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MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES: THE ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAMESE MIGRANTS IN
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**Path dependency and path creation perspectives on migration trajectories: the
economic experiences of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia**

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Abstract

There has been only limited research on the Vietnamese diaspora, and that has mostly focussed on western market economies. This paper explores the distinctive migration from Vietnam to the eastern block countries that was dictated by Cold War geopolitics. It examines how the intersection of migration policies and politico-economic conditions, before and after the end of state socialism in 1989, produced two distinctive migration phases. Faced with economic constraints, and mediated by their relationships with the Slovak population, most Vietnamese who stayed in, or migrated to, Slovakia after 1989 survived economically by finding a niche in market trading. This paper adopts a path-creating path-dependent perspective to examine these migration trajectories through an analysis based on in-depth interviews with Vietnamese migrants.

Key words: Migration Vietnamese Slovakia Trading Citizenship
Stereotyping Migration policies

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INTRODUCTION

The Vietnamese diaspora is well established in a number of countries around the world, and originated mainly in the aftermath of the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. It is estimated that some two million Vietnamese left at that time, mostly from the South (Coughlan, 1998), and their main destinations were the USA, Australia and European countries, notably France. These communities have been the focus of sustained social science investigation, whether in the USA (McLaughlin and Jesilow, 1998, Zhou and Bankston III, 1994), Norway (Hauff and Vaugtum, 1993), Canada (Johnson, 2003) or Australia (Coughlan, 1998). Geopolitics shaped these flows but also differentiated them from a parallel migratory movement from Northern Vietnam to Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The latter migration flow was framed by international socialist solidarity agreements, and created substantial Vietnamese communities in CEE countries, under distinctive political and economic conditions. Whereas the flows to western countries were constituted of relatively prosperous refugees, the initial migrants to eastern block countries were mostly regime supporters and mostly from rural backgrounds.

There has been a surprising lack of research on this distinctive manifestation of the Vietnamese diaspora in CEE, with the exception of a few case studies, mostly relating to cultural issues (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2003; Halik, 2001). We know very little about the economic and social trajectories of Vietnamese migrants in CEE over recent decades, and how these intersected with radical changes in the political and economic framework in the former eastern block countries. Yet, in the post 1989 transition, the Vietnamese repositioned themselves in the CEE economies; they became petty traders rather than factory workers and students. 67.4 percent of economically active Vietnamese in the 2001 census (a problematic data source, as discussed below) claimed they were business owners, which mostly meant market trading or owning small shops. This was significantly different from the Vietnamese in Australia and the USA (Coughlin, 1998; Fernandez and Kim, 1998). Although blocked mobility and ethnic resources disproportionately (compared to the indigenous populations) channelled the Vietnamese in these countries into self employment, this was at a far lower level of occupational concentration than in Slovakia.

In an earlier paper (Williams and Baláž, 2005), we examined the determinants, and practices, of Vietnamese market trading in Slovakia, in context of theories of ethnic enterprise, trans-border arbitrage, and transnational spaces. Here, we explore the value of a path-dependency and path-creation perspective on migration and labour market changes, and especially Nielsen et al's (1995) ideas about how these are interwoven in the notion of path-dependent path-creation. This is particularly apposite in analysing Vietnamese migrants in CEE. Although their entry into market trading was not in any sense a deterministic outcome of the post 1989 transformation, there were strong elements of path dependency in their persistence and massive concentration in this sector, even it was sub-optimal, in relation to their previous educational and employment qualifications and experiences.

Within this broad path-dependent path-creation perspective, we focus on the particularities of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia, and especially on shifts in migration regimes and changing relationships between the Slovak and Vietnamese

populations (examined through the notion of contact zones). These both created new pathways and constrained the economic opportunities that shaped migrant employment experiences. The conclusion reflects on the value of the path dependency and path creation perspectives for understanding this remarkable migration phenomenon.

PATH-DEPENDENCY PATH-CREATION PERSPECTIVE ON MIGRATION

Several general features of path dependence are germane to this analysis. First, path dependence exists when the outcome of a process depends on its past history, on a sequence of decisions made by agents and resulting outcomes, and not only on contemporary conditions. Or, as Hodgson (1996: 203) argues, 'the future development of an economic system is affected by the path it has traced out in the past'. Previous investments and routines constrain future behaviour, whether of firms or individuals (Bercovitz et al 1996). This can partly be explained by the localised nature of learning; that is, individual learning is concentrated in and around previous activities. As this is activity- and, arguably, place-specific, it conditions subsequent development.

Secondly, path dependency theories challenge the idea that economies are characterised by in-built tendencies to optimum solutions. Instead, initial accidents can dispose a system to suboptimal pathways. Path development thus implies some inflexibility in economic processes. Evolving systems 'can get locked into given paths of development, excluding a host of other, perhaps more efficient or desirable possibilities In such cases, marginal adjustments towards perhaps more optimal outcomes are often ruled out' (Hodgson, 1996: 205).

Thirdly, as indicated above, path dependence does not imply determinism. Or, as North (1990: 999) expressed this: 'It is not a story of inevitability in which the past neatly predicts the future'. Rather, certain outcomes are understood to be more likely than others, and that none of these are necessarily optimal. Furthermore, although processes of change and innovation are characteristically cumulative and path dependent, they can also be interrupted by occasional discontinuities (notably the post 1989 transition, in this case).

Fourthly, path dependency does not explain why systems sometimes develop in a path dependent way (Ostrom 1999), other than in terms of abstract comparisons, mostly with evolutionary theories. Hence, as Kay (2003: 407) wrote in another context, the challenge is to 'explain the *microfoundations* of path dependent processes'. This challenge is taken up by this paper, in relation to Vietnamese migration and market trading, but first we reflect on the path dependent nature of the economic transformation in CEE.

The economic transformation in CEE was not a rational process of constructing economic institutions in order to move towards optimal economic development goals. Stark (1992; 1994) contended that it involved '... rebuilding organisations and institutions not on the ruins but with the ruins of communism' (Stark, 1996: 995). Furthermore, Stark (1996, p.995) argued that because of the importance of the 'ruins' of the state socialist system (in terms of trade, links, institutions, regulation, personal

and inter-firm networks), the economic transformation can be characterised as path dependent. This does not imply determinism: rather, path dependency argues that the actors in the transformation process are constrained by existing institutional resources, which limit some fields of action while favouring the selection of others. For Smith and Pickles (1998, p15) path dependency is 'institutionalised forms of learning and struggles over pathways that emerge out of the intersection of old and new', while Nielsen et al (1995, p3) refer to the dialectic of structure and strategic action.

