Social Mobility and the Meaning of Freedom among Vietnamese Refugees and Immigrants

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In May 2000, the ethnic periodical *Việt Báo* [*Vietnamese Daily*], also known as *Việt Báo Daily News*, announced that it was beginning an essay contest called *Viết Về Nước Mỹ*: Writing on America. Founded in the early 1990s and based in Westminster, California, the site of the largest Little Saigon in the US, the daily announced that this contest would carry prizes totalling \$10,000 in cash plus items worth another \$10,000.¹ The requirement for entering the contest was two to five pages of recollection or reflection, which could be typewritten or 'handwritten on single-side' pieces of paper.² The announcement stated that 'writing on America' was 'simply a general theme' and that writers were free to choose what they'd include in their essay, 'as long as [the topic] is related to the United States'. Writers were asked to submit five lines of biographical details. Finally, selected entries were to be published in the print or online edition of the daily, or both. Some of the published essays would be further chosen for a special collection in book form. Any profit from the book sale would be used as part of the award money for the next contest.³

Two days after the announcement, *Viêt Báo* received its first entry from an eighty-nine-year-old man who had migrated to the US in 1988 through the Orderly Departure Program (VVNM, 2000, 28). Another 323 entries followed during the first three months; that number had risen to over 800 three months later. The submissions vary in topic and emphasis. Some are descriptive, about one or two episodes, while others articulate more general thoughts and feelings about the immigrant experience. Many are short and amount to vignettes or sketches, but some are longer and more detailed. About a quarter of these essays were selected for publication in the paper's new column also called 'Writing on America'. For inclusion in the first volume, ninety-seven pieces from ninety different writers were chosen from the initial 324 entries (VVNM, 2000, p. 6). Reflecting eager reception to the contest, the collection was published in November 2000 rather than in 2001, as originally planned. Hard copies quickly sold out and the collection was reprinted three times in the next five years, while new volumes were also published. In addition to these annual paperback collections, Việt Báo published a hardcover volume of the 'best of the best' in 2008 and, two years later, a collection of essays that had been translated into English.⁴ By any indication, the series has been a resounding success. New essays are published each month and the daily's webpage on the series has continued to draw readers from all over the globe. Since November 2000, it has also held an annual ceremony in Orange County, at the Nixon Library and Little Saigon restaurants, to celebrate the prize winners. Reflecting national appeal, since 2005 the event has taken place during the summer so that more people from afar could travel to Orange County and attend the ceremony and the banquet.

The remainder of this chapter examines social mobility among the immigrants and refugees as described in the first ten volumes of selected essays. Economic survival is the most dominant theme in these volumes, which are replete of memories and accounts of learning English, studying in college, gaining employable skills, working long hours and, more broadly, climbing the social ladder for long-term stability. More importantly, I argue that much of the motivation for social mobility came from very difficult postwar experiences in Vietnam. The majority of contributors to these volumes came to the US during the 1980s and 1990s. Having lived in postwar Vietnam under oppressive economic and political conditions, they could not arrive on American shores as the post-1965 immigrants who came with ready-made skills from Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, India and the Philippines. Rather, they pushed themselves to engage in a post-industrial economy that was very different from the wartime and postwar societies in which they had lived.

To the extent that the refugees and immigrants deemed their lives to be 'successful' in the end, they deemed their backgrounds of postwar impoverishment and oppression a significant motivator. They further expressed an abiding gratitude to American society for the opportunities that they could not have had in postwar Vietnam. This combination of motivation and gratitude contributed to a universalist conceptualisation of freedom among the refugees and immigrants. They saw America as a land of opportunities that were available to all residents. It is a perspective that reflects their contrasting experience between postwar Vietnam and the United States, but it has also obscured structural issues related to racial relations among whites on the one hand and, on the other hand, Black and Brown Americans.

1 The Postwar Experience as Motivation for Social Mobility

Scholars of post-1965 immigration from Asia have pointed to the push and pull factors relevant to the betterment of education and employment opportunities

that favoured skills in technology, medicine, engineering and, more generally, the natural sciences. They have also pointed out the history of the concept 'model minority', whose roots came out of a complex interaction of different factors during and after World War II (Lee, 2016; Hsu, 2015; Wu, 2014; Hsu & Wu, 2015). In the case of the Vietnamese, however, the aftermath of the Vietnam War led to tens of thousands of refugees who came mostly without specialised employable skills. As a result, most took less desirable, blue-collar jobs or underwent further education and training to attain technical or other low-level white-collar positions. A similar pattern followed subsequent waves of 'boat people', refugees and immigrants who had experienced considerable political discrimination and economic deprivation after the Communist victory in 1975.

