



The Vietnamese people in Poland

From Experiences in Mobility within Air Travel to
Transnationalism

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to achieve an in-depth understanding of how the Vietnamese people in Poland are involved in mobility within air travel (aero-mobility) for their transnational endeavors. This qualitative study is based on 4 semi-structured face-to-face interviews, 3 text-based interviews with the Vietnamese people living in Poland (VP), and on content analysis of texts and images. Air travel can, surprisingly, play a significant role in migration and ethnic studies. The analysis of this thesis relies on the theoretical frameworks of mobility turn, and transnationalism, focusing on the experiences, customs, and habits of the Vietnamese of Poland engaged in air travel. The analysis also includes how air travel can strengthen the diasporic and transnational links of the Vietnamese of Poland, contributing to ethnic weddings, charity events, and religious activities, securing their cultural identity in Poland. The findings indicate that travel customs and habits, social networks, diasporic activities, movements of goods, and exchange of cultures and ideas can be generated by a combination of mobility, transnationalism, and air travel of the Vietnamese people in Poland.

Keywords: *aero-mobility, air travel, mobility turn, Poland, Vietnam, the Vietnamese of Poland, transnationalism.*

Abbreviations:

VP: The Vietnamese of Poland (meaning: The Vietnamese people in Poland)

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1. Introduction

The world has been on the move because of mobility, migratory flows, and globalization, creating bonds between people, places, and cultures. Although the Vietnamese of Poland (VP) are a vital community, it remains a lesser-known ethnic diaspora. It is not a predominantly usual immigrant group involving guest workers, asylum-seekers, or refugees. The Vietnamese people in Poland are mostly engaged in business, entrepreneurship, ranging from cloth merchandising to restaurant industries. This research presents the air travel within the mobility turn, and transnationalism. Migration journeys such as air travel are an integral part of the migration process. More convenient airline services, diversified, and cheaper flight offers can create this phenomenon of aero-mobility of the VP.

One of the factors that allow mobility to happen is air travel. Apart from migration, mobility involves the exchange of ideas, trade of products, and movement of objects. The scale of traveling is substantial, creating a transnational movement of products, and also people. Air travel is the fastest and most realistic means of transportation between Vietnam and Poland for both freight and mobility of the Vietnamese in Poland. Therefore, the world has become a smaller place.

2. Aim & Research Question

This study aims to investigate the experiences of the Vietnamese of Poland in air travel between Poland and Vietnam, and how this kind of mobility strengthens the Vietnamese transnational networks, business, and diasporic activities in Poland. Although the phenomenon of transnationalism and mobility has been identified in previous research and theories, the research topic I am planning to study is under-researched, and therefore, interesting to highlight. The study is built on the following research questions:

- ◇ *What are the experiences, customs and habits of the Vietnamese of Poland concerning air travel?*

- ◇ *How do the air travel mobility customs of the Vietnamese of Poland strengthen their diasporic and transnational links?*

3. Delimitations

As the research topic focuses on the Vietnamese people living in Poland, this research will solely involve people with Vietnamese background. Although there is no specific linear path that reveals who is a Vietnamese of Poland (VP), in this research, a VP is anyone of Vietnamese background, residing and living permanently in Poland for at least 10 years or having life centralized in Poland, regardless of immigrant status. Therefore, I am not taking into consideration Vietnamese international students and visitors in Poland. All the interviewees were in the Warsaw Area (Poland) during the interviews. The time frame set for this project is between late-March and August 2020. The number of people considered for individual interviews in this research is 7. Thus, their answers will not represent the entire population of the VP. The participants are both men and women of different ages, at least 18 years old.

4. Structure of the Thesis

First of all, this thesis provides contextual information on Vietnamese people and migrants in Poland, their history, and a brief presentation of their transnational practices. This section will be followed by previous research on Vietnamese migration to Poland, other countries such as Germany and Australia, and the relation between air travel, migration, and transnationalism. Consequently, I am bringing the readers to the theoretical frameworks of mobility turn and transnationalism. Furthermore, methodology explains how research is conducted, followed by a presentation of the empirical findings, a conclusion, and a proposal for future research.

5. Contextual Background

5.1) Who are the Vietnamese of Poland?

The first wave of Vietnamese people that arrived in Poland came as part of educational exchanges and scholarships funded between the socialist states in the 1960s. The second and more significant wave of the Vietnamese arrived after the 1989 fall of communism in Poland (Iglicka, 2005, 104). Transnational activities (ethnic and sports events, weddings, volunteering, and financial donations) contribute to VP's relatives, counterparts, and charities in Vietnam (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 391). The number of Vietnamese residents in Poland is

between 20,000 and 60,000 and includes many irregular migrants (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 383). Generally, the Vietnamese community in Poland is not large compared to other migrant groups globally (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2019, p. 26 and 111). The VP's population is difficult to estimate because of their spatial mobility and often uncertain status (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2002, p. 7). From 2018, Poland requires permanent residency applicants to know the Polish language (Mazowiecki Urząd Wojewódzki, 2018). Therefore, it can be challenging for many Vietnamese people to qualify for family reunification.

Katarzyna Andrejuk (2016) reveals that “a person from Vietnam does not like working for somebody else” (p. 392). Many of the VP financially succeeded during the Polish transition to capitalism in the 1990s. They diversified their business products from textiles to great industries such as Asian soup noodles, thus becoming wealthy, and many of them are self-employed (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 384, 391 and 395). They have close ties based on the strong cultural and ethnic identity between the Vietnamese community and their families in Vietnam (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 394-396). Noticeably, the VP, just as many other Vietnamese people, practice a collectivist culture instead of an individualist one. Therefore, they represent a collectivist society, with the coexistence of different religions and many Vietnamese people claiming “no religion” (Shultz in Le and Kieu, 2019, p. 610).

6. Previous Research

The previous literature reflects the key themes and considerations that significantly impact on this research thesis' theoretical and analytical aspects. The previous research sources are found on Malmö University's library database and Google Scholar. The main themes surrounding this research topic highlight the culture of aero-mobility, the Vietnamese migration to Poland and elsewhere, their complexities and differences within the context of transnationalism in the mobility framework and socio-political agenda. To my knowledge, the themes only surround the topic of the VP's experiences in air travel and transnationalism as the topic itself remains under-researched and unfound on portals of peer-reviewed articles.

6.1) The Importance of Mobility Turn and Air Travel

Air travel is the action or process of making a journey by aircraft (“Definition of 'air travel'”, 2020). Mobility does not only involve people migrating. It includes services, movement of objects, and exchange of ideas that connect people around the world. (Sheller, 2006, p. 212).

For this reason, mobility creates a connection between people, places, and cultures. According to Mimi Sheller and John Urry (2006), the world is on the move. The scale of traveling is immense, from asylum seekers, international students, members of diasporas, and holidaymakers to business-people. They fill in the world's airports, and 1 billion passengers were expected in 2010 (p. 207). There were approximately 4.4 billion air passengers in 2018 (International Air Transport Association [IATA], 2019, p. 16). Thus, air travel enhances mobility, and generates communication. New technologies have been turned into a form of mass mobility, making the world a smaller place of supreme space and time contributing to transnationalism as it brings people together (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 219).

Moreover, migrants carry parts of their cultures transnationally between borders: their souvenirs, textures, foods, colors, and scents; they reconfigure the place of arrival figuratively (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 211). Also, airplanes and airports are part of the modern socio-technical system. Therefore, mobility develops along with high technology that keeps them systematically functioning at airports, ranging from security to air traffic, from departures to arrivals. Air travel has become seamless through various hub connections connecting a region to the rest of the world and bringing places closer (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 219).

6.2) The Vietnamese presence in Poland

Grażyna Szymańska-Matuszewicz & Barbara Bossak-Herbst (2019) provide information on transnational connections with the cases of Vietnamese pagodas in Poland. Many artifacts for pagodas and religious figures such as monks were brought in from Vietnam, shaping transnational movement of objects (p. 429). Spatial and generational change involves the Vietnamese people moving to the southwestern outskirts of Warsaw, 25 kilometers (km) from downtown Warsaw. They establish not only new pagodas but also market hubs in Wólka Kosowska, close to major highways near Warsaw Chopin Airport (Szymańska-Matuszewicz & Barbara Bossak-Herbst, 2019, p. 425; Brzozowski, 2019, p. 353), therefore, creating a transnational communication movement for the VP between Poland and Vietnam.

Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska compares the Vietnamese and Ukrainians' presence in Poland, the two substantial immigrant groups in the country. She reveals that Poland is still a new immigration country, with lesser ethnic diversity compared to Western Europe and the immigrant policies have not been fully developed (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015, p. 461). Due to cultural differences between Vietnam and Europe, the VP are self-protective and happen to

distance themselves from the rest of society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015, p. 483). This article sheds light on Poland as a transitioning EU¹ country, with emigration becoming less popular and immigration to Poland becoming more viable.

6.3) The Culture of Mobility and Air Travel

First of all, Sheller and Urry (2006) agree that social science has mostly ignored and trivialized "the importance of the systematic movements of people for work, and family life, for leisure and pleasure" (p. 208). The social sciences failed to examine how "spatialities of social life presuppose the actual movement of people from place to place, and that travel has been just a black box and neutral technology that moves people" (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). Hence, the study of migration has mostly concentrated on sedentary theories.

Kathy Burrell's article is a substantial study of migrant air travel of a diasporic group, focusing on the culture of migration and air travel of the Polish immigrants in the United Kingdom (UK). Burrell (2011) states that "travel" itself is a crucial part of the migration experience, and the flights themselves are a transnational opportunity for migrants (p. 1025). Burrell assesses heavy travel restrictions that limit transnational activities (bringing personal gifts such as birthday presents, chocolate and candies, and foods under baggage restrictions). Hence, many Poles, in their transnational travel process, do not take too much with them to Poland. However, they bring, for instance, their "favourite teas, ointments, medicines, bits of sausage spices" as one of her respondents does not support English pork (Burrell, 2011, p. 1028). The products are often sorted with the help of migrants' families at home, forming a transnationally configured family relationship to deal with air travel restrictions (Burrell, 2011, p. 1029), fulfilling the satisfaction of migrants, bringing in the authentic flavor of home while being abroad or in the country of residence.

