

THE STORY OF THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE IN HAMILTON

BECOMING VIETNAMESE-CANADIAN:
THE STORY OF THE VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE IN HAMILTON

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ABSTRACT

The story of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton is one that began in the late 1970s during the 'Boat People Crisis'. This led to the mass exodus and acceptance of thousands of refugees into Canada. The story of the refugees in Hamilton is about their journey from a home and their journey to a find home. There is a lack of knowledge in the current literature that explores the experience of refugees that emphasizes the nature of embeddedness, belonging, and identity through time in place. Previous studies on the refugee experience have primarily focused on the initial effect of displacement, relocation, and/or settlement. The purpose of this study is to contextualize the history and experience of the local Vietnamese refugees in Hamilton in order to understand their sense of belonging in Canada. Moreover, the objective of this research is to employ 'sense of place' as a theoretical lens in order to understand the meaning of home and self through time from the experience and perspectives of a refugee. Placing the study in Hamilton is critical because Hamilton has been identified as a significant city for 'secondary' settlement of refugees and immigrants alike. The approach taken for this study employed both case study and the philosophical hermeneutic sub-approach in order to frame the research question and apply a method of analyzing and interpreting data. The research findings allude to the significance and imperativeness of using multiple perspectives in order to understand a multi-faceted lived experience in comprehending the meanings of home and identity for the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late grandfather, Dam Van Mac, who died in Hong Kong in 1989.

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1. Chapter One: An Introduction to the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to contextualize the story and experience of the local Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton in order to understand their journey from Vietnam and their subsequent process of becoming Canadian. The objective of this qualitative research is to conduct a case study with members of the Vietnamese community to investigate their life history and journey from their homeland in order to examine their comprehension of home as well as their perception of identity. The goal of this chapter is to put into place the research context. To begin, the first section describes the socio-political situations of specific geographic regions of Vietnam, Southeast Asia, Canada and Hamilton, Ontario. The purpose of this is to delineate the migration trajectory of the refugees in addition to placing the study within the historical context of their lived-experience. The next section includes a short autobiography in order to make transparent my own lived-experience as a Vietnamese refugee. By presenting my biography from the onset, I would like to make explicit: my personal and academic interest in the topic; the emerging enquiry and the development of the research question; and finally, what I anticipate and hope to learn in the process. The goal of the next two sections is to examine the existing literature on the Vietnamese Boat People in order to identify the potential dearth of information and make suggestion about the potential benefits of conducting a study that employs the concept of ‘sense of place’ as a theoretical framework. The final section lays out in further detail the objectives of this study.

1.1 Historical Context

This section provides an historical backdrop for the study, marking out the physical pathway and the socio-political conditions underpinning the refugees’ journey. The following section describes: (1) the socio-political situation in Vietnam that led to the subsequent waves of refugees; (2) the state of affairs in Southeast Asia and the influx and effects of asylum seekers; (3) the immigration policies on the home front in Canada; and finally, (4) the Canadians’ response to the ‘Boat People Crisis’ and the role of private sponsorship in re-settling refugees in Hamilton. On the whole, this section delineates the migration path of the refugees and puts into place the sites of former homes occupied by the refugees.

1.1.1 The Situation in Vietnam

In July 1976, the Northern Communist Government in Hanoi, Vietnam stripped the Southern Provisional Revolutionary Government of its power and unified the country as the ‘Socialist Republic of Vietnam’. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], programs were set in place by the new governing body to resettle the urban dwellers and former supporters of the southern government in general to the countryside or what was called, ‘Vùng Kinh Tế Mới’, which means ‘new economic zones’

(UNHCR, 2006). The discontent with the new communist regime grew in the Southern Vietnamese populace with the establishment and enforcement of new policies and this led to mass exodus of the Southern Vietnamese, which set in motion the so-called ‘Boat People Crisis’. The first wave of Vietnamese refugees fled the country as a result of social malaise and the heightened political tension in Vietnam (Wood, 1997). Previous literature on the Vietnamese refugees have noted that the majority of this cohort was made up of Southern Vietnamese, who were well educated professionals, middle-class, elite members and supporters of the U.S. and South Vietnamese Government (Wong, 1981; Wood, 1997; Beiser, 1999; Pfeifer, 1999).

As noted by Wood (1997) and Beiser (1999), the second wave of refugees that took place after 1978 is more indicative of the *real* ‘Boat People’. The second wave was instigated by the political upheaval between Vietnam and China which led to the country’s expulsion of the ethnic Chinese. Beiser (1999) explains that after Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, China retaliated along the borders of North Vietnam and the official Vietnamese attitudes towards the ethnic Chinese became increasingly hostile and formal measures were set in place to expropriate the businesses of the ethnic Chinese in the country (UNHCR, 2006). The prosperity and prominence of the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam within the private economic sector was contrary to the socialist vision of the new authorities. More critically, the growing bitter relationship between the two countries resulted in the Vietnamese government’s decision to expel the country’s 745,000 ethnic Chinese residents, whose ancestry can be traced back hundreds of years in Vietnam (Beiser, 1999). This sparked the second wave of refugees and the number of asylum seekers continued to grow over the next three decades. This second cohort was comprised of the highly entrepreneurial ethnic Chinese as well as Vietnamese asylum seekers who felt they could no longer live in their country. Scholars have noted that the “Boat People” who escaped in the late 1970s and early 1980s were refugees of modest means (Wong, 1981; Wood, 1997). Beiser (1999) stated that the commonly used term, “Vietnamese Boat People”, is misleading for two reasons. First, he explains that the second wave of Southeast Asian refugees came from the entire peninsula and not exclusively from Vietnam, and that these refugees were also fleeing from the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia. Secondly, the majority of people who escaped during the crisis migrated in greater numbers over land routes.

1.1.2 The Situation in Southeast Asia

Figure 1 depicts the migration pattern of the Indochinese¹ refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These asylum seekers came from the entire peninsula and they migrated to the neighbouring countries via land and sea routes. According to the UNHCR

¹ Indochina, or the Indochinese Peninsula, is a region in Southeast Asia that lies roughly east of India and south of China. Indochina consists of the countries of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), and the mainland territory of Malaysia. Respectively, the Indochinese are the people from this region.

(2006), the numbers of Vietnamese asylum seekers fleeing by boat had tripled from approximately 15,000 in 1977, to more than 45,000 by the end of 1978. The large majority of these people, an estimated seventy percent, were of Chinese origin. Many of the ethnic Chinese fled to China by land routes crossing the northern border of Vietnam. As a result of the increasing number of expatriates, the Chinese government established a program to settle these refugees on state farms in mainland China. The UNHCR also helped with this process and donated 8.5 million U.S. dollars to the cause and opened an office in Beijing. By the end of 1979, more than 250,000 people from Vietnam had taken refuge in China, some of whom were granted temporary asylum while others were permanently settled locally (UNHCR, 2006).

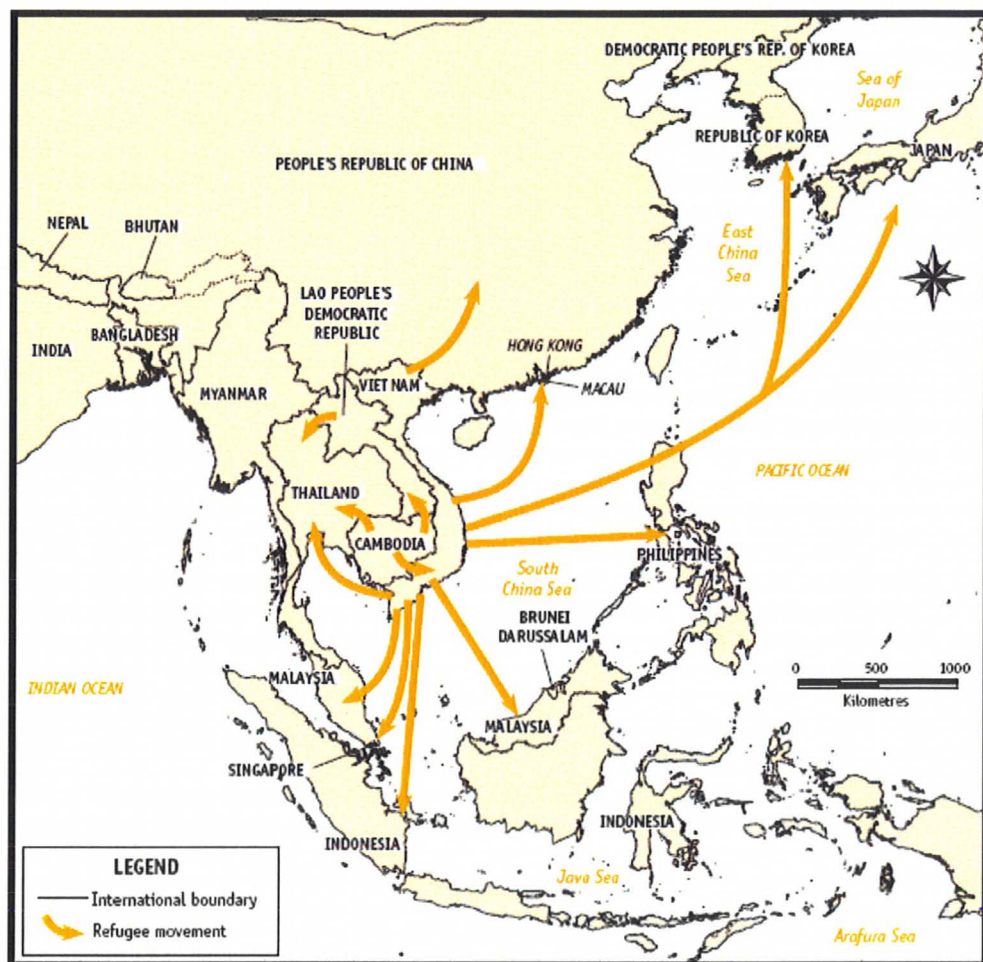


Figure 1: Land and Sea Routes to the Country of First Asylum
(Source: UNHCR, 2006; 80)

By the end of 1978, there were approximately 62,000 refugees in camps throughout Southeast Asia (UNHCR, 2006). As the number of asylum seekers grew, the conditions of the refugee camps declined and the task of managing overcrowded camps became more difficult. The escalating number of asylum seekers caused resentment and local hostility (UNHCR, 2006). The UNHCR explains that the tension was due to the fact that several of

the boats arriving on the shores of the assisting country of first asylum were not small wooden fishing craft but some were steel-hulled freighters chartered by regional smuggling syndicates carrying over thousand people at a time (UNHCR, 2006). By the late 1980's, it was estimated that over two million Indochinese had sought asylum since the onset of the crisis.

1.1.3 The Situation in Canada

The Boat People crisis led to mounting international pressure for countries in the West to admit refugees for re-settlement. On the home front, Canada's humanitarian response was influenced by: a dramatic surge in the Canadian media coverage on the political and social situation in Southeast Asia; a corresponding increase in the public's interest in the circumstances of the refugee; and the demand from the private sector - particularly from the churches in Canada and other non-governmental organization - for the government to adopt a more supportive and effective refugee policy. Overall, the situation in Southeast Asia challenged Canadians to respond to the problem that was taking place on the other side of the world while simultaneously testing the country's internal policies to help and assist refugees.

The political situation in Southeast Asia and the exodus of the Indochinese occurred at a critical time in Canadian history. According to Beiser (1999), Canada's forty-year transformation from an overtly racist society to a pluralistic one culminated in 1972 with the adoption of an official policy of multiculturalism. The Immigration Act of 1976, the cornerstone of the present day immigration policy, broke new ground by laying out the fundamental principles, objectives, guidelines, and procedures of the Canadian immigration policy. As noted by Knowles (1997), outlined in Section Three, Part One of the act is: the promotion of Canada's demographic, economic, cultural, and social goals; the family reunification program; the fulfilment of Canada's international obligations to the United Nations with regards to the 1951 and 1967 Convention and the Protocol relating to refugees assistance, which Canada signed in 1969; the obligations and plans for achieving a non-discriminatory immigration policy; and the stipulation for cooperation between all levels of government and the voluntary/private sector in the settlement of immigrants in Canadian society.

The media played a critical role in the mass acceptance of thousands of Indochinese refugees into Canada. As noted by Adelman (1982), another refugee situation was taking place in Africa with over one million refugees pouring into Somalia. According to UNHCR, there were 1,300,000 refugees in Somalia compared to 300,000 Boat People scattered throughout the Southeast Asian camps by the end of June 1979. Adelman (1982) noted that the extensive coverage given to the Boat People made the refugee situation in Somalia barely detectable. In 1979, the Canadian government announced its plans to admit 5,000 refugees into the country. A Gallup poll in February 1979 indicated that only thirty-seven percent of the population wanted to support the government's plan, while fifty percent thought this figure was too large. Outcry from the media during this time depicted

the asylum seekers as 'helpless victims of oppression' seeking freedom and refuge. According to Adelman (1982), themes of the Vietnamese Government as "Nazis" and the ethnic Chinese refugees as the "Jews of Southeast Asia" resulted in the change of heart in public opinion. A second poll that was taken later in June indicated that now forty-nine percent of the public favoured the intake of more refugees. As a result, the government revised their sponsorship commitment and promised to assist and re-settle a total of 50,000 refugees by the end of 1980. This number was based on the formula of matching every refugee sponsored by the private sector. Response from the private sector was so strong that the rate of sponsorship escalated and the government was unable to uphold their initial endorsement of matching the number of refugees sponsored by the public.

Overall, the response of the Canadian public is reflective and evident in the country's sponsorship rate during the Boat People crisis. Between 1979 and 1980, Canada admitted some 60,000 refugees. Although this was not the largest single refugee group to enter Canada since the Second World War, Knowles (1997) noted that this figure was the highest number of Boat People admitted per capita by any country during this time. This number made up twenty-five percent of all newcomers to Canada between 1978 and 1981, which was a significant rise in comparison to the typical ten percent of the annual inflow of refugees into Canada in previous years (Knowles, 1997). As a result, the infiltration and exponential growth of the Vietnamese population in Canada took place at a critical time in Canadian history. The presence and size of this major non-European community across Canada is a direct result of the public's effort in conjunction with effective policies.

1.1.4 The Situation in Hamilton

According to Knowles (1997), the Immigration Act of 1976 contained a unique provision that allowed for the private sponsorship of refugees to be utilized during the Boat People crisis. The policy stated that charities, non-profit organizations, or a group of five individual adult citizens can sponsor a refugee family by providing them with a place to stay, assisting them in finding employment, or enrolling them in studies (Knowles, 1997). Essentially, the sponsoring group would be financially responsible for meeting the needs of the refugee for a term of up to one year (Beiser, 1999). In Hamilton, a group of people were responding to the international problem at a significant scale respectively. In 1979, John Smith, an alderman for the City of Hamilton, established "The Mountain Fund to Save the Boat People". John along with a few friends set out to sponsor Vietnamese refugees from refugee camps in Southeast Asia and resettle them in the local area. The mandate of the organization was to help as many refugees as they possibly can, and to remain in operation for as long as the funds came in. The donations did come and continued to come for much longer than anyone had expected. As result, the organization operated for a total of fourteen years (from 1979 to 1994) and assisted more than 3,000 refugees.

Among their many tasks, some documented (see Mountain Fund Fonds, 2003) and others undocumented, the organization diligently assisted refugees at every point in the re-

settlement and relocation process. This included everything from writing letters of request for sponsorship to officials in the refugee camps, to arranging pickups of refugees upon arrival at the airport, to providing temporary accommodation, to finding permanent and suitable homes for families, to assisting refugees with language barriers in finding employment, to advocating the need for resources such as English as a Second Language (ESL) courses in schools and other resources needed to accommodate the expanding ethno-culturally diverse population. The mandate of the group was successfully met and the many goals of the organization was accomplished with sensitivity to, and in raising awareness of, the special needs of these refugees and their families in Canadian society. With integrity and dedication the handful of committed official members of the Mountain Fund, along with the larger unofficial membership of family and friends, the organization helped to resettle thousands of refugees, including some of the participants in the study.

1.2 The Researcher

My Dad came from a fishing family. Together with my Grandfather, he and the family built boats and fished by trade. My dad and his family (about sixty people in total) left Vietnam in 1982 in hopes of finding a better life and future. Their journey, beginning with the departure in Hai Phong, lasted fifteen days before they reached the shores of Hong Kong on the 21st of June in 1982.

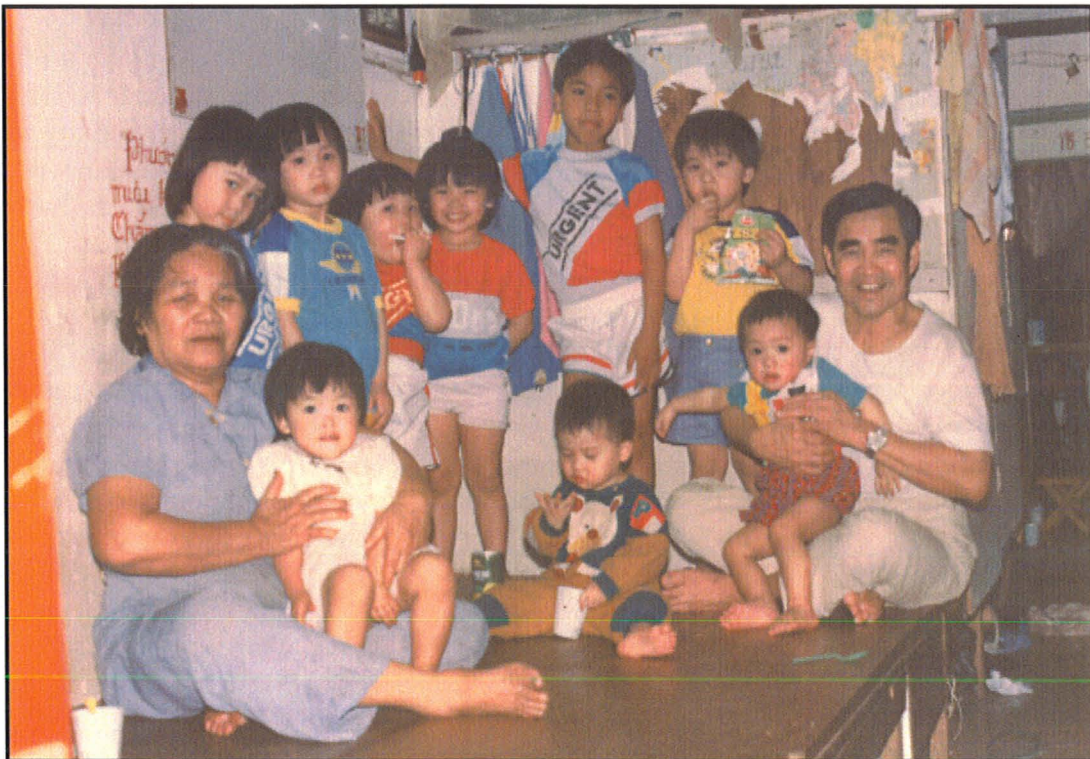


Figure 2: Family in Hong Kong
(Source: Dam, 1987)

I was born in Hong Kong on February 16, 1984. At that time, my parents and our extended family were still living in Kai Tak - one of the refugee camps in Hong Kong. Our family's boat was one of the last boats taken in by the authorities prior to the original cut-off date for incoming asylum seekers. As a result, we were placed in what was called an "open camp". This gave my parents the opportunity to obtain work permits and the family the choice, and opportunity, to temporarily live in the city until we were approved and accepted for sponsorship. This photo, Figure 2, was taken sometime in 1987 in our apartment where I lived with my entire extended family - a total of twenty members. This picture is taken with my grandparents along with the cohort of cousins who were all born in Hong Kong prior to our coming to Canada. I am the third child, from the left, standing in the back row.

I would describe my experience of growing up in Hong Kong as "normal", although in hindsight, some aspects of being a refugee now seem atypical. I was only aware of the difference in my upbringing after coming to Canada by learning from my classmates in school that most of them did not share the same lived-experience. As a child growing up in Hamilton, when I was asked the question, "Where are you from?", I replied by stating, "I was born in Hong Kong but my parents are from Vietnam - they were refugees there and we came to Canada in 1988". This was the explanation I always gave people while I was growing up. But over time, I began to switch from giving people that full description of who I was or where I came from, to simply stating, "I'm from Hamilton. I've lived here since I was four".

Before starting my thesis, my supervisor, Dr. Eyles, suggested that I take a trip to Vietnam. Until then I had no desire of ever going back to Vietnam. My personal belief was that Hamilton was now my home. My experiential knowledge of home inhibited my view to espouse that home was homeland, or in effect, that home was Vietnam. Vietnam was my parents' place of birth and the very point from which they journeyed from, but my experience of home was never connected to a homeland. My life and our journey started in Hong Kong and as a child, I had a meaningful experience growing up there. I rationalized my place of origin - in terms of ascribing meaning to a physical location as part of one's identity - with being connected to Hong Kong. I believed that I did not have a relationship with Vietnam as a home or homeland, and therefore, I had no frame of reference for believing that home partially existed in Vietnam. Nonetheless, Dr. Eyles and I felt that if I am to conduct a study on the journey of the Vietnamese Boat People, I needed to see and experience the place where their life and journey began. Within a span of one week, I planned a trip to go back to Vietnam by myself and this decision shocked my family and friends.

This experience affected me and it somehow left me knowing more about myself and less about my state of being. The journey back to Vietnam made me aware that my previous fixed notions of home, belonging and identity were shifting. I was beginning to see that a part of my identity was rooted in homeland and rooted to family in Vietnam, and somehow, I needed to make room for them in my life. I could not fully comprehend everything that was happening. After coming back to Canada, I felt disoriented, a little out

of place, and the first month back in Hamilton felt strange. Everything around me was the same, but *I* felt different and this made me feel uncomfortable. I realized that I did not fully understand the meaning of my identity, or of 'being' of a Vietnamese-Canadian, but the prospect of undertaking such a project was exciting. The opportunity for me to explore and understand aspects of my own identity, in addition to the opportunity to investigate the meaning of home for my community, were not taken for granted. I genuinely wanted to learn and acquire knowledge from those to have undergone the same journey and experience in order for me to find answers to my personal and academic inquiry.

