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**Heritage Language Preservation and its Impact on
Integration: The Case of the Vietnamese in the Czech
Republic**

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Abstract

Heritage language preservation or conversely, a language shift (a loss or decrease of language proficiency) can directly impact a minority ethnic group's integration into a host society. Multiple theories and studies have demonstrated that students from an ethnic group who are encouraged to celebrate their ethnicity and practice their heritage language have better relationships with parents and peers and overall are more academically and cognitively advanced, less likely to commit crimes and have more economic opportunities available to them. In short, these individuals would seem more likely to successfully integrate into a host country's society. Therefore, looking at the Vietnamese community in the Czech Republic I attempted to gauge the standing of Vietnamese as a heritage language within this ethnic community by using qualitative research to better understand the existing sociolinguistic landscape. Ultimately, what I determined from my research is that heritage language preservation can act as a barrier to integration for the first generation if retaining the heritage language comes at the expense of learning the host country's language. However, for the later generations, a language shift is occurring which might actually hinder integration in the long run.

Keywords

Heritage language, Language shift, Integration, Vietnamese, Sociolinguistic landscape, Ethnic minority, Language and minority rights, Czech Republic

Abstrakt

Zachování dědictví jazyka nebo naopak, změny v jazyku (ztráta nebo snížení znalosti jazyka) mohou přímo ovlivnit integraci menšinové etnické skupiny do hostitelské společnosti. Mnohé teorie a studie prokázaly, že studenti z etnické skupiny, kteří jsou povzbuzováni k tomu, aby ctili svou etnickou příslušnost a praktikovali jazyk svého dědictví, mají lepší vztahy s rodiči a vrstevníky, jsou celkově víc akademicky i kognitivně pokročilí, mají menší sklony k páchání trestných činů a více využívají nabízející se ekonomické příležitosti. Stručně řečeno, tyto jedinci by se měli s větší pravděpodobností úspěšně integrovat do společnosti hostitelské země. Proto jsem se při pohledu na vietnamské komunity v České republice pokusila vyhodnotit postavení vietnamského jazyka jako jazyka dědictví této etnické komunity s pomocí kvalitativního výzkumu, abych lépe pochopila současnou sociolingvistickou krajinu. Ve své práci jsem nakonec dospěla ke zjištění, že zachovávání jazykového dědictví může působit jako překážka integrace první generace, pokud je jazyk dědictví uchováván na úkor učení se jazyku hostitelské země. V pozdějších generacích se však objevuje jazykový posun, který v delší perspektivě může ve skutečnosti integraci brzdit.

Klíčová slova

Jazykové dědictví, Jazykový posun, integrace, Vietnamci, Sociolingvistická krajina, Etnická menšina, Jazyková práva menšin, Česká republika

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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague 10.05.2015

Barbara Chudoba

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Project Proposal

M.A. DISSERTATION PROJECT	
Name:	Barbara Chudoba
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Title:	Heritage Language Preservation and its Impact on Integration: The Case of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic
Supervisor:	Mgr. Tamah Sherman, Ph.D.
Aim of the project (10 lines):	<p>To gauge the standing of Vietnamese as a heritage language by using qualitative research to better understand the existing sociolinguistic landscape. By doing so, I aim to understand how heritage language preservation, or conversely, a language shift (a loss or decrease of language proficiency) is directly affecting the integration of different Vietnamese generations into Czech society.</p>
Research question/questions (10 lines)	<p>How does heritage language preservation impact integration of the Vietnamese ethnic minority into Czech society?</p>
Proposed methodology (20 lines)	<p>My first set of data for this research will consist of scholarly articles, media texts, internet blogs, Facebook pages, and also legal documents, laws and policies related to linguistic rights for ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic.</p> <p>My second set of data will consist of the results attained during my nine months in Prague conducting field work mainly in the form of participant interviews and some participant observation.</p>
Proposed structure of chapters:	<p>Introduction; Chapter 1: Methodology, Chapter 2: The Arrival of the Vietnamese in the Czech Republic; Chapter 3: The First Generation of Vietnamese Migrants; Chapter 4: The Language Shift Among the 1.5 and Subsequent Generations; Chapter 5: The Czech Perspective; Practical Applications; Conclusion</p>

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INTRODUCTION

On July 3rd 2013, the Vietnamese became the first group of non-European descent to have been recognized as a national minority in the Czech Republic (CR)¹. This recognition meant that the Vietnamese, who are at present the third largest ethnic minority group in the CR, were officially entitled to certain rights as well as support from the CR's budget to preserve their culture, language, and traditions². This research started out as a broad attempt to gauge just *how* integrated into Czech society this national minority really was and what factors influenced this integration. Eventually, one factor was singled out as key to completing this assessment: heritage language preservation among the Vietnamese living in the CR. The reason I chose this factor is because it allows us to see integration from two different perspectives. First off, it gives us insight into the Vietnamese community's perspectives and experiences with issues relating to language acquisition, maintenance and attrition. Secondly, we can look at integration from the perspective of the host country. We can do so by looking at the heritage language rights these ethnic minority groups have in the host country and whether language policies aimed at these groups are meant to further their integration or are more assimilative in practice. This also allows us to analyze to what extent the Vietnamese community is actually taking advantage of the linguistic rights given to them as recognized national minority in the Czech state.

Multiple theories and studies, which I will address later in this work, have demonstrated that students from an ethnic minority group who are encouraged to celebrate their ethnicity and practice their heritage language have better relationships with parents, teachers and peers and overall are more academically and cognitively advanced, less likely to commit crimes and have more economic opportunities available to them. In short, these individuals would seem more likely to successfully integrate into a host country's society. This assumption led me to my research question: How does heritage language preservation impact integration of the Vietnamese ethnic minority into Czech society?

¹ The Roma are also a recognized national minority in the CR, however as a dispersed people they constitute a unique case.

² The latest data from the Czech Statistical Office (Český statistický úřad) showed that in 2013 there were 57,347 Vietnamese foreigners residing in the CR; making the Vietnamese the third largest ethnic group in the CR after Ukrainians and Slovaks respectively. This, however, does not account for illegal Vietnamese

What I determined from my research is that heritage language preservation can act as a barrier to integration for the first generation if retaining the heritage language comes at the expense of learning the host country's language. However, for the later generations, a language shift is occurring which might actually hurt integration in the long run. As explained by Young and Tran (1999) language shift here refers to "the lessening of the number of speakers of a language, a decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a loss in language proficiency or a decreasing use of that language by different domains" (pp.77-78).

The outline of my dissertation is as follows: In chapter one I will discuss the methodology that I have employed for this work and why I chose this specific approach to research. In chapter two, I will give historical background as to *why* Vietnamese migrants first arrived in Czechoslovakia. This background will put into context two factors that I believe have influenced heritage language preservation for the first generation of migrants: the development of ethnic communities which started under socialism and the post-communist emergence of ethnic entrepreneurs and consequently an ethnic economy. Chapter three will act as a general literature review on theories of ethnic minority assimilation and integration; it will look at theories that explain in greater detail the consequences that ethnic communities and ethnic entrepreneurship can have on the integration of first generation Vietnamese. Chapter four will focus on the younger generations of Vietnamese and why a language shift that is occurring among these generations. It will also look at the repercussions of this language shift for both Vietnamese migrants and the host society. Here I will also employ language management theory to shed light on specific individual language issues faced by the Vietnamese in the CR and how one Czech institution is finding macro solutions to these issues. Finally, chapter five will focus on heritage language preservation from the perspective of the Czech state by looking at Czech language policies aimed to integrate migrant groups such as the Vietnamese.

migrants or those that have become Czech nationals, meaning the absolute number is even greater (Alamgir 2014).

1. METHODOLOGY

Until recently there was not much research conducted into the Vietnamese minority in the CR, and even less of this research was published in English. While I could find much research on theories of integration and language acquisition, I was limited when it came to research and data that would help me to more fully understand the day-to-day language experience of this Vietnamese community in the CR. Thus for the purpose of this research I chose to employ a qualitative approach, mainly in the form of interviews.

My first set of data for this research consisted of scholarly articles, media texts, internet blogs, Facebook pages³, and also laws and legal documents that related to linguistic rights for ethnic minorities in the CR. These sources provided much of the background needed in order to write and structure my interviews, but also to later interpret the results.

My second set of data then consisted of the results attained during my nine months in Prague conducting field work mainly in the form of participant interviews and some participant observation. This was done in order to identify patterns in Vietnamese heritage language retention or attrition by individual members of the Vietnamese community in the CR. The members I interviewed all occupied different roles within the Vietnamese community, and thus I gained insight into my topic of interest from different perspectives.

In total I conducted ten interviews, six of which were with members of the 1.5 generation⁴. From these six informants, some were more involved in the Vietnamese community than others and reported speaking Vietnamese at an advanced level, while others admitted to struggling at times—but all had at least intermediate knowledge of the language. The occupations of these six interviewees were as follows: a community interpreter, an employee at a Vietnamese family business (owned by his parents), a girl who had started a Czech blog on Vietnamese cuisine and along with a friend now ran Vietnamese cooking classes in Prague, an undergraduate student at Charles University

³ For example, the Facebook page “Přiznání Vietnamců” or “Confessions of the Vietnamese” (<https://www.facebook.com/PriznaniVietnamcu>).

⁴ The term 1.5 generation was first given by Rumbaut (1994) in reference to foreigners born abroad that had immigrated at a young age to the U.S. where they were then raised. Here it is used in reference to the generation of Vietnamese that was born in Vietnam but moved here with their family at a young age. For the most part, this generation speaks Czech fluently.

in Prague⁵, a graduate student at the University of Economics in Prague⁶, and a tutor and teacher for Vietnamese children. The names of these respondents were all changed in order to protect their identity.

The remaining interviews were conducted with representatives from four different civic and non-profit organizations based in Prague. I believed these representatives would provide insight into my topic at a more institutionalized level. Three of these four interviewees were Czech, the fourth was Vietnamese. They were as follows: Jiří Kocourek Chairman of the civic organization South East Asia – liaison, z.s. (SEA-liaison)⁷, Marek Čaněk, Director of The Multicultural Center Prague⁸, Tereza Günterová co-founder and head of services for foreigners at META and her colleague Hana Marková, head of social services at META⁹. And finally, Pham Huu Uyen from the human rights group Van Lang and also the official representative of the Vietnamese minority group on the Czech Government Council for National Minorities.

All ten respondents were somewhat varied in age and economic background, and all but one had attained a bachelor's degree or higher, or were in the process of attaining one. Focusing on this particular social and age group ensured that all of the interviews could be conducted in English without language barriers as all participants had adequate knowledge of the English language. I chose not to conduct any interviews in Czech or Vietnamese with an interpreter due to financial and time constraints, but also so my interviews would not be subject to what is known as triple subjectivity, which occurs when you have three actors involved in the interview process: the subject, the interpreter and the researcher (Temple and Edwards 2002). The interviews were semi-structured and done in an open-ended and informal manner; they lasted one hour on average. All the interviews were recorded with permission of the interviewee and later transcribed by myself.

With the six community members interviewed I attempted to establish language biographies to better understand how retention of the Vietnamese language was achieved, or how attrition of the language occurred at the individual level, and thus to better understand the language situation of the Vietnamese community in general (Sherman and Homoláč 2014). Additionally, the four interviews with the organizational

⁵ Univerzita Karlova v Praze.

⁶ Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze.

⁷ A civic organization that caters specifically to the Vietnamese in the CR.

⁸ Multikulturní Centrum Praha (MKC Prague) is a non-profit organization.

⁹ META is “the association for opportunities for young migrants.”

representatives I chose served to better comprehend the role of these Czech organizations in migrant integration—including their approaches to heritage language preservation, and their experience in dealing with the Vietnamese community in the CR.

Due to snowball sampling¹⁰ I found myself with more candidates to interview than time to interview them. Thus, after finishing my ten planned interviews, I compared the answers and stories related to me by my respondents and created a short survey with questions based on patterns or trends I identified from these interviews. I sent this survey out to the few candidates I could not interview. In total four surveys were completed and returned to me.

In order to complement my interviews and surveys, I also decided to conduct participant observation. This allowed me to observe local traditions, culture and hierarchies within the Vietnamese community and experience them along with the community members in real time. It also allowed me to draw further connections between language biographies that had been related to me during interviews, and the reality of the places and experiences that had been described to me. Specifically, it allowed me to witness first-hand the community's sociolinguistic landscape: how, when, how often and with whom, the Vietnamese or Czech languages were employed within the community. I conducted much of my participant observation in Sapa, the Vietnamese market located in Prague 4, but also participated in casual meetings between Vietnamese friends, Vietnamese community celebrations and even once a Vietnamese mass in honor of St. Josef, the patron saint of the Catholic Vietnamese community in the CR. As with the interviews and surveys, notes from my participant observations will be mentioned in more detail later on in my research.

