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ETHNIC IDENTITY AMONG VIETNAMESE DESCENDANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE LIVED EXPERIENCES

Diploma Thesis

Supervisors: Dr. Ivy Helman, PhD

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DECLARATION

I declare that I wrote the thesis independently using the sources dutifully cited and listed in the bibliography. The thesis was not used to obtain a different or the same title.

I agree that the diploma thesis will be published in the electronic library of the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University and can be used as a study text.

In Prague, July 31st, 2020   Phuong Mai Nguyen

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ABSTRACT

Although Vietnamese has currently made up one of the three largest foreign community in the Czech Republic, the number of studies that focus on the challenges of Vietnamese immigrant descendants, especially regarding their ethnic identities in the Czech society is unfortunately confined. Different from their parents, one of the biggest obstacles that young Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic are facing in life is the question of their ethnic identities in the term of liminality and being strangers to both cultures (Vietnamese and Czech). Taking those reasons into account, this thesis aims to examine the experiences of "*being stuck in-between*" and confronting the process of (re)forming and shifting ethnic identities among children of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic in the relation with other gendered identities that they define with. Based on a feminist approach, this paper pulls together prior and existing studies, developing from the data collected from questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews to illustrate the subject matter. Relying immigrant lived experiences from the perspective of children and young people who have Vietnamese roots; this paper facilitates a broader understanding of their unique situation and factors that constitute their identity. Central to my project is an investigation of how gender role expectations and attitudes influence the processes of negotiating ethnic identities of the Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic.

Keywords: *Vietnamese descendants, ethnic identity, immigrants, intersectional identities, gender, intersectionality, transnational feminism*

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Questions

"…When I was little, all I knew was that I was Vietnamese, and I heard people told me to do my part. "You are Vietnamese; you act like Vietnamese, talk like Vietnamese," they said. So, I thought I was destined to be Vietnamese for the rest of my life. I did not know better […] But even when I am an adult now, I know I can choose whom I want to be, I am still confused about myself most of the time..." (AS, female, 23)

The purpose of this research paper is based on the following main research question:

How do the descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic define their ethnic identities concerning their multi-cultural backgrounds and in the interconnected relationship with multiple gendered identities?

The most important concern I propose in this paper is how Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic define who they are regarding their very own understanding of their roots, ancestry, culture in the interconnected relationship with multiple gendered identities they also define with. The nature of the research intentions is more exploratory rather than seeking to support any existing theories. Thus, this study may begin to lay the groundwork for developing theory, as well as providing a basis for further quantitative and qualitative research.

1.2. How does this study contribute to the literature?

The main topic of this research is academically relevant and appropriate. While there have been many studies[1] the about the older generation of Vietnamese immigrant – the settlers in the Czech Republic, the number of studies focus on the mental challenges of Vietnamese immigrants, especially on the topic of their descendants, in defining their own identity in Czech society as well as seeking life balance is lugubriously confined. This paper hopes to fill in a research gap concerning the youngest generation of Vietnamese communities in the Czech Republic, which are growing in all dimensions. Different from their immigrant descents, Vietnamese children and youth in the Czech Republic, are technically not migrants

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[1] (Brouček, 2003) (Drbohlav & Dzúrová, 2007) (Hřebíčková, 2020) (Freidingerová, 2014) (Drbohlav & Ezzeddine-Lustigová, 2003-2004) (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2015) (Kuřinová, et al., 2010) (Glajchová, 2019)

(Tranová, 2018, p. 1). Due to this unique situation, they have to encounter different adaptation and reconciliation problems in life which mainly results from the previous journeys of their parents. Literature that exists so far – even though mentioned these aspects separately – tend not to deal with these elements together. Cultural transmission and its relation to intergenerational conflict when dealing with a wide array of social impacts in this group among Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic are not captured in detail. While the literature from other Western contexts suggests that parents, linguistic ability and different cultures are influencing this group's identities, they do not specify or describe how it is done, especially in the Czech context. Moreover, not much is known about how these young people manage these transmissions with gender perspectives and norms, taking into account.

Taking those reasons into consideration, in this paper, I aim to examine the life experiences among children and youth of Vietnamese descent in the Czech Republic, either they have been born in the Czech Republic or came to live here at a very early age, with little if any recollection of their previous homes along with the intertwine with different gendered identities. In terms of methodology, this paper pulls together prior and existing studies along with questionnaires, and interviews that bear on immigrant experiences from the perspective of young people who have Vietnamese roots. The goal is to facilitate a broader understanding of the unusual situation of the descendants of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic while looking at how these young people affirm their positions in family and society. A critical question that accompanies this paper relates to the life experiences of these children as falling somewhere in between two labels: Vietnamese and Czech and how they negotiate between two or form their own unique identities. In addition to that, I will answer the question of how internal conflicts have to do with the way they cope with problems in the migration context. I hope to fill this gap by endeavouring to understand what influences and makes changes in Vietnamese descendants' identity over time. As for the result, this paper argues that notions of being stuck between ethnic groups profoundly affect how the descendants of Vietnamese's negotiations of self-identity and the way they deal with life issues, convert their voices and cultural identity together as well as fulfilling multiple gendered roles.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

The next chapter (Chapter 2) includes theoretical frameworks that are relevant to the thesis (social identity theory, acculturation and culture conflict, identity formation) and explains why these theories are essential to the research question at hand, in conjunction with

criticism around them. In chapter 3, I introduce some related terminology (race, nationality, ethnicity), definitions of the studying group – descendants of the Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic. As I will be using these terms a lot throughout this paper, this piece of information is essential to acquire before getting deeper into the subject matter. The connection between Feminism and Ethnicity in association with feminist concepts that are beneficial this paper will also be presented in this chapter. Additionally, existing literature on Vietnamese communities in Western societies, mainly focuses studies from Czech researchers, particularly in the consideration to the descendant groups and their ethnic identities with potential impacts are also be reviewed. Chapter 4 discusses the feminist methodology that is employed in this research. I present the process of data collection and data analysis, as well as reflect the roles and challenges I experienced as a researcher, along with the ethical considerations. Chapter 5 presents the results of my empirical findings, along with the discussion about the different aspects of ethnic identities in Vietnamese descendants guided by the theoretical framework and literature reviewed. In Chapter 6, the interconnectedness between gender and ethnic identity in the case of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic is examined. The last Chapter 7 concludes this research paper by discussing the main research question and how the previous chapters' discussions contribute to the overall finding. In the end, this chapter concludes the thesis by summarising the main findings, limitation and suggestion to the future research with the similar subject matter.

1.4. Migration from Vietnam to the Czech Republic: A Brief Historical Background

The migration history of Vietnamese to the Czech Republic plays an essential role in understanding the existence of Vietnamese in this country. In this section, I will briefly introduce the history of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic during three main periods, which usually closely related to the context of important political events of Czech history: during the Communism, after Red Velvet Revolution[2], and in the past two decades.

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[2] The Velvet Revolution (Czech: sametová revoluce) or Gentle Revolution (Slovak: nežná revolúcia) was a non-violent transition of power in what was then Czechoslovakia, occurring from 17 November to 29 December 1989. Popular demonstrations against the one-party government of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia included students and older dissidents. The result was the end of 41 years of one-party rule in Czechoslovakia, and the subsequent dismantling of the command economy and conversion to a parliamentary republic. (Wikipedia)

1.4.1. During the Communism

The first Vietnamese presence in the Czech Republic does back to the *1950s* as in 1954; the first Vietnamese groups arrived in Czechoslovakia as this country provided temporary protection to Vietnamese war orphans. A group of Vietnamese orphans (about 100 children and most of them were children of Northern Vietnam officials from war-affected families) was admitted to Czechoslovakia as part of international aid to the Vietnam war. They were placed in an orphanage in Chrastava in the Liberec region between 1956 and 1959, where they were to receive a quality education in a friendly environment. After three years, most of them suddenly returned to their homeland at the request of the Vietnamese government due to the fear from the Vietnamese side that the children might lose their Vietnamese ethnic identity (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 94) (Martínková/Šimečková, 2006, p. 1). Along with the orphan group, in the early 1950s, based on the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation, dozens of Vietnamese students (graduate and postgraduate) were sent to Czechoslovakia every year to join in a student exchange program (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 95).

At the beginning of the 1960s, following the Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the two countries, Vietnamese students began to arrive in Czechoslovakia based on short-term contracts, mainly in the technical and economic fields (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 95). At the time, all were under the strict supervision of the Vietnamese leadership through the Vietnamese representatives in Czechoslovakia and had to respect various principles and restrictions (Brouček, 2003, p. 18). In the second half of the 1960s, the Czechoslovak government complied with the Vietnamese government's request and increased the number of scholarships awarded to Czechoslovak schools from a few dozen to 200; in 1968 even 400 (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 95). Simultaneous with the student program, in 1966, the Vietnamese government, based on the Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, requested the extraordinary admission of more than 2000 technical staffs and skilled workers to be trained in Czechoslovak schools for the training in the engineering, metallurgy, textile, glass, chemical, woodworking, leather, paper, and construction industries (Matějová, 1987, p. 196).

The year **1973** was a significant milestone in the evolution of the Vietnamese population in Czechoslovakia. In particular, the Vietnamese government visited Czechoslovakia to discuss the arrival of 10 to 12 thousand Vietnamese citizens in following years to gain professional experience (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 97) (Kuchyňová, 2018, p. 1) as the Vietnamese government considered the training of qualified forces in certain strategic areas to be one of

the critical issues for Vietnam's reconstruction and development after the war with the United States (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 94).

Before and at the beginning of their arrival to Czechoslovakia, Vietnamese were requested to attend intense courses about Czech language and culture. After arriving in Czechoslovakia, the apprentices completed a three-month intensive Czech language course, if they passed the exams, they entered secondary vocational schools and, after three years, entered production practice. Workers also received Czech lessons in the first three months before being assigned to the workplace. The courses were very intensive and took a lot of time for the newcomers (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 97). After that, the Vietnamese students mostly went to universities to study technical fields while a small amount studied the Czech language exclusively and literature as well as art. Meanwhile, many exchange workers from Vietnam were employed in machine building and light industries which included textiles (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 96). According to the agreement between two countries, their stay could last approximately six years[3], which included language training, vocational training in apprenticeships and then they join the production process which they would work under the same conditions as workers in Czechoslovak factories (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 96). Indeed, manufacturing practices of Vietnamese workers after training was also considered to be a benefit for the Czechoslovakian economy, especially in some engineering factories with labour shortages. Their participant in production was profitable for the Eastern European countries, especially for Czechoslovakia, while it was dire in need of a cheap and abundant labour workforce (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2015, pp. 5-6). Besides, the treaty between Vietnamese and Czechoslovakia governments also acted as a developmental aid to Vietnam, as this group of oversea labours was commonly expected by the Vietnamese government to reduce unemployment rates, creating new jobs, increasing domestic and national income as well as strengthen the relationship between communist countries at the time (Schwenkel, 2014, p. 237).

The highest increase in the number of Vietnamese in Czechoslovakia can be seen *between 1979 and 1985* (Snymanska, 2014, p. 191)[4]. The Vietnamese arriving in Czechoslovakia

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[3] In the case of apprentices, the stay lasted seven years. In the case of trainees and trainees three to four years, with the possibility of extension with the consent of both parties (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 95).

[4] It is estimated that around 35000 Vietnamese came to Czechoslovakia during this time (Snymanska, 2014, p. 191)

during this period were mostly guest-workers, mainly to fill some gaps in the Czechoslovakian labour market. In 1979, about 3500 Vietnamese citizens came for training programs were approved to arrive in Czechoslovakia. In total, about 8000 and seen hundreds of secondary vocational school students and more than 23 000 trainees came to Czechoslovakia so far (Boušková, 1998) (Snymanska, 2014, p. 192). By the early of the 1980s, the amount of Vietnamese resided in the territory of Czechoslovakia were approximately 30 000, and two-thirds of them were workers (Nekvapil & Neustupný, 2003, p. 213). The treaty expired in the mid-1980s; many Vietnamese were sent home, their population in Czechoslovakia was decreased down to 10 000 (Drbohlav & Ezzeddine-Lustigová, 2003-2004, p. 36).

It is important to note that, initially, this transitional movement between communist countries at the time, by the governments, was intended to be just a temporary solution which means there was no intention of the establishment of the Vietnamese community in Czechoslovakia (Brouček, 2003, p. 11) (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 9). Once the educational training or working period is over, these Vietnamese were supposed to be sent back to their homeland with skills and training to contribute to developing their country after the war (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 9). For that reason, Vietnamese students and workers were subjected to the strict surveillance from the Vietnamese embassy, who could send them directly home for any transgression or for poor performance which could shatter the excellent reputation of Vietnam (Brouček, 2003, p. 13). Additionally, they were eliminated from all factors that might distract them from study or work[5], which included closer relations with the host society such as the intimate relationship with each other or worse, with local Czech (Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2015, p. 6).

1.4.2. After the Red Velvet Revolution (1989)

The year 1989 represents a crucial milestone in the transformation of Vietnamese migration in Czechoslovakia. Following the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia, in the attempt of breaking away the communist past, the new government was seen to avoid as much as possible the contact with Czechoslovakia communist former counterparts (which includes

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[5] These included banning intimate relationships between students/workers of the opposite sex, wearing Western clothes, and more. Students/workers were to devote themselves primarily to study, training and working. They were always in the fear of being sent back to Vietnam immediately if they did not fulfil their duties perfectly and in accordance with the established rules (Brouček, 2003, p. 10).

Vietnam) and also since the communist government in Czechoslovakia no longer existed, their agreement with Vietnamese government regarding thousands of Vietnamese students and workers on this land was also called off. Accordingly, Vietnamese immigrants were about to be sent home by the new authorities (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 90). Despite that, since living in a European country was always considered to be better than in Vietnam, especially since the country had just recently got out of its lifelong wars (Willoughby, 2019, p. 1), many of them wanted to remain here rather than return home. Thus, by taking advantages of the chaotic situation during the transition period, managing to capitalise on the legislative disorder as well as flexibly adapting to the new system, new government, many of the Vietnamese immigrants still managed to continuously survive and even found a way to stay in the country legally (Drbohlav & Dzúrová, 2007, p. 73). Most of them opted for getting business licenses, on the basis of which they could obtain permanent residence permits (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 91). The rising consumption along with the opening market for international trade in Czechoslovakia created many opportunities for Vietnamese to fill in the gaps in clothing markets and small-scale business which later became the Vietnamese-dominant sector in this country[6] (Baláž & Williams, 2005, p. 538). This group of Vietnamese immigrants[7] have laid the foundation of the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic nowadays and are considered to be the first settlers and locate the top of the community both socially and economically by the rest of the Vietnamese on Czech land[8] (Brouček, 2003, p. 21). Besides, during this period, there was another sizeable Vietnamese migration group also came to Czechoslovakia from neighbouring countries, such as Germany, Poland (Hahn & Nadel, 2014, p. 101).

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[6] In the period after the Red Velvet revolution, there are 36 000 Vietnamese immigrants hold business license (25 000 men and 11 000 women), which made up more than half of the 60 000 Vietnamese immigrants in the whole Czechoslovakia at the time (Hahn & Nadel, 2014, p. 101).

[7] The Vietnamese immigrants who came to Czechoslovakia before 1898 and who managed to stay in the country after the Velvet Revolution.

[8] This status was set due to the fact that this group have had a long time studied and worked in Czechoslovakia prior to 1898 and thus they speak Czech fluently, are familiar with Czech culture and therefore can navigate their lives in Czech without obstacles.

The peaceful division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia[9] in 1993 did not affect the population of Vietnamese on Czech land. In 1994, there were more than 9600 of Vietnamese people were living in the Czech Republic (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 105) and after that point, there are new waves of Vietnamese immigrated to the Czech Republic directly from Vietnam. These groups of Vietnamese came to the Czech Republic usually due to the economic drive[10] or reunification with their families[11] who already arrived before 1989, established their business and are still staying here until now (Hahn & Nadel, 2014, p. 110). Observably, the population of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic increased sharply after 1989 as in 2001, approximately 18 000 Vietnamese were living in the Czech Republic, and by 2004, the number is more than 35 000 people[12]. However, this is just a statistical number, the estimated real number of Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic was reported to be around 60 000 in 2005[13], which makes this group become the third-largest group of foreigners in this country.

1.4.3. The Past Two Decades

Up to this moment, the Vietnamese currently make up the third-largest foreign community in the Czech Republic, right behind Slovakian and Ukrainian. In July 2013, the Vietnamese were even recognised by the Czech government as an official ethnic minority in the Czech

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[9] The Dissolution of Czechoslovakia (Czech: Rozdělení Československa, Slovak: Rozdelenie Česko-Slovenska), which took effect on 1 January 1993, was the self-determined split of the federal republic of Czechoslovakia into the independent countries of Czechia and Slovakia. These polities mirrored the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic created in 1969 as the constituent states of the Czechoslovakian federal republic. (Wikipedia)

[10] and were often followed by their family members later on.

[11] Family reunification is seen to be one of the most common reasons for Vietnamese people to gain the migrating rights to the Czech Republic after 1989. The scenario is the husband/father migrants would arrive first, set up the business and create a favourable condition for their partners and children to join with him in the Czech Republic. Besides, it is also a quite common thing for families in Vietnam to send their "trouble maker" children to the Czech Republic to stay and work for their relatives' business in the Czech Republic in order to form their proper manner and train them to become useful citizens once they return to Vietnam.

[12] www.cizinci.cz

[13] www.cizinci.cz

Republic[14] and just in seven years, the number of Vietnamese legally staying here is up to almost 80 000, where they make up almost 1% of this country's population (CTK, 2020). Over the years, the Vietnamese diaspora in the Czech Republic has some significant changes, and today's Vietnamese are coming to the Czech Republic for more varied reasons.

In the last two decades, the new waves of Vietnamese immigration in Czech are formed due to the high demand on the part of Czech factories for cheap but yet skilled labour (Křížková & Čaněk, 2011, p. 1) (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 12). Starting from the twenty-first century, according to the record between 2006 and 2008, more than 20 000 Vietnamese arrived to fill in the vacancies in the Czech Republic (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 8). Most of them are recruited from poor provinces in Vietnam, mostly via private agencies (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 9). It is worth mentioning that they have very little knowledge about what is waiting for them in Europe. Moreover, different from the first wave of workers to Czechoslovakia, they do not even receive any language, cultural or even training course before arriving (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 14). Apart from that, they even have to pay the agencies the transportation and administration cost, which can be up to a few thousand dollars. In order to get this amount of money, a lot of them have to sell everything they had and become severely in debt (Křížková & Čaněk, 2011, p. 13). Unfortunately, as the economic crisis in 2008[15] left a considerable consequence on the Czech economy (Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, 2017), most of these Vietnamese immigrants were caught into unemployment. They faced the possibilities of being evicted from Czech while their families back home are still suffering from the debt[16]. Being unable to return to Vietnam while the debt is still unsolved, many of these Vietnamese workers had no other choice but stay back in the Czech Republic and work illegally (Krebs & Pechová, 2009, p. 15). For that reason, this group is extremely vulnerable, the least integrated into Czech society and are subjects of exploitation and abuse.

There is another group that contributes to the current population of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic which is the new group of students who are beginning to come here recently

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[14] Government Council for National Minorities: https://www.vlada.cz/en/pracovni-a-poradni-organyvlady/rnm/historie-a-soucasnost-rady-en-16666/

[15] Due to the economic crisis in 2008, many foreign workers in Czech were made redundant.

[16] Which is resulted from the huge amount of money they need to pay to the agencies in order to work in the Czech Republic

(Samolejova & Polak, 2002, p. 2) (Dan, 2017, p. 1). Different from the students who came to study before 1989, who received study grants from the government, this group of twenty-first-century students mainly pay for their own studies and accommodation from private sources[17] , and therefore, they are not under strict surveillance. This group of Vietnamese students mainly come from elite families in Vietnam who can afford to send their children oversea seeking a better education. In 2004, there were about 200 Vietnamese students attended in Czech universities; however, the number steeply exceeded a thousand after only a decade[18] (Praguepost, 2014, p. 1). The Czech Republic has been considered to be one of the most attractive destinations for studying abroad among Vietnamese students due to the big Vietnamese community here, the peaceful environment, as well as low living expense, compared to other countries in Europe (ICEF, 2014, p. 1).

A critical group of Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic that will affect the future of mutual relations are Vietnamese children who were already born here or have lived here since they were little following their parents' immigration. These new generations of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic make up a vital part in the Vietnamese community in this western country and fundamentally distinguished from other migrants. Until 2014, there are about 9000 Vietnamese reported being born in the Czech Republic. According to the number in 2015/2016, about twelve to fourteen per cent of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic was actually born and raised here for most of their lives (Čada, et al., 2016, p. 6).

Nowadays, the Vietnamese community here is mainly made up by the groups who arrived before 1989 and have been living in the Czech Republic since the fall of Communism, along with their families and relatives. They have established a tight and quite isolated community on the Czech land and mostly draw on the network and requirements of the community to launch their business, services, significantly in the retail area (Drbohlav & Valenta, 2014, p. 62). Besides, there are also the newcomers of Vietnamese to the Czech Republic work in the factories with contracts, and a significant number of students studying oversea. In fact, despite living in the Czech Republic for couples of decades, the majority of Vietnamese immigrants still predominantly see themselves as foreigners and seldom consider Czech as

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[17] Only a tiny minority of them (25 students in 2013) pay for education, while the rest study for free. In the Czech university system, free education is on condition that the student has the ability to study in Czech (Praguepost, 2014, p. 1).

[18] 1045 students in 2013

their home (Brouček, 2003, p. 35). Nonetheless, in recent years, due to the growing of the young generation of Vietnamese and new waves of students, workers, the Vietnamese community has been reported to become more and more vocal. They have been merging into the Czech society by joining Czech politics [19] , or the whole community show their remarkable solidarity when helping their Czech counterparts cope with the Coronavirus pandemic[20].

Looking at the positive side, the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants have the potential to blend in Czech society more than their parents. With the excellent language proficiency, knowledge of Czech society, culture, and legislation, economic self-sufficiency, they can become the bridge between Czech society and the Vietnamese community as well as weaken the community's insular nature (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 103). Michal, one of the young Vietnamese who was born in the Czech Republic, in an interview with Prague.TV, said: "*The community was never closed on purpose. The older people were just afraid mainly due to the language barrier. It came from both sides. Since most of the younger people can speak Czech and English, we are starting to breach that gap*" (Michal, 2017, p. 1).

Regardless, many of them admit that spending most of their life here, merging themselves into the Czech culture or speaking the Czech language brings back both privileges and obstacles (Brouček, 2003, p. 54). Although having more advantages to integrate into the host society, this group still faces many challenges in their life and one of the biggest obstacles is seeking who they really are and where they truly belong to.

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[19] Rozhovory s kandidáty do evropských voleb: Tran Van Sang (PROSaZ)

(https://ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/2804948-rozhovory-s-kandidaty-do-evropskych-voleb-tran-van-sang-prosaz)

Už nejsme jen stánkaři, říká první vietnamský politik v Česku

(https://www.novinky.cz/domaci/clanek/uz-nejsme-jen-stankari-rika-prvni-vietnamsky-politik-v-cesku-230533)

[20] Vietnamese in Czech Republic step up to fight COVID-19 pandemic (https://vietnamnews.vn/life-style/674549/vietnamese-in-czech-republic-step-up-to-fight-covid-19-pandemic.html)

Vietnamese community in Czech Republic helps fight against COVID-19 (https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/vietnamese-community-in-czech-republic-helps-fight-against-covid-19)

Coronavirus: Vietnamese businesses offer free food, drinks to first responders, facemasks to all (https://english.radio.cz/coronavirus-vietnamese-businesses-offer-free-food-drinks-first-responders-8105018)

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

There are both theoretical and empirical pieces of evidence to suggest that ethnic identity is a multifaceted construct that includes several dimensions (Ashmore, et al., 2004) (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Vibrant theoretical models, therefore, undoubtedly is an essential substance for all practical research. As mentioned above, researchers occur to share a board understanding of ethnic identity, but they underscored the aspects of this notion differently. These differences are related to the diversity in how researchers have conceptualised ethnic identity and the way they have attempted to answer questions around the topic. Most of the studies were based on one of these comprehensive perspectives: social identity theory, acculturation[21] and culture conflict, identity formation and remarkably, the feminist concept of intersectionality. There are substantial intersections among frameworks and significant variation in relevant theories that were discussed and applied to the research by different scholars. However, these three approaches provide a profound background for answering any inquiries related to ethnic identity.

2.1. Social identity theory

Many pieces of research on ethnic identity, especially on minority and immigrant groups, has been conducted within the framework of social identity (Ward, et al., 2001, p. 99). Initially, in his early work, Lewin (Lewin, 1948, p. 145) asserted the essence of social identity by saying that individuals need a steady sense of group identification in order to maintain a sense of well-being. This idea was later developed into the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). According to this theory, principally, the self-concept, the sense of who we are is made up of many social identifies based on our group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). The groups which we belonged to are an essential source of self-esteem and link to the sense of ours social identity - the feeling of being a part of the social world, which contributes to a positive self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). In other words, Tajfel and Turner claim that human beings have an innate desire

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[21] Acculturation refers to dealing with psychological stress, acquiring new skills, and developing a sense of identity and belonging during cultural transition or when navigating between different cultural groups (Ward, 2013) Acculturation orientations refer to the orientation toward ethnic (heritage) culture and mainstream (host) culture, including the respective identity components. They form the attitudinal component of the acculturation process and facilitate psychological ("feeling well") and sociocultural ("doing well") adjustment.

to belong to groups, and the acceptance of others contribute to building our self-esteem. Accordingly, an individual's behaviours can be considered as influenced by the motivation of becoming a typical and honourable member of the groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). The authors also offer three mental processes that are involved in classifying people as "*us*" or "*them*", which occur in a particular order: social categorisation[22], social identification[23] and then social comparison[24] (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). Basically, according to the authors of the theory, we tend to divide the world into "*them*" and "*us*" following the practice of social categorisation when we place people into social groups. This act, according to Tajfel, is a normal cognitive process where we tend to group things relying on both the divergence between different groups and the sameness within the same group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). The central proposition of social identity theory is that group members of an in-group tend to seek and emphasise on negative aspects of out-groups in order to improve their self-image and self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). This kind of activity contributes to prejudiced views between groups (such as sexual groups, ethnic groups, racial

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[22] In this beginning stage, we tend to categorise other people and even ourselves in order to understand and identify them. We use social categories like Asian, Vietnamese, Czech, Caucasian, etc. because they are useful for us at the certain situation. Assigning people into categories allows us to form an image, a stereotype about people more easily. For example, when looking at Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, one cannot help but picturing them running a grocery store, eating rice, etc. Similarly, one finds out more about themselves by identify themselves with the categories they belong to. Moreover, the appropriate behaviour in one's mind is established by the norm of the groups one belongs to. Besides, an individual can belong to many different groups at the same time (Tajfel, et al., 1979, p. 40).

[23] In this stage - social identification, individuals adopt the identity of the group they have categorized as belonging to. For instance, one has categorized self as a Vietnamese, one will most likely adopt the identity of a Vietnamese and begin to act in the ways you believe Vietnamese act (hard-working, eat rice and fish sauce, perform excellently at school, own a grocery shop, work in nail salon, etc.) and attempt to adapt to the norms of the group. Plus, an emotional significance with the group will be developed and one's self-esteem will be increasingly interdependent with group membership (Tajfel, et al., 1979, p. 40).

[24] In the last stage, individuals tend to compare their own groups with other groups in all aspects. Acknowledgement of this practice is critical to comprehend prejudice and discrimination in society, because once different groups identify themselves as enemies, they are coerced to compete in order for the members to maintain their high self-esteem. Competition and hostility between groups are thus not only a matter of competing for resources like foods, jobs or educational opportunities but they are the result of conflicting identities (Tajfel, et al., 1979, p. 40).

groups) which likely result in sexism, racism, and other forms of discrimination (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). Figure 1 illustrates Tajfel and Turner's three mental processes.