1.3 Background Literature

The purpose of this section is to review the scholarly work on refugees, and more specifically, the scholarship on the Vietnamese Boat People in order to identify the dearth in the existing literature as well as place the study within the context of the research gap.

1.3.1 The Vietnamese Boat People

On the whole, the research on the Vietnamese Boat People is centred on the process of displacement, relocation and re-settlement. In addition, the literature also provides a large selection of personal commentaries from Vietnamese Boat People that illustrate, and balance, the life history and experience of journeying from the perspective of the refugees themselves (see Freeman, 1989; Beiser, 1999; Cargill & Huynh, 2000). The interest in studying the Vietnamese Boat People overall reflects a critical shift, and focus, from studying European refugees to studying third world refugees. Skran & Daughtry (2007) noted that the high levels of concern for the Indochinese refugees overall fits well with the pattern of investigating those fleeing a communist political system. Interestingly, they suggest that this trend further reflects the fact that more attention has historically been paid to refugees that fit within the concerns of foreign policy in general as well as those who are aided by international organizations (Skran & Daughtry).

The plight of refugees from Indochina and their re-settlement into developed countries such as Australia, the United States and Canada, sparked a great deal of research interest. Scholars began a process of documenting every aspect of their experience that included the reasons for their flight, the international attempts to assist them and the subsequent problems of re-settlement (Adelman, 1982). More critically, concerns about the socio-political circumstances that refugees these have fled from, due to the nature of their plight, the interest on the effects of displacement often leads researchers to focus on the medicalization of refugees along the psychological axis of investigation (see Hauff & Vaglum, 1995). The experience of refugees after resettlement is therefore an area of interest given the vulnerable characteristics of this group. The work of Harrell-Bond (1986) cites evidence of the breakdown of families, the erosion of normative social behaviour, the effect of mental illness, psychological stress and even clinical levels of depression and anxiety experienced by refugees that surface after resettlement.

The literature on the Vietnamese Boat People have also focused on issues of educational attainment (Feliciano & Rumbaut, 2005), social adjustment, economic experience (Balá & Williams, 2007), and identity (Stritikus & Nguyen, 2007). In understanding their experience after re-settlement, some scholars have studied this population from the perspective of acculturation and assimilation (see Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987; Anderson, Moeschberger, Chen, et al., 1993). In general, these studies typically combine the Vietnamese refugees' experience within the larger category of Asian immigrants, however, the infiltration of the Vietnamese Boat People into North American cities is distinct from the migration trajectory of other Asian immigrants in history. This suggests that the not only is the process of adjustment different for refugees but the meaning of experience through time may also be different. The Vietnamese Boat People's experience as refugees affects their process of re-integration into Canada and their status as refugees may also affect their awareness of being a Canadian citizen. More critically, the nature of their departure from a former home, and their journey from a former homeland, may also affect their identification and comprehension of home.

The Vietnamese Boat People's particular journey from one home to another home is unique because they were subjected to various definitions and meanings of home such as the permanent and temporary conditions of dwellings, the limited sites and unrestricted spatial boundaries of home, as well as challenge their notions and identification of 'ideal' living situations and 'ideal' home. Given their multifaceted lived-experience, the approach of understanding their journey from the perspective of acculturation and assimilation is limiting because it is inherently hegemonic. The lens of acculturation and assimilation seeks to understand the identity of a refugee from a de-contextualized and temporal boundary of experience at the point of entry into the host country. The reality of a refugees' home *have* been confronted and challenged, and their comprehension of home *may* change as a result of their circumstances but the assumption that one can understand the experience and identity of the Vietnamese Boat People as acculturated or assimilated people is simplistic and perhaps narrow. My questions of interest are therefore simply: what is home and where is home for the Vietnamese Boat People?

1.4 Theoretical Framework

According to the Profiles of Ethnic Communities in Canada based on statistical data collected in 2001, Statistics Canada reported that forty-three percent of Canadians of Vietnamese origin stated that they had a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group (see Ministry of Industry, 2007). At the same time, sixty-five percent expressed having a strong sense of belonging to Canada. In an attempt to explain this trend, the profile noted that the Vietnamese play an active role in Canadian society with fifty-three percent of those who were eligible to vote, reported as doing so in the 2000 federal election.

The national survey indicates that Vietnamese-Canadians, whose arrival into Canada began at the onset of the Boat People crisis, have indeed attained a sense of

belonging through time. The ability for the Vietnamese population to gain a sense of belonging in Canada points to the several critical notions. First, the journey and search for home has been ended with successful attainment. It also suggests that despite the conflicting state of refugees as 'placeless' and 'stateless' people, their experiences through time in place resolve the 'stateless' status with the acquiring of citizenship. Finally, the experience through time has enabled them to become familiar, comfortable, and even satisfied to the point of comprehending and communicating a sense of belonging in Canada. At the same time, the survey also alludes to the limitations of quantitative measures to understand the meaning of home and belonging. Is there a way to explain the sense of belonging of the Vietnamese Boat People? The following section presents the literature on 'sense of place' to propose its application in understanding the story and journey of the Vietnamese Boat People in 'becoming Canadian'. By highlighting the underpinnings of this theoretical framework, I hope to rationalize its use as well as speak to the potential benefits of employing this in framework in the study.

1.4.1 Sense of Place

Sense of place can be a useful framework for understanding the experience of the Vietnamese refugees in Canada through time because at the heart of this concept is the objective to explore the ways in which people interact and ascribe meaning to their environment. Based on the individual's experiences with place, one's sense of place can be formulated by either positive and/or negative feelings towards their environment (Eyles, 1985). Tuan (1974) states that people who view their environment as positive and as ideal places, develop an affective bond with their environment. Tuan (1974) also suggests that people are attracted to places because certain environments support their lives, permitting them to function and be more satisfied. In general, sense of place seeks to identify the dominant meaning of a place as well as the quality of geographical experience (Eyles, 1985). Overall, sense of place can provide insight into the process and nature of embeddedness through time. Sense of place can be a helpful tool in this study because at the individual level, sense of place investigates the feeling and perception held by the refugees towards Canada. Jackson (1994) suggests that sense of place can be utilized to uncover the characteristics that make a place special or unique, which ultimately foster a sense of authentic human attachment and belonging. For this reason, the concept of sense of place will be integrated into this study in order for me to examine the sense of belonging of the Vietnamese Boat People as they re-settle into Canada.

1.4.2 Familiarity and Attachment

The concept of sense of place, in further detail, explains that place attachment is derived through repeated encounters with the environment, and that these encounters ultimately enable people to acquire a familiarity and comfort. Dovey (1985) noted that through time people attach psychological, social and cultural significance to objects and spaces. As a result, through time people connect or attach themselves to their environment.

Altman and Low (1992) suggest that strong attachments towards place can occur with familiarity and stability within place, which in turn, help people to define themselves in it. This process can even lead people to identify a sense of community within place at the local level (Altman & Low, 1992). This notion is reinforced by Tuan's (1977) observation of "space" being changed into "places" as the environment acquires definition and meaning through the process where people transform them from strange places into neighbourhoods. For the Vietnamese refugees, this suggests that if their new environments in Canada is one that is stable and secure their identification and attachment of meanings of home is influenced by prolonged engagement and repeated encounters through time.

1.4.3 Identity within Place

In understanding the Vietnamese refugees' experience in Canada, it is critical to also understand the ways in which people experience places and identify themselves within their settings. A fundamental concept within sense of place is the phenomenological perspective, which looks at how people comprehend and interpret the world in which they live. As noted by Tilley (1994), personal and cultural identities are grounded and bounded in place. The meanings of space always involve a subjective dimension that cannot be understood apart from the symbolically constructed *life-worlds* of the social actor (Eyles, 1985; Tilley, 1994). As noted by Tilley (1994), the key concern within this approach "is the manner in which places *constitute* space as centres of human meaning, their singularity being manifested and expressed in the day-to-day experiences and consciousness of people within particular life-worlds" (pp. 15-16). This means that people's way of knowing place(s) and their perception about *their* place in it can be understood as relationships and interactions with environment in everyday life. As a result, the way in which the Vietnamese refugees see themselves in their environment can reveal aspects of their being and state of being.

1.5 Study Objectives and Research Question

The sections above have provided both the research context and rationale for this study. The criteria and objective(s) of my study came from the review of the background literature, which lead me to conclude that the need for such a study can fill the critical research gaps, and more importantly, to explain the Vietnamese refugees' sense of belonging in Canada. The goal of conducting this study is not only to examine the meanings of home and identity for the case itself, but more broadly, to investigate the nature of embeddedness and self-identity through time in place. In doing so, I hope that this study will uncover the experiences of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton as a means of investigating and understanding the sense of belonging held by Canadians of Vietnamese ethnic origin.

The main objective of this study is to employ ‘sense of place’² as a theoretical lens in order to examine the sense of belonging of the Vietnamese refugees in Canada. In order to achieve this goal, I have outlined three specific objectives that will guide my research design. These objectives are: (1) to understand the refugee experience within place through time; (2) to comprehend the meaning of ‘home’ for the Vietnamese refugees from a socio-cultural perspective; and (3), to interpret the experiences and meaning of their journey. The guiding research question for this study is:

What place(s) do the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton, who have lived in Canada for more than fifteen years, identify as their home and why?

The subsequent chapter, and the remainder of my thesis, will illustrate the steps I took in conducting this study, which includes: the approach I used in designing the study; my methodology for collecting and analyzing data; my methodology for interpreting the results; and finally, my methodology for disseminating the researcher findings. Chapter two explains and rationalizes the approach and methodologies I used in carrying out this case study. Chapter three presents a thick description of the case in order to embed the themes discussed in chapter four from the narratives of the participants. The last chapter discusses the empirical findings in light of the literature and presents my second order of interpretation, which is based on my own personal preposition as the ‘research instrument’.

² For the purpose of this study, the meaning of ‘sense of place’ has been adapted from Eyles (1985) book, *Senses of Place*. According to Eyles, sense of place has been taken to mean more than just the positive or negative ‘feel’ for the place or places. Sense of place is derived from the totality of an individual’s life, and it should be conceived in relational terms, which is related to one’s ‘place-in-the-world’.

2. Chapter Two: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the approach and methodologies that I used in carrying out this study. In order to rationalize the approach that was chosen, a discussion of research paradigm will therefore identify and describe my own underlying social constructivist beliefs. In doing so, this will make clear the critical assumptions that influenced the design and conduct of this study. The following two sections identify and rationalize the approaches chosen for this study. The first approach, a case study, was utilized to frame the research question and bound the case, while the application of the philosophical hermeneutic approach was incorporated in anticipation of the phenomenological nature of this study. The subsequent section lays out the process of data collection, which includes: the criteria for sampling; a description of the sample; the difficulties encountered during the data collection process; and the amendments that were made to the original design. An explanation of the methodologies employed for data analysis will explain my translation of philosophy into practice and identify the key principles that guided my analysis and interpretation. The last two sections state the practice of implementing evaluative criteria to enhance rigour in order to attain credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, despite the potential limitations of this study.

2.1 Research Paradigm: Social Constructivism

The identification of the researcher's paradigm within the process of designing research is important because it brings into light the critical assumptions upheld by the researcher as they develop, conduct, and interpret research findings. As noted by Lincoln and Guba (2000), a paradigm is the 'basic set of beliefs' that guides research and the researcher. A paradigm encompasses three elements - ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions. Ontological assumptions are the assumptions made about the way the world is, or the nature of reality, while epistemological assumptions are assumptions made about what we can know about that reality. Methodological assumptions refer to the strategies we employ in order to know the way the world is (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln: 2000).

As noted by Guba (1990), ontologically, the constructivist believes that realities are socially constructed with subjective meanings, which are socially negotiated and that are culturally and historically dependent. Epistemologically, the researcher is part of the reality that is being researched. The research finding is viewed as the creation of meaning within the inquiry process, rather than, a collection of external, already existing "facts" (Labonte & Robertson, 1996). Methodologically, it is hermeneutic, interpretive, and dialectic in nature, and involves a constant comparison of differing interpretations.

Creswell (2007) puts forward some pragmatic approach to conducting qualitative research within this paradigm and outlines the following: (1) the researcher(s) inductively

develop a pattern of meaning; (2) the research question(s) is broad enough so that participants can construct the meanings of a situation; and (3), the inclusion of an open-ended questionnaire allows the researcher(s) to listen carefully to what the participants say or do in their life setting. In addition, the constructivist researcher focuses on the specific context in which the participants live and work in order to understand their historical and cultural settings. Overall, my decision for taking a constructivist paradigm was influenced by my own ontological, epistemological, and methodological beliefs, which corresponded with the paradigmatic assumptions of the constructivist position.

2.2 Case Study Approach

A case study approach was used to facilitate the objective of investigating the story, journey and lived-experience of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton. As noted by Stake (1995) a case study explores issue(s) within the bounded system that identifies both the setting and object of study. The research question for this study (as stated in the previous chapter) was formulated by using the case study approach to narrow and focus the study. The setting was restricted by a geographical boundary that limited participation to individuals who currently reside in the City of Hamilton. The study was also bounded by time, which narrowed the criteria for selecting the sample to only those who left during the second wave of exodus from Vietnam on boats in the 1980s at the height of the 'Boat People Crisis'. The purpose of this was to examine the nature of embeddedness in place through time for individuals who have lived in Hamilton and/or Canada for longer period of time while excluding those who either left Vietnam at the end of the crisis, and/or individuals who spent a longer period of time in the camp, and/or those who spent a more time living in another host country before coming to Canada. The case study approach was appropriate because as noted by Creswell (2007), the objective of the qualitative case study is to explore the bounded system (the case) over time through the process of detailed, in-depth data collection that involves multiple sources of information. The goal of this type of research is to report on the case-description and present the case-based themes. As a result, a single, *instrumental* case study design was used in order to identify the case within a bounded system to illuminate the complexity of the issue and provide an in-depth understanding of the case itself (Stake, 1995). In adhering to the constructivist tradition, the study also integrated the conventional paradigm assumptions of an emerging design, a context-dependent inquiry and an inductive data analysis to meet the goals of the study. The benefit of using this approach is to highlight the importance of understanding the case itself, while recognizing that the issues the case represents can be of significant research interest (Stake, 1995).

2.3 Hans-Georg Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutic Sub-Approach

As noted by Creswell (2007), the social constructivist worldview often manifests itself in phenomenological studies because this type of study describes the meaning of experience for individuals. With the anticipation that this study would be largely focused

on lived-experience(s), the research design incorporated the philosophical hermeneutics sub-approach for its' methodological strategies in data analysis. The analysis techniques used in the study were derived from Hans-Georg Gadamer's writing on philosophical hermeneutics, which fits well within the social constructivist paradigm. The hermeneutic technique is appropriate for this study because it aims at enriching the understanding of a phenomenon by offering three critical concepts that guides data analysis: (1) the entering of the hermeneutic circle; (2) the fusion of horizons; and (3), the temporality of truths and dialogue.

The sub-approach taken for this study adheres to Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutic tradition based on his 1989 book, *Truth and Method* (Gadamer, 1989). Although Gadamer's work was not meant to be a methods piece on the new 'hermeneutic' technique for interpreting texts, his philosophical work is foundational to qualitative research on the whole. The concept of 'the hermeneutic circle' is described in this book as the movement back and forth between the parts and the whole of the text. As noted by Whitehead (2004), this process is a metaphor for describing the analytic movement between the parts of narratives and the entire overarching meaning of the participant's interview within qualitative research, and this very process enabled me to generate meanings from the data. The process entering the hermeneutic circle involves prolonged periods of reflection on both the parts of the data as well as the whole text in order to situate the meanings derived (Whitehead, 2004).

In his book, Gadamer's (1989) criticism of the scientific legitimacy of interpretive phenomenological methods suggests that rather than having a structured form of investigation through a system of rules, the emphasis is on the notion of horizons or preunderstandings that the researcher brings to the study (Fleming, Gaidys & Robb, 2003; Crist & Tanner, 2003; Whitehead, 2004). One's horizon is an *historically* and *culturally* produced understanding that influences the way in which they interpret phenomena. The process of identifying the researcher's horizon is just as critical as identifying the participants' horizon because the meaning of the phenomenon under investigation is created by both counterparts. According to Gadamer (1989), the nature of human understanding cannot achieve objectivity, however, what the researcher does essentially is co-create meanings through acts of transcendental subjectivity, which illuminates their universal horizon of consciousness. This is where inter-subjective communication leads to the fusion of individuals' horizons within the "prejudices" of one's own history and preunderstanding. Because one's horizon is the field of vision that is determined by, and comprised of, everything that can be seen from one's perspective (Fleming et al., 2003), one's horizon can also be altered when prejudgments have been tested. Horizons are not rigid but rather mobile and their alteration can be achieved when testing occurs in encountering the past and in understanding the horizons of others (Gadamer, 1989; 2001). In the context of qualitative research, understanding is always derived from the fusion of horizons between the researcher and the participants and the researcher can never fully be separated from the research or the research process.

Finally, the temporality of truth and the horizons of the researcher consider that the researcher holds a temporal understanding of the data. As noted by Whitehead (2004) the researcher recognizes that the interpretation represents a temporary coalescence of views about a phenomenon or experience, and that the researcher's interpretation of the text inevitably changes over time with prolonged engagement. If more time is spent entering the hermeneutic circle, the fusion of horizons will continue to evolve. A critical stipulation of the hermeneutic process is to acknowledge that the process of research must come to an end, however, further analysis would yield changes in the interpretation.

2.4 Data Collection

The primary source of data for the study came from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Vietnamese 'Boat People' in Hamilton, which had been ethically approved by the McMaster Research Ethics Board prior to data collection. The goal of the interviews was to obtain as accurately as possible, the fullest, most complete description of the case by using life history and narratives as the means of collecting data. Overall, the interviews focused on the lived-experience of the participants in Vietnam, their lived-experience in refugee camp(s) as well as their lived-experience in Canada. A copy of the interview schedule is attached in Appendix A. The nature of the interviews was structured this way in order for the questionnaire to focus on the experiences through time and place. The questions were broad enough to allow the participants to cover the areas and issues they felt were related to their experience in order to identify preunderstandings and promote the fusion of horizons - a method suggested by Whitehead (2004). The interviews were conducted in the participant's preferred language - either in English and/or Vietnamese. The interviews lasted between thirty and forty-five minutes, and they were mostly conducted in the homes of the participants. All of the participants were required to sign a copy, and to retain a copy, of the consent form prior to the interview, which can be seen in Appendix B. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. In addition, as prescribed by Fleming et al. (2003), field notes to accompany audio-taped interviews were taken and used later during the analysis. Another critical source of information for this study came from my journal entries and memos.

2.4.1 Sample

Several purposive sampling techniques were utilized for recruitment. Maximum variation sampling obtained and documented a range of participants that covered gender and generational viewpoints. Criterion sampling ensured that all participants met the requirement of the bounded research question and selected participants who were either born in Vietnam or the refugee camps in order to capture the experience of journeying to Canada. Criterion sampling also restricted participation only to refugees who had been in Canada for a minimum of fifteen years in order to capture the experience of those who have lived here through time. Finally, a snowballing technique was later incorporated as a result of the unanticipated problems relating to recruitment.

As proposed, the case study was originally designed to conduct forty in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the Vietnamese refugees in Hamilton, however, due to problems encountered during recruitment, only a total sample of twelve interviews were obtained. Although the sample size of this case study was relatively smaller, I felt that saturation was reached. As indicated in Table 1, the sample captured the objectives of the purposive sample techniques. I interviewed an equal number of male and female participants that ranged in age. As illustrated in this table, at the time of the interview, Trang (the youngest female participant) was twenty-two years old, and Hung (the oldest male participant) was fifty-six years of age. In addition, the sample also captured participants from various place of birth within Vietnam as well as those who were born in the refugee camps. The sample also captured the experience through time of the Vietnamese refugees as indicated by the participants' year of arrival into Canada during the height of the crisis in the 1980s. Finally, generational experience through time was also captured by the range in participants' ages at arrival. As a result, all of these factors indicate that despite the shortcoming of a smaller sample, the sample that *was* acquired not only met the criteria of the sampling technique, but more importantly, they could speak to the experience of refugees' in place through time.

Table 1: The Participants

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF BIRTH	YEAR ARRIVED IN CANADA	AGE AT ARRIVAL
Hoan	50	South Vietnam	1985	25
Vinh	45	North Vietnam	1989	25
Ngoc	44	North Vietnam	1986	22
Lien	25	Hong Kong (refugee camp)	1989	5
Hanh	24	Hong Kong (refugee camp)	1989	5
Trang	22	Hong Kong (refugee camp)	1990	2
Hung	56	North Vietnam	1985	32
Nam	50	North Vietnam	1991	32
Minh	45	North Vietnam	1985	21
Anh	39	South Vietnam	1982	13
Tung	31	North Vietnam	1987	9
Von	22	Hong Kong (refugee camp)	1989	4

2.4.2 Recruitment

Recruitment for participants spanned from August 2008 to December 2008. As part of the recruitment strategy, contacts were made with gatekeepers in the community in order to gain access to the Vietnamese population in the city. I was aware of the fact that the formal Vietnamese organizations in the city were limited and contacts were made with only three organizations known to me as a result. Unfortunately, two of the three groups declined participation. The organization that did agree to participate was the Hamilton Vietnamese Alliance Church. The leaders of the church had arranged for me to come to a Sunday service for recruitment. An announcement for the study was made during the service and those who were interested in taking part in the study were encouraged to ask questions and sign up. I provided letters of information with the details of the study (see Appendix C) for members to take, read, and decide at a later time if they were interested in an interview. Additional copies of the letter was made available as part of the snowball sampling technique. The letter included: (1) a description of me, the researcher; (2) a statement of the research purpose; (3) the criteria for participation; (4) the significance of the study; and (5), my contact information. Unfortunately, none of the congregational members followed up with participation.

2.5 Data Analysis

The analysis of data employed two of the three prototypical styles, editing/organizing style and immersion/crystallization, outlined by Crabtree and Miller (1999), which they suggest are inherent in most traditional strategies of qualitative inquiry. In the editing style I entered the text much like an editor, searching for the meanings of text by cutting, pasting and rearranging segments until the condensed summaries revealed helpful interpretation. As suggested by Crabtree and Miller (1999), the researcher using this style identifies meaningful segments of text that both stand on their own and relates to the purpose of the study. When these segments have been identified, the researcher sorts and organizes each segment into categories or codes. In contrast, immersion/crystallization prescribes the researcher's immersion into the text. As Crabtree and Miller (1999) suggests, prolonged immersion would result in the emerging of meaning from the data only after concerned reflection had been made. This cycle of immersion/crystallization is repeated until the reported interpretation is reached (Crabtree & Miller (1999). This prototypical style is highly reflective of the hermeneutic process overall.

