships that could be classified as social bridges varied. Interviewees discussed the friendliness and accessibility of their neighbors, their feeling of inclusion or the opportunity to be included in community events, and the occasion and ability to mutually share and learn from cultural exchange with local residents. Offsetting positive reports of social bridge-building from interviewees were several accounts of separation and isolation from the local community, especially among young and elderly Bhutanese refugees.

While describing underdeveloped social bridges, many interviewees explained that limited English proficiency understandably creates a barrier to meaningful communication with other English speakers. Several interviewees also suggested that differences in language can sometimes create tension between Bhutanese refugees and others, which reportedly manifests in different forms, from common misunderstandings to discrimination. In any case, interviewees identified limited English proficiency as an impediment to social bridge-building and a hindrance to integration. Several interviewees offered another possible explanation for underdeveloped social bridges, which is the wedge created between Bhutanese refugees and other Americans by differences in daily habits and social customs. One interviewee suggested that common activities such as going out to eat, watching sports, or regularly exercising at a gym could facilitate the formation of social bridges by providing points of contact for members of each group, although few of these common activities currently exist.

A platform for social bridge-building that was highlighted by many interviewees was the workplace. As already discussed, not all workplace interactions between Bhutanese refugees and others have been positive. Even so, for many interviewees, the workplace provides the
opportunity to learn social norms and the occasion for social bridges to form through interaction with coworkers. Several interviewees also contrasted the regularity of contact with coworkers in the workplace against irregular, sporadic contact with local residents in other settings.

In summary, interview results suggest that social bridges are understandably forming well for some and poorly for others, largely dependent on English language proficiency, residential location, workplace interactions, and opportunities created by participation in common social activities.

6.2.3. Social Links: Accessing and Navigating the System

The final classification of social connections within the IoI Framework is social links, defined here as relationships and connections built between the Bhutanese community and the institutions and organizations of the Scranton area. As is true with social bridges, establishing social links may be a long-term process that generally requires concentrated effort. Even so, interview results seem to suggest that Bhutanese refugees are progressing in this regard at the basic community level.

For Bhutanese refugees, the formation of social links is likely connected to the strong social bonds that exist among community members, which may contribute to some level of collective sufficiency or internal capacity. Many interviewees perceived a high degree of overall awareness among Bhutanese refugees regarding public and community resources. They also explained that Bhutanese refugees often help each other gain access to programs and services. Even so, others suggested that continued participation in welfare programs can still be difficult for many Bhutanese refugees due to the complexity of requirements and reporting, which may largely depend on individual levels of English ability and familiarity with the system.

In any case, several accounts were shared that indicate a high level of communication between the Bhutanese community and local institutions, including some degree of responsiveness from such institutions. One interviewee described how a group of Bhutanese refugees approached the local police department to express concerns about increased incidents of harassment and crime in the neighborhood. Notably, the encounter was facilitated by the Bhutanese Community of Scranton (BCS) and resettlement agency staff, which may indicate an understanding among Bhutanese refugees regarding effective institutional communication and community organizing.
Overall, discussions surrounding the topic of social links established a picture of apparent progress. However, as with social bridges, this picture did not emerge without challenge. There were stories of institutional discrimination, some of which have already been included, and examples of isolation from public programs and community resources. Even so, Bhutanese refugees seem to be building valuable social links with local institutions and other communities at a steady pace.

6.3. Identificational Magnitudes of Assimilation

In this section, the writer focus on the sense and significance of belonging for Bhutanese refugees and associated factors that interviewees often discussed in conjunction, including cultural understanding, tolerance, and perceptions regarding citizenship. Although Ager and Strang have discussed belonging extensively (2004b; 2008; 2010), it is not included as a factor in the IoI Framework. Consequently, the writer adopt Boswick and Heckmann’s concept of “identificational integration” to facilitate discussion, which they describe as “inclusion in a new society on the subjective level…indicated by feelings of belonging to, and identification with, groups, particularly in ethnic, regional, local and/or national identification” (2006, p. 10). Perceptions of identity and belonging illustrate a deeper, personal aspect of integration that is difficult to articulate, but nevertheless important to the resettlement experience of Bhutanese refugees.

6.3.1. Sense of Belonging

“Sense of belonging” is an abstract term and a subjective phenomenon with important implications for integration. Indeed, Ager and Strang found that many refugees perceive belonging as the “ultimate mark of living in an integrated community” (2008, p. 178). The degree to which interviewees reported feeling a sense of belonging varied. For those who experienced the feeling, there seemed to be a clear connection between belonging and the development of social bridges. Several interviewees reported that participation in neighborhood activities and sharing information with local residents increases their sense of belonging in general. One Bhutanese interviewee even suggested that belonging cannot develop without participation in the local community:
Interviewer: Your interaction with other Americans, has it been important for your integration? Respondent: Oh yeah, definitely…. Until and unless you interact with that particular local community, you don't feel that you belong.

However, a number of barriers may prevent the formation of social bridges and belonging, some of which have already been discussed. To begin with, the development of social bridges usually takes time and intentional effort, which are strained resources for many Bhutanese refugees. For example, several interviewees described the time-consuming effects of work, school, and transportation as impediments to social connection. According to others, a perceived lack of local understanding regarding the culture, language, and background of Bhutanese refugee’s acts as another barrier, as well as a possible cause of tensions between groups and individuals, and even in some cases, discrimination.

6.3.2. Cultural Awareness and Understanding

In this section, the writer discuss culture somewhat differently, as it relates to awareness and understanding of Bhutanese refugees within the local community, which emerged from the interviews in close connection to integration and the sense of belonging.

Indeed, many interviewees expressed a desire for local residents to know the background and struggles of their refugee experience and the basic characteristics of their cultural identity. One interviewee suggested that while dealing with Bhutanese refugee one must know their long stay in the refugee camp where they were forced to live poor, pathetic and very basic life. The Bhutanese refugees are not familiar to the centrally heated houses, bath showers, the western toilet system, air filters, smoke alarms, vacuums, dish washers, micro waves, barbecue grills, washing machines, dryers, home computers, online payment systems, traffic rules, riding a public bus system and trains, paying by credit cards, lifts and escalators, drug bottles with child lock systems, assembling ready-made (packed) furniture, child seats, seat belts, pumping gas, school admissions, tax filing, vending machines, cell phones, registers at work, the broad band language, every day of his life. The writer is often at shock to discover that, many of them are using these devices for the first time in life. Their houses get heated only when it is burned. They climbed mountains not escalators. Smoke alarms terrify them. What seems to be so obvious to normal American is very complex to the recent resettled Bhutanese refugees. Often times, they
fail to understand and sympathize with this background of the refugees and get perturbed by our simple questions. The lack of technological know-how and the English language are a bottleneck in this transition. Those who speak English still have problems with American spellings, pronunciation and usage. For instance, gastroenteritis is heart burn, petroleum is gas. Soft drinks are sodas. Half pants are shorts. Weight is measured in pounds, liquids in gallon; distance is measured in miles etc. The cultural gap is staggering. So what the writer think is that language is more than just a tool of communication; it also forms a person’s identity. People express emotions, share feelings, tell stories, and convey complex messages through languages. Teaching the community about refugees and teaching refugees about the community, that's part of integration too… So, people understand who the refugees are, where they are coming from, and why they are here.

