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Immigration, Masculinity, and Intimate Partner Violence From the Standpoint of Domestic Violence Service Providers and Vietnamese-Origin Women

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Data from in-depth interviews with Vietnamese immigrant women residing in the United States and both interviews and a focus group with service providers for abused Vietnamese immigrants suggest a complex relationship among job market context, changing norms about appropriate feminine behavior, immigration adaptation, masculinity, and men's violence against intimate partners. During immigration resettlement, men's economic status can worsen, there can be gender role reversals, and men can feel a profound loss of power and social status. Aggression is one way to overcome the perceived loss of one form of masculine identity through a symbolic reassertion of power and privilege as it is constructed in Vietnamese culture and reinforced by aspects of U.S. culture. These dynamics suggest that interventions into domestic violence require not only increasing economic opportunities for immigrants to reduce adaptation stress but also changing gender relations that do not reproduce the belief in male supremacy and men's control of women as part of masculine identity.

Keywords: *domestic violence; immigration resettlement; masculinity; Vietnamese; intimate partner violence; service providers; gender identity; hegemonic masculinity*

Gender identity, perceptions of oneself as appropriately masculine or feminine, is important in explaining how a person behaves. Individuals construct or actualize their gender identities through their actions, though certain contexts and structural inequalities can limit their means to do so. Messerschmidt's (1986, 1993) work in particular has emphasized that for lower-class men, who are often men of color, lack of work opportunities makes it impossible to establish power through earnings, providing for the family, and other traditional means. To accomplish their masculinity, some men with limited resources resort to violence to achieve masculine ideals of control and power.

In the United States, a dominant form of contemporary masculinity, called "hegemonic" masculinity, associates manhood with power achieved through sexual domination over women, the exclusion of women from decision making, the control of other men, and the provision of goods and food for families and communities (Connell, 1995, 2005; Kaufman, 1994; Kersten, 1996). Common culturally scripted feminine traits are complementary and include submissiveness, passivity, and nurturance; the role of women is to be supportive of and subordinate to male partners (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003), and this version of femininity supports and affirms hegemonic masculinity. However, the institutional class, race, and ethnic structures in the United States limit opportunities for some minority men to exercise power in the public realm (Abraham, 2000). Thus, for some men, violence is one means of constructing a hegemonic form of masculinity (Jasinski, 2001).

There has been some limited research in very diverse settings on how men who feel a loss of power and status accomplish their masculinity through violence against women. According to Hampton, Oliver, and Maggarian (2003), the economic underdevelopment of African American men has historically been a source of their anger and frustration. The phrase "frustrated masculinity syndrome" describes how some African American men use violence against their wives and children in response to racial prejudice and institutional barriers to actualizing their manhood (p. 539). A study of domestic violence among African Americans suggests that disparity indicated by wives' higher level of education and occupational status can translate into marital tension and husbands' subsequent violence (Nash, 2005). Similarly, research on domestic violence in Vietnam found that husbands with lower resources or status than their wives were most likely to engage in abusive behavior (Luke, Schuler, Bui, Pham, & Tran, 2007). In a sub-Saharan region of Africa, some men respond to women's joining the paid labor force and their own unemployment by publicly beating them. The underlying reason was that to remain as heads of households, men wanted to control household income and avoid doing household labor (Bank, 1994). A survey of more than 8,000 Canadian women similarly revealed that women's risk for physical abuse, jealous oversight, and denied access to money were highest when they were employed and their partners were unemployed (Macmillan & Gartner, 1999, p. 956). When sexual assault (both in and outside of marital relationships) is considered, if women have become more equal to men, they are more at risk because some men who feel that their identity is threatened force sex to assert a powerful sense of self (Messerschmidt, 1986, 1993; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997; Scully & Marolla, 1985; Whaley, 2001). These studies indicate threats to men's dominance in the family and their perceptions of inability to "be masculine" have led to sexual and other physical violence against women in many different contexts (Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kakana, 2002; Whaley, 2001; Yick, 2001).

Circumstances of immigration can intensify men's violence against partners. Song and Moon (1998), for example, found that for South Korean immigrants to

the United States, men felt that their absolute dominance in the family was threatened because they could not find well-paying jobs; their wives had to work to provide adequate family income, and working wives challenged the assignment of all household and child-rearing tasks to women. The authors concluded that "under these circumstances, the Korean American men, in an attempt to prove their masculinity, may follow the old pattern of harassing and punishing a 'disobedient wife' through physical violence" (p. 169). Bourgois (1996) described the situation of Puerto Ricans whose immigrant fathers could not find jobs in the United States and, therefore, asserted their power through violence against women. Many boys in the Puerto Rican neighborhood grew to see masculine dignity as the capacity to engage in interpersonal violence and sexual domination. In a study of domestic violence in Mexican-origin families, Morash, Bui, and Santiago (2000) found that families with abusive men were characterized by immigration-induced role changes that caused men's loss of family and social status. In a final example that is especially pertinent to the present research, Bui (2002) found that domestic violence among Vietnamese immigrants occurred within the context of gender role reversal and men's downward mobility following immigration to the United States.

The studies cited above establish a framework for the examination of hegemonic masculinity, men's actualization of their gender identity in the immigration context, and intimate partner violence for Vietnamese immigrant couples in the United States. Immigrant men's lack of language skills, discriminatory hiring requirements that employees have U.S. work experience and certifications, and racial and ethnic prejudice are barriers to obtaining employment commensurate with education and training (Abraham, 2000; Gold, 1992). Consequently, even educated and skilled immigrant men find themselves relegated to subordinate positions in the workplace (Abraham, 2000). In contrast, immigrant women often enjoy increased economic opportunity and tolerance of their work outside of the home (Gold, 1992; Kibria, 1993). The result can be a narrowing of the gap in economic standing between men and women or even reversal of men's better economic standing in relation to their partners' economic situation. This article reports on the perceptions of Vietnamese immigrant women and the professionals who provide them with domestic violence services. The focus is on perceptions of the dynamics of work activity and status change in relationship to intimate partner violence. This research also considers insights into other reasons for violence, notably jealousy and the practice of sending remittances to relatives in the home country. Because the construction of women, men, femininity, and masculinity is a part of the dynamic leading to abuse and because these concepts emerge as the crystallization of the particular ways in which meanings are invoked in local spaces (Rydstrom & Drummond, 2004), an examination of the construction of masculinity in Vietnamese culture is important to understanding intimate partner violence by Vietnamese immigrant men.

