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Political Engagement and Identity Awareness among Czech-Vietnamese University Students

Master's thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.

2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.

3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 24th, May, 2019   Shang-Yen Lee

References

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Abstract

The Vietnamese have been resided in Czech Republic since 1950s. Literature claims that the Vietnamese is a rather successfully integrated group in Czech Republic comparing with other minority. Hence, the master thesis aims at exploring the political participation as well as civic engagement of university students with Vietnamese ethnicity and are conceived as second generation of the Vietnamese group in Czech Republic.

Based on a review on literature on theories and relevant studies on political participation, the research employed qualitative approach through semi-structured interviews with 15 Vietnamese university students in Prague. Analysis of the responses demonstrates that most of the participants perceive political participation as their duty of citizenship and do not link their political participation with minority identity. Meanwhile, a distinction of attitude towards civic engagement and political participation for the target group and the trend of replacing political activities with civic activities is discovered. At the end of the research, this study indicates that conventional theories of political participation are not be able to cover the complexity of political participation in the modern society.

Keywords

Vietnamese minority, political participation, civic participation, minority identity, political behavior

Abstrakt

Cílem této diplomové práce je výzkum občanské a politické angažovanosti u vysokoškolských studentů hlásícím se k vietnamské národnosti, kteří jsou považováni za druhou generaci vietnamské komunity žijící v České republice. Odborná literatura počítá s plnou integrací druhé generace vietnamské menšiny žijící v České republice. Hypotéza této práce je postavena polemice s odbornou literaturou a předpokládá, že se většina vysokoškolských studentů vietnamské národnosti z druhé generace vietnamské komunity žijících v České republice stále setkává s různými společenskými překážkami, které ovlivňují jejich ochotu se politicky nebo občansky angažovat. Zvolenou metodou je kvalitativní sociologický výzkum, konkrétně polo-strukturovaný rozhovor s patnácti studenty vietnamské národnosti, kteří studují na vysokých školách v Praze. Výsledky výzkumu nejen potvrzují hypotézu a prokazují úzkou provázanost politické angažovanosti s občanskou angažovaností a identitou menšin, ale objevují, že u cílové skupiny existuje rozdíl v přístupu k politické a občanské angažovanosti. Tato práce v závěru poukazuje na potřebu přehodnotit tradiční typologie politické angažovanosti.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 General introduction

Vietnamese communities have been large minority groups in European countries. In Czech Republic, Vietnamese people are the largest non-European immigration group, and it is the third largest Vietnamese community in Europe (after Germany and France). The Vietnamese population in Czech Republic has reached more than 83000 people, and most of them reside in Prague, according to the census in 2011 (Norzina, Miroslov, 2011). Much of the Vietnamese community first came to Czechoslovakia as guest workers or through bilateral programs between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam and nowadays has developed into a distinctive community in Czech Republic after the communism period.

In 2013, the Vietnamese were officially announced as a national minority in Czech Republic, and thus, lives of the Vietnamese started to gain attention by the public. However, comparing with other minority issues like economic and social integration, the political participation of Czech Vietnamese has not received much attention in academia even though they have resided in the country for over half a century. The lives of their children, on the other hand, may be more directly linked to Czech Republic, which raises questions about their political participation and the link between the outcome and the identity of the second generation in Czech society.

Literatures and researches all indicate that the Vietnamese community has well integrated in Czech majority society, and most scholars have conducted the researches on economic and education level. However, the political participation of this group is rather not salient in larger scale of researches .

The contrast between economic integration and political participation will be discussed in the following literature review. Thus, the research will focus on Czech

students with Vietnamese origin in Prague, where Czech Vietnamese is one of the fast growing ethnic groups; also, the study aims at exploring political participation among the second generation of Czech Vietnamese community. Under the "best" status to participate in political activities, which means with higher socio-economic background, what could be the possible reasons that block the peripheral group from political participation?

In the following sections of this study, this research firstly goes through literature review to develop the research method and construct the theoretical model. The definition of political and civic participation from Barret and Zani (2015) is adopted by this research and O'Toole et al's (2003) study provides the base of qualitative approach adopted by this research. The methodology section explains the research design and the operationalization of the hypotheses. Finally, the research will be able to identify whether Vietnamese identity plays a role that brings the community together and becomes a stimulation to participate in political activities, or of it is because of the Vietnamese identity that forms the difference and thus builds a wall to block second-generation Vietnamese to be involved in political activities. Also, the case study reveals that the conventional theories of political participation may not be able to cover the complexity of modern political participation in the minority group.

1.2 Objectives

1.2 The importance of the study

Due to the increasing spatial mobility of non-EU immigrants, it is important to examine their long term relations with the host community on the local level. The research serves as an exploratory study for the case study. However, the study still attempts to contribute to academic research in many ways. First, it provides an analysis of political engagement among second generation in second-generation Vietnamese community and a better picture of understanding second generation in the Czech society which is currently lacking in Czech research. The research aims to discuss the political engagement of second-generation Vietnamese university students, which also provides a case analysis of political participation among the young generation. To put the research in a larger context, the research could also be discussed in the issues of Vietnamese minority integration in European countries for further researches.

According to Souralová (2014), comparing with other minorities groups in Czech Republic, second-generation Vietnamese are more successful in Czech language and well integrated in the majority and achieving the best universities in the early adulthood. However, researches have shown that restrictive criteria have prevented minorities to fully participate in the country of residence and the restrictive criteria differs from countries to countries (Pachi and Barret, 2012). Therefore, it is important to see whether the restrictive criteria is presented in the case study.

The research design aimed to discover how the participants framed their behavior of political and civic participation, whether there are obstacles from the majorities that stop them from participating, or if they are participating, what are the possible factors that stimulate their motivation. Also, the research aimed at how to

interpret the result that shows the difference in the degree of participation in civic and political participation. Meanwhile, the research result can be fruitful since political participation is highly related to political equality. Unequal participation between the minority and the mainstream can lead to unequal influence and leads to the fact that not all the political interests are equally presented and thus harm social harmony (Bühlmann et al, 2011).

Studying political participation has the importance since if the result shows the unequal access to political participation, then it could have potential effects to public policy and can pose barriers to institutional changes (Franko, 2012). Political inactivity could be seen as social danger since political participation is the main pillar of democracy and the political inactivity could lead to the flawed mechanism and widened the gap between governors and citizens (Sirinic, 2015). The study serves as an exploratory study and it may raise questions and present information that can be fruitful for further studies.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The chapter organizes the literature related to Czech Vietnamese and academic researches on political participation in order to provide background information and establish framework for the study. In the section, the researcher tries to focu on general areas that include political participation of a peripheral group: defining political participation, the importance of minority identity and a better approach under the context of the study, and considerations about interviewees from the background of higher education. At the end of the section, this research proposes three sets of hypotheses that will be tested in the research. Although various topics are covered in the section; however, they are intertwined with each other and indicate the internal relations.

A collection of the literatures reveals that there are some existing issues that are worth working on. The first part attempts to identify why minorities should participate in politics in a general concept. Later on, the literature review moves on to the minority identity and its' possible influence to the motivation of being more or less engaged in political or civic activities. At the same time, the definition of the political participation is vital for the research since the result of the research also aim to support of disapprove the definition adapted by the research. To follow up, the section discusses the existing problem of researches on political participation and elaborates the objective of the methodology utilized in the research. Lastly, the literature review explains the reason why the second generation Vietnamese with the university degree are selected as the target group of the research.

2.1.1 Case selection: Vietnamese people in Czech Republic

The Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic serves as an interesting case study because of the unique history of Vietnamese migration in the Czech Republic . Geo-politics, the Vietnam War and national state regulations shape the Vietnamese migration to the CEE (Central and Eastern Europe) world (Williams, 2005 and Nožina, 2009). Vietnam and former Czechoslovakia built the diplomatic relation in 1950s and at that time Czechoslovakia provided temporary refuge or bilateral agreements during the Vietnam War. From 1950s to 60s, a small number of intellectuals migrated to Czechoslovakia with the "fraternal assistance" package provided by CEE countries. The migration wave continued based on the reciprocal agreements from 70s to 80s when economic and political cooperation increased markedly with the membership of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which were terminated after 1989 (Williams, 2005 and Nožina, 2009). Also, during the time period, Vietnamese migrants came to the country when there was shortage of labors. Until 90s the length of their stay were governed by inter-state agreements offering excellent students from socialist Vietnam to undergo university education in Czechoslovakia (Krebs & Pechova, 2008). From 2006, Vietnamese working under regular employment contract has increased significantly (Seeberg et al, 2016). Economic transformation, geopolitical factors and cultural reasons are the main attractions for the immigrants. After 1989 a number of Vietnamese took the chance to obtain business licenses as well as long term residence permits (Krebs & Pechova, 2008).

Vietnamese economy in Czech Republic is commonly stereotyped as petty traders who sell low-grade goods or work at open-air markets and it works as a

connecting element of the community and its operation in Czech Republic (Krebs &

Pechova, 2008, Nožina, 2009). According to Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003), the

attitude from the public towards Vietnamese was hesitant in the 80s, when the

Vietnamese vendors purchased the merchandise that were in short supply. At the

same time, their economic activities were not without illegal practices. According to

the figure that Nožina (2009) provides, there were 3695 criminal offenses were

registered between 1997-2006 with the illegal economic activities tied with illegal

production and trade or violation in intellectual property.

In sum, the bilateral agreements from the 50s shaped the migration of the

Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic and the acquirement of business license

forms the base of their economic style.

2.1.2 <u>Czech Vietnamese and their involvement in the society</u>

Before implementing the research methods, it is important for this study to have

a primary understanding of the involvement of Czech Vietnamese in the society.

Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) point out that for the first generation, language is the

biggest challenge. Although Czech knowledge is required to communicate with the

society, lots of first generations are not able to achieve it even during the communist

time, when the incoming Vietnamese were offered intensive Czech courses from the

government. They conclude that the occurring language problems show the weakness

of language management from the Czech government and it also shows the not

friendliness from the public due to the incapability to communicate with the large

community (around 20-30,000 people) who are contributive to the economic life.