The majority of the essays in the first ten published volumes focus on America rather than Vietnam. Yet a not inconsiderable number of memoirs and accounts note, either in passing or detail, the horrible life after national unification that pushed them out of their homeland. In this telling, the fall of Saigon in 1975 marked the beginning of a nightmare for the Vietnamese nation on the whole and for southern Vietnamese specifically. Writing from San Jose, for example, Lưu Nguyễn called the fall of Saigon a 'day of disastrous suffering' (ngày khổ nạn). Focusing on the effects of the collectivised economy, his essay depicts 'socialism' through the image of long lines of people, including himself as a teenager, waiting to purchase a very limited amount of basic household items. The piece contrasts this with the boxes of items received from an uncle then living in the United States. It further points out the contradiction and hypocrisy between the government's anti-American and anti-Republic rhetoric on the one hand and, on the other, its postwar practice of taking over properties and assets from many families in the south. Having failed to escape an unspecified number of times, his family eventually sent him successfully by boat to Thailand in early 1987 (VVNM, 2005, pp. 363–369).

Another example comes from Anthony Hung Cao, a physician from Orange County in southern California. Born in 1969, Cao grew up with a father who worked in some medical capacity in the South Vietnamese military. During the fall of Saigon, the family moved from Saigon to the countryside, close to one of Cao's grandfathers. One of the longest in the anthologies, his essay vividly recalls the trip, including scary details, then describes the entire family's hard labour of growing crops in order to survive. Cao did well in school, especially in math and, later, English. However, he did not receive due recognition because his father had worked for the 'puppet' South Vietnamese regime and his was viewed as an 'old regime family'. Knowing that he had little chance to apply to the colleges of medicine, law, or arts and letters in Saigon, he sought

entrance to the less prestigious college of education. His application, however, was denied on the basis that his family was waiting for a relative's sponsorship to migrate to the United States. Only bribery by his mother got him into to a smaller regional college of education, where he attended classes until leaving for the US in 1988 (VVNM, 2010, pp. 123–139).

Since some contributors had been refugees, their essays sometimes describe the experience of escaping from Vietnam, including by boat or on foot, in 1975 or at other times during the 1970s and the 1980s. A few essays describe escape at length, including one of the longest in the ten volumes. Written by a resident of San Gabriel in Los Angeles County, this essay in fact does not say anything of note about life in the US. Instead, it begins with a poem about the complete loss of status and material poverty among former South Vietnamese government officials and military officers. An Huỳnh then recalls his successful escape in 1987, his fifth attempt, which led to temporary settlement in three refugee camps in Malaysia and the Philippines before moving to the US the following year. One significant experience in the narrative was the recovery of his former political identity as a citizen of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), especially on the anniversary of the fall of Saigon when, for the first time in a dozen years, he saw the South Vietnamese flag flying in a legal public event. 'When would I ever return to Vietnam', he wrote, 'to Vietnam and participate in an event with this yellow flag and watch it fly again in our beloved country?' (VVNM, 2006, p. 83). For much of the fifteen years following national reunification, the postwar government vigorously sought to eliminate all signs and legacies of the South Vietnamese state. This context accounts for the politicised and highly charged experience of regaining the non-Communist nationalist identity in refugee camps and countries of resettlement.

For many refugees and immigrants, the most searing postwar experience, and also the most politicised, was the incarceration of tens of thousands of former RVN government officials and military officers. In the months following national unification, the new government rounded them up and sent them to dozens of re-education camps across the country. While the families of Luu Nguyễn and Anthony Hung Cao faced enormous economic and political difficulties, they did not have to endure the ordeal of incarceration in the re-education camps. Less lucky were tens of thousands of families that witnessed a father, a son or a brother go through the camps. The harshness of this experience has been recounted in hundreds of re-education camp memoirs published in the diaspora since the 1980s and especially during the 1990s (Hoang, 2016). Indeed, several years before *Việt Báo* began the *Writing on America* competition, another daily in Little Saigon, *Viễn Đông [The Far East]*, held a writing competition on the experiences of wives of the incarcerated men in the

re-education camps. It was followed by another competition about and written by former prisoners themselves. Although the competitions were shortlived, they drew hundreds of entries each year; some of these later reappeared in one of the five volumes also published by *Viễn Đông*.⁶