Masculinity in Vietnamese Culture

Accomplishing masculinity is associated with three areas of social action: procreation, protection, and provision of goods and food for families and communities (Kersten, 1996). Gender practices relevant to these areas do not occur in a vacuum but are influenced by the gender ideals that have been accepted as normal and proper, social structural constraints, and the construction of personal history up to a specific time and place (Messerschmidt, 1993). Thus, gender identities are influenced by and reproduce and support religious beliefs, cultures, and labor arrangements (Connell, 1987).

Religious beliefs have had the most powerful influence in the formation of Vietnamese society. Despite the introduction of Christianity into Vietnam in the 16th century, the religious traditions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism formed the core of the Vietnamese religious-cultural tradition (Gold, 1992). Of the three religions, Confucianism and Taoism exerted the greatest impact on gender relations in Vietnamese society. Confucianism, which has been practiced in Vietnam for hundreds of years, remains central to the organization of Vietnamese society and is a major influence on dominant forms of gender identity. Under Confucianism, men's superior status is embedded across kinship and political, legal, and economic institutions and is reflected in various traditional ideals and practices (Kibria, 1993; C. Tran, 1997). Patriarchal family systems and the practices of patrilineal ancestor worship lead to a preference for male progeny and reify men's ability to reproduce sons (Rydstrom, 2004). Thus, male celibacy is an unacceptable form of filial impiety. Confucian teachings enable the husband to formalize his position as the "superior" by assuming the features of mandarin and teacher who is responsible for commanding, guiding, teaching, nurturing, and protecting the "inferior" wife and child (O'Harrow, 1995).

In traditional Vietnamese society, men were expected to work outside the home and serve the community, and without the community, they had no raison d'etre (T. Tran, 1959). In contrast, Vietnamese women were completely absent from all political and leadership positions, because only men could be heads of towns and family groups (Kibria, 1993). Women were expected to follow the principle of "three obediences": Women should obey and submit to their fathers when young, to their husbands when married, and to their oldest son when widowed (Nguyen, 1987). In addition, a model woman should possess the "four virtues," which include good working habits, attractive appearance, polite speech, and exemplary conduct. The dominant position of the husband is also evident in ancient laws that sanctioned wife beating and allowed a man to repudiate his wife on several grounds, such as childlessness, lasciviousness, refusal to serve and obey parents-in-law, jealousy, or incurable diseases (Ta, 1981). The idealized image of a "good woman" has been used to create a double standard for judging sexual conduct. Embedded in the four virtues is the unwritten rule that women must "retain their purity" before marriage (C. Tran,

1997), but men's sexual prowess is positively valued. Traditionally, Vietnamese men were allowed to be sexually promiscuous before and within marriage, and men's common, open, and frequent affairs with multiple women were viewed as a demonstration of manly prowess and superiority. In fact, traditional legal codes sanctioned polygamy, which was held as a mark of affluence and prestige and was usually practiced by wealthy men (Kibria, 1993). The double standard for sexual conduct is reflected in the popular old saying "*Trai nam the bay thiep, gai chinh chuyen mot chong*" (A man could have five wives and seven concubines, but a woman should have one husband) (Bui, 2004, p. 22).

Taoism stresses the idea of harmony between human beings and the universe (Nguyen, 1987). Under this view, male and female bodies and characters are associated with two main nature forces, yin and yang (Rydstrom, 2003). The belief in the dominant forces of yin and yang has influenced the constructions of Vietnamese masculinity and femininity. Female characters are associated with yin, representing water, cold, passivity, responsiveness, and inferiority. Male characters are connected to yang, representing fire, heat, activity, stimulation, and superiority (Rydstrom, 2003). Under the combined influence of Confucianism and Taoism, men's violence and aggressiveness are considered natural. With inferior status, women are expected to comply with their husbands' wishes and endure their "hot" tempers (Rydstrom, 2003, pp. 684-685). Besides religious traditions, a long history of war promoted the association of Vietnamese masculinity with military experience. In general, military training promotes constructions of masculinity that embody dominance, violence, control, and heroism (Adelman, 2003; Connell, 2005). More specifically, the image of warrior men as heroes who sacrificed for the nation appears in numerous Vietnamese folklores, war stories, and classic and contemporary literature (e.g., see Huynh Sanh Thong, 2001; Phan Huy Ich, 1986; Vo Phien, 1999).

Wars, urbanization, and contacts with Western cultures during both French colonization and the Vietnam War altered the basic structure of the Vietnamese traditional family. Men's deaths and absences from home made it difficult to maintain the expected ancient family traditions and practices. Women who were left alone to support themselves, children, and elderly relatives became family providers and caretakers involved in social and economic activities (Bui, 2004). These factors led to some elevation of women's position in the family and society, although practices of male superiority remained (Le Thi Quy, 1996; Le Thi, 1996; Luke et al., 2007). Although the three obediences and four virtues are no longer embraced in contemporary Vietnam, women are expected to conform to an inferior status and socially constructed femininity, and when they do not , they often encounter cultural acceptance of the idea that it is a man's right to punish his wife (Rydstrom, 2003). Recent research on domestic violence in Vietnam suggests that men's violent behavior against their wives continues to be largely accepted as a normal response of the head of the family to women's inappropriate behavior, disobedience, or disrespect (Rydstrom, 2003; Vu, Vu, Nguyen, & Clement, 2000).

Vietnamese immigrants often transport ideologies of male superiority and elements of traditional versions of masculinity that are rooted in long-standing Confucian beliefs (Bui, 2004; Gold, 1992). Coming from a country where notions about masculinities, femininities, and gender arrangements were already changing, Vietnamese immigrants to the United States enter a context characterized by a greater variety of culturally supported gender identities, a changed array of employment opportunities for both women and men, and problems related to language and adaptation. How do men's notions about masculinity, as women see them expressed through words and actions, and the resources available to accomplish masculinity explain violence against partners? This is the central question of the research described in this article.

Research Method

A qualitative method is required to capture the complexity of situational, cultural, and structural factors associated with the construction of masculinity and the experience of intimate partner abuse. Thus, the present study involves analysis of extensive interview data collected from Vietnamese immigrant women living in different areas of the United States and from service providers who worked with abused Vietnamese immigrant women in those locations. Information from different sources and geographic areas was used to establish the validity of findings, though it is recognized that the standpoints considered do not include those of the men who are women's husbands and partners.