The Diversity Inclusive Program Model (LaVergne, 2008)
The researcher also postulates that professionals who are open to diversity-inclusive programs are supporters of those who understand that program success is determined by how well prepared the workforce is in working with youth of color and youth with disabilities. The overarching goal of the program model is to formulate an inclusive educational culture, classroom culture, and all students being included in programs (LaVergne, 2008). The Diversity Inclusion Program Model can be compare to study Bhutanese refugees poor past living and their struggle to learn new technologies to assimilate in the new place because of its collaboration of important philosophical foundations that encompass the changing demographic shift among youth in this country. Incidentally, due to the newness of this concept, diversity inclusion research among underrepresented groups in Extension has not been conducted. However, because the organization is charged with ensuring the future success of developing youth for the agricultural profession, diversity-inclusive research is warranted.

Despite its perceived importance, most interviewees suggested that the level of awareness and understanding regarding Bhutanese refugees is low among the local population in general. The attitudes of refugees who shared this perception toward their local community varied from sympathy, to irritation, to major frustration. In particular, the majority of interviewees viewed the general lack of awareness as understandable, given the small size of Bhutan. Conversely, a smaller group of interviewees viewed the lack of awareness as insensitive and inexplicable, considering the access that Americans have to knowledge and information. In any case, these factors influence Bhutanese perceptions of the local community, which likely impact their sense of belonging and integration.

**6.3.3. Cultural Identity**

Another theme from the interviews that can be included in the identificational dimension of integration is the way that many Bhutanese refugees perceive their own cultural identity. According to interviewees, Bhutanese refugees may identify themselves across a range of ethnic and political categories, largely related to age. For example, youth are less likely to describe themselves as Bhutanese, with many preferring to adopt the Nepali identity instead, which may be understandable since many were born in the refugee camps of Nepal. One interviewee also suggested that refugee youth may identify themselves as Nepali because other Americans are less familiar with Bhutan.
Furthermore, young members of the Bhutanese community may perceive a stigma surrounding the term “refugee,” which causes them to disassociate with their recent background in Bhutan, articulated by a Bhutanese interviewee below:

[Bhutanese youth] don't want [to be called] refugee…. These are the kids who were born in camp, and raised as a refugee for almost 15 years…. Once they come here, they don't want to be a refugee anymore. Refugee is a bad word for them. Conversely, senior and middle-aged members of the community are much more likely to assert their Bhutanese identity. Interviewees suggested that this propensity likely comes from strong memories of life in Bhutan, where many of their identities took shape, and the importance of maintaining a common bond during displacement and resettlement to sustain group cohesion and well-being. Finally, there were interviewees who described emerging cultural identities in the community, hybrids of traditional influences and the norms of American society, reflecting both subtle shifts—choosing to eat different foods or shop online—and dramatic changes—rejecting the norms of the caste system or separating from one’s spouse. Like many refugees who have been displaced from their origin, who may have been members of minority groups to begin with, and whose fate has been uncertain for long periods of time, the tension between various identities is understandable. Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that such considerations have complex implications for the sense of belonging and the process of integration.

6.3.4. Citizenship

The topic of citizenship is comprehensive and steeped in legal and political context. Ager and Strang place citizenship in the category of “foundations” within the IoIFramework (2004a), Bosswick and Heckmann place it in the “structural dimension” of integration (2006), and Zetter et al. place it in the “legal and citizenship domain” of integration (2002). However, most interviewees commented on citizenship in relation to identity-related issues and the sense of belonging. Consequently, the topic is discussed here, within the identificational dimension of integration, although overlap with the other dimensions is apparent and the complexity of citizenship is certainly overlooked.

Most interviewees described citizenship as an important component of integration, although the nature of importance varied. In one common view, interviewees identified the attainment of citizenship as a facilitator of integration and the length of residency required before applying for citizenship as an impediment, illustrated by one Bhutanese interviewee’s comments below: “I
have come to a country where I'm sure I can become a citizen. I have been stateless for over 20 years. Considering this opportunity for the future, I will feel that I'm very well integrated…. But for now, [citizenship] is a partial hindrance”. Some Bhutanese interviewees viewed citizenship as a social status that may put them on equal footing with other Americans, not only legally, but in terms of the general public’s perception and acceptance of them as fellow citizens. Others suggested that the term immigrant or refugee may have negative connotations among local residents. These interviewees proposed that citizenship might help them dispel such connotations.

There were also interviewees who surmised that citizenship would likely increase their access to jobs that may explicitly or implicitly require citizenship. The discussion of an implicit citizenship requirement indicates possible employment discrimination, which elicited different opinions from interviewees, including both indifference and resentment. The implications of discrimination are complex and likely produce a multidimensional effect, reflecting the interconnectedness of factors that animate integration. Notably, there were also interviewees who did not stress citizenship as a factor of importance to the same degree as others. For example, one interviewee suggested that many refugees already benefit from the rights and entitlements that are currently available to them as noncitizens. Consequently, he did not see the value added by official citizenship status or its associated timing.

The functional aspects of integration that surface in the above discussion (e.g., employment) indicate that citizenship may be precariously placed within the identificational dimension of the framework proposed here. Even so, Bhutanese interviewees stressed the identity-related aspects of citizenship, which are likely associated with the experience of displacement, statelessness, and resettlement. They also demonstrated enthusiasm and anticipation regarding citizenship, perhaps suggesting a deeper meaning behind the subject for Bhutanese refugees.

6.4. Additional Issues of Importance to Integration

This section describes issues that underpin and permeate the structured discussion of integration above but may not fit easily into the dimensions of the proposed framework, highlighting its descriptive limitations. Some of these issues are typical to the refugee experience while others are distinct to Bhutanese refugees. Nonetheless, their inclusion increases our understanding of
how Bhutanese interviewees view their own integration and fulfills a commitment to elevate refugee voices in this thesis. They represent only some of the additional themes emerging from the interviews; others were excluded to maintain a more concise focus.

6.4.1. Generational Dynamics

The variation of resettlement and integration experiences according to age may be the most salient issue emanating from the interviews. Although such variation is universal to the phenomenon of immigration, this section discusses some effects of generational membership on the experience of resettlement for Bhutanese refugees. References to “the old,” “the young,” or those “in the middle” were made by interviewees when discussing almost every aspect of integration, from jobs to cultural preservation, citizenship to English proficiency. In some cases, the views and experiences of refugees within these groups were sharply diverse, as discussed below.

Many interviewees described the fast pace of integration for young Bhutanese refugees with mixed feelings, including excitement, caution, and concern. Like young members of many new immigrant groups, Bhutanese youth are quickly learning English, adjusting to American social norms, and questioning traditional aspects of their culture, all of which can create tension within families. One Bhutanese father explained the transformative effect of American education and socialization on his children: “Their way of thinking [Bhutanese youth] is totally different than the way we think. My daughter goes to school and when she comes back, I talk to her…. The way she sees things is not the same way that I used to see…. It becomes very difficult for me to digest the way she is thinking”.

