Master thesis International Development Studies

Expatriates in Hue, Vietnam: the complexity of adjustment and social integration and the importance of feelings of belonging

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Date 27/08/2017

Abstract

This thesis, *titled Expatriates in Hue, Vietnam: the complexity of adjustment and social integration and the importance of feelings of belonging*, has been written by Anna Waterman for the University of Utrecht and has been conducted in Hue, Vietnam, in the period between February 2017 and May 2017. The central theme of this research is migration. Within this theme, factors that shape adjustment and social integration of expatriate workers in Hue have been researched, with the goal of identifying key factors that shape adjustment and social integration, in order to get a better understanding of the extent to which expats adjust and socially integrate in the host society. The main factors that were taken into account are: feelings of belonging, life cycle, the nature of migration and the duration of migration, transnationalism, cultural differences and gender differences. The definition of being an expatriate has also been re-evaluated. A comparison between different types of expats (volunteers paid workers) has been made, as well as belonging to the expat community or not.

In order to identify these key factors, a mixed methods research has been conducted. Surveys were filled out before the interviews were conducted. A snowballing sampling method has been used, through which 28 respondents were reached.

In summarization, the main findings and conclusions were that gender differences play an important role for adjustment and social integration. However, differences between women who are part of the expatriate community and women who are not, need to be taken into account, as well as differences between men and women within the expat community.

The nature of migration, duration of migration, being a member of the expat community or not and cultural differences are important factors for adjustment and social integration, too: expats who are not involved in the expat community, seem to integrate into the local community better than expats who are member of the expat community. Volunteers seem to stay in the tourist phase, whereas expats with a paid job stay in the adjustment phase through their membership to the expat community, where especially women find feelings of belonging.

Cultural barriers and language barriers are present for both men and women, although men seem to struggle most with the language barrier, whereas women tend to struggle most with the cultural barrier – if they come from Western societies.

Transnational experiences, both working- and travelling experiences, help with adjustment to other cultures, because both seem to increase resilience. However, travelling experiences change mindsets in a different way than working experiences.

The quantitative data cannot fully support these findings. However, in general, one could say that feelings of belonging seem to be of great influence on the expatriate's adjustment and social integration.

Future research could elaborate more on factors that shape social integration and belonging of expats on a quantitative level, as well it needs to focus on reaching a greater research population, making use of probability sampling and integrating the influence of personality traits.

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Introduction

In 2016, the United Nations (UN) posted an article on their website, called *244 Million international migrants living abroad worldwide, new UN statistics reveal.* According to this article, the number of international migrants had increased with 41 percent between the year 2000 and 2015.

According to the UN (2016), there has also been a rapid increase of migrants in Asia between 2000 and 2015. In 2015, two-third of all international migrants lived in Europe or in Asia and nearly half of all international migrants worldwide were born in Asia. Between 2000 and 2015, the region which has added the largest number of international migrants has been Asia: the region accounted for an addition of 26 million migrants.

According to the UN, this increased number of international migrants "reflects the increasing importance of international migration, which has become an integral part of our economies and societies [...]" (UN, 2016). Research from Ratha & Shaw (2007) emphasizes the importance of (international) migration as well. According to Ratha & Shaw, migration is important for everyone and everything, because one can then make use of the freedom to find a job (and country) which fits their own skills. This can lead to an increase in efficiency and welfare for people and labor markets – which therefore aids the development of a country's economy as a whole. Within this trend of increased international migration, however, a sub-trend can be distinguished: that of the number of highly skilled migrants moving to Asia. There is an ongoing trend of highly skilled migrants moving to Asia, which is now leading to an overpopulation of highly skilled migrants in some countries. An example of the effects that this overpopulation can have, can be derived from Vietnam. There are far too many foreign highly skilled workers in Vietnam, which results in Vietnamese highly skilled laborers searching for jobs that match their skills overseas – leading to increasing emigration (Miller, 2015).

Over the last decades, Vietnam has become an attractive country for highly skilled workers. This has even led to an overpopulation of highly skilled workers in the country –which is a macro-level observation. However, there is also a flipside to migration: this ongoing trend of expatriate migration to Asia is now leading to overpopulation of highly skilled migrants in some countries. Vietnam, for example, is now experiencing a lot of emigration, because there are far too many highly skilled workers there. This results in highly skilled Vietnamese workers searching for jobs that match their skills overseas. At the same time, other types of immigration are rising too: a lot of tourists and business travelers are coming to Vietnam, due to Vietnam's rising economic vitality. This economic vitality can be traced back to Vietnam's opening to the world market in 1986. Emigration patterns can be traced back to it as well: with the opening of the Vietnamese economy came less restrictions on migration, while simultaneously having a high rate of young unemployed citizens. Thus, with the possibility to emigrate came the opportunity for young (highly skilled) citizens, to look for a job outside of the country. This can still be seen today (Miller, 2015).

One could move to a micro-level, focusing more on the way these highly skilled workers make a living once they have migrated: what types of jobs do they have, what is their living situation like – but maybe even more: how do they cope with different living environments? What would be the pros of moving abroad, but what would be difficulties these highly skilled workers encounter? Most commonly, highly skilled workers experience difficulties with adjustment and integration. One of the key issues facing international workers is related to adjustment to the new place (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). If the worker cannot adjust to the new environment at all, feelings of loneliness might occur (McBride, 2015). According to Hack-Polay (2012) and Van Tilburg et al. (1996), the separation of the person from his or her social and cultural networks is felt as a loss which may out itself in anxiety, grief and anger. These difficulties are important to tackle, for the workers themselves but also for the companies they work for: if these feelings persist (due to isolation, for example), these feelings of loss might become feelings of apathy and helplessness, which affect the productiveness and happiness of the employee (Hack-Polay, 2012).

An interesting case within Vietnam is Hue City. Hue is a city in the province of Thừa Thiên-Huế, of which it is also the capital. The city has around 400,000 inhabitants and it is the historical empirical capital: under the Ngyen Dynasty (1802-1945), Hue was the capital of Vietnam (Phuc, Van Westen & Zoomers, 2014). During the Vietnam War Hue was near the border between the North and the South of Vietnam. The city suffered great damage from military bombings, not to mention the immense damage the city and its inhabitants suffered from the Tet offensive (the Battle of Hue) in 1968, in which American and South Vietnamese battle forces recaptured the city from the Viet Cong during the Vietnam War (Willbanks, 2011).

Looking at the Democraphics Statistics of the region, retrieved from https://knoema.com/xqdquqe/demographics-statistics-of-vietnam-2015?region=1000350-thua-thien-hue on January 14th, 2017, one might notice that the in-migration rate is much lower than the out-migration rate. This data is from the period of 1995 to 2015. In 2015, the in-migration rate of the area accounts for 3% of the average population in the area, while the out-migration rate accounts for 8.40% of the area. These trends have been there since 2014: after a rise of in-migration between 2013 and 2014, but also a rise of out-migration between 2013-2014 (of which the out-migration was already higher than in-migration by then), there has been a sudden drop for both rates.

In Hue, there is - relying on the internet- a small expat network of people who work, as well as a small group of students. For expatriate workers, one is most likely to find people who work as English teachers, because (as the Facebook page 'Expats in Hue city – Vietnam' says), there is a "*need of expertise in teaching English*" and people working on aid-and development programs (as seen on an expat forum of the website 'Lonely Planet.com/forum: Living in Hue'. According to maureenm, "*The people are friendly, not at all standoff-ish towards westerners [...] There is another small ex-pat community, which is mostly made up of people working on aid and development*

programs. The ex-pat numbers have declined a little as some programs have closed and new ones are not replacing them".

The interesting thing is, that for Vietnam as a whole, emigration rates are higher than immigration rates. For Hue, this is the case as well – however, both the emigration rate and the immigration rate have dropped, whereas for the rest of Vietnam- if one goes by information retrieved from the UN (2016) and Miller (2015), especially immigration rates are still increasing. For bigger cities, like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh, much information is available on foreign workers and the way they live in those two big cities. For Hue, this is not the case. Thus, the research gap here- and a big part of the reason Hue is an interesting case to study- is that there is very little research done on foreign workers in Hue, one of the smaller cities in Vietnam, but historically seen an important one. For Hue, I have not been able to find literature on expatriate adjustment and integration. That is why I will be doing research on this, for Hue University, Vietnam. The Main Research Question is as follows: *Which factors shape social integration and belonging of expatriates in Hue, Vietnam?*

Thus, the social relevance of this research is very much related to the scientific relevance of this research: because, especially for Hue, not much is known about foreign workers in the area, even though there is an overpopulation of highly skilled workers in Vietnam as a whole. Findings on highly skilled workers in Hue can give us a better idea of the type of workers that move to (certain areas in) Vietnam, how they construct their daily lives, what they find important and how their adjustment and social integration can be improved.

This research fits development studies because (especially circular) migrants are agents of development, according to Faist (2008): migration leads to a circulation of knowledge, human capital, finance and social remittances, which is beneficial for development as a whole. According to Ratha & Shaw, migration is important for everyone and everything, because one can then make use of the freedom to find a job (and country) which fits their own skills. This can lead to an increase in efficiency and welfare for people and labor markets – which therefore aids the development of a country's economy as a whole. These ideas about the relationship between migration and development are strongly related to globalization, which can also be called *the migration-development nexus* (Iredale, 2001): through increasing globalization and a competition for skilled human resources (globalization has increased human mobility; therefore, workers who are relatively free of national- or professional controls, have an increasing ability to work abroad). The migration-development nexus is, thus, linked to globalization, as it eases the way for migrants – and in a broad sense, migration leads to a "brain gain", which aids the development of various sectors of a country's economy. Through this process, skills shortages have occurred. A general solution has been to facilitate temporary professionals (Iredale, 2001).

Now, the following chapters will be discussed: first, a theoretical framework will be provided.

Afterwards, a literature overview will be given, a conceptual framework will be constructed and research questions will be formulated. Then, methods and results will be discussed and a conclusion, discussion and recommendations for future research will be given.

<u>Literature overview</u>

In this chapter, different theoretical perspectives on adjustment and (social) integration regarding expats will be discussed and an overview of the available literature on expatriate migration will be given. First, a definition of what an expatriate worker is will be given and different types of labor will be discussed, in order to give the reader background information on the main concepts used in this research.

In the introduction, research from Faist (2008) was shortly adduced, in which Faist stated that all migrants are agents of development. Migration is important for worldwide development in various sectors and especially circular migration needs to be celebrated according to Faist (2008). However, a difference between skilled and unskilled labor can be made. Both types of labor have different effects on international development and they complement each other in the production process: if, through migration, a scarcity of skilled labor occurs, this may have a negative effect on unskilled laborer's productivity and wages in the home country. This is especially the case when the home country is a developing country. Also, because human capital is "the engine of growth and education decisions" (Docquier & Rapoport, p. 3), brain drain migration (the emigration of skilled labor forces) will negatively affect the home country's economic performance and its growth prospects (Iredale, 2001). For international development, especially skilled migration is important, even though skilled migrants are fiscal contributors in their home country, which therefore makes their departure represent a fiscal loss to the people who are left behind. At the same time, skilled migrants continue to affect the economy of their home country even after they have left through remittances, through the fact that they will eventually return, or because these migrants participate in business and scientific networks (Docquier & Rapoport, 2007).

Defining the expatriate

When highly skilled migrants leave their home country, they become *expatriates* or in short, *expats*. Expats are defined by some as an elitist group of migrants: they are viewed as being highly educated, highly skilled and well-paid (Beaverstock, 2002; Gatti, 2009). According to Gatti (2009), expats are differentiated from 'traditional migrants' due to 'positive' group characteristics: expats seem to be highly educated people who migrate not for meeting their basic needs (which 'traditional' migrants do seem to do, but more for professional reasons or because they are looking for an international experience). Traditional migrants are also more often target of xenophobia, or being stereotyped as "possibly violent, inclined to crime and hardly to not integrated" (Gatti, 2009). Others view expats as individuals who are not a citizen of the country of which he or she is assigned to work in, while again others like McKenna (2002) define expats as professionals who are living in an overseas country on a temporary basis, normally for more than one year (Gatti, 2009).

In general, an expatriate is expected to extend their knowledge and skills in technology transfer: they are expected to offer new knowledge for locals, so locals usually have high respect towards expatriates at the workplace (Gatti, 2009). Expatriates have a "distinctively significant role" (Tahir & Ismail, 2007, p. 73-74), because their main task in the private sector is to maintain the organizational structure and philosophy of MNCs (multinational corporations) in the host country. In the public sector, expatriates hold diplomatic posts in foreign embassies as consultants for government agencies (Tahir & Ismail, 2007).

From feelings of belonging to social integration

For highly skilled foreign workers, it is important to adjust to the new society and socially integrate. At the same time, the most common difficulties international workers experience, are related to adjustment and integration (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). If the worker cannot adjust to the new environment at all, feelings of loneliness might occur (McBride, 2015). According to Hack-Polay (2012) and Van Tilburg et al. (1996), the separation of the person from his or her social and cultural networks is felt as a loss which may out itself in anxiety, grief and anger. If these feelings persist (due to isolation, for example), these feelings of loss might become feelings of apathy and helplessness, which affect the productiveness and happiness of the employee (Hack-Polay, 2012). Because problems with adjustment and social integration affect the worker and the company, it is important to understand which concepts are related to adjustment and social integration, in order to get a clear view of why adjustment and social integration are important, which problems need to be tackled, and ultimately how issues with adjustment and social integration need to be tackled.

There are multiple types of integration: political integration, *social integration*, cultural integration and economic integration. In a broad sense, integration refers to societal cohesion and the extent to which newcomers or outsiders are included into society (Penninx, Berger & Kraal, 2006), meaning it can be seen as a two-way interaction between the receiving country and the newcomers.

Social integration is the inclusion of newcomers in already existing social systems. It compromises dimensions of acculturation (the development and mutual transmission of competences and knowledge), positioning (having different positions within society and the gaining and maintaining access to resources that are relevant for the individual's position within society) and identification (feelings of belonging to the host society) (Penninx, Berger & Kraal, 2006). These dimensions are related to an individual's personal satisfaction with other members of the group and their motivation to sustain those relationships (O'Reilly, Caldwell & Barnett, 1989).

According to Good and Nelson (1971), similarity between group members has shown to promote group cohesion significantly (O'Reilly, Caldwell & Barnett, 1989), therefore increasing all dimensions related to social integration – which means similarity between group members increasing

a person's social integration. According to McMillan & Chavis (1986), feelings of belonging are a component of social integration.

According to Durkheim (1897), in Berkman & Glass (2000), especially the concept of feelings of belonging (*identification* in Pennix, Berger & Kraal's research) is important for social integration. According to them, social integration has two components: attachment and regulation. Here, 'attachment' is defined as the extent to which people maintains ties with members of a group. 'Regulation' is defined as the extent to which people's values, norms and beliefs are similar to that of others in the group (Berkman & Glass, 2000). Feelings of belonging can be seen as a component of the concepts of attachment and regulation, because the social support one gets from feelings of belonging, leads to feelings of being part of a group - therefore, one feels like they belong to a network (Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema & Collier, 1992). Isolation can be seen as the opposite of social integration: if social integration means that one feels like they belong to a group, then feelings of not belonging to a group at all and the emotions that come with those feelings, could indicate isolation.

If expatriates come to a new place, they have multiple choices: become a member of an (existing) expatriate community or they can try to become member of a local community, for example. In both cases, expatriates can be seen as 'new group members', as they are new to any type of group they would come into contact with. Sense of community, which is related to feelings of belonging, plays an important role in integration (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and since feelings of belonging are especially linked to social integration (O'Reilly, Caldwell & Barnett, 1989), the focus in this research will be on social integration (and adjustment) of expatriates.

In this research, the following definition of *adjustment* will be used: "Adjustment is the degree of a person's psychological comfort with a variety of aspects of a new environment" (Huang, Chi & Lawler, 2005, p. 1659). The term expatriate adjustment refers to a process the expatriate goes through, which ultimately leads to them feeling comfortable with a new environment and being in harmony with it.

In order to create effectiveness of adjustment, the expatriate has to overcome mostly cultural barriers through accommodating their attitudes and/or behaviors in order to fit into the new culture – as these cultural barriers are, according to Huang, Chi & Lawler (2005), one of the major challenges for all expatriates. Adjustment ultimately leads to social integration: in order to be socially integrated, the expatriate household has to be satisfied with other members of the group and their motivation to sustain those relationships and vice versa (O'Reilly, Caldwell & Barnett, 1989) through acculturation (the development and mutual transmission of competences and knowledge), positioning (having different positions within society and the gaining and maintaining access to resources that are relevant for the individual's position within society) and identification (feelings of belonging to the host society) (Penninx, Berger & Kraal, 2006). Adjustment is about changing one's attitudes and behaviors

in order to feel comfortable in the new environment (Huang, Chi & Lawler, 2005): it is about acculturating, positioning and identification. So, through adjusting one's behaviors and attitude, one starts to feel comfortable in the new environment – which ultimately leads to feeling satisfied with locals and their way of doing things and feeling like one belongs in that environment. Therefore, one could say that adjustment (if it is effective), leads to social integration.

Thus, successful adjustment leads to many positive feelings, like feeling comfortable in a new environment, identifying with the new environment and ultimately leads to social integration – which means the expatriate feels like they belong in the environment. If the worker cannot adjust to the new environment at all, feelings of loneliness might occur (McBride, 2015), on top of the possibly already existing feelings of loss caused by the person's separation from his or her social and cultural networks – which might cause these already existing feelings to become feelings of apathy and helplessness, which affect the productiveness and happiness of the employee negatively (Hack-Polay, 2012, Van Tilburg et al., 1996). Therefore, it is clear that successful adjustment is important for the expat and the company they work for.

Social integration and isolation

In the introduction, some attention was paid to expatriates living in isolation. For expatriates, living in isolation could lead them to experiences feelings of loneliness (McBride, 2015) upon the already existing feelings of anxiety, grief and anger that come with migrating to another place (Hack-Polay, 2012; Van Tilburg et al.,1996) – as opposed to feeling like one belongs in a group when one is socially integrated. Isolation is linked to social integration because when expatriates experience (periods of) loneliness and isolation, these feelings dictate the success of the adjustment process: the less loneliness and isolation the expat experiences, the more socially integrated the expat will become (McBride, 2015). For the organization the expatriates work for, isolation can be problematic because hiring expatriate workers come with high costs for the company and feelings that come with isolation might out in a lower work performance from the expatriate. Thus, isolation is considered to be the opposite of social integration in this research.

For determining the degree to which the expat feels isolated or respectively the degree to which the expat is socially integrated, the theory of Sense of Community might be applicable (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This theory has four elements: membership (feeling of belonging/sharing a sense of personal relatedness), influence (a sense of mattering/making a difference to a group and its members), reinforcement (integration and fulfillment of needs by receiving resources through membership) and shared emotional connection (the commitment and the belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and similar experiences). Thus, as McMillan (1985) defined; the sense of community might be defined as the feeling that members have of belonging, mattering to one another and the group, a shared faith that members' needs will be met

through their commitment to be together (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This theory is thus in line with research of Berkam & Glass (2000) and Pennix, Berger & Kraal (2006), who also identify feelings of belonging (i.e. identification with a group) as important factors for social integration.

Expatriates usually become isolated when they experience problems with adjustment to the host society or when they live in separate blocks from locals (which is often the case): then, these expatriates are more likely to become isolated from the rest of society. Problems with adjustment to the host society are linked to isolation, because the expatriate cannot enter local communities through these problems - leading to problems with being socially accepted by the host society (Gail Lewis, 1997), which disables these expats to socially integrate. Another reason why it is important for expatriates to socially integrate, is that it would require interacting with others who live in the new place- resulting in the creation of a new support network, in order to alleviate isolation and to gain (network) capital from local networks (Hack-Polay, 2012), which both have the capacity to enrich the life of the expat on a social level. Thus, for the expat, being socially integrated has many advantages and being isolated has many disadvantages.

For the organization expatriates work for, isolation can be problematic too: expatriates are increasingly deployed and used by organizations and high costs are associated with expatriates. One of the key issues facing highly skilled foreign workers and other international workers is related to adjustment to the new place (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). For companies, it is important to address adjustment and integration, because these expatriates could become uncooperative and they might lack drive in the work field. Thus, these feelings associated with living in isolation can lead to lower performance of the expatriate worker (Hack-Polay, 2012).

Thus, it is important to successfully deploy expatriates. But this successful deployment is not easy, as the extent to which expats socially integrate in the host society can be explained by multiple factors. According to Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet (2012), for expatriate adjustment, factors like the influence of the spouse, cultural training/understanding, fluency in the host language and personality/emotional readiness of the expat, are other important factors which influence the degree to which the expat has the ability to adjust and to eventually socially integrate. Also, context is important: is there an expat community? And if so, does that mean that expats only interact with other expats, or do they also interact with locals? And to what extent do they interact with each other?

Contextual factors

For understanding migration and its (social) consequences, it is important to look at many different factors. A factor which has not been discussed yet, but is of influence, is personal motivations to migrate. These motivations can be macro (lack of money or jobs in the receiving country, for example, which is a push factor), or micro (cost benefits for the expat, which is a pull factor) (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). These factors are related to the *context of exit*:

for what reasons does the expat go abroad? Distinguishing between moving for jobs or moving for fun is important, as these attract people in different stages of their life (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005) and their consequences are therefore different from each other.

Other important factors are related to the *context of reception*. At the place of destination, expatriates can come into contact with locals through life at work and life after work. However, expatriates often only have contact with other expats who work at the same firm - and after work, expatriate workers tend to mostly hang out with their expatriate co-workers in bars (Beaverstock, 2002). Thus, expatriate workers are often only operating in their existing networks. Besides that, expatriates usually do not co-live with locals: expatriates live in separate blocks from locals. Expatriate's activities outside work are also mostly on the basis of memberships to clubs which other co-workers also have. After work, the expatriate mostly focuses on their own household (their husband, wife and/or children) and clubs they might be member of (Beaverstock, 2002). This makes their everyday life disembedded from locality, or, as Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet (2012) conceptualized this phenomenon: it might make expats "live in a bubble". Through living a very separate life from the rest of the society, because expats may live in a compound for example, but also when expats mainly interact with other expatriates, they are mentally isolated from the outside world – therefore are living in an expatriate bubble (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012).

Factors like the local culture and the local language influence social integration: culture is around us and within us, therefore it is central and inseparable to the expatriate. Culture provides one with core values, which are challenged when one enters the host society, which has a different set of core values. The more different the host culture is to the own culture of the expatriate, the harder it is for the expatriate to adjust to the new society (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). This is part of the context in which the expatriate evaluates the new culture and it influences adjustment.

The length of time an expat works in a foreign country influences adjustment as well: the longer expatriates live in a certain country, the more the expatriate might be willing to interact with locals, because one becomes less apprehensive to do so – which might be because a sense of uncertainty is reduced when it comes to interacting with locals, since one is more used to the accustoms of the culture the longer one lives in that area (thus the expat has a better idea about how to approach locals and what to do and what not to do) (Waxin, 2004; Dale, 2003). Thus, these contextual factors on the part of the expatriate and of the host society influence the expatriate household's adjustment

However, locals might perceive migrants as a threat to national culture - for example, Muslim migrants are sometimes feared to be connected with terrorist organizations, which leads to xenophobia (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006). This might influence the expatriate's motivations or even their ability to integrate: when people are not happy that you are in their country, and see you as a

threat to it, your motivation and desire to adjust and integrate might be lost, because your identity is not seen as matching with that of the host country (Vertovec, 2001). This is another contextual factor, because it relates to how the expatriate is received by the locality, which is based on cultural values and similarities and/or differences between that of the expatriate and the culture of the receiving country. Because this xenophobia is mostly the case for 'traditional' migrants, but not for expats (Beaverstock, 2002; Gatti, 2009), this might not be the case for expats. The issue of being received in a bad way is connected to feelings of belonging: when one is not accepted by the local community or society, feelings of belonging will be absent. This might be the case for expats in other ways than for 'traditional' migrants: for example, the fact that expats may have a different ethnicity than most people in the host society, might affect how expats are being perceived by the host society. This influences their ability to integrate into the local community negatively, because they can never belong to the local community on an ethnic level (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006).

