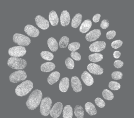


THE  
**Vietnamese Community  
in Great Britain**  
– THIRTY YEARS ON



A RUNNYMEDE COMMUNITY STUDY  
BY JESSICA MAI SIMS

RUNNYMEDE



## About Runnymede Community Studies

In reflecting on the changing nature of ethnic diversity in Britain, it becomes increasingly clear that we have to move beyond binary notions of white and non-white to explain the ways in which racisms operate, identities are formed and people live out their lives. The societies in which we live are becoming more diverse and will continue to diversify as migration patterns change, and the impacts of globalisation are reflected in labour markets as well as in transnational movement of capital.

This series of community studies aims to promote understanding of the diversity within and between different ethnic groups. Our intention is to build up a collection of studies which focus on communities; their demography, links to civil society, and key political and social issues. We hope that over time this will provide a rich resource for understanding how diversity is lived and experienced away from the necessarily crude ethnic monitoring form, in a vital and dynamic multi-ethnic society.

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# Vietnamese Community in Great Britain – Thirty Years On

JESSICA MAI SIMS

## The Vietnamese at a Glance

### Population and Geography

- As of the 2001 Census there were 22,954 people born in Vietnam in England and Wales; however since there is no explicit Vietnamese category, information about Vietnamese born in Britain is unknown
- Community organisations estimate there are at least 55,000 Vietnamese in England and Wales, 20,000 of whom are undocumented migrants and at least 5,000 overseas students
- In England and Wales, 60% of the people born in Vietnam live in London; over 1/3 of whom live in the boroughs of Lewisham, Southwark and Hackney

### Employment

- Among the first refugees, most were uneducated, had few transferable skills and did not speak English
- Over the last 5 years the nail industry has become the fastest growing UK Vietnamese business sector, accounting for over half of all Vietnamese businesses in London
- The nail industry and catering are speculated to be the largest employment sectors of Vietnamese workers
- Within London, people born in Vietnam between the ages of 16 to 64 were among the groups with the highest unemployment rates (23.5%); however, in Lewisham the unemployment rate of Vietnamese people is estimated to be as high as 60%

### Education

- Among the first refugees, it was estimated that 76% received education below secondary school level
- There is no Vietnamese category for ethnic monitoring purposes so educational achievement across the country is unknown
- The 2001 Census reported among people born in Vietnam within greater London, 18.7% had higher level qualifications, 15% lower than the London average
- Within the London Borough of Lambeth Vietnamese pupils, along with Indian and Chinese pupils, achieved higher results than other ethnic groups in the borough, with Vietnamese girls outperforming Vietnamese boys

### Housing

- A study by Refugee Action highlighted during the years up to 1993 Vietnamese people were concentrated in overcrowded Local Authority housing
- A more recent study on housing cited overcrowding, 'told to leave home', 'health/medical' and 'relationship breakdown' as commonly stated reasons for housing associations to house people from South East Asian backgrounds

### Health

- A PRIAE (2005) study of BME elderly showed there were high incidences of osteoporosis and memory problems among Chinese/Vietnamese elderly surveyed
- In 2004, the most commonly requested language for interpretation in Lewisham PCTs was Vietnamese
- The Vietnamese Mental Health Services have identified inability to speak English or understand its written form, unfamiliarity with the complex British health and social services system, lack of knowledge about relevant social welfare allowances, Vietnamese cultural beliefs, mainstream approach of services, lack of sympathy and support from professionals, and financial difficulties all as obstacles to Vietnamese gaining access to health services

### Immigration

- First refugees came between the years of 1975 and 1981. Most of these refugees were from North Vietnam and ethnically Chinese
- Family reunification during the 1980s accounted for the second migration movement from Vietnam to the UK
- More recently migrants from Vietnam have come in the form of asylum seekers, undocumented migrants and overseas students

### Religion

- Buddhism and Christianity are the two main faiths followed by the Vietnamese

## Relevant Organisations and Websites

### Abbeyfield Cambridge Vietnamese Society

An Lac House  
280 Coldham Lane  
Cambridge CB1 3HN  
Tel: 012 2350 1019

### An-Viet Foundation

An Viet House  
12-14 Englefield Road  
London N1 4LS  
Tele: 0171 275 7780  
Web: <http://members.aol.com/anvietuk>

### Bexley Vietnamese Community

11 Marran Way  
Thamesmead  
Erith  
Kent DA18 4BP  
Tel: 020 8310 0138

### Bristol & District

#### Vietnamese Refugees Community

Ujima House  
97-107 Wilder Street  
Bristol BS1 8QU  
Tel: 011 7944 5657

### Community Centre for Refugees from Vietnam, Laos & Cambodia

151 Whiston Road  
London E2 8BN  
Tel: 020 7739 3650

### Community of Refugees from Vietnam – East London

119 East India Dock Road  
London E14 6DE  
Tel: 020 7538 4986  
Email: [crveastlondon@aol.com](mailto:crveastlondon@aol.com)

### Deptford Vietnamese Project

Lind Clinic  
James Lind House  
Grove Street  
London SE8 3QF  
Tel: 020 8692 8830

### Federation of Refugees from Vietnam in Lewisham

Evelyn Community Centre  
Wotton Road  
Deptford SE8 5TQ  
Tel: 020 8694 0952

### Greenwich Vietnam Community

3-4 Bereford Street  
Woolwich SE18 6BB  
Tel: 020 8854 9907  
Email: [Vietnam\\_greenwich@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:Vietnam_greenwich@yahoo.co.uk)

### Greenwich Vietnamese Women's Group

c/o Community Centre  
16 Leslie Smith Square  
Woolwich SE18 4DW

### Lien Viet Housing Association

100 Morning Lane  
London E9 6LH  
Tel: 020 8986 6123  
Web: <http://www.lienviet.org.uk>

### Midlands Vietnamese Refugees Community Association

8 Charleville Road  
Handsworth  
Birmingham B19 1DA  
Tel: 012 1554 9685

### Nottingham Vietnamese Centre

30 Wiverton Road  
Forest Field  
Nottingham NG7 6NP  
Tel: 011 5969 1288

### Portsmouth Vietnamese Association

Friendship House  
Elm Grove  
Southsea  
Portsmouth PO5 1JT  
Tel: 023 9275 5727