In contrast, the path creation perspective argues that '... within specific, limits, social forces can redesign the 'board' on which they are moving and reformulate the rules of the game' (Nielsen et al, 1995: 7). The two perspectives are not dichotomous. In reality there is a continuum between path dependency and path creation, framed by the stress placed on constraints, as opposed to changing 'the rules of the game'. This was recognised by Nielsen et al (1995: 6) who advocated a 'path-dependent path-creating' perspective, arguing that individual agents can create new pathways, although operating within the constraints of previous development pathways.

We will argue in this paper that the path-dependent path-creating perspective has particular value for understanding the experiences of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia. They survived economically in the transition by relocating into the market trading sector, and this created cumulative conditions which led to later Vietnamese migrants following a similar development pathway. At the same time, there were elements of path creation in their experiences. However, survival is not evidence of fitness and optimality, because this is determined in relation to the environment. The latter had changed during the transition, so that market trading increasingly appears sub-optimal (Williams and Baláž 2005; Williams et al 2001).

METHODOLOGY

Secondary data sources provide limited insights into the migration trajectories, life experiences, social integration and future life plans of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia. The 2001 Census (SOSR, 2002) is, potentially, the most useful secondary source, but only enumerates those with Slovak citizenship, thereby excluding most migrants. Only 993 individuals born in Vietnam were enumerated in the census, far fewer than the actual population; 70.8% were men, reflecting a particular history of migration. In contrast, the Slovak National Labour Office registered 1716 Vietnamese residence permit holders in 2003 (NÚP, 2003). In addition to the total of some 2700 with either citizenship or residence permits, there were many unregistered migrants. Several key informants estimated that approximately 60-70% of Vietnamese migrants were unregistered which, if accurate, suggest there were circa 6700-9000 Vietnamese in Slovakia in total. This was a small fraction of a once larger community, as most Vietnamese migrants are believed to have left the country after 1989. Despite this limitation, the census is the most useful (perhaps only) source for contextualising the sample of Vietnamese migrants interviewed.

In the absence of reliable secondary sources, primary data was collected on the Vietnamese population. The inward-looking, and often suspicious Vietnamese

communities were not receptive to a questionnaire based survey. Therefore we concentrated on working with community leaders and key informants who facilitated 87 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with Vietnamese market traders and small shop owners in the first half of 2004. Although the survey was restricted to market traders and other small-scale retailers, this is the dominant Vietnamese occupation in Slovakia, even according to the census. As the census only includes those who have acquired citizenship and, therefore, are likely to be longer resident, and more economically and socially integrated, the actual proportion employed in trading may be even greater than suggested by the census.

The interviewees included Vietnamese migrants who held Slovak citizenship and permanent residence permits, as well as non-registered migrants. However, in the absence of reliable statistics on non-registered migrants, it is impossible to know whether our sample reflects the population as a whole. For the same reason, the lack of reliable population lists meant that the sampling was necessarily purposive. Working through local informants, one half of the sample was interviewed in Bratislava while the other half was drawn from a range of Slovak municipalities. This broadly reflects the division between Bratislava and the remainder of the country, as evident in the 2001 census (albeit only including citizens). The interviews were undertaken mostly in Slovak, but Vietnamese key informants sometimes assisted those with only limited competence in the language. This was important to ensure that a range of Vietnamese market traders were interviewed, and not only those with the strongest language competence, who were also likely to be either the more educated and, or longer established in Slovakia. The interviewees were highly gender and age specific, as expected. 62 respondents (71 per cent) were men. The average age on arrival in Slovakia was 24.4 years, but was 37.1 years at the time of the survey, indicating an average length of stay of 12.7 years at that point. Hence, the gender and age structure of the survey participants corresponded to the demographic profile of those who had become citizens, as evident in the 2001 Census.

The interviews were held at a time and place that was convenient to the interviewees. In practice, most interviews were held at business premises (at quiet times, or when there was someone else to mind the market stall), or in neutral zones such as nearby cafes. The interviews lasted about 40 minutes on average, although this varied considerably. The interviews included two types of questions. First, there were open-ended exploratory questions about their migration histories, and experiences of working and living in Slovakia. Secondly, there were closed questions on the standard Likert scale. These elicited responses about reasons for migration, support received in establishing a business, major difficulties of life in Slovakia, and future residential and occupational plans (see Tables 1-4).

VIETNAMESE MIGRATION TO SLOVAKIA: CHANGING POLICY REGIMES

Vietnamese migration to Slovakia has been shaped by two succeeding migration regimes, as state socialism gave way after 1989 to a period of transition to a market economy. This chimes with Goss and Lindquist's (1995: 135) view that: 'International migration is also a means by which the daily lives of individuals, and their life cycles

or careers intersect with the historical development of the means and relations of production'. The experiences of Vietnamese migrants were mediated by radical shifts in the means and relations of production, with succeeding phases of migrants entering the country under contrasting economic and political conditions. The first phase, pre 1989, was informed by strongly state-managed international migration across relatively closed borders, in context of state socialism. In contrast, in the second, post-1989, phase, borders were more porous, and international migration was interwoven with privatisation and marketisation. This resonates with Zolberg's (1992: 476) general view of international migration that 'state forms have changed, shifting influence and accountability from national to global social forces'. These two phases of migration were not, of course, autonomous. Rather, the pathway(s) of the first phase migrants intersected with and informed the pathway of the second phase - especially via social networks and migrant-host community relationships - shaping opportunities and constraints for both groups.

Vietnamese migration to Central Eastern Europe (CEE) originated in the geopolitics of the Cold War. Vietnam's relations with CEE deepened after the Sino-Soviet split in the late 1950s, and this was formalised and significantly enhanced when it became a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) in 1978. Because the Vietnamese economy had been weakened by decades of war, trade was highly asymmetrical. Between November 1976 and June 1977, Vietnam signed a number of commodity, cultural, economic and scientific co-operation agreements with most of the CMEA members in CEE. There were particularly close relations with Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and Hungary (Columbia Electronic Encyclopaedia, 2003). Some 50 agreements were signed between Vietnam and the former Czechoslovakia alone. The most important agreement relating to migration was that of 14 July 1978 between the Czechoslovak Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Vietnamese Ministry of Labour on "Vocational training of Vietnamese citizens in a period of production and further professional career development". As the title suggests, this dealt mainly with technical and other employment skills.

