

Social Integration Problems of Vietnamese Migrants and their Descendants into Czech Society: Empirical Study from Brno, the Czech Republic

Thu Huong PHAM

Abstract. The paper aims to examine the social integration problem of first and second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia by combining data from a survey and in-depth interview. More specifically, the paper takes advantage of a survey to gather data from 150 first-generation and interviews with 10 second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. The results of this research indicate that first-generation Vietnamese are encountering both individual and structural barriers to their social integration into the host society including the Czech language, migration policies, and discrimination. Meanwhile, second-generation Vietnamese do not have much problem integrating into the Czech society but reversely they find it difficult to integrate into the Vietnamese society because of their identity problem.

Keywords: *social integration, Vietnamese diaspora, Vietnamese migrants, Vietnamese descendants, the Czech Republic*

1. Introduction

Integration and assimilation are the leading concepts related to the process of living in a new country. The term integration is widely used in European research rather than in the US. In the US, the term assimilation is mostly used (Bolt, Özüekren, and Phillips 2010; Favell 2015). In fact, the integration term is commonly accepted in international literature, political bodies, media, and the public rather than other terms.

Integration is a multi-dimensional concept. It relates to many aspects of migrants' life including economy, society, and psychology. This paper only focuses on the social aspect of integration. This is because the social integration concept helps understand how Vietnamese migrants and their descendants integrate into Czech society. In addition, the dimensions of social integration can be used to identify difficulties encountered by Vietnamese migrants and their offspring living in the Czech Republic. Social integration also could help to see the development of the Vietnamese diaspora community in the host country.

The Vietnamese community has been established in Czechia since the 1950s.

Today, the country has been ranked 12th out of 40 countries in the world where Vietnamese people are residing (Čada, Grygar, and Freidingerová 2016). Also, the Vietnamese community is one of the largest ethnic groups in the Czech Republic after Ukrainians and Slovaks (Sawe 2018). Since 2013, Vietnamese people have been officially recognized as an ethnic minority in the Czech Republic. Vietnamese people in the country are economically independent. They have several markets in the Czech Republic in which there are two big markets in Prague (the capital of the Czech Republic) and Brno (the second largest city of the Czech Republic) which sell various goods and provide services for both Vietnamese and Czech people.

Those who were not born in the Czech Republic are considered the first generation. People in this group are unlikely to integrate because of the language, migration policies, and discrimination. Therefore, the first-generation Vietnamese migrants could be seen as a closed group (Brožová, Jurečková, and Pacovská 2018; Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007). However, the descendants of the first-generation Vietnamese - the second-generation Vietnamese, are not the same. They are growing up in the Czech Republic and most of them have Czech citizenship and therefore, the integration barriers of the first-generation are not their problem. However, they suffer from another issue, which relates to their identity. They are in the middle of the pressures to integrate into Czech society and pressure to preserve their own Vietnamese culture.

The above information leads me to a strong desire for writing this paper to indicate the social integration of both Vietnamese generations. The paper reveals the reasons why first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia are such a big, flexible, and active group, but not able to integrate deeply into Czech society. What are the barriers encountered by the group? Then, the paper shows the social integration problems of second-generation Vietnamese in the city, which is totally different from the problem of the first generation. The paper combines quantitative and qualitative to solve these questions. The barriers of the first generation are taken and analysed from the survey while the problem of the second generation will be shown from the in-depth interview with several second-generation people.

2. Background of the paper

2.1 Formation of the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic

The first Vietnamese people who came to the Czech Republic were individual communists who escaped from France, where the secret police Surete investigated

them for their political activities (Nožina and Kraus 2020). Unfortunately, there is no record of these first Vietnamese people in the official statistics of the Czech Republic.

The first organized group of Vietnamese who migrated to Czechia were orphans. In 1956, more than a hundred boys and girls, who were orphans, were sent to Chrastava (Prokopová 2015). These orphans came to the city with their teachers and stayed in a building that is now a building of an educational institution in Chrastava. After four years, the children finished their elementary school, and either continued studying or returned to Vietnam.

The massive migration influx from Vietnam to the Czech Republic could be seen in the early 1950s when Vietnamese migrated to the country due to the relationship between the two socialist countries. They were young people as well as excellent students, some of them or their relatives fought for their country, then they could travel to the Czech Republic to gain their knowledge and skills through training, apprenticeship, and study (Drbohlav and Džúrová 2007; Krebs and Pechova 2008; Nožina 2010). In the following years, a group of Vietnamese people moved to Czechia after the fall of the Eastern Bloc in Germany (Freidingerová and Svobodová 2015). After all, Vietnamese migration flows to the Czech Republic reached a peak in the 1980s, and the number of Vietnamese people in the period ranged between 20,000 to 27,000 (Drbohlav 2009). At this time, they had informal activities in the Czech market, and some of them had their own business.

