

The Cultural Integration of Working Vietnamese People in Poland: An Analysis of Integration as the Process of Immigrants' Lived Experience

An Nguyen Huu¹

¹Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, Hue University of Sciences, Hue University, Vietnam

* An Nguyen Huu, corresponding author. Email: nguyenhuan@hueuni.edu.vn

Submitted: 19 December 2020, Accepted: 25 March 2021, Published: 16 May 2021

Volume 29, 2021. p.416-434. <http://doi.org/10.25133/JPSSv292021.026>

Abstract

This article is devoted to investigating the cultural integration of working Vietnamese immigrants in Poland. This study approaches cultural integration as a process of lived experience, paying particular attention to immigrants' agency. The migrant group is viewed as active actors who are able to develop motivations for integration into their host culture or reinforce their loyalty to their original culture through interactions with new living settings in their country of residence. This study also examined the role of transnationalism in the process of cultural integration. Qualitative analyses showed that the motivations for cultural integration are strongly shaped by the immigrants' impression of proper cultural standards and their admiration of the performance of social institutions, modernization, and living conditions in Poland. Motivations for integration played a crucial role in fostering the migrant group's cultural acquisition. Concurrently, the migrant group exposed their disinclination to internalize cultural standards that challenged their established worldviews formed by socialization and education in the home country. This reluctance happens due to the role of transnational ties by which the migrant group can carry and practice their original culture. Consequently, transnationalism results in cultural resistance, hindering the cultural integration of the migrant group in Poland.

Keywords

Migrant adaptation; migrant integration; Poland; transnationalism; Vietnamese migrant community; working Vietnamese immigrants

Introduction

The objective of this study was to investigate the cultural integration of working Vietnamese immigrants in Poland. This research aimed at answering the question of how the migrant group culturally integrates into Polish society. The Working Vietnamese immigrants marked their first presence in Poland after the fall of communism throughout the world in 1989. This migrant group contributed to forming the fourth flow of people of Vietnamese origin immigrating to Poland (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2016). Despite constituting the largest share of the Vietnamese community in Poland, the working Vietnamese immigrants remain a closed group to the eyes of the Polish people. The lack of knowledge of the Polish language, the irregular statuses of some parts of the group, cultural differences, and the remote operation in an ethnic enclave [geographic area with high ethnic concentration] are crucial factors of the inaccessibility of the working Vietnamese (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019, p. 119).

Scholars, especially Polish pundits, have paid considerable attention to particular Vietnamese migrant groups, who are considered culture brokers such as the representatives of the '1.5 generation' and second-generation migrants with mixed marriages, pioneering migrants, or key actors of the Vietnamese migrant community (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019, p. 119). These groups play a crucial role in facilitating the integration of the migrant community thanks to possessing valuable human resources, e.g., a high level of education and good knowledge of the Polish language (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015; Pokojska, 2017; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2016). By contrast, the Vietnamese working individuals are viewed as a migrant category with modest human resources, mainly migrating to Poland at the age of adolescence or older and holding the strong cultural identity of their origin culture, making it a challenge to acculturate into the receiving society. The lack of human capital is supposedly the main factor challenging the migrants' acquisition of knowledge and cultural standards of Polish culture. As a result, a question regarding whether and how the working Vietnamese immigrants' cultural integration occurs in the country of residence is worth investigating.

Understanding the cultural dimension of the integration of the Vietnamese working group is of great significance. This understanding provides fundamental profiles of the group that helps to effortlessly acknowledge their socioeconomic and political practice. It is also particularly essential for fostering public tolerance towards the cultural differences between the migrant group and other communities, especially the host population. The working Vietnamese people, who have been so far under-researched, provide a fascinating case for the exploration of integration, which prominently contributes to the existing literature on the socioeconomic and cultural integration of Vietnamese immigrants and their descendants to Polish society (Głowacka-Grajper, 2006; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015; Halik et al., 2006; Kłorek & Szulecka, 2013; Nowicka, 2014, 2015; Pokojska, 2017; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2014, 2016, 2019).

In this study, I viewed integration as a multi-dimensional process that encompasses the empirical patterns of migrant adaptation and the lived experiences of migrants themselves (Şimşek, 2019, p. 270). By approaching immigrants as actors with agency, I particularly focused on the motivations for integration developed and reinforced through the interaction of migrants with the receiving society. As one dimension of integration, cultural integration is regarded as a process in which immigrants acquire knowledge and cultural standards to interact with the host society, facilitated by the motivations for integration (Eurofound, 2006).

Immigrants with the agency can identify actions, patterns, and norms prevailing in the receiving society that they accept or reject to follow.

This study also employed a transnational perspective to understand how cultural integration is conditional on transnational connections to the homeland. I applied the inductive approach to analyze qualitative data as a part of a research project funded by the Polish National Science Centre from 18 in-depth interviews collected in the summer of 2015. The interviewees included bazaar traders and cooks who worked in trading centers and Vietnamese restaurants around Warsaw at the time of the study.

Literature review

Vietnamese migrants in Poland originated from the 'socialist fraternity' project, where the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites assisted their 'younger brothers' to migrate during the Cold War era (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019, p. 21). Following the assistance framework, the first presence of the migrant group were students sent to Poland in the 1950s by the Vietnamese socialist state. This wave of education migration lasted till the 1980s. After the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989, subsequent inflows of economically motivated Vietnamese migrants represented a crowded and diverse community. With an estimated population of around 25,000-30,000 (both regular and irregular), the migrant group has become the largest community originating from Asia (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2016). It formed the third-largest legal migrant group with 12,077 people holding valid documents in 2019 (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2020, p. 132).

Pioneering studies often focused on the cultural adaptation of the 1.5 and second-generation immigrants such as students and school children (Głowacka-Grajper, 2006; Halik et al., 2006; Szymańska, 2007a, 2007b). These groups noticeably confront identity dilemmas during the process of adaptation to Polish life. Głowacka-Grajper (2006) pointed out that Vietnamese children, as a minority, face challenges from the divergence of norms, values, lifestyles, and life scenarios when interacting with their Polish counterparts.