I acknowledge that the Vietnamese minority in the CR is highly diverse when it comes to its level of education and social stratification, and consequently the language situation will vary between individuals within the community. However, despite limited time and language barriers, the combination of methods I have employed has allowed for deeper insight into the Vietnamese community and the complex sociolinguistic landscape they inhabit. Therefore, while the research I have conducted is not an adequate representation of each individual community member, I do believe that it is representative of any language shift occurring in the community as a whole, and the

¹⁰ Snowball sampling refers to when informants recruit their own friends and acquaintances to also participate in the research.

implications this shift has on the current and future integration of the Vietnamese in the CR.

2. THE ARRIVAL OF THE VIETNAMESE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In order to better understand the relationship between the Vietnamese and the Czechs it is imperative to understand the history behind Vietnamese migration to Czechoslovakia. Understanding the circumstances under which the Vietnamese settled in Czechoslovakia sheds light on how ethnic communities were formed within the Czechoslovak state, and how they continue to exist today in the CR. The existence of these ethnic communities has encouraged the use of Vietnamese language on a daily basis among community residents. After the fall of communism, the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurs and thereby an ethnic economy, has reinforced these communities and consequently the use of the Vietnamese language—although mainly among the first generation.

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND THE FORMATION OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

The Vietnamese arrived to Czechoslovakia as young students or unskilled workers in an attempt by the Czechoslovak communist party to address labor shortages. These students and workers constituted a form of human capital transfer in exchange for Vietnam's material trade deficits (Williams 2005). At first the Vietnamese came to Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) with funding from the "Fraternal Assistance" package supported by the CEE states (ibid). In 1967, the first agreement was reached between the Vietnamese and Czechoslovak governments to send 2,100 Vietnamese *praktikanti*, or trainees, for a period of three to five years to Czechoslovakia to be trained in schools and factories (Alamgir 2014)¹¹. By the early 1970s, the Vietnamese government was looking to expand the program; this resulted in the signing of a treaty between both parties on April 8, 1974, which led to the arrival of more than 5,000 new Vietnamese citizens during the 1970s (ibid).

¹¹ All expenses were covered for these trainees by the Czechoslovak government except the cost of transportation (ibid).

I met with my first interviewee Daniel on March 1st at a shop owned by his family in the center of Prague. Daniel provided some personal insight into how this exchange program worked for his own father:

I'll start with my father, he studied here first as part of a program where he got offered some partial studies in order to perform some work, after that work ended he had the opportunity to study economics in Bratislava—at that time it was Czechoslovakia so he decided to stay [in Czechoslovakia]...because he believed the future would be better for us if we stayed. So that's what he did and eventually he managed to finish school, he started working, saved up some money and then he brought my mom and me to the Czech republic.

The story of Daniel's father is a typical scenario for the first generation that arrived to Czechoslovakia. With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the Vietnamese government started to export more workers to CEE in an effort to pay off its war debts; thousands more Vietnamese were thus exported as part of the Assistance Program for a Suffering Vietnam (Nožina 2010). It is estimated that between 70,000 to 120,000 Vietnamese worked in Czechoslovak factories during the 1980s with over 35,000 residing in Czechoslovakia at any one time (ibid).

The ideological basis of this labor exchange program as explained by Alamgir (2014) was a combination of socialist brotherhood and internationalism used to further the anticolonial struggle and the spread of global socialism. Alamgir reinforces this ideology with a quote by Alois Indra, the Chair of the Czechoslovak National Assembly at the time these exchanges were taking place. Indra tells the Vietnamese parliamentary delegation:

We have received your youth, workers, and technicians who came here to increase their qualifications as genuine brothers. We do not see this as something for which we claim credit but—in the spirit of proletarian internationalism—as a natural obligation we have toward a people who fought on an advanced outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia and thus have contributed to the defense of the entire community of socialist countries (p.137).

Until the 1980s, the general attitude of the Czechoslovak people towards the Vietnamese migrants remained quite positive, but this attitude then started to shift as temporary Vietnamese workers began to purchase large supplies of scarce resources in order to redistribute them in the second economy. The problem was that the Vietnamese informal market and barter economy was not without its illegal practices, including the smuggling of goods, bribes to custom officers, etc. and this at least partly influenced the views of the Czechoslovak people towards this Vietnamese minority (Neustupný 2003). At the same time the advantages of acquiring Vietnamese workers through training began to diminish. Pre-departure training in Vietnam, for example to help Vietnamese migrants learn basic Czech language skills, and later on work-related training upon arrival in Czechoslovakia meant that the Czechoslovak government was investing time and money for each Vietnamese worker they received. Gradually the Czechoslovak side started to assign Vietnamese workers to more unattractive positions, such as assembly-line production in an effort to diminish overall migration (Alamgir 2014).

With the fall of the communist regime in 1989 and the creation of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic, the new government decided to cut almost all political and economic ties with socialist Vietnam. This meant the end of the previous exchange agreement, and thus many of the Vietnamese workers and students that had been living in Czechoslovakia returned back to their home country, at least initially¹². Several of these workers thus lost contact with the Czech language and culture during the years they returned back to their native Vietnam. After a few years, however, many of these Vietnamese migrants decided they wanted to return to CEE, where they believed a better future awaited them. The migration channels established under socialism had led to urban concentrations, and those Vietnamese who stayed had become part of these existing communities or created new ones. Through transnational social networks these communities continued growing through the 1990s as new waves of Vietnamese migrants came to the CR or Slovakia to join family members that had refused to leave Czechoslovakia after their contracts expired. These were then joined by another wave of Vietnamese emigrating from other Central and Eastern European countries, including

¹² Return or deportation of workers from Czechoslovakia was not uncommon even before the fall of communism, as was the case with many Vietnamese women that were deported upon becoming pregnant. One girl I interviewed, Tien, told me that her mother was part of the labor exchange program and was deported back to Vietnam when she became pregnant with her. Tien was born in Vietnam, but after the fall of communism her parents moved back to the CR with her.

Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and East Germany¹³ (ibid). It was not uncommon for these returning workers to come with their children, who had recently been born back in Vietnam. This generation of children that came to the CR at a young age are referred to now as the 1.5 generation and unlike the generation of their parents, they embarked on a completely different path to integration as we shall see.

2.2 ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE ETHNIC ECONOMY

In the 1991 census only 421 people identified as Vietnamese; by 2001 this had risen to 17,462 (Martinkova 2011). One of the major factors attributed to this significant increase was that the Vietnamese which remained in Czechoslovakia turned to the private sector; they then sponsored friends and relatives back in Vietnam to help them get resident visas and move to the CR (ibid)¹⁴. Those migrants that had stayed behind after communism initially suffered income decreases during the transition as the end of the welfare state and the beginning of marketization served to deepen social inequalities in Czechoslovakia (Smith 2000). However, despite rising unemployment and income security, these Vietnamese migrants found a niche in the post-communist market as ethnic entrepreneurs¹⁵. Zhou (2004) defines these ethnic entrepreneurs as: “simultaneously owners and managers (or operators) of their own businesses, whose group membership is tied to a common cultural heritage or origin and is known to out-group members as having such traits; more importantly, they are intrinsically intertwined in particular social structures in which individual behaviour, social relations, and economic transactions are constrained” (p.1040). These mentioned businesses are usually ethnic in nature and range from resale of goods imported from Asia in Vietnamese style open-air markets, to 24-hour corner stores and Vietnamese restaurants.

Thus, beginning with the labor-exchanges between Vietnam and Czechoslovakia, Vietnamese communities and networks began to develop within what

¹³ For example, of the people I conducted interviews with one of my informant had parents who came to the CR from Slovakia, and two others had parents that came from East Germany.

¹⁴ Another factor that contributed to this increase was that in 1991 the German government, who previously had a similar exchange program with Vietnam, offered 3000 marks to any Vietnamese workers who were willing to return home before their contracts expired. Many of the Vietnamese workers accepted this money, but moved to the CR rather than back to Vietnam (Nožina 2010).

¹⁵ This was also enabled by a gap in the Czech immigration law at the time which facilitated staying in the CR and starting businesses for many of the Vietnamese students and workers whose contracts had ended (Nožina 2010).

is now the CR. Furthermore, the volatile economic situation during the fall of communism, meant that many of the Vietnamese that stayed behind decided to turn to private business, becoming ethnic entrepreneurs (Vasiljev and Nekvapil 2009). In the next chapter, we will look at how the prevalence of these types of ethnic communities and the ethnic entrepreneurship they helped spur, has facilitated heritage language preservation amongst the first generation of Vietnamese migrants, and yet, nevertheless a language shift is occurring with the following generations.

3. THE FIRST GENERATION OF VIETNAMESE MIGRANTS

This chapter will act as a general literature review on theories of ethnic minority assimilation and integration. Through these theories I will attempt to explain in greater detail the consequences that ethnic entrepreneurship can have on the integration of the first generation—mainly that this type of business venture leads to investment in the ethnic economy, rather than in host country capital (e.g. learning the Czech language fluently). Finally, I will also look at how ethnic communities, which reinforce and are reinforced by this ethnic economy, also hinder integration.

3.1 THEORIES OF ASSIMILATION

Assimilation policies have been criticized in the past as an attempt by the state to eliminate ethnic minority cultures, however, theories that examine assimilation as a social process that occurs spontaneously are critical to understand how and why a minority group might adapt a host country culture while unintentionally losing their own (Alba and Nee 1997). These assimilation theories take into account the individual's adoption of host society cultural traits, dominant religion, and of course language—all of which affect an individual's overall emotional identification with their own ethnic minority group and the culture of the host country. At the community level, they look at the eradication of variance in education, income, employment opportunities, etc. between the minority group and the dominant group (Esser 2010).

Despite being criticized for being too ethnocentric and dated, one of the most influential theories on migrant assimilation in the past has been classical assimilation theory. Simply put classical assimilation theory states that migrants follow a straight-line convergence becoming more similar to the members of the host society over time. Thus with every generation, greater assimilation is reached by the minority group (Brown and Bean 2015). In 1964, the sociologist Milton Gordon defined the stages that occur before a minority group can reach assimilation. The stages were: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, intermarriage and lastly ethnic identification with the majority group. These four stages culminated in attitude receptional assimilation

(the absence of prejudice), behavior receptional assimilation (the absence of discrimination) and civil assimilation (the absence of a power struggle between the minority and majority group) (Esser 2004). Gordon (1964) believed that some of these dimensions, such as cultural assimilation, were inevitable, and that “once structural assimilation has occurred...all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow” (p.80).

Zuzana was one of the Vietnamese girls I interviewed; she was an undergraduate student at Charles University. Like most of the Vietnamese I interviewed she was born in Vietnam and her family came to the CR when she was three years old. I asked her if she had many friends of Vietnamese descent, and she explained that she did not. Her answer, as seen below, seems to fit in with Milton’s idea of attitude receptional assimilation, to the point that Zuzana actually feels *more* prejudice from the older members of her own minority group, than she does from members of the dominant group. She tells me:

Like the [Vietnamese] who are first and a half generation or first generation, their behavior is so much more Vietnamese and sometimes I can realize that they judge me for being so Czech. And then there are some Czech-Vietnamese or Vietnamese-Czech, and they judge you for other things. And sometimes they take it very personal when you do like a joke or something. So I don’t really want to have a connection with them actually, I just don’t need to. I’m happy where I am, because with Czech friends I don’t have to be aware of doing something and then they will judge me. Like, I don’t know, drinking alcohol or staying out all night.

She went on to say that she did not want to give the impression that the Vietnamese were not open minded, but that one must know a Vietnamese person very well before being more open with them. Of course, Zuzana is just one individual from a minority group and her testimony could simply evidence that she personally is more comfortable in a Czech social setting; I would not go as far as to say that Zuzana is completely assimilated into Czech society or that her answer is representative of all young Vietnamese.

To better begin to understand variation in levels of assimilation within an ethnic minority group we can look at Portes and Zhou’s (1993) segmented assimilation model

inspired by Gans' (1992) notion of the “bumpy” line of assimilation over generations. This model theorized that structural barriers such as family income level, quality of public schools in areas of minority concentration, employment opportunities, etc. helped explain why some minority children did not follow straight-line assimilation, while others did. It is difficult to judge the level of assimilation of the third and even second generation of ethnic Vietnamese in the CR due to their still relatively young age. However, I would argue that although there might be some assimilative tendencies in the 1.5 and second Vietnamese generation, any assimilation is definitely not occurring in a straight line. Still, I would not attribute this necessarily to factors such as family income, quality of public schools, etc. but more to a conscious initiative by the 1.5 generation to return back to their Vietnamese roots. This initiative was most predominant in my interviews with young parents that were teaching Vietnamese language and culture to their children.

