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Political Integration of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Poland: An Investigation of the Role of Social Capital

Abstract: This study concerns the political integration of the Vietnamese in Poland, one of the largest non-European immigrant communities with a very long presence in the country. The central analysis is devoted to investigating the role of bonding and bridging social capital produced by involvement in (formal and informal) social networks in the political integration of the migrant group, empirically observed through political engagement in Polish society. The study employs the mixed research method, utilizing quantitative data from an original survey with 347 respondents and qualitative data from 15 semi-structured interviews for analyses. The results show that the effects of social capital on political integration vary across types of social networks and forms of engagement in host politics. Notably, bonding rather than bridging social capital is a prominent driver of the political engagement of the Vietnamese in Polish society.

Keywords: Vietnamese immigrants, Vietnamese diaspora, Poland, political integration, social capital

Introduction

The Vietnamese are one of the largest non-European immigrant communities in Poland. The community was formed by socialist mobilities, resulting from the cooperation between the socialist states of Vietnam and Poland during the Cold War era (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2019). Although the pioneers of the Vietnamese community came to Poland as early as the 1950s, many Vietnamese groups in Polish cities function outside the mainstream of the country, especially in the political domain (Brzozowski & Pędziwiatr 2014). One of the reasons for the alleged deficit of the Vietnamese can be linked to Poland's integration and migration policies that provide Vietnamese immigrants with restricted legal rights for their engagement. As third-country nationals, the Vietnamese have no right to vote in elections and are ineligible to obtain membership in political parties (Łodziński et al. 2014).

Such rejection of political rights is likely to bring about disregard for the migrant group's roles in Polish society. Nevertheless, migrant-origin individuals should not be excluded from democratic rights and the political process in the host society because they have become increasingly visible in public debates and political contention (Berger et al. 2004). Excluding immigrants from the political sphere in host societies might bring about being perceived as outsiders among migrant-origin individuals, leading to the prevalence of irrationalism in being included in the policy process due to the acknowledgment of incompetence in becoming active actors in the host political system (Anduiza & Martín

2011). The negative consequences of immigrants' political exclusion are likely to overflow into the social and economic dimensions of the integration process, causing failures in addressing the needs of migrant individuals in the policy process (Morales & Giugni 2011). Accordingly, with the increase in migration flows in a current connected global, the political integration of migrant-origin individuals into the host country is inevitable in academia, policymaking, and political agendas.

However, while studies on social and cultural adaptation to Polish society have received the plethoric attention of researchers (Grabowska & Szymanska-Matusiewicz 2022; Huu 2021; Nowicka 2014), the political dimension of Vietnamese immigrants' integration into the country has been under covered in the academic discourse. Although recent publications by Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2021) and Hũu (2022) have provided significant insights into the political practice of the Vietnamese in Polish society, these works are based on the ethnographic methodological perspective and exclusively touch on the migrant group's transnational political practices with a focus on pro-democracy activism or online political involvement. This study is devoted to filling this gap by exclusively looking at Vietnamese people's political integration into Polish society. Particularly, spurred by the premise of Fennema and Tillie (1999, 2001) and the recently established research strand on the role of social networks in shaping migrant political integration, this study aims to investigate how bonding and bridging social capital generated through associational involvement manipulate Vietnamese immigrants' pattern of political integration. By taking up the issue of the political integration of the Vietnamese in Poland, this study contributes to broadening the knowledge about the migrant group's political functioning in the country, which has been little addressed in the literature.