The methodological framework for data analysis in this study was developed by combining both Crabtree and Miller's (1999) general interpretative process in conjunction with Fleming et al. (2003) philosophical hermeneutic guideline for data analysis (see Appendix D for more detail). As stated by Crabtree and Miller (1999), the interpretive process begins with *describing*. During this pre-analysis phase, I reflected on the concept of the researcher as the 'research instrument' and gave thought to the implications of my horizon and made note of my own preunderstandings – the "prejudices" I brought to the study prior to entering the data (see Fleming et al., 2003; Crist & Tanner, 2003; Whitehead,

2004). For the analysis phase, I entered the data by using the editing and immersion/crystallization organizing style as outlined by Crabtree and Miller (1999). In addition, the key principles adapted from the Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutic sub-approach was incorporated by integrating Fleming et al.'s (2003) analytical guidelines for generating codes, categories and themes. The merging of both techniques is exemplified in Appendix E. During this stage, the data was segmented and the texts that were relevant to the principle research question were identified. The process of categorizing, cutting and pasting, splitting and splicing of data enabled me to reorganize and indentify the text that illuminated the phenomenon under investigation (see Crabtree & Miller, 1999). This also allowed me to move between the parts and the whole of the hermeneutic circle. By using both techniques, this enhanced the understanding and interpretation of the data and with every encounter with, it broadened my own horizon. By using the editing style, I was able to sift and sort the text to identify codes and categories through direct interaction with the text at the micro level.

The immersions/crystallization style, on the other hand, allowed me to make connections between codes and categories across participants to further distill the data with the creation of themes for further interpretation. The organization of data for each participant was unique and differed although the same techniques were applied. As noted in Appendix D, the purpose of analysis process is to also make sense of the data by connecting various segments and comprehend the abstraction of the data between narratives in order to situate the meanings derived and to answer the research question (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). As a result, themes generated were also compared across participants (see Appendix F for example). This process of entering the hermeneutic circle between stories required me view the individual stories as a 'whole' and the importance of analyzing the texts without losing sight of each participant's entire transcript became critical. In order to avoid the overreliance on my interpretation of the written text, apart from the horizon of the participants, I applied a technique proposed by Whitehead (2004), which suggests that the interpretation of data can be credible when the examination of transcripts is analyzed while listening to the audiotape interviews in order to note the participants' emotional expression in order to avoid misinterpretation.

As noted by Crabtree and Miller (1999), the connection of data is the result of critical and patient reflection as well as persistent engagement with the text. It was helpful for me to remind myself at various points during this process, when the act of 'making sense' became overwhelming, of the importance of recognizing and acknowledging that the progression of analyzing and interpreting data had fluid boundaries (Crabtree & Miller (1999) and that it was not linear (Crist & Tanner, 2003). On the whole, the utilization of several techniques, at different point of analysis gave me a clearer understanding of the text, a truer picture of participant's story and a deeper comprehension of its meaning. The process of analysis was dynamic, creative and iterative, and the results of fusing horizons between participant and researcher, which achieves an inter-subjective communication and understanding, produced a shared and co-created meaning of matters under investigation.

2.6 Study Limitations

I recognize that there may be limitations with my sampling technique and my sample size. I recognize that these are limitations can impact the trustworthiness of the data as well as my interpretation. I understand that within qualitative research the hermeneutic phenomenology is a philosophy and not a methodology. As a result, the methods for conducting this study were less prescribed and the reliance on myself as the ‘research instrument’ to interpret data at times were critical and that the decisions I made during the research process must therefore be acknowledge and disclosed in order to assess rigour. As a result, this inevitably leaves room for me and the readers to question the dependability, credibility and trustworthiness of my interpretations. I acknowledge that there were steps taken in conducting this study - from the translation of philosophy into practice, to the comprehension and utilization of methodologies, to the distilling of data that transform narratives into interpreted meanings, and the dissemination of researcher findings – must all come under scrutiny as a necessary process of research evaluation. Despite the potential for shortcomings, I would like to note that there are strategies within qualitative research that can enhance rigour nonetheless.

2.7 Rigour

The principles and application of rigour is fundamental to qualitative research. According to Baxter and Eyles (1997), the need for evaluative criteria in appraising qualitative research is critical because there *are* relatively few standardized procedures for evaluation, and so, the basic tenets used to guide judgment and integrity must therefore ensure credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. As a result, several criteria, including those suggested by Baxter and Eyles (1997) for evaluating qualitative research, were employed in this study in order to evaluate the trustworthiness of this study as well as the trustworthiness of the research instrument. Specific measures prescribed by researchers in the field who uses the philosophical hermeneutic sub-approach were also incorporated into this study.

First, the plausibility of analysis and dissemination of findings can be evaluated based on the methodologically coherence of the research approach and design. For example, the purpose of the study was consistent with the case study approach for exploring and framing this particular research question. The use of the inclusion criteria to select the sample essentially narrowed and bounded case. In addition to the specification of the *instrumental* case study, conflated techniques used with the objective to undertake an exploratory qualitative case research. In addition, data triangulation - a hallmark of case study – was incorporated various sources to ensured rigour in data analysis through the corroboration of evidence. As noted by Baxter and Eyles (1997), triangulation is one of the most powerful techniques for strengthening credibility. It is based on the notion of ‘convergence’ when multiple sources provide similar findings strengthen the credibility of the research. Baxter and Eyles (1997) specifically allude to four types of triangulation - the use of multiple sources, methods, investigators and theories - to enhance rigour. As they

suggest, and as demonstrated in the following chapter, multiple source triangulation can be achieved with the use of quotations from several different respondents to confirm reoccurring themes between participants (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). Methods triangulation was also used by combining qualitative methods as a means to strengthen constructs based on information derived from at least two different methodologies. The application of Crabtree and Miller's (1999) prototypical techniques for data analysis in conjunction with the incorporation of Fleming et al.'s (2003) guidelines for analyzing and interpreting data for the phenomenological researcher, as a result, endorsed methodological corroboration. As suggested by Baxter and Eyles (1997), theoretical triangulation can amend the shortcomings of using only one theory to explain phenomenon, which fails to explain the complexity of lived-experience. The use of theoretical triangulation can be seen in the discussion in chapter four, when the examination of belonging exposed the shortcomings a paradoxically fractured framework of 'sense of place'. The technique of investigator triangulation was achieved through discourses on method, findings and interpretation with my supervisor.

Much like the evaluation of rigour for case study, the philosophical hermeneutic approach and design can also be evaluated to assess the degree of methodological coherence. According to Whitehead (2004), the hermeneutic phenomenology relies heavily on the self-awareness of the researcher to record the influence she has throughout this study. A key way of accomplishing this is to keep a reflexive journal in order to document and reflect on the changing nature of one's own horizon before, during and after data analysis and interpretation. As a result, the disclosure of autobiography and journal entries made disclosed the changing nature of my preunderstandings, which affected and shaped the outcome of research findings. Therefore the disclosure of the researcher as the 'research instrument' throughout this thesis pertains to the goal to enhancing rigour because as stated by Baxter and Eyles (1997), such information provides an audit trail for documenting the development of interpretations (see Appendix G for additional examples). As stated by Whitehead (2004), the act of journaling not only promotes intellectual rigour, professional integrity and methodological competence that affects the outcome of the study, it shows the investigators interpretative strategy that warrants dependability. In addition, methodological congruency can also be enhanced with the incorporation of a decision points matrix in order to guide the process of research. As noted by Whitehead (2004), in hermeneutic phenomenological research, the capacity to follow a decision trail relating to theoretical, methodological and analytical choices is an important indicator or trustworthiness. To ensure that my research is methodologically congruent with Gadamer's ideas about the nature of truth and reality, an approach-specific decision point matrix was applied to this study (see Appendix H for details).

Finally, measures for credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability can also be strengthened by thick description. According to Baxter and Eyles (1997), detailed thick descriptions are methodological and interpretive strategies that demonstrate how constructs and hypotheses are developed and how meanings are derived. In this study, the use of narrative structures and the incorporation of quotes from the participants were not only viewed as the participants' stories from their own re-telling in chapter three, but

they were critical building blocks that are essentially needed before the second order of interpretation can be carried out in my subsequent discussion and concluding chapter. As stated by Baxter and Eyles (1997), the use of thick description illustrates the credibility of the study and the researcher's interpretative strategy for trustworthiness in constructs-to-data matching. In addition, the use of thick description is also important for transferability. Although the study was bounded by time and context, the transferability of this study may still be plausible as a result of thick description (Baxter & Eyles, 1997).

3. Chapter Three: Results

The purpose of this chapter is to provide thick description of the narratives in order to embed the themes within the life history of the participants in the following chapter. The first half describes their life and journey from Vietnam, to the refugee camp, and to Canada, and speaks to the overall process of journeying from home. The latter sections present their ideas about home and identity through time and place.

3.1 Living in Vietnam

Most of the participants began their lives in Vietnam. Life was simple for Vinh as a child in Vietnam. She recalls a normal childhood where everything was ordinary and repetitive. When asked during the interview, “What was life like for you in Vietnam?” Vinh replies:

“Same - go to school, go home to eat and sleep and do homework. And tomorrow, you go to school again.” -Vinh

Vinh, the youngest of five children in her family, was born to a fishing family in Hai Phong in North Vietnam. Similarly, Ngoc who grew up with parents who specialized in small trade in the commune market in Hai Phong, describes her life at a young age as

“Very calm. We were just students...we were children. Our parents took care of so we didn’t know anything. Our parents nurtured us, fed us and let us go to school. We caused trouble and would get into fights [laughs].” - Ngoc

Minh was eighteen years of age when he left Vietnam. His father was a doctor and he had a fortunate upbringing. Minh explains:

“I had a very good life in Vietnam. My family, we lived in the city. My family kind of had money at the time so we never had to worry about life or anything and I just grew up going to school, and when I left, I was in second year of university.” -Minh

For these participants, the recollection of their childhood and upbringing in Vietnam was of child-like naivety as a school pupil while living in a sheltered and care-free environment – this was their definition of normality. For the majority, the war was not a significant element in their memories of their childhood. The participants born in Vietnam remembered their childhood as orderly and ordinary. Nevertheless, Vietnam was undergoing major political and social change after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Re-education camps and programs such as the ‘New Economic Zone’ were formed as a technique for indoctrination and repression. As a result, some participants, like Hoan, who lived in South

Vietnam during this time, expressed concerns about the effect of the political reform on their lives. Hoan explains that for her the prospect of the future was uncertain:

“After 1975, it’s not much of a future, you know. I was considered an outcast. Because we live in and work for the South government, so when the North took over later on, our privilege [was taken away] so it’s kind of sad. So we don’t see that we have a good future there...They just took over the government and only the people who support communism have a future. The rest of us felt like we were defeated, and now we are at the mercy of the new government, which is not pretty.” -Hoan

For Hoan and her family, the fear of being forced to go to one of the ‘New Economic Zones’ (or ‘Vùng Kinh Tế Mới’) programs to work as peasants in a collective farming experiment, was disheartening:

“...the work situation, they had to push you to new development area called ‘Vùng Kinh Tế Mới’, where it’s not developed and it’s like a jungle and you have to [laughs and motions the clearing of paths in a jungle] and it’s not developed and we’re used to our work and the place where we go to school and we had to build a life like that? And we feel gloom.” -Hoan

Anh also experienced a sense of fear. Raised by his uncle – a lieutenant colonel in the former South Government - Anh explains that the state of living in fear was the reason why his family decided to leave the country when he was nine years old:

“Well, my uncle said that we are going to escape cause my uncle served for the US military so he doesn’t like to stay in Vietnam cause every time the dog barks or something, he get’s scared so his motive was that, ‘I have to leave Vietnam’”. -Anh

People’s reasons for leaving the country were numerous. For young men like Minh, leaving the country during this time was a solution for forced enlistment in the army:

“But the reason that I left is because my father think that because at that time even though you graduate from the university, you still have join the army for 3 years right. And at that time, there was a war between Vietnam and Cambodia, and a war between Vietnam and China. So my parents think that it’s a waste of time even if I graduate because I would still have to join the army. And joining the army, coming back in one piece is very slim so they don’t like that idea. So that is why they said, ‘You have to go’ even though I had no other reason to go.” -Minh

Whether fleeing the North or the South, what was certain in the participants’ minds was the hope of a brighter future with better opportunities. Hung, who was

married, explains that leaving the country meant both freedom and better opportunities for his family:

“I didn’t see that there was a future for my children and if I stayed, I wouldn’t have freedom. So that’s why I left. I believed that if we came to a place that was free, it would be better and I can press on and work harder and our life would prosper and we would have more opportunities and our children can get a higher education. In Vietnam, you can only get a good education if you have money because where I lived in the North; there was only one university in Hanoi, which is the country’s capital. But here, there is a university in every province so therefore it is easier for our children to go to school and get an education.” -Hung

On the other hand, some had misconceptions and a false impression of what a new life outside of Vietnam would look like. With only enough family savings to send herself and her sister, Ngoc’s parents instructed her to set up a trading and selling business in the markets of the new country as a means of supporting the remaining family members back home:

“...my parents wanted those of us who know how to trade to come here and work and send money back to Vietnam. They thought this country was like Vietnam and you can trade here [laughs], so they let us go.” -Ngoc

3.2 Leaving and Journeying Out to Sea

Vinh recalls leaving Vietnam without much thought because her family was leaving:

“My parents and brothers and sister were leaving so I went. After I left, I missed my boyfriend [laughs]”. -Vinh

As a 9 year old boy, Tung, whose father was a fisherman by trade, remembers not realizing what was happening the day he and his family left Vietnam for good. Like any kid at that young age, Tung did not question an ordinary fishing routine that day,

“I guess you don’t have any choice right? I remember that it was just normal for us to know that our parents are just preparing on the boat, and they’re preparing the family. It’s just a normal thing, you go out to sea and fish but the next thing I realized was that we’re gone away, our family and relatives are on the big boat and there’s no going back.” –Tung

After leaving the country, however, the journey became a sobering process. The chance of not making it to their destination was high, while dying at sea was a distinct possibility as they journeyed further away from shore. Problems faced on the waters

included stormy conditions, sea sickness, personal disputes, hunger and thirst, broken vessels, and the risk of dying. The journey through these harsh conditions required significant emotional and psychological endurance.

As Vinh reflects on this memory she recalls the sense of fear she experienced:

“It was sad when we got to the middle of the sea. With the waves smashing against the sides of the boat, and with the likelihood of drowning, I was sad and scared.” –Vinh

Anh remembers trying to experience on the boat:

“...on the 4th day we hit the sea storm and the waves were as big as the building and the captain had the experience so he guided us through the storm. Everybody just throw up all over the place...and we just sit in the bottom of the boat and the water came in, with you know, vomit, and pee all over and you just have to hold your ground and you just start praying, hoping that you’re not gonna die...” -Anh

Ngoc recalls that before leaving she had a child-like naivety about the danger she and her sister were going to face. Here, Ngoc compares her immature thinking with the actual situation out at sea:

“We just think that when we go out to the sea, there will be a ship that pick us up and take us [laughs]. We think like that, [like a] baby. And there’s nothing. Just water and sky. We see nobody. There wasn’t even light. Darkness and water and that’s it. And I even see the people die on the sea. They’re dead on the waters and they’re floating, floating and we can see them. Yeah. And [the ones who] have experience right, you know the fishermen, they ask, ‘do you know how that is a women? The women float on their back because their bottoms are heavy. She dies and floats.’” - Ngoc

Like the others who escaped Vietnam during this time, the journey was on a makeshift wooden family fishing boat that was prone to leaks. Minh recalls his first time being out at sea, and being too sick to help empty the boat of water:

“Scary. I never went on a boat before so that was my first time. And I was sea sick the whole 10 days that we were on the sea...because the water was leaking into the boat, and I was 18, a young man, right? I was supposed to help get the water out cause everyone was supposed to take a turn to get the water out. And it was my turn ...because it is wooden and the water can still get in somehow, slowly, so people take turn to get the water out. And I didn’t know much because I was half unconscious most of the time, but it was scary for me, pretty scary.” -Minh

On Ngoc's boat, she also had to help empty the water. This was one of the many challenges that they faced on their boat:

“A lot of people thought we were gonna die, but I was too young to know if I'd die or not [laughs], who knows? I just knew to get the water out of the boat [laughs]. A lot of people say, 'if we are gonna die then let's die on the sea cause they don't want to die back in Vietnam'. So we kept on going. The boat was cracked so we had to sail into the borders of China. And there were fight too... Fighting and they [threatened to] throw you into the sea... I was afraid of being thrown over. If you have gold and you didn't give it to them, then they'll throw you into the sea, so you had to give it all to them, your bag of gold...No deaths but hands chopped off, [laughs], you know.”
-Ngoc

Anh also recalls a fight that broke out onboard between his uncle and the owners of the boat. As Anh explains, the owners of the boat were mistreating the rest of the people by giving them the dirty water to drink instead of the clean water, which was being used to wash the owner and his family's clothing,

“One guy holding a hammer and a [tape unclear] got ready to fight, and people just going out and say are they gonna kill each other on the boat. Yeah, I think my uncle would win cause the other guy was so skinny. Everyone was upset. Everybody wanted to back up my uncle, ready to beat up the whole family there... [but] we didn't. Everyone just say, 'we are here you look for freedom so why kill each other on this boat?' And then my uncle listened to that man, the captain, the one that drive the boat, and he calmed down and then the owner of the family started to treat up better, a little bit better.” -Anh

Death at sea was also a common theme. Leaking boats and broken vessels increased their chance of death out at sea, which contributed to the heightened tension on the journey even more. The times on the boat were difficult for all the participants. For the fortunate ones, the crossing was shorter and lasted only 10 days, while for others, the journey to the country of first asylum took as long as 2 months.

3.3 Life in the Refugee Camp

For Hoan, Ngoc, Vinh, Minh, Tung, Anh, Hung, and Nam, life in refugee camp was another chapter in their story. For the remaining participants, Lien, Hanh, Trang and Von, who were born in Hong Kong, their journey to Canada began here, in their parents' country of asylum.

For Trang, Von and Hanh, who were ages two, four, and five respectively at the time of their arrival in Canada, they said that they were too young to remember their life in

the refugee camp. Aside from photos and what her parents had told her about life in the refugee camp, Lien, who was five when she came to Canada, recalls lining up for rice in the camp - a daily routine in getting food:

“I remember lining up for rice, rice that barely filled your stomach...and it would take hours before it was our turn. Cause of the whole entire camp had to line up and I remember standing in line with a big bucket in hand [laughs].” -Lien

All the refugees who journeyed from Vietnam were able to recall the experience of living in the camps. For these individuals, the conditions of the camps and the experience of living there was dependent on the time of their arrival and the camps they were placed in.

For Hoan, who was one of the earliest refugees to leave Vietnam, she and her family arrived at an Indonesian camp in 1981 (see Appendix I). Her stay was shorter in comparison to the other participants, and the living conditions in her camp were less crowded. Hoan only had to stay in the refugee camp for a total of eighteen months before being sponsored by the Mountain Fund in Hamilton to come to Canada. She describes her experience in the camp as being “okay”. To keep herself occupied, Hoan was able use to her skills to volunteer as a typing instructor at the occupational centre in her camp. Her living conditions were “not bad” and “peaceful” with the only complaint of not having enough food to eat:

“It's okay for a refugee camp, not bad, not a lot of food though...No, mostly canned food...Oh, we just go around but I taught at an occupational centre. I taught typing....It was peaceful....” -Hoan

Unlike Hoan who spent her time in Indonesia, Minh, who reached Hong Kong in 1982, encountered a less cordial environment. Minh recalls a particular situation upon arrival and describes the overall state of his camp as “crazy” and crowded:

“Crazy. I got into a fight just 1 or 2 days after I got into the camp...Yeah, [with] another person from the camp. And I think in every camp it's like that. The older people always try to bully and take advantage of you...People who have been there longer, before you, those...There were some gangsters and they just try to show people that they have power. Some young people who have nothing to do would try to pick a fight for fun. Some people really try to find out if you have anything valuable so they can take it from you. And when people live too close to each other, trouble happens...It's so close together things always blow up...but people learn how to protect themselves. People learned how to survive.” -Minh

The temporary holdings for refugees were overcrowded and the relocation efforts of the United Nations and the receiving countries were becoming overburdened as a result

of the increasing rate of people leaving Vietnam. This dilemma was pressing for people at all ends of the spectrum as Minh explains:

“We were one of the last boats that came before the deadline, pretty close. I think we were one of the second last or something like that. Because they close on the first day of July or something and we came at the end of June...that was the deadline but people still came and it forced them to [extend the] deadline later on. I don’t know when that was, what year it was but...then they closed it again. Because at that time, way too many people left Vietnam already and the United Nations had trouble maintaining those refugee camp and the 3rd country may be tried of receiving refugees so they forced those refugee camps to close but people still come...” -Minh

As a result, the increasing number of people arriving at the camps created a backlog of people waiting for sponsorship to the third country. The duration of time spent in the camps along with other factors such as the management of the camps, increased the holding time for refugees who were arriving at a later date, and this caused tension within the camps. Minh explains the unease he experienced as a reaction to the strange and uncustomary situation that was taking place around him, and the irony of being in enforced confinement while journeying towards freedom:

“The way the police treats us, made you feel weird already. For some other people, it may not be too strange to them. But for me, I never get into that situation before, the policemen with the stick, like they try to scare you down...It’s like they are trying to intimidate you because someone might try to make trouble for them so they just try to scare you first just to make sure you stay under control. But I’m not used to that. I’ve never been in that situation so I feel pretty strange. Never been put into some kind of camp like this before. We had freedom all the way until I left the country. Never put in any type of camp and have a wall around you like a jail house, it’s a very strange feeling...Because back home, we heard that people who first came were treated differently but it’s understandable. Later we understand. If you have 2 or 3 people, it’s easy to treat you nicely, but of you have thousands of people and they keep coming, you don’t know what to do” – Minh

Nam was the last refugee in the study to leave Vietnam in 1986. He was placed in ‘Het Ming Cho’, a refugee camp off mainland China, before he was taken inland to Hong Kong, where he was eventually able to obtain a work permit. Nam describes the monotony of daily life and outlook of the future during his three year stay in Het Minh Cho:

“Yes there were good and sad times. Living in the camp is no different than living in a jail. All day you’re just wandering around within the fence. You’re not allowed to go outside. There’s nothing to do and the days just go on like that....There were a lot for people so that helps. You were depressed

if you thought about your future. Because living in the camp you didn't know when the day would come when you'd get to leave and be free."