Figure 1 Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory - three mental process (Baxter, 2016)
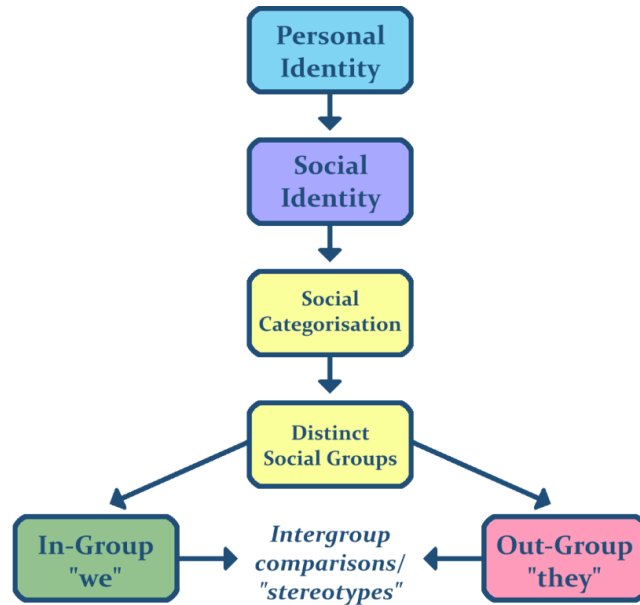
Nevertheless, keeping in mind that ethnic groups present a particular case of group identity (Tajfel, 1978, p. 36), many scholars were concerned with the actual relationship between membership and concept of self in the regard with the status (high or low) of the ethnic group in society (Tajfel, 1978, p. 43). A unique challenge is experienced in situations where a dominant group renders the individual's group, for example, ethnic minority group, in low esteem which could very potentially lead to developing a negative group identity (Stangor, et al., 2011, p. 549). In such a situation, members of the low-status group may consider multiple substitutes in order to improve their status (Tajfel, 1978, p. 45) (Boen & Vanbeselaere, 2000, p. 49). One may pursue to leave the initial group by turning self into a member of the dominant group, even though this solution may have harmful psychological consequences (Tajfel, 1978, p. 40). Moreover, this solution is unquestionably not applicable to individuals who are racially distinct or ethnically categorised based on their outward physical appearance[25] (Tajfel, 1978, p. 41), which is a specific situation of Vietnamese

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[25] Individuals can be obviously distinct due to their appearance (skin colour, hair colour, etc.) or the language they speak

immigrants in the Czech Republic[26]. Another solution is to develop pride in one's group[27] (Cross, 1978, p. 25) to reinterpret characteristics that used to be deemed as "*inferior*" so that they do not display lesser anymore (Bourhis, et al., 1973, p. 458) but this might indirectly stress the distinctiveness of one's own group.

Social identity theory can be advantageous for this paper as it takes the issue of possible problems resulting from partaking in two cultures into account (Lewin, 1948, p. 145) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 36). Identification with two different ethnic groups, as in case of young Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, can be problematic for identity formation of ethnic group members due to the vast array of conflicts in attitudes, values, and behaviours between their minority group – Vietnamese and the majority group – Czech (Hihara, et al., 2018, p. 328). The critical question, in this case, is whether individuals have to choose between two conflicting identities or can create their own unique identities based on their ethnic bicultural backgrounds (Hihara, et al., 2018, p. 328) (White & Burke, 1987, p. 318).

In general, social identity theory, while describes successfully the three-stage cognitive processes that illustrate the in-group devotion and out-group resentment and how group membership is an integral part in individual's identity, also has some limitation. The theory itself was critiqued mostly by other scholars due to lack of ecological validity along with unrepresentative samples. In Tajfel's research[28], he conducted the study with unusual and oversimplified tasks in an artificial environment, on participants that cannot be generalised to the broader population (all boys, same ages, same ethnicity, same nationality) (Tajfel,

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[26] Many young Vietnamese in the Czech Republic were asked in this paper report that even though they think and act like Czech people, speak Czech language fluently the society still always consider them as "non-Czech" due to their Asian physical features like "yellow skin", "flat noses", "small eyes". This will be discussed more in the next parts of this paper.

[27] This approach was clearly taken during the black movement during the 1960s and 1970s with the mantra "black is beautiful" or the racial fetish with the preferences for Asian women, also known as 'yellow fever'.

[28] In his research in 1970, Tajfel studied on 64 schoolboys from Bristol in order to investigate if grouping would lead to ingroup favouritism or out-group's discrimination. Subjects were randomly allocated into groups (though they were told it was off a basis for a preference for artwork for Kandinsky or Klee) and told they were participating in a decision-making experiment. They individually assigned points based off a matrix to their group or another group. They were allowed no face to face contact or communication. (Tajfel, 1970, p. 99)

1970, p. 99). Besides, there are pieces of evidence to prove that this theory might not be able to apply to all ethnic groups as Wetherell, in her research on the young student in New Zealand (1982) concludes that indigenous students show more generosity toward out-groups than other Caucasian students (Wetherell, 1982, p. 209). In another study, Mullen and Smith find out that members of lower-status groups which is regarded as minority groups; actually displayed favouritism towards more out-groups with higher status (Mullen & Smith, 1992, p. 105). These outcomes of these researches show a lot of contradiction with what Tajfel claims about the innate intention in every group member of seeking to find negative aspects of out-groups to increase their self-image. Additionally, these studies suggest that social identity theory might be ethnocentric because it is unable to predict the behaviour of people from other ethnic groups, especially minority groups. After all, social identity theory can be best used in this paper to elucidate how we understand our individual and group identities in terms of ethnic group boundaries as well as to enlighten why ethnic prejudice exists in societies.

2.2. Acculturation and culture conflict

Phinney once mentions that ethnic identity is only relevant when there are more than one ethnic groups are put into the engagement for a certain amount of time (Phinney, 1990, p. 501). Therefore, being placed in an absolute ethnically homogeneous society, the concept of ethnic identity simply becomes meaningless. The concept of acculturation[29] is defined as a social, cultural process where individuals adopt, acquire and adjust to a new cultural environment in an attempt to balance of more than one cultures they encounter with while adapting to the mainstream culture of the society (Ward, 2013, p. 394). Its concerns are mainly the changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviours which stem from the interaction between two or more distinct cultures as well as how individuals relate to their own subgroup within a larger society (Berry, et al., 1986, p. 294).

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[29] Acculturation refers to dealing with psychological stress, acquiring new skills, and developing a sense of identity and belonging during cultural transition or when navigating between different cultural groups (Ward, 2013, p. 392) Acculturation orientations refer to the orientation toward ethnic (heritage) culture and mainstream (host) culture, including the respective identity components. They form the attitudinal component of the acculturation process and facilitate psychological ("feeling well") and sociocultural ("doing well") adjustment.

Two distinct models have primarily guided acculturation research when examining the cultural changes in ethnic groups, are a linear-bipolar model and a two-dimensional model (Phinney, 1990, p. 501). The *linear-bipolar model* envisions ethnic identity as an ongoing process that is the result of belonging to a particular ethnic group (Singh & Hu, 2001, p. 150). This model proposes that an ethnic individual must sacrifice one identity for the other, forcing them to choose to either maintain a strong ethnic identity or become an exclusive member of the mainstream population[30] (Singh & Hu, 2001, p. 150). According to this model, it is *not possible* to remain a strong ethnic identity among individuals who have become more and more involved in the mainstream society, and acculturation is unavoidably be coupled with a weakening of ethnic identity (Ortiz & Santos, 2018, p. 22). Undoubtedly, the linear and bipolar model was not successful in seizing the acculturative experience of contemporary ethnic minority groups as there is a numerous member from ethnic minority groups can still remain their strong ethnic identity while adopting the culture of the host society (Ortiz & Santos, 2018, p. 33).

On the other hand, the two-dimensional model developed by Berry had emerged in response to this problem and gained much broader acceptance in the literature. In a *two-dimensional process*, both the relationship with the traditional or ethnic culture and the relationship with the new or dominant culture must be considered, and these two relationships may be independent. (Phinney, 1990, p. 501) According to this view, minority group members can have either strong or weak identifications with both their own and the prevailing cultures. Additionally, in contrast with the linear-bipolar model, a strong ethnic identity does not necessarily indicate a low involvement or tenuous connection with the dominant culture (Phinney, 1990, p. 501). This model suggests that an individual may negotiate their ethnic identity and the identity of the dominant culture independently. The firm or weak identification with the ethnic minority group and the mainstream society results in one of four orientations[31] below (Benet, 2012, p. 8). Figure 2 below is an illustration of the *two-*

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[30] a strengthening of one requires a weakening of the other

[31] The first orientation is referred to as assimilation – where someone from a different culture adopts the cultural norm of the county/region that they have moved to. Integration – Where people adopt both the dominant culture and their original culture, combining the two at the same time. Separation – When someone rejects the dominant culture and keep their culture of origin instead. Marginalization – When someone rejects both their original culture and the cultural norm (Van de Vijver, 2015, p. 31)

dimensional process that has been used in empirical research in the case of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic.

Figure 2 Four possible outcomes of one's identity according to the two-dimensional process of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

		Cultural Adaptation (Czech)	
		Low	High
Maintenance heritage culture (Vietnamese)	High	**Separation**	**Integration**
	Low	**Marginalisation**	**Assimilation**

However, this model does have some noteworthy faults as well. For instance, it does not take into consideration of the fact that someone from a different culture might neither adopt the mainstream culture nor ultimately maintain their original. Instead, that person can even adapt to a completely different culture and identify with it (Benet, 2012, p. 8). Unfortunately, there is no section on the model above and can illustrate this situation which might undoubtedly happen in real life. This model is also lack of flexibility as it does not allow subject to transfer to another section once they are allocated in one[32] (Berry, et al., 1986, p. 321).

In this paper, this theory can be useful when solving the essential practical issue of which ethnic identity is maintained over time in Vietnamese immigrant descendants. Nevertheless, even though this theory is instrumental in addressing the cultural conflict between two distinct groups, particularly in the case of a minority ethnic group comes in contact with a dominant majority group (Hsiao & Wittig, 2008, p. 4), it does not provide the toolkit to study the impact of the process on immigrant and their offspring's psychological adjustment (Berry, et al., 1987, p. 321). Fortunately, there is a concept that and tackle both these issues

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[32] This model does not take into consideration the fact that, while someone may want to reject a specific culture, they may want to adapt to that culture later. They also might be in the process of rejecting a specific culture they belonged to before while adapting to a new or different culture

of cultural conflict between groups as well as the psychological consequences of such conflicts in individual level, and it is the process of ethnic identity formation.

2.3.Identity formation

As we can see above, both the social identity and the acculturation frameworks recognise that ethnic identity is dynamic, changing over time and context. Initially, this perspective is based on the theoretical writings of Erik Erikson (Erikson, 1968, p. 91). Erikson, via his theory of ego identity formation,[33] specified that an achieved identity is the result of the process of exploration and experimentation, which typically takes place during adolescence. Accordingly, this leads to decisions, commitments in various areas in one's life, such as occupation, religion, and political orientation (Erikson, 1968, p. 92). However, when working on this, Erikson, unfortunately, left the ethnicity – an important aspect, out of the framework picture. Similar to Erikson's work, the ego identity model, as operationalised later by Marcia (Marcia, 1980, p. 166) also suggests four ego identity statuses[34] based on how people explore identity options and the way they decide it. Marcia even attempted to expand Erikson's work, but, regrettably, social identities such as race, class, ethnicity was still overlooked (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990, p. 172). Later on, some scholars re-examined this topic, paid significant attention to ethnicity and even stirred up the idea that ethnic identity is achieved through the active and ongoing processes of decision making as well as self-evaluation (Phinney, 1992) (Root, 1998) (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2012, p. 506). Sociologist Richard Jerkins once asserted that ethnic identity is not an entity but a complex process by which people construct their own ethnicity (Jenkins, 2015, p. 149). Indeed, ethnicity is a

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[33] Erikson conceives of ego identity as a multidimensional process. While the "identity of the ego" is essentially a psychological concern, its multidimensionality can only be fully understood by adopting social psychological and sociological perspectives. This is the case because the ego not only interacts with itself and the other psychic structures (i.e., for Erikson, the id and superego), but also with the persons in, and the normative expectations of, its social environment. Ego identity formation is the process by which this personality characteristic is formed and continually transformed throughout the life cycle (Cote & Levine, 1987, p. 275).

[34] According to Marcia's four ego identity statuses, a person who has neither engaged in exploration nor made a commitment is said to be diffuse; a commitment made without exploration, usually on the basis of parental values, represents a foreclosed status. A person in the process of exploration without having made a commitment is in moratorium; a firm commitment following a period of exploration is indicative of an achieved identity.

social construction and is, by nature, dynamic, flexible, and reliant on social-historical contexts, political stage, social relationships and interactions (Kiang, 2014, p. 214). The crucial role of social-cultural influences, recognition of cultures, economic and political histories, acculturation and migration along with social stratification, power, and social position variables, were underlined by some other researchers when studying about in the identity of the ethnic minority group members as well (Coll, et al., 1996, p. 1893) (Mistry & Wu, 2010, p. 6).

After Erikson's work, several scholars also propose some conceptual models that describe ethnic identity formation and development in minority adolescents or adults. Significantly, famous psychologist Phinney has proposed a three-stage development[35] of ethnic identity which includes: *unexamined ethnic identity*, *ethnic identity exploration* and an *achieved or committed ethnic identity* (Phinney, 1989, p. 42). In line with Erikson's identity formation, Phinney also focuses on the adolescent, acknowledging significant changes over this period, including more exceptional cognitive abilities to deliberate ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989, p. 44). Adolescence is undoubtedly a critical stage in life when individual identities can

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[35] Jean S. Phinney proposed a model of ethnic identity development for young members of all ethnic groups through a three-stage-progression (Phinney, 1989, p. 42). The first stage in the process is called "*unexamined ethnic identity*", where the young member of the ethnic group is still in the early childhood, then hardly give any thought or receive any notion from others about ethnicity. This period usually ends when one enters puberty and it is also the moment that the next stage in the development process - "*ethnic identity exploration*" begins. Individuals start seeking what it means to be a group member, and for immigrant children, it is being aware of the mode of difference. They begin being confused about self-identity and asking questions like: "Am I Vietnamese or Czech? How different I am compared to other people around me?". Typically, during this stage, young immigrants shape their notion about ethnicity based on experiences of confronting discrimination, prejudice and the act of exposing to different cultures through different sources but nowadays, mostly via media. This is also the period that identity conflicts most likely to occur, which can drive young people into the rejection of their parents' culture and wholly adapt host country's culture and identity in order to feel more similar to their peers as well as fit in the current society (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016, p. 6). Once getting over this turbulent period, adolescents reach the stage of "*achieved ethnic identity*", where individuals have explored their ethnic group membership and are clear as to the meaning of ethnicity in their life (Phinney, 1989, p. 38). In the case of Vietnamese youth in the Czech Republic, this is the time that they are mature enough to review their cultural and ethnic origin under a positive light, then negotiate and decide which identity fits them the most, whether it is Czech, Vietnamese or both.

develop (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 125). Thus, self-labels and the importance of ethnic identification during adulthood should be linked to those in earlier life stages. However, it is noted that self-identification of adolescents may also shift further when they transit into adulthood, adapt more roles and identities such as workers, spouses, and parents (Phinney, 1990, p. 503). The first stage from Phinney's process is where the young members of ethnic groups show the preferences[36] to the dominant culture (Phinney, 1989, p. 38)[37]. A second stage characterises an exploration of one's ethnicity, which may take place as the result of a significant experience that provokes the awareness of one's ethnicity[38] (Phinney, 1990, p. 502). It involves an often-intense process of involvement in one's own culture[39], and for some people, rejecting the values of the dominant culture might take place (Phinney, 1990, p. 503). Finally, an achieved identity is obtained when someone explores identity options and then commits to the maintenance of the option that is most reflective of what they believe (Phinney, 1990, p. 502). In short, the stage model suggests that as a result of this process, people come to a more profound understanding and appreciation of their ethnicity-that is, ethnic identity achievement or internalisation (Persons, 2017, p. 164). This process may require resolution for two fundamental problems for ethnic minorities: cultural differences between their ethnic minority group and the dominant group; and the lower status of their group in majority society (Phinney, et al., 1990, p. 501). The meaning of ethnic identity achievement unquestionably; varies from individuals to individuals as well as among groups due to their different historical and personal experiences (Persons, 2017, p. 166). However, achievement does not necessarily imply a high degree of ethnic involvement[40] (Grotevant, 1987 , p. 217).

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[36] However, such a preference is not a necessary characteristic of this stage

[37] Young people may simply not be interested in ethnicity and may have given it little thought (their ethnic identity is diffuse). Alternatively, they may have absorbed positive ethnic attitudes from parents or other adults and therefore may not show a preference for the majority group, although they have not thought through the issues for themselves-that is, are foreclosed (Phinney, 1989, p. 38)

[38] "encounter" according to Cross (Cross, 1978) or "awakening" according to Kim (Kim, 1981, p. 20).

[39] It can be through activities such as reading, talking to people, going to ethnic museums, and participating actively in cultural events.

[40] One could presumably be clear about and confident of one's ethnicity without wanting to maintain one's ethnic language or customs. A recent conceptual article suggested that the process does not necessarily end with ethnic identity achievement but may continue in cycles that involve further exploration or

Nevertheless, Phinney's three stages of ethnic identity development also have its undeniable flaws. Firstly, her studies were conducted using relatively small samples, among American-born high school and college students only[41] (Phinney, 1993, p. 64). As we should always note that many other elements could impact ethnic identity formation severely, such as gender, socioeconomic status, contextual factors, the social background of participants should be more variable, and the sample size should be more abundant in order to produce a valid result. The fact that there are only three ethnic groups (two minority groups and white as a comparison group) in Phinney's study does concern me as the sample is way too narrow for research called cross-ethnicity, not mention that the group of the mixed ethnic background was utterly ignored (Phinney, et al., 2007). Set aside all the limits, Phinney's model still offers a good understanding of the ethnic identity formation process. Based on this model, many empirical researchers have started describing the changes in individuals' attitudes and understanding of their ethnic identities over time. Besides, other researchers also have looked at factors related to ethnic identity formation, such as language, social relationships, parental attitudes and social class, gender and at correlates, including self-esteem or adjustment and attitudes toward researchers (Sharif, 2009) (Juang & Syed, 2010) (Lytra, 2016) (Sedmak, 2018) (Cheung & Swank, 2019).

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rethinking of the role or meaning of one's ethnicity (Parham, 1989). A similar idea has been suggested with regard to ego identity (Grotevant, 1987 , p. 207)

[41] There are only total 48 eighth graders, 91 tenth graders, and 196 college students of diverse ethnic backgrounds participated in Phinney's studies about ethnic identity (Phinney, 1993, p. 64)

3. TERMINOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

It appears that the most frequent questions everyone, either children and teenagers or even adults always grapple with at least once during their lifetime are: "*Who am I?*" and "*Where do I belong?*" (Rachel Sumner, 2018, p. 1). For the ones with the background of migration, those questions are enormously a hundred times more problematic to answer as they do not grow up in a mono-cultural[42], but a complex multi-cultural environment. This situation is a privilege but also a great challenge since it usually leads to identity disorder and conflicts (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 126). Notably, for Vietnamese youth who spend the vast majority of their childhood and young hood in the Czech Republic, at one point in time or another, are very often objectively identified neither Vietnamese nor Czech by other people and even themselves. The most important concern I propose in this paper is how they define who they are regarding their very own understanding of their roots, ancestry, culture or suchlike. For that reason, this research turns to the notion of ***ethnic identity*** – the realm where young descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic have an opportunity to identify themselves. However, too often, three terms nationality, race and ethnicity are misused interchangeably or even worse, their differences are totally ignored. It is essential to remember that each of these words has a distinct meaning with specific usage because using these terms synonymously with ambiguity in any context can cause misperception, which leads to erroneous outcome actions. Hence, in this section, the definitions of race, nationality are demonstrated before we get to ethnicity, to draw a clear distinction between these notions.

3.1. Ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic identity and related terms

3.1.1. Nationality

According to the Oxford dictionary, "*nationality*" is someone's legal status of belonging to a particular and widely recognised political nation[43]. One's nationality is presented under

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[42] Mono-cultural environment is where the individuals living inside are only exposed one shared ethnic and cultural set, stick to their own nationality-ethnicity or cultural groupings and lifestyle practices (Gamage, 2014, p. 3)

[43] Oxford Learner Dictionary
(https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/nationality?q=nationality)

the form of which citizenship they hold. Since one can have dual citizenship[44] (or sometimes no citizenship at all), switch their citizenship[45], plus, nations can split[46], can merge[47], nationality is undoubtedly a flexible and changeable identity. One of the critical aspects of nationality that we need to notice is that it is strictly political which means when one holds a citizenship of a country, it includes a set of rights and obligations that person needs to rigidly obey to accomplish the goals and achievements of that nation (Silvey, 2006, p. 66). People who come from the same race or ethnicity can have different nationality and vice versa. For example, a woman who is the descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic can hold the same Czech citizenship with her Czech peers, but they are categorised in different racial groups (Asian and White), and might again, both defined Czech as their ethnicity.

3.1.2. Race

 "*Race*" is a human-constructed concept that separates human beings into groups based on their natural physical appearance, phenotypes such as skin, hair, facial traits or body structures (Barnshaw, 2008, p. 1091). Even though those phenotypic traits and physical characteristics are what we inherit from our ancestry, they are not always the firm reliance; but only a relatively unreliable marker, to identify someone's race. Let us take an example from skin colour, which has been considered to be the most popular physical trait that has been used to classify people into racial groups (Chou, 2017, p. 1). As much as people usually use those words "*white*", "*black*", "*yellow*", "*brown*" to describe races, the distinction in skin colours between races is certainly not always reliable. For instance, a "*white*" person who gets tanned after spending summer vacation on the beach, the "*brownish*" skin tone he has now does not change his race. Besides, as much as skin colour varies widely across the

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[44] Since the Czech Republic allowed foreigners to acquire Czech citizenship without giving up their original nationality, many Vietnamese citizens, especially the second and third generations, have become dual citizens. Czech and Vietnamese (EMN, 2019).

[45] even though it is a long, complicated legal process

[46] In 1993, Czechoslovakia split into the two sovereign states of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. (https://www.vlada.cz/, n.d.)

[47] Following the surrender of Saigon to North Vietnamese forces on 30 April 1975, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam officially became the government of South Vietnam, and merged with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to create the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on 2 July 1976 (www.vietnam.gov.vn, n.d.).

world, so does eye colours and (natural) hair colour, but interesting enough, no one has ever addressed brown eyes people and green eyes people are from different races. Likewise, no one ever considers hair colour is the characteristic to classify people into racial groups. These examples support the fact that race is a socially constructed category; that is used to assign people who share ascribed biological traits, but only which society thinks are essential (for example skin colours but not eye colours or hair colours).

Besides, racial categorising criteria are not consistent as well as they are not universally applied the same way everywhere or at any time. A typical example that can illustrate the various application of racial labelling is the "*one-drop*" rule[48] in the United States, where even the smallest amount of Asian American ancestry is enough to classify someone as Asian rather than White. The opposite, however, is hardly accurate as someone with one Asian parent and one White parent is seldom regarded as white (Davis, 1991, p. 125)[49]. As writing about race in the United States, David Roediger, in his famous book called "*Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White*" (Roediger, 2006) notes that "*white*" was not always considered a unified race composed of anyone with European descent as widely perceived nowadays in the United States.[50] At present, all light-skinned

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[48] The one-drop rule is a social and legal principle of racial classification that was historically prominent in the United States in the 20th century. It asserted that any person with even one ancestor of black ancestry ("one drop" of black blood) is labelled black (Negro or coloured in historical terms). This concept became codified into the law of some states in the early 20th century. This resulted in the automatic assignment of children of a mixed union between different socioeconomic or ethnic groups to the group with the lower status, regardless of proportion of ancestry in different groups (Davis, 1991, p. 5).

[49] Because the population of the world is becoming increasingly mixed, it is ubiquitous for a person to have parents with two different racial backgrounds. This group of racial-mixed people might be facing much pressure regarding their racial identity when other people in society tend to expect them to identify their race correctly based on how they look but not how they perceive themselves internally.

[50] The new immigrants (they were labelled "new immigrants" in order to distinguish with the first European settlers in the United States (Roediger, 2006)) came from southern, eastern and central Europe to the United States between 1886 and 1925 such as Italians, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Slavs and other Eastern European groups were labelled as a separate racial group (Starkey, 2017, p. 1). Up until that point, whiteness was often addressed exclusively to Anglo-Saxon descendants. At the same time, the European groups who were not accepted as "white", from the 1840s to the early 20th century, were deemed to a lower biological order, utterly culturally inferior — dirty, less intelligent, criminal-prone, which led to their misery (Roediger, 2006).

people of European descent are typically labelled as "*white*" in the United States[51], but it was not the case in the past as about two hundred years ago, Italian, Polish used to be entitled as a different race other than "*white*"(Figure 3).

Figure 3 President McKinley (top left) believed in open immigration. Here is Uncle Sam, at his direction, looking on as Italian rats with black and brown skin "directly from the slums of Europe" pour into American land (Dalrymple, 1903)

Moreover, it is essential to note that race is an externally imposed category (Bonilla-Silva, 1999, p. 900) (Hirschman, 2004, p. 389), which means we are positioned into racial groups by how other people see us objectively, based on how they perceive the physical differences. Furthermore, as the way people view things depends mainly on who they are, their background and culture; thus, the racial category can vary from one society to another, and thus the supposed stable definition of race is just a misconception.

For all those reasons mentioned above, it can be concluded that race is a human-constructed concept based on biological factors. Even though it is claimed to have a scientific base and rely entirely on biological fact, it is not a rigid categorisation at all but instead, is fluid, changeable and vary from time to time, from one place to another. However, just because it is the human-made-up phenomenon of distinct biological human races based on a non-valid scientific ground, we still cannot state that "*race is not real*" as, throughout history, the concept has been going more profoundly beyond the colour of someone's skin, causing real and intense consequences on many lives.

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[51]In the 1920s, when there was stemming of migration from Europe, they were subsumed into the broader category of "whiteness" to shore up a cultural majority against other racial groups and new immigrants. (Roediger, 2006)

"*Racism*" – as the worst aftermath of racial categorisation, is an ideology based on the belief that observable and supposedly inherited traits are marks of inferiority, which justify all the discrimination against the disadvantaged racial groups (Schmid, 1996, p. 31). Based on the idea that one race is innately superior to (an)other races, racism is tied with power and control of privileged groups to ensure and maintain their influence in society, support creating the social constructed of reality (Burt, et al., 2012, p. 650). Particularly in early 2020, due to the coronavirus pandemic, Asians around the world, especially those living in western countries have to face a severe backlash and hate-crimes against them in response to the outbreak. The presence of Anti-Asian racism, under the famous names of "*Yellow Alert*"[52], "*Yellow peril*" (Figure 4) has been reported widely in Europe and the United State (BBC News, 2020) (Lee, 2020, p. 1).

Figure 4 A local French newspaper headlined a frontpage story on coronavirus "Yellow alert," with an image of a Chinese woman wearing a protective mask. (Source: journal.courrier-picard.fr)

Many Asians, especially East Asians, have been blamed for the outbreak directly, pushed and yelled at in public, asked to leave, or abused on public transport and social media by members of other racial groups simply because of their Asian appearance (Lee, 2020, p. 1).

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[52] There was an outcry when local newspaper Le Courier Picard used the inflammatory headlines "*Alerte jaune*" (Yellow alert) and "*Le péril jaune?*" (Yellow peril?), complete with an image of a Chinese woman wearing a protective mask.

This form of racism has again, put many lives in danger, increased their chances to expose to and die from Coronavirus disease just because of their membership in discriminated groups.

3.1.3. Ethnicity, ethnic group and ethnic identity

Historically, by the early 20th century, social scientists were looking for ways to describe shared cultures that did not have racial markers or strict national origins, that is when they turned to ethnicity as a method of categorisation (Huxley & Haddon, 1935, p. 112) (Sleeter, 1992, p. 33). In fact, similar to "*race*", "*ethnicity*" is also a socially constructed category, but instead of relying on biological and physical traits, it is based on cultural factors that, again, society finds essential. Fundamentally, an ethnic group is a group that has shared cultural characteristics, sense of peoplehood and heritage such as language, traditions, religion and all types of sociocultural criteria that can determine one's ethnic background (Banks, 2015, p. 81). In reality, two people of different racial groups or different nationalities might share an ethnicity – and conversely, two people of the same race or nationalities might be of entirely different ethnicities. For instance, Chinese and Vietnamese people are both called Asian, but they come from different cultural backgrounds, and thus, have different ethnic identities. In the case of Vietnam, as this country has about fifty-four ethnic groups within one whole nation and each of which has identifiable cultural traditions and even different languages[53], it is not rare to find people who identify themselves with various ethnic groups, but all hold the same nationality.

Unfortunately, in general speaking, the term is generally confused with the notion of "race" and "nationality" as many people tend to use those words interchangeably. Recently, there is a rising trend of the at-home DNA ancestry business among the young generation which you have probably seen a ton of ads for genetic tests like 23andme and Ancestry DNA[54]

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[53] "Report on Results of the 2019 Census". General Statistics Office of Vietnam. Retrieved 1 May 2020. (Vietnam, May 2020)

[54] Basically, according to one of the most popular providers in this field – 23andme, what you have to do you spit in a tube, and then receive a report breaking you down into neat little slices in a pie chart telling you that you're, for instance: 70% Vietnamese and 20% Czech and 10% others (https://www.23andme.com/en-int/howitworks/)

promoted by young social media influencers[55] (mostly YouTubers[56]) (Figure 5). While searching for those promoting videos on YouTube, you will find loads of videos with the title: "*What is my ethnicity?*" or "*Ethnicity Reveal*". The content of those videos is all about people claiming their "ethnicity" by splitting in a tube and sending it to the lab for DNA analysing, which is woefully imprecise and confusing as your DNA – a biological trait does not tell you anything about your "*ethnicity*". Ethnicity is much more than simply what is in our DNA, and the result of this test cannot be used to define who we really are and especially our ethnic identities. Concernedly, this trend of genetic tests might become an ultimate measurement of racial and ethnic identity for people with little to no sound knowledge about these categories then might even enter the political debate and leads to discrimination and hate crime in society. Therefore, it is imperative to understand and acknowledge the differences in definition and usages of these distinctive terms, as mentioned above.