Interviewees also described changes in the attitudes and behaviors of Bhutanese youth, such as increased truancy and substance abuse, which they viewed as problematic. The degree of actual occurrence is difficult to determine; however, such accounts suggest that many Bhutanese youth may be expressing a form of “oppositional behavior.” This observation could be explored through the concept of “segmented assimilation”(Portes&Zhou, 1993) or “segmented integration” (Bosswick&Heckmann, 2006), which have been offered as theories to explain similar behaviors among second generation immigrants.
In any case, parents clearly invest hope for the future of their community in Bhutanese youth. One interviewee even suggested that many refugees immigrate to the US to provide opportunities for their children, not for their own purposes. Regardless, as Bhutanese refugees adjust to resettlement, there is a concern for cultural preservation and economic success that directly relates to Bhutanese youth.

Perhaps understandably, Bhutanese seniors are experiencing resettlement and integration in ways that differ significantly from youth. Interviewees suggested that seniors are generally less likely to learn English, socialize with Americans, or adopt new cultural practices; relying instead on the traditional lifestyle of Bhutanese and Nepali culture, which provides social and emotional support, but may also isolate them from the American mainstream. Combined with the grief of loss, isolation may produce sadness and depression for Bhutanese seniors. One Bhutanese refugee described how he encourages his elderly parents to adapt despite the challenges they face: I keep telling my parents, try to observe how things are going on around you and then adapt and learn from them…. Some parents, especially older parents and uneducated parents have a very tough time changing their habits.

Then there are those Bhutanese refugees who are “in the middle;” the most well-represented group in the sample of interviewees—young and middle-aged adults who are the community’s source of economic stability and perhaps the bridge between youth and seniors. Although much variation exists within this group, interviewees suggested that these individuals are the ones whose lives are largely shaped by the urgency and pressure of securing gainful employment and providing support for their families in an unfamiliar environment.

Regardless of age, many interviewees recognized that the Bhutanese community as a whole currently occupies a position common to many new immigrant groups, characterized by precarious economic standing, cultural disruption, and large-scale social change. However, most viewed this as a temporary and transitional position that they hope to transcend in the future as the community establishes itself, which may explain the concern that so many have over the attitudes and behaviors of Bhutanese youth.
6.4.2. Gender Roles

Gender-related issues featured prominently in the interview data, especially major shifts in gender roles stemming mainly from the entrance of Bhutanese women into the US workforce and participation in American public schools. Indeed, such issues are evident within the discussion of the proposed framework above. Even though the impetus for change may come from outside the household, growing pressure on gender roles understandably seems to manifest most acutely at home among family members. As women assume the extra work associated with employment they are still often expected to manage domestic affairs. In the words of one interviewee, female refugees often feel “culturally bounded” as these dynamics become clear. The comments of another Bhutanese interviewee illustrate the kind of discussions that Bhutanese men and women are beginning to have regarding gender roles. She said “[Men] from our community need to understand that both [men and women] are equal, and if the wife is working outside, then the man needs to cook, or if a man is going out, then the wife needs to cook. It’s a big adjustment”.

Although attitudes and reactions toward shifting gender roles are certainly connected to culture and levels of conservatism, interview results suggest that they are also largely dependent on age. Specifically, older refugees may be more likely to oppose these changes while middle-aged and younger refugees may be more likely to accept them. In any case, it can be inferred that one’s attitude regarding changes in traditional norms such as gender roles has an impact on the individual experience of integration.

6.4.3. Expectations upon Arrival

Many interviewees explained that newly resettled Bhutanese refugees are often surprised and disappointed by unmet expectations, which vary in nature and degree. Regardless of the specific concern, most unmet expectations seemed to relate to the common refrain that life in the US will be easier and more accommodating, illustrated by the comments of one Bhutanese interviewee said “People have lost their homes, their citizenship, and so many things…. Their expectations are so high…. When they arrive here [in the US], they think, it should be like a heaven. Everything should be perfect”.

Instead, like most newly arrived refugees, many interviewees explained that Bhutanese refugees often struggle to meet their financial obligations and find decent-paying entry-level work,
including those with educational backgrounds and professional experience. According to interviewees, the distance between these realities and common expectations is often frustrating and can even have an adverse effect on mental health. As such, there may be a negative correlation between unmet expectations and integration. In other words, those with low unmet expectations may have a more positive experience of integration, whereas those with high unmet expectations may have a more negative one. It may also be possible to infer that those who adjust their unmet expectations have a more positive experience of integration as well.

6.4.4. The Role of Resettlement Agencies

Resettlement agencies offer a number of services to support and empower refugees that can reasonably be assumed to influence their experience of integration. As such, the basic role of resettlement agencies in the lives of Bhutanese refugees is an important factor to consider. Much of the information collected regarding this role comes from interviews with refugee service providers, which is explicable given their professional understanding of refugee resettlement in the US.

During the interviews, most resettlement professionals described their services as essential in the formational stages of integration, to stabilize and orient refugee clients, guiding them toward self-sufficiency. However, they viewed integration as a long-term process; the beginnings of which they attempt to influence by helping refugees get on the right path. One resettlement professional expressly distinguished between the short-term focus of US resettlement policy and the longer-term process of integration.“I think it would be too ambitious to say [that the goal of resettlement agencies] is integration…. We're trying, with self-sufficiency, to help as much as we can. But, with how the resettlement process is set up, I would be lying if I said it's for integration”. From the Bhutanese perspective, most interviewees regarded the services of resettlement agencies with satisfaction and appreciation, although some suggested that agencies are often unable to provide the level of assistance necessary, perhaps because of inadequate resources and staffing. Even so, interview results suggest that resettlement services can have a significant influence on the process of integration for refugees, in both good and bad ways, as indicated by one Bhutanese interviewee who left his initial resettlement city mainly because of mistreatment by resettlement agency staffs.
6.4 SWOT Analysis Methodology

SWOT is a methodology developed to analyze an organization’s Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats. By breaking down the method behind a successful campaign’s construction, one can gain insight into trends that can shape future movements. The framework’s widespread use in public relations practice is a testament to the successful nature of the application. By breaking down each campaign and determining its strongest and weakest points. This data can be measured by studying research papers, public relations documents, chat rooms, and other documents that are available to the public. When analyzing the above SWOT analysis what we found is that immigrant faces not only employment and communications problems but also emotional and cultural shocks. Bhutanese come from entirely different cultures and environments. America is economically very competitive and it’s hard for Bhutanese to find jobs. English language is another barrier for Bhutanese to find jobs in new country. Most of the Bhutanese find really hard to communicate and buy items from grocery in early days. Lack of communication makes life harder to run daily activities. In some cases, Bhutanese speak some level of English but the American accent is different from most of the countries and lead towards the confusions and frustrations. For Bhutanese who never attended the English schools or spoke English language, communication skill is big barrier for them. Both parents and children say that learning to speak English is often the biggest hurdle in the new country. Once that is accomplished the family begins to adapt more of the American culture into their new lifestyles (Coulter 2). Often time, they start by attending English as Second Language classes to learn from very beginning. For Adult, it takes a long time to learn languages, which gives unnecessary mental stress. Besides being a land of opportunities, the USA is also land of challenges. Bhutanese face challenges mainly in communication and education, employments, cultural differences, integration in American society and economic needs in America. Firstly, communication is one of the challenges of Bhutanese in early days of resettlement in America. It requires communication to do all daily activities. English is not the mother tongue of the Bhutanese. After the arrival in America, limited English or lack of English communication skills leads to miserable life.
Employment is very essential and is hard to find. As most of the Bhutanese come with very limited English and is challenging for them to find jobs in competitive market. Employers always want to hire employee with good communication skills and work history

Table 1: The below given table is the crux of SWOT analysis.