Burrell also concentrates on the behavior of passengers (migrants) during the flight process, such as excitement, nervousness, or swearing, resulting from factors such as pride, and homesickness and reduction of personal spaces at airports, which are often the first points of migration (Burrell, 2011, p. 1028). Burrell's article shows that Ryanair can be emotionally vital as it connects people, allowing them to carry in goods and key possessions. Migrants can be vulnerable to airline carriers' changing plans (such as change or closure of terminals, and

¹ European Union

flights) and bag limits (restricting transnationalism), meaning that migrants heavily rely on airlines (Burrell, 2011, p. 1028).

6.4) The Overseas Vietnamese and their impact on Transnationalism

Thu Huong Nguyen, Robert Z. Waryszak and Brian E. M. King (1998) present a quantitative study from 1998 on the Vietnamese Australians (mostly from anti-communist South Vietnam) and their “ethnic tourism,” which means travelling with examining one’s sense of belonging to the (Vietnamese) identity that has been left behind. They are considered by the Vietnamese authorities as troublesome, of refugee origin, anti-communist, and their transnational practices are limited (p. 9). Despite this, regardless of where the overseas Vietnamese live, the Vietnamese adhere to a Confucian-based centrality of family life; most Vietnamese travel back to Vietnam almost entirely driven by the intention to visit and spend time with family and friends (Nguyen et al., 1998, p. 9).

Gertrud Hüwelmeier (2014) presents an example of a country receiving two kinds of migration of the same ethnic group. The Southern Vietnamese migrants arrived in West Germany, and the Northern Vietnamese (contract workers) settled in East Germany during the era of the Cold War. The two groups mostly do not form a friendly relationship with each other because of political and social tensions resulting from the Vietnam War (p. 81).

Transnational connections persist among the former contract workers (or North Vietnamese) that have shown stronger transnational ties with today’s Vietnam than the Southern Vietnamese (Hüwelmeier, 2014, p. 86). They send consumer goods, items, and electronics to Vietnam since the Cold War era rather than sending remittances (often losing on exchange rates), forming international trade chains (Hüwelmeier, 2014, p. 86). The former Vietnamese contract workers used to also do street vendors, sell textiles, and overtime, they have opened more formal businesses such as restaurants, nail boutiques, still securing strong transnational connections. These job activities are also practiced and related to the Vietnamese people arriving in the 1990s in Poland, who are also mostly North Vietnamese (Szymańska-Matuszewicz, 2017, p. 48).

Religion plays an essential role in transnationalism; some Vietnamese members of religious organizing committees travel back and forth between Berlin and Ho Chi Minh City for business reasons, especially to bring gowns from Vietnam (Hüwelmeier, 2014, p. 91). Moreover, the monks are brought from Paris. Thus, there are Vietnamese migrants relying on

religion to become “global actors and mobile people, creating transnational ties” (Hüwelmeier, 2014, p. 91). Unlike Germany and Czechoslovakia, Poland received mainly Vietnamese students before the fall of communism in Poland. The study of the Vietnamese communities in Eastern Europe (which includes Poland) remains void compared to the Vietnamese in other parts (Szymańska-Matuszewicz, 2017, p. 47).

6.5) Outline

According to Burrell (2011), “Migrations specialists generally have been slow to acknowledge the significance of the physical time-spaces of migration journeys” (p. 1023). Therefore, whether a migrant embarks for the first time or not, air travel is an integral part of a migrant journey. Flying remains the realistic and fastest option in mobility between Poland and Vietnam in the case of the VP. Perceptibly, air travel contributes to the transnational practices of the Vietnamese of Poland.

Similarly to Burrell’s assessment of the cultural and transnational migrant aero-mobility of the Poles living in the UK, I would like to similarly study the VP and their experiences in aero-mobility. Regarding the articles mentioned in this section, I also emphasize that air travel can be problematic for mobility for some people (such as customs checks), and the impact of aero-mobility on transnational links such as packaging and moving products for diasporic events and purposes. The previous literature articles presented are important for this research.

The articles presented outline an interesting reflection on migration movements, transnational networks and mobility of not only of the VP but also of other Vietnamese migrant groups. However, the VP are a lesser-known diasporic and migrant group. The articles in this section are an essential head start providing a general background of the VP and other migrant groups. The articles surround the aim of this research and are helpful for me to find out about the experiences, customs, and habits of the VP engaged in air travel and the factors related to mobility that strengthen their transnational networks. Therefore, the previous literature can help to understand the answers provided by the interviewees and can allow a profound understanding of the selected texts and images of the content analysis.

7. Theoretical Framework

In this research, the mobility turn, and transnationalism are the theories. They both relate to the concept of globalization. These concepts are interconnected and can provide me with an

understanding of mobility and air travel of the VP and how their aero-mobility customs are executed in transnational practices.

7.1) Mobility Turn

The mobility turn (also known as the new mobilities paradigm) is a transformed and new area of study that entered the social sciences mostly in the 2000s on the movement of individuals and society's movement (Cresswell, 2010, p. 17). Since then, many different migration cases have contributed to the mobility paradigm for the study of migration ranging from aspects such as the refugees, business migration, travel, and retirement migration. Today, seamless and advantaged mobility also involves globalization, the flow of people, and products across nations (Cresswell, 2010, p. 23).

Although people of different backgrounds move and are part of the mobility paradigm, every person moves for a different reason, depending on their jobs, career, or life situations. For example, backpackers and tourists travel to seek adventure and explore new cultures to expand their knowledge about the world. Refugees escape wars and political turmoil in their country, and finally, businesspeople move between places for work (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 207). Moreover, frequent flyers such as businesspeople are considered truthful and trustworthy passengers that would not impose a threat to safety and security (Cresswell, 2010, p. 23). Mobility turn is an interdisciplinary theory involving migration, tourism, and transport (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). Furthermore, the growing infrastructure and technology allow the world and everyone to be on the move; from businesspeople to terrorists, from migrants to sports stars, they are the ones that fill in the world's airports (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 207).

Mobility involves cosmopolitanism, where consumers in one part of the world expect fresh freighted materials from another region. For instance, the North expects fresh material freighted from the South. The South expects consumer goods from the North. Analytically, these products are carried by small-scale, informal importers smuggling or importing back and forth valuable materials such as alcohol, cigarettes, and pirated products (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). Hence, mobility is more than just a flight. It is a whole set of complex mobilities of diasporas and transnational activities. According to Sheller and Urry (2006), mobility turn indicates that "all places are tied into at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place and mean that nowhere can be an 'island'" (p. 209). It is a

theoretical project aimed at going beyond the fixed territories and geographical containers for social processes and regional extension.

Mobilities also include movements of images, information on local and global scales, global media, embracing one-to-one communications such as fax, phone, and telegraph (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 212). With growing technology such as intelligent transport systems and smart items, people can experience the virtual reality of travel; better aircraft, and wireless connections at the airport. Therefore, the mobility turn is a new theory to study in mobility studies (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 221-222). Although the application of the theory of mobility turn is highly substantial to this research, it lacks focus on the transnational part of the movement of people's and ethnic products' movement. Therefore, the transnationalism theory also aims to help move this research forward to what happens beyond aero-mobility.

7.2) Transnationalism

Steven Vertovec conceptualizes transnationalism as broadly referring to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states (Vertovec in Samers & Collyer, 2017, p. 99). Moreover, this theory is able to demonstrate global and borderless cultural, economic, political, and diasporic links involving immigrant groups (p. 145). Vertovec (2004) shows how transnationalism functions within the migrant communities. It ranges from globalization to the formation of migrant organizations, remittances, and transnational practices, therefore, forming a sense of membership through links with their significant others according to the social networks; kin, common villages, political comrades, and fellow members of religious groups to sustain their cultural values, activities and relational frameworks (p. 970). Potentially, migrants can maintain such transnational connections through technology and travel (such as social media and air travel).

Maintaining such transnational connections based on “occasional activities” (such as diasporic community gatherings) would also enhance social progress, economic and social impact not only for communities but also nations, enriching fortunes of their hometowns and even of the countries they are part of. (Vertovec, 2004, p. 973). The creation of migrant hometown associations can lead to charity events, building infrastructure in their origin country, donations, and creating institutionalization of transnational ties (Vertovec, 2004, p. 987). Therefore, transnational migrant practices can be globalized, modified, and improve

value systems of people's social lives, generating economic development across nations (Vertovec, 2004, p. 973).

Transnational networks and lifestyles of migrants exist regardless of the person's citizenship. For some people, "the country of origin becomes a source of identity and the country of residence a source of right" (Vertovec, 2004, p. 980). Some people circumvent state controls, borders, and taxes even if they live in a country where they are not citizens. (Vertovec, 2004, p. 980). Therefore, transnational air travel can be dynamic regardless of the person's status. However, dual citizenship facilitates travel, and in many countries, "loosening rules of dual citizenship are a growing global trend, especially among migrant sending countries" (Vertovec, 2004, p. 981).

Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton (1992), see transnationalism as an analytical framework in understanding migration; Transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants: "the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (p. 1). Moreover, "transmigrants" are those who build such social fields. Transmigrants "take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously" (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 2), forming associations and building a complex of facilities in their home country (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 5). The migration phenomena includes aspects such as historical experiences, structural conditions, and ideologies of their home and host societies. Such aspects form today's social relationships, loyalties, beliefs, and identities. Their strategies, cultural practices, and identities are shaped by globalization and the global capitalist system (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 10).

According to Glick Schiller et al. (1992), the transnational phenomena concentrates on the flows of meanings and material objects, putting "the discussion of culture in a world-wide framework" (p. 10). Hannerz in Glick Schiller et al. (1992) critiques the notion of the flow of goods only coming from the powerful nations to the economic periphery. Therefore, Hannerz defines the process of "creolization," as focusing on movements of diverse cultural items flow and shows how important the movement of goods is for migrants, who establish and maintain cultural links between the place of residence and their country of origin (Hannerz in Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 11). Accordingly, Glick Schiller et al. (1992) state for example; the

transnational activity involves a constant flow of goods such as dried fruits and fabric items across the world so that they can be prepared for a wedding or using boxes to send expensive goods from the United States to families back home in the Philippines. This “constant and various flow of such goods and activities have embedded within them relationships between people” (p. 11); and maintain linkages between families, economic investments, and businesses. Therefore, this theory helps me understand that the flow of goods via air travel is crucial and strengthens my study.

Transnationalism takes nationality, race, and ethnicity beyond the analytical categories of social sciences, looking at the study of migration from a global perspective (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 18-19). It enhances social relations and linkages between societies are maintained in terms of family relations, business, and structures within nation-states that allow the flow of goods.