As for the second generation of Vietnamese community, the research from

Černík (2004) shows that Vietnamese children are highly motivated in all level of

education under Czech education system. They are more engaged in socialization and

civic participation under Czech education system than the first generation. The problem that occurs in more recent time is that gap appears between first and second generation, when first generation could not speak Czech fluently while their children are losing the Vietnamese knowledge. On the other hand, the traditional "village mentality" and feeling of "transitoriness" has vanished in second generation (Nožina, 2009).

As for the political engagement, in recent years, Czech Vietnamese are gradually engaging in political arena in Czech Republic. In 2014 European Parliament election, ODS party nominated the first second generation Czech Vietnamese candidate, Nguyen Cong Hung, who at that time was 27 years old without political experiences[1]. As the first Czech Vietnamese politician, Nguyen Cong Hung hoped that he could awaken the political consciousness of Vietnamese people living in Czech Republic. In the end of the election, he got 700 votes and was ranked 22nd of the ODS list. The result shows that although Mr. Nguyen Cong Hung is the first Czech Vietnamese politician, his impact on awakening political participation of Czech Vietnamese is limited. In order to have a better understanding of the circumstances, the researcher firstly looked at the local council election in Prague in 2018 and found that among 10031 total candidates, only 2 of them are Vietnamese[2]. The above information demonstrates that the representation of Vietnamese minority has not yet Become salient in political arena.

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[1] See the article on ODS website: https://www.ods.cz/clanek/7273-deset-otazek and the article on Novinky.cz:
https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/334911-vietnamec-kandiduje-za-ods-do-bruselu-o-krouzky-si-rekne-i-krajanum.html

[2] The researcher went on the website Volby.cz and search for the candidates in local council election in 05th of October in 2018.

From the researches above we can summarize that the historical background shaped the first generation with specific economic life. Although the second generation is well integrated with Czech schooling system, the second generation Czech-Vietnamese children all grow up in "migrancy" family which leads to the conflicts of value from the family life and the social life.

According to the country report in Eurobarometer in 2017, a rising problem among the public's opinion in the EU is immigrants (before 2015, they perceived the main problems in the EU were the unemployment and debts from other member states).[3] The quantitative study shows that Czech society is a rather xenophobic society among EU member states. Whereas under such case, Vietnamese community is still perceived as a well-integrated minority and perceived a generally positive attitude from the public. The case of Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic could raise a question: As an economically well-integrated minority group in Czech Republic, the question of why the political participation is not salient became a worth studying topic. Vietnamese ethnic group is the largest non-EU ethnic group in Czech Republic. Since the first migration, it has passed on to second generations. With the foundation of time, the minority group serves as a good example to examine whether they are more politically integrated.

2.1.3 Importance and obstacles of minority participation in politics

Equal citizenship opens a space for minorities to play a role in politics (Crowley, 2001). Many studies have proven that political participation is rooted in social structure, and also the extent of participation in social environment has significant consequences for individual political participation (Mutz, 2002). However, many classical theories indicate that minorities could encounter more factors that could

[3] See Standardní Eurobarometr 88 Národní zpráva VEŘEJNÉ MÍNĚNÍ V ZEMÍCH EVROPSKÉ UNIEp.6

withdraw them from political engagement. For instance, Mutz (2002) finds out that people in politically heterogenous social environment retreat from political activities based on the unwillingness to put their social network at risk. This group of people, who react negatively when facing cross-pressure, limit their political participation. Nevertheless, the value of participation in politics does not necessarily offer the minority the share of power, but it is perceived as a proof of equal and cultural distinction of a polity that is included in a decision making process (Wheatley, 2002). Moreover, participation is seen as the protection remit for minorities and electoral system is the most direct route to achieve meaningful representation (Montgomery, 2012). Representation is also seen as a recognition of a positive right of the minority (ibid). The above literature has demonstrated the possible obstacles of minority participation and the importance of why minority should participate in politics. Therefore, the research concludes that participating in politics is an important channel to make the minority group being seen by the mainstream and regard it as an indicator to understand the ontology of the minority group.

2.1.4 Minority ethnic groups,identity and political participation

    The public sphere cannot be cultural homogeneous and public institutions and political systems must take minority identities and communication into concern to "encourage them to identify with and participate fully" (Montgomery, 2012). As Montgomery (2012) claims in her study, any theory of participation must consider the place and treatment of minority identities since collective identities are becoming politically relevant. For instance, the result of studying minority identities can reveal whether the political marginalization from the public sphere has appeared (ibid). Identity has been one of the most studied concepts in sociology (Willems et al, 2018). According to Willems et al, identity can be categorized as personal identity and social

identity. Personal identity means the self identification that relates to personal characteristic or principles. Social identity refers to the belonging to social groups. The research focuses on the social identity and its inter-relation with civic and political engagement.

Also, scholars claim that dual ethnicity reduces political engagement (Martinovic &Verkuyten, 2014). However, there are other scholars who suggest that minority identity could foster political engagement. Simon and Grabow (2010) found in their empirical research that PCI (politicalized collective identity) in their case presents a dual identity and dual identity was positively related to the political protest. The research therefore does take the participants' minority identity into accounts. The research expects the identity of minorities as the influential factor of their political participation and later on the research tries to discuss whether the minority has positive or negative impact on minority's political participation.

2.1.5 Define political participation and civic participation

It seems not too easy to draw a concrete distinction between political and non-political activities. Political participation can be shown in many aspects, mostly in conventional or unconventional forms. Conventional participation basically contains voting process such as voting, election and campaigning, whereas unconventional participation occurs outside the election process, such as signing petition and participating political demonstration (Pachi, Dimitra, and Barrett, 2012). Although political activities are hard to define, scholars agree that political participation links with the scope of democracy. According to Verba et al（1995）, political activities refer to activities that intend to effect or influence government action. The form of activities can be presented as either directly influence policy implementation or indirectly influence on public opinion.

Verba et al's definition is adapted by most of the scholars studying political participation. Developed from Verba's research, Theorell (2006) comes up three models of political participation arguing that political participation should be related to different democratic models which are: *participation as influencing attempt , participation as direct decision making and participation as political discussion.* However, both definitions are not able to differentiate different participating activities and overlook the other possible interrelations between civic and political participation which may not been seen as classical political participation but might cause significant impact for future political activities (Amna & Ekman, 2012). Thus, Ekman (2012) presents a new typology that views civic activities as a "latent" level of political participation. Ekman's article clearly differentiates civic engagement and political participation. In the article, it is stated that a lot of behaviors which are not directly linked to parliamentary activities and they should be regarded as "pre-political participation" such as social activities that are outside of political domain but may have political consequences. It is worth noting that based on the literature, the wide concept of "political participation" that covers "civic engagement" is arguably preferable in general (Ekman, 2016). The theoretical development in defining political participation is therefore crucial when analyzing country cases. However, through the development of the definition of the political participation, the typology becomes more concrete and diverse based on the foundation of the authors' point of view.

The research is not certain that whether for the case of Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic, the civic participation is the latent form of political participation; however, the research takes Ekman's opinion in the concern and states that there is the need to select the typologies that differentiate the political participation and civic

participation. Therefore, the research adopts the typology proposed by Barret and

Zani (2015) since in their research they adopts different typologies for civic and

political participation. According to Barret and Zani (2015), political participation is

"the engagement of an individual with political institutions, process and decision

making." As for civic participation, Barret and Zuni (2015)'s typology in civic

engagement defines civic engagement as the "engagement of an individual with the

interests, goals, concerns and common good of a community. Due to the definition

adopted in the research, "civic" therefore and "community" are inter changeable terms.

The research thus distinguishes political participation and civic participation by

whether the participation attempts to influence the political decisions.

2.1.6 Existing problem in current researches on youth political participation

Most studies on political participation adopt quantitative methods to testify the

percentage of people who vote or who don't vote. However, the qualitative method

could bring different value in the field of studying political participation. O'Toole et

al (2003) have pointed out several problems about existing mainstream literatures on

youth political participation and the authors also provide useful suggestions for future

researches on youth political participation. When discussing youth political issue, lots

of mainstream literatures have shown that youth political participation declined

comparing with adulthood age group and has become apathy. However, O'Toole et al

argue that mainstream literatures usually contain three main flaws:

1. *The problems of quantitative and qualitative approaches*

    Conventional researches tend to apply quantitative approach which the definition

    of political participation often mainly contains conventional participation, whereas

    informal activities such as technological and artistic participation are often

neglected. Whereas the drawback of qualitative approach mainly results from the lacking of participants. Thus, the result may lead to political indifference since the participants don't participate in sufficient conventional participation. However, previous researches have shown that youth political participation contains more informal participations comparing with adulthood participation. Thus, the recognition differences between researches and participants may lead to misclassified results.

2. *The lack of differentiation between adulthood and youth participation*

    Since the aspects of political participation are not the same between different age group. Youth political participation contains more informal participation and youths are more aware of issues on democracy and human rights, whereas adulthoods are more involved in conventional participations such as voting, and are more aware of policies such as economic and education policies. Thus, it is necessary to recognize the difference in participation between different age groups.

    Based on the listed problems, O'toole et al provide several advice for future researches on political participation.

1. *A broader definition of political participation is needed*

    Political participations can be shown in various aspects thus a broader definition of political participation is needed to identify unconventional participations.

2. *Qualitative approach*

    Since qualitative researches often could not detect unconventional political activities, a high level of respondents-led qualitative approach is thus needed.

3. *The implication of political nonparticipation*

    According to O'Toole et al, political nonparticipation can also imply institutional problem in the social context. An example provided by O'Toole et al for cell 2 is

the deliberate abstention in local or national elections.[4] Deliberate abstention in voting process is conventionally seen as non-political participation whereas the intention of individuals doing this could be political, such as the current parties are not satisfying. Therefore, this type of political nonparticipation worth more attention since it can be attributed to social problems that are usually ignored.