Theoretical Background

The Concept of Political Integration

Integration is a core concept used across a range of disciplines in social sciences to describe the process of migrant adaptation and settling in destination countries. Different theoretical perspectives were developed to accommodate its conception, notably, the classical assimilation perspective (Gordon 1964), the structural perspective (Barth & Noel 1972), the segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou 1993), and the pluralist theory (Zhou 1997). Recently, the concept has been increasingly criticized, where scholars questioned the normative sense in the usage of integration affected by the "assimilationist stance" and its validity in capturing the complexity and dynamics of settling processes among contemporary migrants (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore 2018). These criticisms explicitly resulted in either the presence of alternative approaches to integration, for example, "differentiated embedding" (Mulholland & Ryan 2022) and "anchoring" (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2016), or its reconceptualization (Klarenbeek 2019; Penninx 2019). This study tries to adapt the concept by adopting the interactive sense in the recent reconceptualization of integration, treating political integration as one of the dimensions of integration and conceptualizing it as a two-way process between the host country and migrant actors, where rights and obli-

gations lie on both sides, to reach a joint movement and adaptation in the political sphere in the residence country (Penninx 2019). In this process, the residence country is responsible for including immigrants in the political sphere by providing legal frameworks to facilitate equal opportunities and access to the political realm between the autochthonous and non-autochthonous residents. Meanwhile, immigrants are responsible for snatching the granted opportunities to engage in the political sphere in residence countries.

This study acknowledges the inequality between the two “partners”—the host country and immigrants, in which the receiving society is far more decisive for the outcome of the integrative process than the immigrants themselves (Penninx 2019). Therefore, I exclusively focused on the integrative mechanism pertaining to immigrants’ ability and willingness to be involved in the political sphere through migrant political participation in the host society (Morales 2011). Accordingly, this study empirically researches the Vietnamese’s political integration by observing their political engagement in Polish society. Following a conceptual framework for political participation developed by Ekman and Amnå (2012), this research analyzes latent and manifest forms of the Vietnamese’s political engagement in Polish society. Latent engagement regards the migrant-origin individuals’ attentiveness to social and political issues and activities taken to have politically potential influence in the host society, such as political interest and political discussion. Manifest political integration refers to concrete activities that affect politics and political outcomes in the receiving society, comprising formal political activities (political acts directed towards elections or conventional political institutions or actors) and the legal form of extra-parliamentary (activities referring to protesting behaviors).

Social Capital and Migrant Political Engagement

Academic scholars pay particular attention to the role of social capital in shaping the political participation of immigrants in the host society. This research tradition was initially spurred by Fennema and Tillie (1999, 2001), who inspired the implication of Putnam’s seminal works (1995, 2000), where social capital is found to be a key variable for explaining the performance of political institutions, economic development, and political participation. Fennema and Tillie argued that ethnic associational involvement increases political participation among migrant individuals by creating social trust, which spills over into political trust and higher political participation (Jacobs & Tillie 2004). Substantial work was devoted to verifying Fennema’s and Tillie’s premises, primarily attempting to fill the gaps in Fennema’s and Tillie’s studies that discounted the social capital of ethnic minority groups at the individual level and overlooked the effects of social capital generated through membership in cross-ethnic or non-ethnic associations (Jacobs & Tillie 2004; Morales & Pilati 2011). This flow of research was primarily introduced in a special issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (Jacobs & Tillie 2004), and it has been taken over by recent investigations (Giugni et al. 2014; Morales & Pilati 2011; Pilati & Morales 2016).

In these waves of research, scholars refer to bonding and bridging social capital to theorize the different impacts of embedding in various ethnic networks on migrant political involvement. The former implies social connections among socially homogeneous individuals and groups that endanger the cohesion of society due to restricting group

boundaries to shared-identity people, while the latter denotes social relations among individuals and groups with heterogeneous backgrounds that facilitate trust in others (Szreter & Woolcock 2004). In this perspective, migrant bonding social capital as an outcome of embedding in co-ethnic networks is expected to bring about engagement in ethnic-related social and political issues, thus, hindering political engagement in the host society. In contrast, the involvement in cross- or non-ethnic associations, in which immigrants are more likely to accumulate bridging social capital through ethnically heterogeneous interaction, is thought to favor political participation in the destination country. The findings for this research strand are inconclusive. The distinct effects of bonding and bridging social capital are found in which the former leads to the propensity for involvement in activities related to homeland politics, the latter is found to be significant in encouraging immigrants to participate in the host politics (Morales & Pilati 2011). Similarly, Berger et al. (2004) showed that membership in co-ethnic networks reduces the inclination to become active in host politics while embedding in cross-ethnic associations plays a reverse role. Other studies found positive impacts of both ethnic bonding and bridging social capital on political involvement in the country of destination (Giugni et al. 2014; Nguyen Long 2016).