8. Methodology

This study is based on qualitative methods, represented with a case study and inductive approach. The empirical data consists of interviews and content analysis. The data collection took place over two months, between April and May 2020.

8.1) Philosophy of the Research

This thesis relies on relativist ontology and is influenced by a social constructivist standpoint for an epistemological understanding and interpretation of the world as I believe that the world is a socially constructed phenomenon. Moreover, Perri 6 and Christine Bellamy (2012) describe constructivism as “to be widely used to refer to constructionist accounts of social institutions and practices” (p. 57). Beliefs and desires are subjective because they reflect the ways we look at the world (Rosenberg, 2015, p. 65). My subjective understanding and interpretation of texts, human behaviors, and contents of the data will, to some extent, influence the data analysis of this research. Hence, I am involved in a hermeneutics process (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 168).

Reflexivity comprises questioning and studying one's own assumptions and background knowledge: "If positionality refers to what we know and believe, then reflexivity is about

what we do with this knowledge" (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 129). However, according to Skeggs, there is a risk of self-reflexivity overshadowing empirical results. Also, there is a "difference between claiming reflexivity as a resource for authorizing oneself (being) and doing reflexivity in practice." (Skeggs, 2002, p. 349-350). Therefore, I attempt to avoid being biased, applying self-reflexivity only when necessary, to secure transparency, and a fair balance in my data analysis, and materials.

8.2) Qualitative & Inductive Research

This research employs qualitative research methods to investigate the two research questions: What are the experiences, customs and habits of the VP concerning air travel? And how do air travel mobility customs of the Vietnamese of Poland strengthen their diasporic and transnational links?

The first method of data collection is in-depth interviews. The qualitative method allows the researcher to investigate, and closely understand the data collected about the interviewee's roles and experiences in a specific subject. In-depth interviews allowed me to notice also the signs, behavior and reactions during the interviews, which can define more visibly the way the participants perceive the topic, revealing more about their responses to interviews, and increasing content validity (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 95). Along with the interviews and the content analysis of documents, images, and texts, I interpreted the complex findings of the empirical phenomenon of the experiences, customs and habits during aero-mobility of the Vietnamese of Poland and its relations to transnationalism.

Although the research implies both an inductive and a deductive approach to a certain extent, the research concentrates more on the inductive approach because this study aims to use and consider the theories and not test them. Therefore, inductive research does not contain a hypothesis, and begins with gathering data; it is a bottom-up approach to studying individual instances or observations (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 87). In this case, data and results in mobility and transnational practices come from a concluding process from the interviews and content analysis. This inductive research measures the findings on mobility and air travel of the VP and narrows them down to the framework of mobility turn and transnationalism theories. The reason for choosing an inductive study is that a phenomenon is about to be explored.

The theories are used to regroup their different aspects together from each theory to form my research questions. Therefore, the theories of mobility turn and transnationalism are also an inspiration to conduct this research revolving around the ideas and concepts of the mentioned theories, focusing on the fields relevant to this research, supporting my analysis, presenting the instances, and giving a better understanding of the gathered results and data.

8.3) Case Study

This research study is based on a qualitative case study approach. It involves data collection made of interpretation, description and empirical investigation of a phenomenon by using multiple sources of evidence, using a range of methods to capture and analyze varieties of data and to look for emergent outcomes and properties of the findings (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 104). In this case, the phenomenon is aero-mobility of the VP and movement of ethnic items and objects for the transnational events in Poland. This approach enables the researcher not to “present the general picture but the particular case or cases to explain the ‘how and why’” of a phenomenon (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p. 17). Along with the in-depth focus and descriptions of participants’ views and findings, case studies are usually inductive as they serve to “develop a theory rather than to test it.” (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 103). Therefore, case studies are used to “understand the richness, the complexity of nuances of social life, conceived holistically” in the research process (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 103). Moreover, the fact that this research is inductive using qualitative methods, enables an in-depth exploration of a particular context (Stake in Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p. 17).

The criticism of the case study approach is that it cannot be generalized from a single case to represent the whole population. At the same time, it is criticized for focusing on one instance; it cannot analyze large numbers of cases (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 105). The different methods used allow the collection of various data from different contents, participants, and experiences. This study sheds light on the various cases and findings to come up with differences, similarities, constructing an outline of results within the cases, and relating them to the previous literature and theories.

8.4) Research Field Access

Access to the research field is based on virtual snowball sampling. Virtual snowball sampling is a type of snowball sampling research conduct that involves a researcher establishing contact with a "hard-to-reach" or a small number of a minority group on social network portals (Baltar & Brunet, 2012, p. 61). I am aware of the disadvantages of virtual snowball sampling, because it can lack real human contact, and the selection bias can occur in relation to an online population-group. Therefore, a group of people might have similar interests, views or background; such response bias affecting the sample for this study (Baltar & Brunet, 2012, p. 63).

However, one of the advantages of virtual snowball sampling is convenience; it expands sample size and choices while reducing time and costs (Baltar & Brunet, 2012, p. 62). The community members can recommend and provide the name of a third, right, and prospective person for the interview part of this research (Baltar & Brunet, 2012, p. 60 and 64). In this case, I gained extensive contact with Facebook group admins of "The Wólka Kosowska Center Area" (in Vietnamese: Trung Tam Wólka Kosowska), and of the "Thien" Polish Diamond Temple. They agreed to assist me in also finding participants that are more hard-to-reach and not attached to a community online.

Accordingly, I used snowball sampling to select 7 interview participants carefully. The practice of snowball sampling allows the researcher to get in touch with the interviewees having diverse experiences in mobility, transnationalism, and air travel. They can be in different employment, age, and education achievements. Some interviewees got in touch with me after seeing my announcements posted on the "Instagram story," and they agreed to participate in my research.

8.5) Interviews

This first research method consists of individual interviews with the Vietnamese people in Poland of different social backgrounds and occupations. The face-to-face interview questions are semi-structured to give every participant a chance to express freely within the context of every question and for me, to learn the most from them. I conducted interviews with the help of an interview guide to keep track of the interview process (see Appendix). According to Michael Hammond & Jerry Wellington (2012), interviews are interactive, allow clarification

of questions, and often allow touching unexpected themes related to the research questions (p. 91). Therefore, clarity of questions is necessary even though the interviews are semi-structured, with careful language use, avoiding slang.

In total, 7 individual interviews were conducted. I informed all the interviewees that their answers are safely stored and that unauthorized persons have no access to them. Three semi-structured interviews were done online via Zoom, allowing face-to-face contact at a distance (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 91), especially during the 2020 coronavirus outbreak. One interviewee, Oanh, preferred to meet me in person, and we had a face-to-face, semi-structured interview at an office in Wólka Kosowska, Poland. When recruiting volunteers for face-to-face interview participation, I asked them for their permission for me to record the interviews via my recorder to keep the results authentic for this research study and because taking notes can lead me to make mistakes. Every face-to-face interview lasted approximately 35 minutes. The questions were prepared before the interview. All the 4 face-to-face interviews are audiotaped and transcribed.

The other 3 interviews were conducted in the form of text-based communication via electronic mail. Each of them consulted the questions (including some follow-up questions) with me for one week before submitting their fully detailed answers. Moreover, some interviewees use slightly different Vietnamese speech dialects. I also took into consideration that technical issues during online interviews can occur. Thus, I decided it would be more consistent with interviewing the remaining 3 participants through text-based communication via electronic mail messages (Keil & Johnson, 2002, p. 296) in the form of a questionnaire. I used the interview guide for this study's face-to-face interviews as a questionnaire for the 3 text-based interviews. Therefore, the text-based interviews are structured rather than semi-structured. The first part of the questions aims to answer the first research question, and the second part of the questions aims to answer the second research question (see Appendix).

According to Hammond and Wellington (2012), text-based communication is produced more slowly than speech and is less spontaneous compared to face-to-face interviews. Still, it offers access to the participants' responses across distance and with no time barriers, providing the participants "better opportunities for reflective responses" (p. 92), securing the study's validity and reliability, which increases with transparency.

The interview starts with general questions on the participants' backgrounds, building confidence between the interviewee and myself. Open-ended questions keep the interview's flexibility and flow, which is a discourse about a topic so that the interview participant can freely express their views and "is making sense of the story." (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 93). Therefore, such open-ended questions allow for access to better and more informative interviewees' views, both for my interpretation and understanding of their experiences. The interviewee could choose to be interviewed in English, Polish, or Vietnamese, as they wished and felt comfortable with. Follow-up questions also serve to help with translations as some terms in some languages require more explanation for interpretation of their meanings (May, 2011, p. 140). It also permits identification, coding of specific key terms that interview participants use and overlap.

I have to adapt to my participants' needs and difficult times that people are facing during the 2020 coronavirus outbreak. My interviewees' responses might somewhat focus on the pandemic. The outbreak might affect my results because of health and safety factors that can disturb my interviewees' and the society's well-being overall. For instance, between March and May 2020, many flights worldwide were canceled due to the coronavirus outbreak (Adams & Lupini, 2020). Despite this, I conducted interviews by focusing on my interviewees' general and past experiences of their air travel mobility and transnational practices.

There are 3 males and 4 females of different ages and occupations as interviewees. Two males are among the first "waves" of the VP, who came to Poland as students. Even though the Vietnamese community in Poland is lesser-known and less numerous to study compared to many other migrant groups, this research should not rely only on one method. Hence, apart from the 7 interviews, content analysis of document archives, texts, and images from relevant online sources is needed, claiming greater validity and reliability. Both methods can provide an understanding of socially constructed views.

8.6) Content Analysis

The second research method consists of content analysis to understand social phenomena and how social lives and actions are depicted. Therefore, content analysis is a substantial way to collect data and provide explained evidence. It involves systematic identification, describing,

comparing, or interpreting ‘texts,’ which is widely used to refer to “anything that is created to communicate meaning and may consist of words, signs, images and film” (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p. 34). It is a systematic way of breaking down a text, explaining it to provide evidence for interpretation (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 35). In this case, providing clarified evidence can build-up results for this research study.