Nowicka (2015) found that young Vietnamese women living in Poland face dilemmas and psychological problems from pressures and norms of two contradictory value systems when making decisions. One value system is the Vietnamese traditional and collectivistic orientation of the family. The other system is the Polish modern shared beliefs represented by schoolmates, friends, and teachers. Eventually, the decision made by young Vietnamese women will undoubtedly be against one of the two sides as well as one's value system. Thus, the young Vietnamese women are described as standing 'between the devil and the deep blue sea' (Nowicka, 2015).

In another aspect, Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2014) showed the intergenerational conflict existing in Vietnamese migrant families between immigrant parents and young Vietnamese stemmed from disagreements about values and expectations from both sides. These disagreements cover several dimensions such as the choice of the educational path and socialization, the dilemmas associated with returning to the home country, parents' expectations concerning family obligations, and high education ambitions. The conflict is considered the leading cause of frustration among Vietnamese youths residing in Poland.

Klorek and Szulecka (2013) shed light on the 'self-sufficient organism' established by Vietnamese immigrants within the economic dimension. This institution aims at providing ethnic services and satisfying migrants' needs. This kind of economic activity reduces the participation of Vietnamese individuals in the larger society, thereby preventing the community from building external contacts and bridging ties to enhance language and cultural competencies. Therefore, this economic model could not significantly contribute to facilitating adaptation to Polish society (Klorek & Szulecka, 2013).

Regarding social and cultural integration into the Polish society, Grzymała-Kazłowska (2015) pointed out that, at the individual level, one is likely to observe cultural separation rather than the integrative tendency among the first-generation Vietnamese. However, the integration of the migrant group happens at the collective level. In this regard, Pokojska (2017) found the growing visibility of the Vietnamese immigrants in social and political activities. This observation signaled the evolvement of the Vietnamese migrant group through their transformation from a marginalized and homogeneous group to a much more self-aware and socio-politically active force. The process of social and cultural integration is more direct and visible among the 1.5 and second generations of Vietnamese immigrants. These generations will be more politically active in the future. For example, they can run for local offices, thanks to possessing Polish citizenship (Pokojska, 2017). However, this group retains a strong Vietnamese identity despite being socialized and educated in the Polish environment. It is argued that the homogenous sense of Polish society is allegedly preventing ethnic groups, including Vietnamese immigrants, from assimilation or complete integration (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015).

In sum, the integration of the Vietnamese immigrants into Polish society happens in several domains, ranging from cultural, social, and economic dimensions. Scholars show that the Vietnamese immigrants try to link to the receiving country through interaction with the Polish society while still maintaining their cultural identity. This phenomenon happens even to the 1.5 and second-generation immigrants who undergo early childhood socialization in Poland. This finding should be considered when employing theoretical bases for investigating the integration of the Vietnamese working group in Polish society. The question is how integration should be conceptualized to appropriately account for working Vietnamese immigrants.

Theoretical background

The concept of immigrant integration

Integration refers "to the process of settlement of newcomers in a given society, to the interaction of these newcomers with the host society, and to the social change that follows immigration" (Penninx, 2019, p. 5). Scholars often use synonyms such as adaptation and assimilation to study immigrant integration. While adaptation is a general concept pertaining to immigrants' adjustment to new socio-cultural settings (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015, p. 462), integration and assimilation are two of the four forms of typology, in addition to separation and marginalization, of adaptation strategies (Berry, 1997). Assimilation regards the phenomenon that immigrants abandon their original culture but maintains relationships with a dominant group. Integration refers to a phenomenon of both maintenances of immigrants' ethnic identity and their absorption into a receiving society (Berry, 1997).

Several theoretical perspectives have been developed to explain the phenomena of integration. The classical assimilation perspective, a dominant school of thought explaining the phenomenon in the first half of the twentieth century, treated integration as a linear and one-sided process in which different ethnic migrant groups gradually give up their original culture and share the same culture with the autochthonous population (Gordon, 1964; Park, 1928). Empirical results challenging the validity of conventional assimilation, where migrant origin individuals and their descendants were found to retain their culture of origin and persist in ethnic differences (Gans, 1992), led to the developments of alternative theoretical frameworks accounting for the phenomenon. The pluralist theory was introduced, viewing ethnic (migrant) groups as integral parts of the host societies rather than foreigners, treating the phenomenon of holding on to the culture of origin as one way of adapting to new settings (Zhou, 1997a, 1997b). However, this perspective remains unanswered regarding the second generation's unwillingness to be culturally involved in the receiving countries.

To deal with the criticism, scholars presented the structural view where different social categories had unequal access to social resources, leading to the persistence of ethnic disparities (Barth & Noel, 1972). Accordingly, adaptation is the same for different ethnic groups, which is faster and easier for groups belonging to a more tolerant stratum and willing to include new members. Also dealing with the divergence of migrant adaptation, the segmented assimilation provides another framework to illuminate the phenomenon. Portes and Zhou (1993) contended that the adaptation is shaped through assimilation. However, immigrants, depending on their generation, are included in different segments of a receiving society.

Scholars have recently drawn on national frameworks, taking the native population as a 'gold standard,' to evaluate the degree of integration of immigrants (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). This strand was criticized for disregarding the role of the agency of immigrants in integrating into the host society (Erdal, 2013). Accordingly, integration is then conceptualized as a two-way process to reach joint movement and adaptation between the receiving societies and immigrants. The process involves the reciprocity of rights and obligations of the two partners, migrant origin individuals and autochthonous groups, to "determine the direction and the temporal outcomes of the integration process" (Penninx, 2019, p. 5; Phillimore & Goodson, 2008).

The debate on the conceptualization of integration is parallel with the increase in critiques of the concept. Scholars criticize the fuzziness and the messy measurements of immigrant integration, question the normative rather than descriptive sense in the usage of integration in political rhetoric and research, and suspect the influence of politics and policy in studies on immigrant integration (Schinkel, 2018). For these reasons, the opponents have called for abandoning immigrant integration in social research. Meanwhile, the advocates indicate that the opponents did not adequately cover the most recent developments in immigrant integration, which leads to bias in their critiques. The defenders also show shortcomings in critiques due to equating integration in policies with integration research. According to the advocates, researchers can be independent enough to construct and employ non-normative concepts of integration in their research despite the influence of the policy process and politics (Penninx, 2019).