### SWOT- ANALYSIS

**STRENGTHS**

Bhutanese are very closely connected to the community.  
These people wanted to be independent very soon  
They are caring, sharing, and helping each other well. Strong desire to work  
Strong sense of family and community  
Take care of elders in the community. Strong desire to have a safe and good life for their children.

**OPPORTUNITIS**

The key opportunities and success for Bhutanese are hard work, struggle and commitment.

One who works hard, struggles and commits to his/her goal see the US as land of opportunities not only land of challenges definitely succeeds. It is noteworthy that all refugee college students will be eligible for financial support from federal and state government.

**WEAKNESSES**

Older Adults cannot speak English.  
Many are sick and elderly.  
Language, Employment  
Technical skill/education  
Understanding Health System and Insurance policy.  
Conflict of traditional culture. Social and cultural adaptation .  
Psychological distress  
The Bhutanese people between 45 and 64 are most vulnerable.

**THREATS**

Post-migration difficulties offer clues about their possible motivations for committing suicide. Many are unable to communicate with their host communities, plagued by worries about family back home, or unemployed. English language is another barrier for Bhutanese to find jobs in new country. Most of the Bhutanese find really hard to communicate to any places.

Lack of communication makes life harder to run daily activities.
Most of the Bhutanese lack both good communications skills and work history in their resume, which is another challenge for them in early days. Most of the Bhutanese go to English class in early years and is hard for them to manage time to do jobs. Resettlement organizations working for finding employment for new immigrants say that it is hard to find job for Bhutanese because of problems with English proficiency and work history. Thus, the new Bhutanese Americans have lot of challenges in the field of communication and education, employment, cultural and emotional aspect, integrating into new society and economic needs. Nonetheless, there are some opportunities as well. It’s not easy for the new immigrants to start lives in America but hard works and struggle always make it easier and successful in long term.

6.5 Resettlement-Related Distress

My research objectives included exploration of mental and emotional distress related to the experience of third-country resettlement. There are several reasons I chose this focus, in lieu of a more obvious focus on the collective experience of trauma and forced migration. Most importantly, there have been a number of suicides among recently resettled Lhotshampa that are underrepresented in the available literature on the population (www.eKantipur.com2010; Refugee Resettlement Watch 2009). Notices of these deaths are posted to blogs and Nepal media sources and have not, to my knowledge, met with any response from psychiatric researchers who have worked with the community in the past. I was not able to find any record of the total number of suicides committed. After surviving eighteen years of refugee camp life, these suicides beg the question of how Lhotshampa experience psychological suffering to be introduced or exacerbated by the resettlement process. Scholars across disciplines have emphasized the need for research on resettlement-related stressors in minimizing the psychosocial damage of resettlement (e.g. Murray et al. 2010), yet there is a great paucity of information on Bhutanese refugees in the post-resettlement context, likely due to the limited time that has elapsed since the resettlement program began. There are still 25,000 Bhutanese refugees living in the camps of which many have expressed interest in resettlement (www.unhcr.org). In this way, research on distress related to resettlement has significant implications for policy makers, refugee agencies, and NGOs that assume responsibility for the successful adjustment of this population to host country communities, as well as, downstream, the Lhotshampa people themselves.
Although I was primarily interested in studying strategies for coping and healing, I found it crucial to understand these strategies as responses to a particular set of self-perceived mental health needs and a cultural schema through which those needs were experienced, interpreted, and explained. Because suffering can manifest in myriad ways in any society, I struggled to be as clear as possible about the type of suffering my research was concerned with. My focus on post-resettlement stressors was also quite different from the research paradigms many Lhotshampa had been exposed to in Nepal, namely, trauma-focused psychiatric epidemiology surveys. Communicating resettlement-related distress proved a complex and instructive endeavor. Inquiries about mental disorder using terminology related to the

My interviewee’s analysis of this recent suicide clearly presupposes that an individual’s fate is linked with that of his family. In his anecdote, wellness is contingent upon the collective skill set of the family unit including “education,” which is implicitly related to the ability to adapt to life in America. It is taken for granted that an individual’s education is his family’s resource. Over the course of my fieldwork, nearly half of my interviewees explicitly demonstrated similar assumptions when asked about the challenges of resettlement. Many expressed a general sentiment that they “could not complain” because their family, as a collective entity, possessed valuable life skills, most notably English language, which facilitated their own transitions to America. This observation contrasts with existing social ecological literature that locates education solely within the individual sphere (e.g. Kohrt et al. 2010).

Cultural insiders frequently highlighted strong family support as a distinctive feature of Lhotshampa society. For example, another elderly male interviewee stated, “Adjustment is easier for us Bhutanese because there is always at least one family member who speaks English. The kids are learning English in school. We work together, help each other.” This quote distinguishes the Bhutanese refugees in their English language skills (most children began to learn English while living in the refugee camps) and also in their capacity to work together or collectively capitalize on the younger generation’s preparedness.
CHAPTER 7

ADMINISTRATIVE IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROJECTS

7.1 Priority Lists to Recent Resettled Bhutanese Refugees in short.

7.1.1 Detail Orientation aftermath of resettlement

The writer found that the western man is routinely accustomed to modern technology whereas Bhutanese are not so detail orientation aftermath of resettlement is crucial. Majority of the Bhutanese refugee are not familiar with the centrally heated houses, bath showers, the western toilet system, air filters, smoke alarms, vacuums, dish washers, micro waves, barbecue grills, washing machines, dryers, home computers, online payment systems, traffic rules, riding a public bus system and trains, paying by credit cards, lifts and escalators, drug bottles with child lock systems, assembling ready-made (packed) furniture, child seats, seat belts, pumping gas, school admissions, tax filing, vending machines, cell phones, registers at work, the broad band language, every day of his life. Using these things without proper knowledge may be fatal. Resettlement agencies should coordinate with the Refugee Community Organizations for the detail orientation to the new comers.

7.1.2 Education

- Affordable, ESL, Adults (professions & skills),
- accessing credential free education already accomplished,
- child’s education
- special needs, understanding the system
- learning about laws and customs.

7.1.3 Health Care

- Affordable health insurance
- understanding how to access the system
- health problems
ASSIMILATION ISSUES OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES AFTERMATH OF RESETTLEMENT IN U.S

- Support with language needs and transportation.

7.1.4 Adjustment of Cultures

- Learning about laws & customs in US.
- Assimilating and integrating by preservation of their cultural and traditional values.
- Social activities for groups.
- A common place to meet and community activities.

7.1.5 Employment & Finances

- Getting a job within first two months
- learning about enterprise and starting businesses
- reaching economic self-sufficiency
- understanding banks, checks & loans
- saving for emergencies, training.

7.1.6 Training and Empowerment programs

- Training and Empowerment program is a need to overcome the challenges of this transition and the burning desire to surpass others in achieving a social mobility.
- That may not be necessarily easy.
- The attitude of the host population will make a crucial difference in that adjustment.
- Training would be helpful to get jobs for those who cannot speak English.

7.1.7 Citizenship classes

- Becoming US citizens is the goal for almost all Bhutanese Refugee as they were deprived of Citizenship for their whole life.
- To get citizenship is not easy. Bhutanese who reside for five years can apply for citizenship but they must pass the citizenship test.
- Citizenship classes are most expected need to the Bhutanese refugee in U.S.