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[55] Social media influencer is a new phenomenon in modern world which indicate people on social media platforms whose opinions have a powerful impact on people, especially on young generation. "Influencer" is an individual with a significant following on popular social media platform (Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat and YouTube, etc.) who is paid by brands to promote their products to said followers, via free products and trips and/or cash payment per promotional post. The purpose is to persuade followers to purchase such products (Wikipedia).

[56] YouTube is an online video-sharing platform which has emerged as a new type of digital journalism environment, offering users an opportunity to participate in the content for free. It is the place for creating many online celebrities (so-called YouTubers) whose videos have been watched by a huge number of people (Wikipedia).

Figure 5 Sample ethnicity estimate from 23andMe (left) and AncestryDNA (right)

(Source: https://www.comparebeforebuying.com/)
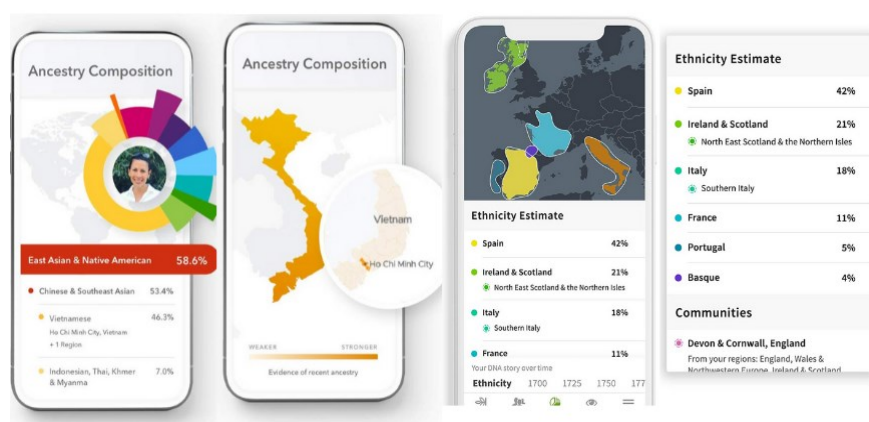
Since it is a socially constructed concept, ethnicity carries temporary and spatial aspects as well, which means the ethnic categorisation can vary based on particular moments in history and certain social conditions. For example, in Vietnam, the Kinh or Viet, which is the most predominant ethnicity, accounts for eighty-seven per cent of the population and has always been the vital part in Vietnamese culture and tradition[57] (Bui, 2010, p. 1). However, despite being regarded as an ethnic majority in Vietnam, in the Czech Republic, people more likely to group the Kinh immigrants in the same category with other ethnic groups from Vietnam, and just label them all as Vietnamese – an ethnic minority group[58] (Jiřička, 2013, p. 1). Regarding the temporarily characteristic of ethnicity, it can be observed in the example that I mentioned earlier above about some groups from central or eastern Europe that we now officially considered ethnicities (such as Polish, Italian) were thought of as "*race*" in the nineteenth century. Nowadays, it will be usual to find someone who would list their "*race*" as Italian, which was pretty regular about two hundred years ago. This illustration, again, proves to us that the way that the governments around the globe define ethnicities has continuously been changing over time and will continue in the future to incorporate to our

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[57] The Kinh use the official language of Vietnam, Vietnamese, as the main language. (Vietnam, May 2020)

[58] Vietnamese were reported to come to Czechoslovakia under these agreements and most of them were exclusively citizens from big cities of North Vietnam (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 94). Since the Vietnamese in Czech are mostly from King ethnic group, the issue did not appear to be prominent in the research.

society's changing notion of ethnicity and to suit the needs of the people engaging in it[59]. Therefore, we can deny the assumption of ethnicity that people have innate, permanent ethnic identities for life, and start acknowledging that ethnic identities shift and are recreated over time and across societies. It is also crucial to note that heritage is a huge contributor and influences in how to define ethnicities (Cojanu, 2014, p. 220), which make ethnicity, even though fluid and socially constructed, still cannot be "*literally anything*"[60].

Another remarkable trait of ethnicity, unlike "*race*", is a self-identification category which implies that individuals can subjectively place themselves into different ethnic groups regardless of what other people think of them (Simon, 2011, p. 1381). The subjective experience of identity and the sense of groupness are viewed as the most critical components of ethnicity besides shared culture and ancestral origins. Ethnicity can indicate the intensity of how individuals identify with and their adherence to a specific ethnic group (Hamaz & Vasta, 2009, pp. 3-4) (Cojanu, 2014, p. 219). For that reason, ethnic identity is another vital point on a long list of identity markers as well as an influential part of identity formation and development. As a module of a person's identity, ethnicity is a fluid and multifaceted phenomenon that is highly variable, and thus, ethnic identity can also fluctuate across time.

Nevertheless, by saying ethnic identity is a self – declaration label, I do not claim that everyone can choose their ethnic identity completely freely since birth. In fact, ancestry, which is a critical factor to categorise people into ethnic categories (Cojanu, 2014, p. 219), is an objective measure of one's root, and we might even have ancestors from different parts of the world that we do not know. Thus, no one can choose the ethnic groups that one is born into but only the desire of either nurturing, preserving that ethnic identity or leaving it to adopt another, is a matter of individual's choice, which play a considerable role in developing one's ethnic identity, after all (Silvey, 2006, p. 69). However, as I mentioned above, other people in society tend to tell you what they think you are, judge you based on your appearance[61]. Furthermore, what people think of you, whether you like it or not, is

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[59] Noticeably, many times the negotiations of cultural markers lie in the hands of people with economic and political advantages which I shall discuss later.

[60] For instance, emerging yourself in tea culture does not make tea your ethnicity no matter how much you know about it or enjoy drinking tea. Tea is just a subculture and cannot be considered as ethnicity.

[61] Again, how others see us very much depends on their background (culture, gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, class, etc.) By appearance here, I mean your overall look, which includes not only natural

uniquely and traditionally critical in our society[62]. Hence, even though ethnic identity is what people have the right to freely self-declare (Simon, 2011, p. 1381), observers' opinions still play a decisive part in it as they project a tremendous impact on how we perceive ourselves, how we place self within collectivities, where we belong and most importantly, how we define our ethnicity[63]. People tend to expect everyone in society to identify themselves with their physical appearance (Zdanowicz & Chiaramonte, n.d., p. 1), and they are spectacularly curious when encountering someone with complicated backgrounds that they cannot figure out that person's gender or ethnic identity at first glance. In the case of people with the mixed ethnic backgrounds like Vietnamese descendants living in the Czech Republic, they usually face a lot of pressure from society regarding their origins daily as they are frequently asked the following question: "*Where are you really from?*" (Tranová, 2018, p. 1) (Do, n.d., p. 1) (Dam, 2010, p. 1).Very often, other people are curious about people with mixed backgrounds, and are tempted to ask: "*Where are you from?*". Moreover, if the answer is something like the Czech Republic, Prague or Brno (but not Vietnam or some other Asian countries), you can see the utter surprise in their faces, and they shall definitely follow up with "*But…where are you really from?*" (Sochorová, 2020, p. 1) (Dangová & Tranová, 2020) (Nguyenová, 2017, p. 1).

The question, which seems harmless, is full of meaning as the term "*really*" poses a problem. Apparently, in some people mind's, their appearance (Asian, Vietnamese, exotic, flat nose, slant eyes) does not fit with where they say they come from (the Czech Republic - the western world where people are tall, with light hair, straight nose and big round eyes). Obviously, if these Vietnamese people living in the Czech Republic look and act like typical "*Czech*" (pale skins, blonde hair, speak perfect Czech and suchlike), they would not have even been asked in the first place. This query can make people on the receiving end – young Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic, even with people who have spent most of their lives here - start questioning their ethnic identity, feel like they do not belong, like outsiders

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physical appearance such as skin colour, hair texture, facial figures but also how you dress, how you talk, how you decorate your hair, paint your nails, which, whether you are aware of or not, are all influenced by your ethnic background

[62] For instance, when you go to the hospital, the doctors ask how you feel, but they also take your temperatures. Thus, they collect both subjective and objective information of you in order to make the diagnosis.

as it indicates that they are different (Where Are You Really From?, 2018) (Zdanowicz & Chiaramonte, n.d., p. 1).

3.1.4. Ethnic bias

Injustice due to ethnic differences is not a rare issue, but it is frustrating and disturbing. Even though it is just an invention of human to classify people into different groups, ethnicity still results in real and intense consequences in many lives. The act of categorising people in society into ethnic groups by pointing out, emphasising the differences (both physical and cultural) between groups, and at the same time overlooking diversity within groups, produces stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination.

An ethnic stereotype is the system of beliefs which assumes that members of a given ethnic group all possess some typical characteristics, behaviours merely through their membership to the group (Hilton & Hippel, 1996, p. 238). Hence, we can say that a stereotype is a distorted image of an ethnic group even though there have been plenty of evidence to prove it wrong. Many researchers have stated that people often direct negative stereotypes at people who are different from themselves – members of other groups[64] but theirs (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40) (Kossowska, et al., 2016, p. 839). This statement allows us to look closely into the situation of the ethnic minority groups like Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, as the size of their groups is much smaller than the dominant groups, their members more likely become the target of biased judgments and hostile attitudes. Ethnic stereotypes can be the depiction of all Vietnamese as materialistic, who care only about money, do not respect the law, do not hesitate to use violence, and who commit offences related to the smuggling and counterfeiting of goods, which has been represented in the Czech mass media for a long time[65] (Notarp, 2014, p. 353). This form of ethnic stereotyping in the media can severely impact identity formation for members of underrepresented groups – Vietnamese and also distort the perceptions of dominant groups – Czech towards them due to the lack of or false representations. Descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic are particularly vulnerable to the harmful effects of stereotyping in mainstream discourses

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[64] It can be understood as the process of otherness which projects stereotyping and prejudice towards outgroup targets

[65] *"... Vietnamese traders offer in their stalls not only duty-paid cigarettes at extremely low prices, but also clothing with counterfeit brand labels from Adidas, Nike, Reebok and from other world brands, and bottles of alcohol with fake labels."* (the daily Deník, 19. 8. 1997)

because they are in a period of identity development (Phinney, 1990, p. 28). Stereotyping may again, lead to prejudice[66] which is an attitude that prejudges a person (either positively or negatively) based on those stereotypes.

If ethnic stereotypes and prejudice are about what people believe, discrimination is the matter of action, is what prejudice is interpreted into behaviours that can be seen as unequal treatment of different groups of people due to their identification with particular ethnic groups (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 151). Ethnic discrimination can be observed easily in the case of the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, as many of them were victims of bullying daily while growing up in this western country; as reported by participants in this research as well[67]. More than that, ethnic discrimination even posts a deadly threat to an ethnic group which can be seen in the tragedy of two Vietnamese children that were drowned in the Czech Republic in 2018 due to the unacceptable negligence of Czech resort employees[68]. Apparently, ethnicity plays a role in how people are perceived and, therefore, the opportunities and threats that are available to them. It can be concluded that a person's ethnicity influences a whole social outcome, from their education to their income to their experiences with the criminal justice system. Hence, it can be conveyed that constant ethnic differentiation continues to constrain the lives of Vietnamese immigrants and their families in host countries like the Czech Republic in multiple ways.

3.2. Feminist and Ethnicity

There are many ways from sociological perspectives to look at the issues of ethnicity. Feminism, as a social movement, has an impressive view of understanding ethnicity in connection with gender. Besides, different waves of feminism will look at the relationship

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[66] Prejudice is a rigid and unfair generalization about an entire category of people which means it assumes that something you think to be true for a whole group applies to every individual member of that group, to with little or no evidence.

[67] Students with Vietnamese origins, along with students from Arab and Romani backgrounds are reported to often become target of different types of bullying at Czech schools (Richterová, 2018, p. 1)

[68] The case has been widely reported on Vietnamese newspapers in 2018 about two Vietnamese children that were left drowning to death because Czech employees in the scene refused to look for them no matter how much the boys' mothers begged them. Instead, these Czech employees disrespectfully referred to Vietnamese people on the scene as "scum" and remained staying under the roof because of the heat outside (Quy, 2018, p. 1).

between gender and ethnicity on the different angles as well as focus on the various aspects of feminist struggles. For many years, feminism as a social movement has been attempting to understanding the core nature of all the social constructed exploitation and discrimination that target women within the interconnected systems of domination. This section examines how different feminist approaches manage to tackle ethnicity with the consideration with feminist issues and why we need to conflate those two to end patriarchy.

3.2.1. Gender and Ethnicity

We all belong to multiple social categorised groups at the same time, which determine our social identities (Crenshaw, 1991). Moreover, all those identities are directly contributing to our lived experiences, how we think about ourselves and how we think about other people. Hence, recognising all the groups that individuals identify with all the limits and benefits that groups bring back to are critical in navigating their lives. For the descendants of immigrants, gender and ethnic categories can be seen as two significant factors that linked together and manipulate their way of lives.

It is crucial to comprehend that like ethnicity; gender is also a socially constructed category (West & Zimmerman, 1987), that means, it also carries all the characteristics as other human made-up social categories, such as flexibility, changeability and fluid (depends on time and space). Moreover, developed from this foreground, feminist Judith Butler later pointed out how we are all doing and performing gender daily based on what we understand as gender norms. Furthermore, gender norms are institutionalised by the culture, society that we locate in, which also regulate roles and behaviours based on the perceived gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987) (Butler, 2004). Besides, as the construction of gender is considered to vary by culture, individuals in different cultures and ethnic groups also perceive and perform gender differently, in a way that complies with their culture (Diekman, et al., 2004) (Neculaesei, 2015)

Indeed, gender influences the lived experiences of individuals and how they navigate society, especially in a society with different cultural norms. Young people are reported to navigate their identities in the immigration context differently based on their gendered identification as Güngör & Bornstein state that "*gendered acculturation is related to how male and female adolescents negotiate between their commitments to their heritage and mainstream cultures.*" (Güngör & Bornstein, 2013, p. 181). There are also some other studies suggest that as gender

powerfully shapes adolescents adaptation experiences, immigrant girls and boys have the tension in integrating into the host society very differently (Berry, et al., 2006) (Qin, 2006) (Güngör & Bornstein, 2013) (Näre, 2013).

The link between ethnicity and gender can be seen how the ethnic boundaries closely hinge on gender as to become a proper member of the ethnic groups, once must strictly obey and perform their gender roles according to the in-group's regulation (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 68). For minority men and women, ethnic boundaries are mostly defined by how they perform their standard sexuality in the term of whom they can date, whom to marry, how they should bear a child as well as other sexual relations, practices. If the members do not follow the sexual regulation of the in-groups or practice them improperly, they will definitively face punishment (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 68) (Anthias, 2008, p. 8). Thus, gender contributes a critical role in defining the ethnic differences and gender preformation is deeply imbedded in ethnic boundaries. Additionally, in the majority of ethnic groups, heterosexuality[69] plays a crucial role in defining their boundaries by labelling, who are good and who are bad members. The ideologies of extreme glorification of fertility and purity as well as heteronormativity[70] are central to many ethnic groups (Stone, 2016) which sexualise race, use homophobia as the opponent to their scheme. Especially in some cases, gender roles were used to remain and develop superior morality and promote the "*proper sexuality*" which is wholly dedicated to reproducing the superior race (Quine, 2012, p. 123).

Gender impacts the participant's experience because different societies have different gender norms for men and women to fulfil. The Vietnamese descendants are exposed to two different environments that have different expectations on how men and women should be, what roles they play, and how they interact with those around them. This makes it essential to understand how the male and female participants in this study perceive these different gender norms and how it influences their own gendered identity. In the next section, I will introduce two feminist concepts that theorise how gender as social construct notion that is

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[69] heterosexuality refers to sexual activity between members of opposite sexes. Heterosexuality is integral to the way a society is organised; it becomes a naturalised "*learned behaviour*". Heterosexuality is not innate in human beings nor is it the only normal sexuality (Rich, 1980).

[70] The assumption that everyone is or should be heterosexual and heterosexual relationships are norm. It conveys the idea that there are only 2 genders which are naturally decided by biological sex at birth and the one and only the sexual attraction between these two genders are natural and acceptable (Stein, 2004).

intertwined with other social identities, changing over time and dependent on the culture that is forming the gender norms. Plus, as much as feminist's ultimate goal is opposing and attacking sexual inequalities (Hawkesworth, 2006), criticising and challenging any ethnic groups that aim to police the sexual boundaries within their members and rule what kind of sex and with whom they can have sex with' cannot fall out of the primary goal of this feminist research. These concepts are essential to measuring how the Vietnamese participants have changed in their perception of gender after being exposed to two different types of gender norms.

3.2.2.   The concept of intersectionality

Lately, there have been some suggestions about how gender studies can also benefit and contribute to the analysis of migration issues (Sinatti, 2013, p. 215) (Haile & Siegmann, 2014, p. 107) (Truong, et al., 2014, p. 3). Among a wide range of feminist perspectives that are proved to have the possibilities to advance the current debate about migration worldwide, *intersectionality* is the concept that is mentioned most frequently due to its robust impacts on the study of inequality and the notion of inclusion/exclusion. According to what Bürkner noted in his recent paper, intersectionality has a potential to resolve the question of how to pinpoint and analysis all the migration's struggles without falling into cultural essentialism, which is one of the most central problems of migration research (Bürkner, 2011, p. 181).

Initially, the origin of this theoretical framework might be traced back to the nineteenth century when one of the earliest feminist figure - Sojourner Truth brought this into the light for the first time in her famous speech "*Ain't I a woman*" to criticise how black women like her were seen as less than white women and black men (Painter, 1996, p. 272). She was the first brave woman to speak of this matter and make it visible to society. Take it from there, more than one hundred years later; the idea gained its popularity once again. That was when scholars from the black feminist movement[71], clearly stated that it is not efficient to address all kinds of oppression and discrimination independently or consider some like the additional aspects to others and vice versa (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 71). Similar to Truth's incipient idea, while looking at the multiple dimensions of identity, feminist see the multiple layers of oppression on black women due to their skin colour as well as their gender. Therefore, they reject the traditional "*single-axis framework*" and attempt to embrace both

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[71] who predominately focus on the critical topic of gender and race

aspects simultaneously (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 63) (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 193). In order to put this into word, feminist scholar - Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw[72] proposed the term "*Intersectionality*" - the concept which underlines that identity is established by underpinning dimensions of many social categories such as race, class, gender (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140) (Nash, 2008, p. 3). Besides, all parts of an individual's identities should be studied altogether, not separately and added together. The structural category of gender should be examined with other categories because they are interacting and intersectional at their core (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 79) (McCall, 2005, p. 1775) (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 201) (Nash, 2008, p. 1). The ultimate purpose of this concept is to be able to look at individuals who are multidimensionally marginalized and disregarded, particularly in the term of race and gender. In her work, Crenshaw primarily focuses on life experiences of black women when talking about intersectionality, as she uses the metaphor of traffic crossroad in order to illustrate the multilayers of oppressions that they have to face:

> "*Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group tries to navigate the main crossing in the city. The main highway is 'racism road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street ... She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, which link together to make a double, a triple, multiple, a many layered blankets of oppression.*" – (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139)

Via this instance, Crenshaw argues that black women's social position can be considered as the crossroad in traffic. They are standing right at the intersection of gender and race, which makes their life experiences constructively different and peculiar from that of black men and white women. Once an accident occurs on the crossroad, it is just very challenging for the legal system to identify which car causes it (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149). Similarly, in the case of black women, when discrimination takes place in the intersection of gender and race, the legal system cannot determine the specific source of oppression, either sexism or racism. They cannot recognise the fact that black women usually are suffering from both kinds of discrimination simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149) (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). Unfortunately, since the current legal system at the time preferably defines sexism as the

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[72] as she observed that black women were severely lack of opportunities in the American labour market at the time which is the inevitable result of the legal system that only can recognise one type of discrimination at a time

cause of all women's (white female) discrimination and racism is responsible for men of colour (black male) segregation. Thus, black women, as the foreseeable consequence, was yielded "*invisible*" in the legal sphere (Nash, 2008, p. 6) (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1269). Black women are usually falling between the crack of the legal system as their issues do not perfectly fit into either of two legal categories – racism or sexism, while very often, they are subjugated because of both (Davis, 2008, p. 68) (Bürkner, 2011, p. 182). In short, intersectionality aims to explore and allow consideration of the multiple social factors that contribute to the oppression and marginalization, encourage marginalized groups of people pushed to the fringes of society to raise their voice[73] and pave the way for their recognition in the research area (Nash, 2008, p. 11). Significantly, this concept also promotes the ways to recognise the differences which are reinforced by intersectional categories, which been traditionally ignored by "*identity politic*" that tends to categorize people into the group based on the differences but oversee the diversity within the group (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242) (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 82) (Nash, 2008, p. 2).

Despite being a beneficial concept, there are still rooms for improvement as intersectionality has some certain disadvantages that scholars need to be aware of before using it in research. McCall argues that considering intersectionality can be viewed as the crossroad of identifications; it is a complex challenge to come up with a methodology that suits the complex characters of multiple, intersectional identities (McCall, 2005, p. 1771). There is confusion among researchers about whether this concept is supposed to be applied directly to identity studies that target individuals; or it should be considered as a topic to discuss in the discursive and operational context only (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006, p. 190). The inherently ambiguous usage of the intersectionality leads to the inconsistency in application among many different types of research (Nash, 2008, p. 4). One of the typical contestations and disputes around the vague convention of this powerful concept is whether it is applied for marginalized groups exclusively or can be used to analyse all subjects in general. When focusing on subjugated identities only, researchers within the intersectionality theory usually fall into excluding subjects that are considered to receive any privilege or non-multiple oppression. This is an erroneous act as all identities are somewhat always established by a wide range of multiple dimensions of power; that make ones still be victims of power

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[73] In her article named "*Re-thinking Intersectionality*", Nash stated that intersectionality demonstrates the importance of "'*speak[ing] against internal exclusions and marginalization to challenge institutions and radical political projects to hear the voices that have been silenced*'" (Nash, 2008, p. 13)

imbalances while remaining in the favoured groups[74] (Kwan, 1996, p. 1273) (McCann & Kim, 2016, p. 161). On the other hand, even though intersectionality is treated in the way that all social actors are taken into consideration, there will be high chances that researchers simply looks at the disadvantage of subjects and ignores the other factors that might bring them advantages (Nash, 2008, p. 10). For instance, a black woman may experience discrimination due to her race and class but also experience favouritism due to other aspects of her identity, such as autonomy and freedom (Zack, 2005, p. 23).

Another concern that was raised about intersectionality is the original application of the concept. There are critiques that Crenshaw is not paying enough attention to other identities beside race and gender, and thus ignoring other factors such as class or ethnicity. Meanwhile, these factors have the potential to contribute to the idea of "*multiple burdens*" of the concept of intersectionality (Nash, 2008, p. 7). By doing this, Crenshaw indirectly claims that only race and gender are the main dimensions of women's experience (Nash, 2008, p. 2). Thus, there is a need for extending the scope of intersectionality from Crenshaw initial work, which can include more social aspects mentioned above into the examination of identity politics (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006, p. 187).

It is also important to mention the limitation of the framework in the term of contextualization as there are confusions in how to detect the social dimensions should be taken into the examination within the located certain circumstances (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 73). This matter is questioned since intersectionality was not explained in the term of varying time and space features of social categorizations and how they affect particular people differently (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 62) (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 206). In order to avoid the "*limitless list*" of social divisions to study, other feminists such as Judith Butler suggests using "*etc.*" to imply the unlimited trait of the list (Butler, 1990). Besides, Yuval-David proposes placing social dimensions into their particular historical and political context and analysing them simultaneously along with the interconnectedness in mind (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202). According to Anthias and Yuval-David, we need to perceive

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[74] In order to illustrate this statement, Kwan take up an example of heterosexual white men as he notes that they also possess "*multiple identity, but intersectionality theorists would resist the claim by straight white males that theirs is an intersectional subjectivity. Central to intersectionality theory is the recovery of the claims and identities of those who, like African American women, are pushed to the margins of racial discourse because of assumptions of patriarchal normativity, and simultaneously pushed to the margins of the feminist discourse because of assumptions of racial normativity*" (Kwan, 1996, p. 1275)

intersectionality as a continuous process rather than a merely simple *"idea of an interplay in peoples' group identities"*. We also need to locate social actors in the specific yet various the contexts in order to examine how social categories can change the ways of discrimination of different people on different time and in a different place (Anthias, 2012, p. 102).

Regardless of all the defects that can be identified within the concept, intersectionality is still extremely valuable for comprehensive studies about ethnicity identity and especially of the descendants of immigrants. In this paper, I propose using intersectionality as an aptly main theoretical framework in order to investigate the construction of the Vietnamese immigrant descendants in the Czech Republic in term of ethnic identity. The concept will be used with the consideration of all disadvantages as underlined above and attempt to avoid them. With that in mind, intersectionality will benefit the paper resourcefully as it allows for an analysis, which takes into account the historical situation and intersecting social divisions while also promoting engagement with individual experiences across multiples dimensions of power and discrimination (Nash, 2008). The most important insight of this ideology that is useful here is the fact that social relations cannot be precisely bundled into those of categories of gender and ethnicity. However, it should be measured as inevitably and continuously intertwined and interconnected (Anthias, 2002, p. 102). This idea has the potential to break through essential identity politics that reinforces and concretes the homogenous society, which, in turn, tends to neglect the diversity and differences within groups (Bürkner, 2011, p. 191). This concept efficiently allows the voice of the disadvantaged, marginalized minority ethnic groups in society with intersectional identities (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1241) to be heard. In the case of the Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic along with their descendants, as they are the groups who are caught up in the intersectionalities of different social identities (ethnicity, gender, race), intersectionality can help me shed light on their experiences within the multi-cultural context, thus, gain comprehensive insight about what constitutes and impacts their ethnic identities.

3.2.3. Transnational Feminism

During the processes of massive globalisation and social changes in the 21st century, which encompasses active movements of people across international borders at an extraordinary scale (Czaika & Haas, 2015, p. 284), transnational feminism arose as a movement that can help to disrupt oppression and to advance liberation in global and diverse cultural contexts, bridge-building options for working across and between multiple countries and regions of

the world. This section offers a primer of critical tenets of transnational feminism that can be applied in this paper as I examine experiences of immigrants and their descendants.

Historically, the term "*transnational feminism*" was first mentioned twenty-six years ago by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan in their article called *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 2). In line with the innate meaning of the term "*transnational*"[75], transnational feminism can be defined as the movement that tackles gender inequality issues which emerge due to the process of globalisation; with the relation to a wide range of interacting forces; beyond the nation-state borders (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 4). One of the primary debates in transnational feminism is discarding the idea that people from different places of the world all have the same subjectivities and experiences with gender inequality, thus, face the same type of injustices and exploitation (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 233). Remarkably, it strictly critiques the notion of universal "*sisterhood*" (Morgan, 1984)[76] which romanticises and promotes a one and only view of women all around the world, offers a single feminist mould for understanding gender issues and accentuating the similarities of women's experiences and oppressions[77] (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, pp. 62-63). Instead, transnational feminists argue that the notion of global sisterhood exclusively indorses the white, middle-class feminist subject from the Global North[78] while ignoring the impactful variances between women, both locally and globally (Nadkarni, 2017, p. 1). At the same time, they realise that gender-related oppression, inequalities, and power structures are always manifested in multifaceted, diverse, dispersed, changing ways, and sometimes confusing or opposing ways[79]. Hence, transnational feminists are cautious when underlining that although globalising processes influence everyone, they affect different women very differently, in

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[75] Which literally means extending or operating across national boundaries in an era of 'globalization'" (Conway, 2019, p. 43).

[76] see Robin Morgan, *Sisterhood is Global*, New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 1984

[77] Power differences, privileges, and oppressions among women across world regions, nationalities, colonial history, economic realities, race/ethnicity, and sexuality were addressed in only limited ways.

[78] Global North (Heshmati, et al., 2020, p. 1) is often used to denote countries and regions that have historically held greater dominance in terms of intellectual, economic, and military power.

[79] Grewal & Kaplan, when criticizing the concept of "sisterhood", used the phrase "scattered hegemonies" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 7) in order to speak to the complexity and fluidity of power structures, local variations in how social power operates, and the reality that a single approach to social change is of limited relevance to the diverse circumstances and needs of women around the world.

reference to their social locations. For example, some effects of globalization, while benefiting some women, can excessively place many others in disadvantages (Parekh & Wilcox, 2020, p. 8).