Sample and Data

Data were combined from two research projects that both authors of this article were involved with and which shared several key topic areas. The first project focused on factors contributing to domestic violence and abused women's help-seeking behavior. Project participants were 129 Vietnamese immigrant women recruited in an East Coast northern metropolitan area and a focus group with 10 service providers, including domestic violence advocates, social workers, counselors, a Vietnamese police liaison, and one legal counsel.[1] The second project focused on the intervention experiences of abused Vietnamese immigrant women. Participants were 34 women recruited in different locations in the East Coast, the Midwest, the West Coast, and the South, and 3 service providers drawn from these geographic areas. These combined data sets resulted in a sample of 13 service providers and 155 Vietnamese immigrant women who were married to or had an intimate relationship with a Vietnamese immigrant man.[2]

The sample included a large number of women who had experienced abuse and some participants from the same communities who had not experienced abuse to

provide for some comparisons between the two groups. The two projects shared the same recruitment criteria and techniques for the women interviewed. The majority of women (98 women or 63%) were identified through referrals from social services and domestic violence advocacy agencies (Texas and East Coast metropolitan), a health care center that provided counseling services to domestic violence victims (East Coast metropolitan), and three civic organizations serving immigrant populations (East Coast metropolitan and California). The sample was increased and diversified through snowball sampling to include an additional 49 women (32%). Finally, 7 women (5%) responded to requests for participants during one Vietnamese radio talk show in Texas and another in California.[3]

In-depth interviews were conducted in 2000 and 2001 by one of the authors and trained interviewers who were bilingual professionals or adult university students from the immigrant community. The two projects shared a major part of the interview instrument, which included closed-ended and open-ended questions designed to obtain information about demographic characteristics, family backgrounds, immigration history, experiences with resettlement, family relationships, and experiences of abuse. All study participants elected to be interviewed in Vietnamese. Most interviews (150) were conducted face-to-face; 5 interviews were conducted via telephone at the request of the participants. Interviews typically took from 2 to 4 hours and often required multiple sessions. Most of the women received an incentive worth $40 for participating in the interview.[4] In addition, interviews with 3 Vietnamese-origin service providers in two locations of the study (Texas and California) and a focus group with 10 service providers in the East Coast metropolitan area were conducted. All interviews with the women were recorded in writing in Vietnamese; most service provider interviews and the focus group were recorded in writing in English. The Vietnamese interview transcripts were translated into English by one of the authors (Bui) who is a Vietnamese immigrant. There were some Vietnamese terms and idioms that could not be translated into English without losing the original meanings, so both Vietnamese and English versions of the interview transcripts were used for data analysis. All quotes from the women who were interviewed are translations from the Vietnamese version of the transcript.[5]

A software program for qualitative analysis (QSR N5) was used for data coding. Both authors reviewed coding results to confirm or question patterns in the data. Any discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

Characteristics of Women Participants and Their Husbands/Intimate Partners

The women participants had diverse demographic characteristics and immigration experiences (see Table 1). Their ages ranged from 21 to 69, with a median of 40 years. They had come to the United States in different ways and under different circumstances. Thirty-six percent of the women participants escaped Vietnam and

arrived in a third country before being admitted to the United States; 24% were dependents of husbands who had been political detainees in Vietnam and, therefore, were allowed to resettle in the United States with their husbands[6]; 8% were sponsored by their husbands with U.S. immigration; 13% were sponsored by their relatives; 19% came to the United States through a special program that allowed the resettlement of Vietnamese Amerasians in the United States.[7] Most of the women emigrated as adults; 25% came to the United States when they were older than 40. Only 10% arrived in the United States when they were younger than 18. By the time of the interview, the women had spent from 1 to 26 years in the United States, with a median of 8 years. Thirty-five percent of the women were U.S. citizens; 52% were permanent residents, and 13% were legal aliens. The proportion of women participants who had U.S. citizenship was somewhat lower than the 44% who were citizens in the general Vietnamese American population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). The women participants also tended to have low levels of U.S. education. Although 41% of the women had a high school education or higher in Vietnam, only 21% completed a high school education, had some college education, or had a college degree in the United States. In addition, 35% of the women did not attend school in the United States, and 37% only attended ESL (English as a second language) classes. A few other women (3%) had received vocational training. Twenty-nine percent of the women considered their English (reading and speaking) as good or excellent, 43% said they had problems with English, and 28% reported that they had no ability to speak and read English at all. According to U.S. Census 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003), 31% of Vietnamese Americans aged 5 or older who lived in "non-English-at-home" households spoke English very well, and 54% of Vietnamese Americans aged 25 or older had completed a high school education or more. These statistics indicate that compared to the general Vietnamese American population, women participants had a similar level of English proficiency but a lower level of education. Otherwise, women participants were not different from the general Vietnamese American population in labor force participation. The percentage of women participants who reported that they worked (56%) was very similar to the proportion of employed women in the general Vietnamese American population (56.4%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Most employed participants worked in manual-labor jobs.

The women participants provided information about their partners' demographic characteristics and immigration experiences. The age of the women's partners ranged from 25 to 72 years, and the median was 43.5 years. About one half of the men (49.5%) were evacuated or escaped Vietnam and arrived in a third country before they were allowed to resettle in the United States. About one quarter of them (26%) came directly to the United States because they had been political detainees in Vietnam and, therefore, were allowed to resettle in the United States. A small number of the women's partners (7%) came to the United States under the sponsorship of their relatives. Finally, less than one fifth of the men (16.5%) arrived in the

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Women Participants and Their Partners