In 1986, Vietnam reformed its economic system by performing the “Đổi Mới” policy. This event has affected the Vietnamese migration flow. Vietnam has opened the market and had diplomatic relations not only with Socialist countries but also with other countries all around the world. As a result, Vietnamese people could go abroad easier than before. Hence many Vietnamese people migrated to Czechia personally. It was mainly an economic migration reason. The vast majority of these people were self-employed or businessmen. Later on, from 2006 to 2008, because of the financial crisis in Asia, another wave of Vietnamese labour migrants came to the Czech Republic to work in several factories across the country.

The largest number of Vietnamese people is living in big cities such as Prague and Brno. Vietnamese are also concentrated in several districts of the western regions of the country (Janská and Bernard 2018), mainly in the regions close to the Czech – German and Czech – Austrian borders and even in villages with less than 2000 inhabitants (Freidingerová and Svobodová 2015). The big cities and border regions are seen as favourable places for Vietnamese people to run their business activities.

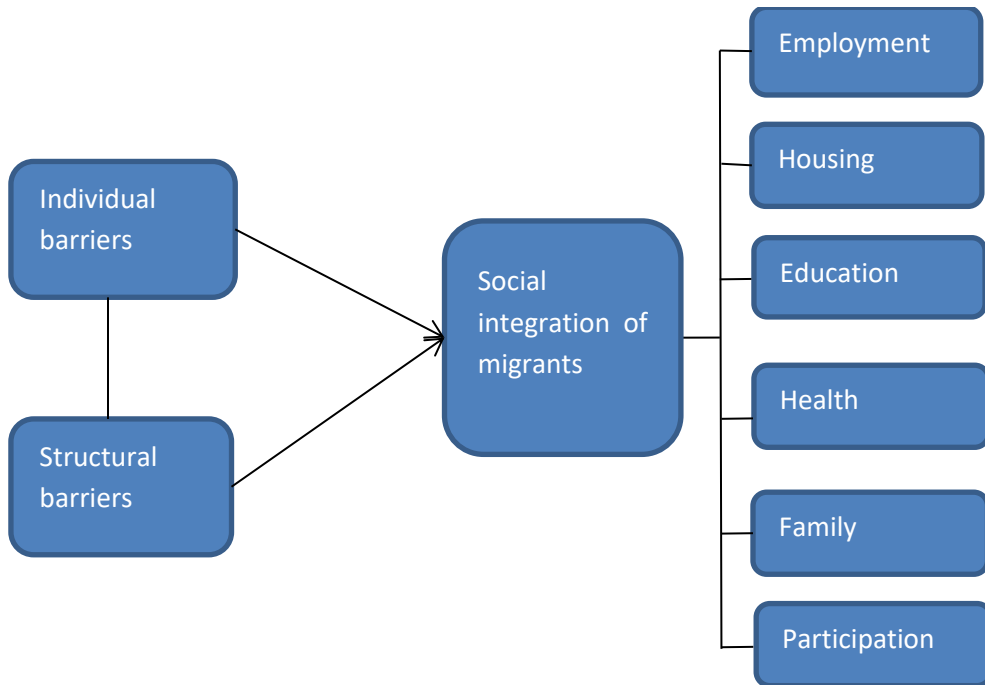
In terms of Brno, it is the second-largest city in Czechia and a border region between Czechia and Austria. In addition, in Brno, the Vietnamese community has its Vietnamese market, which is one of the three biggest Vietnamese markets in Czechia, so it is easy for Vietnamese people to come to the market to run their businesses or seek a job. Therefore, many Vietnamese people have chosen to settle down in Brno. This leads to the fact that the Vietnamese community in Brno is large.

Today, the population of Vietnamese migrants in the Czech Republic is 61097 people (Czech Statistical Office 2019), and in Brno are 3284 people (Czech Statistical Office 2018). They are well-off but a separated and segregated community in comparison with Ukrainians (Brožová, Jurečková, and Pacovská 2018; Drbohlav and Džúrová 2007). Vietnamese are likely to find their opportunities in small-scale retail that are distributed across the country (Janská and Bernard 2018). The population size of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic is still increasing because of the new migration flow from Vietnam as well as the growing number of new generations.

