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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

From Cambodia to the United States: The Disassembly, Reconstruction, and Redefinition of Khmer Identity

In this thesis I describe Khmers' negotiations of circumstances surrounding the disassembly, reconstruction, and redefinition of Khmer identity from their homeland in Cambodia to a traditional Khmer village recreated in the United States. Using a framework derived from a constructivist perspective, I have placed processes of negotiation and identity transformation within the lived context of Khmers' lives. Thus, a holistic understanding of the interrelatedness of multiple changes in Khmerness is made possible. Ethnographic data collected between 1997 and 1999, through participant-observation and interviews, inform this study. Findings from this study reveal three levels of identity transformation as told by members of a small Khmer village established along the U. S. Gulf of Mexico. However, these three levels of transformation are not mutually exclusive nor are they necessarily sequential. Each transformation of Khmers' identities constitutes permeable aggregates of other past and continuing disassemblies, reconstructions and redefinitions of Khmerness. Findings from this study demonstrate that Khmer identity shifts and is transformed by past and present experiences and with their changing circumstances, from endangered Cambodian, to refugees, to re-established Khmers in America.

Keywords: Cambodian, Refugee, Khmer, Identity, Community

Denise Clark Lewis

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From Cambodia to the United States: The Disassembly, Reconstruction, and
Redefinition of Khmer Identity

By

Denise Clark Lewis

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December 2000

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THESIS

Denise Clark Lewis

The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

2000

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From Cambodia to the United States: The Disassembly, Reconstruction, and
Redefinition of Khmer Identity

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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Lexington, Kentucky
2000

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Khmer people of Veluvanna Village.

K'nyom soam ahr'kohn.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been accomplished without the insights and support of several individuals.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Deborah L. Crooks, the chair of my committee, for the guidance and support she gave me during every stage of the thesis process. In addition, I wish to warmly thank Dr. Mary K. Anglin and Dr. Michele Rivkin-Fish for their assistance. My entire committee, Dr. Crooks, Dr. Anglin and Dr. Rivkin-Fish, provided timely and instructive comments and evaluation that guided and challenged my thinking, substantially improving my thesis.

My warmest thanks also go to Dr. Lynn Kwiatkowski for introducing me to the field of medical anthropology. I am also grateful to Dr. Mark Moberg and to Dr. David Nelson for inspiring me to learn beyond the confines of the classroom.

I also wish to thank my family for their love and support, especially Michael for his extreme selflessness, Brooke for her encouragement and humor, and my parents for teaching me the value of hard work and dedication. In addition, I am indebted to my wonderful circle of friends who were always there when I needed advice and laughter.

Finally, I would like to thank all the participants in this study for their patience and helpfulness. My deepest thanks go to Prahm and Mai for opening their home to me. Without the loving kindness and trust they and the people of the village showed me, this thesis would not have been possible.

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Chapter One: Introduction - Khmer Identity

The Disassembly, Reconstruction and Redefinition of Khmer Identity

Khmers in the United States have adapted to life far from their homeland with transformed and redefined identities. They have endured and survived as Khmer individuals and communities by working hard to preserve what they valued in Khmerness. They have negotiated extreme circumstances that tore at their long-held beliefs of who they were, who they had become, how they interacted with those around them, and they have created a community of Khmers.

This thesis presents and explains negotiations of circumstances surrounding the disassembly, reconstruction, and redefinition of Khmer identity from their homeland in Cambodia to a traditional Khmer village recreated in the United States. By placing processes of negotiation and identity transformation within the lived context of Khmers' lives, one can begin to understand holistically the interrelatedness of multiple changes in Khmerness. Khmer identity continued to shift with their changing circumstances, from endangered Cambodian, to refugees, to reestablished Khmers in America.

This research documents three levels of identity transformation as told by members of a small Khmer village established along the U. S. Gulf of Mexico. However, it must be made clear that these three levels of transformation are not mutually exclusive nor are they necessarily sequential. Each may exist with and within the other. Cultural identity continually shifts and is transformed by past and present experiences. Therefore, the boundaries I have assigned are for analytical purposes and should be utilized as a way to make processes of identity negotiation more easily understood. These three levels of explanation are permeable aggregates of disassemblies, reconstructions and redefinitions of Khmerness.

Negotiating reconstructed and redefined Khmer identities was new to this population who had been the majority in Cambodia (Smith-Hefner 1999:11). Many who have worked with Cambodians in the United States describe most Khmers as former peasants and rice farmers who arrived here with little education and limited job skills (Carlson and Rosser-Hogan, 1991:47, Frye and McGill 1993, Kulig 1995:152, Ong 1996:743 Smith-Hefner 1994, 1998:67, 1999). These authors report that most Khmers were dispersed throughout multi-ethnic communities, living in near isolation from other Khmers and having to travel considerable distance to temples and ceremonies (Breckon, 1998:127, Kulig 1995:152, Ong 1996:742). Several authors also report that

Khmers faced racism (Pfeffer 1994:10), were stereotyped as welfare-dependent (Breckon, 1998:116, Ong 1996:742, Palinkas, 1995:648, Pfeffer 1994:19, Smith-Hefner 1999), and were contented with low status jobs and low wages (Breckon, 1998:116, Pfeffer 1994:12). Each author predicts the erosion of Khmerness, as this population faces the loss of personal identity and the imposition of a group identity which was not created by Khmers but was created by external forces that marginalized Khmers as a devalued people (Hinton 1996:824).

Throughout my research, I found much within the community I studied that contradicted these authors. Rather than a demoralized and devalued people, Khmers in this particular community were negotiating identities based on present-day needs, practices, and social realities. Most had advanced educations and had held jobs with high status in Cambodia. They lived in close proximity to each other and to the Buddhist temple. Only the very old or disabled received U. S. governmental assistance. Despite working in jobs that did not always offer high wages, most reported satisfaction in working with Khmer and other Southeast Asians in the local seafood industry. Moreover, they had reconstructed and redefined their identities and their lives in a way that they benefited from, instead of being consumed by, the dominant U. S. culture. They had transformed identities from “refugee” to self-sufficient, active Khmers in America with a strong sense of shared Khmerness.

Processes of identity construction and transformation are not linear processes but are on going and overlapping; thus, I begin, *in medias res*, with a description of the deliberate fracturing of identity as many Khmers negotiated circumstances brought about by civil war in Cambodia. Identities were disassembled as a strategy for survival in Cambodia’s communist forced-labor camps. Within the first few days of communist takeover, many Khmers recognized that anyone who had previous contacts with non-Cambodian entities were in danger of execution. To escape, many hid their identities as non-communist soldiers, professionals, or merchants and cloaked themselves and their families in the mannerisms, dress, and language of poor farmers.

Khmer identities underwent continued transformations in refugee camps and processing centers where identities of helplessness and weakness were imposed and often adopted. Through repeated intensive interviews and interrogations that informed Khmers of their “difference” and “disease,” stigmatization, marginalization, and devaluation were added to their cultural understandings of Khmers as Cambodian refugees.

Finally, Khmer identities continued to be transformed and redefined through individual and collective efforts of Khmers in the United States. Khmers in the United States resisted an imposed identity of weak and diseased refugee, and instead reconstructed an identity of strength and solidarity in the form of a physically and symbolically constructed Khmer community. This constructed

community, Veluvanna Village¹, was a resource for redefining lives. It was a storehouse and a reference point for Khmer identity. Deeper meanings of Khmerness were manifested in the creation of a “peaceful, quiet” village that was reminiscent of life in Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge takeover. This uniquely Khmer village provided its residents with a sense of belonging, not only *to* the village but also *in* the village and *with* the people of the village.

Shortly after the establishment of the village in 1982, word spread among local Cambodian refugees that there was a safe, quiet place to live with other Khmers and that jobs were available. Families began building new homes or moving mobile homes onto the property. Thirty-six Khmer families (approximately 250 people) lived within the one-hundred-eighty-acre heavily forested tract where an amalgam of Khmer and American influences permeated the village. Khmer identity came to be redefined to include peacefulness, strength, solidarity, collective support, individual and group self-sufficiency, and Buddhism. The village became a place of knowing—who one was and who one had become.

¹ All personal and place names are pseudonyms.

Veluvanna Village

As the following excerpt from my fieldnotes shows, Veluvanna Village was a sanctuary for a redefined Khmerness as an identity, as a way of life, and as a state of mind.

The biggest difference in living here and not Cambodia is you can close you eye at night. You can enjoy life. (Prahm, 62 year old community leader and forklift operator)

The village is filled with contrasts as traditional Cambodian activities and American influences engage in a sometimes-bumpy coexistence. Well maintained, spacious brick homes and mobile homes—some patched together with corrugated tin and heavy plastic, others new, brightly painted, and nicely trimmed—nestle under old oak trees. Most homes provide relief from the outside stresses of life in an unfamiliar and often unforgiving environment and impart a sense of tradition and Khmerness to their occupants. Gardening, sharing, and closeness among neighbors supply opportunities for continuing traditional Khmer practices.

At Angkor Seafood, a crab and oyster processing plant located near the entrance to the village, a refrigerator truck grumbles as four men unload crates of scrambling, bubbling, pinching crabs. Inside, middle-age women work alongside village elders rapidly plucking meat from freshly cooked crabs. Conversations and laughter fly over the gleaming stainless steel tables. Most of the talk concerns the temple building project in which nearly everyone in the community participates each Sunday; where the men provide labor and the women provide food. There is a lively conversation regarding the amount of crabs processed and several people express optimism that Savenne, the young Khmer man who owns Angkor Seafood, would continue to receive such large shipments. Large shipments mean steady work close to home, money to set aside for the months without crabs to pick, and money to send to relatives in Cambodia.