-Nam

Hung, who spent only two years in a refugee camp in Hong Kong - a relatively short time as compared with those like Vinh who spent a total of seven years in the camp - also alluded to the frustration of people within his own camp. Hung recalls a protest that took place during his time in the camp:

"Oh it was sad [laughs]. Because at the time none of the countries were taking refugees and offering them *định cư* [permanent settlement], and that was why people had to wait 2 years. So afterwards, the people in the refugee camp protested. We refused to eat for 4 or 5 days so that the other countries would have pity on us as well as the United Nations. So countries like Canada, one of the more humanitarian countries, they took in a lot of Vietnamese people from the refugee camps in Hong Kong after that time."

-Hung

The experience in refugee camps also varied depending on the age of those living there. For children like Tung and Anh the experience in the refugee camp was carefree and fun. With the basic necessities of food and shelter being met, Tung, as a thirteen year old boy enjoyed his time in the camp:

"It was great. It was great. I don't know, for me as a child, growing up there, I found that it was a lot of fun with all the kids. There were a lot of kids there. We had a lot of fun. You didn't have to worry about food cause they always provide you with food and there was always a place to stay."

-Tung

Anh recalls a sense of adventure living on an island, and remembers exploring to find fresh produce:

"It was good, I liked it. I learned how to swim there and we got to travel throughout the island cause we actually have no vegetables and stuff so we have to go look around the island for fruits cause all they only give us is rice and canned of food but what you need is vegetables so we go around and we fished too. It was fun. It was like a summer vacation for young kids but for the big people, they worry about what the future and what they were going to do. They were all stressed out. But the young kids, they just didn't care."

-Anh

As a young adult, Minh also expressed the same sense of adventure as he perceived the experience to be an opportunity to learn and explore different things in a new place:

“It was an adventure for me, yeah, an adventure for me because I was young. It’s like I wasn’t afraid of anything. Everything is new and everything is something new you want to learn about...so it was different for me. But for the older people, and for the women, maybe it was difficult for them? But for me I think, ‘I like it.’” -Minh

Ngoc was twenty-two when she lived in the refugee camp. When asked about her feelings about living in the camp, Ngoc said that she was “happy” at a young age because she had a boyfriend, the opportunity to work, and the freedom to be independent as a young woman:

“Happy because I had a boyfriend [laughs]. You have fun and you’re working. You know in Vietnam, you’re just going to school. We would never think that we’d be here working, playing and going to the movies. Freedom! No parents so you’re living in a different world. It’s like heaven already [laughs].” -Ngoc

Hung explains that the thought of living in a foreign country was unimaginable. He recalls thinking what other places outside of Vietnam would be like and not being able to comprehend it as a young person living in Vietnam:

“When I was still in school, I had a friend who went to Poland for school, and [back then] I couldn’t even dream of such places because it was beyond my imagination and I couldn’t comprehend it.” -Hung

Minh makes an interesting inference and draws a convincing conclusion about the reason why the experience of the younger people diverged from that of the older generation. He suggests that the older people’s experiences in the refugee camp were influenced by the insular nature of Vietnam, which produced a closed-minded disposition in those who had lived there. In contrast, Minh explains how he sought every opportunity outside of Vietnam, perceiving his experience as a chance to live out his dreams of the imagined outside world:

“The country is pretty closed. We don’t have much contact with the outsider. We have family members who lived in France for a long time, for 50 years or something but we hardly had any connection, any communication at all. You see how closed Vietnam is. We know a lot about the outside [world] through reading, through movie, through the imagination, right, and when you get the chance to actually experience it, for me it’s a treasure. That’s why I really, really, like it. People may say, ‘Oh I don’t like it in Hong Kong because there is too much trouble’. I don’t [feel] any different...but now we really experience what [we] imagined many years ago in our head, right, the outside world so that is why I like it. But you have to be a certain age, a certain age. My father, I remember, he never know anything about Paris, right, but he studied French before

because it was related to the medical terms, and [through] books that he had to read, he learned French and somehow he learned a little bit about France. But through the conversation I had with him, I kind of picture out what Paris looked like, right. See? And we really dream about one day we can walk on the streets of Paris and those kinds of things. And it happened, in 1994! I walked the streets of Paris! And when I walked there, the feeling in me is, 'I know this place already' even though this is the first time...because the country was so closed, people lived in their imagination a lot." -Minh

3.4 Preparation and Misconception of Re-Settlement

None of the participants anticipated that their place of re-settlement would be Canada. In fact, most people's first choice of country was Australia, while some preferred the United States.

Ngoc, who went to the United States before being sponsored to come to Canada by her fiancé, explains why some people had preference for the going to United States instead of Canada:

"In Vietnam I heard that Australia and Canada was better than the U.S. because the U.S. fought us in the war so we were afraid of the them, but the Southern Vietnamese, they like the U.S. because they lived with the Americans so they wanted to go to the United States. They even cried when they found out that they were going to Canada." -Ngoc

Even though he had an uncle who lived in the United States who wanted to sponsor him, Minh stated that the immigration officers from the United States did not come to his camp to give him an interview as a result of the fighting that was taking place between the Northern Vietnamese and the Southern Vietnamese in the camp. As a result Minh had to wait three years in the refugee camp despite having a potential sponsor soon after arriving in the camp.

For those like Minh, the decision to sign up for an interview with the Canadian immigration officer was made because the chances of going to the United States were doubtful. Minh explains:

"Because people were fighting in the camp, so all of the 3rd countries cancelled the sponsorship at my time. So even though I got sponsor papers from my uncle, the [immigration officer from the] United States didn't even come to my camp to do the interviews. So I had been waiting, and waiting...the North and the South [Vietnamese] people were fighting so the 3rd country...stopped coming to the camp to do the interviews. So people had to wait longer. Before that, people just waited a few months and there was somebody that would pick them up. But at that time, I had to wait 3

years and that was considered short because people who had come on the same boat...stayed even longer....we knew that it didn't matter how good life gets in Hong Kong, it was just temporary. You have to go to your 3rd country and I think that 3 years is long enough. And for me, in the back of my mind was, 'I have to go back to school and if stay longer here I'm going to lose a lot of time to catch up'. So I wanted to get out of there as soon as possible. So when they had an opening and I signed up for the interview...At that time I know that I couldn't go to the United States to my uncle and my aunt, so I whichever country is fine to me. So Canada happened to be the one gave me an interview. I didn't know much about Canada." –Minh

As a South Vietnamese person, Anh agreed that people had less enthusiasm about living in Canada. Anh recalls people's reaction when his family received news that they were going to Canada. While others in the camp mocked them about living in an "igloo country," Anh's uncle's made light of the situation in order to uplift the family's spirits:

"Most people wanted to go the U.S. or Australia and that's it. Canada? They wouldn't have it. Is it gonna be a good country to go to? They always think it's cold. We all think, 'oh man, why come to this freezing country, right'...people would say, 'Canada is a freezing country! Igloo country!' [laughs]. But then my uncle said, 'well, new experience. Let's see what happens. Maybe it's more peaceful than the U.S.'. That's what he thought. So he said it was more peaceful. So we just [took a chance] and we couldn't wait to see what happens." -Anh

Although his first choice for country of re-settlement was Australia, Hung was told that he did not have a choice but to go to Canada. Subsequently, he came to terms with this fact and assured himself that Canada was a better option than some of the other choice countries:

"Because I had relatives and close friends who went to Australia and at that time, I wanted to go to Australia because I thought that the weather there was better. But afterwards Canada helped me, and the people from the United Nations said that you have to go to the country that accepts you and if we didn't go, then we would've had to stay there permanently, for the rest of your life! But when I came here, I thought it was good. Although Canada is cold, it is still good...Our people in the refugee camp said that Canada is refrigerator [laughs]. But it was still one of the top countries in the world and we were happy about that. It's better than going to Finland, Northern-Europe, or to Sweden." -Hung

Before coming to Canada, none of the participants knew anything about Canada – where it was, what it was like or what life in Canada would be once they arrived. As Minh explains, people simply did not know anything about Canada or even its existence prior to being placed here:

“We didn’t know much about Canada. Canada was the very last country that we think we’d go to...Because Vietnamese people don’t know much about Canada. They knew about the United States. They knew more about France because Vietnam was a French colony.” -Minh

Unlike Minh, Nam who arrived in Canada in 1991 heard from friends already living in Canada about what to expect after sponsorship therefore had the advantage of knowing what to expect once he arrived. Hoan, on the other hand, had to do some research before coming. She recalls being shocked after dispelling her misconceptions about Canada:

“I thought it was like frozen the whole year round. I thought there was no sunshine at all! Yeah [laughs], it was funny, we went to the library after we got accepted by Canada, [and saw] some pictures...and it was very bright, sunny, [and people] wear bikinis, on the beach! ‘Is it Canada?’ ‘Is it like that?!’ So it’s kind of funny because I thought it would be very cold all year round.” -Hoan

Anh also had a misconception about his new life in Canada. While still living in the refugee camp and waiting for his departure, Anh was under the false impression, and hope, that his new life in Canada would include an adoption of his entire family by a white Canadian family:

“When we were there we always think that when we come to Canada, probably some white family will take us in at the adoption [agency], you know, to adopt the whole family. We dreamed of having our own room. Our own bedroom with a nice single bed and eat potatoes with the white people [laughs]. Yeah, when I was at the Pearson Airport, my mind was thinking that way and my uncle and my aunt too. We were all thinking the same thing until a taxi came and took us here to a restaurant where we stayed there for a month.” -Anh

Vinh did not realize that life in Canada required her to work hard. Her only impression of Canada was that was a refrigerator:

“I didn’t know anything. What’s there to know? I only knew that it was a refrigerator [laughs]....it was cold, so it’s a refrigerator. It’s freezing [laughs]...I don’t know. I’d imagine that life would be just eating and playing. Who knew that when you come here you’d have to work so hard.” -Vinh

3.5 Re-Settlement and/or Relocation to Hamilton

There were three possible routes which each participant took to get to Canada: (1) through direct government sponsorship, (2) through private sponsorship, or (3) through the family reunification program.

Anh was the only participant that re-settled in Hamilton as a result of government sponsorship. Hoan and Hung were both sponsored by the Mountain Fund in the early 80s and settled in Hamilton as a result. Both Minh and Nam were also sponsored by the Mountain Fund; their connection was through friends who had been previously helped by the same organization. Both Ngoc and Trang came directly to Hamilton as a result of the family reunification program. They both had family who were living in Hamilton at the time.

For those like Anh and Hoan, Hamilton was a place where they were initially re-settled once they arrived in Canada. Anh came as a result of government sponsorship, while Hoan received private sponsorship through the Mountain Fund. Trang's family was sponsored through the family reunification program. She and her family moved to Hamilton because her uncle was living here at the time. Lien, her younger brother Von and their entire family were sponsored through the family reunification program. They were initially re-settled in Toronto, where a close relative who sponsored them lived.

Many of the participants relocated to Hamilton because of the growing Vietnamese community here, and as a result having a lack of community and feeling isolated in their place of initial re-settlement. For example, although Vinh was initially sponsored and re-settled in Regina, Saskatchewan, she and her family moved to Hamilton after only a few days of living there. Vinh, who had a brother and relatives living in Hamilton at the time, reasoned that Regina was too cold and isolating. Von and Lien's parents also felt that Hamilton was the best place to raise their family and moved here as a result.

For all of the participants, living and adapting to a new place and a new culture, and learning a different language, was challenging. The prospect and subsequent process and experience of re-settling in Canada was more difficult for the older participants overall.

One of the first challenges for the participants was finding a place to live. Hung and his family, who were sponsored by the Mountain Fund, were initially placed in a home on London Street in Hamilton. This was a temporary living place for new arrivals provided by the Mountain Fund until a more permanent dwelling place became available. Hung talked about the difficulty of living and sharing a house with other new arrivals:

“There were 3 families and 2 single people [laughs] in the house. So in the house, each family occupied one bedroom and we shared the common areas...It was difficult because you had to live together with a lot of people, a lot of families, in a house with so many kids and adults. Yes - it was very difficult.” –Hung

Anh and his family had to live for a month in a hotel downtown – a temporary dwelling place organized by the government for new refugees. Anh recalls the isolation he and his family experienced initially after coming to Hamilton:

“Like a hotel which contained all of the new refugees, the new refugees back then, and they would give us a room...and then they would serve us breakfast, lunch, dinner, 3 course a day and after that we went back to your rooms again...the first few weeks we were scared ...we didn’t go out at all. And then by the 3rd week my uncle was kind if bored and then he said, ‘we gotta get out, this is kind of like a jai’. So we went to look around Hamilton and then we saw the Farmer’s market and then we went to the Hamilton City Hall, Football Hall of Fame and we took a lot of pictures there too.”
–Anh

Similar to Anh’s uncle’s experience, Vinh explains that the feeling of isolation and sadness was influenced by the unfamiliarity of living in a new place with the inability to navigate:

“When we first came, we didn’t know English, we didn’t know where to go, or how to drive a car, and that’s why we were sad.” -Vinh

Relying on help and assistance from others was critical for the re-settlement of the refugees. Hoan recalls receiving help from volunteers. These volunteers themselves were refugees that were sponsored by the Mountain Fund and they helped Hoan and other newcomers to adjust to the unfamiliar environment and customs. For example, they taught Hoan how to use appliances as well as other unknown practices and arrangements:

“Yes. We lived in an apartment on our own. We had people, like Vietnamese people from the group who came and teach us. [They] showed us where to shop for food and clothes, and what to do with the soap and things like that.” –Hoan

Food was a critical issue for the Vietnamese refugees in Hamilton: where to buy food, adjusting to the different type of food, and living without and substituting for the lack of food. The issue of food is reflective and symbolic of the Vietnamese refugees’ process of adapting to a foreign culture where their own customs and traditions are challenged and they are confronted by a different way of life.

In addition to not having fresh food, a significant challenge for the new refugees in Hamilton was the lack of knowledge and guidance about culturally acceptable food customs. Minh illustrates this by retelling an unfortunate situation where someone mistook dog food for dog meat,

“We didn’t eat the food that we eat now. Most of the foods were from cans and we go to Canadian grocery store. We buy some funny things. People

even buy dog food and cat food and eat them too. They didn't know. They think everything is edible [laughs]...Oh that happened to somebody I knew. There are a lot of funny stories. *I* don't think like that. You lack knowledge. You lack guidance. Language barrier. You want to try new things and people get into [unfortunate situations]...because people saw the picture on the outside and so they think it's dog meat. And they didn't know that people didn't eat dogs here." -Minh

Because there was no Asian grocery store in the city, some people resorted to purchasing and killing their own livestock in order to obtain better food – a practice that Minh thought Caucasians would not understand:

"We don't like the meat that they sell here because it's too soft. So we went to the farm and bought our own livestock [and butchered it] in our basements [laughs]. Those type of things I think we should hide from the Caucasian because they don't understand. [They say], "why do you people have to do that...why don't you just buy it?" But the whole reason is because it's cheaper to do it [by yourself] and another thing is, we don't like that soft chicken, now we are use to it but before I didn't like to eat it. We don't like to eat the frozen foods. We like to eat fresh things." -Minh

They also found their own means to make traditional Vietnamese food:

"I remember my friend who was in the army before and he knew how to survive in tough situations so he was pretty handy. He did a lot of things by himself. And at that time, one of the traditional foods that we eat during the New Year in Vietnam was made with the head of a pig. But people are scared of it. People threw it away. They didn't know what to do with the head of the pig but [my friend] bought it and that was the main ingredient to make that thing. So he came home and made it and everybody enjoyed it." -Minh

Anh also recalls the joy of having his first home-cooked Vietnamese meal from a Vietnamese refugee woman his uncle met at the Farmers Market downtown:

"And when he and my aunt went to the Farmer's Market, that's when met Mrs. Dong, and she took us back to her apartment, which was on Stinson, and she cooked us a meal, a Vietnamese meal, which we hadn't had in a long time? Oh it tasted good and everybody loved it! Stir fried rice and sour soup." -Anh

Similar to food, language played a critical role in the integration of all the Vietnamese refugees. Everyone was required to learn English. While the older refugees learned English in ESL class, the younger people were particularly vulnerable learning

English amongst their peers in school. This left Anh and Lien feeling like “social outcasts.” Lien felt she did not fit in at school initially because of her inability to communicate:

“Everyone around me were like mainly Caucasian and it was hard cause you don’t know where to fit in and you don’t understand the language yet and because I was born in the refugee camp, the only language I knew was Chinese. So when they’re speaking to me and speak to them in Chinese, I [became] a social outcast.” -Lien

Anh explains that he no longer felt like an outcast once he was able to speak fluent English, a process which took him 3 years:

“I think when you start speaking English fluently, yeah, that feeling goes away cause you know that you have adapted to this country. But when you are still struggling to learn the language, that is when you feel like you are an outcast; you are an outsider...I think around 3 years. Yeah. The first year was okay and then the second year, I felt more confident, and by the 3rd year, that feeling, it just go away cause you have friends you can speak English. You can learn more things and you adapt to the culture.” -Anh

Upon arrival to Hamilton Minh and Hoan went back to school to get a higher education. Vinh, however, went straight to work in order to provide for herself and her family. She farmed for the first two years after coming to Canada, then found a more permanent job at the Levi’s factory in Stoney Creek. When asked why she worked as a seamstress, Vinh replies:

“Who knows. Here, you just take whatever people will offer you. We don’t know anything. We have no education. We don’t have any knowledge or any skills. We just work for whoever’s hiring.” -Vinh

Nam, the very last refugee to re-settle in Hamilton spoke about not having an education, the difficulty of finding work, and the experience of providing for himself after coming. Nam had to farm for a living and pick worms, an experience similar to Lien’s and Tung’s parents:

“For me when I first came to Canada, all I do is I go to school...but the only hard [adjustments] are for our parents, cause they have to look for a job. It is not easy for our parents to look for a job, a real job...Back then, we had family relatives that were picking worms at night time and they would say, ‘Okay, this is the only job that you can do. I recommend that you guys go and try it out’. So our parents, regardless of what kind the job was, they had to do it. They had to try and provide and get money for the family, so they did it. Picking worms is a very tough and hard job. You have to stay late at night time...back then, I remember that roughly five hundred worms was [worth] twenty dollars.” -Tung

Anh also spoke about the menial jobs his aunt and uncle had to do after coming to Canada, something they were not used to coming from a privileged lifestyle in Vietnam. Anh explains the obstacle of working again from the ‘bottom up’:

“My uncle and my aunt, they struggled a lot. They have to learn the language. They have to go to work. And they worked from the bottom up. I think their first job was cutting mushroom...They started cutting mushrooms and my aunt couldn’t handle it. She would fall cause you had to stand between the two beds cutting mushrooms and putting it into the box and she’s a small lady and she kept slipping and falling...when she was in Vietnam, she was an accountant and all she knew was number...and now after coming here, she had to do hard labour...Yeah, she’d come home and she’d usually cry.” – Anh

Although the challenge of starting over in Canada was difficult and their living standards were lower than what they had had in Vietnam, Anh explains that their previous hardship after the war prepared and enabled them to push through the early years of living in Canada:

“They were living as queen and king right. They had everything. My uncle had three cars and he’s a big guy in the military so all of his soldiers would come if he needed the car to be fixed or something. They would do everything for him. And he owned a big piece of land and a big house, and boom [laughs], they come [the North Government] and they lost everything. He went to concentration camp for three years and it was tough for him. You were having such a good life and now we were struggling. You would have to catch a mouse to have meat to eat. That’s how bad it was. So he struggled. But when they come here and they knew that they were going to face a tough battle but then they think of what happened before and then they say, ‘oh, this is no problem.’” –Anh

3.6 Settling: The Creation of Meaning of Home Place

While the initial re-settlement proved to be a challenging process for the participants, with time most were able to successfully adapt and integrate into their new surroundings. With the objective of understanding the participant’s comprehension of “home” – what place do they consider “home” – the interview initially probed the participants for reasons why they have chosen to remain in Hamilton after re-settlement, or why they have chosen to live and stay here after relocation. The reasons for living in Hamilton as described by the participants include objective factors such as its location, its relative peacefulness, its size, the network of family and friends one builds over time, its quality for raising a family, and the achievements one attains and the meaning one attaches to those experiences in a place:

“The Mountain Fund is here so they brought us here and we like it. It’s kind of peaceful and it’s small. It’s not so crowded like Toronto so we never wanted to move to Toronto so we stay here...I’m not sure about unique but like we are used to it, and then we grow to love it and everything around it...it’s a nice place, it’s not far from Niagara Falls so when visitor come to my place, it is close for them...It’s not crowded like Toronto.” -Hoan

“Like my family, I like living in Hamilton because it’s not that lonely like some other places. And you get used to the place you live in. So after living here for so long I don’t want to depart from it.” –Hung

“It’s intimate. It’s personal. You can go anywhere on foot...You can walk outside, maybe the area outside [isn’t so great] but [laughs] in comparison to Toronto, you feel safer. You know where to go if you need help. You know people that will take you in. Whereas in Toronto, it’s so cold and lonely, I just can’t deal with it [laughs]. And I think Hamilton was where all our big milestone were for our family - first car, first house, first University graduation in the family....like I literally feel it’s my home. Cause the thing is, for me it holds a lot of value. Like a lot of family move around here and there, but for me, it signifies a stepping stone for my family. Like we went from like nothing literally to our first car on Catherine Street, to our first apartment rental when we were able to afford rental on Sanford [from government housing], and to then now, our first House on Birch. It’s not loyalty, it’s out of loving.” –Lien

Virtually all of the participants stated that the only thing they did not like about living in Hamilton was the pollution from the steel mill. Von was the only participant who expressed he did not like living in Hamilton and would rather live somewhere else. Von did, however, acknowledge that he felt that the overall Vietnamese community in Hamilton was like his family:

“No. I’d rather go and experience something else, live in other places and feel, just feel [like this is] where I want to be... I feel like even though I don’t like it, I do feel like I have a family here, and the reason for that is because of the Vietnamese community in Hamilton. It’s big and everyone knows each other. So I feel that in a sense, it is like a [having] a family, just knowing people....That’s what makes it special for me.” -Von

3.6.1 Comprehending Home and the Vietnamese Idioms

The participants’ comprehension of the word “home” - what home is and where home is, was influenced by dialect. In Vietnamese, the word for ‘home’, về, is a verb. As seen in Appendix J, về means to retreat back to, to go back to, and to be back in. Although it can be used to express a forward motion, it is often used to expresses a backward motion

or retreat. This retreat can be towards a place such as a home; the place of one's origin, the place where one used to live, or the place where one currently resides. The word về is also used in the context 'of being in relation' to something else; as in being 'about' something or even belonging to something such as an object, a person, or a place. The only time về corroborates with the Western word 'home', is when the word home stands alone as a noun. In this case the person who is going home would say, "tôi đi về", which translates, "I'm going home", where tôi is 'I', đi is 'go', and về is 'home'. The various meanings of "home" in the Vietnamese language can be illustrated in the following transcript.