### Southwest London Vietnamese Community Association

44 Church Road  
Teddington  
Middlesex TW11 8PB  
Tel: 020 8943 4842

### Southwark Social Services Family Resource Team-South Vietnamese Family Support Project

Sumner House  
Sumner Road  
London SE15 5QS  
Tel: 020 7525 0598

### Vietnamese Development Centre

34 Holyhead Road  
Handsworth  
Birmingham B21 0LT  
Tel: 0121 551 7751  
Web: <http://www.vdc.org.uk>

### Vietnamese Education Network

28 The Heights  
London SE7 8JH  
Tel: 020 8858 3729

### Vietnamese Mental Health Services

Thomas Calton Centre  
Alpha Street  
SE 15 4NX  
Tel: 020 7639 2288  
Website: <http://www.vmhs.org.uk>

### The Vietnamese Professional Society

60 Hurstbourne Road  
London SE23 2AB  
Web: [www.vps-uk.org](http://www.vps-uk.org)

### Vietnamese Refugee Community in Croydon

Cornerstone House  
14 Willis Road  
Croydon CR0 2XX  
Tel: 020 8665 0713

### Vietnamese Refugees Community in Northampton

Farm House  
Rectory Farm  
Olden  
Northampton NN3 5DD

### Vietnamese Women Group – Southwark

Top Floor  
Bellenden Old School  
Bellenden Road  
London SE15 4DG  
Tel: 020 7277 8642

### West & Northwest London Vietnamese Association

58b Bulwer Street  
London W12 8AP  
Tel: 020 8742 9745

## Introduction

The Vietnamese are just one of the many ethnic groups in the United Kingdom that never quite make it into the public consciousness. Unlike the Chinese community, their perceived cultural ally, the Vietnamese community is very small. Despite the majority of refugees from Vietnam being in fact ethnically Chinese, there is a definite distinction between people of the Vietnamese community and Chinese community in the UK. The reality of the Vietnamese flight from Vietnam as political refugees is just one reason why the two communities might not see eye to eye. Mr Lê, who works in a Vietnamese community organisation, puts it this way:

In terms of the Chinese, apart from having Soho, they also have a very strong business network. And because they are not refugees, they are immigrants mainly from Hong Kong – and there are also Chinese students – they have very close contact with the Chinese Embassy. Last year for the New Year they had quite a lot of financial support from the government. This is something that would never happen in the Vietnamese community.

Unlike the Chinese, who have a longer history in the UK, the Vietnamese are not monitored by the government as a settled minority. Any monitoring that does occur is often in the category of ‘country of birth’ which disregards the generation of Vietnamese born in the UK. So not as much is known about the Vietnamese as one might expect, and the task of understanding them, and their place in wider British society, is enough of a challenge to qualify them as one of many ‘less visible’ communities in Britain.

Despite the majority of Vietnamese people having come to Britain nearly thirty years ago as refugees, there has been no large-scale study of their experiences here. Since the first influx of Vietnamese refugees, subsequent ‘waves’ of immigration have taken the form of family reunions, overseas students, asylum-seekers and undocumented workers. Arriving as refugees, the first Vietnamese migrated to the UK under

unfavourable economic conditions. Most of them were from rural backgrounds, challenging social conditions and were largely completely new to the English language and British society and culture. Once in the UK, these refugees were forcibly dispersed around the country into what were effectively pockets of isolation.

Existing research of the Vietnamese in Britain has concentrated on the first large wave of immigration, or the first refugees. This information gives us a picture of the Vietnamese as poorly educated, with few transferable employment skills and a debilitating lack of English-language competence – but the information largely stops there. From accounts gathered during research, one could infer that, emerging from this disadvantaged background, the next generation have been seizing opportunities in education and employment in order to raise their position in society. But the lack of information we have on the Vietnamese makes it extremely difficult to isolate and address problems that individuals from this group may be facing. Without knowing the barriers associated with engaging with the community, service providers will be hard pressed to deliver equitable service.

A lack of participation of Vietnamese people as a group, as well as a lack of information, was a key issue which emerged through research. One cannot think of the Vietnamese community and their British-born children solely as the refugees who arrived as ‘boat people’ nearly 30 years ago. Nowadays the composition of the Vietnamese community is varied. The different subcategories that we assume make up a Vietnamese community – the first-generation refugees, the British-born Vietnamese, the undocumented migrants, the asylum seekers, the overseas students – will have their own set of pressing socio-economic issues. Equating the needs of the group with the needs for every Vietnamese individual would be impractical if not contradictory. In order to attempt to understand the dynamics of the Vietnamese community in Britain today, some in-depth and long-term research would need to be done. What we are presenting here is an initial sample of the views of Vietnamese individuals we were in contact

with via a range of community groups, Vietnamese service-providing charities and a Vietnamese social association. Our report attempts to discuss obstacles to engaging with Vietnamese people due to possible language barriers, their perceived lack of confidence in accessing public institutions, and internal divisions within the community.

The second section of the report explores the identity of British-born Vietnamese (BBV) who are constructing their identities from the influences of their parents' more traditionally Vietnamese values and those of British society. This group, for whom language and familiarity with institutions do not pose barriers, focus more on cultural discovery and recognition. The issues surrounding the identity of the second generation provide insight on how small and dispersed communities, like the Vietnamese community, can transmit and perpetuate cultural traditions across subsequent generations and why this cultural identity is important.

This report aims to present the reader with a snapshot of the Vietnamese community in Britain,

with particular focus on the London area. The principal use of this report will be to provide a general-interest briefing on one of the many groups that make up multi-ethnic Britain, which will assist policymakers in their task of interpreting the key issues and barriers to inclusion that segments of the Vietnamese community face, and to some extent that second generation of Vietnamese themselves, who may be searching for commonality and belonging both within the Vietnamese community and British society.

This research hopes to stimulate debate within the Vietnamese community about what it means to be British Vietnamese, and set up a broader conversation among the wider society on the subject of what is really known about groups swallowed up by the 'Other' ethnic group category. Our brief picture of the Vietnamese community highlights the issues of lack of information, participation and inclusion of Vietnamese people in British society, and what a British Vietnamese identity may look like through the eyes of its second generation.