	Women Participants *n* (%)	Partners *n* (%)
Age (at the time of interview)		
Range	21-69 years	25-72 years
Median	40 years	43.5 years
Age (at the time arrived in the United States)		
Younger than 18	16 (10%)	11 (7%)
18-39	100 (65%)	96 (62%)
Older than 40	39 (25%)	48 (31%)
Types of immigration to the United States		
Evacuated or escaped Vietnam	56 (36%)	77 (49.5%)
Dependents of husbands	37 (24%)	N/A
As former political detainees	N/A	40 (26%)
Sponsored by husbands	13 (8%)	N/A
Sponsored by other relatives	20 (13%)	11 (7%)
Amerasian program	29 (19%)	26 (16.5%)
Time in the United States		
Range	1-26 years	2-25 years
Median	8 years	10 years
Legal status		
U.S. citizens	54 (35%)	70 (45%)
Permanent residents	81 (52%)	67 (43%)
Legal aliens	20 (13%)	18 (12%)
Education and training in Vietnam*		
High school and higher	64 (41%)	87 (56%)
Less than high school	85 (55%)	65 (42%)
No education	6 (4%)	—
Education and training in the United States*		
High school or higher	33 (21%)	47 (30%)
ESL class only	57 (37%)	67 (43%)
Vocational training only	5 (3%)	—
No education	53 (35%)	26 (17%)
English proficiency		
Very good	45 (29%)	62 (40%)
Some problems	67 (43%)	70 (45%)
No ability at all	43 (28%)	23 (15%)
Employment		
Employed	87 (56%)	115 (74%)
Not employed	68 (44%)	40 (26%)
Experience with abuse		
Verbal abuse	116 (75%)	N/A
Physical abuse	97 (63%)	N/A
Sexual abuse	72 (46%)	N/A

Note: The numbers do not add to 100% due to missing information. ESL = English as a second language; N/A = not available.

United States under a program created to resettle Vietnamese Amerasians, although some of them were not Amerasians but relatives of Amerasians.[8] Most partners had come to the United States as adults, and almost one third (31%) came when they were older than 40; only 7% arrived in the United States when they were younger than 18. The men had been in the United States from 2 to 25 years, with a median of 10 years. Forty-five percent of the men had U.S. citizenship; 43% were permanent residents, and 12% were legal aliens.[9]

Women participants indicated that their husbands/partners had low levels of U.S. education and lacked English skills. Fifty-six percent of the partners had at least a high school education in Vietnam, but only 30% had at least a high school education in the United States. In addition, 17% percent of the men had never attended school in the United States, and 43% had only attended English classes. More than one third of the women participants (40%) said that their husbands'/partners' English skills were good; 45% said that their husbands/partners had problems with English, and 15% said that their husbands/partners had no ability to speak or read English at all. Seventy-four percent of the women reported that their husbands/partners worked, and 62% reported that their husbands/partners worked in manual labor, semiskilled labor, or clerical jobs. The proportion of employed men in the general Vietnamese American population was 70% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). In sum, compared to Vietnamese-origin men in the U.S. population, the women's partners had lower levels of education but about the same English proficiency, citizenship status, and labor force participation. The descriptive statistics suggest that the study participants would include couples with men who work in jobs with less status than their prior work in Vietnam or who are unemployed and women who are in the workforce and potentially doing as well or better than their partners. Thus, the sample is useful for an examination and expansion of some of the dynamics of abuse identified in the literature review.

Findings

Analysis of women's responses to closed-ended questions identified three forms of abuse that women experienced before and after immigration. The forms are physical (twisting arms or hair, pushing and shoving, kicking, punching and hitting, choking or strangling, slamming against the wall, beating up, grabbing, slapping, threatening to hit or throwing something, burning or scalding, and using or threatening to use a gun or knife), sexual (insisting on having sex, forcing her to have sex; forcing her to have sex in the way she did not want to, and using threats to have sex), and verbal (swearing, calling names or calling her ugly, destroying her belonging, shouting or yelling at her, accusing her of being sexually unfaithful, and calling her stupid or crazy in front of others). The present study focused on women's experience with abuse in the United States. Three fourths of the sample (75% or 116 women) reported verbal abuse, two thirds of the sample (63% or 97 women) reported physical

abuse, and almost half of the sample (46% or 72 women) reported sexual abuse (see Table 1). Virtually all of the 97 women who experienced physical abuse also experienced verbal abuse. In addition, 57 women (37%) experienced both physical abuse and sexual abuse.

Men's Downward Mobility, Masculinity, and Gender Role Reversals

Prior research has established that Vietnamese resettlement in the United States changed Vietnamese family dynamics by reducing men's economic and social status and by increasing women's opportunities (Gold, 1992; Kibria, 1993). Men's loss of status is particularly acute among former Vietnamese military officers who have skills that are not marketable in the United States and, therefore, have to hold jobs at lower levels in the occupational structure. It is not uncommon for former colonels, captains, and lieutenants to work in manual, temporary, low-status jobs (e.g., janitor, factory assembler, warehouse stoker, and security guard; Gold, 1992). Those who worked as professionals in Vietnam but could not update their professional credentials in the United States often hold jobs at the levels of technician, secretary, clerk, and manual laborer. Vietnamese immigrant men's downward mobility is often accompanied by a role reversal and a shift of power in the family (Gold, 1992). When a man's salary is not sufficient to meet the high cost of living, his wife has to work to contribute to the family economy. Different from patterns in Vietnam, the economic contributions of Vietnamese immigrant women to the family budget have risen higher relative to or even more than those of Vietnamese immigrant men (Kibria, 1993). Women could make more money than men because unskilled female-oriented jobs, such as housecleaning and hotel and food services, were more available than unskilled male-oriented jobs (Gold, 1992). In addition, Vietnamese immigrant women have been willing to work in menial jobs to provide food and clothes for everyone in the household, because they were traditionally charged with responsibility for taking care of household "internal affairs" (Bui, 2004, p. 24). Men, in contrast, have been more concerned with their social status and often tried to find high-status jobs that were less available for new immigrants (Gold, 1992). It is not uncommon for Vietnamese immigrant women to work two jobs, while their husbands hold a part-time job or are unemployed (Bui, 2002). In these cases, women's relative financial contribution to the family shifts the couple's roles, with the wife becoming the primary wage earner. Studies of non-Vietnamese samples have shown that men who do not have financial and job-status resources to confirm typical constructions of masculinity tend to react with displays of toughness, bravado, cool pose, or hombre (Connell, 1987; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Messner, 1997). The reaction may be more extreme among men who had military experience because of their past training and actual experience with violence as well as the (lost) meaning of militarized masculinity associated with physical strength, superiority and heroism (Adelman, 2003).