Consequently, they post the urgent needs to explore the differences and diversity of inequalities among individuals from different contexts around the world (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, pp. 62-63). Transnational feminists notice that studying the dissimilarities between women as opportunities to enrich understanding of complex social issues. Therefore, they encourage feminists worldwide to recognise global power variances, regional perspectives and listen to women with various experiences from all different locations, particularly highlight the perspectives of women whose voices have often been silenced (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 37).

Often time, transnational feminism is confused with postcolonial feminism as they both attack the idea of punctuating unification among women across national boundaries based on their shared experience of patriarchal oppression (Parekh & Wilcox, 2020, pp. 6-8). However, postcolonial feminism is only attentive on resisting colonial and imperialist forces; rejecting Euro American feminisms that universalise women's oppressions without aiming to strengthen the broader feminist movement (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 6). On the other hand, transnational feminism also seeks to create solidarity among women all over the globe, fostering transnational harmony and collaboration between feminists who are from different countries while still respecting the differences among them (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, pp. 8-9) (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 1). Transnational feminisms pursue to examine gendered experiences both within and across all regions, analyse their interdependencies, and build linkages and coalitions around the world that are based on shared goals[80] (not same goals). (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 40). It is also worth to mention that transnational feminism does not form solidarity on the ground of collective identity or uniform set of experiences as some other feminist movements[81], but it relies purely on conventional political standpoint. Thus, everyone is welcomed to join the transnational feminist unification (Khader, 2019, pp. 44-48).

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[80] These shared goals need to be flexible, modifiable, defined inclusively, and thus, may be temporary or limited in focus

[81] such as global feminism, which establish social solidarity the basis of characteristics shared by all women (Parekh & Wilcox, 2020, p. 8)

In the relation with women solidarity, transnational feminism also attempts to create a collaborative and robust alliance among women around the globe by criticising the view of women in the Global South[82] as less fortunate sisters, which leads to the fact that women from the southern regions are often distortedly depicted as passive, uninformed victims, and as dependent on Western feminist "*saviours*" with their expertise and insight to overcome oppression (Mendoza, 2002, p. 301). Therefore, transitional feminist calls for an alliance based on equality which requires mutual respects from both side and acknowledgement, centralisation of perspectives and voices that are frequently marginalised as a critical factor (Okech & Musindarwezo, 2019, p. 267).

Moreover, transnational feminist theory and practice also underline and develop based on intersectionality. If intersectionality is one of the core stone of contemporary feminist perspectives which refers to the complex interactions among social identities (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 150), transnational feminisms took a step further. They expanded based on this concept by reaffirming all of the connections of identities and oppressions in broader contexts and global perspectives (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 30). While doing that, transnational feminism creates an environment for researchers to study the intersectional identities of people who actively move between nations and thus, possess the experiences of immigrants, refugees, displacement, cultural diaspora, dispersing across multiple regions, as well as those who are attempting to integrate multiple cultural identities (Horne & Arora, 2013, p. 245). For example, in the case of people with the immigrant background like Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, different cultural norms from both host and origin countries can collaborate with other social identities (such as gender, ethnicity, race, religion) to create a complicated set of transnational intersectionalities within individuals.

This practice is also related to another critical theme of transnational feminism as rather than being border-restrictive, this framework employs not only the interactions within different locations but also across global boundaries and the spaces between nations (Comas-Díaz & Vazquez, 2018, p. 14). As the state of shifting and crossing borders are predominantly experienced by mobile populations such as refugees, immigrants, transnational feminism can benefit researching in this subject matter. It can help investigate how individuals

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[82] In contrast to Global North, transnational scholars tend to use the Global South or Majority World to refer to regions that have historically held less power and where roughly 80% of the world's population reside (Collins, et al., 2019)

negotiate their ways between different flows of complex hybrid identities, hyphenated identities (such as Asian-American, Vietnamese-Czech) and multiple following oppressions when moving between nations (Comas-Dıaz & Vazquez, 2018, p. 14).

Another central feature of transnational feminism is its challenge of dominant forms of knowledge from the Western world, which maintains Northern feminist insight about genders as the norm (Mohanty, 1991). In order to cope with this situation, transnational feminist proposes to look at the way individuals have internalized "*the norm*" and how they choose to handle it (such as assimilation, integration, resistance or compromising). Moreover, in order to decentralize the knowledge within feminists away from the Western world exclusively, feminist scholar Mohanty suggests to "*shift the axis*" and "*pivot the centre*" to shed more light on the groups who have been marginalized (Mohanty, 1991, p. 39) in order to gain a more comprehensive set of knowledge about women worldwide. By drawing more attention to studies of women who have experienced multiple, intersectional oppressions; particularly with the consideration of self-reflexivity and positionality, biased lenses or assumptions are expected to be reduced (Carolyn Zerbe Enns & Bryant-Davis, 2020, p. 3). From the fundamental tenets that I have noted above, transnational feminism can be seen as one of the representatives of the third wave feminism, alongside with intersectionality, that pays great attention to the connection between feminist perspectives and multiple intersecting identities of immigrants (which includes ethnic identity). As this is a feminist study about how immigrant descendants cope with a wide array of gendered identifies in a multi-cultural background, transnational feminism is expected to contribute to both methodologies and analysing process.

3.3. Vietnamese as an ethnic group in the Czech Republic

3.3.1. Definitions of Vietnamese immigrant and their Descendants in the Czech Republic

The new and young group of Vietnamese[83] in the Czech Republic plays a vital role in forming and changing the community in the future as well as bridging the gap between the

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[83] In this paper, the term Vietnamese is used as referring to an ethnic group. However, the empirical investigation concluded that some individuals may mistakenly think about it exclusively in the relation with their "Asian appearance" due to the widely interchangeable usage of race and ethnicity in general speaking. Nevertheless, the term was intentionally retained as it is intended to underline the whole meaning regarding ethnic identity of individuals.

Vietnamese community and mainstream society. In the close relation with the Vietnamese immigrants who settled in the Czech Republic, either brought or started their families here, their children, also, cannot avoid facing many intense yet significant problems growing up in a multi-cultural environment.

The definition of immigrant can be stated as a non-national person who is moving into a country for the purpose of settlement or a person who has established a new residence in a "*place*" other than that in which they habitually lived. Some other scholars defined "*immigrant*" is a person born in a country other than their current country of residence (Gimeno-Feliu, et al., 2019, p. 2). Thus, in this study, following this, I describe Vietnamese immigrants as individuals born in Vietnam and allocate in the Czech Republic, no matter before or after 1989. As for the Vietnamese migrating to the Czech Republic, it could be claimed that the motives for migration are economical, education or for family reunion purposes, which implies that the migration is voluntary (Alamgir, 2013, p. 78).

In this paper, I attempt to let the respondents state their own understanding about this the notion of descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic[84] and then follow with the question where they can place themselves in the group that they find the most accurate[85]. By doing this, I attempt to capture the subtle and dynamic nuances of the label *"descendants of immigrant"* and the way it impacts how respondents perceive themselves regarding their own ethnic identity.

Nevertheless, in general, for the purpose of identifying the target group of studying in this paper, I define descendants of a Vietnamese immigrant in the Czech Republic are the ones who come to the Czech territory following their parents at a very young age or born here by their Vietnamese parents, then spend the most of their lives in the Czech Republic. I do not separate the group of young Vietnamese who born here and the ones who were brought here when they were little[86] as they have a similar situation and mentally closer to each other than to any other groups of Vietnamese on Czech land as I mentioned above (Zhou, 1997, p. 65).

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[84] Question in the survey: "What is your definition of "descendants of Vietnamese immigrant in the Czech Republic,"?

[85] By asking them the question: "Do you identify yourself as the "descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic?"

[86] The arrival age is not a rigid criterion in this research, as long the respondents have spent the majority of their lives here in the Czech Republic, they shall be recruited.

This combination should not have any significant effect on the impact on the overall characteristics; on the contrary, this fact may provide room for reflection on some dissenting aspects. In this paper, the terms "*young Vietnamese*", "*Vietnamese descendants*", "*descendants of Vietnamese immigrants*" will be used interchangeably to indicate the one and only target group of the research.

3.3.2. Overview of the Vietnamese Ethnic group in the Czech Republic

Nowadays, there are around 64.3% of people living in the Czech Republic identify themselves with Czech ethnicity[87], about 6.4% of the population placed themselves in the Moravian and Slovak groups, which are historically and culturally moderately close to Czech[88]. The rest, about 27.5%, is made up of many other ethnic groups on Czech land such as Ukrainian, Russia, Vietnamese and others. As the ethnic identity is only salient when it is put in a society with many diverse ethnic groups (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 67) (Phinney, 1990, p. 520), the current ethnic situation (non-homogenous) in the Czech Republic allows us to study the Vietnamese as an ethnic minority group in this country.

Even though ranking behind Slovak and Ukrainian in population, the Vietnamese ethnic group still stands out in the ethnic picture of the Czech Republic since unlike other major ethnic minority groups in this land, Vietnamese bring with them extreme distinctive culture[89]

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[87] Czech Republic Demographics Profile in 2011 (https://www.indexmundi.com/czech_republic/demographics_profile.html)

[88] For many demographers, Moravians are grouped into Czech ethnicity even though they do have a distinct Moravian dialect of the Czech language. Plus, the Moravians themselves claim that their ancestry was from a different Slavic tribe than the larger Czech majority. Regarding the Slovak ethnicity, after Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the Slovaks remains the largest ethnic group in the Czech Republic. Even though they shared a country with the Czechs for nearly a century, the Slovak ethnic group is another Slavic group, just closely related to the Czechs. Their language is quite distinct from Czech. In 2011, only about 1.5% of people in the Czech Republic identify as Slovak, largely because most Slovaks live in Slovakia, but also because many Czech people do not actually see the differences between Czech, Slovak, or Moravian (Čaněk & Čižinský, 2011, p. 327).

[89] In comparison with other major foreigner groups in the Czech Republic, Vietnamese, as the only ethnic group from Asia, whose culture and lifestyles are deeply embedded with collectivism, family value, etc. While Czech culture is more about individualism and personal freedom (Mai, 2016, pp. 1-2).

and possess the Asian appearance which is obviously distinguishable with Czech[90]. The vast majority of Vietnamese citizens carry on business based on trade license, traditionally sell textile, electronic goods but recently as the demand for them has decreased, the trend of opening restaurants, food stores and nail salons has slowly taken over (Černík, et al., 2005, p. 108). The Vietnamese are often considered to be very hardworking as they endure severe working conditions such as long working hours, including the weekends which results in the shortage of time devoted to children or any kind of entertainment. They perceive that hard work will pay off, and it is the only way that leads to success, but the descendant group do not always think about work and life that way (Martínková, 2010).

Vietnamese parents very often put enormous pressure on their children regarding education and consider education to be their primary task, as they perceive it as a prerequisite for success in the majority society (Willoughby, 2019, p. 1). On the bright side, Vietnamese students usually perform exceptionally well at Czech schools at all level, even though some of them faced the language barrier when they just came to the country (Alamgir, 2013, pp. 81-82)[91]. Following their parents' high expectations and pressure on education, their free time is often filled with various types of tutoring, where they also visit private teachers (Černík, 2005, p. 36). If not studying, in their free time, they interact with siblings and relatives, and some spend their free weekends with their parents in markets (Černík, 2005, p. 34).

Vietnamese immigrant parents strongly to desire to maintain the ethnic culture in their children; thus, familial and ethnic socialization must be necessary. Otherwise, they fear that their offspring can be "*mất gốc*"[92] – losing their Vietnamese roots, which is considered to be

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[90] Czechs themselves are generally able to recognise other people as "Czechs" or "non-Czechs", by their appearance and /or language. And as members of an ethnic groups have unique physical and/or cultural characteristics that enable members of other groups to identity its members easily, often for purposes of discrimination (Banks, 2008). As for Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, compare with other foreigner groups such as Slovak or Ukrainian, it is much easier to identify a Vietnamese on the street as immigrants on the street than other groups.

[91] Many of them have received honour awards from the Czech government due to their outstanding performance at schools. Embassy honours outstanding Vietnamese students in Czech Republic (https://english.vov.vn/society/embassy-honours-outstanding-vietnamese-students-in-czech-republic.386129.vov)

[92] "mất gốc" literally means "losing roots" in Vietnamese, which is used to indicate someone who neglects and disrespect their origin.

an immense shame in Vietnamese culture. It is also worth noting that in Vietnamese families, roles are hierarchical and clearly defined. Parents tend to be the central figures and are commonly revered (Hunt, 2002, p. 7). Therefore, the cultural transmission from parents to children is usually a one-direction, and this is one of the main reasons for dispute between Vietnamese immigrants and their descendants in Czech. However, Vietnamese parents still have an enormous impact on their children's sense of their ethnicity, either directly or through the promotion of the ethnic language and strict discipline at home (Michal, 2017, p. 1). Vietnamese descendants usually find themselves being trapped into the situation of not belonging to any specific ethnic group[93], therefore, find themselves falling somewhere in between two labels: Vietnamese and Czech and always confused about their own identity (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, pp. 121-122).

Vietnamese ethnic group in the Czech Republic is well-known to be isolated itself from the mainstream culture despite the considerable amount of efforts to promote the integration from the host government and society (Pechová, 2007, p. 9) (Lin, 2017, p. 48). Drbohlav and Dzúrová state that the motive of the isolation of Vietnamese group does not come from the host society but from within the ethnic group where they might find their culture too different from the Czech mainstream culture and feel more comfortable sticking together (Drbohlav & Dzúrová, 2007, p. 73). Indeed, this statement is not entirely wrong, but it cannot be applied to all member of the Vietnamese group in Czech. For instance, we can take a close look at the Vietnamese "*potraviny*"[94] and bistros all around the Czech land, the image of Vietnamese always watching Vietnamese-speaking channels and programmes on satellite televisions[95], with artworks of old Vietnamese quotes being hung up on the walls would explain this phenomenon precisely (Drbohlav, et al., 2005). Another evidence of ethnic isolation can also be found in Sapa[96], an expansive Vietnamese market on the outskirt of

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[93] Mainly between Czech and Vietnamese

[94] "Potraviny" (means grocery store in Czech) is a vital notion in understanding the Vietnamese diasporic community in the Czech Republic as Vietnamese usually run small grocery stores on every corner of Czech cities. Stores carry a variety of groceries and open early and stay open late to attract local customers who casually shop for a small amount of groceries.

[95] According this research, only 6% of Asian respondents (includes young Vietnamese and Chinese) in the Czech Republic said they "almost always" watched Czech television programmes.

[96] A lot of important Vietnamese business entities as well as non-profit organisations whose interests are care and support of the community place their head office here. Language courses and other community

Prague and is considered to be an ethnic sanctuary of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. This place is where newly arrived migrants can find everything necessary for their lives, hairdressers to Vietnamese insurance companies, without even speaking a word in Czech. If they ever need to do some tasks outside of the Vietnamese speaking community, there are always Czech speaking Vietnamese "*middlemen*" who for can arrange for visas, take them to the doctor or even attend parent-teacher meetings as surrogates with a certain amount of fee (Drbohlav, et al., 2009, p. 65). The more services Sapa offers to the Vietnamese immigrants, the more it becomes a little world for Vietnamese exclusively exists parallelly with the Czech society and thus, isolates these people from the rest of the Czech nation. Simply put, by attempting to maintain their original culture and language as much as possible, the Vietnamese community (mainly the generation of immigrants who make up most of the Vietnamese group here) are trying to preserve and reinforce their culture and develop their ethnic group on Czech land. However, this strategy indirectly pushes them further away from the Czech society.

Realising their previous generation's shortcomings and limitations, the young Czech-born Vietnamese children prefer to step out of the "*comfort market zone*" and try out other professions to integrate into the Czech majority society. Indeed, descendants of Vietnamese seem to draw another path of development for themselves, which is quite different from their parents. Many of them pursue careers in various non-traditional fields which their parents used to criticise as "*unrealistic*", "*dreamy*" such as artist, film director, acting, writer and even politician (Volynsky, 2013, p. 1) (Michal, 2017, p. 1) (Willoughby, 2019, p. 1). Besides, some members of the Vietnamese descendants wish to integrate more into host society while continue preserving their parents' language. SEA-l (formerly called Klub Hanoi)[97] is an association established by those young people with such an idea and passion, which finds a way for the Vietnamese community to communicate with the host society through a website written totally in the Czech language (Lin, 2017, p. 45)[98]. We can say that the descendants

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events, of which the Czechs are not aware of, e.g. music concerts or football matches are organised here as well.

[97] http://sea-l.cz/cs/

[98] However, for some group of people, especially among the old Vietnamese immigrants, this association could be a representation of the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants but also can affirm their exclusive Czech identity, which raises a fear of Vietnamese identity will eventually fade away (Lin, 2017, p. 45)

of Vietnamese migrants, who do more than just working in the "*potraviny*"[99], nail salons or factories, are a step by step breaking the stereotypes and affirming their strong position in the Czech society.

As a result, in recent years, the image of Vietnamese as an ethnic minority in the Czech Republic can be valued as quite optimistic (Nekvapil & Neustupný, 2003, p. 214). According to a survey[100] conducted in March 2017 on the public's views of ethnic communities living in the Czech Republic, the Vietnamese were among the group of foreigners that are more liked than disliked (32% like/ 26% dislike) (Tuček, 2017, p. 1). There is evidence that shows the progress in the tolerance level of the Czech people on the existence of Vietnamese as an ethnic minority living beside them[101]. It shows real progress in the integration of Vietnamese into Czech society with the emerging of the Vietnamese descendant groups who is gradually reinforcing and affirming their position in Czech society. (Tuček, 2017, p. Table 2).

Despite that, we cannot deny the presence of prejudice and unfair treatments against Vietnamese as discrimination triggered by ethnic and racial factors (mainly manifested through verbal insults) is still a significant problem in Czech society (Alamgir, 2013, p. 80). Vietnamese people in the Czech Republic are nearly always reduced to stereotypes by local people due to the mainstream media along with the authorities have portrayed rigid and one-sided stereotypes about the entire community either eating a lot of rice, staying illegally, selling fake goods in food stores or growing marijuana (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 130). Noticeably, facing hatred at school by schoolmates and even widely in public places due to the ethnic differences is one of the obstacles that most young Vietnamese in the Czech

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[99] Means "food store" in Czech

[100] by the public opinion research centre of the Institute of Sociology at the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (CVVM)

[101] Although these are just very humble numbers, if we compare the survey result from previous years, there are actually some positive sign as the evaluation of the relationship with the Vietnamese community decreased from 3.26 in 2013 to 2.97 in 2017The question read: 'Using this scale, how would you describe your attitude towards population groups living in the Czech Republic? a) Slovaks, b) Poles, c) Russians, d) Germans, e) Roma, f) Ukrainians, g) Hungarians, h) Czechs, i) Bulgarians, j) Vietnamese, k) Romanians, l) Greeks, m) Jews, n) Serbs, o) Albanians, p) Chinese, q) Arabs.'
Response options: 1 = like very much, 2 = like somewhat, 3 = neither like nor dislike, 4 = dislike somewhat, 5 = dislike very much

Republic have to face in early ages[102]. Mainstream society, via the powerful tool – media, has completely ignored the group of Vietnamese who stay legally, study and do high-paid jobs and more importantly, the descendants of Vietnamese. This distorted stereotype contributes to establishing a vicious cycle of racism, and ethnic discrimination aims at Vietnamese ethnic minority group in the Czech society[103].

3.3.3. Vietnamese immigrant descendants in the Czech Republic and ethnic identity

Recently, along with the expanding of Vietnamese descendants' group in the Czech Republic in all aspects, the number of researches that target their issues is also rising. This section aims to reviews these studies that attempted to tackle Vietnamese descendants' problems with integrating in the Czech society, especially ones that examine their ethnic identities and gender norms with other influential factors. I will first review the literature that is available about the Vietnamese migrant communities more broadly, then taking a closer look at specific studies of gender. Looking at the existing literature on gender in the Vietnamese community is also crucial in shaping understanding and creating a story of what is to be expected in the empirical section.

3.3.3.1. Ethnic Identity among descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic

Some studies have explored the ethnic identities of immigrants, focused on bicultural individuals and the way they negotiate to balance those identities in the European context. When moving to a new environment, fundamentally, immigrants have to face the tension between the original ethnicity and the mainstream ethnicity in the host country. Thus, when living in a non-homogenous society, immigrants' sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group is consequently shaken, individual self-identification along ethnic lines is thus, continuously in flux (Dhingra, 2007, p. 79). Many scholars have noted that the way of navigating ethnic identities are different between immigrants and their descendants, who spend the vast majority of their lives in the host countries and are predominantly under the

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[102] See more in Labels at School: Vietnamese in CZ (https://chaupraha.com/2019/09/25/vietnamese-in-the-czech-republic-labels-at-school/)

[103] It starts with stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination, which motivate social disadvantage against the minority groups and forces them to a lower position in society. This disadvantage on the other hand drastically creates the belief in minority group's innate inferior, particularly among young Vietnamese in Czech, which is used to come back and justify the prejudice at the beginning.

influences of the institutional system (school, mainstream media, government) (Lin, 2017) (Formánková & Lopatková, 2018, p. 136). This group of young people are reported to grow up and actively explore the relationship between acculturation and identities. As the outcomes, some identify themselves with one ethnic group better than the other, some adopt both and find comfort in their hybrid identities (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2006, pp. 3-4). Even though there are many pieces of research arose lately about Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, the number of studies that focus on how individuals construct and affirm their identities, especially ethnic identities are unfortunately quite limited[104]. Most studies about young Vietnamese in Czech focus on other specific problems like language, education, cultural integration and "*Czech nannies*" (Černík, et al., 2005) (Moravcová & Bittnerová, 2006) (Svejdarova, 2009) (Souralová, 2014) (Sherman & Homoláč, 2016) (Lin, 2017). The situation of Vietnamese descendants in Czech are unique as Vietnamese is the largest group from Asia in this country and they cannot be grouped with any other major foreigner groups due to their dissimilarities in culture and appearance.

Two scholars Svodobova and Janska are ones of the first to tackle this issue in their study exclusively based on in-depth interviews with 14 Vietnamese adolescents from 16 to 29 years old in two years (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 124). The purpose of this short study was to check whether ethnic identity plays a vital role in young people's lives and how they create their ethnic identities in the multi-cultural situation. As the research was designed along with the development stages of young people, it was successful in presenting how ethnic identity continually develop and grow (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 125). Unfortunately, the study failed to address what are the social factors (such as friends, parents, families and host society) that constitutes and impacts the process of forming ethnic identities of this group of young people. Moreover, another shortcoming of this study lies in the fact that it did not take into consideration the intersectionalities of ethnic identity with other identities (such as gender, sexual orientation), roles and labels that Vietnamese descendants also define themselves with. However, after all, this study still can be considered as a pioneering example and inspiration for more researches about Vietnamese descendants' identities in the future like the current paper.

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[104] There some limitation in searching for literature as the author does not speak Czech. Most of the references in literature review are from sources in English language

In the same year, another study on the similar topic was published in the local language under the name "*How do young Vietnamese Czech women of 1,5 and 2 Generation think about their identity*" (Hubertová, 2016). In this research, the target group was even more narrow as the author only recruited young Vietnamese Czech women (18-22). The main target of this paper was to investigate what young Vietnamese women in Czech think about their identities not only in the term of ethnicity but also education and career, relationship and in some other personal domains. However, even though aiming to examine all the identities above, the author did not employ the feminist concept of intersectionality to seek the connections between these identities and how they interact with each other but simply explore them separately one by one. Besides, the sample size of only 6 Vietnamese women seems to be considerably small while the short paper was spread out to underscore many sub-categories, different identities equally and simultaneously (Hubertová, 2016, pp. 3-4). Besides, the respondents' group is exclusively "*high achievers*", who all hold Czech citizenship only and are successful students, which makes the study nowhere near the representative of the entire population of Czech Vietnamese in the late period adolescence and emerging adulthood (Hubertová, 2016, p. 15). As the expectable consequence, the outcomes of this paper were just merely isolated fragments of findings of different selected identities that Vietnamese female descendants in Czech can carry. The factor of gender identities, norms and perspectives were not represented in the paper, even though the sample was exclusively women.

Some other Czech scholars, although mainly scrutinise different issues other than ethnic identities of Vietnamese descendants in this land, still slightly mention about this subject matter along with their main problem. For instance, in a research about the experience of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic in the role of "*family translator*", it is noted that playing the language broker between parents and host society can also benefit ethnic identities of young people. In details, the maintenance and development of Vietnamese language for translating purpose within the families; even though when they are in a specific setting (the Czech Republic); grants Vietnamese descendants opportunities to be exposed to the norms and values of their parents' ethnicity (Sherman & Homoláč, 2016, p. 4). This situation would then equip them with the ability to shift between cultures, acquire bicultural backgrounds and thus, they can shape the hybrid ethnic identities as they please.

Therefore, building upon existing literature, I conduct this research in order to fulfil the gap of the in-depth study of the descendants of Vietnamese group in the Czech Republic

regarding their ethnic identities in the interconnection with other multiple gendered identities and influential social factors.

3.3.3.2. Gender and Vietnamese immigrants in the western world and the Czech Republic

3.3.3.2.1. *Vietnamese immigrant parents with gender norm*

As I mentioned in the previous section – Gender and Ethnicity, gender is one of the critical social categories that influence how the identities of immigrant descendants are formed and developed (Berry, et al., 2006) (Qin, 2006) (Güngör & Bornstein, 2013) (Näre, 2013). However, the relationship between men and women does not seem to gain much attention from Czech scholar while studying Vietnamese immigrants or their descendants in the Czech Republic,[105] where they have to adopt different values than in the origin country. However, this topic has been examined in some researches about Vietnamese immigrant in western society in general. A few qualitative studies from the United States (Kibria, 1990) (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001) show that many of the Vietnamese men who reallocated in the western world experienced obstacles in maintaining the role as the family's breadwinner. In order to adapt to the new environment in the host country, women's help is needed to support the family. The changes in economic power distribution between men and women as women gain in economic power contribute to the changes in gender dynamics within families (Oláh, et al., 2018, p. 47).

Despite this factor, the Vietnamese immigrant women still do not challenge the traditional gender norms, nor did they challenge the authority of the man (Kibria, 1990, p. 18). In contrary, in the Vietnamese families, where Confucian values tend to exert stronger, women continuously remind themselves about their positions as "*nội tướng*" (loosely translated into "*interior marshal*")[106], who take care of children and husbands, do housework, and manage family finances on top of a full-time job (Duong, 2001, p. 227). While women are expected to put family first, the successful career is set to be a man's goal only, and women merely

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[105] apart from a slight mentioning in the study called "Identity Development Among Youth of Vietnamese Descent in the Czech Republic" ((Svobodová & Janska, 2016)

[106] "nội tướng" in Vietnamese

play the supporter role[107] (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011, p. 733) (Vu, 2019, p. 8). Consequently, immigrant Vietnamese men often support traditional gender roles as a way of reaffirming their authority to compensate for the loss of social and economic status (Kibria, 1990, p. 20) (Nguyen, 2008, p. 338). In general, the literature suggests that even with the different gender norms in the host country, the older generation of Vietnamese immigrants still attempt to maintain the traditional Vietnamese gender norms.

3.3.3.2.2. *Vietnamese immigrant descendants and gender norm*

Due to the different mindset in western countries where individualism is preferred over collectivism, the Vietnamese parents (especially the mothers) forcibly attempted to transmit traditional Vietnamese norms on the children – particularly gender norms (Chan & Dorais, 1998, p. 304). In some cases, for example, Vietnamese immigrant in the UK, the ethnic group reinforce, reinvent gender differences, create a hierarchy that is "*even more rigid and 'traditional' than in the homeland.*" (Barber, 2017, p. 5) The reason behind this is Vietnamese immigrants are afraid of losing their root quickly, considering their situation of living in a foreign country, where values are infiltrating their daily lives and rigidity helps maintain their connection to the home country[108] (Barber, 2017, p. 5).

On the side of culture receivers – Vietnamese descendants, their parents are reported to apply a lot more Vietnamese traditional gender roles and greater control over Vietnamese daughters (Kibria, 1990) (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001). While Vietnamese parents in the United States valued obedience in both male and female children, the daughters are placed under stricter parental control[109] and are often held to a higher moral standard[110] which Vietnamese male descendants do not have to suffer (Kibria, 1990) (Lieu, 2000) (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001). Vietnamese female descendants are aware of the double standards, and as an expected outcome, they find it very unfair and sometimes have strong opinions against the Vietnamese traditional gender roles (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001). However, this is not efficient to conclude that the Vietnamese descendants, especially female, reject their Vietnamese identity completely because it contradicts with their gender identity. The

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[107] In Vietnamese culture, they cherish the saying "behind every great/successful man there stands a woman" as they way to glorify the scarify of Vietnamese women as supporters to their men, but they are never allowed to take the main credits from "big work" (việc lớn) or a successful career.

