

**With loneliness and satisfaction:
tracing the path of cross-cultural
adaptation by members of the
Vietnamese community in Ireland**

Vera Sheridan, B A M Phil

Presented for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy

Dublin City University

Supervisor Dr A Pearson-Evans

School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies

November 2004

Volume 1 of 2 volumes

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: Ven Shenda

ID No: 50162772

Candidate

Date: 2 February 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME 1

Acknowledgements	7
Abstract	8
List of figures	9
List of tables	10
Glossary of terms	11
List of abbreviations	14
Guide to data analysis tables	15

Introduction **p 16**

0 1 The background to the research	16
0 2 Thesis overview	17

Chapter 1 – Culture and communication **p 20**

1 1 Creating a context for the study of refugees	20
1 1 1 Refugees, culture, communication	22
1 2 Universals or local parameters emic and etic distinction	23
1 3 Etic or universal considerations ‘tight’ and ‘loose’ societies	26
1 4 Universal values an introduction	27
1 4 1 Value systems Hofstede’s dimensions of culture	29
1 5 Pattern variables social value orientations	33
1 6 High and low context communication	35
1 7 Temporality	37
1 8 Emic studies	38
1 9 Conclusion the underlying influence of culture	40
1 10 Summary	42

Chapter 2 – Adapting to other cultures a communication perspective **p 43**

2 1 Creating a context cross-cultural adaptation and refugees	44
2 2 Macro and micro frameworks	45
2 3 Long-term and short-term adaptation of categories of individuals	46
2 3 1 The consequences of an ethnocentric perspective	50
2 4 Creating theoretical frameworks recuperating from shock	52
2 4 1 Culture learning	54
2 4 1 1 Initial encounters uncertainty and anxiety	58
2 4 1 1 1 Critiques of early conceptualisations a psychological perspective	61
2 5 Stress and coping long-term adaptation of ‘immigrants’	65
2 5 1 The specific case of refugees a path model	72

2 6	Social networks	74
2 7	Identities and face negotiation	77
2 7 i	Language, ethnicity and identity	80
2 8	Synthesising a wealth of approaches and models	83
2 9	Communication and systems theory theoretical foundations	85
2 9 i	Kim s [1988, 2001] multidimensional communication model	88
2 10	A second communication model CAT	93
2 10 i	A psychology perspective Ward s model	95
2 11	Discussion a wealth of models	96
2 11 i	Future perspectives	98
2 12	Conclusion theoretical perspectives	99
2 13	Summary	101

Chapter 3 – Methodology **p 103**

3 1	Natural history of the research evolution of personal interest	103
3 2	Qualitative and quantitative approaches	106
3 3	Ethics and the cultural dimension	107
3 4	Data collection interviews, participants, venues and language	110
3 5	The interview focus on the process	112
3 5 i	Interviews what s in a name	115
3 6	Data representation creating a narrative	116
3 7	Data analysis grounded theory	119
3 7 i	Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis, CAQDAS	120
3 7 ii	Coding	121
3 8	Stages of the analysis	125
3 9	Research difficulties time and emotion	130
3 9 i	Limitations of the research	132
3 10	Summary	134

Chapter 4 – Vietnam background **p 136**

4 1	Introduction what was lost	137
4 2	Geographical outline and population composition	138
4 3	Historical background	139
4 4	The refugee population	143
4 4 i	The ethnic Chinese	144
4 5	Historical postscript	146
4 6	Summary	148

Chapter 5 – Encountering the other Vietnamese and Irish culture **p 149**

5 1	Introduction stranger and host	149
5 2	The pervasive effect of Confucianism and the family	151
5 2 i	Harmony	153
5 2 ii	Role relationships	155

5 2 iii	Filial piety and elder respect	157
5 2 iv	Face	159
5 2 v	Communication working round a topic	160
5 2 vi	Ethnic Chinese core values	162
5 3	Irish core values the Hofstede figures	163
5 3 i	Islandness and identity	165
5 3 ii	Connecting with the stranger	166
5 4	Cultural difference	168
5 5	Summary	170

Chapter 6 – Data 1 from the past to limbo, flight refuge and transition to Ireland

p 172

6 1	The refugee camp shock	173
6 2	Coping from camp to host society	175
6 3	The narratives bear witness to history	178
6 3 i	The narratives bear witness to flight and the camp experience	179
6 3 ii	The final destination Ireland	182
6 3 iii	Differences between immigrants and refugees	183
6 4	Preparation for resettlement in Ireland	184
6 5	Long-term resettlement	188
6 6	Discussion Issues stemming from resettlement	191
6 7	Summary	193

Chapter 7 – Data 1 from the past to present, from refugee to entrepreneur

p 195

7 1	Introduction collectivism and Confucian Work Dynamism	196
7 2	Defining the family	198
7 3	The family and business	201
7 4	Ethnic entrepreneurship a long-term strategy	206
7 5	Family business and gender issues	211
7 6	Family reunification	217
7 7	Institutional completeness	221
7 8	Summary	223

Chapter 8 – Data 2 The present [and future indicators], social networks

p 225

8 1	Introduction language and culture	226
8 1 i	Networks and communication patterns	227
8 2	The family network	229
8 3	Language ‘outside’ developing friendships in the host society	231
8 3 i	Developing social relations	218
8 3 ii	Loneliness	233
8 4	Linguistic issues a barrier to social integration	241

8 4 1	Crossing the barrier	243
8 5	Language ‘inside’ communication across the generations	246
8 5 1	Linguistic complexity	249
8 5 11	Contact with the host culture	251
8 6	Irish, Vietnam-born children bilingualism, Chinese, trilinguahsm	253
8 7	Codeswitching and language shift	256
8 8	The fear language loss	258
8 9	Two vulnerable groups older members of the community	262
8 9 1	Adolescents, school and friendship from 1979 to the present	264
8 10	Conclusion Host communication competence, necessity and threat	269

Chapter 9 – Data 2· the present with future indicators, stranger and host creating identity p 273

9 1	Identity themes of belonging, but where?	274
9 2	Bicultural identity individual outcomes	276
9 3	Being Chinese, being marginal	279
9 4	Being Irish? Being Vietnamese?	281
9 5	Endogamy marriage within the cultural group	283
9 5 1	Everyone gets married following tradition?	285
9 5 11	Everyone gets married marrying out?	287
9 6	Two cultures? Cultural maintenance	289
9 7	Conclusion views from the stranger	291
9 7 1	Loss, assimilation, resistance new forms of cultural identity	293
9 8	Summary	295

Chapter 10 – Conclusion and recommendations p 297

10 1	Introduction cross-cultural transformation	298
10 2	The family transformation and resistance	298
10 3	Transforming identity the outcome	299
10 4	Long-term cross-cultural adaptation comparisons	300
10 5	Long-term cross-cultural adaptation implications	303
10 6	Conclusion	305

Bibliography p 310

VOLUME 2 DATA

Appendix A the interviews p 3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly grateful for the postgraduate studentship awarded by the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies as it made this thesis financially possible. I would like to thank and acknowledge the invaluable help of my supervisor, Dr Aileen Pearson-Evans who took a great interest from the beginning of this thesis and provided invaluable support throughout. Initially, Dr Pearson-Evans and Dr Agnes Maillot provided crucial assistance for the development of my research. Dr Pearson-Evans then proceeded to offer vital encouragement during the course of this research project.

I also wish to thank Professor Leslie Davies who opened his door and listened to me with great courtesy. Naturally, I would also like to thank the members of the Vietnamese community who gave me their time and allowed me to interview them. Finally, I owe a very special thanks to Ian, Aisling and Neil for their patience and encouragement as I cluttered up their lives while researching and writing up this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Vera Sheridan - Loneliness and satisfaction tracing the path of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis approach

As Irish society becomes increasingly diverse it is timely to study the process of cross-cultural adaptation which provides challenges to host and stranger alike. This thesis presents a study of long-term cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community whose initial members arrived in Ireland in 1979. Strangers, in this case Vietnamese refugees, confront a new culture with different norms and values requiring new behaviours for communication with the host community. Refugees also have immediate economic needs for survival in their new environment. With the achievement of greater economic security, longer-term concerns develop surrounding the cultural form of the family. The family collective adapts to meet the challenges posed by the host community as Irish-born children and other young family members, living between the two worlds of home and school, raise cultural, linguistic and identity issues.

18 interviews yielded narratives of lived experience ranging from those who arrived as part of the original group of 212 refugees to family members arriving by reunification and observations of the younger generation. A historical and cultural context frames initial encounters as refugees enter refugee camps where they encounter a series of shocks as their known world disappears. Transition to a host country continues the adaptation process where the Vietnamese cultural perspective realises economic security for the family. Social network indicators at group and individual level reveal the depth of integration into the host society in terms of social mixing at work, the creation of friendships and education, these depend on language skills and encountering Irish people. At the same time, other factors produce a tension with integration into the new society. These surface around issues of heritage language maintenance, fears of language and cultural loss and the creation of identities in the new society.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2 1 Patterns of adaptation

Figure 2 2 Anderson's model

Figure 2 3 Feedback in communication theory

Figure 2 4 Kim's structural model

Figure 3 1 Example of a network of codes

Figure 3 2 Factors affecting the adaptation process

Figure 3 3 Group origin in relation to adaptation

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 1 Emic-etic approaches

Table 2 1 A typology of stranger-host relations

Table 2 2 The Interactive Acculturation Model

Table 4 1 Population and ethnolinguistic groups

Table 4 2 Ethnic Composition 1979

Table 5 1 Ireland's scores on Hofstede's four dimensions of culture

Table 5 2 Social distance displayed to Chinese

Table 5 3 Index score estimates for countries not in the Hofstede IBM set

Table 6 1 Refugee population from Refugee Agency [1998] information sheet

Table 6 2 Profile of the Vietnamese community since 1979

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Acculturation – The process by which some psychological change occurs in the individual when cultures come into contact

Adaptation/adjustment - Two other terms used interchangeably with acculturation in this thesis

Assimilation – One of Berry's [1997] four acculturation strategies where individuals consider it to be of value to establish relations with their host community and maintain their host society culture but not their culture of origin

Codeswitching – When individuals switch between two or more languages during a conversation

Collectivism/individualism - One of Hofstede's [1980/2001] five dimensions of culture where individualism relates to the loose ties that bind individuals, in collectivist societies individuals belong to strong in-groups and loyalty is rewarded by group protection

Communication – All activities of message exchange that occur between an individual and the environment. These include explicit verbal messages and all the implicit, nonverbal, unintentional messages that accompany them and influence human behaviour

Confucianism – The philosophy established by Kong Fu Ze [Confucius, 552-479 B.C.], which considers that social stability is based on hierarchical sets of relations between people where mutually binding obligations cement these relations

Confucian Work Dynamism – One of Hofstede's [1980/2001] five dimensions of culture [also long-term/short-term orientation] where long-term orientation is geared towards future rewards and short-term orientation relates more to the present

Cross-cultural adaptation – The dynamic process by which individuals who encounter changed cultural environments, establish [or re-establish] and maintain relatively stable, reciprocal and functional relationships with those environments

Emic – The study of a particular culture from the inside

Endogamy – Marriage within an ethnic group

Ethnicity – An identity stemming from important cultural distinctions such as language or national origin

Ethnolinguistic vitality - The strengths and weaknesses of a group in a multicultural setting in terms of demography, institutional control where there is group representation in the institutions of a society and finally group status

Etic – The study of universal aspects of culture

Exogamy – Marriage outside an ethnic group

Face – Concern for face [Ting-Toomey, 1988] centres on maintaining face, that is, the proper relationship with one's social environment or losing it when one fails to meet all the requirements placed on one with regard to social position

Filial piety – The veneration of parents and the set of obligations inherited by the eldest son, which includes responsibility for looking after elderly parents

Host communication competence – The ability to relate to the host society this involves a stranger's capacity to receive, process and respond to information appropriately according to the host communication system

Institutional completeness – Where an ethnic group has the collective strength to create its own resources such as its own community newspapers

Integration – One of Berry's [1997] four acculturation strategies where individuals consider it to be of value to maintain both their culture of origin and establish and maintain relations with the culture of their host society

Masculinity/femininity – One of Hofstede's [1980/2001] five dimensions of culture where social gender roles remain distinct in masculine societies but overlap in feminine societies

Marginalization – One of Berry's [1997] four acculturation strategies, where an individual finds no value in maintaining the culture of origin or in establishing and maintaining relations with the culture of the host society

Power distance – One of Hofstede's [1980/2001] five dimensions of culture where individuals expect and accept the division of power in their society

Refugee – A legal status following acceptance of a person's circumstances meeting the criteria laid down in the 1951 Geneva Convention [outlined in chapter 6]

Separation – One of Berry's [1997] four acculturation strategies where individuals consider it to be of value to maintain their culture of origin and correspondingly find no value in establishing a relationship with culture of a host society

Stranger – Derived from Simmel [1921/1969], this term refers to individuals encountering and settling into a new cultural environment

Systems theory – Proposes a relationship between a system and its environment. Living organisms such as humans are open systems, which exchange matter with their environment

Tight/loose societies – Unlike loose societies, there is collective pressure on individuals in tight stratified societies to carry out their roles creating a high level of role obligation in interaction with others

Uncertainty avoidance - One of Hofstede's [1980/2001] five dimensions of culture, which refers to the way individuals feel threatened by the unknown

Values – Inferred constructs held collectively by societies and by individuals

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAQDAS = Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis

CAT = Communication Accommodation Theory

CRF = A refugee who went to China first and then joined family in Ireland as part of family reunification later

EUM = European Union migrant following family to Ireland

EVS = European Values Survey

F = Relative who arrived in Ireland as part of family reunification

OECD = Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

R = One of the original group of 212 Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Ireland in 1979

UNHCR = United Nations High Commission for Refugees

USSR = Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GUIDE TO DATA ANALYSIS TABLES

Data analysis tables are presented in Chapters 6-9 of this thesis and an example table is presented below

Codes	Number of References
family definition of	12
family job	8
family friends outside	15
Total	35

Codes are referred to in the first column and these codes are created during the process of data analysis to identify significant aspects of the process of cross-cultural adaptation. A key concept is provided with a code. If there are several parts to a particular code then it is broken down into its constituent elements. In the example table the key concept is family and the three codes are examples of the elements within it.

The numbers in the second column are a record of the occurrence of the code across the data. Where a complex concept has a large number of codes then it has been broken into several tables in order to facilitate discussion of the elements involved. Not all concepts have a large number of constituent elements or a large number of references and such variation is reflected in the tables. A full discussion of the coding process is given in Chapter 3.7.11.

INTRODUCTION

0 1 The background to the research

Since the arrival of 212 refugees in 1979 in Irish society, the Vietnamese community has remained largely invisible and the complexity of their long-term *adaptation* to Irish society has not been fully researched. In the meantime, Ireland has changed significantly since the mid-1990s when the Celtic Tiger resulted in full employment, a labour shortage and the active recruitment of workers from abroad. A greater presence of visible difference, encounters with different cultural practices and, as the 2002 census demonstrated, demographic changes have all provided a picture of sudden change. The development of long-term contact between host and stranger has not been studied in an Irish context so it is timely to consider that the members of the Vietnamese community have been in the process of adapting to Irish society for over 20 years. The purpose of this thesis then, is to examine the cross-cultural adaptation process that is set in motion with the arrival of strangers in 1979 to a country that perceived itself to be culturally homogenous. Since that time the Vietnamese have also changed: the community has grown as family members under a family reunification programme have joined it and the next, Irish-born generation is already growing up in Ireland.

The research question is in two parts, namely

- What has been, and continues to be, the nature of the cultural adaptation process experienced by members of the Vietnamese community?
- And what are its implications for the host society, that is, Irish society?

The question considers both parties involved in the adaptation process. It also allows for differentials that arise in the process as the experience of cross-cultural adaptation varies: there was no pre-existing network of ethnic Vietnamese to give social support to the original 212 refugees. On arrival, they encountered all the stresses and strains of learning to become effective communicators in their new culture. This group, then, arriving from the half-way houses of the refugee camps, had a profoundly different experience from those who have joined the small Vietnamese community later as part of family reunification, as marriage migrants or as members of the second generation. These experiences of cross-cultural adaptation spanning over twenty years are the focus of this research.

0.2 Thesis overview

The thesis divides into the following sections in volume 1:

Chapter 1 outlines the relevant cultural factors involved in communication across cultures with particular reference to refugees.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the literature relevant to this thesis. The literature is drawn from the diverse field of cultural adaptation and details the range of theoretical approaches to cross-cultural adaptation.

Chapter 3 describes the methodological framework used to examine the research which is qualitative. It features the process of data collection using an open-ended interview format to collect 18 interviews. Data representation is by narrative. The approach to data analysis is based on grounded theory and uses Atlas.ti, a software package for computer-assisted qualitative data analysis, which systematises the analytic process. Finally, the limitations of the research are discussed.

Chapters 4 and 5 outline a country-specific approach to Vietnamese and Irish culture. This provides the context for the adaptation process by highlighting the key differences between the two cultures and lays the foundation for the analysis of the data.

Chapters 6-9 of data-driven analysis focus on the narrative process, culture, language and identity respectively. These are the salient features of the adaptation process to emerge from the data. Chapter 6 details how refugees cope with the experiences they bring with them to their new country.

Chapter 7 shows the positive cultural influences that helped the Vietnamese adapt to Irish society and the specific result of this long-term process.

Chapter 8 examines current social networks to see the extent of the community's integration. Linguistic and cultural concerns emerge as key preoccupations in the context of social relations inside and outside the home.

Chapter 9 discusses identity issues concerning both the first and Irish-born generation and long-term identity for the community in Irish society

Chapter 10 presents the concluding remarks concerning the adaptation process with their implications for a host culture. The research contribution of this thesis is discussed followed by recommendations for future research

Volume 2 contains the data where

Appendix A contains the narratives with an introduction and table of interviewee participants' details

CHAPTER ONE

REFUGEES, CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

Culture is to a human collectivity what personality is to an individual

[Hofstede 2001 p 10]

Chapter outline

The first section of this chapter contextualises the study of refugees and, as refugees encounter a new culture, the important role culture plays in communication. This is followed by a theoretical framework for the study of cultural factors: the etic-emic distinction is outlined, that is, universals of culture in contrast to a specific cultural system. The second section details theoretical approaches to the universal and specific aspects of culture of significance to Vietnamese and Irish cultural contexts.

1.1 Creating a context for the study of refugees

This study is concerned with the long-term process of cultural adaptation by 212 Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Ireland in 1979 and those relatives, eligible for family reunification, who followed at a later stage. Though there have always been exiles, the twentieth-century refugee emerges from post World War II Europe, which had the experience of managing approximately 30 million displaced people.

Standard procedures for the care and control of refugees were adopted, initially on military lines. The space of the refugee camp, based on military barracks, became the domain where new power structures were created via a range of interventions and also included

study and documentation, and the post-war figure of the modern refugee largely took shape in these camps

[Malkki, L, 1995, p 500]

With the creation of the UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] in 1951, a humanitarian model replaced the military one. The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees stems from this period containing the basic legal definition of refugee status. [The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees removed the war-linked time restriction and created a universal instrument of refugee law.]

Despite some early studies of refugees [Kunz, 1973, 1981], the interdisciplinary field of refugee studies emerged in strength in the 1980s and a vast body of literature has emerged since then including studies of the Vietnamese. Malkki [1995] has critiqued the foci of such research from an anthropological perspective as creating over-simplistic frameworks. Firstly, it generally assumes that loss of a homeland implies loss of culture and cultural identity. There is no consideration that such cultural identity may already have become problematic before flight. Secondly, Tran [1987] notes there has been a strong mental health research perspective [see chapter 2 for discussion] that appeared to assume psychological disorder in the general refugee population. Thirdly, there is an assumption of a specific refugee

experience rather than refugees being a mixed group of people who happen to share the status of refugee. Finally, Malkki [1995] criticizes the literary notion of exile which presents a certain aesthetic in an idealised and romanticised form that is denied in the term 'refugee' with its connotations of helplessness, humanitarian assistance and bureaucracy. Malkki suggests a useful perspective from which to consider what it is to be a refugee.

What is the state of not being a refugee like? How is it denoted? These questions lead into considerations of citizenship and nationality, origins and nativeness, nationalisms and racisms, and of the concepts of identity, ethnicity and culture

[Malkki, L, 1995, p 51]

The Vietnamese are viewed as refugees from this perspective with a particular focus on identity, ethnicity and culture in this study. These considerations are, as Malkki notes, intertwined with citizenship, a simultaneous concern with origins and, for some, encounters with racism in the new society.

1.1.1 Refugees, culture and communication

212 Vietnamese refugees arrived in Ireland in 1979 as programme refugees, that is, as part of a government programme to permanently resettle them in Ireland from refugee camps in Malaysia and Hong Kong. They encountered a culture and society quite different from their own to which they had to adapt in order to make a new life for themselves. Harrell-Bond and Voutira [1992] state that

refugees are people who have undergone a violent 'rite of separation and unless or until they are 'incorporated' as citizens into their host state (or returned to their state of origin) find themselves in 'transition'

[Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 1992 p 7]

Refugees are separated from their culture and, as Harrell-Bond and Voutira imply, have to adapt long-term to a new culture and be accepted by their host society as new citizens. As this thesis is concerned with the adaptation of a refugee group, Harrell-Bond and Voutira's interpretation reinforces the cultural perspective underlying this process.

Culture deals with the things that hurt [Hofstede, 1991, p. 5] so that communication encounters between individuals from different cultures create a range of problems of varying degrees. Culture takes centre stage in the study of communication and is not viewed as a set of external artefacts but as the internal, abstract representation of how individuals engage with each other in society [Keesing, 1974]. Culture is evident in social behaviour and is present at the psychological level as it influences affect, behaviour, and cognition. This is not to say that human beings are victims of culture as they are creative and capable of breaking out of old moulds [Hofstede, G, 1991, p. 4]. Human beings are adaptable; they can learn new patterns of behaviour including new communication behaviours and generally manage to adapt successfully to new circumstances.

1.2 Universal or local parameters: emic and etic distinction

Studies in the area of culture have attempted to find both universal or etic patterns, and culture specific, or emic patterns of culture. Pike [1966] proposed these two terms of analysis by borrowing two linguistic terms, namely, phonetics and

phonemics Phonetics studies sound but not the specific sounds of a language, which is the field of phonemics Phonetics is the study of universal aspects of language whereas phonemics concentrates on the description of a single system Pike notes that etic criteria are often discovered quickly from partial information in cross-cultural analysis and are created by the analyst whereas emic criteria are discovered once a system is known fully as the criteria are relative to each other Etic criteria can be measured directly whereas emic criteria are relative to the characteristics of a particular system In effect, an emic description is one supplied by someone who is familiar with the system, that is, from the 'native's point of view' [Geertz, 1979] As Pike notes, emic and etic distinctions are ways of conceptualizing the same data but from two different points of view

Table 1.1 Emic-etic approaches, from Berry [1980, p 11-12]

Emic approach	Etic approach
Studies behaviour from within the system	Studies behaviour from a position outside the system
Examines only one culture	Examines many cultures, comparing them
Structure discovered by the analyst	Structure created by the analyst
Criteria are relative to internal characteristics	Criteria are considered absolute or universal

Berry [1980] characterizes the distinction in Table 1.1 Both emic and etic perspectives are necessary as Berry notes that cross-cultural comparisons imply at

least two points of view 'cultural' implies an emic perspective and 'cross' an etic one

without etics comparisons lack a frame, without emics, comparisons lack meat

[Berry, 1980, p 13]

Berry et al [2002] refine this perspective by stating that where research focuses on a cultural approach, the emic-etic distinction could be a distraction. They feel that the analysis of behaviour in a particular context requires "descriptive and interpretive methods that find their roots in the culture being studied, [Berry et al, 2002 p 292]

There have been several calls for relating emic and etic approaches in the study of adjustment [Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1996, Ting-Toomey & Chung, 1996]. Ting Toomey and Chung [1996] propose a comparative convergent method, that is, a combination of etic and emic levels of analysis. To understand the study of communication, they consider that a combination of both approaches is necessary. Berry [1979] emphasises the importance of a strong emphasis on an emic strategy particularly when focusing on group relations. Indeed, Berry et al [2002, p 291] note that qualitative researchers consider that the complexity of human behaviour can only be fully understood in its particular cultural context.

This is a qualitative study and both etic and emic approaches are outlined in the following section. Key etic approaches are presented with a shorter selection of emic ones. As this thesis concerns the process of cross-cultural adaptation of

Vietnamese refugees in Ireland, chapters 4 and 5 present an emic approach to an analysis of both Vietnamese and Irish culture

1.3 Etic or universal considerations: 'tight' and 'loose' societies

Societies have evolved with either loose or tight social structures [Boldt 1978, Boldt & Roberts, 1979, Witkin & Berry, 1975]. Structurally tight societies display low levels of differentiation in their hierarchical structure. In contrast, loose societies display a greater degree of differentiation in their structure. There is a relationship between an individual and the amount of role diversity and level of role relatedness that he or she possesses in society. Role diversity is quantifiable and role relatedness is qualitative as it defines the quality or kinds of connections between them. These connecting bonds in an individual's social network are imposed in tight societies whereas they are of a prepositional nature in loose societies so that they are open to interpretation. Structural tightness refers to the relatedness of these roles and role relationships.

Structurally tight societies impose the *collective* expectations of the group on the individual so that he or she is more constrained in interaction with others. Vietnamese society would be such an example. In contrast, individuals in structurally loose societies are not so constrained. Consequently, the tight-knit nature of such bonds would be reflected in family relationships and in individual social networks. Constraint in this area will affect the creation of friendships and general

relations with others. Structural tightness/looseness also affects social conformity. Social conformity is expected to be greater in more homogenous societies. In this regard, the perception of social homogeneity in Irish society in 1979 when the Vietnamese arrived would conform to this characteristic. However, there are paradoxes in Irish society as it also contains a high level of individualism consistent with structurally loose societies. Structural tightness and looseness clearly create different potentials for the formation of social relationships across the Vietnamese and Irish divide.

1.4 Universal values: an introduction

Interest in universal value systems has been two-fold: the role of values in human action and their role in cross-cultural comparisons. Cultural anthropologists such as Kluckhohn [1962,] generated interest in universal categories in order to make meaningful cross-cultural comparisons. Human societies face the same sets of general problems and find culturally rooted solutions to these. This is the starting point for the creation of value-systems as Kluckhohn [1962] outlines:

Every society's patterns for living must provide approved and sanctioned ways for dealing with such universal circumstances as the existence of two sexes, the helplessness of infants, the need for satisfaction of the elementary biological requirements such as food, warmth, and sex, the presence of individuals of different ages and of differing physical and other capacities. The basic similarities in human biology the world over are vastly more massive than the variations. Equally, there are certain necessities in social life for this kind of animal, regardless of where that life is carried on or in what culture. Co-operation to obtain subsistence and for other ends requires a certain minimum of reciprocal behaviour, of a standard system of communication, and, indeed, of mutually accepted values.

[Kluckhohn, C, 1962, p 317-318]

Kluckhohn defined a value as operating at an abstract level as an internalized symbolic system with affective, cognitive and conative (selection) dimensions. Action is based on value systems that serve to stabilize interaction in social life by setting limits to self-gratification within a social system [Kluckhohn, et al, 1951/1962]. There is a distinction between desired and desirable values, namely, between those that people actually desire as individuals and those they think they should desire as a group. Though individual and group values do not converge exactly, group values and conformity to group value norms create safety for the group and help ensure its survival. When cultures come into contact then conflict can arise, as differences in value systems are foregrounded.

From a psychology perspective, Rokeach [1973] defines a value as

an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance.

[Rokeach, 1973, p 5]

Value systems are internalized during the process of early childhood socialization so that their influence is deeply rooted in an individual's cultural consciousness. Individuals act in accordance with this underlying framework so that differences in value systems can prove problematic and divisive in relations across cultures. Rokeach [1973] developed and used a value survey to test the values of individuals in cross-cultural comparisons and there were significant similarities across cultures in the findings. The survey has also been used to examine the value-systems of

second-generation immigrant children in Australia vis-a-vis their parents, as well as how accurately migrant and host perceived each other's values [Feather, 1975]. Misconceptions arose between migrant and host groups regarding value systems where the migrant group remained separate to a slight extent from the host. Results also showed that there were differences across the generations. As there is an Irish-born generation in this study, Feather's findings are of interest, particularly as they stem from an assimilationist perspective similar to the Irish context.

1.4.1 Value systems: Hofstede's dimensions of culture

The first significant study of value orientations by Florence Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck [1961/1973] carried out an extensive and elegant comparison of five communities, in geographical proximity in the United States, across five value orientations. It followed Kluckhohn's [1962] premise that cultures have a similar set of problems to solve but that each culture solves these problems in its own particular way. In contrast, Hofstede [1980/2001] has focused on value systems across *national* frontiers though also using Kluckhohn's [1962] frame of reference to identify how cultures solve universal human problems. Hofstede proposes the following solutions, which are rooted in the common problems faced by human societies:

1. *power distance* referring to how societies deal with social inequality including authority

- 2 *uncertainty avoidance* which considers the levels of stress in a society when dealing with the unknown
- 3 *individualism v collectivism* which relates to the integration of individuals into primary groups
- 4 *masculinity v femininity* which concerns the division of emotional and social roles between men and women

These four dimensions correspond to core cultural values which influence the formation of a society's institutions, social arrangements and practices. The dimensions exist along a continuum so that societies differ according to where they stand on the four dimensions. Hofstede's work is *empirically grounded* in research across 53 countries and has generated a body of literature that has tested and validated the four dimensions [Hofstede & Bond 1984, Oudenhoven, 2001]

The Chinese Culture Connection, a research group based in Hong Kong and led by Bond [1987] created a further dimension. Their initial concern was to examine the universal validity of Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variation. As social science is Western in origin, Hofstede's survey could have created culture-bound results. Consequently, a values survey rooted in Chinese culture was created so that any correlations with 'Western' instruments arising from the findings would be particularly robust. Such correlation between Hofstede's [1980/2001] dimensions and the measures used by the Chinese Culture Connection did correlate. However, Confucian Work Dynamism did not correlate with any of Hofstede's [1980/2001]

dimensions and has been incorporated by Hofstede [1980/2001] to create a fifth dimension

- 5 *long-term v short-term* orientation reflecting the choice of focus for people's efforts the future or the present

This addition emerging from the Chinese Culture Connection [1987] creates a balance within two perspectives so that the five dimensions are accepted as robust and culture-free

The dimension of individualism and collectivism has attracted the most attention and produced a vast body of research [Bochner, 1994, Cross 1995, Kashima et al 1995, Triandis, Brislin & Hui, 1988] on the self-construct, gender and cross-cultural training for example Bochner [1994] for instance examined cross-cultural differences in the self-concept, as individualism-collectivism will affect self-cognition, the view of the self. In broad terms individualism construes persons as clearly separate entities in their social groupings, in collectivism this distinction is not so clear so that individuals have a strong within-group relationship which locates the self and personal interests as part of the group. Bochner [1994] took the more subtle view proposed by Triandis [1989] that self-cognition is more complex depending on the emphasis that a culture places on private, collective and public segments of the self. The self contains all these cognitions but cultural influence creates salient self-references along the individualism-collectivism continuum

From this perspective, Bochner's findings supported Hofstede's construct as did Cross [1995]. Kashima et al [1995] found differences within collectivist societies concerning gender where gender differences are significantly defined with regard to the self in emotional relationship to others. Liebkind [1996], writing about members of the Vietnamese community in Finland, states

We are only beginning to reveal the complexity and multidimensionality of the subjective experience of exile and acculturation. These experiences seem to depend, to a considerable degree, on age and gender, and they cannot be understood without close scrutiny of the particular cultural values clashing in the acculturation process

[Liebkind, 1996, p 177]

All these arguments are of significance to the Vietnamese and Irish cultural contexts with Irish culture falling mostly into the individualist domain and Vietnamese into the collectivist

There are, however, critiques of individualism-collectivism [Schwartz, 1990] particularly when individualism and collectivism are conceptualized as polar opposites where there is conflict between personal interests and ingroup interests. Firstly, Schwartz [1990] points out that there are values such as wisdom, which serve both the individual and the ingroup. Secondly, there are collective goals such as social justice and peace serving not only the ingroup but also the greater collectivity. Schwartz [1990] also considers that communal – his preferred term to collectivist – societies may attach greater importance to social power as power differences are perceived as legitimate aspects of the social structure.

This echoes Hofstede [1980/2001] and is significant in this study as the role of power has been a social and political factor in Vietnamese society in the twentieth century [Elliott, 1999]. Power relations have also shaped people's lives following the reunification of Vietnam when the social order was changed by violence, propaganda campaigns and imprisonment for re-education purposes. Finally, refugees undergo quite specific experiences of *powerlessness* in relation to authority [Knudsen, 1991], particularly in refugee camps, so that a strong focus on *only* the individualism-collectivism dimension does not capture the subtleties of relationships that exist between individuals and their relations with the people and institutions of their own and other societies.

1.5 Pattern variables: social value orientations

The focus of pattern variables is on role relationships and Parsons and Shils [1951] set out five concept pairs of pattern variables, which they call the "pattern variables of role-definition" [p134]. They are set in the context of the role structure of a social system and the relations between these roles. The five pattern variables are as follows:

- 1 affectivity v affective neutrality, that is, need gratification versus restraint of impulses
- 2 self-orientation v collective orientation, considered akin to Hofstede's dimensions of individualism-collectivism

- 3 universalism v particularism or applying general standards versus taking specific relationships into account
- 4 achievement v ascription which means judging others in terms of their achievements versus judging them by who they are
- 5 specificity v diffuseness which is limiting relations with others to particular spheres versus no such prior limitations

Parsons notes that these five variables are not a list but are combined systematically in sets of interrelationships. They also lie on a horizontal axis between cultural orientation and motivational orientation. Action requires choice on the part of its human actor and the pattern variables are a framework of mutually exclusive choices that an actor makes. For example, affectivity provides a choice regarding immediate gratification whereas delaying gratification is being affectively neutral. The latter implies that an actor is acting in a restrained way not based on emotion but more on cognition.

Hofstede [1980/2001] has critiqued the difference between Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck and Parson and Shils's approach by noting that "the former formulated their orientations around basic human problems that allow different solutions, these solutions then direct the actions. The latter merely described the dominant modes of action, [Hofstede, 1980/2001, p 31]. However, Lipset [1963] applied the pattern variables in a comparison between four apparently similar countries: the USA, Canada, Australia and Britain. Significant differences emerged as features of these

four countries. Consequently, the underlying choices made by an actor with regard to acting in a situation play a significant role in communication between people of different cultures. These underlying orientations, learnt during the process of enculturation, can lead to problems in communication if individuals are unaware of each other's pattern variables.

1.6 High and low context communication

In communication, Hall [1976/1989] makes a distinction between the work of theoretical linguists who are interested in the abstract internalized system of language and how people use language in communication events. In a system where information is transmitted from sender to receiver, the receiver's perceptions are an important part of the context as they are influenced by status, activity, setting, past experience and culture. What the person perceives to be the message is what he or she will do regarding the information being transmitted. Such perception is attuned to a greater or lesser degree to the interplay between the information, external context and meaning along a continuum. The context and meaning of information in a communication encounter are inextricably linked as meaning would be difficult to analyse without the context in which the exchange of information takes place. Hall [1976/1989] characterizes this relationship as a continuum of low-context and high-context communication.

At the low-context end of the continuum messages or communication is interpreted by paying attention to the explicit code by which the information is transmitted, in high-context communication most of the information is internalised in the individual transmitting the message or the information lies in the physical context Hall characterizes the nature of the event as one where

the code, the context, and the meaning can only be seen as different aspects of a single event

[Hall, 1976/1989, p 90]

Hall [1976/1989] classified various countries as lying on the high/low context continuum providing examples of each American, German and Scandinavian cultures being examples of low-context cultures and Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese-Chinese as high-context communication cultures

Ting-Toomey [1988] notes the similarity between these cultural contexts and Hofstede's individualism/collectivism dimension and proposes a generalization between the two, which assumes that low-context cultures possess an individualist value orientation with high-context cultures valuing the group Irish society would then appear to be low-context whereas Vietnamese communication styles would be high-context Gudykunst et al [1996] link low and high-context communication with cultural individualism-collectivism and with individuals' self-construal and values in order to measure communication style across four cultures The findings suggest that self-construal and values predict and account for greater variance in low and high-context communication styles than cultural individualism-collectivism However, Gudykunst et al [1996] consider that cultural individualism-collectivism would

influence communication directly through cultural rules and norms, self-construal and values would influence individual communication styles. Overall, they consider further research necessary on these effects on communication styles.

1.7 Temporality

Time is treated differently by individuals, groups and organizations across cultures and Hall [1959/1990] divides time into monochronic and polychronic time. In cultures where activity is monochronic, ordered in sequence, one after the other, time is given to things in order. In cultures that are polychronic, time is spent on a variety of activities and there is no disgrace when a schedule is delayed as with an appointment. The emphasis is on the meeting rather than on the schedule. Misunderstandings, even insults are attributed to failures in time sequences from different cultures. For example, in Western cultures, opening and closing times of public offices are specified and it would be uncharacteristic for a citizen not to expect service during those specified times. However, in polychronic cultures, such times are not adhered to in the same way. It can be disconcerting for monochronic people to be refused service because an office is going to close shortly and the officials themselves are not engaged in other activity but 'waiting' for closing time.

In Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's [1961] division of time into past, present and future orientations, the past orientation values tradition whereas a future orientation values change, Hall [1973/1990] characterizes American society as one where the future

predominates and will be measured against the past according to how much better it will be. A present orientation lies between the two so that what is immediate is of consequence rather than either the past or the future. It is interesting to link this orientation with that of their relational orientation where individualism would also be seen as an American characteristic so that an individual is continually achieving across time. In contrast, lineality is the continuation of a group through time so that time itself appears to have no end. This appears closer to the Vietnamese cultural context particularly with regard to ancestor worship.

1.8 Emic studies

Only relevant examples of emic studies are presented here because of the detailed study in chapters 4 and 5 of Vietnamese and Irish culture.

From the point of view of this thesis, Mamali [1996] provides an insightful emic analysis of interpersonal communication in totalitarian societies. Aspects of social life that are considered to belong to the private domain are politicised in totalitarian societies. This is also present in language where new forms of address are created symbolizing new sets of relationships that have triumphed over previous social forms, a well-known example is the Russian '*tavarish*' or 'comrade' from the former USSR. Such issues are of relevance to the Vietnamese context as ideology similarly affected communication in former North Vietnam.

Power relationships are also ever-present in social relations and care has to be taken in social situations not to divulge more information than is necessary. In totalitarian societies information resulting from personal relationships may be used against someone for self-protection or coercion. Clearly, patterns of social behaviour and communication are conducted along different lines to those in democratic societies where values, opinions and relationships can vary openly among individuals and groups. Totalitarian societies, in contrast, impose a surface uniformity, silence and keeping things hidden.

Silence performs different functions across societies including temporary ones such as refugee camps [Knudsen, 1991]. An early study on the use of silence in Apache culture by Basso [1970] revealed that Apaches use silence as a way of assessing someone before beginning a social relationship. In cases of social ambiguity, silence is preferred so that there is time to consider the outcome. Eades [1996] carried out studies on silence in Aboriginal culture and communication and found that privacy was created in Aboriginal culture by indirect communication strategies in contrast to a very public day-to-day existence. Direct questioning is usually avoided by information exchange rather than a direct approach. Consequently, there is a delay between seeking information and obtaining it, which takes place during a period of silence not considered as an awkward pause but rather giving a matter consideration. Such an indirect approach would be a feature of some Irish communication contexts.

Eades [1996] also traced the use of gratuitous concurrence, that is, agreement with a speaker, by Aboriginals in the majority culture and its disastrous consequences in

the law courts. Aboriginals use gratuitous concurrence to maintain the smooth flow of a conversation or to end it. Concurrence is not the answer to a direct question as in the dominant culture. Power relationships come into play between a dominant culture and minorities who behave differently. As Eades [1996] points out, this has implications in cross-cultural situations such as employment or police interviews, medical consultations and classroom interaction. In the Vietnamese context a 'yes' can be indicative of not wishing to give offence rather than the agreement which is sought in an Irish context. This clearly has implications for individual-level interaction as well as relations with the institutions of the host and dominant culture.

1.9 Conclusion: the underlying influence of culture

The process of human socialisation takes place within the family and the wider society and incorporates both universal and local cultural frameworks. Individuals communicate this process to each other, which Hall [1973/1990, p. 186] has described as the inextricable intertwining of culture and communication. Indeed, in order to analyse and understand one extreme aspect of human behaviour, Eisenbruch [1990, 1991] created the cultural bereavement interview in order to understand and deal with individuals suffering cultural loss resulting from forced migration. Such a context highlights the importance of understanding universal and local cultural factors as outlined in this chapter. Research on values [Kagitçibasi, 1997a, Smith & Schwartz, 1997] point to the centrality of value priorities in societies and to the robustness of the individualism-collectivism dimension and its influence on

communication behaviour across cultures [Gudykunst & Bond 1997] this chapter has shown the central role that culture plays in human social organisation and its underlying importance in the role of human communication

The focus of this thesis is on long-term cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland and culture clearly underlies this process of adaptation once the Vietnamese arrive in the host culture and engage with its norms and values through communication. Etic-level culture differences, particularly Hofstede's four dimensions of cultural variation, offer a broad framework through which the adaptation process can be viewed. The dimension of individualism and collectivism provides a key distinction between Irish and Vietnamese society, which should appear in the close analysis of the data. However, such culture difference should emerge in quite explicit ways at both individual and group level as these contain the emic or specific cultural patterns of relevance to the adaptation process of members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland.

Intercultural contact clearly focuses on two cultures but a small number of refugees will undergo a greater process of transformation than the host society. Consequently emphasis in this thesis is on the members of the Vietnamese community. The methodological approach of this thesis aims to trace the stages of this long-term process and is based on a grounded theory approach [see Chapter 3 for discussion]. The discovery of the process lies in the analysis of the 18 stories, the primary data source obtained by means of the communication system of the host society, that is, English. With a natural extension from the grounded-theory base to

the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis, the cross-cultural adaptation process can be systematically traced across the group. Examples from the individual narratives will also illustrate aspects of the adaptation process through the voices of the interviewees. These 18 stories contain both loneliness and satisfaction in the complex process of adaptation. They also reveal the changing nature of the relationship towards the culture of origin and communication with the host culture as it affects the process of cross-cultural adaptation, the focus of the next chapter.

1.10 Summary

In this chapter a definition for culture is outlined and its salience to this study of Vietnamese refugees and their family members adapting to life in an Irish social context. Following a distinction between etic, or universal, and emic or local aspects of culture, key conceptualisations of cultural universals such as Hofstede's [1980/2001] influential work on national cultures, have been presented. These cultural universals will be used in the data analysis to reveal underlying cultural differences and constraints that emerge in the context of Vietnamese adaptation to Irish society. Such cultural universals will also link with the emic or culture-specific factors that relate to both Vietnamese and Irish social contexts. There is a reflection of one in the other in the data analysis as they affect the process of cross-cultural adaptation by the Vietnamese in Ireland.

The following chapter examines the theoretical conceptualisations of cross-cultural adaptation of relevance to the Vietnamese adapting long-term to Irish society.

CHAPTER TWO

ADAPTING TO OTHER CULTURES A COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVE

no matter how one may try one cannot not communicate

[Watzlawick, Bavelas & Jackson 1967 p 49]

The communication pattern of a given society is part of its total cultural pattern and can only be understood in that context

[Hall E & Whwie W 1966 p 567]

Chapter outline

This chapter presents the range of relevant theoretical approaches to cross-cultural adaptation for this thesis. First, there is an overview of the development of theoretical approaches to cross-cultural adaptation. Second, I examine the diverse range of theoretical concepts and models that are significant to this study of the Vietnamese community's adaptation to Irish society. As Kim's [1988, 2001] perspective is followed in this thesis, Kim's [1988, 2001] integrative multidimensional model is presented. Kim's [1988, 2001] model considers both host society *and* the stranger in the cross-cultural adaptation process and consequently, examines the two aspects of the research question. Kim's [1988, 2001] model, based on systems theory, also aims to unify the various approaches in the field. In addition, two further models current in the field and of relevance to this thesis are presented. Following a discussion of Kim's [1988, 2001] model in relation to these

last two models, I finally consider present trends and future developments in the theoretical field of cross-cultural adaptation

2.1 Creating a context: cross-cultural adaptation and refugees

Kim [Kim, 2002] defines cross-cultural adaptation as

the dynamic process by which individuals, upon relocating to an unfamiliar cultural environment, establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal and functional relationship with the environment
[Kim, 2002, p 260]

From this perspective, both newcomers and the host society are involved in the exchange of messages so that cross-cultural adaptation becomes a communication process [Kim, 2001, p 32]. Adaptation consists of interaction with the host environment and is the totality of an individual's experiences. Kim [2001, 2002] takes the following to refer to this process and they are used interchangeably in this thesis: *adaptation, cross-cultural adaptation, acculturation and adjustment*.

For Kim, the process of cross-cultural adaptation takes place after childhood acculturation when individuals have become members of a particular cultural community. As the self actively constructs its social world, culture is inextricably bound to perceptions of the world. Consequently, adaptation entails coming to terms with different perceptions of the reality that the self perceives and is stressful in nature. This blend of culture, pre-departure experiences and final destination, the host country, all affect the process of adapting to a new culture for the initial group.

of Vietnamese refugees and then those joining them later as part of family reunification. Individual differences of cross-cultural adaptation emerge as well as similarities and differences between these two groups.

2.2 Macro and micro frameworks

Acculturation, the study of cultural contact, was primarily conceived of as a group phenomenon when it was formally developed as a new area of study with the publication of Redfield, Linton & Herskovits's memorandum [Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1935] defining the study of acculturation.

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.

[Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1935, p 145-146]

Both anthropologists and sociologists have focused on group studies such as value systems or on ideal types of personality that represent a society as a whole. Sociology, however, provides a conceptual framework for the study of macro units by categorising them as having aggregate, structural or global properties. An aggregate refers to a collection of individual properties such as mean incomes, social class or education of a group. Power relations or communication networks exemplify structural relationships, global refers to properties spread across a group such as language or law. Debates have focused on the linkage of macro and micro, that is individual level units [Blalock, 1984, Hilbert, 1990, Liska, 1990] particularly

regarding contextual analysis, the comparison of macro and micro level measures on individuals

Micro level studies, such as in social psychology or communication focus on the individual Kim [2001] notes that these disciplines utilise concepts from both anthropology and sociology to analyse individual adaptation experiences in the study of cross-cultural adaptation and refers to this as “the interface of macro and micro level factors, [Kim, 2001, p 15] Kim considers that it would be difficult to study the acculturation or adaptation process by excluding factors relevant to its context

To the extent that the individual and the environment codefine the adaptation process, we must integrate the two research perspectives in order to explain the adaptation experience of an individual

[Kim, 2001, p 15]

Early research on Vietnamese refugees refers to the importance of context [Starr & Roberts 1982] The linking of macro and micro frameworks in family adaptive strategies across the life course has been advocated [Moen & Wetherington, 1992] As there are social and cultural developments within families and across generations [Foner, 1997, Kibria, 1994, Zhou, 2001], both macro and micro levels of analysis are used in this study

2.3 Long-term and short-term adaptation of categories of individuals

The study of cross-cultural adaptation has tended to focus separately on either long-term adaptation such as immigrants or refugees or on the immediate concerns of short-stay sojourners The conceptualisation of these groups also varies so that Siu

[1952] defined a sojourner as someone who had lived for a long time in another culture while retaining his or her own cultural characteristics so that

The essential characteristic of the sojourner is that he clings to the culture of his own ethnic group

[Siu, 1952, p 34]

Members of such a group range from diplomats and missionaries to foreign students, businessmen and journalists. However long the sojourner stays in the new environment the intention is always to return home sometime. The sojourner forms friendships with members of his or her group and remains an outsider even though he or she is working or studying in the new society.

From an intercultural communication perspective [Gudykunst & Kim, 1997], the most influential description of the stranger comes from Simmel [1921/1969] who conceives of the stranger as occupying a space previously not shared or perceived not to be shared. The stranger introduces a new dimension into this space.

The distance within the relation signifies that the Near is far, the very fact of being alien, however, that the Far is near.

[Simmel, G in Park & Burgess, 1921/1969, p 322]

The stranger creates a new set of relationships with the occupants of this space so that each has to accommodate the other. Various scholars have drawn on this concept and added their own interpretation with the most well-known being Park's [1928] concept of the 'marginal man' which draws on race as a defining characteristic of marginality. Levine [1977] points out in his analysis of the 'stranger' phenomenon that Park's ideas are not to be confused with Simmel's. Park

[1928] considered the marginal man, exemplified by ethnic minorities living in proximity in the USA, to be a cultural or racial hybrid, this state of hybridity gives rise to divided loyalties and so excludes the marginal man from full membership of a group Stonequist [1935] noted the distinction between such marginality and the stranger the stranger remains within a community and simultaneously is detached from it

Gudykunst [1983] proposed a typology of stranger-host relationships to integrate research carried out on 'strangers' ranging from missionaries to refugees The typology integrates these earlier conceptualisations as well as drawing on Levine's [1977] categorization of strangers to produce nine types of stranger

guest, such as a tourist who is generally welcome by the host

newly arrived, also welcomed and including diplomats and businesspersons

newcomer, such as desired migrants whose skills are needed by the host community and so are viewed positively

sojourner, visits, leaves like guest, ambivalent or indifferent reaction to them

Simmel's stranger who comes today and stays tomorrow

immigrants, who intend to become members of the host community

Reaction is indifference

intruder, unwelcome guests who arouse hostility such as a controversial political figure

middle-man minority, a term taken from Bonacich [1973] Such minority figures attract negative host reactions Traditionally they are higher in status than other minorities but do not have the same status as the dominant group

marginal person who wishes to become a member of the host community but reaction is hostile

Table 2 1 a typology of stranger-host relations, [Gudykunst, 1983, p 405]

Host s reaction to stranger	Stranger s interest in host community		
	Visit	Residence	Membership
Friendly (leaning to positive)	Guest	Newly arrived	Newcomer
Ambivalent (indifference)	Sojourner	Simmel's stranger	Immigrant
Antagonistic (leaning to negative)	Intruder	Middle-man minority	Marginal persons
General area of research	Sociology of tourism	Intercultural adjustment	Acculturation/assimilation

Gudykunst s aim is, firstly, to integrate research across a range of disciplines through the typology and secondly to state that host and stranger should be studied together

since strangers assume a status only vis-a-vis a host community, it follows

that strangers should be studied in reference to a host community
[Gudykunst, 1983, p 410]

Research however has generally been carried out in isolation across disciplines [Kim, 2001] and across various groups despite the commonalities of experience. Theoretical models have also been developed with specific groups or concerns in mind. These different perspectives are examined in the following sections from 2.4 to 2.7 as well as calls for a synthesis of existing approaches. Kim [1988, 2001] proposes a resolution to these various approaches with a theoretical approach rooted in systems theory.