7.1.8 Political Power
• Becoming US citizens, voting, having a voice in politics and setting policy and want to be a good citizen is the long longing goal and hope of Bhutanese refugees.

7.1.9 Crime & Safety

• Community trainings, introduction to police, educating police about cultures, safety plans, ways to work together.

7.1.10 Respect

• Being treated with respect and without discrimination is key habit of Bhutanese refugees.
• They are very loyal and lovely to treat people with respect.

7.1.11 Housing

• Affordable, decent & safe, flexibility to move when we need to
• trainings in home skills and how to make homes safe.

7.1.12 Community & Faith Organizations

• Directory of community groups,
• a place to meet,
• sports activities,
• resources to share about life in the US,
• serve as advisors to organizations,
• people helping the community.

7.1.13 Transportation

• Being able to drive,
• taking the test in our languages,
• training for the test and help studying,
• knowing what documents are needed.
7.2 Short term and long term Goals in Bhutanese Refugees.

During the focus Group discussion, the writer have found the following short term and long term Goals in Bhutanese Refugees.

Goal 1: To adjust as soon as in the new environment, learn English and start job, possibly within 90 days.

Goal 2: Hope to get employment training and English as a Second Language classes to increase employability and quality of employment services.

Goal 3: Bhutanese Refugees want to understand and use banks, checking, credit cards and loans as appropriate.

Goal 4: Bhutanese Refugees want to buy vehicle as soon as possible to make their life easier and to start the job faster.

Goal 5: Bhutanese Refugees will establish their own enterprises and businesses.

Goal 6: Bhutanese Refugees will establish savings for emergencies some emergency funds.

Goal 7: Bhutanese Refugees will buy their own house instead of paying the rent for all life.

Goal 8: Bhutanese Refugees want to save money for their children education because they regard education as a second religion.

7.3 General recommendations for assisting Bhutanese refugees.

Adopting the following recommendations would help counter the refugee backlash and keep communities open and welcoming to refugee resettlement

1. The refugee resettlement agencies should build and support capacity at the national and local levels to generate and maintain broad-based commitment to resettlement in local communities.

- Get Organized: The national resettlement agencies should launch a funded, proactive organizing initiative, coordinated nationally but strongly rooted in local action, to raise
awareness in communities about the benefits of resettlement and proactively prevent resettlement backlash.

➢ Develop a Rapid Response Plan: The national resettlement agencies, with the help of local affiliates that have experience responding to anti-resettlement sentiment and action in their communities, should create a plan for quickly responding to emerging anti-resettlement activity and supporting local efforts to organize and fight anti-resettlement measures in their communities. The agencies should identify three to five pilot locations facing or at risk of facing rising anti-refugee sentiment, where local resettlement agencies can work across volag networks to build diverse stakeholder teams of resettled refugees, service providers, and community, business, and faith leaders and train them to become effective spokespeople for refugee resettlement in their communities.

➢ Create New Messages: The national resettlement agencies should coordinate the work of developing new messages to respond to anti-refugee sentiment and proactively promote resettlement. National and local target audiences for the new messages include elected officials and other decision makers as well as the broader community. Messages highlighting the humanitarian goals of resettlement and historical role of the U.S. in protecting refugees are no longer sufficient: They must now also highlight refugees’ positive impact on local communities and the country.

➢ Partner with Immigrant Advocates: National and local resettlement agencies should strengthen ties between refugee and immigration advocates to provide mutual support and ensure collaboration on advocacy relating to areas of mutual concern. The national resettlement agencies should initiate discussion with national immigration groups, state immigrant and refugee coalitions, and other potential allies to discuss the rise in anti-refugee sentiment in communities across the country and the challenges faced by the resettlement program and refugees, and to begin or renew partnerships. With the help and support of the national refugee organizations, local refugee groups should also initiate dialogues with immigrant advocates in their communities in order to create or renew connections and identify areas of possible collaboration.

➢ Track Anti-Resettlement Legislation: The national refugee agencies should partner with the National Conference of State Legislators (NCSL) to ensure that anti-refugee
legislation is identified early and tracked systematically so the resettlement agencies can quickly respond.

- Conduct Research on Local Anti-Refugee Leaders: The national refugee agencies should partner with groups such as Center for New Community and Southern Poverty Law Center to learn more about individuals and groups leading local efforts to resist resettlement, to determine if they belong to organized anti-immigrant or anti-Muslim organizations or networks.

The federal government should create national benchmarks for refugee integration and measure progress toward success.

- The federal government should clearly articulate the integration goals of the U.S. refugee resettlement program. ORR should begin to define these goals in a collaborative manner by considering the perspectives of all parties in the process, including state and local and public and private partners, as well as refugees and receiving communities. The goals for the U.S. refugee resettlement program should include successful integration from the perspective of both the refugee and the receiving communities.

- Identify and Measure Key Indicators of Success: The federal government should work with stakeholders in the resettlement program to identify indicators of integration that include factors beyond short-term employment, among them long-term employment, civic participation, health and well-being, and English proficiency.

- ORR should develop and share best practices for community consultation. While the cooperative agreement requires community consultation, which occurs to some extent in all resettlement communities, ORR should work with the resettlement agencies and groups such as Welcoming America to identify best practices to guide a robust and productive consultation process and provide training to ensure that all resettlement agencies benefit from the effective practices and experiences of other communities.

- ORR should improve information sharing during the resettlement process. ORR should provide refugee-receiving communities with all available information that UNHCR and the Resettlement Support Centers (RSCs) already collect about refugees processed for resettlement to the U.S., including information obtained during screening interviews and the content of refugee applications. The information should be disclosed to the national
and local resettlement agencies as early in the process as possible, in order to better inform placement decisions and to plan for resettlement services, particularly in “preferred community” programs that ORR funds to assist refugees with special needs. This information is especially important for challenging or unusual cases, such as refugees with severe medical problems, survivors of torture, or sexual minority (LGBTI) refugees to help them become better integrated and more productive in their new communities.

**Key recommendations are made for local resettlement networks, community mental health providers, ORR and other partners to prevent suicide. In brief, the recommendations include:**