The Vietnamese ethnic minority group in the CR is what Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) term the *outer group* because they show considerable sociocultural differences to that of the host country¹⁶. This is even true when they are compared to other groups found in the CR such as: the *Central European group* (Poles, Slovaks and Hungarians), the *peripheral group* (the Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians) and even the *Western group* (Americans, Germans). One outer group characteristic that will most likely hinder full assimilation for the Vietnamese community in the CR, at least for the foreseeable future, is the recognizable Vietnamese physical attributes. These include eye color, skin color, hair color, name, etc. (Chandra 2006). One of my informants Xuan, told me that when she was younger she tried to be as Czech as possible, but one day she realized it did not matter how she *acted* because she would always *look* Vietnamese. She then explained to me the term *banana children* in the following way:

I don't know if you heard about banana children, the term describes us as yellow outside and white inside. That's what some people call us, I'm not sure I'm entirely banana, because I'm still more Vietnamese oriented. But for example my younger brother, and the generation of kids around his age, so around five, six, seven years younger than me, they are in their mentality completely thinking in Czech.

¹⁶ The Chinese and Roma are in this category as well.

Xuan acknowledged that her younger brother's generation are increasingly "Czech", which could be a sign of advancement in the "bumpy-line" towards assimilation, however, the existence of the term banana children demonstrates that assimilation has definitely not yet occurred and physical attributes, among other factors, will impede it from occurring for the time being. Furthermore, Xuan like many other recent Vietnamese mothers from the 1.5 generation, is making an effort to always speak to her child in Vietnamese. Parents such as Xuan are consciously cultivating their children's Vietnamese ethnic identity, thereby bringing the next generation closer to their Vietnamese roots than the generation before them.

3.2 THEORIES OF INTEGRATION

If it seems unlikely that assimilation of the Vietnamese is occurring at the moment, we might look at theories of integration to judge whether these are more applicable to the current situation of the Vietnamese in the CR. To start off we can expand on a topic mentioned in the previous chapter: ethnic entrepreneurship and the consequences of ethnic economic investment for integration. The Intergenerational Integration Model (IIM) as developed by Esser (2004) explains that actions initiated by an ethnic minority group are done in order to achieve physical well-being and social approval. Unlike Gordon's assimilation theory, however, IIM also addresses socioeconomic assimilation. It argues that in order to further their integration, this ethnic group has, or should have, interest in investing in country capital—such as pursuing education in the host country, learning the host country language, etc. The only time when it is more beneficial for a minority group to utilize their own ethnic social capital instead (such as their native language) is when ethnic entrepreneurship and investing in an ethnic business proves economically advantageous (Esser 2010).

Ethnic economic investment has allowed many Vietnamese migrants the opportunity to build their own small-business economy. Unfortunately, Vietnamese language retention, at the cost of investment in country capital (the Czech language) has created some barriers for these first-generation business owners. Williams and Baláž (2005) found that in Slovakia, Vietnamese stall owners had developed a strategy to deal with their lack of Slovak language skills: to limit misunderstandings when dealing with customers, many of them actually employed Slovak women to front their market

stalls¹⁷. Usually though, many of these Vietnamese business owners have at least one relative that speaks Czech at an advanced level and can help run the shop. This member is usually from the 1.5 or second generation and has no problem communicating with Czech clients or even other foreigners and tourists (Vasiljev and Nekvapil 2009). My interview with Daniel exemplified the typical role taken on by these members of the family. Daniel works full time during the week as an accountant at a Czech company; during the weekends he works full time at a new store that was recently opened by his family. I met him at this store at 9am on a Saturday morning and asked him why he was giving up his weekends—his only free time—to work for free at this shop; Daniel responded:

This shop is currently understaffed, it's more of a priority and that's why I'm here. So there's always something to do. I could easily say no, I'll do my office work and enjoy my weekends like every other normal person. But because of the family—and [the family ties] are strong in the Vietnamese culture—so that when there is a family business we do tend to help out—whatever it takes. A lot of different nationalities would come home after work and enjoy television, a glass of wine, just switch off for the rest of the day, but when I come home the work has stopped but the family starts. And that comes with different work—helping my dad with administration things, helping my mom with organization, which is all part of the family business. We do have another shop in Sapa.

He went on to explain that he was not sure how it worked in Vietnam, but in the CR, it was normal for Vietnamese parents to ask their children for help because the children understood the Czech language better than their parents.

One factor that facilitated the development of this ethnic economy was the establishment of ethnic communities during the Vietnamese-Czechoslovak labor exchanges. Like ethnic businesses, these communities also have the potential to hinder integration of the first generation by diminishing interaction between this generation and the Czech population. In late April I interviewed a young Vietnamese woman named Tien; during the interview her friend Bao recognized her and came over to our table at the Vietnamese restaurant where we were having lunch. The three of us began

¹⁷ This also occurs in the CR, although it is occurring less frequently with time.

to talk about the Vietnamese community in Prague and he told me that he personally does not see it as a community in the traditional sense. He explained:

I would not define the Vietnamese here as a community, anthropologists would say community is a group of people with shared beliefs and who want similar things, and I don't believe this is true here. I would say that it's more true here than in, for example, in France. The majority of the Vietnamese in France are from South Vietnam and they are more dispersed. However in the CR, they are from North Vietnam and they have more "communist" tendencies which means sticking together in some form of group solidarity.

I did some background research on Vietnamese communities in general and found that usually Vietnamese migrants tend to congregate together, as is the case with the large population of Vietnamese living in California and to a lesser extent France (Young 1999). This rule applies to the Vietnamese in the CR as well, who after France and Germany, compose the third largest Vietnamese community in all of Europe¹⁸. The largest number of Vietnamese in the CR live in Prague, many of them near Sapa the Vietnamese market located in Prague 4. Outside of Prague, two of the largest concentrations of Vietnamese in the CR can be found on the Czech border with Germany; first in the small village of Hřensko in the Ústí nad Labem region of the CR, and secondly in Cheb, a city in the Karlovy Vary region of the CR¹⁹ (Zima 2010).

According to the Chicago School's ecological model, the human capital and level of assimilation of a particular minority group can be assessed by the spatial distribution of its group members. As members of a minority group leave ethnic business investment in pursue of successful entrance into the host country's labor market, they also tend to leave ethnic communities behind in exchange for accommodation with better advantages and amenities (Alba and Nee 1997). Thus group members become increasingly desegregated and consequently increase their contact with members of the host society (ibid). However, the opposite occurs if members of the ethnic minority group continue ethnic business investment. In my interview with Daniel he explained to me that he made a conscious decision not to live near Sapa (Prague 4)

¹⁸ Vietnamese residing in foreign countries often refer to themselves by the expression *Việt Kiều*, but those that live in the CR are specifically referred to as *Xù* (Zima 2010).

¹⁹ In Cheb, there is the Dragon Market, comparable to the Sapa market in Prague.

where there is a large Vietnamese presence. This was partly due to his work (his company is located in Prague 13-Stodůlky), but there was more to his decision; he explains:

There are a lot of Vietnamese people that live out there, in Sapa, but I've found that whenever you have large numbers of a minority like Vietnamese in one area, there are higher tensions with the Czechs. I think Czechs in the Sapa area tend to treat the Vietnamese worse, they are ruder overall and some might even use the "R" word²⁰. So I would rather live in areas where there isn't such a high concentration of Vietnamese people.

Overall, places like the Sapa market area are important to understanding the Vietnamese community and ethnic economy. Sapa was once a Czech meat producing factory that went out of business and was bought by Vietnamese business men; now it is home to many Vietnamese ethnic businesses, including market stalls, grocery stores and restaurants. Sapa also hosts a variety of shops and businesses that cater specifically to the older Vietnamese residents who do not speak Czech well. These businesses offer a range of services from beauty treatments, accounting services, to legal advice and more. There are also a variety of periodicals (at least five) that are prepared and edited weekly in Sapa. Many of these periodicals translate Czech news sources directly into Vietnamese to make them accessible to those that only speak the latter (Zima 2010). These periodicals, along with the variety of stores and services provided in Sapa mean that a first-generation Vietnamese migrant living within this community does not really need to make an effort to learn the Czech language. Many of the Vietnamese I interviewed confirm that their parents' Vietnamese language has remained intact due to their daily interactions in their mother tongue, but their Czech is limited and in some cases barely existent. These types of communities effectively create a transnational social field for these migrants, who while physically present in the CR are living transnational lives (Levitt and Schiller 2004).

However, things are changing and while the Vietnamese initially had the benefit of ethnic networks and human capital, there has been an increase in competition from international trading in the formal economy and Chinese competition in the informal

²⁰ Racist.

one²¹ (Williams and Baláž 2005). While these small ethnic businesses face greater competition and are losing their competitive edge, they have at least provided the first generation of migrants with enough income to invest in the second generation's education. In this way, by investing in the education of the second generation and ensuring that this generation learns the host country language, the first generation is investing in country capital. As the IIM would stipulate, this investment is in both generations' best interest as ethnic businesses are proving less economically advantageous. Evidently, the following generations are much more likely to find work in the mainstream labor market where income and conditions are generally better (Nee et al. 1994). However, this type of investment is not without its consequences. A study conducted by Maloof et al. (2006) demonstrated that bilingual education had different results for members of the majority language group than it did for members of a linguistic minority group. For the former, bilingual education proved to usually be *additive*, meaning that the second language did not pose a threat to the individual's first language. For the linguistic minority group, however, bilingual education was often *subtractive* because it decreased the use of the first language (ibid). Therefore, this investment must be balanced with efforts to maintain the heritage language so that attrition does not occur.

When looking at the integration of the younger generation of Vietnamese in the CR, I believe one other term must be taken into account: integrated cultural identity. This term refers to an individual who is influenced by two or more cultures. Consequently, the individual holds positive views for more than one culture and thus feels a sense of belonging in more than one culture (Martinkova 2011). One of my interviewees was a young Vietnamese woman who held positive views for both the Vietnamese and Czech culture and had managed to bring the Vietnamese ethnic social capital to the more mainstream Czech labor market. Xuan, together with her friend and business partner Anh, started a Czech blog about Vietnamese cuisine. The blog was very successful in the CR and both women have been featured in Czech media many times. Xuan's way of staying close to her Vietnamese heritage is through Vietnamese food—translating traditional recipes into Czech and along with her business partner running courses on how to prepare traditional Vietnamese dishes. As someone who has

²¹ Interestingly enough, survey data has demonstrated that many Vietnamese stall and shop owners actually perceive the Chinese as their main competitors, even more so than international hypermarkets such as Tesco (ibid).

an integrated cultural identity, I asked Xuan about her experience being a Vietnamese woman growing up in the CR. Xuan said she still feels quite Vietnamese, but is too accustomed to the CR to consider moving back to Vietnam permanently.

Interestingly enough, despite the first generation retaining their heritage language due to the prevalence of ethnic communities and opportunities for ethnic business investment, a language shift is occurring in the second generation, even among those individuals, like Xuan, with an integrated cultural identity. In the next chapter, we will look at why this language shift is occurring, and the ramifications this shift has for the Vietnamese community, and consequently Czech society.

4. THE LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG THE 1.5 AND SUBSEQUENT GENERATIONS

Many of the Vietnamese people I interviewed came to the CR at a young age, usually around Kindergarten time. Others came later on and therefore were enrolled at least for a year in primary school back in Vietnam. However, only two of my Vietnamese respondents stated that they considered themselves to be fluent Vietnamese speakers. From my surveys and interviews, I was able to identify certain factors and circumstances that affected an individual's capability and incentive to preserve their heritage language. In this chapter, I will first look at why and how lack of contact with the Vietnamese language occurs among the younger generation. Next I will look at social, psychological and economic factors that are also contributing to a language shift. Thirdly, I will look at the repercussions of a heritage language shift, and how this shift can hinder parent-child relations, economic opportunities and overall an individual's academic and cognitive performance, making successful integration into the host society more difficult. Finally, I will look at integration through language management theory to better understand the individual language issues faced by Vietnamese in the CR today and to demonstrate how one Czech institution is finding macro solutions to these individual issues.

4.1 LACK OF CONTACT WITH THE VIETNAMESE LANGUAGE

Most researchers support the hypothesis that those with the greatest proficiency for any given language are likely to be the individuals that have the most opportunities to use a language regularly and to receive input (Larsen-Freeman 1991). 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 CR, as their contact with extended family members, and even their parents can be quite limited. I asked one of my informants Duong how often he sees his grandparents and whether they have ever visited him in the CR. Duong tells me:

My grandma visited us in 2006, just once. Grandpa when he was younger, he was a soldier and he went to Russia to fight for seven years and then to China and then to Mongolia, so he said that he's not that interested in going to Europe again in his eighties so he just sits at home and we just go now to visit him—every year.