[108] Symbolic ethnicity

[109] Such as not going out too late, doing well in school, stay away from boys

[110] Such as must be devoted to the family, not to be provocative, not having boyfriends while in school

Vietnamese descendants seem to find different ways to negotiate and balance their gender identity and ethnic identity. The choice of a romantic partner is one of the sectors where we can see how to negotiate their identities (Crul & Schneider, 2010, p. 1254) as some young Vietnamese, instead of responding rebelliously towards their parent's belief, they either compromise by combining their parent's wishes and their personal choices by simultaneously maintaining good grades in school while dating (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 128) (Nguyen, 2008, p. 338) or sneaking behind without their parent notice (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001, p. 144)

In general, Vietnamese communities in western countries are often tightly knit communities, and women tend to face scrutiny more than their male counterparts do (Svobodová & Janska, 2016, p. 123). Women who are deemed as behaving in ways not reflective of appropriate female conduct, end up being overseen by the community to control their behaviour in the attempt to make women to more likely conform to gendered expectations. This situation was illustrated in Kibria's research when she analysed the case of a female Vietnamese respondent who was pressured by the community not to get a divorce as that would violate the family solidarity which is highly valued in Vietnamese culture (Kibria, 1990, p. 17). Although the young Vietnamese women typically agreed with family values, through these previous researches, they seem to face more conflicts with their ethnic groups in comparison to men.

4. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter aims to elaborate on the chosen research design in order to maintain the research transparency and make the outcome knowledge valid. It is also crucial to consider the fundamental of the research questions when choosing the appropriate methodology. This research intends to discover how Vietnamese immigrant descendants in the Czech Republic perceive their ethnic identities concerning the impact of their life experiences, particularly from feminist perspectives. Thus, since this is a feminist study, it complies with the spirit of feminist methodology which means as a researcher, I concern about creativity and variety, attempt to stretch the research in every direction as well as take into the consideration all methods that suitable; even combines them if necessary (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002). Even though feminists have traditionally critiqued questionnaire surveys along with other quantitative methods as a set of "*hard facts*" or purely patriarchal methods (Reinharz, 1992, pp. 86-87), it does not mean feminist researchers exclude quantitative methods entirely from their studies. Instead, feminists are encouraged to challenge the rigid division quantitative/qualitative and utilise quantitative methods in research long with a full array of methodological tools in order to optimize the comprehensiveness of the data (Reinharz, 1992, p. 94).

Thus, in the reflection of the subject matter and weighing the advantages, disadvantages of all available methods, I find the combination of quantitative (gather via questionnaire survey) and qualitative (gathering via questionnaire surveys and interviews) method (Letherby, 2003, p. 84) is suitable for collecting data. This data collecting method assists me in expanding information about how individuals experience their lives and negotiate their identities. In this chapter, I will endeavour to explain why the research methods I employed were appropriate for my research. In conjunction with this, I will provide an account of the process of data collection, the process of data analysis, reflect on my role as a researcher and the challenges I encountered. I will also underline ethical considerations before, during, and after the data collection process. Lastly, I will also introduce the participants of the research project along with the socio-demographic data.

4.1. Research Design

In order to better examine the notion of ethnic identity among the Vietnamese immigrant descendants, I decided to use both questionnaire surveys and interviews as the primary

sources of data collection. Firstly, I refer to questionnaire survey[111] as a widely accepted method in the scientific field that can help me put a problem of ethnic identity of Vietnamese descendants on the map; and confirm or challenge the frequent arguments in Czech society about this group identity. This type of survey can also assist me in statistically identifying the differences; demonstrate the similarities among smaller groups in the target samples (Reinharz, 1992, p. 77). However, set aside all the benefits, questionnaire survey still faces limitation, particularly in feminist research like this one, not because it is traditionally deemed to be a patriarchal method but because it does not permit authors to investigate further into the problems outside of a rigid form of a questionnaire (Reinharz, 1992). Furthermore, surveys happen to lack subtlety, meaning that it can oversimplify complex issues by reducing them to the responses to a limited number of questions and available options, even if I include open-ended questions and fill-in options.

Consequently, I found it is essential to combine the questionnaire survey with another method in order to compensate for its shortcomings and enrich the data. This is the time when I turned to seek assistance from the method of in-depth interviews, especially semi-structured interviews[112]. Using this interview method, I could give respondents opportunities to speak up for themselves. Interviews allowed me to gather data by paying full attention and listening to one participant at a time and thus, maximise my understanding of their views of ethnic identities which can later allow me to generate knowledge (Traag & Franssen, 2016) (Yin, 2011). With interviews, I could make the best use of the potential data by taking note of participants verbatim and even producing non-standardised background information during the interview such as interruptions, time pressures, which are a valuable reflection of reality. It also allowed me to understand the diversity of participants which helps broaden my knowledge about the group of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic in general.

The strategy I employed was semi-structured to non-structured interviews because I could then redirect my questions in response to what the participants replied and gather more details that would otherwise have been lost in my original interview questions. The interview

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[111] Definition of Questionnaire survey: a method of gathering information from a number of individuals, a "sample," in order to learn something about the larger population from which the sample has been drawn (Scheuren, 1993)

[112] Semi or unstructured interview is qualitative data gathering methods with open-ended questions (Reinharz, 1992)

method also encouraged me to assume a less dominating role. Taking this feminist approach, I did not aim to guide the participants to specific answers but allowing them to vocalise their own opinions on how they perceive the world (Reinharz, 1992). By letting the participants control their own story as naturally as possible, I could obtain meaningful accounts of their ethnic identities, life experiences with other social factors. Being indirect when asking questions also respects the participants right to refrain from answering questions that they are uncomfortable with[113] such as questions about conflicts between different generations, controversial gender norms.

4.2. Process of Data Collection

In this section, I shall deliberate the process of participants recruitment for both questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews.

4.2.1. Recruitment Process

When considering the fieldwork location, as the main topic of the research is about the ethnic identity of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, I decided to conduct both questionnaire survey and interview in the Czech Republic in general, not just in some certain cities where most Vietnamese people locate[114]. At the beginning of the process, I planned to send out the online surveys to different Vietnamese communities in all Czech via their official Facebook pages and email addresses with the great help of my supervisor and her family. Some were communities of Vietnamese immigrants in particular cities or regions (such as in Prague, Brno, Chomutov region), some were groups of Vietnamese who share the same interests, purposes (such as student groups, business groups, culture groups). To summarise, the selection of respondents followed neither random nor quota sampling. Nevertheless, it was felt that the sample was diverse enough since respondents are from various regions in the Czech Republic, and all genders were included in the sample.

After answering all the main survey questions, the respondents were asked if they would like to participate in the following in-depth interviews. At the point, I contacted potential participants via email; phone numbers or social accounts as filled in at the end of the questionnaire to arrange and confirm their participation. In this step, I provided a brief

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[113] This was especially important because the research question implies a somewhat sensitive and private topic.

[114] In the Czech Republic, Vietnamese people are reported to usually live in the major cities or in the region that is near the border with Germany (Office, 2016)

description of what would be asked and the contact details of researchers in case participants change their mind about the interviews in the last minutes. Based on mutual convenience, participants and I scheduled time, interview method and location. All the details about the interviews and participants' identities remained confidential.

4.2.1.1.Questionnaire survey process

The questionnaire online survey process took place from the second half of January until end of April 2020. In order to make sure everything worked as had planned; I conducted a small scale pilot survey with three respondents before launching the full survey online (Reinharz, 1992). Thanks to the genuine feedbacks on technical and spelling errors in the questionnaire survey from these respondents, I updated the script accordingly before launching live.

Before starting the survey, an introduction page which contained the purpose of the research, information about personal information privacy and the definition of the target group were presented to respondents. It is important to note that there are screening questions in the survey which only allowed people who identify as descendants of Vietnamese immigrants, from 16 years old in the Czech Republic; to continue the survey. This step helped me narrow down the group of respondents closer the target group of the research, and other respondents who did not belong to the group avoid wasting their time on the survey. The reason why I choose to study respondents from the age of 16 was based on several factors. Firstly, it is because 16 is the age where adolescents start to develop their sense of self-identity in a more stable way than their earlier period (Pawlowski, n.d., p. 2) (Herdt & Boxer, 1993) (Committee on Lesbian, 2011, pp. 143-144). Moreover, based on the flows of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic throughout history, most of the Vietnamese descendants are around this age or older[115]. They were also selected for practical reasons – this social and age group was most accessible to me.

The central part of the questionnaire included both close-ended and open-ended questions which were all translated into three languages: Vietnamese, Czech and English so respondents could choose to take the survey in the language that they felt comfortable with the most. It takes less than 20 minutes to answer all the questions in the survey thoroughly. However, apart from the core questions, not all the sections required the answers from

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[115] Český statistický úřad (source: https://vdb.czso.cz/vdbvo2/faces/cs/index.jsf?page=vystup-objekt&pvo=SPCR152&pvokc=&katalog=30715&z=T)

respondents; hence, respondents can choose what to answer freely, and the actual length of the survey was usually much shorter. Since the questions in the survey were presented in many different forms (such as dichotomous yes/no questions, multiple-choice questions, rating scale choice questions, rank order choice questions), the respondents did not find the survey lengthy and tedious. Respondents were briefed that their participation was entirely voluntary; their responses were confidential; they could withdraw at any time during the process. Once they called off the participation, their responses so far at the moment would be then deleted from the system immediately.

4.2.1.2.Interview Process

To begin with the interviewing process, I contacted survey respondents who permitted to interview them from the details and methods that they prefer, set up the meetings with their agreements (either in the form of face-to-face or via video call, phone call, online chatting as they favour). The interview process started a bit later than the questionnaire survey from the beginning of February to May 2020. The individual interviews were approximately 40 to 50 minutes long. However, the overall amount of time could go up to more than one hour since it took time to establish the affinity, build a sense of trust in participants. Before the interviews were conducted, each interviewee was given an inform consent to keep, and I retained the copy of the consent form with signatures in a locked filing cabinet. Before the interview commenced, I reminded interviewees that their participation was voluntary. Additionally, participants could withdraw from the study at any points before, during or even after the interviews. I also asked for respondents' permission in the term of recording and storing their responses during the interviews. In case the respondents did not agree on any recording methods, I typed down the verbatim on a personal laptop with permission from respondents. Data from interviews were collected using an audio recorder, a laptop for transcript purpose only. All transcriptions were saved to my personal laptop with multi-layers of passwords.

4.2.2. Data Analysis

After the data collection process was finalised, all data were retrieved, transcribed and coded in order to identify emerging themes. The theoretical framework applied to the analysis was feminist intersectionality and transnational feminism. Firstly, intersectionality is the framework that inspires me throughout all process of the research from choosing the topic, study design, analysis and interpretation. As intersectionality seeks to include an extensive analysis of individuals who are usually underrepresented (MacKinnon, 2013) (Hooks, 1984),

it urges me to study Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, who are usually marginalised and indirectly suffer from multiple social forces. It motivates me to tackle the identities problems of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic in the way of making sense of interlocking societal experiences and oppressions while highlighting the complexities of their identities. Intersectionality, along with transnational feminist frameworks also encourages me to examine how those intersecting social identities of respondents can vary (salient or minor) in different contexts (Vietnamese or Czech communities) and cross contexts (the space between the two cultures). How Vietnamese descendants attempt to aware and understand their multiple identities (gender, ethnicity) in their lives are also crucial to study, especially in the way of their identities being developed, changed and negotiated overtimes continuously. Intersectionality allows me to look at the experiences of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic not a pile of raw facts and emotions, but as the outcomes of many intersecting labels, roles that they have to bear so far along with social forces that are tended to be overlooked.

Regarding the methodological foundation of this research, I also relied on several transnational feminist themes starting with the importance of self-reflexivity[116] and the critical examination of positionality (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, pp. 2-19). Reflexivity can entail self-examination of how cultures shape us as individuals (regarding assumptions, values, standpoint, social positions) how one are viewed by persons from other cultural contexts (Sato, 2004, pp. 105-107). Positionality refers to one's position in the world; one's multiple and intersecting social identities; as well as one's sources of privilege, power, and marginalization (Sato, 2004, p. 109). Awareness of positionality paves the way for "*frameshifting*" (Sato, 2004, p. 110), which allows me as a researcher to shuttle between different perspectives and then function and communicate effectively with the respondents (immigrant descendants) across cultural contexts (Czech and Vietnamese). In the interest of transparency, as a feminist researcher, I utilised self-reflexibility and positionality statements from transnational feminism to convey how my social identities (as a student/researcher) and cultural affiliations (a native Vietnamese) might manipulate my understandings or biases during the process of collecting and analysing data from my respondents. Besides, appreciation for alternative cultural views can be facilitated with self-reflectivity and

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[116] Reflexivity can be defined as the practice of "*taking stock of one's assumptions, values, standpoint, and social locations to assess how these might influence one's views of others*" (Marecek, 2019, p. 190)

positionality (Lugones, 1987, pp. 4-18) by efforts to see individuals in transnational contexts as they see themselves and to acknowledge their expertise about themselves.

Apart from that, the core point of view about the nature of identities (which ethnic identities are not exceptions) as flexible, bendable and the claim that history has played a part in influencing how identity develops also play an indispensable part of data analysing (Phinney, 2000) (Hall & Bucholtz, 2005). This piece of knowledge helped me draw on ideas that investigate Vietnamese descendants' identities as continuously in flux and well aware that the respondents can even deploy the identities with strategies (for example, they can identify as Vietnamese at home and as Czech when at school, work where they are surrounded by Czech) or change their identities at any point.

Regarding the quantitative data, within this study, several research phases were done. Firstly, data were shattered and merged in different ways based on the aim of this study in order to uncover basic patterns of ethnic identity of Vietnamese descendants concerning different aspects such as gender, language and family impacts. After that, data were coded and then average scores along with mean scores, percentages were calculated and tested significance accordingly[117].

Regarding quantitative data, the process of analysis was organised based on the focus of the individuals' experiences. The comparisons and mirroring with quantitative coded data which allows for a more holistic approach of their particular perspectives also took place (Cohen, et al., 2007). While interpreting qualitative data, I organised data around the keywords ethnic identity and then produced diagrams, matrices, and maps of the code in order to link data together and make sense out of their connections (Coffey & Attkinson, 1996). In order to analyse qualitative extract, I asserted that viewing multiple social issues and identities (gender, ethnicity) within local communities - Vietnamese group in Czech and Czech society must play a vital role in this research. Following Haraway's concept of "*situated knowledges*" as the guideline (Haraway, 1988, pp. 594-595), I comprehended that the respondents, who face complex issues in the global context; are "*their own best experts*". Therefore, I always attempt to picture respondents – the subject of knowledge as active actors, not as a static resource (Haraway, 1991, p. 198), and analyse their pieces of knowledge with the point of

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[117] Individuals responses were labelled with unique codes that cannot be identified from the data provided for analysis. I used only code numbers for the identity of respondents on the questionnaire and kept the code separate from that of the questionnaires.

views from a young descendant of Vietnamese immigrants in Czech. I drew attention to some non-verbal data, particularly some moments of silence from the respondents during the interviews. Following Visweswaran's call for "*hear silence*" (Visweswaran, 1994), I found respondent's refusal to talk or long pause are valuable to study because the reflexivity and emotions are sources of insight (could be the marker of individual resistance against their imposed ethnic identity or a sign of relations of power between the observer and the observed) as well as an essential part of the research process.

I followed Professor Gunaratnam's concept of decontextualization and recontextualization (Guranatnam, 2001) for analysing insecurities of meaning through the lens of feminism. Based on the concept of decontextualization and recontextualization of Gunaratnam (Guranatnam, 2001, p. 27), in order to understand respondents' process and factors that constitute their identities changing, I took their verbatim out of the original context (the interview) then scanned them against other information about their personal biography and social context that had been provided to me during the questionnaire surveys. In the analysis, I also kept in mind the contexts in which ethnic identity was mentioned and when the interviewees relate their ethnic identity to their life experiences. The contexts in which the interviewees expressed form and develop their sense of ethnicity in collaboration with the major incidents in life are articulated and become essential in the narrative shed light on the main topic

4.3. Quality Assurance and Reflexivity

4.3.1. Ethical Considerations

There are few areas of ethicality will be discussed in this section. Consideration of the ethical issue was posted before there was any contact with potential participants as before the interviews. I attempted to make sure that all respondents grasped the fullest awareness of the study by providing them with inform consent and answering all the questions that they posted regarding the research and being transparent about what I planned to do with the result. Regarding the subjectivity of the research, I was aware that there is no way to avoid bias during the process thoroughly. However, a lot of effort had been made to make sure all possible prepositions would be transparent; potential biases would be revealed, my background information that might or might not impact the research outcome would also be presented so the audience can judge the quality of the research (Creswell, 2014). I also reflected on my own involvement in the data collection and analysis process and about how the participants perceive me as a researcher or why they respond the way they did.

As a feminist researcher, being aware of my presence in the interview process was essential to ensure as much accuracy as possible (Reinharz, 1992), primarily since I identify myself as a young Vietnamese immigrant in the Czech Republic. In other words, for the respondents – descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, I was both an insider (due to my ethnic background, my young age, and where I locate now) and an outsider (due to my status as the first generation immigrant in my family, I did not spend as much time in Czech as they did, I did not speak Czech). The insider role status allowed me to gain the acceptance from the participants more quickly; then they tended to be more open with me about their life experience and opinions[118]; hence the quality of the data was enhanced (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). However, on the other hand, this status could very easily lead to my potential bias which could influence the research based on personal experiences and potential similarities between myself and the participants. Being an outsider – a researcher, and in fact, a fairly stranger to the community sometimes caused the distance between me and the respondents (Reinharz, 1992). It was because they thought I would never understand the situation within the Vietnamese ethnic group here since I did not interact with it every day as they did. The conservative nature of Vietnamese in general also prevented them from revealing their valuable information to me. It was particularly challenging when we talked about doubts and conflicts regarding their ethnic identity[119], as they feared that others would judge them as being "*mất gốc*" (losing one's roots), which is one of the biggest shames in the Vietnamese culture (Knudsen, 1990).

Anonymity is one of the principal ethical issues that I also paid great attention to during the whole process of the study strictly as it is related to the privacy protection of the participants (Creswell, 2014, p. 98). In this study, this problem was even more profound and needed extra care since I aimed to collect relatively private information about age, gender and cultural background of the respondents. More importantly, many participants expressed their desire to keep their identities concealed and only permitted me to collect their information anonymously. In order to tackle this, I kindly requested participants not to provide me with their full name but only what they would like to be called (could be their nicknames or the initiation of their first name) at any point during not only the questionnaire surveys but also

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[118] The respondents always tell me during the interviews that they are happy to help a fellow Vietnamese when we are all in Czech

[119] relationship between researcher as an outsider and respondents sometimes prevented respondents from revealing their deepest secrets to me

the individual interviews. Moreover, all personal information about the respondents that were stored for data collection purposes (to arrange interviews per se) such as phone numbers, email addresses, social account details were completely erased after the data collection process was finished so that the respondents cannot be traced from the data presented about them. However, as some participants still revealed their real names, in the end, I decided to give pseudonyms in alphabetical order to all respondents to hide their real identities, as can be seen in Table 3 (Appendix). In choosing pseudonyms, I wanted to avoid revealing too much about the ethnic/cultural backgrounds of participants (Saunders, et al., 2015). All statistical tabulations and extracted verbatims in this paper will also be presented by broad enough categories that individual respondents cannot be singled out.

4.3.2. Challenges

One of the momentous challenges that I had to contend with during the study was the language barriers. I can only speak Vietnamese and English but not Czech. Meanwhile, most of the respondents preferred to speak in Czech as their mother tongue, some of them were able to use English, and only some spoke Vietnamese. For that reason, the primary language that we used in the interviews was English. However, the conversations were not always smooth as there were some distinct differences in English fluency between the respondents and me. Sometimes when they were unable to express their opinions in either English or Vietnamese, I would try elaborating what I understood in English, and they would confirm if that what they wanted to say. In case we did not understand each other at all, I asked my fiancée (a Czech native) to help me with translating the verbatim into English. Some other collected qualitative data were presented in Vietnamese initially as the respondents could speak and write in Vietnamese. For those data, I needed to translate into English which is another challenge for me as there are some concepts in Vietnamese, which we do not have the words to describe them in English. But luckily, in that case, as I understood the ideas in my mother tongue, I would keep the exact Vietnamese words in the transcripts and then create notes to explain it in English. In order to cope with the data in the Czech language, my fiancée helped me with the translation.

Sometimes, during the interviews, respondents expressed their confusion about the term "*ethnicity*" as the same with "*race*", due to the fact that commonly, they are wrongly used interchangeably in daily conversation. In that case, I attempted to provide the interviewees with information about the differences between the terms and emphasized the definition of ethnic identity. I was aware that as a researcher, to maintain the subjectivity of the study, I

should not have provided respondents with any information outside of the questionnaires. However, as a feminist researcher, I found that I need to equip respondents with correct information when necessary to make sure we were on the same pages, and thus, the information that respondents provided later would be valuable (Reinharz, 1992).

Apart from the complications above, the timing of the data collection process also posted a considerable obstacle. Firstly, as the process started in about the end of January 2020 and the beginning of February, which is the time of Lunar New Year – the biggest and most important celebration in Vietnamese culture all over the world, the respondence rate was drastically low at the beginning. This happened since that period was the occasion for all member of Vietnamese families to get together, have a feast and perform many traditional customs to celebrate the new year (Hữu & Borton, 2004). In other words, no one from the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic at the moment had free time or would like to go online and fill in a twenty-minute-long survey or attend a one-hour long interview. After the Lunar new year, Coronavirus pandemic started in March posted another threat to the whole process of the research as it influenced the progress severely negatively in many ways. The national lockdown in Czech[120] , which started from the second half of March 2020, prevented me from conducting face-to-face interviews with respondents. In order to handle the situation, participants and I had to come up with alternative interview methods such as video calls, phone calls and online chatting. These ways of collecting data, even though helped me gather respondents' experiences and opinions about the topic, obscured me from other treasonous sources of knowledge such as facial expression, physical gestures or background environment. Internet connection also restrained me in the data gathering process as sometimes due to this factor. I could not listen to what respondents had to say clearly and continuously. Requiring respondents to repeat multiple times quickly made them feel uncomfortable and irritated about the interview. In the worst scenario, during an attempt to conduct a video call interview, a potential respondent refused to continue participating in the study entirely after a few times I struggled to reconnect the call due to the unstable internet connection.

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[120] A 30-day state of emergency was declared as of 12 March. This state of emergency was later extended until 30 April 2020. The state of emergency was subsequently extended until 17 May 2020 (Source: https://news.expats.cz/)

4.4.Participants and social-demographic characteristics

The social-demographic characteristics are important because it explains how the participants' lives were disrupted by the combination of both ethnicities and how they navigated the opportunities and challenges in the Czech society. This is relevant to the research question because it helps construct a narrative of the participants' experiences that implicitly describe the ethnic identities forming and developing process.

As previously described in the previous chapters, this study is about the Vietnamese immigrants' descendants in the Czech Republic for the vast majority of their lives. There are 64 respondents that participated in the research in both methods' questionnaire surveys. The present sample included 48 descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic who have been born in the Czech Republic or came here since they were little. Ten respondents participated in interviews, which is the subset sample of questionnaire survey sample (48 respondents). Although the initial sample had 64 young Vietnamese who are living in the Czech Republic, 16 was left out because some of them did not live here for the majority of their life[121] to keep the sample consistent for interpretation of findings, some of them did not complete the surveys. Consequently, all respondents in the study were either brought or born here and spent the vast majority of their life in the Czech Republic.

Table 1. Sample social-demographic characteristics (N=48)

Socio-demographic characteristics	Female		Male		Non-binary		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Gender	25	52%	21	44%	2	4%	48	100%
Age								
16-20	10	40%	6	13%	2	4%	18	38%
21-25	9	36%	11	23%	0	0%	20	42%
26-31	6	24%	4	8%	0	0%	10	21%
Education Level								
Elementary school	2	8%	0	0%	1	2%	3	6%
Highschool	12	48%	10	21%	1	2%	23	48%

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[121] Year of 2020

Bachelor	9	36%	9	19%	0	0%	18	38%
Higher education	2	8%	2	4%	0	0%	4	8%
Citizenship								
Czech	5	20%	10	48%	2	100%	17	35%
Vietnamese	8	32%	2	10%	0	0%	10	21%
Dual citizenship[122]	12	48%	9	43%	0	0%	21	44%
Place of birth								
Czech Republic	15	60%	9	43%	1	50%	25	52%
Vietnam	10	40%	10	48%	1	50%	21	44%
Germany	0	0%	2	10%	0	0%	2	4%
Occupation								
Student	16	64%	8	38%	2	100%	26	54%
Doctor	2	8%	1	5%	0	0%	3	6%
Businessman	0	0%	3	14%	0	0%	3	6%
Project Manager	0	0%	2	10%	0	0%	2	4%
Office Manager	0	0%	3	14%	0	0%	3	6%
Others	7	28%	5	24%	0	0%	12	23%

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the sample and distributions of different variables based on genders. A total of 48 descendants of Vietnamese immigrants (aged 16–31 years) were included in the analysis, 25 (52%) of them were female, 21 (44%) were male, and 2 (4%) identified themselves as non-binary. As far as social-demographic characteristics are concerned, 38 % of these Vietnamese descendants were 20 years or younger, 42% were aged 21–25 years, whereas 21% were older than 21. The average age of the Vietnamese descendants was 22.6 years (range from 16 to 31 years old). Despite the fact that the average age when this groups arrived in the host country is two years old, the most common value in a data set is 0 which means the respondents who were born in Czech are the most common in the sample. The illustration can be found in Figure 6. In general, there are no significant differences in average arrival age (mean) and years spending in the host country among different genders.

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122 Group of respondents who hold both Vietnamese and Czech citizenship

Figure 6 Average age, arrival age and years spending in the Czech Republic (by Gender)

AVERAGE AGE, ARRIVAL AGE AND YEARS SPENDING IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Legend: Average age ◆ — Average arrival age ■ — Average years living in CZ ▲

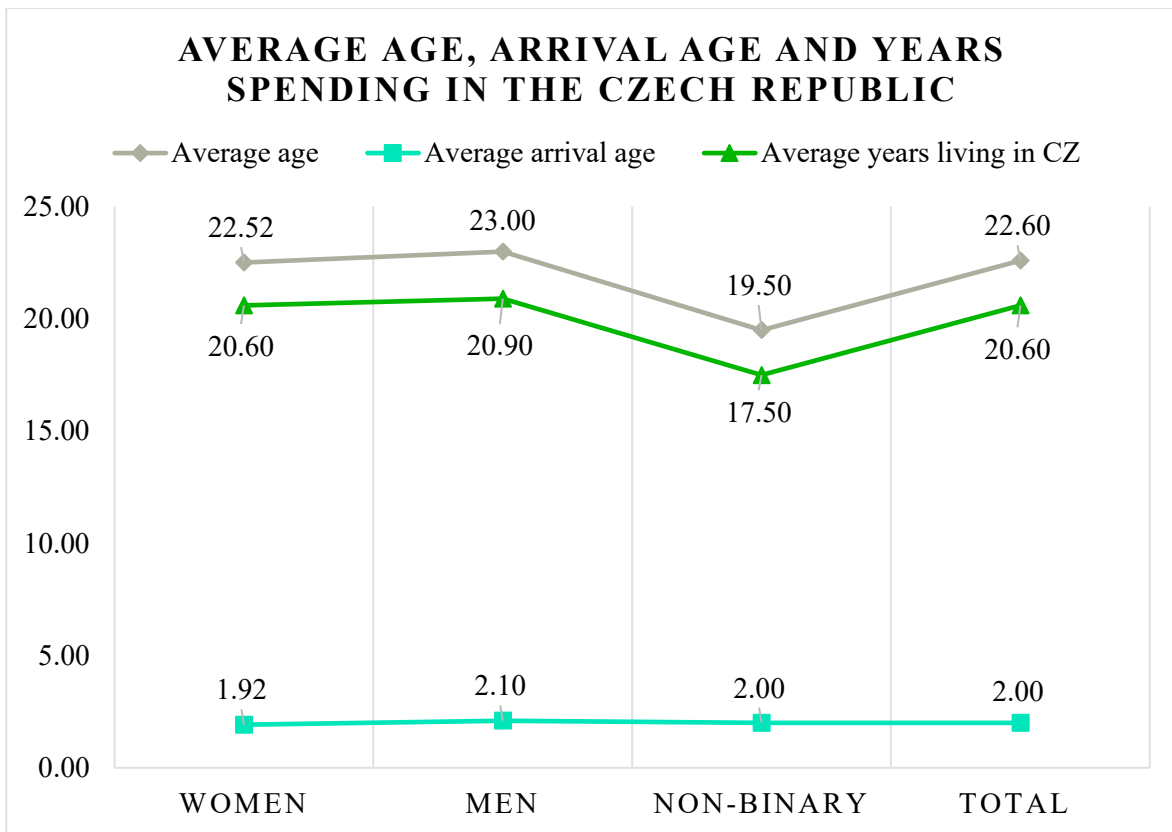|	WOMEN	MEN	NON-BINARY	TOTAL
Average age	22.52	23.00	19.50	22.60
Average years living in CZ	20.60	20.90	17.50	20.60
Average arrival age	1.92	2.10	2.00	2.00

Table 1 also provides a description of the sample according to the place of birth with more than half of the sample (52%) stated to born in the Czech Republic, the vast majority of the rest (44%) were born in the origin country - Vietnam, and two were born in Germany – one of Czech neighbour country, before moving to the Czech Republic and live here until now. The respondents had lived in the Czech Republic for an average of 20.6 years (range from 11 to 29 years) at the time of the survey. Most of them hold dual citizenship of Vietnamese and Czech (44%), the rest are either Czech citizenship (35%) or Vietnamese citizenship (21%). Nearly 50% of the group had completed the bachelor or higher degrees in university, 48% already finished high school, and only 6% has lower education level which falls into the group of students who are still in high school.