In order to defend the use of the concept of integration in social research, scholars have taken on new approaches to reconceptualize integration. Klarenbeek (2019) viewed immigrant integration as an end state and proposed a relational concept of two-way integration in which

both insiders and outsiders take part. Along this same line, Penninx (2019, p. 5) called the notion of a two-way process to define integration “as the process of becoming an accepted part of society.” Penninx (2019, pp. 5-6) argued that this definition is useful in two points. First, it implies that integration is a process rather than an end situation. Second, the definition is intentionally open to allow social researchers to independently capture and measure the degree of immigrant integration resulting from the diversity of the process of integration. However, Penninx (2019) acknowledged that though the two partners share mutual responsibility and obligations for the facilitation of integration, they have unequal power and resources in the process. The two-way model of integration, thus, is questioned for denoting the hierarchy when emphasizing the harmonious relationship between two groups, while disregarding the actions and aspirations of immigrants who prefer not to identify with the native population due to the limitation of power and resources (Şimşek, 2019, p. 269). Accordingly, the focus on the immigrants’ agency, motivations, and how immigrants identify with the receiving society is an alternative application to comprehend the multi-dimensional sense of immigrant integration (Şimşek, 2019).

In this article, the concept of integration is regarded as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, encompassing the empirical patterns of migrant adaptation and the lived experiences of the migrants (Şimşek, 2019, p. 270). In order to adequately account for the dynamics of the integration of the working Vietnamese immigrant, I mainly considered the motivations and aspirations of immigrants for integration developed and reinforced by interactions with the receiving society through lived experience by approaching immigrants as active actors with agency. The migrants might be seen as disintegrated in sharing equal responsibility and obligations with the members of the society of settlement due to limited access to resources and power compared to the native population.

Moreover, as possessing fewer human resources and having a different socioeconomic background from groups of culture brokers, the integration of working Vietnamese immigrants into Polish society might take place differently from that of other groups (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019). Thus, focusing on the immigrants’ motivations for integration through lived experience is essential for understanding how these working Vietnamese people become a part of the receiving country.

In this line, as one of the dimensions of integration, cultural integration refers to immigrants’ acquisition of knowledge and cultural standards to interact with the host society, conditioned by the motivations for integration developed through their lived experience. As actors with agency, immigrants can identify behaviors, cultural norms, values, and patterns prevailing they prefer or reject in the receiving society. This process results in two different situations.

Suppose immigrants find themselves comfortable with the cultural standards of the receiving societies. In that case, the manifestation of the cultural integration process is immigrants’ cognitive, behavioral, and attitudinal changes (Eurofound, 2006). Alternatively, suppose immigrants hesitate about acquiring specific cultural standards. In that case, they may stay with their original culture – this way of behaving results in forming diversity in the culture of the receiving country. Accordingly, for the working Vietnamese immigrants in Poland, the migrant group can take on Polish cultural standards or retain their original culture to satisfy their need for integration.

Transnationalism and theoretical assumptions of the relationships between transnational ties and immigrant integration

Scholars became particularly interested in the nexus between transnationalism and migrant integration after the 'transnational turn' theoretical breakthrough initiated in the 1980s (Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 2008; Schiller et al., 1992, 1995). As noted by Faist (2010, pp. 11–12), the introduction of transnationalism into migration studies has sparked discussions on the integration of immigrants. Transnationalism is considered to be multiple ties and interactions, connecting immigrants across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 2009). Transnationalism was initially defined as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7; Schiller et al., 1995). Transnationalism is used to describe the geographical mobility of immigrants between the sending and receiving countries (Portes, 1997).

Scholars likewise contend that not only geographical movement but also transnational practices such as sending monetary remittances, crossing the border, activities of exchanging social, cultural, and political remittances to connect the receiving and the sending societies are also regarded as transnationalism (Levitt, 2001; Page, 2010; Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec, 2003). A more recent conceptualization of transnationalism has elaborated the coordination of civil society actors to transnational activities and accented individual migrants as the primary units of analysis (Portes, 2001). Thus, the transnational strand approaches immigrants as 'transmigrants' who settle and incorporate into the host society and sustain transnational networks with their countries of origin.

Traditionally, there have been four different positions on the transnational relationship: the alarmist view, less alarmist but pessimistic position, positive view, and the pragmatic position. The alarmist view regards transnational ties as challenges, preventing migrants from integrating into the country of residence. The less alarmist but pessimistic position considers transnationalism as survival and priority strategies when immigrants find it difficult to incorporate into receiving societies. The positive view recognizes the positive side of the relationship, emphasizing the mutual support between transnationalism and integration. The pragmatic position focuses on identifying the parallel existence of the two phenomena, rejecting seeing the relationship as a 'zero-sum game' (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

Scholars have recently theorized the interaction of the transnational relationship into a two-type typology, complements, and substitutes. While the former denotes the support of integration for reinforcing the process of transnationalism, the latter presents the premise that increasingly engaging in one society will lead to a deprivation of participation in the other and vice versa (Dekker & Siegel, 2013).

In this article, the sense of transnationalism is narrowed down to introducing or referring to ideas, beliefs, and values of the culture from the country of origin in connection to those in the country of destination. Drawing on the theoretical discussion about the relationship between transnationalism and integration, cultural transnational practices of working Vietnamese immigrants will be examined in relation to their cultural integration in Poland. I argue that transnational ties play a significant role in the cultural integration of the migrant group.