The first Vietnamese migrants predated these agreements, having arrived, for training purposes, as early as the 1950s, under the auspices of a 'fraternal assistance' package. However, numbers increased significantly after the reunification of Vietnam in 1975, with an estimated 40,000 young (mostly) men in total coming to the former Czechoslovakia between 1975 and 1989 as labour or student migrants, within the framework of the 'Agreements on Mutual Help' (Wilková, 2002). Data are not available on return migration or, indeed, any form of further international migration so that it is impossible to trace accurately the fluctuations over time in the stock of Vietnamese migrants in the former Czechoslovakia, and (post 1993) in Slovakia. Unregistered arrivals after 1989 further exacerbate the difficulties in estimating the size of the Vietnamese community in Slovakia. However, Wilková (2002) has estimated that there are currently some 100,000 Vietnamese who can speak Czech or Slovak, so that the total of 40,000 migrants arriving under the aegis of the Agreement on Mutual Help does not seem unreasonable, even allowing for significant arrivals after 1989 to the former Czechoslovakia.

This migration policy was framed in terms of providing education and training, as well as a partial repayment of the military and other assistance provided during, and immediately after, the Vietnam War (CEE, 2003). Most migrants became apprentices in industrial enterprises, but there were also opportunities to study in technical middle schools and universities. Not surprisingly, then, the first phase migrants had relatively high levels of human capital, with almost one third being university graduates (Table 1). This has important consequences for their development pathways.

Selection to work or study in Czechoslovakia, Hungary or the former DDR was considered a privilege. In Vietnam, at this time, not surprisingly it was largely reserved for the children of Communist Party officials, or those with exemplary military records (Williams and Baláž, 2005; see also Wilková, 2002). This first phase of Vietnamese migration to CEE was very much informed by the geopolitics of the East-West divide. In this phase, labour migration was not so much a means whereby individual migrants, or their households, achieved personal objectives, but was a planned contribution to the division of labour in the CMEA.

With marketisation, privatisation and public expenditure cuts in Slovakia after 1989, many Vietnamese workers lost their jobs as manufacturing was restructured and unemployment soared to c 20% (Smith, 1997; Williams et al, 1998). When their work permits expired, many left Slovakia, either returning to Vietnam or moving to the more dynamic (and soon to be independent) Czech region: we have no detailed information about these individuals. Some stayed on legally (through marriage, and or having acquired citizenship/permanent residence rights), while others simply failed to register their continuing residence. Those who remained in Slovakia mostly survived by becoming market traders (Williams and Baláž, 2005). This exemplified path-dependent path-creation, in relation to unforeseen shifts. In structural terms, the very disruption of domestic production, which had impelled many Vietnamese to leave Slovakia as their factory jobs disappeared, together with the high costs of imported western consumer goods, created new opportunities in small scale trading (Thuen 1999).

These structural shifts do not, however, explain the concentration of Vietnamese migrants in market trading. There are three critical points to consider here, which can be understood in terms of path-creation path-dependency. First, they drew on their earlier experiences, under state socialism, of petty production (making up jeans and other clothes for sale or exchange). This enhanced their human capital in the form of rudimentary knowledge of trading, as well as accumulating material capital. Secondly, they drew on the strong collectivist ethos amongst the Vietnamese community in Slovakia to fund their enterprises. In the absence of supportive formal financial intermediaries in the early years of transition, the Vietnamese benefited from ethnic solidarity, providing loans to each other, on the basis of mutual trust and reciprocity. However, these sources were limited and did not extend beyond the relatively modest amounts of capital required to set up a market trading business. And, thirdly, they used their networks to source low cost imports, at a time of shortages of low cost clothing and shoes in Slovakia; these included family and friends in Vietnam, as well as in neighbouring CEE countries. The focus on clothing imports largely reflected structural changes in the domestic economy, and comparative advantages in petty international trading. However, there was scope for

creative use of these networks, in accord with Meyer's (2001: 101) observation that 'individuals' skills are dependent on the networks that mobilize and activate them'.

The second phase of Vietnamese migration took place after the collapse of the state socialist regime, in context of re-internationalisation and marketisation. There were two main components, and both demonstrate the inter-relation of the two phases of migration. Family reunification was significant, with many new arrivals being women, reflecting the dominance of young men in the first phase, and changes in the rights of spouses and other family members. And first wave migrants also sponsored the migration of friends (and sometimes relatives). The least resistant immigration route was registering them as business partners in trading enterprises, demonstrating their economic self-reliance (although, in practice, many were employees initially). This second phase was shaped more by the welfare maximisation strategies of individual migrants, than by inter-state relations, and broadly accords with the concept of path-dependent path-creation. Family networks in Vietnam provided support for individuals, in context of household strategies (cf Stark and Bloom, 1985), thereby channelling further Vietnamese migration to Slovakia. Individual migration decisions were informed both by welfare maximisation and risk minimisation (Stark, 1991), especially the need to diversify household incomes in the face of uncertain economic conditions in Vietnam. As Johnson (2003: 126) notes: in Vietnam: 'family members have mutual obligations to each other, with the individual's needs subordinated to those of the family'. The second-phase Vietnamese immigrants, in the 1990s, were socially different to first-phase migrants. Although mostly men, they had lower education levels (see Table 1), and more diverse economic backgrounds, reflecting migration regime changes.

Despite these differences, the two phases of migrants followed apparently broadly similar economic pathways after 1989. Market trading had become perceived as virtually the only viable economic strategy for first-phase migrants who stayed on after 1989. This represented downward occupational mobility, given their human capital, evident in their education, training and skilled manufacturing jobs. The second phase migrants were also largely channeled into trading. This was hardly surprising given these pathways were determined by their social networks and business visa requirements. This illustrates how networks based on personal ties, in contrast to organizational or professional ties, can lead migrants into 'limiting ethnic niche occupations' and/or into 'a downward occupational trajectory' (Poros, 2001). In other words, there is path dependency, at least in the initial jobs taken by second phase migrants who utilize such networks. These experiences were very different to those of the Vietnamese in the USA, where educated migrants were far less likely to enter self-employment (Fernandes and Kim, 1998).