For example, Colin Pooley researched the 19th-century time-space diaries examining the household members who performed their activities on the move through time and space, by studying texts or pictures (Pooley in Sheller and Urry, 2006, p. 218). It consists of memories, traveling objects, pictures, letters, and souvenirs (Sheller and Urry, 2006, p. 219). These are examples of content analysis that I am using in this research, studying pictures, texts, news, and my private archives to understand migrants moving throughout time and space within aero-mobility and their trajectorial path to transnational activities.

Since content analysis is a type of coding (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 35), it helps me as the researcher to face the choice of categories and codes inductively from different sources with contents and to see the collected data supporting the same findings. The researcher needs to take notes while analyzing contents, pay attention to coding details such as behaviors, age, sightings, numbers, and names. Therefore, considering the frequency with which categories overlap and interpreting coding with elements of the researcher’s personal interpretation (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 35).

The criticism of the content analysis can be that it can provide an objective basis for describing and comparing texts and images. The researcher should “be careful not to make overarching claims for its value” (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 35). Therefore, I complete the interview data with content analysis in this thesis to make an explicit comparison of data sets from two methods to achieve triangulation; a combination of data and results derived from different methods. Triangulation enables checking on external validity and gaining more confidence in the results by using more than one method. It involves a procedure on “what we learn from using one method or type of data onto what we can learn from the other” (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 270-271). Furthermore, the findings from both methods can overlap.

8.7) Data Analysis

Besides transcribing interviews, researchers have to collect the data and code the results gathered into categories and themes, in this case, from both interviews and content analysis. The transcripts can be overwhelming and need to be made manageable through labeling them into categories to apply them across the sets of data and interpretation of results (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 22 and 25). Hence, the case study design needs detailed and thoughtful descriptions and data analysis throughout the formed themes. The repeated names, words, or phrases are noted; this also applies to the interpretation, description, and comparison of texts and images in the content analysis (Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 35). If some outcomes are alike, they can be categorized under the same themes and headings because coding helps highlight the patterns and comparisons within and across findings, analyzing the terms and their relations (May, 2011, p. 152). I transcribed and reviewed the interviews and organized the necessary materials that are in Vietnamese and Polish by also paraphrasing and rephrasing them in English. I hand-coded the data by identifying the terms and words signifying a major theme-category. Such coding enables focus on the relevant areas of the research, to better understand the data results collected from the interviews and content analysis. Finally, the description of findings demonstrates the progression of migration from air travel to transnationalism. Subsequently, I compared the results with the previous literature and relevant theoretical frameworks.

8.8) Validity and Reliability

According to 6 and Bellamy (2012), to ensure reliability, it is essential to measure or code with consistency. Qualitative reliability shows how approaches are consistent between different researchers and enabling others to use the same measures to reach similar results, testing how reliable the procedure is (p. 21). Moreover, I provide reasons for my choices of coding. I asked the participants to elaborate more on the key terms that are influential and interesting for my interpretation of data. Reliability depends on methodical attention to detail with precautions such as clarifying, identifying, counting, and displaying definitions of findings collected (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 94). Consequently, it is substantial to document and check the transcripts to avoid making mistakes, reviewing the meanings of the terms and notions coded. I transcribed and taped the interviews, translated the materials needed, secured my notes, and they are available upon request. To check whether the answers from the

participants are reliable, I follow 6 & Bellamy's (2012) references that the questions have to be interconnected; slight repetitions occurred but worded differently to achieve reliable results and a consistent pattern (p. 21).

Reliability represents the consistency of the measurement and contrasts with validity, which considers the appropriateness of the measure and involves evaluating arguments and empirical evidence to define whether they support the theoretical claims (Taylor, 2013, p. 2; Hammond & Wellington, 2012, p. 150). To secure validity, it is crucial in the research study to measure findings with accuracy to approximate the truth (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 21). One of the ways to achieve greater validity is to use multiple research methods to generate different data sources to achieve higher accuracy and transparency of the findings. External validity signifies that the findings in a study would be generalizable and held in other situations or studies similar in relevant ways (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 22). The findings might not be generalizable to other contexts using only 7 interviews but can be triangulated with content analysis and its various gathered data sources (texts and images) (May, 2011, p. 187).

Consequently, internal validity covers the importance of clarity within a study regarding which questions are formed and appropriate for the methodology, by arranging "evidence in support of propositions" (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p. 152). As a Vietnamese-speaking person, I do not have language issues to understand the interviewees' responses; hence, checking and validating the interviewees' responses (such as via follow-up questions or translation dictionaries) increases internal validity. The interviewees could be more undisturbed to reveal their answers to me. It would be more challenging for a non-Vietnamese speaking person to conduct this research.

8.9) Ethical Aspects

Ethical aspects are essential in the research process because it involves consent, confidentiality, and anonymity before the publication of the study. Hence, every participant keeps anonymity. I changed all my informants' (interviewees) personal names to protect their privacy. Importantly, while conducting interviews, it is essential to rely on ethical rules concerning consent, permission from the participants for recording and preserving his or her right to anonymity (6 & Bellamy, 2012, p. 91). While contacting them, I informed them about the purpose of my research and explained the topic, which allows the interviewees to be

prepared and to feel more comfortable during the interview (May, 2011, p. 141). To confirm their participation, I assured the interviewees during the briefing phase of the interview that their participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw at any time because I am aware of the risks that the interviewees are taking by revealing sensitive information. I will not take their participation for granted and they all agreed to the consent terms. I confirmed to them that I am not involved in the authorities' actions. Text-based interview participants have each signed a consent form. All the interview recordings and transcripts are kept on my flash drive, in a safe place, and will be destroyed after finishing my studies. All the interviewees were assured that the material is only used for this research (during both the audio-taped briefing interview phase or via a consent form).

The results cannot be framed for someone's benefits, ensuring the feasibility of the research study. Therefore, confidentiality is about enabling the participants to freely express their opinions to the degree of comfort and privacy they desire. Otherwise, participants can become alarmed about a lack of trust, time, and freedom to voice what they wanted to say (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 160). Increasing transparency results from tape-recorded interviews, demonstrating the data analysis, conclusions, and attaching an appendix with interview questions (a Vietnamese version is also available on demand). The articles and images from public social media posts or online news have been cited and appropriately linked while presenting content analysis. The non-public social media posts and pictures are used in this research only if their owners grant permission for me to use them.

8.10) Role of the Researcher

This qualitative research shows how important the researchers' role is and their importance in building knowledge and conducting research methods. I agree that writing a thesis should contribute not only to the researcher's knowledge but also to make original contributions to knowledge in academic domains (Hammond and Wellington, 2012, p. 158). As a researcher, it is my chance to study my ethnicity and diasporic group for the first time. The motivation for conducting this research comes from my interest and work experience in the civil aviation industry, allowing me to be self-reflexive on my knowledge when relevant, while investigating and analyzing the findings as a Vietnamese-Pole myself. Furthermore, I have never done academic research on the VP. In this study, I believe air travel is highly relevant to migration; for instance, whenever I traveled between Poland and Vietnam, the airport staff

checked if I had the right documents for crossing borders. Similarly to other air passengers, I can be subject to racial profiling.

I take into consideration that my knowledge of Vietnamese and Polish are my advantages in conducting this research, and it allowed me to make connections with the other VP for this study. Furthermore, my Vietnamese-Polish background lets me better understand the context of my interviewees' responses, enriching and learning the more practical knowledge of cultural habits or practices. Thus, my identity is built by my experiences and skills. I frequently hear at transnational events such as weddings or Vietnamese ceremonies in Warsaw about people's journeys between Vietnam and Poland; it shapes their migrant lives and emotional stories during their journeys. There has always been someone in my family-friends bringing a variety of ethnic Asian products from traditional medical ingredients to foods, often taking into consideration the restrictive airline baggage policies.

However, this has been infrequently explained and studied in the social sciences, encouraging my constructivist standpoint in this research, in this socially constructed world. I am aware of my biases from my upbringing and background that generate the subjectivist approach in this research. To stay objective, I direct my attention on focusing on the interview participants' experiences in air travel, on the content analysis, and sources relevant to the research to objectively detect and discuss this research study accurately. My role involves making an impact by bolstering more the migration study on mobilities rather than sedentary studies and presenting the findings with transparency.

8.11) Interviewee Profiles

Tra: Born in Poland 23 years ago, works in a family restaurant in Warsaw, but shares her life between Poland and the UK. ^

Oanh: Born in the early 1970s, he moved to Poland over 20 years ago, owns a business, and is involved in a Vietnamese-Polish religious organization. ^^

Hanh: An executive assistant, born in 1996 in Poland, she currently lives in Warsaw. ^

Hai: Born in the mid-1970s, a businesswoman who moved to Warsaw 13 years ago. Member of a Vietnamese-diasporic association. A former long-time flight attendant. ^^

My: Born in the early 1990s in Vietnam but grew up in Kraków, an entrepreneur and restaurateur. She moved to Warsaw 13 years ago. *

Vo: Born in the 1940s, Polish-university alumni but settled in Poland permanently over 25 years ago, he is a retired engineer living in Warsaw. **

Hung: Born in the early 1960s, he is a translator and has been living in Poland for over 40 years. **

^ *Interview in English*

^^ *Interview in Vietnamese*

* *Text-based interview in English*

** *Text-based interview in Vietnamese*

9. Findings

9.1) The experiences, customs and habits concerning Air Travel

In this section, the interviewees revealed their air travel experiences between Poland and Vietnam. This section examines the findings on their planning for their travels and the importance of the air travel industry's quality of service that allows them to be mobile between Poland and Vietnam. Moreover, the reasons for flying, customs and the habits of the VP observed by the interviewees while engaging in air travel are also discussed.

9.1.1) The quality of experience and convenience of air travel services

There is a pattern of similar answers from the interviews concerning planning, booking a flight, and the choice of airlines for the travels between Poland and Vietnam. The choice of airlines and flights revealed by the interviewees can give general background information on mobility and aero-mobility in this research. All of the interviewees, except Oanh, decide to choose Middle Eastern airlines, especially Qatar Airways.

In particular, Tra and My said that Qatar Airways offers a high quality of service, allowing both of them to bring up to 45 kilograms of baggage per person. To my knowledge, other airlines offer every passenger to carry only up to approximately 23 kilograms of baggage. Tra revealed that she is impressed with Qatar Airways' enriched in-flight entertainment system. Consequently, My said that she enjoys Qatar Airways' modern planes and that the journeys between Poland and Vietnam are less tiring with a layover in Doha, Qatar, comparing to other airlines:

“The route to Vietnam is divided to 2 routes about 6 hours each. So you don't feel so tired when you have to sit too long on the airplane!” (My)

The fatigue level affecting a passenger both physically and psychologically, who can also be a migrant, can influence mobility and flight choices. Tra and Hanh both stated that Qatar Airways offer the most competitive price tickets between Poland and Vietnam.