Following this research tradition, this study exclusively looks at the impact of social capital on Vietnamese immigrants' political integration in Poland by examining the effects of involvement in cross-ethnic, ethnic, and co-ethnic organizations on political engagement. Membership in cross-ethnic networks that comprise the majority of non-Vietnamese ethnicities denotes the sense of bridging social capital. In contrast, ethnic and co-ethnic association involvement captures the resource of bonding social capital. The main difference between the two latter lies in the composition of the Vietnamese in those associations. While ethnic associations regard organizations consisting of a minority of other nationals besides the majority of the Vietnamese, the co-ethnic variants refer to membership in groups only composed of Vietnamese-origin individuals. In Polish society, Vietnamese co-ethnic associations refer to fellow-countrymen groups of which members come from the same village, district, province, or region in the homeland of Vietnam (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2019). Social capital accumulated through this ethnic organization denotes stronger bonding ties than in ethnic associations. Consequently, the expectation is that when the Vietnamese privilege bonding links in co-ethnic or ethnic networks, they are believed to be disinclined to engage in the political sphere in Polish society. Conversely, involvement in cross-ethnic networks with the prevalence of bridging ties is expected to facilitate their engagement in host politics.

This study further elaborates on the relationship between social capital and migrant political engagement by examining how informal social networks, namely contacts with family members, neighbors, and daily social interactions, impact Vietnamese immigrants' involvement in the political sphere in the host society. As documented in the literature, informal social ties foster individuals' integration into society and boost political participation through prevailing political knowledge and information in daily contact (Sokhey & Djupe 2011). Research shows informal social networks significantly shape immigrants' political engagement. For example, informal ties to inter-ethnic contact enhance the likelihood of voting; by contrast, higher contacts with co-ethnic networks decrease the propensity for

casting ballots in elections (Kim 2017). Accordingly, the Vietnamese with a high density of ties to co-ethnics are expected to display low political engagement. In contrast, those with more informal contacts with other ethnicities are more actively involved in the political sphere in the host society.

Methods

This study uses data from the author's doctoral research project, entitled "Political Integration of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Poland," implemented in Poland from 2018 to 2023, for empirical analyses. The project employed a parallel mixed design involving qualitative and quantitative data collection. Quantitative data come from a complex survey with a sample of 347 Vietnamese-origin immigrants that helps draw out the pattern of the role of social capital in Vietnamese people's political integration, by which the theoretical expectations can be validated. Meanwhile, qualitative data gathered through 15 semi-structured interviews play a crucial role in providing further evidence explaining the influential patterns of social capital on political integration.

Data Collection and Analysis

Survey

The quantitative data were collected through an original survey from mid-May to mid-September 2020 in the Voivode of Mazovia Region, where most Vietnamese have resided in Poland. This study applied different sampling methods to approach the main groups representing the Vietnamese in Polish society, including students and academics, business owners, and employee groups (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2019). It employed two sampling strategies to recruit respondents from the business owners and employee groups. In the first stage, the Centre Sampling Technique (Baio et al. 2011) was used to identify locations where these Vietnamese people often congregate. Then, it opted for a sampling procedure known as the random walking technique (Marcella & Baxter 2000) to access the respondents in the second stage. Face-to-face interviews were employed to collect quantitative data from these groups, with 217 respondents participating. For the students and academics, a sampling frame of these groups was made up by combining a list of emails of participants (including scholars and graduate students) joining the 4th Workshop of Vietnamese Students in Poland in 2019 with a list of Facebook addresses of members of a Facebook group of Vietnamese students in Poland. The simple random sampling strategy was used to select respondents, in which 300 invitations were sent via emails and Facebook addresses to recruit the respondents, with 130 accepted responses.