According to Faist (2000), the problem of isolation might occur due to exclusion: expats are excluded from society, because they have no citizenship rights - there are no special rights in order to empower minority migrant groups, which might lead to isolation of these migrants. Even though expatriates are highly educated and mostly respected by others (Beaverstock, 2002; Gatti, 2009), they might still be a minority in some way - perhaps if there is a small number of expatriates in a certain area- which might affect their inclusion in the host society negatively. Thus "the one to blame" might be the host society, instead of the expatriate itself. However, the context of reception might differ between countries, therefore resulting in different integration patterns.

These issues of exclusion by law and being rejected by the host society are related to community membership. The membership expatriates have to different communities is important: it provides them with a sense of belonging and support once they are removed from their benevolent support system (Faist, 2000; Beaverstock, 2002; Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012).

Life cycle and adjustment

Another factor that matters for expatriate adjustment and social integration is *life cycle,* which is a concept related to age and the phases in life that come with certain age groups. Life cycle matters for adjustment and integration because in general, young adults tend to adapt to new cultures the best. New couples are forced to depend on each other when they migrate, because they lack social support at the area of destination, which might lead to isolation. Families with children also have difficulties adjusting. The child can have difficulties with, for example, being torn between the new culture and the old one. Going to school might help for the (social) integration of the child (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). However, the family needs to be seen as a unit: maladjustment of one family member affects the family as a whole, because it affects the equilibrium of the family. Therefore, the adjustment of individual family members will directly affect the family's adjustment as a whole

(Caligiuri, Hyland, Joshi & Bross, 1998). Support is the key word here: family members need to give each other a healthy amount of support, in order for members to form bonds outside of the family (which aids adjustment and social integration, through making connections with people living in the locality). 'Healthy', in this regard, means not too little and not too much support: if one receives too little support with struggles they may have, the needs of this family member are ignored, which can be dysfunctional. If one receives too much support, members might perceive this as stifling, which can increase any stress that might already be present from the initial stage of moving countries. Both too much support and too little support have a negative effect on adjustment and social integration, since they prevent family members to create bonds outside the family - because the family as such cannot focus on adjusting to the new environment (Caligiuri, Hyland, Joshi & Bross, 1998). Thus, having a healthy family situation is important for adjustment and social integration.

Migration can have effects on education in the developing country as well: expats might bring their spouses, but also their children, who need an educational system that fits them, so schools and teachers are needed for them, but it might also motivate natives to educate themselves even more: when skilled migrants come to an area, a higher enrollment in higher education in developing countries can be observed (Lowell & Findlay, 2001). Overall, older migrants (who are over 60 years old) have the hardest time adjusting to the new society: they can cope badly with big changes, like changes in culture and environment (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999).

Regardless of life cycle, young and highly educated expats and other members of their household have the tendency to migrate to places with higher quality business environments. This is especially the case for highly educated couples, as they are more subject to job market problems (Basker, 2002). The business environment comprises business costs, local labor availability, competitive hostility and dynamism. A high-quality business environment is an environment where profits are high (Ward, Duray, Leong & Sum, 1995). On the other hand, couples near retirement tend to move away from those places. So, job motivations seem to play an important role in migration (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005).

Nature of migration

The nature of migration is another important explanatory factor for its consequences, in which the direction of migration plays a key role. There are multiple directions for migration. Since this research will be focusing on Vietnam, in Asia, the relevant directions are North-South (from Western countries to non-Western countries) and South-South (from non-Western countries to non-Western countries). North-South migration is mostly of a temporary nature, in order to meet skill shortages. This is especially the case in the IT-sector: in 2001, from a global perspective, IT professionals were even more preferred than people with a university degree (Iredale, 2001).

The nature of migration is also related to differences in culture, which might lead to difficulties with adjustment and social integration for the expatriate. In South-South migration, cultural clashes might not occur as harsh as they might with North-South migration (Eckersley, 2006). These cultural differences can lead to clashes in terms of social hierarchy, for example, which might result in a different treatment of expats than of locals within the company or within the area. This might lead to growing differences between locals and expats and their treatment, since expatriate workers get a different (usually higher) salary than locals would get when they would have that same job, because the salary of an expat is based on what they would earn in their home country (Naithani & Jha, 2009), which might cause the expat to be excluded or unaccepted by the host society or within the local community, which might make it harder for the expat to adjust and integrate socially, because it may cause the absence of feelings of belonging (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006). Another reason why being an expat from a Western country in a non-Western country can influence adjustment and social integration negatively, is because expats can be seen as a minority: for example, they might look different than locals, have different values than locals or they might not speak the local language. These factors can affect their inclusion in the host society negatively, because the expat might not feel like he or she belongs in the host society and they might not be accepted by locals (Faist, 2000; Beaverstock, 2002; Gatti, 2009). On the other hand, because expats are usually respected (Beaverstock, 2002; Gatti, 2009), they might get a better treatment than locals, which can aid an expatriate's feeling of belonging, through being accepted into the host society by locals.

Transnationalism

In general, migration is important, because according to Faist (2008), all migrants are agents of development. Especially circulative migration should be celebrated, according to Faist: it leads to a circulation of knowledge, human capital, finance and social remittances. He uses the term *transnationalization* for this (never-ending circulation), with which he means the temporary returns of people. The most important groups of migrants are, according to Faist: business persons (highly educated workers) and epistemic groups to migrate.

Transnationalism is a transnational migrant experience, which is linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Transnationalism is grounded in migrants' daily lives; the activities they undertake and the social relationships they have. Transnational migrants are predominantly workers and their lives are complex. Therefore, they need to constantly rework different identity constructs (national, ethnical and racial). For transnational migrants, the global and the national contexts need to be researched, as both impact the transnational migrant's consciousness - while at the same time, these migrants keep on reshaping these contexts by their daily interactions with them. Therefore, transnationalism is much related to expats; as they are a group of (highly skilled) migrant workers. Transnationalism is important to research in this

perspective, because one can then explore transnational fields of action. Exploring transnational fields of action is important because of globalization: it has created a new field of social relations (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Migrants are "actors in an arena that they do not control" (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 19). By researching transnationalism, the migrant experience can be observed and its origins can be analyzed; even changes within transnationalism can be monitored, and one can see how transnationalism affects the country of origin and countries of residence. Because there is little to no research done on the types of links expats have with other cities or countries, I want to do research on this: the type of transnational links expats have with other places might influence feelings of belonging or feelings of integration, since this is also part of the migrant experience. Transnational links and feelings of belonging and integration may be influenced by context of exit, context of reception and the career the expatriate worker has (had).

Transnational networks are grounded upon a perception of common identity. When people do not perceive their identity as matching with that of the host country, this desire to communicate with locals might be lost. This means that feelings of belonging and motivations might influence adjustment and integration. When the expatriate is adjusted and integrated into the host society, they perceive their identity as matching with the identity of the host society (Vertovec, 2001). For the expat career, little to nothing is written about it, especially on previous career paths. Therefore, I want to research the influence of the career path on integration of the expatriate worker and, if present, other household members, as careers and migration can influence the expat and other members of the household (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012).

Cultural differences

Related to feelings of common identity, are cultural differences. Differences in culture might also lead to difficulties for adjustment and integration of the expatriate. In South-South migration, cultural clashes might not occur as harsh as they might with north-south migration. Asian cultures are mostly collectivistic cultures and focus is on modesty, while Western cultures are mostly individualistic cultures and focus on materialistic things (Eckersley, 2006). On a more individual level, people with different cultures have different norms and values, which influence behavior (Banerjee, 1983). These cultural differences can lead to clashes in terms of social hierarchy, for example, leading to a different treatment of expats than of locals – affecting the idea of common identity negatively, because differences between locals and expat can be so big that they might lead to growing differences between locals and expats. For example, expats get a different (usually higher) salary than locals, as their salary is based on what they would earn in their home country (Naithani & Jha, 2009), which could lead to clashes between locals and expats. In summary, this means that the greater the distance between two societies with respect to their sociocultural features and thus the greater the cultural gap,

the more difficulties people from those societies will respectively have with interacting with each other (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2005).

Terms related to cultural differences, but also to adjustment and integration, are *culture shock* and *reverse culture shock.* Both concepts are related to intercultural adjustment. According to Adler (1975), *Culture shock* can be defined as "[…] a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning, and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences. It may encompass feelings of helplessness, irritability, and fears of being cheated, contaminated, injured or disregarded" (Gaw, 2000, p. 85). Thus, culture shock can be seen as part of the process of adjustment to a new culture. When one goes through culture shock, one goes through four phases: the honeymoon or tourist phase, the crises or culture shock phase, the adjustment, reorientation and gradual recovery phase and the adaptation, resolution or acculturation phase. All phases are sequential and cyclical: one can shift from the crises to the adjustment phase and the adaptation phase multiple times, as one encounters new crises which require additional adjustments (Winkelman, 1994).

During the honeymoon or tourist phase, one is interested, excited and has positive expectations of the stay in a new country or culture. Anxiety and stress may be interpreted positively, because many people who visit a new culture for a short period of time, are isolated from dealing with local culture in a substantial way (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994).

When the crises phase occurs depends on many different factors - thus, when it occurs, may be different for everyone. Generally, this phase starts within a few weeks to a month. One might experience a full-blown crisis or a series of escalating problems. Generally, this phase starts when things start to go wrong and cultural differences become irritating to a person. Disappointments, frustrations and tensions start to build up. One may feel helpless and confused - and experience a lack of control on its own life, which may lead to anger, isolation and hostility. Plans for learning the language are postponed in this phase and one wants to go home. In order to isolate one from local culture, one might reestablish familiar cultural patterns of behavior (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994).

In the adjustment and reorientation phase, one learns to adjust to the new environment. One starts to make acceptable adaptations to the new culture - one might even decide to isolate himself or herself as a form of adjustment, therefore one might not adapt to the new culture. For example, one might avoid substantial learning about the new culture, which is a typical reaction of people who move to another country for the first time. However, if one does decide to adapt to the new culture, one needs problem-solving skills which help one to deal with- and accept the new culture. For example, difficult situations may be approached with a sense of humor and adjustments are made with less tension (Smalley, 1963). This is when the culture starts to make sense and one recognizes that problems are due to inabilities to understand and accept one another. Learning about the new culture becomes fun and exciting. One develops a positive attitude towards overcoming obstacles. In this

phase, adjustment is slow, "with recurrent crises and readjustments" (Winkelman, 1994, p. 122). Everyone adapts to new cultures in different ways.

During the last phase, acculturation is achieved when one develops stable adaptations and one succeeds in resolving problems. Acculturation is different for everyone and it depends on people's goals and characteristics. Full acculturation is very difficult to impossible, but one may undergo personal changes and adapt a bicultural identity: effective adaptation will change one's identity. In order to fully acculturate, adaptation needs to be effective (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994).

Reverse culture shock is similar to culture shock, but it is the re-adjustment process to coming back to one's 'own' culture back home, after one's lived in another cultural environment (Lewart & Leggat, 1998; Gaw, 2000). Gaw's research has been done on students who return from studying overseas, however, since they are usually considered highly skilled migrants as well, only usually younger, findings of that study might apply to expatriates as well. Study findings showed that some students might not experience reverse culture shock. When students expected to return to an unchanged home as unchanged individuals, reverse culture shock might set in once they get home, because things (and oneself) do change while being away from home. When people expect to come to an environment where there will be cultural differences when entering a new culture, the effects of both culture shock and reverse culture shock can be minimized (Gaw, 2000; Fail, Thompson & Walker, 2004), and adjustment can be enhanced. Therefore, it is interesting to see what expectations people have about going home - as expecting or experiencing reverse culture shock might indicate adjustment to the host society: returnees who experience higher levels of reverse culture shock might be more likely to report more personal adjustment problems than returnees who experience low levels of reverse culture shock (Gaw, 2000).

The literature helps understand how certain areas of research are/can be related to each other. I think it is important to look up most of the complexity as possible, as social networks are complex systems and they need to be approached holistically. Especially concepts of motivations, push- and pull factors, age and gender might help to understand difficulties in integrating. Researching those might help to find reasons why (and if) expatriates in Hue live in isolation, or in other words, to which extent they are adjusted and socially integrated.
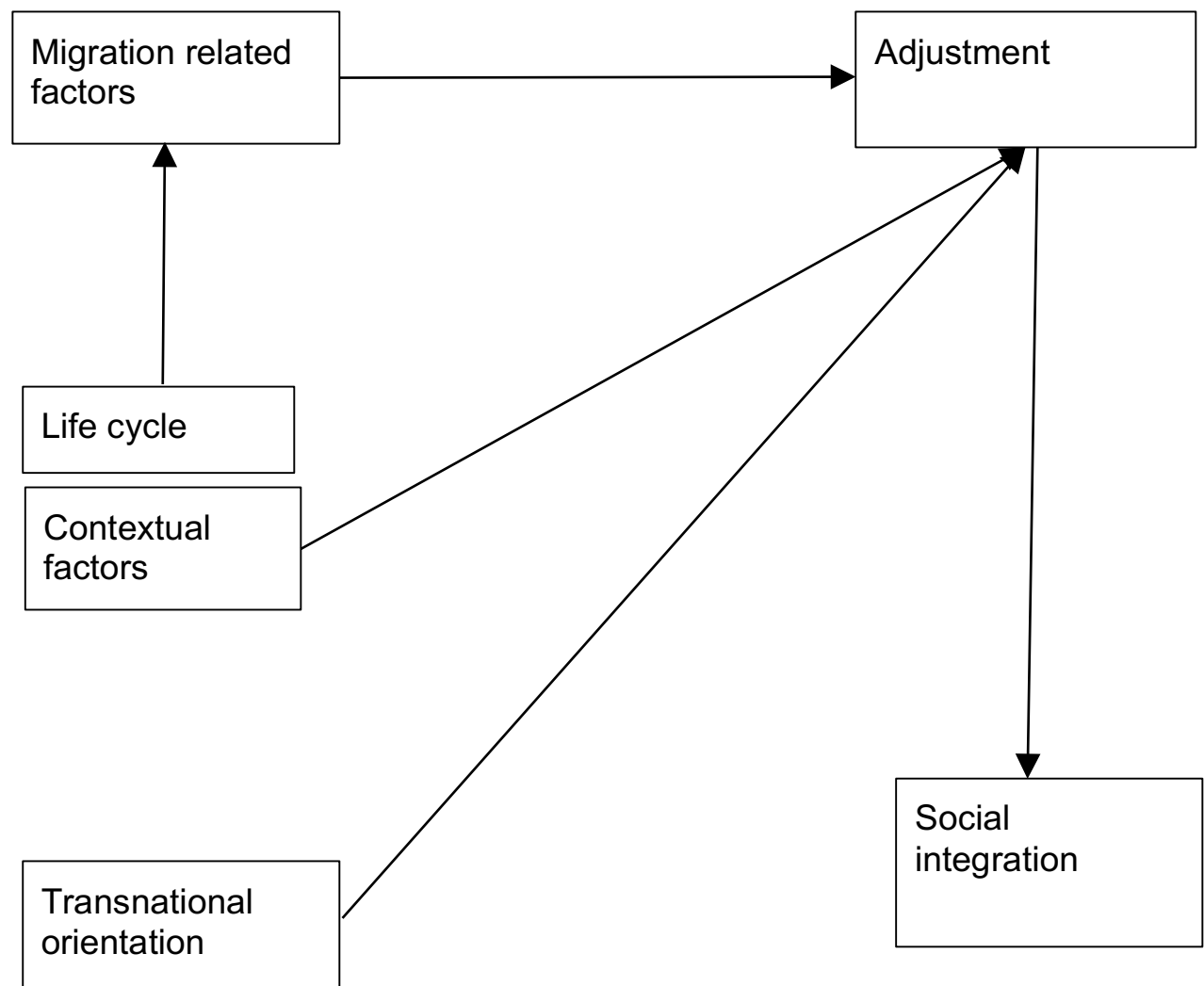
Conceptual Framework

Transnationalism

In general, migration is important, because according to Faist (2008), migrants are agents of development. Especially circulative migration should be celebrated, according to Faist: it leads to a circulation of knowledge, human capital, finance and social remittances. He uses the term *transnationalization* for this (never-ending circulation), with which he means the temporary returns of people. The most important groups of migrants are, according to Faist: business persons (highly educated workers) and epistemic groups to migrate.

Transnationalism is a transnational migrant experience, which is linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Transnationalism is grounded in migrants' daily lives; the activities they undertake and the social relationships they have. Transnational migrants are predominantly workers and their lives are complex. Therefore, they need to constantly rework different identity constructs (national, ethnical and racial). For transnational migrants, the global and the national contexts need to be researched, as both impact the transnational migrant's consciousness - while at the same time, these migrants keep on reshaping these contexts by their daily interactions with them. Therefore, transnationalism is much related to expats; as they are a group of (highly skilled) migrant workers. Transnationalism is important to research in this perspective, because one can then explore transnational fields of action. Exploring transnational fields of action is important because of globalization: it has created a new field of social relations (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Migrants are "actors in an arena that they do not control" (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, p. 19). By researching transnationalism, the migrant experience can be observed and its origins can be analyzed; even changes within transnationalism can be monitored, and one can see how transnationalism affects the country of origin and countries of residence. Because there is little to no research done on the types of links expats have with other cities or countries, I want to do research on this: the type of transnational links expats have with other places might influence feelings of belonging or feelings of integration, since this is also part of the migrant experience. Transnational links and feelings of belonging and integration may be influenced by context of exit, context of reception and the career the expatriate worker has (had).

Transnational networks are grounded upon a perception of common identity. When people do not perceive their identity as matching with that of the host country, this desire to communicate with locals might be lost. This means that feelings of belonging and motivations might influence adjustment and integration. When the expatriate is adjusted and integrated into the host society, they perceive their identity as matching with the identity of the host society (Vertovec, 2001).
For the expat career, little to nothing is written about it, especially on previous career paths. Therefore, I want to research the influence of the career path on integration of the expatriate worker

and, if present, other household members, as careers and migration can influence the expat and other members of the household (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012).

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│ Migration related   │ ───────────────────────────▶ │ Adjustment          │
│ factors             │                              │                     │
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        ▲
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│ Life cycle          │
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│ Contextual          │
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│ Transnational       │
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From framework to Research Questions

In this chapter, sub questions are linked to the conceptual framework, in order to set up a clear research framework.

For the contextual factors of the expat goes that interactions with locals influence contextual factors in Hue: expatriates come into contact with locals through life at work and life after work. At work, the expatriate workers might interact with locals. This, of course, influences the interactions they have with locals overall. However, if these expatriates only operate within the expatriate community outside of work, focus mostly on their own household, and/or if they live in expatriate blocks instead of in a localized area, their lives will be disembedded from locality (Beaverstock, 2002); therefore, their adjustment to the area will be lower than if they lived in a localized area. Contextual factors, like the local culture and the local language are important for integration (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012), as well as the length of time an expat works in a foreign country (Waxin, 2004). These factors might influence the expatriate's desire to communicate with locals (Huang, Chi & Lawler, 2005), which then influences the expatriate's integration. Because interactions between locals and expatriates are important for integration, Research Question 1 is as follows: *To what extent do expatriates interact with locals?*

Receptive factors, which can comprehend issues like exclusion by law or being rejected by the host society might cause isolation, instead of social integration (Faist, 2000). Thus 'the one to blame' might be the host society, instead of the expatriate itself. However, the context of reception might differ between countries, therefore resulting in different integration patterns. These issues might be countered by community membership: these memberships provide them with a sense of belonging and support once they are removed from their benevolent support system (Faist, 2000; Beaverstock, 2002; Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012), which might help adjustment and integration. Because expatriates might not experience their interaction with locals as pleasurable due to possible rejection (which might also be the other way around), Research Question 2 is as follows: *How do expatriates experience interactions with locals?*

Life cycle matters for adjustment and social integration, too. In general, young adults tend to adapt to new cultures best. Families with children might have more difficulties adjusting: the child can have difficulties, because it might be torn between the new culture and the old one. Going to school might help for the social integration of the child (Lowell & Findlay, 2001). Overall, older migrants (who are over 60 years old) have the hardest time adjusting to the new society: they can cope badly with big changes, like changes in culture and environment (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). Regardless of life cycle, young and highly educated workers have the tendency to migrate to places with higher quality business environments. This is especially the case for highly educated couples, as they are

more subject to job market problems. On the other hand, couples near retirement tend to move away from those places. Thus, job motivations seem to play an important role in migration. Because factors like personal motivations and life cycle influence if and how the expatriate adjusts and socially integrates into the host society, Research Question 3 is as follows: *How can contextual factors and life cycle on the side of the expatriate explain social integration patterns?*

Migration related factors are for example differences in culture: these might also lead to difficulties for adjustment and the social integration of the expatriate. In south-south migration, cultural clashes might not occur as harsh as they might with north-south migration (Eckersley, 2006). These cultural differences can lead to clashes in terms of social hierarchy, for example, leading to a different treatment of expats than of locals. This might lead to growing differences between locals and expats, since expatriate workers get a different (usually higher) salary than locals, as their salary is based on what they would earn in their home country (Naithani & Jha, 2009).

Culture shock is another migration related factor. Culture shock can be seen as part of the process of adjustment to a new culture, which reverse culture shock can be related to. Both are related to adjustment to different cultures and societies. Expectations play a role in this: when people expect to come to an environment where there will be cultural differences when entering a new culture, the effects of both culture shock and reverse culture shock can be minimized (Gaw, 2000), and adjustment can be enhanced: returnees who experience higher levels of reverse culture shock might be more likely to report more personal adjustment problems than returnees who experience low levels of reverse culture shock (Gaw, 2000). Since expatriate workers and other members of the household live in a different country for a certain period of time, their attitudes towards local culture and language might vary as they go through different stages of culture shock. How they cope, might indicate adjustment and social integration to society. Therefore, exploring how respondents construct their daily lives here, might indirectly indicate how they have coped with culture shock. Reverse culture shock might indicate adjustment and integration as well, therefore exploring this aspect of respondents' lives might be helpful as well.

Because the nature of migration might influence the social ntegration of the expatriate, Research Question 4 is as follows: *To what extent can the nature of migration (North-South or South-South) and the duration of migration explain the social integration of expatriates?*

For transnational orientation goes that transnationalism is a transnational migrant experience, which is linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Transnationalism is grounded in migrants' daily lives; the activities they undertake and the social relationships they have. Transnational migrants need to constantly rework different identity constructs. Transnationalism is much related to expats, as they are a (highly skilled) group of migrant workers. Exploring transnational fields of action is important because of globalization: it has created a

new field of social relations (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992). Transnational links and feelings of belonging and integration may be influenced by context of exit (the reasons why the expat decides to work abroad and home culture, for example), context of reception (the local culture and the extent to which this local culture is different from the culture the expat grew up in) and the career the expatriate worker has (had), because having a history of migrating means the expat already has experienced adjustment to new cultures, therefore he/she might have built up resilience, which might ease adjustment and social integration when migrating to new places. The career path might influence integration of the expatriate worker and the whole household, as careers and migration can influence the household and its members (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). Because transnational orientation can influence the integration of expats, Research Question 5 is as follows: *How does the transnational orientation of the expatriate influence their adjustment and social integration?*

Methodology

In this chapter, methods and techniques for this research will be discussed. First, the methods of data collection will be discussed. Afterwards, the operationalization, instrumentation and sampling strategy will be discussed. A reflection and impact of my positioning as a researcher will be given and some ethical issues will be discussed. This chapter closes off with some words on opportunities and learning moments.