- 77% listed language barriers as one of their post-migration struggles so, local Bhutanese community should arrange to teach English to the elderly people.
- Resettlement agencies must coordinate with the Bhutanese communities to address the elderly people language issues.
- Resettlement agencies, other refugee serving agencies and refugee leaders: provide orientation on financial planning and finances, as well as ongoing financial planning support.
- Resettlement agencies must provide long-term case management.
- Resettlement agencies should conduct need assessment program every six months to the newly arrived refugees.
- Search for available, appropriate jobs and use available employment resources, including coordination with Department of Labor.
- Local Universities and colleges should give prior admission orientation to the high school students.
- Primary healthcare providers must give translated appointment slip for those who cannot speak English.
- Refugee must be made aware time and again about the dangerous situations and circumstances.
✓ Resettlement agencies should consider development of additional programs for newly arrived persons that address post-resettlement isolation, and to try to involve the local community more in these activities.
✓ Provide support groups.
✓ Develop culturally-appropriate elder programs.
✓ Pay special attention to vulnerable groups such as the elderly, widows, the mentally and physically disabled and those who have experienced torture.
✓ Seek emergency funds opportunities, identify and coordinate with other non-profits to ensure access to emergency funds.
✓ Provide long-term case management services to vulnerable groups.
✓ Provide access to community efforts.
✓ Educate the host community about the historical and cultural background of the refugees.
✓ Identifying and coordinating with other non-profits, schools, labor department, and specialty employment programs to increase employment training opportunities.
✓ Assist to organize trainings and support for community members who wish to start businesses.
✓ The State Refugee Coordinator should advocate, at the state and federal level, for additional financial resources to support employment, enterprise, and employment training for refugees.
✓ The local resettlement network should urgently follow up with recent suicides to connect affected families and communities with wrap-around supportive services.
✓ Provide support services to families and communities affected by suicide to minimize contagion
✓ Enhance mental health screening of refugees and standardize reporting of suicides and suicide attempts.
✓ Facilitate connections between suicide prevention programs and refugee resettlement communities/networks.
✓ Develop increased capacity at mental health service agencies to serve refugees in crisis
✓ Expand mental health services for recently arrived refugees to address anxiety, depression, distress and PTSD.
✓ Strengthen community structures and expand programs for newly arrived persons that address post-resettlement isolation, non-clinical interventions in the context of Bhutanese culture, vocational training and community engagement.

✓ They need to focus on the realities on the grounds, ways and means to adopt the changes and find a pragmatic path forward to inspire our community.

✓ Implement community-based suicide prevention training and intervention activities.

✓ Resettlement agencies should reassess intake procedures and involve the community in the welcoming activities.

✓ Create culturally and linguistically appropriate programs for seniors as there are a lot of seniors in the Bhutanese communities that consider them useless and feel like a bird in a cage.

✓ Use of Trained Professional Interpreters at every social and healthcare setting. This will allow the communities to take charge of their health and life, hence empowering themselves and keeping their roles in the families as they don’t have to ask their kids to interpret for them.
CHAPTER 8

IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION

Research into the needs, expectations and experiences of Bhutanese refugees, has provided a unique insight into the resettlement journey, providing evidence of expectations prior to departure, the challenges associated with resettlement, and how these have impacted on settlement outcomes in the community. Despite these challenges, former Bhutanese refugees are a highly motivated, cohesive and determined group who are likely to support each other, advocate for them and pro-actively work towards achieving their goals in United States. The information provided by the Bhutanese on their resettlement journey provides greater understanding of the specific needs of a new cohort of arrivals to United States. This information will help to inform development of future pre-arrival and on arrival settlement information and orientation for Bhutanese refugees and quota refugees generally.

The Bhutanese refugees who participated in the Scranton, Pennsylvania interviews were predominantly positive and hopeful about their new life in The United States. Although many acknowledged the obstacles they needed to overcome and areas where they had found adjusting difficult, they generally had a positive outlook to the future and a readiness to move into the community. Whilst there were areas of improvement suggested overall the Scranton orientation program had provided a good foundation of knowledge and most felt adequately prepared to enter the community and were looking forward to the next step in the resettlement process.

All in all, information provided by the Bhutanese on their resettlement journey provides greater understanding of the specific needs of a new cohort of arrivals to USA. The journey they went through is a journey within and less traveled by many in their life. If needed, this journey was anything- it was full of surprise and deception. What is unfortunate is that these atrocities were never heard of by the outside world. Their voices were muted while they were silently suffered.

Research into the needs, expectations and experiences of Bhutanese refugees, has provided a unique insight into the resettlement journey, providing evidence of expectations prior to departure, the challenges associated with resettlement, and how these have impacted on settlement outcomes in the community. A fledgling group of new immigrants, a hopeful influx – they are in the process of creating a burgeoning Bhutanese community in the west. They have
found a relief from their plight and have started a new life in their new homes. Total strangers in a totally new setting; they may be overwhelmed but they are happy putting things behind and moving on. With the freedom and opportunities available, they have a chance to lead a normal human life again. Despite these challenges, former Bhutanese refugees are a highly motivated, cohesive and determined group who are likely to support each other, advocate for them and proactively work towards achieving their goals in U.S. This information will help to inform development of future pre-arrival and on arrival settlement information and orientation for Bhutanese refugees. The settlement experiences of the former Bhutanese refugees interviewed were explored and specifically focused on a range of key themes to emerge from interview.

The writer studied culturally sanctioned strategies for coping, healing, and promoting resilience among the Lhotshampa. The presented data on the limited utilization of professional mental health services in the US and explained this trend in light of Lhotshampa beliefs and values as well as existing literature. The writer introduced some of the folk modalities employed by Lhotshampa the writer interviewed. And finally, the writer applied existing ethno psychological frameworks to the study of popular sector approaches to promoting wellness within the community, thereby complementing previous applications of the framework to the study of trauma and disorder. In so doing, the writer concerned with help-providing behavior, which proved a fruitful analytical approach in the Lhotshampa context. Through this work, the writer identified idioms related wellness including “feeling light” and “being engaged. “Finally, the writer explored the ways in which community-based programs alleviate suffering and foster psychosocial wellness within the framework of the Lhotshampa. Finally, the writer explored the ways in which community-based programs alleviate suffering and foster psychosocial wellness within the framework of the Lhotshampa. Although the women’s knitting group and a community-based farming projects have no explicit connection to “mental health,” my analysis suggests that the psychosocial implications of these activities are great. These community initiatives function within existing Lhotshampa schema for understanding self in the healing context to foster resilience.

Nevertheless, the writer tried to develop this informational project as a glimpse about the Bhutanese refugee cultural profile to make everyone easy: service providers and services receivers. This paper highly focused on inner cultural core values and practices of Bhutanese
refugees, Settlement Considerations in various cultural contrast issues, glimpse on health profile, some core information and data on various issues, interview and suggestions, general recommendations and living status of Bhutanese in America in general and Scranton, Pennsylvania in particular.

The historical background of the Bhutanese refugees, cultural profile and health profile, resettlement process and procedures, short term and long term goals, major issues and challenges, goals for strengthening employment and financial self-sufficiency, finding and recommendations for assisting refugees are very crucial parts of my paper. Monitoring before-and-after settlement needs and outcomes for this cohort will provide valuable information on the resettlement of refugees through the Refugee Quota Program. The complexities of world events and resettlement needs require the Department of Labor to monitor its practices to ensure they are up to date and in the best interest of the communities who are to be resettled through the Refugee Quota Program.