2.2 A framework for analyzing the social integration of migrants

The paper puts forward an analytical framework that is based on the framework of Ager and Strang (2008), Heilbrunn (2010), Wang (2012) as in Figure 1. More specifically, six dimensions including employment, housing, education, and health, family and participation measure the social integration of Vietnamese migrants. Additionally, two groups of barriers that are individual and structural can directly affect social integration. Individual barriers are comprised of age (Böhlmark 2008, Portes and MacLeod 1996, Rumbaut 2004) or the length of stay (Legrand 2019, Martinovic 2009), Czech language (Lu 2019, Kohlenberger 2019, Amiri 2016, Kogan 2011), an education level (Heilbrunn 2010, Kahanec 2011, Legrand 2019), social connections (Leong 2016, Kogan 2011, Heilbrunn 2010) and personal insufficiencies (Martinovic 2009). Structural barriers happen in either the government sphere or the public sphere. Structural barriers can be seen as difficulties in access to social goods, attributes and services created by the state/public areas (Wang, 2012). Since it is hard to evaluate these structural barriers directly in the questionnaire, the author identifies them based on the experiences of migrants when they have contact with government and public spheres. This paper uses this framework to identify the social integration problems for both the first and second generations. For the first-generation, all this information is put into a questionnaire and then the quantitative analysis is used to figure out the barriers. For the second generation, the framework is used as a guideline for the in-depth interview.

Figure 1: The analytical framework of the barriers of social integration of the first Vietnamese generation



3. Methodology

3.1 Quantitative method

The paper takes a sample of 150 first Vietnamese generation in Brno, which is based on the Slovin formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{(1 + N * e^2)}$$

Where: n - Research sample; N – Total sample; e – Error tolerance.

According to the Czech Statistical Office (2018), the total number of Vietnamese people living in the center and countryside of Brno were 2749 and 499 respectively. The total sample **N** is 3284 persons. The error tolerance is 8% (the confidence interval is approximately 90%). Then the desirable sample size of the research sample **n** is 150. Note that these 150 persons are the first generation who:

- Must be Vietnamese people who were born in Vietnam with both parents born in Vietnam as well and migrated to the Czech Republic after the age of six.

- Older than 18 years old.
- Have been living in Brno, the Czech Republic for at least 2 years.

The “convenience sampling” method was used to recruit 150 respondents. Data were collected from March to April 2020 in Brno, the Czech Republic. 129 respondents completed the online survey through Google Form. Moreover, 21 people answered the questionnaire during the fieldwork survey because they could not use computers or smartphones. The questionnaire has nine parts including employment, education, housing, health, family, participation and two parts of general information, which capture four dimensions in Figure 1.

The individual barriers are analysed by six dimensions of social integration in Figure 1. The dimension of employment is measured by difficulties in finding a job. The dimension of housing is measured by difficulties in buying/renting a house/an apartment. The education dimension is analysed by difficulties in taking part in educational programs in the Czech Republic, and the health dimension is measured by difficulties in access to healthcare services in Brno. The dimension of family reunification is measured by the difficulties to have a reunion with family members in the host country. The dimension of participation will be analysed by difficulties in the process of having a residence permit and participation in municipal elections. More specifically, for each dimension, the author divides the sample into two groups: with difficulties and without difficulties. Then, the correlations between individual barriers and each dimension are tested. Individual barriers are comprised of the length of stay Czech language and education level, social connection, and individual insufficiencies. Structural barriers are measured from the experiences of migrants when they have contact with government and public spheres.

The author uses the Chi-square test when analysing the social integration of the first Vietnamese generation in Brno. More specifically, the Chi-square is used to test if two categorical variables correlate or not. The significant level in this thesis was set to 5%.

3.2 Qualitative method

This study also is based on qualitative data which are gathered by applying the single-case embedded study method. There are several reasons why I chose the qualitative research approach to gather information from second-generation Vietnamese. Firstly, there is no official data on the total of second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. Hence, it was hard to calculate the sample size of second-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia. Secondly, the single-case

embedded study allows the conduct of an in-depth inquiry of individuals' experiences, with the possibility of combining other data collection techniques such as semi-structured interviews and participant observation.

The “snowball” sampling method was applied to select these 10 interviewees. Interviews took place from May to November 2021, in Brno, Czechia.