Data and methods

This paper employs data collected in 2015 from 18 in-depth interviews as a part of the project 'Vietnamese from Poland - Transnational migrant community as a bridge between Poland and Vietnam' funded by The Polish National Science Centre. The interviewees were owners of small trade stalls and salespeople working in the Flower Market, a bazaar in Bakalarska street in Warsaw, and Marywilaska 44, a trading center located in a suburb of Warsaw. Those researched were selected by applying convenient sampling, satisfying the following criteria: living in Poland at least one year, running a business at the research sites, being at least 18 years old at the time of the interview. During the interview period, I frequently visited the Flower Market and Marywilaska 44 center. When reaching each participant, I introduced myself and the purpose of the interview. After getting the consent and permission of the participants, I proceeded with the interview and recorded information shared by the participants.

The approval of ethics and study protocol was granted by the Polish National Science Centre (ID: 2013/09/D/HS6/02675). Each interview lasted from forty-five to sixty minutes and covered a broad range of topics such as reasons for coming to Poland, ways of entering Poland, social support networks, impression on the country of residence, barriers of living in Poland, and methods of dealing with such obstacles, connections to the homeland, perceptions of the changes of Vietnam, and decisions in the future.

My Vietnamese cultural identity was a substantial advantage for data collection. All interviews were conducted in Vietnamese, the first language of myself and the interviewees. Therefore, the communicative understanding between the participants and I were certain. My identity also helped to ensure the psychological and cultural safety and convenience of the participants because we could be regarded as insiders who share the same culture. However, to some extent, I appeared as an outsider towards the migrant group, who shares different socioeconomic backgrounds from working Vietnamese immigrants. The boundary from the sense of insider/outsider between myself and the participants was effaced throughout the course of the interviews. The frequency of visiting the research sites during data collection gave rise to the increase in contact with the migrant group, enabling me to be familiar with the places as well as the migrant group. This familiarity gave me a hybrid insider-outsider status (van Hooft, 2019), providing many benefits in data collection. I was welcomed and trusted by the participants, even participants with gender differences, who fervently shared their stories in the interviews.

Of the 18 interviewees, 12 were male, and 6 were female. At the time of the interviews, most interviewees (13) were from 30 to 49 years of age, with only three people under 30, and two were in their 50s and above. Most of the informants arrived in Poland through two main channels, either illegally crossing the border from Russia or reaching Poland from the Czech Republic.

All participants were of legal status at the time of interviews; therefore, they joined the research without hesitation. The majority of the interviewees (15) had arrived between 2000 and 2015, a period of peak immigration of Vietnamese people to Poland (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019, p. 130). As informed by the participants, most stayed with their families and children born in Poland or came to the country as a child, thanks to the family unification policy (Łodziński et al., 2014, p. 9).

I applied the inductive approach from the collected data to examine how the migrant group adapted to Polish society because the interview guidelines did not entirely capture the practice of integrating working Vietnamese immigrants. As guided by Thomas (2006), I condensed raw textual data into a summary format, linking the research objective to findings derived from the raw data, then framing the adaptation tendency of the migrant group evident in the raw data. For this approach, I used information narrated by the participants regarding their perceptions and impression of the country of residence, barriers of living in Poland, ways of dealing with the impediment, and connections to their homeland. I then applied content analysis to identify, code, and analyze themes that surfaced from the interviewees. By following the aforementioned theoretical framework, I would gain insight into how the migrant group culturally integrates into Polish society.

Empirical findings

Motivations for cultural acquisition as the facilitator for integration

The focus on immigrants' agency is of great importance in examining working Vietnamese people's motivations, aspirations, and willingness to identify with the culture of Polish society. During the interview, I found that the motive for cultural integration of the migrant group was strongly shaped by their impression and admiration of norms of conduct, cultural values, and patterns prevailing in Polish society that they find favorable. Those are cultural elements that fit the migrant group's established worldviews, helping to diminish their reluctance to attach themselves to the receiving society. The motivations, in turn, conditioned the immigrants' acquisition of knowledge and cultural standards in the receiving society.

Content analyses revealed that respect for the law and regard for individual matters are essential cultural values that the participants highly preferred. Most informants contended that Poland is a 'rule of the law' society for respecting the laws. Polish citizens are highly aware of the importance of obedience to the law. The participants also appreciated the Poles' attitude towards public affairs, such as no littering when walking on the streets.

"The consciousness of the Pole is high, not like the Vietnamese in Vietnam. This is shown as going out on the street without littering. If people are walking on the streets along with garbage, they just keep it in their bags and go to the trash can to throw it. The second thing is that they are very high in obedience to the traffic laws when driving vehicles on the streets. Thirdly, there is no deception here. For example, when you buy something via the Internet, the shop that you had transaction will deliver the very goods that you ordered, not different goods." (Male, 33 years old)

For the issue of regard for individual matters, the participants realized and appreciated the values of respecting human rights. The interviewees were impressed with the respect of socioeconomic status that they think is allegedly inherited in the view of the Polish people. They found that Polish people respect others regardless of their socioeconomic status.

“Here, I really like the character of life in Poland that people consider themselves equal, be they rich and poor, it does not matter. You spend your own money; I spend my own. Polish people do not care you are rich or poor. People treat each other in an emotional manner.” (Female, 29 years old)

The interviewees also admired polite behaviors by Polish people and how the Poles friendly interact with foreigners, including the Vietnamese immigrants.

“Polish society is better ... people speak and behave politely. They do not litter garbage when going out on the street. In general, living in a such civilized country, there are many things that I have to learn... If I had an opportunity, I would have migrated to Poland ... The culture and people are more friendly to us.” (Female, 32 years old)

Besides, the informants referred to gender equality and justice, which are, in their eyes, the most important values that they have learned when living in Poland.