2.3.1 The consequences of an ethnocentric perspective

Gudykunst & Kim [1997] note that a range of issues affect communication between host and stranger from stereotyping, intergroup attitudes, ethnocentrism to varying forms of prejudice such as ethnic prejudice, sexism or ageism. Ethnocentrism considers that one's own cultural perspective is the 'correct' way to view the world and engage with others. Ethnocentrism is not necessarily deliberate [Gudykunst & Kim, 1997] but is a function of how an individual is socialised. Hofstede [1991] notes that culture is learned during the process of socialisation and produces 'the collective programming of the mind,' [Hofstede, 1991, p 5]. Consequently, it is not easy to acknowledge that a personal perspective exists which denies legitimacy to other cultural frames of reference and that ethnocentrism favours one's own group and rejects others [Levine & Campbell, 1972]. In addition, Gudykunst & Kim

[1997, p 122] also consider that a consequence of ethnocentrism is communicative distance, which would affect interaction with others such as the Vietnamese

From an intercultural perspective, Bennett [1986/1993] proposes a journey model where an individual progresses through 6 stages from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. These stages are

Denial – Incapable of understanding cultural difference, threat of genocide

Defence – Can realise cultural difference but siege mentality

Minimization – visualises another culture at a simple level, in a ‘melting pot’

Acceptance – realisation of cultural relativity

Adaptation – can shift to another cultural frame of reference, empathy

Integration – inter/multiculturalist and own background, people responsible for views they create

Bennett’s [1986/1993] model addresses the ethnocentric framework in which members of a host society that emphasised a perceived homogeneity would have viewed the Vietnamese refugees. Such an ethnocentric perspective would permeate all aspects of a society so that discussion of difference would be limited or non-existent and acts of intolerance could be ignored as not being representative of the population as a whole.

Gudykunst & Kim [1997] note the relationship between ethnocentrism and nationalism and clearly, the creation of the Irish state involved political ideology containing strong in-group and out-group distinctions. Irish state institutions would be involved in the resettlement process, so that an ethnocentric approach would be evident in its effects at the initial stages of the cross-cultural adaptation process by members of the Vietnamese community. There is a vast literature in this area and a full discussion in relation to intercultural communication in the cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] process by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland is beyond the scope of this thesis. For the purposes of this thesis, social distance is discussed in relation to the Irish context [see chapter 5.3.11] when the Vietnamese arrived in 1979 and there is a full discussion of state intervention in Chapter 6 of the data analysis. However, members of the Vietnamese community do not usually allude directly to racism and acts of prejudice [see Chapter 9.4 for discussion]. Highlighting racism is controversial as it draws attention to the community in a negative way so that both power relations and face-saving is involved. Racism is certainly not ignored in this thesis but it is precisely the different cultural frames of reference of host and stranger that create dilemmas from the perspective of 'do no harm' in this thesis.

2.4 Creating theoretical frameworks: Recuperating from shock

Early conceptualisations of cross-cultural encounters focused on the problematic nature of psychological adjustment of sojourners to a foreign culture followed by the

process of readjustment to the home culture Lysgaard [1955] discussed the generalised nature of the adjustment process, success fostered positive outcomes in adjustment and failure tended to draw individuals towards disengaging from further encounters with the new culture. The process itself had specific characteristics over time which Lysgaard referred to as U-shaped that is beginning satisfactorily and then falling into a period of unhappiness or dissatisfaction before rising again as individuals feel increasingly well-adjusted to the new environment. Lysgaard also raised issues of loneliness and language difficulties where one exacerbated the other. Gullahorn and Gullahorn [1963] further refined the U-curve hypothesis to account for the re-entry process into the home culture by proposing a W-curve.

The problematic aspect of intercultural communication was viewed as 'shock'. Individuals display 'shock' of various kinds due to the difficulties of adjusting to different cultural environments. Oberg [1960] explored culture shock from an anthropological perspective and likened it to an illness with a cure. Smalley [1963] identified language shock faced by missionaries working overseas. Language shock was construed as an integral part of culture shock but, interestingly, Smalley also referred to the outcome of the process as biculturalism and for some a shock of self-discovery with regard to their capabilities in a new setting. Bennett [1977/1998], considered it more useful to categorise the experience as transition shock involving loss and change as many aspects of life create disruption.

The transformative nature of the experience was explored by Adler [1975] who also broadened the scope of the field of enquiry to include anyone undergoing a

transitional experience such as offenders readjusting to society or minority students entering third-level education Adler [1975] refined the concept of culture shock to include a positive dimension of personal growth

In one sense, then, culture shock is a form of alienation In another sense, however, it suggests the attempt to comprehend survive in, and grow through immersion in a second culture Although culture shock is most often associated with negative consequences, it can be an important aspect of cultural learning, self-development, and personal growth

[Adler 1975, p 14]

Adler s model of transitional experience comprised psychological, social and cultural strands in a dynamic relationship with a new culture where an individual s perception of similarities and differences and emotional state result in new behaviours There is a process of transformation resulting in personal growth where the self is reaffirmed in a new, intercultural perspective The model does not specify a timeframe but consists of 5 stages of contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy and independence Adler considers that

Culture shock may very well be the way in which the individual reconfirms his or her own identity in the face of new linguistic, perceptual, emotional, and cultural learning

[Adler, P, 1975, p 22]

The model introduces the element of learning as well as the positive potential of culture shock

2.4.1 Culture learning

The concept of culture learning emerged as an approach to adaptation from a psychology perspective [Guthrie, 1975, Furnham & Bochner, 1982, 1986, Waid &

Kennedy 1999] as well as drawing on classic operant conditioning [Guthrie, 1975, Mak et al, 1999] Both Furnham & Bochner [1982] and Guthrie [1975] agree that differences in coping with a new culture are linked to the quality of interactions in the host country and little can be accounted for in personality terms Guthrie[1975] notes

because the new experience is in so many ways noncontinuous with previous experiences, one's behaviour is probably determined more by recent events and less by long-term patterns and habits

[Guthrie, 1975 p 97]

The importance of learning new behaviours is linked to anxiety and identity issues which Guthrie observes to be quite profound in individual accounts, revealing 'a deeply personal adventure,' [Guthrie, 1975 p 100] Guthrie also notes that illness in this context falls within the parameters of Holmes & Rahe's [1967] scale of life change events where a small but significant relationship emerged between illness and life change

Guthrie [1975] considers that the sojourn experience provides the psychologist with a rich long-term experiment outside a laboratory setting where the individual is the constant and all the social parameters are changed Consequently, inner behaviour and the social determinants of behaviour come to the fore with unexpected results Guthrie [1975] noted from his own research on Peace Corps volunteers that a non-continuity of performance exists between performance at home and functioning in a new culture where behaviours emerge that were not exhibited before such as aggression These are consistent with studies in operant conditioning where

reinforcement for specific behaviours is withdrawn, that is social approval is no longer exhibited. Certainly, a sojourner encounters conflicting patterns of approval or disapproval regarding behaviour depending on length of stay, what was tolerated early in a sojourner's behaviour may not be tolerated later. Sojourners also experience alienation and identity problems as new patterns of behaviour make demands on new forms of self-control and behaving in ways that are socially appropriate in the host culture.

Furnham & Bochner [1982] propose a culture learning view where a sojourner's difficulty is due to a lack of social skills rather than of adjustment. Consequently, social skills training methods are applicable to sojourners as they need to know how to negotiate everyday social encounters with members of the host society. They consider the quality of the sojourner experience is vital regarding culture learning which is usually an informal rather than a taught process. The social networks sojourners establish will contain the variables reflected in their experience. They state that sojourners tend to belong to three networks:

a primary monocultural network of close compatriot friends

a bicultural network consisting of sojourners and significant host nationals such as student advisers, landlords, government officials, academics

a third multicultural network containing friends and acquaintances involved in companionable activities

Social network theory has

clear implications for the acquisition of the social skills of a second society, culture learning will be a positive function of the number of host culture

friends an overseas student has, in particular the extent to which the student has been able to gain membership in suitable bicultural networks

[Furnham & Bochner, 1982, p 173]

The more host culture friends a sojourner has, the more easily he or she will learn the social skills necessary for successful social interaction in the host culture

Guthrie [1975] and Furnham & Bochner [1982] had proposals for training programmes. Guthrie [1975] proposed that the encounter with a new culture produces change in behaviour patterns and their reinforcement. Consequently, training would involve introducing the new or unexpected in stages, information would also provide the knowledge that certain new situations can produce strong emotions, which erupt because of the denial of anxiety. Techniques from laboratory studies of behaviour can be applied to training programmes: modelling via role play, cultural input from informants or desensitisation with a gradual introduction of change with new foods for instance. Guthrie [1975] also considered that language teaching was of vital importance in this process.

Furnham & Bochner [1982] identified a 3-stage process for culture training for sojourners

diagnostic testing

training resulting from testing

evaluation of learning achieved

They created a Social Situations questionnaire that could provide an easily adapted diagnostic instrument suitable for local host conditions. Training programmes are created around the skills areas that sojourners need for adequate social functioning in

the host culture. The programme's success is measured by assessing trainees' behaviour pre and post training course in the social situations covered during training. Course content focuses on "the everyday, mundane social encounters of the popular culture," [Furnham & Bochner, 1982, p 194]. Training stresses that these are everyday activities found across cultures but carried out in a different way in the host society.

2.4.ii Initial encounters: uncertainty and anxiety

Weaver [1966] introduced the principle of uncertainty into communication where, as Weaver [1966] explains, the greater the freedom of choice regarding information, the greater is the uncertainty regarding the particular message that has been selected. This has both positive and negative consequences:

Uncertainty that arises by freedom of choice on the part of the sender is desirable uncertainty. Uncertainty that arises by virtue of freedom of choice on the part of the sender is desirable uncertainty. Uncertainty that arises because of errors ... is undesirable uncertainty.

[Weaver, 1966, p 20]

Following the introduction of this concept, Berger [1979] argued that when two strangers meet, their main concern is to reduce uncertainty about each other. Uncertainty creates difficulty for one person to predict the behaviour of another. Consequently, an individual has difficulty in selecting appropriate behaviour from his or her repertoire. Uncertainty is reduced once *predictions* are generated and confirmed regarding another and *explanations* are constructed and verified. Uncertainty itself is a cognitive state, separate from behaviour, as uncertainty can

remain even in quite predictable formal role situations. However, once communication is established at a more personal level, then uncertainty is no longer an issue regarding information about a person. Uncertainty is a factor in the creation of friendships where knowledge and understanding of the other are vital to establishing a long-term view of a friendship.

Gudykunst & Hammer [1988] argue that cultural knowledge, which enables people to predict people's behaviour, affects uncertainty. The opposite of uncertainty is intercultural attributional confidence that implies the ability to make successful predictions about behaviour. Uncertainty, however, is created when there is insufficient knowledge with which to predict behaviour. Adaptation to a new culture occurs because of reducing uncertainty and reducing or controlling anxiety. There are three core constructs in the theory: adaptation, uncertainty reduction, and anxiety, from which it follows that

adaptation involves a fit between strangers and their new environment

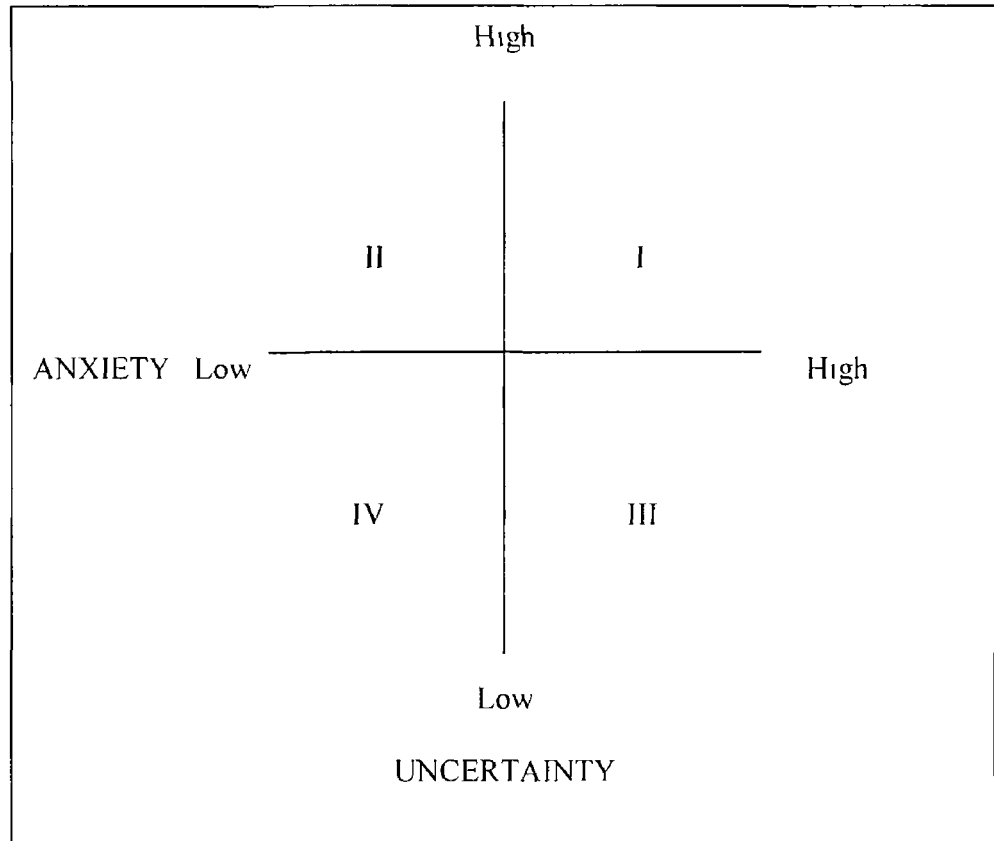
uncertainty reduction implies the ability to predict one's own behaviour and that of others during communication

anxiety occurs because of the fear of negative consequences occurring in the new environment

Gudykunst & Hammer [1988] attempt to account for variation in outcomes that depend on the relational patterns occurring between uncertainty and anxiety. By creating a simple graph along a vertical and horizontal axis, they propose four general patterns based on high and low combinations of uncertainty and anxiety.

shown in figure 2.1

Figure 2.1 Patterns of adaptation, from Gudykunst & Hammer [1988, p. 134]



quadrant I is high uncertainty and high anxiety and represents a lack of adaptation

quadrant IV is low uncertainty and low anxiety and represents total adaptation

The other two quadrants reflect different strategies for adaptation

quadrant II is high uncertainty and low anxiety reflecting individuals who remain within their ethnic enclave. They avoid or do not know how to set about contact with the host community. Anxiety is low because behaviours are similar within the enclave.

quadrant III is low uncertainty and high anxiety reflecting individuals who engage effectively with the host community but such behaviour is inconsistent with their values so causing high anxiety

These last two categories are interesting as Gudykunst & Hammer [1988] are detailing positive and negative reactions in the outcomes. However, the behaviour displayed in quadrant II with high uncertainty and low anxiety is only possible when there is institutional completeness [Breton, 1964]. Most transactions occur in the 'enclave' or else there is a cohesive stranger group [Herman & Schild, 1961] available for support.

2.4 in Critiques of early conceptualisations proposing a psychological perspective

Church's [1982] critique of sojourner adjustment literature is one of several in the field [Anderson, 1994, Church, 1982, Furnham & Bochner, 1986, Furnham, 1988, Rohrlach, & Martin, 1991, Ward et al, 1998]. Church [1982] notes that many concepts were developed in the 1950s and 1960s and while there was a focus on outcomes not enough attention was paid to the *process* of sojourner adjustment [p 82]. Ward et al [1998] also considered that, despite the U-curve model's popularity, there was little evidence to support it. Anderson [1994] categorised previous models into four groups according to their specific emphasis, rather than any distinct differences in approach and criticised them all.

Recuperation models based on culture shock and the U-Curve concept where there are virtually physical symptoms of disease

Culture learning models such as Furnham & Bochner [1986] or those incorporating operant conditioning

Journey models like Bennett [1986] where a journey begins from the margins and moves towards a core of understanding

Homeostasis models like Gudykunst & Hammer [1988] where a system is in a steady state. The process of encountering a new culture disturbs this equilibrium, cross-cultural adaptation is the reduction of this imbalance until a state of equilibrium is attained

According to Anderson [1994], none of these models provide a satisfactory explanation of the process of cross-cultural adaptation though they all contribute towards its explanation. The journey models remain unsatisfactory, as they are descriptive, though they might contribute insights into the process. Equally, culture learning models take no account of the fact that adaptation also involves coming to terms with, and accepting, different values. This takes place at a deeper level than simply learning new behaviours or appropriate responses. The equilibrium models reduce the process to stress reduction without any significant development regarding some form of growth, neither do such models consider human coping strategies. Finally, Anderson [1994] criticises recuperation models as the concept of culture shock embraces so many parameters that it is too vague to be satisfactory and is “a catch-all phrase encompassing a host of different reactions to a host of different

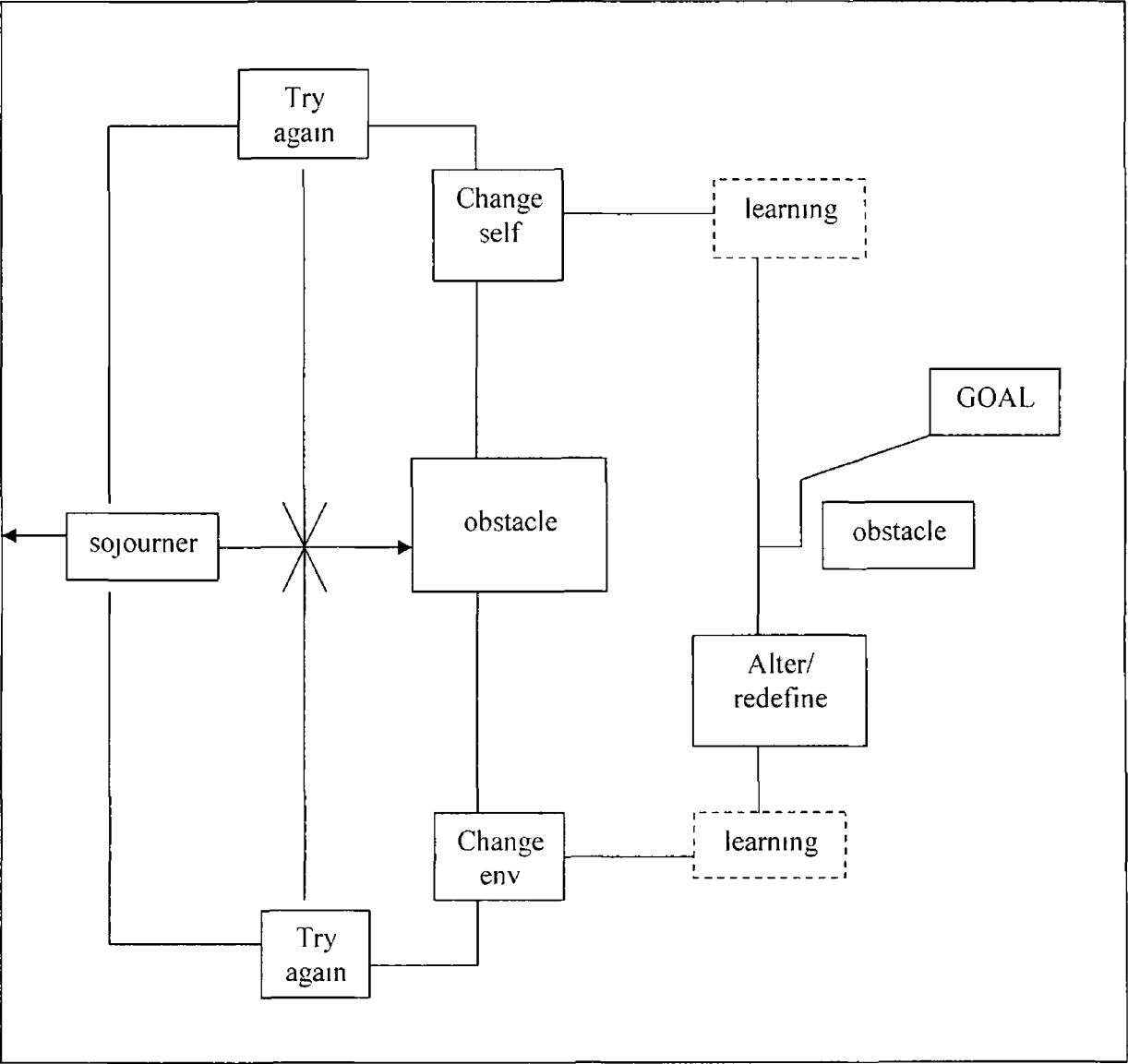
problems, [Anderson, 1994, p 297] Like Ward et al [1998], Anderson [1994] finds that the validity of the U-curve is “dubious, [Anderson, 1994 p 297] and considers that, in essence, cultural adaptation is an experience of transition [Bennett, 1977], which occurs during this quite specific life change event cultural adaptation is akin to such transition experiences as going to college or bereavement

From this assessment of the field Anderson [1994], like Church [1982] proposes drawing on other disciplines and puts forward a theoretical perspective using psychological drive theory, which drives an individual towards a goal and to remove obstacles that are placed in front of the goal Not every aspect of the surrounding environment requires some form of adjusting behaviour, only those that provide an impetus Figure 2.2 outlines this process where the sojourner encounters an obstacle that demands alteration or adjustment of some kind through a series of steps involving learning, until a goal is reached

Initially, all aspects of the new environment present themselves as obstacles, at the same time a sojourner's internal state that is perceptions of situations, drives the process Adaptation cannot occur without making an adjustment as Anderson [1994] stresses that the validity of the new culture has to be accepted, this means coming to terms with the core values of the host culture This process impinges on identity, whose foundation has been built via different values and norms Anderson [1994] considers that the feeling of loss has to be overcome and the sense of social

incompetence while the newcomer is acquiring appropriate behaviour in the new environment

Figure 2.2 adapted from Anderson [1994, p 305]



Learning to respond in new ways to the environment is a crucial part of the process as without learning there is no adjustment. Like Kim [1988, 2001], there is an emphasis on the stranger-host relationship where the stranger has to adapt at least marginally in order to function in the new environment. The outcomes, as Anderson [1994] stresses, are varied depending on each individual: their relationship with their home culture, the context, and the sense of 'fit' that each individual arrives at. Anderson [1994] identifies a typology of adjusters containing six categories. The first four, Returners, Escapers, Time Servers and Beavers, have varying levels of coping with their new environment. Only the last two categories, Adjusters and Participators, adapt and function well in their new culture.

Anderson's [1994] model drew on social and psychological adjustment theory thus opening up a broader perspective in the field. However, Kim [2001] criticises the concept of adaptation as frustration as it still focuses on the adaptation process as problem rather than growth.

2.5 Stress and coping: long-term adaptation of immigrants

As Church [1982] noted, psychology has made a significant contribution to the study of adaptation particularly in the large body of work generated by Berry and colleagues [Berry, 1970, Berry, 1979, Berry et al 1987, Williams & Berry, 1991, Berry, 1997] on acculturative stress in immigrant, refugee and ethnic populations. Berry's work is significant as he takes a long-term, pluralistic perspective where

ethnocultural groups can retain their cultural identity rather than adopting the premiss that the end-goal of adaptation is assimilation Berry [1987] draws on a stress and coping framework like Ward [1996], and introduces the possibility of various outcomes in the relationship between host and stranger All of these are of relevance to the adaptation of the Vietnamese as they arrive as refugees, stay long-term and so assume the stresses of immigrant and ethnic groups

Berry [2002] defines a plural society as one where 'a number of different cultural groups reside together within a shared social and political framework,' [Berry et al, 2002, p 346] There is agreement over how to live together, and, importantly, institutions can develop to accommodate different cultural interests For Berry [1997], cultural groups within a plural society have come about via three factors

voluntariness, exemplified by immigrant groups, as indigenous peoples have generally had acculturation imposed on them

mobility, which applies to immigrants and refugees

permanence, which is applicable to immigrants but not to asylum seekers who can be deported, or international students or members of a diplomatic corps for example The process of adaptation is similar across all groups though outcomes vary

For Berry [1997], cultural groups face two key issues regarding acculturation

- 1 Cultural maintenance, namely "to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for"

- 2 Contact and participation, that is, “to what extent should they become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves” [Berry, 1997, p 9]

Four acculturation strategies are possible in this relationship, namely

- 1 integration – where an individual maintains the original culture and seeks to interact with others or other groups
- 2 assimilation - where individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek relations with the other or other cultures
- 3 separation or segregation – where an individual values and maintains the first culture and does not seek contact with others
- 4 marginalization - there is little interest in maintaining the first culture, particularly because of enforced cultural loss. There is also no desire to engage with others because of discrimination

Berry [1997] notes that the freedom of choice this conceptual framework provides is not always the reality as a dominant group can restrain choice. Integration, however, occurs as choice in a multicultural context. A multicultural society has low levels of prejudice, values diversity but all groups identify with the larger society.

Integration is the most successful adaptation strategy while assimilation, more a matter of choice for some individuals, or separation are moderately successful. Marginality is the least successful as the dominant society has rejected the group which is also experiencing loss of culture, hostility and low levels of social support. However, integration is possible where the dominant society is, firstly, open to other

cultures that wish to maintain their own cultural heritage, and, secondly, it includes those other cultural groups in a framework of cultural diversity Berry [1997] notes

a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e g education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society

[Berry, 1997, p 11]

This stress on mutual accommodation echoes Kim s [1988, 2001] and Bourhis et al's [1997] perspective of the involvement of both host and stranger in the adaptation process

Like Ward [1996], Berry [1997] acknowledges the distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation and refined earlier conceptualisations of the acculturation process [Berry, 1997] acculturation then is a process over time that takes place within a broad structural field Berry s [1997] framework sets out the key variables that affect the process of acculturation age, gender, education and economic status Key factors that arise during the process of acculturation depend on time and the various situations that an individual has coped with, and Berry [1997] itemises the following

initially learning a language, obtaining employment and housing, followed by establishing social relationships and recreational opportunities,

[Berry, 1997 p 24]

Each individual has specific coping resources and as the new society either provides or denies opportunities, there is variability in the adaptation outcomes In effect,

Berry [1997] identifies three interrelated aspects of adaptation psychological, sociocultural and economic with regard to immigrants as they make their way in their new society whose own landscape is also changed All three occur with the Vietnamese in chapters 6, 8 and 7 of the analysis

There have been several critiques of this framework [Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997b, Schonpflug 1997, Ward, 1997] Ward [1997] queried the absence of any reference to culture learning and Schonpflug [1997] the absence of identity change, particularly ethnic identity formation, in Berry s framework Kağıtçıbaşı, [1997b] critiqued the assumption that integration leads to harmonious multiculturalism, respect and tolerance Kağıtçıbaşı, [1997b] points out that “difference is often perceived as deficiency,” [p 46] and that intolerance leads to the strengthening of migrant group identity to lessen the feeling of alienation, insecurity and loss of status The consequence is separation from the host society Such issues concern the Vietnamese community with over twenty years of contact with Irish society

Berry s [1997] work remains influential and has been used by Bourhis et al [1997] to examine the interplay between host and immigrant as a three-stage process model it investigates immigrant acculturation and the host community’s acculturation orientation after which a combined picture is produced Immigrant acculturation is examined via practices regarding cultural maintenance endogamy-exogamy, education, employment and community involvement Similar questions determine the host s society acculturation orientation Finally, these two

acculturation orientations of host community and immigrant combine to produce a single conceptual framework illustrated in the model in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: the Interactive Acculturation Model. Bourhis et al [1997, p 382]

Host Community: Low-medium High vitality groups	Immigrant Community: low, medium vitality groups				
	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Anomie	Individualism
Integretation	Consensual	Problematic	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
Assimilation	Problematic	Consensual	Conflictual	Problematic	Problematic
Segregation	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
Exclusion	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual	Conflictual
Individualism	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Problematic	Consensual

Both communities have varying levels of vitality, that is, the relative strengths and weaknesses of each group in a multicultural setting [Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977].

Three factors combine to produce the vitality level of an immigrant group relative to the host society:

1. Demographic variables such as the number of immigrants and their distribution
2. Institutional control which refers to the level of representation at decision-making levels of the host society that an immigrant group possesses. Examples would be in education, media, culture, business and government.

- 3 Status variables that relate to social prestige, sociohistorical status and local and international levels of prestige of an immigrant group's language and culture

Low vitality immigrant groups for example will experience greater difficulties than those immigrant groups who have a strong degree of vitality and are able to create agendas regarding their own priorities. However, orientations of both host and immigrant groups vary over time and the model shows where relational outcomes are problematic, conflictual or consensual. This is of significance to the Vietnamese those who arrived later via family reunification have a different set of experiences to those who came as the original refugee group.

It is not only the newcomers, however, who have to reformulate their sense of self the host society too faces challenges of identity. At some level of critical mass immigrants challenge the 'imagined community' [Anderson, 1983/1991], that is the myths which underpin the collective identity of the 'nation', particularly when it perceives itself as a homogenous whole. Bourhis et al [1997] give the example of Germany where the concept of '*jus sanguinis*, citizenship by blood, underlies German identity. The citizenship rights of 'foreigners' such as 'Turks, who are second and third generation immigrants challenge this concept. Immigrants are also taxpayers raising the question of deploying state funds for maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage. Both host and immigrant face challenges if they are to accommodate to each other though policy intentions and actual practice may differ substantially so that

the acculturation orientation of individuals proposed later do not emerge in a social or political vacuum but rather are influenced by the integration policies adopted by the state which in turn may also reflect the acculturation orientations of the dominant group within the host society

[Bourhis et al, 1997, p 373]

Such complexities are mirrored in this thesis in the development of Irish state policy and practice and the Vietnamese experience of acculturation in Ireland

2.5.1 The specific case of refugees a path model

Though both immigrants and refugees share many common problems, refugees face some quite specific adaptation problems. Refugees like the Vietnamese have been studied extensively, a great many of these studies have been from a mental health perspective [Williams & Berry, 1991, Watters, 2001]. Indeed, Eisenbruch's [1990] culture loss instrument was conceived as a response to traumatised South-East Asian refugees, mainly from Kampuchea. Tran [1987] has created a path model specifically for refugees which Ward, Bochner and Furnham [2001] consider to fall in the stress and coping framework as Tran [1987] focuses on psychological well-being rather than adopting a mental health perspective.

Initially, Tran [1987] identified the following four variables that contribute to the sense of well-being of Vietnamese refugees

- 1 ethnic community support social support from an existing community is invaluable as it can help to reduce general stress and feelings of anxiety

Dispersal policy in the USA heightened refugees' stress but ensured that all local communities shared the burden of service provision

- 2 self-esteem loss of social status is a reality for refugees so that self-esteem is a marker of how a refugee feels about him or herself in the present. Self-esteem facilitates a sense of well-being and potential participation in ethnic communities
- 3 socio-economic adaptation an ability to survive economically provides a sense of well-being. It is linked to length of residency
- 4 social adjustment which is the ability to interact with members of the new society

When Tran [1987] tested the model, the variables accounted for a 57% of variance in psychological well-being when measured by an index of life satisfaction. The variables that directly influenced well-being were, in order: membership of ethnic social organisation, availability of co-ethnic confidants, self-esteem, income

The remaining variables had the strongest indirect influence on well-being: education, length of residence, social adjustment and English-speaking ability. Length of residency had the strongest indirect influence on well-being. It was linked to the level of education with both influencing income and self-esteem and leading to higher participation in social organisations. The ability to speak English had the least effect so it is important to realise that Tran [1987] is testing a group of refugees who have arrived in a community that already has co-ethnic residents unlike the initial group of 212 refugees in Ireland. Tran's [1987] model is the only one

specifically created for refugees and Ward, Bochner and Furnham [2001] consider that it “is consistent with both the culture learning and coping interpretations of the transition experience, “ [p 239]

2.6 Social networks

Network theory takes account of communication activity at both interpersonal and intergroup levels [Kim, 1986] and is of particular relevance to this study as networks can show change over time in intergroup relations. In addition, such networks reveal the negotiating of identity and in- and outgroup definitions, both of which also involve the symbolic aspect of language use [Dabene & Moore, 1995]. These have implications for language maintenance or shift and for codeswitching, all of which affect identity. Finally, networks also reveal the complexities of a community considered homogenous such as a ‘Chinese community [McGregor & Li, 1991] or ‘the Vietnamese’

Network analysis, as Yum [1988] outlines, is based on four theoretical concepts

- 1 role theory which states that individuals play many roles in their lives, some of which end, as when a married person becomes divorced, some will be temporary such as the role of chairperson. Networks also create particular roles such as gatekeeper, liaison or bridge for example. Yum [1988] notes that social network theory is interested in “the overall structure of

interconnected relationships,' [Yum, 1988, p 241] rather than the role an individual assumes while interacting with others

- 2 Exchange theory where the exchange relation is of importance rather than a specific transaction between individuals
- 3 Action theory posits that life is a game involving continuous decision-making as people pursue their goals and where people manipulate their exchange relations
- 4 Convergence theory developed by Rogers & Kincaid [Kincaid, 1988] as a communication theory which states that communication "is a process in which two or more individuals share information and converge toward a state of greater uniformity,' [Kincaid, 1988, p 283] Kincaid considers this to be a fundamental principle of communication as people, who are naturally all different share information and so converge towards mutual understanding

Network theory is thus context based and consequently is embedded in the social environment [Yum 1988, p 247]

Yum [1988] considered that intercultural network patterns would be based on weak rather than strong ties Granovetter [1973] proposed that strong ties bind people who are similar, in intercultural communication where there is a greater level of heterogeneity between two individuals, ties will be weak However, Kim [1986] considered that a high level of heterogeneity in a personal network would also be associated with a higher level of outgroup communication competence The greater

the number and importance of outgroup friends the number of communication encounters, the greater the eventual level of host communication competence

A long-term perspective is important in the creation and maintenance of networks, as time is a key factor in the persistence of value systems and identities drawn from the culture of origin These influence behaviour and resulting communication patterns and Kim [1986] considers their effect over time

there is a greater chance for individuals to perceive that developing a personal relationship with members of different social/cultural groups is too difficult or undesirable, which is likely to hinder exerting further effort to develop a relationship

[Kim, 1986, p 92]

A personal network would contain few outgroup members or none if an individual gives up and seeks refuge within the ingroup Smith [1999] draws on both Yum's [1988] and Kim's [1986] network theories to focus on network heterogeneity, or its opposite and its relationship to immigrant integration or alienation Identity issues emerge depending on network heterogeneity or its absence

Kincaid [1988] maintains that convergence between two groups will occur over time, namely

The convergence between one immigrant subculture and its host culture, to convergence within the immigrant culture and to divergence between the immigrant culture and its original culture over time

[Kincaid, 1988 p 296]

These are subtle points as Kincaid sees change developing within an individual's group as well as a distancing over time from the original cultural roots At the same

time, there is movement toward the host culture. However, in a comparison of values between Korean-Americans and newly arrived Korean immigrants in the USA, Hyun [2002] found some discrepancy between the two groups but in essence, values were the same. Convergence towards the host culture appears to be a long-term development.

2.7 Identities and face-negotiation

The concept of face appears in all cultures [Brown & Levinson, 1978, Goffman, 1974] and Ting-Toomey [1988] proposes a theory of face-negotiation based on face-work processes. Face is defined as the presentation of a public self-image [Brown & Levinson, 1978] and everyone strives to save face [Ting-Toomey, 1988]. Face involves all the behaviour requisite in maintaining a relationship and includes positive and negative face and politeness issues [Brown & Levinson, 1978]. Positive face is the desire for approval of the self-image that is presented, whereas negative face refers to respect for an individual's autonomy. Politeness concerns involve threats to face in communication as the 'content of face' [Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 66] differs across cultures.

Ting-Toomey [1988] considers that cultural values influence facework strategies across cultures so collectivist and individualist cultures interpret the maintenance of face differently. As concern for face involves both self and other this has implications for communication in a Vietnamese and Irish communication context.

As all cultures negotiate over face, [Ting-Toomey, 1988] it is problematic in uncertain situations involving embarrassment or conflict for example. Such situations question the situated identities of the participants involved in the communication encounter and affect the multiple goals involved in the negotiation over aspects of self and other face concern. Situational and relational variables affect the process as well as cultural interpretations and expectations particularly collectivism and individualism. M S Kim [1994, 1995] has carried out research on conversational constraints from the perspective of self-construal based on the concepts of independent and interdependent self-construals [Markus & Kitayama, 1991]. M S Kim [1995] contends that, despite the popularity of the *cultural dimensions* of individualism-collectivism, the self-concept, which shapes perception, behaviour and evaluations, can provide a more precise explanation of how culture affects behaviour rather than the broad brush-strokes of individualism-collectivism. Ting-Toomey and Chung [1996] consider that M S Kim's [1995] approach supports evidence for face-negotiation theory.

Such argument is relevant to identity particularly as the Vietnamese have lived in Ireland for over twenty years and the Vietnamese community now includes an Irish-born generation so raising questions regarding ethnic identity. Identity is experienced in discourse [Brown and Levinson 1978] in particular contexts on a variety of levels. The complexities of confirmation and validation of identity in intercultural communication concern Collier & Thomas [1988]. Collier & Thomas [1988] consider that group vitality, ethnic boundaries and status are salient and the

interaction of cultural layers in intercultural communication creates shifting levels of interculturality or none, during communication. Cultural identity is broad and transcends personality or family membership for instance as it encompasses historical transmission and is made explicit. A particular communication encounter can reveal multiple identities, each of which is negotiated so that identity negotiation is a 'fluid process' [Collier & Thomas, 1988, p 114]

Ethnic identity is quite a specific cultural identity [Collier & Thomas, 1988, p 115] because of the "diversity in scope, salience, and the intensity with which it is communicated," [p 115]. Ethnic identity implies acceptance and belonging to a group with shared heritage and culture, and as Collier & Thomas [1988] note, places an emphasis on

past heritage and roots over present or future orientations
[Collier & Thomas, 1988 p 115]

The past impinges on the present so that ethnic identity exists as part of other identities. A particular discourse may contain aspects of each during communication.

Identity and face negotiation theory influence conflict style [Ting-Toomey, 1998], examined by Ting-Toomey et al [2000], Hammar & Rogan [2002] and Miyahara et al [1998]. They are of relevance as refugees encounter authority in their relationship with the state. Administrators or police are generally not aware of specific cultural issues, unless it is part of training in a multicultural setting. This was not the case when the Vietnamese arrived. Miyahara et al [1998] found differences in conflict

style when comparing collectivist cultures. Hammer & Rogan [2002] focus on the cultural dimension of conflict negotiation with law enforcement in terms of the interpretive frames of Indochinese and Latino respondents. These are in contrast to the type of direct and explicit verbal communication that police officers would use and expect regarding the facts of the matter. Hammer & Rogan [2002] point out that when facts are not forthcoming suspicion sets in.

2.7.1 Language, ethnicity and identity

Liebkind [1999] defines ethnicity from two theoretical perspectives. From an anthropological perspective, ethnicity is defined according to a set of criteria that encompasses the biological, geographical, linguistic, cultural or religious characteristics of a group. Though cultures change group boundaries may still endure so that third or fourth generation Irish-Americans will be quite unlike their first-generation ancestors. Such definition is subjective so that one can have an ethnic identity without speaking the language of the ancestral ethnic group. The second perspective is that ethnic identity can also be 'a subjective belief in common ancestry' [Liebkind, 1999, p. 140]. Such subjective belief in a common ancestry does not require a blood relationship and is a presumed identity unlike kinship, which is based on blood ties. As Collier & Thomas [1988] note in the previous section, ethnic identity finds its roots in a past heritage. Language serves as the transmitter of this cultural heritage across the generations as well as being a marker of ethnic identity for some individuals. Language concerns will emerge as a key element in this thesis, members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland will vary

over time in their attitudes to both first culture and host culture languages during the long-term cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] process.

Initially contact with the host culture will prove problematic until the language of the host communication system is learnt. Age clearly plays a factor in this process and the prospect of bilingualism for school children will place them in the position of translators for other family members. It also raises issues around heritage language maintenance in the host education system [Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, Baker, 1996/1997] as heritage language survival depends on the social policies of the host country. Skutnabb-Kangas [1999] considers that many countries have a range of educational views where a minority language speaker is considered as deficient and is placed in submersion or sink-or-swim programmes for instance in mainstream education. She takes the strong view that such education fits the United Nations definition of linguistic genocide [Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p 47], which forms part of the 1948 International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and includes cultural as well as physical genocide. Skutnabb-Kangas [1999] sets this strong view of language rights in a framework of ethnicity, language and identity:

You are born into a specific ethnic group, and this circumstance decides what your mother tongue [or tongues, if your parents speak different languages] will initially be. But what happens later to your ethnicity, your identity, and your language[s] and how they are shaped and actualized is influenced by economic and political concerns and by your social circumstances and later life. These things also influence to what extent you are aware of the importance of your ethnicity and your mother tongue[s] and the connection between them.

[Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p 55]

These are all relevant to the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001] of those Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese individuals who first arrived in Ireland as well as those who joined them later; politics continued to impinge on their ethnic identity back in Vietnam or in the country of first refuge, China [see chapter 4 for historical and political context].

Fishman [1999] states that the loss of a mother tongue occurs because of 'ethnocultural dislocation,' [Fishman, 1999, p 154]. 'Outsider' research perspectives, which aim to observe an objective stance, often fail to appreciate the force of an 'insider' view of such loss or the positive experience of ethnicity and language which commands 'tremendous reserves of ethnolinguistic devotion, self-sacrifice, and creativity,' [Fishman, 1999, p 160]. Consequently, Fishman [1999] stresses the importance of the 'insider' perspective which is a vital concern of this thesis on the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001] by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. The narratives reveal this hidden 'insider' point of view concerning language and identity. Though language here is linked to ethnicity I do not specifically call members of the Vietnamese community an ethnic group as they do not so far use it themselves and there are also differing loyalties within this heterogenous group of Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese. Fishman [1997] eloquently defends the right for people to identify themselves as they wish but with an insider perspective of his own:

Democracy also subsumes an alternative right, namely, to be free from ethnicity, i.e. the right and opportunity to be a citizen of the world rather than a member of one or another traditional ethnic collectively. On the other hand democracy guarantees the right to retain one's ethnicity, to safeguard

collective ethnic continuity , to enable one's children to join the ranks of 'one's own kind', to develop creativity, and to reach their full potential without becoming ethnically inauthentic, colorless, lifeless, worse than lifeless: nothingness.

[Fishman, 1997, p 335]

Fishman [1997] raises questions which are relevant to the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and its identity outcomes; these are examined in full in chapter 9 on identity outcomes by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland.

2.8 Synthesising a wealth of approaches and models

The conceptualisation of the adjustment of sojourner in terms of typical behaviour or social patterns, and personality typologies, characterizations, traits, and constellations is interesting, entertaining, and somewhat anecdotal. However, it becomes apparent, perhaps because of the diversity of these approaches, that little common ground exists for making lucid or even intelligible comparisons or distinctions between them; the particular patterns, typologies and traits appear to be as varied as the investigators themselves.

[Brein, M & David, K, 1971, p 222]

Though Brein & David [1971] were specifically referring to sojourners, their discussion is pertinent regarding the variety of approaches to adaptation in the field. There have been calls for exploring the potential contribution from psychology [Anderson, 1994; Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982] as well as unifying aspects of the study of cross-cultural adaptation [Anderson, 1994; Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Furnham, 1988; Kim, 1988; Rohrllich, 1983]. Furnham [1988] proposes the categorization of groups as they have different needs. He criticizes the negative definitions of culture shock and research focus on this aspect of adjustment rather

than considering a more positive perspective [Furnham, 1988, p 46] Furnham [1988] considers the two most important factors to emerge from early studies were social contact with local people and prior foreign experience, supporting a culture learning and social skills interpretation of the coping process of sojourners

Others have also proposed that culture shock is not a negative phenomenon but involves some form of internal growth or transition [Adler, 1975, Bennett, 1977/1998, Kim, 1977, Zaharna, 1989] Kim [1988, 2001] proposes a stress-adaptation-growth dynamic where the interplay between stress and adaptation gradually produces psychological movement

This process follows a pattern that juxtaposes novelty and confirmation, attachment and detachment, progression and regression, integration and disintegration, construction and destruction

[Kim, 2002, p 265-266]

Considered from this perspective, culture shock is a part of the cultural and social integration, which involves learning and growth Earlier conceptualisations such as Adler [1975] also support this view indirectly Kim's proposal allows for a synthesizing of conceptualisations of 'culture shock' and adaptation models and integrating theoretical approaches Calls for synthesizing existing views [Church, 1982, Furnham & Bochner, 1982, Furnham, 1988, Kim & Ruben, 1988, Rohrich 1983] have produced a response from Kim [1988, 2001] who has created a multidimensional communication model of the process of cross-cultural adaptation based on systems theory

Furthermore, Kim [1999, 2002] examines the influence of ideology on the construction of existing models. Like Anderson, [1994] Kim notes that there are underlying assumptions regarding adaptation that reflect an assimilationist or cultural convergence perspective. However, as Kim [2002] states, there is a trend towards pluralistic conceptions of cross-cultural adaptation such as Berry's [1997] or Bourhis et al [1997]. There are also points of view that reflect 'victim' perspectives or the notion that cultural identity is fixed and immutable [Kim, 2002] and Kim [2002] expresses a caution in this regard.

Regardless of differing ideological views, ample evidence exists to demonstrate that individuals of minority cultural backgrounds do undergo change over time and across generations. Some form of new learning, accommodation, internalisation, and convergence occurs among those who remain, willingly or not, in some degree of communicative interaction with the host environment, as has been amply theorized about and empirically documented.

[Kim, 2002, p 269]

The theoretical foundations of Kim's [1988, 2001] model, namely systems theory, are presented first in the following section followed by Kim's [1988, 2001] integrative communication-based multidimensional model.

2.9 Communication and systems theory: theoretical foundations

General Systems Theory outlines a relationship between a system and its environment [Ruben, 1983] where

The individual organizes to cope with his or her physical and symbolic environment. As a consequence, he or she is shaped by the environment and in his or her behaviour he or she also shapes the environment.

[Ruben, 1983, p 139]

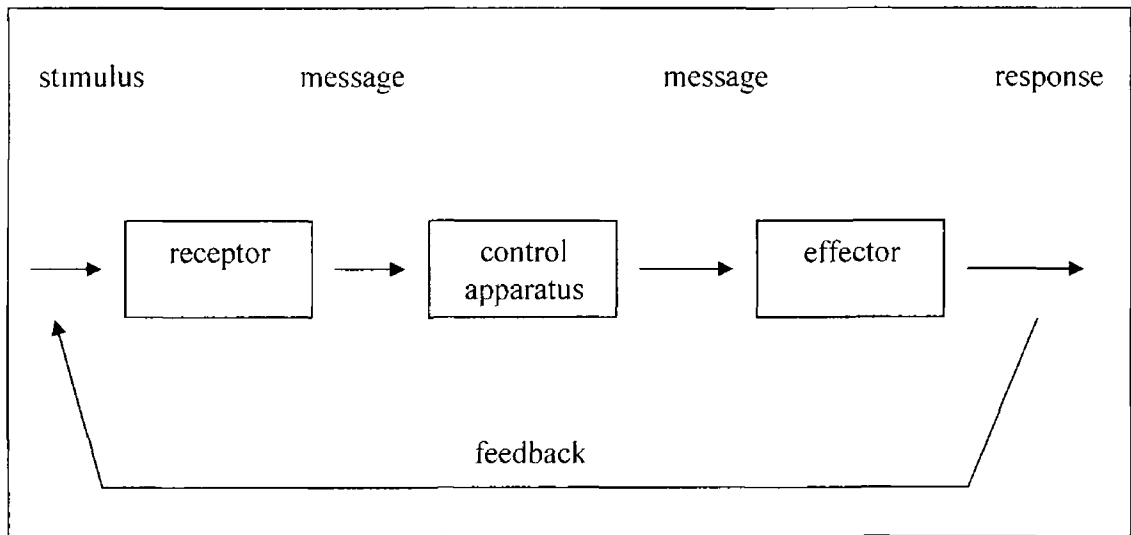
Open systems, such as humans, are living organisms that exchange matter with their environment. A closed system is, for example, an experiment in a sealed container whose outcome is predictable. With open systems outcomes are less predictable because of the exchange process that takes place with the environment during its natural life [Ruben, 1983]. Higher-order systems such as animals, whose nervous systems contain specialised information receptors and processing centres, process information from the environment as well as exchange matter with it. Ruben [1983] defines communication in terms of this basic life process.

Communication theory is not only concerned with information but also with feedback, that is, the monitoring of activity resulting from the processing of information. Feedback, namely, the monitoring back information on deviations from the state to be reached or the goal to be reached,' [Bertalanffy, 1956, p 7], forms the basis of purposeful behaviour of living organisms such as humans and human society and is shown in figure 2.3 on page 80.

As humans possess a capacity for symbolic language, they can process vast amounts of information using a variety of technologies across space and time [Ruben, 1983]. During maturation an individual adapts to its environment by processing the surrounding information created by other humans, as well as by internalising the rules of the system specific to its physical and social environment. By doing so the individual becomes a fully functioning member of its society, where individual and

society reflect and validate the expression and form of their symbolic codes their language and culture

Figure 2.3 Feedback in communication theory from Bertalanffy [1956 p 5]



Gudykunst & Kim [1997] define intercultural communication as

a transactional symbolic process involving the attribution of meaning between people from different cultures

[Gudykunst & Kim, 1997, p 19]

Heightened levels of uncertainty and stress are introduced as individuals strive to readjust to a new cultural environment. Ruben [1983] notes that in the cycle of stress and adaptation, stress is unavoidable. It is not the negative disease found in earlier conceptualisations of culture shock but has positive attributes that lead an individual towards positive change conceptualised earlier by Adler [1975].

In this framework stress and change are regarded as defining characteristics of living systems, and are particularly evident in intercultural circumstances where change and differences are endemic

[Ruben, 1983, p 142]

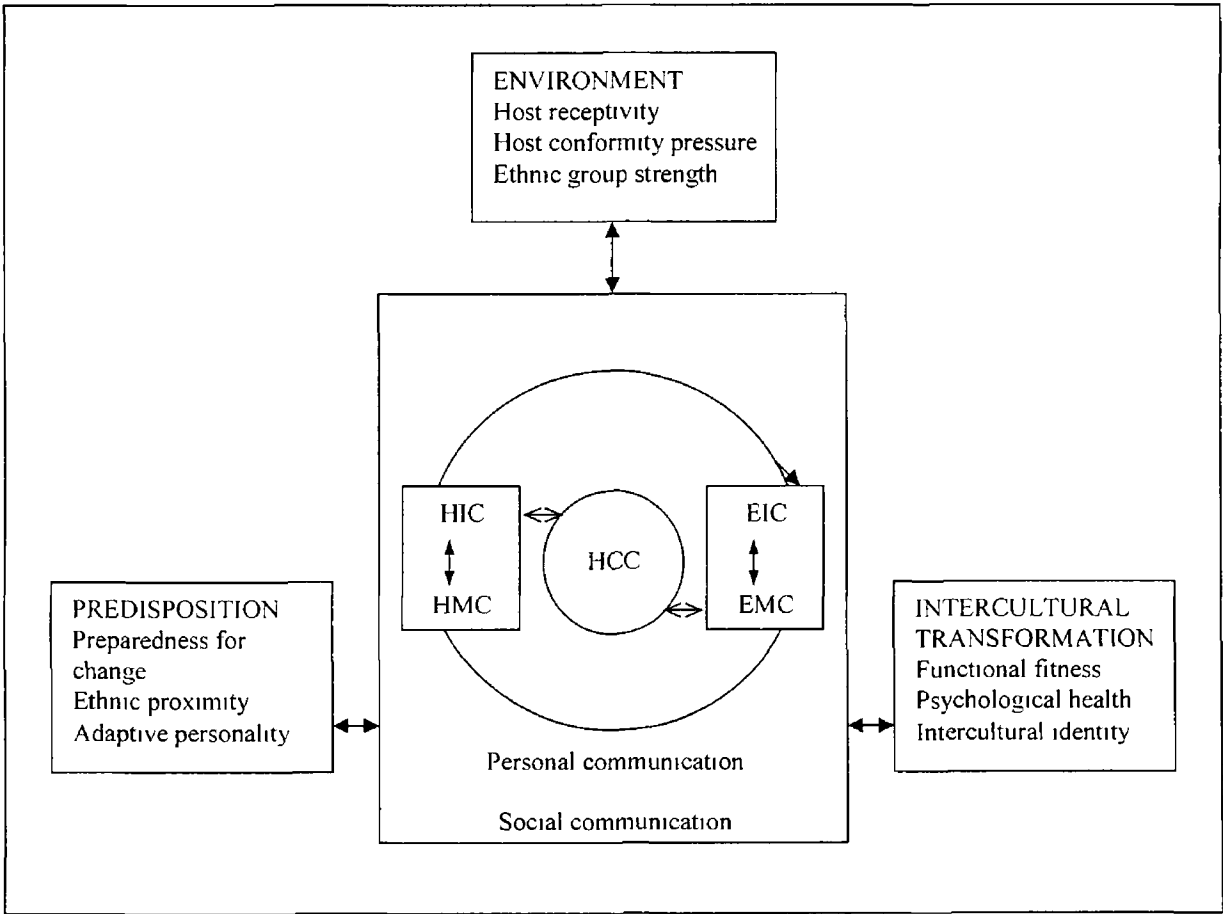
The process of adaptation becomes a higher-order concept so that cross-cultural adaptation acquires the status of a “universal human phenomenon” [Kim, 2001, p 30]. Communication, already defined by Ruben [1983] as a basic life process is a necessary condition of the cross-cultural adaptation process as an individual interacts with the new surrounding environment. Embracing this framework of stress-adaptation-growth based on systems theory [Kim & Ruben 1988, Kim, 1991], Kim [1988, 2001] created an integrated multidimensional communication model accommodating a multidisciplinary approach to cross-cultural adaptation.