By midmorning, hunger has overtaken most of the workers and they walk the short distance to Grandmother Devi's home where she and other elder women in the village have prepared vats of noodles and steaming pots of rich, thick fish soup. Hungry men and women, many who have worked since long before sunrise, continue to arrive from the seafood plant; soup is quickly eaten, then bowls are rinsed and passed to the next person. The crowd ebbs and flows much like the tides in this region that bring abundant catches of crab that allow dependable, although seasonal, jobs. The soup pot seems nearly bottomless, as does the sense of sharing, support, and cohesiveness within the community.

Chapter Two: Literature Review - Shaping Identities

Disassembled Identities

The United Nations defines refugees as persons who:

(O)wing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (UNHCR 2000)

Although the definition of “refugee” specifies that the person must be “outside the country,” for most refugees who must flee their countries, the process of transforming from citizen of a particular country to refugee in another land begins before one crosses the border and leaves one’s homeland behind (Daniel and Knudsen 1995b:1). This was the case for many Khmers, who were forced to shed or conceal their previous identities as a strategy for survival while still in the Cambodia (Breckon 1998:117; Ung 2000). The fracturing of identities and the internalization of “difference” and of a sense of no longer belonging were the initial steps toward becoming refugees. Writing of the psychosocial dissonance surrounding the Cambodian genocide, Hinton (1996:824) describes the marginalization and devaluation of individualistic Khmer identity to one of a “homogeneous mass,” who then were considered enemies by the Khmer Rouge organization.

Carefully timed to coincide with the 1975 Cambodian New Year, when families traditionally gathered for a week-long celebration, the Khmer Rouge leader, now known as Pol Pot, began the erasure of 2000 years of history (Kamm 1998). He claimed that only through his determined efforts could Cambodia have a new beginning—Ground Zero—with a new pure Khmer identity. All non-Cambodian values that he deemed unfit such as foreign languages, foods, and dress, as well as democracy, religion, or non-communist education, and the use of photography, Western medicine, or electricity, were considered just causes for immediate execution (Chandler 1983,1991,1996,2000, Kamm 1998, Ung 2000). Khmer Rouge cadres had little problem first dehumanizing and then executing those who were not “true” Khmers (Hinton 1996:824). Pol Pot and his followers began reworking Cambodia’s heritage (Braudel 1994:30-31) to mold the lives of the remaining Cambodian people into Pol Pot’s own model based on an idealized, glorified past. The process of an imposed identity renegotiation had clearly begun.

Over three million Cambodians became refugees, crowding into camps along the Thai border, or became displaced persons scattered far from their homes in forced-labor camps (Chandler 1991; Kamm 1998). Life was harsh; many people who survived Khmer Rouge atrocities in Cambodia died of starvation, exhaustion, or illness upon arrival at the camps (Mayotte 1992:41). Once in refugee camps, many expected an easing of tensions and fears. However, instead of finding sanctuary where they could remain before rebuilding their lives, a different form of fear and devaluation emerged.

A significant part of the ordeal of becoming refugees included early encounters with aid agencies' bureaucratic inflexibility during processing through various refugee camps where an identity as weak and helpless refugee was also imposed (Knudsen 1995:21; Mayotte 1992; Ong 1995:1244). With no sensitivity to previous identities, family hierarchies, or previous interrogations by communist forces, which often elicited personal and family information later used against one or one's family, refugees were routinely subjected to multiple interviews regarding their identities (Muecke 1995:38). Distrust permeated such encounters. Interviewers distrusted refugees' stories and refugees distrusted interviewers' motives.

Cambodian refugees' experiences were often similar to refugees' experiences elsewhere. With no control over how information was used, Daniel and Knudsen (1995b:4) report, refugees around the world quickly learned "identity management." Many carefully construct histories to assure both safety in the camps and acceptance by a country of asylum (Knudsen 1995:13, 22). Such identity management, or the "conscious, or even unconscious, strategy for self-preservation, a legitimization of moves and countermoves, and projections for the future" (Knudsen 1995:29) may have been employed by Cambodian and other refugees as a means to resist an imposed role of "powerless refugee." For example, Knudsen (1995) reports that Vietnamese refugees carefully controlled information regarding their health to avoid being identified as a "having problems" (such as chronic illnesses or turmoil within families) that would prevent resettlement. Similarly, Ong (1995:1244) details how Cambodian refugees learned to cautiously respond to each interrogation lest some bureaucrat suddenly deny them resettlement while in Southeast Asia or housing, food, or health care in the United States.

The authoritative dictates of biomedicine imposed a marginalized, stigmatized, inferior minority status on Southeast Asian refugees (Kinzie, et al. 1990; Kinzie, et al. 1998; Kinzie and Leung 1989; Kinzie, et al. 1994; Kinzie, et al. 1989; Mollica, et al. 1993; Mollica, et al. 1997; Mollica, et al. 1987a; Mollica, et al. 1987b; Mollica, et al. 1990). Most were taught the norms of American society in processing centers in Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines and across the United States (Knudsen 1995:21, 23, Ong 1995:1245). Aid agencies dispensed brochures that described Americans' preferred patterns of hygiene and cooking methods. Through these and other avenues, refugees learned that their bodies

and everyday household practices were dirty and offensive to Americans (Ong 1995). Refugees also learned that their memories must fit into diagnosable categories of mental disorders that could then be erased and invalidated (Boehnlein 1987; Kinzie et al. 1990; Mollica, Wyshak, and Lavelle 1987; Ong 1995:1249) in order to gain access to other benefits such as relocation assistance and housing. Failure to conform to biomedical diagnoses of widespread mental disorders was used as justification by countries of asylum as “legitimate” reasons for intensive surveillance of Cambodian (Kinzie, et al. 1990) and other refugees (Chester and Holtan 1992). Such diagnoses added to a reconstructing of identity as damaged and diseased selves (Boehnlein 1987; Daniel and Knudsen 1995:3; Knudsen 1995:21-23) that many Khmers resisted and struggled to overcome.

Reconstructing Lives in the United States

Cambodian refugees learned that, once in the United States, their former identities as self-sufficient, productive, and valued members of society were diminished as Khmers were redefined by U. S. society as dependent and devalued “others” (Smith-Hefner 1999:8). Instead of acceptance by the dominant U. S. society as valued people, Khmers learned to act subservient and work without complaining in low status and low wage occupations (Ong 1995, 1996; Pfeffer 1994:12). Consequently, many of the same survival tactics that allowed Khmers to live through the war years in Cambodia were often required for survival, at least initially, in the United States (Pfeffer 1994:11). The overarching lesson to Cambodian refugees was that they must remain quiet, complacent, and unobtrusive in the workplace and in communities across the United States.

A significant body of literature addresses adaptations and negotiations faced by different groups of refugees or immigrants. In examining the scholarship on refugees and immigrants to the U. S., certain themes recur. One theme addresses refugees’ experiences that relate to the physical act of immigrating from one location to another. For example, Foner (1997) discusses massive, disruptive changes in family relations and status among Punjabi, Vietnamese, Caribbean, and many other groups who have come to the United States, whether as refugees or as economic immigrants. Hagan (1998) discusses Mayan economic immigrants’ experiences in establishing social networks that aided in finding jobs or housing; again, similar processes occurred among Khmer refugees. Gans (1997), Perlmann and Waldinger (1997), Portes (1997), and Zhou (1997) investigate broad themes such as cultural identity and allegiance, jobs and networking, and retention of cultural identities that directly relate to many refugees’ experiences.

Many refugees experienced a dichotomy of acceptance or exclusion in the U. S. job market (Hagan 1998). For example, Southeast Asian refugees sought entrance into the low-wage, unskilled labor market, which was characteristic of seafood processing regions. Some were offered jobs on shrimp boats or on docks that received shipments of crabs, shrimp, oysters or fish. Conversely, language, cultural habits, or physical appearance initially led to stereotypes such as being too “dirty” to work with seafood (Moberg and Thomas 1998), and too lazy and welfare dependent to want jobs (Maril 1995; Portes 1997). In spite of widespread marginalization, exclusion, and stigmatization, refugees began to resist the imposition of labels of helpless, dependent victims through collective actions and networks that, eventually, resulted in recognition as preferred seafood processors and the building of a community of Khmers.

Renegotiating and Redefining Khmerness through Community Building

Khmer and other Southeast Asian refugees who first arrived in the United States found jobs, and then they helped other refugees find jobs. Many refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam or Laos opened grocery stores or seafood processing plants, and created homes and communities wherever local communities would accept them (Conquergood 1992; Maril 1995; Moberg and Thomas 1998). Refugees continually reconstituted and invented anew their identities in response to conflicting pressures from other refugees. Many refugees stressed adaptation and assimilation into a new Americanized culture. At the same time, there was strong internal pressure among most groups to retain aspects of their long-established culture that were traditionally highly valued (Faderman 1998; Foner 1997; Moberg and Thomas 1998; Smith-Hefner 1999). In addition, national pressures exerted by aid agencies and the dominant American culture stressed assimilation into "good" United States citizens who could speak English and followed U. S. patterns of work, food, and family (Foner 1997; Gans 1997; Hagan 1998; Kalcik 1984; Maril 1995; Ong 1996).