## The Vietnamese Community

### Immigration and Settlement

The Vietnam War of the 1960s to 1970s caused a mass exodus of Vietnamese people as refugees. Notably, with the fall of Saigon in 1975 after many years of civil war, many felt they had no choice but to leave the country. Mainly they sought refuge in the United States, France and Australia; the United Kingdom was only marginally involved in accepting Vietnamese refugees in the early stages. Initially 32 Vietnamese people were allowed into the country, 300 given leave to remain in 1975, and just three the following year.<sup>1</sup> It was not until border disputes with China and the subsequent Chinese invasion of Vietnam in the late 1970s that Britain began to accept more Vietnamese refugees. As relations between China and Vietnam began to deteriorate, ethnically Chinese Vietnamese citizens predominantly from Northern Vietnam began to lose their properties and jobs in a

government-sponsored campaign to force them out of the country. As this group of refugees from Vietnam began to flee, many made their way via boats to Hong Kong, where they were placed in refugee camps, with some selected for resettlement in the UK. A total of 22,577 refugees from South East Asia made their home in Britain from 1975 until 1988.<sup>2</sup> Due to the conditions of the second wave of immigration, it was estimated that at least 75% of the refugees were ethnically Chinese, with the majority originating from North Vietnam.

When the refugees reached Britain, they were placed in reception centres set up in order to teach refugees about British society, culture and language, and to be later dispersed in family units across the country. The dispersal policy was intended primarily to lessen the burden of cost of the care and integration process on receiving local authorities and supporting charities. Another key element in the dispersal policy was to forestall any 'ghettoisation' of the refugees from clustering in too much proximity with each other.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robinson & Hale (1989: 1)

<sup>2</sup> Hale (1992: 277)

<sup>3</sup> Robinson & Hale (1989: 6)



## Methodology

Although literature on the Vietnamese in the UK is sparse and lacks broadly-based quantitative data and qualitative research, what information does exist generally focuses on Vietnamese migration in the 1980s. We gathered our general information on the composition and specifics of the Vietnamese community by conducting five semi-structured interviews across London with Vietnamese service-providing charities, a refugee charity, a business support and training company, and a Vietnamese social association.<sup>4</sup> Interviewees were allowed to discuss the topics they thought most pressing. In addition, the author visited and involved herself in various events and cultural exhibitions in Lewisham, Hackney and Southwark, in order to acquire an understanding of Vietnamese social relations in the London boroughs with the largest Vietnamese populations.

Interview transcripts revealed that the identity of the younger generation was a notably recurring theme. A snowball survey explored interviewees' feelings about Vietnamese and British identity, participation in and opinions about community service-providing organisations and community-sponsored activities, and observations on the current generation of BBV youth. This survey was made available online and also sent to some community organisations, with the bulk of the 22 respondents found through the services of a Vietnamese professional association. Of the people who wished to disclose their demographic profile, respondents' ages ranged from 14 to 45, with the majority of respondents being between the ages of 20 and 35, and British citizens born in Vietnam, who currently live in London.<sup>5</sup>

In order to focus more on the younger generation, a questionnaire was administered to a small sample of ten BBV young people (ages 18–30) contacted through an online friend networking service.<sup>6</sup> The questions, focusing on intergenerational attitudes and opinions, were chosen in response to themes emerging from both the surveys and interviews. Opinions on identity, relationship to the community and culture, relations with family and friends, and public attitudes to and perceptions of the Vietnamese community were explored. Of this group, the majority of respondents were female between the ages of 18 and 26 and from London.

After the research phase, two discussions took place to explore the main findings of the report: an informal focus group and a roundtable discussion. The focus group was composed of members of a Vietnamese women's group, and was facilitated by the group's coordinator.

Of the six participants, two were Vietnamese speakers from Vietnam, three Cantonese speakers from Vietnam, and one Cantonese speaker from Cambodia.<sup>7</sup> The roundtable discussion gathered together Vietnamese community workers, an academic and representatives from local councils. The focus group and the roundtable discussion were held to present and examine the main findings of the report.<sup>8</sup>

Through these methods of data collection and a literature review, key themes of social interaction were uncovered. However, because there is an information deficit of the Vietnamese in the UK, data is limited and therefore ought not to be interpreted as representing the final word on their community. While useful in gaining the respondents' opinions on a few key issues, the snowball survey was admittedly restricted, relying on community organisations to disperse it to their contacts, and available only in English. The benefit of contacting questionnaire participants through the friend networking service meant that new voices were unearthed, although, as with the survey, the sample was small. This report does not claim to portray a complete picture of the

opinions or activities of the entire younger generation, or all Vietnamese in Britain for that matter, especially as the primary research was mostly limited to those living in or from London. By compiling the available secondary literature and conducting primary research it is hoped the reader will gain a clearer picture of some of the dynamics and debates within the Vietnamese community today.

<sup>4</sup> The names of the people interviewed were changed by the author.

<sup>5</sup> Names were created for each participant according to the order they completed the survey.

Survey Respondent One was therefore given the name 'SR Một' (một meaning 'one' in Vietnamese); etc.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the participants were changed by the author to ensure anonymity; pseudonyms are English or Vietnamese as appropriate to the original name given.

<sup>7</sup> The focus group was conducted in English, Vietnamese and Cantonese. The interviewer would ask the participants questions in English, which would then be translated into either Vietnamese or Cantonese by the group's coordinator.

<sup>8</sup> The feedback generated in the discussion has been incorporated into the final report.

Through lack of adequate support networks in the reception communities, the dispersal had the effect of causing isolation. Rejecting the policy, many Vietnamese attempted to relocate to larger cities looking for job opportunities, community and family support.<sup>9</sup> The trend of secondary migration showed that Vietnamese were moving to where there were more Vietnamese: more remote areas lost their populations, while the populations in London, Birmingham and Manchester increased. Family reunification during this settlement process increased<sup>10</sup> the overall Vietnamese population and intensified local concentrations.

The most recent wave of Vietnamese immigration has taken the form of asylum-seekers, undocumented guest workers reportedly coming by way of Eastern Europe, and overseas students. Between the years of 2000-2005, the Home Office reported that there were 3680 principal applicants for asylum (i.e. excluding dependents) from Vietnam.<sup>11</sup> During that period at least 55 were recognised as refugees and granted asylum and 765 granted exceptional leave, humanitarian protection or discretionary leave, or 1.6 % and 20.7% of the total cases respectively.<sup>12</sup> Community organisations have estimated that there may be up to 20,000 undocumented Vietnamese migrants living in the UK, and unsuccessful asylum-seekers may account for some of them.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Vietnamese overseas students, who tend not to remain in the UK after their studies, are estimated to number over 5,000.<sup>14</sup>

### *Population*

Since the reception phase of the arrival of Vietnamese refugees in the UK, there has been no further wide-scale monitoring of Vietnamese people. This lack of monitoring means there is no clear demographic picture of the Vietnamese

population and how they access British society and institutions. There have been estimates of at least 22,000 Vietnamese-born people living in England and Wales, 60% of whom reside in London. This figure would not include the British-born Vietnamese.<sup>15</sup> Taking into account those born in Vietnam, those born in the UK, undocumented migrants and overseas students, community organisations estimate there are at least 55,000 Vietnamese in the UK.