INT: So let me ask you, when you say you "go home" which places do you think of?

PAR: Go home where?

INT: Just go home.

PAR: Go back home? When you're dead?

Co-worker: Go back where?

PAR: Heaven?

INT: Okay, both.

PAR: I go to heaven. After when I die, I go to heaven.

INT: Okay, is there any other places?

PAR: There's no other places. There's only heaven. What other place would there be?

INT: Okay – "Go back to Vietnam"?

PAR: If I go back to Vietnam, then I'd go back to Hai Phong.

INT: And if you go home to your house.

PAR: Go back home to my house on the mountain to sleep and continue to back to work.

Co Worker: To see your husband and your children. The question you ask have no meaning.

PAR: Where else would you go to?

Co-Worker: What you are asking has no meaning. What are you trying to ask? If you're going to Vietnam, you'd go there later on when you're old, or right now, when you finish work in the evening and you'd go back to your house? What do you mean?

INT: Okay – go home, go home? Where is home?

Co-Worker: Home tonight. What? Where?

INT: Okay, if I'm only asking you about where you go when you go home, you think of all of these things, right?

PAR: Go home. You have to ask where you go at the end of the day.

INT: No, I don't want to ask you about the specific places because I want to know about which places you consider home.

PAR: My home? To see my husband and kids.

INT: So those places, what meanings do they have?

Co-Worker: To see your husband and children is the most meaningful.

INT: Okay. That is the most important

Co-worker: Yeah.

INT: Anywhere else?

PAR: Which other place? What other places are there?

Co-Worker: You go home/back to your house [in Vietnam] to visit your parents and when they die, who will you visit? That's it.

INT: So Vietnam is a place you can go back to but...?

Co-Worker-: It's the place where you were born and where you grow up, okay!

3.6.2 Scales and Home – Physical Boundaries and Social Meaning

Inherent in the meaning of home is a geographical feature. Table 2 describes the participants' view of home that grouped them into categories of physical boundaries that ranged from: (1) their house - structure, (2) their city - place of residence, and (3), their

homeland - Vietnam. This classification of home encompassed more than simply measurements of physical boundaries; it illustrates the relationship between the spaces and places of home and its link to family, identity, and roots. As a result, this understanding produced a social element to the meaning of home.

Table 2: The Scale of Home

Scale of Home	Categories	Codes
	Structure	house, apartment, relax, comfortable, secure, “you go out, you work and you’re tired and you’re stress, you deal with people but your area always comfortable even though you just go back home and [tape unclear] so feel better”, when you finish work in the evening, go back to your house, where you go at the end of the day, home tonight, Stoney Creek Mountain, comfortable there, a space, to lay down, relax and no one bothered me, to sleep and continue back to work
	Place of Residence	here, Hamilton, Canada, định cư = fixed settlement, now, future, at the moment, when I retire, nursing home, grew up, stay here, for so long, I guess this is your life, you adapt to everything here, start from the beginning, for a period of time, environment, different colour skin, different colour hair, not originally from Canada, Toronto, Calgary, Unites States, Canadian soil, Canadian citizen, the law will protect me, where you live your life comfortably, person living in Canada, job, realistically, livelihood, I know Canada, it’s like knowing your family, because I know Hamilton, my second home, this piece of land, we come here and we live here, reality, burial place.
	Homeland	Vietnam, roots, “chum khe gnot” = cluster of sweet star fruit, aunts and uncle, friends, memories, quê hương = homeland, you’d go there later on when you’re old, retire, Hai Phong , to visit you parents, born, belong, belonging, own language, originate, missed it a lot, people are so warm and friendly, come back, old tradition, my country, I will go back, bloody from Vietnam, original country, completely different zone, left the country, my identity, I go home to Vietnam and not come over to Vietnam, memory of Vietnam, I got so many memories, the coconut trees , the river and catching crayfish, the environment there, makes you feel like you are Vietnamese, a part of it, you cannot forget that place, visit my aunt and uncle, felt so warm, inside my heart it felt so good, where I belong, my country, my hometown, my homeland,

		“respect Vietnam as their original country and they were born here and you know it’s like a family it’s, a relative here to Canada and Vietnam is a relative”, like a sense of belonging, native land, our “seed”, ethnic identity, always conscience that I’m a Vietnamese person.
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3.6.3 Home as Family and the Link to Scale

When asked, “What places make you feel at home?” some of the participants directly spoke of family as the object that gives meaning to home. For Tung, home is an emotion that he feels when he is surrounded by his family:

“I guess, the only place is where you stay with your family, where all of your family is around you and you’re there. That’s when you feel home.”

-Tung

Hanh also expresses that family is at the centre of her home. Her family is what makes her home a home, and she decorates her home with family in mind:

“Just my home. Like my home, home. Like does that count? Cause there’s stuff that you put up that makes it more comfortable. Family, you know, that’s why I have a lot of pictures up...pictures of my grandparents... pictures of my parents, my dog...I try to decorate that way so I have stuff around me that is important to me.” -Hanh

Some participants also linked the concept of home as family (social meaning) to the physical places and scales of home. Vinh alludes to the scales of home by making reference to her place of residence, but more importantly, she identifies family as the reason why those physical structures are her home,

INT: If we are talking about home, which place is your home?

VINH: At the moment, it is Canada – Stoney Creek Mountain, okay. That’s my house. That’s my home [laughs].

INT: Why, why is it your home?

VINH: I have a husband. I have kids. I have grandchildren. That is why it’s my home, right.

Trang speaks about her house as her home. She explains that the familiarity of the city was an important factor in making a place her home. Like Vinh, Trang also attributes this familiarity to having family and friends around her, which is integral to her not feeling alone:

“I just can’t imagine living anywhere else cause I’ve been here all of my life and my actual home; like my house, is here. My family is here and it’s not strange to me. If I were to go to another city, who would I know there, what do I know there, places I know? But here it’s like, I kind of know the city inside out and I know where things are, I know where my friends are, I know where my family is and... You don’t feel alone.” -Trang

Both Tung and Anh made reference to their homeland as their home. While Anh was unsure about living in Vietnam in the future, Tung and Nam both expressed that they wanted to return to their homeland. Tung stated that he wanted to go back to his homeland and hometown, where his extended family still lives:

“I’m always dreaming that one day when I retire that I go back to my homeland where my aunts and uncles and my relatives who lives in Vietnam and I live there...I hope that I will go back to my country and retire because it’s my hometown; it’s my homeland.” -Tung

3.7. Settlement: Home through Time and Place

Many of the participants alluded to quantity of time lived in a certain place as a critical factor in their comprehension of home. Time distinguished their present location here in Canada from their former location in Vietnam. Time was needed in order for the participants to transition and adapt to their new environment. The older women made reference to the span of time in a place as an indicator of belonging. Most of the men did the same. The older people used this time-space relationship to place to comprehend and explain their ‘being’.

Time was needed for adaptation. Anh, who came to Canada at the age of thirteen, states that the number of years he has spent living in Canada has allowed him to adapt to everything here:

“Hamilton is just like...I grew up here...you stay here for so long...26 years of your life and I guess this is your life and you adapt to the everything here, the culture and everything...” -Anh

Hung, who came to Canada in 1985 during his early thirties, explains that more of his life has been spent living in Hamilton, which justifies his being here, and his calling Hamilton home:

“My home is where I’m happiest. Like my native land or hometown? I would call this my home. My second home [laughs]. I came here and I had my youngest son so this is his hometown cause he was born here. And I’ve lived here for a long time as well. Where I was born, I only lived there for 18 years, but I’ve lived here for 23 years so doesn’t that mean that I’ve lived

on this piece of land for a longer period of time? So I've live here longer than any other place I've previously lived in...This place is my home." - Hung

Similarly, Hoan refers to the span of time lived in this place to justify making home here:

"Well my home is here in Hamilton...I've lived here for more than half of my life already and, and everything is here and I make it my home...My family; my parents, my brother and sister, and children. Everything is here." -Hoan

Ngoc also speaks of the fact that she has lived longer in Canada than anywhere else:

"I've live more than half of my life here in Canada. But I was born in Vietnam, right? But that was only 18 years but I've lived here for 22 years...So 18 years in Vietnam and 26 years in Canada and the States, so of course I've lived here longer and I like it more." -Ngoc

3.7.1 Future Home: Permanent Settlement

For the participants who were born in Vietnam, the majority of them expressed that they consider Canada and/or Hamilton as their home and have made a permanent settlement here as a result. During the interviews two of the participants used the word "định cư" to express their making, and fixing, home here. In Vietnamese, the word "định cư" which means "fixed residence and fixed home", also reflects a journey of searching for a fixed place to live.

Hung, who stated that he was sad when waiting in the camp for the sponsorship of the third country, used the term *định cư* to mean the point in time in which he will transition from the camp into his new life:

INT: How long did you live in there?

HUNG: 2 years.

INT: What was your life like in the refugee camp?

HUNG: It was arduous. You're like a prisoner because everyone was in a camp that was fenced in and you weren't allowed to leave. In a day, they gave you breakfast, lunch and dinner and they gave you milk.

INT: What was the atmosphere like in the refugee camp?

HUNG: Oh it was sad [laughs]. Because at the time none of the countries were taking refugees or offering them come to *định cư*.

This word *định cư* describes the transition from temporary settlement to fixed settlement. As Vinh suggests, in the refugee camp, *định cư* was the means for obtaining fixed settlement but when she reached the destination for fixed settlement, *định cư* became the process of settling in.

Vinh first used the word “*định cư*” to explain her psychological reasoning for carrying on with normal life in the refugee camp. While Vinh stated that living in the refugee camp was like living in a prison, her life was actually fairly normal:

INT: So you got to Hong Kong, then what happened?

VINH: Then I lived in camp-prison.

INT: Camp-prison?

VINH: Clearly the refugee camp was a prison camp. We lived in the camp for 3 months. And then we went out to look for work. Then I got married. Then I had kids. And then I worked again. Then I came to Canada.

INT: You're speaking as though your life was very normal.

VINH: Yes.

INT: Did that seem normal?

VINH: Yeah. If that wasn't normal, then what else is normal? There's nothing special about that. You want something special?!

INT: No. It's not like everyone's life was like that.

VINH: Well, everyone's life is sort of like that - they get married, have kids, raise their kids then go to work, cook rice, do laundry. That's it! And the next day, you continue to work. What more do you want?

INT: So you lived your life from a day to day perspective.

VINH: You worry about the day you're alive for. You're living in the refugee camp in Hong Kong. Who knows when you can *định cư*.

INT: So you didn't know how long you were staying there.

VINH: I didn't know.

INT: So how long did you live in the refugee camp?

VINH: 7 years.

INT: Whoa. Were you worried about being able to get out?

VINH: I knew that I would. I just didn't know when.

Vinh later uses *định cư* to express how she was able to cope after arriving in Canada. *Định cư* was used as a means of comfort and psychological reasoning while making home in a strange place. *Định cư* was also an active decision and the turning point in her acceptance of her new home,

INT: How did you feel when you first came to Canada?

VINH: It was sad.

INT: Why were you sad?

VINH: Because it wasn't my homeland. But it was good afterwards, after we *định cư* here. When we first came, we didn't know English, we didn't know where to go, or how to drive a car, and that's why we were sad.

Her decision *định cư*, to make permanent settlement here, allowed her to cope with the sadness of re-settling and living in a new place. Vinh expressed later in the interview that her home will be here until she dies. Like Vinh, others including Hung, Ngoc, Hoan, Minh, do not have any intention of going back to Vietnam to live. For these participants their making home in Canada was influenced by their successful adaptation, security, comfort, and attachment to their new home. Their experience in this place through time resulted in a sense of familiarity, a sense of belonging.

Unlike the participants noted above who indicated that their current and future home is here, Tung, Anh, and Nam expressed an uncertainty about their future home. While Tung is certain that he will return to Vietnam in his old age, Nam and Anh were uncertain about the location of their future home. Their reflection on their journey from homeland and thoughts about their journey to their current home brought into view the question of 'ideal' home. The question of their future illuminated an *on-going* journey and search for home and their desire to belong.

Anh states that being in Vietnam allows him to connect with his homeland, his people, and his language. These all give him a sense of belonging – a feeling Anh longs for, as he indicates at the end of the following quotation:

“Generally I have that feeling that I was born there. Yeah I was born there and when you come back you think ‘I belong here’...I would like to live in Vietnam but sometimes [I think], ‘No, Canada is better. Clean air. It’s just when you go there and you speak your own language, you feel more belonging. You *belong* there....Sometime you’re just thinking, ‘maybe it’s a path you walk through’. Here, I don’t know, I have a different feeling. I think I belong in Canada but not as much as where you are born, where you originate from...Here, you feel you have freedom, you have opportunity to grow and stuff, but it’s just sometimes, you feel like home.” -Anh

Anh’s life in Canada is a source of comfort and security, which he felt was important as he sought to define the place of an ideal home. At the same time, Anh was certain that his home is where he can live among his people, speaking his native language. Such a place ultimately satisfies his need for a sense of belonging. Even though Anh states that his home “will be” in Hamilton, he also indicates that he sometimes believes he would much rather live in Vietnam. When asked, “Which place would you identify is home?” Anh was uncertain,

“Vietnam [laughs]. Yeah [pause]. I think Hamilton. I’d prefer Ottawa, cause it’s nice, clean city. But then again, most people say when you move out of the main capital city, it’s the same as Hamilton [pause] the living standard will be the same too. It’s just that when you are in the city you see no garbage and everything is so nice and flowers growing everywhere [pause] yeah, Hamilton will be my home...But, I went back to Vietnam, I had that feeling that you know, I was born here and this is *my* home, you now that feeling” -Anh

Anh alludes to quality of life and belonging as factors that signify home. As noted by Nam and many others, quality of life was the whole objective for leaving Vietnam in the first place:

INT: When you left, how did you feel about it? Why did you leave?

NAM: I thought life in Vietnam was too arduous. I saw others leaving so I left.

INT: What was the purpose of leaving?

NAM: At first, I think that I’m going to find a new life that is happier. Life in Vietnam is very hard.

After leaving Vietnam and spending approximately five years in the refugee camp, Nam stated that he was excited and looking forward to his new life in Canada. Through phone conversations with friends who had already been settled in Hamilton, Nam was told that “life here was good.” However, Nam feels that his life here was also arduous. As a result of having poor health and no education, it was difficult for him to obtain a sufficient job to support his family, leaving him to find supplementary work on the farm and picking worms. As a result, Nam now believes that his life in Vietnam would have been more prosperous and things would be better for him. Having said that, Nam explains that there are certain obstacles that makes the decision to move difficult:

NAM: I want to go back to Vietnam when I'm older. But you have to have money to go back and I still have little kids, how can I go back? That's what I think.

INT: So you'd want to have money so that you can go back to Vietnam and live?

NAM: Yeah. But that's not possible until later. The children are still young.

INT: But why do you want to do that?

NAM: I think it's better there - the weather and a lot of things are prosperous. So I would like it better if I had money then I would live there. Life is better there.

INT: How is it better?

NAM: Because life is easier there and if you have money you can buy a house and it cost less, well that is the situation at the moment, but I don't know if that'll change in the future. But overall the country is changing little by little, it's not going to stay the same as it is now.

INT: So if it changes, are you saying that your opinion about living there will change?

NAM: Yes. It'll depend on your circumstance as well. Like even if I wanted to, I wouldn't be able to go even if I had the money. The children are still young and who would take care of them?

Although Nam indicated that he wants to live in Vietnam in the future, he is uncertain about this prospect because he currently does not have the resources to do so. Although Nam believes that the current state of the country could offer him a better life, he is uncertain if things will remain that way. Similar to Anh, Nam is in limbo about his future home because he is uncertain and indecisive about the quality of his life and his future elsewhere. The thing he *is* aware of and certain about, is his identity:

“We are Vietnamese. Whenever we go, whenever we live, we still think about our own country, right. My generation is different than your generation. You were born here, right, and you’re used to the life here. Although I’m living here in reality, I am always conscience that I’m a Vietnamese person.” -Nam

3.7.2 Home Place and Self-Identity: Nationality and Ethnicity

As seen in the Table 3 below, of all the participants who were born in Vietnam, Hoan was the only participant who chose statement B, “I’m a Vietnamese person living in Canada,” as her identity. Hoan identifies herself as a “Vietnamese” person because she notes that amount of time she spent in Vietnam has made her cognitively aware of who she is. Nam, along with the other remaining participants who were born in Vietnam, stated that he was a “Vietnamese-Canadian”. Unlike Ngoc, Hoan, Minh, Hung, Anh, and Tung, Nam explains that being a “Vietnamese Canadian” means, “that [he’s] a Vietnamese person but [he] currently living in Canada”. Therefore, although Nam did choose C as his answer, his explanation and reasoning indicates that he also identified with B. Nam’s answer is similar to Ngoc, however Ngoc makes reference to her ethnic identity and states that she is a Vietnamese-Canadian. Similarly, Hung and Vinh explain that while their roots are in Vietnam, they currently live in Canada. For Tung, being a Vietnamese-Canadian means that he has adapted to the Canadian culture but it is important for him to find balance and not lose his Vietnamese culture and the old traditions. Anh and Minh both made reference to citizenship, which rationalizes their current country of residence. In addition, Canadian citizenship according to Anh represents opportunity, while for Minh it means protection.

For the younger participants who were not born in Vietnam, the explanation and meaning of being a “Vietnamese-Canadian” were centred on ideas of belonging. For Von, the meaning of being Vietnamese-Canadian goes beyond a Vietnamese person who lives in Canada; being Vietnamese-Canadian is living and being a part of Canadian culture. Von does not distinguish himself from other people but thinks of them as his family. Von states at the end that he knows who he is and that he belongs in Canada. Similar to Von, Trang also explains why she is a Vietnamese-Canadian by rationalizing why she was not simply a “Vietnamese”, a “Vietnamese person living in Canada” or why she is not just a “Canadian”. Trang explains that being “Vietnamese-Canadian” means that she belongs here, and having Canadian citizenship symbolizes her experience here over time. Being a Vietnamese-Canadian means embracing both cultures.

Lien chose A – “a Vietnamese” - as her identifier. She notes that while those around her are ashamed of their Vietnamese roots, she is now trying to tap into her roots. Lien is now exploring and becoming more interested in her Vietnamese culture and tradition, and embraces this part of who she is. She does not explain why she has chosen the identifier but gives an explanation of what it means to her to be a Vietnamese person. Her reference to Canadian identity is on the other extreme – those who are completely westernized and who does not acknowledge the other half of who they are. When Hanh

was asked which statement she identified with, Hanh did not pick any of them. She simply went into an explanation of why she felt she was not Vietnamese or Canadian. Hanh stated she does not feel like a Vietnamese person because she does not identify with the “Vietnamese” people who live in Vietnam. As a result she feels uncomfortable and does not feel that she belongs in Vietnam when she is there. On the other hand, if she called herself a “Vietnamese-Canadian”, that would mean she has completely integrated into Canadian culture. This was something she did not agree with because she feels she still values the Vietnamese traditions and customs, especially those centred on family. Keeping traditional values and teaching in the home is something Hanh wishes she could do better, and she would prefer a time when the practice of traditional values and customs in family upbringing was the norm.