Data from the focus group of service providers in the East Coast metropolitan area confirmed the loss of economic power among Vietnamese men. One service provider said, "[Vietnamese immigrant] men have lost power after immigrating to the U.S. Many felt bad because they lacked language and occupational skills and could not support their families." This view was shared by most focus group participants. Analysis of women's responses to both closed- and open-ended questions showed that men's employment and occupation status was associated with violence against their intimate partners. Quantitative data indicated that women with unemployed intimate partners were more likely than women with employed intimate partners to report physical abuse (60% and 50%, respectively), sexual abuse (50% and 40%, respectively), and verbal abuse (85% and 70%, respectively).[10] In addition, women whose partners worked in manual jobs were more likely than women whose partners worked as professionals or technicians to report physical abuse (55% and 33%, respectively), sexual abuse (45% and 25%, respectively), and verbal abuse (75% and 60%, respectively). In addition, women whose partners were former political detainees were more likely than other women to report physical abuse (62% and 55%, respectively) and verbal abuse (90% and 70%, respectively). Most of these political detainees had been military officers in the South Vietnamese government.

The stories of Tuyen, Tam, and Ly illustrate the connections of men's lack of job status and subsequent role reversal to family violence. Tuyen was evacuated from Vietnam in 1975, when her husband was in Europe serving as a diplomat for the South Vietnam government. He joined her several months later in the United States. Tuyen talked about her husband's resettlement experience and his violence as follows:

> We first arrived in [New England] where my husband got a job in a lumberyard as a laborer (lumberjack). Vietnamese have a small body, and he couldn't keep up with his American coworkers. He had to stand all day, endure the cold, and he couldn't take it. I encouraged him to find work elsewhere. He looked for [professional] jobs in Washington, D.C.; Virginia; and New York City, but he couldn't find any. So I went to [an East Coast area] and got a job as a seamstress. I worked while my husband stayed home watching the children. Later, my husband got a typing job. Then, he worked as a clerk for the city's human resource department. . . . He often came home tired and angry, and he began arguing. He was always worried about making money and providing enough for our children. . . . In Vietnam, he was a nice man, but he became violent here. When we argued, he hit me. He just hit me. . . . Every time he saw me, he would yell, swear, put me down, hit my head, or kick me. One time, he took up a knife and said that he would kill me if I didn't believe in him.

Ly, who came with her husband to the United States under the sponsorship of his sister, described a similar pattern in the development of violence. She and her husband had finished high school in Vietnam, where they ran a small business. When they arrived in the United States, their relatives advised both to attend English and vocational training classes. Ly followed the advice and even took college courses at night

while working during the day. With her English skills and her ability to adapt quickly to life in the United States, Ly became successful as a salesperson, while her husband worked as a courtesy clerk for an advertising company that provided advertising services for Ly's employer. Ly reported that her husband changed greatly since the couple came to the United States; he had a hot temper and became violent and jealous.

> When we were in Vietnam, we rarely argued. Since we came to the United States, he seemed to lose his temper and became violent. He would slap me or pull my hair when I argued against him. He beat me because he wanted to teach me a lesson. He felt that because I made more money than him, I became arrogant and disrespectful.

Tam and her husband, who had been a military officer, escaped Vietnam and were allowed to resettle in the United States. They owned a restaurant. A few years later, her husband was robbed and shot, and his health deteriorated so much that he could no longer run the business. After the business was closed, Tam attended vocational training and became a home-care nurse, and her husband worked as an electronics assembler. She made more money than he did, and her earnings covered most of the household expenses. She believed that her husband's inability to support the family made him angry, distressed, controlling, and jealous:

> After the accident, he changed a lot. He would become angry easily, and when he was angry, he destroyed things in the house. He made the house like hell. . . . I thought after we sold the business, he felt bad because I made more [money] than he did. He often said that he felt useless because he couldn't support the family. . . . He also wanted to control the [family] money and would get angry if he thought that I had secretly sent money to my family in Vietnam.

The narratives of women participants show how the erosion of men's status, the inversion of the traditional gender order in Vietnamese families, men's perceived loss of parental authority over children, humiliating conditions of working in menial jobs, and status inconsistency can cause distress and provoke hostility, resentment, and violence among Vietnamese immigrant men. When elements of masculinity become unachievable, some immigrant men take this as a challenge to their role and experience a crisis in their identity. In this situation, violence can be used to compensate for a perceived loss of masculine identity and as a symbolic reassertion of male power and privilege (Boonzaier & de La Rey, 2003).

Men's Sexual Jealousy

As already described, in Vietnamese traditional culture, masculinity was associated with men's sexual promiscuity and control over women's sexuality and was supported by a construction of femininity that emphasized women's virginity and purity. Changes in living conditions that affect Vietnamese traditional norms of gendered

behavior and women's changing status within the context of immigration and adaptation are major factors in men's sexual jealousy and related violence (Bui, 2002). Sexual jealousy among Vietnamese immigrant men is often based on their perception that, contrary to the Vietnamese norm for feminine behavior, women in the United States have many opportunities to socialize with men outside the family circle and have more freedom to engage in intimate relationships (Bui, 2002). A man's perception that his wife or partner is unfaithful is not only a serious challenge to his patriarchal authority but also can feed a fear that she will choose another man whom she views as more "manly" (Messerschmidt, 1993). Vietnamese men in the United States may be more likely than men in Vietnam to feel sexually jealous. They may feel threatened by the stereotype in American society that Asian men are weak and nonmasculine and Asian women are feminine and adorable (Lin, Tazuma, & Masuda, 1979). In addition, Vietnamese immigrant men may feel threatened by their perception that "American" men have superior economic power and thus are more attractive to Vietnamese immigrant women (Bui, 2002).

In the present study, men's sexual jealousy was a fairly common theme in the conversations with service providers and the narratives by women who experienced abuse. A Vietnamese-origin social worker (Trinh) made this observation about sexual jealousy among Vietnamese immigrants in the United States:

> In Vietnam, married women were often worried about their husbands' disloyalty because most married men had girlfriends, mistresses, or concubines at some point in their marriages. In the U.S., [Vietnamese] men have become very jealous, and they are usually worried about their wives or partners leaving them to go with American men. Their concerns are unfounded because not many [Vietnamese] women are married to American men. However, many [Vietnamese] men have become paranoid because they think that they are less attractive than their American counterparts and that [Vietnamese] women have more freedom to engage in intimate relationships in the U.S. than they did in Vietnam.

More than one third of women who experienced abuse (40%) told stories about their partners' sexual jealousy. Comments by these women suggest an association between men's jealousy and men's related feelings about their inability to control their wives' and partners' sexual involvements when these women obtained education or other means of access to independent interactions with other men. Thu-Le's husband was a high ranking government official in South Vietnam but had no job in the United States. Her story suggests that her husband's extreme jealousy and fears that she would leave him led to his abusive behavior.