Although the contributors to Writing on America do not focus on incarceration, many named incarceration as central to their background and even offered personal details. A system engineer from Orange County, for instance, wrote an essay about his mother that includes a summary-like paragraph about the impact of the fall of Saigon. The paragraph names two outcomes that most affected his mother: first, anti-bourgeois campaigns that put an end to her entrepreneurial activities at the market and, second, familial separation that saw her oldest daughter's family in the US, on the one hand and, on the other, two sons and one son-in-law in re-education camps (VVNM 2003–2004, pp. 39-43). Another contributor from Orange County who immigrated in 1995 began her essay with a short description of postwar life before devoting the rest on adaptation in California. 'I still remember like yesterday', she wrote, 'the date when Saigon was full of [North Vietnamese soldiers] even though I was only seven years old'. The next sentences read: 'Then we bid farewell to our father who went to "re-education". Ten years meant ten years of imprisonment' (VVNM, 2000, 433-438). Though merely mentioned or briefly described, memories of incarceration and related experiences seep through the pages and inform the largely positive perspectives about adaptation in America.

Taken as a whole, the postwar experience is conceptualised among the Vietnamese as politicised deprivation of opportunities. This context of impoverishment contributed to their initially nervous but quickly favourable attitudes toward America. An example comes from Thúy Hà, a middle-aged woman who submitted her essay only a few months after resettling in Orange County. The author spoke at length about her impressions and observations of material abundance in Little Saigon. In contrast, she shares her 'memory of poverty in the period after 1975 [when her diet was] rice mixed with sweet potato or peppered salt or fish sauce': that is, meals devoid of vegetables, meat, fish, and other desirable foodstuffs (VVNM, 2000, p. 210). This memory stuck with Thúy Hà for nearly a quarter-century after the fall of Saigon and became an explanatory device for her initial reception of life in America. A similar point came from Nguyễn Thượng Văn Trung, whose essay about his lengthy struggle for migration refers to the period following the fall of Saigon as one involving a reeducation camp for his father, unemployment for his mother and hard labour for him and his siblings. They did many types of manual labour, 'from downing trees in forests to driving manual cyclos' in order to feed their family. Because he was married at the time of his father's application for the Humanitarian

Operation (HO) program, Trung could not migrate with his parents and unmarried siblings during the early 1990s. It took another fourteen years before he and his family could leave Vietnam. Already middle-aged, he decided to channel his earlier hopes for himself into his children's education so that they could have a future brighter than his own postwar past VVNM, 2007, pp. 513–522).

References to poverty, incarceration and other postwar developments function as an identifier of both individual and collective experiences. They also serve as rationales for the necessity of leaving the beloved country of their birth in that they would have not left were it not for the aftermath from the fall of Saigon. When a short description is placed at the beginning of an essay, it serves as chronological prelude to experiences in the US. When it is in the middle of an essay, the placement provides a retrospective moment when writers evaluate and contextualise their immigrant background in light of the extremities of the Vietnamese past. The writers often couched their experience in material terms that illustrate the economic impulse for migration. Simultaneously, their references to postwar life reveal the political nature of their immigration. In their experience, political oppression and economic impoverishment were two sides of a coin.

As a result of this violent political-economic nexus, the immigrants were nervous about coming to a completely foreign land yet also happy to have left Vietnam, even as they retained familial and other intimate ties in the country and even as they continued to attach a part of their identity to the Vietnamese nation (albeit one without communism). As described by a pharmacist who had migrated in the early 1990s, her family was initially suspicious of the notification about the HO program sent by the Ministry of Security in Vietnam. They thought it might be another trick played against re-educated prisoners like her father and were not completely assured during the process of application. Even on the day of departure, they remained 'very worried [and] prayed to the Lady Bodhisattva for protection'. It was only when the plane flew over Cambodia that they 'let out a breath of relief', and only when it landed in Thailand did they '[believe] that we had escaped the Communist yoke and arrived to the shores of freedom' (VVNM, 2000, p. 50).