Data collection

This was a mixed methods research: for basic background information, like age; sex; educational level; a survey was conducted. Furthermore, the Theory of Sense of Community was used for the survey, as well as socio-economic traits of the expatriate. This survey was then used in order to carry out a quantitative analysis, whilst also being used as a base for the follow-up interviews with respondents. For the qualitative analysis, semi-structured interviews were conducted; all other variables will be discussed there.

The choice for a closed-question survey combined with open-question, semi-structured interviews, has been made because semi-structured interviews lend perfectly for exploring thematic frameworks and this type of interviewing allows for new ideas to come in: In semi-structured interviews, questions are open ended. Therefore, respondents' answers are not limited to a certain choice of answers. When making use of the semi-structured interview style, the purpose is to provide a certain atmosphere in which the interviewer and the interviewee can discuss the topic in detail. Because the interviewer is able to make use of cues to help and direct the interviewee in a specific direction or topic area, the interviewer is able to gather more in depth- and more detailed qualitative data (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009). Closed question surveys allow for quantitative data analysis, based on which one can test assumptions, therefore allowing the researcher to collect richer data than when solely qualitative research methods or solely quantitative research methods would have been used, which is why the choice has been made to conduct a mixed-method research (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003).

Survey answers have not been linked to individual respondents, in order to make sure their anonymity is safe - also, because some questions were related to income, it was important to make sure respondents felt like they were free to answer honestly and without judgment.

Each respondent was asked to fill out the survey before we had our scheduled interview. Even though all respondents have been reminded to fill out the survey before the interview, there is still a non-response of 5.

Respondents took an online Qualtrics survey, where they were told the survey was linked to this research, but they were told this research was about "foreign workers in Hue and how they construct

their lives here (in Hue)", to make sure respondents were not biased before the research started: according to Holbrook, Green & Krosnick (2003), respondents might intentionally lie to interviewers at times, because people have the intention to give socially desirable answers – because people want to construct favorable images of themselves in the eyes of others. Therefore, if respondents would have known beforehand that the intent of the research would be to see to which extent individuals are adjusted and socially integrated, and which factors would be taken into account, respondents might have answered less truthfully.

Before the survey started, respondents were thanked for their participation and informed about their anonymity and they were given the security that their information would not be given to any third parties, nor would the research have any harming effects worth mentioning for them. They were also told they could stop their participation to the research at any point in time. Respondents also received the contact details of the researcher, in case they wanted any further information about the research. In chronological order, respondents were asked questions about the extent to which they related to the expatriate community and the local community - which were 20 identical statements, for which the respondent had to indicate whether they totally disagreed (1) or totally agreed (5) with. Answers to these questions made up the sense of community (sense of belonging) the expat had regarding the expat community and respectively the sense of community the expat had regarding the local community. After this set of questions, the respondents were asked to list their gender, their highest level of education, the highest level of education of their spouse (if any), the main source of income in the household, the way they feel about their income, whether or not the respondent sends remittances to their home country and what the main source of income of the family in their home country is. At the end of the survey, the respondent was thanked again for their participation.

Before the respondent filled out the survey, a semi-structured interview with that same respondent was already scheduled. Before starting the interview, respondents were asked if they had any questions or remarks about the survey, in order to find out if the respondent understood the survey questions correctly. Once the interview started, anonymity and confidentiality of the respondent and their answers were iterated, as both were already made clear at the start of the survey the respondent filled out. The respondent was always asked for permission to record the interview, because the respondent might feel uncomfortable with being recorded.

Firstly, the respondent was posed some basic questions, in order to make the respondent feel comfortable. The first question was "Can you tell me a little bit more about yourself", in order to find out some basic information to base follow-up questions on and to make the respondent feel comfortable. For the next question, which was still considered as basic information, respondents were asked how long they have already been in Hue and how long they will be staying.

Then, depending on the information the respondent had already given during the basic questions, questions about either local context, motivations for adjustment, citizenship or transnational orientation were asked first. The subjects and the questions which belonged to them,

were not asked in chronological order; hence the semi-structure of the interviews. All subjects and questions can be found in Appendix B. Once all questions were posed – or when the respondent had limited time, when time had run out- the respondent was asked if they had any questions or remarks about the interview. The interview was closed by thanking the respondent for their time and effort.

The duration of the interviews varied from 50 minutes to about 1,5 hours, depending on how comprehensive the answers to the posed questions were. Interviews were carried out in cafes, restaurants or at people' s homes: whatever the respondent felt most comfortable with.

Operationalization

According to the literature review and the conceptual framework and in order to answer the main research question, *Which factors shape social integration and belonging of expatriates in Hue, Vietnam*, five sub questions have been identified. In this chapter, the operationalization of the used concepts of this research will be discussed.

First, a small recap of sub questions 1-5:

SQ 1: *To what extent do expatriates interact with locals?*

SQ 2: *How do expatriates experience interactions with locals?*

SQ 3: *How can contextual factors and life cycle on the side of the expatriate explain social integration patterns?*

SQ 4: *To what extent can the nature of migration (North-South or South-South) and the duration of migration explain the social integration of expatriates?*

SQ 5: : *How does the transnational orientation of the expatriate influence their adjustment and social integration?*

In order to answer these questions, the following concepts have been measured:

Socio-economic traits of expatriates (and other members of the household): Were asked in a pre-interview questionnaire (see Appendix A). These traits have been taken into account as background information. Questions that were asked are: age (open question), gender (male, female or 'other' (open answer), highest level of education of self (not completed primary education, primary education or first stage of basic education, lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education, upper secondary education, post-secondary, non tertiary education, first stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification), second stage of tertiary education (leading directly to an advanced research qualification) and highest level of education of spouse (not completed primary education, primary education or first stage of basic education, lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education, upper secondary education, post-secondary, non tertiary education, first stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification), second stage of tertiary education (leading directly to an advanced research qualification, don't know), as described in the European Social Survey (ESS) of 2002/2003.

  Respondents' precise income were not measured, because it could have scared them off towards the rest of the research, as questions about income are very personal, and for some, questions about income are a very sensitive subject. Thus, respondents were not asked about their precise income – rather, they were asked what type of income their main source of income is (wages or salaries, income from self-employment, income from farming, pensions, unemployment/redundancy

benefit, any other social benefits or grants, income from investment, savings, insurance or property, income from other sources, refuse to tell, don't know), according to the ESS of 2003/2004.

Respondents were also asked: How do you feel about their income nowadays? (living comfortably on present income, coping on present income, finding it difficult on present income, finding it very difficult on present income, don't know), according to the ESS of 2002/2003.

Furthermore, respondents were asked if the they send remittances back home (yes/no) and what the main source of income of their family back home is (remittances, other). See Appendix A for the entire survey.

Motivations for migration: Questions were why the expatriate, and if applicable, other members of the household, migrated. These questions were asked in a semi-structured interview: the respondent was asked if they would say their reason to migrate was. Respondents were also asked some questions on spouses, when applicable: is he or she also an expatriate worker (yes/no), if spouses both work in the same sector (yes/no) and which sector the spouse works in (see Appendix B).

Motivations of adjustment: Questions on emotional readiness, desire to interact, type of interaction, time spent in Hue, living situation, own idea about contact with locals, main barriers, activities after work, how work influences adjustability and the influence of the living situation were posed in a semi-structured interview (see Appendix B).

Feelings of belonging: The theory of Sense of Community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) was used. 'Isolation' has been measured in a pre-interview survey (see Appendix A). This theory has four elements and the original survey, made by Glynn (1981), has been used. All items have been measured on a five-point Likert scale, from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The SoC (Sense of Community) consists of different elements: membership (feeling of belonging/sharing a sense of personal relatedness), influence (a sense of mattering/making a difference to a group and its members), reinforcement (integration and fulfillment of needs by receiving resources through membership) and shared emotional connection (the commitment and the belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and similar experiences). The original questionnaire has 120 questions, all relating to sense of community. For this research, a selection of twenty questions from the 'actual sense of community' type of questions, presented in Glynn's study, have been used. From the 20 posed questions, 10 have been positively coded and 10 have been negatively coded. The same questions have been asked for the expat community as for the local community of Hue, in order to be able to compare the two with each other and see what differences there are and how big these might be (see Appendix D). See Appendix A for the entire survey.

Transnational orientation: Questions related to this concept have been asked in a semi-structured interview. Questions posed were related to earlier working experiences, living conditions in other countries, interactions with locals, cultural differences and the influence of previous international experiences on adjustability (see Appendix B).

<u>Instrumentation</u>

In order to measure the concept of *feelings of belonging*, two scales had to be constructed. In this chapter, the two identified scales will be discussed.

Feelings of belonging to the expatriate community

Feelings of belonging were measured according to research of McMillan & Chavis (1986). Twenty items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A complete overview of the used items can be found in Appendix D. A scale has been constructed, named 'expatSoC' (*feelings of belonging to the expatriate community*) with all 20 original items in it. α=.990, M=2,97, SD=.87 (N=23).

Feelings of belonging to the local community

Twenty items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). A complete overview of the used items can be found in Appendix D. A factor analysis showed the determinant of the correlation matrix has to be >.0001, which it is not (.000). Therefore, the factor analysis cannot be proceeded. A scale of the local community questions cannot be made. Therefore, these items cannot be used in this research.

Sampling strategy

The used sampling strategy is *snowball sampling*, because it was assumed that the research population would be difficult for me to access, as the researcher does not work in Hue, nor does the researcher go to school in Hue. Hue University had been contacted, as they were the host organization, and asked if the supervisor and the lady from the International Office (who helped with paperwork for any official procedures) could help with finding expatriate workers at Hue University. Since Hue University has many different Universities and Colleges connected to them, emails were sent, asking for all institutions to connect the researcher to expatriate workers at Hue University. Unfortunately, no expatriate workers connected to Hue University were found: all responses came back negative for having expatriate workers within the organization.

<u>Background information on the respondents</u>

In this chapter, general background information on the respondents will be given, illustrated by Figure 1, which can be found below.

Figure 1: general background information on respondent sample by gender, age

	Gender	Average Age
Male	15 (53%)	39
Female	13 (47%)	29

In total, 28 interviews were conducted. Each of them lasted about one to one and a half hours. As can be seen in Table 1, most respondents were from the United Kingdom (UK). As a general overview, one can see that most respondents were from the West – except one respondent, a female English Teacher from the Philippines. From those 28 respondents, as one can see in Table 1, the foremost occupation was being an English teacher. The ratio of males and females in this research was about 50-50, although there were slightly more males than females in the group of respondents: 15 males (53%) to respectively 13 females (47%), as one can see in Figure 1. Even though this distribution is not completely equal, the sample can be evaluated as representative: the range of ages is big (the minimum age is 23 years old and the maximum age is 67 years old), as one can see in Table 1. In general, female respondents were younger than were men (an average of 39 years old to respectively an average age of 29 years old, as one can see in Figure 1). The average age of the respondents is 33 years old.

The general level of education is high: the average respondent has completed a university bachelor (56.5%).

Expatriates who have a spouse indicated their level of education too: 50% of spouses have a bachelor's degree and 30% of spouses have a master's degree (only 10 respondents indicated to have a spouse). Unfortunately, the number of respondents is not high enough for outcomes of this research to be representative for all expatriates across the world (N=28). However, because this research is mostly qualitative and attempts to explore which factors shape social integration in the city of Hue specifically, this information does not affect the research as such.

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate the main source of income of their family back home, as was expected that expats would send remittances back home, to their families – which could then be the main source of income for family members back home. However, only 8.7% of respondents indicated their families' main source of income was remittances. Therefore, one can conclude that in general, expats were not sent away by their families to work abroad in order to make sure their families have enough money.

Based on my time spent in Hue and the number of interviews that were conducted, one could say that there is a limited number of expatriates to be found in Hue City, however, the biggest expatriate community is that of English teachers, who work for language centers. I came into contact with this community by accident: one day, when it was very hot and I was looking for a refreshing pool, I came to a hotel near the guesthouse I was living in - and I met some English teachers, who added me on Facebook and connected me with some of the others in the expat group. The 'core' of the expat community is made up of two men and five women. Occasionally, four other expatriate men would join community events. Other expatriates work for NGOs, are civil engineers, or work for university colleges - but they tend to 'float around' - they are not part of the expatriate community. These other groups of expatriates sometimes meet up with each other, since they met through work or being from the same country.

From the biggest group of expats, the English teachers, all have a University degree: that is mandatory for working as an English teacher here [Irma, an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for a year]. In total, most respondents have lived abroad at least once before. Some have lived abroad for their studies, others went abroad quickly after their studies.

<u>Reflection and impact</u>

In this chapter, there will be a short reflection on this research, in terms of the positionality of the researcher and its impact on the data collection for this research.

Before going to Hue, some expectations for my positionality as a researcher were identified. First of all, I thought being a white, blonde, Western, female, highly skilled professional might bring some advantages and disadvantages. It was thought that people might take me seriously because of my skills and the fact that I am from Europe. On the other hand, because I am still young, people might feel like I am not qualified to do my job. In the end, none of my respondents saw my ethnical background as a problem or an advantage: all of them wanted to help me, as they were all once in my shoes, having to do research for their studies. I was also afraid that being a female would bring difficulties, since people might not take females seriously, or see me as qualified. This has not been the case either: no advantages or disadvantages because of my gender have occurred during my stay in Hue. I also expected cultural differences to be a possible obstacle. Maybe not so much for talking to Western expatriates, since we would have some shared history, which could serve as common ground, but for Asian expatriates it could have been an obstacle: what we have in common is that we would both be highly skilled, however we do not have cultural things in common, nor the way we look. I thought this might be difficult, as the expatriate might feel misunderstood, or does not want to explain their way of thinking to me. I met one Asian expatriate worker, who did not seem to be bothered with any of this at all. However, my advantage in all of this might be my living situation: I live in Amsterdam, where I experience a lot of different cultures - although I do not really mingle with them. But it does make me very open to different perspectives and I am always curious to understand how and why things work the way they do in different cultures. I am respectful towards all religions, even though I am not religious myself. All these factors could have contributed to the respectful way I have been treated and how smoothly the interviews have been conducted.

<u>Ethical issues</u>

Of course, in order not to harm participants, it is important to be aware of ethics. In this chapter, a short reflection on possible ethical issues which may have occurred during the research, will be given.

Naturally when it comes to ethics, it is important not to harm people. I think that has not been a problem for my research. However, for finding out if expatriates experience emotional upheaval, I was afraid people might become upset - since with my questions, I might have made them think about, for example, their homesickness - when they were doing their best not to think about it. But, this does not make the question harmful.

People's participation in itself should not make people be at risk or be harmed in any way. Therefore, it is important not to expose specifics about a certain company, so that people cannot infer which company the respondent talks about from the information they have given.

It is also important to make sure the respondent is absolutely anonymous. Therefore, respondents were given numbers. The principle of voluntary participation is important too. I made sure respondents' participation was voluntary through asking them to contribute to my research - for which I did not try to persuade them if they said no.

For informed consent, it was important to tell the respondent which procedures he or she would go through. This was somewhat difficult, because one does not want to tell the respondent too much about what the research is about, as this might create a response bias (Holbrook, Green & Krosnick, 2003)**.** However, telling the respondent beforehand what the questions will roughly be about and that the goal is (roughly) to understand how expatriates construct their daily lives, was sufficient.

Of course, after all the interviews were conducted, the respondent got to ask questions about the content of the research, which were answered truthfully. Confidentiality is important to preserve as well. Therefore, the respondent was told all identifying information will only be for me and that no names or any other identifying information will be in the final research.

Anonymity, however, cannot be guaranteed 100%: I know who the participant is, I know what he or she looks like, I know which name comes with which information – since this is not a double-blind research. All I could do here, is make sure all identifying information was removed in the end.

<u>Opportunities, learning moments and challenges</u>

Doing research for three months obviously comes with opportunities for the researcher, but it also comes with learning moments and challenges for the researcher and the data collection. A short reflection on opportunities, learning moments and challenges will be given in this chapter, in order to give the reader a feel of what it was like to do research in Hue.

In terms of learning moments and challenges, I learned quickly that at Hue University, there is an obvious hierarchy: once a person with a higher-level job walks into the room, the person who is one level under that stands up, pulls back a chair and stops talking: the lead of the conversation is given to the one highest in the hierarchy, and the conversation continues when that person has stopped talking. Also, the lady from the International Office could not do anything for me when I asked her myself: first, our supervisor here, Dr. Phuc (the prefix is important in Hue, I have noticed) needs to be contacted. If he agrees with what I want, he will assign the lady from the International Office with the job to help me out.

Another interesting thing is that, when I was contacting different colleges related to Hue University, I figured I should send them an email first: they would know what I would be doing here and what I want from them. I had not gotten any introduction letter from the International Office, which is why I decided to email the colleges first, as I would not have the right documentation when I would visit them right away. When one of my colleague researchers visited the college of Tourism and Hospitality, a lady - who was the rector of the college - approached her, and explicitly asked her if she was me. She told her how inappropriate it was of me to send an email instead of visiting the college. This struck me, as this lady thought I was being very rude, when I thought I was being very polite. I wanted to send an apology to her, when I received an email: the lady in question had sent me a very polite email, telling me they did not have any expatriate workers now, but maybe I should ask elsewhere. I was confused, but happy that she was not as mad as I thought she was. However, I do know now, that when I want to get things done here, I should make face-to-face contact immediately, instead of searching for contact in other ways.

In terms of opportunities and my positionality as a researcher, I met four English speaking girls during my first days in Hue. This was an opportunity for me to meet people who had been living here for a longer period of time and potentially finding respondent for my research. We met up and had some coffee together. We had a chat about their general experiences here in Hue. They indicated that especially older people, treat them rudely - which they think might be a leftover from the Vietnamese war - which might make them anti-Western. They also indicated that Vietnamese people in Hue are particularly closed, because Hue has only been a tourist place for some decades now, and that people here will speak out about the way you look - in a negative way. People here find westerners in general, fat. However, people will tell you they think you are fat. One of the girls told a

story about one particular day, when she was sitting in a restaurant, and a woman came up to her and said "Why are you so fat?! Here, take these dieting pills". Her boyfriend, who also works at a language center, had the same problem when he got a little chubbier after being on holiday. A Vietnamese coworker (female) came up to him and said ''Hi, how was your vacation? You've gotten fat!'' and then she walked away. When he confronted her with it later, telling her that in Western culture, you can really not say this to anyone, she did not understand the problem: it was a fact that he had gotten fatter, so what's the issue? My positionality has been beneficial in this way, I think: because I am a Westerner and close to their age, they felt like they could talk to me about their experiences - and I would understand their struggle.

<u>Research context</u>

In this chapter, a regional thematic framework will be provided and the respondents will be introduced.

Surprisingly, not much can be found on the Vietnamese national context of migration: on the governmental website (http://www.chinhphu.vn/portal/page/portal/English), nothing can be found on migration policies, neither can anything be found from scientific websites. However, Miller (2015), *From Humanitarian to Economic: The Changing Face of Vietnamese Migration*, could provide information on the background of Vietnam.

Since the opening of the Vietnamese economy in 1986, the number of tourists visiting the country keeps on increasing. The Vietnamese government started to promote tourism, which was paralleled with a new immigration law in 2015, in order to manage these flows. However, the Vietnamese government is now tightening its restrictions on foreign labor. Most foreign laborers came from China and other Asian countries (indicating a higher rate of South-South migration than the rate of North-South migration). From these workers, most had jobs in construction and the medical sector. According to Miller (2015), the public opinion on these foreign workers is that they are increasing Vietnamese unemployment.

Hue is a city in the province of Thừa Thiên-Huế, of which it is also the capital. The city has around 400,000 inhabitants and it is the historical empirical capital: under the Ngyen Dynasty (1802-1945), Hue was the capital of Vietnam (Phuc, Van Westen & Zoomers, 2014). During the Vietnam War Hue was near the border between the North and the South of Vietnam. The city suffered great damage from military bombings, not to mention the immense damage the city and its inhabitants suffered from the Tet offensive ("the Battle of Hue) in 1968, in which American and South Vietnamese battle forces recaptured the city from the Viet Cong during the Vietnam War (Willbanks, 2011).

According to an article published on the website "expat.com", called *Working in Hue* (retrieved from http://www.expat.com/en/guide/asia/vietnam/9107-working-in-hue.html**,** on August 20, 2017**),** Hue's economy is mainly based on the services sector, the primary sector and industry. Especially the food industry is an important part of the city's economic growth: amongst others rice, sugarcane and cassava are grown in the region. The city had eight economic zones, all of which are specialized in certain fields. Zone 1 is specialized in the development and port logistics, tourism and high-tech industries. Zone 2 is specialized in amongst others processing, machinery, fiber and electronics. Zone 3 and Zone 4 are specialized in construction, mechanics, electronics and shoe manufacturing – as well as in ceramics. Zone 5 specializes in amongst others mineral treatment plants, feed for aquaculture and cement production. Zone 5 is specialized in mineral processing and Zone 7 and Zone 8 are specialized in the processing, the production and the printing of Paquet brand.

According to Kusakabe (2014), Hue can be considered a cultural and tourism hub: it is famous for its pagodas, cuisine, gardens and cityscapes. Through hosting several nationally and internationally renowned festivals, millions of tourists were attracted, which has led the city to be regarded as "the Festival City". The city is growing rapidly: the city's GDP increased by 12% between 2012 and 2014 – of which tourism accounted for 48%. Thus, tourism is an important part of Hues economy. Information on wealth of its citizens and their income is not available online.

Culture in Hue is based on Confucianism. Even though Vietnam has had an influx of many cultures and religions, because the city of Hue has focused on preserving their image of traditional culture (as being the historical imperial capital of Vietnam), culture in Hue is still very much based on Confucianism. During the earliest stage of the nation's history, China dominated Vietnam. Due to this domination, the intellectual and cultural patterns of Vietnamese society were heavily influenced by the Chinese philosophy of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. A consequence of this influx cultural ideas and patterns, education focused on teaching Confucian thoughts and teaching people about the unity of man and heaven, the relevance of social order and political harmony (Doan, 2005). This history can still be seen in Hue today: according to Gammeltoft (1998); Rydstrøm (2001, 2003a), patrilineal ancestors are worshipped within Confucianism, which means that especially male lineage is appreciated. Men are assumed to be superior to women, because females are considered unable to reproduce their father's lineage. This results in females having an inferior position with the patrilineal social hierarchy. Therefore, men are usually the head of the household and they make important decisions. Women make minor decisions concerning how to run a household (Rydstrøm, 2003). Because these ideas about life are historically embedded in the Vietnamese culture and because Hue is the historical imperial city of Vietnam, one can use these insights to explain certain aspects of the local culture that respondents, in the Findings chapter of this research, will give examples of.

What I understood from respondents is that the average Vietnamese in Hue earns about 6 million VND a month – which equals about 225 euros a month. Whether this means that many people have a hard time to get through the month, is not certain. However, expats who work for language centres usually earn over 20 million VND a month, which is about 3,5 times more than the average local in Hue would earn. This means that expats in Hue are probably much wealthier than locals, but it also means that there are some wealthy locals in Hue as well: signing your child up for English classes at an English language centre, for example, is expensive: I have been told "normal" locals, who earn about 6 million VND a month, are unable to send their children to English language centres for after-school English lessons.

In general, from a general migration stance, some trends can be identified: after a rise of in-migration between 2013 and 2014, but also a rise of out-migration between 2013-2014 (of which the out-migration was already higher than in-migration by then), there has been a sudden drop for both rates.