### *Education*

Education is said to be highly prized among the Vietnamese community, not only because it forms the basis for all learning, but it also promotes the, "cultivation of spiritual and personal worth."<sup>16</sup> Seen as the primary marker of social mobility, education provides individuals with the skills to communicate, relate and adapt to society, and qualify for employment. Negligible monitoring data on the Vietnamese, however, means that the information we have tends to be anecdotal. For example, it has been estimated that among the first refugees at least 76% received education below secondary school level.<sup>17</sup> Somewhat in contradiction of these low figures, Khanh, a 23-year-old BBV woman, described the attitude of the older generation towards education thus:

As [Vietnam] wasn't as 'Well Off' as Britain you'd tend to see that Vietnamese parents will encourage their children to study hard and use the facilities of this country, because in Vietnam not everyone was able to study up to an older age, so they see more value to it. This leads to pressuring to study and to study well. I haven't ever heard of a Vietnamese person who hasn't gone to university yet.

The data that does exist on educational attainment is neither thorough nor complete. From the 2001 Census we know that among people born in Vietnam within greater London, 18.7% had higher-level qualifications, almost 15% below the London average.<sup>18</sup> A small-scale study by Lambeth Education Authority in 2000 reported that on average Vietnamese pupils along with Indian and Chinese pupils achieved higher

<sup>9</sup> Tomlins et al. (2001: 509)

<sup>10</sup> Robinson & Hale (1989: 18 & 20)

<sup>11</sup> Heath et al. (2006: 39 & 40)

<sup>12</sup> Heath et al. (2006: 39 & 40)

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Mr. Lê

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Mr Lê

<sup>15</sup> Spence (2005: 112)

<sup>16</sup> Lam & Martin (1996)

<sup>17</sup> Hale (1992: 279)

<sup>18</sup> Spence (2005: 33)



results than other ethnic groups in the borough.<sup>19</sup> However, when disaggregating the average by gender, statistics showed that girls outperformed boys in all key stages. The most glaring disparity in that data set showed that around 67% of girls achieved 5 or more A-C GCSEs, compared to 10% of boys, which was 8.3% and 17.9% lower than African Caribbean and African boys, respectively.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, in 2002, a school in Lewisham reported that the general student body “attained well below average standards in GCSE English... White, mixed race, and Vietnamese boys had relatively lower points scores than other ethnic groups.”<sup>21</sup> Though these two examples of underachievement cannot speak for the educational experience of all Vietnamese in general or Vietnamese boys in particular, it is perhaps an area of wide scale inequality that could warrant further investigation.

### *Employment*

In the years immediately following settlement, Vietnamese refugees experienced difficulty entering the workforce. At the time of dispersal the Vietnamese were often sent to areas with above-average unemployment.<sup>22</sup> Raising further barriers to employment was the fact that many spoke little or no English. A study assessing the demography of Vietnamese refugees observed that the majority of those who had experienced long-term education came from the South – a minority of the total refugee population.<sup>23</sup> In addition, they had few transferable skills with which to enter the urban British labour force as many came from fishing and farming backgrounds.<sup>24</sup> The work available to the refugees at this time was predominantly in the catering industry, and later the garment industry.<sup>25</sup>

By the 1990s Vietnamese-owned businesses

had been established to service the needs of the community; these included restaurants, grocery stores, travel agencies and entertainment venues.<sup>26</sup> More recently, within the past five years, a new business phenomenon has been imported from America; using transnational family networks the British Vietnamese have imported the nail salon to cater to the British beauty industry. Nail salons have become the fastest-growing UK Vietnamese business sector, and account for over half of all Vietnamese businesses in London, where the majority of the Vietnamese population is found.<sup>27</sup> Currently it seems that nail salons and restaurants are employing more and more overseas students and other newly arrived immigrants from Vietnam as the second-generation Vietnamese move towards more ‘mainstream’ employment. In the 2001 Census it was reported that among the Vietnamese living within the Greater London area 28% of those born in Vietnam were working in the hotel and restaurant sector.<sup>28</sup> Even for these groups working in the catering and nail industries, people born in Vietnam between the ages of 16 to 64 were one of the groups with the highest unemployment rates within greater London, or 23.5% (excluding full-time students) compared to the London average of 6.8%.<sup>29</sup>

Employment figures for those from the second generation are not recorded. During the course of research, evidence suggested that as the BBV navigate through British society and education, they are less likely to stay within the typical community industries or family businesses. While the start-ups of new British Vietnamese businesses tend to be concentrated in the traditional sectors already established by the community, participation in other sectors will no doubt increase with each generation.<sup>30</sup> Ms Trần, a Vietnamese business adviser, described Vietnamese businesses as resembling family relationships, which can deter the second generation who are used to a more structured and clear system. With the opportunities afforded by British society, they have the option to either continue with family businesses or set out along their own path. The young people interviewed and surveyed illustrated the opportunities available by having jobs in areas such as information technology, catering, the arts, sales, education and the voluntary sector.

<sup>19</sup> Demie (2001: 101)

<sup>20</sup> Demie (2001: 100)

<sup>21</sup> Gilles (2002: 51)

<sup>22</sup> Robinson & Hale (1989: 7)

<sup>23</sup> Edholm et al. (1993: 38)

<sup>24</sup> Hale (1992: 279)

<sup>25</sup> ‘Vietnamese London’

<sup>26</sup> Vuong (2006: 15)

<sup>27</sup> Bagwell (2)

<sup>28</sup> Spence (2005: 69)

<sup>29</sup> Spence (2005: 54)

<sup>30</sup> Bagwell (9)

## Barriers to Engagement

On most occasions, Vietnamese have the opportunity to identify themselves as 'Asian Other', 'Chinese' or 'Other'; rarely as Vietnamese. As already observed, besides the lack of official monitoring, there is a general lack of information concerning the Vietnamese living in Britain. In order to fully assess their needs, more in depth monitoring and research would need to occur. As an example of the ramifications of this lack of information, one woman from the roundtable discussion mentioned the lack of government monitoring meant it was nearly impossible isolating Vietnamese in need of housing assistance. The lack of information can thus undermine assistance that is available, and can exacerbate other pressing issues, namely language barriers, lack of confidence and lack of strong community identity. These issues hinder engagement with the Vietnamese as a group in the public sphere, and without efforts to engage, Vietnamese people will continue to be excluded from ordinary British consciousness and society.