The contrasting experiences of the two phases of migrants in relation to how they entered market trading are evident in significant differences in the key individuals who had helped them to start trading (Table 2). They are also evident in the stated reasons for coming to Slovakia. First-phase migrants were significantly more likely to have come for jobs or studies, whilst second phase migrants were strongly influenced by family reunification (Table 1). The later migrants were also less likely to have 'wanted to leave Vietnam', which is indicative of changing political and economic conditions in that country (Table 1). The experiences of individual migrants illustrate these differences. Liu (aged 46) belonged to the first wave.

“I came to Czechoslovakia, while some of friends of mine were sent to Hungary in 1982. Our work was based on the agreements between our communist governments that we should come to work in the machinery and metal industries. This was hard work, because these places were cold, noisy and dark, but we were happy to work in Eastern Europe. Life in Vietnam was difficult – there was poverty and dirt. It was a privilege to be nominated.”

Nguyen (40) came to the former Czechoslovakia to study economics, via an international student exchange programme. After graduating from Banska Bystrica University, he wanted to work as an economist, but the ‘Slovak authorities and laws, however, didn’t allow it. I had to earn money and became a market trader’.

The earlier migrants were more likely to have developed stronger and denser business contacts with Slovak friends, banks and firms, as well as having extensive business networks in Vietnam and other South East Asian countries (Table 2). They also tended to be more educated, which was gave them a competitive advantage, especially when dealing with the Slovak authorities. Nguyen (35) was typical of this group. He had lived 16 years in Žilina (northern Slovakia), and had established a textile and shoe shop there, building on his earlier market trading. He was proud of his achievements:

“I have a shop in the city centre. I established it all by myself and nobody helped me with that. I took a loan from the bank and am paying it back. I employ two white women there.”

In contrast, Luen Van Pao (34) had arrived in 1995, as part of the second phase. Luen’s brother had arranged a work permit, as a partner in his market trading enterprise. Even though conditions in Slovakia were still difficult in 1995, Luen had been attracted by the economic opportunities, even if these were less rosy than anticipated:

“I am an open-air market trader and I sell shoes and socks. I followed my brother. People in Vietnam still think everything is better and easier in Europe. But a rich Vietnamese wouldn’t come to Europe to sell in the open-air market.”

The second-phase Vietnamese migrants were significantly more reliant on the assistance of informal networks of families and friends. Kuang’s (32) experiences were typical:

“I followed my brother and came to Žilina in 1995. I sell shoes in a stall in the open-air market. We Vietnamese are used to helping each other within our families”.

The first migration phase occurred within a regime of tight immigration controls and highly regulated employment opportunities in a state socialist economy. Nevertheless, these migrants were well educated and resourceful and had already started part-time petty trading, making up clothes in their dormitories, before 1989.

After 1989, many employment pathways were closed off following industrial restructuring. They survived by market trading, drawing support from within the Vietnamese community and using their contacts in Vietnam and elsewhere in South East Asia. In contrast, second wave Vietnamese migrants arrived at a time of re-regulation and the introduction of market reforms. Immigration policy was relaxed and facilitated both by family reunification and 'entrepreneur' migration rules. New immigrants utilised family and friends networks to secure business visas, and this inevitably channelled them into market trading. This broadly confirms the importance of social networks in immigration, especially into market economies (Massey et al, 1993; Bauer, 1995). It also demonstrates path dependency in the perpetuation of market trading amongst the Vietnamese, even though this was sub-optimal relative to their education and skills, and had been brought about by the sharp shock economic conditions of the early transition years.

In the late transition period, after about 2000, market-trading opportunities declined in Slovakia due to changes in consumption practices, and increased competition from both Chinese traders and international retail capital (Williams and Baláž, 2005). Partly for these reasons, and partly because of an increasingly restrictive immigration regime, the numbers applying to the Slovak consulate in Vietnam for visas fell sharply, from 194 in 2000 to 21 in 2003 (ÚHCP, 2004). This illustrates Goss and Lindquist's (1995: 135) contention that international migration is the outcome of how individual life cycles and careers intersect with changes in the means of production. A migration regimes perspective provides some insights into how such processes of structural and agency changes were worked out in the experiences of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia, in terms of path dependency and path creation. The next section extends the analysis to consider relationships between the migrants and the Slovak population.

VIETNAMESE – SLOVAK RELATIONSHIPS: ETHNIC ENCLAVES AND INDIVIDUAL PATHWAYS

Markets are social phenomena and are constituted through sets of wider social relationships as well as through price mechanisms (Storper, 1995). In this context, we can see the employment experiences of Vietnamese migration as being shaped by relationships with the Slovak population. Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia were positioned in a 'contact zone'. This term was initially developed by Pratt (1992) in relation to colonial encounters, and was extended to migration studies by Yeoh and Willis (2005). For Pratt (1992: 7), the contact zone was '.. an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect'. This applies to the two phases of Vietnamese migrants to Slovakia, who intersected with the local population and with each other.

The contact zone perspective ' .. emphasises how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. . . . in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power' (Yeoh and Willis 2005: 271). These power relationships are often articulated around ethnicity in the case of immigrant enterprises. As Cohen (1997:

173) argues: 'The crudities of neoliberal economic-speak need to be abolished in favour of a more sophisticated sociological account; the implausible invisible hand of the market replaced by the intimate handshake of ethnic collectivism'. (See also Pieterse 1997 on the ethnic economy and the dichotomy of "otherness"). Shared adversities - whether in respect of housing, financial needs or blatant discrimination - constitute a 'collectivising force' (Marger, 2001: 440). However, migrants' lack of social integration into the wider community in the 'contact zone' has contradictory implications. On the one hand, employment-based ethnic networks can be 'safe havens' (Vasta, 2004: 16) for those who are socially excluded (Wahlbeck, 1999). Such networks can 'construct places and spaces of solidarity where social capital circulates to the benefits of its members' (Vasta, 2004: 13-14). But, on the other hand, strong ties within an ethnic group, matched by weak external ties, can exclude crucial information and resources.