Second-generation migrants are those who arrived at a very young age or host-country-born individuals at least one of whose parents was an immigrant (Rosenberg and Lewin 2019). Based on the definition, second-generation Vietnamese are those who either migrated before the age of six or were born in Czechia. They have at least one of their parents who is a Vietnamese migrant.

Following the definition, interviewees of this study must meet the requirements of the following criteria:

- They must have Vietnamese parents who migrated to the Czech Republic,
- They were born in the Czech Republic or arrived in the Czech Republic before the age of six,
- They have been living in Brno, the Czech Republic,
- They are older than 18 years old.

4. Results

4.1 Barriers to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia

There are two types of barriers to the social integration of migrants, namely: individual and structural barriers. To identify these two types of barriers, the sample of this study divides each aspect into two groups: with difficulty and without difficulty.

a. Individual barriers

Individual barriers are measured by five indicators including the length of stay, Czech language, educational attainment, social connection, and personal insufficiencies. To understand the impact of these individual barriers on the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese, the paper examines the correlation between the five individual barrier indicators and difficulties in six dimensions of social integration. The results of this research show that among these individual barriers, Czech language proficiency, the length of stay, and social connection are

the three most important barriers to first-generation Vietnamese in the city. Another two barriers education level and personal insufficiencies are not significant in this case.

The most common individual barrier for first-generation Vietnamese is Czech language proficiency. Several aspects of social integration such as employment, education, health, and participation have been adversely affected by a low level of the Czech language. In fact, first-generation Vietnamese who have advanced and fluent levels of Czech language proficiency face fewer difficulties in finding a job, access to the educational system, healthcare system, and having a residence permit than those who have the levels of intermediate, beginner, and do not know Czech.

The second common individual barrier to the social integration of Vietnamese migrants is the length of stay. Social integration increases along with the length of stay. The longer immigrants stay in the host country, the more they integrate into the host society. The length of stay barrier impacts employment, health, and residence permit aspects of social integration. Respondents who have been living in Brno, Czechia for less than 10 years face more obstacles in finding a job, accessing healthcare services, and getting a permanent residence permit, while others who have been living in the city for more than 30 years have fewer difficulties in these issues. Those who have been living in the country for 1 to 10 years may face several difficulties in obtaining residence permit cards. The longer the stay in the country, the easier it is to get a residence permit.

The third common barrier to the social integration of respondents is social connection. The social connection in this study refers to relationships with Vietnamese friends, relatives, close Czech friends, and participation in the Vietnamese community in Brno. Data shows that 52.2% of respondents who do not have Czech friends encounter difficulties in finding a job in the city, whereas the percentage for those who have Czech friends who struggle to find a job is lower, at 32.8%.

Also, the relationships with Vietnamese people, within the Vietnamese community in Brno, affect the chances of getting housing facilities. Only 29.2% of respondents who are members of the Vietnamese community reported that they have difficulties in accessing housing facilities, but the percentage for those who are not members of the community is much higher at 47.1%.

Table 1: Correlation between barriers and social integration of the first generation

	Have difficulties in					
	Employment	Housing	Education	Health	Family reunification	Participation
Length of stay	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Language	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Education level	No	No	No	No	No	No
Social connection	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Personal insufficiencies	No	No	No	No	No	No

Note: “Yes” means the correlation between the two items is statistically significant by Chi Square test, “No” means the correlation between the two items is not statically significant by the Chi-square test