### *Language*

Language is a major barrier to accessing public services within the Vietnamese community. Coming from rural Northern villages, many of the first refugees were often illiterate in Vietnamese, meaning learning English (including reading translated materials) was nearly impossible. Mr Lê stated up to 95% of his organisation's clients are unable to speak English, which is the primary reason they opt for services within the Vietnamese community. Even some younger clients who are able to speak English may have difficulty explaining health problems to their non-English-speaking family members and so require Vietnamese-speaking service providers.

The Lewisham NHS Primary Care Trusts report that among the 130 languages spoken in the borough the most common request for interpretation is Vietnamese.<sup>31</sup> During the focus group with members of a Vietnamese women's group, participants said using friends and family

as interpreters – in some cases even their young children – was common practice because they said interpreting services were not available at their GPs. This practice of using family was recognised as inappropriate because of the sometimes sensitive health issues discussed, but many of the women thought no other alternative was available. In another focus group study of Vietnamese community groups in Lewisham and Southwark, clients reported they were too intimidated to call emergency services, and admitted their inability to communicate made them feel 'helpless.'<sup>32</sup> The consequence of this language barrier is that people do not have information about available services and lack the confidence to ask for help, which severely limits their access to public services and their capacity to participate in wider society.

### *Confidence and Participation*

Sometimes language is not the principal barrier. Having the confidence to access conventional institutions was reported to provide a challenge for many Vietnamese in Britain. Black and minority ethnic groups have been found to be less likely to seek advice from public agencies than their white counterparts, and the Vietnamese community is no exception.<sup>33</sup> Among the community organisations consulted, all agreed that it is more common for people in the Vietnamese community to rely on their informal familial and community networks for help and advice. Ms Trần described the demeanour of the Vietnamese when confronted by the unfamiliar and intimidating institutional systems in Britain:

Vietnamese people tend to be reserved and shy coming to the building, and they have to sign in, they don't want to come... they rather come to the restaurant and see me in the restaurant.

'Shyness' was often brought up as a barrier to participation and engagement in interviews with members from different community organisations. This shyness created a difficulty for first-generation Vietnamese trying to use the standard British institutions to seek help and support. Among the community organisations interviewed, this inability to access mainstream services or provide written proof of their needs

<sup>31</sup> Arowobusoye (2004: 18)

<sup>32</sup> Free et al. (1999: 371)

<sup>33</sup> Bagwell (2006: 52)

severely inhibited the organisations from advocating on their behalf. As Mr Lê commented, “that is a disadvantage, that people in the community don’t make themselves known to the wider society, so the funders don’t think there is a need.”

Lack of confidence in navigating these services means more demand for services provided by Vietnamese organisations, which have difficulty sustaining them. This lack of confidence inhibits access to what should be conventional services and participation in other aspects of British society.

### *‘Community’ Cohesion?*

‘Community’ is a tenuous term when attempting to generalise about any group with perceived similarities; reality is much more complicated than designating all people with Vietnamese heritage as being part of ‘the Vietnamese Community’. This community has a common denomination of membership – a cultural or historical link to Vietnam – but is also extremely diverse through its multitude of internal divisions. During the research, the ‘types’ of people were loosely classified as separated by generation, arrival date, class position, involvement in crime, region of origin in Vietnam, and ‘true’ ethnicity. These subgroups do not necessarily share the same Vietnamese values or conception of what it means to belong to the Vietnamese community. However they are all recognised as being part of a Vietnamese community in the sense that they share a common identity of *Việt Kiều*, or being members of the overseas Vietnamese Diaspora. Through interaction, they are constantly redefining what it means to be Vietnamese, though each segment has its own pressing issues. Therefore, when conceptualising and making claims for the Vietnamese community, it is important to realise the diversity within, or as SR Sáu commented, “I guess when you say ‘Vietnamese community’; it’s a matter of which one.”

### *Internal Divisions*

The first Vietnamese came to the UK as refugees, and much of the legacy of Vietnam that has

survived with them has been the context of loss and instability. After these first refugees began to settle and start families in Britain, they started to become ‘the older generation’ of Vietnamese, and their children the ‘second generation’ of Vietnamese immigrants. These first refugees come from North, Central and South Vietnam, as reflected in their distinctive accents, regional culture and socio-economic development.

While popular perception may identify the first refugees as coming from the same country and experiences, in reality the North and South distinction is sometimes used to depict the two sides of an ideologically separated Vietnam, a communist North and a capitalist South.<sup>34</sup> Refugees from the South were more likely to be educated and come from the professional classes than their northern counterparts, further accentuating the North and South contrast in terms of economic development. This distinction between a North and South Vietnam that existed in the past was seen to cause unnecessary divisions in Britain’s present-day Vietnamese community. Mrs Võ who works for a refugee charity noted that regardless of region of origin, the children of these refugees would be afforded the same opportunities in this country. SR Sáu, a survey respondent, took issue with the continued association of North and South among the *Việt Kiều* and said: “I don’t really care, as if you’re Vietnamese, then you’re Vietnamese.” He further believed there were enduring problems and issues that caused, “diversion and separation rather than a united community.” Similarly, when speaking about the division between ethnically Vietnamese and ethnically Chinese people from Vietnam, Ms Trần, who identified herself as being of both Chinese and Vietnamese descent, made the simple distinction: “For me, as far as you were born or you were raised up or resident in Vietnam before coming to this country you’re Vietnamese.” Most of the Vietnamese refugees were from North Vietnam, and the majority of those from North Vietnam were in fact ethnically Chinese. Much like the North and South division, the distinction between who has an ‘authentic’ ethnic Vietnamese identity was also seen to cause an unnecessary division within the Vietnamese community.