Overall, using Miller (2015)'s information, one can explain the higher rate of emigration in contrast with the immigration rate.

However, the sudden drops for both emigration and immigration can be explained by two events. In 2014, the Human Rights Watch (HRW) posted their World Report of 2014 for Vietnam, based on events in 2013. In 2013, the HRW saw a severe drop for the human rights situation in Vietnam. Critics had gotten long prison terms, even though they were peaceful activists: their crime was calling for political change. Since several years, public discontent was growing: there was a lack of basic freedoms. Critics were questioning policies, corruption was exposed and land-grabs were protested against - people were even calling for constitutional changes, to allow multi-party elections. The government listened to some of these critics; some basic freedoms were signed. This could explain the lessening of the out-migration in 2014. However, it could also explain the lessening of the in-migration: things are brewing and faults are being exposed, therefore people might get the idea that the country is not safe or not stable enough for them to live a comfortable (or even a better) life: according to the HRW, Vietnamese courts lacked the independence and the impartiality required by international law, therefore resulting in a pre-determined outcome of trials. The Vietnamese government was repressive, according to the HRW: independent writers, bloggers and rights activists were targeted. These people face intimidation, harassment, arrest, prolonged detention without access to legal counsel or family visits, et cetera. The persecution of bloggers was highlighter in 2013, by the arrests of twee persons, who faced up to seven years in prison for the news they put up on their blogs.

The second event took place in 2014. In 2014, there were anti-China protests in Vietnam, followed by unrests and riots across whole Vietnam. According to The Guardian, these protests were a response to China deploying an oil rig in a disputed region of the South China Sea. These protests were there to complain about government repression of free speech, as well as the government's collaboration with China, which has been an issue for over 1,000 years (Hodal & Kaiman, 2014). One of the consequences of these riots was the flee of Chinese nationals to nearby countries and evacuations of Chinese nationals, by the Chinese government (BBC, 2014). This event might foremost contribute to the lowering immigration.

Findings, chapter 1: introducing the respondents

In this chapter, the group of respondents will be represented according to five parameters, as can be seen in Table 1, in order to give a rough representation of how the respondents relate to one another. According to this table, respondents will be identified and discussed. Extensive background information on each respondent can be found in Appendix C. All respondents will be given a name, in order to make their stories feel more alive and to make it easier for the reader to keep up with their quotes and stories. Now, the respondents will be introduced.

Table 1: Gender, age, time frame and home country of individual respondents

Respondents	M/F	Age	Time spent in Hué, in Months	Home country	Occupation
Respondent 1, Judy	F	34	7	Philippines	English Teacher
Respondent 2, Helen	F	26	11,5	Australia	Volunteer
Respondent 3, Jack	M	46	36	France	Manager
Respondent 4, Irma	F	23	12	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 5, Mary	F	27	24	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 6, Tom	M	32	3	France	Guesthouse worker/volunteer
Respondent 7, Michael	M	32	24	Ireland	English Teacher
Respondent 8, Bobby	M	38	6	Romania	Civil Engineer
Respondent 9, Pete	M	26	12	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 10, Leo	M	67	3	Australia	English Teacher
Respondent 11, Nick	M	30	24	Ireland	English Teacher

Respondent 12, Horace	M	36	6	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 13, Randy	M	67	15	Australia	English Teacher
Respondent 14, Michelle	F	28	2	America (US)	English Teacher
Respondent 15, Olivia	F	29	24	Sweden	English Teacher
Respondent 16, Gerald	M	42	14	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 17, Anthony	M	28	15	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 18, Will	M	29	12	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 19, Nadia	F	24	2	Canada	Volunteer
Respondent 20, Ruby	F	20	2	Canada	Volunteer
Respondent 21, Eric	M	26	3	Tsjech Republic	PhD
Respondent 22, Tammy	F	60	4	Canada	Volunteer
Respondent 23, Victor	M	26	6	America (US)	English Teacher
Respondent 24, Wendy	F	25	6	Luxembourg	Volunteer
Respondent 25, Cathleen	F	24	23	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 26, Harry	M	64	5	England (UK)	Civil Engineer
Respondent 27, Sally	F	32	2,5	England (UK)	English Teacher
Respondent 28, Cynthia	F	27	24	Sweden	English Teacher

In Table 1, gender is taken into account because males and females have a very different experience of their stay in Hue, therefore females usually stay for a shorter period of time as men. Through taking gender into account, one can already see the differences between male and female expats in Hue, which already shows in their general background information, which becomes visible in Figure 1. These differences, amongst others, will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter: Answering the research questions. Here, an elaboration on respondents' background information will be provided.

As one can see in Table 1, in general, most females are still in their (mid) 20s, whereas most men are in their late 20s and their 30s. Another gender difference one can see, is related to the time they have spent in Hue: most females have not been in Hue for over a year, whereas most men have been in Hue for at least one year (usually between one- and two years).

All respondents have been given fake names, as their stories become livelier through seeing a name that comes with certain illustrations and for highlighting differences in expatriate experiences and their influence on expatriate adjustment and social integration. Some respondents will be used for illustrations more than others. The names of the respondents and the general background information that comes with the respondents can be found in Figure 1. In the next chapter, when illustrations are used, respondents background information will be shortly given as well, in order to give the reader an idea of who is talking.

Some respondents will be adduced multiple times, sometimes even most of the time, because their stories can illustrate certain findings best – like respondent 1 (Judy, a Philippine English teacher who has been living in Hue for 7 months) and respondent 5 (Mary, who is an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years). Respondent 1 has been chosen and named Judy, because she is an Asian female. The experiences she had in Hue are very different from experiences of respondent 5, Mary, who is a Western female with tattoos. Their different appearances trigger different reactions from locals and therefore the experiences they have in Hue are very different from one another. Respondent 26 has been chosen and named Harry (a civil engineer from England who has been living in Hue for 5 months), because he is the only (older) expatriate who has had experience with working abroad as a family. Therefore, the way Harry has lived an expatriate lifestyle is very different but also in many aspects the same of the life many (male) expatriates live in Hue.

Findings, chapter 2: Self-Identification of expatriates

In this chapter, the self-identification of respondents will be discussed: do the respondents, who, according to research of Beaverstock (2002), McKenna (2002) and Gatti (2009), would be considered expats, identify themselves as expats? And if not: why? These questions have been researched because outcomes can contribute to expanding the scientific knowledge on expats, how they think of themselves and how this might influence the way they behave and the decisions they make.

What was striking to me was, during the interviews, when I asked the expatriate worker if he or she would consider themselves an expat, in order to go beyond existing definitions, most of them did not consider themselves expats. Helen (an Australian volunteer who has been working in Hue for 11.5 months) gave a good example: *"My definition would be someone who makes a life overseas. I mean, yes I made a life, but I knew that I was only coming for a year. My definition would be someone who moves indefinitely"*. Because she did not move to Hue indefinitely, because she always knew she was only there on a one-year contract, she does not consider herself an expat.

   Many people had never even thought of having the status of being an expat before and some people had negative connotations with the word 'expat'. Jack (a French manager, has been living in Hue for three years), for example, does not consider himself an expat because *"the expats in Vietnam think they are more than Vietnamese people. They are colonial''*. This respondent has a negative connotation with the word 'expat': this respondent feels like expats act like they stand above locals. Mary (an English teacher from the UK, who has been working in Hue for 2 years) indicated the same. She said: *"I don't like the word expat. I don't like it. [Why?] Because. I feel like it... Like, it makes people feel like they're better than the rest of the community"*. These examples show that, even though people might be called 'expat' if one would follow theoretical definitions of the word, they might have, based on their own experiences and views, other ideas with the word 'expat', based on the way expats in Hue act.

Findings, chapter 3: finding out about factors that shape adjustment and social integration

When expats go about their daily lives in a certain place, they will obviously encounter some locals as they go about their lives. These interactions they may have with locals, but with other expatriates as well, are a big part of the expatriate's daily life. This chapter will focus on getting a grasp of how these interactions influence the expatriate's daily life and how they feel about living in Hue.

Expatriates mostly interact with locals at work: every expatriate has some or many locals at working in the same building as them, or they have direct colleagues who are Vietnamese. At work, expats mostly interact with locals because they have to, for work purposes. Outside of work, most expatriates do not want to interact with locals more than is necessary. However, there seems to be an influence of a time dimension connected to this desire to interact with locals.

Expatriates who know they will be here for a set, usually not more than one year, period of time (the volunteers), try to mingle with locals as much as they can. Helen (who is from Australia and has been living in Hue for 11.5 months, works as a volunteer) gave an example of that: "*I mean it's hard to live here, so what's the point of going through a hard time if you don't learn anything?*". This quote illustrates the view of a volunteer on living in Hue, which is the view that by mingling with locals, one can make most out of their experience of living in Hue, which is seen as a positive thing. All volunteers indicated they want to have as much interactions with locals as possible, in order to find out what the culture is like - and they want as little interactions with the expat community as possible, because some feel like the community distances themselves too much from locality and people in that group tend to be negative about their experiences in Hue.

However, Jack (a French manager who has been living in Hue for three years now), who has moved here indefinitely - he has a Vietnamese wife and kids - experienced that the longer he was here, the less his desire became to interact with locals. This reluctance to interact with locals might be due to the fact that he has socially integrated: he speaks the language and he runs a business here which has solely Vietnamese staff. Also, he has started off in Vietnam with what he calls 'the Vietnamese lifestyle':

"I came to Vietnam in 2000 with 5 dollars. So I began like a Vietnamese person. So I took a job, got paid 100 dollars a month, so I have experiences like Vietnamese people: how to survive with 100 dollar. What you eat with 100 dollar, every day. So when I speak with some local, I see them eating something: I know how much they earn. [...] so (there are) no differences (between me and locals)".

This quote illustrates that this respondent's 'starting with nothing' type of indefinite start in Vietnam might have aided adjustment and social integration for him, next to the fact that when he first arrived in Vietnam, he took the time to be open and getting to know the culture – therefore the desire to

interact with locals faded away, because he knew the culture already: there was nothing he wanted or needed to learn from locals anymore.

Tom (a French guesthouse worker and volunteer who has been living in Hue for three months) has worked in Ho Chi Minh before. It is his third time in Vietnam. He speaks the language a little, arrived here alone and lives in a guesthouse - where he also works. Because he arrived here alone and already spoke the language a little bit, he felt a desire to interact with locals. This particular man seems to be a very open person, which he writes off to his personality (*"this is a kind of personality''*). This respondent is very open to all interactions with people in Hue, which might explain why he has a lot of Vietnamese friends. He explained this by indicating that *"You have relationships with people, not because of their origin"*. By this he means that ethnicity and cultural differences do not matter, because we are all human, and humans want relationships with each other. To that, he is very open – local or expat, does not matter to him.

This type of comment was made a few times, by different respondents: the desire to interact with locals and respectively other expatriates is mostly a matter of personality – as one can see in the remarks Tom has made about his desire to interact with locals. Another example of this can be derived from Randy (an Australian English teacher who has been living in Hue for 6 months), through our conversation about his experience in Hue and whether or not having local friends and respectively expatriate friends would influence this:

"[…] (what) I'm sure it's a factor, is my personal characteristics. I'm a talker. Not, not a talker. But I like to engage with people, I feel comfortable, I haven't found much about you yet, but I like talking. And…. Probably the clincher, the clincher and I find it everywhere I've gone, is a sense of humor. It's the one thing that people will always gravitate to. People always love a laugh. And engaging with local people to find out what makes them tick from a humor point of view is… Is… Gold. […] And it sort of helps the very quick breakdown of any cultural reservations that you have. Because when people suddenly realize you like to laugh and you tell funny jokes, and tell jokes about yourself, people drop that reserve right away. […] So… I very quickly find the Vietnamese people, once you break down those initial barriers and put them at ease, they become warm very quickly".

This quote illustrates that, for Randy (similar to Jack), barriers do not make him hesitant to talk to locals, nor to expats. The way one experiences life in Hue is all up to the person himself and having an open attitude and a personality which allows that, allows a person to connect to people all over the world. Respondents who indicated this type of personality and behavior, all indicated they did not have issues with their interactions with locals: it is what one makes of it himself. That might also explain why some people can handle factors that come with being in Hue, like the traffic or people being curious (and therefore try to get their attention) when they see a foreigner, better than others. For example, Michelle (an American English teacher who has been living in Hue for two months),

was ill and injured (due to an accident with a motorbike) in the first weeks she got to Vietnam. She could not handle local people's desire to talk to foreigners due to their curiosity: she found locals to be quite rude and she found life in Hue frustrating because of this. These first experiences tainted her view of Hue and its population, leading her to not enjoying her experience in Hue at all, even after being here for two months.

The role of gender differences in interacting with locals

Gender differences seem to be quite prevalent for adjustment and social integration. It seems like men feel more comfortable with interacting with locals than do females, which might be due to the fact that men have experienced less negative interactions with locals. For women, negative interactions are mostly related to their image: the expatriate women like to drink (and the men do too, however for men it is accepted and for women it is not, in the local culture), which is frowned upon in Hue, because it is seen as 'bad behavior'. In their home country, drinking is normal, they indicated. A quote from the interview with Cynthia (an English teacher from Sweden who has been living in Hue for two years) can illustrate the effect these cultural differences can have on the way expats perceive their interactions with locals:

"Like, all of us (in the expatriate community) - because we work very hard… When we have free time, we like to just have cocktails. We love drinks. And that's - being drunk as a girl is frowned upon […] They think we are piss heads really. We're not. We like to do things other than drinking. But ehm, I think that's a big barrier. They don't really wanna come out with us because they think we're gonna do bad things. To put it that way. [So you have a bad image?] We do, I think so. Ehm. All Westerners here are to some extent considered as being drunks. As far as I'm aware".

This quote shows what cultural differences and differences in codes of conduct can do to the way expats and locals interact: expatriate women like to drink, in order to have fun together and unwind from a day at work. When they ask locals they know to come and join them, these locals do not show up, because it is unacceptable for local women in Hue to drink, according to Cynthia amongst others. Because of the way the expatriate women behave, locals do not want to interact with them, she thinks. The expatriate women have a bad image for drinking in Hue, which influences the way they are approached by locals. Unfortunately, there is no literature to support these thoughts. However, these cultural differences seem to influence the interactions between expats and locals. This example can explain why when foreigners do have local friends as well as expatriate friends, the groups usually do not mix. What Olivia (another Swedish English teacher who has been living in Hue for two years) explained about this phenomenon, is that it occurs due to the fact that people search for people they have the most common ground with – which is in line with the illustration Cynthia gave and its

explanation: if cultural differences are big, people seem to be very likely to have less common ground with each other, because they think and behave very differently from each other.

If expatriate women have local friends, they usually do not mingle. This is linked to what Cynthia said in the previous quote. For expatriate men, this seems to be less of a problem. When I asked Victor (an English teacher from America who has been living in Hue for 6 months) if his expatriate friends and his local friends would mix, he gave me the following answer: "*Ehm. Yeah. Like eh, 90% of my Vietnamese friends can hang out with my expat friends. There's no rift, everybody can get along, they all speak English good enough*". This might be linked to the gender differences discussed in the section above: because it is normal for men, in the Western culture and in the local culture of Hue, to drink alcohol, they seem to be less likely to experience difficulties with finding common ground than expatriate women and local women seem to experience.

That last sentence might explain why some expatriates have Vietnamese friends at all and why some locals hang out with expatriates at all: locals' English language skills need to be sufficient – or expatriates need to make the effort to speak Vietnamese, which not many have.

Further international experiences and issues of citizenship

During the interview, respondents were asked if they had any further international experiences ahead or if they would go to their home country after they finished working in Hue. Many English teachers indicated they did not have plans to do so: for them, being a teacher is a way to make good money (most of them get paid Western wages) and being able to save up money for their next travelling/working experience. They will travel to other countries like Australia and South America after finishing their time in Hue. What makes it relatively easy for them to live from day to day in Hue, is the fact that they constantly have to renew their temporary contracts. Therefore, they can stay in Hue for as long as they want to - and they can leave Hue relatively soon after they consider their time in Hue to be over.

There were only a few respondents who have experiences issues regarding citizenship: most respondents indicated that the fact that they have a different legal position from locals, does not seem to be a big problem for expats. However, Olivia (a Swedish English teacher who has been living in Hue for two years) has encountered issues of citizenship, which are for her related to finding a place to live. Expatriates have to pay higher prices for rent than do locals, she indicated.

Another issue that I heard a few times is related to product pricing, which seemed to be more an annoyance than a real issue: Nadia (a Canadian volunteer who has been living in Hue for two months), for example, has experienced difficulties with that:

"Well, I guess the pricing: foreigner pricing. It doesn't really bother me that much, because something that's a dollar or two dollars for me, that's fine. Probably safety wise it is different, but I

don't feel unsafe. As soon as you come from another country I feel like you're a target. I honestly feel very safe and very well integrated in Hue. It's nice. I'm really happy about that".

This quote illustrates that foreigners get treated differently than do locals in Hue: they get taken advantage of, financially speaking, because of the fact that they look like foreigners. However, it seems to be more of an annoyance – which Nadia indicated– than a real issue, because it does not affect the way expats feel about themselves. The illustration that Cynthia (an English teacher from Sweden who has been living in Hue for two years) gave, about how expats have a bad image in Hue, influences the way locals perceive them, but it might also influence the way expats see themselves: as people who cannot belong in Hue, because they do 'bad things' according to locals. Different product pricing does not come so close to their personality (doing bad things might feel like locals perceive expats as bad people), which might explain why people find it an annoyance instead of an issue.

Some expatriates who have been in accidents or who have seen the abuse of local women by their husbands in the streets, have realized that they have a different legal position from locals: the police will not help foreigners when they are in accidents and when expats wanted to call the police for reporting the abuse of local women in the streets, they were laughed at – because locals know the police does not do anything about the abuse, and if they do, local women will be beaten up worse when their husband returns from jail. This is contrary to the regular experience these expatriates have with the police in their home country: the police are there to help any victims, foreign or not. In Hue, the police only help locals, if they are in accidents. Abuse in the household is very common, even normal, is what was understood by the expats, which is also supported by research from Rydstrøm (2003), and it can be traced back to Confucianism, where the man is considered the head of the household and especially the male bloodline is considered important. The woman only makes minor, day-to-day decisions about the household.

Sometimes, locals would even stand around, laugh and make pictures of the expats laying on the ground after a traffic accident. When the police showed up, looked who was on the ground and saw a foreigner got hurt, they got on their motorbikes and took off again, without helping the expats. These were negative experiences, which influenced their attitudes towards living in Hue and the locals who live there in a negative way: these expatriates spoke less positively about their experiences in Hue than did expats who had not experienced these kinds of situations.

Others who want to make a living here (which are usually men, as some of the male respondents have a Vietnamese girlfriend - none of the female respondents have a Vietnamese boyfriend) encounter difficulties with buying land. In general, none of the expatriate workers feel like the absence of their citizenship rights in Vietnam and Hue is very problematic, because the rule of law is flexible in Vietnam and for English teachers at least, all legal issues are sorted out by the company they work for [Irma, a British English teacher who has been living in Hue for one year].

The way expats experience their interactions with locals seems to influence in their desire to interact with locals. However, there are also factors which influence the way expats experience their interactions with locals.

The influence of barriers for interacting with locals

When talking about barriers, the concept of cultural gaps and therefore cultural barriers, seemed to be of influence: in general, expats indicated a fairly large one: especially for the female expatriates, it is hard to accept that they are not expected to talk back at work when they are asked to do something and in the streets people call them fat - because people here see it as facts, not as hurtful comments. This seems to happen mainly to women.

Part of this cultural gap, for women, is the local beauty standard: there seems to be a 'Korean beauty standard' for women in Hue (very white skin, being very thin). According to literature, the Korean beauty standard does comprehend having white skin: persons with white skin are respected and are told they look "noble" (Li, Min & Belk, 2008). Nowadays, Korean women also prefer thin bodies, even though traditionally, plump bodies are preferred in Korean culture: the ideal body size of the Korean sample in the study of Jung & Forbes (2007) fell in the range that the U.S. National Institute of Health (1998) classifies as underweight. Thus, if it is true that women in Hue have the same idea about the ideal body as Koreans, this idea that expatriate women have about the beauty standard in Hue, is true. Unfortunately, information on the beauty standard in Hue or Vietnam cannot be supported by literature.

The Western expatriate women do not look like that: they are not considered underweight - not thin, which they feel is the norm for women in Hue. Tattoos are also frowned upon, in general, but mostly for women: tattoos are seen as 'bad' – which might make sense, because people used to get tattooed when they committed crimes (Govenar, 1982).

These differences in beauty standard (the Western expatriate women were never called 'fat' in their home country, nor were their tattoos seen as bad – and a tan is seen as healthy), combined with locals' tendency to 'tell facts', leads to struggles for expatriate women: many expatriate women struggle with being called fat and being laughed at, which makes them insecure and reluctant to interact with locals, or even go out to eat at a Vietnamese restaurant [Mary, an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years]. For Mary, it makes her reluctant to adjust and socially integrate into society in Hue: "*I don't need to adjust anymore. Because I don't want to. [...] Because there's a lot of it that I don't agree with*". This disagreement that Mary talks of, is related to issues she has with cultural differences with her own culture and culture in Hue – like the abuse of women in the streets. Therefore, she made the choice to distance herself from local culture, instead of adjusting to the extent where she would socially integrate into society.

Some men have mentioned their struggles with the local mentality as well. Nick (an English teacher from Ireland who has been living in Hue for two years), for example, has issues with aspects of the local culture either: "(*When I had a Vietnamese girlfriend*) *it was always about ''when are you getting married, ooh you're old why don't you have kids'' it was just not for me. Especially in Hue, the focus is on getting married, having kids at 24/25. That's expected to be happened. Take care of your family, get married, move in - the woman moves in with his family, then she becomes basically the family slave. It's horrible. It's not a life I would like to live*".

This quote clearly illustrates why some people, not just women like Mary, but also men like Nick, choose not to fully adjust and socially integrate: because they would not be able to sell that to themselves. According to these expats, some aspects of the local culture are morally unjust to them and therefore they want to keep some distance from it.

Another issue, that women seem to struggle more with than men, is that locals sometimes have other motives for talking to expatriates than just being nice and becoming friends. For Cynthia (an English teacher from Sweden who has been living in Hue for two years), for example, it is frustrating. She has felt used by locals:

"I don't really feel like there's that much friendship with random people and stuff. It's always… A lot of the locals don't really speak English. So it's difficult to have any contact with them. But the ones that do, they find out you're an English teacher. "That's great. Can we go for coffee?". "Yeah sure. Let's go for coffee". And then… "Oh I brought my friends because they want free English lessons". So you always feel a little bit used, there's always an ulterior motive to why they want to hang out with you".

These ulterior motives make Cynthia feel like locals are sneaky – which she sees as a negative and they make her feel like she is not good enough for them. Where Cynthia wants to be friends with a local, she feels like they will only take advantage of her in order to gain from it themselves. That is why Cynthia is reluctant to interact with locals, or to try to become friends with them, because she has been hurt several times through these types of interactions.

Men have not spoken about struggles regarding locals' ulterior motives – their main barrier for interacting with locals is the language barrier on its own: most expats do not speak Vietnamese. When I asked respondents why this was an issue for them, many responded that they did not speak Vietnamese, because the language is too hard for them to learn. When I asked respondents why they did not "just" speak English with locals, they indicated that many locals do not speak English, because they have only been taking courses in English for a couple of years now. According to Victor (an English teacher from America who has been living in Hue for 6 months), this is due to the fact

that Hue is a traditional place: for many years, locals and the government tried to preserve the image that Hue had, as being the former Imperial City of Vietnam – keeping traditions and the language alive, with as little foreign influences as possible (Phuc, Van Westen & Zoomers, 2014). Now, this is starting to shift, as English is one of the main courses in school [Victor], but this still means that many people of the older generation cannot speak English – which makes the language barrier a two-way language barrier.