How does the above discussion relate to the experiences of Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia? First, ethnic collectivism, and a specific articulation of 'otherness' in terms of 'citizenship' and 'racialisation', were defining characteristics of Vietnamese-Slovak relationships in Slovakia. They significantly shaped the pathways of individual migrants as market traders. While constraining some pathways for Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia, racialisation and problematic access to citizenship also created economic opportunities. Secondly, Vietnamese migrants have experienced both positive and negative aspects of ethnic collectivism. Initially, ethnic networks facilitated entry into, and organization of, market trading. Subsequently, however, their networks hindered adjustment to changing economic conditions, closing off some pathways whilst opening others.

Under state socialism, Slovaks had limited opportunities to travel abroad and meet non-Europeans. Moreover, immigration was heavily regulated and there were few non Europeans living or working in Slovakia. Of these, the Vietnamese – followed at a distance by Cubans and Mongolians – were the largest group. Vietnamese migrants were simultaneously both highly visible, as one of the very few significant non European groups in Slovakia, and non-visible because they tended (as young male migrant workers) to be housed in dormitories, which constituted micro-scale migrant enclaves. Over time, and especially after 1989, they rented or bought their own homes, but still tended to cluster in particular *panelaks* (formerly state-owned apartment blocks). Spatial proximity reinforced a sense of ethnic collectivism while distancing them from the Slovak population.

Labour market segmentation also limited the range of social contacts with Slovaks. Their collectivism at work reinforced this, with work and extra-work friendships being tightly interwoven. Vietnamese traders worked long hours and had few opportunities to socialise or wider civic engagement. (See also Hjerm 2004 on the similar experiences of ethnic entrepreneurs in Sweden). As Tian, in Martin, explained:

"Life in Vietnam is difficult, there is poverty and dirt, but we are more warmhearted than Slovaks. We are also friendlier, more polite and help each other..... We can come to see each other at any time, because we are always

at work - by day, by night. We rest, when we are tired, but we never take holidays and don't know days off".

Moreover, many Vietnamese traders employed Slovak women to front their businesses and deal with customers, because their Slovak language was limited, to overcome the perceived suspicions of their customers and, or shield them from police harassment (see below). These processes of othering effectively reduced their contacts with Slovaks, even as customers. Phang (38) who had lived in Košice for 16 years told us that:

Slovak people envy, and make trouble for, each other. They are malevolent and hurt their own and our people. We do not want others to see us in the market, so we employ white women on our stall. We call them 'ta'.

The two waves of migrants had different experiences of social integration and racism, at least in terms of how these are self-assessed (Table 3). The earlier migrants were significantly more likely to have experienced racism, with just over one quarter of interviewees reporting that racism had either been definitely important or very important – far fewer than commented on problems with the Slovak language or with the Slovak authorities (although these all have different social implications). Nguyen Luc (42), living in Zvolen, was one of those who spoke about racism. He commented that: "I sometimes have to cope with racism as do my children in school as well. Some teachers, the older ones in particular, consider us subhuman." However, such comments were exceptional. Lo (37), a trader in Martin, was more typical of most of our interviewees, recognising that racism existed, but not considering it to be of major significance: "As for racism, I don't have to cope too much with that. Maybe sometimes, when I trade."

Other than language difficulties, dealings with the Slovak authorities were considered to be particularly burdensome. The problems most frequently mentioned related to visas, residence permits and business licences, police raids and trade inspections. Some of those interviewed thought that such harassment was encouraged by Slovak traders in order to hamper the Vietnamese as trading competitors. For example, Meo Nin (42), who lived in Žilina, commented that:

"Slovak traders don't like us. Some of them report us to the police and the trade inspectors. Some of our Asian friends have already left Slovakia after 1989, and many have returned to Vietnam.

Nguyen Luc (who came to Slovakia in 1982) also complained of harassment from the authorities, but noted that Slovak friends had helped him:

"The Slovak authorities make a lot of problems. They want to expel us. But I have Slovak friends – businessmen – who are very helpful. They know how to deal with the authorities."

Vietnamese migrants are particularly vulnerable to such harassment because many are un-registered. However, registration itself has been fraught with problems,

so there has been a vicious circle of harassment and non-registration. One key informant estimated that only 30% were registered migrants or had acquired citizenship or residence permits. Many had not even tried to register, because 'Those who did try to register had problems after 1989. Many were expelled. So, people were reluctant to do this because of the risks.'

The risk of deportation was not the only obstacle to registration. Several interviewees commented on the attitudes of the Slovak authorities towards Vietnamese applicants for Slovak citizenship, work permits, and business permits. They believed they had been discriminated against and overburdened with formal requirements. A key informant noted that:

"The Vietnamese who have obtained legal status arranged this over several months or even years. It was very costly in time and money. The application process is very long and we are often humiliated."

Relatively few Vietnamese had acquired Slovak citizenship, as noted earlier in respect of the 2001 census. Between 1994 and 2003, almost 27,000 citizenships were granted to immigrants to Slovakia, but these were mostly of European origin – in contrast, only 493 Vietnamese acquired citizenship in this period (SOSR, 1994-2005). Slovak citizenship is available to applicants, who have lived at least 5 years in Slovakia, speak Slovak, and have no criminal record. Most of the Vietnamese qualified under these conditions, but relatively few actually claimed citizenship because of fear of deportation or reluctance to expose themselves to hostility or discrimination from the authorities.

The relationships of the Vietnamese with the authorities, and with the Slovak population in general, is mediated by a process of stereotyping, understood here as over-generalised expectations and beliefs about the attributes of group membership, and a failure to recognize individual differences. This is exemplified by our survey of the contents of three leading Slovak newspapers: *Sme* daily (centre-right), *Pravda* daily (centre-left) and *Národná Obroda* (centre-liberal). Tabloid newspapers were excluded, although they frequently portrayed immigrants in negative and populist ways. There were only 28 references to the Vietnamese (in Slovakia) in these three newspapers in the whole of 2003, which underlines their lack of visibility in Slovak society. When mentioned, this was most frequently (10 instances) as refugees and asylum seekers, often in connection with illegal border crossings:

"Slovak Police accused 2 traffickers who tried to smuggle a group of 18 Vietnamese illegal migrants via the Czech-Slovak border. One of the migrants, a 54 year old female, died of exhaustion in difficult forest terrain." (*Pravda* daily 15.07.2003)

The Slovak media also mentioned the Vietnamese as smugglers and criminals (5 instances). This image was reinforced by official press releases that were reproduced in these newspapers:

‘Shops with cheap Asian goods have increased rapidly in number in Slovak cities. Most of the traders originate in China and Vietnam, they do not pay custom duties and taxes, and they sell at ‘dumping’ prices. Slovak producers cannot compete with them. The money earned in these businesses does not stay in Slovakia.’ (Press release by Slovak Custom Authority: Národná Obroda daily 16.10.2003)”

The very limited reporting of the Vietnamese in Slovakia rarely went beyond the stereotype of ‘foreigners’ and traders, who wanted to profit from Slovak (and EU) citizenship. The Sme Daily reproduced this stereotype, when reporting the numbers who had obtained citizenship:

“Some 3484 foreigners became Slovak citizens in 2002. Various nations have different reasons for asking for Slovak citizenship. The Chinese and Albanians have security and economic reasons. The Vietnamese have been in Slovakia since the communist period and they are all entrepreneurs whose reasons are purely economical”’. (Sme daily 07.09.2003)

There were also derogatory comments about trading practices (four instances), suggesting that the Vietnamese were devious and sold low-quality goods:

“The City of Košice has the largest open-air ‘flea’ market in Slovakia. A Vietnamese trader offered us Adidas’ men’s bathing suits for Sk 600 (15 euro). Neither the quality nor the price of the goods, however, was convincing. We asked about the guarantee period, but the Vietnamese denied there was any such thing.” (Sme daily 06.06.2003).

Although some interviewees reported experiencing racism, three quarters did not consider this to be important or significant – although this does not necessarily mean it did not exist. However, this accords with a general disinterest on the part of the Slovak population, and a higher level of toleration of the Vietnamese, than of other ethnic minorities. The 1999 FOCUS survey of racial tolerance (Vašečka, 2001, p. 236), for example, found that only 28 percent had negative opinions of the Vietnamese compared to 56 percent of Ukrainian immigrants. This was also less than for long established minorities: for example, the Roma (90 percent) and Hungarians (53 percent). Higher tolerance of the Vietnamese was also demonstrated in the Slovak Helsinki Committee survey (2000). Only 11 percent of basic and middle school students in Bratislava stated that they would mind having a Vietnamese classmate, lower than for the Roma (38 percent) and Hungarians (15 percent). This does not belittle the very real experiences of racism, of some interviewees. However, they seem to have developed relatively low-conflict cohabitation with the Slovak population, without losing their own identity, and this is linked to ethnic enclavism. Ethnic enclavism occurs mostly in terms of residence at the scale of individual apartment blocks, and does not apply, for example, to their children’s schooling. There is, therefore, no direct equivalent to, say, California, where Little Saigon (Westminster City) has over 2000 Vietnamese owned businesses, many of them largely selling to the Vietnamese community (McLaughlin and Jesilow, 1998). Yet the sense of ethnic collectivism has been important in the economic trajectory of individual Vietnamese migrants, opening and reinforcing opportunities in market trading, while closing off some alternative pathways.

THE FUTURE PATHWAYS OF SLOVAKIA'S VIETNAMESE COMMUNITY

The 1990s were the high point of Vietnamese market trading, but this pathway became increasingly problematic in the later stages of economic transition. As living standards recovered, demand declined for cheap consumer goods from market traders. Global retail chains, such as TESCO, Carrefour and Billa, entered the Slovak market, offering a larger range of goods at relatively low prices, with guarantees and after sales service. Meanwhile, reflecting changes in the post 1989 regime, there was growing competition from more recent Chinese migrants. Initially, the key event was the waiving of visas to Hungary in 1989, leading to significant Chinese immigration. The subsequent reimposition of Hungarian visa requirement in 1992 led to further re-migration to Slovakia and other adjoining countries (IOM, 1998; Nyiri, 2003), which was facilitated by Slovakia's relatively favourable regime for business migration. The Chinese had stronger financial resources and supply chains and were highly competitive (Williams and Baláž, 2005).

Vietnamese experiences partly mirror those of other ethnic minorities in Europe. For example, Pecoud (2003: 505) writing about Turkish entrepreneurs in Germany, commented that: 'immigrant entrepreneurs are concentrated in unpromising sectors of the economy and work considerably more hours than employed immigrants, not to mention family members' undeclared work'. The Vietnamese were already reaching the limits of self-exploitation before the arrival of Chinese competitors and transnational retail capital: they had exhausted their ability to adapt their trading model to respond to intense competition in an 'unpromising sector'. The number of Vietnamese market traders, and indeed traders generally, has declined sharply in recent years, indicative of a major shift in pathways.

Our research examined the likely future trajectories of those who remained in market trading. Interviewees were asked to rank their preferred country of residence in ten years time on a scale from 5, definitely yes, to 1, definitely not (Table 4). Staying in Slovakia and continuing their present business received the strongest positive affirmation (although with an average score of only 3.6). This was followed by a preference to remain in Slovakia whilst engaging in a different type of business (2.9). There were many and predictable reasons for their continuing attachment to Slovakia. Vu (34) – first phase - had come to Slovakia to study in a forestry middle school, and after 19 years he had strong local ties:

"I married a white woman, and we have a two-year old daughter. I want her to be a doctor. Most of my friends are Slovak. I want to stay in this country and my daughter is likely to stay here as well."

Returning to Vietnam was the least favoured option (2.2) particularly amongst first phase migrants. Even Phan (32), who had only been in Slovakia for 5 years, and was less certain about his future plans, did not consider returning to Vietnam:

“My cousin has a shop here. I import goods for him, mostly textile, shoes, cosmetics and toys. I think I will stay in this country but I am also considering moving to France, Germany or the UK.”

Similar patterns emerged in their preferred options for their children. Most wanted their children to live in Slovakia as Slovak citizens (3.4) or to be both Vietnamese and Slovak citizens (3.2). Some wanted their children to move to another EU country (3.0). Once again, there was little preference for returning to Vietnam (2.4) especially amongst first phase migrants. My (31) had come to Slovakia 13 years ago and sold traditional Asian medicines. She planned to stay in Slovakia, but thought her children might leave, although not for Vietnam:

“We have two children, and we want them to become a doctor and an engineer. Hopefully they will keep their Slovak citizenship and stay here, but they might move to the USA.”