He said, however, they phone or skype or even take advantage of newer applications like Viber to keep in contact, and they can speak quite often this way. However, one influencing factor here is that Duong still lives at home with his parents. My informant Zuzana told me that she used to speak with her grandparents more often when she still lived at home; back then she used to call her grandfather on yahoo so they could speak on webcam. Now that she lives and studies in Prague though she only speaks with her grandparents once every three months, sometimes a bit more often. I asked her as well if her grandparents had ever visited her family in the CR, she replies:

No, but we are planning for my grandma and grandpa to come visit the country. I think that maybe the society will be culture shocked by them, because you know, my grandma she has black teeth from eating betel²² and she's very different, she lives in the countryside.

So we see that not all younger Vietnamese have constant contact with their extended family back in Vietnam and the extent to which they do can be influenced by factors like whether or not they still live with their parents. If extended family members, such as grandparents, are even willing to come visit the CR is another factor. This of course brings family income into the equation, as most likely family members back in Vietnam cannot afford to pay for their trips to the CR themselves and alternatively, visiting Vietnam every year such as Duong does is not cheap either²³.

Vietnamese culture is a contact culture that emphasizes interpersonal relations in society and puts great emphasis on the extended family (Kocourek 2005). However, as we have seen, Vietnamese migrants living in the CR usually have extended family members back in Vietnam. This factor, combined with the busy work schedule that

²² Betel is the leaf of a vine, commonly chewed in rural Vietnam and known for staining the teeth.

first-generation Vietnamese parents tend to have, means that overall there is less contact and consequently less frequent communication between the older and the younger generation; meaning less opportunity for language practice (ibid). In response to these issues, many first-generation Vietnamese turned to Czech nannies to help raise their young children, acting as a sort of replacement for the extended family that was back in Vietnam. While this solution helps the Vietnamese children increase their Czech language skills exponentially, it might come at the cost of their heritage language.

In Vietnam, paid maternity leave is usually four months, possibly five months if the work environment is considered dangerous (for soldiers, police, etc.) and six months only if the woman is disabled (Souralová 2013). However, women are only paid their salary in full during the first four months, after which any requested maternity leave goes unpaid—a luxury only wealthier Vietnamese families can afford as usually two salaries are required for the family to survive (ibid). After this period, the child is left with a nanny or maid (if the family can afford it) or more commonly with the child's grandmother or another relative. At the moment, only around 1 percent of the Vietnamese population in the CR is sixty-five years or older, meaning most families do not have the grandparents in the CR²⁴, and even within those families that do, the grandparents are usually helping with the family business or economically active in some other way (Souralová 2014). Souralová (2013), who conducted in-depth interviews with mothers, Czech nannies and children that took part in this type of arrangement, states that “the absence of a network of relatives is mentioned in every interview with parents, and it is spoken of in terms of a lack of economic and emotional support, including the child care” (p.268).

In the CR, maternity leave lasts until the child is six months old, but parental leave can then be extended for up to four years. Nearly all Czech mothers accept full maternal leave, but parental leave is usually only taken until the child is three years old, when entitlement to leave (though not benefit) ends (Kocourková 2014)²⁵. However, for Vietnamese parents who own their own stalls or shops, maternity leave is not paid and means losing a valuable member of staff. Because the parents also work long hours—

²³ On average, my informants and survey respondents reported travelling back to Vietnam every two to three years, sometimes less. The majority of them stated that the main reason for not visiting Vietnam more often were the costs associated with travelling.

²⁴ Overall the Vietnamese community in the CR is actually quite young, with about 21 percent being fourteen years or younger, (Nožina 2010).

²⁵ In the CR, parental leave is almost always taken by the mother. In 2013 only 1.8 percent of all paternity leave recipients in the CR were male (ibid).

often at least until 8 or 9pm—nursery schools which are usually only open until 5pm do not provide sufficient supervision of the child (Souralová 2014). I asked Daniel, my first interviewee, if either of his parents took time off work when his younger sister was born in the CR, he answers: “No, they didn’t. They didn’t apply for it because they are having a small shop here so they can’t afford it.”

Thus many Vietnamese families turn to older Czech nannies to fill the gap between when the child ends nursery or elementary school and when the parents finish work. These Czech nannies are often referred to as *babička* (grandmother) or *teta* (aunt) by the Vietnamese children, reflecting the close relationship that often develops between these Czech caregivers and the Vietnamese child. Typical tasks delegated to the nanny may include: doctor’s visits, parent-teacher meetings, helping with Czech homework—many of the things the parents have trouble doing with their children due to their own limited Czech language (*ibid*). In essence, the nanny becomes a mediator between the child and Czech culture, teaching the child about Czech traditions, typical Czech cuisine, and of course helping the child acquire fluency in the Czech language. It is not uncommon for children to spend holidays—such as Christmas—with the Czech nanny and her family. In short, the nanny allows the child to not only learn about all of these Czech traditions but to live them. Quyen, one of the Vietnamese women I met with for an interview told me that she herself did not have a Czech nanny growing up, and she does not want one now for her own child who is seven years old. She said sometimes the relationship between the child and nanny is even closer than the relationship between the child and the parents, because with the nanny the children can speak about problems or issues in their lives, while with the parents they have more limited and superficial talk about homework, what’s for dinner, etc.

Another woman I interviewed, Tien, told me that when her parents moved to the CR she was seven years old and to integrate her, her parents arranged for her to actually *live* with a Czech nanny. Therefore, Tien only saw her parents once a week. She told me that she spent most of her time with her “Czech family” eating traditional Czech food, picking mushrooms and she even celebrated Christmas with them as part of the family. By the time Tien was twelve her Czech was perfect but her Vietnamese had suffered greatly. So to correct this, her parents decided to send her for two months during those summer holidays to Vietnam to stay with family. They continued to send her to

Vietnam each year for the following three years and even made sure she had a Vietnamese language tutor while there.²⁶

In another interview, Xuan, told me that she had a Czech nanny but she lost contact with her over the years, however, she then told me about the relationship her Vietnamese friend Anh had with her own Czech nanny:

But Anh on the other hand, she has very strong connection with her Czech grandma. And she honestly told me that she loves her Czech grandma more than her Vietnamese because she spends more time with her, she knew her better than her own blood-related grandma. And they're still seeing each other because they're living near each other. And she still calls her grandma.

However, this phenomenon is starting to change with the 1.5 generation. This generation is starting to have children while their own parents are still living in the CR. Therefore, the children have grandparents in the CR who are fluent in Vietnamese and who they interact with constantly. As part of the 1.5 generation, Xuan explained to me why she will raise her newborn son without a Czech nanny:

When our parents came here they never thought of the idea that their children would forget Vietnamese. It never occurred to them this idea. My mom still tells me that when I was about six or seven, she said to me to count something and instead of counting in Vietnamese I started counting in Czech and that was the moment when she realized I preferred Czech more than Vietnamese. But you can see that we use our Czech more and we speak it better than Vietnamese, and that's why we want our children to speak both languages. But it's hard because we're not fluent in Vietnamese anymore and luckily, [the children's] grandparents are still here so they can learn from their grandparents...I'm living with my husband's parents, so that's why [my son] interacts with Vietnamese on a daily basis.

From the information related to her during her own interviews, Suralová (2013) explains that none of the parents she interviewed had Czech citizenship, as they all

²⁶ One of my survey respondents also lived at the house of her Czech nanny. She wrote that she spent most of the year living in the house of her nanny and only visited her parents during holidays.

assumed they would return back to Vietnam once they attained more financial security working in the CR. The parents acknowledged the crucial role of the nanny in helping their children, especially those children that were born in Vietnam and had arrived at an older age to the CR, in adapting to the Czech culture and learning the Czech language. However, many parents were starting to realize the side-effects that came with this arrangement. One informer told Suralová “I didn’t want my sister to have a Czech nanny because I do not want her to forget about her roots as most of Vietnamese children who live here do” (2013, p.263).

Overall though, the Vietnamese community sees integration into Czech society as a socioeconomic advantage for their children (Martinkova 2011; Svejdarova 2009). Thus they tend to support these types of arrangements, such as with the Czech nannies, that improve the child’s Czech language skills. Issues arise though when improvement in the Czech language comes at the expense of the heritage language.

During one interview, another topic brought up by Jiří Kocourek, chairman of the organization SEA-liaison, caught my attention. I asked Kocourek if in his experience dealing with the Vietnamese community in the CR it was common for Vietnamese teenagers to have a poor level of Vietnamese language, and whether he attributed this to Czech nannies or some other phenomenon. He responded:

Yes I think it’s very typical, because in the traditional Vietnamese family, about 80 percent of families are not used to speak with the child during the first year of infancy. Some mothers speak with the children after the child has already started to speak.

This idea that Vietnamese parents do not start regular communication with their infants until they are a bit older was also expressed to me by other interviewees. However, it was expressed not so much as a conscious or culturally-influenced decision by the parents, but rather a consequence of the parents often being out of the home working long hours. Meanwhile, the infant might be left with a Czech nanny, for example. A recent study by the Institute of Human Development at the University of California, Berkeley, showed that Mexican-American toddlers (born in the United States) were on average behind white toddlers in language and pre-literacy skills (Fuller et al. 2015). As early as age two, the Mexican-American toddler’s vocabulary was significantly behind that of white toddlers in the same age group. The study concluded

that part of the reason for this was Latino parents did not begin to speak to their children—in Spanish or in English—from an early age, and when they did they used a very basic communicative language, rather than employing rich or extensive vocabulary. It might be that Vietnamese parents share this cultural trait with Mexican parents, or that they share socioeconomic traits with Mexican parents—for example, working long hours which keep them out late. This in turn leaves less time for communication with their infants. Either way, the problem is that this period of infancy is crucial for language acquisition and the child must be constantly exposed to the language at home for this to occur. This especially holds true when the language of the parents is different from that of the host country.

Second language acquisition research supports this idea that the learner's environment and interaction (internal and external) are crucial to language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman 1991). This poses an issue for Vietnamese children in the CR who are not surrounded by the Vietnamese language on a daily basis, but rather are dependent mostly on their parents, or possibly other community members, for access to the Vietnamese language. The extent to which migrant children use Vietnamese in practice was demonstrated by a student survey conducted by Nguyen et al. (2001) at elementary and middle schools in California. For the purpose of this research only children who reported Vietnamese as their first language were surveyed. The survey showed that only around 15 percent of the students used Vietnamese with their siblings and even less said they used it with friends. One of my informants, Duong, even admitted to me that he spoke in English with his girlfriend, even though she is Vietnamese as well. He explains:

[My girlfriend] is Vietnamese, we met in Vietnam in summer, it was an international conference so I was actually representing the CR there, and we just talked. She didn't know what country I was representing there or if I spoke Vietnamese so when we met the first interaction was in English. Then we tried switching to Vietnamese, but now we've switched back to English so now we are speaking in English. She's Vietnamese, but she's studying her bachelor's now in English with the U.S. professors. She's back in Vietnam.

Duong told me that with his sister he speaks Czech, but that with his parents he speaks in Vietnamese. However, he said if he did not live at home he would definitely

not use Vietnamese on a daily basis. Usually at home, he explained, they all eat dinner together which ensures he is using the language daily. This is not the case for other Vietnamese students I spoke with that no longer live at home.

Quyen told me that even her Vietnamese friends preferred to speak to her in Czech rather than in Vietnamese because Czech is easier for them, “I say ok you can speak in Czech with me and I will answer in Vietnamese because for me it’s not normal, I don’t feel comfortable when I speak Czech to a Vietnamese person—it’s strange.” Quyen also speaks in Vietnamese with her older sibling, which is not common among the 1.5 generation. However, she explained that this is because her brother actually moved back to Vietnam twelve years ago.

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, many of the 1.5 generation that are now having children are making a conscious effort to speak to their child as much as possible in Vietnamese while at home, because they know the child will pick up Czech quickly once they start school. Xuan told me about the situation with her new born son:

To our son we only speak Vietnamese because I have a niece, and she is going to school this September, and she started going to Kindergarten about two years ago, and before Kindergarten they spoke to her exclusively just in Vietnamese, but she quickly learned Czech once she entered Czech school. So that’s why we’re not worried that [our son] won’t speak Czech, we’re more worried that he’s going to forget Vietnamese once he enters Czech school...At home we want to speak exclusively Vietnamese and when he enters school he’s going to learn Czech like in a few months.

An ethnic community also tends to reinforce heritage language preservation even if just because the individual is more exposed to the language on a daily basis. Quyen confirmed this idea, attributing her advanced level as a Vietnamese speaker to the fact that when her family first arrived to the CR, they moved into a Vietnamese community where they stayed for four years. Here she lived in a building with all Vietnamese people and her daily interaction with them was what helped her maintain her heritage language. As another informant, Xuan, told me:

When I lived in Hradec Kralove we lived far from other Vietnamese families, that’s why I only interacted with my parents. For example, my husband, he

speaks a better Vietnamese than me because he used to live in Pilsen and there was and still is a huge Vietnamese community. And Vietnamese families used to live next to each other, so even children speak among each other in Vietnamese.