Such relief reflected a psychological toll taken over years of oppression and deprivation. This toll, in turn, informed their engagement in a dramatically different society, one that allowed an enormous space for social mobility. The prior example of the pharmacist illustrates a conceptualisation of freedom among the immigrants. Whatever else 'freedom' might be, it would be opposite of the 'Communist yoke' that they had experienced in the years following national unification. Deprivation and oppression, again, formed the basis for striving toward social mobility among the immigrants and refugees.

2 Gratitude for America—and the Meaning of Freedom

Their backgrounds of political oppression and economic impoverishment also explain the overwhelmingly positive view of the US among the contributors to *Writing on America*. It is true that the majority of their essays describe the challenges regarding learning English, attending community colleges and universities, working in a blue- or white-collar profession, driving and commuting, making new friends, finding marital partners, caring for children and aging parents and, especially, learning about legal requirements or societal customs.

Yet the authors couched such challenges and difficulties as outcomes of a lack of familiarity rather than structural barriers. If anything, they saw an *absence* of major barriers in the US, at least in terms of abundance and social mobility. Economic and political privations in postwar Vietnam became the lens for the refugees and immigrants to interpret the US as a land of abundance not merely in terms of food and health but also and especially in terms of educational and occupational opportunities. They might not have realised that many immigrants from China, India, South Korea, the Philippines and other Asian countries had come with expertise and employable skills and, therefore, had a greater advantage. Nonetheless, they believed that they could participate successfully in the capitalist labour market that allowed them a chance to obtain certain employable skills through education or hard work.

As described by a contributor from Santa Clara, some of the immigrants who came in the 1990s felt that they had a lot to catch up on because they were 'late', at least in comparison to co-ethnics who had left Vietnam earlier. As soon as her family arrived to America, she recalled, 'We jumped into schooling, not daring to lose any more time'. The motivation to catch up was further reinforced by the pain and anguish about the fall of Saigon. Fifteen years after the event, the writer was still haunted by the 'image of my father whose hair is allwhite at fifty after years in re-education camp and having endured humiliation of being on the losing side'. Then there was the 'image of my mother with her widely sorrowful eyes and tears during days of planning for our [unsuccessful] escapes' (VVNM, 2001, p. 229). After entire families had endured profound suffering, the postwar experience was also distinguished as motivator to attain social mobility availed by American opportunities that the Vietnamese took to be new, many and wide open for the taking. In their minds, Americans might have come from different places and under different circumstances, yet the society was wealthy and economic opportunities were so abundant that only people with moral failings would not have seized them.

Out of such an experience of abundance that led to mobility, first-generation Vietnamese Americans have articulated their own notions of appreciation and

thanksgiving for the US. In their measure, America is the land of opportunities because postwar Vietnam not only failed to provide them with any meaningful opportunities, but it took away all potential opportunities through the socialist system and political discrimination against them. The lack of opportunities was not merely an economic issue; it was also deeply political to Vietnamese refugees and immigrants and their interpretation of the US reflects their gratitude for opportunities that the postwar Vietnamese government could not provide. 'An's family sincerely thanks the Government and people of the United States', wrote a contributor in the third person, 'to have recovered An's life from the hands of Death'. Having spent years in re-education camps, this contributor added that 'were it not for the HO program, An's corpse might have been underground due to tuberculosis contracted during Communist imprisonment' (VVNM, 2009, pp. 504–505).

From the tone and the context of many essays such as this one, the gratitude is both sincere and deep. Most crucially, essayists related gratitude to a particular notion of freedom that was completely missing in postwar Vietnam. The word 'freedom', tự do, indeed appears in many essays and is sometimes capitalised as *Ty Do*. The essayists sometimes used it to illustrate their agency in actively seeking a solution to the extreme difficulties in postwar Vietnam. 'Whoever want to be free', thus declared a contributor in the middle of his essay, 'they must search it for themselves' (VVNM, 2005, p. 364). Another began hers by generalizing that there is 'no need to discuss that Vietnamese in the diaspora like us had left our birth place, bid farewell to many loved ones, crossed over half of the globe to a foreign shore to find the two words *Tyt Do'* (VVNM, 2000, p. 187). This same author wrote another essay in the form of letters to her mother, who was still living in Vietnam. This mother had endured the death of her husband in re-education camps, among other things, and she had encouraged the author to leave the country along with her family. 'I still remember clearly', wrote this author, 'your words to Uncle Ba, that 'if my grandchildren could receive a proper education, if my child could be a teacher with a proper wage, if her husband could live free ... then I'd never let them leave' (VVNM, 2001, p. 325). In this juxtaposition, freedom was linked directly to material well-being and social mobility. The immigrants and refugees were further predisposed to this notion of freedom well before they came to the US. If their experience in America proved successful, it was due partially to definitions of success that they had envisioned and conceptualised during the years spent living under deprivation and oppression.