Partially in response to such pressures, widespread social networks were established by refugees to provide mutual aid in finding jobs, housing, English language training, and communities accepting of people who were "different" (Dyck, et al. 1995; Hagan 1998; Maril 1995; Moberg and Thomas 1998; Smith-Hefner 1998). Ethnic enclaves, or areas with substantial numbers of immigrants with pre-emigration business experience, available sources of capital, and available labor, developed around communities to provide food and other products familiar to Southeast Asian refugee populations (Maril 1995; Moberg and Thomas 1998; Pessar 1995). Many Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian families joined other minorities in low-income neighborhoods (Conquergood 1992; Faderman 1998; Kibria 1999; Maril 1995; Moberg and Thomas 1998; Smith-Hefner 1994, 1998, 1999).

Numerous refugees utilized refugee-community-based internal networks for local assistance and more broad-reaching external networks to locate jobs and housing away from their current locations (Hagan, 1998). Such networks, in addition to ethnic enclaves (Pessar 1995), allowed strong cohesion, cultural retention, and reconstruction of identities as successful and valuable members of multicultural societies. Internal and external pressures of acculturation and assimilation by many different ethnic groups (Gans 1997) and internal changes in families (Foner 1997) also were reflected in both the retention and loss of different aspects of cultural identity.

Within the "dynamic interplay between structure, culture, and agency" (Foner 1997:961), traditions and identities were created and redefined. Cultural

understandings of change and continuity continually shifted in the context of new pressures or new hierarchies such as those found in the job market, schools, and communities in the United States (Perlmann and Waldinger 1997; Smith-Hefner 1999; Zhou 1997). Aspects of traditional culture among Khmer and other Southeast Asian refugee populations, such as young boys living in the Buddhist temple as novice monks (Smith-Hefner 1999) were challenged by many Khmers as no longer possible or even desirable in the United States. Ancestor veneration (Faderman 1998; Smith-Hefner 1999), additions of medicinal herbs to food (Van Esterik 1988), and dietary adjustments during pregnancy (Foner 1997; Smith-Hefner 1999; Van Esterik 1988; Zhou 1997), practices that related to long-held understandings of health and well-being, were often retained as parts of traditional identities. Often, processes or degrees of retention or assimilation were related to networking with others who shared similar backgrounds and cultural ideologies (Pessar 1995; Smith-Hefner 1999).

Cultural identity and economic and social solidarity were vital forces within refugee communities but could not be assumed among and between different populations (Faderman 1998; Foner 1997; Portes 1997). Class divisions may have operated within some refugee economies and communities rather than an all-for-one stereotype of ethnic solidarity (Hagan 1998; Pessar 1995). An examination of the internal structures of these networks and enclaves often revealed a dichotomy of conflict and contestation between cultural identity and allegiance that constructed a traditional identity on the one hand (Foner 1997; Gans 1997; Portes 1997; Smith-Hefner 1999) and economic expedience that diminished cultural solidarity on the other hand (Pessar 1995:383; Sanders and Nee 1987).

There was strong pressure for children to join gangs, established according to ethnicity, as a means of social acceptance and for a sense of belonging in the United States (Smith-Hefner 1999). Many young refugees adopted American patterns of behavior, such as consumerism and dating without parental permission (Gans 1997:877). The close proximity of role models was important for children's understandings of traditional cultural identities. Cultural identities, of both young and old, were constructed by experiences within one's world and the memories and meanings one assigned to those experiences. Zhou (1997:976), in his comparative study of U. S. minority children and Vietnamese refugee children, posits that ethnic communities are not sufficiently held together by economics, ethnicity, or kin and social networks. Instead, Zhou asserts that people from other nations "melt into the mainstream" with each succeeding generation. Therefore, changes in self-perception and reconstruction of identities and understandings of family roles occurred at different rates between generations (Foner 1997; Gans 1997; Kibria, 1999) based on individual and collective understanding and sharing of past and present experiences (Halbwachs 1992).

There existed within societies a collective memory that informed people of who they were and how they should interact with each other. Such a collective memory was formed, reconstituted, and recalled when external stimuli triggered by others' utterances or recollections brought one's own memories to the surface (Halbwachs 1992:38). Knowledge and truth emerged, were shared, reformed, and reconstituted (Schwandt 1994:125) among individuals who then formed collective, though sometimes conflicting, memories from historical and current understandings. Both individual and collective memories were stretched and shaped, sometimes by intentional human agency, such as "identity management" practiced by many refugees (Knudsen 1995:22), and other times unconsciously in the ongoing process of identity management, reformation, reconstitution, and redefinition.

Some Khmers struggled against geographic and social isolation (Smith-Hefner 1999:11-12) as they strove to retain what they considered to be valuable factors in retention of Khmerness. Buddhist temples, which symbolically and physically occupied the center of most communities in Cambodia, were often difficult to reach for refugees with limited transportation in the United States. Many Khmers abandoned daily visits to the temple and only attended during major celebrations and ceremonies (Smith-Hefner, 1999:6). Without a temple as the center of Khmer community, there were few social resources available that facilitated reconstruction and redefinition of Khmerness (Smith-Hefner 1994, 1998:52-59, 1999). A loss of anchoring, such as provided by Buddhist temples and found through associations with other Khmers, created an atmosphere of anomie. On the other hand, Nesdale, Rooney, and Smith (1997) argue that many refugees chose strategies that helped them rebuild self-esteem through identification and interaction with others who held similar cultural identities. This argument supports others (Hagan 1998; Pessar 1995; Smith-Hefner 1998) who also have shown the importance of social networks and community building in the construction of cultural identities.

The physical and symbolic reconstruction of communities provided ways of reconnecting, reconstructing, and redefining selves (Fitchen 1991). Fitchen (1991:245) describes rural communities in the United States as repositories and referents for understanding and constructing identities, for defining "who and what we are." Communities tied people, ideology, practice, and place together. They served as safe havens in which residents could modify ideas and define identities. Communities reinforced retention of those aspects of life and culture that the community deemed important. A physically and symbolically constructed community provided "buffer space" from outside influences (Fitchen 1991:251) as residents negotiated myriad circumstances in their quest for identities that included belonging both *in* and *of* the community.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Foundation and Methods

Theoretical Foundation

The research design used in this study was based upon a conceptual framework derived from a constructivist perspective (Schwandt 1994). Schwandt (1994:125-126) defines constructivist thinking as a way to understand how human beings construct or make knowledge rather than finding it already constituted. Constructed knowledge is actively achieved and is manifest in self-sustaining and self-renewing interpretations of events, constructed by personal, historical, and political experiences. As such, knowledge is comprised of both individual and collective understandings of those experiences that inform and are informed by the reality of individual lives (Schwandt 1994:129). For example, the following excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates one way Khmers have constructed a group identity, which is reinforced by a physically and symbolically reconstructed environment reflected in Buddhist ceremonies:

Seated in an ever widening circle on the floor of the temple, the women busy themselves preparing to feed nearly two hundred people who have gathered for a Sothmoth, an ceremony for reconnecting with Buddha, one's ancestors and asking for their protection and forgiveness. Rice is heaped into containers to be used during the offering of food to the ancestral spirits and to the monk.

Families continue to arrive; women add silver carrying trays filled to capacity with enticing traditional ceremonial food as children scurry around their mothers' long skirts. Men gather outside around the partially constructed preah vihear, discussing the next stage of the building project.

At 11:00 o'clock the monk leaves the crowd of men and moves to the front of the sala. Speaking into a microphone so people outside can hear, he begins the long chant that signals the start of the ceremony. The oldest person in the village, a woman, bent and toothless, sits in the place of honor directly in front of the monk. The crowd fans out around her as elders and community leaders join the rest of the group. It is obvious to me that Buddhism and community are central elements in villagers' lives. The entire village, from the oldest to the youngest, join together to reconnect and reinforce their unity with each other and with their ancestors.

Using a constructivist perspective, data derived from fieldnotes such as the above excerpt, and narratives of Cambodian refugees, illuminate ways refugees negotiated circumstances of war, refugee status, and community building toward a redefinition of Khmerness. Other authors who have used a constructivist perspective include di Leonardo and Lancaster (1997:1), who studied sexuality and gender narratives as social constructs within a “shifting world of cultural meanings and social practices,” and Kitchell, Hannan, and Kempton (2000) who used environmental groups’ constructed stories to portray group identity. Other social scientists such as Kibria (1999), who studied family changes among Vietnamese refugees, and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1999), who studied anti-immigrant narratives in California, also use this framework to explore constructions of ethnicity and xenophobia. Each of the above authors focuses on narratives, knowledge, and understandings of life circumstances, as expressed by individuals within populations they have studied. Thus, applying a constructivist perspective to narratives gathered during research with Cambodian refugees allowed Khmers’ voices to guide me toward a better understanding of Khmerness within the context of phenomenally constructed environments and group interactions. In a very circular way, Khmers’ narratives created the frameworks and visions they and other individuals used to understand their environments.

In addition, a constructivist perspective commits one to the idea that “knowledge and truth are created” and that knowledge, truth, and reality are pluralistic and plastic, meaning that they are stretched and shaped by intentional human agency (Schwandt 1994:125). In addition, di Leonardo, (1991:29) includes, as requirements for understanding the social construction of identity, not only a “respect for historical difference and changes”, but also “an understanding of the human use of history—of constructions of the past—to legitimize or to contest the status quo.” Thus, such shifting and molding of constructed narratives enlightens and re-educates both the narrator and the audience in spiraling, self-sustaining, and self-renewing patterns of voices and actions stretching simultaneously across histories and into futures. Constructed narratives are then used to understand, create, and interpret events that have given shape to lived experiences.