The North and South, and Chinese and Vietnamese distinctions were primarily

34 Further specifying, people from North Vietnam pre-1954 usually refer to ‘Northerners’ moving to South Vietnam to escape communism after the French partition; these Vietnamese retain their regional loyalty by saying they are North Vietnamese, but they will at the same time elaborate on their ideological opposition to the communist Northern government.

mentioned in the context of a Vietnamese community comprised of Vietnamese refugees of the 70s and 80s, and their second-generation children. Other groups that were spoken of, most notably asylum-seekers, undocumented migrants and overseas students, were classified as newer immigrants who do not necessarily have contact with the first refugees or community organisations. These organisations have estimated that there may be up to 20,000 undocumented migrants living in the UK. As these migrants often use their own networks for assistance in housing and work, they are a group that even community organisations have little knowledge of.<sup>35</sup> Mr Lê, who manages a community organisation, speculated, “they don’t want services from the community, and there’s not so much that the community can help them when they’re here illegal and they’re not entitled to benefits.” However, asylum-seekers, a group that is entitled to assistance and benefits, also apparently have little interaction with Vietnamese community organisations.

Recently the government has made plans to deport 500 young unaccompanied asylum-seekers who had been brought to this country by organised crime networks.<sup>36</sup> This organised crime has been attributed in the media to ‘Vietnamese gangs’, who the police report as operating marijuana farms along with human trafficking.<sup>37</sup> Ms Võ speculated Vietnamese people would rather not hear about possible criminal activity within the community for the simple reason that, “they don’t want to be associated with it.” Trúc, a 24 year old BBV woman from London explained the media ‘paints’ the Vietnamese as causing trouble and being involved in gang violence. The perception of ‘Vietnamese gangs’ as perpetuated by the media may mean that segments of wider more established community believe this alleged criminality may alienate more recently arrived Vietnamese groups. As a result, asylum-seekers and undocumented migrants may develop a misleading reputation of criminal activity, preventing adequate service

provision.

This negative perception of criminality may be largely attributed to how the police have handled the situation. The West Yorkshire Police Force drugs coordinator, while stating Vietnamese individuals were of the ‘latest phase’ of cannabis cultivators in West Yorkshire, explicitly commented that: “The Metropolitan Police have had a *Vietnamese problem* for some time and maybe their people think they can go about their business in relative anonymity in our city centres.”<sup>38</sup> In Metropolitan Police guidance for landlords in the London Borough of Barnet, the link between the Vietnamese and marijuana is made to appear direct and obvious: “Almost invariably residents of these [premises used as cannabis factories] will be of Vietnamese origin,” and, “Estate agents and landlords should beware of lone females, possibly Vietnamese, trying to rent property.”<sup>39</sup> Obviously in this attempt to profile Vietnamese people as a group, the police are not making distinctions in guidance – neither between those innocent or guilty, nor the settled British Vietnamese and those newly arrived. In advising landlords to beware of Vietnamese individuals trying to rent property, the police fall short of meeting their obligation to have due regard to the need to, “eliminate racial discrimination” or “promote equality of opportunity and good relations,” as required in the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.<sup>40</sup>

The other major newly arrived group are the overseas students, who may number between 5000 and 6000. This group of Vietnamese are also seen as outsiders to the settled Vietnamese community because of their perceived familial background. On the whole this group tends not to settle in the UK, and as Mr Lê explained, “the majority of [the overseas Vietnamese students] coming here are from officer or political families in Vietnam, that’s why they have money.” For the first generation, who are still resentful of the current government in Vietnam, these students represent the descendants of the elite class of communist supporters who essentially ‘won’ Vietnam at the refugees’ expense. Therefore, these students’ connections in Vietnam, as well as their connections with the Vietnamese Embassy who represent the government in Hanoi, prevent the settled community from fully welcoming them into the larger community.

35 Interview with Mr. Lê

36 Lewis (2006)

37 Townsend & Barnett (2006)

38 Casci (2006); emphasis added

39 ‘Safer Neighbourhoods: East Barnet Wards’[emphasis added]

40 RRA (2000)



As discussed, the divisions within the Vietnamese community seem to be between the settled group (further divided by region, ethnicity and generation), asylum-seekers, undocumented workers and overseas students – although, it is important to bear in mind that these divisions, like the Vietnamese community as a whole, cannot be viewed as a static. All the people of Vietnamese origin in the UK are still technically *Việt Kiều*, though some groups within the larger community may be in need of greater representation and assistance. Highlighting the divisions within the group should broaden our general understanding of the Vietnamese people's varied experience in Britain.

The internal diversity found in the Vietnamese community poses the question 'what makes a community?' The Department for Communities and Local Government has undertaken to pursue community cohesion through developing a common vision and sense of belonging, valuing diversity, providing similar life opportunities, and promoting strong and positive relationships between people of different backgrounds in the public sphere.<sup>41</sup> Bearing in mind the diversity of Vietnamese individuals, how could one go about making sure that these individuals contribute to

<sup>41</sup> DCLG

community cohesion as envisaged by the broadly based government framework? If one were to try to engage with Vietnamese people as a community with the purpose of encouraging greater community cohesion in Britain, government would first need to think about the needs of this group. Barriers of language and confidence inhibit social engagement on an individual level, while the lack of strong positive internal relations limits participation on a group level. Community organisations act as a point of engagement due to the lack of a centralised leadership; however, the difficulties encountered when trying to secure funding may signify that only the very disadvantaged and isolated would be allowed to benefit from services.

A first step would be to provide resources to the Vietnamese community so members could engage with each other on questions of commonality and identity. The second generation are just such a group who are in this process of grappling with their place in the overseas Vietnamese community as British citizens, with many not having a direct link to Vietnam other than contact with immediate family members. Looking into this group, who have similar opportunities and life chances, has the benefit of speculating about the composition of a consolidated future British *Việt Kiều* community.

## British and Vietnamese: Perceptions and Identity from the Second Generation

### Identification with the Community

As with any Diaspora community, the Vietnamese community's future cultural identity depends on subsequent generations. For the Vietnamese this fact is amplified by the conditions of settlement; not only is it important to pass on Vietnamese culture, but the Vietnamese culture they experienced. As refugees, they do not want their children to lose the link to 'their' Vietnam. As Ms Võ explains:

the elders want the children to speak Vietnamese and keep the culture exactly the same, the culture they brought with them 30 years ago, not really the Vietnamese culture at the moment – it's the older culture.