Hai revealed that despite her employee benefits from her previous airline employer, she chooses Qatar Airways, and especially Emirates, with its hub in Dubai, for her travels between Warsaw and Hanoi or Saigon. Hai said that air service quality such as flexibility and seamless connections are essential to her, providing general positive ambiance for her mobility experiences such as friendly service and fast check-in procedures. The exceptional quality of service in aero-mobility offered by Qatar Airways or Emirates, and Tra's comments on Qatar Airways' enriched entertainment system on-board, support Sheller and Urry's point-of-view that the growing technology such as intelligent transport systems and smart items, enable people to experience the high-tech and “virtual” reality of travel with better aircraft (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 221).

In contrast, Oanh prefers to support Vietnam's national flag carrier:

“If I book the tickets through other airlines that are cheaper, that's also ok, but flying with Vietnam Airlines means so that we, the Vietnamese people, also have jobs.” (Oanh)

Oanh's answer demonstrates that mobility can also involve aspects of patriotism, such as the sense of belonging to the nation through the homeland's airline. The need to have Vietnamese

hospitality and communication onboard in Vietnamese can be a substantial factor in mobility, providing a feeling of being at home on the plane when flying to or from Vietnam.

The interviewees were also asked about the way they book flights to Vietnam. The same pattern appears among most of the interviewees, mentioning about the travel agencies:

"When travelling to Vietnam, I prefer to use Vietnamese travel agencies, because they usually have better deals with airlines!" (My)

"Normally, I book through different travel agencies owned by companies that belong to the Vietnamese people in Poland." (Vo)

Moreover, Hanh and Tra disclose that the older generation of the VP happen to book flights via the Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland because of their convenience. Some VP can have language barriers; it would be more difficult for them to book flights, whether on the internet or at non-Vietnamese speaking travel agencies. They can be surer about the flight choices and bookings with the Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland:

"I think most Vietnamese people use travel agencies, in Poland still. Maybe the young people book it themselves, but for some reasons, there are those travel agencies that people are convinced are cheaper." (Hanh)

"The older, they tend to go to travel agencies because it's just easier. So, because they know the person, they trust in finding the best deals, and it's just a faster process. As in the younger generation, I think that I don't think we have any trouble browsing on the internet in finding the same deals." (Tra)

Furthermore, Hung declared that nowadays, his children help him to book tickets online:

"I know friends that have travel agencies, so I usually request them to book the flights. Nowadays, my children are all grown-up, so they can also book the flights for me." (Hung)

I also asked Tra for more details about those travel agencies and their locations:

“If you’re talking about only travel only to Vietnam then it’s always going to be through a Viet, Asian agency in a place called Wólka Kosowska, it’s where all the Vietnamese people work, because the language, a lot of Vietnamese have language barriers so it’s easier for them to talk to an Asian agency.” (Tra)

Hai also said that the VP often book through Vietnamese travel agencies, describing the Wólka Kosowska area:

“There is an advantage because they are close to the workplace, better for arrangements. Secondly, they provide the best options; they offer different flights and a variety of airlines, and they are faster than if we book by ourselves. This is why the Vietnamese people choose that option.” (Hai)

I also asked Oanh about the location of the Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland. He answered: *“Mostly in Wólka Kosowska.”* According to Brzozowski (2019), Wólka Kosowska is a transnational trade center area 25 km southwest from Downtown Warsaw, controlled by mostly Vietnamese and Chinese entrepreneurs (p. 353). The Vietnamese travel agencies can offer competitive air ticket prices, different flight options, and more suitable flight bookings for the older generation of the VP. Figure A shows a picture of the travel document paper wallets from 4 different Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland. All of them have their offices in Wólka Kosowska (marked in green rectangles), some of them also have their branches in Warsaw and Vietnam (arrowed in orange and green, respectively).



Figure A. Travel document wallets of the Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland (own document, 2020)

The interviewees' responses and the contents indicate that the experiences of VP in air travel can be highly dependent on the Vietnamese travel agencies, instead of booking online. Therefore, this suggests resulting in higher trust within the community, or even supporting each other's businesses. Those travel agencies' primary customers are the Vietnamese people living in Poland, designating Grzymała-Kazłowska's argument that the VP are self-protective, and they happen to distance themselves from the rest of society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015, p. 483). Moreover, owning a travel agency is also a form of self-employment as many VP are self-employed (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 384).

Figure B illustrates a view inside a cloth-trading center in Wólka Kosowska, and it contains elements of air travel in its main hallway. On the left, there is a Vietnamese travel office (arrowed). Figures B and C can show that the air travel industry can play a significant role as it is present in the VP's lives and that Wólka Kosowska is an important transnational space for the Vietnamese-Polish community. The aspects of air travel are well-represented within an area with a large Vietnamese concentration alongside the clothing booths and business offices of the VP.



Figure B. The main hallway of a transnational trade center in Wólka Kosowska (Cộng Đồng Việt Nam Tại Ba Lan, 2020)



Figure C. A Vietnamese airline advertisement banner in Wólka Kosowska (own picture, 2020)

The Quê Việt's (a Vietnamese-Polish online newspaper) article in Vietnamese titled (translated): "One More Travel Agency was Born," published in 2014 by an unknown author, informs about the opening of a new travel agency located in Wólka Kosowska. Quê Việt states that the new travel agency's opening would offer more flight possibilities and options for the VP. This article presents the inaugural ceremony event of the travel agency. It shows that different actors want to be involved, including guests from the Embassy of Vietnam in Poland, and transnational community groups such as the Vietnamese-Polish and the Vietnamese Women's Association in Poland (Quê Việt, 2014). Therefore, the presence of the transnational community groups at the inaugural ceremony can indicate that they are willing

to endorse the Vietnamese businesses in Poland, to promote air travel as an important element for many VP and Vietnamese migrants to visit their families in Vietnam. As Burrell states, travel is the essence of migration, asserting the culture of mobility and aero-mobility (Burrell, 2011, p. 1025). This article shows that the airline industry can contribute to transnational links and strong ties between community members shaping their endeavors. It corresponds to Michael Samers and Michael Collyer's (2017) explanation of transnationalism, which proves to show global and borderless cultural, economic, political, and diasporic links involving immigrant groups (p. 145).

Thus, by applying Sheller and Urry's (2006) concept of the mobility turn, the answers from 6 interviewees can indicate that Qatar Airways is part of a socio-technical system with its seamless and convenient airport hub in Qatar connecting Poland with Vietnam (p. 219). Although there are only 7 interviewees in this study, we can understand that many VP can recommend the same services to each other within the community, for instance, by word of mouth. Therefore, Qatar Airways is suggested to be the preferred airline for many VP to travel between Poland and Vietnam. It allows higher baggage allowances, allowing to bring more products between countries. It highlights convenient air travel experiences that start in Wólka Kosowska. Based on the findings, Wólka Kosowska can play a transnational role because it is a large Vietnamese concentration in Poland. It is an enclaved part of Poland, where many VP work, meet up, and live. Wólka Kosowska has the presence of not only Vietnamese-owned travel agencies but also other businesses such as Vietnamese restaurants, Asian food markets, and also Vietnamese events and ceremonies.

As Grzymała-Kazłowska (2015) states, in the Wólka Kosowska area, new pagodas and market hubs are also established. It is also near to the major highways and the Warsaw Chopin Airport (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2015, p. 425; Brzozowski, 2019, p. 353), making it a convenient place for the VP to find authentic Vietnamese products and services, forming a spirit of feeling "at home" and to preserve a transnational link with Vietnam. The airport is located between Wólka Kosowska and downtown Warsaw, making it convenient for the VP to be mobile and to commute easily between the three places to conduct transnational business and practices, from consuming Vietnamese products in Wólka Kosowska, to taking a flight from Warsaw to Vietnam. Therefore, the needs of the Vietnamese people can be found in one convenient place. The convenience extends to the fact that the VP, especially the older

generation, can use the Vietnamese-speaking travel agencies in Wólka Kosowska, which can offer competitive air ticket prices.

9.1.2) Seasonal holiday customs: Maintaining family relations and ethnic identity

Another theme highlighted throughout this study is the seasonal holiday customs. Four interviewees (Hanh, Hung, Tra and Hai) answered that they usually fly to Vietnam during the summer. Summers allow the most relaxing and flexible time during the calendar year for the interviewees and their family members living in Poland and Vietnam, mainly due to at least two-month school breaks in both countries. It highlights Nguyen's et al. (1998) argument that most Vietnamese travel back to Vietnam almost entirely to visit and spend time with family and friends (p. 9). Hanh said she embraces hot summers in Vietnam. Tra revealed that she mostly travels to Vietnam during the summer because she is dependent on her family's plans. She also acknowledged how important Tet is (The Vietnamese Lunar New Year happening in January or February, depending on the year):

“So, whenever time allows, but mostly I go in summer, although it's too hot. Preferably I like to go in February when there's Asian New Year's, so the weather is also more chilly, and I can also spend time with my loved ones. It's such an important holiday.” (Tra)

Hung stated that he never managed to visit Vietnam during the Tet season:

“I like to fly in the summer because that's when my whole family is on holiday. I have lived in Poland for 40 years and I've never flown back for the Tet season.” (Hung)

Hai flies to Vietnam at least once a year. Apart from traveling for business purposes, she answered that she prefers to take her children back to Vietnam during the Tet season the most, but only if they get school holidays. Tet allows her and her whole family to get together and for her children to learn about the Vietnamese New Year's traditions. Hai further elaborated that the summer season is the freest time in the year to travel to Vietnam:

“The second season is the summer season; it is the freest time in the year and that kids are also on holidays taking a break from school, so I can take them back [to

Vietnam] so that they can learn the language. Secondly, they get the time to learn, to socialize with the Vietnamese people and culture.” (Hai)

Therefore, the summer holidays remain a preferable season for most interviewees to travel to Vietnam because it allows more free time for their families and children. The milder seasons are also taken into consideration, such as the Tet season. Tet represents the importance of respecting traditional, cultural, and family values in Vietnam. Over the last five years, Oanh flies to Vietnam mostly during the Tet season:

“Vietnam is currently very developing [...] I like to go back to Vietnam mostly in the Lunar New Year. Because this is the New Year's reunion, it gathers families together to share each other's happy and sad life and to wish each other a healthier new year.” (Oanh)

Vo visited Vietnam twice within the last five years and prefers to fly in late fall but acknowledges that the Tet season attracts the Overseas Vietnamese to visit Vietnam. September is the best month for My to visit Vietnam because of the mild weather. However, business plans also influence My's travel plans to Vietnam as she has traveled to Vietnam nine times within the last five years:

“I prefer to fly to Vietnam in September, because the weather is the best (not so hot, not so cold). But of course, I travel to Vietnam when I have a business there to do, then I don't care about the time.” (My)

As seen above, the interviewees mostly spent time seeing their families in Vietnam, to acquire cultural enrichment and be familiar with the Vietnamese culture (such as Tet celebrations). Their answers show signs of “ethnic tourism,” which means travelling with examining one's sense of belonging to an identity that has been left behind, and adhering to a Vietnamese Confucian-based centrality of family life (Nguyen et al., 1998, p. 9). The Tet celebrations remain an essential cultural factor even though most of the interviewees can mostly fly to Vietnam only during the summer months, which is the most flexible season. As part of ethnic tourism, the VP can book holiday trips to Vietnamese sightseeing or leisure destinations, enjoying the growth of Vietnam's economy, which highlights Cresswell's (2010) explanation that mobility ranges from aspects such as business migration, travel, and retirement migration (p. 23). Therefore, in this section, I understand that there are diverse kinds of mobility,

ranging from the practice of ethnic tourism, business to perhaps even retreat migration. Perceptibly, some elderly VP opt to have a retirement lifestyle in Vietnam, allowing them to reconnect with their childhood times, families, and friends or to rejuvenate in Vietnam's warmer climate.

Sheller and Urry's (2006) claim that mobilities include movements of images, and information, embracing one-to-one communications such by phone (p. 212). Therefore, online platforms such as Skype or FaceTime can allow many VP to keep in touch with their families in Vietnam daily. However, I suggest that air travel allows the VP and their families in Vietnam to see each other, to bring goods for each other, to sit and talk together in person, or to celebrate a holiday together.

9.1.3) The customs of the movement of goods and products

The importance of the movement of goods such as foods is highly substantial for the interviewees. Understandably, there can be a demand for dry foods and fruits from Vietnam. On the other hand, more European-themed products are carried from Poland to Vietnam, such as cosmetics, alcohol, and sweets. Also, there is a demand for owning and buying products of European standards in Vietnam. Therefore, the movement of goods is a factor that appears in the answers. Tra revealed that she mostly brings dried foods from Vietnam to Poland:

“Tapioca, apricot jam, dried mangos, dried chilis, you know, no, even fresh chilis, a lot of like just dried food overall.” (Tra)

My, Oanh and Vo also bring similar products:

“Mostly fresh fruits and foods!” (My)

“I mainly bring dried food for my family or a souvenir of the Vietnamese culture. When I return to Vietnam, I often bring alcohol and chocolate for my family.” (Oanh)

“I often bring Polish chocolates and fruits to Vietnam as gifts. On the other way around, I usually bring some tropical fruits, vegetables, and herbs.” (Vo)

Hai summarizes that the products brought between Poland and Vietnam are usually the products that do not exist in one place but do typically exist in the other:

“Usually, people bring special gifts, specialties of Poland or Vietnam. If something does not exist here, they go back [to Vietnam] and mainly bring back different gifts or fruits. On the other hand, they also bring different items from here that don’t exist in Vietnam. They probably also bring traditional Vietnamese presents and different specialties of Vietnam for their friends and relatives here.”
(Hai)

Therefore, Tra, My, Oanh and Vo bring cultural specialties, goods and items from Vietnam to Poland. Their answers point out Hannerz’s notion of creolization: movements and flows of cultural items and products from the South to the North and not only from the powerful nations to the economic periphery (Hannerz in Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 11). Oanh and Vo also bring products such as chocolate, representing their country of residence (Poland) to Vietnam, reflecting on Sheller and Urry’s finding that the northern countries (such as Poland) expect fresh material (such as fruits and seafood) freighted from the South. The southern countries (such as Vietnam) expect consumer goods (such as alcohol or sweets) from the North (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208).

The interviewees were also asked whether they have managed to “smuggle” products, which means bringing any items that are usually not allowed for air travel and crossing borders. Most of them would “smuggle” products such as unusual types of fruits that can, for instance, contain intensive smell such as durians. Very often, the products “smuggled” are usually available in Vietnam and are difficult to find in Poland. One interviewee “smuggled” fruits by packing them in gift boxes so that the airport officials in Poland did not notice the “prohibited” food products as the customs officials would think that such gift boxes are presents. Among the answers, the smuggled products are dry beef or squid, which can result from high demand and a higher preference for tropical foods and seafood from Vietnam among many VP, which aligns with Burrell’s finding that one of her respondents preferred to bring sausages from Poland as they taste better than English sausages (Burrell, 2011, p. 1028).

The VP carrying products between both Poland and Vietnam can also face difficulties in air travel. For example, I also asked my interviewees about any difficult and uncomfortable situations when they engaged in air travel. The interviewees talked about other Vietnamese travelers sometimes bribing the Vietnamese airport officials, mostly for allowing them to enter Vietnam without any trouble with a great amount of the same products such as cosmetics or clothes, perceptibly for re-selling in Vietnam, which can cause suspicion from the customs officials. Custom checks usually happen on international arrivals. Hanh describes how the Vietnamese men are often subject to additional customs screening:

"In Poland, at least they would check a lot of Vietnamese men for some reason so they would never check like me or my mother, but my dad they would almost always check his bag [...] you can't really carry meat or stuff like that." (Hanh)

Some male interviewees revealed that they had been checked for additional screenings. They mainly managed to "smuggle," mostly getting away with no trouble, without paying customs taxes, and they are not the only VP being stepped aside and dealing with the airport officials. The items and products carried vary, ranging from money to large amounts of milk for older people brought from Poland to Vietnam. When traveling from Vietnam to Poland, the Polish officials checked if my interviewees were carrying vegetables, tubers or fruits or carrying a few thousand dollars or other foreign currencies, on behalf of someone else (a friend or a family member), violating the regulations between both countries. My interviewees needed to invent a good reason to "smuggle" such products and possessions, mostly for transnational remittance purposes, for the Vietnamese diasporic business collaborations, for family or charity reasons. Such "smuggling" of products reflects Vertovec's argument that some people circumvent state controls, borders, and taxes even if they live in a country where they are not citizens. (Vertovec, 2004, p. 980).

In this research, 6 interviewees are dual citizens of Poland and Vietnam, Oanh holds permanent residency in Poland. Apart from sometimes being "randomly" selected for customs checks, everyone agreed that they usually have no problems while traveling. The interviewees are mobile back and forth between Vietnam and Poland, which pairs with Vertovec's claim that "loosening rules of dual citizenship are a growing global trend, especially among migrant sending countries" (Vertovec, 2004, p. 981).

Although Vertovec (2004) reveals that some migrants circumvent state controls, borders, and taxes (p. 980), there are still factors within aero-mobility that limit mobility; borders and customs checks, and restricted baggage allowances imposed by airlines. Moreover, it is worth considering that other factors, such as tight airport security controls, can represent an obstacle to mobility and transnationalism. Therefore, such limitations can oppose some aspects of the theory of transnationalism. Bringing unique products such as fruits and seafood to another environment (from Vietnam to Poland) and bringing European-specialized products such as cosmetics and nutritious milk to Vietnam (as both gifts for family members, or for re-selling in Vietnam) can be seen as smuggling. Instead of easily circumventing controls, the interviewees can experience a significant amount of distress and worries provoked by the airport officials, regardless of whether in Poland or Vietnam.

Carrying items and products between Poland and Vietnam signifies the demand for the products that exist in one place but do not typically exist in the other. The Vietnamese food, ingredients, and spices can be found in Asian markets in Wólka Kosowska. However, the products brought by the VP by plane from Vietnam can be more authentic, and fresh, coming directly from the villages, representing a real taste and fragrance of the Vietnamese cuisine. Therefore, aligning with Sheller and Urry's argument that mobility is not only a flight but also a whole set of complex types of mobilities of diasporas and transnational activities. The flow of goods also indicates that the mobility turn connects different features of the world (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 209). The movement of products can strengthen the diasporic and transnational links of the VP, such as carrying products and items on behalf of each other, which will be discussed later in this research.

9.1.4) The in-flight journey habits

The interviewees were also asked about their in-flight journey experiences and the general common habits of the VP while engaging in air travel between Poland and Vietnam. Six interviewees answered that they often see and recognize other VP taking the same flights. The interviewees also shared their views about the characteristics of being "loud," and other common habits of the Vietnamese people engaging in air travel between Poland and Vietnam:

"I think Vietnamese people are very recognizable in a way that they're very loud (laughing) [...] yeah so they're very loud. You can hear them, you know them,

they look at you. You know, 'cause we're all Vietnamese. Yeah but they're friendly." (Tra)

"When there is a large group, they often talk very loudly, adversely affecting other passengers." (Vo)

"If they spend money on something, they have to be served as gods. Also, they often practice talking loudly to themselves." (Oanh)

"We, the Vietnamese people, talk loudly (laughing). We don't observe around; we talk about uninteresting stuff, we do not pay attention to any information and do not listen to the announcements [...] they don't pay attention to the airport announcements, at the airport signs, or the airport monitors." (Hai)

Tra shared her in-flight experience by focusing on the fact that the older Vietnamese travelers can face more difficulty moving within airports. Therefore, she is happy to offer them help while engaging in air travel between Poland and Vietnam:

"Going back to the older Vietnamese people who travel, it might be beneficial for them because you know, they might find another younger individual to help them out. Yeah, because of the language barriers so they don't know how to move around the airports, so we just tag along with them." (Tra)

Moreover, Hung and Oanh stated that many Vietnamese people try to bring an excessive amount of luggage but denied that all the Vietnamese people have the same habits when engaging in air travel. Tra exposed that in Vietnam, her family helps her packing for her travels. She said that Vietnamese families are very professional in packing their goods as *"they know how to pack things to put as much things as they can."* As Shultz claims, the Vietnamese culture overall involves collectivism and not individualism (Shultz in Le and Kieu, 2019, p. 610). Commonly, decisions are often made by the family as a whole; Vietnamese families often work together to efficiently packing up the goods of a family member embarking on a journey.