Furthermore, Kitchell, Hannan, and Kempton (2000:96) describe understandings of identity within two environmental groups as fitting into “figured worlds” (Holland, et al. 1998:41) that are formed by historical phenomena and through social encounters across time and space. Holland defines “figured worlds” as social and cultural reorganizations and reproductions that spread a sense of selves across the landscape. Kitchell, Hannan, and Kempton (2000:97) posit that self-conceived identity, through such figured worlds, allows development of group identities. They also assert that reconstructions of individual and group identities are made through processes that have historical and political influences. Understanding the social and cultural connection of selves anchored by the constructed landscape

(Holland, et al. 1998:41) is also useful in my own understanding of reconstruction and redefinition of Khmerness as both an individual and collective action within the community of Khmers.

Finally, a questioning of whose voices are heard and whose are silenced (Olesen 1994:159) as refugees present their realities of life and struggle to have their voices heard above the voices of aid agencies, government interviewers, or anthropologists is also an important aspect of understanding Khmers' reconstructed worlds. Those who shared their histories with me often did so with the express purpose of gaining access to a larger audience who might begin to understand the political, social, and cultural turmoil experienced by Cambodians in general and these narrators in particular.

Others wanted to have their stories heard as part of my understanding of who they were as individuals and who they had become. The following narrative is exemplary of a common theme expressed by many—that I must understand the past and the present as an intimately intertwined matrix:

Before I begin to tell you of my life here in the United States, I want you to know about me, who I was before I came here...you must know my history and the history of my people, my country...You must understand this to understand who I am, who we are now. (Mok, former head of aviation operations for the Cambodian military).

Voices not heard—whether it was because I did not encounter those individuals or I did not ask or because some chose not to speak—may have very different stories reconstructed by very different experiences and live very different realities. Social and cultural processes, not of individual “meaning-making” (Schwandt 1994:127), but from the collective reconstruction of meanings and identities directs this research. By considering Khmers' narratives individually and collectively a fuller reconstruction of the importance of Khmer identity emerges.

Different knowledge possessed by each person involved in this research reflects the different ‘telling’ each one gives (Wolf 1992). Wolf explicitly illustrates this phenomenon based on individual and collective constructions and understandings in her triple narrative of the aberrant behavior of a young woman in Taiwan, first as a short story, then as fieldnotes, and finally as a scholarly article. Through her reports of the same events, Wolf shows that reality is fluid and contextual and may be better understood as multiple and collective realities. By applying Wolf's idea of multiple perspectives to Khmers' narratives, perceptions, and interpretations of events, it becomes possible to make sense of the fluidity and multiple negotiations of circumstances Khmers used toward a redefinition of their Khmerness.

Methods and Procedures

Over a three year period (1997-1999), I engaged in participant-observation, interviewing, and studying materials prepared by others or as Wolcott (1994:10) explained “experiencing,” “inquiring about,” and “examining” the lives of a small group of Cambodian refugees living along the northern Gulf of Mexico. Their individual and collective histories, major and minor celebrations and ceremonies, and daily, seasonal, and life-cycle events were processes that shaped the reconstruction of their lives and redefined their identities in the United States. I compiled data covering such wide-ranging topics as traditional foods, politics, occupations, ancestor worship, social networks, and survival strategies as explained by members of the community. These included their experiences in Cambodia, in refugee camps, with the dominant American culture, and within Cambodian refugee communities in the United States.

A consideration of “groups in interaction” (Wolcott 1994:20) illuminated processes such as formation of the village, building a Buddhist temple, and daily community involvement that were used within the Cambodian refugee community to guide their actions, behaviors, and beliefs. “Progressive focusing” (Wolcott 1994: 18), or moving from a wide view of group actions to specific up-close individual actions, created “ethnographies of the particular” as described by Abu-Lughod (1991:149) that showed individual agency within apparently collective actions. For example, during ancestral ceremonies it was important to look both at the community and individual participation to gain a fuller understanding of the ceremony’s meaning.

The reconstitution and redefinition of Khmerness became apparent by writing concretely rather than abstractly (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:68). For example, to achieve vivid and descriptive narratives that were filled with close range details and included sensory imagery, it was necessary to carefully reconstruct the action, smells, and flavors that accompanied many interviews and encounters. Furthermore, the recognition that I purposely selected those images used to create the world of these individuals and the community was probably even more important than creating vivid images and required acknowledgement (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:71). My selections recreated partial realities based on the perceptions, understandings, and interpretations narrators constructed and that I heard, filtered, and recorded (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:66). I only re-presented (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:215) these filtered representations of events, lives, and activities told by refugees thus served as a re-creator of individual and collective creations of realities.

After I returned from the field, I began reading my fieldnotes line by line to identify possible themes within my data, a process Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw

call “open coding” (1995:143). The identification of these themes led to more focused scrutiny, or “focused coding,” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:143) whereby I began to recognize trends and themes that I had overlooked while in the village. Only after reading my entire set of notes as a unit and analyzing the themes that were made apparent through my codes (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:143-146) did I realized the people of the village were trying to guide me toward their most important issue—identity. They wanted me to know who they were and the steps they had taken to become who they were. They wanted me to know them not only as users of traditional medicine, not only as practitioners of traditional Cambodian customs, but both as unique and composite selves and as a strongly connected community who were reconstituted from disassembled identities and redefined by their individual and collective experiences.

Through the insistence of the people of Veluvanna Village, my focus broadened from my original topic, traditional medicine, to understanding this community of people as complex individuals and groups with a strong sense of Khmerness. As members of the community prodded me in the direction of identity, they led me to listen to their own tellings of multifaceted and continuing stories, and to discover their resilience and determination in reconstituting and redefining Khmerness within the United States.

Access and Data Collection

Buddhism occupied a central place in the reconstruction of Khmer identity. In late 1996, Prahm and Tuon, both of whom were very active village and temple leaders and were my chief informants, arranged sponsorship to the United States for a Cambodian monk. After several months of negotiations and paperwork, the monk, Venerable Sambath, arrived in the village. Even though he had studied written English as a young boy living in a reconstructed Buddhist temple in Phnom Penh, he did not understand the sounds of the English language.

As an undergraduate at the University of South Alabama, I had the opportunity to volunteer as an English instructor for Venerable Sambath shortly after his October, 1997 arrival in Bay County. In exchange for time spent teaching English, several members of the Cambodian community agreed to allow me to “study” their culture and learn how they were preserving traditional Khmer practices and beliefs. I conducted this research during two periods, October 1997 through June 1998 and May 1999 through July 1999.

During the first period I spent approximately 800 hours in the village; approximately 650 hours were spent on research activities and the rest were spent teaching English. During the first part of my research period, I spent approximately 390 hours with Prahm, who continued to be my primary informant and most dedicated teacher. During the second period I lived with Prahm, his wife Mai, and their son Vithy, in the community.

In addition to assistance from Prahm, my knowledge and understanding of life in the community and Cambodia was greatly influenced by Tuon, who was a university professor before escaping from Cambodia and was one of the main spiritual and fiscal supporters of the temple. I spent over 50 hours with him discussing Cambodian politics, traditions, the growth of the community, the importance of maintaining a local Buddhist temple, and watching videos of traditional dancing, music, and plays while he explained stories surrounding these ancient art forms. He directed the transcription of dozens of pages of text from Khmer to English so I could have written explanations of each part of elaborate wedding ceremonies, Buddhist ceremonies and celebrations, and traditional folklore. Tuon died in 1999 before reaching his self-proclaimed goal of teaching me all he knew about Cambodia’s ancient art forms, monumental architecture, traditional dances and poetry, or what he called the “high culture” of Cambodia.

Shortly after my return to the community in 1999, I participated in a three-hour-long group meeting with five men and two women to reintroduce myself to community leaders so I could articulate my research goals and methods and to discuss issues of confidentiality and informed consent (Punch 1994:88-94). My

relationships with Prahm and this group of village leaders allowed the utilization of convenience sampling (Bernard 1995:96) among other village leaders and elders whereby I would interview leaders as they gathered for meetings. I also used the technique of snowball sampling (Bernard 1995:97-98) where I relied on introductions by villagers to other villagers to gain access to networks of community members. Contacts made using this technique allowed me to reach both men and women in the community. Many such introductions made during community-wide religious gatherings, celebrations, and dinners led to interviews. These techniques often limit the range of persons interviewed and the generalizability of data; however, this community is relatively small so I was able to interview approximately half of all adult members of the village.

During both periods, data were gathered during participant observation where I joined in many activities of daily living as well as special ceremonies and celebration. Participant observations allowed me to become more closely associated with villagers so I could observe the ways they negotiated circumstances of daily life, community involvement, and work. It was also a way for villagers to become more comfortable in my presence and to begin to interact with me less as an observer and more as a participant. I conducted semi-structured interviews that were most often the result of pre-arranged meetings whereby, using an interview guide (Appendix A), I gathered specific information, such as types of jobs held, family life, health, and community and religious involvement. I also conducted unstructured interviews where informants were allowed to carry the interview in whatever direction they chose. This allowed me to gather detailed information regarding people's understandings and interpretations of events that formed their lives (Bernard 1995; Emerson, et al. 1995). Most unstructured interviews occurred during periods of participant observation where, in the course of social interactions such as celebrations or meals, I explained my research, and after gaining verbal consent, continued conversations.