Nguyen (42) had come to work in an armaments factory, 21 years ago, and definitely wanted to stay in Slovakia:

“My children are Slovak citizens and I want them to become teachers. They should teach Vietnamese children in Slovakia”

As these individual quotations indicate, there is a strong preference for their children to acquire different jobs, especially as doctors, lawyers, engineers or other professions (Table 4). These preferences were strongest among the first phase migrants, which is hardly surprising as one third were University graduates and they clearly understood the advantages of investing in human capital. In contrast, second phase migrants were more likely to have a preference for their children to continue trading. In part, this was because many had brought their children from Vietnam, and their late entry into the Slovak educational system, combined with language difficulties, had been obstacles to obtaining educational qualifications.

As for most migrants, the Vietnamese were conscious of a tension between adherence to traditional values, and the desire for their children to map out new pathways in Slovak or other western societies. There is an interesting parallel with research on young Vietnamese in New Orleans (Zhou and Bankston III, 1994) which indicated that the children of the post-1975 immigrants tended to identify with the traditional values of their parents, such as obedience, industriousness and a strong work ethic. The challenge was to combine these values with those required for social advancement in the local society. In many ways, this exemplifies the tension between path dependency and path creation in the future trajectories of the lives of migrants and their children, a theme that we discuss further in the conclusions.

CONCLUSIONS: A PATH-DEPENDENT PATH-CREATING PERSPECTIVE

This paper has sought to contribute to the limited research on Asian minorities in Central Eastern Europe, through a study of Vietnamese migration to Slovakia, focussing particularly on shifts in migration regimes and on social relationships with

the Slovak population. By way of conclusion, we reflect on this migration, and the employment of the Vietnamese, through the lenses of path dependency and path creation.

The first phase of migration was strongly characterised by path dependency, with migration being regulated by inter-state agreements, and tight border controls. Migrants were selected, via a highly controlled process, and effectively were allocated not only to particular countries, but also to particular training courses or industries. Reflecting broader gender relationships, they were mainly young men, and in keeping with the dominant development ideology, they were mostly allocated to manufacturing firms. After 1989, the Slovak economy experienced deep restructuring, major industrial closures, and high unemployment, especially in the period 1989-1993 (Williams et al, 1998) when most Vietnamese work permits expired. They then faced three alternative pathways: to return to Vietnam, move to another country, or finding a way to survive in Slovakia. Most migrants left Slovakia: path dependency of course characterised the pathways of those who returned to Vietnam, but less so those who moved to other countries.

The experiences of those who remained in Slovakia were characteristically path-dependent. Past events and investments influenced entry into market trading. This was not deterministic. However, there were only limited economic pathways available in the face of massive industrial restructuring and the very specific human capital they had acquired in their formal employment and training. Whether it was a 'sub-optimal' pathway at that time is debateable. It clearly was in relation to their under-used human capital was not necessarily so in terms of the prevailing economic environment. Over time, however, market trading appeared increasingly sub-optimal as economic conditions changed during the course of economic transition. Market trading appeared increasingly sub-optimal, but the Vietnamese appeared locked into this pathway. In broad terms, the reasons for this lie in the localized nature of learning (that is from current and recent activities), and the linkages between the two phases of migration. This paper has sought to look beyond this general perspective by examining the microfoundations of the path-dependent path-creating experiences of Vietnamese market trading: changes in migration regimes, and in relationships with the majority community have been highlighted as particularly important.

The first wave of migrants were able to create new pathways by building on their experiences of informal activities and utilising their social networks. In the latter years of state socialism, some Vietnamese migrants had produced jeans and other clothing for sale or exchange, working in their spare time, often in their dormitories. This yielded material capital, and knowledge of selling, valuable resources for market trading. They also used their ethnic networks in Vietnam and Slovakia, respectively, to source goods and further material capital. Therefore, their entry into market trading after 1989 can be seen as a creative response to shortages, building on their existing resources and previous experiences.

Obstacles to acquiring citizenship and, to some extent, stereotyping and racism, mediated relationships with Slovaks in the 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1992). While further constraining some pathways for Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia, these also created opportunities, not least because - as Marger (2001: 440) has argued - shared

adversities constitute a 'collectivising force'. These path-dependent path-creating experiences also accord with Meyer's (2001: 103) view that not only do supply and demand shape networks but 'supply and demand is shaped by the networks, by their actors and intermediaries'. They also adapted creatively by employing *tai* or 'white women' to front their business, acting as buffers in their dealings with both the authorities and customers. They were also persistent, and willing to take risks, in order to establish a niche in petty trading. One interviewee, Nguyen, expressed this in the following terms: "We (traders) cope with many hurdles and risks, but never give up. If one business fails, we switch to another one. We are very flexible.'

However, the relationship between the immigrant entrepreneurs (the actors) and the opportunity structures and constraints that they encountered in Slovakia requires careful unpacking. There is evidence of path creation. As Kloosterman and Rath (2001: 192) state: 'Entrepreneurs are not just responding to static opportunity structures, but are able to change and mould them through innovative behaviour and thereby create opportunities that up till then did not exist'. However, while this applies to a small number of pioneers, there is a much larger number of followers (Carroll, 1997), and it is less clear that they are creating new pathways. Once a pathway had been created into market trading, most of the other Vietnamese entrepreneurs largely accepted the existing opportunity and constraint structures. In that sense, they became locked into path dependency which became increasingly sub-optimal as the external environment changed. They may have been flexible, as Nguyen suggested, but mostly this was only within the pathway of market trading.

The experiences of the second phase migrants, in particular, chime with this more path-dependent perspective. Family reunification saw spouses and children following earlier migrants, who were also instrumental in arranging business visas for family and friends to join them as 'partners' in market trading. Boyd (1989: 661), writing about social networks, captures the essence of such relationships:

'Social networks based on kinship, friendship and community mediate between individual actors and larger structural forces. They link sending and receiving countries. And they explain the continuation of migration long after the original impetus for migration has ended'.