For Anthony (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for 15 months), language was the main barrier for the same reasons as those of Victor, but he was also the only one who thought differences in mentality between foreigners and locals could be a barrier too:

"I think a big factor is the language barrier. And also maybe what they think about Westerners as well. So they might have a perception as to what we're going to be like and they think we're gonna be completely different, so it's going to be difficult to be close friends. The biggest thing which solves that barrier is just time: a lot of the members of staff, the more I've spent time with them, the more they realize I'm the same. Maybe I've got a different attitude about some things, but we're still people in their 20s doing their job. There definitely is a bit of a barrier, but ehm, as soon as you spend more time with them and if you make an effort to learn about their culture, then they're more happy to show you the flaws of their culture as well".

This quote shows that some expats make the conscious decision to stay clear from trying to become too close to the local culture, where others, like Anthony, make the conscious decision to make an extra effort to overcome barriers and to try to understand the local culture, without feeling like they have to agree with every aspect of the local culture. This understanding attitude is part of the general tendency that the male respondents in this research have: they seem to be more willing to adjust and understand the local culture than the women are. This might be explained by the fact that they do not get negative experiences related to their weight, foremost. Men have not said anything about that, whereas for women these negative interactions sometimes meant a disappearing of their desire to interact with locals and to integrate.

The role of gender in experiencing barriers and overcoming them

When expatriates are able to interact with locals because they speak Vietnamese or because locals are able to speak English – as many people of younger generations can, since contrary to their parents and grandparents, they have had English classes from when they just entered school up until they graduated college - a comment that was heard a lot in the interviews was that, in general, it is hard to go more in depth while conversing, because local people in Hue seem to be quite reserved and usually their English is not good enough to go below the surface. Irma (an English teacher from England who

has been living in Hue for a year) has some local friends, who she met through work. They are her friends because "*it's easier to communicate with them (because they speak English)*". Cathleen (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for almost two years) said she had difficulties with breaking the surface too: "*I don't really feel like there's that much friendship with random people and stuff. It's always… A lot of the locals don't really speak English. So it's difficult to have any contact with them''*. Both quotes show that even though female respondents have difficulties with the language barrier and the cultural barrier, when locals do speak sufficient English, friendships between locals and expats are easier to build and maintain. However, these types of relationships seem to be more of an exception than a rule.

This is not an issue only women experience: men have said they struggle with the language barrier and the cultural barrier too, although it does not seem to affect their desire to interact with locals. Horace (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for 6 months) made a very clear example of this. He said:

"So yeah I have loads of friends here, Vietnamese friends, I find it very easy to spend time with them, but I feel like I'm more comfortable with the expats, just in terms of being able to bond with them and learn more about them outside of hours. Not a 100% more comfortable with expats or the Vietnamese – [Is it about having the same mentality?] Exactly! You do think a lot the same, you're in the same boat, you know. So you have a lot more in common with these (expatriate) people. There's also the language, being able to communicate is such a huge thing. It makes such a difference because I have close friends here but with people who don't speak a great deal, so I can never scratch beneath the surface if you know what I mean".

This illustration shows that, for men and for women, the cultural and the language barrier are present. However, for men, the language barrier seems to be the most present, where for women the cultural barrier is the biggest issue. Both men and women feel like there is a difference in mentality due to cultural differences, which make it easier for Western expats to bond with other Western expats and both men and women feel like one cannot build an actual friendship with locals who do not speak sufficient English.

Some expatriates, however, are working on breaking down the language barrier by learning Vietnamese. Pete (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for a year), for example, indicated that breaking down the language barrier by learning Vietnamese has made him much closer to the culture in itself – even though he still talks about the basics with most people. During his first five months of his stay in Hue, he did not bother to learn the language: because he did not know if he wanted to stay in Hue. When he decided he did want to stay, he wanted to learn the language because he felt like it would be worth it. Thus, the amount of time expats spend in Hue

seems to influence their desire to learn the language- which is related to adjustment to local culture (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994).

However, Judy (an English teacher from the Philippines who has been living in Hue for 7 months), is Asian and she does not find the culture a struggle, because she feels like coming to Vietnam is like coming home:

"This is an Asian country, so it feels like home. You know, the hospitality when you get into the house, they feed you and I love the food you know, and they are very friendly people", because it is an Asian culture. She does not struggle with cultural differences: ' *'It (Hue) is almost like the Philippines, like an Asian culture. The man is regarded as the head of the house''.*

These quotes illustrate that the nature of migration plays a great role in expatriate adjustment and social integration: for Western expatriates coming to Hue, cultural differences are very much present, which cannot all be overcome. For Asian expatriates like Judy who come to Hue, cultural differences are almost not present, which makes adjustment and social integration much easier. However, Judy is the only respondent who is born and raised in an Asian country. Therefore, there is not enough evidence for this assumption to be conclusive.

Individual contextual factors: image

A comment that was made a lot, was that expats were excited to learn about Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese culture when they first arrived in the country - but after a while, they felt like there was always 'a catch' to the interactions: locals would often want a free English lesson, or they would want to show off that they have a Western friend (Westerners have the image of being 'very rich' here, is what I have personally experienced). Also, because members of the expat community knew that they would not be making a living in Vietnam from the start, but they were rather staying for as long as they liked. Therefore, these expats did not make a great effort to adjust and socially integrate - especially when they met each other: this made community members comfortable, because it was a way for them to have easy conversations, as all of them speak fluent English:

"But I guess that it's because you spend all day with local people at work. So, when you've got your free time, it kinda gets a bit exhausting with like the language exchange and breaking down the language wall over and over again. It's mentally exhausting" [Olivia, an English teacher from Sweden who has been living in Hue for two years].

This quote illustrates, once again, that feeling comfortable with people who speak the same language, seem to have more common ground with each other, which draws them to one another. That might

explain why many expats are more focused on their relationships with other expats than they are on their relationships with locals. This has been so important to some people in the expatriate community that these respondents indicated that, if they would not have met the other community members in Hue, they would have left a long time ago.

Individual contextual factors: having a family

Interestingly enough, most respondents are single. Two expatriate English teachers have a Vietnamese girlfriend, which influences their adjustment to the host society: they want to keep on practicing their Vietnamese, because most older people do not speak English, which makes communication with their girlfriend's parents more difficult. The only reason why those men keep on trying to learn the Vietnamese language, is because there would be no other way to talk to their girlfriend's parents. Another factor that comes with life cycle, is having children or not. In this research, most expats were single or they were in a romantic relationship – but most of them did not have children. Two respondents, however, do have children: Jack (a manager from France who has been living in Hue for three years) and Harry (a civil engineer from England who has been living in Hue for five months).

Jack has a Vietnamese wife and two children, but they do not go to school yet: they are too small, as one of them is still a baby and the other one is nearly three years old. Their mother stays at home and cares for them, until they are old enough to go to school. Harry, however, is a Western expat who has worked abroad and took his family with him on some trips. In the beginning, this was easy. At a certain point, Harry stopped taking his family and he went by himself, because companies would contribute to families going abroad: they would pay for children's education. However, having the status of being a bachelor was cheaper, so companies stopped paying for children's education – which led to the downfall of marriages. Taking his wife and children with him had its social advantages: when one has young children, making contacts is easy and having other families around helps with coping with being away. However, this meant that making expatriate friends was easy, thus it seems like the opportunity to make friends with locals, or the desire to, was basically not present.

For children's education, being the child of an expat meant being educated better than in the United Kingdom (UK), because the whole school system seemed to come up through the presence of British and French, well educated, engineers. Another advantage is that children learn the local language through meeting other foreign children or the children of rich locals:

"Another positive is that, because in the UK it is so expensive to have a maid, we'd get one overseas because it's cheaper for us. Which is another positive, because my wife would also have more free time then. So we'd know a broad field of people, have dinner parties, play sports, go to the beach, have different groups of friends - because overseas it's easier to meet people […] and with children, you get a lot of local attention. They are friendly, but you don't interact with them. I never

*participated in local life. Have you ever heard of 'HHH'? [*No, what's that?] *Hash House Harriers.
It's running and drinking together. You get them everywhere. It's to meet new people, you can join an
HHH. I'm too old for it now, and it disgusts you or not, but locals and expats can come together from
it: locals who wanna interact with expats or just people who want to drink a lot. I participated in
those with my wife and children, but also alone".*

This quote shows that all the factors stated above, play a part in the social life of an expatriate: having
children or not, having dinner parties with other expats, bringing your children to a school where
other expatriate children go to – for this expat and the era of being an expat that he lived in, it meant
being able to have a rich social life, without feeling like bringing the children would complicate life
abroad. However, it also meant that this expat and the people who were in his social circles, mostly
interacted with other expatriate workers – not with locals. For Harry, this is the case in Hue too: after
work, where he has to interact with locals, he does not want to interact with locals anymore. If any
interaction after work at all, it is with his wife and other expats. Therefore, adjustability and social
integration into the host society seem to be lowered when one takes his entire family, and this tends to
stay the same when the expat engages in new international experiences later on in life - at least for this
expatriate worker and his family, which is an individual difference: it is related to his openness to
interacting with locals.

Individual contextual factors: motivations to migrate

Another factor that plays a role in the life cycle of the expat, is motivations to migrate: as the expat
goes through different stages in life, motivations to migrate change. However, for most respondents –
as most expats (the English teachers) had only relatively shortly ago finished school, it seems that at
least most English teachers ran away from something at home: usually they fled from a job they did
not like, a town they did not like, or not having the right education in order to make enough money to
live comfortably. By becoming English teachers in Asia, they found that they would be able to live
very comfortably, do a job they like, while also having the freedom to travel - and live from day to
day. People who work for NGOs came here as a volunteer because they wanted to do something
meaningful for others, but also to do something fun and as a learning experience for themselves; and
they want to experience Vietnam to its fullest.

Life cycle, thus, seems to have little to do with it: most expatriate workers are a one-person
household, or they live together with other expats who do not have spouses or children. However, this
generalization might not hold, as the selection bias towards expatriate English Teachers plays a big
role here. However, most expats are aged 23 years old to about 30 years old. Even though some of the
older expats (aged above 30) do seem to integrate better because within this age group, they tend to
have (had) a Vietnamese girlfriend or wife, or they have been here for a long time. Thus, it seems like

duration of stay and having a relationship with a local has more to do with adjustment and social integration than life cycle as a whole.

Whilst interviewing respondents and talking about barriers and how respondents perceive their interactions with locals, especially the female members of the expatriate community indicated to struggle a lot: they feel like in general, in Hue, women are seen as less than men in local culture: according to female respondents, that is part of the social hierarchy. Female respondents feel like they are being treated that 'same' way: they feel like, as women, they are less respected than men are, which they find difficult. These females also indicated that they struggle with this idea, because they are not used to being less respected than men: in the (Western) culture they come from, this does not exist so prominently, they feel. Another struggle for these women is the comments locals sometimes make, which women can find hurtful – and they make them feel insecure. Ruby (a Canadian volunteer who has been living in Hue for two months) gave me an illustration of this, both at work and outside of work:

"There's some aspects that I am not as content with, such as women here tend to be very shy and not as empowered. They don't seem to feel like they have a voice. Eh… Abuse in the household is very very common and I have witnessed it and it's talked about and laughed at because it's okay and I despise it with all of my being. I don't like it. And… Because culture… Has everything to do with how you live, so that is involved in it. I find the work culture can sometimes be difficult, it's very hierarchical. Especially me being 20 years old, it's sometimes difficult to communicate with the staff and teachers that I work with. But I also realize my place: I'm not there to change what they do, I'm just here to help and bring the skills and experiences that I have, but sometimes it's not as well received''.

This quote shows a little bit about culture in Hue: women are below men in the hierarchical order, which is still very present in Hue, she feels. This is supported by research from Rydstrøm (2003) and it can be traced back to Confucianism, where the man is considered the head of the household and especially the male bloodline is considered important. That also means that Ruby, being a girl and being relatively young (20 years old), feels like she is supposed to listen to what men (who are higher up the hierarchical ladder) tell her. She is not supposed to give input, even though she is present in the organization to do so, is the idea she gets from working for this organization in Hue. She finds it difficult to work for the organization because of that. That is not just part of the organizational culture, but part of the entire local culture as well, she indicated. This influences the way this respondent perceives the local culture: she perceives local culture in a somewhat negative way, because it affects her too, as she feels like she does not have a voice.

Another illustration of these struggles can be derived from Mary (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years), who has tattoos which she feels affect her image in Hue. Tattoos on women are not socially accepted in local culture, she thinks. An illustration of why she thinks this is the case, can be derived from an example Mary gave regarding difficulties at work: as a teacher, she got negative reactions from parents. They refused to have their children in her class, because of the way she looks. Once she explained her expertise and how she felt that at an international school, different cultures and appearances should be accepted, parents gave her a chance regarding teaching their children– and now they love Mary.

Experiences like these might explain why there are mostly women in the expatriate community: they find support with each other, because they do not seem to fit with locals due to the way they look, talk, act and think. In other words: they do not seem to feel like they belong in Hue.

Judy (an English teacher from the Philippines who has been living in Hue for 7 months), however, does not recognize these struggles at all: she feels completely at home: when she does not open her mouth, locals do not realize she is not Vietnamese. And when they do, she feels like they are very open and friendly towards her. If, however, means of conducting oneself are similar in the Philippines and in other Asian countries, it would explain why Judy does not struggle with her appearance and norms and values in Hue: these norms and values would then be within her too, thus they would be normal to her.

Therefore, in general, cultural gaps between expatriates and locals seem to be big if the expatriates are Western, as the foremost part of expats seem to struggle with accepting how the culture works - however, women struggle more than men, which they believe is due to the '50s mentality' they consider locals to have. All respondents gave examples of why they believe there is a 50s mentality in Hue – as all respondents indicated that there are big differences between the way men and women are treated in the local culture, which they all give back to a certain local mentality. For example, for Vietnamese households in Hue it seems to be the case that, even though women are allowed to work, they still have to do all the housework as well. Men go out at night, while the women take care of the children and cook dinner; and clean up afterwards. In the social hierarchy, women still seem to stand below men – which is an observation derived from multiple respondents and which is, according to them, related to some form of an 'old' or 'dated' mentality. Their idea about local culture seems to be true, however, what expats consider to be a 'dated' mentality is still very much the mentality of culture in Hue – due to the tradition of Confucianism. According to Gammeltoft (1998); Rydstrøm (2001, 2003a), patrilineal ancestors are worshipped within Confucianism, which means that especially male lineage is appreciated. Men are assumed to be superior to women, because females are considered unable to reproduce their father's lineage. This results in females having an inferior position with the patrilineal social hierarchy. Therefore, men are usually the head of the household and they make important decisions. Women make minor decisions concerning how to run a household

(Rydstrøm, 2003).

For Judy, this does not hold: because she is Asian, it is not obvious that she is not Vietnamese from the way she looks: "*Sometimes they don't notice that I am a foreigner, because I look like them*'", which makes daily life easier here for her, she indicated, because she can blend in with locals.

Individual contextual factors: time frame

Many people feel like the time frame of them living here influences their motivations to adjust to society. Some expatriates feel like the longer they will be here, the more they will adjust and socially integrate - because they feel like they would want to put more effort into learning the language if they will be staying in Hue for a longer period of time. For Mary (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years), who struggles with her image, this is the other way around:

"*We used to spend loads of time with locals when we came here. But [silence]. It's like. You spend so much time with them, you start - NO, I don't wanna go to dinner with you. In the end I'm gonna come out crying*".

Thus, the more time Mary spent in Hue and within the local culture, the more negatively she experienced the culture and the locals. Spending more time in one place means getting to know more of the culture and she did not like what she saw, which seems to have affected her desire to adjust and socially integrate negatively: she become more reluctant to do so. Even though some expats may not want to interact with locals at all, they do have to interact with locals at work. But, since the locals who co-work with native English speakers, especially at English Language Centers, is generally pretty good (as respondents indicated), barriers seem to be less present at work.

Individual contextual factors: being part of the expatriate community or not

Expatriates who are not involved in the expatriate community, however, seem to integrate into the local community better than expats who are part of the expatriate community, socially speaking: these people are here for a set period of time, usually a couple of months, which makes them want to have a 'total experience' of life in Hue and the language and culture, as much as they can. For this group, it seems like they are still in the tourist phase: learning the language is fun, learning about the new culture is fun as well. This might be due to the fact that these respondents have a set return date, therefore they do not have to make a living in Hue. Even though these expats also experience negative interactions with locals sometimes, they might be able to cope with these interactions better than expats who do not have a set return date (which is the case for all expatriate English teachers) - which might affect the way these (more short-term) expats look at life in Hue and local culture.

For people who work for NGOs that do work in rural areas, social integration seems to be best: they have to speak at least basic Vietnamese for the work they do and they interact a lot with local people, therefore they understand local culture more and are forced to do their best to make the interactions they have with locals most enjoyable. But even these people still have their difficulties with adaptation and social integration; and they still need people who understand the difficulty of daily life in Hue to vent to - which Helen (a volunteer from Australia who has been living in Hue for almost two years), who has a boyfriend, gave a good impression of: "*[...]Letting it out: drinking a lot (which she only does with her expat friends), exercising a lot, and having my boyfriend here now. He's the person I vent to. But then I feel guilty sometimes, because it's not that it's a bad place, it's just different. And differences are hard*".

This quote shows the importance of expats having the ability to adjust on own terms. This volunteer is part of the local community as well as the expatriate community. Through the work she does, Helen needs to interact with many locals. She needs to speak the local language and through her work, she has met some locals she became friends with. With her local friends, Helen does not drink – because she, too, indicates that local women do not drink, because it is not accepted in the local culture according to them. Any difficulties Helen might have with the local culture, though, she goes through with her expat friends and her boyfriend. Through drinking, exercising and being able to vent, Helen is able to wind down. This, in the end, allows her to be able to cope with adjusting to life in Hue.

Individual contextual factors: prior international experiences

Another factor which is related to these individual contextual factors and how expats construct their daily life in Hue, is transnationalism: the more international experiences the expat has had prior to coming to Hue, the more experience the expat has had in constructing their daily lives in ways which are different than they would do back home.

When discussing issues like culture shock and reverse culture shock, related to transnational experiences, some interesting answers were given. For Judy, for example, her experiences took away culture shock: she had been to other Asian countries before coming to Hue – she has even never worked outside of Asia - and because she is Asian herself, culture shock was not prevalent for her at any time. Helen, however (who has never lived abroad before, but has travelled before) calls living in Hue her first international working experience and her travels other international experiences – which she says have helped her with adjusting to living in Hue for her, because it built resilience:

"It built my resilience. And I think what it did, was make me more aware about my own culture. So that when I came here, I was already more aware that I was different and they were different. And there have still been struggles, but it has made it easier to come here, because I know it's gonna be hard, so I've kind of prepared myself for that".

This quote shows that not only working experiences, but travelling experiences too, help with adjustment to other cultures and ways of living. Through experiencing things that are different from what one knows, one grows in such a way that they are able to cope with changes and differences more easily.

Others have worked in more remote areas as English teachers or volunteers before coming to Hue and doing a similar job, like Mary (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years) and her boyfriend, Michael (an English teacher from Ireland, who has been living in Hue for two years). Both of them have worked in the same remote area in Thailand before coming to Hue together. There were very little expats around, so they had to interact with the local community and they had to learn the local language whilst teaching them English, because the Thai in that area could only speak Thai before Mary and Michael were placed there. In Thailand, locals would have parties on the street and they would give both of them *"whiskeys and beers and all that stuff"* (which might indicate that perhaps, in Thailand, it is normal for both men and women to drink – which might lessen cultural differences on the side of Mary and Michael, but also on the side of Thai people).

In Thailand, these expats interacted with locals a lot whilst in Vietnam, they do not, because most of their neighbors are not friendly towards them, they indicated. In Thailand, these expats felt like they were inside a community whilst in Hue, they do not.

In Hue, most expats do not have to learn the Vietnamese language, because they can hang out with other expats, have their own homes, live in a small city and because locals want to learn English instead of speak Vietnamese with foreigners. Another factor that comes into play is placement: almost all English teachers, but also most of the volunteers, were placed in Hue through the company they applied to. They did not choose to come here. Also, many respondents said they would only interact with locals if they have to, like Michael and Mary, because of the negative interactions both of them have had with Vietnamese people (Mary because of the way she looks and Michael because he stands up for her), which they did not get in Thailand. Therefore, there seems to be a necessity factor related to contact with locals in Hue.

The foremost part of the respondents has made it clear they feel like their prior international experiences have shaped them in some way. Mary, for example, indicated the following: "*I always kinda think: ''Well it's alright, but it's just the Vietnamese way, it's just the way Thai people (relating to when she was working in Thailand) are - it's just a cultural thing. It's just made me more accepting*''". This quote illustrates that, when cultural differences are big, exposure increases the ease with one adjusts and socially integrate to societies: going to Thailand, where for the Western expats cultural differences were big, made it easier for these same expats to come to Vietnam: they were used to living in a country with a very different culture from their own, but they decided to do it again.

Another respondent, Horace (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for 6 months) feels like his prior international experiences - he has worked in Australia and in Thailand before – have not only shaped his personality, but also his understanding of the world: he feels welcomed by the outside world and he feels comfortable in it, through travelling the world and working and living in different places. Many respondents give answers close to that of Horace: a lot of respondents feel like because they have travelled before they came to Hue or because they have worked abroad elsewhere before coming to Hue - they have been shaped to become a more understanding, open-minded person. Another quote can be derived from Randy (an Australian English teacher who has been living in Hue for 15 months), who has worked in several places in Vietnam through the Australian government:

"*[*Do you think your international experiences have helped you build resilience?] *Yeah, despite the different context, a lot of things are the same. It's helped me understand and it comes down to making the effort to understand. It's about asking questions. Developing an understanding of your place and how you are perceived and how you are expected to behave*".

This quote shows that, when expats live in different places within Vietnam, they might be able to adapt behaviors that allow them to adjust more easily when they move to different cities within the country: within one country, there are many cultural aspects which are the same, but between different

cities, some aspects of the culture might be the same. However, when one knows the general ideas on which the country's culture is based, adjustment seems to be easier.

There are, however, some expats who indicated they feel like their prior international experiences have not shaped them in any type of way whatsoever: where Randy feels like his prior international experiences have built resilience, because a lot of things are the same in other contexts, Nick (an English teacher from Ireland who has been living in Hue for two years) indicates the opposite: he has worked in the U.S. before moving to Hue, which he feels only made him slightly more open-minded to different cultures, but it has not made it easier for him to adjust in Hue, because the context of living is so different from that in America and Ireland. This might be explained by the time frame and the type of experience he has had in America: he was only there for three months, where he worked for a power boat rental company, while he was on holiday. In the U.S. they speak English just like in Ireland and the respondent indicated he did not really notice any cultural differences between him and the Americans. All these factors together might have led to him not having to adjust or socially integrate, as he did not come across any cultural or language barriers -which are the biggest barriers for him in Hue. This means that the influence of the transnational orientation on social integration could be lower for people who have only had international experiences in countries with a similar culture and language. For people who have experienced culture shock and who have lived in countries where culture and language were very different than in their home country, the effect could be greater.