Therefore, the answers from Tra, Hung, and Oanh show that packing up for travel can be problematic and can correspond to Burrell's point that migrants can be vulnerable to airline policies and that heavy travel restrictions can limit transnational activities (Burrell, 2011, p. 1028). My and Tra mentioned before that Qatar Airways offers each passenger to carry up to 45 kg, allowing the VP more advantaged and flexible baggage allowances to fit in more goods. Moreover, such higher baggage allowances allow conducting transnational business such as carrying gifts, bringing and re-selling the demanded products between Poland and Vietnam. Accordingly, Hai expressed that many VP use carton boxes instead of the suitcases because carton boxes are lighter:

“The common habits of the Vietnamese people while traveling is mainly that they often pack things in carton boxes or some other boxes because these are lighter and can diminish the weight. If they pack in suitcases, they are just heavier, they take a lot more space, and cannot guarantee more weight. It's because people want to carry lots of gifts, and other mixed stuff, so they want to pack in the ways that the weight for checked baggage can be as low as possible.” (Hai)

The customs and habits of packing items can have an evolutionary process and change depending on the needs of many Vietnamese people, including the VP. According to Oanh, carton boxes or Styrofoam boxes can be thrown away after every journey, and suitcases take too much space to store at home. Hai and Oanh's answers may not prove these facts fully. However, their responses can correspond to an Internet meme (Figure D) from Google Images. It stereotypically compares a Caucasian family traveling with two suitcases, to a group of Asian travelers in front of EVA Air (a Taiwanese airline, marked in a blue rectangle) check-in counters with their carton boxes on a trolley:



Figure D. A meme comparing Caucasian to Asian travelers (@thingsthatareyeethay, n.d.)

Therefore, Figure D is a content that can support that Asian people (comprising the Vietnamese people) are often known for traveling with carton boxes instead of suitcases. However, Oanh also revealed that the plastic foils slowly replace carton and Styrofoam packages. Therefore, foiling the items and products, sticking them all-together, makes the whole baggage even lighter than packing in carton boxes:

“I think that the Vietnamese people are mostly good at math, so they count things very fast and efficiently so they can evolve proficiently with the changing society. For now, they might be using carton boxes. Still, slowly from time to time, now, some people don’t use cartons anymore [...]. For example, they re-group items together, pack and foil all of these items together in a plastic foil.” (Oanh)

Consequently, Oanh also said that airline policies do not state how the baggage's shape must look. As the reflections of Tra, Oanh, and Hai have shown, this section presents unique baggage packing tactics (with the use of boxes and foils) by many VP for their travels and the difficulty for some VP in moving within international airports. This can result from the fact that the Vietnamese language does not belong to Indo-European languages such as English or Polish. Therefore, it would be especially difficult for the elderly Vietnamese people to follow the airport announcements or guides because of the language barriers. Moreover, the in-flight

“loud” talking habits of many VP point out Burrell’s argument that airports reduce personal spaces, and have a strong “emotional fabric, hosting the arrivals and departures of families” (Burrell, 2011, p. 1025 and 1028). Therefore, loud talking can be provoked by a level of emotional uncertainty while moving within international airports, and reduced airport capacities affecting other passengers' private space. The in-flight excitement can result from seeing family in Vietnam, going back to Poland for work or simply traveling with other Vietnamese people, VP, friends, and acquaintances because the Vietnamese culture embraces collectivism and not individualism (Shultz in Le and Kieu, 2019, p. 610).

9.2) Relating aero-mobility customs to diasporic and transnational links

Air travel can connect communities at a long distance. It forms a transnational network, dependence, and trust which shapes Vietnamese diasporic associations and linkages with their homeland in Vietnam. The interviewees were also asked how products, charities, donations, remittances, and aid were sent between Poland and Vietnam. Some interviewees are members of Vietnamese associations in Poland.

9.2.1) Strengthening transnational links

The interviewees revealed that the personal goods, aid and remittances are usually carried by VP individuals between Poland and Vietnam in the form of cash; by members of the associations for free or by VP frequent flyers that sell their “free space in the baggage” instead of using freight services to avoid heavy transportation charges. Oanh and Hai shared their answers on the flow of donations to Vietnam:

“For example, here, I volunteer to do charities for Vietnam, so to be honest, the aid is being sent through those different people that volunteer to fly. You can cross borders with up to 10 000 euros so those people that fly can carry a large number of remittances and aid money to Vietnam for free.” (Oanh)

“Donations, cash, are always organized here. Vietnamese associations would sort this out. Within the associations, some members volunteer to carry the aid money

and donations and deliver them personally to the hands of the people in Vietnam.” (Hai)

However, Hai later added that the heavier donation goods and items have to be sent by freight to Vietnam. The designated receiver would segregate and deliver them directly to those in need. Oanh and Hai's answers can evince Glick Schiller's argument that boxes sent with expensive goods from overseas to families back home represent the constant and various flow of goods and activities. Such flows are "embedding within them relationships between people, maintaining linkages between families, economic investments, and businesses" (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 11). One interviewee added that such donations are privately organized and not sent through the Vietnamese government because of corruption among the Vietnamese authorities.

Mobility highly involves transnational practices, which can include members of a community helping and depending on each other in carrying remittances, goods, and items. The interviewees shared their stories about the movement of their goods and how they helped and dealt with other VP to carry each other's goods when one of them is not able to travel. My revealed that she had carried items for others:

“Yes, once I carried something for someone because I traveled a lot that year and I didn't need any baggage or presents to carry. So that's why I carried for someone else ☺.” (My)

Carrying products or remittances for someone also has a lot to do with safety. Hai said that when she was asked to carry an item for someone, she checked if the items are not causing any menaces and do not violate airline regulations. She also makes sure that people can carry her gifts or official documents on her behalf to Vietnam, which can be faster than by mail or freight. Vo said that frequent flyers offer their free space in their baggage and fill them in with the goods of other VP:

“I sometimes send gifts to Vietnam through a service provided by my frequently flying friends. They fly back and forth between the two countries.” (Vo)

Some interviewees revealed that there are people who practice frequent flying and sell their “personal logistic service” in carrying goods and remittances for others, for a fee, between Poland and Vietnam. Oanh revealed that many VP offer such service nowadays:

“It is kind of a profession that they carry products back and forth from Poland here, those frequent flyers carry products from Europe to Vietnam rather than the other way around. To Vietnam, it would cost from 35 to 38zł per kilo or 40zł per kilo. Because products from Europe are more valuable.” (Oanh)

Oanh later added that this profession is a black market, and the taxes are often not paid. Hence, I am aware that anyone can practice this “hidden” profession and get paid for carrying goods and items for someone else.

The answers of Vo, Oanh, Hai, and Hanh mark on Vertovec's argument that associations can lead to charity events, build infrastructure in their country of origin, send donations, creating institutionalization of transnational ties (Vertovec, 2004, p. 987). Also, by applying Portes' argument, transnational connections based on occasional activities would not only enrich the fortunes of their hometowns. They also improve the fortunes of the countries where they are part, creating value systems, and people's social lives that generate economic development across nations (Portes in Vertovec, 2004, p. 973). Therefore, I find that Poland and Vietnam's transnational links do not always involve aid being sent by the VP from Poland to Vietnam. Tra mentioned a situation when the VP organized support sent from Vietnam to Poland during the 2020 coronavirus outbreak:

“I think, if you're talking about the current situation with the corona, I think that Vietnam helped Poland a lot you know in bringing PPE [...]. That was organized by the Vietnamese association.” (Tra)

Figure E presents a Facebook post from the Embassy of Poland in Hanoi on transportation of medical and personal protective equipment supplies (PPE) on a chartered LOT Polish Airlines' Boeing 787 from Vietnam to Poland amid the 2020 coronavirus outbreak. The medical supplies were funded by the Vietnamese associations in Poland, Vietnamese-Polish businesspeople, university alumni, and by companies such as VIFON, a “Chinese noodles” company owned by one of the wealthiest (Vietnamese-) Poles (Molga, 2016, p. 1).

Glick Schiller et al. (1992) point out that transnationalism is "the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (p. 1). Therefore, Figure E is an example of a transnational action that can strengthen transnational links between Vietnam and Poland with different Vietnamese-Polish "transmigrant" actors. It supports Glick Schiller's et al. (1992) notion of "transmigrants;" they take actions, make decisions, and are aware of concerns within social networks and societies they are part of (p. 2). Therefore, transnationalism takes nationality, race, and ethnicity beyond the analytical categories of social sciences, enhancing social relations and linkages between societies and maintain structures within nation-states that allow the flow of goods. (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 18-19).

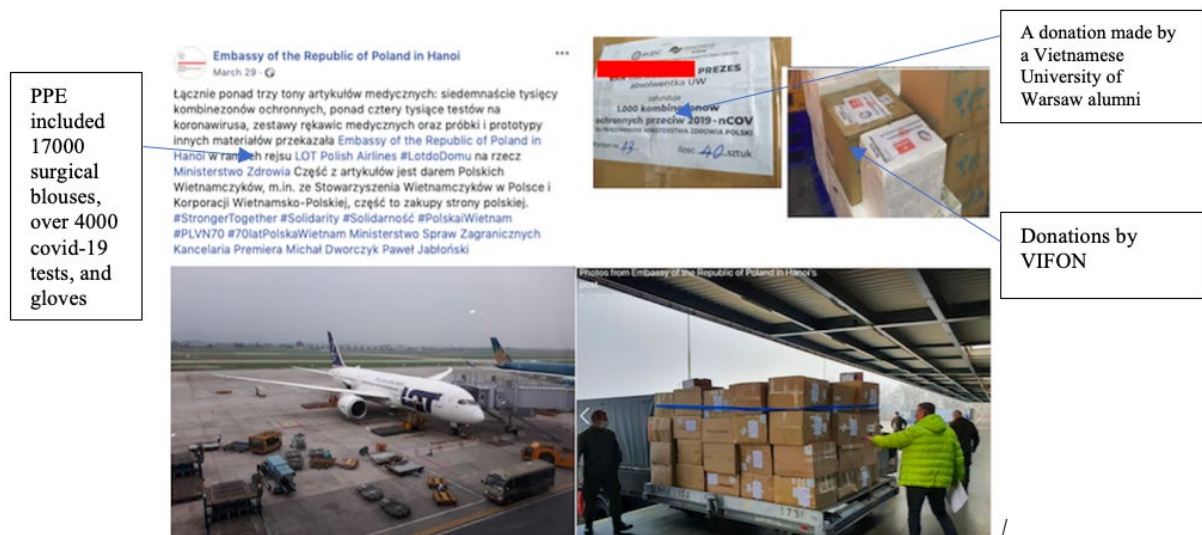


Figure E. The VP donating PPE, transported in March 2020 from Vietnam to Poland. (Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Hanoi, 2020)

Air travel can contribute to transnational links when it comes to organizing events such as Vietnamese weddings or associations' ceremonies in Poland. Hai revealed that many different traditional dresses that are made only in Vietnam are often packed together and brought by air cargo from Vietnam to Poland for the associations' ceremonies. Hai's answer is similar to Hüwelmeier's findings that religion plays an essential role in transnationalism; The Vietnamese members of religious organizing committees travel back and forth to bring gowns from Vietnam. (Hüwelmeier, 2014, p. 91). Furthermore, Tra said that in the case of her relatives, they decided to organize two weddings (in Vietnam and Poland). They brought themselves by plane some vases and detailed wedding decorations from Vietnam to Poland,

highlighting Glick Schiller's argument that transnational activity involves constant flow of goods across the world so that they can, for instance, be prepared for a wedding (Glick Schiller et al., 1992, p. 11).