> He was very jealous, and he often physically and sexually abused me out of his jealousy. He threatened to kill me. . . . [H]e said he would hire someone to kill me if I left him. He didn't want me to go to school in the U.S. . . . I was not allowed to keep money. He kept all money [from welfare]. When he was angry with me, he hit me in my face. . . . He broke

> my nose several times. One time, I had to be hospitalized for 3 days and had eight stitches [on my face]. He also forced me to have sex when I didn't want to. If I refused, he would beat me. . . . I felt so stressed and depressed that I became mentally ill.

Yen-Vy and her husband, both Amerasians with very limited education and English proficiency, were not working at the time of the study. According to Yen-Vy, her husband thought that she lacked sexual restraints because she was Amerasian (mixed race). Sharing the viewpoint of the Vietnamese social worker cited above, Yen-Vy said that her husband was worried about losing her because women had more opportunities to have relationships with men in American society than in Vietnam, and she attributed her husband's abusive behavior to his jealousy. She explained,

> He was always jealous, and he often beat me when he saw me talking with other men. . . . He said that I made his life harder because I was Amerasian, and he wanted me to admit that I had cheated on him.

The already described abusive behavior associated with a woman's higher occupational status and greater financial success relative to her partner's can be intertwined with jealousy to produce violence. Interviews with service providers indicated that some men attempted to repress their wives' educational and career development or made their wives become totally dependent by prohibiting them from working in the paid labor force. This practice suggests that men might prohibit women from working outside the home, because men felt such work would enable and require women to abandon lifestyle restrictions associated with feminine identities that complement hegemonic masculinity. Ly, whose experience with domestic violence was noted in a previous section, said that her husband, who worked as a courtesy clerk, became very jealous when she was successful in her real estate business. He did not like her sales career, which necessitated her attention to her appearance, flexible work hours, and socializing with customers, including men. She described how her husband tried to reimpose restrictions and, when she would not agree, criticized her very self and attacked her physically for not living up to prescribed femininity.

> My husband tried to control my work schedule, and he wanted me to be home at 5 or 6 in the afternoon, but my job required me to go out often, even outside business hours. When he could not control my schedule, he became suspicious and jealous. When I talked back to him because of his unreasonable jealousy, he slapped me or pulled my hair. He frequently accused me [of] lacking respect for him, losing chastity, and becoming arrogant. He often told me that he would kill me if he caught me dating other men.

Women's narratives indicated that factory and restaurant jobs, which require working at night, and hotel service jobs, such as cleaning and being a chambermaid, often aroused suspicions among Vietnamese immigrant men who rigidly adhered to norms of women's restricted activity outside the home. Historically, in Vietnam,

there have been prohibitions against women going out alone at night, and hotels have been seen as unsuitable workplaces for women because of possible prostitution activities. These ideas might lead many men, like the husbands of Tam and Xuan, to be suspicious and jealous of working partners. Tam, whose experience with her husband's abusive behavior following his loss of status in the family has been discussed, worked as a home-care nurse. She explained that her husband was suspicious about her sexual integrity because her job demanded that she work into the evening and she had several American male clients.

> He was angry every time I returned home from work at night. He would approach my car and check to see if there was something unusual and asked many questions. When he was not satisfied with my responses, he would become angry and begin destroying things in the house.

Xuan's husband, a former captain in the South Vietnamese military force, could not attain a comparable status in the United States. She reported that he had rigid gender-norm expectations but could not live up to them because he was unable to support the family. Unable to find a full-time job that was not manual labor, he worked part-time. Xuan had two hotel chambermaid jobs and made enough money to support the family of six (Xuan, her husband, and four children). Xuan's story suggests that her husband's inability to support the family and his disapproval of her jobs were transformed into jealousy that led to family conflicts and his violence. Xuan revealed these dynamics:

> We got married in Vietnam, but I had never seen him become so jealous; only after we came to the U.S. I was almost 50 years old, but he usually thought that I acted like a 20-year-old girl, trying to get other men. I was working at two hotels downtown, but he did not like it. He told me to change jobs many times because in his view, only prostitutes worked in hotels. . . . He got mad, and he called me [a] whore when I brought home good money from [customers'] tips. Then, he started scrutinizing the way I dressed. He even prohibited me from wearing makeup and certain kinds of clothing. When I disregarded his unreasonable demands, he beat me and even threatened to kill me.

Other women participants who worked in settings with opportunities to socialize with men outside the family circle also experienced abuse that they attributed to their husbands' sexual jealousy. Particularly, when their husbands asked them to have sex but they refused, their husbands often verbally abused them by accusing them of having relationships with men at work or sexually and physically abused them.

Vietnamese immigrant men's sexual jealousy may also be facilitated by their own working conditions. Hue's situation illustrated how men's job requirements to be away from home at night could spark sexual jealousy, related controls, and violence. Her husband, who was 6 years older than she was and came to the United States several years earlier, felt strongly about women's role. Because he earned enough to

support the family, he asked Hue to stay home and take care of the couple's son. According to Hue, her husband worked the night shift, and he often beat her because he worried that she had contact with other American men in the apartment complex while he was at work. Hue explained,

> He was very jealous. He worked the night shift, and when he came home the following morning, he often looked around to check whether someone had come to visit me during his absence. He checked on me all the time. He would ask me if someone had come the night before, and he would check food in the refrigerator to see if someone had come and eaten with me. . . . For the last incident, he came home from work in the morning, and he talked with our 4-year-old son. Because he suspected that someone had visited me last night, he began yelling at me. We had an argument. At some point, he put a knife to my neck, threatening to cut my throat. When I got loose from him, I called the police.

Stories told by women participants indicated that the realities of the local job market, which were shaped by the intersection of immigrant status and gender, have contributed to men's decreased status and their lower economic status relative to their partners. These stories suggest that the realities of couples' work lives have created conditions that have aggravated men's feeling about a lack of control over their partners' activities and jealousy that these activities included sex with other men. In the United States, where women are expected to have interactions outside the home and in the labor market available to immigrant couples, men who felt they should fully control their partners appeared to often check on them, verbally accuse them of failing to be idealized "females," and use violence as a punishment, as a warning, or out of anger and frustration.