	Interpreted effect of behavior	
Intention of individual	Political	Non-political
Political	1	2
Non-political	3	4

(adopted from O'Toole et al)

4. *Semi structured interview has advantages over other approaches*

O'Toole et al in the end point out that semi structured interview with both focus groups and individuals would be a better approach comparing with traditional quantitative approach. Semi structured interviews can help researchers discover more unconventional forms of political activities and help participants elaborate more on their intention. Sometimes individuals do not participate does not always mean that they are apathy or they refuse to participate, sometimes they are just excluded from mainstream.

The research aims at identifying the potential elements that affect the political behavior of the minority group. Therefore, the research agrees with the conclusion from O'Toole et al that the nonparticipation needs to be further discussed and to see whether there is political intention behind the behavior.

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[4] O'Toole, Therese, Michael Lister, Dave Marsh, Su Jones, and Alex Mcdonagh. "Tuning out or Left Out? Participation and Non-participation among Young People." Contemporary Politics 9, no. 1 (2003): 11

2.1.7 The role of higher education in political participation

Socio economic status (SES) is a vital factor to affect individual's political participation. Many researches have indicated that individuals with higher education are more likely to participate in politics. Norris (2002) states that university students would serve as good participants for study since it is well established that education is one of the best predictors of participation, furnishing cognitive skills and civic awareness that allow citizens to make sense of the political world. Milbrath's (1965) book *Political Participation-How and Why Do People Get Involved In Politics?* states that more educated individuals are more aware of government impact and are more likely to engage in political activities; instead, those with less education background are more likely to fear of discussing politics with a wide range of people.

Based on the reasons listed above, individuals with higher education serve good samples in this study since people with higher education are already the ones with the best conditions to get involved in political activities comparing with people with other socio economic background. The cases in the research are not representative for the whole Czech Vietnamese population; nevertheless, they do serve as critical cases since they are in the so called "best situation" comparing with other social groups in the community. Surrounded by more resources, the participants are more likely to elaborate more on how they interpret their political behavior.

2.1.8 Current relative studies

As noticed by the researcher, several small-scale research of political participation among second generation of Vietnamese minority has been conducted and thus these researches should be consulted. There is one master thesis from Vitovská (2017), which discusses political participation of Vietnamese in Czech Republic. However, the research takes only 11 samples ranging from first generation,

second generation and young first generation. Therefore, it is arguable that the result is deep enough to identify the social cause for certain group. At the same time, the research fails to discuss the importance between identity awareness and the effects of the participation which is the main difference between the first and second generation. Another Bachelor level thesis done by Mai (2018) discusses the electoral participation among young Vietnamese students. Nevertheless, the study only focuses on electoral participation and fails to look at other forms of participation, which forms the lack of understanding of the civic and political engagement of the group.

This research begins to fulfill the gap of in depth study of the second generation Vietnamese group in Czech Republic. The study aims at testifying theories of political participation and identifying potential factors that foster or blockage the behaviors in their participation.

2.2 Research Questions

Based on the literatures, this research comes up with the following research questions:

1. How do Czech Vietnamese students engage politically (if they do)? What are the possible reasons that stop them from participating in politics?

2. Do the results show the cleavage between civic and political engagement? If so, how does their being Vietnamese foster that seeing the particular cleavage between civic and political engagement?

To answer the above listed questions, the research adopts a qualitative approach and applies semi-structured interviews. The research questions aim at discovering and identifying the social obstacles and also tries to answer whether their civic participation reflects their engagement in politics. If the result reveals that the general motivation of participating in politics is not positive then the research moves on to

discuss why not seeking participating in politics as a way to contribute to the community.

2.3 Theories and Hypotheses

The dominant theory that the whole study attempts to discuss is the definition of political participation. One of the purposes of the research is to develop the form of political participation through the case study. Therefore, the study further develops relevant hypotheses according to elements of political participation to help better picture of the scene.

While studying the literatures of political participation of minority groups, the other two elements which are civic participation and minority identity are often raised as affected elements of political participation. However, after studying those literature and case studies, the researcher found out that due to the variety of typologies and the essential difference of the cases, sometimes the literature conflicts with each other. Therefore, the study tries to tie the three elements and discuss their inter-relations and build a model of hypotheses for the case study.
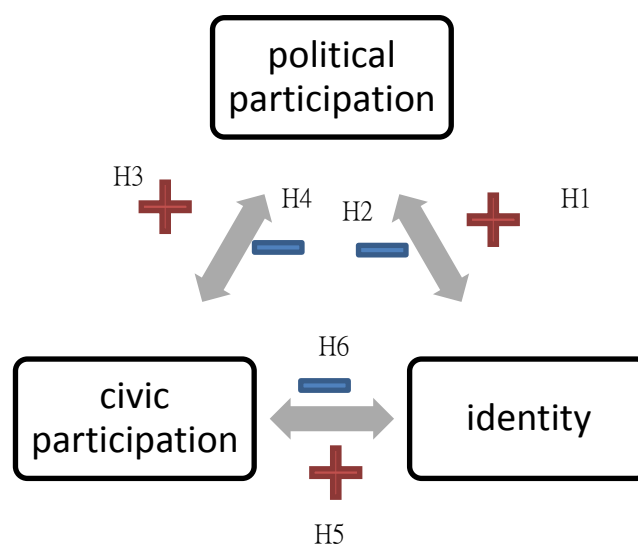

Figure 1. Model of hypothesis

The developed hypotheses in the end explain the way and the relations of political participation of the minority group. Therefore, the model of hypotheses is able to help discuss the theory of the definition of political participation in the end of the thesis.

The research includes 6 hypotheses in 3 pairs, which are about the interrelations between political participation, civic participation and identity.

H1 and H2: identity and political participation

The overarching theory that connects identity and the intergroup behavior applied in the research is the social identity theory originally from Tajfel and Turner's theory in 1985 which introduces the identity as a way to explain intergroup behavior. Social identity theory suggests that the community can change the individual's behavior when it is able to modify one's self-identity that derives from the attachment of the group. Tajfel proposes that individuals strive to maintain positive self-esteem and their social categories link with "positive or negative value connotations" (Tajful and Turner, 1985). Therefore, according to the theory, stronger social identities lead to active behaviors that help build positive value connotations for the community.

Similarly, Fennema & Tillie (2001) also assume that the social capital of the ethnic group affects the political participation since members of the ethnic minority groups are more able to access to the political arena through the ethnic networks "because social trust increases the self-confidence and political efficacy of the individual members of the civic community." Ethnic identity serves as an important role in the community since social trust within the community group are 'produced' by collective memories, that are sometimes deliberately created to forge a cohesive community. Therefore, Fennema & Tillie (2001) assume that social trust can spill

over to political trust and is able to motivate minority groups to engage more in politics.

Minority empowerment theory also suggests that the minority representation has positive effects on minority citizens (Banucci et al, 2004). Banucci et al propose that the visible political leadership from the minority community increases the social trust in political institutions and minority pride; therefore, minorities will be more motivated to participate in elections. Nevertheless, according to the classical theory in political engagement, "spiral silence" from Noelle Neumann (1974) suggests that people who regard themselves as minorities are less willing to engage in political action and express the point of view from minorities. Individual who fears the isolation from the major group remain silence instead of voicing opinions in political engagement. At the same time, media serves to deliver dominant ideas and the perception of dominant ideas. The spiral stops when the minority is completely silent and the dominant idea becomes a social norm.

The above literatures provide examples of how minority identity can positively or negatively influence individual's political engagement. Therefore, the study assumes that the minority identity should be the main reason that motivates participants to engage in political activities to search for improvement for the circumstance of the minority community, or that the minority identity makes the participants unwilling to be visible in political arena because of the spiral of silence effect. Thus, derived from the theories and literature listed above, the first hypothesis of the study is:

(H1) Identity is an influential factor in political participation. The more Vietnamese the participant feels in caparison with their Czech identity regarding their self-identification, the more politically engaged he or she becomes.

Nevertheless, some case studies reveal that it is arguable that whether minority identity leads to a positive or negative impact to political participation. For instance, Nandi and Platt (2018) found that although their literate review also discovers relevant research pointing out the dual ethnic- national identity reduces the political behavior. However, in Nandi and Platt's empirical research in political participation of ethnic minorities in the UK, they find out that they cannot make the causal claims for minority's identity with their participation. Also, Wong et al (2005)'s research on Asian American's political participation in the United States also points out that people with stronger sense of ethnic or pan-ethnic identity do not engage in politics at a higher rate than those with weaker ones.

Thus, the above literature shows the contrast with the first hypothesis that the minority identity has influence on political participation. Therefore, the research sets the second hypothesis that is the counter hypothesis of H1 in order to provide detailed discussion of which hypothesis fits in this case study:

(H2) The minority identity does not show an as an influential factor with participants' political participation.

H3 and H4: Community as a predictor of political engagement

As literatures show, membership in a minority community can be served as a predictor of political engagement among minorities. According to the research conducted by Wong et al (2005), the community experience can be a positive factor to get involved in political engagement. People with a strong sense of shared ethnicity with the community, for example, being a member in Asian-American organization, are more likely to participate in informal political activities that are beyond voting process (Wong et al, 2005). The group-based resources do not reflect through formal political channels such as voting and citizenship. Instead, the group-based resources

reflect in political behaviors that go beyond formal politics, which also reflects the study from Pachi and Barret (2012). Pachi and Barrett (2012) also indicate that political participation among minority groups may not be lower than the majority, but the form of political participation can be different from mainstream since they tend to focus more on specific issues that are more relevant to their community. Meanwhile, Barrett et al and Dalton (2008) in their studies claim that people who are politically active are more likely to feel the civic duty. Also, according to Caro & Schultz (2012), the intergroup discussion theory assumes that positive discussions through political and civic issues contribute to the appreciation through difference and justice actions.