2.9.1 Kim's [1988, 2001] multidimensional communication model

Kim divides communication into two strands: personal communication and social communication. Personal communication is internal and is composed of an individual's mental activities, which “dispose and prepare people to act and react in certain ways in actual social situations,” [Kim, 1996, p 407]. Social communication is when interaction occurs between people and Kim takes Ruben's [1975] definitions of these two strands of communication as being private symbolization and public symbolization. Personal communication is the way in which a person comes to make sense of the surrounding world as well as shaping responses to it. In terms of cross-cultural adaptation, Kim [1988, 2001] views it as host communication competence, that is, the ability of a ‘stranger’ [Simmel, 1921/1969] to internally

‘decode and encode information in accordance with the communication practices of the host culture ’ [Kim, 1996, p 407] When the communication system of the host community has been internalised then the ‘stranger’ can function socially as both strands of personal and social communication overlap to produce appropriate social behaviour in the new cultural setting

Figure 2 4 Kim’s structural model, adapted from Kim, 2001, p 87



Note the following abbreviations H=host, CC=communication competence, E=ethnic, IC=interpersonal communication MC=mass communication

Kim's model [1988, 2001] contains the following 6 dimensions [see figure 2.4]

Dimension 1 – host communicative competence

Dimension 2 – host social communication

Dimension 3 – ethnic social communication

Dimension 4 – environment

Dimension 5 – predisposition

Dimension 6 – intercultural transformation

Host social communication is composed of three elements, namely affective, behavioural and cognitive strands that produce appropriate behaviour during social interaction in the host environment. It exists at the macro level in mass media and at an individual or micro level in all kinds of settings. Engagement with the host community gives an individual the opportunity to check personal capabilities and effectiveness with regard to host communication competence. The creation of interpersonal networks, mentioned in section 2.6, gives an indication of the level of integration into the host society and is particularly relevant in this study as the Vietnamese have experience of over twenty years of adaptation.

Host social communication exists with ethnic social communication where the latter is the known way of communicating which is easier and safer than interaction with members of the host community. Social support from the ethnic community is still important and is provided by ethnic friends. However, restricting activity to only the ethnic community denies the opportunity to function in the wider community only.

interaction with members of the host will lead to communication competence in the new environment

The environment provides the context for communication activities and affects the interaction process depending on levels of host conformity pressure, host receptivity and ethnic group strength. The host environment can create difficulties if it perceives itself to be homogenous, which would have been the situation in Ireland in 1979, and it can make some groups feel more welcome than others. For the newcomer ethnic group strength and ethnolinguistic vitality also plays a part in the process. It is salient to consider that the original group of Vietnamese refugees were dispersed throughout the country so that they were unable to draw on either ethnic group strength or ethnolinguistic vitality. Nevertheless, ethnicity has still evolved as a salient feature of their adaptation.

An ethnic group also has an initial stage of economic adjustment and this was an important consideration for the Vietnamese in Ireland and is examined in chapter 7. This is followed by a period of community building with regard to identity and group self-esteem. If a group is large enough then it can pursue aggressive self-assertion via the existing political system, in this study, the Vietnamese are too few for such activity. There can be tensions within the group regarding the nature of such pursuits. The group may also exert subtle pressures on its members to conform to its codes and norms, significant for the long-term development of the Vietnamese with regard to language and cultural maintenance. Individual predisposition also plays its

part depending on a person's preparedness for change, ethnic proximity and depth of adaptability incorporating such factors as flexibility, open-mindedness and tolerance of ambiguity. The resulting intercultural transformation varies for each individual depending on their ability to function in the host culture: the greater the ability to function, the greater the level of psychological health and awareness of an intercultural identity.

Such intercultural identity is not the same as belonging to a single culture but it comes with a cost, which Kim characterises as

ambivalence and internal conflict between loyalty to the original identity and the necessity to embrace a new one

[Kim, 2001, p 66]

As refugees, the original group of Vietnamese were not prepared for change but family members who followed did at least have the chance to settle their affairs before beginning their new life. The resulting identities, examined in chapter 9, reflect this interaction between host and newcomer in their ambivalence, conflict or reaffirmation of ethnic identity.

Kim [2001] stresses the fact that previous models focused too closely on the negative aspects of cross-cultural adaptation and its impact on identity. In line with more recent developments and theories, Kim [2001] focuses on the development of identity, which is not necessarily a matter of personal choice.

I view intercultural identity development as being rooted, embracing and not discarding the original cultural identity – just as acquiring knowledge and

skill in the host language does not necessarily result in corresponding loss in the original language. Adaptation means the resolution of internal stress that promotes the qualitative transformation toward growth. Whatever the specific method of resolving an identity conflict, cumulative experiences of cross-cultural adaptation bring about an emerging identity that is broader than the original.

[Kim 2001, p 67]

The findings in this thesis relate to all these concerns: stress and coping in chapter 6, identities, conflicts and resolutions in chapter 9, language issues in chapter 8, with culture emerging as a positive force in economic adaptation in chapter 7.

2.10 A second communication model: CAT, [Gallois et al. 1988, 1995]

Communication Accommodation Theory [Gallois et al. 1988, 1995], referred to as CAT, focuses on intergroup interaction and the use of convergence or divergence in a communication encounter. Convergence implies the lessening of communication distance among members of different groups while divergence increases it, thus heightening group differences and maintaining or increasing their salience. CAT focuses on the motivation and strategies of group members in particular contexts to converge or diverge from the people they are communicating with and their implied group. Group membership in this context relates to membership of different cultures or ethnic groups, for example, but also extends to other groups where age could be the uniting factor such as the school-age children who were interviewed for this thesis. The model, developed by Gallois et al. [1988, 1995] encompasses interpersonal and intergroup aspects of intercultural encounters including paralinguistic and nonvocal behaviour. CAT has been developed and refined from

areas such as Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory [Giles & Johnson 1987], it also draws heavily on social identity theory [Tajfel & Turner, 1979] where group membership, group solidarity and self-esteem are central concerns

Group membership accounts for cultural variability and Gallois et al [1988,1995] stress that the model takes account of differences within groups, it takes note of individualism-collectivism at this level, for instance rather than referring to culture at the level of the nation-state. The context of the communication encounter is considered on two levels. Firstly the sociostructural context accounts for macro-factors listed as historical, political, economic, and religious intergroup relationships, host culture receptivity, host conformity pressure, and network size and strength incorporating demographic factors [Gallois et al, 1995, p 126]. The immediate social context takes account of levels of formality, individual goals, sociolinguistic strategies and the individual's sociopsychological state.

Originally, the model was conceptualised to consider accommodation in a single interaction but now includes the long-term convergence of immigrant speakers. It also views ethnolinguistic vitality in relation to the maintenance of the heritage language of a group, which emerges as an area of concern in this thesis. Gallois et al [1995] note that low vitality coupled with "a strong sense of identity, were found to lead to a stronger desire to promote and maintain one's language," [Gallois et al, 1995, p 133]. Consequently, it has relevance for the data analysis in chapter 7 on institutional completeness as well as language issues discussed in chapter 8.

These include heritage language maintenance and codeswitching, both of which are linked to identity, the focus of chapter 9 of this thesis

2.10.1 A psychology perspective Ward's [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001] model

Ward's [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham 2001] model is placed in a systems perspective like Kim [1988, 2001] and also offers a framework for synthesising existing approaches. It is heavily influenced by Berry [1994] and integrates culture learning and stress and coping perspectives on acculturation. Ward [1996] argues that for theoretical purposes adaptation can be divided into psychological and sociocultural components where the former refers to psychological wellbeing and the latter to social skills and the ability to negotiate aspects of the host culture.

In the model, the psychological and sociocultural dimensions are broken down into their particular variables and both macro and micro level variables are used to predict adaptation. The macro factors involve characteristics of the society of origin and settlement such as social, political, economic and cultural factors. The microlevel factors include two lengthy lists of variables covering the person and the situation. Personal characteristics include personality, language fluency, training, cultural identity, acculturation strategies, values and reasons for migrating. Situational characteristics include length of cultural contact, cultural distance, intra- and intergroup contact, social support and amount of life changes.

Ward and colleagues have produced a body of theory-driven work [Ward & Chang, 1997, Ward & Kennedy, 1993-1999, Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000] to examine the psychological and sociocultural components with positive results. This approach is relevant to the discovery of loneliness in the data, discussed in chapter 8, which affects language fluency at the microfactor level that Ward [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001] presents, as well as culture distance [Babiker et al, 1980] and intergroup contact at the macro level.

2.11 Discussion: a wealth of models and directions

The three models, Kim [1988, 2001], Gallois et al [1988, 1995], and Ward [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001], contain elements in common and at the same time present some different perspectives on the process of acculturation. Both Kim [1988, 2001] and Ward [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001] frame their approaches in a systems perspective though Kim [1988, 2001] has consistently drawn on systems theory to present an argument that human beings are *adaptable* and do change to meet the challenges of a new environment. At the same time, both Kim [1988, 2001] and Gallois et al [1988, 1995] draw on ethnolinguistic vitality as part of their models as do Bourhis et al [1997] in section 2.5 where the concept is presented. Gallois et al [1995] also rely on Kim's model [1988, 2001] for aspects of the sociostructural context of CAT. These linkages are similar to many others in the field where Gudykunst [2002] has called for amalgamations of various models.

The most interesting development has been the move to considering *both* society of origin and the host society influencing the process of adaptation in the specific contexts that individuals find themselves in. Bochner [2000] discusses how the research perspective has assumed that the presence of 'strangers' would have little effect on the host society. Both Kim [1988, 2001] and Berry [1997] emphasise this interaction in their models, as do Bourhis et al [1997] in theirs. It is of interest to note that Bochner considers that

An interactive model of culture contact, which assumes a mutual influence between sojourners and those segments of the host society in which they participate is a fairly recent development

[Bochner, 2000, p 222]

This emphasis allows Kim [1988, 2001] to present a dynamic model unlike the more elaborately specified frameworks of other models such as Berry [1997], Ward [1996, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001] and Gallois et al [1988-1995]

This interaction between stranger and host, which is at the core of Kim's model, can be traced in Kim's own research with refugee and immigrant communities [Kim, 1977, 1978, 1989]. Kim [2001] also comments that previous research has neglected the

three conditions of the receiving environment: host receptivity, host conformity pressure and ethnic group strength

[Kim, 2001, p 209]

These factors are significant for Vietnamese adaptation to Irish society and form core elements of this thesis, particularly in the differences and similarities across the

first group who arrived in 1979, relatives who arrived later via family reunification and the Irish-born generation

2.1.1 Future perspectives

With a single framework the different concerns of intercultural communication can grow together into a more unified paradigm
[Rohrlich, 1983]

The diversity of approaches to the study of intercultural communication emanating from other disciplines has been welcomed [Church, 1982] and critiqued for being based on Western perspectives [Anderson, 1994]. At the same time, a synthesis of theoretical approaches has been advocated [Rohrlich, 1983] and, as mentioned in the previous section, there are suggestions by Gudykunst [2002] for the amalgamation of existing models. Indeed, Gallois et al [1995] suggest that CAT is open to incorporating other theoretical positions and consequently to being further refined. Ward's model [1996, 2001], placed in a systems perspective like Kim [1988, 2001], also offers a framework for synthesising existing approaches.

New models and approaches constantly appear such as Casimir's [1999] chaos theory perspective even though existing theories have not yet been fully researched [Gudykunst, 2002]. Yum's network theory [1988] is cited as a prime example [Gudykunst, 2002]. Smith [1999] considers that this area of intercultural relations has been neglected and offers a theory of intercultural social networks as a cross-paradigmatic approach to cross-cultural adaptation that aims to bridge the macro and

micro divide. It is also a systems approach and draws heavily on both Kim [1986] and Yum's [1988] earlier work. Indeed, Smith [1999] calls for further research on intercultural social networks specifically sojourners, expatriates, refugees and immigrants. However, Kim's [1988, 2001, 2002] interdisciplinary perspective provides a rich theoretical base that can potentially unify the array of approaches in the field as well as being a catalyst for the research that Smith [1999] calls for and, therefore has been chosen for this study.

2.12 Conclusion: theoretical perspectives

This overview of literature traces the development of early models in the field of intercultural communication as well as other models drawn from cross-cultural psychology as they relate to the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. With a diversity of models, Kim's model [1988, 2001] emerges as the most suitable for this thesis. This model aims to synthesize the range of approaches and perspectives that have arisen in the field of intercultural communication and adopts an interdisciplinary perspective [Kim, 2002]. This approach makes it most suitable for this study of long-term cross-cultural adaptation where so many strands are involved in the process. In addition, Kim has also carried out studies relevant to this thesis [Kim, 1977, 1978, 1989], which have been instrumental in the development and refinement of this process model. With the use of a process model, the stages of the process as

they occurred and continue to occur for members of the Vietnamese community can be drawn from the stories

However, Gold [1992] noted from his research with Vietnamese communities in the USA that no one model appeared to provide a comprehensive perspective on the complex phenomenon of cross-cultural adjustment. Berry [1997] echoes this consideration and stresses that he provides a framework rather than a fully developed model. Given the complexity of the process of cross-cultural adaptation, the models and perspectives reviewed in this chapter all provide points of reference for understanding specific aspects of the process. These include the elements of shock [Adler, 1975, Bennett, 1977/1998, Oberg, 1960, Smalley, 1963], uncertainty and anxiety [Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988]. The models that adopt fuller perspectives with regard to the interaction between stranger and host [Berry, 1997, Bourhis et al, 1997, Tran, 1987] focus on the longer-term aspects of the process of the cross-cultural adaptation.

This thesis aims to trace the path of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community, which will include insights into specific aspects of the process as they emerge over twenty years of adaptation. Kim's [1988, 2001] model provides the larger framework in which this process takes place and with insights contributed from others. As this is a process of cross-cultural adaptation there is also a focus on specific cultural issues which is provided by models or perspectives such as face-negotiation [Ting-Toomey, 1988] theory and ethnocentrism [Bennett

1986/1993] This long-term process contains a multitude of inter-related strands so that a grounded approach is used to identify its central strands, the specifics within each of these strands and ancillary concerns. From this literature review it is clear that the main strands relate to culture but the process model allows for changing relationships to culture over time during this process. The grounded theory approach allows for the tracing of these strands through the stories produced with members of the Vietnamese community. It also takes into account specific instances of their salience at both group and individual level which can be used to illustrate the discussions of the analysis in chapters 6-9 of this thesis.

2.13 Summary

In this chapter I have traced the development of current approaches to the study of acculturation which are of relevance to this thesis. As the field is so diverse, calls for unifying this diversity have resulted in a dynamic response by Kim [1988, 2001]. In this thesis I follow Kim's [1988, 2001] perspective, which also provides the basis for key terms and definitions.

This presentation provides the reader with crucial perspectives for the study of cross-cultural adaptation and an understanding of the issues that emerge for individuals during the process of cross-cultural adaptation as they interact with a host society. Kim's [1988, 2001] perspective emphasises this interaction between host and stranger and lays the foundation for this thesis, which examines the long-term cross-cultural adaptation of the Vietnamese in Ireland. This interaction between the first

group of refugees and Irish society is significant for the outcomes analysed in chapters 6 and 7 as the refugees coped with refugee camps followed by the challenge of economic survival in the new culture. As the data spans over 20 years of cross-cultural adaptation there are implications at individual and group level as the group of Vietnamese in Ireland grows in number through family reunification, these strands emerge in chapters 7 and 8. Differences and similarities across three groups of Vietnamese, namely old and new arrivals and the Irish-born, emerge in their interaction with Irish society which itself has been transformed during this time. The process of cross-cultural adaptation emerges as a complex evolution with interlocking strands and the analysis of the data draws on the concepts and models presented in this chapter as they relate to the strands involved.

The next chapter details the methodological framework of this study of long-term adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The narrative is present at all times in all places, in all societies the history of narrative begins with the history of mankind there does not exist and never has existed a people without narratives
Roland Barthes [1966 in Polkinghorne 1988 p 14]

The words by which we refer to ourselves and others still have a way of affecting our choice of those to whom we allocate a voice in research
Holstein and Gubrium [1995 p 25]

Chapter outline

In this chapter, I present the development of my own personal interest in the research followed by the theoretical positioning of the research in a qualitative domain. I provide an account of the research process from the interviews leading to data representation. A detailed discussion of the data analysis follows with 2 supporting diagrams, included at the end of this chapter. I outline the difficulties of research with a refugee community and the limitations of the research.

3.1 Natural history of the research: evolution of personal interest

The origins of this research stem from my contact with the Vietnamese community as a teacher of English as a second language from 1996. The family background of the students was intriguing: their relatives were Vietnamese 'boat people' who had

come to Ireland in 1979 as refugees. In class, individuals would tell stories reflecting parts of their life experiences. These stories were fascinating as they gave a flavour of real lives lived during extraordinary times before and after the long-drawn out conflict of the Vietnam War or the American War as students called it. During previous research I had undertaken on second language learning by some members of the community [Sheridan, 1998a], I had come across some stories: a short autobiography as part of a literacy project [Hoa, 1992], an extreme story of hardship written by a journalist [Townsend, 1981] and short biographical accounts of Vietnamese refugees who had settled in Australia [Hawthorne, 1982]. I became interested in gathering individual stories in a more formal way for a second research project. I was motivated to discover the concerns of people regarding their language, their identity and their culture: what elements had remained and what was going to stay or seemed likely to disappear as they adapted long-term to Irish culture.

I had gradually come to know students well and my own background, which was also a refugee one, helped. I had been a refugee as a child: coincidentally from a former Communist country, so I grew up with two languages, two cultures and two histories. For a short period, I was poised evenly between the two until literacy in English tipped the balance towards one dominant culture with the other remaining firmly in the home. My parents thought pragmatically that our futures lay in our new country, there was no going back and this was particularly true for my mother who had nightmares at the thought. They encouraged me to speak English to make up for lost time educationally and followed advice that two languages would

undoubtedly confuse a child. The possibility of assimilation into the new society was then open to me but was always frustrated once I invited selected friends home where my first culture remained evident. Inevitably, the tantalising prospect of being 'one of us' became the reality of being virtually 'inside' but just a fraction 'outside'. This frustrating space of 'not quite'ness gradually evolved to become a useful self-aspect once I went back 'home' to find, sadly, that it was not exactly 'home' after all.

Now the major problem I always face is the following question: do I tell the story? Do I let a newcomer into the story or take the easier option of keeping it hidden. It avoids too much private revelation [only relevant details are included in this thesis] and too many questions. For me the story is an everyday one, it is the story I grew up with and elaborated as I went in my own search of who I was, where I came from and why it had all happened. The story has value as Widdershoven [1993] says:

A story is a reconstruction of life, by which past experiences survive in a more pure way because the inessential is removed, so that only the essential remains

[Widdershoven, 1993, p 12]

For this reason I considered that stories would answer my questions as long as people were willing to tell them.

I read Bochner [1994] who writes, in the context of researching interpersonal communication:

If we are part of our data, then we cannot ignore and should not hide the ways in which we proceed from our own experiences, our own feelings and values, and our own life stories

[Bochner, 1994, p 33]

Ron Baker [1990] placed communication at the heart of his own more revealing personal narrative as a child refugee, which he presented to professional colleagues

Finally, I read Iosselson & Lieblich [1993] whose introductory paragraph stated

Listening to people talk in their own terms about what had been significant in their lives seemed to us far more valuable than studying preconceived psychometric scales or contrived experiments

[Iosselson, 1993, p ix]

Disappointingly there was no interest in my idea until I knocked on Professor Leslie Davies door at Dublin City University and said I was interested in doing a PhD He listened to my story

3.2 Qualitative and quantitative approaches

This research follows a qualitative perspective and tells a story about the social world Denzin & Lincoln [2000] detail five essential differences between qualitative and quantitative research methods shaped by the paradigms of positivism and postpositivism Positivism claims that one reality exists, a researcher can study this reality in an objective manner and capture it by some form of complex measuring with a consequent generalization of findings In essence, this is a quantitative approach Qualitative research was also originally defined and situated in a positivist framework where it was regarded as employing less rigorous methods Postpositivism considers that reality can never be fully captured but can be approximated by using multiple methods However, postmodernist qualitative researchers either reject these two paradigms or consider them as one of several

ways of “telling stories about society or the social world,” [Denzin & Lincoln 2000 p 10]

The third difference centres on capturing the individual’s point of view that both perspectives claim. Qualitative researchers use detailed interviewing for instance or observation but there are quantitative researchers who reject such empirical findings as being unreliable. They prefer to study the social world indirectly through abstraction from an etic perspective whereas qualitative researchers focus on the specific in the everyday social world and Denzin & Lincoln [2000] describe this as an “emic, ideographic, case-based position,” [Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p 10]. Finally, qualitative research focuses on detail or ‘thick description’ [Geertz, 1973/1993]. Though there are internal debates within qualitative research on these issues, including those who still adhere to the positivist or postpositivist paradigms, these five strands present the major differences between the two traditions.

3.3 Ethics and the cultural dimension

Fine et al [2000] characterise the relationship between the researcher and the recipients of his or her attentions as being an unequal one particularly where a researcher hides behind a mask of objectivity or neutrality. Initially, being keenly aware of similarities in my own life with that of some of the members of the Vietnamese community I thought I should remain detached in case of bias. However in order to obtain details of sensitive experiences this was not practical.

For example when I asked people to talk about their experiences of flight as refugees I often had to tell my own story in order to create empathy and be a trustworthy recipient of such intimate experiences. Then I read other researchers who also discussed personal connections to their research such as ethnicity [Delgado-Gaitan, 1993, Goldstone, 2000] or the same experience [Baker 1990, Oakley, 1981, Paget, 1990] and resolved such concerns with the realisation that without a mutual exchange there could well have been no interviews at all.

In addition, I was drawn into the cultural web of reciprocity as an experienced member of the wider society with specialist knowledge who could help out in some ways. Such help ranged from setting up internet accounts, giving advice about language learning and bilingualism, where to find the addresses of language schools, finding out about further education to showing how to access state services and information. This horizontal relationship of equals was time-consuming but in this way I was not involved in a power relationship that closes off real communication. I often felt that I was pulled in two directions like Delgado-Gaitan [1993] as I did what was 'right' culturally by one group but strayed from what was culturally the norm as a researcher. For instance, I felt caught in the border zone of being known, trusted, and working on culturally valued and trusted verbal agreements. But, like a good, honourable researcher, I had produced a consent form. An 'official' consent form document immediately creates a different impression and relationship [as I knew]. Countries of origin with monolithic regimes have different attitudes to documents requiring signatures. They arouse suspicion [as I knew and felt ashamed

for trying to impose such a vertical power relationship] Yu & Liu [1986] also detail the fear of signing documents in their research with Vietnamese refugees in the USA. Inevitably, both researcher and researched are caught in this border area between different cultural expectations.

From such experiences I would subscribe with Christians [2000] to the following

rather than searching for neutral principles to which all parties can appeal, social ethics rests on a complex view of moral judgments as integrating into an organic whole, everyday experience, beliefs about the good, and feelings of approval and shame, in terms of human relations and social structures. This is a philosophical approach that situates the moral domain within the general purposes of human life that people share contextually and across cultural, racial, and historical boundaries.

[Christians, 2000, p 142]

Such an approach requires negotiation so that a successful outcome is achieved for all concerned. Lincoln & Guba [1985] note that "the values of the respondent must be considered," [Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p 212]. For example, in returning a story to an interviewee the delicacy of saving face is involved if the interviewee is not confident of literacy skills: a transcript can be read at home where there are literate family members and any ensuing discussion left for another time. Finally, there are occasions when interviewees allow parts of their story to be used but not those aspects which they regard as not for the consumption of others because the life it details is 'too hard' and face has to be maintained. Here, the border can never be crossed because, as much as one would greatly desire that such parts of a story be told, they cannot and so continue to remain invisible.

3.4 Data collection: interviews, participants, venues and language

I interviewed 18 people and the interviews break down into the following with interviewee details included in appendix A

- 8 male, 10 female
- 4 from the original 212 who arrived in Ireland in 1980
- 1 who went to China as a refugee prior to family reunification in Ireland
- 12 individuals who arrived as part of family reunification
- 1 individual came as an EU migrant
- ages range from late teens to mid-fifties

The first ten interviews took place at the Vietnamese-Irish Association Centre between February and March 1999 and the next 7 from October 2001 to December 2002. I chose the venue of the Vietnamese-Irish Association as it provided ready access to interviewees for some time until English language classes were relocated in 2001. The venue also created a space in which to encounter a wide range of individuals thus giving a better mix of people of different ages as well as a more reasonable gender balance. Women teachers will often be the confidantes of other women both young and old. As I did not wish to focus on gender specifically, the Centre was an important source of contact with others. Finally, as some people might not use the Centre, they were sought out to add to the interviewee profile. Consequently, I conducted 5 interviews in people's homes where many questions were answered not only from the interviews but also from observations of people on

familiar home ground

The intent was to give a voice to people being interviewed especially as those with little English are not given the opportunity to do. I had seen one researcher ask for only those Vietnamese students with a good command of English. Researchers select people who are deemed competent, a point that Holstein & Gubrium [1995] query as the assumptions of competence can, wittingly or otherwise, ignore categories of people so that the story of their lives is never heard. They state

Typically, in everyday interaction, attributions of competence can accountably be offered when it can be argued that an individual is able to achieve the communicative goals of a social encounter

[Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p 19]

Speakers of English as a second or additional language are chosen if they are deemed to be so communicatively competent that the English-speaking listener will have no problem in understanding and will have to make no extra effort to do so

This leaves a number of people in the category of having no voice, as they are considered incompetent to produce a narrative. In their guidelines for selecting active respondents Holstein & Gubrium state

Selecting people, as opposed to representatives of populations suggests that individuals, in principle, are equally worthy despite individual differences and therefore have worthwhile stories to tell. Although this may complicate the description of culture and experience writ large, it enables and encourages representations of diverse and complex experience

[Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p 19]

I take this approach in the research so that the story of the ordinary person is heard

Finally, I do not speak Vietnamese or a Chinese dialect, we did all speak English with varying levels of competency, but more than enough to communicate meaningfully with each other. Living in Ireland and engaged with this society in English, it seemed right to take English as the medium for the 'stories', a strategy used by Gold [1989] for interviewing Vietnamese refugees in his study of Vietnamese adjustment in the USA. D'Anglejan, Painchaud & Renaud [1986] also used the language of the host country as a research strategy in a study that included adult Vietnamese immigrants who were leaving language classes to find work. D'Anglejan, Painchaud & Renaud [1986] chose an interview format, as students would encounter such a situation in real life once job-hunting. They included themselves as part of the interaction with the wider society that their interviewees would encounter. From this perspective, I also asked people to participate in an interview in English rather than use an interpreter from the community. Lieblich [1993] found the presence of an interpreter intrusive regardless of communication problems in her interviews with a young Russian woman adapting to Israeli society. I considered it was unethical: people said they all knew each other or knew of each other. One member of the community would be privy to everyone's stories. Face [Ting-Toomey, 1988] would have played a major role and would have destroyed the interview as nothing personal would have been revealed.

3.5 The interview: focus on the process

Discussions on interviewing [Fontana & Frey, 2000, Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Miller, 2000, Oakley, 1981] separate interviews into

structured or unstructured frameworks. A structured interview contains a set of questions that the researcher administers in an objective manner to a respondent, while remaining neutral during the process. It is quantitative, and is not used in this thesis. An unstructured interview is unfocused, and conducted with the minimum of direction. A semi-structured interview contains questions around themes or theoretical concerns and is directed to some extent. Finally, a narrative approach [Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, Miller, 2000] takes account of the interplay between the interview participants and the interviewer. "will frame questions with regard to his/her perception of what the respondent is capable of providing," [Miller, 2000, p 131]. These three approaches are qualitative and as Miller [2000, p 145] notes, an interviewer can use a pragmatic mixture of such approaches for data-collection.

I saw the interviews as being an active process: the interviewer and the person being interviewed engage in a meaning-making process that is actively constructed by both participants [Holstein & Gubrium, 1997]. The interviewer does not remain neutral during the process, nor is the person being interviewed a passive participant waiting to be mined for knowledge with correct questions [Oakley, 1981]. The interviewer is very much part of the interview, not only asking questions but making suggestions or opening up a series of possibilities. At the same time, the interviewer guides the interview and the ensuing narrative to bear on the research that is being conducted. For Holstein & Gubrium [1997], the interviewer is a means of 'activating narrative production,' [Holstein & Gubrium, 1997, p 123] so that questions or statements provide direction during the interview and help in the creation of the emerging story.

To draw people into narrating events I was prepared with a semi-structured format where I could begin by asking some general questions as well as guide towards particular topics. These were questions such as background details, friendships, language, the size of the community, in short anything which could potentially have some bearing on people's life in Ireland. They served as a useful prop so that I did not feel empty-handed going into an interview as well as prompting people where necessary. However, on two occasions participants had specific stories to tell and took control, as did others at times. In fact, I gradually learnt to 'let go' of the interview and listen. The interviews then varied in length from the shortest, which took approximately 30 minutes, to some that lasted about three hours. Most individuals decided to talk to me but not to a tape-recorder even though I had bought a very small, unobtrusive machine.

Lincoln & Guba [1985] advocate taking notes rather than taping as they consider the advantages outweigh disadvantages [Lincoln & Guba 1985, p 272]. In summary, these are paying close attention to what is said, the opportunity to make notes about nonverbal cues, flagging the notes for important issues to return to later. They stress that the notes must be written up immediately after the interview. Following Lincoln & Guba [1985] and Johnson-Weiner's [1998] practical example of researching Amish communities without the aid of technology, I accepted the limitations, made notes and wrote them up immediately after the interview so that everything was fresh. Then, where possible the events were checked with the interviewees. The final text was the result of their input as regards the checking of

facts, possible additions or removal of anything that was of a private nature. An interviewee then had a copy of the text as a record of what had mutually agreed had taken place. There was interest in this process and one interviewee who went abroad remained in contact for this editing process. This process broke down significantly as some people felt that I was trustworthy enough not to have their stories checked while some others did not come back to the Centre.

3.5.1 Interviews: what's in a name

The interviews were based on anonymity so that not only names but some other details have been changed regarding the 18 participants. I asked people to choose a name for the interview and expected another Vietnamese or Chinese name. Surprisingly, people offered names like Judy or Wendy as if they had another identity or at least assumed one for the interviews. The other strategy was to ask me to choose a name so I continued by using similar ones. Li [1997] notes that this is a common practice among Hong Kong Chinese to communicate with Westerners.

Li [1997] considers solidarity and intimacy to have greater value than deference and overt power difference in the English-speaking world hence a preference for first name address [Li, 1997, p. 493]. By contrast, Chinese social interaction is hierarchical, with particular forms of address [Blum, 1997] and rests on power difference. The transition from stranger to friend passes through stages and Li [1977] notes that face creates a system where intimacy and friendship cannot

develop quickly. The solution is to use a Western name that allows access to Western forms of address with a faster transition to closer relations. Finally, Li [1997] believes such borrowing is evidence of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Hong Kong context.

Clearly, something similar in terms of an equal relationship occurs in the interview with an English-speaking identity that differs from the Chinese or Vietnamese-speaking one. This is an important consideration in terms of the interview. Time is a key element as the interview occurs in the present but ranges over time past as well as future concerns. A life story allows individuals to construct and reconstruct views of themselves in response to their changing social situation and the society they find themselves in [Miller, 2000]. A story also situates individuals in social networks of family, work, friends and leisure pursuits. Finally, it links an individual life course to historical events that took place during that particular life. Such an approach fuses well with the construction and reconstruction of identity by members of an ethnic group as they engage with a new society.

3.6 Data representation: creating a narrative

The interview process leads to the production of an official text creating interesting problems in the use of English. To create a coherent text I had to make changes in order to produce a text that read 'well' using Lieblich's [Lieblich, 1993] account of a young immigrant adjusting to life in Israel as an example. This entailed a certain

amount of 'tidying up' of the interviews including the two taped ones as the faithful representation of every hesitation or phrasing of a conversation with 'em' or 'yeah' would become tiresome for the reader. These decisions are made in the interests of presenting a final document for an audience but were only the beginning. Presenting a 'story' means the order of the text would differ from what actually took place during the interview and recorded as notes. Finally, if all linguistic errors were corrected, an interviewee's engagement with a second or third language would be lost. These questions move from the strictly linguistic to the relationship between the researcher and the researched and that of the final texts and their readers.

Miller & Glassner [1997] consider the cultural context of stories, where stories about certain groups are created by members of a majority group and form stereotypical and devalued depictions of a particular cultural group. They state that

interviews have the capacity to be interactional contexts within which social worlds come to be better understood

[Miller & Glassner, 1997, p 109]

A collection of such cultural stories can challenge stereotypical views in surprising ways. Indeed, the background to this research is the desire to investigate a particular social world and see if it conforms to 'stories' out in the wider society regarding refugees or whether the social world presented by group member voices is challenging of assumptions. Miller & Glassner [1997] write

All we sociologists have are stories. Some come from other people, some from us, some from our interactions with others. What matters is to understand how and where the stories are produced, which sort of stories they are, and how we can put them to honest and intelligent use in theorizing about social life

[Miller & Glassner, 1997, p 111]

The act of writing the texts is no longer a simple process of writing up 'the reality' but an excursion into representing a social world

Indeed, initial texts were cautious as there was a concern about my own self appearing in them. However, this also meant that they were more filtered. As the data was analysed then it became clear that the 'voice' of the interviewees had to be made clear. More direct quotes were used which meant that the texts were possibly not as neat in their ordering. However, they were more 'authentic' indicators of what had taken place in the process of "link[ing] past, present and future," [Richardson, 1990a p 133]

Such dilemmas are discussed by Richardson [1990b], who points out that narrative explanation implies it is the researcher writing on behalf of other voices. Richardson [1990b] questions the power relationships raised by such writing and considers the alternatives: not to engage with others nor write about them. Richardson [1990b] rejects this extreme view and points to the responsibilities of a researcher which are the situatedness of an the author in a narrative where he or she can ask enlightening questions, being able to give voice to others by using collective stories and accepting the "responsibility of authorship," [Richardson, 1990b, p 28]. In this regard, Olesen [2000] also considers that the researcher has responsibility "for the account, the text, and the voices," [Olesen, 2000, p 236]. Imperfections are my responsibility in this effort to create a view of a social world that has remained largely hidden.

3.7 Data analysis grounded theory.

I used grounded theory defined by Strauss & Corbin [1998] as the close relationship between data collection, analysis and eventual theory, that is, an explanation for the phenomenon that the researcher encounters. Grounded theory evolved as a systematic approach to qualitative data by combining two research traditions in the initial work of Glaser & Strauss [Glaser, 1967]. The quantitative approach promoted at Columbia University influenced Glaser. In contrast, the Chicago School, which had a well-developed tradition of qualitative research, influenced Strauss. For this thesis, I use the current approach by Strauss & Corbin [1998], which considers analysis as ‘the interplay between researchers and data,’ [Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p 13]. Analysis develops through stages of coding of text, the creation of categories that form around a central explanatory concept and constant comparison that helps to refine the process. A researcher can generate memos and diagrams during this process and use documents and other material as part of the data [Strauss & Corbin, p 11].

Strauss & Corbin consider that a researcher can draw on personal experience during analysis [Strauss & Corbin, 1988, p 5] as this forms the basis for making comparisons. They stress a creative approach to thinking about data such as exploring different possibilities, using nonlinear and divergent forms of thinking to gain a fresh perspective on data. Strauss & Corbin [1998] urge researchers to create their own concepts [p 155] and then describe their properties and dimensions from

within the data. In fact, Blackman [1983] considered that grounded theory approaches would contribute significantly to intercultural research in terms of theory and researcher experiences.

A critique by Charmaz [2000] believes that Strauss & Corbin [1998] have broadened grounded theory as they proposed giving voice to respondents [Charmaz, 2000, p. 510]. Charmaz [2000] offers a constructivist grounded theory that discovers and constructs the reality of a particular social world and criticises an overemphasis on technique at the expense of such discovery. Kim [2001] discusses the creative use of grounded theory and qualitative methods [Kim, 2001, p. 215-219] for the study of cross-cultural adaptation, including the interpretation of life histories. Haines, Rutherford, and Thomas, [1981] used grounded theory in their study of Vietnamese refugee families in the USA so that it emerges as suited to this thesis.

3.7.1 Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis: CAQDAS

For coding the data, I trained in and used a software package called *Atlas.ti*, developed from a grounded theory base and which Barry [1998] feels is suitable for small-scale research. Discussions on the use of such software [Coffey, Holbrook & Atkinson, 1996; Kelle, 1997; Lee & Fielding, 1996] have focused on their impact on the diverse modes of qualitative inquiry. Coffey, Holbrook & Atkinson [1996] have voiced concerns about the creation of a new orthodoxy that would threaten the variety of approaches available to qualitative researchers. They were also critical of

the strong link between grounded theory and CAQDAS as they considered this link to be a threat to the heterogeneity of research methods in the qualitative field. However, Lee & Fielding [1996] comment that concerns of a new orthodoxy are overemphasized. Kelle [1997] remarks that such software packages offer a way to manage data and that this is an open technology that can be used creatively [Kelle, 1997, p 3]. Coding, a way of identifying relationships in texts, and retrieval of text can be mechanized but the interpretation lies with the researcher.

During training, it was recommended that we take a small section of our own data and test different ways to code to discover both the potential and the pitfalls. Following this trial, I spent three months on detailed coding, creating memos and analytical networks. The software was extremely useful for two main reasons. First, from some initial coding and analysis, I was aware of the interlocking nature of the data and I could code the data systematically and embed codes in the same sections of text. Later, when I retrieved a code I could also draw on the embedded codes to explore relationships and meanings. In this way, I could link all the diverse strands contained in a core concept and explore their relevance. Second, writing up the analysis was made easier by the ready retrieval of significant passages in the texts.

3.7.ii Coding

Grounded theory provides a method for taking sections of a piece of data so as to assign it a code which can initially be simply descriptive until these coded instances are placed in a conceptual framework or higher-order code which has explanatory

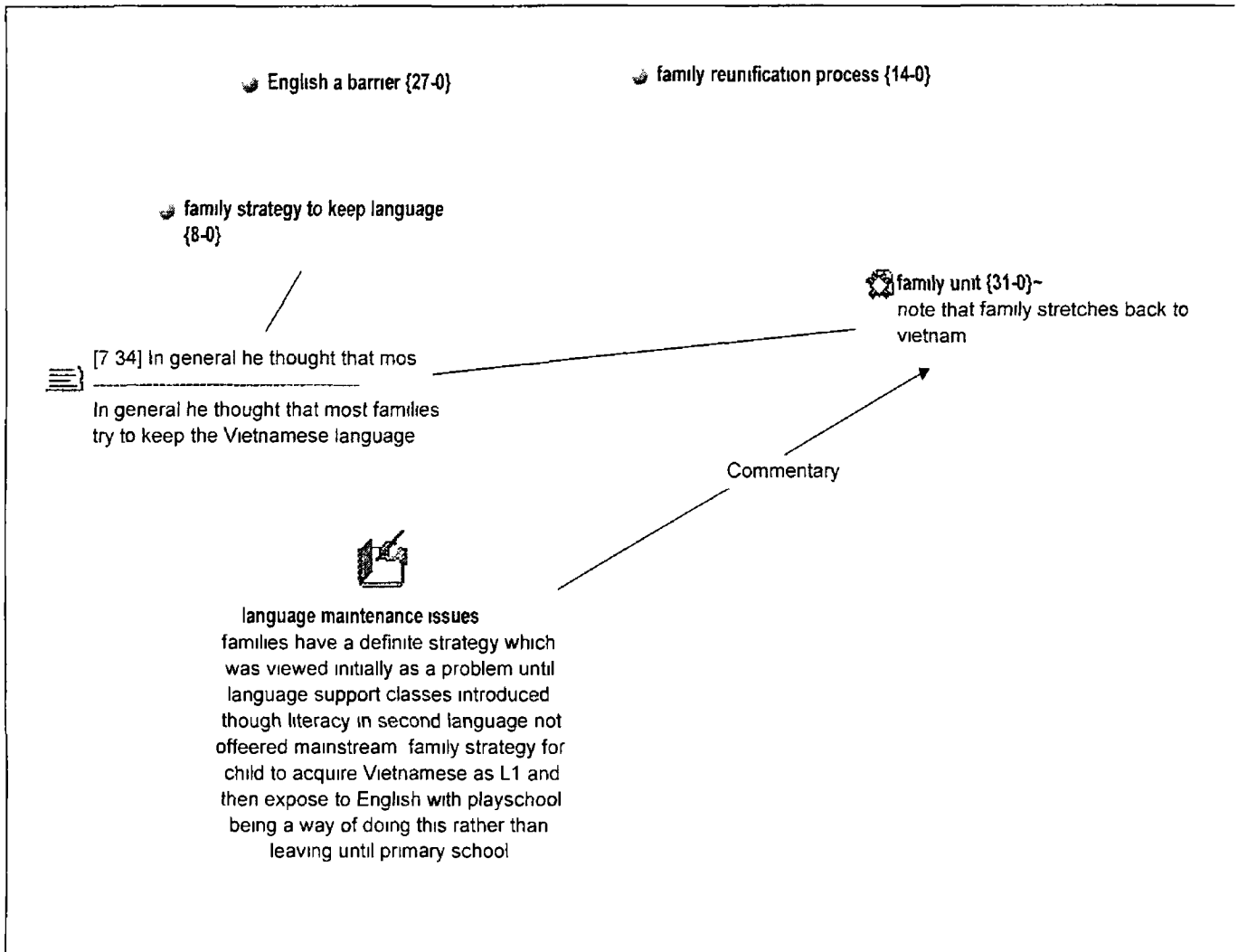
power. Coding is the result of the interaction between the researcher and the data as the researcher searches for explanations and examples to illustrate the explanation. The codes fall under three main conceptual frameworks, namely culture, language and identity. An instance would be a code 'language and job' where work-placed activity is linked to language issues. However, culture also affects the idea of work so that there is a range of codes under the conceptual heading of 'family', which creates such codes as 'family business' for example. By proceeding with the coding in this way, intricate sets of relationships build up and can be examined from more than one perspective. The overall result is one of great explanatory power as core concepts are broken down into their constituents with an accompanying discussion, which can also refer to related issues.

Codes are also useful for categorizing a particular episode such as time spent in a refugee camp and breaking it down into components such as 'camp, food' or 'camp, tension'. Some coding occurs where a code is assigned to an activity, which then has no further attributes such as 'war' so that there is only one occurrence of this code. These are useful as they can highlight an unusual occurrence. However, there are also instances where such a single instance of a code does not appear to carry any discernible significance. Decisions around such codes are made during analysis. An unsystematic application of codes which did not fall into any conceptualised framework could not be used for the purposes of data analysis. Clearly, there are a few instances of coding where further reflection would have been merited but these appear during analysis.

The coding process also relates to culture-level and theoretical approaches discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 so that methodology and theory are inter-linked during the stages of analysis. The code for 'family', for instance, establishes a link to the broad culture-level analysis contained in Hofstede's [1980/2001] dimension of collectivism and its constituent parts provide an explanation of its realisation at individual level in Vietnamese family activity such as the economic aspect [Tran, 1987, Berry, 1997]. Similarly, the two main conceptual frameworks of identity and language allow for the identification of key stages in the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] such as the maintenance of culture [Berry, 1997] or specific outcomes such as marginality [Kim, 2001].

I chose to progress to Atlas.ti for two reasons. Firstly, coding involves counting instances of a phenomenon and once complete, all codes and their occurrences are instantly retrievable. Secondly, Atlas.ti allows for the creation of illustrations, known as networks, which allow codes, coded textual segments and even memos concerning the texts to be drawn together to create a diagram of a set of relationships for exploration. Atlas.ti provides an excellent resource with which to interact with the data on a more complex level as figure 3.1 [over page] illustrates. Here there are three codes called 'English as a barrier', 'family reunification process' and 'family strategy to keep language'. Each code displays the number of examples or coded pieces of text.

Figure 3 1 example of a network of codes



that it contains the first code has 27 examples, the second has 14 and the third has 8

Each textual fragment is an illustration of a code, that is, one of those examples

These textual fragments are numbered with the first number referring to the number of the document [story] and the second refers to the line number of the text The title of each of these is the beginning of each textual fragment

Finally, codes are often linked to other codes as they are related thematically, conceptually or because of a commentary, indicated by broken lines in the figures. The line between [7 34] and the code 'family strategy to keep language' indicates that this textual fragment is one of the 8 examples of this particular code. There are also other relationships which can be used such as a memo written during the coding process, and this is flagged by the icon of the hand writing in a notebook. Finally, codes can also contain comments that are written during the coding process and these can be linked to a memo. In this illustration there are no links to two codes so that they may not be relevant or their significance has not been realised.

296 codes were created during the coding process and a small proportion were redundant. Overall, the coding process produced significant results during analysis and the use of Atlas.ti contributed considerably to the process.

3.8 Stages of the analysis

There were 3 stages to the analysis with the preliminary one carried out in the traditional pen and paper method on the first ten interviews carried out in 1999. Family appeared as the core concept and also seemed to relate or influence other areas of significance that emerged such as language or gender. I mapped this initial, rough analysis, which also served as a focus of core topics to highlight in the next set of interviews. Following the next 5 interviews I drew a map which set out an array of relationships with family as the hub from which everything radiated. This

was an extremely useful exercise as the complexities emerged of important categories that were interlinked and contained subsections. However, no simple relationship emerged with which I could draw these strands together.

At this stage, I went back to reading around the subject [Kim, 2001, Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001] and some of the literature regarding narrative. Firstly, culture, as Bertaux and Kohli [1984] note, is not a variable that can be removed. As the stories are rooted in the experience of making sense of and adapting to a new culture, then the interpretation has to take into account the origin of this journey which resides in a different culture and a different conceptualisation of the individual. Now, the data began to make sense and I drew a diagram, figure 3.1, which simplified the process into its core elements and served as a useful point of reference though the data did not conform completely to such a basic outline during analysis.

I made a distinction between the initial group of 212 Vietnamese refugees, the relatives who arrived later and the Irish-born. There were key differences in their experiences but also similarities, which I conceptualised in figure 3.2 again as a point of reference. In chapters 6-9 of the data analysis, members of the first group of 212 refugees are denoted by the letter R and family reunification members by an F. Consequently, each interviewee is referred to by name followed in brackets by group membership and their interview number as, for example, Aisling [F18]. There are two exceptions. One is Wendy [CRF17] who went to China as a refugee before joining family in Ireland. The other is Bernie [EUM2] who came to Ireland from

another EU country, she carries the marker EUM for European Union migrant. Finally, only major codes and their number of references are presented in the form of a table at the beginning of subsections in chapters 6-9 of the data analysis. Exceptions bearing a code number of 1 are used in the discussion and other coded examples may be referred to in a sentence. Coding is extremely rich and in this way presentation of the data analysis is made manageable. Finally quotations from the data are presented in italics.