Individual contextual factors: prior international experiences – work related or not

In general, it seems like many members of the expat community (the English teachers) have been stuck in the adjustment phase - and have not acculturated, nor are they planning to. This might be explained by the fact that they did not move to Hue indefinitely: this has been a stop for them while travelling the world. They do, however, indicate to be afraid of reverse culture shock - which means that these respondents have made adjustments big enough to feel part of local culture in some ways. Even Helen (an Australian volunteer who lived in Hue for almost two years) – who is part of the local community as well as the expatriate community- said:

"It's already stressing me out. Simple stuff like driving. I'm nervous to drive. And I feel like I'm gonna get into an accident. Going from driving something little (a motorbike), going at 30km/h, to driving something big (a car) at 100km/h''. Others feel anxious about the driving as well, but they also feel like comfort and luxury will be difficult to adjust to. Like respondent 4: *''The whole cars, getting back in a car. Being on the correct side of the road. Uhm, I think I would say just - food, comfy furniture''.* Others already went back to their home country and have experienced reverse culture shock, like Mary: ' *'Oh I went back. I went back. And I hated it. I hated it. Absolutely hated it.*

It was… I was embarrassed to be English. [...] It was like going back and seeing like how obsessed with money people are".

This quote illustrate that, even though expats might experience many cultural differences, they do internalize some parts of the culture through spending time in Hue. Even though these expats dislike parts of the local culture, they seem to grow to dislike parts of the culture in their home country too. Thus, living in Hue does seem to change the things expats value and their mentality – but not to the extent where they feel like they belong in Hue. This is not only the case for Helen: most expats who are not involved with the local community, but rather mostly spend their time with the expatriate community, tend to indicate to have experienced or to expect to experience reverse culture shock as well.

Whether or not an expat has worked in other countries before, instead of just lived or travelled somewhere, seems to play a role as well: expats who have travelled to other countries but who have never actually worked there – therefore they have experienced the culture and the locals on a very different level than they would have if they were in the working environment- indicate their mindset has changed through their travels. Travelling through different countries, whether the Westerners (Judy has never been out of Asia) went to Western countries or not, has made them want to travel more, and have eventually made them realize they did not want to stay in their home country all their lives. Therefore, travelling seems to influence motivations to migrate. However, there is a difference between respondents who have worked in other Western countries and respondents who have worked in other non-Western countries before moving to Hue: first of all, respondents who have never worked in a non-Western country before, seem to experience some type of culture shock. They either struggle with the language, the culture or both. Some have recovered from that culture shock already, while others seem to be stuck in it (respondents who had just arrived were still struggling to find a routine and to deal with the great cultural differences). Respondents who had lived in non-Western countries before, already experienced culture shock in the other country/countries they lived in before. Therefore, they had already built resilience to some extent, which they indicated helped them with adjusting to life in Hue, as they had already developed some coping mechanisms.

Summarization of general observations

Summed up, one of the general observations is that especially women experience difficulties in interactions with locals, due to the negative experiences they have had with locals. However, especially women who are part of the expatriate community indicated that they are reluctant to interact with locals if the factor of necessity is not present. Feelings of belonging could be related to these observations: issues one might have with their image, the way they look and the negative interactions one might have with locals, could be countered by becoming a member of the expatriate community: other expats who are part of this community, might have issues related to their different appearance or their different way of thinking from locals. In the expatriate community, however, everybody is different from the rest of the local society they live in. Thus, expats could find their missing feelings of belonging to the local community, within the expatriate community (Faist, 2000; Beaverstock, 2002; Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012).

One could look for outcomes of the quantitative research in order to support these qualitative findings – however, unfortunately, the quantitative data cannot fully support these findings: there is no scale for feelings of belonging to the local community which one can compare to outcomes of the answers for the scale of the expatriate community. If one would only look at the scale constructed for feelings of belonging one has towards the expatriate community, one could see that the mean of the scale is 2,97. This means that, in general, respondents answered "neutral" to questions about how they felt about the expatriate community. Because the surveys were not directly linked to the qualitative research respondents participated in, one could also not bring together those two and look at the individual answers respondents coming from respondents who did indicate they strongly feel like they belong to the expatriate community. Therefore, the qualitative data for feelings of belonging cannot be supported by the quantitative data that was collected. However, when focusing on the qualitative data on feelings of belonging, one could say that these feelings seem to be of great influence on the expatriate's adjustment and social integration, as they are a result of the way expats experience life in Hue altogether.

Conclusion and discussion

In this research, the factors which shape social integration and belonging of expatriates in Hue, Vietnam, have been researched. Therefore, the main research question was shaped as follows: *Which factors shape social integration and belonging of expatriates in Hue, Vietnam?*. In order to find out what those factors are, five research questions have been identified, which will be discussed below.

Outcomes of this research suggest that cultural- and language barriers are the foremost factors that shape social integration and belonging of expatriates in Hue: the bigger the difference between the local culture and the cultural background of the expatriate, the harder it is for the expat to adjust, therefore the harder it will be to become socially integrated. Therefore, the nature of migration seems to influence adjustment and social integration most out of all factors: because most expatriates come from Western countries, they have many difficulties with adjusting to the culture in Hue. Some respondents have tried to learn the language, but gave up. Men who have a Vietnamese girlfriend, do not give up - which is mostly because they would have to be able to talk to their girlfriend's parents, as they don't speak English. Women seem to have more difficulties with adjustment and social integration than men. Therefore, gender seems to matter for adjustment and social integration a great deal: men have an easier time living in Hue and interacting with locals than do women, as there is a need for women to look a certain way in Vietnam, but there is no such thing for men. Transnational experiences have made people become more culturally sensitive, which helps with adjusting to society. Because expecting or experiencing reverse culture shock indicates adjustment - which means that people who experience this, have adjusted to society – one could say that, in general, expatriates in Hue have adjusted to society to some extent, because multiple expatriates indicated that they feel like they would need to readjust to society back home. Issues of citizenship do not seem to influence adjustment and social integration.

Earlier in this thesis, the importance of social integration and, as the complete opposite, the problem of expatriate isolation has been discussed: being isolated has many negative consequences for expatriates, like feelings of loneliness (McBride, 2015) and, according to Hack-Polay (2012) and Van Tilburg et al. (1996)'s *Loss and attachment model*, the separation of the person from his or her social and cultural networks is felt as a loss which may out itself in anxiety, grief and anger. If these feelings persist (due to isolation, for example), these feelings of loss might become feelings of apathy and helplessness (Hack-Polay, 2012). These feelings could affect expatriate workers' adjustment to the new place (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet), which could also lead to problems in the work field. Being socially integrated, however, has many positive consequences for the expats: it means the expat has been able to develop and mutually transmit competences and knowledge, the expat has gained and maintained access to resources that are relevant for the individual's position within society and the expat feels like he/she belongs to the host society (Penninx, Berger & Kraal, 2006), which means the

expat is happy, is able to make use of its newly acquired network and will be able to co-work with locals at work. The expat will become a happy and effective worker for the company and the quality of life of the expat is higher than it would be if the expat would not have been socially integrated.

Outcomes of this research seem to suggest that, even though most expatriates do live in localized areas – as there are no expatriate blocks in Hue where expats can live together- they are still struggling with being socially accepted by the host society. In order to feel like they belong somewhere, many expatriate women in particular decided to hang out with mostly other expatriate workers. Others, who are not struggling as much with being socially accepted by the host society, are not isolated from the host society, which seems to result in them adapting to the host society and socially integrating much better than people who do feel unaccepted by the host society. Therefore, the assumption that people who are not socially accepted by the host society are caught up in feelings of loneliness and helplessness (Hack-Polay, 2012), does not hold: these people have 'fixed' their problem by creating a group of friends who struggle with the same issues, thereby relieving these negative feelings towards living in Hue.

However, this observation might be caused by a sampling bias, as most respondents were English teachers – therefore, this observation might not hold for other bigger groups of expats in Hue, if these are present. This sampling bias is part of the possible limitations of this research, which is caused by the snowballing sampling method. Because the 'finding' of respondents is dependent on the (subjective) choices of others, results of the research cannot be generalized. Another limitation of this kind of sampling strategy is that samples might be biased towards the inclusion of individuals who have some sort of relationship with one another therefore over-emphasizing cohesiveness in social networks: 'isolates' who are not connected to any network that was tapped into for this research, will be missed (Atkinsons & Flint, 2001). However, an advantage of the snowball sampling method is time efficiency. Due to time constraints, efficiency has been important for conducting this research and finding as many (different) respondents as possible, from as many different countries and job types as I could find. Another beneficial aspect of any sampling bias is that it might have been helpful for the exploratory character of this research: having a lot of people with the same individual differences, might be very useful for my research: it might help me to identify 'general' individual characteristics of expatriates.

In the introduction, this research was linked to development studies because migrants can be seen as agents of development (Faist, 2008). It would lead to a circulation of knowledge, human capital, finance and social remittances. In the Methods chapter of this thesis, one could see that only 8.7% of respondents indicated their family back home relied mostly on remittances the expats sent home. One could conclude that most respondents, therefore, were not sent away from home by their family, in order to make a living elsewhere and send (part of) their paychecks back home. This is in line with

what respondents have indicated during the research: respondents left home for themselves, in order to get something out of life they could not get back home. In terms of circulation of knowledge, human capital and finance, expatriates could be linked to development indirectly, as these expatriates take knowledge from home to Hue and knowledge from Hue elsewhere, as well as filling a job position in Hue and spending their money on food, clothes and living in Hue.

For research question 1, *To what extent do expatriates interact with locals?,* one could, based on the literature, expect that if expatriates interact with locals at work, but if they mostly interact with other expatriates outside of work, they might be disembedded from locality (Beaverstock, 2002) – however, in order to be disembedded from locality, these expatriates would have to live in expatriate blocks. None of the expatriate workers live in expatriate blocks, simply because there are none in Hue. Therefore, expatriates are not completely disembedded from locality: all of them live in a localized area and all of them work with locals to some extent. English teachers have Teaching Assistants who are Vietnamese and otherwise co-workers from the administration office at their Language center are all locals. For people who work as civil engineers, their Vietnamese co-workers are mostly job contractors. For people who are volunteers, their Vietnamese co-workers are people they have to work directly with or people they give trainings to. However, many of the expatriate English teachers mostly operate within the expatriate community outside of work, which makes them disembedded from locality to some extent; which is one of the reasons why expatriate English teachers (mostly females) have adjusted to a smaller extent than expatriate male English teachers and other expatriate workers in Hue. Outcomes seem to be more nuanced than was previously assumed.

Another assumption was that contextual factors, like the local culture and the local language influence social integration (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012), as well as the length of time an expat works in a foreign country (Waxin, 2004). Mostly female expatriate workers have issues with the local culture, but for all expatriate workers goes that most of them have not been able to learn the language – or they gave up on it. Therefore, there are not many expatriate workers who have socially integrated and adjusted.

However, for men who have a Vietnamese girlfriend, seems to go that they have adjusted and integrated much more than expatriates who do not have a local girlfriend. The extent to which adjustment influences social integration and to what extent the amount of time expatriates spend in Hue influences this relation goes that, for some expats, the longer they have lived in Hue, the less they had a desire to interact with locals; due to the accumulations of negative interactions they had with locals. This has been the case for many expatriate English workers, for example. After their initial (short-term) contract, many realized they were not 'done' with Hue yet – so they decided to learn the Vietnamese language, for example. Therefore, the answer to research question 1 is very much nuanced: personal experiences seem to shape the extent to which expatriates interact with locals. But, in general, expatriates who know they will be here for a set, usually not more than one year, period of

time (the volunteers), try to mingle with locals as much as they can. Therefore, the time dimension seems to play a part in their desire to interact with locals. However, individual differences play a great role in the desire to interact with locals. Personality traits, for example, seem to influence the desire to interact with locals, as well as gender differences. Having negative experiences with locals, like seeing abuse on the street and being treated differently than locals, seems to influence expatriate's desire to interact with locals: because it affected their attitude towards living in Hue and the way they perceive locals, it seemed to lower their desire to interact with locals. This observation goes against the assumption that was made in the literature review: the longer an expat lives in a certain area does not necessarily mean that the expat will be more willing to interact with locals (Waxin 2004; Dale, 2003). This observation can be explained by research of Caligiuri (2000): when expats have much contact with locals, but yet are not open to the interaction (which can be caused by, for example, having many negative interactions with locals), they will have lower cross-cultural adjustment compared to a person with greater openness.

Research question 2, *How do expatriates experience interactions with locals?,* was focused on feelings of belonging of the expatriate: does the expat have local friends, does the expat have other expatriate friends, do those two groups mix and how does the expat generally feel about the interactions he/she has with locals? Based on the literature, one could expect that, based on the literature, receptive factors like exclusion by law or being rejected by the host society would cause isolation, because it hinders the adjustment and social integration of the expat through the disability of these expats to enter social networks – which are important for adjustment and social integration (Faist, 2000). Issues like these could be countered by community membership to either the local community or an expatriate community, which would provide expatriates with a sense of belonging and support (Faist, 2000; Beaverstock, 2002; Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012), which might help adjustment and integration. This assumption was especially noticeable with expatriates who had experienced a lot of negative interactions with locals (which seems to be true for females in the expatriate community in Hue): they seemed to 'flee' from local culture when they could. Therefore, after work, they would only hang out with other expatriates. Therefore, being rejected – or having the feeling of never being able to belong in Hue, because of the way expatriates look and/or behave, seemed to have a great influence in the coming of the expatriate community. Exclusion by law has not been a real issue to any of my respondents.

However, these observations cannot be fully supported by quantitative data, as there is no scale for feelings of belonging to the local community. It is also not the case that respondents indicated a high feeling of belonging to the expat community: the mean of the scale that corresponds with these feelings is 2,97, which means that respondents were in general 'neutral' on their feelings of belonging to the expatriate community. There is, however, a possible limitation of this research connected to the quantitative part of this research: in the survey that was distributed, respondents were

asked to fill out the extent to which they agreed with certain statements, related to the expat community and the local community.

However, before the research was conducted, no pre-test has been conducted. Therefore, reliability of the items and a scale, had to be constructed post-research. For the first scale, *feelings of belonging to the expatriate community*, a scale could be constructed. However, there have been issues with reliability of the scale, because the determinant of the correlation matrix was too low. The second scale which was supposed to be made and called *feelings of belonging to the local community*, could not be constructed at all. This might not have been an issue if a pre-test had been conducted on the items, in order to find out whether or not the correlation between the items would be sufficient and not too high or too low. However, this is an issue of time constraints: because there were only thirteen weeks to conduct this research and because there were no obvious areas where expatriates lived, like expatriate blocks, the survey could not be tested before conducting the actual research. Luckily, respondents gave indications of their feelings of belonging to the local- and the expatriate community during the post-survey interviews. Therefore, all factors which influence adjustment and social integration could be identified anyhow.

Therefore research question 2, *How do expatriates experience interactions with locals?*, can be answered as follows: it seems like the language barrier is the number one barrier for most expatriates: for Western expatriates, it is hard to learn Vietnamese and many locals of the older generations cannot speak English, because they were never taught the language. Therefore, there seems to be a two-way language barrier.

The cultural barrier is mostly an issue for women, because they cannot conform to the local beauty standard and therefore locals call them fat, which is a negative experience for the expats. These comments make many expatriate women too uncomfortable to interact with locals. The expatriate's ability to enter and establish social networks and the extent to which they feel they are accepted by- and integrated in locality has a positive influence on adjustment and social integration: the more the expat has the ability to do so, the easier it will be for them to adjust and socially integrate. Expatriates, who experience most of their interactions with locals as negative, have adjusted and socially integrated the least of all respondents. Feelings of belonging seem to be of great matter for social integration and adjustment.

For research question 3, *How can contextual factors and life cycle on the side of the expatriate explain social integration patterns?,* one could expect that, based on the literature, life cycle was an important factor for adjustment and social integration, because young adults tend to adjust more easily than do older adults (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). Regardless of life cycle, young and highly educated workers have the tendency to migrate to places with higher quality business environments, because these workers are more subjected to job market problems. Especially highly skilled workers are willing to move (Basker, 2002) and couples near retirement tend to move away from higher

quality business environments (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005). The general assumption that life cycle is an important factor for adjustment and social integration, because young adults tend to adjust more easily than do older adults (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999), seems to hold for the research population - which is an important side note to make, because due to the sample size of this research (28 respondents), results cannot be generalized to the overall population of expatriates in Vietnam, Asia or the entire world. This does not mean results of the research are invalid, because for the research population, they hold. The general assumption seems to hold, because younger adults, below the age of 30, seem to adjust and socially integrate better than adults of higher age; younger adults seem to have a higher need for social interactions in general. Older adults seem to be more private, in the sense that these adults all indicated to have a need for 'me-time' after work and at night than did younger adults.

The assumption that in general young and highly educated adults have the highest tendency to migrate to places with higher quality business environments, seems to hold as well, because most respondents were between the age of 23 and 30 years old, which classifies them as young adults according to Castles, Miller & Ammendola (2005). However, one could discuss whether or not Hue would be considered a place with 'higher quality business' (I do not have insights into the exact business operations of business in Hue), one could argue that, if the English teachers keep on renewing their contracts with the Language centers they work for, their pay must be good enough to forget about problems regarding the workplace – or businesses take good care of the expatriates who work for them. Either way, the expatriate English teachers usually sign on for another working period. Others, like people who work for NGOs, have indicated struggles regarding the workplace but they have also indicated that, because their job in Hue would be short-term, they were able to 'sit it out'. All respondents have different personal motivations for coming to Vietnam, however most of them were placed in Hue even though they indicated they preferred another city in Vietnam to work in. Even though all respondents have other personal job motivations, the one thing that seems to tie them together is the fact that they want to experience cultures other than their own. How they deal with Vietnamese culture and their adjustment and social integration into it, differs. For answering research question 3, this means that contextual factors like time frame (the time the expat spends in Hue) and the type of relationships they have (especially having a romantic relationship with a local or not) seem to influence social integration patterns, as well as life cycle.

For research question 4, *To what extent can the nature of migration (North-South or South-South) and the duration of migration explain the social integration of expatriates?,* one could expect that, based on the literature, the nature of migration influences adjustment and social integration. The nature of migration is related to the direction of the migration flow (South-South or North-South, for this research). For South-South migration, cultural clashes were not expected to occur as harsh as they might be with North-South migration (Eckersley, 2006). This effect has been found: since 26 of the

28 respondents came from Western countries (one female came from the Philippines and one respondent is a Vietnamese-French male, which meant that both of them were familiar to the Asian culture to some extent), most of the respondents came from Western countries. Respondents who were not from Asian countries, all indicated they had experienced cultural differences to some extent, which for most of them meant that there were things they agreed with and things they disagreed with. For the two expatriate workers who were already familiar with the Asian culture, one of them (the female from the Philippines), clearly indicated coming to Vietnam felt like coming home in many ways.

Another expectation could be that culture shock mattered for adjustment: culture shock can be seen as part of the adjustment process, in which expectations play a role: when people already expect to come to a different environment from that back home, the effects of culture shock (and reverse culture shock) can be minimized (Gaw, 2000). Many respondents indicated they already expected the Vietnamese culture to be very different from their culture back home – and their previous international experiences aided the adjustment process for them: respondents who had already worked in an Asian country or had travelled through an Asian country, seemed to be less affected by culture shock, whereas respondents who had never been to an Asian country seemed to have more difficulties regarding adjustment and social integration. Some respondents who had already gone back to their home country for a brief period of time, reported they did not like going back: people back home were too materialistic, manners were different and funnily enough, some respondents thought it was a strange experience 'not to be a superstar' back in their home country, referring to the way they were 'normal' in their home country – whereas in Hue, they were always a novelty.

Therefore, research question 4, can be answered as follows: especially the female members of the expatriate community seem to struggle a lot - because they are seen as less than men in local culture, which they are not used to from the Western culture they come from and because they get insecure from the comments locals sometimes make, which some find hurtful. The overall social integration of English teachers is less than that of volunteers: when the English teachers first got here, they tried to adjust and integrate. But mostly for the women of the expatriate community, due to negative experiences with local interactions and the language- basically, the cultural barrier, they gave up.

What seems to matter more for social integration, is the transnational orientation of the expatriate worker -which will be discussed in the next chapter. This observation might be explained by two things. One explanation can be derived from using the NELM (New Economics of Labor Migration) model: this model offers a conceptual link between transnationalism, integration and return migration. In this model, migration is interpreted as a livelihood strategy which is used by households and families in order to spread income risks and to overcome sending country market constraints. Central to the NELM model is the idea that households send out their best-suited individuals to gain an

income somewhere else. The migrants then send remittances back home. The problem with using the NELM model in the context of this research, is that Vietnam is not an 'end-destination' for most expatriates, nor are they 'sent' by family back home: respondents have decided they wanted to go abroad, for themselves, because they wanted to experience other cultures and see the world.

Another explanation can be derived from research of De Haas & Fokkema (2011): they found a negative correlation between sociocultural integration and return intentions (to people's home country). Because social integration is part of sociocultural integration, part of the link between social integration and transnationalism might be explained by De Haas & Fokkema's research. They found a negative correlation between sociocultural integration and return intentions: the higher people's level of sociocultural integration, the less likely migrants were to express their return intention, or they would be uncertain about whether to stay or not and migrants who intend to return might feel less compelled to integrate. If one links the fact that many of my respondents indicated they would 'go home eventually, but not yet', even though in general many respondents were far from fully socially integrated, one might discuss in (social) integration influences transnationalism through return intentions and that the reason many of my respondents were not planning on going home just yet, was because they were maybe just slightly socially integrated because they were floating between wanting to go home one day and wanting to integrate in Hue.

For research question 5, *How does the transnational orientation of the expatriate influence their adjustment and social integration?,* one could expect, based on the literature, that transnational links and adjustment and social integration may be influenced by context of exit, context of reception and the career the expatriate worker has (had): the career path might influence integration of the expatriate, as careers and migration can influence the household and its members (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). The foremost part of the respondents has made it clear they feel like their prior international experiences have shaped them. Many expatriates felt like their prior international experiences (if any) have shaped them – but, that was only if these expatriates had worked in non-Western countries. For expatriates who had not worked in non-Western countries, they felt like it awakened their wanderlust, but no more than that. This might firstly be explained by the fact that I have no respondents who were in Hue with their children; one British male expatriate had taken his family with him in the first years of his existence of being an expatriate worker, but that only lasted shortly because companies preferred him coming by himself. Another French-Vietnamese male expatriate made a family in Hue and never left. Therefore, asking expatriate workers about how dynamics in the household change when one migrates, has not really given any definite answers, because it was many years ago for the British expatriate (and he did not have much time for doing an interview with me) and for the French expatriate, questions were not applicable.

In the literature review and in the findings section, some attention was paid to culture shock and reverse culture shock (Adler, 1975; Gaw, 2000). Culture shock can be seen as part of the process

of adjustment to a new culture. When one goes through culture shock, one goes through four phases: the honeymoon or tourist phase, the crises or culture shock phase, the adjustment, reorientation and gradual recovery phase and the adaptation, resolution or acculturation phase. All phases are sequential and cyclical: one can shift from the crises to the adjustment phase and the adaptation phase multiple times, as one encounters new crises which require additional adjustments (Winkelman, 1994). For respondents who had, for example, only been living in Hue for two months when they were interviewed (Michelle, who is an English teacher from America who lived in Hue for two months and Nadia, who is a volunteer from Canada who lived in Hue for two months, for example), one could expect they were still in the honeymoon phase: one is interested, excited and has positive expectations of the stay in a new country or culture (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994). These respondents were volunteers, and for them, this seemed to be the case: both of them indicated they loved Hue and they both spoke about how friendly locals were to them and how they wished they could stay for a longer period of time than they were assigned for. However, Michelle, who had been in an accident in the first weeks when she arrived in Hue, did not show any signs of being in the honeymoon phase: she indicated the people drive her crazy and that she wanted to be left alone by locals. This was caused by the pain medication she used at that time, she thought, but one could also consider her negative experience to have a great influence on how long she had stayed in the tourist phase. This observation is in line with research of Smalley (1963) and Winkelman (1994): it seems like Michelle moved to the crises phase more quickly than others did, due to her accident. In this phase, one might experience a full-blown crisis or a series of escalating problems (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994).