“For example, it is not a matter for a husband or a wife to cook, whoever can cook here. The husband can bathe children and does laundry for the children; it does not matter. But at home (in Vietnam), the husband regards those works with the task taken by his wife. But here is not, and different. For example, if I am tired today, I feel free to take a rest; my husband will do things for me, such as cleaning and doing housework. But it is not like that in Vietnam. In general, women here are more respected.” (Female, 47 years old)

The informants had a propensity for comparing the different practices of cultural values that they favor in Polish and Vietnamese societies. While the practices were recognized as well performed in Poland, the opposite takes place in Vietnam. In the first case, the male informant relied on his ties to the homeland to distinguish the conformity to the laws between the Vietnamese in Vietnam and the Poles in Poland. As he narrated, while the Poles obey the laws, the contrary is for most Vietnamese counterparts in their home country. Similarly, the female informant (47 years old) also relied on their connections to the country of origin to differentiate between gender equality in Poland and Vietnam. She disclosed the view that women are not as equal as men in many spheres in Vietnamese society. For example, women should do housework while men spend more time with social relations. By contrast, in Poland, the husbands help their wives to do housework. It can be seen that such comparison inevitably becomes the cause of advancing the participants’ cultural integration because it undoubtedly plays a crucial role in creating and fostering the motivations of acquisition of new learning. Since cultural values and patterns that the working Vietnamese immigrants decidedly appreciate are better respected and exercised in Poland as they observed, the migrant group tends to follow and internalize such cultural standards to incorporate into the receiving society.

In another aspect, the motivation for cultural integration of the migrant group is also impacted by their perception of the performance of the social institution, modernization, and living conditions in the country. The lived experience of the migrant group in the country constitutes their image of Poland as a civilized country (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019). During the interviews, the participants admired the infrastructure, particularly traffic and transportation, transparency and social justice, and the mechanism of security assurance in Poland. For the informants, Poland is considered a better-organized society in comparison with Vietnam. The

country possesses a modern and user-friendly system of traffic and transportation. When referring to transparency and social justice, the participants realized that life in Poland is impartial, in which people work and get paid depending on their ability.

The participants also postulated that if the Vietnamese immigrants are legal residents, they will not have issues with the Polish authorities. For the sense of security, the interviewees considered their migration to Poland as a decisive factor in motivating their life improvement. They found that life in Poland is less risky if they do not deviate from accepted patterns in society. According to the informants, the conditions for living in Poland are favorable. People only work hard and obey the laws if they wish to have a better life and integrate into Polish society.

"If comparing life, societies, as well as the people in Europe (Poland) to those in Vietnam, I should say that life here is extremely civilized and impartial. People do work by their ability and enjoy in accord with their earnings. Moreover, in case our migrant origin individuals go out in the middle of the night, and if we have legal documents in terms of residency, it is okay, nothing in trouble." (Male, 47 years old)

In addition, education in Poland is the institution to which the informants particularly paid attention. Their experience with the system mainly forms the participants' impression of formal education in their children's schooling. Most of the participants claimed that Poland possesses a well-established education system. Notably, the informants focused on and appreciated the way children are relaxed in schools.

"In Poland, the conditions of human development and other aspects are different than those in Vietnam. Here I want to talk about education and health. In terms of education, students must not have to participate in extra classes. Though there does not exist such a class, the development of children is very comprehensive. Schools provide a lot of practical knowledge on several dimensions but not intensive and very comfortable. That is social and natural knowledge. Whereas, in Vietnam, it should be understood that children are taught the ways to deal with homework rather than necessary knowledge." (Male, 65 years old)

When acknowledging the above dimensions, the interviewees also distinguished between Vietnam and Poland to facilitate acquiring knowledge in the country of residence. In contrast to the impression of a highly organized society like Poland, the participants hold a relatively negative view of the homeland and often criticized Vietnamese society as a chaotic society. For example, they observed that most Vietnamese arbitrarily act, regardless of rules and the laws. Furthermore, to underline the Polish education, the participant talked about the education in Vietnam, wherein children have to intensively learn, contrary to how children in Poland are more relaxed in schools. The comparison is of great help to the interviewees, by which they realized that the way children are educated in schools in the home country could harm rather than benefit a person in childhood. This realization is an essential motive for absorbing standards in educating children in Polish society.

Attitudinal and behavioral changes as signals of cultural integration

As theorized above, the interaction of the working Vietnamese immigrants with Polish society results in two different situations. One is acquiring cultural standards thanks to the

motivations and aspirations for integration developed through their lived experience. The other is the hesitation in internalizing cultural standards due to the loyalty to the original culture when immigrants find it hard to adopt cultural norms, values, and patterns that are at odds with their established worldviews. In this regard, the change in attitudes and behaviors of immigrants is an outcome of the acquisition of knowledge and favored cultural standards, which is the manifestation of integration.

With the working Vietnamese people in Poland, I found that attitudinal and behavioral changes resulted from two channels. One is from the accumulation of knowledge and internalization of cultural values through experiencing the new living settings in Poland. The other derives from interacting with local people, particularly with Polish sellers and customers in the working environment.

The admiration of how Polish society is organized and operated in general, and the impression of proper cultural standards shared by the Pole inspire the migrant group to have cultural acquisition and perceptual changes, leading to changes in attitudes and behaviors. The participants revealed that learning ways of behaving politely and kindly as Polish people do are changes in behaviors of the Vietnamese working individuals. For example, the participants indicated that they have acted as many Polish people do, such as greeting each other, not throwing rubbish indiscriminately in public places, and offering seats to the elderly or children or pregnant women on buses or trains. One informant disclosed that he became gentler thanks to living in Poland even though he used to be an aggressive person and was addicted to drugs when residing in Vietnam.

“If I hadn’t come to Poland, I would have not known what would’ve been because I was very bad at that time. It would’ve been possible that I would’ve been addicted or become a thief doing steal. This is because, at that time, I was young and very naughty.” (Male, 42 years old)

The informants also reported that the longer a Vietnamese person spends time living and working in Poland, the more they absorb Western life, bringing about changes in their temperament and thoughts. For a long time, Vietnamese people who came to Poland had a complex awareness of conformity than their counterparts in the homeland.