The above literatures demonstrate a positive co-relation can be linked between civic participation and political participation. Therefore, the third hypothesis assumes that there's positive correlation between civic activities and political activities :

(H3) The people who are civically active have more wiliness to participate in political activities.

On the other hand, ethnic community can also become an obstacle of political integration. Uslaner and Conley's (2003) research found out that in their case study, ethnic communities can form a restriction to political participation. Those who particularly trust their ethnic association are less likely to engage in political participation. Here Uslaner and Conley point out that the matter is not only about participation or nonparticipation, the issue is also linked with social ties[5].

However, lots of literature contribute to the counter hypothesis of the relation between civic participation and political participation. Longo & Meyer (2006) proposed that there has been a "scissor effects" when declining in political participation coincide with the surge of civic participation. At the same time, college

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[5] Uslaner, Eric, and Conley, Richard S. "Civic Engagement and Particularized Trust: The Ties That Bind People to Their Ethnic Communities.(Author Abstract)." American Politics Research 31, no. 4 (2003): 355.

students see participating in community services is an effective alternative to politics and believe that the engagement with political process is unimportant. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis suggests that the more the participants are inclined to the community, the less they are into traditional political affairs. What Longo observes contradicts to H3 and presents that civic participation can form a substitution of political participation. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis needs to be testified is:

 (H4) The more the individual is involved in the civic engagement, the more likely the individual tends to withdraw from the traditional form of political activities.

H5 and H6: The relationship between civic participation and minority identity

Many literatures have highlighted the importance of the relations between civic participation and identity. Lannegrand-Willems (2018) states that civic engagement can be viewed as a domain of identity formation. "Identity can be seen as a 'developmental asset' that contributes to influence of civic engagement" (Lannegrand-Willems et al, 2018). According to Willems et al, the absence of the sense of belonging can lead to avoidance of participating in community service. Also, Crocetti et al (2012) schematize a theoretical model on how the formation of minority identity in the end effects the outcome of civic engagement. They hypothesize that social responsibility serves as the mediation between minority identity and civic engagement. In their study result, they found that identity achievement presents positive correlation with pro social behaviors.

Thus, the research adopts the literature with the following hypothesis.
(H5) The minority identity presents a positive influence on individuals' civic participation.

However, even though Lannegrand-Willems et al provided lots of literatures supporting the importance of social identity in contribution of civic engagement, in

their research on studying civic engagement of youth adolescence in France, the study does not prove the necessity of the ethnic identity tie with the civic engagement. In fact, their result stresses that the diversity of active civic engagement does not correspond to specific personal or social identity profiles. Instead, the emergence of passivity and the trend of rejecting to social identity has been detected in their research. Therefore, the sixth hypothesis used in the research assumes that for civic participation, the minority identity does not play an influential rule.

(H6) Minority identity does not show as an influential factor with civic participation.

With the 6 hypotheses provided in the research, the study is able to discover more detailed picture to explain the political participation of the Vietnamese minority group in Czech Republic.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of the study is to develop a better understanding of Czech Vietnamese university students' attitude of political and civic engagement and their connection with minority identity. In order to sufficiently address the research questions presented in this study, a qualitative method is applied. According to Seidman (2006), the aim of conducting interviews is to understand the lived experience of other people and look at the meaning they make of that experience. In order to gather information on attitudes toward civic and political engagement, a

qualitative research approach that utilized in-depth semi-structured interviews are used as the primary method to test out the theories discussed in the research.

3.1-1 Research design

The research took 15 samples from university students in Prague with Vietnamese ethnicity, since Prague has the highest intensity of Vietnamese community and it was also selected based on the convenience. Semi-structured interviews were applied to the research. Although the list of the questions were provided by the researcher, the advantage of the semi-structured interviews is that the respondents still have leeway to reply in ways that lead to unexpected insights (Bryman, 2012). At the same time, the triangulation method was applied to check out the social phenomena raised by the participants to see whether they misunderstood what they have seen.

The questionnaire used in interviews was conducted with a list of 10 questions including questions about civic and political engagement and attitude among Czech politics. At the same time, questions about civic identity in order to identify the interviewees' role of ethnicity were asked during the interviews. The designed questions were rather "open" since the research objectives focus more on observing "how" participants react to the questions and "how" they sense political and social issues around their daily lives. The designed questions for the questionnaire are listed in chapter 4.

3.1-2 Sampling

The samples were selected through snowball sampling and with a bottom-up approach. Thus, the first samples were recommended by the community leaders or administrators from relevant institutions. The advantage of snowball sampling is that the first samples come from reliable sources and by snowball sampling, in the end

when the snowball rolls, the researcher will be able to achieve those information-rich cases (Patton, 1990). Also, some samples were selected based on the referrals of previous participants. However, to conduct a more systematic selection method, a part of the interviewees came from social science background and the other part were selected from other academic subjects. The purpose is that students with political science background are supposed to be more active than students with other backgrounds and therefore, the research is not going to generate the common ground from students with variable academic backgrounds.

Note that the ideal samples for the research were not confined only to those individuals who are involved in political activities. The research design aimed to find out how the participants framed and stated the situations, whether there are obstacles from the majorities that stop them from participating, or if they are participating, what are the possible factors that stimulate their motivation.

3.1-3 Criteria of the samples

The selected samples fulfilled the following criteria before taking the interviews.

1. Participants are identified as "Czech-Vietnamese", which means they are legally holding Czech identification.

    Ensuring participants have the right to vote is essential voting is the most basic conventional political activity in spectator activities.

2. Participants should be second generation from Vietnamese communities.

    Being identified as the second generation of Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic is an important factor based on the purpose of the research that the second generation should be the group that is more integrated comparing the first generation living in Czech Republic.

3. Participants should have resided in Prague for over a year.

To ensure that the participants are in stable conditions, the residence period is stated as the criteria to ensure that participants are in a stable living environment.

4. Participants should acquire experience of participating civic or political activities or academic background of political science.

The above listed criteria filters the participants who have more understanding of the situation of the minority group.

3.1-4 Analytical process and operationalization of the hypotheses

To operationalize the hypothesis, the interpretation of the interview results become crucial. Since the research aims to discuss the form of political participation of the minority group, the way the respondents reply to the questions needs to be paid attention to. For instance, if the participants are not able to recall specific policies that are not beneficial to the minority group, it may imply the lack of relevant policies or the lacking of visibility of minority policies. If the respondents do not acquire experience of participating in civic activities provided by universities, it means that the current national higher education environment does not stimulate students' motivation in participating in civic activities outside from school curriculum.

The collected data of reasons to participate in political activities and the reasons that stop the individuals from being engaged with political participation were disaggregated into several factors, depending on the data. The research also applied the triangulation method to verify the information or phenomenon provided by the participants by cross-comparing the results with literature. These will be further discussed in chapter 4.

3.2 Potential limitation of the research design

Language barrier was the presented threshold in the study. The researcher could neither speak Czech nor Vietnamese and therefore, the research and interviews were conducted in English. The respondents were also required to have the minimum capability of English to understand the interview questions and be able to express their own opinion. Throughout the interviews, a few participants took more time to come up with answers that fully express their opinion.

While collecting literatures, the researcher did find that there are more relevant studies in Czech language. Although there were also available English documents and studies, the accessibility of local Vietnamese study in Czech Republic was reduced. Also, the factor led to the other restriction which was insufficiency of sources of Czech Vietnamese. A large part of existing polls or other primary sources for Czech Vietnamese are conducted in Czech language. Therefore, the available sources for the research were limited.

Based on the essence of the qualitative approach of the research, the result of the research should not be generalized and applied to the whole Vietnamese second generation group in Czech Republic. The research acknowledges the drawback of not being able to generalize the research result; however, the study here argues that the results of the research acquire transferability that may contribute to other social context. The research aims at identifying the possible reasons blocking the minority's will of participating in political arena and at the same time it provides the credibility since the research describes the idiosyncrasy of the specific group.

Chapter 4: Results

      The chapter is divided in several sections. In the chapter, the researcher firstly provides the brief summary of the data collection as well as the explanation of how the questions asked in the interviews are tied with the research questions in this study. Secondly, this research presents the preliminary finding and the social obstacles that were most commonly raised by interviewees. After providing a general picture of the interviewees, the chapter moves on to analyse the interviews in order to answer the

research questions and testify the theoretical model. Lastly, the chapter raises concern of theoretical considerations that were discovered during the research.

As the start of the interview, through the process of self-identification, 3 out of 15 participants feel that they are 50% Vietnamese and 50% Czech. 5 out of 15 think that they are more Czech than Vietnamese, but they also think that their Vietnamese part also forms a part of their identity. 6 out of 15 think that they are Vietnamese but at the same time they are more westernized than the Vietnamese in Vietnam. Interestingly, the term "banana generation" (Interviewee no.1, 5, 8, 10, 13) is often raised in the interviews, which seems to be the representative term for the second generation of Vietnamese in Czech Republic.