In some respects, $t\psi$ do has become a trope in the immigrant community: a handy term of justification for departure from Vietnam. In other respects, however, it has conveyed a multitude of meanings to the immigrants and refugees

precisely because some of the meanings derived from their postwar experience. At one level, they have associated freedom with material abundance or, at least, the absence of material deprivation. In one of the shortest entries, Nguyễn C. Vinh spent four paragraphs on his memory of leaving Vietnam shortly before Saigon fell to the Communists. He then shifted to resettlement in Wichita, Kansas, and wrote mostly about his employment as an assembly worker in a beef-cutting factory. The brevity and selectivity of his memoir is notable for the juxtaposition of loss on the one hand and labour in the US on the other hand. For Vinh, freedom meant material abundance and children graduating from college (VVNM, 2000, pp. 251–253).

Moreover, Vietnamese immigrants and refugees have viewed freedom as the ability to speak without constraints: more specifically, the opposite of the political prohibition of expression that they had experienced in postwar Vietnam. They have also associated freedom with meritocracy in America. 'Someone with talent and skill [tài]', wrote a lab manager in her forties from Houston, 'would have an opportunity to become a leader' (VVNM, 2001, p. 41). This point is an indirect denunciation of the pre-Renovation era of postwar Vietnam, where survival and mobility depended on having the approved political background or identity rather than a meritocracy based on skills and abilities. In comparison, this perspective allows for Vietnamese to be free in the US because political identity does not count but hard work does. A contributor from San Diego, for example, came to the US after having spent time in a reeducation camp. Having been hired as an assembler at a factory making golf equipment, he stressed the value of hard work by noting that the employees worked overtime 'an hour each day' for six days a week. His team of four assemblers consisted of immigrants, all in their late middle age, from Sudan, Somalia and the Philippines in addition to Vietnam. He described them to be 'different in race and origin [and] language [and different] personalities that sometimes led to conflict'. He even admitted that 'we occasionally felt "discriminating" against one another due to national pride, but the discrimination was brief'. More centrally, 'we cared for one another, helped one another, and cooperated fully to complete the work very well' (VVNM, 2001, p. 201). The meaning of freedom, then, moves beyond a particularism about one's background and origin to encompass a universalist belief about America: that the US is good to all people regardless of where they began; that it avails opportunities for freedom to all of its legal residents; and that hard work would overcome all barriers in the end.

It should be added that Vietnamese immigrants and refugees have allowed that there is a cost to this freedom: the potential excess of placing oneself above society. As explained by an aforementioned essayist, 'There are many good and beautiful qualities here and only in America', but also some 'terrible things such as violence have happened because there is too much freedom and people become extreme and commit certain things that are not seen in other societies' (VVNM, 2001, p. 41). In the estimation of the Vietnamese, however, it is a price worth paying because such extremity is not common, while this type of freedom would keep them from the impoverishment and deprivation they had experienced. The immigrants and refugees might have derived some of the rhetoric from American tropes on freedom—yet it is the particularism of their postwar experience that shaped and conceptualised the meanings of freedom in their minds.

3 Conclusion

The scholarship on freedom regarding Vietnamese has tended to come from cultural studies and critical refugee studies (Nguyen, 2012; Espiritu, 2014). This scholarship analyses militarised aspects of US imperialism, including its involvement in the Vietnam War, and focuses on American perspectives of freedom vis-à-vis Vietnamese refugees. By focusing on rescuing Vietnamese who fled communism, the US has successfully shifted the focus from its own roles in war-making and creating problems of refugees in the first place. There are valuable insights from this scholarship, including new layers of critique against the American tendency for unilateralism. Scholars have also paid more attention to the place of memories among the refugee generation (Aguilar-San Juan, 2009, pp. 61–90; Bui, 2018, pp. 122–168; Tran, 2012).