Men's Downward Mobility and Remittances to Relatives "Back Home"

Inability to achieve social status in the United States can lead to men's seeking respect and status in the community of origin by sending remittances. International remittances not only improve the quality of life for family members (Thai, 2006), but they also provide emotional benefits for the senders, allowing them to maintain social ties (Lillard & Willis, 1997; Thai, 2006; Wucker, 2004) and claim social worth in the community of origin (Thai, 2006). For immigrant men who experience downward mobility as well as social and cultural isolation, these social ties provide an important sense of self-worth, respect, and recognition in the community of origin (Thai, 2006). They allow immigrant men to actualize a familiar masculine identity "long distance." However, remittances can lead to economic neglect and hardship for women and children in the United States, and when women contest men's tendencies to send remittances too often, the result can be arguing and physical abuse.

Indeed, an examination of women's accounts of their abuse indicates that remittances were a major source of family conflicts that led to men's violence. Less than

half of the women participants (43%) reported that they had sent money to relatives in Vietnam; more than half of the women (56%) reported that their partners had sent money to Vietnam. One third of the women (36% or 56 women) reported that remittances caused conflicts in their families, either because their partners did not allow them (21% or 32 women) or they did not allow their partners to send them (2.5% or 4 women), or they did not agree with the remittances their partners had sent (13% or 20 women). Couples disagreed over the amount, frequency, and recipients of remittances. Although it was common for Vietnamese immigrants to send remittances, women tended not to make remittances a priority over their financial needs in the United States when the recipients were not their parents and siblings. They wanted to help relatives in Vietnam, but they also wanted to save money for their children in the United States and for their retirement. In some situations, men sent remittances more often, even when their wives felt they did not make enough money to support their families in the United States.

Violence by men against their partners often followed family conflicts resulting from disagreement on remittances. Most of the women who were not allowed to send money (80% of 32 women), two thirds of the women who disagreed with the remittances their husbands had sent (65% of 20 women), and all women who did not allow their partners to send remittances (4 women) experienced physical abuse by their husbands. The experiences of Nhung, Tram, and Lan showed the relationship between family conflicts over remittances, men's efforts to control, and men's violence against their intimate partners.

Nhung's husband had been a high-ranking officer in the South Vietnamese government and after the Vietnam War, he spent many years in a reeducation camp under the communist regime. On release, he worked as a carpenter in Vietnam. In the United States, both Nhung and her husband received public assistance. Feeling that their income from public assistance was barely enough to help them maintain a frugal lifestyle, Nhung did not want to send remittances too often. When she discovered that her husband, who kept the family money, had sent remittances to his parents and siblings in Vietnam more often than she expected, she confronted him. Nhung explained the resulting violence,

> He kept the [family] money, and he used that money to send remittance to his parents and sibling in Vietnam, but he hid it from me. That caused conflict between us, and he beat me when I argued against him.

Lan and Tram described a similar pattern. Lan said,

> We often had conflicts because of money. He wanted to send money to his family and friends in Vietnam, and I didn't agree. It is not because I didn't want to help other family members and friends, but I didn't want him to send too much. I need to save money for my family here and my old age.

Tram reported that her husband sent most of his earnings from work to his family in Vietnam and did not save any for the family in the United States.

> Because we were on welfare, he couldn't get a real job. He worked under the table for cash in construction. He paid the rent with his welfare money. My disability check paid for all other expenses. He controlled all money from his work and sent most of his earnings to his family in Vietnam; he kept the rest for his gambling and drinking. When I asked him to save some for the family, he disagreed. He said it was his money because he worked for it. He always went out. He liked to hang out with his friends, drinking and gambling. When he lost money on gambling, he threatened to beat me up if I didn't give him the money he needed.

Tram's story suggests that her husband maintained status not only by sending remittances but by engaging in "masculine" pursuits of drinking and gambling with other men in the local Vietnamese community. These activities might mark him as a man with the resources for these leisure activities and give him local status at the same time that remittances might give him status with his relatives in Vietnam.

Analysis of interview transcripts showed that both men and women wanted to help their families of origin to fulfill their filial piety; however, men more often considered their families of origin a priority, especially when family resources were limited. Interviews with service providers in the East Coast area indicated that some men even prohibited their wives or partners from sending money to help relatives back in Vietnam. This practice appears to be consistent with the cultural belief that the husband's family is "inside lineage" and more important than the wife's family, which is considered as "outside lineage (Rydstrom, 2002, p. 361). Disagreements could lead to verbal fights and men's use of violence to take control, as illustrated by the experiences of two women, Diep and Quy.

> He hit me to make me shut up when he wanted to send more money to his family in Vietnam. He only sent money to his family but not my family. (Diep)
>
> We did not have enough money, and we often argued about sending money to the families on both sides in Vietnam. Because he did not allow me to send money to my family in Vietnam, I did not agree with his sending money to his family. He often criticized me for not working to make money. Our disagreements and verbal fights often ended up in his beating me. (Quy)

Women's narratives revealed that remittances sent to men's ex-wives, ex-girlfriends, and children from extramarital relationships were another source of family disputes leading to men's violence. Vietnamese cultural norms that support men's sexual privileges combined with the family instability specific to the history of Vietnam have facilitated men's multiple relationships. In Vietnam, family separations caused by the war, unprepared evacuation after the fall of Saigon, and clandestine escapes afterward increased opportunities for extramarital relationships among

Vietnamese men. Thus, many men secretly had extramarital affairs that produced children prior to migration, in some cases when their wives had emigrated before them. Members of resulting unofficial families were often left behind in Vietnam. Other men left wives and children in Vietnam and established new families in the United States. Unsatisfied with a lack of status in both the family and society, some men may strive to fulfill the masculine ideal by continuing to provide for another family in Vietnam. Violence could be used against women who wanted to protect financial resources for the family in the United States. Khanh provided an example of this situation:

> The reason for my family problem was money. We had problems whenever he didn't give me the full amount of money from his paycheck. I thought that he probably had sent money to his own son in Vietnam. He wanted me not to talk about money, but I couldn't stop because I need the money for my daughter and myself.

Another woman, Cuc, described a similar situation. Her husband had an extramarital relationship with a woman who was left behind in Vietnam with two sons. Because their income from public assistance was low, Cuc's husband wanted to send money only to his ex-wife and children in Vietnam and prohibited her from sending money to her parents. During arguments about remittances, Cuc's husband typically used force in an attempt to maintain his authority and control of the family financial resources. Thuy was in a somewhat different situation. Her cohabiting partner had a wife and two children in Vietnam. His desire to control the family money and send remittances to his wife and children in Vietnam was a source of conflicts leading to his use of violence against her.