4.1 Data Collection

4.1-1The overview and the questions that were asked

	Age sex	Self-identification	Study Background	Civically active	Politically active	Grow up with Vietnamese community
1	29 m	50% Czech, 50% Vietnamese	International Relations	Has experience in community service	active in political party affairs	Yes
2	23 f	90% Czech, 10% Vietnamese	International Relations	Has experience in community service	Not active	Yes
3	22 f	70%Vietnamese, 30% Czech	International Relations	Has experience in community service	Not active	Yes
4	24 m	50%Vietnamese, 50% Czech	Medicine	A member of NGO and actively leads projects	Not active	Yes
5	24 f	70%Vietnamese, 30% Czech	Medicine	A member of NGO and actively leads projects	actively show concern about political issues	Yes
6	27 m	50%Vietnamese, 50%Czech	Applied science of technology	Has experience in community service	Not active	No
7	22 f	40%Czech 60%Vietnamese	HR study	Not active	Not active	No

8	20 f	30%Vietnamese, 70%Czech	English literature study	Not active	Not active	No
9	25 m	90% Czech 10% Vietnamese	Journalism	Has experience in community service	actively show concern about political issues	No
10	24 m	60%Czech 40% Vietnamese	Medicine	Has experience in community service+ a member of NGO	Mainly vote in elections	No
11	21 f	70%Vietnamese 30% Czech	Economics	Not active	Not active	Yes
12	21 f	70% Czech 30% Vietnamese banana generation	Social Policy	Not active	Mainly vote in elections	No
13	22 m	40% Czech 60%Vietnamese	Economics	Not active	Not active	No
14	27 f	Vietnamese	Journalism	Has experience in community service	actively show concern about political issues	No
15	23m	70% Czech 30% Vietnamese	Economics	Not active	Not active	No

Figure 2: The overview of the participants

The above figure is listed by the chronological order of the interviews. 6 female and 8 male participants were involved in the research, with the age ranging from 20-29 years old. One might question that the ones with older ages will naturally acquire more political experiences. However, as for the one who is more politically active than the others, his most politically active period was the time when the participant was among 20 years old. Therefore, the age difference is not considered as a possible variable in the research.

The academic background of the interviewees mainly fall in international relations, economics, medical studies and journalism. The summary of the result does not present neither positive nor negative co-relation with participants' motivation of participation. For instance, students from international relations background show completely different results in the interviews. Coincidentally, the three of the interviewees with economics academic background showed their civic and political

non participation during the interviews. Among the participants, 4 out of 15 participants are both politically and civically active, 9 out of 15 are civically active, and 6 out of 15 are politically active.

As an overview, an apparent discovery is the diversity of self-identification. Among all the participants, 3 out of 15 participants think that they are half Czech and half Vietnamese. Six out of 15 consider themselves as Czechs than Vietnamese and 6 out of 15 consider themselves as Vietnamese than Czech.

To understand a more detailed pictures of participants' form of participation, the following questions were asked during the interviews:

Q1: Self- identification: How do you identify yourself ? Do you consider yourself as a Czech, Vietnamese, Czech-Vietnamese or others?

100% Czech. | 100%Vietnamese

Q2: What kind of political activities and civic activities do you participate?

Q3: Why do you participate in such activities? Why are you not interested in those activities?

Q4. How does your Vietnamese identity affect your decision to participate in civic/political activities?

Q5. What do you think about the situation of Vietnamese participating in politics? In your personal opinion, are they active in participating in political activities?

Q6. Is Vietnamese/ minority policy a vital concern for you while voting for candidates?

Q7. Are you involved in school club activities that include civic or political activities?

Q8. Do you think that your university education motivates you to engage more in political activities? If so, by how?

Q9. Do you feel the sense of unity with other Czech Vietnamese groups? Do you spend more time with people with Vietnamese background than with others?

Q10. In your opinion, what are the issues that Vietnamese communities in Czech Republic are facing nowadays?

The designed questions enable the study to complete the picture of participants' mode of participation and further answer the hypotheses. Q1 in the questionnaire asks the participants to identify themselves which helps pre-identify whether there is relationship between minority identity and their behavioral performance. Q2 and Q3 identify the participants' forms of participation and whether there are social reasons behind, which answer the first research question (How do Czech Vietnamese students engage politically? What are the possible reasons that stop them from participating in politics?) and give an overview of participants' behavior. Q4, Q5, Q6, Q9 and Q10 gauge the participants' understanding of Vietnamese community and whether their identity affects their behavior. Q6 attempts to understand the inter relations between identity and civic or political participation. Q7 and Q8 give the additional information on whether high school education provide extra resources to motivate participants' motivation to be more engaged in political or civic activities. In the end, Q10 allows the researcher to understand whether the critical problem of the community raised by the participants' become their motivation or blocking reason to participate.

4.1-2 Summary of the interviews

Based on the interview questions and the study results, we can divide the analytical section into political participation, civic participation, attitudes and understanding to the Vietnamese community, and the relationship with identity. Although various topics were addressed through the interview questions, they are interrelated with the objectives of participants' attitude to national politics and civic participation.

According to the result, the participants generally showed more knowledge in community engagement than national policies and politics, which reveals that for the participants, they have less interests in political participation. As for the influence of higher education, the participants with political science related backgrounds agree that the university education help them more involved with political topics and participation based on the academic knowledge provided by the courses and stimulations from the inter group discussions. However, not a lot of outside curriculum opportunities are provided by their experience of higher education. At the same time, the result addressed that the resources should have been provided by universities such as school clubs or other seminars did not help stimulate the participants' motivation of political or civic participation.

Various social issues were mentioned during the interviews, including social and political obstacles of their parents, identity awareness, electronic registration of sales (**EET**) policy that affects the economic situation of the Vietnamese community in Czech Republic, mentality and history background of the Vietnamese community, and the challenges for the second generation of Vietnamese. These demonstrated issues are inter-related with the potential reasons that affect their decision of political and civic participation.

4.1-3 **Preliminary Findings**

Before going through the analysis of hypotheses, it is worth noting that various social obstacles issues addressed by the interviewees that were not anticipated from the questionnaire. Therefore, the study would like to go through the social obstacles that were commonly raised by the interviewees to see whether they could be potential reasons that affect the behavior of political and civic participation of the minority group.

1. Citizenship and language barrier of the first generation

Every participant mentioned the issue of first generation not being able to vote and not being able to obtain citizenship. 4 out of 15 participants have the parents who are not able to vote because of the issue.

Therefore, a lot of participants believe that the reason why political parties are ignoring minority policies is that tackling the Vietnamese group is not really beneficiary for political purpose, since they will not be able to get more votes due to the citizenship barrier for the first generations.

I think the reason of why there are no policy about Vietnamese group is that, first of all, it is not politically beneficial. Secondly, Czech people here usually think that Vietnamese people here are behaving well, in their own shops. This could lead to a problem. The Vietnamese groups here often think that the policies are not related to them, so they don't want to bother.[6]

Also, several participants address that the gap of not integration in the first generation is adding pressure on the second generation especially when the first generations reach the age of retirement. The concern is also pointed out by the ethnologist Stanislav Brouček who has been studying the Vietnamese community in Czech Republic for more than 20 years. In his research, he found out that the first generation of Vietnamese becomes a more and more closed community, due to the feeling of aliens and the fact that the group is economically self-sufficient in Czech Republic[7].

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[6] Interview no.12

[7] The sayings can be found in Brouček's interview with denik.cz in 2017. Available at: https://www.denik.cz/z_domova/prvni-generace-vietnamcu-se-nam-uzavira-mladi-na-tom-budou-jinak-20170204.html?fbclid=IwAR2WgCqm6z9wpIK2fSEjPBfNHZPv_UD39HHbMvTMMRKQbbvSbj4tbSV7kT8

" For me, the aging population of the first generation is a worrying group. A lot of them are not able to speak Czech and after their retirement, we, the second generation will have to take the responsibility to take care of them.[8] "

2. EET policy

Another widely brought up topic is the EET policy. Many interviewees mentioned the issues and protests against the EET tax system, which is implemented for small sales vendors to register the goods. From the interviews, the participants stressed that the Vietnamese community is the most affected group due to the form of their economic activities. According to many participants, the EET system is mainly criticized due to the fast implementation without proper explanation and the requirement of the huge invest in the equipment from the vendors. At the same time, many participants indicated that many vendors chose to close their business and turned to do low qualified jobs due to the law.

Despite the many advantages that EET can bring to the financial institution in the Czech Republic, I believe business can be made by deals between 2 sides as long as they pay taxes and fulfill their obligations as businessmen by the law. Any business can be big or small depending on how large their financial resources are available to invest, and EET is a complicated system where all kinds of business have to invest a large sum money in order to fulfill the law requirements (internet, new cash registers that can send data via the internet, so on and so forth). Secondly, young businessmen can adapt quickly to the change while EET can be a huge barrier and even burden for a large proportion of older business people who have not been accustomed to using any electronic devices. Consequentially, some decided to close their business due to this law. And it is also a large waste of paper when you always have to give the customers their receipts even though they don't need them. They should give it only to those who

really need them (and will say in advance that they need them to be printed) to be printed.[9]

At the same time, some participants showed strong dissatisfaction through the government due to the concern of the EET policy and think that the Vietnamese group is the only group that is against the policy and that they don't receive much support from the society.

A lot of Vietnamese people are protesting against EET. However, I don't see supports from the major society. The EET policy was implemented very quickly and has affected Vietnamese economics here since the small shops had to spend a lot of money to invest on the system and the government did not provide any assistance. I know that a lot of shops are forced to close because of the policy.[10]

Based on the sayings provided by the participants, the research also looked at the EET policy and the official website that explains the policy to the public in order to capture a more detailed information of the policy and the potential concerns.

The EET system (the registration of sales) so far is implemented in the second phase from 2017, which involves retail trade and wholesale. However, according to the regulation, the involved entrepreneurs must acquire relevant devices such as cash register, POS (point of sale) system, personal computer, tablet, or mobile phone, and a printer[11]. The required devices seem to pose a higher threshold for vendors and it was mentioned by many participants. However, according to the information provided by the ministry, any device that is able to send the information to the Financial Management System is sufficient, for example, a smartphone with a printer is

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[9] Interview no.5
[10] Interview no.3
[11] See the official website from the ministry of finance. https://www.etrzby.cz/cs/english-version-609

sufficient for the smallest entrepreneurs. Moreover, the Ministry of Finance allows the use of a one-off tax credit to compensate for the costs associated with the purchase of a cash register, up to a maximum of a positive difference between 15% of the stand-alone tax base and the basic taxpayer discount and this can lead to maximum of 5,000 CZK of compensation for the equipment purchase[12].