Finally, this research provides information about the pre-settlement hopes, expectations and experiences of the Bhutanese refugees, as well as their short-term settlement outcomes. This information will enable better support for the resettlement not only of this community, but of refugees generally. This is a useful tool for Public Welfare, Resettlement Agencies, Case Workers, Service Providers, Employers, Hospitals, Schools, Universities, Business Owners, Donors, and many more that are related to the Bhutanese communities. Bhutanese refugees have been coming to the United States for a short time compared with some refugees groups, and therefore some of the health concerns may be not well known. The information provided here is intended to help resettlement agencies, clinicians, and providers understand the cultural background and health issues of greatest interest pertaining to resettling Bhutanese refugee populations.
**ACRONYMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BCS</td>
<td>Bhutanese Community of Scranton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRC</td>
<td>Bhutanese Refugee Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCS</td>
<td>Catholic Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOS</td>
<td>Department of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHS</td>
<td>Department of Homeland Security</td>
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<td>FY</td>
<td>Fiscal Year</td>
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<tr>
<td>HHS</td>
<td>US Department of Health and Human Services</td>
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<td>HIS</td>
<td>Health information system</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>MRS</td>
<td>Migration and Refugee Services</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NP</td>
<td>NaradPokhrel</td>
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<td>ORR</td>
<td>Office of Refugee Resettlement</td>
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<td>Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration</td>
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<td>RHTAC</td>
<td>Refugee Health Technical Assistance</td>
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<td>TTSD</td>
<td>Post-Traumatic stress disorder</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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</table>
USCCB United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
USCIS United States Citizens and Immigration Services
WFP World Food Program
References


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Catholic Social Services of Scranton (CSS)


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APPENDIX A

TABLES
Table 2: Bhutanese Refugee camps and their population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>No of huts</th>
<th>People per hut</th>
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<tr>
<td>Beldangi-1</td>
<td>18,335</td>
<td>2524</td>
<td>2843</td>
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<td>Beldangi-II</td>
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<td>9513</td>
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<td>2790</td>
<td>3212</td>
<td>6.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timai</td>
<td>10,293</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>6.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>106,662</td>
<td>15,034</td>
<td>16,673</td>
<td>6.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Organization for Migration (IOM)
Table 3: Self-reported chronic health conditions during visa medical examinations among US-bound Bhutanese refugees, 2008–2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chronic Health Condition</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypertension</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asthma</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (emphysema)</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seizure disorder</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major impairment in learning, intelligence, self-care, memory, or communication</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major mental disorder including major depression, bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, mental retardation</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes mellitus</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyroid disease</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible disabilities including loss of arms and legs</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of tobacco use</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current tobacco use</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EDN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries of origin</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BHUTAN</td>
<td>15021</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>14999</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>12363</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>13452</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURMA</td>
<td>14020</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>16972</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>16693</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>18202</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAQ</td>
<td>12122</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>9388</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>18016</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>18838</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOMALIA</td>
<td>4914</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3161</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4884</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4189</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUBA</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2920</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4818</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4800</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3174</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRAN</td>
<td>1751</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2032</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3543</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5381</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERITREA</td>
<td>1321</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2032</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2570</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUDAN</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETHIOPIA</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>668</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFGHANISTAN</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL OTHER COUNTRIES</td>
<td>3366</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>2915</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6049</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6364</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>58000</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>56384</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>73293</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>74602</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>13,305</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>7685</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>9500</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>8077</td>
<td>Somalis in Kenya and Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia</td>
<td>17716</td>
<td>19000</td>
<td>17367</td>
<td>18000</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>17000</td>
<td>8356</td>
<td>Burmese in Thailand and Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe and Central Asia</td>
<td>1526</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1228</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>Religious Minorities from the former Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America/Caribbean</td>
<td>4982</td>
<td>5500</td>
<td>2976</td>
<td>5500</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Cubans (many) and Colombians (few)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near East/South Asia</td>
<td>35,782</td>
<td>35000</td>
<td>27168</td>
<td>35500</td>
<td>30000</td>
<td>31000</td>
<td>15469</td>
<td>Iraqis, Bhutanese in Nepal, Iranin religious Minorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Subtotal</td>
<td>73311</td>
<td>77000</td>
<td>56424</td>
<td>73000</td>
<td>58000</td>
<td>67000</td>
<td>34243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unallocated Reserve</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td></td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Available for use as needed for any region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73311</td>
<td>80000</td>
<td>56424</td>
<td>76000</td>
<td>58000</td>
<td>70000</td>
<td>34243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State
Table 6: Vaccinations offered to US-bound Bhutanese refugees during the visa medical examination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vaccine</th>
<th>Age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oral Poliovirus (OPV)</td>
<td>2 months–11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphtheria, Pertussis, and Tetanus (DTP)</td>
<td>2 months–11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetanus and Diphtheria (Td)</td>
<td>≥ 11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles, Mumps, and Rubella (MMR)</td>
<td>≥ 1 year to adults born after 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hepatitis B Virus (HBV)</td>
<td>Zero–18 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Organization for Migration (IOM)

Table 7: Mortality rates 2008–2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bhutanese in Nepal*</th>
<th>General US Population Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crude Birth Rate</td>
<td>per 1,000 population</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude Mortality Rate</td>
<td>per 100,000 population</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 5 Mortality Rate</td>
<td>per 100,000 population</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*HIS (2008-2011)  
** www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr60/nvsr60_01.pdf [24]  
APPENDIX B

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & SAMPLE INTERVIEW
ASSIMILATION ISSUES OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES AFTERMATH OF RESETTLEMENT IN U.S

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following six research questions were asked for one- to- one interview which is analyzed as follows.

1) How is your work experiences sharply contradict with the American way of doing?

2) How are you different from a western man?

3) How is English language affecting your job?

4) Do language barrier affect your daily life in USA?

5) What are the challenges you are facing because of inadequacy of English language?

6) Why do you think the suicide rate is higher in Bhutanese Communities?

SAMPLE INTERVIEW

The writer of this paper has included the short interview with the Physician at Scranton Primary Healthcare center about the Bhutanese children health issues.

Scranton Primary Health Care Center is a single site Federally Qualified Health Care Center, located in Northeastern Pennsylvania, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Our Center’s service area includes the City of Scranton, Dunmore Borough, Blakely, Dickson City, Jessup, Olyphant and Throop. All services are provided at our 959 Wyoming Avenue location with exception of hospital visits, nursing home care and some of our outreach work. Scranton Primary is the main primary healthcare provider to the new coming refugees in Scranton area. They have been helping Bhutanese since 2009. I have asked some questions in my primary data collection process about the newly arrived refugees and their health concern which I have included in earlier sections. Let’s see the short version of the interview with XY who is very famous MSN, CRNP (Pediatrics) at Scranton Primary.

NP: How do you describe Scranton Primary Health care system?
XY: Scranton Primary Health Care Center is a single site Federally Qualified Health Care Center, located in Northeastern Pennsylvania, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Scranton Primary Health Care Center, I describe as a facility that is designed to serve uninsured, underinsured, and physically

NP: What issues /challenges does your organization face?

XY: I think some of our biggest issues and challenge is finance because we do get a lot of federal funding. But not having the government signed certain grant can be difficult for us and that put a challenges on us. A severe economic crisis and a broken healthcare system is another issue. I think the challenge also be our community is very culturally diverse and so we have a lot of issues with cultural concerned and be able to meet those need. So those are difficulties that we face and I like to think that we meet those challenges fairly well but I can’t always say that met completely but it is the challenges that we work on daily.

NP: What are major health issues you see in our community, especially children’s health, low income and underserved people?

XY: Common diseases and conditions that affect our children are viral infection, runny nose, a dry cough, a fever, light sensitivity and inflamed eyes, Pneumonia, Diarrhea, repertory diseases and obesity.

The bigger issue we have is the ability to get some of our children who have medical assistance to specialist. And that is huge-huge huddle for us because we don’t have a lot in our area that accepts the insurance. So we have to send out and that causes lots of huddle because our client doesn’t drive, you know they ride bus system, so that become huge issues as well. Because of the inability to travel to Philadelphia or Danville to meet specialist is really a large issues. We have specialist locally but we can’t utilized them, we want to send them to specialist but as I said they can’t travel to them. So I think this really created a huge battle for us. I think this is a very large issue not only in the area like Scranton but also the small areas nationwide. The availabilities is much less in our area so it does make a very difficult to meet the need of our clients.