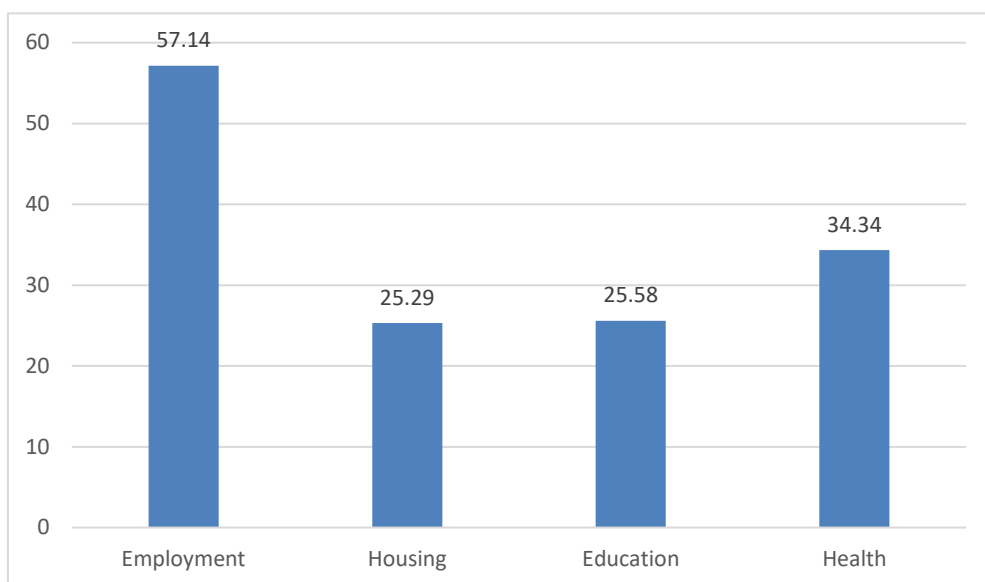
Source: Author

b. Structural barriers

The findings of this study point out that discrimination is a recurring problem across all dimensions of social integration. It is impacting the process of social integration severely. Firstly, being foreigners bring Vietnamese problems in accessing the job market, housing market, education and finding their general practitioners. Among those who have difficulties in the dimension of employment, housing, education and health, the majority points out that the main reason is that they are a foreigner (Figure 2). More specifically, 57.14% of those who have difficulties in finding a job say that the main reason is that they are foreigners. The numbers are similar for the housing and education dimension with more than 25% and then the number for the health dimension is 34.34%. All these differences are statistically significant at the 5% level. The result implies that discrimination has a negative impact on the social integration of the first Vietnamese generation.

Next, the paper shows that the structural barriers have more impact on the dimension of family reunification and participation. The participation dimension is examined by gaining a residence permit and voting rights. The basic right of migrants is family reunification, and it needs to be ensured by the government. In the European Union, most of its member states, including Czechia, have applied the Family Reunification Directive of the European Union to ensure this right of migrants. However, 79.3% of respondents confirmed that they have confronted several difficulties to reunite with their family members. The reasons for this issue are a complicated procedure, time-consuming, and high service costs for getting a visa at the Czech Embassy in Hanoi.

Figure 2: Percentage of those who think that being a foreigner is a reason for poor social integration



Source: Author

Moreover, most of the respondents in this study encountered barriers to getting a residence permit. Time-consuming and complicated procedures are also significant barriers for first-generation Vietnamese to obtain a residence permit.

In addition, in the Czech Republic, migrants are excluded from the political mainstream. They have many limitations to take part in the political life of Czechia. In this research, only 21 respondents who have Czech citizenship are allowed to participate in political affairs such as voting and being a member of a Czech political party. The rest could not participate in any elections because they do not have the right to vote. Not having proper political rights/laws in the host country is a significant barrier for migrants to participate in political activities. This exacerbates the process of their social integration further.

Indeed, successful social integration in the host country depends upon human and social resources. First-generation Vietnamese in Brno, the Czech Republic have encountered several individual barriers such as the Czech language and their social connection. Actually, the Czech language is a prerequisite condition for Vietnamese migrants to integrate into the host society. Social connections, particularly with Czechs, are really important factors for these people to become a member of society.

Moreover, first-generation Vietnamese are facing several structural barriers. Discrimination is a common barrier for these migrants when they live in the country. Most of them confirmed that they have experienced being discriminated against. It could lead to the tendency of isolation to avoid contact with natives. Other barriers faced by the migrant group are the complicated and unfriendly processes of getting a visa and a residence permit from the Czech government. Also, exclusion from the political mainstream has negative effects on the social integration of Vietnamese migrants who are living in Czechia.

4.2 Social integration of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

The author uses Figure 1 as a guideline to conduct an interview with some second Vietnamese generation. Generally, the second-generation is totally different from the first-generation when they were born in the Czech Republic. Their social integration problem is then different from the problem of the previous generation. Interestingly, they do not have a problem integrating into the Czech society because they normally have had a Czech nanny to help them. However, they have more problems integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic. The in-depth interview shows that the second generation suffers from the individual barrier that comes directly from the conflict between the Vietnamese and Czech cultures. Consequently, they do not have any problems in the dimension of job, housing, education, health or family reunification, but they do have a problem with participation. More specifically, they are at “the margins of two cultures” (Thai 1999). They are often caught between pressure to assimilate into mainstream society and preserve their parents’ culture. It is an identified problem of the second Vietnamese generation which brings them a problem integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic.