Table 3: Self-Identity Chart

A) I'm Vietnamese B) I'm a Vietnamese person living in Canada C) I'm a Vietnamese-Canadian D) I'm Canadian		
HOAN	B	I don't know because like earlier in Vietnam, I came for 25 years old. The thing is I'm already divided; I'm a Vietnamese. For my daughter I think she can say she is a Vietnamese-Canadian.
NGOC	C	[If I go] anywhere, I'm a Canadian but my background is Viet. So I'm a Vietnamese-Canadian. That is the way I think.
VINH	C	Because we're Vietnamese. Our root is in Vietnam but we live in Canada.
MINH	C	I know that I'm a Canadian citizen and that the law will protect me. I left the country [when I was] pretty old already - 18 years old. I know my identity already, I know that I am Vietnamese. But I don't have a Viet citizenship, I have a Canadian citizenship, and that is why I say that I'm a Vietnamese-Canadian. A Vietnamese person living in Canada that has a Canadian citizenship.
HUNG	C	That means that I'm Canadian but my root is Vietnamese - that's our root. It's our seed.
ANH	C	Vietnamese-Canadian. Born in Vietnam and Canada give me an opportunity to become a citizen.
TUNG	C	Because I adapted to this environment, the society here but I still keep my old tradition in Vietnam and I try to keep it as much as possible to balance both things out. I don't want to lose everything from my country where one day I know I will go back. And if I don't know anything then it will be a problem for me.
NAM	C	It means that I'm a Vietnamese person but I'm currently living in Canada, okay.
VON	C	I'm Vietnamese-Canadian because I feel like I'm a Vietnamese person

		but living in a Canadian culture because Canadian culture is a lived culture and I feel like everyone is my family so I don't distinguish myself from everyone else. And as an individual, I don't feel isolated, I don't feel different because of my skin colour or from my ethnic background but I just feel like I'm both, because if I'm just Vietnamese, I don't differentiate myself from you, or anyone else. If [I say] I'm a Vietnamese person living in Canada, it basically means that I don't belong here; I don't belong in this country, I'm just living here, right? And if I'm [just] Canadian, then basically I'm not Vietnamese. So when [I say] I'm a Vietnamese Canadian, it's means that I don't feel any different, I can be [either] Vietnamese or Canadian and it still would not make a difference. I just feel like I know that I'm someone and I belong here in Canada
TRANG	C	It means I'm not just Vietnamese because I feel that if you're just a Vietnamese, you kinda live in Vietnam only. But then I don't feel like I'm a Vietnamese person living in Canada because I belong to this country. I am a citizen of this country and I've grown up here. I'm accustom to all of the Canadian custom and I keep my own Vietnamese custom as well. So I'm not just a Vietnamese person living in the country. And I'm not a pure Canadian so I consider myself a Vietnamese-Canadian where I kind of embrace both cultures in my life. Yepp.
LIEN	A	"A". I find that the more I live here the more I try to tap into my roots. Like my cousin - she's the same age as I am - the more she lives here, the more she calls herself a 'Westernized Vietnames'. She's like a pure Canadian, she feels actually ashamed of her roots. For some reason she and I just don't [have the same attitude or perspective] because I've become more traditional, like I love the Vietnamese opera, [laughs], because this is probably the most annoying and embarrassing aspect of Viet culture to the younger generation, I don't know why? You know, I love speaking Viet and I'm trying to tap into my roots more.
HANH	N/A	For me it's like I wish I was Vietnamese but I don't want to be Canadian. I kind of wish I could blend in a little bit better with Vietnamese people. You know, I wish I could go back to Vietnam and feel comfortable there. But I'm not. But then again, I don't really want to associate myself with like the melting pot because I may think in English and speak in English but I would prefer the way that things use to be – like with value, like with order, with respect. Yeah. And I think that we try to, like me and my husband and our family, we try to bring that into our kids but I know that that is hard because I know that even I can't do it because there is a lot of things that I don't know. So I wish that I knew more about the whole family concept, how Vietnamese tradition work. And Canadian? It's just not really anything. Canada? It's just a place for people, where anyone can live, you know what I mean? It's like the world and there are a lot of people from different countries in it [laughs].

4. Chapter Four: Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and interpret the themes that emerged from the data analysis with three objectives in mind. These goals reflect the objectives of the overall study, which were outlined in chapter one. In order to understand the refugee's experience through time in place, the discussion will incorporate two significant models to explain the sense of belonging of the Vietnamese Boat People: the transactionalist perspective and the phenomenological perspective. By using these models, I will demonstrate their usefulness for understanding the Vietnamese Boat People's lived-experience. The second objective of this chapter is to situate the findings of the study within the appropriate socio-cultural perspective of home - an area of research that is lacking in this body of writing - while interpreting the experience of the participants. By doing so, I hope to make better sense of the participants' comprehension of home and present the findings in a way that is both coherent with their understanding as well as congruent with their perspective.

In order to understand the story of Vietnamese Boat People and the participants' journey in finding home, the last sections of this chapter incorporates the less traditional concepts of rites of passage and liminality into this discussion of home as part of the dialectical process, which have been identified in the literature as a relevant concept to understanding home. The concept of rites of passage is insightful and revealing because not only does it resonate with the participants' stories, it also critically speaks to the knowing of 'home' from the perspective of 'being away' from home. The final section of the chapter is my second order interpretation of what it means to be Vietnamese-Canadian. It essentially brings into light the researcher as the 'research instrument' - a fundamental tenet of qualitative research. In addition, the section discloses my own preunderstandings, acknowledging the influence of my interpretation as part of the process of understanding through co-created meanings and "fusion of horizons" between myself and the participants - a key principle within the philosophical hermeneutic sub-approach that guided my analysis.

4.1 Home through Time

Time was a key component that emerged as an element that led the participants to identify with the sentiment of becoming comfortable with living Canada. They alluded to *time* as being one of the critical factors that influenced their sense of place. Moreover, the *span of time* in place surfaced as a measure for belonging. In particular, several participants made reference to either the exact number of years spent in Canada or the relative length of time, in comparison to the duration of time spent living in Vietnam. This indication suggested that time was used to rationalize a permanent fixing of home.

The experience of home for the Vietnamese Boat People can be explained using the transactionalist perspective because this model recognizes that there is a simultaneous and

dynamic interaction between culture, environment, and individuals, and more critically, that these interactions change over time. As noted by Case (1996), the transactionalist perspective comprehends the concept of home as being culturally bounded. Social status, roles and circumstances affect the way in which people experience and define home (Case, 1996). The physical environment also enables home to be the locale of experiences in places, as well as the setting that allows utilitarian practices to be carried out, which Case (1996) suggests, in turn acquires psychological significance through use. Case (1996) also suggests that with time, the physical and the socio-cultural environment may change and this can lead to the alteration of meaning for people within their physical settings, and this can include the meaning of home.

The difference in meaning of the term “refugee” in English and Vietnamese can also be a critical concept in this discussion of the meaning of home through time. The Vietnamese connotation of the word refugee can offer valuable insight into the concept of home for the Vietnamese Boat People. As noted in Adelman (1982), in English, the word refugee suggests the situation into which the individual arrives, whether it is a safe haven or not. In the Vietnamese context, the term suggests someone in transition, from what was previously safe towards something unknown, and the reference is to the perilous situation from which the person has fled (Adelman, 1982). Someone who is in transition and escaping an impending danger may in fact be someone who lacks a refuge, but someone who has found a refuge will no longer be a refugee. As stated by Adelman (1982), the Vietnamese view of a refugee person someone who is in transition and only when the individual no longer views himself or herself as being in process of transition, will he or she cease to be a refugee. The onus is on the refugee to transition Adelman (1982).

The experience of home through time enabled the participants to shed their status as ‘refugees’. The Vietnamese perspective conceptualizes the refugee as a person in transition until he or she makes the decision to permanently settle [*định cư*], settling and making home in place. On the one hand, time was required for the refugees to undergo this process of disembodying and disowning their former situational identity of being a refugee to transition from the status of placeless and homeless to having a home and even acquiring a belonging as Canadian citizens. On the other hand, the process of transition was defined and marked by the refugees’ themselves, which not only terminated the process of journey but also identified the temporal threshold that instigated a process of acquiring a Canadian identity.

4.2 Home through Place

As indicated by Case (1996), the phenomenological perspective is very similar to the transactionalist perspective because it conceptualizes the meaning of home also within the view of environmental concepts. The phenomenology model acknowledges that the interaction between individuals and their environments is cultural and social, and is influenced by time and by environmental elements that are integrated into people’s everyday life through appropriation. The phenomenological perspective also recognizes

that present experiences should be interpreted in light of previous experiences. Both transactionalism and phenomenology suggests that the ongoing interaction between individuals and their environments over time affects people in a way that can lead to a change of behaviour within their environments, which in turn can alter their perception of their environments. Although the dynamics of transactionalism and phenomenology are quite similar, the phenomenological perspective has a greater emphasis on the deep impact of interactions with one's environment rather than time.

As noted by Case (1996) unlike the transactionalist model, which views home as but one among many loci for interaction with the environment, phenomenology makes home the primary and central point from which the rest of the world is experienced and defined. Phenomenology believes that the origin of thought, and knowledge, is inextricably associated with place. Seamon (1979) suggests that the essence of phenomenology is captured within the notion that the experience in place is embedded in the duality of 'life-world' and 'being-in-the-world'. This means that our way of knowing place and our perception of our place-in-the-world, points to the Heidegger's concept of *Zuhandenheit*. According to Heidegger (1962) *Zuhandenheit* is a human mode of being, where one engages with the world in everyday life. This suggests that there is a dualistic relation between physical environment and one's state of being that is somehow captured in the experience of home. Dovey (1985) suggests that the feeling of 'being-at-home' is not only a crucial source of identity for the individual, but it is also an essential source of comfort and security.

As noted in Case (1996), the experience of 'being-at-home' is rooted in the patterning of daily routines in time and space. After repeated encounters, these patterns and places become so intimately familiar that people are unconscious of it in their daily routines. At the same time, it is this acquiring routiness that leads to such familiarity that evokes the sense of 'being-at-home'. The phenomenological perspective of home overall captures and epitomizes the concept of 'sense of place' because it fundamentally speaks to the bonding that occurs between people and their environment as a result of the experience and relationship they have with it. The transactionalist and the phenomenological perspective together suggest that the concept of 'being-at-home' through time in place has resulted in the Vietnamese refugees' sense of belonging in Canada. As suggested by Dovey (1985) the sense of being-at-home is achieved from repeated encounters and prolonged engagement. This means that time and 'sense of place' has embedded a sense of familiarity in the pattern of daily routines in Canada for the refugees, which enabled them to acquire comfort and security. As suggested by Dovey (1985), an outcome of the experience of 'being-at-home' is identity. This means that for some, the feeling of 'being-at-home' in Canada has subsequently resulted in the development of a Canadian identity for the Vietnamese refugees.

4.3 The Socio-Cultural Perspective of Home

Using the etymological lens in the discussion of home is helpful because the study of linguistics dissects and exposes the underlying cultural meaning that is embedded in our contemporary vocabulary. By examining the historical antecedents of the term, we see the way in which the root of Western language is formed brings into light the ascribed meanings and put into perspective the ways in which scholars have traditionally used them to study the phenomena.

In his examination of home, Hollander (1991) used a comparative method technique to trace the root word of 'home' within the Indo-European language family. Hollander (1991) revealed that the meaning of the word 'home' in Western contemporary society is derived from the shared Germanic and English parent languages. He explains that the Germanic word for home is derived from the Indo-European word *kei*, which means "to lie down" and "something that is beloved." In English, the word comes from the Anglo-Saxon that means estate, village, or town (Hollander, 1991). As a result, the Western contemporary denotation for the word home is partially rooted in the shared Germanic and English parent languages, which means it is the place where one lays their head, or a house.

Home is culturally bounded and the objective of understanding home apart from this standpoint can be limiting to this area of research. While indicating that the previous discussion on home has primarily focused on the experiential and personal aspects of home, Moore (2000) suggests that the study of home should be placed within a specific social and cultural context. The challenge for research is to empirically engage with this multifaceted complex concept without losing sight of the many layers of home. To study home as a holistic entity, grasping the interrelated-qualities of people, place and time, as Moore (2000) suggests, would mean to position such a study of 'home' could benefit from the awareness and incorporation of environmental, historical, and cultural features.

4.3.1 Home as House

The narratives indicate that the participants defined 'home as house.' This was shown in chapter three in the codes and categories listed in Table 2. For example, 'home as house' was the physical dwelling place that the participants retreated back to from work at the end of the day. It was the place where they felt the most comfortable and secure. It was a space and a place that they could lie down, sleep, and be away from others and the distraction of the world.

Somerville (1992) provides a good framework for understanding the spatial, territorial, physical, and physiological qualities of a home. As seen in Table 4, 'home as house' relates to Somerville's key signifiers of shelter, hearth, privacy, and abode. According to Somerville (1992), shelter signifies a decent material condition, whereas hearth corresponds to emotional and physical well-being. Privacy involves the power to

control one's own boundaries, which requires the possession of a specified territory and having the power to exclude others from the space. As a result, shelter, hearth, privacy, and abode fits into the notion of 'home as house' according to the participants.

Table 4: Somerville's Meaning of Home

Key Signifier	General Connotation	Sense of Security	In Relation to: <i>Self</i>	In Relation to: <i>Others</i>
Shelter	Material	Physical	Protection	Roofing
Hearth	Warmth	Physiological	Relaxation	Homelessness
Heart	Love	Emotional	Happiness	Stability
Privacy	Control	Territorial	Possession	Exclusion
Abode	Place	Spatial	Rest	Living/Sleeping Space
Roots	Source of Identity	Ontological	Sense	Reference
Paradise	Ideality	Spiritual	Bliss	Non-Existence
Adapted from Somerville, 1992.				

Much of the literature on home speaks of the physical structure or dwelling place (see Giddens, 1984; Bowlby, Gregory, McKie, 1997). This relationship between house and home is so strong that the terms have been used interchangeably (Moore, 2000). Wright (1991) and Chapman and Hockey's (1999) perspectives on house and home point to the physical structure as the means for obtaining a social ideal, however, the literature on house and home often overstates the focus of dwelling place and de-emphasizes others idealised meanings. As suggested by Mallett (2004), these studies reflect and reinforce a narrow view of the Anglo-American, British, and Australian ideals of home.

Moore (2000) suggests that the focus within the discipline of psychology on home, which puts emphasis on the interaction between people and home as the direct experiential sense, has counteracted this trend of studying house and home by separating the concept of home from the meaning of housing. This view highlights the significance of the psychological relationship between individuals and their home, recognizing that emotional connection people and their dwelling place are critical elements of idealised meanings (see Dovey, 1985; Hollander 1991).

4.3.2 Home as Family

As noted by Moore (2000) there are several problems with the discussion of home within the previous literature, which have made for unsystematic and even incomprehensive research. These concerns include: the exclusive consideration of typically middle class populations; the lack of theoretical basis that seemingly suggest universal applicability; the lack of a temporal focus; presenting a largely positive view of home; the tendency not to examine core processes or inter-related features of the concept of home; and presenting a static and de-contextualized view of home. As a result, Moore (2000) suggests that the attempt to understand home in future research could benefit from a focus on the spiritual, cultural, and symbolic essence of home. I hope that the following section will highlight a cultural perspective that answers Moore's (2000) call to a culturally appropriate research on home.

The participants indicated that a critical aspect of home involved social relations. This meaning of home as identified by the participant is when one resides with family; where their living condition and state of being is in the presence of family. When this happens, home is also an emotion and home is felt. This meaning of home coincides with Somerville's (1992) key signifier of heart, which speaks of an emotional security. According to Somerville (1992) this home is associated with images of happiness and a stable home and it is based on relationships of mutual affection and support. As seen Figure 3 below, the participants indicated that family was the very essence of home. Family surrounds home and gives home its meaning.

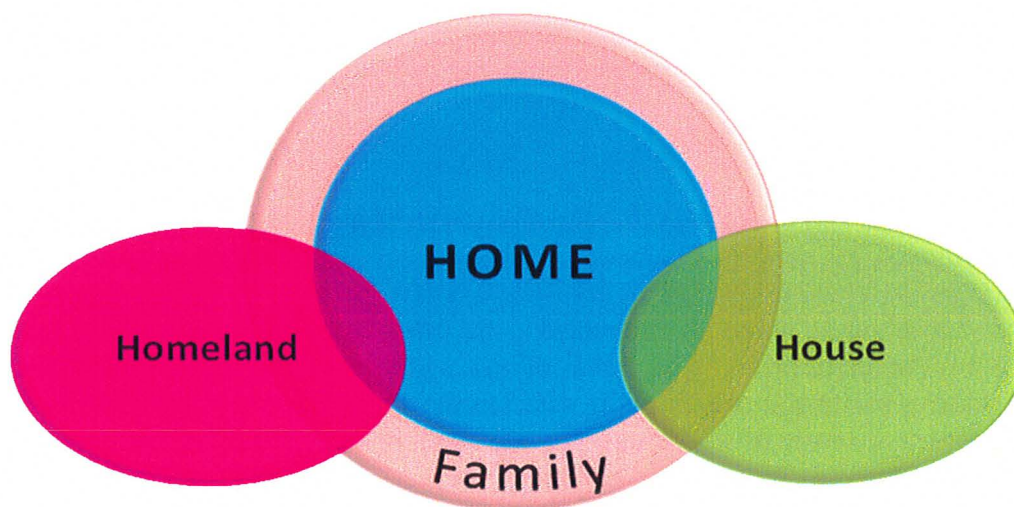


Figure 3: Socio-Cultural Perspective on Home as Family

(Source: Dam, 2009)

This association between home and family has been noted and discussed by many scholars including Oakley (1976), Bernardes (1987), and Crow (1989). As stated by Gilman (1980), the home is 'only a house' when it exists without the family. Therefore the

meaning of a home comes into existence when it is in the presence of a family. Family is what gives a house, and home, its meaning. This was illustrated in the narrative of the participants, who located and identified home as being where the family resides and felt that “this [i.e. family] was the most meaningful”. Although the narratives indicate that home was made up of three distinct subsets - ‘home as house’, ‘home as family’, and ‘home as homeland’ (to be discussed section 4.2.3 below) - ‘home as family’ was central to the participants’ comprehension and articulation of home, more so than the other two subsets. Overall, the participants’ socio-cultural understanding of home is comparable to the early writings on home, which conflates the concept of home with the of notion family. These scholars suggest that the significance and relationship between home and family is so pertinent that the meanings of home and family are synonymous, however, some have deviated from this tradition. As suggested by Saunders and Williams (1988), the household should not be conflated with the family as the kinship system. They argue that is this association has declined in significance as a result of the structuring and changing principle of society. They suggest that the home is the crucible of the social system, disputing the relevance of the nuclear family within contemporary Western societies while questioning its place in the discussion of home (Saunders & Williams, 1988). Saunders and Williams’ (1988) conceptualization is completely foreign to the Vietnamese cultural consideration of family. As Nguyen (1985) explains:

“Because American culture stresses individualism, Americans find it difficult to fully understand the power of kinship for Vietnamese. The family is the fundamental social unit - that is, the primary source of cohesion and continuity – in traditional Vietnamese society. Differing profoundly from the American nuclear family, the Vietnamese family should be perceived as ‘a superorganic unit existing across generations past and future.’” (p. 410)

The Vietnamese perspective and understanding of the meaning of family is critical to the discussion of home and it suggests that the discussion of home cannot be understood apart from the concept of family. The ideas of family for the participants are profoundly different from the Western concept of family and home. Family was what gave meaning to ‘home as house’ and ‘home as homeland,’ the other two subsets of home that were identified by the participants. The home of the participants throughout time and place carried meaning because it was lived-in with family. In addition, this social dimension of family provided a sense of continuity for the participants between home despite their changing circumstances, location and nature of home.

4.3.3 Home as Homeland

Finally, the participants’ discussion of home also alluded to the concept of home as being homeland. As seen in Table 2 in chapter three, home as homeland was spoken of in the following ways: past home; future home; the place where one belongs; the place where one is from; the current home of other family members; and even the place one longs to be

in. The identification of 'home as homeland' speaks to the transnationalism literature for immigrants, and refugees alike, suggest that the boundaries of home and identity transcends beyond national borders. Contrary to the assimilation, acculturation, and integration theorist such as Portes (2001) and Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), scholars who support the 'third perspective' of transnational migration argues that migrants will continue to be active in their homeland at the same time that they are being incorporated into the countries that receive them (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). The work of Vertovec (1999), Levitt and Waters (2002), and Glick Schiller (2003), points to influential and widespread practices of transitional migrants that suggest the experience of the twenty-first century immigrants will be quite different from those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century European immigrants.

The notion of 'home as homeland' raised the question of the future home and the participants' responses can be categorized within one of the three following groupings: Vietnam is their future home, Vietnam is the place they long for but their decision to go back was uncertain, or that Vietnam will not be their home in the future. Those who identified Vietnam as their future home, planned to return to their homeland at a later time. Those who expressed a greater sense of belonging in Canada acknowledged that although Vietnam was their home in the past, they no longer felt that Vietnam was their ideal home and they distinguished home and homeland as being "completely separate from roots". Those who longed to go back to their homeland, but were undecided, expressed that Vietnam was the place where they felt a greater sense of belonging in comparison to Canada. They suggest that their ability and freedom to speak their own mother tongue and to interact with people of the same ethnic origin, all influenced their attachment and sentiment towards their homeland and values in an idealised setting. This left them weighing their current quality of life in Canada against the sense of security they felt when they are back in Vietnam.

Somerville (1992) explains that home as 'roots' means that one's source of identity and meaningfulness involves a sense of security that is not the same as emotional security. Root is associated with an ontological security, which Somerville explains is concerned with Heidegger's (1962) existential concept of 'being-in-the-world'. The participants who indicated a return to homeland felt that their ontological security outweighed their other senses of security as identified in Table 4. Those who believed that home was separate from homeland expressed an ontological security in their awareness of their ethnic roots. They asserted that their ethnic identity was inherent and that it could be retained outside of their homeland. Their entire being and identity was the sum of their lived-experience (see Table 3) and they spoke of having both a Vietnamese and Canadian identity and embraced their history and culture. Those who wanted to return but were undecided seem to view their ontological security in light of the physical, physiological, emotional, territorial, and spatial security. Perhaps these participants were in a betwixt and in-between state in relation to the location of ideal home. These participants' experience of home resonates with Tucker's (1994) writings on those who are in search of their ideal home. Tucker (1994) suggest that these people live in the gap between the natural home, which is conceived as the home environment conducive to human existence, and the particular ideal

home, which is where they would be fully satisfied. These participants may, as a result, be experiencing a sentimental and nostalgic search for a lost time and space (Case, 1996).

In summary, because the meaning of home as house and homeland is intimately linked to family, this suggests that home is both people and place. At the same time, the features and meaning of home also incorporates element of place and time, this suggests that home exists in us as memory and outside of us as a real and tangible object. And finally, because home exists between place and between time, home is also a journey and it exists in the past, the present and in the future.

4.4 Home through Movement

The experience of home is unique for the Vietnamese Boat People because their migration trajectory spanned across large geographies and their encounters with home was atypical. The dialectical perspective is a concept that can be helpful explaining the story and journey of the participants. This perspective seeks to examine the meaning of home under the circumstance of 'being away' from home. Dovey (1985) suggests that the meaning of home be derived from the experience of not having a home. The dialectical approach therefore investigates the meaning of home from those who are, or have been, away from home (see Malkki, 1992; Case, 1996; Ahmed, 1999; Chan, 1999). Dovey (1985) suggest that unless there is a journey away from home, we cannot fully understand the value of home or meaning of having a home.

The participants' story and journey from Vietnam to Canada is significant because their journey speaks to the notion and meaning of home from the experience of the voyager. In addition, their unique situation as refugees, which subjected them to the temporal and temporary circumstances of dwellings and subjecting them to the opposing notions of the "ideal" home, suggests that their understanding of home can offer valuable insight and contribute to the literature on home.