When it comes to the resettlement of the refugees and immigrants themselves, however, it is crucial to examine Vietnamese voices spoken among themselves because they reveal other layers about their thoughts, ideas, concepts and, of course, experiences. In this case, Vietnamese-language sources such as the *Writing On America* series offer a different vista about the meanings of freedom. Vietnamese immigrants and refugees did not rely on external sources to conceptualise gratitude and freedom. Rather, they came to define those meanings on the basis of their postwar deprivation. They could be faulted for having left out American involvement in the war that contributed to problems then and later. Yet the effects of postwar policies, especially those before Renovation, were too searing and shocking that they became the neartotal centre of their conceptualisation of freedom.

Unwittingly, however, the universalist conceptualisation of freedom among the Vietnamese has lent support to the prevailing notion of 'model minority' based on superior moral qualities in affinity with the mainstream white culture.

Having seized upon economic and educational opportunities in America, Vietnamese immigrants and refugees viewed such opportunities as equal. Believing in American exceptionalism, they have at times failed to see long-standing structural barriers to Black and Brown people. Near the end of an essay, one of the aforementioned contributors, for example, affirms gratitude to the US for its value and nourishment of talents and education 'without racial and ethnic discrimination' but, instead, having policies that allow for 'all to have the right of education' (VVNM, 2000, p. 52). This perspective focuses on the universalist rhetoric of rights without seeing the much more complex historical particularism regarding Black and Brown people. Their view of freedom is inclusionist in concept, but it becomes exclusionist when Blacks and Latinx are held in comparison to Asian immigrants and their descendants.

This subject, however, lies outside the scope of this chapter and it needs research beyond the contents found in the first ten volumes of selected essays. For our present purposes, the evidence from *Writing On America* indicates multiple highly charged and potent effects of postwar experiences among Vietnamese refugees and immigrants regarding their perception of American life. In the studies of their diasporic history, it behooves scholars to be attentive to the transnational linkages, implications and complications between postwar Vietnamese and their first years in America.

Notes

- The daily was founded by two former South Vietnamese writers, novelist Nhã Ca (b. 1939) and her husband, poet Trần Dạ Từ (b. 1940), who were imprisoned by the Communist government after the war and later migrated to Norway and then the US. Like the largest ethnic Vietnamese newspaper *Người Việt* [*Vietnamese People*], it has been based in Westminster, California.
- 2 Việt Báo subsequently allowed submissions of short stories and quasi-fictionalised compositions. The vast majority of the published entries, however, continued to be essays written in the first person or, sometimes, the third person, typically about a family member, a relative, a friend or an acquaintance.
- 3 'Thông báo Viết về Nước Mỹ' ['Announcement: Writing on America'], Việt Báo [Viet Daily], 1 May 2000. The first volume was published in 2001 and, with one exception, there has been one each year: Viết Về Nước Mỹ [Writing on America], ongoing series (Việt Báo Daily News, 2001–2019). Except for 2003–2004, each of the volumes published is listed by a single year. This chapter uses only the first ten volumes, published between 2000 and 2010. They appear in the text as VVNM, followed by the year(s) in the titles.
- 4 Viết Về Nước Mỹ: Cay Đắng Ngọt Bùi [Writing on America: Bittersweet Stories] (Viet Bao Daily News, 2008); and Writing on America (Việt Báo Daily News, 2010). The daily has continued to publish annual volumes of English translations.

- 5 Cao's essay does not name his father's exact position in the South Vietnamese military, but it is most likely that he was neither a physician nor an officer and, therefore, was not deemed dangerous enough to merit arrest and incarceration.
- 6 Chuyện Người Vợ Từ Cải Tạo [Tales of Wives of Reeducation Camp Prisoners], 3 vols. (Viễn Đông, 2004–2005); and Chuyện Người Từ Cải Tạo [Tales of Re-education Camp Prisoners], 2 vols. (Viễn Đông, 2007).
- 7 The scholarship on racial relations between Vietnamese and non-Asian minorities is very small at this time, and it tends to come from social scientists. Two examples are Hoang (2015) and Tang (2011).

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