4.2.1 Czech nanny as a gateway for second-generation Vietnamese to integrate into Czech society

There are several reasons why second-generation Vietnamese are brought up by Czech nannies. Firstly, many first-generation Vietnamese migrants need to pay high fees for brokerage services to move from Vietnam to the Czech Republic. The fees must be paid even before their migration process starts. Some of them must collect money from their family members or borrow money from various financial

institutions (Nožina and Kraus 2020). Therefore, when they arrive in Czechia, they need to work hard to pay for their big debts. For those who do not have any debts, their migration reason is mainly economic, so they have been trying to earn money as much as possible. These facts can explain why most first-generation Vietnamese have been working in Vietnamese shops, restaurants, or Vietnamese markets for 12 to 13 hours every day. The time-consuming of their work causes a lack of their time to take care of their children. The cases of Tom, Dasa and Lan Anh¹ are obvious examples:

“My mom had a lot of work at her shop, so she sent me to the house of a Czech nanny, so the nanny helped my mom to take care of me.” [Tom, male, 18 years old].

“When I was a kid, my mom had a fabric store, and she could not look after me, so she sent me to a Czech nanny’s house. I stayed there with my Czech nanny all day until my mom closed her store and came to pick up me.” [Lan Anh, 25 years old]

Unlike Tom and Lan Anh, Dasa did not be sent to the house of her Czech nanny every day, but she said that: “On the weekend, I did not go to school, so in case my parents had to go to the supermarket to buy goods for their grocery store, they sent me to my Czech nanny.” [Dasa, female, 26 years old].

Secondly, Czech language proficiency is the most common barrier encountered by first-generation Vietnamese. Hence, they could not help their children to acquire a good knowledge of the Czech language, while their descendants need to know the language to go to school. In addition, many first-generation Vietnamese parents believe that hiring Czech nannies is a good way for their children to integrate deeply into Czech society, and then have a better life in their future (Souralová 2014).

“I moved to the Czech Republic with my parents once I was 5 years old. When I was 6 years old, I went to the first grade, but I did not know the Czech language, so my parents had to hire a Czech nanny to take care of me and teach me the Czech language. The Czech nanny taught me not only the Czech language, but also about Czech cultures such as their public holiday, customs, and history. When I went to secondary school, my parents would like me to go to gymnázium², so they hired another Czech nanny to help me study.” [Viet, male, 27 years old].

Actually, most of the nannies are elderly women, and they have various

¹ Names of respondents in this paper are fictitious.

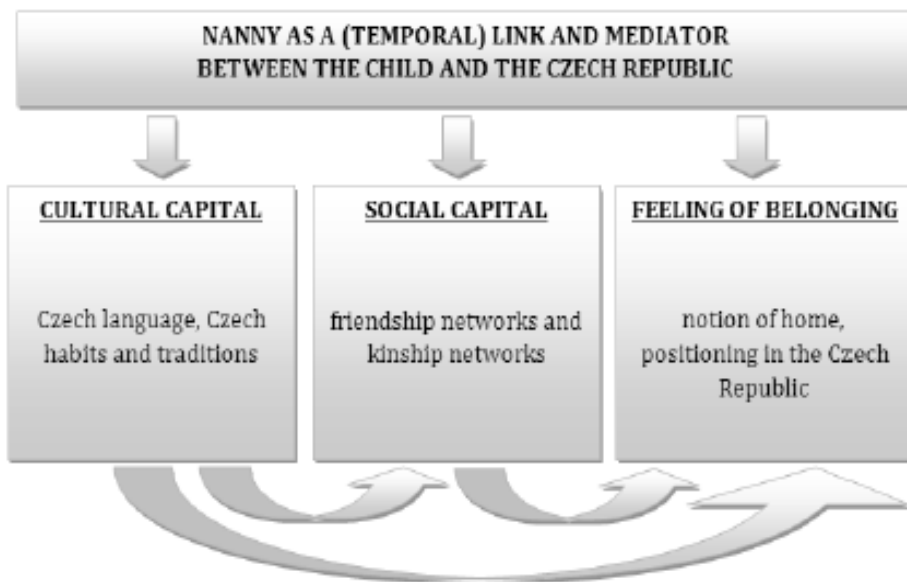
² It is a term referred to a high school that prepares students for higher education at a university in Czechia.

activities depending on the age of the children. These activities could range from changing diapers and feeding the child including first with infant food, later with typical Czech meals to teaching Czech words, Czech fairy stories, Czech kid songs, and tutoring school homework (Souralová 2014).