Overall, limited contact with the Vietnamese language and more exposure to the Czech language is a significant factor when analyzing this language shift. There are, however, a few more influential factors that need to be addressed as well.

4.2 SOCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN A LANGUAGE SHIFT

The Czech and Vietnamese languages are typologically, phonetically, lexically and culturally as dissimilar as two languages can be—the only thing they really share in common is that they both use the Latin alphabet, but even then each language differs in spelling rules (Vasiljev and Nekvapil 2009). As one Czech student who has studied Vietnamese for years explained to me:

The choice to learn or preserve Vietnamese is a very personal one. Unlike Japanese or Chinese, Vietnamese is not considered a business language. Learning it will not bring you as many economic advantages as learning other Asian languages, and so one must learn it for love of the language, culture or history.

This statement supports the general image of Vietnamese not being a “world language.” Thus, unlike English or Chinese, Vietnamese is not seen as having an inherent market value. This view might create a lack of economic motivation for parents to encourage their children to learn the Vietnamese language, and without parental encouragement there is less effort by the children to learn Vietnamese. However, parental encouragement, when it does occur, can be very effective. Duong, for example, spoke Vietnamese at a high level and he explained to me that part of the reason for this is because he was the first born son. Therefore, according to Vietnamese tradition, he will represent the family in the future—and thus his parents were more adamant about teaching him the Vietnamese language and culture than they later were with his sister who is ten years younger. Other informers received different types of encouragement,

usually financial or work-related, to improve or keep-up their Vietnamese language. As Larsen-Freeman says, “the only reliable finding is that the intensity of the motivation is more important than the type” (1991, p.230).

A study by Young and Tran (1999) found that factors such as the family’s income or the level of parents’ education were not significant in a language shift, but the longer a family resided in a foreign country the greater the chance for a language shift to occur towards the dominant language. However, longer time spent in the country also correlated positively with the parents’ encouragement for their children to retain their heritage language (ibid). In part, this could be because longer stay in a country means a more stabilized life, as one of my Vietnamese informants explains: “At the beginning, the Vietnamese people here were struggling with daily life, and the question of keeping the language for their children was not so important—we don’t have so much time to think about it, but now I think it’s becoming more and more important.”

The age of the language learner is also significant; from my interviews it is evident that those informants that came to the CR at an earlier age, before ever having been enrolled in Kindergarten or primary school in Vietnam, currently struggle much more with their Vietnamese language. A study conducted by Maloof et al. (2006) surveyed Vietnamese children enrolled in a Vietnamese heritage language school in Athens, Georgia. What the study found was that no student at the school had achieved full bilingualism. The child’s age of arrival to the United States and family environment—whether the parents spoke Vietnamese between each other and with the children, etc. were influential factors here. The study concluded that age of arrival to the host country had a negative correlation with host country language variables but a positive correlation with ethnic language variables. Furthermore, age of arrival positively correlated with the individual’s ethnic values and sense of belonging to the ethnic group. One of my survey respondents stood out in this regard due to her late arrival to the CR. Huyen arrived at the age of eighteen, and has lived in the CR for five years now. Although Huyen speaks Czech fluently now (she studies at Czech university) she still admitted feeling more Vietnamese than Czech, more so than other interview and survey respondents that arrived to the CR at a younger age.

A specific Vietnamese cultural trait that was brought up in a few of my interviews can also be analyzed here: according to some of my informants, in Vietnam it is normal to laugh at someone’s grammatical mistakes if they are not a native speaker. As one of these informants Xuan explained to me:

In [the younger generation's] minds they're starting to prefer Czech more. Because they understand everything. And Czech people don't laugh at them because they speak fluently. Whereas in Vietnamese, if you cannot speak fluently all the people they tease them...like how come you can't pronounce this correctly or you can't express yourself, and when you are in your teen years, it's embarrassing for you, and that's why you start preferring speaking in Czech. I've witnessed this a lot of time with younger Vietnamese kids. My friends in their thirties don't have a problem speaking in Vietnamese, so they don't have this problem. But my brother is eighteen now and him and his friends have problems speaking Vietnamese. Instead of encouraging them to speak more Vietnamese, or founding Vietnamese classes, adults sometimes laugh at them and they don't want to speak it anymore.

While these factors all shed light on what might inadvertently lead to a language shift, determining whether a language shift might actually be a conscious decision is harder. Generally, the more well-established an ethnic minority group, the less likely they are to abandon their native language in order to become part of the host society (Biro and Kovacs 2001). However, for any minority group, preserving a heritage language within the private sphere is considerably easier than maintaining the same language in different social settings within the public sphere of the host country. As long as the heritage language is in conflict with another (dominant) group's language, the individual or community must make a decision on whether to maintain this language or let it erode (ibid). Ethnolinguistic identity theory (EIT) is just one of a few theories that can help us better understand the cognitive processes that occur when an individual or a community decides to sacrifice or preserve their heritage language. Either of these actions could be for a short period of time, e.g. during social interaction with members of another group, or in the long term—renouncing the language all together. According to EIT, overall, minority group members that consider language to be an important component of group identity are less likely to conform to the host country society and language, more likely to have a sense of strong ethnic solidarity, and consequently more likely to maintain their ethnic language. (Giles and Johnson 1987).

EIT further explains that the positive ethnic identity of an in-group member is influenced by a comparison made by the individual between their own ethnic minority

group and the dominant group, for example by comparing the status quo of both groups (Johnson et al. 1983). These types of comparison lead the individual to either accept or reject their heritage language based on calculating the language's *ethnolinguistic vitality*. This calculation takes into account the language's economic and political usefulness, its linguistic prestige, demographic factors (how many people speak Vietnamese in the CR) and lastly, institutional support for the language (is Vietnamese recognized by the government? Educational systems? The media?) (ibid).

Developing on EIT, the intergroup model of second-language acquisition, as developed by Giles and Byrne (1982) believes that factors analyzed in EIT can predict the predisposition of an individual to conform to the host country's societal norms or act in terms of ethnic solidarity (Giles and Johnson 1987). These factors help us understand why an individual from an ethnic minority group preserves or does not preserve their language, but also to understand what factors influence the individual's choice to learn the dominant group's language. Other research on second-language learning stresses that whether or not the minority group members learn the dominant language depends mainly on the power and status between the groups (Gardner 1985).

There is also the matter of language ideologies and their influence on an ethnic minority group's decision to preserve their heritage language. One in-depth study by King (2000) defined language ideologies as "a set of beliefs concerning a particular language, or possibly language in general" (ibid, p.168). King studied the language behaviors of the Saraguros, an indigenous group of the Southern Ecuadorian Andes. What King wanted to see was how the language ideologies of Saraguros differed when looking at two Saraguro communities that had different socioeconomic situations, and how factors such as income, education, etc. influenced attitudes towards and use of the Quichua language (their heritage language) in each of these communities. The study found that the Saraguros from the poorer community were influenced by a more negative language ideology towards their native Quichua language. This behavior can partially be explained by what Dorian and others have termed Western language ideology (1998). According to Dorian, three systems of belief are in place that together constitute Western language ideology: 1) bilingualism is viewed as burdensome; 2) there exists disdain for any language other than the dominant standardized language; 3) what Dorian terms "social Darwinism" of language, or the assumption of "a correlation between adaptive and expressive capacity in a language and that language's survival and spread" (1998, p.10). In the case of the indigenous Saraguros then, the Western

language ideology brought by the Spaniards to the territories they conquered eventually undermined the prestige of indigenous languages such as Quichua. It did so by making the Spanish language seem more useful in furthering social and economic success and mobility, thus hurting the long-term maintenance of languages such as Quichua. This effect was especially harsh in the less socioeconomically advanced regions.

These competing language ideologies in the more advanced Saraguros communities led to expressed ideals to revitalize the Quichua language, although in practice there was a lack of actual support for these initiatives (Dauenhauer 1998). It was not uncommon for an individual to hold pro-Quichua language ideology, and yet not actually employ the language frequently at home with their family or their children. A similar situation was recorded in another study conducted in Wales, which found that although 86 percent of Welsh parents said they wanted their children to learn Welsh because it was an important language, significantly less stated actually using the language at home with their children (Lyon and Elis 1991). Similar results were found in Ireland where reported attitudes towards the Irish language were overwhelmingly positive, but actual use of Irish in the home was not common (Benton 1986). When I asked one of my interviewees his attitude towards the Vietnamese language as a migrant living in the CR, he told me that preservation of the Vietnamese language was meaningful to him, especially since historically the Vietnamese had struggled to maintain the language even in their own country: “[The question of preserving the language is important] it’s embedded in the history of Vietnam—in the struggle with the Chinese to preserve the country. So inside each Vietnamese person there’s a strong ambition to preserve the language.” However whether this ambition to preserve the Vietnamese language is actually put into practice by the Vietnamese community in the CR remains to be seen.

4.3 THE REPERCUSSIONS OF A LANGUAGE SHIFT

“The acquisition of a language involves social adjustment...languages are acquired in order to facilitate communication, either active or passive, with some cultural community...Emotional adjustments are involved and these are socially based” (Gardner 1985, p.125).

In the case of the Vietnamese in the CR, the language shift among the younger generations complicates the relationship of this generation with their parents and elders.

Studies demonstrate that attrition in an individual's heritage language, especially if it is the only language spoken by the parents, has severe repercussions for the individual and the family (Nguyen et al. 2001). Zuzana, one of my informants explained that her Vietnamese is still decent, but her younger brother had troubles speaking the language and this caused issues between him and their parents:

Actually it's really bad with my brother because he's younger than me—like one and a half years younger than me, and we both forgot Vietnamese and I got to learn it back but he didn't. And now he has like big issues with my parents and they don't understand each other so they fight.

I asked Zuzana if it was difficult having this type of language barrier between the parents and the child, she answered:

Yes. [Mixing Vietnamese and Czech] is not the same, actually, but my parents first they have a problem with that and they also have a problem with me marrying a European man because they are afraid that they will not get to talk to him or they will lose their grandchildren. But it's very hard to force your children to speak their mother language when you don't talk, you don't have time to talk to them, and that's not a language they need to study or to work. You can't just force them.

Like Zuzana, Tien acknowledged the negative effects of language barriers between the older and younger Vietnamese generations. As a tutor for young Vietnamese children, Tien helps students with their Czech homework and other language related tasks that parents cannot help with due to their inability to speak Czech fluently. She said that she has seen children get frustrated with their parents due to an existing language barrier and even use Czech swear words with them out of frustration. Nguyen et al. (2001) argue that home use of the family's heritage language fosters parent-child interaction which has positive consequences for the child's overall cognitive development, conversely, a language barrier between the child and parent has the opposite effect.

From an economic perspective, a heritage language shift has significant consequences for later generations. While Vasiljev and Nekvapil (2009) argue that they

have not found enough evidence linking language competence to economic success or vice versa, they do argue that better language skills ensure vertical flexibility—referring to the increased flexibility the individual enjoys with regards to professions or jobs. Knowledge of both Czech and Vietnamese is attractive to employers that want to address the needs of the Vietnamese community in the CR, but also for those employers that might be interested in expanding into the Vietnamese market abroad (Sherman and Homoláč 2014). One of my informants, Duong, is finishing his graduate studies at the University of Economics in Prague. Duong saw the preservation of his Vietnamese language as having economic advantages, he explained:

I think that knowing every language is in some way a good thing, the more languages the better. Because like Southeast Asia is economically growing, so the possibilities are there in the future, and if they're there they can influence the intra-trade between the CR or Europe and Asian countries. All the countries in the region. So knowing the language can open the door in this way. So employment in the future, and also knowing the Vietnamese language can help me to talk to the Vietnamese because not many speak well English in Vietnam, so asking them about economic or political topics they will open to you more when you speak more in Vietnamese with them than in English

Another one of my informants told me that the advantage she saw with speaking Vietnamese is the access it gives an individual to the Vietnamese community in the CR, which are financially well-off. She also said that there is money in translating and interpreting and knowledge of the Vietnamese language opens a door to these types of job opportunities. I asked her if she would ever consider this type of work and she explained:

If I lost my job for example, I would really think of taking some ladies to the doctors. But I hope that I will never have that need because when I was younger I had to go to like solve some papers, and documents and doctors. I had to translate for my parents, and there were hours of waiting and then you have some hard situations where you can't translate something and it needs to be done immediately. And because they are different cultures, they maybe force you to say something you don't want to say because it wouldn't sound very good in

Czech, so I don't really want to do that. But I know that there is a lot of money there.

My informant Quyen, is a professional community interpreter and as such she has considerable economic motivation to maintain a high degree of fluency in Vietnamese as her work depends on it. She told me that there are not many Czech-Vietnamese interpreters at the moment in the CR because those that speak Czech fluently do not have a high enough level of Vietnamese to professionally interpret, a job which requires fluency and efficiency in the Vietnamese language. Quyen explained that due to this lack of individuals fluent in both Czech and Vietnamese, there is considerable demand in the translation and interpretation services sector for individuals who can speak, read and write in both these languages.