There was a great deal of historical documentation to consider and Strauss and Corbin [1998 p 11] are quite clear about the positive use of such evidence. However, it was important not to be drawn into an *overall historical account*, as then this would no longer be an account of a *process*. I had to consider the relationship of the past to the present followed by present and future concerns because they all interconnected. The reading helped to draw out the conceptualisation of an intuitive understanding of this relationship. In some earlier writing I had discussed Knudsen [1991] extensively and remembered the separation of time and refugee concerns. This final piece created the conceptual framework for writing up the analysis. Two strands emerged so that chapters 6 and 7 contain Data 1, focusing *mainly*, but not exclusively on the initial group of refugees who arrived in 1979. Chapters 7 and 8 contain Data 2, which focuses *mainly*, but not exclusively on relatives who arrived

Figure 3 2 Factors affecting adaptation process

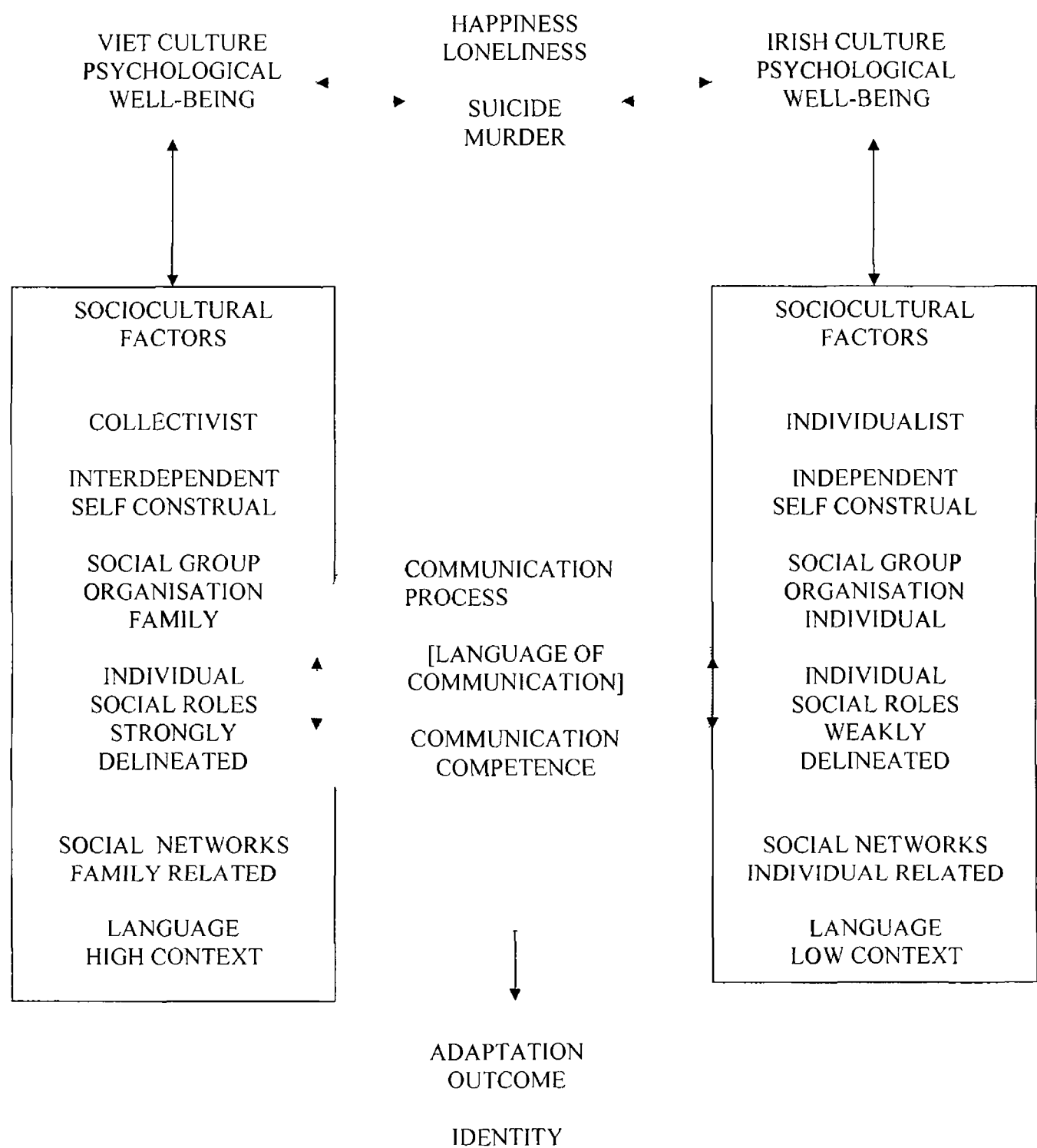
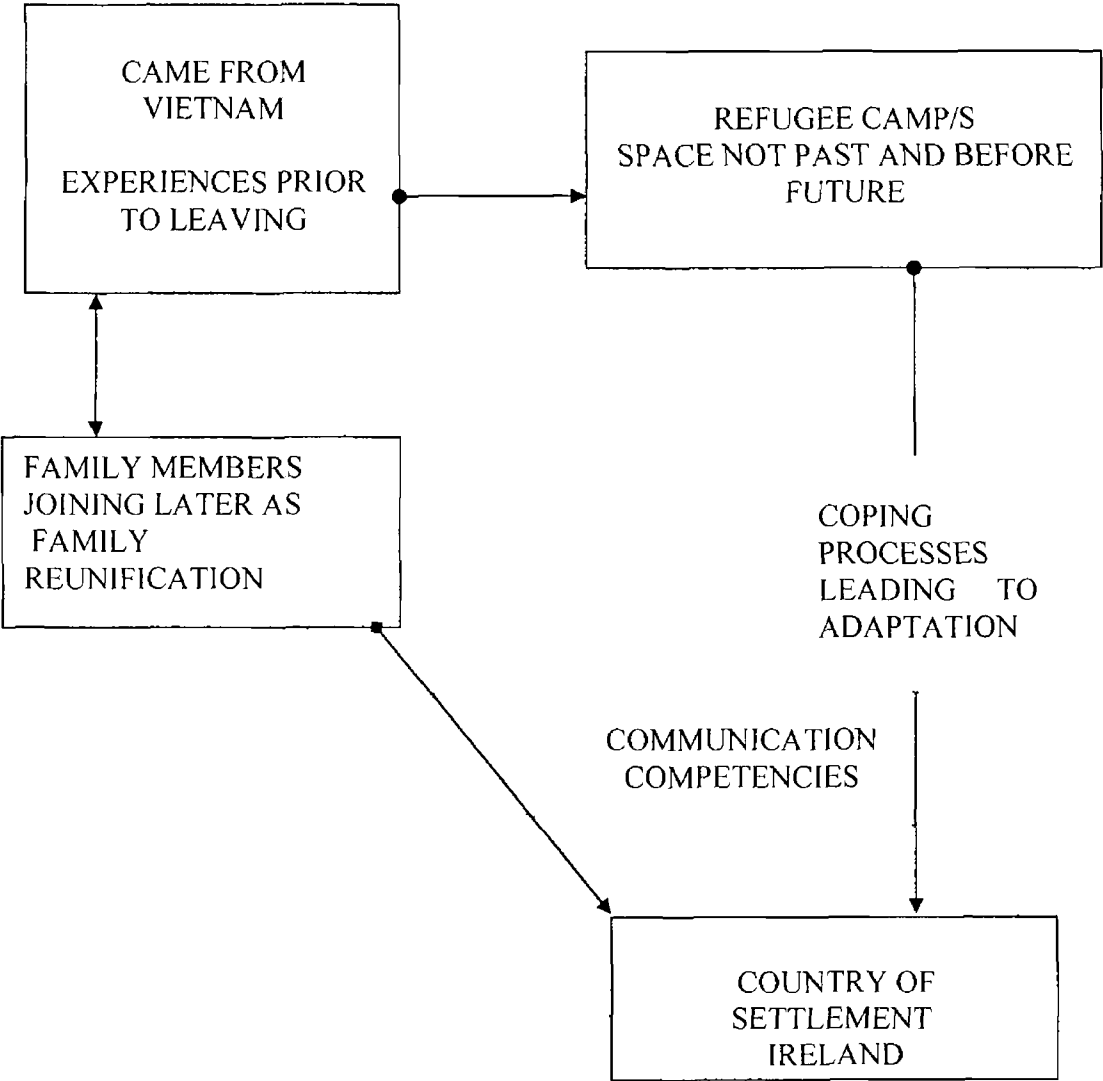


Figure 3 3 Group origin in relation to adaptation



as part of family reunification and Irish-born children. The data interlinks throughout the analysis and various strands appear and reappear in the four chapters, 6-9 of the data analysis, as parts of interlocking elements. Time relationships, influenced by Knudsen's [1991] discussion of coping in refugee camps and the desire to restore the past to the present, are presented as part of the titles of chapters 6-9.

3.9 Research difficulties: time and emotion

Researching a group of people who are culturally different where some have had tragic experiences, is difficult, emotionally draining and time-consuming. I found three honest accounts of such difficulties [Nagy, 2000, D'Anglejan, Painchaud & Renaud, 1986, Yu & Liu, 1986]. Nagy [2000] provides a salutary account of researcher expectations and methods and negative reactions by research participants who refused to interact with a laptop. A key feature of D'Anglejan, Painchaud & Renaud's [1986, see section 3.4 for details] research involving a large number of Vietnamese, is the candid discussion of their intentions and the ensuing reality. They tried to organize their research in a strict framework: some interviewees did not keep appointments, some did not like the formal nature of the interview setting and others declined to participate once interpreters explained the nature of the research. Despite being university based and with anonymity guaranteed these interviews were interpreted as being of a threatening nature. D'Anglejan, Painchaud & Renaud [1986] feel that such outcomes are to be expected. Similarly O'Regan

[1998], commissioned by the Refugee Agency to survey the Vietnamese and Bosnian communities in Ireland, encountered difficulty with the Vietnamese community and had a significantly lower sample set despite trying to take some cultural concerns into consideration

Yu & Liu [1986] present a detailed analysis of research with Vietnamese refugees in the USA that detail suspicion of researcher motives, misconceptions concerning research methods and researcher problems defining ethnic group membership and locating interviewees. Moreover, they consider that writing about methodological problems is “controversial” [Yu & Liu, 1986, p 493] particularly concerning the purpose and function of refugee research and its policy implications. They note for instance that economic measures are used to with regard to refugee adjustment as it is a neutral measure. Interestingly, they note that culture is viewed as being “conceptually difficult” [Yu & Liu, 1986, p 496]. They state

the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugees decided to avoid any discussion on the cultural adjustment of refugees even though the latter type of adjustment accounts for much of the problems encountered by refugees
[Yu & Liu, 1986, p 496]

Part of these concerns also focuses on the commissioners of research, usually agencies who are service providers to refugees, who depend on programmes for their livelihood. Such forthright discussion is of clear benefit to any researcher in this field particularly regarding the implications of the research.

My own background clearly helped me but this does not mean that there were no difficulties. The main problem was time. Maintaining a presence in the Vietnamese-

Irish Centre was time-consuming but necessary for re-establishing links. Gaining the trust of some potential interviewees also took time and required a certain amount of perseverance. For instance, it took over two weeks before I finally managed to interview one particular individual. With differing views of time, I had to persevere with some appointments that were not kept as I would surely encounter individuals on another day. Finally, some interviews drew me into realities that were sad, awful and once, harrowing and some of these I was not allowed to include in the actual texts. It takes time to absorb such realities, deal with them and simultaneously not talk about them because of confidentiality. I think any qualitative researcher needs to be made aware of these issues.

3.9.1 Limitations of the research

This is a qualitative study and I would have liked the opportunity to talk to older Irish-born children. I was only able to observe some young children and talk to their parents. With older children, I could have explored their identities in more depth, which would have further enriched the interpretation of this theme. There are also limitations regarding the use of English, it was a useful strategy in terms of creating a communication encounter but it did on occasion have drawbacks. There were times when I would have liked to explore things people said in greater detail because I was not sure of their significance or because of potential misunderstanding. However, some of this was also cultural and I did not want to touch any sensitivities.

in case I appeared rude in my questions. I was already quite direct and I often found out information indirectly in conversation with the same person.

Though I accepted taking notes and reconstituting the interview, a process at which a certain amount of skill develops as Lincoln & Guba indicate [1985], some things were lost. Rather than misrepresent anything I did not use anything of which I only had a partial note, or if I could not remember that particular segment of the interview. In addition, I could not reinterview everyone as people dropped into the Centre but then might not be seen again for a variety of reasons. I was still a relative stranger and could not impose by asking to meet in someone's home unless I already knew them in that context. Finally, two problems followed the writing up of the interviews. One was the problem of not being able to make contact again. The other was cultural: interviewees said there was no need to verify what had taken place because I was trusted. In this way, not all the texts were verified which was frustrating from the research point of view but understandable in the cultural frame in which it happened.

I acknowledge all the constraints inherent in using English and the writing up of notes, cultural dilemmas as well as my own background in forming part of the research process. However, without accepting the constraints on data gathering there would simply have been no material to gather. I give two examples. One interviewee had a very sensitive experience. The interview took place some three weeks after some initial conversations. Then, the person first wanted to know my

experience before trusting me with any personal revelation. There were absolutely no language problems in this particular interview. Finally, one interview was lost because I pursued the idea of taping. There is only one chance at an interview and the opportunity has to be taken as it is offered so that fieldwork is neither neat nor easy and should be represented as such.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the development of my own interest combined with personal experience of being a refugee in the framing of the research. There are positive elements from such an experience as it clearly provided a rapport with interviewees and helped during the interview process. However, it did not lessen the emotional impact of some of the stories, a point which other researchers need to bear in mind. The overall difficult nature of such fieldwork emerged as well as the lack of discussion or detailing of such issues by qualitative researchers.

The use of CAQDAS, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis, proved particularly valuable for untangling the interlocking strands of the data. Developed in grounded theory frame, Atlas.ti was an invaluable software package to use for this thesis involving small-scale research. The coding process drew on the cultural and theoretical perspectives contained in chapters 1 and 2. Culture-level concepts such as collectivism emerged in the data and the codes produced sets of relationships that related to the phenomenon and link to the theoretical frameworks presented in

chapter 2 As the data was so interlinked, the coding process enabled me to overlap the links and later separate them during analysis Two separate but interlinked sets of data emerged with differences across the generations emerging as the Vietnamese in this study interacted with Irish society during the process of cross-cultural adaptation

Next, I present the Vietnamese historical, social and cultural background of the study in chapter 4, which relates to the heterogeneous nature of the Vietnamese refugee population in Ireland Historical events are also detailed as they affected the initial group of 212 refugees differently from their family members who remained behind until family reunification occurred

CHAPTER FOUR

VIETNAM BACKGROUND

To attempt to write the history of a country as different from one's own as Vietnam is an undertaking so difficult that it might even be called rash. For the subject of such a history must be viewed across a cultural gulf as wide as any that exists within the species of mankind. The problems are not merely those of language: they concern the whole framework of assumptions within which men live and have their being.

[Smith R 1968 p vii]

*Our Great Viet is a country where prosperity abounds
Where civilization reigns supreme
Its mountains its rivers its frontiers are its own
Its customs are distinct in North and South*

*Trieu Dinh Ly and Tran created our nation
Whilst Han Tang Sung and Yuan ruled over theirs
Over the centuries we have been sometimes strong sometimes weak
But never yet have we been lacking in heroes
Of that let our history be proof*

[Le Loi's proclamation of independence after driving out the Ming 1428]

Chapter outline

In this chapter I detail the historical and social background relevant to both the first group of refugees and those who followed as part of family reunification. This involves not only information about Vietnam but also includes references to China as some refugees initially fled there and joined family in Ireland many years later. In addition, as a Communist government reunified North and South Vietnam in 1975, a period of social change followed which affected different social, ethnic and religious groups in Vietnamese society. This change involved those that fled their country and family members who remained behind. Consequently, such historical details are necessary regarding this group of refugees and their relatives as they bring their experiences with them, such experiences underpin their process of cross-cultural adaptation.

4.1 Introduction what was lost

Anderson [1994] refers to the sense of loss involved in cross-cultural adaptation [see chapter 2 for discussion] and places it in the context of life course events such as bereavement

bereavement is especially revealing about how we cope with the loss of the familiar – our family support group(s), roles, language, values and all the rest of our culture in which our individual identities are embedded. Indeed mourning is a little-known aspect of migration: the uprooted immigrant grieves for the loss of a whole homeland

[Anderson, 1994, p 300]

Such loss clearly affects the adaptation process, as individuals, adults and children have been socialised into a particular set of values, roles and social expectations that do not necessarily translate into the new surroundings. Stern [1994] discusses how such mourning gives way to nostalgia, which serves as a mechanism for integrating the old and the new in the individual self. Nostalgia is expressed at varying levels including family mythologies and such family stories are grounded in a historical and cultural context and these depend on when and how specific events occurred.

As politics produces refugees and refugee stories, key political events are included as these affect both culture and identity. Consequently, there are differing strands to the adaptation process depending on when people came. Details concerning Vietnam at the time the initial group fled are given in this chapter, some developments regarding modern Vietnam are also included as marriage migrants and family members eligible for reunification come from this modern-day context. Mamah

[1996, see chapter 1 of this thesis for discussion] examines communication in a totalitarian state and this is reflected in the following sections. This complex background provides key details of Vietnam's history including relevant references to China, as some of the refugees are ethnic Chinese.

4.2 Geographical outline and population composition

Geographically, Vietnam is a long, S-shaped country with fertile rice-growing areas at either end. A long narrow spine separates the Mekong Delta in the south from the Red River Delta in the north. The capital city, Hanoi, is located in the north and the second city, Ho Chi Minh City, is in the south, it was formerly known as Saigon and was the capital of the former South Vietnam. The population in the 1960s in South Vietnam was just over 16 million people and this calculation is based on a sampling of the population carried out in 1960 as well as further incomplete surveys carried out by the Vietnamese National Institute of Statistics [Smith et al. 1967]. Consequently, population references are approximate because there are no exact figures for the country as a whole for the period of upheaval in the 1970s.

Furthermore, there were still populations within Vietnam like the Ngai/Nung who originated in the border zones between China and Vietnam. They had been relocated several times, but had no "fixed ethnic address" [Hutton, C, 1998, p. 127], a fact that affected their potential refugee status. However, Connor [1969] provides a useful table that takes these estimated populations for both North and South Vietnam.

in order to break down the different ethnolinguistic groups of the region into approximate population percentages:

Table 4.1: Population and ethnolinguistic groups, adapted from Connor [1969, p 54]

State (Estimated population in parentheses)	Ethnolinguistic groups by percentage of population	
Vietnam, North (19 million)	Vietnamese	85
	Chinese	1
	Other	11
Vietnam, South (17 million)	Vietnamese	87
	Chinese	5
	Other	7

Ethnic diversity is a feature of Vietnamese society in comparison to Ireland, which would have considered itself as a more homogenous community when the Vietnamese refugees arrived. Consequently, there was little awareness of or reflection on cultural difference in Irish society when the Vietnamese arrived [MacÉinrí, 2002]

4.3 Historical background

Vietnam’s history is entwined with that of its dominant neighbour to the north, China. Vietnam has absorbed linguistic, cultural and religious knowledge from the Chinese so that this relationship has pervaded Vietnamese life across the centuries. However, Vietnamese identity, with its strong sense of being a nation, was never

absorbed even after a thousand years of Chinese rule, which ended in 939 AD. Vietnam always manoeuvred its way through this relationship with its powerful neighbour. However, the legacy from China is a deep and powerful one as Vietnam learnt wet rice culture from the Chinese, Buddhism passed from China to the north of Vietnam as well as the Confucian system of rule which persisted into modern times in the court of the last emperor, Bao Dai. Contact with European colonialism also left its mark. Missionary activity in the 16th and 17th centuries left the legacy of Catholicism and the romanization of the alphabet known as *quoc ngu*. This became the standard written form of Vietnamese by the early 20th century.

19th century French colonialism brought contact with and interest in Western ideas. This interest produced a search for a fusion of East/West ideas in the religion of *cao dai*, founded in the 1920s as well as various independence movements led by French-educated activists. Eventually, the Communists, or Viet Minh, based in the north under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh became the most successful of these movements. The French withdrew after their defeat at Dien Bien Phu on the 7 May 1954. Following the negotiation of peace terms, known as the Geneva Accords, Vietnam was partitioned into North and South at the 17th parallel. This ran horizontally across the country approximately half-way across the narrow spine separating the two fertile rice-growing regions. The Emperor, Bao Dai, who no longer held any semblance of power, was deposed in Hanoi and fled south to Saigon. By agreement, those wishing to move from north to south were given almost a year to make the journey. The routes became increasingly hazardous due to government

interference as the numbers departing increased substantially. The decision to leave was not an easy one as it created a break with family and spiritual ties, as people:

abandoned their property, lives, and above all, the graves of their ancestors.
[Nguyen, 1995, p 500]

Greater US involvement in South Vietnam led to the tragedy of a long, drawn-out conflict leading to the deaths of thousands of civilians as well as combatants on all sides. Finally, the war resulted in US military withdrawal in 1973. American soldiers left behind a cultural legacy of abandoned Amerasian children, vilified because of their visible connection to the USA [Nguyen, K 2001]. Many of them became street children in Saigon until a programme for their repatriation to the USA was initiated in 1980 [Gudykunst, 2001]. Following American withdrawal, the regime in the South was exposed and, contrary to agreement before the US departure, the North invaded the South. Approximately 135,000 people fled from the South, a group composed of those who had connections to government or military and had the financial resources to leave, mainly for the USA. As the South crumbled in 1975, northern military victory was assured with the Fall of Saigon in April of the same year.

Following reunification there was internal change within the former South: the state's intent was to create loyal citizens in line with Communist doctrine. There followed a time of political repression and people with connections to the former regime were sent to 'reeducation' camps for correction of their political views. In

1978, an anti-bourgeois movement was initiated, including the seizure of property and business assets. There was a focus on the ethnic Chinese population in the south as they were a visibly wealthy minority. External political factors also came into play at this time as Vietnam invaded Kampuchea, ousting the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot. This measure had been taken as there had been numerous incursions into Vietnamese territory in the south by the Khmer Rouge. The action aggravated China as the Chinese government supported the Khmer Rouge and regarded them as allies. China invaded Vietnam and a 17-day war ensued followed by Chinese withdrawal. The Vietnamese government exploited a wave of anti-Chinese feeling and there were violent acts against the minority Chinese population resulting in flight from the country.

Ethnic Chinese fled from both north and south. From the north, they crossed into China following clan leaders who had decided to leave and were taking the bones of the ancestors with them. Over 200,000 crossed into China in 1978. From the south, they fled in small, overcrowded boats arriving mainly in Hong Kong and Malaysia. The Chinese government despatched two boats in order to transfer ethnic Chinese but diplomatic wrangling caused them to return empty [Godley, 1980]. Other individuals also decided to flee the regime such as those freed from reeducation camps, those tainted by any link with the previous regime and those with a Chinese spouse.

As numbers grew, an international conference convened in Geneva on 20-21 July in 1979. All countries were asked to share the burden of the humanitarian crisis and

ease the difficulties of the neighbouring countries that were coping with the arrival of unprecedented numbers of refugees. Japan, for example, which was by far the greatest donor country to the relief effort, eventually accepted refugees. This was contrary to its usual policy of refusal as it pleaded the special circumstances of the homogenous nature of its population [Shiraishi, 1990]. The enormity of the situation is highlighted by the closure of the last camp in Hong Kong in 2000 [O'Clery, 2000]. The legacy of this time is the Vietnamese diaspora stretching from the USA, Canada, Australia and China to European countries including Ireland.

As both family and marriage migrants arrive from contemporary Vietnam, it is significant that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam continues to be ruled by the Communist Party. However, there have been Party reforms, notably in 1986 when *doi moi*, or 'economic restructuring' began [Wu & Sun, 1998].

4.4 The refugee population

Today, approximately 84% of the population of Vietnam is composed of ethnic-Vietnamese with 2% comprising the ethnic Chinese. The remainder of the population is composed of Khmers, Chams, some Indians and some 54 recognised ethno-linguistic groups who live mostly in the Central Highlands. In the 1970s, the Chinese population of the South was about a million with an approximate figure of 800,000 in the North [Lam, 2000]. There were noteworthy differences between the two following the division of Vietnam into North and South. These focused around

trade citizenship and local cultural practices concerning education. There were also substantial population movements from North to South.

Following partition there was significant internal displacement of the mainly Catholic group of Vietnamese who fled to the South [Nguyen, 1995]. These numbered 800 000 or about half of the North's population of 1.6 million Catholics. They had 304 days, from July 21 1954 to May 21 1955, in which to make their decision and leave under the Geneva Accords. The new President of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, also a Catholic, appealed to Catholics to leave, not entirely with disinterest as he was hoping to increase his power base with the addition of such significant numbers. A relocation programme was created for the million refugees from the North, twenty percent of these were non-Catholics. The programme gave preferential treatment to Catholics, a fact not necessarily noticed by the urban population, but resented in rural areas by refugee Buddhists and southern farmers who were destitute. Temporarily, the Catholic minority in South Vietnam enjoyed a privileged position under Ngo Dinh Diem. In this thesis, these events form part of Harry's [R8] family story. As this chapter contains political discussion no examples are introduced for reasons of political and cultural sensitivity.

4.4.1 The ethnic Chinese

As some of the refugees are ethnic Chinese from both the former north and south, the characteristics of this group as well as north/south differences are examined. The

Chinese community in the south formed approximately 5% of the population and were a visible minority with keen business interests, which included control of the rice trade in the local economy. Forming a smaller part of the population in the north of Vietnam, the Chinese were also less prominent in the economy as they were fishermen, foresters, and craftsmen in the rural areas and technicians or general workers in urban areas [Ungar, 1987/88]

French colonial rulers considered the Chinese as foreign residents and focused concerns on the community in the north because of their proximity to China. The Chinese Communist Party, with the support of the Viet Minh organised cadres in the north as part of the resistance to colonial rule. This trend, of active participation by China in the organisation of ethnic Chinese continued into the 1970s. China supplied teacher trainers, teachers and textbooks to the Chinese schools in the North and able students continued their studies in China. In the South, however, the Guomindang in Taiwan rather than Communist China influenced Chinese education.

Ethnic Chinese from the North were able to visit their relatives and ancestral graves in China and, most importantly, were able to retain their Chinese citizenship. However, revolutionary fervour in China in the form of the Cultural Revolution eventually caused the North Vietnamese government to encourage ethnic Chinese to become Vietnamese citizens in the 1970s, there had been attempts to export the Cultural Revolution to Vietnam much to the dismay of the Vietnamese government. The Chinese-medium newspaper published in Hanoi was closed in 1974. Following

reunification of the country in 1976, the teaching of Chinese was specifically stopped in the provinces; third level education became difficult for ethnic Chinese.

The wealthy community in the South attracted government attention in the 1950s. They were barred from participation in certain occupations and were pressurised to take up Vietnamese citizenship. These moves were designed to take the rice monopoly from out of their hands and control their involvement in other business sectors. However, with the establishment of military regimes in the mid-1960s, following President Diem's assassination, their fortunes rose again and some citizens of Cholon, the Chinese area of Saigon, prospered and became very wealthy [Ungar, 1987/88]. Chinese political interference in 1975, as the North pushed ahead for victory and reunification, strained relations between the two countries; China offered citizenship to ethnic Chinese living in the South including those who had taken out Vietnamese citizenship. Ethnic identity was already problematic for these refugees, [Malkki 1995, see chapter 1 of this thesis for discussion] and complicates identity issues in the host society following the international refugee crisis in 1978 resulting from the blend of internal and external events

4.5 Historical postscript

Following reunification in 1975, a census was taken in 1979 and Vietnam's population was given as almost 53 million. The figures for the ethnic composition of the population for the Viet and the ethnic Chinese are in table 4.2. It is clear that a

significant proportion of the ethnic Chinese population fled as the total figure recorded is less than a million, that is, less than the previous estimated ethnic Chinese population of only the former South.

Table 4.2: Ethnic Composition, 1979 [adapted from Library of Congress Vietnam

Area Handbook, Appendix A]

Ethnic group	Population
Viet	46,065,400
Hoa (Han, Chinese)	935,100

Chinese is now taught as a foreign language in Vietnam and special measures have been taken in the creation and distribution of teaching materials. Textbooks printed in Hanoi, and the Chinese version of the *Sai gon giai phong* (Liberation Daily), are not suitable for the Chinese population in the south; Hanoi publications for the Chinese minority use the simplified written characters employed in China. The community in the south are used to the traditional complex written characters and material is published for them in this form. Government publications are translated into Chinese to include the community and create a better relationship than existed before:

The merging of the nationality issue with the drive against the capitalists created a trauma of such immense proportions in the south that one has the impression that officials there intend never to let events reach such proportions in the future.

[Ungar, E, 1987-88, p 613]

The refugees that left in 1979 would not have been part of this process of reconciliation, affecting their future relations as a 'group' in Irish society as well as their heterogeneous group composition [Malkki, 1995]. Such intra-group differences "are potentially as pertinent as differences between national origin groups in explaining certain aspects of adaptation," [Desbarats, 1986, p 406] and are of significance in this thesis as both Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese identities are involved..

4.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how key aspects of Vietnamese history affected the various refugee groups that left Vietnam following the collapse of the former South Vietnam. Vietnamese refugees emerge as a heterogeneous mix of ethnicities and religions and where some people have already experienced internal displacement. Prior experiences such as a problematic ethnic identity would have implications for their adaptation to Irish society, which in 1979 would be considered as homogenous.

In the next chapter, I present the salient aspects of Vietnamese and Irish culture and discuss their potential effects on communication and the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

CHAPTER 5

ENCOUNTERING THE OTHER: VIETNAMESE AND IRISH CULTURE

*We are not native here or anywhere
We were the Keltic wave that broke over Europe,
and ran up this bleak beach among these stones;
but when the tide ebbed, were left stranded here in crevices,
and ledge-protected pools*

John Hewitt

Chapter outline

In this chapter, I present the key aspects of Vietnamese and Irish culture as they affect communication. I examine Vietnamese culture including the Confucian legacy stemming from Chinese culture. Then, I provide details of Irish culture and discuss communication differences between the two groups. These differences have implications for interaction between the Vietnamese refugees and their Irish hosts and for the cross-cultural adaptation process.

5.1 Introduction: stranger and host

Kim [1988, 2001] considers that both stranger and host influence communication in the cross-cultural adaptation process so awareness of key aspects of Vietnamese and Irish culture are vital for successful adaptation. Berry [1997] also considers the

specificities that researchers need to attend to when discussing the acculturation of individuals:

research that does not attend to the cultural and psychological characteristics that individuals bring to the process, merely characterising them by name (e.g. as “Vietnamese” or “Somali”, or even less helpfully as “minorities” or “immigrants”) cannot hope to understand their acculturation or adaptation. Similarly, research that ignores key features of the dominant society (such as demography, immigration policies, and attitude towards immigrants) is also incomplete.

[Berry, 1997, p 16]

Consequently, this chapter draws on those elements of Vietnamese and Irish culture that can potentially affect communication, the development of host cultural communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001] and the adaptation process in general. Examples drawn from the stories are not used in this chapter as there would be some overlap with chapters 6-9 of analysis.

A Confucianist cultural legacy, harmony, elder respect, face [Ting-Toomey, 1988] and a high-context [Hall, 1976/1989] communication style are among the main aspects of Vietnamese culture. Vietnamese society is considered as collectivist [Hofstede, 1980/2001] where the family is of prime importance [Hofstede, 1980/2001; Gudykunst, 2001]. Irish culture, in contrast, places a value on the individual and on individual relationships. However, such relationships are created in the framework of an Irish social structure, which also displays ‘tight’ [Bochner, 2000] characteristics. Consequently, the creation of friendships depends on the individual connection made within relatively ‘tight’ constraints

5.2 The pervasive effect of Confucianism and the family

China bequeathed the cultural legacy of a Confucian heritage to Vietnam and it has not disappeared despite all the political upheavals of this century. The former North, more conservative in outlook and with a longer experience of Marxist ideology, has not banished Confucianism but has rather created a blend where the Confucian view of the world is still highly valued [Nguyen, 1989]. Traditional Confucian teaching confirms a set of hierarchical relationships involving the individual, the family and the nation. They are the participants in a moral order that creates harmony as they fulfil their obligations: the son to the father, the pupil to the master, the subject to the ruler [Smith, 1968]. This philosophy is expressed in the following 12th century text,

The Great Learning:

When things are investigated,
then true knowledge is achieved.
When true knowledge is achieved,
then the will becomes sincere.
When the will is sincere,
then the mind sees right.
When the mind sees right,
the personal life is cultivated.
When the personal life is cultivated,
Then the family life is regulated.
When the family life is regulated,
Then the national life is orderly.
When the national life is orderly,
Then there is peace in the world.

[in Smith, 1968, p 14]

This is not a rigid system such as the Indian caste system so that men and emperors could lose or gain virtue. Historically, an emperor had to surround himself with men of virtue and virtue was not inherited but acquired through learning. Examinations in

the Confucian classics were held regularly and all owners of land, of whom there were many in Vietnam, were eligible candidates for the imperial civil service.

The patriarchal family became the embodiment of Confucian values where the obligations ran from family to father, child to parent, wife to husband and younger brother to older brother. The individual is set within the family and is linked to its members by the duties and obligations that bind them all together; family members look to each other for mutual help and assistance. The family continues as it is linked to its ancestors and its future is assured with male heirs who carry on the patrilineage. A traditional household would have at least three generations under the one roof with the elder, honoured family members, their children and a married son, usually the eldest, with his wife and children. Such a family structure endured in rural communities where they were also “the unit of production,” [Smith et al, 1967, p 108]. The cult of the ancestors is also central to Vietnamese family where ritual veneration ensures that ancestral souls receive spiritual nourishment. Were souls to beg for nourishment from strangers they would no longer be content but would create unfavourable influences in the lives of the living.

This traditional system of social organisation by family and family loyalty was not without its critics in Vietnamese society such as Nyguyen Tuong Long [1907-1948] who strongly criticised the system of Confucian beliefs and the fact that people were concerned with their reputations, that is with face [Ting-Toomey, 1988], and with their families and villages rather than a wider social order:

people remained in a kind of smiling paresis, 'their feet as immovable as three-legged urns.* . . . the only really durable organizations were the traditional 'filial piety and joy associations' (*hoi hieu hi*) dedicated to the communal defrayment of the villager's burdensome funeral and wedding expenses.

[Woodside, 1971, p 40]

The family structure has nevertheless endured so that Smith et al [1967] were able to state that in the mid-1960s the family structure had survived several decades of upheaval but "still represents the chief source of social identity for the individual" [p 105]. Research with Vietnamese refugees has also emphasised the special nature of the Vietnamese family [Gold, 1992; Haines, Rutherford, & Thomas, 1981]. The family, consistent with Hofstede's [1980/2001, see chapter 1 of this thesis] dimension of collectivism, has undoubtedly been the one certainty in uncertain times and, plays a crucial role in the adaptation process. Data analysis in chapter 7 on entrepreneurship and chapter 8 on social networks also reveals this to be the case.

5.2.i Harmony

Tam giao is the Triple Religion, a fusion of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism and ancient Vietnamese animism. Taoism was founded in the 6th century BC by Lao Tzu who was concerned with a philosophical exploration of man's oneness with the universe. Finding 'the way' involves concepts of weakness, submissiveness and bending as in the following extract from the *Tao Te Ching*:

A man is supple and weak when living, but hard and stiff when dead. Grass and trees are pliant and fragile when living but dried and shrivelled when dead. Thus the hard and the strong are the comrades of death; the supple and the weak are the comrades of life.

Therefore a weapon that is strong will not vanquish; a tree that is strong will suffer the axe.

The strong and big takes the lower position, the supple and weak takes the higher position.

[Lao Tzu, translation by Lau, D, 1963, p 138]

Philosophically, these concepts are far removed from Western thought, as is the Buddhist concept of the Middle Way. There are Four Noble truths contained in Buddhist teaching:

the omnipresence of suffering; its cause, selfish desire; its cure, the elimination of that separative desire; and .. the way to this removal. This is the Middle Way between extremes.

[Humphries, 1951/78, p 21]

These philosophical ideas of *harmony*, *order* and of *bending* draw together the three inter-relating strands of the Triple Religion. In this blend, an individual may be a Buddhist but family duty will follow a Confucian heritage path intertwined with veneration of ancestors. In family homes, there can be two altars: an ancestral altar and an altar for the Buddha; Catholic households could also have an altar.

Harmony in relationships is of paramount importance not only within the family but also in everyday relationships with others. The idea of being strong and firm is not valued but rather being flexible and adaptable, in other words "bending like the bamboo," [Smith et al, 1967, p 194]. Westerners can find such ideas particularly difficult to understand as Smith [1968] discusses with regard to the passive resistance movement to oust President Diem in 1963. Resistance was declared by means of non-cooperation such as strikes, fasts and eventually, self-immolation.

This is a contrast to a Western idea of strength demonstrated in firmness and in action:

This philosophy of withdrawal and of personal harmony is alien to the modern Western outlook in which only positive achievement commands unstinted praise.

[Smith, 1968, p 13]

Heroic inaction and retirement to a life of contemplation is valued. One such 'hero' in Vietnam is Nguyen Binh Kiem who left the imperial court in 1542 to spend forty years achieving peace of mind.

5.2.ii Role relationships

As harmony is a core concept in family life, parents have considerable influence in the choice of their children's marriage partners. Traditionally an intermediary is used so there is no loss of face if negotiations do not proceed smoothly. However, many people choose their own partners nowadays unlike a generation ago when parents arranged marriages. A wife will come to live with her husband and members of her husband's family. As it is the duty of the eldest son to take care of parents, the wife of such a son is chosen carefully; the potential bride preferably comes from the same locale and is known since childhood. Both sets of parents would take account of character and family background. Traditionally, in-laws of a future bride would focus on her character and reputation rather than education [Lovell, Tran & Nguyen, 1987] and there are references to illiterate wives from the older generation in the data of this thesis. A future son-in-law is hopefully suitably wealthy but other

factors can be considered; family with daughters but no sons would welcome a boy of good character who would be willing to leave his family in order to maintain the cult of the ancestors of his father-in-law.

Families are pragmatic in their choices, as they will bend towards what is suitable in order to maintain harmony. Smith et al [1967] referred to mixed marriages between Chinese and Vietnamese where a looser interpretation of obligations prevailed. Vietnamese women would continue to run businesses, for example, as their business acumen was welcomed in the Chinese family. Hirschman & Loi [1996] concluded the following after carrying out a family survey in Vietnam:

Vietnam appears to have incorporated East Asian Confucian culture in family organization, but has leavened it with considerable flexibility of gender roles and obligations that are characteristic of Southeast Asian family structure.

[Hirschman & Loi, 1996, p 248]

In the family, the head of the household makes decisions but it is best if a wife and grandparents agree so that the family accord is maintained. Women are expected to be dutiful and a wife is expected to care for husband and children and carry out her domestic duties. There is a clear delineation of gender roles in some respects. However, a wife retains her own identity, as she is a powerful influence on her husband. Vietnamese women have traditionally held business roles and managed the family income. There is thus a balancing of roles within the family. However, married women are expected not to place themselves in situations that would create

gossip and they are expected to spend their time in the home with their husband and children.

Care is also taken to protect the reputation of unmarried girls so that they are not the cause of gossip as female premarital chastity is of importance. Young girls are expected to be adept in maintaining harmonious relations with others and to avoid confrontation [Rydstrøm, 2002]. There is greater latitude for young men to socialise though misbehaviour would not be considered highly. Rydstrøm [2002] notes that there is general consensus regarding typical male and female behaviour where girls would be 'sweet' and 'obedient' and boys, in contrast, would be 'mischievous,' 'naughty' and 'active.' Girls were in greater danger of losing face or their reputations if they did not conform to expectations. Such delineation of male and female is, for Rydstrøm [2002], a clear example of the blending of Confucianism and Communism in contemporary Vietnamese society. It also has some implications for role relationships in the host society and particularly for socialising outside the home.

5.2.iii Filial piety and elder respect

Traditionally, there is a preference for a son and this is still evident in Vietnam [Haughton & Haughton 1995] and is linked to the endurance of the Confucian tradition and ancestor worship; marriage is a moral duty for Vietnamese to perpetuate the family. Children venerate their parents and the eldest son plays a

central role in this system of 'filial piety' which persists into death and beyond. The eldest son has ritual obligations, all of which are concerned with rites concerning the dead. Children, particularly the eldest son again, are responsible for their elderly parents. Elders in the family are respected, as they are closer to the ancestors than the young.

Traditional Confucian teaching regarding elder respect has been analysed by Sung [2001] and broken down into 13 elements:

Care respect: Providing care and services for elders

Victual respect: Serving foods and drinks of elders' choice

Gift respect: bestowing gifts on elders

Linguistic respect: Using respectful language in speaking to and addressing elders

Presentational respect: Holding courteous appearances

Spatial respect: Furnishing elders with honourable seats or places

Celebrative respect: celebrating birthdays in honour of elders

Public respect: Respecting all elders of society

Acquiescent respect: Being obedient to elders

Salutatory respect: Greeting elders

Precedential respect: Giving precedential treatment to elders

Funeral respect: Holding funeral rites for deceased parents

Ancestor respect: Worshipping ancestors

[Sung, 2001, p 17-18]

Such respect goes beyond concepts of concern for the aged in Irish society where care can be given outside the home and obedience would not be expected. Though Sung [2001] notes differences in modern expressions of elder respect in Confucian heritage countries, it continues to be a "central value," [Sung, 2001, p 22].

5.2.iv Face

Like Confucianism, the concept of face is also of Chinese origin and Ho [1976] defines it as being composed of two inter-related characteristics, namely, *lien* and *mien-tzu*. *Lien* is possessed by everyone and is lost by behaving in an unacceptable manner while *mien-tzu* is linked to prestige. *Mien-tzu* is not fixed but varies depending on the interaction taking place in a social situation; judgments regarding its quality and quantity are made by the specific audiences involved in the social situation. *Mien-tzu* can be lost or gained but *lien* can only be lost:

One does not speak of gaining *lien* because, regardless of one's station in life, one is expected to behave in accordance with the precepts of the culture; correctly conceptualised, exemplary conduct adds not to one's *lien*, but to one's *mien-tzu*.

[Ho, 1976, p 870]

Ho [1976] cautions against viewing the loss or the gain of face as being linked to successful or unsuccessful performance along a continuum. It is a subtler phenomenon, as loss of face can be a slow process with a semblance of all being well until an individual is placed in a position where face cannot be saved publicly.

Face is lost when the individual does not satisfy even the minimum standards of behaviour demanded by his or her social position. However, loss of face does not have to be permanent. It can be regained unless all expectations concerning one's social role have been broken irrevocably. Misbehaviour leading to such a situation would be particularly dramatic and the consequences particularly severe: in such a

situation loss of face is somewhat redeemed by suicide. Face has to be protected and such protection is related to social control.

An individual does not act according to personal choice but according to other's expectations. Consequently, face is mutually binding in a set of reciprocal expectations:

Face is the respectability and/or deference which a person can claim for himself from others, by virtue of the relative position he occupies in his social network and the degree to which he is judged to have functioned adequately in that position as well as acceptably in his general conduct; the face extended to a person by others is a function of the degree of congruence between judgments of his total condition in life, including his actions as well as those of people closely associated with him, and the social expectations that others have placed upon him.

[Ho, D, 1976, p 883]

No aspect of social interaction is free from face as all behaviour is related to ways of gaining, saving or avoiding loss of face [Ting-Toomey, 1988]. Consequently, there is scope for misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication encounters where the Irish concept of 'slagging' or teasing, particularly among young people [Keogh & Whyte, 2003, p 49] for example, is clearly open to misconstrual.

5.2.v Communication: working round a topic

Discipline, in the sense of restraint or self-control is also an important mode of behaviour; it stems from Confucianism as obedience to parents and acceptance of parental authority. Modesty rather than boastful behaviour is prized as drawing

attention to oneself is to be avoided [Smith et al, 1967]. Excessive displays of emotion are not considered polite but delicacy and tact in interpersonal relationships are so that communication is high-context [Hall, 1976/1989, see chapter 1 of this thesis] in nature, and as Sung [2001] demonstrates with elder respect, is conducted using proper terms of address.

Both delicacy and tact are also necessary for the avoidance of loss of face. Face-to-face confrontations are avoided; where there is potential conflict or loss of face, a second party is used to circumvent the situation; if difficulties arise the intermediary can withdraw with no loss of face to either party. Such approaches reflect concerns with face and conflict style [Ting-Toomey, 1998, 2000, Hammar & Rogan, 2002, see chapter 2 of this thesis for discussion].

Equally, ideas or issues are approached indirectly in case the harmonious set of relationships between the parties to a discussion is upset. A direct approach seems rude or offensive whereas a subtle, roundabout approach is considered as tactful. This is evidence again of a high-context [Hall, 1976/1989] approach to communication. Finally, Vietnamese prefer to avoid formal processes when there are problematic differences that need to be untangled. An informal approach is preferred which will undoubtedly create concern when Vietnamese refugees meet an unknown bureaucracy that functions in a direct, low-context [Hall, 1976/1989] manner.

5.2.vi Ethnic Chinese core values

Ethnic Chinese core values are broadly the same but the Chinese community maintained its distinct cultural and linguistic heritage within the Vietnamese context. Ethnic Chinese were organised into associations linked to places of origin in China. Their aim was to ease newcomers into the local Chinese community usually by providing some form of financial assistance. These associations eventually merged into five groups: the Cantonese, the Fukienese, the Hainanese, the Teochiu and the Hakka. Such organisational strength coupled with the Chinese schools provided the means by which cultural values were actively maintained. In this thesis there are individuals who are Hakka and Hainanese. One individual is probably Teochiu but this could not be confirmed with certainty.

Chinese tradition, imbued with the sense of civilization and its continuity over thousands of years, carries the legacy of Confucian teaching and practice. Though it was condemned in the founding years of the People's Republic of China Confucian teachings, including the value of filial piety, were re-appraised in the 1980s, and their relevance to Chinese society reconfirmed [Wu, 1996]. Filial piety is no longer the absolute it was traditionally and there is evidence of cross-generational changes in attitude [Ho, 1996]. However, Ho [1996] does link it to a traditionalist outlook and to culturocentrism, namely, the belief in the enduring nature of one's culture and possibly its superior nature when compared with others.

Finally, cultural transmission is a concern of Chinese emigrants:

Overseas Chinese are concerned to retain some basic elements of Chinese culture and, like their forefathers in the Confucian tradition, believe that childhood socialization is the key to maintaining Chinese identity.
[Wu, 1996, p 154]

This is of particular significance to children born in Ireland and children arriving as part of family reunification. The Chinese cultural inheritance is evident in the data in chapters 8 and 9 including concerns over its transmission.

5.3 Irish core values: the Hofstede figures

Table 5.1: Ireland’s scores on the four dimensions of culture. From: Figure 7.1
values of the four indices for the 40 countries [Hofstede, 1980, p 315]

Individualism	Uncertainty avoidance	Power distance	Masculinity
70	35	28	68

Hofstede’s [1980/2001] research on dimensions of culture has already been discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis and is of particular significance in the Irish context. Hofstede’s [1980/2001] research on cultural variation reveals a strong strand of individualism in Irish culture. The scores along the four cultural values included in table 5.1 are out of a hundred so that Ireland’s score of seventy for individualism is significant. The low score on uncertainty avoidance and power distance demonstrate the unrestricted nature of certain types of decision-making in a

society that does not appear to have a deeply hierarchical structure. There is also a high score on masculinity indicating strong masculine/feminine roles but Greene [1994] notes a trend towards a blend of the traditional and the modern in women's roles and a family structure where social roles are less clearly defined than previously.

Individualism, however, is not a recent phenomenon as it was also a significant Irish value in the European Values Survey or EVS [Fogarty, Ryan & Lee, 1984]. The EVS revealed aspects of individualism in the bending and shaping of matters to individual concerns; for example, farmers had a strong desire to be left alone to pursue their livelihood as they saw fit. In addition, there was tolerance of individual infringements of the law. Duncan [1994] also comments on the interplay between aspiration and the reality of law as "a significant divergence between principle and practice is tolerated in Irish society" [p 449].

The individual strand in Irish society, however, exists alongside an underlying communal side of Irish life where the in-group culture is difficult to penetrate by the outsider:

Irish culture is also devious, complex and multi-layered. It's very much an in-group culture, full of codes, hints and signals which an outsider has to decipher. Beneath the appearance of openness, Irish society is a fairly guarded place, a lot less accessible than it seems.

[Eagleton, 1999, p 47]

This is significant as Eagleton [1999] draws attention to a strand of perceived homogeneity in Irish culture that is exclusive and 'tight' in terms of social structure

[see chapter 1 for discussion]. Bochner [2000] also speculates that contemporary Irish society “would be located on the ‘tight’ end of the continuum,” [Bochner, 2000, p 234]. Making friendships or connections with more than a surface superficiality would then appear to be difficult for the outsider.

5.3.i Islandness and identity

The concept of being part of an island community has resonance in discussions of Irish cultural identity. Gill [1994] explores the idea of ‘islandness’ as a mediator of personal identity. From living on a small island off the coast of Ireland as a participant observer, Gill concluded that ‘islandness’ is an important cognitive schema for an islander’s social identity. This identity also carries the schema for migration as an island can only support a finite population. The island community provides the impetus for a range of behaviours towards others including those not of the island. One aspect of such behaviour includes a stress on the individual in a:

framework of distancing behaviours (striving toward individuation) which paradoxically is an important part of the experience of community,
[Gill, 1994 p 285]

The non-island world is clearly defined as the ‘other’ and even those who have settled in the island community remain apart:

They are **on** the island but are not **of** the island – true strangers. In these circumstances ranks close, umbrellas widen and ‘islandness’ becomes operationally redefined for the day.
[Gill, 1994 p 285]

Individuality is salient in this context as it is a way of differentiating between oneself and the community. The island community has no ‘otherness’ to provide a measure for in-group and out-group categories but appears as a homogenous whole where individuality is then prized.

New discourses have emerged around relationships with the ‘stranger’ and a consideration of fluid identities rather than the idea of identity as fixed [MacÉinrí, 2000, p 8]. Interestingly, MacÉinrí [2000] also refers to “more complex definitions of Irishness to take account, not simply of the stranger who is here, but of the stranger within” [MacÉinrí, 2000, p 8] reflecting *degrees* of Irishness and their acceptance in Irish society. Diaspora studies have also raised awareness of ‘Irishness’ in other communities [Gray, 2000]. Placed in a gendered context, Gray [2000] carried out research on Irish women who had emigrated to Britain. The narratives of pain, of loss, of culture, of identity and of bringing up children who are different, find echoes in the narratives of the Vietnamese in this study.

5.3.ii Connecting with the stranger

MacGréil [1977/80] carried out the first survey in Ireland on social distance to various groups, including Chinese, and revealing strong social distance to groups where there is little social contact. At the time of the survey just before the arrival of the Vietnamese, Ireland would have appeared a more culturally homogenous place, with visible homogeneity so MacGréil’s findings are particularly significant. From a

list of 70 different groups, the Chinese were number 54. The following table, number 5.2, reads as a percentage out of a hundred of those who would accept someone Chinese across a range of categories:

Table 5.2: Social distance displayed to Chinese. From Table no 58, Overall social distance scores of total sample [MacGréil, 1977/80 p 232]

Stimulus category	Kinship	Friendship	Neighbour	Co-worker	Citizen	Visitor	Expel
Chinese	25.3	33.2	13.1	6.3	4.6	12.8	4.7

Scores are low across all categories revealing a high level of social distance including a small percentage in the final score of 4.7 who reveal no tolerance towards outsiders. The findings would have had implications for the reception of a culturally and visibly distinct group and for their integration. Indeed, intergroup relations, were hampered by the nature of the public discourse surrounding the Vietnamese which:

tended to present them as ‘exceptional’, an attitude which remained the dominant one until the very recent past.

[MacÉinrí, 2002, p 2]

This implies that the host community will not be affected in any way by the Vietnamese during the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and reflects strong host culture pressure on the incoming ‘stranger’.

5.4 Cultural difference

There are clear differences between Vietnamese and Irish values which can lead to a “problem of communication,” [Smith, 1968, p 6]. The Irish view of human behaviour is based, generally, on the individual and the consequences of individual human actions. Confucian heritage cultures such as Vietnam, “place the accent on the reciprocity of obligations, dependence, and esteem protection,” [Ho, D, 1976, p 883]. Clearly, Irish and Vietnamese individuals function in social domains where behaviour is influenced by the cultural contexts of individualism or collectivism. Notions of individual personal happiness, for instance, were considered shocking in 1925 in Vietnam.

Hoang Ngoc Phach had published *To Tâm*, a novel that dared to consider personal love as more important than obedience to parents. His intention was to extol the virtues of Confucianism and of obedience to the family group [Nhu-Quỳnh & Schafer, 1988]. However, the novel presented romantic love as rather more appealing than Phac intended. Though Phac sought to make amends, the novel was a sensation at the time as it inadvertently raised questions about the moral order and social behaviour. The rise of liberation movements in the 1920s and 30s questioned the old certainties but Communism provided no escape from patriarchy or the Confucian heritage, rather a blend between them all [Quinn-Judge, 2001].

Why have such ‘traditional’ values and family relationships endured? Smith et al [1967] point to war in Vietnam, which made the family group even more important

for survival as years of conflict in were followed by social turmoil for ideological reasons. The family was better placed to surmount such societal breakdown:

Family loyalty and filial piety have held the society intact for over 2,000 years, through periods of war, foreign domination and national disaster.
[Smith et al, 1967, p 192]

Family members, however, do take up new opportunities in new situations such as following migration [Kibria, 1990, 1994]. The family framework is not abandoned though shifts within it do occur as a response to a new environment. Kibria [1994] finds that family collectivism comes under pressure from the young, socialised in a different cultural context. Sung's [2001] findings regarding elder respect indicate some change rather than complete abandonment of cultural values:

Although the first-generation immigrants are attached to the traditional East Asian values of elder respect, filial obligation, and independent family relationship, their children socialized in the American cultural context tend to not adhere to the values as much as their parents do.
[Sung, K, 2001, p 24]

There is potential for conflicting views across the generations even if underlying cultural values are not abandoned.

Both etic and emic levels of analysis provide contrasting cultural differences between Irish and Vietnamese culture. The core difference emerges on Hofstede's [1980/2001] dimension of individualism/collectivism. Hofstede [2001] provides figures for Vietnam though they are based solely on observation and descriptive information.

Table 5.3: Index score estimates for countries not in the IBM set [Hofstede, 2001, p 502]

Power distance	Uncertainty avoidance	Individualism	Masculinity	Long-term orientation
70	30	20	40	80

Clearly, this level of etic cultural analysis combines with its local, or emic, expression and affects the interactive process of cross-cultural adaptation between host and stranger that Kim [1988, 2001] details.

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter presented cultural differences between Irish and Vietnamese society. At the culture level, these differences include the core cultural concept of the individualism/collectivism dimension [Hofstede, 1980/2001]. At the local level key concerns stem from a Confucian heritage culture where family members are bound to each other in a web of mutual obligations. Communication is affected by face and a sense of harmony where conflict is strenuously avoided. Harmony is also vital in the family context where there is family influence on the choice of marriage partners and where gender roles have clearly defined social roles balanced by the influence of both husband and wife in the domestic sphere.