These Czech nannies have become temporal links and mediators between second-generation Vietnamese and Czech society. The caregivers play an integral role in the social integration of second-generation Vietnamese by passing on their cultural, and social capital and raising the feeling of belonging (see figure 3).

“Sometimes, I slept with my Czech nanny. On the weekend, I went to her house, and she taught me how to garden or sometimes, I hang out with her. At that time, I felt that I am a Czech girl.” [Lan Anh, female, 25 years old].

Figure 3: Three doors to Czech society



Source: Souralová (2014, 177)

Cultural capital is passed by Czech nannies including the Czech language, Czech habits, and traditions. Thanks to Czech nannies, these values come spontaneously in the life of most second-generation Vietnamese. This paves the way for the social integration of second-generation Vietnamese into the Czech Republic. Social capital involves several social relationships that facilitate the ties between second-generation Vietnamese and natives. In addition, being brought up by Czech

nannies could give the young Vietnamese the feeling of home when their parents are busy at work and have no time spent with them.

As the children grow up, their needs change. They go to school and make friends with both Czech and Vietnamese. At this point, they have deeply integrated into Czech society. They also often have good friendships with Czech peers and know Czech culture. They feel the most comfortable when they speak the Czech language, even though Vietnamese is their mother tongue. Therefore, it is common when two second-generation Vietnamese to talk to each other in the Czech language instead of the Vietnamese language.

Nonetheless, having two country contexts in the life of second-generation Vietnamese causes their identity problems. Many of them identify themselves as “banana” children. It means that their identity is hybrid (Homoláč and Sherman 2020), and this has led them to be in a “crisis of values” (Seeberg and Goździak 2016).

4.2.2 Social integration and the identity of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

According to Homoláč and Sherman (2020), there are three identity versions of second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic banana children, young “uninfected” Vietnamese, and the younger generation of banana children. In this paper, I do not focus on all three versions, only on banana children. Because most “banana” children are in the period of adulthood. Therefore, their experiences of growing up in the context of migrancy could help to indicate their identity issues during the process of social integration into the host country.

When I first met a second-generation Vietnamese couple in a coffee shop in Brno, they chuckled and asked me: “Do you know what we call ourselves is? We are banana children.” [Lam and Tho, male and female, 34 and 32 years old]

Indeed, the term “banana children” is commonly used to refer to second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. The term points to the person being “yellow” outside, but “white” inside as same as a banana. This means that the appearance of the young Vietnamese is Asian, while their thinking is Czech.

Actually, adolescence is not easy for most people, but in the context of migration, the “banana” children have to encounter different challenges in their life than their peers from the host society. Most of the young generation have at least one time to ask themselves: Am I Vietnamese or Czech? (Svobodová and Janská 2016). This is because they have been heavily impacted by Czech culture and have

strong ties with Czech socio-cultural values. At the same time, they have ties with the socio-culture values of their parents.

The generation is motivated by their parents to acquire the ethnic heritage of Vietnam. Families, parents, and the Vietnamese community play an important role in delivering Vietnamese culture, values, and heritage language to their descendants. This then influences how second-generation Vietnamese perceive their ethnic identities. However, the Vietnamese traditional values are not attractive for the second-generation Vietnamese, which - in some cases – caused the generational and perhaps identity conflict with their parents. As a result, in any case, these people are forced to negotiate their more western values and way of living with their parents.

“It is difficult for me to say whether Czech identity or Vietnamese identity is the main identity of mine. Because at home, I am influenced by Vietnamese culture, but I am living in Czechia, so I am also influenced by Czech culture. When I was a child, I did not understand much about culture and identity. When I grew up, I liked Western culture more than Vietnamese culture, because you know, like many Vietnamese parents, my parents were very strict with me. Now, I prefer Western culture to Vietnamese culture, but my identity is a mix.” [Viet, male, 27 years old].

To deal with the crisis of identity, some of the young Vietnamese in the Czech Republic have a strategy that at home they will be Vietnamese children such as using Vietnamese names, speaking Vietnamese, and following Vietnamese traditions. When they go to school or hang out with their friends, they will use Czech identity including using Czech names and speaking the Czech language.

Some second-generation Vietnamese have chosen to deny one of their identities (Chau 2019). In this case of denying Vietnamese identity, first-generation Vietnamese migrants could say that these people are “*mất gốc*” (rootless).