Certain studies have credited strong ethnic communities, which usually help protect against heritage language shift, with also promoting academic and occupational success (Bankston 1997). One specific study by Nguyen et al. (2001) found that Vietnamese children in the United States who were less assimilated into U.S. youth subcultures and had stronger ties with their ethnic communities and heritage language, were more likely to have above average academic performance. Of course, it remains to be seen whether strong ethnic ties promote academic success, or vice versa. In general, Vietnamese parents, whether in the CR or in the U.S. tend to have high expectations of their children and it could be that higher performing children are generally more accepted by the community, thus reinforcing their ties with that community. Conversely, lower performing children are more likely to be stigmatized or even rejected by the Vietnamese communities in these countries (ibid).

Heritage language shift among an ethnic minority group does not only impact that minority, but the host society as well. Multiple language studies have demonstrated that minority individuals who retain their heritage language tend to do better in school (Maloof et al. 2006; Nguyen et al. 2001; Zhou 2000). Maternal language use within the family has also been demonstrated to hasten second-language acquisition and even literacy development (Nguyen et al. 2001). Consequently, individuals that excel at school are more likely to be successful in entering the labor market of the host country, and therefore, will arguably be better integrated into the host society. As Nohl et al. (2006) state, "Immigration will only have a positive impact on the receiving country's economy and social system and will gain broad acceptance among the existing

population, if the integration of migrants into the labor market is successful and if their education and experience can be utilized effectively within the receiving society” (Nohl et al. 2006, p.2). Thus, if heritage language preservation can lead to better parent-child relationships, increased economic opportunities, and better academic performance, among other things, its role in successful integration of an ethnic minority group cannot be dismissed.

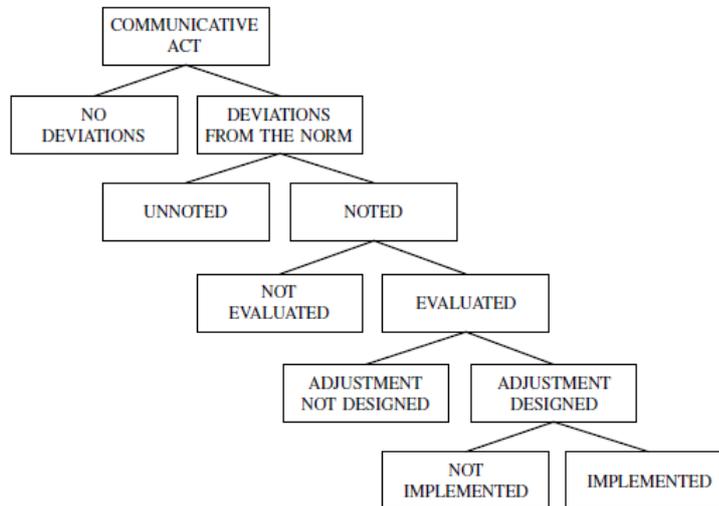
4.4 LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT THEORY

Language management theory helps us not only to understand the individual’s ability to identify an issue that occurs when using a language (a grammatical error, forgetting a word or using it incorrectly, etc.) but also how the individual deals with that issue alone or brings the issue to an institution that can help correct the problem. In this section, I will use my interviews with Vietnamese speakers to exemplify the type of language issues experienced by these individuals. Furthermore, I will use my interview with META, an organization that works with migrants in the CR, to illustrate how one institution has taken these individual issues and researched and applied solutions for them on a larger scale—this will also serve as an example of the host country’s response to a specific integration issue.

In the 1980s the foundations of language management theory (LMT) were laid by Jiří V. Neustupný and Björn H. Jernudd²⁷. Language management as explained by Nekvapil (2007) is predominantly the “identification of language problems by everyday speakers in the course of communication” (p.142). Generally, the process of the language management model is as follows: when a deviation from the norm or expectation occurs during a communicative act, this deviation can either be noted by any participant in the communication, or it can go unnoted. If the deviation is noted, language management begins. If the deviation is unnoted language management does not occur. However, if the deviation is noted it is then either evaluated or not evaluated. Again, if it is not evaluated then language management stops here—but if it is evaluated an adjustment can be designed. This adjustment can then either be implemented (e.g. used in the conversation) or not (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015).

²⁷Source: "Language Management." A Site for Theory. Charles University Prague.

The following diagram will illustrate more clearly the scheme of the language management model:



Source: Nekvapil and Sherman (2009) p.3

Once a speaker notes a deviation from the norm, they can choose to correct this deviation either at the individual level or at the institutional level. The former qualifies as simple management. This type of individual language management was evidenced in the interviews I conducted. Without knowing it many of my informers were providing me with management summaries: summarizations of their individual acts of management (Sherman and Homoláč 2014). One of LMT's concepts is *pre-interaction management*, defined by Nekvapil and Sherman (2009) as “the language management process done in anticipation of a future interaction, or more precisely, in anticipation of potential problems in future interaction.”(p.185). One example of pre-interaction management that came up repeatedly in my interviews was that of Vietnamese children *Czechifying* their Vietnamese names (Sloboda 2010) in anticipation of non-understanding on the part of their Czech communicative partners. This commonly happens at a young age, and many times is encouraged by the Czech nannies I spoke about before. My informant Duong confirmed this when he told me:

When I was 5, [the Czech nanny] said that my [Vietnamese] name is not hard, compared to others, but still she wasn't used to foreign names so she said that she would give me one. So I said O.k. give me any, so she gave me David. But I was using it until I grew up, until high-school. But then, somehow I was thinking about it like after I ended high school, that actually I don't need to be using that name because [my birth name] is actually easy to pronounce and it's original, so I started teaching all my friends to pronounce Duong. But most [Vietnamese], I think they're still using the international name that is not purely Czech. Most people don't change it back, because how can you teach your friends who have been calling you some name for ten years not to use it. I think I was an exception teaching my friends to call me differently.

My interviewee Zuzana had also Czechified her name, but unlike Duong she had not changed it back²⁸. From the surveys I sent out a few other Vietnamese confirmed having been given names such as “Lucie” given to one girl by a friend of her fathers, and “Lenka” given to a second girl by her nanny. Another survey respondent told me that her nanny gave her a Czech name as well, and it became so popular among her friends that eventually her parents and even her relatives back in Vietnam started to refer to her by that name—and still do.

In a different interview, Xuan told me that she and her husband decided to give their son a traditional Vietnamese name, but when she told people the baby's name they asked her if he had a Czech version of the name. She said they told her the child would not have any friends in school because no one would be able to pronounce his name. In this case, the pre-interaction management is being done by the people warning Xuan of her child's future potential problems. Xuan has noted and evaluated these concerns and has chosen not to implement an adjustment design.

One example of individual management given by Sherman and Homoláč (2014) was of a Vietnamese informant they call Suo. When Suo was a young girl enrolled in Czech primary school, she was asked if she felt more Czech or Vietnamese; she states: “back then I answered that I felt more Czech than Vietnamese” (p.317). By choosing

²⁸ Zuzana's name was changed to protect her identity, however, the pseudonym here is a reflection of the typical Czech names she usually goes by.

one of the two options, Suo was conducting an individual act of management in response to the problem presented to her (ibid)²⁹.

As far as LMT is concerned, different groups and individuals have power to influence language management, this could be a political party or an individual imposing communication in the family's heritage language instead of the host country language (Nekvapil 2007). My informants who lived at home with their parents confirmed that at the dinner table they spoke Vietnamese, even with their siblings. This is most likely enforced by the individual's parents who have the power to influence language management in the private sphere.

There are also avoidance strategies in LMT which involve not performing or evading a communicative act. This can also mean the use of written communication instead of oral, even when this method is less efficient (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009). Such is the case with Tien who told me that when she goes back to Vietnam, she is recognized as a foreigner because of her accent and lack of colloquial language. Thus, she said she prefers to have a native Vietnamese speaker with her when she is shopping to avoid communicating with the locals herself, otherwise they charge her more for not being a native.

Another type of language management occurs at the institutional level. This organized management is defined in LMT as:

Language management that is not restricted to one particular interaction; it is directed and more or less systematic. The organization of language management involves several levels...In very complex networks, organized management often becomes the subject of public or semi-public discussion among a large number of participants (including specialists, institutions), many of them referencing various theories or ideologies.³⁰

²⁹ One instance of individual management that I observed personally, occurred on a Sunday in March when I was invited to attend a Vietnamese mass in honor of St. Josef, the patron saint of the Catholic Vietnamese community in the CR. The mass was given in Vietnamese, and except for one older Czech woman, I was the only person of non-Vietnamese descent present at the mass. When it came time for communion, the Vietnamese priest who had previously addressed everyone in Vietnamese, automatically said to me in English "The body of Christ." I wondered about this individual management on his part, and also questioned why he had addressed me in English, not Czech. Afterwards, at the celebratory buffet I was able to ask the priest himself this question. It turned out that the Vietnamese priest had actually lived in Texas for fifteen years and spoke English fluently, however, he admitted his Czech was still very basic. Thus in this individual management act, the individual defaulted to a world language, since he was not fluent in the host country language.

³⁰ Source: "Language Management." A Site for Theory. Charles University Prague.

Usually when the individual cannot resolve a language management issue themselves, they turn to professionals in social institutions (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009). Institutions such as Ministries, academies and civic organizations then look at the connection between these individual language issues and bigger socio-cultural issues. In this context language management can refer to translation services, language courses aimed at developing linguistic skills, etc. (ibid). An early example of this type of language management can be seen in the Czechoslovak-Vietnamese labor exchanges under communism. When the Vietnamese arrived in Czechoslovakia, they were enrolled in an intensive Czech or Slovak language course with an examination upon completion (Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003). Some of these workers actually were enrolled in these types of courses back in Vietnam, even before their arrival to Czechoslovakia; in this case this would constitute an instance of organized pre-interaction management³¹ (ibid).

Of course the individual has an important role in influencing the institution that later implements the organized language management initiatives (Sloboda 2010). In these situations the scheme unwinds as follows: Micro → Macro → Micro; meaning the individual experiences the problem, brings the problem to the professional or institution who addresses or solves the issue, and then the individual accepts the adjustments made at the macro level and implements them himself (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009). Such is the case with many of the non-governmental, non-profit and/or civic organizations that deal with migrants in the CR, they use the individual management issues they observe daily as a basis to carryout programs and other initiatives that address these issues.

My interview with META provides an example of how problems at the individual level can receive an institutional response. Tereza Günterová, cofounder of META and her colleague Hana Marková explained to me that one of the issues brought to their attention through working with migrants, was the problem that migrant children faced in the Czech classroom. This problem had three aspects: 1) the child had issues understanding Czech language and could not communicate well with the teacher or his/her peers, this was affecting his/her academic performance; 2) the teacher did not know how to interact with the child having had little to no previous experience with migrant children and not speaking the child's native language; 3) there was a lack of

³¹ In some cases, one-year intensive Czech or Slovak courses were even arranged during the 1980s for Vietnamese undergraduate and postgraduate students in Czechoslovakia.

people trained in the CR to mediate between the child and teacher under these very specific circumstances. META's solution was to run a course that trained migrants to become bi-lingual teaching assistants. Many of the migrants that underwent the course had years of practice as educators or teaching assistants back in their home countries but due to the language barrier they encountered in the CR, it had been difficult for them to continue working in their specialty. To address this language barrier, part of the course was a mandatory Czech language course with a focus on terminology so the bi-lingual assistants could communicate with the teachers and other colleagues in the Czech school. Once these assistants were trained, they were useful in the classroom as they could communicate with the child in his or her native language, but they also helped the Czech teachers work with these children and learn to cooperate with an assistant in the classroom. Thus with this course META provided solutions to the problems faced by the child (who received a bi-lingual assistant), the teacher (who learned how to work with a teaching assistant) and the issue of lack of mediators (which was solved by employing migrant workers within their specialty). To further solve this issue, META created a web portal by the name of *Inkluzivní škola* (Inclusive School), to provide material and documents accessible to teachers, teaching assistants, migrant students, parents of these students, etc. to help them bridge the gap between two cultures.

Thus organizations such as META provide migrants with the opportunity to acquire Czech language skills through a "top-down" approach, rather than leaving the individual to less organized management e.g. picking up the language from just watching television (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015). One issue that Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) bring up is that organized management benefits mainly those migrants with permanent residence. For example, third-country nationals do not have the automatic right to free programs and assistance with the Czech language that would facilitate their integration into the Czech education system. This is where organizations such as META attempt to work with third-country nationals who usually have more difficulty in obtaining permanent residency and thus reaping the benefits that come with this status.