These culture-level differences have clear implications for the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] as separation from the web of family

relationships will create difficulties as the reference to loneliness in the title of this thesis implies. However, the long-term process of adaptation, which this thesis aims to trace, can also reveal the positive aspects of the collectivist culture of origin. Contact with the host culture will create difficulty as Irish culture is more individualist and there is clear evidence of social distance with regard to stranger groups. Such social distance in an apparently homogenous host society has implications for the resettlement as host country institutions and their officials have little experience or understanding of how to engage with difference.

Overall, relocation to an Irish cultural context will require major adjustment on the part of adults and the new culture will influence young people and Irish-born children as they engage with the new culture. However, the concepts of harmony and bending to circumstances will be key factors as families adapt to their new circumstances as well as ensuring that core values are not abandoned during the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Differences and their consequences emerge in the following chapters, namely 6-9, of the data analysis. The next chapter, chapter 6, analyses the data concerning the group of 212 refugees who coped with the new environment of the refugee camp before coming to Ireland in 1979.

CHAPTER 6

DATA 1: FROM THE PAST TO LIMBO

FLIGHT, REFUGE AND TRANSITION TO IRELAND

The term refugee shall apply to any person who ... owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees

Refugee camps, variously called 'transit centres', 'detention centres', or 'refugee shelters' by different nation-states, are a unique socio-political artefact of this century.

Chan Kwok Bun, 1991, p 284

Chapter outline

This is the first of four chapters of data analysis and this chapter links both data and historical documentation to contextualise the adaptation process between the Vietnamese refugees and their host society, Ireland. I discuss the communication problems that refugees encounter in camps where they are controlled, then draw on the data to highlight the experience of the interviewees in their camps. Following their initial reception, the Vietnamese and their host society begin the long-term process of accommodating to each other. Placed in its historical context, this chapter examines what difficulties the Vietnamese encountered to see if they affect the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation which interlinks with chapters 7-9 of the analysis.

6.1 The refugee camp: shock

At this stage, the refugee still does not look forward, but already knows that the doors are closed behind him. His main preoccupation is therefore the redefinition of his relation to his country of birth, family and friends. He is taking the first step that will change him from a temporary refugee into an exile. He has arrived at the spiritual, special, temporal and emotional equidistant no man's land of midway-to-nowhere.

[Kunz, E, 1973, p 133]

The refugee camp, Kunz's [1973] halfway house, is an experience that was little researched as Chan and Loveridge [1987] noted some ten years after the first wave of boat people set out. As these camps are a transit for the eventual destination there appears to be little need to have knowledge of the short-term experience that the word 'transit' implies. However, the reality is different as Chan and Loveridge [1987] demonstrate in their analysis of life in Hong Kong camps: transit can imply a stay of two or five years. Emotional hibernation is possible to survive the camp situation if one can leave quickly; however, psychological and sociocultural experiences can leave their mark and be transported to the country of resettlement.

There is shock on arrival at a camp:

They arrive with both their external and internal lives severely fractured. The precise and intricate scaffolding of significant role-relationships – the extended family, 'brother' ties, the neighbourhood village – which seems throughout life to have so important a part to play in defining for a Vietnamese or Vietnamese Chinese who he is and where he fits into the scheme of life, is rarely available to him in sufficient strength to support him in a situation where he is inordinately vulnerable.

[Chan & Loveridge, 1987, p 751]

Oberg [1960], Smalley [1963], and Bennett, 1977/1998] have all noted the problematic impact of such shock and Bennett [1977/1998] notes the pernicious effect this has on communication. Bennett [1977/1998] also states that such shock can lead to psychic withdrawal due to the level of cognitive inconsistency that the individual encounters:

What was once a coherent, internally consistent set of beliefs and values is suddenly overturned by exterior change. One of those values, self-preservation (or psychological stability) is called into serious question unless an alteration is made in our entire value system

[Bennett, 1977/1998, p 217-218]

Chan & Loveridge [1987] detail challenges to Vietnamese values in the open camps where heads of households suddenly find that their spouses can obtain work whereas they cannot and such reversal can lead to marital stress. Children's exposure to a new culture and their facility with a new language can place them as the head of a household at certain times, inadvertently further undermining a father's role as head of the family.

Relationships with authority, where culture plays a significant role as chapter one demonstrates [Hofstede, 1980/2001; Mamali, 1996], are also fractious. Faced by questions from those in positions of power a refugee adopts strategies aimed at self-preservation:

bewildered and isolated in his confusion, his sense of being really alive in a real world under assault, the refugee's first inclination is to preserve at all costs what remains of his identity by burying it. Faced by uniformed authority asking questions, giving him numbers, talking about camps, he feels sufficient reverberations of Vietnam and perhaps of the re-education camps to immediately distrust camp officials and camp regulations.

[Chan & Loveridge 1987, p 752]

Escape from the transit camp as quickly as possible is the best survival option as these experiences can affect individuals deeply. It is a fracturing experience which questions the idea raised by both Adler [1975] and Kim [1988, 2001] of personal growth developing from contact with another culture. Overall, a significant length of time spent in the regimented confines of a closed camp can present little that is positive in terms of individual development.

6.2 Coping: from camp to host society

Coping strategies in the camps have also been little researched. They provide indicators for the types of coping strategies employed in the host society such as Bennett's [1977/1998] concept of transition shock where disruption to life's normal pattern involves loss followed by change. Knudsen [1991] points out from data collected on Vietnamese refugees in a camp that the usual strategies for coping with life are not abandoned so that the Vietnamese:

tend to fall back upon strategies which have already proved efficacious.
[Knudsen, 1991, p 25]

For the Vietnamese the failsafe is the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001, see chapters 2 and 5 of this thesis for discussion]. And family touches all aspects of Vietnamese life: the past, the present and the future. Knudsen [1991] states that family ties are reinforced because of the prior experiences of war. Consequently, the dividing line between family, friend and 'stranger,' remains strong.

The hierarchical nature of these relations is salient as refugees encounter 'strangers' in the form of administrators to whom they have to tell stories about themselves and who have a great deal of power over their lives. Family relationships are vertical in the set of relationships between members and it is horizontal between friends. As Knudsen [1991] indicates, help from a friend would be different from the type of help expected of an older brother bound in set of relationships within the family. Furthermore, personal problems remain in the family, as face has to be preserved. Communication encounters with administrators and 'helpers' can create difficulties particularly if the cultural frame is ignored.

The goals of administrators and refugees can differ so that an official encounter between host and refugee does not result in meaningful communication. Both sides use past experiences, strategies devised in past contexts in order to understand the behaviour of the other. Cultures are set in opposition when there is lack of knowledge about each other; in the data there are 5 references to the host society not knowing anything about the Vietnamese which can be interpreted in a cultural context as a polite-face-saving number of references with regard to host society ignorance. In such a context communication difficulties arise which are:

a result of parallel monologues rather than cultural conflicts: the parties apply different analogies and dialogue breaks down.

[Knudsen, 1991, p 32]

Knudsen [1991] refers to a strategy of silence as a safe option because information disclosed to a 'stranger' could be used against an individual [Mamali, 1996].

Negotiating the new bureaucracy would be a different experience from previous, known ways of talking to bureaucracy. Sheridan [1998a] has referred to this mantle of silence during a 'get-to-know-you' session with officials: the Vietnamese met an unknown official's request for information for a government survey with silence. Host administrators had not established a horizontal relationship over time in order to explore such a situation.

Arriving in a new country, the family will prove central to the strategies adopted for integration. Knudsen [1991] sets out three priorities for Vietnamese arrivals. The first priority is immediate: economic survival to which all adult members contribute. Second, the education of children is an investment in the family future. Finally, there is the goal of reuniting the family via family reunification. These three aims focus on the present, the future and the past during the adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001] and pervade the data in this thesis. At first, known coping strategies are used in encounters with the new society; such behaviour has been observed in visits to the Vietnamese Centre. Communication develops slowly through the processes created by intercultural encounters until a sufficient level of host communication competency develops [Kim, 1988, 2001]. There are further differences in this process between the newly arrived group of refugees and family members who follow them as the former lay the groundwork for the latter who have less incentive to encounter the host society [Kim, 1988, 2001]. The next generation, born in the host country are also different as they provide the link between the old and the new

identities [Collier & Thomas, 1988]. They all form part of the ethnic group that settles into the wider community after finding ways of making a living [Chan, 1995].

6.3. The narratives bear witness to history

4 interviews, out of the 18 in total which comprise the data collected for this thesis, were with members of the original group of 212 refugees who arrived in 1979. This represents approximately 25% of the total number of interviews and it is worth noting that the last official figure of the number of Vietnamese living in Ireland, namely 823 people [Refugee Agency, 1999/2000], also reflects this proportion. These four interviews were: Anne [R1], Greg [R7], Harry [R8] and Michael [R13]

Two of these interviewees were young: Michael [R13] was in his teens and Harry [R8] was slightly younger. Both these interviews contain a significant amount of information about camp life so that the experience of being a refugee appears to have particular resonance for these two interviewees. Though Kim's [1988, 2001] model of cross-cultural adaptation applies to adults, refugees are of all ages so that children also undergo a process of cross-cultural adaptation. Scheu [2000] considers that little is known about the age when a cultural identity is developed; it is useful to include both Michael [R13] and Harry [R8] to see if their experiences create further understanding of the cross-cultural adaptation process. As Michael [R13] later went to work in the Hong Kong camps as an interpreter for UNHCR [United Nations

High Commission for Refugees] the experience of adaptation appears complex, problematic and filled with obstacles [Anderson, 1994] that have long-term effects.

The four interviewees are also quite representative of the refugee population described in chapter 4. The dislocation of family in the exodus from north to south following partition in 1954 forms part of the historical background to Harry's [R8] family narrative and Harry's [R8] family is also Catholic. Greg [R7] and Anne [R1] are both Vietnamese-Chinese from the former north while Michael's [R13] family came from the former south. Wendy [CRF17], was also very young and the experience is part of her family story. She, however, went to China with her parents and only came later to Ireland as part of family reunification. Already, the complexities of exodus and identity, outlined in chapter 4, appear in the data and they will affect the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001].

6.3.i The narratives bear witness to flight and the camp experience

The references from the data [see page 180] cover the listed aspects of their flight and sojourn in the refugee camps. As they refer to Anne [R1], Greg [R7], Harry [R8] and Michael [R13], they reflect the small numbers of each coded reference. One reference to Wendy's [CRF17] journey by ship is also included. These references are significant as they provide details of journeys, camp life and final destinations. They are also the result of potentially multiple escape attempts as families or individual family members had to make the choice of whether to stay or

flee. Death, from man or nature, was a potential outcome, a fact, which Michael [R13] alludes to while Harry [R8], refers to both dangers at sea and on Pulau Bidong, the island camp where he stayed.

Code	Number of References
camp danger	3
camp food	2
camp Hong Kong	3
camp learning English	1
camp life	4
camp Malaysia	4
camp meaningful activity	2
camp tension	2
camp worship	1
boredom	1
arbitrary choice of destination	4
boat journey	2
island camp	1
ship journey	1
surreal camp experience	1
war	1
Total	33

The sea voyage was not short and from the data, there are accounts of boat journeys that lasted 37 days, in Greg's [R7] account and 3 week for Harry [R8]. The time at sea was one of privation, danger and potential death. Death could result from: storms, a shortage of drinking water and food, sickness, no medicines or, finally, attack by Thai pirates who would generally raid a boat and kill those on board. Michael's [R13] boat sustained such an attack but, inexplicably, the pirates did not kill anyone. On her journey to China, Wendy [CRF17] says:

too many people in the boat. Some people sick in the boat, and they have no medicine, so some young baby they are dead in the boat, they just thrown in the sea.

Essentially, such journeys are not undertaken lightly but were driven by the political circumstances detailed in chapter 4 in the historical background.

There are references to the overcrowded camps in Hong Kong and the island camp of Pulau Bidong in Malaysia. The camps themselves were not safe and held no real security: arrival onshore did not guarantee a stay onshore as people could be forced out to sea again. People were also held in transit centres, which had little in the way of facilities, as Michael [R13] explains, before being taken to a camp proper:

first we came to the reception centre in Kuala Lumpur. Stayed there for a month, where we stayed in a football field, just a field, a football field which was overcrowded.

Camp life itself was not a source of security because of hidden dangers such as a landslide in Pulau Bidong during the monsoon, which Harry [R8] said killed about 200 people. At times violence spilled over from the anxieties inherent in camp life including the tensions around the distribution of food, which both relieved monotony and was a source of it. Despite the passage of time since his experiences, Harry [R8] still remembers the weekly rations at Pulau Bidong: 250 grams of tinned beef, soya beans, noodles, rice and soup.

In the camp people also had to find ways of passing the time and engaging with some form of normality. Harry [R8] gives examples of the normality of children going to camp school but ending up playing truant, the normality of religious worship and of engaging in activity to while away the time by making

woodcarvings. The latter left a lasting impression on him and influenced his final choice of profession in the field of design. The process of cross-cultural adaptation is multi-layered for these five refugees, Anne [R1], Greg [R7], Harry [R8] and Michael [R13] as well as Wendy [CRF17]. It has clearly left traces on later life choices for both Michael [R13] and Harry [R8] as well as on resulting identities, which are discussed in chapter 9.

6.3.ii The final destination: Ireland

Why did the Vietnamese refugees choose Ireland particularly when the data reveals that they knew nothing about the country they were going to? The choice was arbitrary: it was offered and as Greg said [R7]:

Any country to leave camp quickly.

There is one exception in the data as Harry's [R8] family specifically chose to come to Ireland. Members of the family had already been resettled here and there was the possibility of reuniting the family. What would their expectations be in the new country? For refugees the answer is simple: the chance to lead a life again as their own lives were disrupted. Kim [1988, 2001] notes that preparedness for change affects the process of cross-cultural adaptation and will certainly affect host communication competence as, for the Vietnamese, there is no knowledge of host country norms beforehand.

On arrival, the refugees bring experiences from their homeland and from the refugee camps. Most will face the new life with the general psychological mechanism of coping. Over time, they all need to come to terms with loss: of homeland, of family and of a shared way of life. This unseen dimension of loss pervades the process of cross-cultural adaptation for the Vietnamese refugees that came to Ireland. It also infuses the process of identity formation for younger family members and for children born in Ireland. Collier & Thomas [1988] note in chapter 3 of this thesis that ethnic identity [discussed in chapter 9] has its roots in the past, in this case the Vietnamese cultural values parents brought to Ireland.

6.3.iii Refugees: different from immigrants

It is salient to point out that there are certain differences between immigrants and refugees of which the most relevant in this context is political persecution of ethnic minorities where specific categories of people, such as the Vietnamese-Chinese, leave. Immigrants, in contrast, can generally be viewed as more individual and usually have not previously experienced internal migration or displacement [Hein, 1993]. Both immigrants and refugees make use of networks involving family and friends [Hein, 1993; Wong and Salaff, 1998] and both have social identity concerns.

However, Hein [1993] notes that exile is a “definitive event” [Hein, 1993, p 51] with refugees and that conditions in the host society have a clear influence on social identity and group status. For instance, the state can prioritise groups according to their status and Hein [1993] provides the example of Cubans who were initially

refugees in the USA. They have emerged as an ethnic minority and as citizens whose vote is courted so that their power status has changed over time. Finally, the most important difference between immigrants and refugees is state intervention in refugees' lives. How refugees are incorporated into their host society affects their adaptation [Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al, 1997; Kim, 1988, 2001]. In Ireland experience with refugees was limited [Fanning, 2002] and prior receptions took place in the pattern of control that Malkki [1995] critiques. The following section details the resettlement of the Vietnamese in Ireland

6.4 Preparation in Ireland

The 212 Vietnamese were the third group of 'programme refugees' to come to Ireland. Such refugees arrive by government invitation; government, for example, had rejected prior requests by UNHCR to admit Indo-Chinese refugees in 1975 and 1976 "due to current economic circumstances," [Dáil Éireann, vol 311, 14 February 1979]. The previous two groups of programme refugees had been, firstly, approximately 517 Hungarians refugees who came following the 1956 Revolution and then, 120 Chileans in 1973 [Fanning 2002]. As almost all of those two groups had left Ireland there was little experience regarding long-term settlement of groups or discussion of long-term cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] in a society where social homogeneity was considered the norm.

The Vietnamese came from Hong Kong and Malaysia as shown in Table 6.1. The Department of Defence made the arrangements concerning the new arrivals and they

were responsible for refugees from 1975 to 1985 when the responsibility shifted to the Department of Foreign Affairs. On arrival, the refugees were housed in 2 reception centres with one in Blanchardstown, at the James Connolly Memorial Hospital, and the other in Swords. The Red Cross ran both reception centres.

Table 6.1: Refugee population: from Refugee Agency [1998] information sheet

ORIGINAL GROUP	
In 1979	109 people came from Hong Kong 103 people came from Malaysia
Total	212 people

Families and individuals were dispersed from the centres to: Sligo, Dundalk, Cork, Drogheda, Waterford, Wexford and Portlaine as well as Dublin and elsewhere, and placed in local authority housing. The Red Cross home, Naomh Aindrias, in Dublin 6 housed two elderly couples and one elderly man. English language classes were provided via existing schemes such as literacy schemes but there was no specific school provision as it was assumed that children would ‘pick up’ English [McGovern, 1993, p 95]. The emphasis clearly is on the process of cross-cultural adaptation resulting in assimilation [Kim, 1988, 2001].

Following this initial stage, the Minister for Defence made a statement to the Dáil on 19 February 1981, noting that progress was being made though some problems were surfacing:

Despite the many social handicaps which the refugees had on leaving the centres they have been very successful in coping with life here. Heads of households have found work; school-going children have been placed in classes with Irish children of their own age and are coping extremely well. The lack of English is still a major problem with women who remain in the home and with adults in the work situation. The Department of Education are at present devising a scheme of instruction which, if necessary, will be on a teacher to individual basis. This will augment local efforts by voluntary teachers or provide formal instruction where none is being given at present.

[Dáil Éireann, vol 326, 19 February, 1981]

Language difficulties, as the Minister indicated, had soon surfaced, including bilingualism, which did not fit into discourse on language issues framed around the Irish language [Dean, 1983]. In February 1982, an Interdepartmental Committee met to review the language situation with the assistance of Father Pelly, S. J. who had Asian experience from working abroad. A new provision was set up and outlined by Dean [1983] in the first Irish research on the group. A project was set up to teach students in small groups in the home in a non-threatening environment and Dean [1983] referred to this initiative as “a rescue operation,” [Dean, 1983, p 73]. In the data, Harry, [R8] finally learnt English at home and not in school which, initially, was a disastrous experience for him.

Policies have very real consequences and there are indicators from both Dean [1983] and McGovern [1993] on some of the results of host conformity pressure [Kim, 1988, 2001]. McGovern [1993] notes that the pressure to conform to cultural norms

included religious preparation at primary school for First Holy Communion and Confirmation:

In an attempt to 'integrate,' some families are allowing their children to receive these sacraments. However, the parents themselves are not converting to Catholicism.

[McGovern, 1993, p 99]

Greg [R7] specifically refers to this outcome with one of his children. In addition, both Dean [1983] and McGovern [1993] allude to hostility and racism. McGovern [1993] refers to the "burning of take-away food vans," [McGovern, 1993, p 100] evidence of an attempt at self-employment by members of the group. Dean [1983] also remarks on the prolonging of social distance [Dean, 1983, p 74] through minimal contact with neighbours. Social distance has already emerged as a factor in relations with 'strangers' in Mac Gréil's survey [1977/80] in chapter 5. Negative reactions point to a view of the stranger as an intruder or a marginal person [Gudykunst, 1983] arousing hostility in the host community. There are already some negative outcomes to the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] by this first group of Vietnamese in Ireland.

At the same time, Dean [1983] refers to psychological pressure [Dean, 1983, p 75] as people try to unite their families so that there is evidence of stress among this group of Vietnamese refugees. Dean [1983, p 75] notes the problem of communication with officials in Ireland so that there are some similarities with previous experiences in the refugee camps [Knudsen, 1991, Chan & Loveridge 1987]

including the 'dissonance' that Bennett [1977/1998, p 218] outlines. Dean [1983] highlights the following problems:

- changes in family relationships
- readjusting expectations regarding self-employment
- role reversal as younger family members have better linguistic skills
- feelings of alienation among older family members
- pressure on the young because of their communicative skills
- fear that the young will reject the authority of the family
- fear of culture loss with the young

The process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] by the Vietnamese refugees touches all aspects of their lives from relations within the family, the emergence of the old and the young as vulnerable and finally, fear of contamination by the host culture as it threatens the family and eventually, loss of culture. These also surface in chapters 7-9 of the data analysis as those Vietnamese joining family members in Ireland also have to cope and adjust and face similar problems. Nevertheless, there are differences between these two groups, partly due to later developments in the host society as the following section outlines.

6.5 Long-term resettlement

Developments since Dean [1983] and McGovern [1993] were fuelled by the arrival of a new group of programme refugees in 1992. 178 Bosnians arrived in September

1992 and were accommodated in the Cherry Orchard Hospital Reception Centre. Various programmes were set up for the group including one for the education of primary schoolchildren and this refugee programme initiative was extended to Vietnamese children. Irish-born children and those arriving via reunification, were presenting at school speaking their home language but not English [1994]. The difference between refugees and Irish-born Vietnamese is not distinguished here in policy. Indeed, the Vietnamese were still being categorised as refugees rather than as citizens who are also potentially part of an ethnic minority group [Sheridan, 1998a, 1998b].

This is further evident in the first submission made by Ireland to the OECD regarding migration. The submission refers to Asians in the section on foreign populations:

Another significant (but smaller group) consists of self-employed proprietors in the catering trade (mainly from Asia) who may also employ unskilled manual workers of the same nationalities.

[OECD, 1995 – Trends in international migration, annual report, p 97]

This is a reference to the take-aways and restaurants set up by members of the Vietnamese community. However, the Vietnamese are referred to as Asians rather than as citizens though members of the community have actively taken up citizenship [O'Regan, 1998, p 128], one of the key concerns that Malkki [1995] details in chapter 1. The process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] is still viewed as unidirectional in Irish society.

By 2000, the Vietnamese are potentially an emerging ethnic group with connections to the diaspora, an Irish-born generation of 200 children and an official number of 823 [Refugee Agency, 1999/2000, p 11] as seen in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Profile of the Vietnamese community since 1979, from: Refugee Agency, 1999/2000, p 11

Year	New intake	Family reunification	Births	Deaths	Departed to third country	Total in Ireland
1979	212		1	0	4 UK	209
1980			16	1	4 UK	220
1981		36	7	2	0	261
1982		20	12	0	3 France	290
1983		12	13	0	6 Australia 1 Canada	308
1984		8	10	1	1 Vietnam	324
1985		7	10	2	3 Canada, 1 UK	335
1986		4	12	2	9 UK, 1 USA	339
1987		3	8	2	32 UK, 1 USA	315
1988		58	10	2	11 UK, 1 USA, 1 Canada	368
1989		47	9	2	12 UK, 5 Canada, 2 USA	403
1990		19	9	3	1 USA	427
1991		15	9	3	8 UK	440
1992		10	10	0	6 UK, 1 USA, 1 Germany, 1 China, 1 Austria	450
1993		38	15	2	1 Denmark	500
1994		32	11	2	10 UK, 4 USA, 1 Canada	526
1995		30	12	1	4 USA, 2 UK	561
1996		18	10	4	7 USA, 1 France	577
1997		21	8	2	None reported	604
1998		4	8	0	None reported	616
1999		180	0	1	None reported	795
2000		29	0	1	None reported	823
Totals	212	591	200	32	147	823

O'Neill [2001] refers to refugees becoming ethnic groups following resettlement. A transformation takes place that affects the nature of both the host society and the newcomers, as refugees become citizens and, potentially, members of a distinctive group. The nature of communication between the two groups, one dominant and the other a minority, changes as Hein [1993] discussed previously. One aspect of this communication is the type of language used in discourse for group reference which resonates with stated and unstated meaning and policy intention and policy practice [Bourhis et al, 1997].

O'Regan [1998] states that integration and not assimilation is the "most effective approach to resettlement [O'Regan, 1998, p 131] in the survey prepared for the Refugee Agency. However, responsibility for refugees has been subsumed by the Department of Justice and other events have overtaken this 'old' issue, namely, the arrival of more asylum seekers arriving in Ireland than had previously had been the case as well as migrant workers and international students, all of whom also undergo the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]. Consequently, the experience of cross-cultural adaptation by the Vietnamese in Ireland is highly relevant to present concerns as it focuses precisely on such stranger-host relations.

6.6 Discussion: issues stemming from resettlement

The Secretary-General of the United Nations requested governments to "act in a decisive way," [UNHCR, 1979, p 2] to help ease the burden of the countries of first

asylum such as Malaysia and Hong Kong. Many countries, Ireland included, responded to the call to resettle the refugees. Resettlement programmes varied but the results have striking similarities across developed countries as Haines [1991] noted in a comparison of the American programme with the European ones of France, Britain and Holland. Haines [1991] found that in France the problems were:

social isolation due to language limitations, the alienation of the younger generation (and the family tensions caused by that), and frequent unemployment.

[Haines, 1991, p 16]

Similar problems of cross-cultural adaptation surfaced in Britain and in Holland, where the dispersal of Vietnamese, rather than the creation of large urban clusters providing social support [Kim, 1988, 2001], led to isolation and loneliness.

Similarly, the 400 Vietnamese, relocated to Antrim and Craigavon in Northern Ireland in 1979, were isolated and most eventually moved to join family elsewhere [Gillespie, Yam & Gadd, 1999]. A long-term programme catering for the quarter of a million ethnic Chinese who fled to China had success in integrating the new arrivals [Lam, 2000]. However, Lam's [2000] evaluation of the programme is that success came about because of commitment to the implementation of consistent, long-term strategies. MacÉinrí [2002] sums up the Irish situation:

there were some ideas about their practical needs but there was no understanding of how to encourage social inclusion while respecting their cultural heritage. They were largely distanced from mainstream Irish society. The well-meaning but disastrous attempt to promote their integration through their dispersal around the country on a one-family-per-town basis soon broke down as these families inevitably drifted back to

Dublin, the one place where some kind of critical social and cultural mass existed for them.

[MacÉinrí, 2002, p 2]

The cultural aspect of adaptation “which accounts for much of the problems encountered by refugees” [Yu & Liu, 1986, p 496] is ignored though the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] emerges as problematic for the first group of Vietnamese. Their concerns, detailed by Dean [1983], affect the family across the generations, pervade the data and appear as significant factors for both this group and relatives who join them later as part of family reunification.

Chapter summary

The interaction between the first group of 212 refugees in Ireland and the institutions and officials of the host country reveals the impact of resettlement policy on this group of Vietnamese refugees. The research question examines both the process of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland and its implications for the host community. Clearly a small group of refugees has little impact on the majority group. However, for the Vietnamese there were long-term consequences that stemmed from this encounter with regard to both immediate social support and community group formation due to dispersal. In addition, there were also long-term educational outcomes for the younger members of the group. Nevertheless, disappointments and constraints in the host society do not imply that there is either a desire to return to the camps or to Vietnam so that the interpretation of satisfaction as contained in the title is multi-faceted. Satisfaction here holds the promise of a new beginning which will include both positive aspects of the culture

of origin with the development of their own set of consequences concerning identity and culture of origin.

To conclude, in this chapter, I have linked the data concerning flight and stays in refugee camps by the Vietnamese with the process of cross-cultural adjustment. Individuals undergo the shock of loss of homeland and encounter a new society, Ireland, which has its own particular perspective on strangers. Stranger-host relations are at the heart of the cross-cultural adaptation process and its outcomes; host relations and attitudes to the stranger are reflected in resettlement policy and affect the long-term adaptation of the newcomers. Evidence soon emerges from the Vietnamese of preoccupations with the effects of contact with the new culture. These influence relations in the family and have long-term effects as they involve the authority of the family, the restructuring of relations in the home because of employment and language difficulties, the vulnerability of the young and the old and the ultimate fear of culture loss.

The next chapter of data analysis, chapter 7, details the transition from refugee to entrepreneur, mainly in the restaurant and take-away businesses, which is part of the adaptation of the Vietnamese in Ireland. Culture, in the form of the family collective, accounts for this aspect of their adaptation as not all refugee groups take this path of self-employment.

CHAPTER 7

DATA 1: FROM THE PAST TO THE PRESENT: FROM REFUGEE TO ENTREPRENEUR

To the extent that the relationship between refugeehood and entrepreneurship has not been articulated frequently enough, 'refugee' as a social status remains today a stigma, a liability, a burden to the state, in the minds of laymen as well as academics.

[Chan, K B, 1995, p 84]

Chapter outline

In this chapter, I examine the process of cross-cultural adaptation as the Vietnamese focus on economic survival by utilising their cultural strengths. The Confucian heritage draws the family collective towards entrepreneurship and affects individual family members as they adapt to their new situation; the family as a whole meets the challenge of cross-cultural adaptation and survival. At the same time, family reunification becomes an ongoing concern dependent on host and home country reactions to the process. Group size also influences the process of cross-cultural adaptation from short and long-term perspectives by affecting group and individual economic developments. In turn, these have social and cultural consequences for the Vietnamese community in Ireland.

7.1 Introduction: collectivism and Confucian Work Dynamism

The study of Vietnamese culture in chapters 4 and 5, based on an emic approach, revealed a Confucian heritage collectivist culture. The focus of this chapter is to investigate what has been, and still is, salient to the Vietnamese with regard to the culture that they brought with them in 1979 as they used their personal, human resources to begin their new life in Ireland. In chapter 6 they were referred to by the state as a self-employed group concentrated in the catering business. The relationship between family and economic survival relates to the long-term perspective of Confucian Work Dynamism [Bond, 1987; Hofstede, 1980/2001], which would naturally underpin the culture of the family collective. The extended family, which Hofstede [1980/2001, p 225] considers representative of collectivism, is reflected both in Vietnamese family structure and long-term planning for its future.

Hofstede [1980/2001] states that most people in the world grow up in collectivist societies where family is:

a number of people living closely together, not just their parents and other children, but members of an extended family- grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins

[Hofstede, 1980/2001, p 225]

The ties that bind the family create strong bonds where group membership is highly valued so that the 'we-group' [Hofstede, 1980/2001, p 226] is strongly differentiated

from other or out-groups. The self is bound to the family as Hofstede [1980/2001]

details:

The in-group is the major source of one's identity, and the only secure protection one has against the hardships of life. Therefore one owes lifelong loyalty to one's in-group, and breaking this loyalty is one of the worst things a person can do. Between the person and the in-group a dependence relationship develops that is both practical and psychological.

[Hofstede, 1980/2001, p 226]

Chan & Loveridge [1987] have referred to this psychological and practical dependency in the previous chapter in the context of the camps where family ties have been fractured. Family is evidently a positive resource because of the support it gives and can remain so during the process of cross-cultural adaptation by the Vietnamese in Ireland.

Sanders & Nee [1996] link the opening of family businesses to Asian cultures in general, including Confucian heritage cultures. Koreans, for example, have a high rate of self-employment [Min, 1990; Sanders & Nee, 1996]. However, not all Asian cultural groups follow this path, and Sanders & Nee [1996] provide the example of Filipinos in their study, so it is salient to examine the Vietnamese in this regard. As a variety of issues affect long-term adaptation, the key concerns of language and identity, examined in detail in chapters 8 and 9, are also referred to in the context of entrepreneurship. They form interlocking strands with culture in the adaptation process of the Vietnamese in Ireland.

7.2 Defining the family

Codes	Number of References
Importance of family, reason why	14
Family obligation	6
Total	20

Under the main conceptual umbrella of ‘family’ containing 31 codes in total the data yielded the two subsets of coded references given in the table above and they form the basis of the following analysis which examines the Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese family. The codes reflect the main form of social organisation, the family collective; this culture-level of organisation relates to Hofstede’s [1980/2001] dimension of individualism-collectivism [see Chapter 1 for discussion].

It is useful to see precisely what family means in the Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Chinese context and Wendy [CRF17] provides an example of this while discussing the flight of the family group from Vietnam to China:

Eleven ... Parents and granddaddy, grandmother and one aunty and brothers and sisters and me as well.

Wendy [CRF17] is ethnic Chinese but her example of the extended family, here still held together in flight, reflects Hofstede’s [1980/2001] emphasis on the family as the unit of collectivism. It is also similar to Jane’s [F15] Vietnamese family where:

If you have a big family you can do anything.

The family is thus defined as an extensive grouping that works for the benefit of its members. In addition, from a cultural perspective there is also continuity between those who came as refugees and those who follow. Later arrivals reinforce the

conceptualisation of the family as a collective and help to perpetuate its values as Wu [1996] indicated in chapter 5. Though there are differences in individual histories, the group itself is not 'diluted' but invigorated by reunification.

The psychological importance of the family for the Vietnamese in this study reveals itself in the data from Daniel [F4], Laura [F12] and Dave [F11] who echo each other in the following statements:

*My family here. All my family my home.
family looks after you.
Family really, really important ... Family look[s] after you, care[s] for you.*

The family protects its members and appears as a source of well-being as it is where 'home' is. Contact with family is vital as they are the ones with whom one can share aspects of daily life as Edward [F5] says:

Something inside. Can't talk to others ... to family. ... Story inside ... talk only brother.

Clearly, these quotations reveal a strong psychological dependency on the family both as the source of well-being and as the provider of assistance in times of need. The cultural level of collectivism and its realisation in the interdependent self [Markus & Kitayama, 1991] is evident from the data.

Indeed, family support extends across the diaspora [Haines, Rutherford & Thomas, 1981] in the form of financial aid. Michael [R13] gives the example of such family support in camps, where financial assistance from abroad allowed people in the Hong Kong camps to supplement their diet. Frank [F6] sends money home to look after his father. Wendy [CRF17] also noted this aspect of family life as remittances

from other family members abroad supported her family in China. She also demonstrates the sense of duty, implicit in filial piety discussed in chapter 5, which children feel to their parents:

I think my family [if] everyone happy. I am happy. My mum and my daddy, before they're working very hard and now they're retired. I want them to get a good life in the future ...

Wendy's [CRF17] following comment indicates how cross-cultural adaptation changes this attitude to filial piety:

You know in here so many people change themselves. I feel family's very important to me, that's all ... it's my responsibility.

Kim [2001], in chapter 2 of this thesis, has stated that the process of cross-cultural adaptation creates some change in the individual and this individual nature of the adaptation process, echoed by Anderson [1994], is evident here and also appears in chapters 8 and 9.

Certainly, there is modification of strongly-held values by some members of the family collective, which Sung [2001] referred to in chapter 5, particularly as the new society social institutions provide some of the care that families traditionally carried out. Bernie [EUM2] draws a comparison with welfare provision between Vietnam and Ireland where the family in Vietnam supports its members whereas in Ireland there is state provision. Georgas et al [1997] in their study of southern Mediterranean cultures, note that family influence diminishes in such circumstances but they stress the fundamental influence of collectivism:

in collectivist in contrast to individualist societies ... the family system is the most important source of emotional and material support for its members. Family functions are not only limited to procreation and socialization; they include the care of elderly members and considerable financial support for adult children when starting their own business or getting married.

[Georgas et al, 1997, p 315]

Collectivist values, as Georgas et al [1997] detail, are deep-rooted and bind the family together across the generations and are reinforced by geographical proximity, regular meetings and telephone contact with the family on the family collective. Clearly, geographical proximity is no longer the case with the Vietnamese but the extensive family network still exists across the diaspora.

7.3 The family and business

Code	Number of References
Job	14
Job/family business	7
Second generation expectations	2
Business Chinese way	2
Language and job	6
Job and social isolation	2
Unemployment	2
Total	35

These codes relate initially to the main conceptual umbrella of the family. A network links the relationship of the family collective to employment within the collectivist family structure [Hofstede, 1980/2001] and its related effects on language learning and isolation from mainstream society.

In the previous chapter, the Minister for Defence's 1981 statement to the Dáil was quoted, where he said the Vietnamese refugees had settled into employment. Anne [R1] says that her husband became a hospital porter and that she worked in the hospital before family commitments forced her to leave. Anne's [R1] husband was a shop assistant back in Vietnam but he was not able to transfer his skill to Ireland so that the process of cross-cultural adaptation also has a status dimension, potentially with negative outcomes. There is a loss of status for some people working in the host country. Bernie [EUM2], for example, had been a vet in Vietnam but worked in a school kitchen in her EU country of resettlement. In private conversation, feelings around the loss of status have surfaced as well as a sense of lessening of status through employment in the catering trade in Ireland. Such employment in Ireland presents a contrast with occupations and their status back in Vietnam, which is similar to Min's [1990] findings regarding Korean entrepreneurs in the USA. Despite the variety of the occupations people had back in Vietnam [Dean, 1983], members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland have gravitated mainly towards self-employment in take-aways and restaurants. From visits to the Vietnamese Centre there is also evidence of unemployment among adult males who are not absorbed into family businesses, have poor English-language skills and have no transferable skills. O'Regan [1998] noted significant levels of unemployment among the Vietnamese and Bosnian communities in Ireland.

What is remarkable in the data in the context of the 'Celtic Tiger' years, when Ireland has unprecedented levels of employment, is that individuals are still setting

up in business such as Jane [F15], recently married, and who feels that the one chance of a future lies in this route. During data gathering, three establishments opened: two in central Dublin locations and one provincial. In addition, one establishment has changed hands to be managed by a female entrepreneur, evidence of female business skills discussed in chapter 5. Language also appears as a key element in this process of becoming self-employed. Jane [F15], who had worked as a sales assistant in Vietnam, considered language to be a barrier to obtaining similar employment in Ireland. Wendy [CRF17] said that setting up a business would be easier via other Chinese, as then all parties would know how to conduct business operations. This contrasts with the situation encountered outside the community, where Wendy [CRF17] says that linguistic difficulty in the host society also bestows a sense of inferiority. The following example from Wendy [F17] of borrowing from a Chinese bank as opposed to an Irish one, demonstrates the mixture of status and language issues involved:

it's not different but we know the language, we know the law, we know everything we can use. Sometimes they are thought, in the bank[in Ireland] like we don't know in English you know.

The community as a whole now has sources of information regarding business start-up but clearly, linguistic difficulty and social isolation contribute to problems with business matters. Furthermore, the workplace, that is the family take-away, also reinforces linguistic isolation of those of its members not working at the counter, a finding that also occurs in Min's [1990] research with Korean entrepreneurs in the USA. Kim [1988, 2001] stresses the danger to developing host communication competence when there is over-reliance on the ethnic community. Clearly, in the

context of the Vietnamese cross-cultural adaptation process, this is a by-product of small business ownership involving the family so that the development of host communication competence becomes more complex and has an economic dimension for the Vietnamese in Ireland.

From the data in this study, it is clear that the family business provides employment for family members, either temporarily if a young person is also in education, or permanently where the family has absorbed those who have arrived via family reunification. In addition, as the family invests in its future via the educational attainments of children, there is employment for some others within the Vietnamese labour pool. Aisling [F18] is in secondary school and mentions family support for her ambitions involving third level education:

Well, family. My parents really want me to go. For myself, if you don't go to college and get a degree you wouldn't get a good job or position. You have to study, get a degree to get a job here. It's a necessity.

The other family members are caught up in the family business so that not everyone realises their personal ambition. For the Vietnamese in Ireland the cross-cultural adaptation process involves a certain level of sacrifice of personal ambitions in order to ensure the survival of the family. This process also depends on age and from observation, has affected both teenagers and young adults who have not realised their full potential despite the fact that O'Regan [1998] notes the high-level of Vietnamese in training programmes. Aisling [F18] says that a sister who had undertaken training courses became a receptionist but then began working at the counter in the family take-away to support the business. Overall, family ambition is

translated into the prospect of upward mobility for children rather than continuity with the family business, a finding supported by both Knudsen's [1991] discussion of future-related strategies among the Vietnamese and other collectivist and Confucian heritage communities such as the Chinese in the USA [Sanchirico, 1991]. Indeed, Sanchirico [1991] states that the close family experience existing in a small-business household is highly conducive to transmitting family values as well as "social psychological orientations, including plans and aspirations," [Sanchirico, 1991, p 295] of upward mobility through educational achievement.

Ambitions of upward mobility are understandable considering the demanding nature of the work in restaurants and take-aways as Michael [R13] describes:

I see a lot of people cooking six days a week. They've got no social life at all because in a restaurant you need to work night time and weekends so they're only off one day, whatever they pick, but cannot be off at weekends ...

The antisocial hours also create isolation as Michael [R13] hints, and Wendy [CRF17], who has worked in the same take-away since her arrival as part of family reunification, demonstrates:

When I wake up I say 'can I find someone to go with me for the day' but I think today I can't find anyone because today's a busy day for the Chinese take-away. Everyone's working! So I just stay at home all days.

Such isolation is two-fold as there is isolation within the group of Vietnamese as well as from Irish society and Min [1990] has a similar finding with Korean shopowners in the USA. Though families have taken this route of self-employment there is a cost and John [F16], still at school, aims to do something different having had experience of such work:

You miss, basically, your life. When everyone's going out on Friday and Saturday you'll be stuck in a take-away working. I tried one in ----- and one in ----- but it's a boring job.

Even though Jane [F15] sees the prospect of opening a take-away as providing an opportunity for making a living she says of her future children:

I want them well-educated and work in an office or a factory.

The family is kept together but there are also expectations for the second generation so that the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] involves different strategies across the generations for the Vietnamese in this study.

7.4 Ethnic entrepreneurship: a long-term strategy

Though many immigrant groups become involved in ethnic entrepreneurship, not all groups use this path of self-employment as a way of adapting to the new circumstances of the new society and Evans [1989] identifies four significant factors in the setting up of an ethnic business. Though Evans is concerned with entrepreneurship that serves the ethnic market, these following four factors explain the situation of the Vietnamese community in Ireland, namely:

- human capital
- the nature of the group
- size of the ethnic market
- size of a labour pool which is linguistically isolated

Human capital [Bourdieu, 1986] is composed of the skills, qualifications and experience that an individual possesses. These do not serve many immigrants or refugees well as they are often not valued to the same extent as in the country of origin or they are not transferable for a variety of reasons. Shrimp fishing with kin

in Vietnam on a single boat is not transferable to the Irish context, as there are environmental, climatic, legal and fishing business organization to take into account as well as local custom and practice. Indeed, though Vietnamese do fish in the USA [Starr, 1981], they did not consider such factors initially, creating a significant level of conflict between Vietnamese and local fishermen [Starr, 1981]. However, regardless of the nature of the human capital that an individual has, group size is a major factor, as a niche market needs enough people to support and service it. As the Vietnamese in Ireland consist of a small group, there is no variety of businesses to service the community. However, the Vietnamese identified a niche market to serve the host society and consequently, have invested heavily in the Chinese restaurant and take-away business. A distinction has to be made here between the Vietnamese community and entrepreneurs from Hong Kong who have arrived in Ireland with significantly more human and financial capital and opened high-class restaurants such as Wongs as well as the ethnic food store, the Asia Market, serving both ethnic and host clientele.

Such differences between the Hong Kong Chinese and the former refugees demonstrate the kind of differences that can exist between groups that a casual observer might classify as being the same. Within the Vietnamese community in Ireland there are already significant differences [see chapter 4 for details]. Capitalist entrepreneurship, however, is not the sole preserve of those from the former South such as the Vietnamese-Chinese but includes those from the Communist North. Nevertheless, it is important to note that not everyone owns a business and that there

are economic differentials within the community. In the USA for instance, the 1975 refugee cohort, who were clearly invested with more human and cultural capital, that is financially and educationally, than later arrivals, were generally successful in their adaptation to life in the USA. This led to all Vietnamese in the USA being considered as models of successful Asian adaptation and achievement [Gold & Kibria, 1993] despite the fact that there was clear disparity in adaptation outcomes, including blocked mobility, so that there was no upward social mobility for some.

Gold & Kibria [1993] caution against assuming that the cultural characteristics associated with Asian groups like the Vietnamese are the only factors involved in adaptation and that the results of adaptation are singularly successful. Circumstances in the host community also affect the cross-cultural adaptation process [Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al, 1997; Kim, 1988, 2001] and Guerin [2002], citing a complex mix including language difficulties, a lack of childcare facilities and racism, notes unemployment patterns of the Vietnamese and refugees to be high despite employment opportunities in the host community. Fanning, Loyal & Staunton [2000] in a study of asylum seekers given the right to work had similar findings though many asylum seekers had significant levels of formal education and qualifications.

Reliance on the restaurant and take-away business by the Vietnamese in Ireland provides an opportunity for employment for those whose linguistic skills are not sufficient for employment in the mainstream. At the same time, such employment

provides a *disincentive* for beginning or continuing language learning to function beyond good survival level in English. Dean's [1983] early research discussed the necessity of economic survival for the 212 Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Ireland in 1979. They would not have had the benefit of a pre-existing ethnic network and so would have had to find their own way towards creating opportunities that went beyond the scope of their resettlement. Language learning was seen as a luxury in this context whereas the development of ethnic business provided the opportunity for long-term economic survival. Evans [1989] states from his findings of a study of male immigrants in Australia:

Men belonging to groups with a large portion of adults not fluent in English (45 percent) are about two and a half times more likely to be business owners than are men in groups in which all adults are fluent in English ... Thus, the evidence suggests that the partial separation of the ethnic group from the broader society stimulates the development of ethnic small business.

[Evans, 1989, p 958]

Once employment opportunities exist in the trade then the incentive for language-learning diminishes. Indeed, Evans demonstrates how a large number of coethnics can be employed within the enclave:

For example, in a group with a high level of business ownership (12 percent), if each employer hires three coethnics, then 48 percent of the group work force are in the ethnic economy.

[Evans, 1989, p 959]

Thus, whether one is working for an employer or employed as a stakeholder in a family business, the labour pool is heavily concentrated in one area, so influencing the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] by focusing activity in the ethnic enclave.

In contrast, the importance of the family collective in the creation of small businesses as a strategy for upward social mobility is emphasized by Sanders & Nee [1996]. They note that the intergenerational benefits are often not considered in research in this area. As families achieve a certain level of economic security, that security permits educational investment in the second generation. This is certainly true in the Irish context where first generation families struggle to rise above difficulties and education for young adults has been sacrificed for the greater collective goal of family economic stability and its unity. The Irish-born generation, or younger members of the family like Aisling [F18] have the benefit of such hard-won stability and so demonstrate the value of the family collective and its Confucian inheritance.

Sanders & Nee [1996] focus on such a cultural perspective and consider the family to be a form of *social capital* where social capital is the set of social relations that exist in an ethnic group; the strength of ethnic ties enforces solidarity in the group though such ties can weaken over time. Sanders & Nee [1996] consider that family also creates conditions of trust and obligation which are characteristic of the solidarity found in small groups so that:

Cooperation within the family stems not simply from self-interest, but from a moral order in which the accumulation of obligations among members builds a degree of solidarity . . . Membership entitles actors to the collective goods produced by the group, while free-riding is constrained by a dense web of mutual expectations and obligations.

[Sanders & Nee, 1996, p 233]

The family encompasses a set of obligations woven from the set of prior cultural, social and economic conditions. For Sanders & Nee [1996] the family falls back on these during the process of cross-cultural adaptation and they consider the family as a social network whose resources can be used to achieve its collective goals. In a comparative study across Asian and Hispanic ethnic groups in the USA using census data, Sanders & Nee [1996] found, in line with this study of the Vietnamese, that the human capital immigrants arrive with has little value in the new society. However, they stress that this same human capital forms the basis for moving into self-employment so that the family and family culture play a fundamental role in the setting up of a business:

To the extent that families are cultural institutions, our findings suggest the importance of cultural explanations of immigrant enterprise.

[Sanders & Nee, 1996, p 246]

This is also clearly the case in the Irish context and provides a key insight into the underlying cultural contribution to entrepreneurship and the process of its development.

7.5 Family business and gender issues

Code	Number of References
Gender	26
Marriage migrant language	9
Total	35

The conceptual umbrella of the family also relates to relationships within the family which introduces a connected gender dimension as well as specific issues relating to

marriage migrants. These emerge in the networked link to family and business in section 7.3

Sanders & Nee [1996] stress the active agency of family members and the roles they adopt within the family. An issue that emerges from the data concerns family arrangements for children with its implications for the cultural context of gender roles [Hofstede, 1980/2001; Parsons & Shils, 1951]. In addition, research in Britain by Song [1995], Dhaliwal [1998] and Lee et al [2002] criticizes cultural assumptions regarding Asian women and Chinese migrant women working in family businesses. They also note that women's contributions have been overlooked entirely in such research so that the following findings of this thesis are of considerable value.

The analysis of Vietnamese culture in chapter 5 stressed the balancing of male and female roles. Marriage migrants, for instance, both male and female, play their part in family life and have to fit into its existing structure including the running of the family business. From home visits, I saw men looking after children before going out to work themselves, or while their wives worked or managed a business. In one family, a male marriage migrant was looking after the young firstborn child and postponing English language learning until the child was older while his wife continued to help manage the family business. Bach & Carroll-Seguin [1986] and Gold [1989] also noted such strategies in Vietnamese communities in the USA.

Certainly, from my experiences of home visits there are women who are preoccupied by home duties, which include looking after a young family, and whose

husbands are engaged in business. Indeed, some husbands who run businesses or work outside Dublin will be away from their families for the most part of the take-away or restaurant week. Distinctions are made between work and the domestic sphere so that a husband who is a chef and cooks at work will decide not to cook at home. For a working woman, there are options such as other siblings or parents who look after children, which includes cooking and generally caring for them. In such circumstances, some wives are fortunate as they have the help and companionship of an elderly parent. However, women who work in a family enterprise and who subsequently marry will carry on working as their business experience and knowledge of English are invaluable.

Marriage migrants, both male and female, have varying experiences but where there are sufficient family members then family duties such as minding children can be achieved on a collective basis. Child-minding can take place in a relative's home where there is the company of other adults during the day as well as other children to play with. Some marriage migrants do have difficulties as they want to establish their own domestic sphere rather than live with the extended family. However, this is not financially feasible in line with many members of Irish society. Housing is no longer affordable for many; there are no rent controls at present in Ireland so that rented accommodation is not a viable alternative. Marriage migrants, who are also fathers, can postpone aspects of their integration into mainstream society as it benefits the family for them to take care of children while wives are at work. English language learning can be deferred for economic reasons, the same reasons

that members of the original group of 212 refugees postponed their language learning indefinitely. A cyclical pattern emerges in the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] as the same needs and obstacles are faced with learning the language of the host culture, sacrificed because of immediate economic need. In such arrangements, the family is both resource and the cause of sacrifice. That such sacrifice is made during the process of cross-cultural adaptation, displays both the power and strength of the family collective [Hofstede1980/2001] and its continuing endurance.

Women's roles are varied in the economic sphere and they take pride in their active contribution to the family's economic wellbeing. Wendy [CRF17] links her financial ability to contribute to the betterment of the family to feelings of honouring parents, that is elder respect, as they provided for their children:

I feel family's very important to me, that's all ... it's my responsibility.

Laura [F12] describes her life as focused around work and her children:

Go to school and go to work . . . only my sister to look after --- children.

Childminding is shared so that she can go to work and aid her young children to make a better life for themselves:

Because I think when we live in Vietnam . . . in my life . . . poor . . . I want to change in my life . . . and then I want to come here.

As the above quotations show, Vietnamese women are active in determining their own fate such as Laura [F12], but still use the resource of the family, or, like Jane [F15], are active partners in decision-making with plans for setting up a take-away.

The variety of roles in which the Vietnamese men and women in this study find themselves in is echoed by Song [1995] and Lee et al [2002] in their research on Chinese and other Asian women working in family-run businesses in Britain. Song [1995] found that the first generation has particular problems that are different from those of a settled ethnic community. Facing exclusion and discrimination Chinese immigrants in Britain turned to self-employment, particularly small family-run enterprises serving the wider community. Claiming that previous research has taken a stereotypical view of Chinese culture by focusing on the patriarchal aspect of its structure for instance, Song [1995] emphasises both husband and wife's desire to have a family-run small business; it is more profitable than going out to work and is also beneficial from a child-minding aspect. Furthermore, social circumstances, discussed by Evans [1989] and Sanders & Nee [1996], are also evident:

control and autonomy was especially important in a larger social context in which they were relatively disenfranchised, by virtue of their limited English language knowledge and experiences of racist hostility and discrimination.
[Song, M, 1995, p 285]

Song's findings are echoed in the Irish data where Jane [F15], for instance, speaks for both her own and her husband's desire for a business, a step she links to not speaking English well. She is also one of the few people who speaks openly of racism in the Irish context, echoing Song's [1995] comment on hostility.