Being refugees because of the government in Vietnam, there is a strong conviction among the older generation about what is Vietnamese. Khanh, a second-generation woman from Essex, shares how she realised the difference, "I never really noticed it before until once I was playing in a Vietnamese football match, I ... put on a Vietnamese national Football top, and was told to take it off and never wear around [my parents] again."

Within the Vietnamese community, the identification and continuation of Vietnamese culture is linked with participation in organised activities and events. The lack of participation at these functions by the younger generation worried some of the community organisations we interviewed. One person interviewed likened



participation in community activities to commitment to the community as a whole. He perceived the absence of youth from community activities and functions as evidence of a generation gap; the youth are becoming British at the expense of their Vietnamese heritage. However, on the other hand, Mr Lê recounted how young people have told him that they associate community events with, “people that don’t speak English, the older generation, who have nowhere to go,” like luncheon clubs for the elderly, English classes and health tutorials conducted in Vietnamese – events that are not relevant to second-generation youth. Ms Võ acknowledges the need to present youth with opportunities that will cater to their interests, and also empathises with their situation, “there aren’t many professional women at these groups, and I’m not surprised. Like myself, if I wanted to go, I wouldn’t know where I would fit in.”

For second-generation youth, knowing the other people attending the events is what begins to catch their interest. One BBV survey respondent, SR Chin, explains their motivation for participation, “It’s the people. If I know people then I go. Strangers would find it difficult to fit in when so many separate groups have established themselves.”

Similarly, Khanh reveals in her questionnaire:

For myself if I had the influence of more Viet people around me doing the things I did, going to community events would be more ‘comfortable’ and acceptable. As a kid growing up I used to go with my parents ... as I lost my Viet friends I went less, I believe that this is one of the main reasons for me reducing my time at social events and events alike.

In the survey, ‘lack of time’ and ‘not hearing or knowing about events’ were the most frequently cited reasons for non-participation in activities. The sense of connection to and commonality with the group proved to be central to the attending of events. The key factor for the survey respondents was the other people attending: other Vietnamese in general, meeting “like-minded” Vietnamese people, continuing already established friendships or meeting other Vietnamese youth.

### Youth Service Provision

Despite community organisers’ explanation that it’s difficult to get young people to participate in their activities and events, none of the community organisations interviewed or young people surveyed knew of any provision of Vietnamese youth services or clubs. For example, none of the young people surveyed or interviewed knew of services provided for Vietnamese youth, apart from the very young in the form of supplementary language schools and a few university clubs. In fact, there is a widespread lack of publicly funded and culturally specific youth service provision. Recognising the need for further provision, Mr Pham acknowledges the deficit in provision: “The children, they go there for Vietnamese classes, but in the future they will need more than language.”

Youth service provision would have the benefit of creating opportunities for participation within the community. At present the BBV have more opportunities for participating in British society, making Ms Võ believe that the young people ‘mix’ with other groups and have Asian and English friends. SR Chin believes mixing with other groups was good for youth, although Vietnamese-centred youth clubs would create an atmosphere which, “[young British Vietnamese] would probably find easier to relate to and feel comfortable with.” Working in education, another survey respondent, SR Ba, expresses the opinion that youth provision is essential especially for 14–19-year-olds because it is a, “critical age in terms of identity development and cultural identification.” The lack of activities for Vietnamese youth led some survey respondents to state that they worry that the young will grow up disconnected from the Vietnamese community.

As testament to these speculations, Phu’o’ng Anh, having been born and raised in a town with only a small Vietnamese population, regretted having had no opportunity for Vietnamese cultural provision, which could have improved her Vietnamese. Mai, who was of both Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese descent, had grown up isolated from the Vietnamese community even despite living in London. Mai recounts the process of her lack of

cultural identification:

I think being at a school where I was the only Chinese/Vietnamese/Oriental person there made me feel quite weird too; I remember looking in the mirror and wondering why I did not have white skin and brown hair like my friends... But now that I am a lot older I do feel like I wish I had kept speaking other languages, and knew how to cook and so on, because now I realise it is what makes me different and interesting...

Cultural resources are important for developing identity and self-esteem, providing BBV with the space to relate to their peers who otherwise might be isolated. As SR Mườì Bằy, who often attends and volunteers at community events pointed out, since the Vietnamese community in London is scattered across the boroughs, a central club would be difficult to get to and might largely go unnoticed – and unattended – by the majority of young people. Clubs associated with centres of activity, like those found at universities, have been successful at mobilising youth. Hằi, a 21-year-old BBV man from Northampton, mentions how he was involved with a Far East Asian club at his university (in the absence of a specific Vietnamese association) which was created with mostly British-born members, “I guess a lot of us joined ... because of this little ‘identity crisis’ we feel neither British or Oriental, but a complex mix of both cultures, and therefore it’s difficult to fit into either group, so we made our own.”

Describing the success of the club, Hằi reflects on how it brought together people on common ground, “where we can be open and friendly and really feel like we belong somewhere.” This culturally focused youth service afforded him the resources to meet other like-minded second-generation East Asians and develop their own respective identities.

### **The Future of Being British Vietnamese**

The future of the Vietnamese community will be determined by this next generation who

choose to combine Vietnamese and British cultures in constructing their identity at different times and circumstances. It seems that the next generation faces creating a balance that satisfies their own ideas and those of their families; the emphasis on the Vietnamese side (rooted in Confucianism) is to put the family above other commitments, while the westernised British emphasise individual freedom and choice. The push–pull between being British and upholding Vietnamese morals and traditions can either become suffocating or a source of innovation. Some of the second generation felt more comfortable with choosing British traditions and values over their Vietnamese heritage. SR Chin thinks that, “Vietnamese tradition is becoming extinct and is too restrictive for today’s social interactions,” and SR Sáu feels “disillusioned” by the difference in mentality between the first and second generation. Phu’o’ng Anh, who felt that her identity and nationality was in fact British, comments: “Personally living in Britain I ... feel less obliged to live in a Vietnamese culture.”

However, some second-generation youth feel that their Vietnamese traditions haven’t detracted from their identity but have enhanced it. Khanh ultimately feels ‘grateful’ for the incorporation of Vietnamese tradition in her life but she also feels the pressure, “I’m not sure if the bond is done through respect or fear but either way it swivels into our heads and we feel we can’t turn our backs on our family.”