One issue that META experiences, especially with regards to the Vietnamese migrants specifically, is that while there are many young Vietnamese that speak Czech fluently, a lot of them do not speak Vietnamese at the same level. This makes it difficult for META to provide another pre-interaction language management service to individuals: the interpreter. I asked both META representatives how come META has

four Ukrainian interpreters, eight Russian, but only one Vietnamese despite the Vietnamese being the third largest minority group in the CR. Günterová answered that they are starting a new training course for interpreters this year and that this time they have six potential Vietnamese interpreters enrolled in the course. She explained:

Last year the problem was that the [Vietnamese that applied to the course] didn't know quite well the mother tongue, so they were successful with the Czech language but not with the maternal language. They use maybe Vietnamese language at home but just everyday communication and not professional communication or institutional communication, so there was a lack of vocabulary and specific terminology, and they maybe cannot write. So we had our language diagnostic not only in Czech but in the other language as well. Where this test was most important was with the Vietnamese because they speak Czech as natives but might have problems with Vietnamese. We had a lot of enthusiasts that came for interviews but they could not pass the [Vietnamese language] test.

Like META, one of my interviewees, Tien, also identified micro needs within the Vietnamese community and together with a friend came up with a large-scale solution: last year she opened a commercial Czech tutoring business for Vietnamese children. Through this business the children receive help with their homework if the parents cannot help due to their limited Czech.

When a problem cannot be solved by an institution, however, then it becomes part of the partial language management cycle (Micro→Macro), meaning a solution is never returned to the individual for them to implement. (Nekvapil and Sherman 2009). Of course, As Nekvapil (2007) makes clear, language education as an institutional management approach will not work alone, it must be accompanied by communication opportunities and socioeconomic opportunities for the ethnic group for it to be truly effective, which is what META was doing through employment of migrants in their bilingual assistants program.

META has given us one example of how a Czech institution is responding to the micro needs of an ethnic minority group; in the next chapter we will look at Czech laws and policies in place with regards to migrant rights and integration. This will give us a

broader perspective on how the Czech state implements organized language management and finds large-scale solutions to other micro language issues.

5. THE CZECH PERSPECTIVE

“It is the concept of the nation-state coupled with its official standard language...that has in modern times posed the keenest threat to both the identities and the languages of small [minority] communities” (Dorian 1998, p.18).

Looking at the Czech constitution drawn up on December 16, 1992, there is no particular ethnicity tied to the identity of the Czech state—unlike in the Slovak constitution—and there is no official declared language of the Czech state (Nekvapil 2007). Still, regardless of their constitution, many Czechs view their country as a nation-state belonging to the ethnic Czechs (Sloboda et al. 2010)

Historically, as part of the Habsburg monarchy and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the CR has had significant experience with multi-ethnicity (Biro and Kovacs 2001). After the Czechoslovak state came into being, however, it was not until the introduction of federalism in 1968 that Czechoslovakia officially recognized the Poles, Hungarians, Germans and Ukrainians/Ruthenians as nationalities with defined constitutional rights (Rechel 2010). To this day past ethnic conflicts might fuel difficulties between the Czechs and certain minority groups from neighboring countries³². To a lesser extent but more recently, there has been tension between the Czechs and third-country nationals, such as the Vietnamese. For example, illegal Vietnamese traders that came from East Germany to live in the CR have been one source of tension in Northern Bohemia since the 1990s (ibid).

So far we have examined heritage language preservation from the perspective of the Vietnamese migrant, looking at theories and studies to help us better understand the factors involved in preservation or attrition of the heritage language at the individual and collective level, and how this affects integration for different generations. In the remainder of this chapter, we will look at heritage language preservation through the Czech state, and how language policies towards migrants have changed overtime. We will also look at integration initiatives employed by the Czech state and where these might fall short. Finally, we will see how integration efforts vary depending on whether the migrant is a third country national, European Union (EU) national, and/or recognized national minority in the Czech state, and the rights given to each of these

³² For example past disputes with Poland in 1920, and with the Germans over Sudetenland, etc.

migrant groups—with a special emphasis on the rights given to recognized national minorities, such as the Vietnamese.

5.1 THE EVOLUTION OF LINGUISTIC RIGHTS FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES

Let us briefly summarize the evolution of policy initiatives by the Czech state which have focused on minority integration in the form of heritage language preservation. In 1968, the CR signed The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, of which Article 27 is of particular importance as it focuses on the ethnic, religious and linguistic rights of a minority. May (2011) explains that Article 27 specifies that the linguistic rights of an ethnic minority include the right to “establish, manage and operate their own educational institutions where their language is used as the medium of instruction to the extent deemed to be appropriate by the minority itself” (p.201). Then in 1995, the CR signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities which granted minorities the right to preserve language and cultural heritage rights (Svejdarova 2009); although this focused more on the use of minority languages with the authorities (Rechel 2010).

By 2001, the CR, along with thirty-three other countries had ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Article 12 of the multilateral treaty defends the right of national minorities to receive education in the culture, history and language of their ethnic group as well as the dominant group (Biro and Kovacs 2001). Article 13 defends the minority group’s right to set up their own private education institutions. Finally, Article 14 stipulates that the minorities should have “adequate opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language” (ibid, p.65).

More recently, The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was ratified in 2006 by the CR. Only four languages are protected by the CR under Part II of this charter: Slovak, Polish, German and Romani; only Polish and Slovak are protected under Part III³³ (Kušniráková 2014). This is not a huge number of languages when one takes into consideration that Hungary protected fourteen language in Part II alone, and Slovakia nine languages in Part III (Nekvapil 2007). The issue with this Charter is also

³³ Part II constitutes a more general framework for preservation of the language mentioned. Part III has more comprehensive rules concerning the options each country has to guarantee the preservation of the minority languages under this section; one category here is education in the minority language.

that its focus is more on the protection of traditional European languages rather than on third-country languages.

The role of the EU in influencing Czech openness towards migrants and integration efforts in general cannot be discarded. Among the criteria that had to be met by the candidate countries, including the CR, was the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria in order to attain EU membership. These criteria included the respect for and protection of minorities. As scholars such as Vachudova (2001) have argued, the EU had substantial leverage in the CR especially during the accession process to affect minority policies as fear of rejection was a strong motivator (Rechel 2010). Adoption of Council of Europe's treaties, among other things led the way for further implementation of preservation of minority language oriented policies (Sloboda et al. 2010).

5.2 CURRENT INTEGRATION POLICIES IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In the CR there are two types of policies: those that deal with immigration policies (visas, border control, asylum-seeking, etc.) and those that deal with integrating the migrants once they have arrived (Szczepaniková et al. 2006). Despite all the laws and rules in place concerning visa and permit requirements for migrants, in the CR there still exists no specific law on how to integrate the foreigner once they have arrived. The first conceptual political document that dealt with the question of migrant integration were the fifteen fundamental "Principles of Foreigners Integration Concept in the Territory of the Czech Republic", which focused on long-term and legal migrants (Babická 2010). The problem with these Principles, however, is that they do not address new migrants, but rather assume only those migrants who have been here long-term or are permanent residents need to be properly integrated (ibid). In general in the CR there is a lot of stress placed on the migrant's individual responsibility to achieve integration and the economic contribution the migrant will provide to the Czech state. The Updated Concept, which followed the fifteen fundamental principles, stated prerequisites for the successful integration of the migrant, which included knowledge of the Czech language and economic self-sufficiency, among others (ibid).

Looking at the Czech Authentic Migration Policy (CAMP) which is defined by Kušniráková and Cizinsky (2011) as "the migration policy Czechia implements relatively independently of the EU" (p.497), this policy has been heavily criticized by

these and other scholars for lacking long-term vision and being overall unstable. It has also been criticized for preferring circular migration—meaning having migrants only come for short periods of time to work in the CR, and then going back home—rather than encouraging migrants to settle in the CR (ibid). CAMP contrasts significantly with EU migration policy which has a long-term vision, thus we can see the changes that resulted in Czech migration policy during the accession process. Marek Čaněk, the Director of MKC Prague, expanded on this notion of circular migration:

[This circular migration] is not just a Czech debate, it's a European debate—this idea to have temporary migration, so the laborers would come, leave and then come again...in the Czech context we have criticized the Ministry of Interior for using this concept of circular migration, which doesn't really respect the lives of immigrants if they wish to settle down and become part of the society. And it's not something you can—it's not ethical—to expect of people to arrange their lives in between two countries, living in the Ukraine for a few months and then here for a few months. In the long term perspective it's not possible.

At the present, Czech integration policy is not as advanced as it is in other EU member states. Too many of the few policies targeted at minorities have been initiated by the Czech government in response to international criticism³⁴ (Biro and Kovacs 2001). At the moment there is also a top-down, government initiated approach to minority policy; instead the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in facilitating minority integration should be encouraged. To better understand who integration policies are aimed at, let us turn to the categories of migrants and the Czech policies aimed at each one.

5.3 MIGRANT GROUPS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Taking a closer look at Czech policies, we must also understand the *types* of migrants in the Czech state, the rights these migrants have and the barriers to acquiring permanent residency and becoming naturalized citizens that these migrants face. Firstly,

³⁴ Such was the case after the CR was heavily criticized for the mass emigration of Roma spurred by unfair treatment of this minority group, afterwards the Office of the Government Commissioner for Human Rights was established in September 1998 (Biro and Kovacs 2001).

we have third-country nationals; this group has mainly two options available to them: a long-term visa (over 90 days) and a long-term residence permit³⁵ (Kušniráková 2014). Both these options provide migrants with limited access to public healthcare, the labor market and free translation and interpretation services. This group of migrants has no electoral rights nor can they become members of a political party (ibid). For EU-citizens³⁶ there is another option available: the temporary residence permit,³⁷ which comes with considerably more rights than the first set of residency permits. Finally, there is the permanent residence permit which can be granted to third-country or EU-citizens and is held by almost half of all foreigners residing in the CR. Permanent residency holders have almost the same rights as Czech citizens³⁸. Up until recently, however, this type of residency was rather hard to get as third-country nationals had to be in the CR for an uninterrupted period of ten years. This led many to criticize the Czech government for using permanent residency as a reward for completed integration by the migrant, rather than an incentive for that integration (Szczepaniková et al. 2006). One of the most significant post-EU accession changes then was related to the requirement necessary for granting permanent residency in the CR; in 2006 the length of stay required for third-country nationals was shortened from ten to five years (Kušniráková 2014).

Of course, there is also the option of naturalization. However, the naturalization process in the CR is unfortunately not an easy one for migrants to complete as it is both time consuming and financially costly. Once a person has decided to apply for Czech naturalization, the applicant must submit paperwork to be approved by an official, and their knowledge of the Czech language is confirmed—first via interview with an official and secondly in an oral language test that lasts around thirty minutes³⁹ (Baršová 2013). Many documents have to be provided by the applicant, and except for documents in Slovak, documents in all other languages must be officially translated into the Czech language (ibid). Overall the procedure proves costly when administrative fees⁴⁰, cost of obtaining and translating documents and any necessary legal consultation and

³⁵ Around 29 percent of all foreigners in the CR have this type of permit.

³⁶ And also citizens of Norway, Lichtenstein, Switzerland and Iceland (ibid).

³⁷ This permit is held by 22 percent of migrants in the CR (Kušniráková 2014).

³⁸ Third country nationals with permanent residency still do not hold electoral rights nor can they become a member of a political party, while EU citizens holding permanent residency have electoral rights, but cannot become members of a political party (ibid).

³⁹ This test is required by everyone, with the exception of Slovak citizens, it also free the first time but if it is failed the next attempts are paid (Zima 2010).

⁴⁰ The fee for the naturalization certificate alone is around CZK 10,000 (Baršová 2013).

representation fees are taken into account (ibid); for this reason many migrants that hold permanent residency choose not to become naturalized Czech citizens.

It used to be that when migrants in the CR were asked why they did not apply for naturalization, their main concern was giving up their birth-country citizenship⁴¹ (Baršová 2013). However, as of January 1st, 2014, this rule was revoked under the Czech Nationality Act, and the CR no longer allows only single nationality. A high percentage of the Vietnamese that I interviewed confirmed that they had officially applied for Czech citizenship following this act. Previously, they had only permanent residence status which offered them similar advantages to naturalization but did not require giving up their Vietnamese citizenship. Daniel explained how steps towards facilitating permanent residency and naturalization had a positive effect on the Vietnamese community:

[The Vietnamese] don't have to worry about the documents or the visa, so they can be more relaxed and afford the luxury of thinking about something else that isn't permits, but focus on their culture and roots. Back in the day we had problems with the visas and everything so people tried to become Czech as quickly as possible, but now that we don't have that problem so much we can focus more on our traditions.