“I feel that I am more Czech than Vietnamese, and most belong to Czech. If anyone asks me what my identity is, I can tell them that I am Czech. I have both Vietnamese and Czech citizenship, but I do not know now where my Vietnamese passport is. I knew some Vietnamese customs and traditions, for example Tet holiday, but I do not care much about it.” [Mirek, male, 26 years old].

Nevertheless, during their life, the period of struggling with which identity they belong to is just one stage. Their feelings about themselves change over time (Svobodová and Janská 2016). Their adjustments are based on their personal choices and process of development, which are interconnected with multilayer social issues (Nguyen Phuong Mai 2020). To sum up, banana children are those who have the hybrid character of their identity. They can use two languages and behave following the social norms of both societies in their daily life. They are integrated very well into

Czech society via Czech nannies' doors and the educational system (Drbohlav et al. 2009). They are seen as the link between the Vietnamese community and Czech society.

5. Conclusions

This paper has focused on the social integration of Vietnamese people including first-generation and second-generation Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. Based on the study in Brno, Czechia, the paper has shown the barriers to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese. Later on, the paper has paid attention to the second-generation Vietnamese and indicates that they integrate into the Czech society thanks to their Czech nanny. However, because of their identity problem, they suffer from integrating into the Vietnamese society in the Czech Republic.

Vietnamese people living in the Czech Republic have had successful business activities in Czechia. These activities reflect the economic integration of Vietnamese migrants and their contribution to the Czech economy. However, most of them only focus on their businesses and do not interact with other groups except for economic reasons. Consequently, the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic, especially first-generation Vietnamese, is a separate entity in the host country. They have limited contact with the society-in-large. As a result, they seem to be excluded from Czech society and have weak social integration. Their weak social integration stems from several barriers namely individual barriers and structural barriers.

The most common individual barrier to the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia is Czech language proficiency. The barrier impacts most dimensions of social integration such as employment, housing, education, health, and participation. Also, the study reveals that educational attainment is not an individual barrier for participants to seek a job in Brno, Czechia. This is because most of the people in the sample are either self-employed or have jobs in Vietnamese stores/companies which do not require academic degrees. They are likely to find opportunities in retail shops/stores, and they have their ethnic-specific geographies of the labor market in the Czech Republic. Even, in their home country, their work corresponded to their education, but here in the Czech Republic, it does not.

Furthermore, the data of this study found that the current policies of family reunification, residence permits, and election regulations have negative effects on the social integration of first-generation Vietnamese in Brno, Czechia.

Also, discrimination is a severe barrier to the social integration of Vietnamese migrants. It harms the chances of accessing education, healthcare services, and housing facilities. Half of the respondents in this study confirmed that they were scorned in public areas because of their Asian race.

In contrast, second-generation Vietnamese have had successful integration into the host society since early childhood. They have proficiency in the Czech language, have been educated in Czech schools, acquired Czech culture, and have more opportunities to interact with Czechs. They also have high achievement in the Czech education system and then have the best positions at universities in early adulthood. In the early stage of their life, Czech nannies could be seen as the main door for them to integrate into Czech society. These nannies prepare cultural capital and social capital for second-generation Vietnamese to deeply integrate into the host society.

Nonetheless, second-generation Vietnamese who are well-known as banana children have been facing a crisis of value because of their hybrid identities. This is because most of them are not migrants but are living in the migrant space. They have an identity shaped by both Vietnamese and Czech culture. This led to the fact that they are the important bridge between the Vietnamese community and Czech society. Along with first-generation Vietnamese, their development has been contributing to the development of the Vietnamese diaspora not only in the Czech Republic but also in the world.

Generally speaking, individual barriers can be removed by migrants themselves. Living in a foreign country requires migrants to learn the host country's language. Moreover, they should boost their social connections to become a member of Czech society, particularly with natives. Also, Vietnamese migrants and their descendants cannot integrate well without the support of the host government and the openness of the host society. The Czech government should take some serious actions toward the social integration of migrants. The Czech government should pay much more attention to the policies of family reunification and residence permit to support migrants living in the country. In fact, good social integration laws/policies would have positive effects on both the migrant communities and the host communities. Such policies might not just make the current migrant generation's life better but secure a good life for the future generations too. The government of Vietnam should pay attention to the migration policies to support the Vietnamese diaspora community in the Czech Republic. The governments of two

countries, Vietnam and the Czech Republic need to enhance friendship and cooperation to support Vietnamese citizens living in the Czech Republic.

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