4.4.1 Rites of Passage and Liminality

The story and journey of the participants is one that resonates with the literature on rites of passage. Their story is essentially a story of detachment and uprooting from their place of origin. Their journey involved a crossing and threshold as well as a passage through liminal space. These refugees were in limbo and thus became liminal beings as a result of their circumstances and until they reach their destination of new home where they can permanently settle and fix home, they were in a sense 'homeless'. van Gennep (1960) suggested that rites of passage are integral to the life cycle of human beings, which exist and are in place in societies as culturally appropriate means of helping individuals transition into their new social role or status. These ceremonial rites of passage are patterned particularly into three stages: (1) separation, (2) transition, and (3), re-

incorporation. The following sub-sections describe the stages of rites of passage in relation to the journey and experience of the participants.

Stage 1: Separation - Threshold and Liminal Beings

Separation propels one into a sacred world, which Teather (1999) states, is always a geographical 'zone' or place. Place is an integral part of the rite because this ritual crossing is not only symbolic, but there is often real physical separation of the activity spaces of individuals from other members of society. The passage from one social position to another is signified by a "territorial passage", a ritual crossing of a threshold such as passing through a portal of some sort (Teather, 1999). For example, this threshold could be the entrance to a village or house, or the movement from one room to another room. For the Vietnamese refugees, this separation was the disconnection and departure from their former home and homeland. Their journey out to sea was a physical and symbolic entrance into the unknown. As some of the participants indicated, there was no going back

As noted by Salamone (2004), the key to any ritual drama is found in the point of conflict that marks the climax of separation. From this traumatic point of departure, the individual enters a transitional point, where the individual enters a transitional or marginal ritual state. In this phase, the ritual subject is in neither one space nor another, and hence, this phase is also called liminal, after *limen*, the Latin word meaning threshold (Salamone, 2004). The liminal phase is marked by ambiguity, both symbolic and literal, because the present state of the ritual subject is unlike their past and unknown in the future. For example, a child undergoing the rite of passage associated with puberty is no longer a child but he or she is not yet an adult. This ritual drama is echoed in the story of the Vietnamese refugees as their departure out to sea was a literal and symbolic crossing that propelled them into a kind of liminal space in order for them to journey to the country of first asylum. Victor Turner (1969) described the transitional or liminal phase as being in-between a past state and the coming state. This sacred crossing is a period of uncertainty, where the subjects are in a dangerous marginal state of non-status, and *unanchored* identity (Salamone, 2004; Teather, 1999). During this liminal phase, the societal ideals of the group are exposed and the liminal aspect of ritual then becomes a gateway to understanding the social organization and values of the group (Salamone, 2004). This suggests that the liminal experience of the refugees of being in limbo in relation to home can make them aware of their ideals of home and security in the midst of a dangerous crossing.

Stage 2: Transition - Temporal Home and Longing for Định Cư

Life in the refugee camp can be perceived as the transitional period within the rites of passage. In this phase, the subjects are in a symbolic placelessness. As Salamone (2004) suggests, during this liminal period, those passing through find themselves in places that have neither the characteristics of past or the coming state. As a result, those passing through are betwixt and between two social categories – temporally caught between two well-defined social statuses or positions (Salamone, 2004). In the refugee camps, the participants lived in the state of 'in-betweenness' – a betwixt state in terms of physical

location and belonging. Not only was the refugee camp a temporal space, it also represented a cognitive temporality. Here, the refugee lingered in liminality without knowing the prospect of their future. Other authors who have cited the refugee experience in the camp as “liminal” include Chavez (1992), Long (1993), and Malkki (1995). Williams (2006) suggests that while refugees wait in the camps to be re-incorporated into society into a new nation state, they are waiting in limbo with little control and live in an underworld between past and [the imagined] future life.

The experience in the refugee camp for the participants varied through time and temporal home settings. Initially, most were placed in confinement, yet, some were able to relocate and move into better settings of better living conditions. Some were able to exercise certain privileges that were uncustomary of a typical refugee. The participants were aware that this was a temporal home and that their journey must continue, and that there was a subsequent destination and home they needed to get to. Those who recognized that they were in fact liminal beings and who were waiting to be moved beyond the period of transition to be re-incorporated longed to “*định cư*” from within the camp. They wanted to be re-settled; to have a fixed place of residence and ultimately to be re-established, *embedded* and anchor their identity.

Stage 3: Re-incorporation – Citizenship

According to van Gennep (1960), individuals undergoing the ceremonial rites of passage are ultimately re-incorporated or assimilated again into society in the last phase. And only after such a passage will they exercise all the rights and privileges of their new social status or position. Some of the participants alluded to the idea of holding citizenship. Their citizenship was a symbol of their new home, their new residency and national identity. Their status and identity as a Vietnamese-Canadian is a symbol of their crossing, their transition and earned status, which ultimately warrants their sense of belonging. This citizenship signified their journey of sacrifice, risk, and one that was not without cost. As explained by one of the participants (see Minh’s response in Table 3), his rite of passage and citizenship was one that now afforded him the protection, opportunity, rights and privileges as a Canadian citizen.

As stated in Salamone (2004),

In Turner’s examination of what was commonly dismissed as an interstructural or interstitial period, he discovered an entire new world of symbols and meaning. The aggregation, or reaggregation, phase is the conclusion of the passage across the threshold into a new state. This implies that ritual is functional and processual in the development and creation of society at the level of the individual who experiences the reinforcement of norms and cultural traditions through liminal education (p. 218).

This suggests that home in liminal movement is meaningful. The liminal perspective allows us to question the meaning of home in the search for home.

The identification of the liminal space within the process of journeying away from home can be a significant concept within the dialectical perspective. It effectively makes us and contextualizes the ideals of rites of passage within the process of journeying and brings into consideration an element of critical, and unexplored, concepts that may be relevant to the discussion of home. Exploring this concept may also amend the areas of weakness of the current models and frameworks that Moore (2000) refers to when she speaks of the categorization and list meanings that have been adopted and reproduced by many without questions, which “essentially introduced the misconception that one authoritative set of meanings was a realistic goal” for scholars to pursue (210).

For the participants who were born in Vietnam, the concept of rites of passage fits well with the process of migration from Vietnam to Canada. For the participants who were born in the refugee camp, their introduction to the world occurred during a period when their parents were in liminality, and their rites of passage perhaps is different from their parents’ experience. Perhaps their ceremonial passage in knowing and understanding home is a retreat back to homeland, and the full awareness of their identity involves a threshold or passageway in becoming and being Vietnamese.

4.5 Co-Created Meanings: Being ‘Vietnamese-Canadian’

The meaning of being a Vietnamese-Canadian according to the participants is summarized in Table 3 in chapter three. The answers compiled in this table were based on the last question in the interview guide, a multiple choice question that asked the participants to identify themselves as one of the signifiers. Overall, the participant’s answers reiterated themes discussed throughout this chapter that included family, time, place, roots, and citizenship to just name a few. The participants’ answer also alluded to the process of rites of passage as well as the process of embedding themselves into place. The divergence in answers between the younger and older people in the study, or in essence, the answer of those who were born in Vietnam in comparison to those that born in the refugee camp, pointed to aspects of lived-experience as influencing their definition of who they are. At the same time, the variation in answers points to the complexity of experience rather than the simplification of meanings. The table should not be viewed in terms of absolute categories of fixed meaning, or as a distinction and division between national and ethnic identity. The participants’ introspection and rationale for self-identity was based on their own life histories and in the context of an interview, and therefore, their explanation of who they are should be perceived and comprehended in such a way. Overall, my intentions were not to quantitatively measure people’s self-identity or to reduce the participants’ meaning of who they are, but rather, to examine critical aspects they felt were important to understanding their story, their journey, and their whole being.

4.5.1 The Research Instrument

The role of the researcher in qualitative research necessitates having the researcher as the ‘key research instrument’ (Poggenpoel & Myburgh, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). My role as the researcher is instrumental in translating and interpreting the respondents’ data into meaningful information in order for me to co-construct the meaning of experiences through the process of fusing my own horizon with the participants. This notion of co-created meanings is also reflected in tenets of social geography as noted by Entrikin (1991), who states:

“The geographer as narrator translate his or her stories into a new form and, with interest somewhat different from those of the participants in a place or region, abstracts from the experience of a group. While the participant uses such narratives for the direction of present and future actions and is part of the ongoing events of the place, the geographer constructs a narrative aimed at the different concern of objective representation and truth.” (p. 58)

This means that the researcher, in this case, can never fully separate herself from the research. The researcher’s role is instrumental in translating and interpreting the respondents’ data into meaningful information. The researcher’s preunderstanding is also critical to the interpretive process because it lies in view of the researcher’s horizon. As stated by Whitehead (2004), both researcher and participant horizons are dependent on their preunderstanding about the world, which allows them to make sense of events and people. Unlike the goals of bracketing in phenomenological reduction that ask the researcher to set aside her assumptions, biases, and prepositions that “distorts” the interpretation of data, the philosophical hermeneutic approach embraces, and vitally advocates the disclosure of such preunderstandings. Scholars who take this approach consider the researchers’ preunderstandings as an integral part of reflection (see Crist & Tanner, 2003; Fleming et al. 2003; Whitehead, 2004). The transparency of the researcher’s horizons is critical not only because it assesses the researcher’s ability to follow and apply methodologies, but at the same time, it provides the reader with an audit trail of the researcher’s interpretation techniques – a criterion for evaluating the confirmability of the research as suggested by Eyles and Baxter (1997). In general, this demonstrates the objective reasoning of the research instrument and illustrates how the instrument affects subsequent interpretations. With that said, my own preunderstanding and experience will be disclosed in the following section.

4.5.2 Tacit Knowledge of Home and Identity

The concept of tacit knowledge, introduced by Polanyi (1966), suggests that tacit knowledge is embedded in the behaviour, culture, and experience of individuals and communities. This way of knowing is inherently difficult to communicate and cannot be presented as a formulated way of understanding. Tacit knowledge is a way of knowing that

deals with knowledge as cognitive repertoires, or “truths” we know (Ravn, 2004). Acknowledging the importance of tacit knowledge postulates a horizontal boundary within any knowledge field because it moves beyond the explicit to investigate epistemological truths.

Before taking my trip back to Vietnam, I labelled myself as a Vietnamese-Canadian and I had well-established ideas of home, belonging and identity. I had come to the conclusion that having spent the most number of years in Canada, this place was my home. This was where I felt I belonged, where my identity had solidified through time. I felt there was no place for Vietnam in this equation. My definition of being a Vietnamese person was fashioned by my distinct lived-experience and cultural upbringing in my home. My understanding and characterization of a Vietnamese person made sense to me as I defined my identity, and this definition did not require an attachment to a homeland.

My course of travel to Vietnam was long and this allowed me much time to engage in introspection. Flying over the coastline before landing at the Hong Kong International Airport was special. The un-anticipated experience of seeing the landscape below made me reflect on my family’s journey of crossing the South China Sea from Vietnam to Hong Kong. I tried to imagine what their experience must have been like for the fifteen days on the sea as I looked out the window to the landscape below – a safe view from the plane’s window. From above, I also tried to imagine their thoughts as I approached the very coastline they had approached twenty-five years earlier. The experience was an emotional one, and as themes of sacrifice, danger, and death in hope of better life and future, crossed my mind, I mentally mapped out their route to Hong Kong while contrasting it to my present voyage back.

After landing, I had a stopover in the Hong Kong International Airport for a couple of hours before taking a final flight to Vietnam. This wait made me anxious and nervous with the passing of time. My mind slipped into a state of panic and fear as the reality of going to Vietnam and spending an entire month with relatives, whom I have never met before, settled in. This made me question the authenticity of my Vietnamese identity and my ability to be live comfortably with strange people in a strange setting. Some of my time at Gate five – the departing terminal at the airport - was spent pacing back and forth as thoughts of purchasing a ticket back to Canada entered my mind. Other times were spent glued to a seat at the back of the terminal, as I tried to rid myself of such apprehension by remaining calm through reading and journaling.

My trip back to Vietnam was an eye opening and life changing experience. Not only did it allow me to connect with my roots and family in my homeland, it also widened my own definition and concept of home. Somehow, being in Vietnam and living with family grounded and authenticated my Vietnamese identity. The thirty-day long trip allowed me to converse solely in Vietnamese, experience the Vietnamese way of life through daily activities and consumption of food, be embedded in Vietnamese culture through observation and taking part in traditional customs, learn about my ancestral origins and family history, and see the biological resemblance between family members in Canada

and Vietnam. This experience, even though it lasted only a short period of time, confronted and challenged my own understandings of home and self-identification. I was beginning to perceive that my ideas of home were fluid and that my comprehension of self-identity was more colourful. Perhaps my horizon of home *had* expanded and I can now profess to Gadamer's claim that one's horizon *is* mobile and not rigid, and that one's horizon can be subject to change when prejudgments have been tested.



Figure 4: Family in Vietnam

(Source: Dam, 2007)

On the morning of my departure, the two hour ride on a mini bus with my family to the airport in Hanoi made me feel good. The surroundings and scenery of a once strange homeland had become visually familiar and psychologically comfortable to be in, and the gathering of a once estranged group of relatives, now embedded the knowledge and experience of family in tangible relationships. By noon, I was back in the Hong Kong International Airport, waiting for my flight back to Canada at Gate eleven. The thought of going back to Gate five crossed my mind and I eventually found myself back there, sitting in the very seat I had sat in some thirty days prior. Being there initially made me uncomfortable. As I sat there reminiscing, I was reminded of the overwhelming sense of fear I had had before arriving in Vietnam. The fear eventually went away as my mind reflected on the proceedings of the remainder of the trip recollecting fond memories.

Having gone through those motions and emotions, I was finally able to reflect on my experience, making sense of my trip in hindsight.

I felt that my trip back to Vietnam revealed to me an aspect of my identity. I felt that by sitting in the seat in Gate five, this signified a completed a journey of home and in the act and process of being in this spot, I was symbolically crossing a threshold. My journey back to Vietnam, demarcated by a physical passageway, came to a full circle. It brought me back to the point of origin and I had completed a cycle of transition. I felt whole in my sense of home and identity. There was something about being in Vietnam - living among the people of the same ethnic origin and speaking the native language - that ascribed meaning to the authenticity of my identity as Vietnamese through this rite of passage. I somehow knew that this journey brought to the surface and brought into consciousness a tacit knowledge of home and identity. The trip enabled me to relate to the knowledge of identity as roots and made tangible the meaning of home as homeland. The interaction in place and relationship with people and family in Vietnam enlarged and expanded my concept of home. My views regarding self-identity were not so black and white, and my delineation of home boundaries was less finite.

Throughout this process, my view on home and identity continued to undergo transformation as I immersed myself in the stories of the participants. Their stories helped me to fashion - with greater depth and clarity - as true of a picture as possible, the meaning of being a *Vietnamese-Canadian*. Although I believe that I now know more about my identity overall, my only definite conclusion for the meaning of a Vietnamese-Canadian is 'someone who is aware of their history and culture'. Even now, *home* and *identity* remains difficult for me define; however, I recognize that that my ability and preceding objective to categorize and classify myself, and others, have become irrelevant and less important.

4.6 Conclusion

In summary, the story of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton is one that is focused on home; the journey from home and the journey to home. Home was the perspective by which the Vietnamese-Canadians viewed their lives in place. The concept of sense of place made comprehensible the view that Canada was now home through time and in place. This led to a feeling of belonging, with a full sense of place which at the same time may be paradoxically fractured. As a result, socially negotiated meaning for them must include culture, and the understanding of their life must encompass history. Given the centrality of family in the Vietnamese culture, and given their history and status as refugees, the comprehension and awareness of home for the Vietnamese refugees needed to account for the socio-cultural aspect of family and the historical elements of journeying.

This study demonstrates how the use of theories and models in the concept of home has been critical in the understanding of the lived-experience of the Vietnamese Boat People. The participants' reflections of home mirror the many ways home is defined in the

theoretical and empirical literature. Their experience of home conflates with the multidimensional concept, agreeing that home is place(s), space(s), feeling(s), practices(s) and even an active state of being-in-the-world. On the one hand, the story of the Vietnamese Boat People has benefited from these models and frameworks. Their story illustrates the complexity of home and exemplifies the applicability and validity of such models and theoretical construct. At the same time, the empirical findings have reinforced and grounded various aspects of the multidimensional concept by providing a comprehensive account for traditional and contemporary meanings.

This research also recognizes that the use of models and theories can sometimes be limiting because they are predetermined and fixed in nature. Their inability to be fluid limits their ability to fully encompass various social and cultural dimensions. The science of understanding people may benefit from working beyond the confines of set, predetermined, artificial boundaries. In this case study, the reduced and reproduced list meanings of home exposed the nature and limitation of a de-contextualized view, isolated and disconnected by features of previous models and frameworks. These list meanings of home can sometimes de-emphasize the relationships between characteristics and meanings from lived experiences. Social and cultural dimensions of home are rather difficult to incorporate into models and frameworks because they resist such artificial boundaries of de-contextualized settings. Social and cultural dimensions of home are complex, intricate, and colourful compositions that reflect the essence of human beings, which are more difficult to express as black and white.

One of the benefits of qualitative research, even with its specific limitations, is its ability to test the function and applicability of models and theories in the real world by grounding it in the experience of people. While keeping in mind the process of rigour for evaluating qualitative research, by making use of the role of the researcher as the 'research instrument' in this study, the researcher was able to recognize the shortcomings of models and other forms of heuristic devices, which inherently categorise meanings and promote a sequential order of processes. With the use of the researcher as instrument in this study, the identification of critical features and the incorporation of less traditional concepts pointed to the benefits of developing a framework that reflects the complexity and richness of lived-experience.

4.7 Contribution and Future Directions

This study has: (1) demonstrated the relevance of the transactionalist and phenomenological perspective in understanding the sense of place, and sense of belonging, of the Vietnamese-Canadian; (2) integrated and emphasized the importance of the incorporating a social-cultural perspective for understanding the meaning of home; and (3), has put into context the liminal process, highlighting rites of passage as part of the dialectical perspective in the discussion on home. This study recognized that environmental features and interactions alone were not enough to create identity and meaning of home for the Vietnamese Boat People. The investigation and exploration of those meanings required

the task of incorporating less traditional concepts into the discussion in order to fully understand the lived-experience, and explain and interpret such meanings. The participants' story and journey was complex and carried depths of meaning beyond their appearance on the surface. The meaning of home and identity were embedded in the history and culture of those who transitioned between home through time and place.

In summary, I believe that this study was successful at meeting the goal of understanding the sense of place for the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton. Overall, I believe that these findings contribute to knowledge on sense of belonging for Canadians of Vietnamese ethnic origin. I would propose that the investigation into the sense of belonging of other refugee communities can potentially benefit from the application of a similar research design. Future research would help to evaluate the usefulness of this framework for understanding the experience of refugees through time and place as well as assess its transferability.

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Appendix A: Interview Schedule

Date:

Time:

Location:

Step 1: The Opening

- Welcome, make introductions and thank participant.
- Review the purpose of the interview.

Outline of Interview/Purpose

I am interested in learning about your life experience as the earliest group of Vietnamese refugees in the city. I would like to hear about your journey to Canada and I want to understand why you have chosen to live in the city and what this means to you. I would also like to know how you have rebuilt your life in the city.

- State confidentiality of the interview and remind participant of their rights and assure safety of participation.
- Review consent form with participant.
- Obtain 2 signed consent form and give one to participant.

Step 2: The Interview

Section A - Some background questions to begin:

Q1: In what year did you come to Canada?

Q2: How old were you when you arrived in Canada?

Q3: Did you come to Canada with any family, relatives, or friends?

Q4: What was your experience like living in Canada after you arrived?

Section B - Explore the past in some detail:

****Can we talk a little about your past?*

Q5: Can you describe your experience living in Vietnam?

- How old were you when you left Vietnam?
- How did you feel about leaving?
- How did you leave? And where did you go?
- Who did you go with?
- Can you describe your experience leaving Vietnam?
- Did you know where you were going?

- Did you know anything about the place you were going to, what it looked like, or what life would be like before you left?

Q6: Did you spend time in a refugee camp?

- How long did you live in a refugee camp before getting to your next destination?
- Can you describe your experience living in refugee camp?
- How did you get from refugee camp to Canada?
- Did you know anything about Canada – i.e. what it looked like, or what life would be like before coming?
- What were your thoughts and feelings about living here?
- Did any of those things change once you arrived?

Q7: Can you describe your experiences living in Canada?

- Did you know anyone in Canada before you arrived?
- Where did you live once you arrived? What was that like?
- When did you move to Hamilton?
- What made you decide to live in Hamilton?
- Is Hamilton a special place for you? If yes, what makes it so? If no, why is that so?
- What do you like or dislike about living in the city?
- Is there anything unique or important about living in Hamilton that makes it special for Vietnamese people?

Section C - Explore their sense of belonging:

Q8: What places make you feel at home? Why?

- Do you feel at 'home' living in Hamilton?
- Are you comfortable?
- Do you feel like you can be yourself without restriction or hindrance?
- Do you feel limited by anything?
- What makes Hamilton your home?
- What other qualities of 'home' do you feel Hamilton possess or do not possess?
- Would you move away from Hamilton? If so, why, and where would you move to?

Q9: Have you been to Vietnam since living in Canada?

- How did you feel being back there?
- Was there anything that surprised you about being in Vietnam?

Q10: Pick one of the following to statement that best describes you and why?

- (a) I'm Vietnamese.

- (b) I'm Vietnamese person living in Canada.
- (c) I'm a Vietnamese-Canadian.
- (d) I'm a Canadian.

Section D: Demographic Information

Age:	Sex:
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Step 3: The Wrap-Up

- Check and review major themes from interview with participant.
- Thank participants and remind them how the information will be used.
- Remind participant that a summary of findings can be obtain from the Hamilton Vietnamese Alliance Church once the study is completed as indicated on the consent form once completed.

Appendix B: Letter of Informed Consent

“Becoming Vietnamese-Canadian: the Story of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton”

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Purpose of the Study

In this study, I want to interview you, members of the Vietnamese community in Hamilton, who came to Canada during the ‘Boat People Crisis’ in the 1980s. I am interested in hearing about your life experience as the earliest group of Vietnamese refugees in the city. I want to understand what it means to you to be living here, by listening to your stories. I want to find out and write about the significance of your journey from Vietnam to Canada. I hope to learn about the ways you have rebuild your life in the city in order to comprehend your sense of belonging in the city over time.