Over both periods, I conducted nine semi-structured and thirty-two unstructured interviews with members of the community; all were conducted in English without a translator. Of the forty-one interviews I conducted, twelve took place in villagers' homes and ranged from one hour to four hours and frequently included a shared family meal. Eleven interviews were conducted in the pagoda of Veluvanna Buddhist temple and averaged two hours each. I conducted five interviews during wedding or graduation celebrations at a local community center; each lasted approximately 30 minutes. Two interviews were in branch and regional refugee assistance offices; both were approximately one and one-half hours long. One interview took place in my home away from the field site and lasted approximately six hours. Whenever background music and noise permitted, interviews were taped and transcribed. Most interviews were hand-written as scratch notes that were expanded each evening into

typed fieldnotes using a word processor (Sanjek 1990:95-99). All identifying personal and place names were replaced with pseudonyms.

Those persons interviewed ranged in age from 23 to 76 years. The majority interviewed were village leaders, men and women who participated in the temple building project, friends of my host family, and elder women who cooked and cleaned for the monk. Teaching English, studying Khmer, and participating in family dinners and activities constituted time spent with persons younger than 23 years. No interviews were conducted among this age group.

As I gathered and recorded each narrative and returned to them to analyze and understand them, each particular action, behavior, or belief combined to create a collective ethnography of actions, behaviors, or beliefs of the group. It was the combination of these narratives that led to the reconstruction and redefinition of Khmerness as individuals and group members.

Chapter Four: Narrative Analysis – Negotiating Khmerness

For almost an hour he talked while occasionally glancing at sheets of notebook paper filled with handwritten Khmer. This was a story he wanted known. About all I did was nod and listen... He spoke slowly with many long pauses between words, sentences, and thoughts. I wondered how he could stand to relate these horrifying stories to me. But it was obvious that he wanted to make sure that he told me as much of his history as possible. His description of the communist takeover and the slaughter of his family were shocking, saddening, terrifying. I am surprised that I didn't cry because this was the first time I heard a first hand account of a survivor. I suppose had he cried I would have cried with him... (Fieldnotes, Interview with Prahm)

The following narratives portray and explain Khmers negotiations of circumstances surrounding the disassembly, reconstruction, and redefinition of their identity. By placing processes of negotiation and transformation within the lived context of Khmers' lives, these narratives offer a way to begin an understanding of multiple changes in Khmerness. The narratives that follow reflect only part of Khmers' long journey where identities are continually broken apart, reconstructed and redefined as Khmer selves and as a community of Khmers in America.

Disassembled Identities

Why did I come here? I have no where to go...I lost everything. Already a bomb had dropped on my house, I had no where to live. When the communists first came into my village...I knew I had to go. My wife, my children, we just ran. We ran through the rice fields and the communists shot. First they killed two of my children. They shot again and killed my wife and both my sons...I kept running for 19 days...I cried for 3 years. (Prahm)

On April 17, 1975, many people in war-torn Cambodia thought that peace had finally arrived. The sixteen-year long civil war had ended with the collapse of General Lon Nol's government. Over 3,000,000 people, waiting to begin repairing their homes and their lives, weary of the bombing that had been almost ceaseless for the past four months, were crowded into Phnom Penh. Many who came to the city believed that the fighting would end and the communists would allow them to return to their homes.

But peace did not come, communist soldiers killed anyone, regardless of social class, but especially those who questioned the authority of the Khmer Rouge organization or moved too slowly. Some Cambodians were murdered immediately and publicly. Those with education, those with previous contact with the West, or officers who had served the overthrown government were executed as examples to ensure compliance with Pol Pot's ideology of a new Cambodia free from Western influence (Chandler 1991, 1996). Any form of capitalistic behavior or goods could mean execution.

Many professors, merchants, or non-communist government workers tried to hide their identities by adopting the demeanor of rural farmers. One informant, Kan, told me of his struggles to hide who he was from Khmer Rouge forces. He explained that he had been a merchant in Phnom Penh with a large store on one of its main streets. When the communist forces took over the city, he, his wife and children, and his brother (who worked in the store with him) had all tried to hide their identities when they saw whom the Khmer Rouge were targeting for execution. He explained how he survived by destroying all personal papers and wearing clothes left behind by farmers. He told me he had buried photographs of his family just before the communists arrived and retrieved them three years later. Each photograph, now tattered and fading, was carefully held in an album. One by one he pointed to his wife, his children, and two brothers:

All killed. The communist killed my youngest brother first day because he in high school. Our family saw what the communist were doing, who they killed first. We knew we must hide who we

are. We tried, but my wife and all seven children were killed before we can leave the city. Another brother is tortured. He died too.

Kan explained that the only way he, and many others like him, survived was by stripping themselves of their identity.

Another informant, Mok, described his role in Lon Nol's government through the mid-1970s. He explained the only way he and his men escaped was by "being smart" and carefully managing their identities. He assured me that only if one could "act dumb" and "work like farmers" could they escape. He held his wife's hand as he explained how he had left her in order to protect her and their sons should he be discovered. He had also instructed her to "look down (and) act dumb." Thus, by disassembling her identity, as a former member of the Cambodian royal court and the wife of a non-communist military leader, and reconstructing her own and their son's identities, as docile, obedient farmers, she and their sons survived the harshness of the Khmer Rouge. Mok explained:

She cried and begged me not to leave her but I had to do it. If the communist found us together we would all be killed. She left everything; our home, her family jewelry, her clothes. She took care of our sons and worked on the farms for three years. The communist never knew who she was. Now I take care of her.

Other members of the community told very similar stories. First they destroyed all personal papers; then they destroyed all outward signs of capitalism such as eyeglasses and Western trousers, shoes, and shirts. Only when one was left with nothing but old clothes and downcast eyes could one hope to survive.

Resisting Labels: Narratives of Reconstruction

Once they had escaped the destruction, terror, and torture of Pol Pot's Cambodia, Khmer identity was subjected to continuous negotiation, transformation, reconstruction, and redefinition. Refugees continued "identity management" (Knudsen 1995:22) as they began negotiating resettlement during encounters with government interviewers from countries such as France, Germany, Australia, and the United States. Most interviewers were insensitive to Khmers experiences as soldiers recruited by the U. S. government, as survivors who strove to protect themselves and their families, or as victims of torture and witnesses to untold atrocities. Soldiers continued hiding identities by retaining pseudonyms assigned by the CIA. Others refused to tell family histories as a protective strategy for fear that communists might have infiltrated the camps. Family histories were modified to include children who had been "adopted" in forced labor camps. Khmers carefully constructed responses to interviewers' questions that might help them gain acceptance and resettlement in any "peaceful" country willing to accept refugees.

Although physically weakened by the ordeal of life and escape under extremely harsh conditions, Khmer ideas of "refugee" revolved around their identities as strong soldiers, as mothers, fathers, and families who, left with no place to go, sought refuge from outsiders. Conversely, many Khmers reported that government interviewers appeared openly suspicious and accusatory, often repeatedly questioning Khmers' affiliation with communist forces and their motives for leaving Cambodia.

Prahm angrily recalled his battle to retain his identity as a Khmer non-communist CIA soldier during his stay at a Thai refugee camp:

The German, the French, the United States...they all come and interview me about going to their country. They keep asking me, 'Are you communist or non-communist?' I tell them I surveyor for land development. I work for CIA. I tell them I no communist! It the communist that kill my family! It the communist that destroy everything! I no communist! I tell them over and over.

Prahm and many other Khmer men who served as CIA operatives in Cambodia spoke of broken promises and abandonment when the defeat of U. S. backed forces seemed imminent. Many men were proud of their identities as soldiers and leaders who served under Lon Nol and the United States and often expressed dismay that the United States' government continued to ignore that part of their lives.

In addition to struggling to overcome imposed identities as suspicious or communist refugees, Khmers often resisted an imposed identity of mentally weak refugees. Many biomedical practitioners, who interviewed refugees in

processing centers, assigned diagnoses of mental disorders. Such diagnoses were based on Western notions of appropriate responses to massive trauma (Eisenbruch 1991; Eisenbruch 1992; Kinzie, et al. 1990; Kinzie, et al. 1998; Kinzie, et al. 1984; Kinzie and Leung 1989; Kinzie, et al. 1994; Kinzie, et al. 1989; Mollica, et al. 1993; Mollica, et al. 1997; Mollica, et al. 1987a; Mollica, et al. 1987b; Mollica, et al. 1990), regardless of individuals' needs or ways of healing, coping, and expressing their sorrow (Eisenbruch 1991). Such encounters with authoritative figures helped create an atmosphere of stigmatization that generated feelings of damaged selves among the refugees. Consequently, labels of mental weakness were often internalized:

“See that man walking across that grass?” Prahm asked as we concluded an English lesson with the monk and headed for our cars. “Doctor say he crazy. He cry all the time.” He paused, drew a deep breath on his pipe. He lowered his voice and quietly continued, “Sometime I think we all crazy. Maybe I not supposed to say that, but that what I think. Sometime I still cry for my wife, my children. Sometime I don’t know what to do so I yell or get angry. Maybe I crazy too. I don’t know.” He shook his head... (Fieldnotes)

Prahm’s statement, “Sometime I think we all crazy,” was indicative of the extensive assumption of mental weakness, imposed by Western authorities and often internalized by Cambodian refugees. The authoritative discourse of biomedicine determined and delimited the available ways of making sense of survivors’ experiences. “Crazy” became the characterization of Khmers by many biomedical practitioners as opposed to “survivor.” Thus, the reconstruction of Khmerness occurred in a dialogic interaction with other competing identities such as “crazy,” “weak,” “dependent,” and “American.” Not only were Khmer identities ripped apart and forcibly changed during Pol Pot’s reign of terror, but Khmers in the U. S. continually shifted and questioned their identities as they redefined and resisted others’ ideas of who they were and who they had become. They juxtaposed and mingled those externally generated identities with their own self-created identities.