In sum, since the 3rd and 4th phase (which should include other professions) of EET policy has been postponed, the most affected group is still the retail and wholesale vendors which is the main economic performance of the Vietnamese group. Based on the conflicting information from the participants and the official information, the detailed information of the EET policy probably is not correctly distributed and explained to the most affected groups especially when the language barrier exists for a big portion of shop owners who belong to the first generation.

3.Identity awareness

Identity awareness is also addressed as a challenge by several participants. Many participants showed their concern over their identity awareness as the biggest challenge which is the biggest challenge that the second generations are facing during the interviews. According to the participants, the education that they received does not make them feel that their minority identity and culture is important. At the same time, a lot of them are worried that the Vietnamese community is losing their uniqueness and they will not be able to pass on the heritage to the next generation. However, at the same time, they agree that the second generation is a good sample of successful integration.

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[12] This is explained in the "myths and facts" section of the official website of EET policy.
https://www.etrzby.cz/cs/myty-a-fakta

I think that we are actually a good example of successful assimilation. The second (and third) generation Vietnamese are mostly considered Czech citizens. We study, expand into more diverse working fields, slowly destroying the stereotype. However, I think there might be a wedge between these people and those concentrated in locations highly populated with the Vietnamese. There's a huge internal conflict of staying true to your heritage, not losing one's roots, and become a part of society that's different from your own. There is a mentality of maintaining a Vietnamese lifestyle while using the western world only for its material goods but not adapting any of its philosophies or morals. There are still few (if any) public figures of Vietnamese descend for people to look up to, to follow, to support. To represent the community, the people as a whole.[13]

Therefore, from the responses, we might assume that the feeling of the minority identity of the group of second generation may not be as strong as the first generation since a lot of them are much less attached to the Vietnamese culture.

4   Social indifference

Social indifference was widely raised by the participants. Many of the interviews mentioned the stereotypical impression from the major society and consider it as the obstacle that they need to face. For instance, one participant with medical background complained that his neighbors remember him as a kid of the Vietnamese shop owner. However, when they met him at the hospital, they were not able to recognize him. The participant therefore, include the story in the short film with the NGO "Viet Up" in order to promote the idea of breaking the stereotypical thoughts.

I doubt whether "full integration" exists only in Prague. When I was in my hometown, some elders even asked me how come I can speak Czech fluently, and I feel that people in general regard us as kids from the Vietnamese shops but

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[13] Interview no.10

they do not link us with other jobs.[...] Nowadays, with the rising rate of Vietnamese drug smuggling, I'm afraid that it will increase the negative impression from the majority.[14]

What the participants indicated was also mentioned in the book from Brouček (2016). In his research, he found out that the Czech society usually have two major kinds of impression to Vietnamese minority, either people who are quiet and generally well behaved in the society, or people who are involved in drug smuggling.

Other types of social indifference such as ignorance and the feeling of being excluded were also mentioned by the participants. One of the participants had the experience of discrimination because of the Vietnamese identity.

Although the second generation is fully integrated, I still sometimes encounter cases of discrimination. For example, when my brother was finding an apartment in Prague, he got rejected by a landlord through email at first, but when he changed to a Czech name and asked again, the landlord agreed to consider him.[15]

Moreover, two participants who are political journalists with around 5 years of experience mentioned that during their career they seldom had experience to write about Vietnamese community, even when they had the chance, the news were rather negative or could cause social tension. However, the participants were not able to explain why they think the phenomenon happens.

I have been working as a journalist for political news for 5 years, but so far, I only had a few negative news about Vietnamese communities. Apart from those news about EET protest 2 years ago, others are rather… weird I would say…either news about smuggling or the controversial accidents that show the tense between Czechs and Vietnamese.[16]

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[14] Interview no.4
[15] Interview no.3
[16] Interview no.9

From the above examples, it can be observed that although the group of second generation is seen as a rather successful case of full integration, they still encounter negative experiences that is related to their minority identity.

To sum up, the above mentioned social obstacles might have possible impacts that shape the participants' behavior in political participation and civic participation.

The other noticeable information from the interviews is that many participants reveal contrast attitude towards civic participation and political participation. According to the results, a lot of the interviewees, even those with political science background, have negative opinion in politics, but at the same time they are very active in civic activities. Some participants were not able to describe why they have negative attitude towards politics.

"I don't know… but for me… I always regard politics as something negative and it will affect you in a negative way once you are too involved in it."[17]

While some people clearly express their dissatisfaction towards the political environment. For example, the participant with the international relations background indicates that she thinks her participation is not able to change the outcome of the election and therefore, she was not participating in any political activities, but meanwhile, she participates in many civic activities in order to change the stereotypical thoughts of Vietnamese minority from the main stream.

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[17] Interview no.2

The political environment is so bad nowadays and those political figures are disappointing [...] For example, I already know who will be elected, so why would I go to vote [...] Yeah, I was giving Vietnamese cultural classes in high schools since I wanted to bring the two cultures together. I experienced being bullied when I was in high school so I was doing this in my sister's school so that she doesn't experience the same.[18]

The example above was not the only case discovered in the research process. The research will add more analysis in the later sections of the hypotheses. The above mentioned discrepancy detected from the interviews leads to the discussion of the inter-relations of political engagement, civic engagement and identification in later paragraphs.

4.1-4 Discussions and theoretical analysis:

How and why do they participate?

It is very important to distinguish the group between first and second generations Vietnamese. Many participants indicate that people from first generation are still far from integration due to the language barriers and cultural values. According to the participants, a lot of first generations do not have the right to vote due to the incapability of passing the language assessment to gain the citizenship, and this also shapes the image for the second generations that the first generations are not active or rarely involved in political affairs.

As for forms of participation, not a large proportion of the participants are deeply involved in conventional political activities except for voting. Even though 6 out of 15 were politically active, only 1 person of the participants was a member of political party and was a candidate in the municipal election. As for the rest of them, many of

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[18] Interview no.3

them actively sign petitions and show their interest in national politics, and they perceive voting as the obligation of being a citizen, and the participants.

As for types of civic participation, most of the participants demonstrated a greater comfort level when describing civic activities and this may attributed to the result that many participants have more experience in different forms of civic activities than political activities. Many participants focus on volunteering activities especially the activities helping the first generations, such as translating documents or helping out bureaucratic affairs. These activities are based on the fact that for the first generation, language is still a barrier for them to be integrated in the society and the lacking of social assistance to help integration. The other kind of civic participation is linked with the integration of second-generation Vietnamese. Several participants joined the NGO "Viet Up" which helps engage second generations and also plans some workshops to break the stereotypical thoughts from the society and help second generations integrate in the main society.

> *I am one of the members of Viet Up. Each year, Viet Up holds a festival called banana festival to make the main society understand more about us.* I like that Viet Up plans a lot of group activities and group projects that influence the public *[…] Also, I am the leader of Med Viet which is an organization providing medical help for Vietnamese community and also medical resource support to Vietnam.*[19]

The other common type of civic participation is about knowledge sharing. For example, giving cultural or outside curriculum lessons to high school students. A lot of participants also regularly give Czech lessons to first generations in the Vietnamese community.

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[19] Interview no.4

"I was teaching Czech language to old Vietnamese people and I also hold some lectures in high schools about combating fake news and media." [20]

The above mentioned activities provide the research a general picture of what kind of political and civic activities are second generations of Vietnamese community are more involved in, and the motivation behind are highly connected to the social obstacles listed by the participants such as language barrier, identity awareness and social indifference.

The research target at participants with higher education background and assumes that they acquire higher social capital. The literature review also points out how the higher education can affect political and civic participation of youth generations, and thus, the research aims to understand whether university education plays an important role in motivating participants to be more engaged in political and civic activities. According to the results, most of the participants do not have experiences participating in school clubs provided by the universities. However, 2 out of 15 students have the experience in MUN (Model United Nations) which they think is helpful to broaden their knowledge and interest in politics.

"The experience in Model United Nations helped me acquire skills to debate with fellows about various political topics."[21]

Most of the participants agree that the environment of the university education helps engage in more in-depth conversations about political issues with their fellows. However, the universities usually do not provide chances to encourage civic or

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[20] Interview no.9
[21] Interview no.2

political activities. The only stimulations from the higher education is mainly from the participants' major subjects.

> *Of course, studying journalism makes you apolitical and makes you more sensitive about the fast changing political environment. In that studying environment, I became very aware of social changes and events. I think fulfilling civic duty is important.[...] When all of my classmates are quite involved in political discussions, I think that I am also naturally affected by the environment.[22]*

To sum up, based on the information provided by the participants, the academic background in general the participants to engage more intergroup conversations with fellow classmates. Nevertheless, based on the essence of the higher education environment in Czech Republic, students often do not have many options of outside curriculum activities that might motivate them to participate civically provided by the universities and thus the lacking of participation in school clubs therefore does not foster the participation for volunteering activities or political activities.

After understanding a general picture of forms of political and civic participation of the participants, it is important to move further to discuss the inter relations that might affect the participations political participation and look at a more detailed picture.

<u>H1 and H2: Czech identity as a push forward and Vietnamese as a backwards in political participation?</u>

Throughout the study, the research finds out that although for some cases, minority identity could be an important factor, but it is not an independent variable in

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[22] Interview no.9

participating in political activities. Moreover, according to the research, only 2 people agree that it is their minority identity that has positive influence on their political behavior, and that also shows that the H1 (Identity is the dominant factor in political participation. The more Vietnamese the participant is, the more politically engaged he or she becomes) does not explain the case study. According to the results, the reasons for participating in politics can be attributed to the motivation to help the community and the wiliness to break the stereotypical thoughts from the majority group. The most representative respondent is the participant who shows the highest degree of participation in politics. The respondent chose to participate in the ODS party in search of higher representation of the Vietnamese community and tried to change the conservative political environment in the political party, which fits the social identity theory by Tajfel.