Belief in a collectivist orientation, and placing family needs before those of the individual, were deeply rooted in Vietnamese culture (Johnson, 2003: 136), whilst ethnic collectivism was reinforced by their experiences in Slovakia. Ethnic collectivism, while a resource enabling path creation in respect of entering market trading initially, also had the contrary effect of reducing future opportunities; many traders became locked into market trading, and found it difficult to develop alternative pathways in the face of increased competition and declining demand. This is because employment-based ethnic networks are double edged. On the one hand, they can provide 'safe havens' (Vasta, 2004: 16) for those excluded from other employment arenas. The networks then become 'places and spaces of solidarity where social capital circulates to the benefits of its members' (Vasta, 2004: 13-14). But a combination of strong internal and weak external group ties can lead to the exclusion of knowledge and resources, thereby weakening the capacity to respond to new challenges. This, to some extent, has been the experience of Vietnamese

traders in recent years. They faced a narrowing of development pathways and of the options for creating new opportunities. It is apposite here to note Chaudhry and Crick's (2003) comment on small Asian businesses in the UK: they argue that adapting to change requires not only material capital and managerial skills, but also flexibility. As noted earlier, the flexibility of the Vietnamese migrants seems to have been constrained.

The last point leads to a consideration of the future pathways that may be taken by the Vietnamese migrants, some 30 or more years since the first major phase of migration began. Of course, some forms of market and petty trading will survive, and some Vietnamese migrants will probably remain in this sector. But their preferences for their own futures, and those of their children, indicate tension between path creation and path dependency. The acquisition of Slovak language skills, localised ethnic networks, and localised family ties all contribute to path dependency at least in terms of remaining in Slovakia. The extent to which they will be able to exercise path creation through establishing new types of business activities is, however, questionable, particularly given rapid changes in the intensity and sophistication of economic relationships in Slovakia. To some extent, this is reflected in strong preferences that their children's careers will be in other sectors, and possibly in other countries. But, even in this respect, there are significant differences between the first- and second-phase migrants, who entered Slovakia under very different migration regimes.

A number of policy implications can be drawn from this study. First, that path dependency can lead to sub-optimal use of human capital, and the Vietnamese migrant community require assistance to adjust to the consequences of this, as market trading has declined in recent years. Secondly, the nature of path dependency is an argument for early intervention to help migrant groups to realise their full economic potential, and to avoid lock-in sub-optimality. Thirdly, and as observed in other countries, there are limits to the extent to which changes in migration policy regimes can engineer changes in migration: the earlier phases of migration mediate the scale, composition and economic implications of subsequent migration flows. Finally, the Vietnamese experiences in Slovakia demonstrate the economic potential of collectivism, although this is highly time and place contingent, and is not necessarily transferable.

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Table 1: Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia: education and motivations

A. Education	Date of arrival in Slovakia		
	<i>Post 1989</i>	<i>Before and including 1989</i>	<i>Total</i>
(contingency coefficient 0.213)**			
Basic & middle	34	33	67
University graduate	5	15	20
Total	39	48	87
B. Reasons for coming to Slovakia			
Job (contingency coefficient 0.292)***			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	6	21	27
Other responses	33	27	60
Total	39	48	87
Family (contingency coefficient 0.189)*			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	23	19	42
Other responses	16	29	45
Total	39	48	87
I wanted to leave Vietnam (contingency coefficient 0.357)****			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	11	32	43
Other responses	28	16	44
Total	39	48	87

Source: Authors' survey.

Notes: **** significant on the 0.001 level *** significant on the 0.01 level. ** significant on the 0.05 level. * significant on the 0.1 level.

Table 2: Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia: sources of support for entering market trading

How important were following people for starting your business	Date of arrival in Slovakia		
	Post 1989	Up to and including 1989	Total
Family (contingency coefficient 0.325) ^{***}			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	33	25	58
Other responses	6	23	29
Total	39	48	87
Vietnamese friends in Slovakia (contingency coefficient 0.202) [*]			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	36	37	73
Other responses	3	11	14
Total	39	48	87
Slovak friends (contingency coefficient 0.268) ^{***}			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	5	18	23
Other responses	34	30	64
Total	39	48	87
Business friends abroad (contingency coefficient 0.431) ^{****}			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	4	27	31
Other responses	35	21	56
Total	39	48	87

Source: Authors' survey.

Notes: **** significant on the 0.001 level *** significant on the 0.01 level. ** significant on the 0.05 level. * significant on the 0.1 level.

Table 3: Major problems encountered by Vietnamese migrants in Slovakia

Type of problem	Date of arrival in Slovakia		
	<i>Post 1989</i>	<i>Up to and including 1989</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Racism</i> (contingency coefficient 0.268) ^{***}			
Definitely important & very important	5	18	23
Other responses	34	30	64
Total	39	48	87
<i>Slovak authorities</i> (contingency coefficient 0.328) ^{****}			
Definitely important & very important	11	30	41
Other responses	28	18	46
Total	39	48	87
<i>Different climate and culture</i> (contingency coefficient 0.243) ^{**}			
Definitely important & very important	5	15	20
Other responses	34	33	67
Total	39	48	87
<i>Slovak language</i> (contingency coefficient 0.308) ^{***}			
Definitely important & very important	31	23	54
Other responses	8	25	33
Total	39	48	87

Source: Authors'survey.

Notes: **** significant on the 0.001 level; *** significant on the 0.01 level. ** significant on the 0.05 level.

Table 4: Future occupational and migration trajectories

A. Where do you want live in 10 years time?	Date of arrival in Slovakia		
Stay in Slovakia but in a different business (cont. coeff. 0.190)*	<i>Post 1989</i>	<i>Up to and including 1989</i>	<i>Total</i>
Definitely yes & very likely yes	14	9	23
Other responses	25	39	64
Total	39	48	87
Return to Vietnam (contingency coefficient 0.179)*			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	7	3	10
Other responses	32	45	77
Total	39	48	87
B. Where do you want your children to work in future?			
I want them return to Vietnam (contingency coefficient 0.285)***			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	11	3	14
Other responses	28	45	73
Total	38	48	87
C. Which professions do you wish your children to have?			
Businesspeople in other sectors (contingency coefficient 0.286)***			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	16	7	23
Other responses	23	41	64
Total	39	48	87
Engineer or technician (contingency coefficient 0.289)***			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	24	42	66
Other responses	15	6	21
Total	39	48	87
Doctor, lawyer or economist (contingency coefficient 0.315)***			
Definitely yes & very likely yes	24	43	67
Other responses	15	5	20
Total	39	48	87

Source: Authors' survey.

Notes: *** significant on the 0.01 level. * significant on the 0.1 level. Also note that only those preferred options with significant differences are included in this summary table.