*Figure 7 Average Net Income by Gender and Age. Note: * base size is too small (<2)*
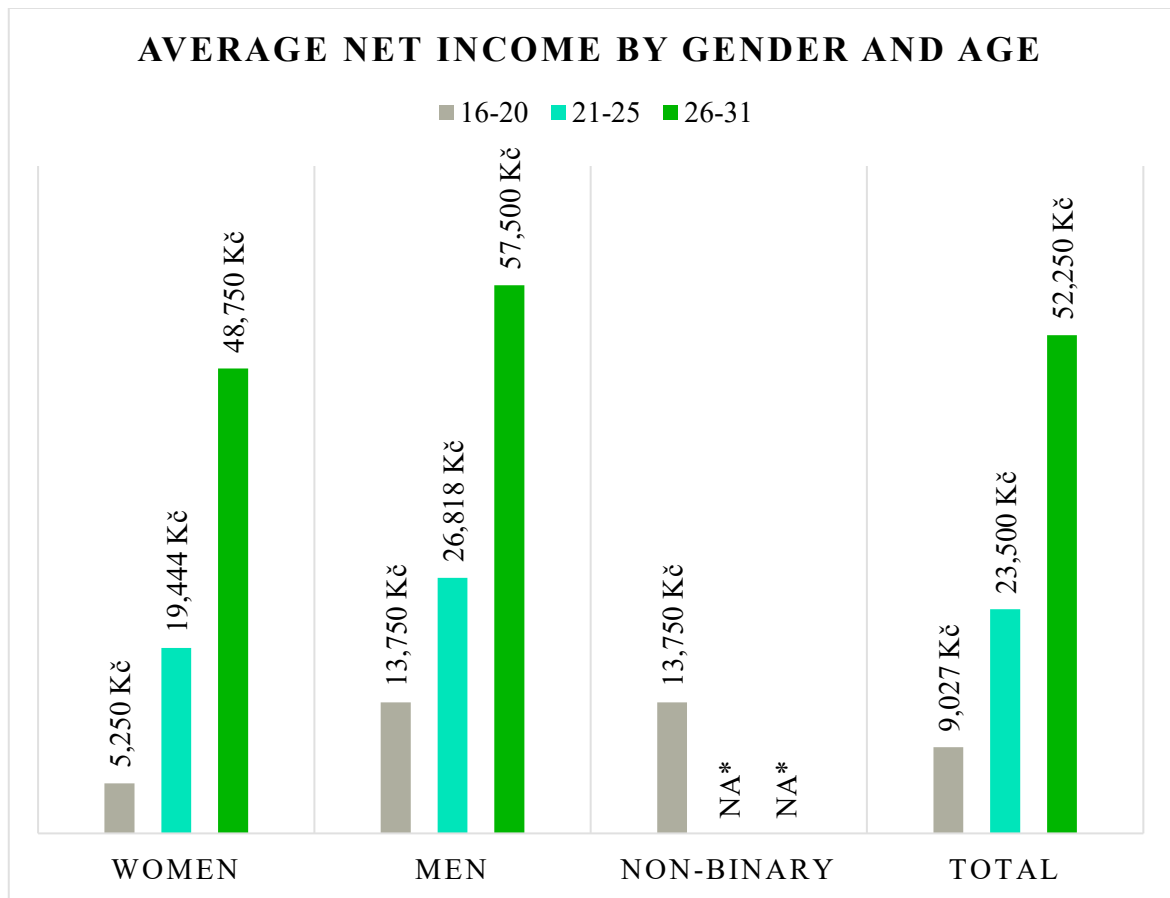
Regarding the citizenship, since the Czech government permitted dual citizenship in this country from 2014, many members of this group (44%) hold dual citizenship of Vietnamese and Czech, 35% has Czech nationality, and the rest had Vietnamese citizenship only. About current occupation, a vast majority of these groups are students (54%), some other popular careers that they pursued are doctor, business, project and office manager (23%). The rest of the group (23%) are working as IT developers, chef, film producer, event manager and welder (Table 1). Besides, the data about the average income of these groups were also collected and broken into categories by genders and ages, which are presented in Figure 7. The averages net income of male in all age groups is significantly higher than female's average net income. This might happen because the number of female students (16), the group that has not to join in the labour force yet, are double the population of male students (8). More than 60% (29) of the respondents have parents own retailing stalls or running their own business (such as hotel, restaurants). Other parents are working as translators, teacher, director of an insurance company, structural engineer, worker or landlord. This result supports the assumption from much other Czech research that the first generation of

Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic are mainly dominating in retail sectors and others take over the crucial roles in assisting Vietnamese community lives more comfortable like translators, landlords (Brouček, 2003). The next chapters present the findings from 48 quantitative – qualitative questionnaire survey completes and ten qualitative semi-structured/unstructured interviews that were conducted within the group of Vietnamese immigrants' descendants in the Czech Republic. This study has been produced in order to gain an understanding of the life experiences descendants of Vietnamese concerning their ethnic identities and what constitutes and influence these identities. As the research employed a mixed method, which allowed for the divergence between the qualitative and the quantitative data, the results in this chapter are organised by themes to maintain the continual flow of the report. There are some groups of data, even though were collected during the data collecting process, will not be mentioned in the discussion because there are no significant differences, or they are not relevant enough to the subject matter. However, all quantitative data reports will be included in the Appendix.

5. ETHNIC IDENTITY OF DESCENDANTS OF VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

5.1. Vibrant shades of immigrant descendants

The process of navigating the ethnic identity of the descendants of the Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic starts with how they define their own group – Vietnamese descendants[123]. During the interviews, the participants applied their own understanding of Vietnamese descendants. When I asked the participants, "*How do you define a descendant of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic?*", all the participants described in their own words what it meant to belong to this social category. Most of the respondents stated that descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech society are those who are from the young generation, children of the older generation of Vietnamese who immigrated to Czech, were born or brought here by their parents since very young and they should predominantly grow up in Czech. Many participants stressed the "*Vietnamese origin/roots*" which, according to them, plays a vital part in how to spot out this group in Czech society. Participants also problematised the regular definitions through narratives that reveal a variety of factors being used to establish the membership of this descendant's group such as: fluent in the Czech language, has mixed cultural backgrounds, has Czech citizenship, educated in Czech schools.

All statements above demonstrate that the participants I interviewed did not support any rigid definitions of immigrant descendants that have been traditionally determined by western scholars (Zhou, 1997, p. 65). Instead, they perceived their status as more of a hybrid of both their cultural experiences. For many western countries, the traditional definitions of different immigrant groups other than the first-generation immigrant have heavily relied on the place of birth (host country) and parents status (at least one has to be immigrant) (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005, pp. 984-987). This definition unintentionally rules out all immigrant offspring who come to the host country with their parents even though they arrive here at the very early age (for example few months old) and have no or minimal idea about the origin country. In this paper, this way of defining immigrant descendants posts an essential question as there is a group of Vietnamese children, even though are foreign-born as their parents before coming to Czech, often spend a critical part of their formative years in the host country and eventually absorb the local culture predominantly. This fact makes them

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[123] It is important to acknowledge that prior to recruiting participants for this study; the necessary requirements were met to ensure that only those who identified as descendants of Vietnamese were recruited.

perceive themselves as having more similar experiences with the group born in Czech by Vietnamese immigrants than with their parents or any other groups in the term of linguistic, cultural, and development. (Zhou, 1997, p. 65). I found that my participants had continuously challenged fixed definitions of what it means to be descendants of Vietnamese. All the participants I interviewed stated that they identified as descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic but in various ways.

Notably, five respondents pointed out the frequent identity conflicts as the significant element in defining this group as "*They are closest to Czech culture from all generations, they can speak Czech fluently, usually born in Czech. They usually have problems with identity.* "(AV, female, 19). Or as when they mentioned the term "*banana children*". To quote:

> "*For me, they are children of Vietnamese immigrants, born in the Czech Republic like me. I would say the term 'banana children' (yellow on the outside, white on the inside) is a perfect description of this group.*" (AJ, male, 22).

The responses above illustrated one of the biggest obstacles that Vietnamese descendants were reported to face in Czech society, which is seeking who they really are and where they truly belong to. "*Banana children*" is a collective term that Czech society usually uses to address the young group of Vietnamese in not a respectfully metathetical way. Being "*yellow*" indicates their Vietnamese/Asian appearance on the outside, but from the inside, they are deemed as "*white*" because of the way they perform Czech culture, speak Czech and act like Czech in on a daily basis (Martínková, 2008, p. 1) (Tranová, 2016, p. 1).

One response below includes a description of Vietnamese immigrant descendants that is fundamental to understanding the state of the combination of two differing cultures. She further states that descendants of immigrant for her means to face the stage of confusing between two cultures: origin and host. As establishing her own unique cultural identity, she maintained her Vietnamese identity within a Czech culture, by combining the two but still seeing each as distinctive. AC conflated both Vietnamese and Czech cultures and defined herself as embodying a hybrid identity as Vietnamese descendants. "*In my understanding, […] they usually feel lost between two cultures. They not sure if they belong to Vietnam or Czech more*" (AC, female, 26)

In this case, participant applied meanings to immigrant descendants in connection with their cultural identity as Vietnamese – Czech and defined herself as embodying a hybrid identity. The process of defining Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic made the participants in my study more self-aware of the process of constant identity reconstruction that occurs throughout their everyday life. Moreover, by using an intersectional lens, I found out that these young people are autonomous social actors who have redefined or reformulated the definition to make sense of their identities as Vietnamese-Czech. The construction of their ethnic identities will be explored in the following chapter through an analysis of how these individuals negotiate identities within the Vietnamese diaspora.

5.2. Hyphenated ethnic identities - Hesitating between two cultures

5.2.1. What defines Vietnamese descendants' ethnic identities?

5.2.1.1. Heritage language

"[…] They are all like me (Vietnamese born in Czech), so we always speak Czech together. There is no point speaking in Vietnamese as we are all more fluent in Czech." (BC, female, 23)

Language competence arose in this research as a factor that both contributes to and impacts the ethnic identities of the Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic. Firstly, 78% of the respondents claimed that they speak both Vietnamese and Czech fluently; only 9% stated that they only speak Czech as their first language and could not speak Vietnamese. There is no noticeable difference between men and women in linguistic competence. However, even though 35 people in my sample claimed that they speak both Vietnamese and Czech as their mother tongue, not many of them are confident that they can speak Vietnamese as fluent as native speakers (Table 2).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for variables regarding mother tongue of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic. Note: N represents the total sample size, n represents sample size stratified by gender

Mother tongue	Total (48)		Women (25)		Men (21)	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Bilingual[124]	35	78%	17	68%	17	81%
Speak Czech only	9	20%	4	16%	4	19%

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[124] Speak both Vietnamese and Czech fluently

From my surveys and interviews, I was able to identify specific factors and circumstances that affected an individual's capability and incentive to preserve their heritage language. The first reason that many respondents mentioned is lack of contact with the Vietnamese language on a daily basis. Exposure to the Czech language is much more common than exposure to the Vietnamese language for individuals from the later generations of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, as their contact with extended family members, and even their parents can be quite limited. As from the survey report, the vast majority of the sample claimed that they mainly learn Vietnamese from family members (parents, siblings, and relatives). Only five participants said that they learned the language of the parents from the Vietnamese course either from the Sapa market or from some non-profit organisation for Vietnamese. According to the quantitative report from this research, the home appeared to be the only place where this group have chances to speak Vietnamese. According to the quantitative report, when comparing the total sample in the consideration to the usage of two languages (Vietnamese and Czech) at home, with their families, Vietnamese descendants seem to predominantly communicate in Vietnamese rather than Czech. The mean score[125] of the Vietnamese speaking frequency is 1.90, and for Czech, it is 3.31 (with the p-value = 0.037*). More details can be found in Table 4 (Appendix). However, despite speaking mainly Vietnamese at home, for some young respondents in the sample, the exposure to the heritage language was still not sufficient as one respondent talked about his situation:

> *"I am more surrounded by the Czech people, the only people I spoke Vietnamese with are my parents. Moreover, we did not even communicate that much (laugh) as they were always busy with their business, and I was with school and work. I also moved out recently, so we now talk even less."*
> *(AM, male, 25).*

This situation can be explained as in Martinkova's article about Vietnamese children in Czech; it might occur because their parents might be too busy with work. Therefore, overall there is less contact and consequently less frequent communication between the older and the younger generation; thus, there are fewer opportunities for language practice (Martínková, 2008, p. 1). Besides, when they hung out with Vietnamese friends, they rarely spoke Vietnamese together as one interviewee told me:

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[125] Question wordings: "*How often do you speak Vietnamese/Czech at home?*"

Answering options: 1 – All the time, 2- Usually, 3-Sometimes, 4-Occasionally, 5-Never

> *"I do have a lot of Vietnamese friends actually. However, they are all like me (Vietnamese born in Czech), so we always speak Czech together (laugh). There is no point speaking in Vietnamese as we are all more fluent in Czech. But sometimes we insert some Vietnamese words in the conversations, those we cannot find any equivalent Czech words for them."*
> *(BC, female, 23)*

Moreover, some research has pointed out that that the offspring of Vietnamese immigrant usually has no problems in mastering the Czech language as they have been exposed to the language with Czech nannies daily since little (Souralová, 2014, p. 178). There has been proof that for the Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, linguistic competence is the ultimate key to social acceptance and integration (Svejdarova, 2009, p. 52). Thus, being well aware of their biggest shortcoming - the language barrier, Vietnamese parents make sure their children speak fluent Czech. Issues arise when the improvement in the Czech language comes at the expense of the heritage language. In accord with previous work, in this research, regarding the source of learning Czech languages, many respondents reported that they learned it since little from "*Czech nannies, grandmothers or aunties*", from school and some reported that they learned it from their older siblings.

The complexity of Vietnamese also plays an essential role in the language competence of Vietnamese descendants in Czech. It has been noted that Czech and Vietnamese languages are typologically, phonetically, lexically and culturally as dissimilar as two languages can be (Vasiljev & Nekvapil, 2012, pp. 329-330). Agreed with this difficulty, one respondent told me:

> *"My parents put me in summer school when I was about thirteen years old when I visited Vietnam so I could learn how to read and write. [...] Vietnamese is a difficult language to learn, so I gave up (laugh). I had many problems with learning the tone, phonetic and grammar. [...] I can speak Vietnamese somehow with my parents, but not read and write." (AC, female, 26)*

Despite all the obstacles in learning their ancestor language, 13 respondents in the sample still expressed their desire to learn Vietnamese properly in the future, 9 of them are from the group who claimed that they did not speak Vietnamese at all, four people from the bilingual group also wanted to improve their Vietnamese even more in the future. The most common

reasons they noted here were because they only can communicate in Vietnamese in casual conversation, but they are not comfortable with writing and reading in this language and being "*bilingual would always be useful in life*". Besides, the "*Vietnamese root*" was also mentioned a lot by respondents when talking about linguistic ability as many of them claim that they could not lose their heritage and needed to maintain the Vietnamese side of their ancestors. Remarkably, many of them told me that they felt humiliated for not be able to speak "*the language of the families*" and considered this as a great shame. They claimed, "*Not knowing the language is losing part of my Vietnamese identity*." (AW, male, 24) and "*I cannot be a Vietnamese woman who cannot speak her language properly*" (AX, female, 18). Another respondent stated that:

> "*My ancestors are from Vietnam, and yet I do not know Vietnamese, as if I were not a real Vietnamese, that is why I want to learn it so I can do it. Sometimes I am ashamed that I cannot speak Vietnamese, for example, when my family had a party together, I did not talk so much.*" (AY, female, 18).

It occurred that for Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, the heritage linguistic competence plays an integral part in defining who they are. This phenomenon can be explained via a popular term in Vietnamese culture - *mất gốc*"[126] – loosing "*Vietnamese root*" which entails languages, proper manners, traditions and suchlike. As since being "*mất gốc*" is considered to be is one of the biggest shame in the Vietnamese principles, and language is the most visible embodiment of the "*root*", preserving the language becomes a central mission in every Vietnamese family living abroad (Knudsen, 1990). These responses also indicate an interlink between the fluency in Vietnamese with participants' determination of ethnic identities. By expressing the intension to preserve and maintain the Vietnamese language even though they are living in another country, these young people indirectly affirm their desire to identify themselves with the Vietnamese ethnic group. Indeed, the quantitative data from the survey relatively supports this statement of mine.

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[126] "mất gốc" literally means "losing roots" in Vietnamese, which is used to indicate someone who neglects and disrespect their origin.

Regarding the association between language and ethnic identity, the major part of the sample (65%) agreed that there is a closed connection between these two, which can be found in Table 4 (Appendix). The chart below presents the finding from the quantitative survey result.

Figure 8 Do you associate your linguistic ability to your ethnic identity? (N=48)

To explain this connection, some of my interviewees mentioned:

> *"When I was young, and I could speak Vietnamese better, I felt like Vietnamese more not so much now because I forgot most of it (Vietnamese language)" (BU, non-binary, 21).*

On the other hand, *"if you identify with Vietnamese culture, then logically you will be more interested in Vietnamese who speak Vietnamese, listen to Vietnamese music, watch series, movies, etc." (AX, female, 18).*

However, as a part of the 37% respondents that disagreed with the connection between the language they speak and their ethnic identity, one respondent told me that:

> *"I do not think it works the same for everyone. Many people know Czech better than I do, but in the end, they mature as Vietnamese in adulthood. I have it the other way around." (AV, female, 19)*

Even though AV could speak Vietnamese very well, she asserted that she grew up identifying herself as Czech more and more. (AJ, male, 22) agreed with AV as he stated that

"I believe that people will learn languages the way they enjoy. It does not affect how I identify myself as Czech or Vietnamese."

As we can see, despite the lack of fluency in his heritage language, many respondents identified strongly as Vietnamese and expressed a strong will to learn this language. Conversely, AV and AJ were both fluent in Vietnamese, yet still asserted that the language they spoke did not define or at least influence who they were.

Overall, for the significant part of the sample, language competence, particularly Vietnamese language fluency, contributes to determining one's ethnic identities. By linking the language of origin with their Vietnamese roots, while still practising the language of the host country predominantly daily, these young people subsidise to the reinforcement of their hybrid identities (Vietnamese-Czech). However, rather than coming straight to the conclusion that heritage language fluency is an essential component of ethnic identities since there is still a considerable group that made a clear cut between the linguistic competence and ethnicity, I posit that perhaps the acquisition of heritage language and strength of ethnic identity are two parallel developmental processes. Perhaps their experiences of being firmly planted in Czech, while maintaining strong ties to other Vietnamese-Czech friends and families have created positive associations with the use of both languages.

In the end, I argue that proficiency in one's heritage language is neither an absolute determinant nor marker of one's ethnic identity for all participants as in Oh and Fuligni's finding of Asian America (includes Vietnamese America) in 2010 (Oh & Fuligni, 2010, p. 217) or as assert in Monica Trieu's book about Vietnamese in the United States [127] (Trieu, 2009). The group of Vietnamese descendants in this study, even though they had limited chances to practise and learn Vietnamese, which leads to low heritage language competence, still sharply defined themselves as Vietnamese. Furthermore, it may be that they are unable to achieve a level of fluency sufficient to use as a basis for establishing an ethnic identity. Similarly, in their sample of Vietnamese adolescents in Los Angeles, Phinney and colleagues (Phinney, et al., 2001) noted that the participants' low-levels of ethnic language proficiency

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[127] Trieu stated in her book that for the majority of Chinese-Vietnamese respondents, whatever language they spoke at home determined what ethnic identity they self-identified as in their youth. Whereas language had a profound impact on how many Chinese/Vietnamese identified themselves ethnically, for Vietnamese Americans, language was viewed as a means to connect with the ancestral culture and the older generation (Trieu, 2009).

did not negate them from their sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. In another study, Phinney and her colleagues also illustrated that even though ethnic language proficiency had a positive impact on ethnic identity, it is not necessary for group identity; it is not clear that it is a vital element to constitute ethnic identity. Clearly, there are other factors besides language that contribute to this sense of oneself as an ethnic group member (Phinney, et al., 2001).

The participants' narratives suggest that being able to speak Vietnamese (even if only to their parents) is essential to some of the participants. However, it is not the same for all participants; I argue that for some of the participants, ethnic identity may be tied to other dimensions of ethnic identities, which will be discussed in the next section, rather than to their use and proficiency in Vietnamese. From the collected data, I would suggest that for Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, the eloquence of the ancestral language might play a vital role maintain ethnic involvement, which may, in turn, reinforce ethnic identity. However, it is not a crucial point in defining one's ethnic identity.

5.2.1.2. Vietnamese family and parents

"Sometimes, my parents criticise me just because I prefer Czech food over Vietnamese food." (AY, male, 18).

The family has been noted as another factor that contributes and determines youth ethnic identities, especially for those with multicultural backgrounds. (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2006, pp. 406-410) (Sharif, 2009, p. 44) (Juang & Syed, 2010, p. 352); and Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic does not seem to be an exception. According to Vietnamese immigrants and their descendants in western countries have been found to adopt a different way to cope with the mainstream society, with parents emphasising separation and remaining strong Vietnamese identity, and youth favouring integration and being bicultural (Hiền, 2016) (Baldassar, et al., 2017) (Lin, 2017). This situation consequently heightens the potential for family conflicts and difficulties in ethnic identity formation among Vietnamese immigrants and their children.

Many pieces of research also indicate that the core values of Vietnamese families which underlines collectivist nature and appreciation for family values and respect for the family hierarchy, even if the hierarchy infringes upon their own freedoms in the new country, can always be found in every Vietnamese family no matter where they locate (Hiền, 2016) (Baldassar, et al., 2017). The same situation has been reported to happen for Vietnamese

descendants in the Czech Republic as they are continuously being torn between familial affections and obligation and the individualistic ideology in the Czech Republic (Lin, 2017) (Drbohlav, et al., 2005). As first-generation migrants to the Czech Republic, some of the Vietnamese parents of the respondents would have adhered strictly to Vietnamese cultural values and traditions as these young people were growing up. The quantitative findings from this current research also support this statement from previous studies as when being asked, 46 out of 48 respondents answered that their families and parents were the primary sources that they learned about Vietnamese culture from. Other sources of learning Vietnamese culture are from school, university, television, relatives (when they came and visit from Vietnam), from the people in the Vietnamese community. Some of them reported that they learned a lot from travelling to Vietnam occasionally they highly value that experiences which they called "*the best experience"*. Figure 9 below illustrates this finding.

Figure 9 Sources of learning about Vietnamese culture among Vietnamese descendants in Czech. Note: there are overlaps among respondents' answers.

Conversely, growing up in a western country like Czech, these adolescents would have adopted Czech culture faster than their parents, adopting values and behaviours that may be at odds to those prescribed by Vietnamese culture (Mestechkina, et al., 2014, p. 55). In this research, many of my respondents also informed that they usually face disputes with their parents due to various problems but most of the time, they are "*language barriers and cultural gaps with their parents*" (AC, female, 26). Surprisingly, one of the most frequent reasons that cause disputes between different generations in Vietnamese families here is that

the parents claim that the young adopt too much of the Czech culture as *"Sometimes, my parents criticise me just because I prefer Czech food over Vietnamese food." (AY, male, 18)*.More than half of the sample reported that their parents expressed anger when they hang out with Czech friends or worse, have Czech girlfriends/boyfriends as *"They would be definitely unhappy if I bring home a Czech girlfriend"* (AM, male, 25), *"They think Czech girls are promiscuous"* (AD, male, 22) and:

> *"My parents hate it when I had a boyfriend as well, especially Czech*
> *boyfriend. They said that we could not trust them (Czech boys), because*
> *they do not speak the same language with us (laugh)" (BC, female, 23).*

Apart from the disputes about different opinions, relying on the traditional rigid family hierarchy, which favours senior and men (Moravcová & Bittnerová, 2006), Vietnamese parents happened to intervene a lot in their children's essential decisions such as the decision of educational career, how they identify their ethnicity and their lifestyles.

> *"We also have very different lifestyles and opinions. [...] I, myself just do*
> *not see this [getting married and having babies] happens anytime soon, at*
> *least in 10 years from now. However, my parents do not understand my*
> *way of living, where I mainly concentrate on myself. Life, for me, is not all*
> *about getting married and having babies. You can have a good life, even*
> *without a family." (AC, female, 26)*

In consequence, due to these exclusive one-side influences and mostly involuntary absorbing from the children side, conflicts and arguments between parents and adolescents in the Vietnamese families in Czech are unavoidable (Drbohlav, et al., 2005)[128]. As a foreseeable outcome, while some young Vietnamese chose to be silent and accept their parents' compulsion like AO (female, 23) shared:

> *"I am afraid of failure because of them, especially at school.*
> *Unfortunately, they have a great influence on my personal life, as they like*
> *to order and forbid, even though it is not necessary at this age."*

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[128] The survey from this research showed that migrant families have greater rates of domestic inter-generational conflicts than Czech families (Drbohlav, et al., 2005, p. 73)

Others confronted their parents' ideas which end up having conflicts over different lifestyles, Vietnamese family values, Vietnamese culture vs Czech culture (individualism vs collectivism), "*dating, going out in the evening, or staying overnight at friends' houses*" which is something acceptable in the Czech society but not approved of in Vietnamese families.

> *"We fight a lot, about almost everything. They hated my lifestyle, which they called 'too westernised' (hanging out late, sleep in friend's house, moving in with my boyfriend) and we had a lot of intense arguments because of that. I even promised them I would take full responsibilities of what I am doing, of the way I live my life, and they do not need to catch me if I fall. Nevertheless, it did not stop them from criticising me and comparing me with other kids (Vietnamese descendants) who grow up to be 'good Vietnamese'. I am always stressed because of that. Sometimes I wish I were not Vietnamese; my parents would not be so strict." (BC, female, 23)*

BC's narratives indicate that the heated disputation between her and Vietnamese parents definitely resulted in her uncertainty in defining her ethnic identities. By questioning whether an alternative situation where she is not Vietnamese, BC's case gives us an impression that parent-child relationship in Vietnamese families in Czech might play a considerable role in forming and developing one's ethnic identity. This finding corresponds with the previous studies by Phinney and her colleagues that mentioned above where the Vietnamese immigrant parents in the United States have a more substantial influence on the ethnic identity of the descendants' group through maintaining and reinforcing culture (Phinney, et al., 2001, p. 150). However, as much as their parents strive to socialise them to traditional Vietnamese values, this group of Vietnamese youth are still mainly exposed to Czech culture at school, in daily social interactions, and through the media. As a result, the adoption of Czech values via schools, peers and the media would significantly affect their perception of their family culture, thus (re)shape their ethnic identity and dictate the values they adopt. Correspondingly, as their immigrant parents continue to maintain the values of their Vietnamese heritage, discrepancies occur that result in intergenerational cultural conflict (Tardif & Geva, 2006).

A small group in the sample also reported to not talk back to their parents, but "*mostly ignore them, not always*". However, a very small number of Vietnamese in the sample claimed that their parents positively learnt to accept that their children may have adopted values different to theirs, and have adapted to the "*Western*" culture, even though they continue to uphold some Vietnamese values. AC's parents are one of those who actually listened to their children's reasons and support her afterwards as:

> "*[...] Vietnamese parents always think that when you go to universality, the employers everywhere would want to hire you and pay you a lot of money. However, in reality, it is nothing like that. When we had the last discussion about money, I had to explain to her (my mother) that as I choose what I am doing right now (film director), I am aware, and I hope so is she (my mother) now, that I might not earn a lot of money as doctors or lawyers, definitely not as much as they provided me with when I was young. But I am happy with it, and that is what matters the most [...] They then told me about how I should live my life as I observe the situation myself. They did not force me like: 'you have to act like this, that and I need to follow it totally'. They then believe in me, so they let me do what I think is right for me.*"

This has inherently narrowed the inter-generational gap between AC and her parents, resulting in less conflict and a better relationship. Nevertheless, the close relationship she continues to share with her parents may be a testament to the importance placed on family and family harmony in a Vietnamese family. AC's case, in contradict with BC's situation, suggests another possibility in the positive effect of family harmony on ethnic identities as later in the interview, she claimed that: "*I feel more and more comfortable with Vietnamese people and more like I belong to Vietnamese community now. It was worse in the past when I was little.*"

Some respondents noted that their Vietnamese families played a massive role of cultural bridge between descendants with Vietnamese root as:

> "*I do not have much contact with the Vietnamese community. If it were not for my family, I would completely forget my language. Without my family, I would define myself as 100% Czech.*" (AT, male, 21).