Song [1995] notes that within the family parents would rely on children for translation where children had better language skills, a factor which also emerged in the previous chapter so that the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988,

2001] clearly affects family relations across the generations. Children also had to cope with reconciling the two kinds of family that they would encounter: the one at home and the one discovered in school. Song [1995] noted how children could realise their own aspirations by virtue of the family having achieved economic stability. Daughters were then free to pursue higher education, such as Aisling [F18] intends in the Irish context. Daughters also did not view a mother's hard work as subjugation in a patriarchal family but one of strength in adverse situations.

Lee et al [2002] largely echo such findings as well as focusing on the particular problems of marriage migrants who arrive to live as part of the extended family. Social isolation, hinted at by Laura [F12] when she described her life as consisting of work and children is also a recurrent motif in marriage migrant's lives [Sheridan 1998a] and has been observed in home visits to Vietnamese families in this study. Such migrants arrive with potentially the least amount of human capital and have to exist in a domestic sphere which is not their own. However, whatever difficulties women faced, Lee et al [2002], in their study of Chinese migrant women and families in Britain, found that women were proud of their family and their children's achievements. This was also evident in the home visits carried out in the Irish context for this thesis.

This view of being within rather than distinct from the family is summed up by Song [1995]:

Chinese wives/mothers experience their 'modes of existence' . . . within a larger family context in which their labours are part-and-parcel of not only

their husband's labours but also their children's.

[Song, M, 1995, p 292]

Husband and wives divide their roles in the family in ways that ease the adaptation process for the family as a whole. Long-term strategies are worked out on an individual basis in ways that benefit the group including restraint regarding personal ambition [Parsons and Shils, 1951]. The strategies individuals or married family members devise *within the family* allow the family to *bend* towards its changed economic and social circumstances and to overcome them. In this context, the first generation collective family [Hofstede, 1980/2001] proves its worth in the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001] and has the strength to influence the second generation, which is discussed in detail in chapters 8 and 9. At the same time, the stresses of cross-cultural adaptation encountered by the first families that Dean [1983] referred to also surface in chapters 8 and 9.

7.6 Family reunification

Code	Number of References
Family history	22
Family unit	31
Family unit broken	7
Family reunification	13
Family reunification process	14
Total	87

The main conceptual umbrella of family also carries the codes in the table above, all of which relate to the single issue of reunification. of broken families. The large

number of references highlights the significance of this specific issue for the Vietnamese.

While working to establish the family in the new country, there are concerns by the Vietnamese in Ireland about making the family whole, which Knudsen [1991] referred to as bringing the past into the present in his study of Vietnamese refugees coping with loss in refugee camps. Stories of loss and separation are linked to thoughts of family reunification where some family members are eligible to join the group in Ireland and others not. Both Frank [F6] and Bernie [EUM2] have sisters in Vietnam and worry about their welfare but neither have sponsorship rights; only the refugees who arrived in 1979 hold such rights. The process of family reunification has not always been easy and evidence shows that there have been difficulties with both the Vietnamese and Irish authorities for different reasons. Greg [R7] applied for family reunification in the early 1980s, which was followed by long delays in Vietnam:

Very hard to get paper [s] ... Wait, long, long time.

The process took about ten years to complete and such delays can have negative consequences; separation destroyed Bernie's [EUM2] marriage and denied her a relationship with her older son whom she did not see for nearly 10 years.

Michael [F13] applied for family reunification as soon as he could but was initially rejected by the Irish authorities. He was told he was too young to support family members, which is a reasonable response in an Irish cultural framework but not a

Vietnamese one where there is a duty from an early age to support family. It also took ten years for Michael [F13] to be reunited with family, which seems an extraordinarily long period to complete the process. Both Baneham [1999] and O'Regan [1998] record communication difficulties between the Vietnamese community and Irish authorities regarding the family reunification process. In contrast, Ann [F1] applied for family reunification after being widowed in Ireland and encountered no difficulty, revealing a range of individual experience in this area. Regardless of eligibility criteria, there does appear to be inconsistency over the years in the approach of the relevant Irish authorities.

The granting of family reunification is only the first part of this long process of uniting families. The data reveals differing lengths of time between the issuing of a visa and the consequent departure of the individual: Catriona [F3] travelled to Ireland two years after her visa was granted; Edward [F5] arrived approximately ten years later. Cultural considerations come to the fore as Edward explained that he had family responsibilities, which necessitated his continued presence in Vietnam. These included finding marriage partners for his sisters and a suitable bride for his brother, a delicate matter as the new bride would be looking after his mother once he left. Edward's father had died and, as the eldest son responsible for the family, he could not leave before carrying out his family duties fully. Not everyone delays for so long: Irene [F9] considered that it took her family six months to settle their affairs in Vietnam prior to coming to Ireland. Delays, however, can create further

complications as Greg [F7] noted; if individuals marry another layer of paperwork is added to the administrative process involved in family reunification.

Family reunification restores the past to the present; the cultural force of the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001] remains to provide support to its members during the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001]. Such support is invaluable in entrepreneurship and the long-term economic survival of the family. Gold [1989] echoes this conclusion regarding the supportive nature of the family collective in the USA and his comments are apt in the Irish context:

This family-based exchange of information, support and resources has eased some of the social, economic, and psychological trauma of the immigration experience. Concurrently, the stability provided by collective traditions has offered refugee families a source of continuity that might have been otherwise unobtainable.

[Gold, 1989, p 412]

Culture is evident in the adaptation process and collectivism, encompassing the Confucian cultural inheritance and Confucian Work Dynamism [Bond, 1987; Hofstede, 1980/2001] prove to be a positive force in economic adaptation in the Irish context and in other Vietnamese communities, as in the USA. Tran [1987] notes the relationship between levels of well-being and socio-economic adaptation; the family clearly provides a source of such well-being during its economic transformation [Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al, 1997]. This cultural dimension of cross-cultural adaptation has implications for the adaptation process at a group level as the next section discusses.

7.7 Institutional completeness

Codes	Number of References
Size of community	22

This code stands by itself as a single issue with significance in terms of community formation in the Vietnamese community and provides a perspective on the the group as a whole .

Gudykunst & Hammer [1988] noted the relationship between institutional completeness [Breton 1964] and low levels of anxiety displayed in an ethnic group. Institutional completeness occurs where the informal networks of friendships among an ethnic group are formalised to produce national or regional organisations, offering religious, educational, media or commercial services for example. An ethnic community can satisfy its needs without having to use an organisation from the wider society, hence low levels of anxiety as there is no need for contact with the host culture. However, as Kim [1988, 2001] notes with regard to institutional completeness, the ethnic community provides social support but can impede the creation of host communication competence in the long-term and so can be detrimental to the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] for the Vietnamese in this study.

The positive aspect of institutional completeness emerges in the data. Wendy [CRF17] has visited the USA and has seen the difference that group size can make to a Chinese community:

Everywhere is Chinese. Everywhere is Chinese food, real Chinese food and the streets are like in China, its like a China town. They not use English very much because they have a Chinese lawyer, a Chinese doctor, Everyone from China.

Such a situation makes life easier particularly as there are no linguistic difficulties to overcome. Dave [F11] also notes that the size of communities elsewhere is an enabling one for individuals:

In England, France, Canada, America, so many Vietnamese people living there ... also handy [if you are] looking for something.

Dave [F11] also comments on the small size of the community in Ireland:

Not so many ... we know each other.

By implication, a small group of Vietnamese has to engage with the host community and should have good host communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001]. However, involvement in the family business lessens this contact for some individuals so that the development of host communication competence becomes more complex.

The negative aspects of such intimate group size also emerge in the data. The size of the group at less than a thousand people [Refugee Agency, 2000] means that the full potential of the group in terms of an internal market cannot be exploited or developed. Group vitality [Bourhis et al, 1997] is also affected as such a small group will have little influence on the media or institutions of the host culture. With little

evidence of the community in the wider society its language and culture has no clear status with implications for Vietnamese individuals and their self-esteem. In addition, cultural maintenance [Berry, 1997] appears potentially problematic at both group and individual level. There is group awareness of these limitations not only from an enabling perspective but also from a business one as Edward [F5] says:

No Vietnamese business. Too small. No magazine, newspaper.

The issue of group size is relevant not only from a business perspective but also from the perspective of long-term shaping of cultural identity. These social, linguistic and identity issues emerging in relation to the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] are explored in further detail in chapters 8 and 9. As they also relate to group size, the inter-linking aspects of the cross-cultural adaptation process are evident throughout this study of the Vietnamese.

7.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I examined family adaptation strategies for long-term survival in the new culture. Collectivism emerged as a positive force in the process of cross-cultural adaptation as the setting-up of family businesses ensured the economic survival of the family. The survival of the family is gained at the expense of second language learning for some adult members but allows for investment in the educational achievement of children. Individual family members adapt to meet the challenges of their situation including sacrificing personal ambition to that of the family. A gender dimension also emerged in relation to economic survival which

dictated flexibility in gender roles. In addition, gender roles are played out within a family context that emphasises group rather than individual survival despite contact with the new culture. Some marriage migrants face linguistic difficulty and loneliness and some marriage migrant men abandon language learning in favour of economic activity, which echoes the cross-cultural adaptation strategy of the initial group of refugees. Family reunification is also vital to the process of maintaining and perpetuating the family as it provides an invaluable resource from both a psychological and economic perspective. Finally, group size, which has positive aspects socially, economically and culturally, emerges as a negative factor in the Irish context because the Vietnamese community is quite small and employment is concentrated in family-run enterprises.

The following two chapters, 8 and 9 will examine aspects of both change and stability in the context of the long-term adaptation process by the Vietnamese. Chapter 8 details friendship patterns revealed by social networks and the complexity of linguistic issues within the family and with regard to Irish society.

CHAPTER 8

DATA 2: THE PRESENT [AND FUTURE INDICATORS]: SOCIAL NETWORKS

Each person has a fundamental need for social interaction. Social and personal relationships provide the basic structure through which social contact and interpersonal intimacy are realized.

[Hammer, M, 1986, p 225]

The social network perspective is uniquely suited to intercultural research because it focuses on what is between, or inter, cultures.

[Smith, 1999, p 4]

Chapter outline

The initial 212 Vietnamese refugees arrived in Ireland with no settled group to connect to. Left to themselves they managed to create a niche in Irish society by relying on their first culture strength: the family collective discussed in chapter 7. This chapter now focuses mainly on the members of the community who arrived later as part of family reunification and their experience of cross-cultural adaptation. By fitting into existing family structures, their experience of adaptation differs from the first group who had no ethnic group social support on arrival. The social networks of this much larger community will reveal the development over time and the extent of social interaction with the host society potentially through friendship and other ties. The effects of language and culture on social interaction with the host community include their effects on relations across the generations in the family.

8.1 Introduction: language and culture

Kim [1988, 2001] states that functional fitness stems from intercultural contact so that an individual develops the ability to function in the host culture [Kim, 2001, p 62]. Social networks reveal the extent and depth of this contact with the host community and the data should yield evidence of heterogeneous intercultural networks [Kim, 1986]. At the same time, the family will provide evidence of the transformations occurring to individuals and their relationships to each other as they engage with the new culture:

As they undergo adaptive changes in host communication competence (most notably, language competence), their internal conditions change from a monocultural to an increasingly multifaceted character.

[Kim, 2001, p 65-6]

Furthermore, Kim [2001] notes that knowledge of the host communication system, namely its language:

also entails pragmatic knowledge about the everyday use of the language, including the many subtleties in the way the language is spoken and interpreted in various formal and informal social engagements.

[Kim, 2001, p 100]

With such knowledge comes power [Kim, 2001, p 101], that is, empowerment to pursue personal and social goals in the host society in such everyday activities as shopping, going to a doctor or going to school. Language from contact with the host community *outside* is brought *inside* into the family domain. As developments *outside* the home affect developments *inside* the home, they point to individual concerns, and trends across the group.

A new system of communication affects language use across the generations in the family as language is the transmitter of cultural values. The Vietnamese community now comprises three groups of people, with the main focus on the second and third groups in the data analysis of this chapter:

1. the first arrivals in 1979, comprising adults and children
2. family reunification members also comprising adults and children
3. Irish-born children

. The fragmentation of linguistic identity or identities in the family produces an underlying fear of both linguistic and cultural loss, which is difficult for an 'outsider' to fully comprehend without considering that:

Although many behaviours can mark identity, language is the only one that carries extensive cultural content.

[Dorian, 1999, p 31]

The extensive preoccupation with language which the data yields reflects this truth: an identity linked to heritage language maintenance 'struggles' with the encroaching new linguistic and cultural environment, which poses a threat to family unity.

8.1.i Networks and communication patterns

Not only are the communication patterns of collectivist and individualist cultures communication patterns in virtual opposition, but, as Yum [1992] notes, the 'you' of English contrasts with the 'you' of East Asian languages which are:

very complex, and are differentiated according to social status, the degree of intimacy, age, sex, and the level of formality. There are also extensive and elaborate honorific linguistic systems in East Asian languages. These

differentiations are manifested not only in referential terms but also in verbs, pronouns, and nouns.

[Yum, 1992, p72]

High levels of uncertainty and anxiety would be expected with regard to initiating communication [Gudykunst & Hammer, 1988] in a generally low-context [Hall, 1976/1989], communication environment outside the family. In addition, the maintenance of face [Ting-Toomey, 1988] would appear also quite problematic, as the politeness markers Yum [1992] refers to, contained in honorific forms of address, are absent in Irish culture. Yum [1992] also emphasises the effect of Confucianism on communication, which, as has already been discussed in chapter 5, stresses cooperation, consideration of others and the importance of group harmony, which all contrast with low-context [Hall, 1976/1989] individualist communication.

Furthermore, friendship patterns differ between individualist and collectivist cultures as Malikiosi-Loizos & Anderson [1999] discovered in a comparison between Greek and USA female friendship patterns. They found greater reciprocity in the collectivist culture friendships and a smaller circle of friends who assumed greater psychological importance. Thus, Greek women without a best friend were significantly lonelier than American women, whose loneliness scores did not differ appreciably in this regard. With clear ingroup/outgroup distinctions between the family collective and others, there is either little interest or a series of obstacles [Anderson, 1994] to forming weak social ties necessary for the formation of intercultural networks [Yum, 1988]. Indeed, where networks are created, issues of

bilingualism, language maintenance and language shift arise as they affect the internal relationships across the generations in the family.

Migrant groups experience communication and linguistic issues across generations as Hulsén, de Bot & Weltens [2002] demonstrate in their analysis of social networks, language maintenance and language shift in three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand: first language skills decline across the generations. Contact with the host culture then raises fears about the preservation of the cultural and linguistic inheritance of the family and its children. At the same time, children engage with a social world and its language outside the home and bring the new language and experiences back into the family so that some change, as Kim [2002] indicates [see chapter 2 of this thesis], does occur from such contact.

8.2 The family network

Codes	Number of References
Family network	12
links with other countries	11
Total	23

Like the other family-related codes which formed the basis of the analysis in chapter 7, these two codes also fall under the main conceptual umbrella of family. They serve to link the analysis in this chapter, which relates to a variety of language and language-related issues, back to the source of the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001].

The diaspora does not impede the retention of family ties, as chapter 7 revealed, so the family network remains strong. Contact with family is not only by phone or letter but as Jane [F15] explains:

We go to Vietnam, England ... some people go to America, Canada to visit friends, relations.

Such travel is normal, finances permitting as Anne [R1], being widowed, has not been able to afford it. The interviews contain references to families spread across Europe, the United States and Australia as in Judy's [F14] family:

"My mum's sisters are all over" Judy then added that they had gone to Hong Kong, Australia and Canada so that in 1979 her mother's family had broken up and her _____ had arrived in Ireland in 1979.

Haines, Rutherford & Thomas [1981] refer to the family in such a context:

The Vietnamese family clearly extends beyond the walls of a particular household and even beyond the boundaries of a single nation.

[Haines, Rutherford & Thomas, 1981, p 319]

Clearly, barriers regarding contact do not present insurmountable obstacles for the family and again are evidence of its cultural strength. Indeed, contact is maintained for a variety of reasons: to obtain cultural material, to help with a family member's new business abroad, for locating possible marriage partners or attending the funerals of family members.

In contrast to such strong family ties, evidence of individual heterogeneous networks [Kim, 1986] established through friendships, would be an indicator of full integration into the local communities of the host society. Though there is contact with Irish people on a customer basis in family businesses, the type and extent of

social relations with members of the host society will affect individual host communication competence and the community's general place in Irish society. There is also the potential weakening of the first culture already exhibiting low vitality through lack of institutional completeness [Bourhis et al, 1997, Kim, 1988, 2001]

8.3 Language 'outside': developing friendships in the host society

Code	Number of References
Having a friend	2
Irish friends	12
No Irish friends	3
Making school friends	6
Total	23

There are 23 references to friendship covering four codes that range from making Irish friends to school friendships. These codes link to language and socialising which are analysed throughout this chapter as well as related gender issues. Gender concerns link back to the family collective in Chapter 7.2 and 7.5.

There are references from early encounters within the first group of four refugees, in this instance Greg [R7] and Harry [R8], that having a particular friend eased the transition into the new culture. Dispersal forced some individuals to overcome communication difficulties. Equally, members of local communities could act as reliable cultural informants and provide valuable first-hand information to their Vietnamese friends in a vital culture learning process. In these instances, contact

fosters the cognitive, affective and behavioural strategies necessary for achieving host communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001]. From home visits, further cases of such friendships were observed, including their long-lasting nature. This demonstrates their importance psychologically for individuals from a collectivist [Hofstede, 1980/2001] culture as Malikiosi-Loizos & Anderson [1999] confirm as well as being a source of host culture knowledge. From one observation of such a friendship, significant episodes in Irish life were referred to including Northern Ireland and Irish compensation culture.

However, among the second group of Vietnamese arriving as part of family reunification there are references to levels of contact that remain at the politeness stage or dwindle as the following two extracts from Bernie [EUM2] and Jenny's [F10] interviews reveal:

she did not know her new neighbours too well. She had called on them but they did not visit her.

Jenny did not mix with Irish people any longer though she had done so while attending school. However, even then she did not really go out with them. Her comment was that : "everybody nice ... just a little ... not much."

Clearly, in the short-term the perception of the host community as being superficially friendly does not lead to the development of friendships. There are profound implications for both stranger and host as this perception impedes culture learning [Furnham & Bochner, 1982] in a naturalistic setting for the newcomer. It implies a withdrawal by the Vietnamese because the obstacles appear too great [Anderson, 1994], a finding that has also occurred with some Vietnamese in

Australia [Barnes, 2001]. Finally, the host culture appears to remain ambivalent or indifferent [Gudykunst, 1983] to the stranger with the ensuing development of separation between the two.

During part of this research, the Vietnamese-Irish Association provided the venue for English-language classes and individuals who had arrived as part of family reunification made friends there so establishing networks within the community. Such friendships are particularly important as the creation of networks has a gender dimension [Hagan, 1998, discussed in section 8.3.i]. The Association was also a source of contact with a few Irish people who worked there or with individuals who visited the centre in order to hire rooms or forge links. Hagan [1998] stresses the importance of immigrant social networks but points out, like Kim [1988, 2001], that:

As the settlement period lengthens, however, disadvantages of immigrant-based social networks can and sometimes do emerge. Migrants can become so tightly encapsulated in social networks based on strong ties to coethnics that they lose some of the advantages associated with developing weak ties with residents outside the community.

[Hagan, 1998, p 65]

The contact between Vietnamese and Irish people at the Centre was so transitory in nature that there was insufficient time even for the development of weak ties.

8.3.i Developing social relations

Codes	Number of References
Social relations	16
Socialization in Ireland	12
Total	28

Two codes with 28 references in total provide evidence that for the second group of Vietnamese, arriving as part of family reunification, the creation of social relationships and socialising in general with Irish people is not, as already indicated, an easy process. General contact with Irish people is problematic even in situations where there is cultural convergence such as going to mass. Daniel [F4], a practicing Catholic and regular mass-goer did not know the name of the priest at his local church, which created a sense of distance for him. This perception of isolation draws him to socialising with Vietnamese friends. Gender roles also create barriers with regard to socialisation with the host culture. Vietnamese widows and divorcees have a duty not to cause scandal; married women in general have a specific duty in the home which mitigates against making social contact outside the home. Socialising in the Irish sense of going out and 'having fun' also creates a problem, as such Irish norms are not considered as acceptable behaviour for women.

Aisling [F18] explains this issue of gender and socialisation as she is at an age when her peers have a social life outside the home. She, however, does not join in with their activities demonstrating the strength of her own family norms even though she arrived in Ireland as a pre-teen:

Around here, if like girls, say they smoke and drank ... Irish people accept it. Over in Vietnam it's difficult to accept. Over there you're seen as a bad girl. If you go out with people who drink and smoke and you don't do it you wouldn't really fit in ... Most of the time ... say friends around my brother's age, they'd be hanging around pubs and things. We're only allowed to drink on special occasions but that's only for the boys really. It's kind of sexist like.

There is a clear demarcation regarding gender roles and what is permitted and what is not. Aisling [F18] refers to it as 'tradition' so that even though she has first-hand experience of Irish culture at school she remains apart from socialising norms that centre on 'hanging out' and drinking with her peers:

My friends say 'what are you doing at the weekend? Don't you go out? You're wasting being 18 [legally being permitted to drink alcohol]. Most of my friends have a drink, they're 17 or 16, they have a drink, I wouldn't say every week. They like drinking ... hanging out.

Clearly, withdrawing from such socialisation creates a difference between Aisling [F18] and her school friends. In her case there are clear boundaries between what she is willing to do, namely go to school and do well, and what she is not:

I don't go with my friends outside of school ... What they do I don't really know. They tell you stuff but I don't go out with them after school. I wouldn't feel any pressure.

Transition into Irish society does not imply accepting all social norms of the host society nor does conflict necessarily arise in Vietnamese family life. Dinh, Sarason & Sarason [1994], from research in the USA, consider that such conflict is more evident with Vietnamese-born young men in relation to accepting a subservient role to their fathers than Vietnamese-born young women like Aisling [F18].

At the same time, such a difference creates a barrier. Jane [F15] reflects on the fact that she went out after work in Vietnam but does not do this here:

If I'm honest, I worked in Vietnam very hard but I have time ... that our country, [I can] meet people [after work], go somewhere at night. I work here, it hard as well but not too much friend, I don't go out too much. We don't know why. If we out [with] Irish people it's a strange language, different customs ... I can't explain it.

Jane [F15] is not able to quite specify the nature of her difficulty:

The first time maybe I was shy, but now, at the moment I don't know why but still I don't want to go out too much. Some Irish people, when I worked in _____, they told me 'you have to go out, you have to enjoy your life. Don't stay at home.' They said, 'you poor girl.' When I was in _____, the people were friendly and said, don't work too much, ' and 'you have to go out,' ... I don't know why, I don't like it.

Though Jane [F15] considers her explanation as inadequate, she touches on the blend of three factors: the new culture, represented by Irish friends and their socialising norms on the one hand, and linguistic difficulty and cultural differences on the other. The distance between the new culture and the known creates a barrier between the two. Like Aisling [F18], Jane [F15] does not move beyond a certain point in her contact with the new culture. Kim [1986] states that difficulty in creating personal relations with members of another cultural group leads to such efforts being abandoned. Aisling [F18], at least, has school to keep her in the new culture but Jane [F15] has no compelling reason to make further attempts.

8.3.ii Loneliness

Codes	Number of References
Loneliness	26

This is also a single issue code with a significant number of references that requires attention. Loneliness creates subthemes which inter-relate to the main conceptual umbrella of the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001], gender and a specific

culture-related occurrence of loneliness. It also connects to sections 8.9 and 8.9.i which focus on the two vulnerable groups of the young and the old.

There are 26 references to loneliness across the first two groups which is quite significant. There are direct references to loneliness such as Anne [R1], who felt lonely when she was widowed in Ireland or Irene's [9] reflection on the issue:

You have to find your life here. When I come here feel very lonely ... Now I live here long time not really [not so lonely]. If you live here permanent you can't feel lonely. Feeling lonely cant help you. A lot of people very good very kind but some not really ... Every country have this

The hint at unpleasant reactions to her as being Vietnamese in Irish society adds to the loneliness so that it is a more complex issue than it first appears.

Indeed, Rokach, Bacanli & Ramberan [2000] state that there has been little research on loneliness with much of it concentrated on personality factors whereas they consider that there will be cross-cultural variation "in the ways people perceive, experience, and cope with loneliness," [Rokach, Bacanli & Ramberan , 2000, p 302]. Their comparison of coping with loneliness across three national cultures, including Turkey designated as a collectivist culture, revealed significant gender differences, age [discussed in 8.4.i], life experience and the availability of methods by which loneliness can be alleviated. When she was widowed, Anne [R1] looked to family reunification and drew on the collectivist family as her source for alleviating her loneliness.

Loneliness is also evidence of a problem with well-being, a psychological state indicating that there are sociocultural difficulties in the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001]. Ward & Kennedy [1993] consider loneliness a “powerful predictor of mood disturbance” [Ward & Kennedy, 1993, p 222] with difficulty stemming from: culture distance, that is, the difference between cultures in their social and physical environment [Babiker, Cox & Miller, 1980], knowledge of the new culture and its language as well as the strength of cultural identity [Ward & Kennedy, 1993]. Triandis [1995] notes that in “collectivist cultures identity is defined more in terms of relationships – I am the mother of X, I am a member of family Y,” [Triandis, 1995, p350]. Singelis & Brown [1995] consider that the individualism/collectivism dimension maps onto two dimensions of self, namely independent and interdependent self-construal.

Two aspects of an interdependent self-construal are belonging and fitting in and occupying one's proper place. These are based on a set of public features such as status, roles and relationships [Singelis & Brown, 1995, p 359-360]. There are cognitive, emotional, and motivational consequences of self-construal as well as self-processes such as self-esteem [Markus & Kitayama, 1991], which Irene [F9] hints at when she says that some people are not very kind. Chapters 4 and 5 have already shown the difference between Irish and Vietnamese cultures so loneliness is potential evidence that the creation of intercultural networks has been unsuccessful in general. Predictably, individuals will turn inwards into the group for friendship, ethnic group support and self-esteem as Tran [1987] indicates in his refugee model.

There were 15 references to loneliness by female interviewees and 8 by males presenting a potentially greater preoccupation with the issue by women. Half of women's references to loneliness were on the general ability to socialise in the new environment by having friends, [see Aisling [F18] in section 8.3.i]. O'Regan [1998] also noted gender differences and commented on socialisation patterns in Ireland:

it is possible that Vietnamese women are more likely to be isolated from the wider social community than are Vietnamese men.

[O'Regan, C, 1998, p 89]

There are some further indicators of gender difference. Aisling [f18] noted that her mother's social horizons widened with the arrival of other family members via family reunification. Before this, her mother had been lonelier than her father, as her avenue of socialising, namely visiting family, had been removed.

There is a tendency for married women to remain in the home where they are cut off from potential socialisation, as the family network is no longer extensive or geographically near. Wendy [CRF17] indicated that her sister-in-law, a marriage migrant, felt lonely because of linguistic difficulties. Marriage migrants can feel isolated because of such linguistic difficulty as well as the absence of their family members. There are aspects of the Vietnamese female role which are restricted in Irish society and which find difficulty with the Irish socialising norms of 'going out' and with having no family support nearby.

Finally, loneliness can stem from culture. Catriona [F3] is exceptional as culture creates loneliness for her by virtue of her decision to become a Buddhist monk:

I have many problem when I'm nun. Very hard. I will pass this. Sometime I feel lonely. Not enough to meditation. Find friend to meditation. Feel lonely here. Very sad.

She remains isolated as she does not know other Buddhist monks. Michael's [R13] definition of loneliness stretches back to family members in Vietnam, transcending all the boundaries that Haines, Rutherford & Thomas [1981] outline:

I hope the Irish government will open their hearts and accept my family's [coming] over because they're feeling lonely.

Collectivism [Hofstede, 1980/2001] contributes to the loneliness of the Vietnamese in Ireland in the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001].

In turn, loneliness provides a general indicator of individual difficulties underlying the creation of social ties with Irish people. The realisation of an interdependent self-construal implies that for an individual the family is more important than friendship. Hofstede [1980/2001] points out that friendship is "more of an issue in the individualist society than in the collectivist society. In a collectivist culture, who one's friends are is predetermined by existing group ties," [Hofstede, 1980/2001, p 229]. Consequently, little evidence of heterogeneous ties [Kim, 1986] may simply reflect a collectivist cultural norm with loneliness emerging as a strong predictor of cross-cultural adaptation difficulties as Ward & Kennedy [1993] assert.

8.4 Linguistic issues: a barrier to social integration

Code	Number of References
English as a barrier	27

This is the first code which relates to the conceptual umbrella of language containing 25 codes. The number of references for this code alone indicate that language issues are a vital concern. As this is a complex area the language codes are treated in detail as they link back to both the family collective and forward to identity, the final conceptual framework discussed in chapter 9.

Linguistic issues are a particularly significant factor to emerge from the data for all three groups and learning English is the main concern for the second group of adults. Linguistic competency interrelates with other factors including loneliness as lack of host language competency impedes social relations and creates feelings of helplessness. Tran [1987] links English-speaking ability to self-esteem as individuals can cope with everyday aspects of their lives. Individuals with language problems are reliant on other members of the family to act as translator for routine life-events such as hospital visits, ante-natal care or financial transactions. Wendy [CRF17] has a better command of English than her parents or sibling and says:

I think that's my responsibility so I have to do [it].[It's] not that I'm good at English. Like my _____ She got pregnant. I need to take her to visit the doctor in Holles Street for a check-up, my mum and dad, they get sick, I need to bring them to a doctor and everything.

The converse of this situation is empowerment through language [Kim, 2001]. Bernie [EUM2] relates that learning English gave her a feeling of independence as she was able to do things such as talk to the doctor or with officials.

Not being able to perform everyday activities is personally frustrating and distressing as Jenny [F10] states:

Stops you doing things .. nobody can understand you ... like when you sick and you go to the doctor ... don't know how to say.

Greg [R7], from the first group, regrets that his insufficient level of English meant reliance on others, as he is an official representative of his community:

Difficult for me for my job. Government meeting difficult for me.

From observation, Greg [R7] saves face by having an Irish person speak *for* him. Members of the host community can misunderstand this complex cultural mix of face, status and power. This example demonstrates how culture learning is vital to *both* parties, host and stranger in the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001].

Adults from the second group, including young adults, cope with their situation in varying ways from considering that 'survival English' is enough to needing a girlfriend to help improve their linguistic skills. Frank [F6] feels that English, with its consonant clusters for instance which are absent in Vietnamese, presents an obstacle [Anderson, 1994] to a Vietnamese speaker whereas Irene's [F9], reflection deals potentially with cultural background or no shared frames of reference:

*My pronunciation not very good. They don't understand me. I have to repeat twice or third time. I have to spelling to repeat.
Just know people but don't have anything to say because English not enough.*

In consequence, there is no meeting place for shared meanings, for mutual understanding, for more than surface relations with others. Edward [F5] expresses this eloquently:

My English not good enough to talk stories.

8.4.i Crossing the barrier

Code	Number of References
Learning English	19
Own assessment of English	9
Learning English from friends	4
Learning host culture language	6
Listen to English	3
Age	4
Total	45

These six codes relate specifically to language learning where linguistic difficulty is high-lighted as it clearly delays full competency in host communication competence [Kim, 1988/2001]. This has an overall effect on the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] which isolates members of the Vietnamese community from mainstream Irish society.

Four issues concerning language learning appear for adults from the second group, namely the inhibitory factor that negative self-assessment of linguistic skills produces, the strategies that individuals adopt to try to cross this linguistic barrier,

age and lifelong learning as well as opportunities for practice. Dave [F11] takes a considerable interest in linguistic issues and has a negative view of his linguistic ability saying that his English is “not very good.” However, this self-assessment was contradicted by Irish work colleagues in the Vietnamese Centre who felt that Dave [F11] could “express himself comfortably in the second language.” Such self-assessment has an underlying cause: the feeling that language-learning has stalled. Daniel [F4] devised a face-saving strategy as “he would listen to people but not talk back” which is not very beneficial from a language-learning perspective. In addition, from a culture learning perspective his behaviour displays the underlying anxiety surrounding adaptation [Gudykunst & Hammar, 1988].

Age is a factor that affects language learning as the following two quotes demonstrate regarding younger and older members of the second group:

*because they're younger than me. It's easier to learn.
At my age not very easy to learn. Not young.*

Learning English is difficult, takes time and for adults there are constraints regarding family and work. Jane [F15] explains her initial feelings regarding English:

the first time, I think I [will] never learn English, it's too difficult. But then I say I have to learn it [as] I have to know how to speak English and now it's a lot better.

It took her approximately three years to learn English and formal language learning contributed to this feeling of success:

I can understand the grammar, the vocabulary, the tapes and then I can make a sentence.

Dave [F11] states that he would like the opportunity to continue language learning:

*I haven't had a long time to learn in English class. I'd love to learn more.
It's never enough.*

Stevens [1999] notes that second language proficiency among foreign-born adults depends on age at immigration tempered by length of residency so that second language learning is a life-long process with implications for state policy [Bourhis et al, 1997] and flexible provision. McKay & Weinstein-Shr [1993] emphasise the fact that "most language minorities want very much to acquire English literacy but various factors limit their ability to do so," [McKay & Weinstein-Shr, 1993 p 404].

Exceptionally, Bernie [EUM2] is the only person to experience formal language learning in another EU country. Her experience differs significantly as she joined the mainstream workforce rather than a family business. Such contact with host nationals would have helped to improve her language learning in a naturalistic setting over the long-term. The data, however, reveals a more complex situation in Vietnamese catering businesses in Ireland. Several languages can be in use in a work setting and Judy [F14] uses the following languages at work: some Mandarin Cantonese, Vietnamese and English. Judy [F14] is a keen language learner as she notes new English words, including spelling. Her linguistic skills have earned her a specific job in the take-away where she works:

I'm working at the counter. I have to talk to the customer.

Language skills do matter as a certain level of proficiency is necessary for such a position and also provides an opportunity for further learning.

Initial encounters at work are not only dependent on linguistic ability but also personality factors. Wendy [CRF17] is still uneasy in social situations:

sometimes you know if I say something wrong I feel very embarrassed. Like in the take-away where I have some work, some friends there, they're Irish, they say 'your speaking is OK, I can understand you, we can be friends, don't worry about it.'
V: But you still feel embarrassed. You feel shy?
W: If I [don't] know the new friends I feel very uncomfortable.

Such uncertainty and anxiety impedes further progress in socialisation particularly if host culture members are not sensitive to this. Furthermore, with so many people working in catering, encounters with Irish people are limited, which reinforces a certain level of isolation from the host society. Over time the trend is one of isolation and separation between host and stranger as, apart from the Centre, no other place of socialisation for adults is mentioned in the data. For the second group of family arrivals, a picture of limited interaction with the host community presents itself, with all its consequences for the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001], given the specific set of circumstances that the Vietnamese find themselves in with regard to employment in Ireland.

8.5 Language ‘inside’:communication across the generations

Code	Number of References
Family literacy	16

This code falls under the conceptual umbrella of family [Hofstede, 1980/2001] and is also a link to language issues that arise over the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]..

This section of the analysis moves from adult linguistic competence to consider how language use affects the family across the generations in terms of family literacy, used here in its widest sense. There are diverse views concerning the language or languages of the home, which mediate between the home and the world outside which stretches back to Vietnam. In the second group, Edward [F5], a parent, draws attention to the role of language in his relationship with his children as they speak better English than he does. Their knowledge of the language of the home, spoken by both parents, also appears to cause concern:

Big problem to do anything .. especially for children. Their Vietnamese not good. Broken Vietnamese." He tries to teach them Vietnamese every day and feels that it is necessary as for him it is the language by which he can: "Control and teach them." Without Vietnamese he would be unable to bring up his family. He speaks Vietnamese at home.

A young father, Dave [F11] says that as his children will return to Vietnam to visit grandparents and other family members they need the requisite language skills:

If he go[es] to Vietnam, if he see[s] grandfather, they can't understand it all. They can't talk.

Collier and Thomas [1988, see chapter 2 of this thesis for discussion] refer to ethnic identity being rooted in the past; this sense of the past in the present and the future pervades the language data concerning the home making it a central part of the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001].

Given the complex linguistic mix in some families in both groups, a situation arises where one partner in a young married couple, Judy [F14], is a highly capable

speaker of English but her spouse is not. With a young school-age child there are linguistic developments within the family:

She considered that she would not worry if her children lost Vietnamese but then she is a confident English speaker. However, she considered that her husband would be worried as then he would not be able to communicate with his children: "because he can't speak English ... because he come over so old." He was in his mid-twenties when he arrived.

Consequently, there is a need to have one language within the family that everyone can speak well including older family members. For example, though both Harry [R8] and Aisling [F18] are fluent speaker of English, the language of the home is Vietnamese. Aisling [F18] says:

because of my parents. They don't speak English much so we have to speak Vietnamese to them.

Where family members have arrived via family reunification to join the first group, a language already exists to bind the family together. This is the situation for Laura [F12] whose children are learning English at school:

They speak Vietnamese when they at home because all my family, my sister, my nephew, my niece, they speak Vietnamese.

Such concerns highlight heritage language maintenance, the bilingualism of younger family members who arrived as part of family reunification or belong to the Irish-born group, language shift and the fear of language loss. These concerns lie in a web of linguistic relationships largely hidden in the home because of separation from the host community.

McKay & Weinstein-Shr [1993] present a compelling argument for a language that links the generations:

Adults have other agendas for [English] literacy which may be equally important if not more pressing to them in the long run: supporting children in their social and moral development as human beings; helping grandchildren know the story of their past; creating circumstances in which their children can succeed without rejecting who they are and where they have come from; ensuring that their children will stay connected enough to take care of them when they grow old. Whereas immediate survival is surely a concern, adults also make meaning both by remembering and telling the past as well as by looking toward the future through the lives of children and grandchildren. The degree to which there is a shared language will determine the extent to which this is possible.

[McKay & Weinstein-Shr, 1993, p 415-416]

This link to culture, to family history and continuity underlies linguistic concerns. Linguistic issues emerge as a core factor in this thesis in the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and are analysed in depth in the following sections as they have far-reaching consequences for individual and group identity [see chapter 9 for discussion].

8.5.i Linguistic complexity

Code	Number of References
language at home	15

This section of the analysis of the data pertaining to language turns to the languages which are spoken inside the home. This one code reveals a degree of linguistic complexity in the home and serves as a bridge to the following sections of data analysis.

Many homes contain a mix of competing languages some of which are learnt in Ireland following family reunification. Greg [R7] has two languages in the home, Vietnamese and Chinese, where Vietnamese, his wife's language predominates. The reverse is true for Jenny [F10], a young married woman:

'My husband Chinese so have to speak Chinese with him.' As he was born in China he cannot speak Vietnamese.

John [F16], still studying, is ethnic Chinese and on arrival in Ireland:

also learnt to speak Chinese as he stayed with Cantonese-speaking relatives at first who spoke Cantonese at home. John found it 'easy to pick up' and it is an additional language in the home as his sister's children speak Vietnamese, Chinese and English.

John [F16] learnt Mandarin in Vietnam where he attended a Chinese school and became literate in Chinese as well as Vietnamese before coming to Ireland.

Such linguistic diversity stretches across three generations in homes where grandparents are present. As grandparents contribute to the family by helping to look after their grandchildren, there is a need for at least one shared language in the home. Such a shared language also involves literacy practices and again these are complex depending on both language and ethnic origin as Irene's [F9] story illustrates:

At home she speaks Vietnamese and occasionally Chinese as her grandmother is Chinese. She also speaks Chinese to her boyfriend as he cannot speak Vietnamese. She can write Vietnamese, and Chinese a little, such as names for example. Her mother speaks Chinese but cannot write it as there were few girls in Chinese schools in Vietnam.

Home visits revealed this rich linguistic heritage, which is easy to overlook and undervalue if the focus is always on the stranger learning the language of the host community [Barnes, 2001] rather than the co-existence of them all.

8.5.ii Contact with the host language

Code	Number of References
Learning Vietnamese	11
Learning third language	4
Total	15

These two codes begin the detailed analysis of bilingualism and trilingualism in the context of both host and ethnic communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001]. The long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] creates differing sets of relationships between the two competencies which also affect the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001].

For young people who began their education in Vietnam or China as well as the Irish-born group, schooling has an impact on their language use in the home. Aisling [F18], already literate in Vietnamese, feels the force of the new language on her mother tongue:

My spelling is just horrible now. When I write out a song and I read it back ...that's not how to write!" Was she forgetting her Vietnamese? "Yes, even the words as well. When I'm talking to my parents as well. You're just completely blank in Vietnamese comprehension, blank in English ... What word is it?

Aisling [F18] now tries to compensate as she realises the potential for language loss:

I guess if I don't speak much of it I'll forget more and more. Before I just didn't like reading newspapers in Vietnamese or in English ...if I didn't do that I'd forget it more.

She feels motivated to maintain her mother tongue as well as her knowledge of her English, that is, a balanced bilingualism. However, it is clear from her experience that the language outside the home poses a threat in terms of family communication.

Scheu [2000] discusses the relationship of bilingualism to biculturalism and identity formation:

Although little is known about the processes which bring cultural identity into being, some studies suggest that they start at an early age and that by the age of 6, children have developed some type of cultural identity. From experimental evidence it appears that early bilingual experience influences the development of cultural identity, which in turn influences the development of bilingualism.

[Scheu, 2000, p 4]

Language issues link to emerging identities so that there is diversity in young people's reactions to their mother tongue and to literacy. John [F16], in contrast to Aisling [F18], has no desire to maintain either Vietnamese or Chinese now that he speaks English as:

I don't see myself as going back over there.

This view contrasts with those of parents such as Edward [F6] or Dave [F11] whose first identities are already formed to a greater degree. Parental strategies to maintain the heritage language for their children are discussed in the following section.

8.6 Irish, Vietnam-born children: bilingualism, Chinese, trilingualism

Code	Number of References
Second generation	16
Children and language	14
First language literacy	13
Bilingualism	12
Trilingualism	5
language maintenance strategy	5
Total	65

These 6 codes also fall under the main conceptual framework of language. They relate to the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and its effect on the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001]. Children gain both host and ethnic communication competence but host conformity pressure [Kim, 1988, 2001] undermines ethnic their communication competence.

There are already over 200 Irish-born children across both the first and second group of families and the data revealed the mix of home languages, parental strategies for heritage language maintenance and recognition of the importance of English. Family attitudes to Chinese language maintenance are strong; such attitudes will help to ensure its survival, a finding consistent with Luo & Wiseman [2000] on ethnic language maintenance by immigrant Chinese American children. Wendy [CRF17] states:

Even when they go to school when they are five I'm teaching them Cantonese.

Dave [F11] a Vietnamese speaker concurs and says of his young child:

If nobody teaches them Vietnamese they forget it ... I don't want it, to forget Vietnamese

In homes like Irene's [F9], both Vietnamese and Chinese are spoken so that young children will probably become trilingual, with English.

The strategy in the home is to have children speak the dominant language and then, once, they go to school, they will naturally learn English through exposure. In some families, this strategy is refined as children go to playschool before beginning primary school. Once schooling begins then two languages at least are current in the home such as Jane's [F15], which is predominantly Vietnamese-speaking:

Sometimes like now, Laura, if she don't understand she can ask what it means in Vietnamese, [or] what it means in English. You can speak that to her.

English is recognised as being important for a child's future as Laura's [F12] and Dave's [F11] comments reveal:

English language is important ... I don't mind Vietnamese language, they speak Vietnamese language ... then I worry about English.

Wish to keep Vietnamese with him. He [was] born in Ireland ... he can go to school ...should speak English.

As Laura's [F12] children came with her family as part of family reunification and she sends them to the Vietnamese language Saturday school to maintain the language of the home.

Kouritzin [2000], a linguist, presents a personal account of heritage language maintenance [Japanese] in her own family in Canada, a decision based on heritage language loss for her and her husband:

We have lived experiences of what it means to be unable to communicate with family members or participate in cultural experiences. ... Although we are not so naïve as to believe that bilingual development in Japanese and English will enable our children to unproblematically 'walk in two worlds' and although we know that our children may choose (or be assigned to) an ethnic identity that is neither Japanese nor Canadian, we nonetheless feel that our children need to be able to draw from both of their linguistic heritages in order to best negotiate their individual cultural and linguistic identities.

[Kouritzin, 2000, p 311-312]

The family strategy that Kouritzin [2001] and her husband develop is the same as the Vietnamese here in Ireland, namely delaying exposure to English.

Kouritzin [2000] details the difficulties inherent in this course of action: from discovering that Japanese was not "the language of my heart," [Kouritzin, 2000, p 314] for expressing love towards her child, to feelings of incompetency with the Japanese language, unhappiness with aspects of Japanese culture, to guilt as her daughter is cut off from her English-speaking peers prior to going to school. She writes this personal story in a prestigious linguistics journal from the position of privilege as an educated White middle-class academic to make the experience accessible as such discourse does exist but is hidden in "heritage language newspapers; church, temple or other religious archives; and various ethnic cultural centre publications," [Kouritzin, 2000, p 321]. Consequently, without institutional completeness [Breton, 1964] and with low ethnolinguistic vitality [Bourhis et al, 1997] this core aspect of the cross-cultural process [Kim, 1988, 2001] is easily

overlooked with regard to the Vietnamese community in Ireland and so forms a major part of this thesis.

8.7 Code-switching and language shift

Code	Number of References
Codeswitching	5
Language shift	5
Total	10

These two codes, related to the conceptual framework of language, provide evidence in relation to the unbalanced relationship between host and ethnic communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001].

Codeswitching is slipping into two or more languages during a single discourse and in this thesis codeswitching is examined as part of language use within the home particularly where complex language situations exist. From this perspective, codeswitching also presents one aspect of a shift in language use, mainly by Irish-born children and other younger family members from the second group. Such a shift threatens family unity as eventual language loss will affect family cohesion. If younger family members also switch to English with their ethnic peers, their language use is potential evidence of a stronger identification with their host rather than their ethnic culture. Michael [R13] summarises the situation of Irish-born children from his observations:

they do speak Vietnamese to their parents with broken Vietnamese to their parents. They sometimes put in the English word ... and to each other if they

are brother and sister at home there without their parents present or without the elderly people present, they're chatting in English. They're fighting in English, they're talking in English, you know, if something is a secret between them they're coming to English so their parents won't understand it ... and the children think that their parents might understand some English then they will talk about it slang.

As Raschka, Wei & Lee [[2002] discuss in relation to the Chinese community in Tyneside in northeast England, once a child's family dominated network is replaced by peer-oriented ones language use is also affected:

Social-group pressure from within these peer-oriented networks encourages accommodation and conformity to the group norms to the extent that the dominant peer language (English or a mixed code) increasingly becomes the preferred medium.

[Raschka, Wei & Lee, 2002, p 23]

Language emerges as a factor in the identities and roles played out in the family setting by both Irish-born children and children from the second group.

However, adults also codeswitch as Jane [F15] details:

Some words. If we can't explain in Vietnamese then we speak in English. Some words, if we can't explain or sometimes if you don't want anyone to listen then we speak in English.

Such codeswitching for purposes of secrecy mirrors Michael's [R13] evidence. It also indicates that there are varying levels of English-language competency in the home as well as several languages in use. The grandmother in Jane's [F15] home speaks Chinese and Vietnamese but no English. Jane [F15], however, speaks Vietnamese and English but no Chinese. In some homes there are Chinese dialects spoken by some but not all members of a family as in Judy's [F14] home. Judy

[F14] and her mother share a Chinese dialect not spoken by her husband who is a Cantonese speaker. Their children have some knowledge of both as well as English and Vietnamese. Languages are slipped into depending on family relationships, so that codeswitching does not simply occur with English

There is also evidence of language shift with the Irish-born children of the second group from conversations with their parents. Judy [F14] has noticed change within her own family now that one of her children has started school:

When she home with me, when she want something she say in English, not Vietnamese or Chinese either. She also said that when her daughter came home from school then she would continue to speak in English for a while.

English becomes part of the repertoire in the home and, from observation, pre-school children are exposed to some English from school-going siblings as in Judy’s [F14] family. The trend appears to be a shift to English-dominant bilingualism with Irish-born children, a finding consistent with Raschka, Wei & Lee, [2002] who note language shift emerging “within the span of three generations.” [Raschka, Wei & Lee, 2002, p14] in the Chinese community in Tyneside.

8.8 The fear: language loss

Code	Number of References
Language loss	21
Chinese language loss	3
Total	24

These two codes are contained in the conceptual framework of language and develop the analysis of the uneven relationship between host and ethnic communication competence during the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]. This relationship has long-term consequences for the family collective [Hofstede, 1980/2001]

Fears of language loss focus on family communication, including the link to the diaspora, as well as marrying out of the community [Stevens, 1992]. In Anne's [R1] case there is language loss in the first generation as her children, both Irish-born and Vietnam-born, have no interest in the heritage language. One of her children has married an Irish person so that Anne [R1] speaks English to her grandchildren. In contrast, from a home visit to Jane's [F15] family, comprising all three groups in the data, communication across the generations was broken:

she said that granny's grandson could not speak Vietnamese well "so we speak English to him – he's from England."

The grandmother, who speaks both Vietnamese and Cantonese but no English, is unable to communicate with her grandson. The sense of deep loss emerges from this discussion with Michael [R13] about marrying out of the community:

V: And your friends who've married Irish girls, obviously the children, they're not going to speak Vietnamese.

M: No. The children speak very, very little because the mother is very close to them and the father is talking to the mother in the English language so the children got lost.

Michael's statement is quite extraordinary as he speaks of the loss of children rather than the language. To construe his meaning as a reference to cultural loss is not fanciful in this context.

There is awareness of the process of language loss from evidence both at home and within the diaspora and a concern that families try to retain the heritage language.

Aisling [F18] mentions one of her father's American relatives:

one of his cousins in his late twenties, he just doesn't speak Vietnamese because he's been in America so long so when he speaks it's just funny.

Michael [R13] feels that it is a matter of parental responsibility to see that children speak the heritage language and Wendy [CRF] says the family is the custodian of its languages as well as its children:

W: They know both languages now. But that's [because] they're young. When they're in Irish school I think they change, they're not speak Cantonese very much at all.

V: So if you're not careful the language can disappear.

W: Yeah. So we have to look after.

Research from a Chinese American context [Luo & Wiseman, 2000] supports their views: parents exert a positive influence on heritage language maintenance.

However, family responsibility presupposes time whereas family-run businesses are time-consuming, also a finding in the Tyneside community [Raschka, Wei & Lee, 2002], and affect heritage language maintenance by Irish-born children:

Some people [who were] born in Ireland, they don't speak Vietnamese. Nobody teach[es] them, nobody talk[s] with them ...[The children] when

they back home, parent[s] work ...when they back home, very little time to speak together.

Linguistic and identity pressures experienced by children in the host society also affect heritage language maintenance. From a study of Jewish adolescent Russian immigrants in Israel, Kraemer et al [1995] discovered that these adolescents presented themselves as Israelis but felt Russian. These identity issues affected language with ambivalence to both Russian and Hebrew. Kraemer et al [1995] state that such adolescents “are trying to create a new sense of continuity and sameness ... at a time when there reality is discontinuity and difference,” [Kraemer et al, 1995, p159]. Language loss can create a search for an alternative heritage particularly when one is visibly different as Lo [1999] found with ‘Chazz’, a Chinese American raised by parents to speak English and assimilate. ‘Chazz’ learnt Korean and identified with Korean culture as a representation of his own lost heritage. Such examples display the pressures faced by individual family members during the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and the crucial role of language in this process of binding and destroying the collectivist family identity.