In response to such shifting ideas of identity and in spite of success in homes, families, and jobs, many Khmers occasionally doubted their own identities as strong, productive members of their “new” country. As a result, many Khmers began forming alliances with other Khmers in the United States in an effort to negate the internalization of others’ ideas of Khmers as “suspicious” and “weak” refugees. They began offering collective support in reconstructing their identity as strong, self-sufficient Khmers. One outcome of this resistance to imposed identities was the formation of a uniquely Khmer village where traditions, beliefs, and practices helped instill Khmers’ own redefinition of Khmerness.

Redefining Khmerness

Once Khmers were granted entry into the United States, identities shifted again within the context of reconstructed and redefined lives, and continued to shift as families began moving into Veluvanna Village. Physically and symbolically, Veluvanna Village, whose name means “beautiful forest,” was established by Prahm, Tuon, and Pere, the first three Cambodian refugees to arrive in Bay County, as a mutual aid society for and by Khmers. A safe haven for rebuilding Khmer selves and self-esteem, Veluvanna Village was formed, occupied, and governed exclusively by Cambodian refugees and provided a place where villagers could more comfortably preserve their Khmerness through family interactions and group solidarity. They could continue their culture through their children who would be surrounded by Khmerness in many ways, although it was a different Khmerness as will be shown in the following narratives.

Several themes emerged as villagers spoke of the importance of the village as a community of Khmers. The first was the centrality of Buddhism in all aspects of Khmer life—as a religion and as a guide for family, community, and civic interactions. A second theme addressed the importance of collective action in reestablishing and redefining themselves as strong Khmers. A third theme, of shifting employment, also led to reformulated identities derived from past and present occupations. Finally, generational tensions and resistance to loss of ethnic identity constitute the final theme in this section. Strong familial, social, and cultural solidarity is evident throughout each of these themes.

Buddhism was a defining characteristic of Khmer identity in the lives of the villagers. Almost without fail, work, family, or social interactions all revolved around adherence to Buddhist beliefs in loving kindness—for family, neighbors, and ancestors—and self-sufficiency. The temple, situated on nine acres in the center of the village, served as a religious, cultural, educational, and social anchor for Khmerness that extended beyond the physical bounds of the village. Ceremonies held at the temple often attracted hundreds of Khmers from the village, the surrounding community, neighboring states, and Canada. Often I was told that to be Khmer was to be Buddhist. Prahm, one of the founders of Veluvanna Village, explained the early days of collective village construction and pointed to the value of working together to build the temple while reestablishing themselves as Khmers living in the United States. Prahm further explained that, through these collective actions, villagers could preserve those aspects of Khmerness that were most important: family, Buddhism, and community:

We came here; we cleared the trees; we offered rice to the spirits and asked our ancestors to protect us. We build houses; we buy old trailers, new trailers. We begin to move together. Cambodian people help each other. They help build; they work together. This is a good place, close to the seafood, good jobs. I have good spiritual life here, peaceful, quiet.

My religion very important to me. I am Buddhist ...It very important for us to have the temple and the monk here. The people need to learn the traditional way, custom, and ceremony. I will do everything I can to keep Venerable Sambath here. He going to teach our young about Cambodian way, about our custom and our religion. He teaching them Khmer writing and reading. People come to the temple when they want. Not only on Sunday like church, but anytime they need, they go. Temple is like cultural center for us too. People come here to learn English, to talk to ancestors, to meditate. We building together, the new temple. We build the Cambodian way, everybody work together. We don't borrow money from bank, we just save money and when we get enough we build some more. In a couple year, the new building built and a lot more people can fit and temple belong to all Khmer.

A second theme of working together, of collective and connected lives, is an important one for the reconstruction and redefinition of a Khmer identity as defined by Khmers and not by outsiders such as governmental or aid agencies. Most Khmers now living in Veluvanna Village were skilled laborers or professionals in Cambodia. Once in the United States, they had to renegotiate their identities to encompass new realities of employment. Many men who had high-ranking government, education, or military careers in Cambodia were forced to work as unskilled laborers in the United States because they were unable to transfer skills. Many women found themselves entering the paid labor force for the first time in their lives.

Prahm, who was working as a land development officer in Cambodia when the CIA recruited him, worked as a forklift operator at a local factory. He described his realization that his previous occupation and position in his Cambodian village no longer mattered in the same way here in the United States. He accepted that he could only find work in low-status, low-wage jobs, and would do so without complaining, as long as he could support his family, the temple, and the community:

In Cambodia I worked same job for 16 years. Here I work many jobs...dishwasher, truck driver, raised ducks, welder...Eventually I realized that a job was a job. It didn't matter what I did in Cambodia; a job is a job.

Often a long period of adjustment was necessary before the individual was able to resolve feelings of loss and conflict within the dichotomy of a present-day identity as unskilled laborer with previous identities as skilled workers or professionals with prestige in Cambodia. Many men were able to divorce themselves from the diminished status associated with low wage jobs in the United States once they were in the village with Khmer or other Southeast Asian populations who lived nearby. Within the village, just as in Cambodia, status more often was attained by community and temple involvement than by occupation:

It don't matter if you mayor or if you farmer. What matter is if you good Buddhist...If you take care of you mother, you father, you wife and kid, you ancestor, you neighbor...It what you do not who you are...That what matter most. (Tuon)

Nonetheless, merit-based prestige may have undergone change in the United States as younger people were able to gain prestige through financial contributions to community and temple development. Savenne, at 32, was relatively young for his role as a village leader. However, his success in the seafood processing industry allowed him the financial resources to make large contributions to the temple. Savenne explained:

Buddhism is very important in our lives. I do what I can to help the temple, the old people in the community. I come to visit Venerable Sambath often. We keep an altar for Buddha in our home. This is no different from growing up in Cambodia. We help each other.

Savenne's contributions to the temple, combined with his deep religious conviction that Buddhism remained central in the community, afforded him considerable respect among the villagers. In this way, one's identity as a "success" in the temple and in the community was redefined to include financial success in the job market.

Success in the outside job market required the greatest level of cultural capital—especially language skills—and networking with the already-employed to overcome the dividing line between low-wage, unskilled labor and middle class wages. However, this was very complicated. For example, many men enrolled in job training programs to learn skills that they hoped would bring good jobs with significantly higher wages:

I get my (welding) certificate and I go to big shipbuilding plant. The newspaper say need welders. But the man say he don't need workers for welding. White man are there too and they getting hired. I asked him why he won't hire me. He say he don't have to hire nobody he don't want. I tell him I speak good English; I even

read English, but he say no. I think he just don't want to hire Cambodian. I go to other shipyard, always the same story. What good is certificate? Because I speak lot of different language I get a job with USCC (United States Catholic Council) to work with refugee so I do ok now. But at first, it was hard to find job. (Huon)

Thus, the hopes of gaining certification and skills that would allow increased financial security were not realized. Although many villagers attempted to change their financial circumstances through acquisition of job training, most were nearly excluded from higher wage occupations, such as welding, because of discrimination. Most refugee families in the area relied on multiple wage earners (husband, wife, and teenage children) to achieve a median income of approximately \$23,000 per year (U. S. Census 1990). This led to a redefinition of household labor roles and identities that were markedly different from those established while living in Cambodia. One man summarized:

In the United States I have to work everyday. In Cambodia, you don't work everyday...After you plant, you wait, you sew, and you do other thing at your house. You worked depending on the season. Here you work all the time. In Cambodia, my wife don't work. She stay at home and take care of our kid. Here she work long time picking crab. Life is good in United State but you have to work all the time. (Vong)

Thus, women also experienced disruption and disassembly of identities as a result of employment in their new country. Ly Lai, who worked along with her husband in a Chinese restaurant explained:

In Cambodia I only take care of my husband and my children. We live in the city (Phnom Penh) so I have people to take care of my house and my garden. Here I work with my husband because our family must have money.

In Cambodia, most women did not work for wages but gardened and stayed home to care for their husbands, children, and the elderly. Although patterns of household roles have undergone change in the United States, there has been a strong effort to retain a sense of family, community, and Khmerness in the village and in the workplace.

The themes of working together and shifting employment opportunities came together in the establishment of Angkor Seafood, located just inside the village. Angkor Seafood was created through the collective actions of a group of Cambodian men living in Veluvanna Village. Each had held vastly different jobs in Cambodia (a surveyor, a college professor, and former top-ranking officer in the Cambodian air force) compared with those they held in the United

States (a truck driver, a cook, and a nurseryman). These three men collectively saved their money and pooled their resources to start a processing plant that hired only villagers.

“I like to keep the plant small,” explained Savenne, who after his father’s death used insurance proceeds to buy out the remaining partners. He continued, “(the plant) maybe process(es) only 8 to 12 thousand pounds of crab meat each day. That way I don’t need to hire anybody outside the village.” He explained that by keeping the plant small, elders in the village could work as much or as little as they desired. Women in the village could work around school and day care schedules. “I want to keep the plant here in the village, the people like working together here and I make enough money to take good care of my wife, my daughter, and my mother.”

With steady incomes, more families began building new homes or moving mobile homes into the village. Soon word reached across the United States and Cambodia. A second wave of migrants from cities such as Stockton, California and Lowell, Massachusetts arrived in the village, reconnecting with relatives or simply seeking a peaceful place to live, work, and raise families. One mother, who moved from Massachusetts to the village in 1999, stated that she wanted her children (ages 6, 8, and 11) away from the influences of “drugs, gangs, and rebellion,” which she described as an increasing menace around her previous home. She said she moved to the village so she and her family could practice and experience traditional Khmer values among other Khmers.