Extending reflection on the combination of values, Michael, a 26-year-old BBV from London, explains the dynamic of family and individual:

We are raised ... with quite a narrow view of the world, but as we are in the West we are able to grow more open minded – so we are aware of tighter boundaries imposed by the older generation but are in a society where we can choose to take our own decisions. It’s a pretty good balance ...

Similarly, speaking of this balance of boundaries and liberties, Katherine from London remarks that the second generation is, “like a step down from the uptight, narrow-

minded people our parents can sometimes be.”

Coming to terms with a British-Vietnamese identity is a complex process negotiated between the Vietnamese community, the individual and British society in general. A few people brought up the term ‘banana’ in the interviews to try to explain how they felt about their racialised identity: ‘yellow’ on the outside (Vietnamese), ‘white’ on the inside (English/British). Essentially, there is a dissonance between their self-perception and the assumptions emanating from both the Vietnamese community and British society, partly as a reaction to their physical appearance and cultural heritage. Describing himself as a “banana,” Michael says he felt like a “foreigner” to his own skin, which eventually prompted more exploration of his Vietnamese heritage. Hải explains his own identity crisis as trying to resolve feeling like, “a white guy trapped in a Vietnamese’s guy’s body.”

Khanh, despite feeling very interested in her Vietnamese background and traditions, senses her knowledge would be inadequate: “...I do feel I wouldn’t be able to meet up to the expectation and efforts of the current community.” In a similar vein, Mai relates to feelings of inadequacy:

Even though I say that I don’t really feel like I grew up in a community, I am still very aware of what I look like and where my parents are from and how this has made me into who I am ... I often feel under pressure and almost a weird sense of shame when I meet other Vietnamese people (normally my dad’s friends) because I cannot speak the language and so on.

Even though there was consensus that the

## Conclusion

The attempt of this study, though small in scale, has been to give readers a window into one of the less visible communities of multi-ethnic Britain. The lack of statistical and other concrete information on the Vietnamese means that the challenges to this community, such as language barriers and lack of confidence in

second generation felt more in common with British culture than Vietnamese, many still held Vietnamese culture dear. In speculating about their children, all the survey respondents between the ages of 16 to 35 felt it was important for their children to learn about Vietnamese culture; and all with the exception of two, cited how important it was that their children learn the Vietnamese language. The second-generation British Vietnamese interviewed also mentioned the importance of sharing Vietnamese cooking traditions with their children. Khanh goes on to say:

Definitely, even if my partner objected to it, they need to learn about their heritage and language. Growing up I didn’t see the point of going to Vietnamese schools or going to events, but as I matured it doesn’t even cross my mind that I’ll not do the same to my children.

The way the second generation relate to the Vietnamese community and perceive their own identity will vary, but facilitating youth involvement in community activities and services will at least provide the opportunity for engagement. While many of the second generation in this study wanted to be closer to Vietnamese culture, the older generation have to bear in mind that these youths are British too and have other aspects of their identity to develop. Ultimately, by allowing a space for young Vietnamese to meet, a British Vietnamese identity will be created which could have the possibility of overriding those of North and South, refugee and communist, Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese, or any other point of difference that may otherwise divide people in the Vietnamese community.

accessing conventional institutions, have been overlooked. Providing more resources to offset these barriers could open up a process of engagement with the Vietnamese community in the public sphere, which would improve equality of opportunity for individuals in this group and begin to offset and prevent social

exclusion. For the second generation, resources would provide opportunities for social organisation and cultural confidence for building positive identities.

Engagement with the Vietnamese as a community cannot be undertaken unless its internal divisions are recognised; it is important not to impose a strict definition of community. The Vietnamese demonstrate differences in social class, ethnicity and migration experience. While all members have an affinity with Vietnam and Vietnamese culture, they also have their own needs and challenges. On a policy level, when targeting services toward the Vietnamese community it is important to acknowledge its internal diversity. While this report has highlighted a few of the key barriers, it has also shown what information is unavailable. Possible further areas of research to gain a more complete picture of the Vietnamese in Britain could examine differences in ethnicity, gender and profiles for the Vietnamese outside of London, British-born Vietnamese, asylum-seekers, failed asylum-seekers, undocumented migrants and overseas students.

Aside from direct policy implications, further research and acknowledgement of the Vietnamese community would have the dual benefit of sending a message to Vietnamese individuals that their community is valued, and provide documented community case histories and profiles that could inform future policy-making on refugee groups in general. It is interesting to note that, precisely because of this lack of information and public consciousness of the Vietnamese, community organisations have recently begun to plan a festival to celebrate more than 25 years of integration in the UK. The festival aims to raise awareness about the Vietnamese community, combat the reputation of the Vietnamese as shy and quiet, and promote their integration into British society. Mai, in response to the questionnaire, welcomes research and publicity about the Vietnamese, feeling that there is a deficit of knowledge:

on British television lately there have been programmes about 'being Black and British' or 'being Asian and British' (Asian as in Indian, Pakistani, etc.) and 'Muslim and British', and there has never been one about Chinese/Vietnamese and British.

The second-generation individuals consulted largely did not believe that there was a public perception of the Vietnamese, but rather speculated that the public viewed the Vietnamese as synonymous with other East Asian cultures. Positive public profiling could reveal the intricacies of Vietnamese culture and show that Vietnamese people are not just an 'Other' living in Britain today.

By no means the final word on the complete inner workings of the Vietnamese community, this study intends to stimulate discussion on how one might engage with small minority communities. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, it has also endeavoured to act as a starting point for future dialogue within the community of what it means to be Vietnamese in Britain.

The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain described its vision of Britain as a community of communities and a community of citizens.<sup>42</sup> Recognising the contribution of a wider range of communities enables us to truly benefit from the diversity that inhabits British society. It is through understanding different communities' experiences and needs, and ensuring these needs are met, that we can deliver equality for all. The Vietnamese community, with its own particular needs and experiences, provides a sample of the 'hidden' diversity that can be found in Britain. Hidden communities make a great contribution to the life of this country but hardly register in policy and political debates. Returning to Hâi example of the Far Eastern club, a social organisation that provided a place for individuals of different ethnic backgrounds to meet and understand their commonality and their difference, ultimately engendering a sense of belonging. Through encouraging communities to share their experience through the medium of these community studies, other Britons will be encouraged to reflect on what we share with each other.

<sup>43</sup> Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (2000)







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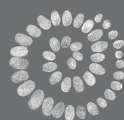
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