To conclude, Vietnamese adults from the second group are caught in a web of second language learning as part of acquiring host communication competence [Kim, 1988, 2001] and are aware of the cultural meanings carried in their own languages which are in danger of slipping away. Younger family members, either Irish-born or arriving from Vietnam or China, acquire host communication competence through relations with others in school. The combination of their

linguistic proficiency and potential cultural preferences compete with the linguistic inheritance in the home. This influences the emergence of shifting identities [discussed in chapter 9 of this thesis] and is consistent with research in France with Portuguese immigrants [Muñoz, 1991] and with Vietnamese communities in Australia [Barnes, 2001] and the USA [Young & Tran, 1999].

8.9 Two vulnerable groups: older members of the community

Code	Number of references
Isolation of elderly	10

This is a single issue code which highlights the effects of the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001] on the two vulnerable members of an acculturating group, the old and the young. This section focuses on the elderly who have a special position within the family collective [Hofstede, 1980,/2001].

Older members of the community, from both adult groups, face a linguistic barrier, which compounds their isolation and loneliness as Michael [R13] says:

the older ones feel very lonely, very sad and they have no English, imagine, they're just sitting there in their corner at home ... I can see that in my grandparents

Kim [1988, 2001] notes the important role of ethnic community support and ethnic mass communication. Su & Conaway [1995] state that the elderly have a keen interest in keeping up with news. Access to ethnic mass communication is different for Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese. Though there is online access to Vietnamese

news elderly Vietnamese speakers have no satellite television channel so that they are more isolated than Chinese speaking families who have access to satellite channels in both Cantonese and Mandarin. Wendy's [CRF17] retired father, for instance, finds refuge in Chinese television as other sources of everyday communication outside the family are closed to him.

Without some linguistic ability the elderly are unable to perform everyday tasks and are reliant on other family members and Lovell, Tran & Nguyen [1987] mention elderly women in the USA who have to depend on their children for "translation, transportation, health-care, financial support and ongoing interpretation of the new culture," [Lovell, Tran & Nguyen, 1987, p 321]. Certainly, from home visits I have encountered mothers and grandmothers who are illiterate in their first language - Chapter 5 discussed the traditional importance of virtue over education in women. The elderly are removed from everyday interests such as reading newspapers or going to a market daily to buy fruit and vegetables. Treas and Mazumdar [2002] also found such instances in immigrant families in the USA. However, they also found that the pressures of looking after other family members could be quite a taxing responsibility for some older family members. Their own social networks had diminished or were non-existent; the family clearly offers security, support and companionship but there is isolation from the world outside. There were also potential shifts in power and authority in the family when older members deferred to their children who managed their own lives in the new culture. Elders felt they had little to offer in the way of advice or felt that the type of collective closeness that

they knew was being undermined by new ways as family members adapted to their new culture [Kim, 1988, 2001]

Pham & Harris [2001], in their research on acculturation strategies among young Vietnamese-Americans, noted that as the elderly find it more difficult to adapt to American culture this can create friction within the family. There is a source of potential conflict regarding the elderly as both parents and elder family members remind the young of their duty to look after them in their old age. In the data, there is evidence of pressure with regard to marriage partners as Michael [R13] says:

They would prefer me to get a Vietnamese girl so that I can be looking after my parents when they get older because that's the way, you know.

However, the sense of family community remains when the heritage language is maintained. Then, elderly family members are not isolated as Dave's [F11] story of a young bilingual girl demonstrates:

Lovely with [the] old Vietnamese when they talk with her . . . [They are] very happy she can understand what they say.

With such issues in mind, Edward [F5] made arrangements for his mother to remain with family in Vietnam prior to leaving as part of family reunification .

8.9.i Adolescents, school and friendship from 1979 to the present

The following six codes relate to the host community and the effects of host community pressure [Kim, 1988, 2001] on the younger members of the community.

The data covers the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and highlights the host community's role in the process.

Code	Number of References
Education	22
Irish school environment	9
School/teachers	7
Educational opportunity	7
Sink or swim at school	8
Making school friends	6
Total	59

As the data has already revealed, school plays a major role in children's and adolescent's lives as it provides the setting for formal language learning and also for friendship outside the Vietnamese community. There is the potential for communication with Irish children and the creation of networks outside the family. With data stemming from 1979 to the present it is also possible to see how interaction with the host community has evolved for children from the first and second groups in the data.

Both Harry [R8] and Michael [R13] arrived in 1979 and Harry [R8] began his primary education in Ireland:

He never really went to primary school as he found it difficult to cope with.

The nature of the difficulty was no doubt complex as he was in a critical stage of identity formation being under ten years of age. However, another aspect is the reaction of the host community towards Harry [R8]:

Secondary school lasted for a week. The children crowded round him to look at the colour of his skin.

Rousseau, Drapeau & Corin [1997] state that both pre-migration and post-migration experiences affect refugee children and “how the child’s world is reconstituted in the host country,” [Rousseau, Drapeau & Corin, 1997, p 1115]. In this instance, naive curiosity on the part of his peers singles out Harry [R8] as being different and his peers have not been educated to encounter difference in a sensitive, more inclusive way. In research with Vietnamese children, Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin [1997] noted the positive effects of family “which enables the child to rediscover a haven of safety and security amidst the destruction of its environment,” [Rousseau, Drapeau and Corin, 1997, p 1116]. Indeed, Harry [R8] withdrew from school into the protection of the family.

Michael [R13] expresses similar reasons for finding school difficult:

First I got a very bad time because I couldn't communicate with the children there. I got a very strange look from the local kids. They thought that I might be an alien coming down from somewhere, you know. They looked at me. I feel very, very embarrassed, I feel very scared.

However, the situation was recovered at his school:

the teachers there, you know, have helped me through a lot of it by talking to the kids, do not look at me and treat me nicely and all that.

Consequently, he stayed in the system, unlike Harry [R8] who did not and who suffered the consequences as his education was delayed, and some of his consequent life chances lost. Michael [R13] also indicates all the confusion, fear and uncertainty surrounding communication in this new environment. The situation resolved itself through sport as he could play a Gaelic game which led to his acceptance.

Nguyen, Messé & Stollack [1999] find in their research with Vietnamese junior high and high school students in the USA that involvement with American culture clearly aided the adaptation process and schooling whereas involvement in Vietnamese culture was not so clear:

the family context may not be a helpful buffer to personal adjustment because it may not be very important or salient to adolescents at this stage in their development (when peers and school may take precedence),”

[Nguyen, Messé & Stollack, 1999, p25]

In effect, Nguyen, Messé & Stollack [1999] are implying that a choice has to be made at this stage of identity formation. Michael [R13] stayed in school but is confronted with conflicting cultural choices later [discussed in chapter 9].

There are two current secondary schoolchildren from the second group in the data, namely Aisling [F18] and John [F16] both of who also went to primary school in Ireland. Of the two, Aisling [F18] has found it easier to settle into secondary school though she hints at an undercurrent:

It was easy because everybody was nice ... well, not everybody, most people and they still are.

Aisling [F18] refers to ‘messers’ but she concludes that they have other problems apart from trying to create difficulties for her. John [F16], in contrast, found secondary school difficult:

You don't really talk to anyone until a few months in ... What got me to get to know people was sports.

His experience echoes that of Michael [R13] in this respect but this is insufficient to draw firm conclusions regarding gender issues at school apart from Aisling's [F18] socialising [see section 8.3.i].

It is, however, evident for both that school is a source of friendship and that John [F16] has found a set of friends for himself which also impacts on linguistic issues. He speaks English most of the time because:

I hang around with my friends and stuff like that..

He contrasts this with other members of his family who have Asian friends and whose language skills are not as good as his. Furthermore, school also provided some friends for Michael [R13], and Harry [R8] made friends in college so that there is clear evidence that these venues can provide the necessary environment for creating heterogeneous networks [Kim, 1986].

The school experience however, is still problematic as secondary schoolchildren drop out. In the data Aisling [F18] says her sister asked not to continue with school as did Jenny [F10]:

Jenny had found it difficult to cope and did not consider that teachers understood her needs. She gave up

John [F16] provides some insight when he says that his teachers do not expect much from him. Persisting with school is also difficult for him as no one is able to provide help with schoolwork as:

In my family no one goes to secondary school. All the subjects, that's up to me, I got no help at all.

This is a source of hidden loneliness for adolescents who inhabit two worlds, which are divided by language and culture and where support in the home cannot always extend to supporting the Irish education system. Parents have a linguistic dilemma, which becomes both linguistic and cultural, namely, having been educated within another cultural framework, which unfortunately does not transfer to the Irish context. Ann [R1] reveals how linguistic difficulty affected her and her children while they were at school: she was unable to help them with schoolwork and she also had literacy difficulties with English.

8.10 Conclusion: host communication competence, necessity and threat

Code	Number of References
Emerging host communication competence	21
Encounter with other culture/host culture contact	35
Total	56

These two codes relate to the emergence of host communication competence across the group during the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]. Host communication competence provides access to the host culture and has significant individual outcomes as well as an overall effect on the group.

Links with the host society do exist for the first two groups. Greg [R7] made a special friend while job-hunting in 1982, and still keeps in contact with the friend, who became a useful source of information. Such positive contact is reciprocated in Greg's [R7] attempts at communicating with people where he initiates the encounter

reflecting the role of predisposition in the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]. Kim [1988, 2001] states that depth of adaptability includes such factors as flexibility and open-mindedness. This openness is also echoed by Catriona [F3], the young nun who has encountered a positive reception:

I like to talk to Irish people. What Vietnam like. I told some Irish people about Vietnam.

She is not afraid to engage with the host culture and is ready to talk to anyone.

Such contact is vital not only for providing the input for the acquisition of host communication competence but also the resourcefulness in 'finding ways to accomplish personal and social goals,' [Kim, 2001, p 116]. Harry [R8] was 22 years old when he found out how to find a place for himself in his new country from a conversation with a visiting teacher of English. By this time he was linguistically proficient and says that his fluency is significant:

It opens a lot of doors for me.

This contrasts with Irene [F9] who says:

You need to have the English ... Don't understand ... don't know how to do

Linguistic barriers are cited for the distance that emerges between stranger and host. The school environment presents a setting for the acquisition of host communication competence. At his *second* attempt at education, Harry [R8] was able to access a careers guidance counsellor in order to find out about college options. He remarks on the complete absence of host communication competence as part of his life:

so strange not knowing what to do

In contrast, both Aisling [F18] and John [F16] have come to Ireland via family reunification and so are joining a group which has some competence in managing in the host society. In addition, the host society has introduced English language assistance at primary level so they have emerged with English language competence, which has provided the platform for friendship and increased contact. Firstly, John says that he has Irish friends unlike other members of his family:

They hang around with Asian people. I hang around with Irish people.

He has linguistic ability as well the communication competence of his age group. Both Aisling [F18] and John [F16] use linguistic expressions which show their greater level of contact with their Irish peers and convergence to their Irish peers [Gallois et al, 1988, 1995]. For instance, Aisling [F18] uses the expressions 'that's grand' and 'messers' which are found in Irish English and would only be known from frequent contact for its appropriate conversational use. John uses a speech style encompassing such phrases as 'hang around' which would be acquired from his peers in school.

To conclude, this chapter has examined the family network which stretches across the Vietnamese diaspora. Heterogeneous networks, demonstrating full integration into the host community did not emerge across the data for the first two groups of adults and children though school provides a point of access for their creation for children in all three groups, that is, including Irish-born children. Linguistic difficulties emerged regarding the formation of friendships mostly in the second group as well as having a negative impact on everyday activities. Simultaneously,

there were concerns by parents in the second group in the data surrounding home languages which act to bind the family particularly as the language of school threatens family languages and communication across the generations. There was evidence of language shift to English-dominant bilingualism and parents expressed concern about language loss. Finally, the specific cases of the old and the young were examined as linguistic issues have differing outcomes for these two groups. The elderly encounter isolation while the young, exposed to the dominant language and culture of the host society, are caught between the two worlds existing within and without the home.

The next chapter, chapter 9, is the final one of the data analysis and presents identity issues faced by individuals and emerging trends in the group as a whole.

CHAPTER 9

DATA 2: PRESENT AND FUTURE INDICATORS: CREATING IDENTITY

Identity is shaped not only by influences of the culture of childhood but also by contacts with new cultural elements, they also suggest that the identity of an individual is not an either/or state; rather it is a continuum or evolutionary process moving in the direction of fuller psychological integration and health.

Kim, Y Y, 2001, p 191

People look on me as Chinese but I feel like I'm Vietnamese and Irish ... Most people think I'm Chinese but they don't really know I'm from Vietnam. [John]

I'd teach them as much as I know about Vietnamese culture because I myself will eventually lose it. [Michael]

I don't know who am I. [Wendy]

Chapter outline

In this chapter, I present the findings regarding the formation of identities following contact with the new culture. These identities result from the process of cross-cultural adaptation where Kim [1988, 2001] predicts the formation of an intercultural identity that transcends the old one. Naturally, there is variation in identity outcomes as experiences of contact are different for each individual. For the Vietnamese in Ireland, the resulting identities fuse with strategies of culture maintenance that affect the long-term development of the family. Vietnamese core cultural values create security, conflict and compliance for individuals in the community. There is evidence of bicultural identities but not the particular type of intercultural transformation that Kim [2001] predicts, which transcends local links and transforms into a state of intercultural personhood. Finally, pressures from

within the family as well as the world of the host community influence the identities of some family members.

9.1 Identity: themes of belonging, but where?

Code	Number of References
Identity	18

Identity is the final main conceptual umbrella covering 30 codes and relates to individual identity outcomes as a result of the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] by members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. These are also linked to group strategies which form around the maintenance of the family collective [Hostede, 1980/2001] and are detailed in the discussions of this chapter.

Kim [2001] notes that intercultural transformation occurs via three strands: as an individual is able to carry out everyday activities, functional fitness emerges accompanied by an increase in psychological health as individuals move beyond feelings of loneliness, alienation and marginality. An enhancement of socio-economic status is reflected in functional fitness; Tran [1987] refers to both self-esteem and economic success in his model [discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis]. There is evidence of such positively linked outcomes in a study of Vietnamese-Americans by Pham and Harris [2001] and Rutledge's [1992] evaluation of 15 years of resettlement of Vietnamese communities in the USA. For Kim [1988, 2001] the

third strand of intercultural transformation is the emergence of an identity that encompasses more than one culture, a stressful process that is:

grounded in the situation of 'marginality' – the state in which a stranger is "poised in uncertainty between two or more social worlds" and characteristically experiences an acute sense of self-doubt, loneliness, isolation, hypersensitivity, and restlessness ... Although these psychological conflicts are an integral part of the process of intercultural identity development, the process moves beyond them. Just as cultural identity links a person to a specific culture, intercultural identity links a person to more than one culture.

[Kim, 2001, p 191]

New identities certainly emerge in the data and are inter-linked with strategies to retain the culture of origin, which Rutledge [1992] alludes to as being neither acculturation nor assimilation [p 146] but a particularly Vietnamese response involving "adaptation, resistance and retention" [Rutledge, 1992, p 145].

Pham & Harris [2001] consider that Berry's [1997] acculturation strategy of integration where own and host culture values are accepted leads to an individual being bicultural, that is, being able to manage both cultures. Yamada & Singelis [1999] also consider their definition of biculturality to fit with Berry's [1997] integration acculturation strategy. They include self-construal patterns in their research on biculturalism involving individuals drawn from four groups: bicultural, Western, traditional/collectivist and culturally alienated. They found that bicultural individuals had integrated both an independent self and an interdependent self. Clearly, from a theoretical perspective, there should be no difficulty with the emergence of some bicultural identities for the Vietnamese in Ireland.

In the data, the 18 coded references to identity reveal significant differences among the interviewees regarding the emergence of an intercultural or some other identity. There is one family where the children have embraced an Irish heritage, accompanied by the loss of the heritage language and identity. This result is assimilation rather than the intercultural identity that Kim [1988, 2001] proposes.. For others, language is inseparable from identity so that identity is framed in ethnolinguistic terms. At the same time, there are individuals who clearly feel bicultural and at ease within both cultures, like Harry [R8]. Others, like Edward [F5] remain closer to their culture of origin though they too have experienced change [Kim, 2001, p 191]. Parents also identify choices that their Irish-born children will confront and display a range of attitudes towards these choices though with an emphasis on bilingual and potentially bicultural children. There are also marginal [Kim, 2001] individuals while others experience conflicting demands and pressures from both the host society and within their families. Finally, there are implications for the host society: whether its citizens of Vietnamese or Chinese origin are considered to have an 'Irish' identity [Sheridan, 2004].

9.2 Bicultural identity: individual outcomes

The following six codes all relate to the main concept of identity and detail its various aspects and effects at an individual level during the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001].

Code	Number of References
Bicultural	18
Influence of new culture	10
Culture conflict	6
Vietnamese identity	2
Culture change	5
Cultural influence of education	4
Total	45

Barnes [2001], in a study of allegiances by Vietnamese who had spent between fifteen to twenty years in Australia, found four categories of individual: those who were glad to leave Vietnam and felt Australian; those who found the new culture difficult to cope with; those who felt bicultural and finally, those who were alienated or marginal [Kim, 2001]. Interestingly, Barnes [2001] also says:

To the extent that resettled refugees view themselves within a global context, self-definition that transcends both the country of origin and the country of resettlement, an additional resolution to the issue of social ‘belonging’ is also emerging.

[Barnes, 2001, p 399]

- Clearly, there is an emerging identity that can be defined as expressing intercultural transformation [Kim, 2001, p 196-7]. However, no such individuals emerged in the data though bicultural individuals are evident.

Pham & Harris [2001] found that 89% of the respondents in their study of Vietnamese-Americans considered it possible to be both Vietnamese and American. Furthermore, Pham & Harris [2001] found that individuals who managed their bicultural existence successfully were also ‘grounded’ or rooted through having stable social networks in both communities. In the data, four male individuals and

one female identify themselves as bicultural: Greg [R7] and Harry [R8], who arrived as a young child in 1979, and Dave [F11] and John [F16], both settling as young persons via family reunification. Harry [R8]:

felt independent and he mixed in both worlds.

Dave [F11] says:

Both my home ... When I came to Ireland ... feeling lonely. I have friend[s], I know well everything. I feel great now, it's good now. It's my second home.

They are clearly articulated examples of bicultural individuals and evidence of the positive aspect of the cross-cultural adaptation process that Kim [1988, 2001] stresses.

Dave [F11] and Harry [R8] stress the importance of both cultures in their lives so that the early assimilationist pressure from the host society encountered by Harry's [R8] initial group has not prevailed, a finding similar to Vietnamese communities in the USA [Rutledge, 1992]. Furthermore, Dave [F11], who has a keen interest in bilingualism, expresses a wish for his child to speak both English and Vietnamese, the heritage language, reflected in Lam & Martin's [1996] comments on the Vietnamese in Britain that "the Vietnamese do not want their cultural identity to be lost, particularly the mother tongue," [Lam & Martin, 1996, p 25].

Both John [F16] and Aisling [F18], the two young secondary schoolchildren can also be placed in a bicultural context and John [F16] says:

People look on me as Chinese but I feel like I'm Vietnamese and Irish

I know a good few Vietnamese people but don't really hang around with them ...I hang around with school friends.

Aisling [F18], in contrast, has no contact with school friends outside school and prefers to be like her mother. When asked if she had felt conflicting demands between her home and school lives she said:

I don't know. As I don't really go out with friends after school they wouldn't really have that much influence over me.

She does have other significant experiences through school:

I've been to France, Paris, once with my school! The trip was fun because it was with my friends and with the school so we got to see monuments!

Such experiences combine with behaviour appropriate to her gender as a young Vietnamese girl [see chapter 8 of this thesis for discussion] so that she appears to manage her two cultures well. Both Aisling [F18] and John [F16] are 'grounded' in networks in both communities [Pham & Harris, 2001] with a subtle distinction in the networks reflecting a gender dimension.

9.3 Being Chinese, being marginal

Code	Number of References
Chinese identity	9
Chinese identity strength	2
Total	11

Chinese identity is compounded for individuals as it relates to ethnicity and Vietnam as the place of birth [see chapter 4 of this thesis for discussion] or China as the first

country of resettlement or place of birth. Judy [F14] has a Chinese heritage background and she learnt to speak Cantonese when she came to Ireland:

I'm Vietnamese, I haven't got [didn't have] any Cantonese. That's my family group. It's easy catching Cantonese.

She is Vietnamese and Chinese but her ethnicity emerges as stronger than place of birth. She also indicates that her sense of being Vietnamese is weaker than the new dimension being added to her identity:

I feel Irish more than Vietnamese.

She has Irish-born children, her husband is from China and she considers that:

the children were Irish but her husband remained Chinese.

Within the family rootedness emerges in different contexts so that the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] affects families in complex ways.

Wendy [CRF17], having grown up in China, provides evidence for the strength of her Chinese identity from her education in China:

I was learning a lot of Chinese culture. You know China is powerful, they have a long history. I am Chinese.

However, Wendy reveals a marginal [Kim, 2001] identity because of her ethnicity:

We are very difficult: in Vietnam they say we are Chinese and in China they say we are Vietnamese. I don't know who am I

She also faces marginality [Kim, 2001] in an Irish context:

Now in here they say we are Chinese but we have an Irish passport.

In contrast to Judy [F14], Chinese ethnicity is a troubling experience for Wendy [CRF17]. The host environment affects such developments raising questions related

to citizenship and belonging [Malkki, 1995, Barnes, 2001], which are discussed in the following section.

9.4 Being Irish? Being Vietnamese?

Code	Number of References
Citizenship	5
Marginality	8
Racism	5
Vietnamese identity	2
Identity Irish	6
Home	4
Total	30

These 6 codes relate to host receptivity, [Kim, 1988, 2001] and its resulting effects on identity.

Barnes [2001] notes that citizenship theory makes a distinction between *formal* citizenship and *substantive* citizenship. Formal citizenship refers to the process of naturalisation, which culminates in the right to hold the passport of the country of residence. Substantive citizenship “concerns the full spectrum of lived experience in the country of residence” [Barnes, 2001, p 395]; substantial citizenship means participating equally in areas of society such as work, welfare systems and cultural relations. Refugees may feel that their country of resettlement is home but social exclusion can create difficulty in publicly stating such a sentiment. Because of social exclusion, “refugees themselves may reduce their efforts to participate as fully as possible in the country of settlement” [Barnes, 2001, p 396]. There is a link

between “external experiences and internal constructions” [Barnes, 2001, p 396], which consequently shape responses to the social environment.

Irish-born individuals, even those who arrived very young, can have a troubled relationship with Irish identity and with where they belong as Edward’s [[F5] interview revealed:

such Vietnamese felt 70% Irish and 30% Vietnamese as they had been educated in Ireland. However, they were not happy because they looked Vietnamese and so were not considered to be Irish.

Clearly, the relationships that Barnes [2001] sets out resonate with Edward’s [F5] statement so that ethnicity in the Irish context creates a form of marginality [Kim, 2001] for some Vietnamese. Jane [F15] echoes the perception that Irish people have a restricted sense of identity and citizenship:

I don't think that Irish people think I am Irish, only Asian.

She links it to remarks about her physical appearance so that in her opinion Irish identity is linked to race. The *quality* of her encounters with the host [Barnes, 2001] has created the basis for this opinion.

There are five references to racism, which, on first impression, appears not to be overly significant. However, direct references to racism are not usual and most comments were made outside the interview frame in the setting of general friendly relationships. There were remarks about neighbours who did not like Vietnamese for example and the disturbing fact of human excrement left symbolically by a family’s front door. Another concrete example was the smashed rear car window

belonging to a family member which was remarked on following a house visit. It had been an act of local vandalism. McGovern [1994] reported acts of vandalism, racism in school and MacGréil's [1977/80] research demonstrated a high level of social distance with regard to Asians [see chapter 5 of this thesis for discussion].

Bourhis et al [1997] note that some members of a population will always exhibit racist tendencies. However, one Irish person [private communication] in contact with Vietnamese over many years said that racism dated from their initial arrival into the local community. Though unpleasant to consider, and act on, by a member of the host community it is even more unpleasant to endure and its unpleasantness has clear effects as Jane's [F15] comment reveals. She feels:

Vietnamese. Always.

Barnes [2001] notes that racism has a "profound impact" [p 406] on self-esteem and withdrawal from the host society. Host conformity pressure [Kim, 1988, 2001] pushes individuals towards assimilation but racism rejects them. As Rutledge [1992] indicates, the Vietnamese resist assimilationary pressure and find their own solution to the problems of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] and this forms the basis of the following sections.

9.5 Endogamy: marriage within the cultural group

The following 5 sets of codes relate to conflict that arises during the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] as the collectivist family [Hofstede, 1980/2001] strives to maintain its collective identity in the host society.

Code	Number of References
Pressure or conflict	14
Marriage migrants	9
Marriage	9
Choice of marriage partner	5
Not individual but collective harmony	3
Total	40

Both Berry [1997] and Bourhis et al [1997] note that endogamy, marriage within a cultural group, is a solution for cultural maintenance. Knudsen [1991] states that it is also a way of coping with the stressful nature of the new culture:

the refugees have experienced how their relations to compatriots remain of the utmost importance for social and emotional survival. As indicated, the principal modes of identification are based upon positions from home ... Thus the hierarchical model of society continues to be decisive in their choice of partners. In order to reduce the stress, they search for individuals who can provide positive feedback on personal identities.

[Knudsen, 1991, p 34]

Marrying within the Vietnamese cultural group perpetuates the cultural form of the Vietnamese family in Ireland; it also maintains the heritage language [Stevens, 1992, 1999], the transmitter of cultural values across the generations in the family. Endogamy appears as a vital factor in the identity of the group over the course of its long-term adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] in Ireland.

In addition, there is the duty to perpetuate the family in Vietnamese culture, achieved traditionally through marriage. The culture of origin demonstrates this:

marriage is nearly universal in Vietnam –by age 50 only 3.3 percent of the population claim never to have been married ... this division defines youth as broadly equivalent with the unmarried.

[Gammeltoft, 2002, p 492]

At the same time certain aspects of culture change and there is reference to dating practices among a younger generation in contemporary Vietnam [Gammeltoft, 2002] where notions of propriety have changed across the generations:

... it is generally held that in 'traditional "Vietnamese" culture sex before marriage is a rare occurrence which would be severely sanctioned if revealed ... in contemporary Vietnamese cities young people's intimate encounters are difficult to overlook. City parks and lake shores are crowded with enamoured young couples in tight embraces, and "Honda dream" motorbikes have become important vehicles for more than just transportation.

[Gammeltoft, 2002, p 487]

Such easing of dating practices is echoed in Irish culture [Tovey & Share, 2000/2003] and is encountered by both the Irish-born and younger members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. This is in contrast to the values held by the older generation in Ireland and the family duties that bind them. Some conflict emerges in the data with both marriage and identity; there is a clear relationship with both in terms of maintenance of the collective in the face of host culture pressure during the cross-cultural adaptation process [Kim, 1988, 2001].

9.5.i Everyone gets married: following tradition?

There is a large body of research on intergenerational conflict concerning values, which cannot be fully explored in this thesis. However, it is evident that conflict arises not only for intergenerational reasons [Phinney, Ong & Madden, 2000] but also for gender [Rosenthal Ranieri & Klimidis, 1996] and strength of ethnic identity [Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992]. All of these coincide when young people from both the first and second groups of Vietnamese and Irish-born young people are ready for

marriage. Certainly, as a young person growing up in Ireland, John [F16] has seen choices made in his own family and hints at potential rebellion:

That's nothing to do with my family! There's no pressure ... I'll marry whoever I love not who my sister says ... I'm not going to marry who my ma says and ruin my life.

Personal conflict surrounds Michael [R13] in the choice of a marriage partner. The older generation would prefer Michael [R13] to marry a Vietnamese girl rather than an Irish girl:

the older generation, they might object to that. They are not racist but because of the culture, the way they want to teach me. So that I can be looking after my parents when they get older because that's the way, you know.

He can please himself as an individual [Hofstede, 1980/2001] or please everyone else and preserve the family collective with its tradition of looking after its elderly members. An Irish girl would not necessarily accept such cultural constraints and Michael [R13] feels:

it's my conflict, between. I'm caught in the middle. It's senseless. It's hard.

He considers that he would make his own choice. Nevertheless, the depth of his conflict illustrates the sense of 'betweenness' that Kim [2001, p 191] refers to.

Wendy [CRF17] also desires a degree of autonomy in choosing her own partner:

50 years ago, 40 years ago you can't choose, now it's changed ... 2,000 years ... why I can't change ... I have grown up.

However, Wendy claims choice *within* and not outside the boundaries of her culture, a finding echoed by Kibria [1990] in research on gender and Vietnamese families in

the USA. Even when Wendy [CRF17] was attracted to a young Irishman at work she desisted from pursuing a potential relationship as her parents would not have approved:

We are Chinese people, they're always thinking of family, if sometimes you want to do something different you can't do you know.

Furthermore, she has the possibility of going on holiday with a male friend:

just a man friend. If I want to go on holiday with him I can't because in China that's not allowed [laughter] they will say something bad about you.

Wendy [CRF17] confirms the strength of Chinese cultural values, does not follow an individualist [Hofstede, 1980/2001] path in her actions and remains Chinese.

9.5.ii Everyone gets married: marrying out?

Corresponding to the data on the restrictions in female socialisation [see chapter 8 for discussion], there is evidence that in the small Vietnamese community in Ireland young men in general have a greater possibility of meeting and dating Irish girls:

there's not much Vietnamese girls around anyway, and most of the Vietnamese girls will be kept at home by their parents and they're not allowed to go out so late at night so they haven't really a chance to meet each other.

There are, consequently, greater possibilities for them to marry out of the community and Jane [F15] says that "many men [are] marrying Irish girls." However, she also states that within the community they are a small but evidently, significant number. In contrast, young women's socialising patterns provide them

with different choices. Aisling [F18] describes the type of socialising that she is comfortable in:

I'm like my mother. I don't like to go out to other people's houses. Just to my relatives and that's it.

Potentially, apart from school, there are greater restrictions on young women in terms of encountering a marriage partner, as practice in Ireland is stricter than in the culture of origin to some extent. Finding a suitable marriage partner is also difficult given the size of the community, a fact that Aisling [F18] has already noted for her own prospects.

Marrying out of the community or finding a partner from other diaspora Vietnamese communities carry their own set of consequences. There can be parental disapproval for marrying out but there is usually acceptance and Wendy [CRF17] provides the example of a relative with mitigating circumstances:

My cousin's married an Irish boy. She got one children.

She's a different case because she was living here for 22 years ... and she's like Irish now. That's different completely.

In contrast, Aisling [F18] says:

My dad said he doesn't mind if it's Vietnamese or Irish. My mam would like me to marry someone Vietnamese more but she wouldn't mind. If it's Vietnamese she'd know how to talk to him.

However, she feels there are differences between marrying someone from Vietnam instead of the diaspora communities

Jane [F15] considers that a marriage partner from Vietnam could be a mistake for children who have grown up in Ireland:

if they grow up here we don't have to tell them to go to Vietnam to get married. It [is a different] life here to Vietnam. They grow up here [so] they [are]like Irish people ...

Jane [F16] also feels that the choice of a marriage partner involves hopes for children that migrant Vietnamese adults may not have realised for themselves as they work and lay the foundations for the upward mobility of the next generation. These foundations are achieved through the influence of Vietnamese culture [Portes & MacLeod, 1996, Bankston, III, & Zhou, 1995], which acts as a shield against some of the detrimental aspects of the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001].

9.6 Two cultures? Cultural maintenance

Code	Number of References
Maintenance of Vietnamese culture	20
Vietnamese culture	17
Buddhist	10
Total	47

From home visits, there is evidence that Buddhism is a continuing feature of family life as there are shrines present in family homes, a practice continued by other Southeast Asian refugees in the USA [Canda & Phaobtong, 1992]. The particular form of Vietnamese veneration for ancestors is also evident with altars embracing photos of dead family members amid white flowers. However, such visible

differences in practice regarding spiritual life can be exoticised and there are other subtler forms of cultural maintenance observed in homes: for instance, in some homes gardens are cultivated with herbs and vegetables that are the type grown back 'home' and cuisine is predominantly Vietnamese or Chinese with some Irish additions. The most important outward display of culture, the New Year is observed in the home and the community has often celebrated this occasion together. Michael [R13], however, remarks on it within a framework of loss:

in here it's a small group and we are eventually lost that kind of thing we do, but still anyway we still keep that, the greatest day of all our culture.

Clearly, such overt forms of cultural practice will either endure or be changed by the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001] in the future.

In all the homes visited, there were connections to Vietnamese or Chinese popular culture via satellite television, video and audiotapes so that ethnic mass communication [Kim, 1988, 2001] was a source of support. Interestingly, some Vietnamese-American pop videos were produced with lyrics subtitled in Vietnamese and watched by parents and children as such videos were a route to literacy for Irish-born children who spoke the dominant language of the home. Irish-born children also require access to cultural material in written and oral form, from learning songs to being told fairytales and folktales drawn from Vietnamese or Chinese culture.

Parents do intend to pass on their culture as Aisling [F18], a member of the second group, says:

they want me to know about the lifestyle in Vietnam so I won't forget.

Irish-born children also need to learn about their own backgrounds, to hear their own family narratives:

Maybe we have to tell them why we live over here. We [have] to tell them the story of why we came to Ireland ... maybe that. Maybe tell them about the history, the government, to make them understand, if when they grow up they're interested in knowing about Vietnam.

At present, there is the possibility of narrating such a story in Vietnamese, a Chinese dialect and English.

9.7 Conclusion: views from the stranger

Code	Number of References
Evaluation of the host society	10
Ireland as home	6
Return to Vietnam	9
Racism	5
Ireland better	23
Total	53

These codes relate to changes in host receptivity [Kim, 1988, 2001] and outcomes from the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001].

The impressions of Irish society formed by its new citizens range from Ireland's economic transformation and the consequent rise in the numbers of immigrants, to the feeling that Irish society has become a more hostile environment. Frank [F6] considers that there has been a change in attitude towards outsiders:

Easy before. Now more difficult. Irish say have too many refugees.

He also mentions the racial element:

They don't want blacks. Sometimes they hate them.

This perception of hostility towards strangers, who, as Simmel [1921/1969] says come today and stay tomorrow, is also present in Harry's [R8] perspective. Harry [R8] has grown up in Ireland and comments that there is:

Always a prejudice somewhere ... You have to prove [yourself] twice, you have to work twice as hard.

This raises the question of an Irish identity that includes all citizens [Sheridan, 2004] particularly when demographic and cultural change is already evident [Census 2002].

Wendy [CRF17] has lived here for several years and is an Irish citizen but she says:

I know nothing about Ireland because, you know, in here we are need ... working really hard and difficult to find out something different to do.

Wendy's situation reveals that, as Eagleton [1999] says, it is difficult to penetrate Irish society and as Barnes [2001] states individuals can abandon their efforts. Linguistic difficulty also manifests itself as Jane [F15] discusses how it continues to act as a barrier to action even after initial 'strangenesses' have been overcome:

But the language, if you want to do business you have to know the language, you have to know the law. If you want to live in this country you have to know everything, the history and the law.

However, Jane [F15], like others, reflects the view that it is possible to create a livelihood in Ireland despite the difficulties and there was no desire to return to Vietnam apart from visiting relatives.

Contact remains with family back in Vietnam and China though Ireland was viewed as home; this was expressed in terms of the family as well as personal achievement. Harry [R8], provides a different perspective and considered that home was:

wherever you aren't

which is the only such reference in the data. His bicultural identity appears less sure in terms of the 'groundedness' of a bicultural identity Pham & Harris [2001]. In addition, there were varying responses to returning to Vietnam to visit. Anne [R1], a widow, again emerges as consistently different: she had never returned for a visit as she had never had the financial resources to do so. In contrast, Greg [R7] returns regularly and maintains family ties.

9.7.i Loss, assimilation, resistance: new forms of cultural identity

Code	Number of References
Cultural loss	8
Cultural change	5
Home culture change	12
Total	25

Contact with the host culture has resulted in complex individual outcomes [Anderson, 1994] emerging from the process of cross-cultural adaptation [Kim, 1988, 2001]. One of Berry's [1997] acculturation outcomes is assimilation exemplified by Anne [R1]. She celebrates Christmas but not Chinese New Year, has

improved her English because of her English-speaking grandchild, so *bending* with her family. Michael [R13] says of young people growing up in Ireland:

If they adapt into the Irish life then they will have fun at school. Then they will continue. If those who are more sided to their Asian culture and parents, a little, you know, a bit less, they can go out looking for a job but their job will be labourer, no qualified

Clearly, assimilationary pressure exists; linked to lack of success in school, it should be a cause for concern with more immigrant children currently passing through the Irish educational system [Keogh & Whyte, 2003].

Biculturalism, evident in the group as a whole, is considered a healthy outcome. [Pham & Harris, 2001]. The Vietnamese in Ireland also maintain a separate identity so that cultural convergence [Kincaid, 1988] has not occurred in the face of the core values that Michael [R13] outlines:

honour the elderly people, respect their parents and remember the most important cultural days like the Moon festival, the Vietnamese New Year and some other Vietnamese cultural celebrations.

Core values confirm the family collective for both Vietnamese and Chinese cultures [Hyun, 2001, Sung, 2001].

In addition, intermarriage [Parsonson, 1987] affects host and stranger creating Irish-Vietnamese and Irish-Chinese identities; Michael [R13] says:

some of my friends marry Irish, Irish women and have kids and all that.

Hopefully, such identities find representation and validation in Irish society. From a long-term perspective, Michael [R13] considers that young Vietnamese will:

lost their culture and they kind of, you know, mixed with the Irish people.

There is contradiction, resistance and optimism [Rutledge, 1992] as Judy [F14] says:

I know they [Vietnamese boys], they going out with Irish girl ... The baby stay with the [Vietnamese] family so speak Vietnamese at home!

There are future implications for both host and stranger concerning the identities resulting from the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation of the Vietnamese community in Ireland [Kim, 2001; Berry 1997; Bourhis et al 1997].

9.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have shown why there is variation in identity outcomes during the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Individual identity outcomes are most influenced by age of arrival into the host culture as well as family relations. Families also devise strategies to protect core values, namely, the family collective which links to the ancestors of the past and to future family members who take care of the elders. Consequently, for elders endogamy protects the cultural heritage transmitted through the common language that spans the generations in the home. The resulting quest and choice of marriage partners also creates problems and change as marriage migrants may be lonely, or families see children move into the diaspora communities to find marriage partners.

Internal conflict arises for some individuals where competing values pull towards incompatible courses of action. Other individuals find solutions to problems in

terms of their own culture so that there is mutual bending to preserve family harmony including one example where a single, widowed parent bends towards her new Irish family. Indeed, where children pursue unpopular choices such as marrying out of the community their choice is usually accepted, particularly when they are Irish-born or have grown up in Ireland. Finally, positive bicultural identities also emerge, grounded in networks that link both cultures. The transformation of identity results from a process of inter-related factors, which intersect with linguistic and cultural issues during the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: STRANGER AND HOST

Cross-cultural adaptation is viewed in terms of its multidimensional structure, in which social and individual facets of adaptation are treated as layers that interact with one another in complex ways.

[Kim, Y Y, 2001, p 38]

First time come to Ireland ... different to now. 1979 Ireland little bit poor. Road... Now big change ... new roads... big building ... Ireland better now

[Greg]

Our willingness to undergo personal transformations is in no way an expression of denial of our original cultural identity

[Kim, Y Y, 2001, p 226]

Chapter outline

In this final chapter, I summarise the main findings where three inter-related identifiable strands: language, culture and identity have played a definitive role in the cross-cultural adaptation process of the Vietnamese in Ireland. This thesis traces the long-term nature of this process where the three main strands overlap and interlock with aspects of gender, age and economic adaptation in the new country. I compare the findings for similarities and differences with international studies that include long-term perspectives, to a context similar to the Irish one and make a comparison with another group in Ireland. These comparisons confirm the findings of this thesis and raise questions for further research into aspects of cross-cultural adaptation and research in the Irish context. Finally, I make recommendations for further research stemming from the findings of this thesis and provide a summary which also refers to the limitations of this thesis.

10.1 Introduction: cross-cultural transformation

This unique and timely thesis has examined the long-term cross-cultural adaptation process of 18 members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland ranging from their arrival in 1979 to the present so that the adaptation process spans more than twenty years. It is the first Irish study to examine the long term cross-cultural adaptation process of the Vietnamese from a communication perspective. This study is timely as it makes a major contribution to the body of knowledge on cross-cultural adaptation in the Irish context as Irish society undergoes rapid change [Census 2000]. The combination of a globalised economy and migration into Ireland has created a need for greater levels of intercultural understanding and awareness of the complex long-term transformations that both host and newcomer experience which this thesis has revealed.

10.2 The family: transformation and resistance

This thesis finds that despite over twenty years of residence in Ireland, Vietnamese identity is rooted in the family, whose own identity stems from past ancestors and will continue into the future as family members marry and perpetuate the family group. Consequently, the finding in this thesis of resistance to the new host culture through endogamy is understandable particularly when the family achieves economic transformation through collective effort and supports upward mobility of younger family members by investing in their education. At the same time, the

findings of this study reveal how family cohesion is clearly threatened by the language of the host culture in the Irish context. The strategy of resistance that the family employs is to delay exposure to English by Irish-born children and maintain the dominant language of the home, which binds the generations.

10.3 Transforming identity: the outcomes

Kim's [1988, 2001] prediction of transformation has found evidence of change in the present-day identities of individual Vietnamese members across the three groups identified in this thesis of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. However, the resulting individual transformations remain grounded in the culture of origin as well as adopting aspects of the host society. Young and Irish-born family members find themselves in greater contact with the host culture and live between two worlds, in effect serving as a bridge between the family and the host society. Individuals within this group of Vietnamese in Ireland state that they have integrated these two worlds and have emerged with bicultural identities despite evidence of host culture conformity pressure. Such bicultural identities are rooted in both culture of origin and the new host culture and can certainly be defined as intercultural identity [Kim, 2001] as it is:

an identity that is increasingly richer in content and more complex in structure. The singular identity of a stranger shaped and conditioned by the original cultural milieu, along with the singular identification with and loyalty to that group, is expanded beyond the perimeters of the original cultural conditioning.

[Kim, 2001, p 191]

Paradoxically, it is the rooted nature of such identities which appear as crucial for their formation; the stressful nature of adaptation is eased through the support of both cultures, which LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton [1993] call 'groundedness' in their assessment of bicultural identity.

In this thesis, findings show that individuals struggling with three cultures appear to have difficulty in resolving identity issues, so that the cultural and ethnic mix of Vietnamese, Chinese and Irish have not fused. As this thesis is qualitative, it may be that not enough people were included in the interviews or that such identities may take longer to resolve with a positive outcome. However, it is interesting that one individual is now an EU marriage migrant and having arrived in Ireland from Vietnam and adjusted to life in Ireland is resisting undergoing the same process in another EU country. Clearly, further research is required in this area of the cross-cultural adaptation process. Indeed, Sparrow [2000] calls for a deeper exploration into the development of such identities and includes 'groundedness', gender and ethnicity as affecting the process of identity creation across cultures, and all three factors emerge in the findings of this thesis.

10.4 Long-term cross-cultural adaptation: comparisons

Despite a vast body of research on Vietnamese refugees, there are few long-term studies or studies that consider the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation, so that this thesis makes a major contribution to such a long-term perspective. In a ten-

year quantitative study in Canada on language acquisition, unemployment and depression, Beiser & Hou [2001] note the key role of language in the adaptation process once refugees are resettled. This is also a finding which occupies a large part of this thesis. In their study, 8% percent of refugees do not learn the host society language and remain isolated from mainstream society, including women, those with low levels of education and the elderly, who also emerge as isolated in this thesis.

In a qualitative study of Vietnamese refugees who had lived in Australia for fifteen to twenty years, Barnes [2001] reviewed narratives by the Vietnamese, rooted in their homeland and the camps and followed by their experiences of resettlement in Australia. She found that personal goals were education, employment, supporting the family either through remittances or family reunification, marriage and children. Findings relating to these themes also emerge in the data of this thesis. Barnes [2001] found three main factors affected Vietnamese refugees' new lives in Australia: racism, language barriers and family reunification policies. They all occur in the findings of this thesis with a particular emphasis on language. Barnes [2001] warns against the consequences of resettlement countries not promoting full social inclusion as refugees can then withdraw from their emotional commitment to and engagement with the host society. There is evidence for this in the data with clear implications for policy makers in the host society [Bourhis et al, 1997].

In contrast to long-term studies, Liebkind's [1996] findings concerning Vietnamese refugees in Finland, a relatively monocultural society [Liebkind, 1996, p 161], are of particular interest as they provide a useful direct comparison with Ireland. There are several points of comparison with Irish society, as Vietnamese refugees were dispersed in Finland, are also ethnically heterogeneous and form a very small group of 2,500 individuals encountering host conformity pressure in Finnish society. Liebkind [1996] found identity conflicts in families and concluded that integration [Berry, 1997] appeared to be the best acculturation outcome with a "balanced positive orientation toward both cultures simultaneously," [Liebkind, 1996, p 177], a finding strongly supported in this thesis.

Finally, the findings in this thesis come close to Reynolds' [1993] assessment of the Italian community in Ireland originating from Casalattico, and self-employed in family businesses in catering:

The fact that the vast majority of catering businesses owned by *casalatticesi* are family-run has encouraged the perpetuation of the inward-looking family unit, an attitude which extends to the community as a whole. There are strong economic and social pressures within the community for *casalatticesi* to marry other *casalatticesi*. The nature and hours of their job mean that socialization with the native population is minimal. The fact that such a high proportion of the Italian community in Ireland is from Casalattico and its almost universal involvement in the catering trade are powerful factors in creating close bonds within the community, leading it in some ways to live out an autonomous existence within Irish society.

[Reynolds, 1993, p 175]

Though there are some differences between the above cited Italian group and the Vietnamese group in this thesis, their situation, by virtue of self-employment, is almost identical. Both have drawn on the collectivist family to achieve success in

their new environment. This finding demonstrates the strength of collectivism and presents a powerful reason for its perpetuation as this thesis has revealed.

10.5 Long-term cross-cultural adaptation: research recommendations

This original study also raises a number of key research considerations arising from the findings of this thesis. The development of identity during the process of cross-cultural adaptation presents particular challenges and is clearly a vital area of future research. This thesis has already indicated how links that stretch from the homeland, the country of resettlement to the diaspora, all contribute to the shaping of identities discussed in chapter 9 of this thesis. There is a continuing need for such research in the Irish context particularly with the emergence of new immigrant communities in Ireland.

Approaches to the phenomenon of both asylum seekers and migrants who have come to Ireland to work in its expanding economy has been ad hoc in a rapidly changing scene. At various specific instances such as the introduction of direct provision for asylum research has been commissioned by NGOs to address issues from the introduction a particular measure or with an issue of concern. Such research, of which one example is Fanning, Veale & O'Connor [2001] into the effects of social inclusion on the children of asylum seekers have consistently produced clear policy recommendations with regard to the specific issue investigated. This thesis does not provide single-issue recommendations as policy

changes continue on an ad hoc basis to produce sudden shifts of emphasis in the area of migration and asylum.

This thesis can, however, make three initial recommendations stemming from the research findings: Firstly, the process of cross-cultural adaptation is clearly long-term and as a consequence requires long-term planning rather than ad hoc reactive measures. A clear example is Lam's [2000] account of the long-term perspective taken by the Chinese government as it accepted approximately a quarter of a million refugees of ethnic Chinese origin. This coincided with the end of the Cultural Revolution when people were exhorted to 'tighten their belts' literally [private communication]. The measures taken by Chinese officials were from a long-term perspective which aimed to integrate the refugees into Chinese society, to create communities where skills were transferable and devise and implement measures which gave people employment.

Secondly, researchers with cultural groups need to be informed of intercultural communication and that both culture and communication will affect accepted standard methodological procedures which have been created from within a particular cultural perspective. The unfolding of policy decisions with regard to the group of Vietnamese refugees who arrived in 1979 and their effects invite a retrospective analysis from an intercultural perspective. Such analysis is useful training for researchers in intercultural awareness. Finally, such training could also

be extended to all institutions and officials of the state. Communication difficulties were highlighted by both Baneham [1999] and O'Regan [1998]

In addition, this thesis has revealed the relationship between collectivism and entrepreneurship in an Irish context and comparisons can be made across the various groups that have settled in Ireland. Finally, language issues have emerged from this thesis, which clearly merit substantial future research from a variety of perspectives.

10.6 Chapter summary

This thesis presents a unique qualitative study on the cross-cultural adaptation process by focusing on 18 narratives created from interviews with members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. Being the first study of its kind in Ireland naturally produces limitations, notably the impact of using the host culture language for the interviews: communication is a problem for some members of this community so that at times some issues could either not be clarified it would also have been useful to interview older Irish-born children. However, this is balanced by the depth of this study where my own experiences provided privileged access to people's stories. The discussion of racism where culture impinges on both the Irish and Vietnamese frames of reference can create problems for a minority community that does not draw attention to itself. It is difficult to know how far to broach the topic of racism from the perspective of 'doing no harm'. However, this is clearly a limitation in this thesis.

This thesis has used Kim's [1988, 2001] theoretical perspective to investigate the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation via the stories of members of the Vietnamese community in Ireland. By focusing on the stories of a group which has refugee status and over twenty years of settlement in their host society, Kim's [1988, 2001] process model has demonstrated how culture is central to the process of cross-cultural adaptation and that over time the relationship with the culture of origin changes in specific ways. A grounded theory approach to data analysis across the stories reveals the changing nature of the relationship with the culture of origin and that of the host society. It also draws out aspects of the adaptation process across the group which are affected by universal factors such as age and culture-specific issues which arise during the adaptation process such as gender where there are differences that impact on socialising norms.. Individual examples drawn from the narratives are used to give a personal voice to experiences within all four chapters of the data analysis.

Detailed analysis of the process of cross-cultural adaptation is broken down into chapter 6-9 of this thesis where chapter 6 reveal how the initial rupture from the culture of origin leaves individuals attempting to cope with the change in their circumstances within the known cultural frames of reference. In a new environment the refugees had to address varying levels of shock within the uncertain and controlled modes of existence in refugee camps. On transfer to Ireland the initial interaction between the host culture and the initial group of 212 Vietnamese refugees centred in the resettlement process. This initial stage had deep and lasting effects on

the group as a whole. Chapter 7 details how families mobilised their resources, based in a combination of a collectivist culture and the capital of the family to engage in entrepreneurship and create long-term survival in the establishment of take-aways and restaurants simultaneously serving the host community and remaining separate from it. At the same time families also worked to repair the past through family reunification and invested in the education of the younger generation which begins a new set of relationships to both culture of origin and the host culture. Chapter 8 reveals how individuals who arrive via family reunification face challenges which are similar to the first group, namely learning the host language and that the natural element of separation from the host society because of self-employment reinforces language difficulties. Both host and Vietnamese cultural norms with regard to socialising are highlighted as it has an effect on gender with differences in Vietnamese culture between male and female socialising.. Finally, with the lapse of time and with children engaging with the host culture through school culture becomes a central concern but this time the focus is on the preservation of culture as it is seen to slip away. by means of passing on the heritage language and endogamy discussed in chapter 9.