Thus, strong familial, social, and cultural solidarity, through extensive networks in the village, at the seafood processing plant, and in the surrounding community informed reconstructed and redefined identities. Such solidarity allowed considerable retention of traditional Cambodian social and cultural relations, beliefs, and practices. By continuing traditional practices of childcare, language, and religion, older Khmers sought to uphold a distinct identity and instill a sense of Khmerness in their younger American-born children and grandchildren. However, younger Khmers’ ideas about identities did not always match with their elders’ ideas.

Duong, who has four children, recognized that continuation of a strong and traditional Khmer identity often proved to be difficult for younger Khmers with no memory of Cambodia. He described the dilemma his children faced. He told how they learned to straddle cultures and grappled with multiple identities as Khmer children with defined traditional familial responsibilities, and American youth who desired great autonomy. His children’s identities continually shifted and were restructured by their experiences as both Americans and as Khmer:

For their future, their economic future, they must learn the American ways. They need to know how to work in the American

system. But for their lives and the...(continuation of Cambodian identity)... they must learn the Cambodian way.

Several other parents spoke of confrontations with young teens who engaged in unKhmer-like behaviors, especially those considered by elder Khmers as dangerous, e.g. drinking alcohol, dating without parental approval, and using drugs. Other parents described anger over their children “becoming too American” and losing respect for elders and ancestors, or only wanting to eat “American food” such as hamburgers and pizza. Prahm angrily reproached Vithy, who had declared that he was American not Cambodian:

You talk Cambodian! You eat Cambodian! I look at you, you hair, you eye, you nose. I see Cambodian! You Cambodian!

Prahm saw Vithy’s disassembly and contestation of Khmerness as succeeding where the Khmer Rouge had not, in the elimination of Khmer identities. Most parents agreed that there were no easy solutions to their own or their children’s retention of Khmerness, especially as children faced pressures in school from non-Khmer classmates to conform to American patterns of behavior. This struggle is evident in differences expressed by parents themselves. For example, some were resigned to maintaining Khmerness only at home in the village and were more accepting that their children eventually would become more American than Cambodian whereby children would focus more on consumerism instead of family obligations. Kia, the father of three young children, maintains a very traditional Khmer home and faithfully supports the community and temple. However, he wanted his children to learn to work within the American system. Kia’s desire for his children’s success coexists with deep pain over his experiences in Cambodia:

Why should we remember Cambodian ways? In Cambodia I worked all week and barely had enough rice to feed my family. Here I work one day and can buy enough rice for a month. Let them become American!

Other parents stressed the need to train their children as Khmers while they were young. They saw promise in their children for the continuation of many Khmer traditions and the adherence to Buddhist teachings because of the continuous exposure within the village to these beliefs and practices. Savenne, who had just begun his family, explained the significance of raising his children as Khmer:

I think it is very important to speak Khmer at home. Your children need to learn early. If they learn English first it is very hard for them to learn Khmer later. It is also important that we stay in contact with our religion. Buddhism is very important in our lives. The temple helps us have an understanding of who we are. The

monk is here to lead us as far as we can go in knowledge. We have to pass this on for our children's future. We have to teach them to love their parents and their family. They need to know to pray for their ancestors and to burn incense. I don't think that I will raise my daughter any different than my parents raised us. I will teach her the same things my parents taught me and so will my wife. Our daughter watches children's TV and she is learning some English there, but, we only speak Khmer with her. She will learn English soon enough at day care and kindergarten.

Savenne's statements reflected the importance of maintaining a distinct Khmer identity and teaching Khmer culture to young children while adults and children each negotiated life in the United States.

Many villagers believed that life in Veluvanna Village was conducive to retention of Khmerness because of the closeness and involvement of its residents in each other's lives. They cited the involvement of elders, village leaders, and the monk when a child veered from a traditional path established through village norms such as adherence to Buddhism, respect for parents, elders, and ancestors, and strong community involvement. When first confronted with a disrespectful or disobedient child, most parents described how they first "talk sweet" to their child and try to "love them back" into traditional ways.

In spite of difficulties encountered by many Khmers as they struggled to redefine Khmerness for themselves and their children in the United States, families, friends, and neighbors—across fences, sometimes even across continents—worked together to provide a safe and familiar environment of Khmerness in Veluvanna Village. Within this setting, there was a constant level of community activity that allowed the dynamic interaction between Khmer and U. S. influences. Activities such as the ones portrayed throughout the preceding narratives continually shaped the villagers' negotiations toward a reconstitution and redefinition of individual and collective Khmerness.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusion

Summary

Against almost overwhelming odds, Khmers have reconstructed identities and reconstituted Khmerness outside Cambodia. Whether their identities were fractured by force, by loss of homes, or by escape and resettlement in countries outside Cambodia, by relaying their losses, their struggles, and their daily lives, their narratives expressed and demonstrated the complexity of redefining Khmerness. Within each of the preceding narratives, whether Khmers were relating experiences in Cambodia, in refugee camps, in the United States, or within the village, identities were continuously negotiated in response to changing circumstances that were aggregates of past and present experiences.

The years of horror and turmoil in Cambodia and in refugee camps were strongly revealed through narratives told to me by many members of this Khmer community. These narratives marked the long journey out of Cambodia where many were forced to shed or conceal their old identities and faced an uncertain journey toward reconstituting and reconstructing new identities as refugees and as Khmer outside Cambodia. Khmers have fought to overcome stigmatization associated with an imposed identity of diseased, weak Southeast Asian refugee. They reconstituted their lives individually and collectively as self-sufficient Khmer in America, engaging in careful management of their identities when among non-Khmer, but continually striving to rebuild and reconstitute disassembled lives into a cohesive Khmerness.

Traditions such as Buddhism, ancestor veneration, and close involvement in family and community life remained strong within Veluvanna Village. The physical and spiritual centrality of the temple reinforced their individual and collective Khmerness and provided a stabilizing force for adherence to many traditional Khmer practices. However, the village was not isolated from the dominant American culture.

Changes in status among men were often difficult passages toward acceptance of low-wage low-status occupations. Traditional attainment of status among men also underwent significant changes. Loss of skilled or professional status among working men required a reorganization of processes of status building. Prestige among older Khmers was acquired through contributions of work and dedication to the Buddhist temple and the community. High income among some younger adult men has caused a shift toward status building through finances. Still, this shift was not complete. Indeed, status was not acquired through the acquisition of consumer goods, but from the financial generosity to

the temple and to elders in the village. In this way, status within the village remained strongly associated with civic and religious dedication to traditional Khmer practices and beliefs.

Many Khmers who survived near extinction under Khmer Rouge forces and under imposed identities as weak refugees continued to fear extinction of Khmerness should their children continue to eschew traditional food, practices, and beliefs and adopt American values. The realities of people's perceptions—both young and old—and interpretations of events, practices, and beliefs reconstructed definitions of Khmerness. By relying on Khmers' narratives, a fuller representation of the reconstruction of Khmer identities, shaped by internal and external pressures, emerged.

Discussion

I began this research project with the intent to focus on traditional herbal medicine. I wanted to learn who held this knowledge, how it was used, and how it was transmitted. I was especially interested in any changes that may have been occurring in the ways people used traditional herbs and/or biomedicine in the United States. After returning from the field, I faced my data with frustration over not “getting” the information on traditional medicine I had wanted. However, I soon began to realize that many of the people I had met and interviewed had been patient with my questions but had gently led me toward their own “relevant” issues.

My chief informant, Prahm, often stated that the reason he and other members of the community were so eager to talk with me was so that other non-Cambodians may know about the Cambodian people and why they were in the United States. Each time, I dutifully listened and recorded histories so we could (finally) get to the “real” research data on traditional medicine. As I read through my fieldnotes I found that the question I thought I asked while in the field—How are traditional lay medicines and U. S. lay biomedicines used within the refugee community?—was (at best) a secondary issue.

The primary issue among those interviewed was that I gain a holistic understanding of their lives. At times my understandings were simplistic and uninformed because of my insistence that “health” and “medicine” remain my focus. Any “malconstruction” (Schwandt 1994:129), or misrepresentation through an unsophisticated and incomplete understanding, of refugees’ narratives, comes from my own shortsightedness as I attempted to make sense of the scope and range of insights and knowledge I was given, especially as it related to who they were and who they had become. I continued to challenge and revise these malconstructions as I gathered new information and gained new understandings of the complexity of the continuing disassembly, reconstruction, and redefinition of Khmer identity.

Understanding and reinterpreting the lives of Cambodian refugees and the identities they have reconstituted in the United States required placing them historically within the context of lives in Cambodia and as refugees, parents, leaders, men, and women in the United States (Schwandt 1994). Their narratives were one way they exerted control over their experiences and regained voices that were previously silenced (Olesen 1994). Experiences within each individual’s world and the memories and meanings one assigned to those experiences reconstructed both individual and collective identities as Khmers. External stimuli, triggered by others’ utterances or recollections, made possible by the creation of a distinctively Khmer home and community, often brought memories to the surface that were shared, renegotiated, and

reconstituted (Halbwachs 1992:38) into different ways of being and understanding Khmerness in the United States.