Conclusion

The present analysis can be criticized because it did not directly ask men how they saw their ideal selves "as men" or how they felt about actualizing these ideals. Instead, it relied on identifying descriptions of men's actions based on insights of women and professionals about men's statements and actions in relation to the construction of masculinity. The decision to rely on women's perceptions was based, in part, on concern for their safety; the men were not in any programs that could mitigate the risk of violence precipitated by the interviews. Because men's views were omitted from the analysis, findings from the study should be considered as suggestive. In addition, due the nature of the purposive sample, the generalizability of the study findings is limited. Future research might take a more direct approach and try to assess the degree to which a Vietnamese version of hegemonic masculinity characterized the men who were violent, or it might focus on immigrant men who had different versions of masculinity and, therefore, were not violent in the face of labor market constraints and women's changing gender norms and practices. Nonetheless, the research

described in this article has provided a rare look at the standpoint of Vietnamese immigrant women affected by intimate partner violence as they explain incidents of and reasons for that violence. The accounts, views, and insights of such women are largely absent from the literature. Domestic violence is considered a highly private matter in Vietnamese culture, and because of language and cultural differences, immigrants and their communities often are inaccessible to researchers.

Analysis of material from the standpoints of both service providers and Vietnamese women suggests the connections of gender role norms and specific, gender-related job opportunities in immigrants' new homeland with men's resources and strategies for accomplishing masculinity, including the use of violence against an intimate partner. At least three key factors can lead up to violence. One is men's downward movement in social and economic status, often accompanied by women's upward movement, resulting in women's insistence or capacity to take on roles previously associated with traditional (hegemonic) forms of masculinity (e.g., family provider) and to avoid actions that were part of supportive femininity. The result can be men's use of violence to protest and reinforce their dominant positions in the family. Another factor is men's fear; women's work outside the home and the perceived loss of control over women's sexual exclusivity can result in intrusive efforts to oversee and control women's activities and can culminate in conflict and violence. Finally, remittances to relatives and additional partners and children in Vietnam allow men to demonstrate their masculinity long distance, and when their U.S.-based partners protest these expenditures, men can use violence to stop their interference and assert their control over this resource and the potential status it could bring from people in Vietnam.

Findings from the study suggest that men's use of violence against an intimate partner is consistent with masculine identity that is defined in terms of power, authority, sexual prowess, and ability to control women. Although a general construct of hegemonic masculinity is important for understanding men's behavior, an integrated framework of gender, race, ethnicity, class, and culture is required for understanding domestic violence among immigrants. Domestic violence occurs in the family, where important elements of power dynamics and gender meanings are constructed and where gender ideology is put into practice; however, family dynamics cannot be understood in isolation from the society at large because of the interactions of social structures and culture. Immigration adaptation can change gender dynamics in immigrant families and exert an important impact on masculinity manifestation, as indicated by the present study and prior research (Morash et al., 2000). Men who are unable to adapt to new economic situations and challenges to traditional norms for appropriate femininity and masculinity often experience a loss of economic power and social status. Men's lack of economic power can also facilitate sexual jealousy, which is often motivated by men's fear of losing their partners and not being able to realize the man's role of heading the household and producing sons to carry on the family line, which is an important aspect of Vietnamese traditional

masculine identity. Men's downward mobility often clashes with women's new economic roles and elevated status after immigration and their increased activity and freedom outside the home (Gold, 1992). Unable to live up to the idealized hegemonic masculine identity in the new society, some men feel powerless and depressed. Although Vietnamese immigrant women have experienced an increase in economic power, many still expect men to be able to provide for the family (Bui, 2002; Kibria, 1993). Thus, men who experience an economic downturn often feel it is difficult to find and keep a partner in the United States (Thai, 2005). Violence against women can be used to overcome the perceived loss of power and feeling of inferiority, to boost self-esteem, and to reassert authority.

Understanding men's violence against women as a way of accomplishing a form of masculinity has an important implication for social policies and program interventions. In a patriarchal society, the social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity not only reinforce gender inequality and give men as a group the power to control and dominate women, but idealized masculinity also causes problems for men. The construction of masculinity through physical strength, the use of force, and the control of women leaves violence against women a resource for manifesting gender identity when other means are unavailable (Messerschmidt, 1993). Men who fail to live up to an idealized masculinity associated with power and authority due to their social locations in the hierarchy of race, class, immigration status, ethnicity, and gender can feel the pain of an inability to actualize masculine identity. Service providers and community education efforts need to directly address the meaning that men attach to remittances, the roots of their jealousy, and their losses to be most effective in preventing or stopping violence. Improving employment opportunities for immigrant men can increase men's economic power and reduce economic stress among men by helping them achieve masculine identity, but it does not eliminate the belief in men's control over women. Thus, long-term efforts of resettlement programs, community-based education and social services, and interventions into domestic violence require an emphasis not only on job preparation and the job market for men but also on gender equality. Crucially important for combating domestic violence is the elimination of the belief in male supremacy and men's control of women as part of masculine identity.

Notes

1. The study of domestic violence among Vietnamese immigrants in the East Coast area was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation (1999-2003).

2. Eight women whose intimate partners were not of Vietnamese origin were not included in the present analysis. It should be noted that study participants were recruited from areas with high concentrations of Vietnamese immigrants, so women outside such areas are not represented.

3. One of the authors served as a guest speaker on two radio talk shows in Vietnamese communities and invited women in the audience to participate in the study.

4. Women who requested telephone interviews agreed not to receive the incentive because they did not want to disclose their mailing addresses.

5. To protect the confidentiality of the respondents, all names used in this article are pseudonyms.

6. The term *political detainee* is used to indicate a person who was a military officer or a high-ranking official in the South Vietnamese government and was detained in a reeducation camp under the communist regime.

7. The term *Vietnamese Amerasian* is used to indicate a person whose mother is Vietnamese and whose father is an American who served in the American mission in Vietnam. On December 22, 1987, the United States Congress passed into law the Amerasian Homecoming Act, allowing Vietnamese Amerasians who were born between 1962 and 1976 in Vietnam to enter the United State with their families with full refugee benefits.

8. Information is missing on one man's immigration experience.

9. Information about legal status was missing for one man.

10. We did not conduct tests of significance because the study used a purposive sample; thus, the assumption of a random sample cannot be met.

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