> *I joined the ODS party because I agree with their core value and principles. At the same time, I knew that there are a lot of conservative politicians in the party. I want to prove that Vietnamese can also join political parties. I wanted to help those first generations. The existing bureaucratic system has caused so much inconvenience for them and I wanted to promote more minority policies for them. I was one of the candidates in the municipal election in 2011 in Olomouc but I was not elected in the end.[23]*

The other respondent with the political science background actively participates in electoral activities with the same reason.

> *I was in the committee of the presidential election because I want to prove that Vietnamese not only can sit in the little shops, they can also participate in political affair normally. However, being involved in national political affair is not planned in my career. For me, politics gives me very negative impression. I*

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[23] Interview no.1

believe that joining the political party will ultimately affect you in a negative way.[24]

However, for the rest of the participants, they do not agree that their minority identity influences their political behavior. Most of the participants who are politically active agree that participating politically is an obligation for every citizen, but they do not agree that the minority identification compose the possible reason that motivates them to be more involved in politics. Instead, some people think that their Czech identity might have more influence on their political behavior. For instance, one participant thinks that it is his Czech identity that forms the possible stimulation for him to participate in political activities, since he thinks that his Vietnamese background is more conservative and parents are generally not encouraging children to participate in political activities. However, he does consider himself participating in political activities actively and that has no correlation with his minority identity.

I do not think that my minority identity makes me more willing to be involved in political activities. Instead, it is the Czech part of my self which is the more westernized part, makes me to realize the importance of participating in political affairs. Our Vietnamese parents are more politically indifferent; therefore, under their influence, I don't think my Vietnamese part encourages me to participate more in political affairs.[25]

On the other hand, the research finds out that only a few participants know that there were several Vietnamese political figures in municipal elections or EU parliament elections in Czech Republic, and none of the participants voted for those minority representatives. Meanwhile, none of the participants has particular understanding of whether there are social policies that benefits the Vietnamese

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[24] Interview no.2
[25] Interview no.10

community or whether there are political parties that are explicitly supporting the Vietnamese community in Czech Republic. Therefore, this phenomena disapproves the minority empowerment theory, since searching for minority representation in politics is not their concern in most of the cases.

> *Maybe there are minority policies, but I do not know them. There will not be too much policies changes for Vietnamese, because the officials know that they are not able to gain too many votes from us since our parents are not able to vote because of the citizenship issues.*[26]

The above discussions aim to help clarify that the minority identity does not serve as a necessary influential factor for political participation of the Vietnamese community. As for those who are not politically active, the reasons behind are also mainly not about the minority identity but the general dissatisfaction about the current political environment or the negative impression to national politics.

" Although I study international relations and I know that participating in politics is very important, I still don't have motivation to vote. The current leading political figures are very disappointing and I don't even think that my vote really matters for the result."[27]

As indicated by the participants, the research discovers that many of them have little trust in national politics and for those who are rather politically active, the concern over the minority is not their concern for most of the cases. Therefore, the case study identifies that minority identity is not necessarily an influential factor for

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[26] Interview no.1
[27] Interview no.3

individuals to choose to participate in political activities; however, for the cases who link their Vietnamese identity with their political participation, the commonality is that the motivation comes from the willingness to break the stereotypical thoughts from the mainstream society.

The research also concerns that whether minority policy is their concern when voting for politicians since the minority policy has direct impact to their community and shows their connection with Vietnamese background. Unfortunately, none of the participants focuses on minority policies when voting for candidates.

To sum up, although the H1 does describe the situations for two out of 15 participants, the second hypothesis that says the minority identity does not show as a necessarily influential factor for political participation of the Vietnamese minority.

H3 and H4: The relationship between civic participation and political participation

Based on the research, a significant finding is that there is a clear cleavage between civic participation and political participation. The researcher observed that, when the questions were transited to politics, some participants turned into negative attitude to the questions. Some of the participants think that although they fulfill the "citizen's obligation" which is voting, they still have negative impression towards politics and some interviewees consider civic activities as a replacement of political functions. This confirms hypothesis 4 (The more the individual is involved in the civic engagement, the more likely the individual tend to withdraw from the traditional form of political activities). The research result argues that H4 does reflect in interviewees who are more involved in civic participation and more connected with the community. Also. The research finds out that the participants who are politically active do not show the inter relations with their civic activity, and thus, the H3 (the

people who are civically active have more wiliness to participate in political activities) is disapproved un the case study.

The discrepancy of attitudes towards political and civic participation was discovered in many interviews. One of the participants rejects to participate politically even though she has an academic background of international relations, but at the same time, she is very active in civic activities. The participant results the reason from the dissatisfaction of the current political environment.

> *I am not involved in any conventional political activities, not even casting votes. However, every year, I organize activities to introduce Vietnamese culture to Czech parents in my sister's school […] I don't vote or participate in other political activities because I don't trust Czech politics. The current political environment is too depressing and I feel that my vote is not able to bring any changes. Nowadays, a lot of Vietnamese are fighting over EET policy (electronic registration of sales) but I don't think we are getting support from the majorities. However, I do participate in civic activities such as the activity at schools to introduce Vietnamese culture. I promote integration and I want to make impact to the majorities that although we are covered with "yellow skin", we are also Czechs[28].*

The participant attributed the negative impression in politics to the dissatisfaction to political environment from the minority opinion, since she thinks that minority community's interest wasn't taken care of. The other participant showed his negative impression on politics since he thinks that politics may risk his career and that his political behavior also represents the Vietnamese community, so the participant tends to be more cautious when he come across political activities.

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[28] Interview no.3

" When it comes to those activities, I tend to be very careful because I think my response is representing the Vietnamese minority.[…] In hospital, nothing goes smooth if you have a political background."[29]

Throughout the research, 4 out of 15 interviewees were discovered civically active but not politically active. The distinction is presented with the feeling that the urgent needs of the minority group can be only solved by civic activities and the thinking that the current political institutions are not satisfying.

I am not interested in political affairs but I am involved in many civic activities. I think that participating in community service is a more direct way to aid instead of directly participating in politics. I always want to create projects that have influential meanings to the community, but at the same time I am afraid of being too involved in politics, since so far, I haven't found any party satisfying[30]

The response above also implied that the participant believes that civic activities are able to replace the functions of participating in political activities. Therefore, the response from the participant links with H4. When participants feel not obtaining direct support from the government, they tend to take civic activities as more direct ways to solve the problems. The interviewee above was not the only case that thinks minority issues should be solved by community services.

" I passively follow politics and economics in the country…I actually only passively vote in elections… I think that minority issues should be solved through organizations and lobbying rather than dealing with it on the national level."[31]

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[29] Interview no.4
[30] Interview no.6
[31] Interview no.15

The answer could also links to one of the preliminary findings which indicates that among all of the interviewees, none of the participants knew whether there is any minority policy. Since the government assistance is not visible for the participants, they might then tend to think civic activities are the solutions to problems for the minority community. To conclude, according to the participants, those who are active in civic activities do not show positive attitude to political activities and think that the civic activities as replacements with political participation. The discovered phenomenon thus reflects the "scissor effect" described by Longo & Meyer (2006). The 3rd hypothesis that assumes that the civic participation can positively influence individuals' political participation is not consistently discovered in the research.

H5 and H6: The relationship between civic participation and minority identity

According to the result, 8 out of 15 participants think that their Vietnamese identity is the stimulation of civic engagement and they are all actively participating in community services and affairs. The reasons behind include the strong bonding with the community, the understandings of needs in the community and the self-identification. Therefore, in the case, the identity plays a positive role in supporting individual's motivation in participating civic engagement which confirms the H5 (the minority identity brings the positive impact to individuals' civic participation) and disapproves the H6 (minority identity does not show a strong co-relation with civic participation). For instance, one of the interviewees thinks that his Vietnamese identity is the advantage to help him recognize the needs for the

community and therefore, he is able to have more direct influence to the community by participating in civic activities.

> *I grew up in a Vietnamese community so I feel more like a Vietnamese instead of a Czech person. I see the urgent need of help needed from the community. I think I can do more by participating in civic activities like community services which I believe is able to influence the governmental decisions since I understand the community more than them.*[32]

From the responses, various social obstacles listed in the previous section were raised as parts of the reasons why they participate in civic activities including the language barrier, identity awareness and the social indifference. However, there are several cases indicating that the minority identity could also form a threshold for participating in civic activities. For instance, a participant thinks that her participation of community service makes her fall into the stereotypical thoughts perceived by the majority.

"I don't want people to think that I participate in those activities because I am Vietnamese. I want to show that Vietnamese people can have other choices so that's why I am not too involved in relevant civic activities."[33]

Summary of the discussion on hypotheses

The response and the testification of the above hypotheses provide the research with clearer picture to the research question: Do the results show the cleavage between civic and political engagement? If so, how does their being Vietnamese foster that seeing the particular cleavage between civic and political engagement?

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[32] Interview no.6
[33] Interview no.7

According to the results, H2, H4 and H5 are constantly shown in the interviews. The participants in general tend to think that their political participation has more connection with the feeling of obligating to fulfill civic duties, but the participation has less positive correlation with minority identity. At the same time, the trend of replacing the political participation with civic engagement is found in the study. The other worth noting point is that although the participants' political participation does not show the positive correlation with minority identity, the civic participation has positive correlation with minority identity.

Political and civic nonparticipation:

As for nonparticipation, the research summarized the structural reasons provided by the participants. Throughout the research, a significant number of interviewees (6 out of 15) showed the tendency of behavioral nonparticipation. As for reasons of political nonparticipation, various institutional reasons were mentioned during the interviews, such as the dissatisfaction of the current political environment or not feeling supported from the majority group. To summarize from the analysis of the hypotheses, the reasons of nonparticipation can be categorized as follows.
One of the main reasons of not participating in civic activities is that the feeling of not being involved enough with local communities. Some participants attributed the reason of not participating in civic activities to the background of not being too involved with Vietnamese environment.

"I am not too much in touch with Vietnamese community […] and I spend more time with Czech people, so I actually don't find the reasons to participate in these activities."[34]

Another reason is that the participants perceive their minority identity as an obstacle to participate in civic activities. As one of the participants pointed out, she does not want to be framed as "typical Vietnamese"; therefore, she holds a resistant attitude in civic activities.

