

In Search of Healers— Southeast Asian Refugees in the American Health Care System

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Healing is the alleviation of sickness, which includes both medically defined problems of pathophysiology (disease) and personal definitions of not being well (illness). Refugees from Southeast Asia now have a special need for healing because their health problems are changing from those of concern to public health, which are well documented and for which there are known effective treatments, to those that are primarily a personal concern and that are difficult to diagnose and treat effectively because of their chronic nature and their cultural and emotional components. The finding among refugees of physical complaints for which there is no identifiable medical cause is explained by cultural tendencies in Southeast Asia that promote focusing on somatic symptomatology, and by a delayed somatic response to refugee trauma. To prevent escalation of medical intervention, physicians need to be sensitive to Southeast Asians' attitudes toward health and their expectations and apprehensions regarding Western medicine.

Large numbers of refugees from Southeast Asia were first admitted to the United States in 1975. That year of tumult alone brought some 130,000, who were mostly Vietnamese and predominantly professionals, government officials and military personnel who had some close affiliation with the United States and the collapsed Thieu regime. These first refugees were generally well educated (more than 25% were college graduates), young (88% younger than 45 years of age) urban dwellers (75%) of Catholic background (55%) who were in good health and in the company of family (62% arrived in family groups of at least five persons).¹ They were kept in make-shift relocation centers at US military bases where they were given physical examinations² and studied English until they found sponsors to assist in their resettlement. Whereas this group of refugees has had to deal with immense psychologic trauma and stress,³⁻¹¹ it has not baffled the American health care system to the extent that the subsequent wave of refugees from Southeast Asia has.

The next burst of refugees from Southeast Asia began arriving in the United States in 1979. It reflected

the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in January 1979 and a new anti-Sinitic policy of the government in Vietnam, as well as new military offenses against the hill peoples of Laos. From January 1, 1979, through February 28, 1983, there were 455,255 refugees from Southeast Asia resettled in the United States, constituting 72% of the total of 631,554 who have arrived since April 1975.¹² This group is so different from the first group and from the general US population that it is usually referred to as "the second wave" of refugees from Southeast Asia. It is heterogeneous in national origin, ethnic identity, religion, language facility, literacy, urban-rural-hill background and health status.¹³⁻¹⁸ However, "second wave" refugees are generally less well educated, less literate, less familiar with Western thought and institutions, less facile in English and less healthy than those in the first wave. Escape attempts from the countries of origin were typically long, harrowing and fatal for up to 50% of the displaced; their temporary refuge in camps in Southeast Asia was generally long, even up to seven years, and resources for survival were sparse. Comments in this article generally

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From the Department of Community Health Care Systems, and the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington, School of Nursing, Seattle. Reprint requests to Marjorie A. Muecke, RN, PhD, Dept of Community Health Care Systems, University of Washington School of Nursing, SM-24, Seattle, WA 98195.

**Portrayal Of Southeast Asian Refugees In Recent
American Childrens Studies In American Literature
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