NP: What services does Scranton Primary Health Care Center offer?
XY: Scranton Primary Health Care Center Inc. offers comprehensive primary health care services including physician office visits and diagnostic testing. Services offered at the Center include: Internal Medicine, Pediatrics (Children accepted from birth through child’s eighteenth birthday), Gynecological Services Perinatal Clinic and Dental Services

NP: What are the different communities are you dealing with?

XY: The community I think is really more cultural so I love to say cultural community. We see lots of families from Bhutan. We have lots of refugee coming in, so we are dealing with them as well. We have a lot of Hispanic population. We have African American, Afghani, and many more.

You know our community is little bit diverse; one section is Italian and other Hispanic. But they have back-up support which is very good. I can say in this area we have nice blend.

NP: Are you facing any language barrier while dealing with the patients? If yes, what can be done about that?

XY: We do deal with language barrier on a daily basis. So, as you know in our practice we see a lot of Hispanic, so we do have availability as our medical assistants speak Spanish. We do have someone who speaks Greek and Russian. We have new medical assistant who do speak Nepali.

We do have someone available who help translation but we still have problems because they haven’t been train in medical terminology so sometimes there is a lost in translation with that. But you know, something we try to utilize phone line for language translation but it is time consuming. So having someone to help in translation is our best option so we don’t utilize phone line much.

We have our providers who speak different languages; as you know Dr. Galvao speaks Portuguese; Dr. Gandhi speaks Hindi; Dr. Ventura speaks Pilipino; Dr. Mirza speaks some Hindi as well. I think we do have broad varieties, nice in that sense but still have a language barrier in our facilities.

NP: What do you think is the most pressing issue in medicine today?
XY: I think one of our biggest issues is probably the insurance. I think insurance is the huge one. And I really think a lot of that come to fact that people have a lot of difficulties with being able to manage co-pay, so being able testing done or seeing the providers as frequently as they should is very difficult because you have to do co-pay every single time and then the medicine lots of time they can’t afford the medicine and that really matter. Insurance is almost the hindrance; it is there, it is good but almost hindrance in the sense that it can be taxing. If you are sick person or you have an illness it can be very difficult to be able to go to primary care doctors, to go to the specialists, to go to other specialists and then be able to get all medication and all the testing that needs to be done. And it can be very expensive. So I think that is one of our biggest issues.

I find to be one of the biggest questions with most of our client is will my insurance cover my medication or should I have to pay co-pay? We have a lot of health issues that we deal but the insurance is the biggest one and it is globally. In the USA it is the cost of medicine driven to a significant extent by the cost of defensive medicine - the ordering of tests which have near zero chance of making any difference but which are ordered because of the malpractice threat here. It has been estimated that $.40 of every dollar is spent on marginally useful tests which are ordered only because of this aspect of medical practice. There have been some egregious error in medicine, and I believe some degree of control is needed to ensure the availability of drugs that a critically needed even though these drugs are not very profitable.

NP: If you could change ONE thing about our health care system, what would that be?

XY: If I could change ONE thing about our health care system that would Obama care. I think the bigger thing for me is changing insurance companies and the way they do business and having to have co-pay is difficult. Both groups will be affected by the new Obama care rules. It is difficult with this situation to go to the emergency department and have 10 thousands test done which aren’t necessary. If you keep just what is necessary you don’t exposing for things. I think that would help us to save lots of unnecessary money spent and could be able to spend to another seriously ill patients who really need it. So starting with Obama care would probably be a good start because I really don’t think he would be able to do any services with what he had instituted.

She added, you may find another provider who disagree with that and find totally believe on Obama care but I am not of those. And it is very controversial because there are lots of providers
out in the market who are totally agree with it. Those providers are those who practice private and don’t have to deal with are uninsured, underinsured, mentally and/or physically challenged people, so for them it is probably wonderful but for the people who are dealing with those type of client, it is really a huge challenges to meet their need.

Starting next year, nearly all individual plans both in and out of the exchanges will be required to cover an array of "essential" services, including medication, maternity and mental health care. Many plans don't currently offer those benefits. So what happens to the plans that don't meet the new minimum standards? They will likely disappear. A handful of existing plans will be grandfathered in, but the qualifying criteria for that are hard to meet: Members have to have been enrolled in the plan before the ACA passed in 2010, and the plan has to have maintained fairly steady co-pay, deductible and coverage rates until now.
APPENDIX C

MAPS
Bhutan, officially the Kingdom of Bhutan, is a landlocked country in South Asia located at the eastern end of the Himalayas. It is bordered to the north by China and to the south, east and west by India.
Map 2: Location of Bhutanese Refugee camps, in Nepal

The government of Nepal and UNHCR have managed seven refugee camps since refugees arrived from Bhutan in the 1990s. Beldangi I, 12,793, Beldangi II, 14,680, Beldangi II Extension, 8,470, Goldhap, 4,627, Khudunabari, 10,688, Sanischare, 13,323, Timai, 6,874. Because of significant third-country resettlement, refugee camp populations have fallen so in 2013, UNHCR merged Goldhap, Timai, and Khudunabari camps and relocated in to Beldangi camps.
MAP 3: Bhutanese Refugees from Nepal to U.S.

The 75,000th refugee from Bhutan to be resettled from Nepal flew to Pennsylvania, USA this week. Over 63,400 Bhutanese refugees of Nepali origin have begun new lives in the United States; other countries to accept the refugees have been Australia, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

Source: UNHCR (This data is of 2013).
APPENDIX C

PICTURES
Picture 1: Bhutanese refugee camp in Nepal.
Picture 2: Bhutanese Refugee camps in Nepal
Picture 3: Bhutanese Refugees in the camps.
As of May 21, 2014, 90,000 exiled Bhutanese gets resettled in eight different countries. The majority of refugees over 75,000 have been resettled in the United States. Of the some 27,000 refugees remaining in the camps, about 21,000 have already expressed an interest in resettlement and are expected to depart in the coming years (UNHCR & IOM).
ASSIMILATION ISSUES OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES AFTERMATH OF RESETTLEMENT IN U.S

Picture 5: Bhutanese refugees in U.S
Traditionally a wedding involves much music, dance and merriment, which begins as soon as the party leaves the bridegroom's home.

**Picture 6: Mourning at Death**

deceased person’s son in the mourning period and prist performing ritual mourning activities

**Picture 7: Traditional Bhutanese – Nepali dresses**
ASSIMILATION ISSUES OF BHUTANESE REFUGEES AFTERMATH OF RESETTLEMENT IN U.S

Picture 8: Nepali Foods
About the Author
Narad Pokhrel, Born in Kharbandhi, Bhangtar, Samdrupjongkhar, Bhutan, the author currently resides in Scranton, PA, USA. He is a graduate student of Master in Health Services Administration (MHSA) at Marywood University. He was an English Teacher in Nepal for more than a decade. He had worked as Resettlement and Placement Case worker at a resettlement agency in Scranton for a year. He was an Interpreter and language guide at Scranton School District and currently a student support specialist at CSIU-Migrant Education Program. He is also the President of Bhutanese Community of Scranton, PA.