Another respondent also agreed with AT and stated:

> *"I feel like a Vietnamese mainly because of my appearance, my parents, the whole family, the habits we maintain together, the language we speak together, the values my parents taught me: the emphasis on family, respect for the elderly, hard work." (AS, female, 24)*

Another respondent had similar experiences. To quotes:

> *"My exposure to Vietnamese culture is very minimal. The only source I have is my family. But it does not mean I do not feel like Vietnamese at all." (AR, female, 22)*

According to collected data in this research, through the practices of maintaining Vietnamese culture within the families, Vietnamese parents exert a significant influence on the ethnic identity of their children. From the Vietnamese descendants' point of view, the efficiency in communication and harmony between different generations in families is especially vital. It seems that such a relationship between parents and children is conducive to discussion and that disagreement is a critical factor for orientation towards the Czech ethnicity and compromise is core to adopting Vietnamese identity. This finding of mine is consistent with previous studies that claimed that immigrants' parents influence their children in both ethnic affirmation and exploration. There is some evidence from the literature that family climate, mainly through parental child-raising style, is related with the ethnic sense of belonging and ethnic affirmation (Juang & Syed, 2010, p. 352) (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2006, pp. 406-410). This result simply underscores the role of parents and families in navigating ethnic identities in Vietnamese descendants in Czech. However, there were actually only a few cases that can be used to illustrate the association between family and ethnic identities while the quantitative result indicates an average score in the same matter (2.48 out of 5)[129]. Thus, this can be seen as the principal limit of the data which future research can notice and minimise.

5.2.2. Ethnic Identity Negotiation – Neither here nor there

> *"I was not satisfied at all being Vietnamese, but now I think it is advantaging my life. […] It is also a benefit as I am a rare Asian woman*

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[129] Question: How much influence do your Vietnamese parents have on you regarding education, career, personal life due to your ethnic identity? Scale: 1 – Very much, 5 – Not at all

film director in the Czech Republic. It can help me get recognised easily,
compare to other film directors." (AC, female, 26)

In the qualitative data that had been collected in the research, when being asked what make them identify themselves with the particular ethnic group more than others, the most common answers were: growing-up environment (mainly Czech), surrounding people (family, friends, partners), language, cultures and personal values. Only three respondents relied entirely on official citizenship/nationality when defining their ethnic identities. With regards to the association between citizenship and ethnic identities, most of the respondents (65%) claimed that they either do not associate these two identities together or not sure what to respond. Surprisingly, from the qualitative data, quite a lot of respondents replied that they identified as Vietnamese, mainly because of their appearance. Even though they could live their lives and think like typical Czech people, their Vietnamese look still constrained them from identifying themselves as the same as others. Many participants confessed they had been asked the question "*Where are you (really) from?*" so many times in their lives. Nevertheless, the answers to that question are not the same every time. For example, BC (female, 23) told me that her answers to this question depend on who is asking:

> *"There are a lot of Vietnamese here (in Czech), so when someone from*
> *Czech society asks me, I would answer Czech without any hesitation…*
> *(Long pause) … But if some foreigner who just arrives in Czech asks me*
> *that question, I would have to explain to them that I came here since I was*
> *basically a toddler and my parents are Vietnamese, but then I have Czech*
> *citizenship, bla bla bla… so technically I am Czech, but I am also*
> *Vietnamese. You know, the long explanation… (exhale) Because they*
> *would not understand our situation. They would be like 'Huh? But are you*
> *really like Czech – Czech though?' or 'You do not look like Czech', if you*
> *do not give them the explanation they want."*

From BC's long pause while talking about this topic, I could feel her frustration. Her expression implies that she had been put in this uncomfortable situation when people interrogated her identity because of her appearance, and she did not give them the explanation up front, quite a lot in her life. It created unhappy memories that whenever she had to talk about it, she felt irritated and angry. This finding is in accord with the phenomenon that I mentioned in the previous section about the classic question that people

with mixed backgrounds usually face. (Where Are You Really From?, 2018) (Zdanowicz & Chiaramonte, n.d., p. 1). However, it seems like BC has accepted the fact that she does not "*look like Czech*"; thus, she chose to cope with this question by giving them the explanation before she informs them about her ethnic identity. BC's narrative suggests that she viewed her Vietnamese appearance as apart, as different from Czech people. However, at the same time, she still identified herself as Czech. Other respondents seem to cope with the situation different than BC. For example, for AC, the answer depends on where she is being asked, then she would answer accordingly:

> "*In the Czech Republic, I am Czech, and I feel like home here. So, when people ask me here, I am Czech. But of course, because of my appearance, my Asian look, when I travel abroad, I cannot say that I am Czech, I would always say I was born and raised in Czech, but my parents are from Vietnam. (AJ, male 22).*

It is noteworthy that despite identifying as Vietnamese when asked, AO emphasised that she had no connection to Vietnamese culture; it was merely just because she looked Vietnamese that AO felt compelled to tell people she was Vietnamese. As the conversation transpired, AO shared:

> "*Because of my appearance, I do not fit into the norm in Czech society, which is understandable. However, to be precise, I identify myself [as Vietnamese] just because of my appearance […] Really, it is just my appearance!*" (AO, female, 23)

Despite having been asked the same question, it is interesting to note that BC and AJ or even AO approach it differently. Their response to the identities questions presents the fact that the respondents were aware of the unsettledness and changeability of their ethnic identities. From that acknowledgement, they appeared to utilise those characteristics of identities to navigate the situation in a way that can make their lives easier or even optimise their opportunities.

> "*How I identify myself (as Czech or Vietnamese) is changing over time. When I was younger, I had a lot of questions about my identity […] I was not satisfied at all being Vietnamese, but now I think it is advantaging my*

life. In the way that as I have more than one cultural background, I have
more than one lenses to view the world." (AC, female, 26)

The way respondents' perception of belonging and identity changes based on space and time highlights the importance of context in ethnic identity formation. Different identities are enlisted and imposed depending on situational contexts, and audiences encountered. Besides, the narratives above also illustrate the status of "*other*" that was acknowledged by Vietnamese descendants. While claiming that they did not belong to Czech society due to their appearance, they also asserted that their minds are not consistent with Vietnamese either. Respondents in this study also implied that being in between Czech and Vietnamese enabled them to take and voice a position which was different: "*I have more than one cultural background, I have more than one lenses to view the world.*" (AC, female, 26). In the passage below, BC participant recalled how she was able to use her position as "*other*" along multiple axes to benefit her lived experiences. Otherness is used strategically in the case of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic.

> *"It is true that most of the time, I do not feel like I belong to any group*
> *(Vietnamese or Czech). But looking on the bright side ... Let us take an*
> *example from the difference in celebrating New Year in Czech and in*
> *Vietnam. Czech celebrate Christmas and New Year in December and*
> *January while Vietnamese celebrate Lunar New Year[130] around February.*
> *I, as a Vietnamese – Czech, celebrate both (laugh). So, I get not only*
> *Christmas presents but also Lunar New Year lucky money. Is not it the*
> *best of both world?" BC enthusiastically told me.*

Here BC felt that Vietnamese identity, in addition to her Czech identity, enabled her to be advantaged from both cultures. Here Otherness may be strategically adopted to challenge existing disciplinary norms. Not all respondents felt that being other in this way was beneficial to them. While it may help them to have more perspectives of lives, more angles to understand the world, there were concerns that it may not result in change due to lacking sufficient influence within the host society due to their marginalised status: "*It is great for a*

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[130] Lunar New Year, which occurs every year on the new moon of the first lunar month (the exact date can vary from January 21 to February 21). Vietnamese people do not celebrate Christmas as they belong to a Buddhist nation.

person to experience both cultures at the same time. But the problem here is after all, can you really make any big change in the (Vietnamese) community and the (Czech) society? I know some young Vietnamese, like Sangu[131], attempted to become a politician, to improve the image of the community and make our generation more visible. But it is a long way to go…" (AO, female, 23)

In reflecting on their ethnic identification, apart from the question "*Where are you really from?*" many participants claimed that their identities as continually changing, sometimes even in a complicated route.

> *"[…] When I was a little girl, all I knew is that I was Vietnamese and I heard people told me to do my part: 'you are Vietnamese, you act like Vietnamese, talk like Vietnamese'. So, I thought I was destined to be Vietnamese for the rest of my life. I didn't know better. When I became a teenager, I desperately wanted to be like Czech […] Now, as an adult, I want to go back to my root again. I feel like I am still Vietnamese, after all." (AS, female, 24)*

The findings from this research seem to parallel with the feminist concept of intersectionality about the flexible set of identities (Crenshaw, 1989) what transnational feminists' notion of how these identities can collaborate, separate in a different situation to benefit individuals in the daily life (Parekh & Wilcox, 2020, p. 8). These responses above from participants present the fact that ethnic identities are constantly changing, not on one straight line but on a complicated route. This finding challenges the Two-dimension model by Berry which stated that once individuals identify themselves in a particular group, they cannot move to another one or even change back (Berry, et al., 1986, p. 321). However, my participants proved the opposite as they are actively moving between all groups of the model and even move back and forth to their origin ethnic groups constantly, stand right on the crossroad of multiple groups at some point.

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[131] Sangu (real name: Tran Van Sang) is a Vietnamese descendant. He is a famous figure among Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic that run for European Parliament office in 2019 (Sang, 2019)

5.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to present the findings from both quantitative and qualitative data to illustrate how the nuance of the definition of immigrant descendants by Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic. This then helps me prove that the way to define this group is more complicated than previous scholars claimed. Thus, it is crucial to examine, collect the knowledge from the subject within the topic to comprehend the insight about a particular group. Secondly, this chapter also sheds some light on significant aspects that constitute and impact the process of forming and developing ethnic identities in the young Vietnamese considering their complicated backgrounds, that involve both origin culture – Vietnamese and the mainstream culture – Czech. Language is also demonstrated to be an expression of their ethnic identity; some participants identified as Vietnamese because they spoke Vietnamese; in contrast, others were Czech because they spoke Czech better. However, I posit that proficiency in one's heritage language is not necessarily an indicator of one's ethnic identity; that is, one may not be fluent in Vietnamese yet still identify positively as Vietnamese. Instead, family and parents play a more vital role in forming one's ethnic identities through maintaining ancestral cultures and values. These young people are continuously re-conceptualizing and transforming their hybrid ethnic identities because they are always uncertain about their ethnic groups. Based on their shared and personal narratives, Vietnamese descendants appeared to often struggle to situate themselves fully into Czech society and/or the Vietnamese diaspora. As an outcome, participants' strategies were to balance these two different ethnic identities, re-negotiate their complex and multi-faceted identities as Vietnamese immigrant descendants. From that, I seek to study how their ethnic identities are changeable and continuously involving, not in a straight line but in unpredictable and complicated ways. This allows me to explore further how Vietnamese descendants negotiate and navigate their ethnic identities the ways they choose in order to make ways in their lives. The next chapter will present the finding and discussion regarding the interconnected relationship between ethnic identities and gender in the case of Vietnamese descendants in the Czech context.

6. GENDER AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

The participants of this study found themselves living under the influences of two cultures with different understandings of gender. In order to understand how the participants perceive their own gendered identities, it is essential to understand how they interpret gender as related to the Vietnamese and Czech cultures. This chapter will build on the experiences of participants to create a picture of gender in Vietnam and the Czech Republic as they perceive it. The Vietnamese descendants' account of Vietnamese gender roles was from their observation of their parents or other family members and/or from what their parents have told them about gender in Vietnamese culture. All the participants perceived that Czech gender norms were vastly different from Vietnamese gender norms.

6.1. Vietnamese parents' influence and expectation of sons and daughters

Having grown up in the Vietnamese community in Czech, all participants spoke about the gendered expectations of men and women within Vietnamese culture that is often reinforced by their parents. This was also expressed in the research literature over the role of families in maintaining gender role division and expectations which were enforced by parents, through firm household regulations. Female participants were particularly troubled by the double standards and different gendered expectations that they were subjected to compared with their male counterparts. The interview extracts show that the ways Vietnamese families reinforce and imply Vietnamese gender norms on son and daughters are quite different.

Regarding men, they stated that Vietnamese parents, under various methods, such as giving advice, dominantly imposing, exhorting "*without a rational explanation*", usually attempted to interfere a lot in their lives. They usually have impacts on "*important decision in life*"[132] such as education, occupation (some respondents became doctors just because their parents wanted to), and very prominently, ***financial issues***:

> "*They keep telling me to make a lot of money! I think with their influence, I would never apply for art or history major. They would like it better if I work in those fields like IT, doctor, business, lawyer, etc. where I can earn a lot*" (AW, male, 24, Event Coordinator).

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[132] In the point of view from Vietnamese culture

While most of the male Vietnamese descendants in the sample reported to under the influence from their parents, only one female reported listening to her parents regarding financial issue. However, her problem was mainly related to her male sibling as:

> *"In my opinion, everyone should take good care of themselves. But my mother kept forcing me that I had to financially support my younger brother, even though he is already 24 years old." (AQ, female, 29)*

For women, Vietnamese parents also seemed to be more relax regarding their career choice and support them generally even though parents did not choose those occupations. "*I think I am an exception. My parents support me, and they would be happy if I am a doctor or lawyer. But they also know that I'm good at what I am doing so they are happy for me.*" (AC, female, 26, film director). However, when the parents are not happy with their children's essential decisions in their lives, they could also be very strict and blunt:

> *"They are not very happy with my decision. They said I would have to take all responsibility if I become poor and miserable because of my choice"*
> *(BC, female, 23)*

From the quantitative result, there is not a significant difference between the intensities of meddling that Vietnamese parents impose on their sons and daughters. However, as we look at the qualitative data, the Vietnamese son seemed to be influenced by parents more on the matter of career choice and financial decisions. These findings are in consistency with literature review readings the traditional roles of men and women in the families. Men are usually encouraged to earn a lot of money because their ultimate role is becoming breadwinners of the family and take care of their parents once they are retired (Knodel, et al., 2005) (Vu, 2019). Many male respondents reported the same expectation from their Vietnamese families as they asserted: "*As a son, they expect me to take care of the family and bring my wife into the house.*" (AJ, male, 22) "*As the firstborn son, I need to be a provider and protector of the family*" (AN, male, 30) "*Men will start their career and secure their families, and more importantly they take responsibilities of supporting parents in old age.*" (AT, male, 21).

However, Vietnamese daughters in the sample were not expected to fulfil the same responsibilities. On the other hand, their obligation was preserving their purity perfectly so

they can get married to Vietnamese guys from the community in the future[133]. It is worth to note that in Vietnamese culture, once the woman gets married to her husband, she does not belong to her origin family anymore. After the wedding, her mind and body, according to Vietnamese culture, are supposed to be totally under the control of her husband and his family (Knodel, et al., 2005). Thus, Vietnamese parents in the sample did not see any point in forcing their daughters to have a successful career or earn a lot of money as for sons. In fact, most women in Vietnam are still encouraged not to study too much or not become too successful in their career. Otherwise, they would scare men away, and they might end up alone for the rest of their lives (Vu, 2019). Indeed, the extracts from in-depth interviews show the similar tactic that Vietnamese parents applied to their daughters as for women. Even though education is still a significant sphere that Vietnamese parents tried to meddle, they do not interfere much in their daughters' lives in term of occupation and finance. Instead, Vietnamese daughters usually received strict advice and discussions about ***moral issues***. One respondent - AS (female, 24) told me that her parents "*mainly affect personal life, rather the process of dating and subsequent relationship than the choice of partner itself*". Another expectation from girls is how to ***preserve their purity***, how to behave in romantic relationships, with peers and other moral issues. AV (female, 19) asserted *"[…] they are too careful, which often prevents me from staying somewhere long or walking somewhere, whether they do not allow me to do so […] They don't let me say my opinion often, and I often force theirs on me.*" "*Having a sleepover or staying up later like Czech parents allowed was not even an option.*" (AB, female, 18) "*They also kept pushing me into the wedding.*" (AO, female, 23)

The responses above indicate that Vietnamese culture seeks to supervise women's bodies, while men are allowed to exercise more freedom. This finding is in accord with the literature review on unequal gender roles which also finds that young Vietnamese women are often pressured to conform to traditional gendered practices in comparison to their male-counterparts (Kibria, 1990). Through the respondents' narratives, patriarchal gendered script in Vietnamese culture appears to allow men to express their masculinity through having more sexual freedom. Meanwhile, women are confined to remain within their home to

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[133] According to Vietnamese culture, a woman who lost her virginity before wedding is a spoilt one, not worthy to marry (Bélanger & Hong, 1999, p. 72).

preserve their purity. One of the interviewees expressed her anger while telling the story about the "*double standard*" in her extended family:

> "*I have always been taught that I must not get pregnant before the wedding. However, when my cousin got a girl pregnant when they did not even think about dating each other for another month, my family, my aunt and uncle were acting so happy for him because he is going to give them a grandchild! This is ridiculous!*" (BC, female, 23)

Disputes with parents due to different opinions and values are not a rare issue as 29 people in the survey (60%) reported that they usually have arguments with their parents regarding various problems. For women, they usually argue over typical Vietnamese women's manner (quiet, polite, timid) and marriage ("*marry a Vietnamese man someday*") as AO expressed: "*Especially in the area of relationships - when we can hug, kiss, sleep with each other, be together in one room, etc. There is constant speculation about that. Living together is also completely taboo.*" (AO, female, 23) "*going out with friends, about the LGBT community, about relationships and moving to partners before marriage, etc.*" (AR, female, 22) "*about politics, the functioning of society, the idea of the family, the relationship between parents and children, the rights of children as adults, the hierarchy of the family, etc*." (AS, female, 24)

Such participant statements echo with the broader literature review on unequal gender roles which asserted the fact that young women are often pressured to conform to traditional gendered practices in comparison to male counterparts (Kibria, 1990) (Lieu, 2000) (Zhou & Bankston III, 2001). The way female respondents expressed their anger in negotiating these cultural expectations reveals their frustration with the patriarchal gendered script that bias men exclusively.

Noticeably, one young Vietnamese descendant in the sample, who identified as non-binary, when being asked what the reasons that cause arguments with parents were, told me:

> "*They wanted me to start dating and get married to a Vietnamese so desperately. They even set me up with their friends' daughters even though I told them I did not want to.*" (BU, non-binary, 21).

This statement of BU illustrates that while managing to negotiate between two ethnic identities Vietnamese and Czech, Vietnamese descendants also have to deal with their

parents' controlling over heteronormativity[134] which is prevalently and genuinely rooted in Vietnamese culture, making it even more difficult for them to safely identify as anything but heterosexual (Duong, 2001). BU's situation also shed lights on the multi-layers of intersectionalities between gender identity and ethnic identity within Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic.

The qualitative results suggested that Vietnamese female descendants reported that they are projected to act like a "*typical Vietnamese woman*" which means they need to be reserved, obedient, even "*expected to walk in a certain way*" or "*appear to be more girly*", and, above all, to "*become a traditional housewife*". "*I have never been allowed to go to karate classes because it is more for the boys [...] if I have a husband, I will live with his family [...]*" (AV, female, 19) or "*[...] girls should not sleep with boys; they should not close the door if they are in the same room*". Moreover, female Vietnamese descendants in the sample showed that they were very well aware of the unfair treatments that Vietnamese parents and communities applied to men and women. More importantly, they did not hesitate and were very vigorously vocal about this problem in the interviews. One of the respondents told me:

> "*[...] I think it is completely wrong to treat men and women differently in Vietnamese culture. For example, my dad kept telling me not to slurp the soup when I'm eating pho in public, but that is okay with boys. I do not understand why. As a girl, I can eat and slurp the soup how I pleased. Of course, I do not do that in public. But the question here is why should boys have such an acceptance that girls cannot have?" (AX, female, 18)*

On the other hand, male Vietnamese in the sample, even though some said that they do not totally agree with the traditional gender norms and perspective in Vietnamese culture, (8 out of 21 men in the sample), they mostly just stopped at saying "*I do not agree*" without explaining anything further. The fact that men showed less disturbance when talking about gender inequality in Vietnamese culture can be explained by the widely accepted male-favouritism, male-centeredness and male dominance in Vietnamese culture (Dang, 2017, p. 43). According to gender perspectives in Vietnamese culture, men are considered as the "*standard or norm*" while women are deemed as "*the other*", the abnormal, inferior. The

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[134] The assumption that everyone is or should be heterosexual and heterosexual relationships are norm. It conveys the idea that there are only 2 genders which are naturally decided by biological sex at birth and the one and only the sexual attraction between these two genders are natural and acceptable (Stein, 2004).

preferential treatments that bias males are not unusual in Vietnamese families (Dang, 2017, p. 33). In her study, Dang also claimed that the typical Vietnamese cultural expectations which are policed and through Vietnamese parents and the community, in general, had higher expectations for their daughters to perform household duties and remain in the domestic sphere while men have the privilege to pursue their careers outside their homes (Dang, 2017, pp. 34-35). Under the influence of the Confucian ideal, parents were also more restrictive of their daughters' freedom to go places alone, choice of friends, and decide how to spend free time. Since women are put in charge of the domestic sphere and glorified as "*nội tướng*" (loosely translated into "interior marshal"), mothers are also expected to take responsibilities of maintaining and sustaining the gender norms to the next generations, particularly to the daughters (Dang, 2017). As men are put on the superior position both within the families and the communities in the Vietnamese culture, it is not a surprise when male Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic were not as vocal as their female counterparts in the fight against gender inequality within the communities.

Hence, from the finding of this paper, I postulate that traditional Vietnamese gender norms and perspectives which are maintained and strengthened in families continuously, by Vietnamese parents, play a crucial role in parent-child conflicts, which then impacts the process of forming and developing ethnic identities of the Vietnamese descendants. This result is in accord with the literature that was reviewed in the previous chapter that even with the different gender norms in the host country, the older generation of Vietnamese immigrants still attempts to maintain the traditional Vietnamese gender norms and transmit them to their offspring (Kibria, 1990). By using a feminist intersectional lens, this study provides insight into the tensions that Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic (both men and women) have to face between the declarations of their multiple interwoven identities (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1296). From that, this concept allows us to locate cross-connecting barriers and challenges due to their intertwined identities, particularly the entwinement between their gender identities (as women, men and non-binary) and their ethnic identities (such as Vietnamese, Czech, hybrid).

6.2. Vietnamese descendants – intersectional identities

While acknowledging the gender inequality in Vietnamese culture, respondents instantly drew the comparison with Czech gender norms in the interviews without being provoked. According to the quantitative data, Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic think men

and women in Vietnamese culture are severely treated more unequally than men and women in Czech (*p-value <0,000[135]*). More details can be found in Table 6 (Appendix).

The vast majority of the sample asserted that they were strongly opposed to the fact that Vietnamese society definitely favours men over women and thus, "*feminism is not even a thing there*" (AA, female, 21). When talking about genders in Czech society, they did not deny completely the existence of the gender inequality here yet still claimed that the situation here (in Czech) is better than in Vietnamese society.

> *"In Czech society, it is a bit better, but I can still see the unfairness...Men and women still have different statuses in society, plus; they have different salaries, though. Sexism is everywhere if you look closely enough." (BC, female, 23)*

For example, AC expressed her strong opinions about the gender norms in Vietnamese culture in comparison with Czech. Her narratives provided a fruitful insight about how young Vietnamese while facing the requests to comply with gender norms in both cultures, think about the differences:

> *"The position of men and women in Czech is very different from it is in Vietnam. [...] people here they are at least trying to make it equal between men and women even though there is still some dark side (lower salary for women for the same position per se). When society is aware of it, it is already a big change. I wish the same for Vietnam. However, I do not think it will happen soon there because it is deeply connected with the culture and traditions. Even when you see the wedding, the women are supposed to be sent to the men's families and start taking care of his family only. Moreover, in the graveyard in Vietnam, there are always place for women with her husbands and sons all together. It means that even when the women die, they only belong to the husbands' families only. The guy is the only one who keeps the linage and maintains the family name. [...] Even in the family gathering, men and women dinner tables are always separated. Men on one side, talk loud, drinking. Furthermore, where are the women, they gather in the kitchen, cooking, cleaning, and chatting*

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[135] P-value < 0,05 means two tested variables are significantly different

quietly. Nevertheless, in Czech, men and women share household chores; they have better communication (than in Vietnamese families). It is possible in Czech for men to stay home and women are breadwinner, but it is not even an option in Vietnam."

Interestingly, while Vietnamese female descendants felt unfair compare to Czech women, despite the favouritism towards Vietnamese men, and especially of the first sons, the findings indicated a variety of experiences, which suggest that not all Vietnamese young men enjoyed the privilege. Some of the male descendants also disagreed with Vietnamese gender roles and hoped for more equality as they stated: "*In my opinion, the how man and women are expected to behave should be the same in both countries, which is equality for both men and women in the family, they should have the same responsibilities, same status*." (AF, male, 22). For some male respondents, even though they disagreed with Vietnamese gender norms which favour men over women, they stressed that: "*On the other hand, two are expected to be loyal to the family. The child comes first. And I agree with that*." (AT, male, 21). This statement shows that no matter what generation the respondents from, they still highly evaluated the children as the centre subject of care in the family which is aligned with the core value of Vietnamese culture that had mentioned previously in other research (Mestechkina, et al., 2014, p. 49). Only one male participant in the sample expressed his favour toward Vietnamese gender roles and wish Czech society will follow them as well:

"I think that different treatments (to men and women) are expected in general in western countries as well. I think there are pros and cons everywhere. A woman should take care of the household, children and her husband. The man takes care of finances and decision making. By being brought up in this "model", I agree with that. […] I would probably be able to exchange responsibilities with my future wife, but I would not feel like a "right man" at all. […] It should be the same in Czech. If the girl cannot cook for the family, do not marry her. If the guy cannot earn enough money to support his family, do not marry him […]" (AW, male, 24)

The above account suggests that female Vietnamese descendants not only have to cope with gender norm reinforcement from their family and Czech society but also face prejudice posted by men from their own ethnic groups, who are also suffering from identities conflicts

between the two cultures like them. This is evidence of how their intersectional identity affects their lives. The intersection of ethnic identities and gender is used to discriminate against and police them not only by ethnic majority or Czech society but also by ethnic minority men from the same ethnic backgrounds. Our study has shown that Vietnamese descendants in Czech are exposed to sophisticated and refined forms of sexism and ethnic discrimination, that is, ones which are subtle and not easy to bring to light.

The present results suggest that Vietnamese women are likely to face additional pressures from due to their gender identities which is likely to affect their life quality. It seems that for Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, learning to fit in and be accepted by the host society is critical. However, this matter is also gendered as they have to negotiate the normative forms of masculinity and femininity to fit in. Vietnamese young women informed that they faced a lot of struggles due to their appearance as they do not meet the beauty standard in Czech society as:

> *"They were doing the racist jokes, making 'ching chang chong' noise to me a lot. I grew up with the feeling that I was lesser than Czech people, that I was not good enough. I wanted to have blond hair and blue eyes. I felt hideous compared to Czech girl." (AC, female, 26).*

Another respondent added:

> *"Since I was a child, I knew that I was "different", but at the same time, I did not take it seriously. My brother taught me how to look at it with humour, so I do not mind it (discrimination) as long as it does not aim at me." (AV, female, 19).*

The attempt to fit in can be presented in the narratives from female interviewees suggested that they had problems with adopting some traits from the host society which Czech women are likely to implement from a young age, such as being confident like AC told me:

> *"Compare to my Czech friends, I am more insecure and reluctant about revealing my body. For example, one time when it is summer, and we went to the beach together. While everyone just jumped right into the water naked and I could not do that. I can never do that actually." (AC, female, 26).*

For male Vietnamese descendants, in the attempt to be integrated to Czech society, they have to negotiate the masculinity by earning respects from the Czech peers and learning to stand up for themselves as one respondent noted "*When I was little, I was sometimes bullied in elementary school. But I built respects and learned to protect myself.*" (AM, male, 25). Another male respondent added:

> *"At the beginning, it was challenging. They (schoolmates) made fun of me and bullied me because I did not speak Czech well. However, I tried my best and studied extra hard, got straight 1 in every subject. And then they started to respect me more. Bullying slowly faded away. I also learn karate to protect myself when necessary." (AZ, male, 25)*

Firstly, the narratives above illustrate a part of social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner that I mentioned in Chapter 2, where the tension of "*grouping*" and "*othering*" people based on similarities and differences, and the urge to produce the unfavourable assumptions about other group contributes to prejudiced views between groups (such as sexual groups, ethnic groups, racial groups). This practice then results in sexism, racism, and other forms of discrimination (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40). In the case of Vietnamese descendants, because of their dissimilar traits between them and Czech (such as Asian look, speak Czech not very well or with Vietnamese accent), they are deemed to a different than the significant Czech group in Czech society. As young Vietnamese are considered to be in a separated group with Czech, the member of Czech group tend to apply negative traits on this group in order to increase Czech's self-esteem, which eventually results in discrimination in the form of mental and physical bullying. In reverse, Vietnamese in the Czech Republic, especially the first generation, also implied undesirable traits on the outgroup – Czech. The evidence of this practise is that Vietnamese parents occurred to use those negative words such as "*promiscuous*", "*untrustworthy*" to describe young Czech as gathered from the data collection.