When it comes to the next phase, phase three, the adjustment and reorientation phase, one can see how various respondents adapted various adjustment strategies. Some respondents, like Mary and Harry, decided to adjust to the point where one does not interact with locals when not necessary. However, Mary indicated she explicitly avoids substantial learning about local culture, which is in line with the ideas of Smalley (1963) and Winkelman (1994): One either starts to make acceptable adaptations to the new culture, which can mean that one decides to isolate himself or herself from the culture as a form of adjustment, therefore one might not adapt to the new culture. For example, one might avoid substantial learning about the new culture. According to Smalley and Winkelman, this is a typical reaction of people who move to another country for the first time, but for Mary (an English teacher from England who has been living in Hue for two years), this is not the first time. Her isolation from local culture is has a foundation of negative interactions with locals and the absence of feelings of belonging. An observation that one can make, however, is that Randy (an English teacher from Australia who lived in Hue for 15 months), who has worked in Vietnam multiple times, in different places, is that he clearly indicated he uses humor in order to make locals open up. This is, according to Smalley (1963) and Winkelman (1994), an example of an adjustment strategy: in the adjustment and reorientation phase, difficult situations may be approached with a sense of humor and adjustments are made with less tension. The differences between the Mary's adjustment strategies and

those of Randy, may lie within the experiences they have had. Mary has been hurt through the comments locals have made about her appearance, which have made her uncomfortable to the point where she does not want to interact with locals anymore. Randy, however, is a male – and men, as results from this research suggest, have less negative interactions with locals – and he has worked in various places in Vietnam before, which have made him more accustomed to life in Vietnam than Mary. These observations seem to suggest that gender, the type of interactions one has with locals (negative or positive) and the amount of international experiences one has had, especially to the same country, influence the adjustment strategies one adopts.

The last phase that one would go through is that of full acculturation. However, this is very difficult to impossible to achieve, but one may undergo personal changes and adapt a bicultural identity: effective adaptation will change one's identity. In order to fully acculturate, adaptation needs to be effective (Smalley, 1963; Winkelman, 1994). Because it is very difficult to fully acculturate and one can go through phases 1-3 many times, it is hard to tell if I met respondents who have fully acculturated. Taking this into account, but especially remembering that most respondents indicated they were planning on leaving one day and none of the respondents indicated they felt like their identity or personality had changed, one could say that none of the respondents have fully acculturated – accept for one respondent: Jack. Jack indicated he felt like a Vietnamese, because he lived like a Vietnamese, looks like a Vietnamese, has a Vietnamese wife, speaks Vietnamese fluently and because he has Vietnamese family members. Therefore, one could say that full acculturation is possible, but that it is more likely to occur when one already has a relation with the country through for example having family members that originate from the country.

Because expecting or experiencing reverse culture shock indicates adjustment (Gaw, 2000) - which means that people who experience this, have adjusted to society – one could say that, in general, expatriates in Hue have adjusted to society to some extent, because multiple expatriates indicated that they feel like they would need to readjust to society back home.

Due to the lack of respondents with families who have gone abroad together, research question 5 could be answered as follows: prior international experiences, whether they are traveling experiences or working experiences, influence the adjustment and social integration of expatriates. Traveling experiences influence motivations to migrate; working experiences influence expatriate adjustment through the development of- and working with- coping mechanisms related to cultural differences (also known as building resilience). Thus, the transnational orientation of the expatriate influences adjustment and social integration through motivations and resilience. However, due to a lack of respondents that belong to the category of expats who are married and have children (which might be caused due to the snowballing method of finding respondents: because most respondents are young, unmarried and do not have children, respondents who were mostly part of that category too have been selected), no statements can be made on the influence of the transnational orientation of those expatriates and their adjustment and social integration.

Improving integration of expatriates in host societies

So, if we understand why expatriates may or may not be integrated, how can we improve their integration in the host society? Improving integration in the host society is important for the expatriate and the companies they work for, because expatriates could become uncooperative and they might lack drive in the work field, if they are not integrated in the host society (Hack-Polay, 2012). Inferring from this, it is also important for expatriates themselves to be integrated in the host society, because the emotional upheaval upon arrival (Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012) can be reduced by socially integrating in Hue, Vietnam.

On a micro-level, it is important to understand people's motivations to integrate in the host society: to what extent are expats willing to adjust to the host society and do people want to become adjusted and socially integrated in the host society, or would contact with other expatriates suffice? If the expat has no intensions to adjust and socially integrate in the host society, the importance of adjustment and social integration for the expats themselves and the organization, should be explained. For example, the creation a new support network, in order to alleviate isolation and to gain (network) capital from local networks, is important for them and the organization they work for – because a healthy and happy expat is a well-functioning employee (Hack-Polay, 2012; Hattingh, Matthee & Lotriet, 2012). On a state-level, Vietnam's integration policies might address isolation problems: as stated above, following Faist (2000)'s idea, problems of citizenship might be alleviated in policymaking, in order to empower small expatriate migrant groups. Another idea might be derived from Joppke (2007): According to Collins (2003), social inclusion is not about equality, but it is about concentrating attention on the disadvantage of particular groups in society - in this case, expat groups. Therefore, social inclusion justifies group-specific policies of the state: the state might make anti-discrimination policies, which violate the equal-treatment principle.

Thus, for all expatriates, challenges are inevitable, due to differences in cultural background and understanding - but it is especially difficult for those who come from industrialized Western countries, to Asian countries: distinctive work and social cultures are very different here from the eastern culture. This means that all parties involved - the expatriates, Vietnam and the organizations the expats work for - have to be more aware and need to act upon these differences: both have responsibilities here. This awareness needs to be created, because it can lessen the challenges regarding attitudes of locals, custom and religion, social status, gender issues, working habits in the host countries and cross-cultural training (Tahir & Ismail, 2007). This is important: both parties (the expat and the organization and its employees), then, perceive less difficulties with regard to interacting with one another. Tahir & Ismail (2007), propose various methods for expatriate adjustment in organizations: a structured cross-cultural training (CCT) program needs to be developed by the organization, to train expatriates and their families coming to the host organization. This program can be based on cross-cultural challenges and adjustments from previous investigations. The

CCT can be helpful as a strategic preparation, to overcome cultural challenges and to improve adjustment to the accustoms of the host organization and working together with colleagues from different backgrounds.

Recommendations for future research

There is a need for future research to elaborate on what factors and to which extent they shape and relate to adjustment, social integration and belonging of expatriates. Now that elements of social integration of expatriates in Hue have been explored, a recommendation for future research could be to focus more on quantitative research in this area. This research has combined qualitative research with quantitative research, but the main focus was on the qualitative research. In order to give more power to findings in the area of social integration and in order to go more in depth on the relations different factors have with each other, more quantitative research is necessary.

Related to the first recommendation, is the second recommendation: because this research is based on findings within a group of 28 respondents, results cannot be generalized. This, of course, is a result of time constraints. Future research could focus on acquiring a larger sample, in order to make generalizations for other expatriate workers in Vietnam.

A recommendation related to the sampling strategy can be made as well. Since this research has used the snowballing method for acquiring respondents, issues related to non-probability sampling strategy affect the representation of the data for the general population negatively, as well as posing a risk for a sampling bias to occur. One could consider controlling for this sampling bias through experimental research in which respondents are randomly selected (Warner, 1965).

Another recommendation for future research could be to compare expatriates in different cities to one another. For example, in Hue, expatriate blocks were non-existent. In larger cities like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh, they do exist. It might be interesting to see what effects different living environments have on the adjustment, social integration and feelings of belonging of expatriates.

Since some respondents indicated their personality traits affected their desire to interact with locals, it could be worthwhile for future research to explore the effects of personal traits on social integration and adjustment for expatriates. Aspects of personality traits, like adjustability of the migrant, the type of personality one has (introvert/extravert) or how open one is to other cultures and meeting new people, could be explored to a greater extent, because they could affect one's adjustability to the host society and the way one is able to socially integrate into the host society and the local community.

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Masterthesis IDS

Intro First of all, I would like to thank you for your participation. You have been invited to participate in a research conducted by Utrecht University, The Netherlands. This survey will take a maximum of 10 minutes to complete. By participating in this research, you will have guaranteed anonymity and your information will not be given to third parties, unless you have given explicit permission for it. Your participation to this research will not have any harming effects worth mentioning for you. You are also allowed to stop your participation in this research at any point in time. Once the whole research has been completed, you will receive a report of the general findings within approximately six months. For more information about the research and your participation, please feel free to contact me (Anna Waterman) at all times through e-mail (a.p.waterman@students.uu.nl). I hope to have provided you with sufficient information and I would like to thank you in advance for your participation. With kind regards, Anna Waterman.

descriptive This block contains statements about the expat community (on the left) and the local community (on the right). All questions are the same for both subjects.

SoC Please choose the answer which applies best to your views on the statements. Please choose one answer per statement.

	Expat community					Local community				
	Totally disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neutral (3)	Agree (4)	Totally agree (5)	Totally disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neutral (3)	Agree (4)	Totally agree (5)
What is good for this community is good										

for me (1)									
People here have no say about what actions this community takes (2)									
My own goals									

are very similar to the goals of the rest of the people here (3)									
When something needs to be									

done here the whole community gets behind it (4)									
There is not enough to do in this community (5)									
There are people in this community, other than my family, who I really care about (6)									
Even if I									

tried, I could not help change some things here (in										
this community) (7)										
People can depend upon each other in this community (8)										
This is not a very good community to bring childre										

n up in (9)										
My role in this community is to be active and involved (10)										
I do not get much out of being a member of this community (11)										
The people in this community do not have very										

much in comm on (12)										
I feel										

that I belong here (13)										
This comm unity satisfi es what I want in relatio nships with other people (14)										
I am not quite similar to most people who live										

here (15)										
I can buy most things I need right here in the community (16)										
I regularly feel lonely here (17)										
I do not like living in this community (18)										
You can be yourself in this										

community (19)										
I do not feel safe in this community (20)										

descriptive Lastly, please answer the following demographic questions

Age What is your age?

Gender What is your gender?

       Male (1)

       Female (2)

       Other (please specify) (3) _____

Educ_self What is your own highest level of education? Please select one.

       Not completed primary education (1)

       Primary education or first stage of basic education (2)

       Lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education (3)

       Upper secondary education (4)

       Post-secondary, non tertiary education (5)

       First stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification) (6)

       Second stage of tertiary education (leading directly to an advanced research qualification) (7)

Educ_spouse What is the highest level of education of your spouse? Please select one or skip the question this question does not apply to you.

       Not completed primary education (1)

       Primary education or first stage of basic education (2)

Lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education (3)

Upper secondary education (4)

Post-secondary, non tertiary education (5)

First stage of tertiary education (not leading directly to an advanced research qualification) (6)

Second stage of tertiary education (leading directly to an advanced research qualification) (7)

income What is the main source of income in your household?

Wages or salaries (1)

Income from self-employment (2)

Income from farming (3)

Pensions (4)

Unemployment/redundancy benefit (5)

Any other social benefits or grants (6)

Income from investment, savings, insurance or property (7)

Income from other sources (8)

Refuse to tell (9)

attitude income How do you feel about the household's income nowadays?

Living comfortably on present income (1)

Coping on present income (2)

Finding it difficult on present income (3)

Finding it very difficult on present income (4)

Don't know (5)

remittances Do you (as a household) send remittances back to your home country?

Yes (1)

No (2)

income_remittances What is the main source of income of family in your home country?

Remittances (1)

Other (please specify) (2) _____

email If you wish to receive a report of the general findings once the research has been completed, please fill in your email address below. If you do not wish so, you can skip this question.

Closing You have reached the end of this survey. Thank you for your participation. Please click the button in the lower right corner, in order to submit your answers. If you have any further questions, please contact a.p.waterman@students.uu.nl.

Firstly

Make the respondent feel at home. Restate anonymity etc, as seen in survey. Ask if you are allowed to record the session. Any questions/remarks regarding survey?

First: How long have you been in Hue City?
How long will you be staying in Hue City?

Concrete examples

Local context

Do you have any contact with locals?
In what form do you have contact with locals? (do you greet each other or do you visit each other's houses, for example).
Do you have Vietnamese friends in Vietnam/Hué?
How did you meet them?
Do you have foreign friends?
Do your local friends and your foreign friends mix?
Are there any activities that you would only engage in with only one of the two 'groups'? (What do you do with whom?)
How do you feel (in general) about the contact you have with locals? (are you comfortable with it, or would you for example like to have more contact with them)
How often do you meet with locals?
What are, for you, the most important barriers between you and locals, if there are any?
How do you think you could improve the contact you have with locals?

What kind of activities do you engage in after work?

Concrete examples

Motivations of adjustment:

First: How did you get here, in Hué Vietnam?
What motivates you to live in Hué?

What does your household look like? (spouse, children - if children; what age, what type of school if any, does it help/not bringing children to school with adjustment)

Do you want to interact with locals and why?

Does the rest of the household want to interact with locals and why?

Do you have the desire to become friends with locals and why?

Does the rest of the household have the desire to become friends with locals and why?

Do you have the desire to get familiar with the local culture and why?

Does the rest of the household have the desire to get familiar with the local culture -how and why?

Do you think that the time you have spent and will be spending here influence your motivation to adjust to the society? How and why?

Do you feel like the time you have spent and will be spending here influences your desire to communicate with locals?

What is your living situation like at the moment?

Do you live amongst other locals in the neighborhood, or do you live in a separate block from them (like a separate area of town where only expats/foreigners live)?

Do you feel like that living situation influences your adjustability to the host society? Why?

Do you feel like your workplace influences your adjustability to the host society? Why?

Concrete examples

Citizenship

Have you ever considered yourself an expat? Why/Why not?

Do you still consider yourself an expat? Why/Why not?

Do you think that, if you would not have the status of being an expat, your contact with locals would change?

Do you think that, if you would not have the status of being an expat, your after-work activities would change?

Do you feel like the fact that you are an expat influences your opportunities in Hué? Why?

Do you feel like having a different legal position from locals is a problem? Why?

Would you call this home? Why?

Concrete examples

Transnational orientation

Have you worked abroad earlier? (what country, what city/town, what function)

Has your spouse worked abroad earlier?

For how long have you worked in these places and why?

Did you live among other expats or among locals in these places? Why?

Did you interact with the local community there? How/why?

Did you notice a cultural gap during work? In what way (not)?

Did you notice a cultural gap after work? In what way (not)?

Are the differences you have experienced in other places different from the places you have worked in before?

Do you feel like your prior international experiences have shaped you? In what way?

Do you feel like your prior international experiences have influenced your adjustability to the host society?

In what way?

Afraid of reverse culture shock when going home? Why/how?

Concrete examples

Respondent 1 (Judy) is a 34-year-old female Filipino English Teacher, who has been teaching in different countries for over ten years now, because she likes to travel and to experience different cultures – for which you have to stay in a country for a longer period of time, she says. This respondent has been to Cambodia, where she did community service: she helped the poor by teaching them English. Then she went to Thailand, where she worked as an English teacher for one month. After that she went to China for about half a year where she taught English as well. She also went to Mongolia, where she worked for five years: half of that time she worked in a slum area, the other half she was employed by a university. She usually didn't get paid, but she got allowances. She was mostly working for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which would give workers enough cash to live by each month. Now, in Hue, she works for an English Language center. She is on a three-year contract. In her own family, her mother went abroad to work while her father was working for a company in the Philippines. This female grew up with her grandfather at home, because he was retired. Thus, he could take care of the kids while her parents were at work. This female has friends in Hue and neighboring cities, but they do not see each other much. The friends she has in Vietnam, she met through work in Cambodia. These are Filipino's, who now live in Vietnam. An important struggle for her is the weather: when it is summer, she plans to meet up with some friends who live in Vietnam. But now, because it was rainy season, none of the parties would want to drive around to visit each other. For staying in touch with friends outside of Vietnam, she uses Skype. Most of her friends are Asian. For Filipino's, it is easier to access Asian countries with their visa. That is why this respondent has mostly worked in Asia. This participant has a husband, with whom she is in Hue, however he does not work. He wanted to work in the same Language center as her, but they preferred a Western teacher – which is a general tendency, the respondent concludes. Her husband has more of a desire to interact with locals, which is because he is more of an extravert than she is, my respondent concludes. However, both of them have the same circle of friends.

Respondent 2, Helen, is a 26-year-old female Australian volunteer at an NGO with a one-year contract. She works in community development with marginalized groups. She is a volunteer, but she does get paid enough to cover her living circumstances. This is her first experience living abroad. Most of her friends are locals from Hue. She met them through work and at random places. Most of her foreign friends are English Teachers. According to her, the majority of expatriates in Hue are English teachers. There used to be more NGO presence in Hue, but since people's living standards and the economy started to improve, Hue is not a priority area for NGOs anymore, the respondent concludes. Her boyfriend came Hue halfway through, as a means of holiday, until the end of her stay. He has both local friends as well as expat friends: he plays in a football team with all men, most of them locals. And he hangs out with her expat friends, who also became his. But he is not putting

pressure on himself in order to become familiar with local culture, whereas she does (also because she has to for her work at the NGO: she needs to master the Vietnamese language in order to connect with people in the rural areas).

Respondent 3, Jack, is a 46-year-old French-Vietnamese resort manager. He grew up in France, in the hospitality business. He wanted to go to Vietnam because he dislikes the modern European civilization, where ''people become machines'' because everything works with computers. He wants to work with his senses and use his mind. Europe was boring for him, he wanted to go a place exotic where he could work with his hands and he chose Vietnam because "they are the same as you: they have two hands, two feet. If they can survive here, so can I". He has been living in Vietnam for 17 years now. He started off in Ho Chi Minh, working for a gastronomic restaurant and then for a big supermarket chain. He then worked in a resort for 6-7 years, before a friend of his asked him to work where he is working now in Hue. He has been doing that for three years now. This respondent has a Vietnamese wife, whom he met in Mui Ne while he was travelling. She does not work: she is at home with their two children, who do not attend any schools yet, because they are too young for that. His job is the managing of the resort, his wife's job is taking care of the children and the household. This respondent does not have friends he meets outside of the resort, because he works every day of the week. Friends he does meet come to the resort. His wife does not go out to meet up with people either, because she does not have time to do so.

Respondent 4, Irma, is a 23-year-old female English Teacher from England. She came to Vietnam because she did not like her job in England. She did border security back in England. She worked too many hours. She wanted to go travelling, but did not have enough money to do so. In order to be able to afford the travelling, she decided to get a job abroad – in Vietnam, because she had already been to Thailand (those were her two options). This respondent has done volunteering in Thailand before coming to Vietnam, which was also teaching English – to children of a hill tribe. In Hue, she has some local friends, whom she met through work at the Language center or through restaurants she went to. These are all people her age, who are most likely to speak English, the respondent concludes. Her next stop is going to be Australia, because she does not want to go back to Europe yet.

Respondent 5, Mary, is a 27-year-old female English teacher at a language center, from England. She has been teaching for eight years now, she did the same job in England – accompanied by work for special needs children. She decided to work abroad because all her friends were settling down and she is not close to her family. She has been living in Hue for two years now and she does not know when she will be leaving yet, mostly because she has settled there: she has made a family of friends there, and she has a boyfriend whom she lives with, in a localized area. Vietnamese friends are people she met through work – she does not like to go to Vietnamese places like bars or coffee shops, because she feels uncomfortable there due to negative interactions she has had with locals. This

respondent has a lot of negative experiences in Hue and she is still here because she loves her job mostly: the families and children she works with, she finds amazing.

Her boyfriend has a lot of dislikes too, but she recons these will be different for him than they are for her. This female has worked in China for a year, in Thailand for a year and in Germany. This respondent met her boyfriend in Thailand, where they worked for the same company. He has made a lot of issues easier for her. Even though she always lived in localized areas, she always ended up spending more time with expats, because when she has free time after work, she does not want to break the language wall like she does at work too.

Respondent 6, Tom, is a 32-year-old male French expatriate who works both as a guesthouse manager and as a volunteer graphic designer for an NGO. He is not sure how long he will be staying yet. He has been to Hue a few times now. Last year, he was working for another association. This respondent decided to come to Vietnam because he wanted to discover life outside of France. His first idea was to go to Canada, but it was hard for him to find job opportunities there. Then a friend of his father asked him to work in Ho Chi Minh, for an association for disabled people. This was three years ago. He worked in Ho Chi Minh for six months. When his visa expired, he went back to France only to go to work in Hue – he got a job offer. This was one and a half years ago. Then he worked for that association for half a year. After that he went back to France again, but he quickly left to go back to Hue. He has been here for four months now – but he wants to stay as long as possible this time. He might even want to spend the rest of his life in Hue. This respondent has a lot of local friends, whom he met through his job at the guesthouse and through invites from random strangers to have a beer or dinner with them. The main reason why he keeps on coming back to Vietnam is the population: he thinks people are very curious but friendly. He likes Hue best because he finds it a more beautiful city than Ho Chi Minh. Working in Vietnam is his first working experience abroad.

Respondent 7, Michael, is a 32-year-old male English Teacher from Ireland. He had been working as a painter back in Ireland, even though he had a degree in interactive multimedia – he did the painting job because it was hard for him to find a job back in Ireland. Thus, he decided to work in Thailand for three years. First, he did one year as an English teacher there, then went back to Ireland for a few years. Then he decided to go back to Thailand to work as an English teacher again for another two years, where he met his girlfriend – whom he is living in Vietnam with now. They have been living together in Hue for two years now. He does not know how long they will be staying in Hue for. He decided he wanted to go to Vietnam because he had been travelling through Vietnam three and a half years ago – and he liked the city more than he liked big cities like Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh. When he finished his job in Thailand, his brother was living in Hue – so they decided to come down there and work as English Teachers. This respondent has also worked in Canada for two years. He worked in Toronto – because he knew people who lived there - in a call center. Then he came back to Ireland and shortly after he decided to go to St. John's for a year, because his brother went there too. Then his brother went to Thailand and so did he. The same goes for coming to Vietnam. This

respondent interacted with locals everywhere he went, mostly through street parties. In Hue, he and his girlfriend find interactions more difficult, because they feel like they are getting ripped off by locals sometimes when they want to buy things, for example.

Respondent 8, Bobby, is a 38-year-old Romanian male civil engineer, with a master's degree in environmental engineering and environmental protection. He left Romania three or four years ago, but not by choice: he considers himself an economic refugee. He was unable to find a job in Romania. His first international working experience was in Dubai – after that, he went to England and then to Macedonia. After that he went to Bangladesh and then he came to Vietnam. In the other countries respondent 8 went to, he worked on vacuum systems. He heard about job opportunities in Vietnam by 'accident': he was in the gym, when someone came up to him and told him about a job opportunity in Hue and in Desoto. The job in Vietnam was the easiest one to get, so he went for that one. This respondent has a two-year contract and he has been here for six months already. He might stay on for longer, because he thinks his contract might be extended. In the end, he wants to go back to Romania, in order to start a family and buy a house without having to get a loan at the bank.

Respondent 9, Pete, is a 26-year-old male English Teacher from England, with a bachelor's degree in History and Politics. He spent a year in the United States of America (USA) in the third year of his bachelor's, because it was part of the program. Then he came back for one year to finish up his studies. Then he had to search for jobs and he got himself two jobs which he disliked.