“Those who come here and stay for a long time have higher consciousness than the counterparts in Vietnam; even those who have lived abroad for a long time and return to Vietnam are still different. Generally speaking, they show their high compliance with laws. When I returned to Vietnam, I felt uncomfortable when some things were contrary to what I experienced here. For example, when there was a congestion of traffic, Vietnamese people climbed on the sidewalk to move while there is no such phenomenon here. I have lived in Poland for a long time, so I don’t think that way of moving on the streets is appropriate. Although there are two wide sidewalks on the road, when the road is blocked, people have to wait till the road is unlocked to go.” (Male, 33 years old)

Besides, the interaction with Polish sellers and customers in the working environment also gives rise to attitudinal and behavioral changes by learning kind and gentle acts. The interviewees pointed out that they become calmer in doing business thanks to interacting with Polish customers who are more polite and gentle.

"I have become calmer when living here than the time I was in Vietnam. I am more polite and gentler to do business here with foreigners than the time when I was at home and than the other Vietnamese at home. In Vietnam, doing business should be called or labeled as the strenuousness in which earning money is given the top priority. But this is not the case here. In Poland, doing business is still a way for livelihood, but the business is still polite." (Female, 47 years old)

When talking about doing business, the informants often made a comparison by narrating human interaction in business activities in Vietnam to distinguish the issue between the two countries. The comparison helped the informants recognize and accept moral and ethical values in trading, leading to changes in attitudes and behaviors of doing business to adapt to the working environment (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019). As the informants narrated, selling in Vietnam needs a lot of agility and formidableness, or even becoming talkative and sharp-tongued, in persuading customers to buy things. In contrast, they should be more honest to do the job in Poland. The participants also referred to the difference in competition in trading between the two countries. In Vietnam, the competition is allegedly scrambling for benefits or doing a lot of tricks.

In contrast, one should rely on their ability and knowledge in running a business in Poland. The interviewees pointed to the necessity of a kind heart in doing business. For example, they should be aware of the quality of goods by noticing the date of use of any goods, in which the expired should be ruled out.

"In general, there are many ways of cheating in doing business at home, but I don't know. I don't know because I have lived for a long time here. In Vietnam, the one like me is easy to be tricked because I know nothing about it." (Female, 33 years old)

Resistance to acquiring 'unsuited' cultural values and patterns of behaviors

In this study, the focus on the agency of immigrants helped to uncover immigrants' motivations and aspirations for cultural integration but also signified recognizing their unwillingness to be involved in all aspects of cultural integration. It was argued that the Vietnamese working individuals with agency could identify 'unsuited' cultural values and patterns due to their established cultural identity.

As presented in the introduction section, the working Vietnamese immigrants mainly migrated to Poland in their youth or older. Of the 18 participants who joined the interviews in this study, 15 people came to Poland when they were older than 30. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that this migrant group holds an established worldview formed through being socialized and educated in Vietnam. In this sense, the cultural identity of the Vietnamese working individuals is considered relatively fixed, impeding the absorption of cultural norms and values that challenge what is established. This practice can be viewed as a result of transnational connections, which are activities of introducing or referring to beliefs and values of the original culture to the country of destination. As will be discussed below, the migrant group also brought cultural standards from their home country and exercised those norms and values in the host country. Working Vietnamese immigrants' manifestation of Poland's

original values through transnational ties leads to conflicts with Polish culture, hindering rather than facilitating cultural integration into Polish society.

During the interviews, I found that participants' preference for collectivism and Confucian values, the fundamental characteristics of Vietnamese culture, led them to conflict with the new living settings in some respects. Collectivism refers to the emphasis on the importance of the group or community over the rights of individuals (Oyserman et al., 2002). Confucian values pertain to the respect for hierarchy characterized by social status and power in social relations (Dalton et al., 2002). For the Vietnamese, one should sacrifice for the interest of their community, and that individuals on the lower rungs of the ladder should have a deep respect for those on the higher rungs. These values are also regarded as moral standards. In this regard, students should be obedient and dutiful toward their teachers, and the same goes for children towards their parents. Drawing on this stand, the informants referred to 'the decay of moral values' in Polish society when they observed that Polish people do not prefer these cultural values as similarly as the Vietnamese (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2019). For example, most of the participants did not agree with the situation viewed as usual by the Poles that children can independently make choices for their lives and do not necessarily follow parents' advice or decisions.

In addition, the informants criticized the lack of consideration in teaching moral values in Polish schools. They contended that 'it is bad' for schools in Poland to consider providing academic knowledge for students as the most significant, instead of teaching moral values as the priority such as respecting parents and behaving politely towards teachers. By banking on transnational connections to the homeland, the informants asserted that imparting moral values to children in schools is better in Vietnam than in Poland.

"Of course, there are also some bad things here. For example, teaching about ethics in the West is not important. ...the Asian tradition is to teach children that study manners first and then learn to read and write. That is, first to learn politeness towards the teachers, then learn knowledge. That is the important thing. ... Teaching children to respect parents is also better in Vietnam than in the West. The distance between parents and children in Vietnamese families in Poland is so far. Because parents are still Vietnamese, so the way of thinking is still Vietnamese. As for the children, they follow the Polish culture, so thinking and understanding are completely similar to Poles. Thus, the good ethical traditions of Vietnamese people are almost lost among the Vietnamese who grew up here." (Male, 65 years old)

Not only to be at odds with the Polish people, but the working Vietnamese immigrants also find themselves in conflict with their children born in or migrated to Poland at a young age. As the 1.5 and second-generation immigrants, these children were mainly socialized and educated in Poland, closely identifying with Polish culture. Accordingly, as narrated by the male informant, embedding in the Polish context may cause the loss of the collective tradition of the Vietnamese culture, which he referred to as the disappearance of 'good ethnic tradition,' among the young Vietnamese immigrants. This practice brings about cultural distancing, leading to the intergenerational conflict between parents who carry Vietnamese traditions and children in Vietnamese families characterized mainly by Polish culture (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2014).

Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the fear of losing Vietnamese identity might induce the working Vietnamese immigrants to impart their children with Vietnamese culture for preserving Vietnamese traditions. In this way, young Vietnamese immigrants confront

identity dilemmas resulting from being educated by two opposite cultural systems; collectivism as adhered to in Vietnamese culture and individualism from Polish culture (Głowacka-Grajper, 2006; Nowicka, 2015).