Procedures involved in the Research

If you choose to take part in this study, you will be interviewed and asked to answer a set of questions. The interview will be approximately 30-40 minutes in length and will be arranged at a mutually agreed location between you and myself, Huyen Dam, the student investigator. As a boat person and a member of the Vietnamese community in Hamilton, I am able to conduct the interview in Vietnamese. During the interview, we will talk about things related to your experience living in Vietnam, in refugee camp, as well as your experience living in Canada and Hamilton in particular. I will also ask you to reflect on your thoughts and feelings about these instances in your life. I will also ask you for some demographic information such as your age and gender. The interview will be audio-taped and notes will be taken during this time.

Potential Harms, Risks or Discomforts:

It is not likely that there will be any harm or discomfort associated with your interview. If you find some of the questions upsetting or would simply prefer not to answer, you are free to request that we go on to the next question." In addition, some of the questions asked may bring up painful memories or difficult circumstances, if this happens, you can stop the interview at any time. If you continue to feel unsettled about the issues raised from the interview, you can request a list of service provider in the community if you wish to get additional help or professional counselling. You may also worry about how others will react to what you say. The steps I am taking to protect your privacy are discussed below.

Potential Benefits

The study will be beneficial the Vietnamese community in Hamilton overall. I hope that the study will give you a chance to share your story with others. By participating in the study, I hope that what I learn will help me, and others, to understand the history, experience, and cultural identity of the Vietnamese Boat People. Your participation will give others in the community the opportunity to learn, understand, and appreciate the success and ongoing progress of the Vietnamese community in the city. Most importantly, this study will give the Vietnamese Boat People an opportunity to express themselves as well as document their unique history with an investigator who can understand and appreciate the history of this community and can relate to the experience of the participants. More critically, this study is vital in preserving and embracing the unique story and identity of this Vietnamese community in Hamilton for future generation.

Confidentiality:

I will not be asking you to provide your name or any personal information for the interview. Anything that you say or do in the study will not be told to anyone else. Anything that I find out about you that could potentially identify you will not be published or told to anyone else unless I have your permission to do so. Your privacy will be respected and if at any point you wish to withdraw from the study, your information will be destroyed unless you indicate otherwise.

The information obtained by during the interview will be kept confidential to the full extent by law. Excerpts from the interview may be published as part of the final research report, but under no circumstances will your name be identified or your identifying characteristics will be included in the report. This information will only be available to me and my supervisor, Dr. John Eyles. It is a privilege for me to listen to the stories and information you share with me and I will treat our conversation with the utmost respect.

Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary at all times and it is your choice to be part of the study. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect you in any way. If you decide to participate, you have the ability to stop the interview at any time, even after signing this consent form or part-way through the study. If you decide to withdrawal from the study, you can do so at any point and there will be no consequence to you. Any data you have provided will then be destroyed unless you indicate otherwise. As noted above,

you do not have to answer all of the questions in the interview in order to take part in the study. You can skip any of the questions in the interview you like.

Information about the Study Results:

I expect to complete this study in August 2009 [change as needed]. Once the study is complete, a copy of the study will be available at the HVAC, which is located at the following address. If you would like to receive a brief summary of my findings, or would like to see a full copy, please feel free to contact me by phone or e-mail after that date.

Hamilton Vietnamese Alliance Church
79 South Bend Road East
Hamilton, ON L9A 2B2
Phone: (905) 318-6154

Information about Participating as a Study Subject:

If you have questions or require more information about the study, please feel free to contact me, Huyen Dam at any time, or my supervisor, Dr. John Eyles.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the McMaster Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact:

McMaster Research Ethics Board Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
c/o Office of Research Services
E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENT

I have read the information presented in the letter about the study being conducted by Huyen Dam of McMaster University. I had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study and have received additional details I wanted to know about the study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, if I choose to do so, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Signature of Participant

Appendix C: Letter of Information

Dear Members of the Vietnamese Community,

My name is Huyen Dam and I am a Master's student at McMaster University. I was born in Hong Kong in 1984 after my parents had journey from Vietnamese and lived there for 4 years before coming to Canada. My family came to Canada through the sponsorship of a local church in Regina, Saskatchewan in 1988. We only lived there for 3 months before we moved to Hamilton and we have live in Hamilton for the past 20 years.

I am currently conducting a study called, "*Becoming Vietnamese-Canadian: the Story of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton*". I am interested in hearing the story of other Boat People like myself in the city. In particular, I am interested in learning about the experience of the earliest group of Vietnamese refugees, those who came to Canada during the late 70s and 80s. I want to learn about the experience of the first generation refugees who journeyed from Vietnamese to refugee camps and from the refugee camps to Canada. I would also like to hear about the experience of their children, who were either born in Vietnam or in the refugee camp, and their experience living in Canada and Hamilton over time. I am very interested in learning about the ways in which these families have rebuilt their lives in the city and I want to understand why they have chosen to live in the city and the importance of being here to them.

I am currently looking for both male and female volunteers who are interested in being a part in the study. Individuals who are 20 years of age or older would be agreeing to undertake an in-depth interview only if they came to Canada as Vietnamese Boat People during the late 70s and 80s. You are required to be living in Hamilton during the time of the study. The interviews will be conducted in your language of choice and an interpreter can be provided at your requested.

I believe that this study can benefit the Vietnamese community at large because it is allowing us to share our story with people in our own city, especially those who do not know the history or story of the Vietnamese Boat People in Hamilton. More importantly, the ability for us to embrace, educate, and preserve our rich history and cultural identity for the future generation, is vital and worth the investment.

If you have any question or require more information about the study, please contact me, Huyen Dam, at any time, or my supervisor, Dr. John Eyles at (905) 525-9140 ext. 23152.

Sincerely,

Huyen Dam

Appendix D: Methodological Framework for Data Analysis

Crabtree and Miller General Interpretive Process

Pre-Analysis	Analysis	Post-Analysis
<p>(1) <u>Describing</u>: “is a time for reflecting on what is happening to the research team and within the researcher process and how all of it is influencing and shaping the interpretive process and what the next steps should be” (p.20).</p>	<p>(2) <u>Organizing</u>: “refers to how one enters the data and reorganizes it in a way that helps answer the research Question” (p.20). [Fleming et al.’s guideline used here.]</p> <p>(3) <u>Connecting</u>: “is the operation whereby one connects various segments an emerging interpretations within the data to identify and/or discover connections, patterns, themes, and new meanings (p.20)</p> <p>(4) <u>Corroboration/Legitimization</u>: “concerns the issues of standards, credibility, trustworthiness, and interpretive validity.</p>	<p>(5) <u>Representing the Account</u>: “process of telling the story, of writing it up and of creating some means for presenting the results of the research” (p.21).</p>

Adapted from Crabtree & Miller, 1999; pp. 20-21.

Fleming et al.’s 4 Steps to Data Analysis

Step 1: All interview texts should be examined to find an expression that reflects the fundamental meaning of the text as a whole. Gaining understanding of the whole text should be the starting point of analysis, because the meaning of the whole will influence understanding of every other part of the text. Already the first encounter with the text is influenced by a sense of anticipation, which has developed through the preunderstanding of the researcher.

Step 2: In the next phase every single sentence or section should be investigated to expose it’s meaning for understanding of the subject matter. This stage will facilitate the identification of themes, which in turn should lead to a rich and detailed understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. These themes should then be challenged by, and in turn, challenge the researcher’s preunderstandings.

Step 3: Every sentence or section is then related to the meaning of the whole text and with it the sense of the text as a whole is expanded. This is the significance of expansion of the unity of the understood sense (Gadamer 1990). The hermeneutic circle, which is essential for gaining understanding, is only fully experienced if the movement back to the whole is included in research based on philosophical hermeneutic. With the expanded understanding of the whole text, meaning of the parts can widen.

Step 4: This step involves the identification of passages that seem to be representative of the shared understandings between the researcher and participants. Such passages, which may appear in the research report, should give the reader insight into that aspect of the phenomenon, which is being discussed. The whole process could go on indefinitely, because every understanding will change as time goes on. However, a decision normally based on time or resources will have to be taken on the number of times the cycle is repeated.

Adapted from Fleming et al., 2003; pp. 118-119

Appendix E: Codes, Categories, and Themes

Example from Tung's Transcript

STEP 1

Tung: To begin the data analysis, I read through the entire transcript for Tung and reflected on Tung's story as a whole. I then wrote a one-page summary and noted what I felt was the 'fundamental meaning' or overarching theme. I wrote down my personal reaction to Tung's interview in my journal.

Excerpt from "Summary of Tung": For Tung, his home is his family. He identifies being at home when he is with his family. Tung also has family in Vietnamese and when he is with them he also feels at home. Home is also homeland. Homeland is his future home, the place where he plans to return to. Therefore it is critical for him not to lose this aspect of his identity.

Main Theme: Home is family and homeland

Excerpt from Journal: There seem to be a great generational difference between those who came to Canada and a teen or young adult and those that came as children. I think believe they are less acculturated and assimilated...I get the sense that some people don't talk about these things - i.e. how they overcame certain psychological effects. So up until now, people don't talk about their feelings or what it meant to then to go through some of these things. To understand how people get here is to understand them as individuals who have gone through the process of being dislocated. The meaning of *place* is the nature of the place itself, but should recognize the totality of lived-experience from the individuals' perspective.

STEP 2

Tung: In this step, the editing style method of data analysis taken from Crabtree and Miller (1999) was used to extract themes. The themes were then note in the margins and section of themes were then noted and related back to the 'phenomenon under investigation' or to the research question (Q: What place(s) do Vietnamese 'Boat People' in Hamilton, who have lived in Canada for more than fifteen years, identify as their home and why?).

Except from data analysis using editing style:

Tung Transcript:

So for me it doesn't matter, it's always gonna has a beginning but feeling like home, I guess, the only place is where you stay with your family, where all your family is around you and you're there. That's when you feel home. I'm always dreaming that one day when I retire that I go back to me homeland where my aunts and uncles and my relatives who lives in Vietnam and I live there.

Interpretation of Transcript:

- Home can be dislocated. New home has beginning.
- Home is also a feeling.
- Home is place, when surrounded by family.
- Home is feeling when surrounded by family.
- Home is also homeland – a place where one's (extended) family reside. Homeland is place; place of birth, and a place to return to.

STEP 3

Tung: The entering and re-entering of the hermeneutic circle was achieved by moving between the parts (i.e. themes generating in step 3) and linking back to the whole (i.e. “fundamental meaning of the text as a whole”).

Main Theme: Home is family and homeland

Expert from “Memo: Not Losing your Vietnamese Identity”

To not lose your Vietnamese Identity is a sub-theme of home as family and home as homeland is to not loose you Vietnamese root is to carry out tradition and live within the standards that agrees with the Vietnamese cultural value in daily life. It's a conscious choice which takes effect in daily living. It's a decision that implicates identity and re-integration into future home in Vietnam.

STEP 4

Tung – Passage for Future Home

“I'm always dreaming that one day when I retire that I go back to my **homeland** where **my aunts** and **uncles** and **my relatives** who lives in **Vietnam** and I live there...I hope that I will go back to **my country** and retire because it's my **hometown**; it's my **homeland**.” - Tung

Appendix F: Generating Themes – Analysis Between Participants

HOAN	
Comprehension	I've lived here for more than half of my life already and, and everything is here and I make it my home. [<i>Interpretation</i> : (1) comprehension of home is defined by space and time (2) aspects of home: place, time, family]
Meaning	I've lived here for more than half of my life...already and...and everything is here and I make it my home...My family, my parents, my brother and sister, and children. Everything is here. [<i>Interpretation</i> : the meaning of home can be ascribed by people and family, memory]
Place	I've lived here for more than half of my life...already and...and everything is here and I make it my home. [<i>Interpretation</i> : "everything" referred to as family, structure and location]
Time	I've lived here for more than half of my life...already and...and everything is here and I make it my home. I don't know...because like...uhmm...earlier in Vietnam I came for 25 years old...the thing is I'm already divide, I'm a Vietnamese...uhm yeah..., for my daughter I think she can say she is a Vietnamese -Canadian...
Family	...everything is here and I make it my home...My family, my parents, my brother and sister, and children. Everything is here.
Structure	Yeah, people and you know houses too.
Vietnam	INT: What made your experience good? PAR: Yeah...brothers and sisters, friends and things like that. INT: Okay. Was there anything feelings that came to mind...were you surprised by anything? PAR: Yeah it's changing...but it's still good we still [have] fond memories and things like that. [<i>Interpretation</i> : fond memories = nostalgia]
Identity	I don't know because like uhmm, earlier in Vietnam I came for 25 years old...the thing is I'm already divided, I'm a Vietnamese, uhm yeah, for my daughter I think she can say she is a Vietnamese -Canadian... [<i>Interpretation</i> : identity is divided]
TRANG	
Comprehension	I guess I just can't imagine living anywhere else cause I've been here all of my life ...If I were to go to another city... I kind of know the city inside out and I know where things are.
Meaning	PAR: I guess I just can't imagine living anywhere else cause I've been here all of my life and my actually home; like my house is here, my family is here and it's not strange to me. If I were to go to another city, who would I know there, what do I

	<p>know there, places I know? But here it's like; I kind of know the city inside out and I know where things are, I know where my friends are, I know where my family is and... You don't feel alone, you don't feel excluded or anything. You have that warm family setting or that warm, just yeah all of that, you know how everyone wants to fit in or be a part of something right. So you have everyone with you and you can go visit your friends once in awhile and be able to catch up and talk to everyone.</p> <p>INT: And why is that important? Why is knowing where people are important?</p> <p>PAR: You don't feel alone, you don't feel excluded or anything. You have that warm family setting or that warm, just yeah all of that, you know how everyone wants to fit in or be a part of something right. So you have everyone with you and you can go visit your friends once in awhile and be able to catch up and talk to everyone.</p>
Place	Hamilton is special because it's the only home I've ever known, or all that I remember... it's a part of my life and I live in it, but I love Hamilton.
Time	<p>...cause I've been here all of my life</p> <p>[<i>Note</i>: not actually here all of her life. Came here when she was 2.]</p>
Family	...my family is here.
Structure	...my actually home; like my house is here.
Vietnam	Yeah. Twice and I did not like it but only because I was so little. I didn't do much so I just stuck around with my parents all the time. I think that now if I went, then I would enjoy it a lot more because I'm older and like I said, I'm cherishing more and more, I'm proud of it right, so if I go back there I would want to learn more about the different areas of the country and try out different foods and different things like that.
Identity	<p>It means I'm not just Vietnamese because I feel that if you're just a Vietnamese, you kinda live in Vietnam only. But then I don't feel like I'm a Vietnamese person living in Canada because I belong to this country. I am a citizen of this country and I've grown up here. I'm accustom to all of the Canadian custom and I keep my own Vietnamese custom as well. So I'm not just a Vietnamese person living in the country. And I'm not a pure Canadian so I consider myself a Vietnamese-Canadian where I kind of embrace both cultures in my life.</p> <p>[<i>Interpretation</i>: Vietnamese identity is assumed and rationalizing for Canadian identity. Explains why she belongs]</p>

Appendix G: Journal Entries

November 25/08:

For some of the transcripts including Tung, Vinh, and Hanh, there is a consistency between them to link home with family. Home as family is why home is here in Canada. It is also why home is in Vietnam. Maybe there is a sense of continuity with family. Family is constant and doesn't change. I think my experience in the refugee camp was happy because it was spent with family...

January 13/09:

Home is also homeland. This was indicated by those who were born there and felt a sense of belonging when they were back in Vietnam. They also indicate that they belong in Canada ask they speak about citizenship and things like rites of passage – suggesting that citizenship has been earned through the process of journeying and as a result of being in Canada for so long. I can identify with the, I know what they mean when they say they feel “home” there...

March 22/09:

So what does it mean for to become a Vietnamese-Canadian? The meaning of being a Vietnamese-Canadian includes the process of journeying. These people came from a Vietnam which means they've lived and had meaningful experience there. It's cultural heritage. They never forget about homeland. Although that may not come out initially when you talk to them but it's apparent with deeper conversation...

May 02/09:

Home and roots share a lot in common with each other. At the heart of home and roots is one's, origin, identity, and family and because they share fundamental features, it is difficult for a discussion to not communicate the overlapping of these meanings because that are counterparts. My question about their home and their future home could not be far removed from the enquiry of identity...

July 09/09:

Parts of me identify with all of the participants in the study. I feel that my trip back to Vietnam has enabled me grasp the varying views of those in the community – across generation and lived-experience. Although I've never had the experience of growing up in Vietnam, not really having the challenged of searching for home, or having that experience of being dislocated or up-rooted from an actual homeland, I do believe that I can somewhat identified with these particular participants...

Appendix H: Decision Point Matrix

	Interpretive / Hermeneutic Phenomenology (Gadamer's Philosophical Hermeneutic)
Purpose	Ontological: uncover the hidden meaning, and to describe meaning of an experience from the perspective of those who had it.
Philosophical framework	Interpretive: the lived-experience is essentially an interpretive process (Cohen & Omery, 1994) This methodology increases sensitivity to humans' way of being-in-the-world rather than providing theory for generalization or prediction of phenomena. Acknowledges that people are inextricably situated in their worlds.
Research Question	The research question evolve during the interview and observation process, as meanings, concerns, and practices emerge from varied perspectives (Crist & Tanner, 2003) What is the meaning of the phenomenon under investigation?
Timing & Purpose of Literature Review	Review of the literature follows the data analysis. Researcher may do a cursory review of the literature before fully developing the study to verify the need for investigation (Streubert-Speziale & Carpenter, 2007).
Data Types & Sources	Oral or textual narratives and observation. 'Gaining understanding' in a Gadamerian sense is possible through dialogue, both in conversation between researcher and participants as well and reader and text (Gadamer, 1990).
Typical Sample Size	Sample size is consider adequate when interpretations are visible and clear, and new informants reveal no new findings and meanings form all previous narratives become redundant (Crist & Tanner, 2003)
Sampling	Sample evolves during the interview and observation process. Purposeful sampling strategies used. (E.g. Inclusion criteria: ensure that a homogenous sample is obtained to reveal what an experience means to a particular group).
Data Collection	Researcher(s) assumptions are acknowledged as much as possible, recognizing that these assumptions could influence the investigator's conduct of data collection and interpretation of data. Repeated observation and interviews in order to gain deeper insights through the informant's and investigator's co-creation of substantive findings (Crist and Tanner, 2003).

Appendix I: Number of Years Spent in Refugee Camp

The following table is a summary of background information. The table shows details for each participant regarding: (1) the birth place; (2) the year of departure from Vietnam; (3) the number of years spent in the refugee camp; (4) the location of the refugee camp; (5) the year of arrival into Canada; and (6) the age of arrival in Canada.

Name	Place of Birth	Year of Departure from Vietnam	Number of Years Spent in Refugee Camp	Location of Refugee Camp	Year Arrived in Canada	Age at Arrival in Canada
Anh	South Vietnam	1981	6 months	Kalong Island	1982	13
Ngoc	North Vietnam	1982	6 months	Hong Kong	1986	22
Hoan	South Vietnam	1981	18 moths	Indonesia	1983	25
Hung	North Vietnam	1983	2 years	Hong Kong	1985	32
Minh	North Vietnam	1982	3 years	Hong Kong	1985	21
Tung	North Vietnam	1982	5 years	Hong Kong	1987	9
Nam	North Vietnam	1986	5 years	Hong Kong	1991	32
Vinh	North Vietnam	1982	7 years	Hong Kong	1989	25
Trang	Hong Kong Refugee Camp	N/A	2 years	Hong Kong	1990	2
Von	Hong Kong Refugee Camp	N/A	4 years	Hong Kong	1989	4
Lien	Hong Kong Refugee Camp	N/A	5 years	Hong Kong	1989	5
Hanh	Hong Kong Refugee Camp	N/A	5 years	Hong Kong	1989	5

Data Analysis	<p>Acknowledging the researcher's is part of the interpretive phenomenology and has been described as the forward arc of the "hermeneutic circle" and the interpretation as the return arc – the "movement of uncovering" of the circle (Crist & Tanner, 2003)</p> <p>Unlike descriptive phenomenology where researchers required to bracket their own preconception or theories a prior and during the analysis, instead, the researcher pre-understanding is a significant and cannot be divorced from the investigator.</p> <p>Practical acts of living assessed through "narratives" (e.g. interviews and observations) to reveal meaning (Crist & Tanner, 2003)</p>
Data Interpretation	<p>Iterative process and not linear. Philosophical underpinnings are integrated with concrete aspects of interpretive methods (Crist and Tanner, 2003).</p> <p>An interpretive research team of experts can add depth and insight to interpretation as well as ensure rigour in interpretation of data.</p> <p>Within the circular process, narratives are examined simultaneously with the emerging interpretation, never losing sight of each informant's particular story and context.</p>
Other Comments	<p>Although Gadamer offers valuable insights into developing a deep understanding of texts, he did not offer either a methods for doing so. Therefore, methods on conducting Gadamerian philosophical hermeneutic relied on other researcher writing on how to conduct such research.</p>

Appendix J: Socio-Cultural Meaning of Home

The word for home in Vietnamese is **về**. This word is used in many different contexts. The only time it stands alone as a place and noun is when it is used in reference to home. The following is the meaning for the word **về**.

Về: to return; to re-turn to, go back to, go to, concerned with, towards, in, at, about, concerning,

- **giỏi về** = good **at**
- **về phía nam** = **towards** the south
- **lui về** = retreat
- **trở về** = to go **back**
- **về mùa đông** = **in** the winter
- **nói về** = speak **about**
- **thuộc về** = belong **to**
- **đi về** = go **home**

NOUN

1. **Nhà, chỗ ở** = house, place of residence

Idioms:

- 1) to have neither hearth nor home = không cửa không nhà
- 2) to be at home = ở nhà
- 3) not at home = không có nhà

2. **Gia đình, tổ ấm** = family, hearth

Idioms:

- 1) there's no place like home = không đâu bằng ở nhà mình
- 2) make yourself at home = xin anh cứ tự nhiên như ở nhà
- 3) the pleasures of home = thú vui gia đình

3. **Quê hương, tổ quốc, nơi chôn nhau cắt rốn, nước nhà** = country, native-born, an

Idioms

- 1) exile from home = một người bị đày xa quê hương

Adapted from Nguyễn (1966).