The process of cross-cultural adaptation is also traced in individual identities. Kim [1988, 2001] states that change within an individual occurs with or without volition and a series of identities emerge ranging from successfully rooted bicultural identities to those where identity is more problematic and unresolved. In this regard Kim's [1988, 2001] model demonstrates its value and predictive power as it allows

for such a range of identity outcomes including a lack of resolution so that no particular label can satisfactorily define an individual in his or her own terms. This also applies to the community itself, composed of a heterogeneous group of people reflecting the diversity that existed within Vietnamese society which is documented in chapter 4. Just as the Vietnamese government has attempted to repair the catastrophe that it created by fostering division so too there are individuals for whom such politically-motivated generation of hatred is a thing of the past. For others, suffering engendered by such past events does not give such forgiveness. In this regard, this thesis has suggested in chapter 6 that the Vietnamese are *potentially* an ethnic group. However, as this total collective approach has not fully emerged it is premature to call people as such when they do not all refer to themselves in these terms and where, from a theoretical perspective., Kim's [1988, 2001] theory also leaves room not to do so.

This comprehensive study of the Vietnamese in this thesis focusing on the process of adaptation advances knowledge in the Irish context of the long-term settlement of different cultural groups and the individuals in those groups. It also shows that the Vietnamese are a heterogeneous group, which the word 'refugee' can hide. This has implications for a host community which, as this thesis showed, focus on the stranger from within their own cultural perspective which does not even include intragroup difference. In the experience of cross-cultural adaptation process this study reveals the pain and difficulty of the process, which is captured in the existential loneliness that people experience as shared meanings and the landscapes

in which they occurred have disappeared. However, this study shows that there was no desire by individuals to go back and resettle in the country of origin. Loneliness does indeed lead to satisfaction even though that satisfaction still contains uncertainties and doubts and the unresolved threads of identity surrounding individual lives. From this perspective this thesis also contributes to knowledge of refugee acculturation, migration and the development of new communities from an intercultural perspective.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, P [1975] – The transitional experience: an alternative view of culture shock, *Journal of Humanistic psychology*, vol 15, no 4, p 13-23P
- Anderson, B [1983/1991] – *Imagined communities, reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London, Verso
- Anderson, L [1994] – a new look at an old construct: cross-cultural adaptation, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 18, no 3, p 293-328
- Asante, M, Newmark, E & Blake, C [eds], [1979] – *Handbook of intercultural communication*, Beverley Hills, Sage
- Babiker, I et al [1980] – The measurement of cultural distance and its relation to medical consultations, symptomatology and examination performance of overseas students at Edinburgh University, *Social Psychiatry*, no 15, p 109-116
- Bach, R & Carroll-Seguin, R [1986] – Labor force participation, household composition and sponsorship among Southeast Asian refugees, *International Migration Review*, vol 20, no 2, p 381-404
- Baker, C [1996/1997] – *Foundations of bilingual educations and bilingualism*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters
- Baker, R [1990] – The refugee experience: communication and stress, recollections of a refugee survivor, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 3, no 1, p 64-71
- Baneham, B [1999] – *Waiting for Ho: a study of family separation in the Vietnamese community*, Dublin, University College Dublin, unpublished MA thesis
- Bankston, III, C & Zhou, M [1995] – Effects of minority-language literacy on the academic achievement of Vietnamese youths in New Orleans, *Sociology of Education*, vol 68, no 1, p 1-17
- Barnes, D [2001] – Resettled refugees attachment to their original and subsequent homelands: long-term Vietnamese refugees in Australia, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 14, no 4, p 394-411
- Barry, C [1998] – Choosing qualitative data analysis software: Atlas/ti. and Nudist compared, *Sociological Research Online*, vol 3, no 3, 15 pages,
HYPERLINK "<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>"
<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>
[Accessed: 16 January 2002]

Basso, K, H [1972] – To give up on words: silence in Western Apache culture, in Giglioli, P [ed], [1972] – *Language and social context*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p 67-86

Beiser, M & Hou, F [2001] – Language acquisition, unemployment and depressive disorder among Southeast Asian refugees: a ten-year study, *Social Science and Medicine*, vol 53, no 10, 1321-1334

Berger, C [1979] – beyond initial interaction: understanding, and the development of interpersonal relationships, in Giles, H & St Clair, R [eds], [1979] – *Language and social psychology*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, p 122-144

Bennett, J, M [1977/1998] – Transition shock: putting culture shock in perspective, in Bennett, M, J [ed], [1998] – *Basic concepts of intercultural communication*, Yarmouth, Maine, Intercultural Press, p 215-223

Bennett, M, J [1986/1993] – Towards ethnorelativism: a developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, in Paige, R [ed], [1993] – *Education for the intercultural experience*, Yarmouth, Maine, Intercultural Press, p 137-167

Bennett, M, J [ed], [1998] – *Basic concepts of intercultural communication*, Yarmouth, Maine, Intercultural Press, p 215-223

Berry, J [1970] – Marginality, stress and ethnic identification in an acculturated aboriginal community, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 1, no 3, p 239-252

Berry, J [1979] – Research in multicultural societies, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 10, no 4, p 415-434

Berry, J [1980] – Introduction to methodology, in Triandis, H & Berry, J [eds], [1980] – *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, volume 2 methodology*, London, Allyn & Bacon, p 1-28

Berry, J [1997] – Immigration, acculturation and adaptation, *Applied psychology: an international review*, vol 46, no 1, p 5-34

Berry, J, et al [1987] – Comparative studies of acculturative stress, *International Migration Review*, vol 21, no 3, p 491-511

Berry, J et al [2002] – *Cross-cultural psychology, research and applications*, Cambridge University Press

Berry, J, Kim, U & Boski, P [1988] – Psychological acculturation of immigrants, Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W [eds], [1988] – *Cross-cultural adaptation, current approaches*, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, p 62-8

Berry, J, Segall, M & Kagitçibasi, C [eds], [1980/1997] - *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*, volume 3 social behavior and applications, Boston, Allyn & Bacon

Bertalanffy, L [1956] – General system theory, in Bertalanffy, L & Rapaport, A [eds], [1956] – *General systems, yearbook of the society for general systems research*, vol 1, p 1-10

Bertalanffy, L & Rapaport, A [eds], [1956] – *General systems, yearbook of the society for general systems research*, volume 1

Bertaux, D & Kohli, M [1984] – the life story approach: a continental view, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol 10, p 215-237

Blackman, B I [1983] - Toward a grounded theory, in Gudykunst, WB (ed), [1983] – *Intercultural communication theory, current perspectives*, California, Sage, p 283-291

Blalock, H [1984] – Contextual-effects models: theoretical and methodological issues, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol 10, p 353-372

Blount, B, [ed], [1974] - *Language, culture and society: a book of readings*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Winthrop Publishers, p 224-249

Blum, S [1997] – Naming practices and the power of words in China, *Language in Society*, vol 26, no 3, p 357-379

Bochner, A [1994] – Theories and stories, in Knapp, M & Miller, G [eds], [1994] – *Handbook of interpersonal communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, p 21-41

Bochner, S [ed], [1982] - *Cultures in contact*, Oxford, Pergamon

Bochner, S [1994] – Cross-cultural differences in the self-concept, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 10, no 2, p 221-230

Bochner, S [2000] – The majority experience: an international commentary, in MacLachlan, M & O'Connell [eds], [2000] – *Cultivating pluralism, psychological, social and cultural perspectives on a changing Ireland*, Dublin, Oak Tree Press, p 219-239

Boldt, E [1978] – Structural tightness and cross-cultural research, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 25, no 2, p 273-283

Boldt, E, & Roberts, L [1979] – Structural tightness and social conformity, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 10, no 2, p 221-230

- Bonacich, E [1973] – A theory of middleman minorities, *American Sociological Review*, vol 38, no 5, p 583-594
- Bond, M [1987] – Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 18, no 4, p 143-164
- Bond, M [ed], [1996] – *The handbook of Chinese psychology*, New York, Oxford University Press
- Bourdieu, P [1986] – The forms of capital, in Richardson, J [ed] – *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood press, p 241-258
- Bourhis, et al [1997] – Towards an interactive acculturation model: a social psychology approach, *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, p 369-386
- Brein, M & David, K [1971] – Intercultural communication and the adjustment of the stranger, *Psychological Bulletin*, vol 76, no 3, p 215-230
- Brennan, M [1994] – Developing an educational support service at primary level for children of Bosnian and Vietnamese refugees in the greater Dublin area: November 1992-June 1994, in *Intercultural Education – Irish perspectives, May 11-14 1994, Conference Proceedings*, Drumcondra, the Teacher's Centre, p 80-91
- Breton, R [1964] – Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 70, p 193-205
- Brislin, R, Bochner, S & Lonner, W [1975] – *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning*, Sage Publications
- Brown, P & Levinson, S [1978] – Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena, in Goody, E [ed], [1978] – *Questions and politeness*, Cambridge University Press, p 56-289
- Bun, C & Christie, K [1995] – Past, present and future: the Indochinese experience twenty years later, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 8, no 1, p 75-94
- Casrnir, F [1999] – Foundations for the study of intercultural communication based on a third-culture building model, *International Journal of Intercultural relations*, vol 23, no 1, p 91-116
- Census 2002 – 2002 Census results
http://www.cso.ie/census/pdr_comment.htm
 [Accessed: 25/06/03]

Chan, K [1991] – Refugee camps as human artefacts, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 4, no 3, p 284-290

Chan, K and Loveridge, D [1987] – Refugees in 'transit': Vietnamese in a refugee camp in Hong Kong, *International Migration Review*, vol 21, no 3, p 745-759

Chan, K and Christie, K [1995] – Past, present and future: the Indochinese refugee experience twenty years later, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 8, no 1, p 75-94

Charmaz, K [2000] – Grounded theory, objectivist and constructivist methods, in Denzin, N, K and Lincoln, Y S [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, p 509-535

Christians, C [2000] – Ethics and politics in qualitative research, in Denzin, N K & Lincoln, Y S [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, p 133-155

Church, A [1982] – Sojourner adjustment, *Psychological Bulletin*, vol 91, no 3, p 540-572

Coffey, A, Holbrook, B & Atkinson, P [1996] – Qualitative data analysis: technologies and representations, *Sociological Research Online*, vol 1, no 1, 14 pages,

HYPERLINK "<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>"

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>

[Accessed: 16 January 2002]

Collier & Thomas [1988] – Cultural identity, an interpretive perspective, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W B [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 99-120

Confucius [1979] – *The analects*, Penguin Books

Connor, W [1969] – Ethnology and the peace of South Asia, *World politics*, vol 22, issue 1, p 51-86

Coupland, N & Jaworski, A [1997], [eds] – *Sociolinguistics, a reader and coursebook*, Basingstoke, Palgrave

Cross, S [1995] – Self-construals, coping, and stress in cross-cultural adaptation, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 26, no 6, p 673-697

Dabène, L & Moore, D [1995] – Bilingual speech of migrant people, in Milroy, L & Muysken, P [eds], [1995] – *One speaker, two languages*, Cambridge University Press, p 18-44

D'Anglejan, A, Painchaud, G and Renaud, C [1986] – Beyond the language classroom: a study of communicative abilities in adult immigrants following intensive instruction, *Tesol Quarterly*, vol 20, no 2, p 185-205

Dean, M [1983] – Some sociolinguistic implications of Vietnamese learning English in Ireland, in MacMathuna, L & Singleton, D (eds), [1983] – *Language across cultures, proceedings of a symposium held at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, 8-9 July 1983*, Dublin, Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, p71-82

Delgado-Gaitan, C [1993] – Researching change and changing the researcher, *Harvard Educational Review*, vol 63, no 4, p 389-411

Denzin, N & Lincoln, Y [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications

Desbarats, J [1986] – Ethnic differences in adaptation: Sino-Vietnamese refugees in the United States, *International Migration Review*, vol 20, no 2, p 405-427

Dhaliwal, S [1998] – Silent contributors: Asian female entrepreneurs and women in business, *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol 21, no 5, p 463-474

Dinh, K, Sarason, B & Sarason, I [1994] – Parent-child relationships in Vietnamese immigrant families, *Journal of Family Psychology*, vol 8, no 4, p 471-488

Dorian, N [1999] Linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork, in Fishman, J [ed] [1999] – *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, New York, Oxford University Press, p 25-41

Duncan, W [1994] – Law and the Irish psyche: the conflict between aspiration and experience, *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, vol 15, 2 & 3, p 448-455

Eades, D [1996] – Communicative strategies in Aboriginal English, in Maybin, J & Mercer, N [1996/2001] – *Using English, from conversation to canon*, London, Routledge/Open University, p 28-41

Eagleton, T [1999] – *The truth about the Irish*, Dublin, New Island Books

Eisenbruch, M [1990] – The cultural bereavement interview: a new clinical research approach for refugees, *Psychiatric clinics of North America*, vol 13, no 4, p 715-735

Eisenbruch, M [1991] – from post-traumatic stress disorder to cultural bereavement: diagnosis of Southeast Asian refugees, *Social Science Medicine*, vol 33, no 6, p 673-680

Elliott, D [1999] – *The sacred willow, four generations in the life of a Vietnamese family*, New York, Oxford University Press

- Evans, M [1989] - Immigrant entrepreneurship: effects of ethnic market size and isolated labour pool, *American Sociological Review*, vol 54, no 6, p 950-962
- Fanning, B [2002] – *Racism and social change in the Republic of Ireland*, Manchester University Press
- Fanning, Veale & O'Connor [2001] – *Beyond the pale: asylum-seeking children and social exclusion in Ireland*, Dublin, Irish Refugee Council
- Fanning, B, Loyal, S & Staunton, C [2000] – *Asylum seekers and the right to work in Ireland*, Dublin, Combat Poverty Agency
- Feather, N [1975] – *Values in education and society*, New York, The free press
- Fine, M et al [2000] – For whom? Qualitative research, representations, and social responsibilities, in Denzin, N K & Lincoln, Y S [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 107-131
- Fishman, J [1997] – Language, ethnicity and racism, in Coupland, N & Jaworski, A [1997], [eds] – *Sociolinguistics, a reader and coursebook*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, p 329-340
- Fishman, J [1999] – Sociolinguistics, in Fishman, J [1999], [ed] – *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, Oxford University Press, p 152-163
- Fishman, J [ed] [1999] – *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, New York, Oxford University Press
- Fogarty, M, Ryan, L & Lee, J [1984] – *Irish values and attitudes: the Irish report of the European value systems study*, Dublin, Dominican Publications
- Foner, N [1997] – The immigrant family: cultural legacies and cultural change, *International Migration Review*, vol 31, no 4, p 961-974
- Fontana, A & Frey, J [2000] – The interview: from structured questions to negotiated text, in Denzin, N K & Lincoln, Y S [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 645-672
- Furnham, A [1988] – The adjustment of sojourners, in Kim, Y, Y & Gudykunst, W [eds], [1988] – *Cross-cultural adaptation: current approaches*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 42-61
- Furnham, A & Bochner, S [1982]- Social difficulty in a foreign culture: an empirical analysis of culture shock, in Bochner, S [ed], [1982] – *Cultures in contact*, Oxford, Pergamon, p 161-198

Furnham, A & Bochner, S [1986] – *Culture shock: psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments*, London, Routledge

Gallois et al [1988] – communication accommodation in intercultural encounters, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, p 157-185

Gallois et al [1995] – Accommodating intercultural encounters, elaborations and extensions, in Wiseman, R [ed], [1995] – *Intercultural communication theory*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 115-147

Gammeltoft, T [2002] – Seeking trust and transcendence: sexual risk-taking among Vietnamese youth, *Social Science and Medicine*, no 55, p 483-496

Geertz [1973/1993] – *The Interpretation of cultures*, selected essays, London, Fontana Press

Geertz, C [1979] – From the native's point of view: on the nature of anthropological understanding, in Rabinow, P & Sullivan, W, M [eds], [1979] – *Interpretive social science: a reader*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p 225-241

Georgas et al [1997] – The relationship of family bonds to family structure and function across cultures, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol 28, no 3, p 303-320

Giglioli, P [ed], [1972] – *Language and social context*, Harmondsworth, Penguin

Giles, H [ed], [1977] – *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, London, Academic Press

Giles, H, Bourhis, R & Taylor, D [1977] – Toward a theory of language in ethnic group relations, in Giles, H [ed], [1977] – *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, London, Academic Press, p 307-348

Giles, H & Johnson, P [1987] – Ethnolinguistic identity theory: a social psychological approach to language maintenance, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 68, p 69-99

Giles, H & St Clair, R [eds], [1979] – *Language and social psychology*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell

Gill, P [1994] – Island psyche: fieldnotes from an Irish island, *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, vol 15, 2 & 3, p 276-287

Gillespie, N, Yam, P & Gadd, D [1999] – *A brighter future: a needs audit and social profile survey of the Chinese and Vietnamese communities in the Greater Craigavon and Banbridge areas*, Belfast, Chinese Welfare Association

Glaser, B [1967] – *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research*, New York, Altine de Grayter

Godley, M [1980] – A summer cruise to nowhere: China and the Vietnamese Chinese in perspective, *The Australian Journal of Chinese affairs*, vol 0, no 4, p 35-59

Goffman, E [1974] – On facework: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction, in Blount, B, [ed], [1974] - *Language, culture and society: a book of readings*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Winthrop Publishers, p 224-249

Gold, S [1989] – Differential adjustment among new immigrant family members, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol 17, no 4, p 408-434

Gold, S [1992] – *Refugee communities*, Newbury Park, Sage

Gold, S & Kibria, N [1993] – Vietnamese refugees and blocked mobility, *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal*, vol 2, no 1, p 27-56

Goldberger, N & Veroff, J [1995] – *The culture and psychology reader*, New York, New York University Press

Goldstone, K [2000] – “Rewriting you”: researching and writing about ethnic minorities, in MacLachlan, M & O’Connell [2000] – *Cultivating pluralism, psychological, social and cultural perspectives on a changing Ireland*, Dublin, Oak Tree Press, p 305-315

Goody, E [ed], [1978] – *Questions and politeness*, Cambridge University Press

Granovetter, M [1973] – The strength of weak ties, *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol 78, no 6, p 1360-1380

Gray, B [2000] – Gendering the Irish diaspora: questions of enrichment, hybridization and return, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol 23, no 2, p 167-185

Greene, S [1994] – Growing up Irish: development in context, *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, vol 15, 2 & 3, p 354-371

Gudykunst, W [1983] – Toward a typology of stranger-host relationships, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 7, no 4, p 401-413

Gudykunst, W [ed], [1983] – *Intercultural communication theory, current perspectives*, California, Sage

Gudykunst, W [ed], [1986] – *Intergroup communication*, Edward Arnold

Gudykunst, W B & Hammer, M, R [1988] – Strangers and hosts: an uncertainty reduction based theory of intercultural adaptation, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W B [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 106-139

Gudykunst, W [2001] – *Asian American ethnicity and communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications

Gudykunst, W [2002] – Intercultural communication theories, in Gudykunst, W & Mody, B [eds], [2002] – *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 183-205

Gudykunst & Bond [1997] – Intergroup relations across cultures in Berry, J, Segall, M & Kagitçibasi, C [eds], [1980/1997] - *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, volume 3 social behavior and applications*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, p 119-161

Gudykunst, W et al [1996] – The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self-construals, and individual values on communication styles across cultures, *Human Communication Research*, vol 22, no 4, p 510-543

Gudykunst, W & Kim, Y Y [1997] – *Communicating with strangers*, McGraw Hill

Gudykunst, W & Mody, B [eds], [2002] – *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications

Gudykunst, W & Ting-Toomey, S [1996] - Communication in personal relationships across cultures, in Gudykunst, W Ting-Toomey, S & Nishida, T [eds], [1996] – *Communication in personal relationships across cultures*, Thousand Oaks, Sage publications, p 3-15

Gudykunst, W Ting-Toomey, S & Nishida, T [eds], [1996] – *Communication in personal relationships across cultures*, Thousand Oaks, Sage publications

Guerin, P [2002] – *Opportunity knocks? Refugees, asylum seekers and work in Ireland*, Dublin, Association of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Ireland

Gullahorn, J, T & Gullahorn, J, E [1963] – An extension of the U-Curve hypothesis, *Journal in Social Issues*, vol 19, no 3, p 33-47

- Guthrie, G [1975] – A behavioral analysis of culture learning, in Brislin, R, Bochner, S & Lonner, W [1975] – *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning*, Sage Publications, p 95-115
- Hagan, J [1998] – Social networks, gender, and immigrant incorporation: resources and constraints, *American Sociological Review*, vol 63, no 1, p 55-67
- Haines, D [ed], [1989] - *Refugees as immigrants, Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese in America*, New Jersey, Rowman and Littlefield, p 86-104
- Haines, D [1991] – Southeast Asian refugees in Western Europe, *Migration World*, vol XIX, no 4, p 15-18
- Haines, D, Rutherford, D & Thomas, P [1981] – Family and community among Vietnamese refugees, *International Migration Review*, vol 15, p 310-319
- Hall, E, [1973/1990] – *The silent language*, New York, Anchor Books
- Hall, E [1976/1989] – *Beyond Culture*, New York, Anchor Books
- Hall, E & Whyte, W [1966] – Intercultural communication: a guide to men of action, in Smith, A [ed], [1966] – *Communication and culture, readings in the codes of human interaction*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p 566-576
- Hammer, M & Rogan, R [2002] – Latino and Indochinese interpretive frames in negotiating conflict with law enforcement: a focus group analysis, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 26, p 551-575
- Harrell Bond, B and Voutira, E [1992] – Anthropology and the study of refugees, *Anthropology Today*, vol 8, no 4, p 6-10
- Haughton, J & Haughton, D [1995] – Son preference in Vietnam, *Studies in Family Planning*, vol 26, issue 6, p 325-337
- Hawthorne, L [1982] – *Refugee: the Vietnamese experience*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Hein, J [1993] – Refugees, immigrants and the state, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol 19, p 43-59
- Herman, S & Schild, E [1961] – The stranger-group in a cross-cultural situation, *Sociometry*, vol 24, no 2, p 165-176
- Hilbert, R [1990] – Ethnomethodology and the micro-macro order, *American Sociological Review*, vol 55, no 6, p 794-808

- Hirschman, C & Loi, V, M [1996] – Family and household structure in Vietnam: some glimpses from a recent survey, *Pacific Affairs*, vol 69, issue 2, p 229-246
- Ho, D [1976] – On the concept of face, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 81, issue 4, p 867-884
- Ho, D [1996] – Filial piety and its psychological consequences, in Bond, M [ed], [1996] – *The handbook of Chinese psychology*, New York, Oxford University Press, p 155-165
- Hoa, L [1992] – *From East to West*, London, Friends of Croydon English Language Scheme
- Hofstede, G [1980/2001] – *Cultures consequences*, Thousand Oaks, Sage publications
- Hofstede, G [1991] – *Cultures and organizations*, London, Harper Collins Business
- Hofstede, G & Bond, M [1984] – Hofstede's cultural dimensions: an independent validation using Rokeach's value survey, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 15, no 4, p 417-433
- Holmes & Rahe [1967] – *Life changes scale stress test*
<http://www.covenanthealth.com>
- Holstein, J and Gubrium, J [1995] – *The active interview*, Thousand Oaks, Sage,
- Holstein, J & Gubrium, J [1997] – Active interviewing, in Silverman, D [ed], [1997] – *Qualitative research, theory, method and practice*, London, Sage, p 113-129
- Houses of the Oireachtas – *Parliamentary debates, official report 1919-2002*
<http://www.oireachtas-debates.gov.ie>
- Hulsen, M de Bot, K & Weltens, B [2002] – Between two worlds, Social networks, language shift, and language processing in three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 153, p 27-52
- Humphreys, C [1951/78] – *Buddhism*, Penguin Books
- Hutton, C [1998] – From pre-modern to modern: ethnic classification by language and the case of the Ngai/Nung of Vietnam, *Language and Communication*, no 18, p 125-132
- Hyun, K. [2001] - Sociocultural change and traditional values: Confucian values among Koreans and Korean Americans, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 25, no 2, p. 203-229.

Johnson-Weiner, K, M [1998] – Community identity and language change in North American Anabaptist communities, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2/3, p 375-394

Jones, S [1979] – Integrating etic and emic approaches in the study of intercultural communication, in Asante, M, Newmark, E & Blake, C [eds], [1979] – *Handbook of intercultural communication*, Beverley Hills, Sage, p 57-74

Josselson, R & Lieblich, A [eds], [1993] – *The narrative study of lives*, Newbury Park, Sage

Kağıtçıbaşı, C [1997a] – Individualism and collectivism, in Berry, J, Segall, M & Kağıtçıbaşı, C [eds], [1980/1997] - *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, volume 3 social behavior and applications*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, p 2-49

Kağıtçıbaşı, C [1997b] – Whither multiculturalism?, *Applied Psychology: an international review*, vol 46, no 1, p 44-49

Kashima, Y et al [1995] – Culture, gender, and self: a perspective from individualism-collectivism research, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol 69, no 5, p 925-937

Keesing, R [1974] – Theories of culture, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, no 3, p 73-97

Kelle, U [1997] – Theory building in qualitative research and computer programs for the management of textual data, *Sociological Research Online*, vol 2 no 2, 15 pages
HYPERLINK "<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>"
<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>
[Accessed: 16 January 2002]

Keogh, A & Whyte, J [2003] – *Getting on, the experiences and aspirations of immigrant students in second level schools linked to the Trinity Access programmes*, Dublin, Children's Research Centre

Kibria, N [1990] – Power, patriarchy, and gender conflict in the Vietnamese immigrant community, *Gender & Society*, vol 4, no 1, p 9-24

Kibria, N [1994] – Household structure and family ideologies: the dynamics of immigrant economic adaptation among Vietnamese refugees, *Social Problems*, vol 41, no 1, p 81-96

Kim, M S [1995] – Toward a theory of conversational constraints, in Wiseman, R [ed], [1995] – *Intercultural communication theory*, Thousands Oaks, Sage, p 148-169

Kim, M S, Sharkey, W, Singelis, T [1994] – The relationship between individuals' self-construals and perceived importance of interactive constraints, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 26, p 633-652

Kim, Y Y [1977] – Communication patterns of foreign immigrants in the process of acculturation, *Human communication research*, no 4, p 66-77

Kim, Y Y [1978] – A communication approach to the acculturation process: a study of Korean immigrants in Chicago, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 2, no 2, p 197-223

Kim Y Y [1986] – Understanding the social structure of intergroup communication: a personal network approach, in Gudykunst, W [ed], [1986] – *Intergroup communication*, Edward Arnold, p 86-95

Kim, Y Y [1988] – *Communication and cross-cultural adaptation: an integrative theory*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters

Kim, Y Y [1989] – Personal, social and economic adaptation: 1975-1979 arrivals in Illinois, in Haines, D [ed], [1989] - *Refugees as immigrants, Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese in America*, New Jersey, Rowman and Littlefield, p 86-104

Kim, Y Y [1991] – Intercultural communication competence: a systems theoretic view, in Ting-Toomey, S & Korzeny F [eds], [1991] – *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 259-275

Kim, Y Y [1996] – Adapting to a new culture, in Samovar, L & Porter, R [eds], [1996] – *Intercultural communication, a reader*, Belmont, Wadsworth Publishing, p 404-417

Kim, Y Y [1999] – Unum and Pluribus: ideological underpinnings of interethnic communication in the United States, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 23, no 4, p 591-611

Kim, Y Y [2001] – *Becoming intercultural*, Thousand Oaks, Sage publications

Kim, Y Y [2002] – Adapting to an unfamiliar culture, an interdisciplinary overview, in Gudykunst, W & Mody, B [eds], [2002] – *Handbook of international and intercultural communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 259-273

Kim, Y, Y & Gudykunst, W [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage

Kim, Y Y & Ruben, B D [1988] – Intercultural transformation: a systems theory, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W B [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 299-321

Kincaid [1988] – The convergence theory and intercultural communication, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W B [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 280-298

Kluckhohn, C and others [1951/1962] – Values and value-orientations in the theory of action, in Parsons, T & Shils, E [eds], [1951/1962] – *Toward a general theory of action*, New York, Harper & Row, p 388-433

Kluckhohn, C [1962] – Universal categories of culture, in Tax, S [ed], [1962] – *Anthropology today*, London, University of Chicago Press, p 304-320

Kluckhohn, F & Strodtbeck, F [1961/1973] – *Variations in value orientations*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood press

Knapp, M & Miller, G [eds], [1994] – *Handbook of interpersonal communication*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications

Knudsen, J [1991] – therapeutic strategies and strategies for refugee coping, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 4, no 1, p 21-38

Kouritzin, S, G [2000] – A mother's tongue, *Tesol Quarterly*, vol 34, no 2, p 311-324

Kraemer, R et al [1995] – A study of Jewish adolescent Russian immigrants to Israel: language and identity, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 116, p 153-159

Kunz, E [1973] – The refugee in flight: kinetic models and forms of displacement, *International Migration Review*, vol 7, p 125-146

Kunz, E [1981] – Exile and resettlement: refugee theory, *International Migration Review*, vol 15, no 1, p 42-51

LaFromboise, T, Coleman, H & Gerton, J [1993] – Psychological impact of biculturalism, evidence and theory, *Psychological Bulletin*, vol 114, no 3, p 395-412

Lam, T [2000] – The exodus of Hoa refugees from Vietnam and their settlement in Guanxi: China's refugee settlement strategies, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol 13, no 4, p 374-390

Lam, T & Martin, C [1996] – What's schooling for? The Vietnamese in the British educational system, *Refugee Participation Network*, no 21, p 23-25

Landis, D & Bhagat, R [eds], [1996] – *Handbook of intercultural training*, Thousand Oaks, Sage

Lao Tzu [1963] – *Tao te ching*, Penguin Books

Lee, M et al [2002] – Chinese migrant women and families in Britain, *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol 25, no 6, p 607-618

Lee, R & Fielding, N [1996] – Qualitative data analysis: representations of a technology: a comment on Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson, *Sociological Research Online*, vol 1 no 4, 6 pages

HYPERLINK "<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>"

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/4.html>

[Accessed: 16 January 2002]

Lentin, R [ed], [1998] – *The expanding nation: towards a multi-ethnic Ireland, proceedings of a conference held in Trinity College, Dublin, Department of Sociology*, Trinity College, Dublin

Levine, D [1977] – Simmel at a distance: on the history and systematics of the sociology of the stranger, *Sociological Focus*, vol 10, no 1, p 15-29

Levine, R & Campbell, D [1972] – *Ethnocentrism: theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes and group behaviour*, New York, Wiley

Li, D [1997] – Borrowed identity: signalling involvement with a Western name, *Journal of Pragmatics*, no 28, p 489-513

Library of Congress: *area handbook for Vietnam*

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/vntoc.html>

[accessed 24 April 2003]

Lieblich, A [1993] – Natasha, 21: new immigrant from Russia to Israel, in Josselson, R & Lieblich, A [eds], [1993] – *The narrative study of lives*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 92 – 129

Liebkind, K [1996] – Acculturation and stress, Vietnamese refugees in Finland, *Journal of Cross-cultural psychology*, vol 27, no 2, p 161-180

Liebkind, K [1999] – Social psychology, in Fishman, J [1999], [ed] – *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, Oxford University Press, p 140-151

Lincoln, Y & Guba, E [1985] – *Naturalistic inquiry*, Beverley Hills, Sage Publications

Lipset, S [1963] – the value patterns of democracy: a case study in comparative analysis, *American Sociological Review*, vol 28. no 4, p 515-531

- Liska, A [1990] – the significance of aggregate dependent variables and contextual independent variables for linking macro and micro theories, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol 53, no 4, p 292-301
- Lo, A [1999] – Codeswitching, speech community membership and the construction of ethnic identity, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, no 3/4, p 461-479
- Lovell, M, Tran, T & Nguyen, C [1987] – Refugee women: lives in transition, *International social work*, vol 30, p 317-25
- Luo, S-H & Wiseman, R [2000] – Ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, no 24, p 307-324
- Luong, H [1989] – Vietnamese kinship: structural principles and the socialist transformation in Northern Vietnam, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 48, no 4, p 741-56
- Lysgaard, S [1955] – Adjustment in a foreign society, *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol 7, p 45-51
- Mac Éinrí, P [2000] – *States of becoming: is there a "here" here and a "there" there? Some reflections on home, away, displacement and identity*, 9 pages
<http://migration.ucc.ie/statesofbecoming.htm>
 [accessed 8 April 2003]
- Mac Éinrí, P [2002] – *Cultural identity and political transformation*, The Irish Association annual conference, 11-12 October, 2002, 6 pages
<http://migration.ucc.ie/merrimanrev.htm>
 [accessed 8 April 2003]
- Mac Gréil, M [1977/80] – *Prejudice and tolerance in Ireland*, New York, Praeger
- MacLachlan, M & O'Connell [eds], [2000] – *Cultivating pluralism, psychological, social and cultural perspectives on a changing Ireland*, Dublin, Oak Tree Press, p 219-239
- MacMathuna, L & Singleton, D (eds), [1983] – *Language across cultures, proceedings of a symposium held at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, 8-9 July 1983*, Dublin, Irish Association for Applied Linguistics
- Mak et al [1999]- Optimising conditions for learning sociocultural competencies for success, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 23, no 1, p 77-90

- Malikiosi-Loizos, M & Anderson, L [1999] – accessible friendships, inclusive friendships, reciprocated friendships as related to social and emotional loneliness in Greece and the USA, *European Psychologist*, vol 4, no 3, p 165-178
- Malkki [1995] – Refugees and exile: from “refugee studies” to the national order of things, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol 24, p 495-523
- Markus & Kitayama [1991] – Culture and the self: implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation, *Psychological review*, vol 98, no 2, p 224-253
- Matsuoka, J [1990] – Differential acculturation among Vietnamese refugees, *Social Work*, vol 35, no 4, p 341-345
- McGovern, F [1993] – The education of a linguistic and cultural minority: Vietnamese children in Irish schools 1979-1989, *Irish Educational Studies*, vol 12, p 92-105
- McGregor, G and Li, W [1991] – Chinese or English? Language choice amongst Chinese students in Newcastle upon Tyne, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol 12, no 6, p 493-509
- McKay S, L and Weinstein-Shr G [1993] – English literacy in the US: national policies, personal consequences, *Tesol Quarterly*, vol 27, no 3, p 399-419
- Mamali, C [1996] – Interpersonal communication in totalitarian societies, in Gudykunst, W B, Ting-Toomey, S & Nishida, T [eds], [1996] – *Communication in personal relationships across cultures*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 217-234
- Maybin, J & Mercer, N [1996/2001] – *Using English, from conversation to canon*, London, Routledge/Open University
- Miller, R [2000] – *Researching life stories and family histories*, London, Sage Publications Ltd
- Miller, J & Glassner, B [1997] – The ‘inside’ and the ‘outside’, finding realities in interviews, in Silverman, D [ed], [1997] – *Qualitative research, theory, method and practice*, London, Sage, p 99-112
- Milroy, L & Muysken, P [eds], [1995] – *One speaker, two languages*, Cambridge University Press
- Min, P [1990] – Problems of Korean immigrant entrepreneurs, *International Migration Review*, vol 24, no 3, p 436-455

- Miyahara, A et al [1998] – Conflict resolution styles among ‘collectivist’ cultures: a comparison between Japanese and Koreans, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 22, no 4, p 505-525
- Moen, P & Wetherington, E [1992] – The concept of family adaptive strategies, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol 18, p 233-51
- Muñoz, M-C, [1991] – La langue ‘précieuse mais précaire, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 90, p 57-76
- Nagy, N [2000] – What I didn’t know about working in an endangered language community: some fieldwork issues, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 144, p 143-160
- Nguyen, H, Messé L, Stollak, G [1999] – Toward a more complex understanding of acculturation and adjustment, cultural involvements and psychosocial functioning in Vietnamese youth, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 30, no 1, p 5-31
- Nguyen, K [2001] – *The unwanted: a memoir of childhood*, Little Brown and Company
- Nguyen, Khac Vien [1989] – On the historical role of Confucianism, *Vietnamese Studies*, vol 94, no 4, p 67-72
- Nguyen, Thi Lien Hang [1995] – No discharge from that war: the double diaspora of Vietnam’s Catholics, *Orbis*, Fall, p 491-501
- Nhu-Quynh, C & Schafer, J [1988] – From verse narrative to novel: the development of prose fiction in Vietnam, *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 47, no 4, p 756-777
- Oakley, A [1981] – Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms, in Roberts, H R (ed), [1981] – *Doing feminist research*, London, Routledge, p 30-61
- Oberg, K [1960] – adjustment to new cultural environments, *Practical Anthropology*, vol 7, no 4, p 177-182
- O’Cleary, C [2000] – Hong Kong closes Vietnamese camps, *The Irish Times*, 1 June, 2000, p 11
- Olesen, V [2000] – Feminisms and qualitative research at and into the millennium, in Denzin, N & Lincoln, Y [eds], [2000] – *Handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, Sage

- O'Neill, J [2001] – Integration of refugees in Ireland, in No welcome here? Asylum seekers and refugees in Ireland and Britain, *Democratic Dialogue*, report 14, 5 pages [http://www.democraticdialogue.org/report 14/report 14.html](http://www.democraticdialogue.org/report%2014/report%2014.html) [accessed 4 April 2003]
- O'Regan, C [1998] – *Report of a survey of the Vietnamese and Bosnian refugee communities in Ireland*, Dublin, The Refugee Agency
- OECD [1995] – *Annual report: Trends in international migration*
- Oudenhoven [2001] – Do organizations reflect national cultures? A ten-nation study, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, no 25, p 89-107
- Paige, R [ed], [1993] – *Education for the intercultural experience*, Yarmouth, Maine, Intercultural Press, p 137-167
- Paget, M [1990] – Life mirrors work mirrors text mirrors life ..., *Social Problems*, vol 37, no 2, p 137-14
- Park, R [1928] – Human migration and the marginal man, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 33, no 6, p 881-893
- Park, R & Burgess, E, [1921/1969] – *Introduction to the science of sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
- Parsons, T & Shils, E [eds], [1951/1962] – *Toward a general theory of action*, New York, Harper & Row
- Parsonson, K [1987] Intermarriages, effects on the ethnic identity of the offspring, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 18, no 3, p 363-371
- Pedraza, S [1991] – Women and migration: the social consequences of gender, *Annual Review of Sociology*, no 17, p 303-325
- Pham, T & Harris, R [2001] – Acculturation strategies among Vietnamese-Americans, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 25, no 3, p 279-300
- Phinney, J , Ong, A & Madden, T [2000] – Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families, *Child Development*, vol 71, no 2, p 528-539
- Pike [1966] – Etic and emic standpoints for the description of behaviour, in Smith, A G [ed], [1966] – *Communication and culture: readings in the codes of human interaction*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, p 152-163

Polkinghorne, D [1988] - *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*, Albany, State University of New York Press

Portes, A & MacLeod, D [1996] – Educational progress of children of immigrants: the role of class, ethnicity and school context, *Sociology of Education*, vol 69, no 4, 1996

Quinn-Judge, S [2001] – Women in the early Vietnamese communist movement: sex, lies, and liberation, *South East Asia Research*, vol 9, no 3, p 245-269

Rabinow, P & Sullivan, W, M [eds], [1979] – *Interpretive social science: a reader*, Berkeley, University of California Press

Raschka, C, Wei, L & Lee, S [2002] – Bilingual development and social networks of British-born Chinese children, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 154, p 9-25

Refugee Agency [1999] – *Information on refugees in Ireland*

Refugee Agency [1999/2000] - *Annual Report*

Reynolds, B [1993] – *Casalattico and the Italian community in Ireland*, Dublin, University College Dublin Foundation for Italian Studies

Richardson, J [ed] – *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood press, p 241-258

Richardson, L [1990a] – Narrative and sociology, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol 19, no 1, p 116-135

Richardson, L [1990b] – *Writing strategies, reaching diverse audiences*, Newbury Park, Sage

Roberts, H R [ed], [1981] – *Doing feminist research*, Routledge, London.

Rohrlich, B & Martin, J [1991] – Host country and reentry adjustment of student sojourners, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 17, no 2, p 163-182

Rohrlich, P [1983] – Toward a unified conception of intercultural communication, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 7, p 191-209

Rokach, A, Bacanli, H & Ramberan, G [2000] – Coping with loneliness: a cross-cultural comparison, *European Psychologist*, vol 5, no 4, p 302-311

Rokeach, M [1973] - *The nature of human values*, New York, The Free Press

Rosenthal, D & Feldman, S [1992] – The nature and stability of ethnic identity in Chinese youth, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 23, no 2, p 214-227

Rosenthal, D, Ranieri, N & Klimidis, S [1996] – Vietnamese adolescents in Australia: relationships between perceptions of self and parental values, intergenerational conflict and gender dissatisfaction, *International Journal of Psychology*, vol 31, no 2, p 81-91

Rousseau, C, Drapeau, A & Corin, E [1997] – The influence of culture and context on the pre- and post-migration experience of school-aged refugees from Central America and southeast Asia in Canada, *Social Science and Medicine*, vol 44, no 8, p 1115-11127

Ruben, B D [1983] – A system-theoretic view, in Gudykunst, W B [ed], [1993] – *Intercultural communication theory, current perspectives*, California, Sage, p 131-145

Rumbaut, R & Portes, A [2001] – *Ethnicities, children of immigrants in America*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p 187-22

Rutledge, P [1992] – *The Vietnamese experience in America*, Indiana University Press

Rydström, H [2002] – Sexed bodies, gendered bodies: children and the body in Vietnam, *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol 25, no 3, p 359-372

Samovar, L A & Porter, R E [eds], [1972/1992] – *Intercultural communication: a reader*, Belmont, Wadsworth

Samovar, L A & Porter, R E [eds], [1972/1996] – *Intercultural communication: a reader*, Belmont, Wadsworth Publishing

Sanchirico, A [1991] – The importance of small-business ownership in Chinese American educational achievement, *Sociology of Education*, vol 64, no 4, 293-304

Sanders, J & Nee, V [1996] – Immigrant self-employment: the family as social capital and the value of human capital, *American Sociological Review*, vol 61, issue 2, p 231-249

Scheu, U [2000] – Cultural constraints in bilinguals' codeswitching, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 24, no 1, p 131-150

Schönpflug, U [1997] – Acculturation: adaptation or development?, *Applied psychology: an international review*, vol 46, no 1, p 53-55

Schwartz, S [1990] – Individualism-collectivism, critique and proposed refinements, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 21, no 2, p 139-157

Sheridan, V [1998a] – *The effects of social distance on the second language learning of members of a minority group settling in Ireland*, unpublished MPhil thesis, Dublin, Trinity College

Sheridan, V [1998b] – Social distance and language training: a case study of the Irish-Vietnamese community, in Lentin, R [ed], [1998] – *The expanding nation: towards a multi-ethnic Ireland, proceedings of a conference held in Trinity College, Dublin, Department of Sociology*, Trinity College, Dublin, p 55-65
[full text available] <http://www.tcd.ie/Sociology/mphil/pub.htm>

Sheridan, V [2004] – Quand 'l'espoir vous fait vivre': la communauté vietnamienne en Irlande, *Interculturel Francophonies*, no 5, p 55-71

Shiraishi, M [1990] – *Japanese relations with Vietnam: 1951-1987*, Cornell Southeast Asia Program

Silverman, D [ed], [1997] – *Qualitative research, theory, method and practice*, London, Sage Publications

Silverman, D [2000] – *Doing qualitative research: a practical handbook*, London, Sage

Simmel, G [1921/1969] – The stranger, in Park, R & Burgess, E, [1921/1969] – *Introduction to the science of sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p 322-327

Siu, P [1952] – The sojourner, *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol 58, no 1, p 34-44

Skuttnab-Kangas, T [1999] – Education of minorities, in Fishman, J [1999], [ed] – *Handbook of language and ethnic identity*, Oxford University Press, p 42-59

Smalley, W [1963] – Culture shock, language shock and the shock of self-discovery, *Practical Anthropology*, vol 10, p 49-56

Smith, A [ed], [1966] – *Communication and culture: readings in the codes of human interaction*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Smith et al [1967] – *Area handbook for South Vietnam*, Washington, US Government Printing Office

Smith, L [1999] – Intercultural network theory: a cross-paradigmatic approach to acculturation, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 23, no 4, p 629-658

Smith, P & Schwartz, S [1997] – Values, in Berry, J, Segall, M & Kağitçibaşı, C [eds], [1980/1997] - *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, volume 3 social behavior and applications*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon, p 77-118

Smith, R [1968] – *Vietnam and the West*, London, Heinemann

Song, M [1995] – Between “the front” and “the back,” Chinese women’s work in family businesses, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, vol 18, no 3, p 285-293

Sparrow, L [2000] – Beyond multicultural man: complexities of identity, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 24, no 2, p 173-201

Starr, P [1981] – Troubled waters: Vietnamese fisherfolk on America’s Gulf Coast, *International Migration Review*, vol 15, p 226-238

Starr, P & Roberts, A [1982] – Community structure and Vietnamese refugee adaptation: the significance of context, *International Migration Review*, vol 16, no 3, p 595-618

Stern, J [1994] – L’Immigration, la nostalgie, le deuil, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 109, p 57-65

Stevens, G [1992] –The social and demographic context of language use in the United States, *American Sociological Review*, vol 57, no 2, p 171-185

Stevens, G [1999] – Age at immigration and second language proficiency among foreign-born adults, *Language in Society*, 28, p 555-578

Stonequist, E [1935] – The problem of the marginal man, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 41, no 1, p 1-12

Strauss, A and Corbin, J [1998] – *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, Thousand Oaks, Sage

Su, S & Conaway, C [1995] – Information and a forgotten minority: elderly Chinese immigrants, *Library and Information Science Research*, vol 17, issue 1, p 69-86

Sung, K [2000] – Elder respect: exploration of ideals and forms in East Asia, *Journal of Aging Studies*, no 15, p 13-26

Tajfel, H [ed], [1979] – *Differentiation between social groups. studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*, London, Academic Press Incorporated

Tax, S [ed], [1962] – *Anthropology today*, London, University of Chicago Press, p 304-32

Ting Toomey [1988] – Intercultural conflict styles, a face-negotiation theory, in Kim, Y, Y & Gudykunst, W [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 213-235

Ting-Toomey, S & Chung, [1996] – Cross-cultural interpersonal communication: theoretical trends and research directions, in Gudykunst, W B, Ting-Toomey, S & Nishida, T [eds], [1996] – *Communication in personal relationships across cultures*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, p 237-261

Ting Toomey, S et al [2000] – Ethnic/cultural identity salience and conflict styles in four US ethnic groups, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, p 47-81

Ting-Toomey, S & Korzeny F [eds], [1991] – *Cross-cultural interpersonal communication*, Newbury Park, Sage

Tovey, H & Share, P [2000/2003] – *A sociology of Ireland*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan Ltd

Townsend, P [1981] – *The girl in the white ship: a story of the Vietnamese boat people*, London, Collins

Tran, T [1987] – Ethnic community supports and psychological well-being of Vietnamese refugees, *International Migration Review*, vol 21, no 3, p 833-844

Treas, J and Mazumdar, S [2002] – Older people in America's immigrant families: dilemmas of dependence, integration and isolation, *Journal of Aging Studies*, vol 16, issue 3, p 243-258

Triandis, H [1989] – The self and social behaviour in differing cultural contexts, *Psychological Review*, 96, p 506-520

Triandis, H [1990] – The self and social behaviour in differing cultural contexts, in Goldberger, N & Veroff, J [1995] – *The culture and psychology reader*, New York, New York University Press, p 326-365

Triandis, H [1990] – Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism, in Berman, J [ed], [1990] – *Nebraska Symposium on motivation: vol 37. Cross-cultural perspectives*, Lincoln, University Press of Nebraska

Triandis, H & Berry, J [eds], [1980] – *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, volume 2 methodology*, London, Allyn & Bacon

Triandis, H, Brislin, R & Hui, C [1988] – Cross-cultural training across the individualism-collectivism divide, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 12, p 269-289

UNHCR [1979] – *Office of the UNHCR Meeting on refugees and displaced persons in South-East Asia, convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at Geneva, on 20 and 21 July 1979, and subsequent developments, Report of the Secretary General*

<http://www.unhcr.ch>

[accessed 7 May 2003]

Ungar, E [1987-1988] – The struggle over the Chinese community in Vietnam, 1946-1986, *Pacific Affairs*, vol 60, no 4, p 596-614

Ward, C [1996] – Acculturation, in Landis, D & Bhagat, R [eds], [1996] – *Handbook of intercultural training*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, p 124-147

Ward, C [1997] – Culture learning, acculturative stress, and psychopathology: three perspectives on acculturation, *Applied psychology: an international review*, vol 46, no 1, p 58-62

Ward, C, Bochner, S & Furnham, A [2001] – *The psychology of culture shock*, Hove, Routledge

Ward, C & Chang, W [1997] – Cultural fit: a new perspective on personality and sojourner adjustment, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 21, no 4, p 525-533

Ward, C et al [1998] – The U-Curve on trial: a longitudinal study of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during cross-cultural transition, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 22, no 3, p 277-291

Ward, C & Kennedy [1993] – Where's the 'culture' in cross-cultural transition?, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, vol 24, no 2, p 221-249

Ward, C & Kennedy [1999] – The measurement of sociocultural adaptation, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 23, no 4, p 659-677

Ward, C & Rana-Deuba [2000] – Home and host culture influences on sojourner adjustment, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 24, p 291-306

Watters, C [2001] – Emerging paradigms in the mental health care of refugees, *Social Science and Medicine*, no 52, p 1709-1718

- Watzlawick, P, Bavelas, J & Jackson, D [1967] – *Pragmatics of human communication*, New York, Norton & Company
- Weaver, W [1966] – The mathematics of communication, in Smith, A [ed], [1966] – *Communication and culture, readings in the codes of human interaction*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston
- Widdershoven, G [1993] – Hermeneutic perspectives on the relationship between narrative and life history, in Josselson, R & Lieblich, A [eds], [1993] – *The narrative study of lives*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 1-20
- Williams, C & Berry, J [1991] – Primary prevention of acculturative stress among refugees, *American Psychologist*, vol 46, no 6, p 632-641
- Wiseman, R [ed], [1995] – *Intercultural communication theory*, Thousands Oaks, Sage
- Witkin, H & Berry, J [1975] – Psychological differentiation in cross-cultural perspective, *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, vol 6, p 4-87
- Wong, S & Salaff, J [1998] – Network capital: emigration from Hong Kong, *British Journal of Sociology*, vol 49, no 3, p 358-374
- Woodside, A [1971] - The development of social organizations in Vietnamese cities in the late colonial period, *Pacific affairs*, vol 44, issue 1, p 39-64
- Wu [1996] – Chinese childhood socialization, in Bond, M [ed], [1996] – *The handbook of Chinese psychology*, New York, Oxford University Press, p 143-154
- Wu, Y & Sun, T [1998] Four faces of Vietnamese communism: small countries' institutional choice under hegemony, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol 31, issue 4, p 381-399
- Yamada, A-M & Singelis, T [1999] – Biculturalism and self-construal, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 23, no 5, p 697-709
- Young R and Tran, M [1999] – Language maintenance and shift among Vietnamese in America, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no 140, p 77-82
- Yu, E & Liu, W [1986] – Methodological problems and policy implications in Vietnamese refugee research, *International Migration Review*, vol xx, no 10, p 483-501
- Yum, J O [1988] – Network theory in intercultural communication, in Kim, Y Y & Gudykunst, W B [eds], [1988] – *Theories in intercultural communication*, Newbury Park, Sage, p 239-258

Yum, J O [1992] – The Impact of Confucianism on interpersonal relationships and communication patterns in East Asia, in Samovar, L A & Porter, R E [eds], [1972/1992] – *Intercultural communication: a reader*, Belmont, Wadsworth, p 66-78

Zaharna, R [1989] – Self-shock: the double-binding challenge of identity, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, vol 13, no 4, p 501-525

Zhou, M [2001] – Straddling different worlds: the acculturation of Vietnamese refugee children, in Rumbaut, R & Portes, A [2001] – *Ethnicities, children of immigrants in America*, Berkeley, University of California Press, p 187-227