These accounts above also indicate that both male and female Vietnamese descendants face gendered challenges when trying to blend in as they have to negotiate and adopt the new forms of femininity and masculinity in Czech society, on top of the requests to maintain Vietnamese gender norms from their parents. Unfortunately, for Vietnamese descendants, adopting the gender norms in Czech means creating a contradictory with the gendered

models and expectations rooted in the Vietnamese culture. The evidence can be found in one respondent's answer:

> *"When I became teenager, I desperately wanted to be like Czech girl with blond hair, big eyes and I even tried to avoid speaking Vietnamese with my parents because I thought it could ruin my Czech (because of having Vietnamese accent)." (AS, female, 24).*

How young people navigate these influences from different sides might play a crucial role in shaping their identities, differently for female and male descendants. Besides, according to previous studies, maintaining patriarchal relationships in the Vietnamese families is related to protecting children from the morality of the significant western society in Czech, which migrant from Vietnam assessed as "*corrupted*" (Vrbková, 2017, p. 28). Vietnamese parents usually have some idea of how children should behave according to traditional Vietnamese standards. However, at the same time, they are aware that children are accepted through the western education system value new, unacceptable to the Vietnamese community (disrespect to parents, independence from family, relaxed sexual morality). (Kibria, 1990). In the consistency with the previous studies, many respondents in this research also reported that they suffered from a lot of "*pressure*" when attempting to conform to Vietnamese traditional gendered practices. They felt pressured by their parents to resist a Western social practice, and this situation contributed to their uncertainty in defining identities. In short, the tensions from both ethnic groups Vietnamese and Czech have placed these young Vietnamese in the situation that they have to continually navigate and adapt between cultures in order to meet the requirement of both. The evidence for that is Vietnamese parents of respondents occurred to be disturbed if their kids adopt western lifestyle via "*preferring Czech food*", "*hang out too much with Czech friends*" or "*moving in before marriage*" as I mentioned in the previous chapter. Or another respondent mentioned the contrast between the Czech lifestyle and Vietnamese lifestyle that he was caught up in between as he said:

> *"[…] For them (Vietnamese parents), money is everything! But for me personally, I feel that money was not really that important and it is better to live a mindful life, a Bohemian lifestyle." (AW, male, 24).*

It appears that by embracing the local conventions of liberal individualism, Vietnamese descendants are seen to contradict their parents' gender norms, which can be seen in BC's question during the interview:

> *"My parents complained a lot about me being 'too westernized'. But how do they expect me to be successful in this country (Czech) without blending in?".*

Or as another respondent expressed:

> *"For my mom, I am too loud, I express too many opinions, in comparison with the typical Vietnamese woman (quiet, polite, submissive). […] In our last discussion, my parents also expected me to have my own family as soon as possible even though I am still studying. For them, it is like I have been studying forever, and they already want to see me with a husband and children." (AC, female, 26)*

Notably, it seems like Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic were also aware of the intersections between their different identities. One respondent expressed as quoted:

> *"It is also a benefit as I am a rare Asian woman film director in the Czech Republic. It can help me get recognised easily, compare to other film directors." (AC, female, 26).*

The data also suggests that the participant was well aware of her gender identity (woman) and ethnic identity (Vietnamese) intersect with each other in complex ways to confer privilege and disadvantages in her life. More specifically, some respondents happened to identify with one (Vietnamese or Czech) or two particular group identities (Vietnamese and Czech), which they felt offered a benefit (Minow, 1997). The findings illustrate that individuals who stood at the crossroads of several identity groups may select one or two for strategic approaches. However, for Vietnamese descendants in Czech who do not fit in the rigid gender binary model[136] and heteronormativity[137], apart from being torn between the

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[136] Gender binary is the classification of gender into two distinct, opposite forms of masculine and feminine, whether by social system or cultural belief (Rosenblum, 2000).

[137] The assumption that everyone is or should be heterosexual and heterosexual relationships are norm. It conveys the idea that there are only 2 genders which are naturally decided by biological sex at birth and the one and only the sexual attraction between these two genders are natural and acceptable (Stein, 2004).

two culture, being ruled out because they do not fit in the "*typical image*" of any ethnic group (Vietnamese or Czech), they were marginalized due to their gender identities as BU asserted:

> *"I always know that I am different from everyone. But I try to see it in a positive way. I'm always "other". I'm "othered" by Czech people, and I'm "othered" by Vietnamese people. But you know what, that is why I can see things from a different position, different angle that no Czech or Vietnamese can. I see both advantages and disadvantages in all groups, and it allows me to take advantages of them all." (BU, non-binary, 21)*

As looking at this account through the lens of intersectionality and transnational feminism, the interconnectedness between gender and ethnicity results in the degradation and alienation of these young people from mainstream discourse. Using these feminist concepts allow us to acknowledge the presence of these individuals whose voices are more likely to be obscured by multi-layers of oppressions. From that, researchers can include an extensive analysis of Vietnamese immigrant descendants, who are typically underrepresented or neglected (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139), tackle inequality issues which emerge due to the process of immigration of their parents; with the relation to a wide range of interacting forces; beyond the nation-state borders (Baksh & Harcourt, 2015, p. 4).

Nevertheless, the finding also proposes that Vietnamese descendants in the samples were autonomous social actors as they seek to negotiate their gendered roles between Vietnamese and Czech culture while constructing their own ethnic identities. Through an intersectional lens, this finding provides insight into the fact that Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic have to face barriers and challenges within and outside Vietnamese family. It also documents the strategies they use to overcome such issues and challenges. The pervading influences of intersectionality from societal context and individual identity to all social domains are also highlighted through this finding. Consistent with intersectionality theory, the present chapter has also revealed the ways in which oppressive institutions such as ethnic discrimination and sexism are intersected and cannot be examined separately from one another (Phoenix, 2016) (Veenstra, 2013). Ethnic discrimination is linked to sexism in the more direct sense that members of ethnic minority groups are likely to experience discrimination and gender oppression simultaneously (Castles, 2000). Overall, the themes that place particular emphasis on this section are interconnectedness between different identities in the cross-nation context, which underlines the interplay of the different layers

of oppressions (Syed & Özbilgin, 2009). Thus, as Crenshaw (1989) explained in her text about intersectionality, due to the multi-layered facets in life, there cannot be one single way to interpret and examine how Vietnamese descendants cope with their multi-cultural backgrounds and form their ethnic identities. (Crenshaw, 1989). Utilise the concept of intersectionality; this section has demonstrated that for Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic, their ethnic identities, intersecting with other social identities, can result in both advantage and disadvantage. For several respondents, being Vietnamese; Czech or both intersected with their gender help their achievements quickly to be recognised, help them to take advantages from all as they reflected on the opportunities. For some others, it puts them in vulnerability and confusion as standing on the middle of the "*crossroad*", and they are requested to fulfil too many contradict responsibilities from different and even contradict roles. For them, the intersection of these identities limited ability to identify with a particular ethnic group and may result in marginalisation.

6.3.Conclusion

In this chapter, I have applied the lens of intersectionality and transnational feminism, which highlight the intertwining of different and flexible identities, in examining the interconnectedness between Vietnamese – Czech gender roles and ethnic identities. The findings demonstrate that, through a process of individual selective decision-making, with the consideration with multiple gendered identities, the Vietnamese descendants continually negotiate and rework their hybrid ethnic identities in the Czech context. While some of the participants shared variable responses that addressed their anger and resentment over traditional Vietnamese gendered norms, all of the participants revealed their doubts and confusion in navigating the two contrasting worlds (Vietnamese – Czech) they are simultaneously living within. The uncertainty experienced by these young people reveals the dynamic and ongoing nature of identity construction, which puts the Vietnamese descendants in a constant state of flux regarding their identification. What is most noteworthy in their attempts to negotiate between two ethnicities is that the practice of (re)forming the identity of self through continuously making vital decisions, on when to reject or accept different cultural values. For many Vietnamese descendants in this study, preservation of a Vietnamese identity is equivalent to accepting the traditional gender norms which expect them to live their lives differently from the local Czech. On the other hand, choosing to follow the Czech norm will violate their heritage culture and create tension between different generations in their families. Either of the options above put them in the

stage of uncertainty and confusion. However, in spite of the deep-felt uncertainty, these young people have constantly shown us how they actively maintain, challenge multiple elements of their ethnic identities, concerning their gender identities altogether. As such, the data leads me to posit that the 48 Vietnamese descendants in this study are consciously engaged in the act of shaping and developing their ethnic identities, in a sophisticated relationship with their gendered identities, to navigate their lives in the Czech Republic.

7. FINAL CONCLUSION

7.1. Summarising the findings

This research has attempted to examine how the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic consciously shape and reshape their ethnic identities in the interconnectedness with other gendered identities. This study has employed a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative to explore the lived experiences of this group of young Vietnamese as they negotiate between two cultures, which has allowed for a more nuanced insight of the forming and developing ethnic identities process. In this closing chapter, I summarise the significant findings of this research and present limitation and suggestion for future research.

At the beginning of the discussion, in Chapter 5, I have presented the finding from both quantitative source – questionnaire surveys and qualitative source – in-depth interviews. These findings illustrate the way Vietnamese descendants define their own group which was so diverse and vivacious that it challenges the widely accepted traditional definition of immigrant descendants that was proposed by Rumbaut and Portes before (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005). With the acknowledgement of the flexible ways that these young people define themselves, I managed to examine the critical and significant aspects in lives that contribute to the (re)construction and development of their ethnic identities. This is when I found out that families and parents played fundamentals role in transmitting ancestral culture, values, and heritage language to Vietnamese descendants, which then, impacts severely how they perceive their ethnic identities. These determinations are in accord with the previous studies that asserted family, mainly through parental child-raising style, is related to the ethnic sense of belonging and ethnic affirmation of the younger generation (Juang & Syed, 2010, p. 352) (Umaña-Taylor, et al., 2006, pp. 406-410).

Nevertheless, while scrutinising how this group manoeuvres their status of "*between two cultures*", "*neither here nor there*", I comprehend that their ethnic identities, under the influences of many other social aspects from both Vietnamese community and host society – the Czech Republic, are consciously in flux. Notably, the adjustments they applied to their ethnic identities are not at all arbitrary. Instead, the adjustments are in accordance with personal choices and process of development, which are indeed interconnected with the multilayer social issues and multiple gendered identities. The findings from this section happen to parallel with the feminist concept of intersectionality about the flexible set of identities (Crenshaw, 1989) and transnational feminists' notion of how these identities can

collaborate, separate in a different situation to benefit/constraint individuals in the daily life (Parekh & Wilcox, 2020, p. 8). Besides, this demonstration also challenges the Two-dimension model by Berry (Berry, et al., 1986, p. 321) as in fact, Vietnamese descendants appeared to actively define their ethnic identities differently in different time and space, sometimes even go back where they already were.

In Chapter 6 is where I discuss the intertwining between gender and ethnic identities in Vietnamese descendants within the Czech context. The further analyses in this chapter illustrate how ethnic identities are conditioned by traditional and host country's gender norms. These analyses support acknowledging the intersectional and complex identities of young individuals in the cross-border context. The critical intersectional approach helps comprehend that these young people embody various identities (gender and ethnicity) and hold different structural positions at once. The qualitative findings of the research allow me to explore deeper into these variations, further decode the impacts of identity and its discrepancies between Vietnamese descendants based on their gender identities. This chapter presents work steps toward the primary goal of the paper by seeking to understand the diverse lived experiences of Vietnamese descendants as well as pushing back on the categorization and normative gender norm. The analysis highlights the intersections of ethnicity and gender and how these affect Vietnamese descendants in numerous ways. This is also in the consistency with the feminist attempt to elucidate the experiences of all genders in relation to their gender identities (Nawyn, 2010, p. 759). At the same time, it is clear that Vietnamese descendants have varying degrees of internalized normative messages exemplified by their behaviour. As critical scholars, we should continue to rethink the conceptions of race/ethnicity, gender, and other status characteristics to challenge patriarchal, hegemonic frames further. This is vital as we can then move beyond essentializing Vietnamese descendants to recognising various intersecting identities within the diverse cultures that construct gender norms in various contexts.

Moreover, this study applied a feminist methodological approach (intersectionality and transnational feminism) to ensure that Vietnamese descendants' group, those are standing between multiple social categorizations, remain at the forefront of my inquiry as their narratives have primarily been unexplored in the broader discourse. One of the more noticeable contributions of this research is that the participants had the chance to define and discuss the meaning of their ethnic identity based on what they think. This is different from previous research that imposed quantitative measures of ethnic identification or pre-imposed

categories. By allowing them to discuss what it means to them and what it looks like to be a Vietnamese person in Czech has provided insight into the complexities of their experiences and the social construction of their ethnic identities. The findings of this study underscore the need for research to move away from studying ethnic identity as a static, singular construct and move towards a more reflexive, dynamic social construction. Therefore, this thesis contributes a new narrative to how Vietnamese descendants pinpoint their ethnic identities, not as the simple mixture of two different cultural identities, but rather an active construction of identity involving small acts of agency and resistance.

7.2. Limitation and future research

I acknowledge that there are still limitations of this research as Czech - the primary language of participants is not the language I speak. The language incompetence also prevents me from access to Czech scholars' works on the same topic. The time of conducting this research posts a massive obstacle in the data collecting process and constrain me from gathering much insightful information from the respondents. Thus, non-verbal, and other contextual data were not adequately harvested and presented in the findings. Apart from that, the small sample size (48 survey respondents and ten interviewees) participants' narratives are not representative of all Vietnamese descendants in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, after all, this research is an attempt of mine to contribute to the literature on the topic of Vietnamese immigrants' descendants in the Czech Republic regarding their ethnic identities, in relation with multiple gendered identities they identify with. It is necessary to conduct more research on the similar subject matter with more extended sample size and in the consideration with more literature in local academic society.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaires

Dear Participant,

My name is Phuong Nguyen, and I am a graduate student in Gender Studies at FHS – Charles University in Prague. For my Master's Thesis, I am conducting research on the second generation of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. I am inviting you to participate in this research study by completing the attached surveys. The following questionnaire will require approximately 20 minutes to complete. There is no known risk in participating in this survey. In order to ensure that all information will remain confidential, please do not include your full name. Copies of the project will be provided to Charles University. If you choose to participate in this project, please answer all questions as honestly as possible and submit the completed questionnaires by completing and submitting the survey online or returning the completed survey to me. Participation is completely voluntary, and you may refuse to participate at any time. Thank you for taking the time to assist me in my educational endeavours.

The data collected will be guaranteed and completely confidential. Completion and return/submit of the questionnaire will indicate your willingness to participate in this study. If you require additional information or have questions about the study, please contact me at the number listed below.

We really appreciate your input!

Sincerely,

Phuong Nguyen

Email: phuong.nguyen.fhsuk@gmail.com

Instructor's Name: Dr. Ivy Helman, Ph.D.

Email: drivyhelman@gmail.com

1. What would you like to be called? (Please do not enter your real or full name)
2. With which of the following do you identify with?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Other

3. How old are you?
4. Your place of birth
   a. Czech Republic
   b. Vietnam
   c. Other (please fill in)
5. At what age did you come to the Czech Republic?
6. What is your definition of "the descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic"?
7. Do you identify yourself as "the descendants of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic"?
   a. Yes
   b. No
8. What is your highest level of education achieved?
9. What is your occupation at the moment?
10. What is your monthly income? (net income)
11. What is your citizenship?
    a. Czech
    b. Vietnamese
    c. Other
12. Do you associate your citizenship as belonging to a certain nation? (For example, because you hold the Czech citizenship, do you define yourself as more Czech than Vietnamese)
    a. Yes
    b. No
13. What is your parent's religion? What is your religion?
14. Are you having an intimate relationship with anyone?
15. Regarding your ethnicity, to what extent do you identify yourself as? (Please select the suitable extent from 1 to 5 (1-Very strongly and 5-Not at all)) Why?

	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnamese					
Czech					
Others					

16. Your first language is...
    a. Vietnamese

   b. Czech

17. Do you speak Czech fluently?

   a. Yes

   b. No

18. If not, are you interested and willing to learn Czech? Why?

   a. Yes

   b. No

19. Do you speak Vietnamese fluently as well?

   a. Yes

   b. No

20. If not, are you interested and willing to learn Vietnamese? Why?

   a. Yes

   b. No

21. How often do you speak Czech and Vietnamese at home? (Please select from 1 (All the time) to 5 (Never))

	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnamese					
Czech					

22. How much do you enjoy speaking, reading, and watching TV in ...?

	I love it	It's ok	I don't like it
Vietnamese			
Czech			

23. Who did you learn Vietnamese/Czech from?

24. Do you associate your linguistic ability to your ethnic identity? (For example, you see yourself as Czech because you can speak most fluently in Czech)

   a. Yes

   b. No

25. Why and how has this changed over time?

26. What are your parents' occupations?

27. Did your parents choose your major and career path?

   a. Yes

   b. No

28. If not, are your parents happy with your choice of major and career path?

29. How much influence do your Vietnamese parents have on you regarding education, career, personal life due to your ethnic identity?

	1	2	3	4	5	
Totally						Not at all

30. What are some of the Vietnamese cultural norms and traditions that your family practice?

31. Where do you learn about Vietnamese culture?

32. Have you ever got into a dispute with your parents about the values of Czech and Vietnamese culture?

33. Are you often required to translate for your parents?

34. Do you interact with _____ in your neighbourhood or your place of work?

	Yes	No
Vietnamese		
Czech		

35. Most of your friends are…
    a. Czech
    b. Vietnamese

36. How is it important for you to have friends are...? (Please select from 1 (Very important) to 5 (Not important at all))

	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnamese					
Czech					

37. Which ethnic group do you perceive as having the strongest influence on your life?
    a. Vietnamese
    b. Czech

38. What are their influences?

39. To what extent do you feel that you belong to the following community? (Please select from 1 (Very strongly) to 5 (Not at all))

	1	2	3	4	5
Vietnamese					

Czech					

40. Does your family expect you to act in a certain way regarding your gender?

41. Did your sexual and ethnic identity in any way influence your own decisions in terms of migration, travelling, work, where you live, work who/what you look after?

42. Do you think men and women are treated unequally in Vietnamese society? If yes, what are the differences?

43. Do you think men and women are treated unequally in Czech society? If yes, what are the differences?

The survey has been completed. Thank you very much for your time and your collaboration! Here at Charles University in Prague, we take your privacy seriously, and will only use your personal information for research purpose. I would like to contact you if you are willing to have a more detailed interview about this topic. Do you consent to us using your details to contact you in order to conduct an in-depth interview?

44. Do you agree to have an in-depth interview with the author of this study?
    a. Yes, I agree.
    b. No, I do not agree.

45. In such case, how would you like us to contact you? (Please write down your phone numbers or email address below. All your personal information will be 100% consented)
    a. Email
    b. Phone call
    c. Text message
    d. Other

46. What is your email address/ phone number? (I need this to be able to recontact you for the next interviews regarding this topic)

Thank you so much for participating in this survey. If you should ever need to, please return this form with your survey to me personally after you finish it! Have a nice day!

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

1. What is your definition of "the descendants of Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic"?

2. How do you associate your citizenship as belonging to a certain nation?

3. Which ethnic group do you perceive as having the strongest influence on your life? And Why?

4. To what extent do you feel that you belong to the Vietnamese/Czech community? How has this sense of belongings changed over time?

5. What do you identify as your ethnic identity? Why? Can you describe to me the main aspects that have shaped this identity?

6. Can you tell me about your process of learning Czech and Vietnamese?

7. Are you often required to translate for your parents? If yes, in which situation? What do you think about this responsibility?

8. What do you think about the association between linguistic ability and your ethnic identity? Why and how has this changed over time?

9. What do your parents think about your choice of major and career?

10. What are some of the Vietnamese cultural norms and traditions that your family practice?

11. Could you please provide me with some examples about the dispute between you and your parents?

12. How do your parents assert their influence on you? And on what aspects?

13. Could you please tell me about your experience of growing up in the Czech Republic as a young Vietnamese boy/girl.

14. How does ethnicity of one person influence your life partner choice? What are their influences? How has that changed over time?

15. How do your family expect you to act in a certain way regarding your gender?

16. How do your sexual and ethnic identities in any way influence your own decisions in terms of migration, travelling, work, where you live, work who/what you look after?

17. How do you think men and women are expected to behave differently in Vietnamese society? what are the differences? and do you agree with them?

18. How do you think men and women are expected to behave differently in Czech society? what are the differences? and do you agree with them?

19. Why or why do you not think men and women should do different types of job? If yes, what are they?

20. What are your own expectations of your son/daughter regarding their genders?

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Interview Research

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Phuong Nguyen from Charles University in Prague. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about academic work of faculty on campus. I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed for this research.

1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one on my campus will be told.

2. I understand that most interviewees in will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by researchers from Charles University in Prague. The interview will last approximately 40-50 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will be made. If I do not want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. Faculty and administrators from Charles University in Prague will neither be present at the interview nor have access to raw notes or transcripts. This precaution will prevent my individual comments from having any negative repercussions.

6. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by Charles University in Prague.

7. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

8. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Place: Date:

Signature of the Interviewee   Signature of the Interviewer

Phuong Nguyen

Interviewee's Printed Name   Phuong Nguyen

Appendix 4: Table of Figures

Appendix 5: Participant table

Table 3 List of participants who participated in the research. Note: Participants who participated in in-depth interviews are marked with *

No	Participants	Gender	Place of birth	Age	Age of arrival
1	AA	Female	Vietnam	21	3
2	AB	Female	Czech Republic	18	0
3	AC*	Female	Czech Republic	26	0
4	AD	Male	Czech Republic	22	0
5	AE	Female	Vietnam	31	13
6	AF	Male	Czech Republic	22	0
7	AG	Male	Vietnam	19	8
8	AH	Female	Czech Republic	26	0
9	AI	Male	Germany	26	3
10	AJ*	Male	Czech Republic	22	0
11	AK	Female	Czech Republic	24	0
12	AL	Male	Czech Republic	24	0
13	AM*	Male	Germany	25	1
14	AN	Male	Vietnam	30	5
15	AO*	Female	Czech Republic	23	0
16	AP	Female	Czech Republic	20	0
17	AQ	Female	Czech Republic	29	0
18	AR	Female	Czech Republic	22	0
19	AS*	Female	Czech Republic	24	0
20	AT*	Male	Vietnam	21	3
21	AU	Female	Czech Republic	20	0

22	AV*	Female	Czech Republic	19	0
23	AW*	Male	Vietnam	24	2
24	AX	Female	Czech Republic	18	0
25	AY	Male	Vietnam	18	3
26	AZ	Male	Vietnam	25	7
27	BA	Female	Vietnam	29	6
28	BB	Female	Vietnam	30	13
29	BC*	Female	Vietnam	23	2
30	BD	Male	Vietnam	23	2
31	BE	Male	Vietnam	25	4
32	BF	Female	Vietnam	24	8
33	BG	Male	Czech Republic	20	0
34	BH	Female	Czech Republic	16	0
35	BI	Female	Czech Republic	16	0
36	BJ	Female	Czech Republic	16	0
37	BK	Male	Czech Republic	22	0
38	BL	Male	Vietnam	20	2
39	BM	Male	Vietnam	26	4
40	BN	Male	Czech Republic	18	0
41	BO	Male	Czech Republic	23	0
42	BP	Female	Vietnam	16	0
43	BQ	Non-binary	Vietnam	18	4
44	BR	Female	Vietnam	24	1
45	BS	Female	Vietnam	23	1
46	BT	Female	Vietnam	25	1

| 47 | BU* | Non-binary | Czech Republic | 21 | 0 |
| 48 | BV | Male | Czech Republic | 28 | 0 |

Appendix 6: Quantitative Data Tables

Table 4 Descriptive statistics for variables regarding languages and ethnic identities by gender. Note that N represents the total sample size, n represents sample size stratified by gender, M = mean. P-values were calculated using t-tests, chi-squared tests, and Wilcoxon rank sum tests, and * indicates a p-value that is statistically significant at the 0.05 alpha level.

Questions	Total (N =48)	Women (n =25)	Men (n = 21)	P=values
Do you associate your linguistic ability to your ethnic identity?				
No	16	8	8	0.415
Yes	30	17	13	
How much do you enjoy speaking, reading and watching TV in [Vietnamese]?[138]	2.06	1.92	2.24	0.185
How much do you enjoy speaking, reading and watching TV in [Czech]?[139]	1.75	1.76	1.71	0.622
How often do you speak Vietnamese at home?[140]	1.90	1.68	2.10	0.536
How often do you speak Czech at home? [141]	3.31	3.24	3.32	0.573

Table 5 Descriptive statistics for variables regarding family, other relationships and ethnic identities by gender. Note that N represents the total sample size, n represents sample size stratified by gender, M = mean. P-values were calculated using t-tests, chi-squared tests,

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[138] 3- I don't like it, 2- It's ok, 1- I love it

[139] 3- I don't like it, 2- It's ok, 1- I love it

[140] 1 – All the time, 2- Usually, 3-Sometimes, 4-Occasionally, 5-Never

[141] 1 – All the time, 2- Usually, 3-Sometimes, 4-Occasionally, 5-Never

	All (48)		Women (25)		Men (21)		P-value
	N	%	n	%	n	%	
Did your parents choose your major and career path?							
Yes	22	46%	9	36%	13	62%	0.215
No	24	50%	16	64%	8	38%	
How much influence do your Vietnamese parents have on you regarding education, career, personal life due to your ethnic identity?[142] (M)							
	2.48		2.60		2.38		0.881
Do you interact with _____ in your neighbourhood or your place of work? [Vietnamese]							
Yes	36	75%	19	76%	16	76%	0.706
No	12	25%	6	24%	5	24%	
Do you interact with _____ in your neighbourhood or your place of work? [Czech]							
Yes	40	83%	19	76%	19	90%	0.343
No	8	17%	6	24%	2	10%	
Most of your friends are…							
1 - Vietnamese	20	42%	11	44%	8	38%	0.835
2 - Czech	21	44%	10	40%	10	48%	
3 - Both Vietnamese and Czech	5	10%	2	8%	3	14%	
4 - Others	2	4%	2	8%	0	0%	
How is it important for you to have friends are... [Vietnamese][143] (M)							
	2.33		2.16		2.57		0.305
How is it important for you to have friends are... [Czech][144] (M)							
	2.92		3.04		2.9		0.640

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[142] 1-Very strong, 2-Strong, 3- It is ok, 4-Not really strong, 5-Not at all.

[143] 1 -Very important, 2- Important, 3- Somewhat important, 4-Not really important, 5-Not important at all

[144] 1 -Very important, 2- Important, 3- Somewhat important, 4-Not really important, 5-Not important at all

Table 6 Descriptive statistics for variables regarding ethnic identities and gender perspective (by gender). Note that N represents the total sample size, n represents sample size stratified by gender, M = mean. P-values were calculated using t-tests, chi-squared tests, and Wilcoxon rank sum tests, and * indicates a p-value that is statistically significant at the 0.05 alpha level.

	Total (48)		Women (25)		Men (21)		P-value
	N	%	n	%	n	%	
Do your family expect you to act in a certain way regarding your gender?							
No	7	15%	2	8%	5	24%	0.192
Yes	24	50%	14	56%	10	48%	
I don't know	17	35%	9	36%	6	29%	
Did your sexual and ethnic identity in any way influence your own decisions in terms of migration, travelling, work, where you live, work who/what you look after?							
No	20	42%	9	36%	11	52%	0.319
Yes	10	21%	6	24%	4	19%	
I don't know	17	35%	9	36%	6	29%	
Do you think men and women are treated unequally in Vietnamese society?							
No	7	15%	3	12%	4	19%	0.358
Yes	24	50%	13	52%	11	52%	
I don't know	17	35%	9	36%	6	29%	
Do you think men and women are treated unequally in Czech society?							
No	13	27%	9	36%	4	19%	0.136
Yes	18	38%	7	28%	11	52%	
I don't know	17	35%	9	36%	6	29%	

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