However, it might be that the next generation of Vietnamese, born into Czech citizenship, decide not to apply for Vietnamese citizenship despite having the right to. This possibility was conveyed to me by Xuan, who as a mother told me about her choice to not apply for her son's Vietnamese citizenship:

I have both [citizenships], but our children will only have Czech citizenship. Because they were born here and we already have Czech citizenship that's why [my son] inherits it, but if I want him to have Vietnamese citizenship we have to apply at the Vietnamese embassy and that's a lot, a lot, of work. And they're not very happy about our generation gaining Czech citizenship because, when they see that some people don't have Vietnamese citizenship anymore they are quite aggressive at the Vietnamese embassy. My friend tried to reapply Vietnamese

⁴¹ The CR did not use to allow for dual citizenship.

citizenship for her children but she said they were aggressive and it cost her a lot of money and it doesn't work. We decided to settle here, so he doesn't need Vietnamese citizenship anymore. If he decides to go to Vietnam he's going to apply for a visa.

The last migrant group I would like to look at are the national minorities⁴². According to Czech law, a national minority is defined as:

A community of citizens living on the territory of the present CR who usually differ from other citizens by their common ethnic origin, language, culture and traditions; they represent a numerical minority of inhabitants and simultaneously show their will to be considered a national minority for the purpose of common efforts to preserve and develop their own identity, language and culture, and also for the purpose of expressing and protecting the interests of their community which has been formed during history⁴³.

Those ethnic groups that become recognized national minorities by the Czech state enjoy added privileges, including access to state funds for heritage projects. However, these rights apply only to those members of recognized minority groups that already have Czech citizenship (Biro and Kovacs 2001). To ensure that these national minorities can communicate their needs to the Czech government, the Council for National Minorities of the Government of the Czech Republic was established in 2001⁴⁴. As of now, the council includes representatives from fourteen minority groups, including the Vietnamese⁴⁵. I was fortunate enough to conduct one of my interviews with Pham Huu Uyen, the representative for the Vietnamese on this government council. He explained to me that the representatives are not elected by a popular vote, but rather civic organizations can elect and send one candidate to the council, and the council makes the final choice. Thus, Pham Huu Uyen was sent as a member of the Vietnamese human rights organization Van Lang; he was up against two other potential

⁴² The Czech equivalent for the term national minority is *narodnostní menšina*.

⁴³ Section 2, paragraph 1 of Act 273/2001 in Coll.

⁴⁴ It was established under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities signed in 1995.

⁴⁵ In alphabetical order, the fourteen recognized national minorities thus far in the CR are the: Belarusian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Hungarian, German, Poles, Roma, Ruthenian, Russian, Greek, Slovak, Serbian, Ukrainian and Vietnamese (Source: Government Council for National Minorities).

candidates but was selected by the Czech government to be the final and sole representative.

Being a national minority affords you eleven privileges in the Czech state. Out of these, seven rights have to do with language rights. These seven, as summarized by Nekvapil (2007) are as follows:

(1) The right to use one's name and surname in the language of a national minority, (2) the right to multilingual names and denominations, (3) the right to use the language of a national minority in official documentation and discourse and hearing before a court, (4) the right to use the language of a national minority during elections, (5) the right to education in the language of a national minority, (6) the right to develop the culture and members of national minorities (including maintenance and development of the language), and (7) the right to spread and receive information in the language of a national minority" (p.42).

In the following section I would like to concentrate on few of these linguistic privileges offered to the Vietnamese community as a national minority, and how these privileges are put into practice by the Vietnamese community in the CR.

5.4 THE RIGHTS OF A NATIONAL MINORITY

I spoke with Kocourek about whether in his experience working at SEA-liaison mother tongue education is a concern for the Vietnamese community, and whether they take advantage of their right to mother tongue education. Kocourek tells me:

So officially the Vietnamese language is the language of the national minority in CR, but they need more activities to promote it. They have the laws in place, so whenever they want to, for example, establish class in Vietnamese, they will register as a Vietnamese person during the census in the CR, and they will be able to establish the class teaching in Vietnamese but it depends on the number of people, of citizens in each municipality.

The problem, as I find in a later interview with Pham Huu Uyen, is that if the Vietnamese wanted to establish an elementary school where the primary language of instruction was Vietnamese, it would actually be quite complicated. First, the Vietnamese would have to constitute more than ten percent of the population of the village/region/municipality in which they are advocating for this type of school. According to Pham there were only two villages in the whole CR that satisfy this criteria; then some of the Vietnamese moved from one of the villages and now only one village fulfills this criteria. He also explained that a school like this is costly and it brings about a question of what material should be used to conduct the lessons:

It's also quite expensive, so if you want to, even have Vietnamese as an optional subject in school so I think it's time to educate the teachers, also the problem of what type of education should be employed—what textbooks. Especially, because we have one problem which is that the Vietnamese still have the communist regime in the textbook, and the content is not so good, it's about celebrating the leaders and so on. So I think this is not convenient for the kids here, to learn the language is important, but to introduce this type of system is expensive.

Pham went on to tell me that he did not believe the Vietnamese actually wanted a separate Vietnamese-only school system, and even if such a school was established he did not think the parents would send their children there instead of sending them to Czech school. Unlike ethnic groups like the Russian or Chinese that have more traditional school systems in the CR catered to their ethnic minority, Pham explained that the Vietnamese would be more interested in a part-time or weekend school where they could send their children to learn Vietnamese in their free time. He told me that one such school exists in Sapa thanks to support from parents who wanted their children to speak, read and write in their mother tongue. These are the types of schools that he is trying to support, because at the moment they are paid entirely by the parents of the pupils and he hoped in the future they might be subsidized, at least in part, by the Czech government.

Another national minority right—the right to develop the culture of national minorities, including maintenance and development of the language—can be looked at through projects and financial support for these types of initiatives. For example,

looking at the grants awarded by the Ministry of Culture in 2013, we can see that no grants were given to any Vietnamese heritage projects, since the Vietnamese were not yet a recognized national minority. However, in 2014 Viet Media received a grant for 490,000 Czech Koruna (Kč) from the Ministry of Culture for the project *Vůně lotosu*⁴⁶; in 2015 this same project received 500,000 Kč⁴⁷. Grant applications for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MŠMT) in 2015 show three successful grants that were aimed specifically at Vietnamese language and culture⁴⁸. The first grant was awarded to the Association for the Support of Vietnamese and Czech language⁴⁹ for the purpose of pursuing the completion of a Czech-Vietnamese dictionary⁵⁰. Project number two was being carried out by the faculty of philosophy at Charles University, which was awarded financial support for its monolingual dictionary of Vietnamese cultural traditions. The third and last successful project was proposed by the Meteorologická elementary school,⁵¹ which received funding to run Vietnamese courses for its students. Thus, we can see that Vietnamese heritage projects, including those aimed at preserving the Vietnamese language, are gaining at least some financial support from the Czech state. This support seems to be slowly increasing by year.

However, financial support for projects first requires an ethnic minority group that is actively proposing projects for financial consideration. The budget from which the Ministries award financial aid is separate from the budget of the government council. Specifically concerning the latter budget, Pham explained to me that:

[The council budget] is not equal for everyone, it depends on the quantity of the projects and so on. For example, traditionally the Poles are very successful in proposing projects. The Vietnamese in the first years we had only two small projects. This year we have several more, but still it's a very small amount.

Therefore, it would seem that the Vietnamese as a rather recently recognized national minority, are still not as active and efficient at pitching projects for grant money as other more longstanding national minorities are (such as the Poles).

⁴⁶ Fragrance of the lotus in English.

⁴⁷ Source: The website for the Ministry of Culture (<http://www.mkcr.cz>).

⁴⁸ Source: The website for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (<http://www.msmt.cz/>).

⁴⁹ Sdružení pro podporu vietnamsko - české jazykové.

⁵⁰ Velkého učebního česko- vietnamského slovníku.

⁵¹ “Základní škola Meteorologická” is located in Prague – Libuš; around 10-15% of enrolled pupils are of Vietnamese descent (source: <http://www.zsmeteo.cz/>).

In this chapter we have examined heritage language preservation from the perspective of the Czech state by looking at policy initiatives, treaties and laws dealing with linguistic rights of ethnic minority groups. While the CR might be behind other EU states in implementing integration policies, it is being pushed forward by the EU and organizations such as the ones I conducted interviews with. The linguistic rights afforded specifically to the Vietnamese as a recognized national minority were also outlined in this chapter. While these rights are still not fully being taken advantage of by the Vietnamese community, this ethnic group has only just recently been given national minority status and efforts to exercise these rights would appear to be increasing.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Scholars such as Maloof et al. (2006) state that “a strong ethnic identity is positively correlated not only to competence in the ethnic language but unexpectedly to competence in the [host-country] language as well” (p.268). Therefore, establishing Vietnamese language and culture courses to educate the younger generation about their heritage and help them maintain their Vietnamese language could be one step towards improving the relationship between the parents and child and reinforcing the individual’s ties with the ethnic community, both of which support the academic and cognitive performance of the individual. All this would help ensure the ethnic minority group had an overall better chance to succeed in the host country.

Studies that focused on students concluded that bilingualism assisted second or third language acquisition and that generally, up to three languages could successfully be learned by an individual during the schooling years (Nekvapil 2007). On the other hand, monolingual programs for students have consistently proved to be the least effective of all educational programs (May 2011). Thus it would be ideal for the younger Vietnamese generations to first learn Czech and Vietnamese as fluent or native speakers, and then possibly a “world language” such as English. We have begun to see efforts by the Czech state to provide funding for Vietnamese language and culture programs through, for example, Ministry grants. However, in order for more programs such as these to be established, additional projects need to be presented by the Vietnamese community for financial consideration. Part-time Vietnamese schools, such as the one Pham referred to in our interview, need to be pushed by the Vietnamese community so that they might be at least partially funded by the Czech state.

One of the micro problems that I have addressed in this dissertation and that organizations such as META have identified through lack of Vietnamese interpreters, is the attrition of heritage language among younger Vietnamese individuals in the CR. One of my informants, Tien, already helps Vietnamese children learn or improve their Czech through her tutoring service, so I asked her if she would ever consider teaching Vietnamese to these children. Tien said she would be happy to teach children Vietnamese, especially because Vietnamese children are quick to learn Czech, yet their Vietnamese is quite limited. However, she told me she would not know where to start—

she speaks Vietnamese fluently but she has never taught it before. One institutional solution to this micro issue then would be to train Vietnamese speakers, such as Tien, to teach the Vietnamese language to children, teenagers, and even the 1.5 generation. In the same ways that programs are already run to train Vietnamese community interpreters and bilingual teaching assistants, a program could be established aimed at training Vietnamese migrants as teachers of their maternal language. These teachers could then be placed in schools where there is a high concentration of Vietnamese pupils. Ideally these teachers would have salaries financed by Czech organizations (which in turn would be financed by the state or the EU) and therefore this service would be provided free of charge to schools.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this work I have analyzed the sociolinguistic landscape of the Vietnamese language in the CR. I have argued that heritage language preservation, or conversely, a language shift, has a direct impact on an ethnic minority group's integration into the host country society. The first example I gave in chapter two and three was of the first-generation of Vietnamese migrants who have preserved their heritage language due to the ethnic communities established during the labor exchanges under communism and the ethnic entrepreneurship these communities enabled. Here, language preservation has hindered this generation's integration as their socioeconomic situation did not require learning of the Czech language. Chapter four then concentrated on the 1.5 and second generation and how a language shift would hurt these generations' integration efforts. Language management theory was used to demonstrate the common types of language issues faced by Vietnamese migrants, and how Czech society (in the form of META) is responding to these problems. Finally, chapter five looked at Czech integration policies and linguistic rights afforded to ethnic minority groups in the Czech state. The extent to which these linguistic rights are being put into practice by the Vietnamese community in the CR was also analyzed.

As we have seen, heritage language preservation fosters parent-child relationships, improves academic and cognitive performance and creates more economic opportunities for the individual—all of which helps create individuals that are more successful and, therefore, better integrated into the host society. Thus, a language

shift can be assumed to have negative consequences for both the ethnic minority and the host country. From my interviews, however, it would appear that there is a revitalization effort by younger Vietnamese migrants to return to their Vietnamese culture and roots and halt this language shift. At the moment, this initiative is mainly being carried out by the 1.5 generation that is beginning to have children. As Pham explained:

When I want to see how the Vietnamese community here in the CR will look in a few years, I always look to France, it's where the Vietnamese community has a longer history than here in the CR. So from my point of view, the development is always quite the same, in the first stage the relation with the Vietnamese language is weaker, and after some time when the people have a better living condition here and don't have to solve as many daily problems, then this [language] question becomes more important.

While this research was not meant to be representative of each individual Vietnamese community member in the CR, it has aimed to provide deeper insight into the sociolinguistic landscape inhabited by this particular community and the language shift that is occurring at the community level. As the third generation (who are at present only infants) becomes older, we will see whether this language shift is continuing with them, or if there will, in fact, be a return to the Vietnamese roots among this generation. Thus, in the coming years further research must be done to form a more complete picture of the impact that heritage language preservation or attrition has on ethnic minority integration.

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