So, he wanted to run away from that and his life in England – which going abroad to America has made him realize he wanted to get out of England- and searched the internet for countries that where they were paying well for custom living and Vietnam was high up the list. Therefore, he applied for an internship with a English Language company and got placed in Hue – just like all the English Teachers who are in Hue got placed there. His first contract with the language center only lasted five months, but then he signed on for another year of working for the company, because he felt like his learning experience was not finished yet. His New Year's resolution was to finally learn the Vietnamese language. This respondent lives together with three other expatriate English Teachers, in a house in a localized area.

Respondent 10, Leo, is a 67-year-old Australian male, who is volunteering in Hue with an NGO, through the Australian government. He has done volunteering before: he went to Sri Lanka four to five years ago, for three months, in order to help the country recover from the Tsunami in 2002. He considers his time there to be "one of the highlights of his career". He travelled Asia when he was my age and he decided he wanted to give back to countries and people who gave him a lot, through volunteering. This respondent is in Hue on his own and he lives in a localized area, because he likes to have a place to retreat to after work: he enjoys being by himself. He feels like he is made to be an expat: it is a liberating experience, because one is not defined by community norms that way. This man worked in the UK for 15 years as well, but he had to go back to Australia due to a domestic issue.

Respondent 11, Nick, is a 30-year-old male from Ireland, who has been living in Vietnam (and only in Hue) for over two years now. He has been an English teacher – at an International School- the entire time, but he is in his final year now: he feels like his time here is done now, his friends are leaving and he is sick of making new friends every three to five months – because English teacher's contracts are short-term. His idea was to live here because he wanted to travel. He already stayed on longer than he had planned to. After leaving Hue, this respondent wants to start a career in the Middle East. After that, he plans to travel South America and settle there for a while. His working conditions in Hue are quite good, because staff gets treated the American way, since the owner of the school is American. "*Very, very, very easy life. It's awesome, it's why I'm still here!"* he says. This man has worked in America for three months before he came to Vietnam: he worked in a power boat rental place in San Diego. That has made him want to travel more. So, he travelled around Europe as well. In Ireland, he used to be a debt checker, which is a job he disliked. That has also been a reason to look for a job abroad.

Respondent 12, Horace, is a 36-year-old male from England, who was "a terrible student" when he was younger – so, he decided to become a mature student and moved away from his hometown in order to do so. Before he decided to study again, he travelled a lot – and then he spent eight years in Academia. Due to a lack of work in England, he moved to Vietnam in 2011. At this moment, he is an English language tutor for a family. For the first five years in Vietnam, he worked for schools as an English teacher. The first four and a half years in Vietnam, him and his best friend worked and lived in a nearby city: Da Nang. He loves being in front of a classroom more than he loves the private tutoring, but it pays very well, so that is why he decided to take up on the opportunity. He also lived in Ho Chi Minh half a year ago, tutoring for the same family he is tutoring for now. He will be leaving soon, because he wants to be away for the wet season, which he finds very depressing and Vietnam is losing its charm for him, after being here for such a long period of time. His next stop will be Portugal, because he wants to buy a farm and do a B&B (Bed and Breakfast) and because it has great beaches for surfing, which is his passion. He chose to go to Vietnam, because he'd been to Asia before, but never been in Vietnam. He had worked in a bar in Thailand for six months and he has done fruit picking in Australia.

Respondent 13, Randy, is a 67-year-old Irish-Australian male, who is an English Language Trainer at one of the colleges in Hue through the Australian government. His first international experience was going to Australia when he was 19 years old. He left Ireland after finishing high school, because he was curious about Australia. He went there without family or friends. His work in Hue is his third project in Vietnam. He is there on a one-and-a-half-year contract. He spent most of his working career for the government in Australia. In the past ten years, he has been primarily volunteering as an English Language Trainer and that is also his occupation in Hue. Before that, he was teaching English migrants in Australia for six years. That was part of their (re)settlement process. In Hue, he teaches students, English teachers and teachers in other faculties, in order to improve their

language skills so they can interact with other international institutions or companies. He has been living in Vietnam for almost six years now. He was placed in Hue, which was not his first choice, but the history of the city had drawn him to Hue. He has also worked in Prague and Indonesia before coming to Vietnam. He was drawn to working in Vietnam, because he felt like Australians owe Vietnam something due to the Vietnam War and their involvement in it. This respondent's wife passed away and he lives on his own.

Respondent 14, Michelle, is a 28-year-old American female. She is used to living in an international community, because she went to a high school that claimed 86 different heritages. She went on her first organized trip to Europe when she was only 15 years old and then went travelling more in the years that followed. That made her decide she wanted to live abroad: living in America is like living in a bubble when it comes to being influenced by other cultures and a different way of thinking, she says: *"[America] doesn't really import ideas, they export ideas"*. This respondent studied Environmental Policy, but she did not want to start working in that sector yet. She wanted to travel and get out of the USA – she wanted to live abroad long term. Being in English teacher is getting her foot in the door regarding travelling. This is her first job abroad. When I met her, she just arrived in Vietnam: she had been living in Hue for two months and her contract with the English language center she works for was for another three months – but she was going to renew her contract for the summer. She plans on moving to Korea in the fall, because she does not like Vietnam as a country, culturally speaking: the individuals she finds great, but she cannot deal with the traffic for example.

Respondent 15, Olivia, is a 29-year-old female from Sweden, who is an English teacher for an English language center in Hue. She has been working and living in Hue for two years now and she is undecided when she will leave: she might leave in December, but at work they want to make her a Cambridge speaking examiner and stay for another two years. She decided to go to Vietnam when she finished her master's two years ago: she wanted to travel together with her best friend, but they did not have any money. They were browsing the internet and saw a teaching- and travelling program, that started off with a five-month contract. Both of them got placed in Hue. Before going to Vietnam, she lived abroad: she lived in Scotland and in America, for studies. She did not study in Sweden, because she always had a desire to "live somewhere that's not Sweden". Sweden always felt too small for her. In America, she lived in small town California for a year of high school. When she came back to Sweden, she had to finish high school. After that, she wanted to go somewhere English speaking – England or Scotland. She chose Scotland, because the tuition was free. Her next stop will be a Latin country, preferably somewhere in South America, like Peru or Colombia, because she wants to pick up on Spanish again. Otherwise she might go to Europe, because she might want to be closer to home.

Respondent 16, Gerald, is a 42-year-old male from England, who is an English teacher for a language center. When he was 21 years old, he moved to Spain. He went on a holiday there when he met people who were working there, so he got himself a job: he was working in bars for seven years,

before he went back to England and work there. During the fall, he travelled around India and Europe, but the last three or four years in England he stayed there the whole year around. He travelled the mainland and worked during the wintertime, but then he wanted to get more serious and decided to invest in a restaurant on Ibiza with a business partner. Once he turned 28 years old, he felt rough and he wanted to do something more constructive with his life – so he went back to university as a mature student. Then he worked for a homeless organization. He got bored with after doing it for ten years. Then he received an email which stated a teacher was wanted in Vietnam – so Vietnam chose him, as he concludes. He did a TOEFL test and then started an internship in Hue.

Respondent 17, Anthony, is a 28-year-old male from England, who works as an English language teacher at a language center. He has been working and living in Hue for one year and three months. He teaches adult learners: the local English teachers. Before coming to Vietnam, he worked as a lawyer after finishing his studies, which he hated. That led him to completely changing his life. He wanted to try something new, where he had free time. He had never been to Asia and he heard Vietnam was good, so he applied for an internship. He wanted to become an English teacher because he enjoyed training people in his old job and he did some teaching before: he taught people the drums and he taught people certain types of things in University, which he enjoyed. He wants to continue teaching, but not in England: he will most likely go to somewhere in Europe – possibly France, because he would like to learn French. He is not sure how long he will be staying on in Vietnam. By September 2017 his contract finishes, so by then he thinks he will leave, because staying longer would make it more difficult to leave, he believes. This respondent has a Vietnamese girlfriend, which sped up the process of integrating and the desire to integrate, he says. This is his first 'real' job abroad: this respondent worked in an Italian youth hostel for a summer when he was younger, as a working holiday.

Respondent 18, Will, is a 29-year-old male from England, who is an English language teacher for a family in Hue. He has been living in Vietnam for six years now and he has had three different jobs. When he first came to Vietnam, he worked in Ho Chi Minh for a language center. He transferred to Da Nang after a year, because he did not enjoy Ho Chi Minh as a city: it was too crowded and busy for him. He transferred to Da Nang because he wanted to be near a beach. After that, he moved to Japan for six months, because he wanted to develop himself as a teacher and take in another qualification on top of what he already had. But he missed being in Vietnam, so he found another job in Da Nang and took it. But, after a year and a half, the school ended due to a partnership they took on. He then decided to move to Hue, because he was looking for something different. He has been working and living in Hue for a year and a half now. It has been his most favorite year in Vietnam so far, he says, because it has given him more cultural enrichment and interaction on a local level than the years before having given him. This respondent decided to work abroad because he had been working from a young age and when he finished university, he had been wanting to become a teacher

for a few years already. He wanted to become a teacher abroad, because it was an idea of his girlfriend at that time, which he liked.

Respondent 19, Nadia, is a 24-year-old female from Canada. She did an undergraduate in Dietetics and did a master's in Food Security. While she was finishing up her master's degree, she applied for an International Development internship with a Canadian NGO in Nicaragua, for six months. Whilst being in Nicaragua, she met a woman from the NGO she was working with, whom she told she would love to go to Asia. That woman put her in contact with the woman of the NGO she works for in Hue. After finishing her volunteering here, she will go back to Canada. For this respondent, living in Hue is easy and fun: coming from the city of Burkina in Nicaragua, where living was 'a lot more destabilizing than living in Vietnam', she feels like she is not standing out as much, which makes integrating a lot easier for her.

Respondent 20, Ruby, is a 20-year-old female from Canada, who is now doing an internship with the government of Canada, as an engagement officer at one of the colleges in Hue for three months. This respondent is still in University, finishing her last year of International Development and Economics. She has lived abroad before coming to Vietnam: she lived in Tanzania and in England. She lived in Tanzania when she was a child, which she feels helped the growth of her sense of maturity. She lived in Tanzania for four and a half years. After that, she moved to England, which she thinks made it easier for her to adapt: because she had already moved between different worlds earlier in life. When I met her, she only had three weeks left in Hue before she had to return to Canada. She felt like she was not ready the leave yet, even though there were thing in Canada that she missed – which were mostly her family, friends and her boyfriend. She would be very happy to spend the rest of her life in Hue, if her family, friends and boyfriend would come with her.

Respondent 21, Eric, is a 26-year-old male from the Tsjech Republic, who is doing a PhD at Hue University. He had been visiting Vietnam since 2012 and it is his fifth time in Hue, but now he will be staying there longer than he was able to previously: he was usually in Hue for one to three months, but now he will be in Hue for six months. His main tasks are doing research and giving workshops for the lecturers and young staff, all on biogas technology. The first time he visited Hue, the University he goes to in Prague wanted him to do a development project about biogas technology. In 2016, this respondent came to Hue with his diplomat students and master students. Now, he is there by himself, funded by a fellowship. He already did his bachelor thesis on biogas technology and he wanted to conduct his research in Asia, because he felt like their mentality was closer to his. The PhD he is doing now is related to the bachelor's thesis he wrote: it is a different project, but the subject is still biogas technology. His dissertation is focused on South-East Asia, not just Vietnam. Therefore, he has already been to Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand and Sri Lanka. He has also been abroad before his bachelor studies: he studied in England for a short period of time.

Respondent 22, Tammy, is a 60-year-old female from Canada, who just retired. For the first 13 years of her 40-year working life, she worked for a non-profit organization with mostly youth.

After that, she worked for the government, at the welfare office. But then things started changing and she switched to the unemployment department, where she worked as an employability counselor, with clients who were far away from the labor market. She also worked as a counselor with the enterprise, where she did things related to human resources. This respondent also worked in Northern Québec for six years, where she lived with the Inuit people. At 60 years old, she decided to retire, because a close friend of her got breast cancer, which made the respondent realize how much more important enjoying life is than having money. Then, quickly after she retired, she got a phone call from a girl she used to work with and who knew that the respondent wanted to do volunteering after she retired. The girl knew a volunteering position in Haiti, as an employment counselor. She worked there for three months. After she came back, the same girl phoned her and told her there was a volunteering opportunity in Hue for six months. The respondent took up on the offer. Now, she helps graduating students in Hue with job interview tactics: she teachers the tactics to the teachers, who then teach the students.

Respondent 23, Victor, is a 26-year-old male from America, who teaches English at an English language center, but who has recently started his own (more affordable for locals) teaching center in Hue. He decided to become an English Teacher when he started to see it as a business opportunity: with experience in the teaching business, he could start his own business more easily. He really sees this as freedom, which he prioritizes. His dream is to have a few businesses and make money while he does what he wants to do. For example, he wants to go to Thailand for a few months to do kickboxing, which is his passion. This respondent has been in Hue for six months now and he has about eight to nine months left on his visa. His plan is to get rehired by the language center he works for now and get another important certification, which allows him to teach students who are applying for scholarships for overseas opportunities. Before coming to Hue, this respondent volunteered in Ho Chi Minh for three months. He taught there, in order to see if he would even like the job. Before that, he went to Thailand to go travelling. He travelled Thailand for three months, before he started applying for jobs in Vietnam. He chose Vietnam because the demand for English teachers is high compared to the demand in Thailand, while both countries pay similar wages, whereas Vietnam is a cheaper country to live in. He also has a Vietnamese girlfriend, who grew up in Hue. His girlfriend studied abroad in England and in America, so she understands the Western lifestyle, which helps them with understanding each other and their way of thinking.

Respondent 24, Wendy, is a 25-year-old female who is half Slovenian and half Croatian. She grew up in Luxembourg, but after she finished high school, her parents moved to Brussels because they worked for European Institutions. She moved to England to study architecture and got a bachelor's degree in that. Afterwards, she did internships in Rome and Paris. But, she was 'tired of drawing toilets for rich Russian families', so she decided to get a master's degree in Social Development. In order to obtain her master's degree, she went to four different countries: she studied in Leuven, Paris, Italy and then to Brazil for her last semester. She then realized she was made for

travelling and working all over the world – and she feels like Europe is not the place to be for her right now. She decided to apply for a job in Vietnam and she got placed in Hue, which she was not happy about in the beginning: she would have preferred to go to Ho Chi Minh or Hanoi, because she was used to (and enjoyed) living in bigger cities. But, slowly, she started seeing the benefits of living in a smaller city like Hue.

Respondent 25, Cathleen, is a 24-year-old female from England, who works as an English teacher at an English language center. She has been working in Hue for nearly two years. Before coming to Hue, she was an English language teacher in Thailand for one year. When she graduated with a diploma in Drama and Creative Writing, she worked for a company in England for eight months, because she wanted to travel the world. She moved to Thailand and worked in a rural area, where she was the only foreigner in the city, in order to save money for travelling: teaching would be the best way to do so, she figured. Even though she never thought teaching was for her, she did it and realized she loved it. She also does not think too far ahead, which meant she moved to Thailand with 140 pounds in her account. After teaching in Thailand, she realized she wanted to see more of Asia. Vietnam was next door so she wanted to go there. She went to Hue because there was a teaching job available there. Her next stop will be Cambodia, where she will go with her girlfriend – who works in Hue now as well.

Respondent 26, Harry, is a 64-year-old male civil engineer from England, who is on a two-year contract for a company in Hue. By the time I met him, he had been living and working in Hue for five months. Due to corruption, he quickly lost interest in the job he is doing now. He feels like he cannot do his job to its fullest, due to the total control of the local government over what he does. This man has worked in China for six years, where he worked together with the World Bank. After that, he went to Mozambique for six to seven years. Later, he went to Bangladesh – where he was fired after two months. He was working for the World Bank again, but 95% of the local workers were even more corrupt than in other countries, he concludes. He then moved to Egypt, where he worked for five to six years. After that, he moved to Abu Dhabi, where he worked for about a year. All of these jobs were funded by agencies, but when the respondent moved to Jordan, there was no funding at all – but he was allowed to do his job to its fullest, there was no corruption whatsoever. Lastly, he went to Bangladesh before moving to Vietnam. This respondent has forty years of experience as an international civil engineer. He mostly worked in the capitals of major cities, so working in Hue meant working in the smallest city so far. Consequently, the project he is working on is smaller. This respondent is in Hue with his Chinese wife, who is not working at the moment. This is his second marriage. During his first marriage, he would take his wife and children with him during his work overseas.

Respondent 27, Sally, is a 32-year-old female from England, who is working as an English language intern for an English language center in Hue. She got placed in Hue. It is her first experience working abroad and it was more of a culture shock than she thought it was going to be in the

beginning, because people are not as used to Western people in Hue as in bigger cities. When I talked to her, she had been in Hue for two and a half months. She was on a six-month contract. She lives in a hotel with other interns and because they are so close, this respondent decided to stay – even though she really wanted to leave Hue. This respondent decided she wanted to be an English teacher in Vietnam, because she wanted to travel and "being an English teacher is what everybody does, it is kind of easy to do". Being in the hotel with the other interns, makes her feel like she has a little family away from home.

Respondent 28, Cynthia, is a 27-year-old female from Sweden, who moved around a lot. When she was 15 years old, she moved away from home in order to go to an international school. When she graduated, she "*kind of panicked*" and applied for a job in France, as an au pair. She chose France because part of her family lives there. She stayed there for a year. Then she went to England to study for five years: she has a degree in Psychology and Applied Criminology – which is a difficult sector to find a job in. After being away to France, she went home for about a year, in order to take care of her sick grandmother – whilst also being a substitute teacher at her old high school. That is when she decided to become an English teacher: she thought teaching was fun and she wanted to travel, so she did a TOEFL test in order to get the right accreditation and started working in Vietnam with her best friend. She has been living in Hue for about two years now and her next stop will be Cambodia, where she will go with her girlfriend whom she met in Hue.

<u>Appendix D</u>

Feelings of belonging

The theory of Sense of Community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) has been used. 'Feelings of belonging' have been measured in a pre-interview survey (see Appendix A). This theory has four elements and the original survey, made by Glynn (1981), is used. All items have been measured on a five-point Likert scale, from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The SoC (Sense of Community) consists of different elements: membership (feeling of belonging/sharing a sense of personal relatedness), influence (a sense of mattering/making a difference to a group and its members), reinforcement (integration and fulfillment of needs by receiving resources through membership) and shared emotional connection (the commitment and the belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and similar experiences). The original questionnaire has 120 questions, all relating to sense of community. However, I will use only twenty questions from the 'actual sense of community' type of questions presented in Glynn's study. From the 20 posed questions, 10 will be positively coded and 10 will be negatively coded. The same questions will be asked for the expat community as for the community of Hue without taking into account the expat community, which could lead to interpretation of differences. Questions that will be used are: nr. 10 "what is good for this community is good for me" (expat#1, local#1), nr. 12 "people here have no say about what actions this community takes" (expat#2, local#2), nr. 17 "my own goals are very similar to the goals of the rest of the people here" (expat#3, local#3), nr. 37 "when something needs to be done here the whole community gets behind it" (expat#4, local#4), nr. 43 "there is not enough to do in this community" (expat#5, local#5), nr. 38 "there are people in this community, other than my family, who I really care about" (expat#6, local#6), nr. 19 "if I tried, I could help change some things here" (expat#7, local#7), nr. 21 "People can depend upon each other in this community" (expat#8, local#8), nr. 25 "this is not a very good community to bring children up in" (expat#9, local#9), nr. 33 "my role in this community is to be active and involved"(expat#10, local#10), nr. 48 "I do not get much out of being a member of this community" (expat#11, local#11), nr. 50 "the people in this community do not have very much in common" (expat#12, local#12), nr. 55 "I feel that I belong here" (expat#13, local#13), nr. 58 "this community satisfies what I want in relationships with other people" (expat#14, local#14), nr. 59 "I am quite similar to most people who live here" (expat#15, local#15), nr. 61 "I can buy most things I need right here in the community" (expat#16, local#16), nr. 63 "I seldom feel lonely here" (expat#17, local#17), nr. 66 "I do not like living in this community" (expat#18, local#18), nr. 69 "you can be yourself in this community" (expat#19, local#19), nr. 104 "I do not feel safe in this community" (expat#20, local#20).

From these original questions, seven are negatively coded. Therefore, item 19 will be reversely posed as "Even if I tried, I could not help change some things here". Item 59 will also be reversely posed, as "I am not quite similar to most people who live here". Item 63 will also be reversely coded, as "I regularly feel lonely here".

These same questions have been asked for both the expat community and the local community, in order to be able to compare the two with each other and see what differences there are and how big these might be.

Expatriate community

Expatriate community sense of belonging comprehends items: Expat#1, Expat#2, Expat#3, Expat#4, Expat#5, Expat#6, Expat#7, Expat#8, expat#9, expat#10, expat#11, expat#12, expat#13, expat#14, expat#15, expat#16, expat#17, expat#18, expat#19, expat#20 (N=23). The scale ranges from 1 to 5. Because the answering categories were not the same for all items, some have been re-poled, in order for all answering categories to mean the same. This has been the case for items Expat#2, Expat#5, Expat#7, expat#9, expat#11, expat#12, expat#15, expat#17, expat#18 and expat#20. M and SD are not far apart from each other. For that reason, items have not been standardized.

A factor analysis showed the KMO-criterium=.886. The Bartlett's Test has to be significant, which is the case. The determinant of the correlation matrix has to be >.0001, which it is not (.000). The correlation between items of the correlation matrix are not too low (<.3), but there are instances where the correlation between items are too high (>.8).

Based on the scree plot, one factor should be extracted (the kink is at 2. 2-1=1 factor). Based on the amount of factor with an eigenvalue >1, one factor should be extracted as well. Thus, one factor should be extracted, which is to be interpreted as 'feelings of belonging in the expatriate community'. See Table 2A below.

A reliability analysis has been carried out on items Expat#1, Expat#2, Expat#3, Expat#4, Expat#5, Expat#6, Expat#7, Expat#8, expat#9, expat#10, expat#11, expat#12, expat#13, expat#14, expat#15, expat#16, expat#17, expat#18, expat#19 and expat#20. α=.990, which cannot be improved. A scale is made with above items, called 'expatsSoC'. Alpha=.990, M=2,97, SD=.87 (N=23).

However, reliability is lowered: one should be careful with drawing conclusions using this scale, because some correlations are too high and the determinant of the correlation matrix is too low.

Table 2A: Factor Matrix 'feelings of belonging in the expatriate community'.

Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor	
	1	2
expat#9	,979	
expat#16	-,964	
expat#13	-,960	
Expat#7	,953	
Expat#6	-,949	
Expat#3	-,947	
expat#17	,944	
expat#10	-,943	
Expat#5	,937	
expat#18	,933	
expat#14	-,932	
expat#15	,925	
Expat#2	,916	
Expat#4	-,914	
expat#19	-,913	
expat#11	,901	
Expat#8	-,886	
expat#12	,838	
expat#20	,821	
Expat#1	-,729	,641

Local community

Local community sense of belonging comprehends items: local#1, local#2, local#3, local#4, local#5, local#6, local#7, local#8, local#9, local#10, local#11, local#12, local#13, local#14, local#15, local#16, local#17, local#18, local#20 (N=23). The scale ranges from 1 to 5. Because the answering categories were not the same for all items, some have been re-poled, in order for all answering categories to mean the same. This has been the case for items local#2, local#5, local#7, local#9, local#11, local#12, local#15, local#17, local#18 and local#20. M and SD are not far apart from each other. For that reason, items have not been standardized.

A factor analysis showed the determinant of the correlation matrix has to be >.0001, which it is not (.000). Therefore, the factor analysis cannot be proceeded. A scale of the local community questions cannot be made; therefore, this scale cannot be used in this research.