> *I don't want to participate in activities limited to Vietnamese community since I don't really want to be limited to the box, which means that I don't want people to think that Vietnamese has to be with the community.*[35]

The reasons listed above both related to the minority identity and the social issue raised by the participants of the feeling of losing the cultural roots.

As for reasons of not participating in political activities, the negative attitude towards national politics basically result from the distrust and disappointment to local politics. For instance, one of the participants feels that her single vote is not able to make any effect to the political situation; while there are other participants who consider politics as an environment that could affect the individual negatively.

> *I don't vote or participate in other political activities because I don't trust Czech politics. The current political environment is too depressing and I feel that my vote is not able to bring any changes[...] However, I do participate in civic activities such as the activity at schools to introduce Vietnamese culture. I*

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[34] Interview no.14
[35] Interview no.7

promote integration and I want to make impact to the majorities that although we are covered with "yellow skin", we are also Czechs.[36]

The problem of distrust in national politics also leads to the phenomenon discovered in the previous paragraphs that there is a tendency to replace political activities with civic activities.

Even though based on the result, H4 is confirmed (civic participation is seen as a replacement of traditional participation in politics), with the further questions, the research further on discusses whether civic engagement is a latent level of political participation. Most participants agree that it is a matter of time for Vietnamese to be more involved in politics, and some participants express their willingness to participate in political parties in the future. Therefore, even though for the current stage, civic participation serves as a replacement of political participation, the participants in general have more optimistic attitude to political participation of the Vietnamese group.

" I think that after several years there will be social crisis for the first generation because of low qualified work and low pension. This will definitely add responsibility to the second generations and force people to stand out."[37]

The above listed reasons also reflect O'Toole et al's (2003) statement of none participation can go beyond simple lack of interests in politics or political apathy. The result has demonstrated that although participants have distrust the current political environment, some individuals still show strong interests and motivation in

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[36] Interview no.3
[37] Interview no.12

participating political activities in the future. The unsatisfying political environment becomes the institutional reason to form their none participation.

4.2 **Political and civic participation along with theoretical considerations**

According to the research result, the additional question being raised is the conceptualizations of civic participation and political participation. Moro (2015) in his paper also proposes the question of what civic and political participation actually mean. He points out that without clear distinction, the term "political participation" would refer to almost all kinds of behaviors. Meanwhile, Moro suggests the distinction shown in civic participation. For instance, some civic actions do not include specific political meaning since they simply increase the relations inside communities.

As for theoretical considerations, there are two points that can be discussed. Firstly, O'Toole et al (2003)'s suggestion on adopting qualitative approach is helpful in the research, since the research could further discover how the participants described their situation and framed their behavior of participation. However, the sub categories of individual's intention in political participation and none participation provided by O'Toole et al was not able to provide further analysis of the results since the typology itself is not able to provide further discussions for the categories.

The other important finding is that the detected difference of attitude toward political and civic participation and the trend of replacing political participation with civic engagement cannot be explained by many classic theories and the modern trends that tend to broader the political participation which include civic participation in political participation. The challenge of forming the typology for political participation is that due to the "creativity" and modern technology, there are too many behaviors that are hard to define whether they are political. Most scholars (Van Deth,

2001) define political participation by adapting Verba et al's definition "political activities refer to activities that intend to effect or influence government action." According to Verba et al's definition, civic participation should be included in political participation. Due to the complexing form of activities, there are also some expanding definitions that refer political participation as "a categorial term of citizen power" (Arnstein, 1969; O'Toole, 2003). Also, other definitions from Kaase and Marsh (1979) that uses political participation to refer broadly to "all voluntary activities by individual citizens intend to influence directly or indirectly political choices at various level of political system." Additionally, Montgomy (2012) also concludes that although associations may not have political purpose, yet they should be considered as political resources due to the socialization such as resources and associational engagement provided by associations.

Nevertheless, the crux in the above mentioned typologies of the political participation is that those typologies will include civic participation which are less related to political institutions in political participation. If the research adopts the classic definition of political participation which includes civic activities, then the research would not be able to explain the cleavage between the two types of activities among this ethnic group case study. Scholars after 2000 claim that modern ways of political participation have been broaden from voting to civic participations due to the help of technologies (Van Deth 2001, O'Toole et al 2003). However, this still does not explain the cleavage and the distinctive attitude of political and civic participation found among the minority group. Therefore, adopting the traditional definition of political participation although limits the range of political actions, the definition distinguishing political participation and civic participation to the modern research in participation needs to be reconsidered. As Ekman and Anma (2012) indicate, the more expanded typologies are adopted in accordance to the diversity of behaviors in the

modern society. However, the expanded typologies are "indicators driven" and the theoretical part is missing. This can be fully seen in the case study, as the expanded typologies will not be able to explain the distinction of response to civic and political activities.

Another typology mentioned before in the literature review is the typology proposed by Ekman, who classifies civic participation as the latent level before political participation. However, two findings in the study has indicated that the statement is arguable to fit the case. Firstly, some students showed negative attitude in politics whereas they were active in civic participation. The research also finds out that they took civic participation as a replacement of political participation. These indicate that for these people civic participation does not provide them with better preparation for political participation. Secondly, for some people that are politically active but not civically active, political participation is served as fulfilling the duty of citizen, and they do not link their motivation with communities or other associational reasons. Civic participation does have function of promoting political participation by increasing individuals' practice in participating in societal affairs; however, this theory is not testified in the case study.

In sum, the research demonstrates the case that indicates the blind spot of the classic typologies for political participation and therefore proposes that the typologies that differentiate civic and political participation should be considered and addressed carefully in order to discover a more detailed picture of minority political participation.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

As Moro (2015) points out, participation reflects the citizenship practice and the practice enriches and enlarges the content of citizenship itself and therefore, it rises attention to study the participation of minorities. The case study provides fruitful information and a detailed picture on how identity, political participation and civic participation inter-relate with each other.

Several social obstacles such as language barriers and the ignorance from the majority were raised by participants, which also present the minority interest or the problems that the society still needs to work on. As Montgomery (2012) said, the representation of minority group in political participation is vital since their interest needs to be heard. Based on the social obstacles listed in the research and the fact that there is still no representation of Vietnamese minority in political arena, the research concludes that the interests of the minority group are not able to be channeled through

the representation in politics. Meanwhile, the active volunteering activities from the second generations discovered in the research can still be seen as a positive trend that eagers to alleviate the problems from the first generations.

Throughout the research, the study firstly identifies the behavior modes of political participation for the minority group. Most of the participants that vote or sign petitions in elections see political participation as an obligation for every citizen, and this does not have strong link to their minority identity. The study also finds out that minority identity does not show an influential relationship with political participation but it shows the stronger and positive relationship with participants' civic participation. Moreover, the study finds out that for the current stage of second generation of Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic, there is a tendency to replace political participation with civic participation, for many participants believe that only community services are able to solve certain social issues and this is also related to the findings that most participants think that their interests are not seen by the government. Importantly, the study finds out the cleavage of attitude toward political participation and civic participation from the participants. The negative attitude towards politics is basically due to the dissatisfaction towards the current political environment and this is not related to the minority identity. The disappointment to the political environment becomes the most commonly raised reason of none political participation. In the end of the research, the identified cleavage then leads to a further discussion of theoretical considerations of definitions for political participation.

5.1 Limitations and the strength of the research

The research has several limitations. First of all, the research is served as an exploratory purpose and with the essence of qualitative approach, the research is able to find out "possible reasons" behind the minority group and is not able to provide

generalized conclusions which have to be supported with large quantitative data. Moreover, the study is also limited to the capability of reaching the samples. The samples could be more systematically organized such as selecting participants only from political science background or conducting only focus groups interviews to produce more organized and comparative results.

After testifying my theoretical model, my theoretical model is not able to present a clear-cut theoretical frame work for political participation. While identity factor has proven to be less influential for most participants' political participation, the research thus suggests the future researches remove minority identity in a theoretical framework of political participation. At the same time, the discovered trend of replacing political participation with civic participation worth more in-depth study. This research therefore suggests future researches conduct theoretical frameworks between political and civic participation. Quantitative approach could also be considered to see whether the trend is both presented in majority and the minority groups. If so, then the researches could proceed to comparative analysis to cross-compare the influential factors.

The strength of the research is that, from the results, the case study reveals that the conventional theories of political participation may not be able to cover the complexity of modern political participation in the minority group. There is a clear distinction and attitude found in the perception of civic and political participation for the Czech Vietnamese youth; whereas the distinction will not be able to be explained by the conventional theories of political participation which include civic engagement in political participation which leads to the discussion of those classic theories in political participation. Therefore, the research fills the gap of literature in testifying typologies for political participation in the case study and raises the concern of selecting definitions of political participation for the future studies.

Meanwhile, the study encourages the future researchers to have further studies on whether the contrary attitude in civic and political participation is also reflected in quantitative studies. For instance, according to Ekman and Amna (2012)'s research in youth participation in Sweden, they conclude that the 'standby' category (people who show interests in politics but not in participation) is the common orientation in modern democracy. Therefore, the study encourages future study to adopt the quantitative approach to research what the behavioral "norms" are for the second generation of Vietnamese minority in Czech Republic. Most importantly, future researches can take the study result as a reference and take the political participation in a minority context into consideration.

Last but not least, throughout the research, the participants also mentioned several social obstacles that the society can work on and may lead to better civic participation which serves as additional information in the study. These additional information can therefore be further developed for the future studies. To sum up, the master thesis recommend the future relevant studies carefully select adequate typologies for political participation. As for the studies specifically about the Vietnamese minority group in Czech Republic, the thesis hereby suggests applying a quantitative approach to map out correlations of how the social obstacles affect individual's choice in participation in civic and political activities.

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The summary of the interviewees are listed in figure 2 in this research