Also, drawing on the collectivist stand, many participants pointed out the 'misusage' of respect for the laws. They reported that the standard of respect for the laws held by Polish people leads to the excessive emphasis on individualism, resulting in the rise of selfishness. For this reason, as argued by the male participant, relying too much on the legal basis brings about the disregard for informal norms or values shared by members. These relaxed norms are crucial for reinforcing social relations and the coherence of social groups such as families or co-ethnic organizations. Accordingly, the excessive emphasis on the rights of individuals and the respect for the laws may harm the interests of others within a group or a community.

"Because they regard the rights as the obedience of the laws, but from another sense, it will not be the rights, and they cannot distinguish this. For example, it is very easy to observe that the Poles are afraid of the laws, but when they acknowledge the laws, they will act according to the legal basis to benefit their interests regardless of anything around. It is wrong, not right. ... Thus, there are certain aspects that Vietnam is better than Poland, for example, that is, social relations emphasize moral values and human dignity." (Male, 65 years old)

In short, we can realize a cultural conflict in which the working Vietnamese immigrants, while retaining collective thoughts, encounter individualistic values prevailing in the destination country. This conflict is caused by the ability of the migrant group to recognize cultural standards in Polish culture that are at odds with their 'fixed' worldviews. It happens due to the role of transnational ties by which the working Vietnamese people can carry and practice their original culture in Poland. Consequently, transnationalism results in the cultural resistance of the migrant group, negatively affecting the process of cultural integration in the country of residence. However, the resistance is not a force that derives the migrant group from culturally deviating from the native population, leading to a cultural separation of the migrant group from Polish society. It is simply an outcome of the interaction between the two cultures that the immigrants encounter that further diversifies cultures in Polish society.

Concluding discussion

In this article, I have discussed the cultural integration of the working Vietnamese people in Poland. The findings show that, as a process, the cultural integration of the migrant group is facilitated by the development of motivations and inspirations for the absorption of knowledge and cultural standards of Polish society. The motive for integration is shaped by immigrants' impression and admiration of cultural values that they appreciate, such as respect for the laws and individual matters. The motivations are also constructed and fostered by immigrants' impression of the high degree of 'civilization' of Poland based on their assessment of the performance of social institutions, modernization, and living condition in the country. The willingness to incorporate into the host country is further reinforced through the migrant group's recognition that practicing favored cultural standards is better in Polish society than in Vietnam.

Drawing on the inspirations for integration, the working Vietnamese immigrants show their willingness to acquire favorable cultural standards and change their perception, attitudes, and behaviors to a more polite, honest, and kinder manner in their daily activities, especially in the way they interact with customers. Concurrently, the working Vietnamese immigrants expose their disinclination to internalize cultural standards formed by socialization and education in the home country, which challenge their established collectivist and Confucian worldviews. In this regard, they express criticism about the inadequate consideration characterized in Polish culture in signifying the hierarchy of human relations, and the emphasis on the right of individuals above the interest of group or community. The disinclination results from transnational connections by which the migrant group can carry and manifest native cultural standards in the receiving country. Accordingly, transnational ties have a negative impact on the cultural integration of the working Vietnamese immigrants into Polish society, impeding the migrant group in internalizing new norms and values opposite with their fixed worldviews. In this regard, these findings challenge what is found in the literature, in which transnational ties mainly support integration (see Dekker & Siegel, 2013; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Şimşek, 2019).

This study adds further insight into the phenomena of integration of Vietnamese immigrants in Poland. By focusing on agency and looking at immigrants' motivations for integration through lived experience, this study views the working Vietnamese immigrants as active rather than relatively passive actors in the process of integrating into the country of residence. Accordingly, the integration of the working Vietnamese people on the cultural dimension is found as a dynamic movement. Instead of culturally disintegrating into Polish society, the migrant group exposes signals of absorbing themselves into the host culture by acquiring cultural standards, facilitating their integration motivations. The results question the findings of previous research that the first generation of the Vietnamese people in Poland shows the tendency of cultural separation (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015).

Furthermore, as active actors with relatively fixed worldviews, the migrant group shows their hesitation in assimilating unsuited cultural standards due to their transnational practices. However, in this sense, the resistance is not necessarily treated as cultural disintegration or deviance. As discussed, staying with original values is essential in satisfying the psychological and cultural needs of the migrant group, helping them to rule out the disorientation in the process of integration. Thus, such cultural resistance should be acknowledged as a source of diversity that needs to be perceived by members of the receiving country.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz for sharing their data.

References

- Barth, E. A. T., & Noel, D. L. (1972). Conceptual frameworks for the analysis of race relations: An evaluation. *Social Forces*, 50(3), 333–348. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2577037>
- Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states*. Routledge.

- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5–34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x>
- Dalton, R. J., Hac, P. M., Nghi, P. T., & Ong, N. N. T. (2002). Social relations and social capital in Vietnam: Findings from the 2001 World Values Survey. *Comparative Sociology*, 1(3–4), 369–386. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156913302100418646>
- Dekker, B., & Siegel, M. (2013). Transnationalism and integration: Complements or substitutes? *MERIT Working Papers 2013-071*. Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology (MERIT). <https://www.merit.unu.edu/publications/wppdf/2013/wp2013-071.pdf>
- Erdal, M. B. (2013). Migrant transnationalism and multi-layered integration: Norwegian-Pakistani migrants' own reflections. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), 983–999. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765665>
- Erdal, M. B., & Oeppen, C. (2013). Migrant balancing acts: Understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6), 867–884. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647>
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound). (2006). *Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities*. https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/ef_publication/field_ef_document/ef0622en.pdf
- Faist, T. (2008). Migrants as transnational development of the migration – development nexus. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(1), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.471>
- Faist, T. (2010). Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners? In Faist T. & Bauböck R. (Eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* (pp. 9-34). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46mz31.4>
- Gans, H. J. (1992). Second-generation decline: Scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 15(2), 173–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1992.9993740>
- Głowacka-Grajper, M. (2006). *Dobry gość. Stosunek nauczycieli szkół podstawowych do dzieci romskich i wietnamskich* [Good guy. Attitude of primary school teachers towards Roma and Vietnamese children]. Wydawnictwo ProLog.
- Główny Urząd Statystyczny. (2020). Sytuacja demograficzna Polski do 2019 r. Migracje zagraniczne ludności w latach 2000–2019. [Demographic situation in Poland up to 2019. International migration of population in 2000–2019]. Statistical Information Centre. https://stat.gov.pl/download/gfx/portalinformacyjny/en/defaultaktualnosci/3289/6/1/1/demographic_situation_in_poland_up_to_2019.pdf
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. Oxford University Press.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. (2015). The role of different forms of bridging capital for immigrant adaptation and upward mobility. The case of Ukrainian and Vietnamese immigrants settled in Poland. *Ethnicities*, 15(3), 460–490. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468796813518314>
- Halik, T., Nowicka, E., & Poleć, W. (2006). *Dziecko wietnamskie w polskiej szkole. Zmiana kulturowa i strategie przekazu kulturowy rodzimej w zbiorowości Wietnamczyków w Polsce* [Vietnamese child in a Polish school. Cultural change and native cultural communication strategies in the Vietnamese community in Poland]. Wydawnictwo Prolog.
- Klarenbeek, L. M. (2019). Reconceptualising' integration as a two-way process.' *Migration Studies*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnz033>
- Klorek, N., & Szulecka, M. (2013). *Migrant economic institutions and their environmental influence: A case study of trade centers located in Wolka Kosowska*. Research Report. (Issue 3). <http://interwencjaprawna.pl/docs/ARE-313-Wolka-Kosowska-en.pdf>
- Levitt, P. (2001). Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions. *Global Networks*, 1(3), 195–216. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00013>
- Łodziński, S., Pudzianowska, D., & Szaranowicz-Kusz, M. (2014). *Voting rights for foreigners – for or against?* International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and The Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw. [https://poland.iom.int/sites/poland/files/Documents/Voting rights for foreigners - study report.pdf](https://poland.iom.int/sites/poland/files/Documents/Voting%20rights%20for%20foreigners%20-%20study%20report.pdf)
- Nowicka, E. (2014). Adaptation and cultural contact. Immigrant children in Warsaw high schools.

- Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny*, 40(3), 219–242.
http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-6bcb9aa0-2636-4c96-9e69-7c1f8f8befe3/c/NOWICKA_SM-PP_3-14-15.pdf
- Nowicka, E. (2015). Between the devil and the deep blue sea: Acculturation of young Vietnamese women in Poland. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 4(1), 67–80.
http://ceemr.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/CEEMR_Vol_4_No_1_Nowicka_0.pdf
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kimmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(1), 3–72.
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/11843547/>
- Page, K. (2010). *Transnational negotiations in Caribbean diasporic literature: Remitting the text*. Routledge.
- Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(6), 881–893.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2765982>
- Penninx, R. (2019). Problems of and solutions for the study of immigrant integration. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7 (Article 13), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0122-x>
- Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2008). Making a place in the global city: The relevance of indicators of integration. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(3), 305–325. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen025>
- Pokojska, J. (2017). Participation of the Vietnamese community in Poland in the socio-political life at the local level: Present situation and prospects for the future. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 6(2), 163–175.
http://www.ceemr.uw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/Pokojska_Participation_of_the_Vietnamese_Community.pdf
- Portes, A. (1997). Globalization from below: The rise of transnational communities. *CMD Working Paper Series*, 98(8). http://maxweber.hunter.cuny.edu/pub/eres/SOC217_PIMENTEL/portes.pdf
- Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: the debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 1(3), 181–193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00012>
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217–237.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329468>
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 74–96.
<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0002716293530001006>
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1–24.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x>
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48–63. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3317464>
- Schinkel, W. (2018). Against ‘immigrant integration’: for an end to neocolonial knowledge production. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6 (Article 31), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0095-1>
- Şimşek, D. (2019). Transnational Activities of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Hindering or Supporting Integration. *International Migration*, 57(2), 268–282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12489>
- Szymańska, G. (2007a). Interakcyjne wymiary tożsamości młodych Wietnamczyków w Polsce [Interactive dimensions of the identity of young Vietnamese in Poland]. In I. Borowik I. & K. Leszczyńska (Eds.), *Wokółtożsamości: teorie, wymiary, ekspresje* (pp. 228–243). Wydawnictwo Nomos.
- Szymańska, G. (2007b). Tożsamość etniczna studentów wietnamskich wychowanych w Polsce [Ethnic identity of Vietnamese students raised in Poland]. In S. Łodziński, & E. Nowicka (Eds.), *Kulturowe wymiary imigracji do Polski* (pp. 278–306). Wydawnictwo ProLog.
- Szymańska-Matusiewicz, G. (2014). Intergenerational conflicts in Vietnamese families in Poland. In Gaspar, S. & Um, K. (Eds.), *Southeast Asian Migration: People on the Move in Search of Work, Refuge, and Belonging* (pp. 67–91). Sussex Academic Press.
- Szymańska-Matusiewicz, G. (2016). Migration and cultural flows between Vietnam and Poland. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 25(3), 275–295. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0117196816654617>
- Szymańska-Matusiewicz, G. (2019). *Vietnamese in Poland: From socialist fraternity to the global capitalism era*. Peter Lang.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 27(2), 237–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1098214005283748>

- van Hooft, C. (2019) Being familiar, and yet strange: Conducting research as a hybrid insider-outsider in Uganda. In: Johnstone, L. (Ed.) *The Politics of Conducting Research in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95531-5_3
- Vertovec, S. (2003). Migration and other modes of transnationalism: Towards conceptual cross-fertilization. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 641–665. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1747-7379.2003.tb00153.x>
- Vertovec, S. (2009). *Transnationalism*. Routledge.
- Wimmer, A., & Schiller, N. G. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, 2(4), 301–334. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00043>
- Zhou, M. (1997a). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23(1), 63–95. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.23.1.63>
- Zhou, M. (1997b). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *The International Migration Review*, 31(4), 975–1008. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2547421>