There was wide variation in narratives about practices used to reconstitute and redefine Khmers' identities and experiences, both in Cambodia and in the United States. Many described external forces that began to impose a collective, generalized identity of "Southeast Asian refugee" in processing camps. Villagers' reports of repeated interrogations and examinations that, over time, became internalized as weakness, echoed those other refugees had described to Knudsen (1995), Mayotte (1992), and Ong (1995).

In addition, Khmers spoke of the imposition of an externally derived collective refugee identity that ignored who individuals were, how they perceived themselves, and their relationships with others. Their experiences were similar to events reported by Knudsen (1995), Ong (1995), and others who wrote that aid agencies and governments lumped Khmers and all other Southeast Asian refugees into one population, who were thought by those agencies to be in "need" of external authoritative intervention.

Khmers' reluctance to reveal their histories to impersonal interviewers illustrated that trust must not be assumed and could not be granted simply on the basis of "authority" but must be personally fostered (Knudsen 1995:26). This understanding was especially salient since Khmer Rouge's destruction of bonds of trust normally held by Cambodians was extreme and long lasting (Muecke 1995:38). In addition, the establishment of trust, within the community and with me, and telling of traumatic stories may constitute one step toward healing and reassertion of "selves" such as that described by Boehnlein (1987) and Muecke (1995). Thus, Khmer narratives about loss or concealment of identity are also part of the process of reconstructing and redefining identity in the present and constitute ways of positioning themselves in the future.

The construction of an exclusively Khmer village and the central role of the temple were important differences in redefinition of Khmer identity in Veluvanna Village compared to identities of Khmers studied in multicultural communities in California (Ong 1995, 1996), Illinois (Conquergood 1992), and Massachusetts (Smith-Hefner 1994, 1998, 1999). Conversely, other Khmers, Buddhism, Khmer music, food, dress, language, and ideas surrounded Khmers in Veluvanna Village. The temple, rather than located far from daily activities, occupied several acres within the village and served as the community's primary cultural center. A steady stream of villagers and Khmers from other communities, both young and old, frequently stopped in to see the monk, meditate, or leave offerings for ancestors and Buddha. In addition, the monk was regularly found visiting in homes, presiding over small ceremonies, and offering lessons in Buddhism and written Khmer to the children.

On the other hand, obvious external pressures from school and from mass media have led many young Khmers to adopt hairstyles, clothing, and desires for acquiring consumer goods that are more common among American youth than traditional Khmer youth. Still, the strength of village solidarity had (so far) held most youthful rebellion at bay. The argument that each new generation would eventually “melt into the mainstream” (Zhou 1997:976) appeared less likely to occur in Veluvanna Village given the daily exposure to Khmer cultural practices and the rapid intervention of parents, elders, and other kin when children displayed aberrant behaviors. While it was apparent that most Cambodian refugees of all ages adopted some aspects of “Americanization” such as daily work schedules and American education, the majority also selectively reconstructed aspects of traditional Cambodian culture such as spoken Khmer, traditional music, clothing, and home-grown Cambodian vegetables.

Differences in reconstitution of Khmer identity appeared to correlate with age at time of leaving Cambodia. Younger Khmers, especially those born in the United States, often identified themselves as Americans who have Cambodian parents. Conversely, those refugees who were now 40 years old or older self-identify as Khmer and were most often the strongest adherents to identities that include dressing in traditional Cambodian clothing in their homes, Buddhism, ancestral worship, and the use of Cambodian medicinal herbs and food.

Khmers in Veluvanna Village also reported holding many different, often professional, jobs in Cambodia and all but the oldest were wage earners in the United States. This finding was in strong contrast with reports from Ong (1995), Pfeffer (1994), Smith-Hefner (1994, 1998, 1999) and others who identified most Khmers as former peasants and farmers that now relied on U. S. governmental assistance. In addition, older Khmers also learned to divorce outside-the-village stigmatization and discrimination from inside-the-village ascribed status based on meritorious service. All ages felt strong pressures to maintain traditional identities within the family, the temple, and the community.

The strongest resistance to externally imposed identities and the greatest advantage to redefining Khmerness was the establishment of Veluvanna Village and the construction of a Buddhist temple. The village, just as in rural communities described by Fitchen (1991), provided an anchoring point in the preservation of Khmer culture in the United States. Furthermore, it facilitated the construction of a collective memory (Halbwachs 1992:38) and the redefinition of Khmer identity. Within the context of the village and the temple, as circular processes that relied on understandings of past and present activities, Khmer identities were informed by both individual and collective experiences that residents could see, feel, hear, taste, and understand.

Conclusion

The challenges of reconstructing and redefining identities as Khmers, as refugees, as Khmer-Americans, as families, and as active temple and community members required a deep understanding of the circularity of selves, lives, and realities, and of the past, present, and future; each was formed by and informed the other. Such an understanding often initiated a reinterpretation and reconstitution of pasts and a reconfiguration and redefinition for futures within reconstructed and ever changing worlds.

The meaning of Khmerness changed as pressures to conform to mainstream culture changed. Individuals, families, and communities existed within vibrant interactions of intimate and extended networks that provided social and cultural assistance and allowed individual and collective agency. Such interplay facilitated the recreation and redefinition of traditions and identities *of Khmers by Khmers*.

Understandings of change, continuity, and identity, and ideas of family, responsibility, and self continually shifted in the context of new pressures or new hierarchies such as those found in the United States. Some parents encouraged their children to become bicultural through education and work opportunities. Then again, many Khmers continued valuing traditions such as ancestor worship, Buddhism, speaking Khmer, and consumption of traditional foods.

Often I was told that to be Khmer is to be Buddhist; therefore, retention of Buddhist traditions within the family was a powerful priority. Based on such a strong identification of Buddhism with Khmerness, it was no surprise to me that those values most often retained followed a pattern of spirituality and reflected Buddhism's importance within Khmer culture.

In addition to facilitating an understanding of the complexity of redefinition of Khmerness within this population, this research provided valuable data from practical and theoretical perspectives. From a practical stance, it pointed to the importance of considering in-depth histories, phenomenological and collective experiences, and refugees' own voices in order to understand the complex reconstruction and redefinition of selves and ethnicity in the face of massive change. It pointed to the importance of recognition by governments, aid agencies, biomedical practitioners, and anthropologists that refugees arrived in camps and in resettlement countries with existing ideas of collective identities often in opposition to imposed identities. The recognition that many resisted the imposition of a label of helpless and weak refugee was critical for understanding the importance of individual and collective agency as refugees

sought to have their own stories heard and valued both within and outside their communities.

The theoretical implications of this research were that it contributed to the body of literature aimed at understanding how individual and collective worlds and identities of refugees are negotiated, constructed, and defined. It also added to research on changing patterns of retention of ethnic identity across generations. Finally, it expanded knowledge surrounding the establishment of networks for reconstruction of traditional beliefs and practices rather than for economic enclaves (although economic enclaves tended to follow these social networks).

Widespread mutual support networks, some loosely organized, others more formally established, provided linkages for many refugees as they reconstituted families, sought jobs and housing, and strove to maintain Cambodian practices and beliefs. However, there is no doubt that the most powerful way refugees negotiated life in the United States, one that encouraged and informed a situationally modified Khmerness, was through the establishment of Veluvanna Village, a uniquely Cambodian community. Within the community, refugees shared food and monetary resources, provided support and comfort, and engaged in and created an environment of familiar sounds, smells, tastes, and ideology as they reconstituted lives in the United States that included a strong identity of Khmerness. These processes of community building, whether through networks or the physical construction of the village and temple, also allowed self-sustaining and self-renewing reconstructions of memories and identities that reconstituted and redefined realities of individual and collective identities (Schwandt 1994:125).

Appendix A

Semi-structured Interview Guide

General information:

Name, marital status, age

Number of children, number born in Cambodia

What was your reason for leaving Cambodia?

Where did you go immediately after you left Cambodia?

When did you arrive in the United States?

Where did you first live in the U.S.?

What Social Service Agencies assisted you?

How did you learn of SSA?

When and how did you learn of the Bay County community?

Life in the village:

What are your reasons for living in Veluvanna Village?

Describe family life in the village.

Describe family life in Cambodia.

What aspects are alike? Different?

How large are most families in Cambodia?

What size are families most likely to be here?

Describe children's duties in Cambodia. In the U. S..

Can you tell me about raising your children here? In Cambodia?

What is most important for your children to know?

What is most important for their future?

Describe the life of old people in Cambodia. In the U. S..

If you have (financial, family) problem(s), what do you do?

If another family is having (financial, family) problems, what help might be available?

Religion:

What role does religion play in your life?

What services do you get from the temple?

What would you like for the temple to do for you?

How often do you go to the temple?

What do you hope that the monk will teach you? Your children?

Work:

Did you work in Cambodia? For pay?

What kinds of jobs have you done since coming to the U.S.?

Is your job here like your job in Cambodia? What aspects are the same (different)?

Did your wife (husband) work in Cambodia? Doing what?

Do they work here?

If yes, what do they do in their job?

Have you had job training since coming to the U.S.?

Language skills:

How did you learn English?

Which do you speak mostly, Khmer or English, (1) at home (2) at work?

Does your wife (husband) speak English? Where did they learn?

Do your children speak English and/or Khmer? If English, how did they learn?

Food:

What foods do you eat in the U.S.?

Do you and your family prepare traditional Cambodian food or American food?

Is there a time when you only prepare Cambodian food? American food?

Medicine:

Do you grow special food for cooking? For medicine?

Are there special plants for Cambodian food? For medicine?

How does someone learn how to use these plants?

Are there times when you only use Cambodian medicine? American medicine?

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Publications and Presentations

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References

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