Such movements of goods for cultural events illustrate Sheller and Urry's justification through mobility, migrants carry parts of their cultures transnationally between borders, not only the souvenirs, and foods, but also textures and fragrances that figuratively reconfigure the place of arrival (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 211). I redirect and reflect this justification to Vietnamese weddings or religious celebrations in a foreign land, where there is a regular connection to Vietnam's culture through food, music, or decorations.

The cultural events can create a bond between the VP and some Poles. Oanh stated that he helped the VP and some Polish Buddhists know more about the religion in Vietnam:

“I have organized a few times. I helped a few Polish people fly to Vietnam to attend Buddhist ceremonies. [...] For example, the vernissage of 2019, I helped a few Poles and several Vietnamese people to organize their trips.” (Oanh)

Oanh later added that he invited the monks to fly from Vietnam to Poland. The monks had “to bring several Vietnamese cultural items” for religious celebrations in a Warsaw temple. Therefore, aligning with Szymańska-Matuszewicz and Bossak-Herbst's (2019) research on a practice of transnationalism involving Vietnamese pagodas in Poland and that religious figures such as monks are brought in from Vietnam to Poland (p. 429).

To summarize this section, Oanh, Hai, Vo and Tra's answers show dependence and trust on other VP, strengthening transnational links. Apart from “transmigrant” aids, I find out that some VP would become frequent flyers to carry goods for other VP, which becomes an informal style of a mobile profession. It allows them to earn some extra money without formal employment. This “underground” profession can also attest Andrejuk's argument that the VP “do not like working for somebody” (Andrejuk, 2016, p. 394). Perceptibly, there are VP that enjoy sending products or selling them in Vietnam but cannot immediately fly. However, they can depend on other VP that are about to travel to Vietnam or get in touch with the VP frequent flyers who can carry goods safely for them amid growing globalization

with the flow of products across nations. Cresswell (2010) argues that such frequent flyers are truthful and trustworthy passengers with no risks of threat (p. 23).

Moreover, Oanh's case on Buddhist religious activities reflects Vertovec's concept that transnationalism functions within the migrant aspects, forming a sense of membership through links and social networks with the fellow members of religious groups (Vertovec, 2004, p. 970). Transnationalism can involve globalization, such as of Buddhism, that leads to the formation of religious or migrant associations to attract other ethnicities and can allow many irregular VP migrants, who cannot legally travel, to practice their religion, far away from Vietnam. Correspondingly, Hüwelmeier (2014) points out that the Vietnamese migrants and religious individuals, such as monks, rely on religion for promoting cultures, bringing different ethnic groups to celebrate together, and become "global actors and mobile people, creating transnational ties" (p. 91). Therefore, apart from the ethnic goods from Vietnam and quality products from Europe, bringing the religious representatives such as monks to Poland and the Polish Buddhists attending ceremonies in Vietnam also strengthens globalized transnational links. Aero-mobility facilitates such transnational connections, as it allows the cultural exchange of knowledge on religions between different ethnic groups. As Grzymała-Kazłowska revealed (2015), Poland is not as ethnically or culturally diverse as Western Europe, and Poland is still a new immigration country (p. 461). Therefore, I suggest that there can be a growing curiosity, learning about new cultures from different parts of the world, and air travel facilitates the mobility and movement of people and cultures.

10. Conclusion

In this qualitative research, the aim has been to investigate the experiences of the VP in air travel between Poland and Vietnam, and how aero-mobility strengthens the Vietnamese transnational networks, business, and diasporic activities in Poland. I consider that the Vietnamese people in Eastern Europe are under-researched. Aero-mobility and this research on a particular diaspora group such as the VP are contributable additions to migration studies. This study focused on the personal experiences and perspectives of only 7 interviewees. However, alongside triangulation with content analysis, this research showed an example of a socially complex and constructed phenomenon in aero-mobility.

The first research question analyzed the VP's experiences, customs, and habits concerning air travel. Interviewees reported about the choice of quality and convenience of air travel services. Qatar Airways' exceptional service prevails among most of the interviewees' answers, the convenient locations of Vietnamese-speaking travel agencies in the large VP's enclave of Wólka Kosowska, offering deals and offers for the VP especially for those having language barriers. This study revealed the crucial seasonal holiday customs of the interviewees. According to most of them, visiting Vietnam during the summer months remains the most popular option. However, the Tet season is also taken into consideration, especially for ethnic tourism, which can involve celebrating Tet cultural rituals and traditions, reuniting with the rest of the interviewees' families, and securing Vietnam's cultural identity and language links. However, although Tet is a milder season to visit Vietnam, it does not allow flexibility as much as the summer months for most of the interviewees. Moreover, mobility turn itself can involve different aspects ranging from business travels to retirement migration.

This study also revealed that there is a constant flow of goods and items carried by many VP, such as fresh foods from Vietnam or consumer goods from Poland. The study also shed light on the limitations of mobility itself because of the borders and customs checks, and restricted baggage allowances imposed by airlines. Furthermore, the findings demonstrated that many VP use boxes, or plastic foils, which are lighter to bring more goods than packing in suitcases because of the airline baggage restrictions. The research showed that traveling in groups can be part of the Vietnamese collectivist culture and cause "loud" talking habits practiced by many VP engaged in air travel. Consequently, moving within international airports with a reduction of personal spaces can possibly provoke psychological factors from excitement to emotional uncertainty among the VP, especially those with language barriers.

The second research question aimed to analyze how the aero-mobility customs of the VP strengthen their diasporic and transnational links. The study showed that important documents, remittances, aid and donations by various VP and associations are sent to Vietnam by VP individuals or VP frequent flyers instead of through governmental agencies so that the goods are given directly to those in need. Although the VP are often considered self-protective and distanced from the rest of the society, the findings showed that some VP are committed to strengthening Vietnamese-Polish relations and transnational links by sending necessary medical supplies to Poland.

The results also indicate that aero-mobility facilitates transnational connections through integration events. The Vietnamese weddings and events in Poland happen to be filled with ethnic and décor products from Vietnam. Religious integration celebrations with religious figures can attract not only the VP but also some Poles. Air travel can allow them to practice the religious celebrations in both Poland and Vietnam. To sum up, this thesis suggests that mobility within air travel can shape combined connections that are socially constructed between the VP, the Vietnamese travel agencies in Poland, Vietnamese associations, their families, and businesses. Therefore, aero-mobility can strengthen the transnational links of the VP, bringing both Vietnam and Poland socially closer.

11. Future Research

Future research can include how the significant changes in mobility, especially during and after the coronavirus outbreak, impact the present and the future of aero-mobility, affecting the transnational and diasporic links between Poland and Vietnam. Therefore, transnationalism can be affected by the suspension of many commercial flights around the world during the outbreak. For more prolonged research, it would be substantial to conduct more interviews with the VP to access more extensive material.

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Appendix: Interview Guide Questions**First Part:**

- What is your occupation? Birthplace? Age?
- What is your immigrant status or citizenship? How does it influence your mobility between Poland and Vietnam?
- When do you prefer to fly to Vietnam the most? Why?
- What airlines do you use? Do they offer any benefits or advantages for your travels?
- What is the purpose of your travel between Poland and Vietnam?
- How often have you traveled to Vietnam within the last five years?
- Have you ever co-planned with someone, or traveled together when going between Vietnam and Poland? Why?
- Are the VP still using travel agencies, or do they tend to book online? Why?
- How important are the flight options, flight opportunities, and possibilities for you?
- Are there any uncomfortable situations when engaging in air travel? (such as security risks, bag checks, profiling, bureaucratic procedures?) Where?
- Do you meet, see or hear other Vietnamese people from Poland taking the same flights? What do you notice?
- What are your experiences when flying? What are the general experiences of the Vietnamese people who are engaged in air travel, do you think?
- Are you afraid of flying? If so, why do you fly?
- What goods do you carry between Poland and Vietnam? What are the goods carried between Poland and Vietnam in general, do you think?
- What are the characteristics or common habits of the Vietnamese people engaged in air travel? Why?
- Have you ever managed to “smuggle” any valuable items that are unusual to carry? How?

Second Part:

- Do your friends or relatives in both Poland and Vietnam influence your decisions on air travel plans? How?
- Do you rely on someone when needing help to pack you for your travels or when getting you things from Poland or Vietnam?

- Do you decide with a friend or a family member who should fly to Vietnam if both of you cannot fly at the same time?
- Have you asked anyone to carry a product between Poland and Vietnam on your behalf? Have you carried anything for someone else?
- Are you a member of a Vietnamese association in Poland?
- What do the charities, donations, remittances, and aid sent between Poland and Vietnam look like, do you think?
- Do you have any religious reasons for your air travel?
- Do you or anyone in your family, have connections with an organization that facilitates your travel?
- What products brought from Vietnam to Poland are used in diasporic events such as weddings or other ethnic celebrations. Through what air services are they carried? How are they used in Poland?

The Vietnamese version of the interview questions are available on demand.