The survey included a battery of questions to measure *dependent variables* capturing latent and manifest political engagement. *Political interest*—respondents' interest level in national host politics—and *political discussion*—respondents' degree of talking to family or friends about national politics—are indicators of latent engagement. Manifest political engagement includes formal and legal extra-parliamentary participation (legal participation, in short). *Formal participation* is an overall measurement of respondents' participation

in conventional political activities during the last 12 months, comprising supporting political parties, contacting politicians, contacting civil servants, and donating money to political parties. *Legal participation* is an overall measurement of legal extra-parliamentary activities that respondents participated in during the last 12 months, including striking, boycotting, handing out leaflets, participating in protests, contacting media, and signing petitions. *Independent variables* were measured through questions probing respondents' involvement in formal and informal social networks. For *informal social networks*, the first variable is the *daily interaction with the Vietnamese*—the degree of ethnic composition in respondents' daily interactions. *Talks with neighbors* is the second variable measuring the ethnic composition in respondents' talk with neighbors. The last variable is *family support*, denoting whether the respondents rely on family members or relatives to ask for help in the host country. Regarding *formal social networks*, the survey included questions identifying three types of respondents' associational involvement. *Membership in co-ethnic associations* was measured by inquiring into respondents' participation in any activity organized by Vietnamese fellow-countrymen associations in Poland during the last 12 months. *Membership in ethnic associations* measures respondents' number of associations composed of 50% or more Vietnamese members in the previous 12 months, based on a list of voluntary associations.¹ Similarly, *membership in cross-ethnic associations* presents the number of associations from the list composed of less than 50% of Vietnamese members that respondents participated in the last 12 months. The survey also included control variables such as social trust (*generalized* and *particularized trust*), migration-related factors (*Polish proficiency, migrant generation, Polish citizenship, years living in Poland, Polish identity*), and demographic characteristics (*gender, education, marital status, religion, and employment status*). All the variables with measurements employed for the analysis are summarized in **Table 1** below.

The quantitative data analysis applied regression techniques for validating suppositions of the effects of social capital on the political engagement of Vietnamese immigrants in Poland. Separate regression models were run to detect the impact of social capital on each dependent variable. Given the ordinal nature of variables capturing respondents' political interest and discussion, ordinal logistic regressions were employed to gauge the effects of social capital variables on these latent dimensions. For models estimating the impact of social capital on the manifest political forms, logistic regressions were run due to the binary nature of variables measuring formal and legal manifest forms. Furthermore, to obtain indications of the effect of social capital on the Vietnamese's likelihood of political engagement, the significant effects of social capital on outcome variables were computed at fixed values of the other predictor variables by using the command "mchange" in STATA 15 (Long & Freese 2006). In addition, the technique of multiple imputation by chained equations was applied to deal with a fraction of missing information resulting from incomplete responses in the survey (Newman 2003).

¹ List of voluntary associations: sports clubs, academic organizations, cultural associations, political parties, trade unions, business associations, charitable organizations, environmental protecting organizations, human rights organizations, religious groups, minority organizations, human-right advocated organizations, anti-racism organizations, youth organizations, women's associations, veteran organizations, resident organizations.

Table 1
Measurement of Variables

Variables	Measurement	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Political interest	4-point scale (1 to 4) 1 = not at all interested; 4 = very interested	2.45	0.81	1	4	331
Political discussion	4-point scale (1 to 4) 1 = never; 4 = almost every day	2.39	0.83	1	4	332
Formal participation	1 = yes 0 = no	0.10	0.31	0	1	334
Legal participation	1 = yes 0 = no	0.20	0.40	0	1	334
Membership in co-ethnic associations	1 = yes 0 = no	0.42	0.50	0	1	328
Membership in ethnic associations	A count variable	1.02	1.81	0	16	330
Membership in cross-ethnic associations	A count variable	1.37	2.74	0	17	330
Daily interaction with the Vietnamese	5-point scale (1 to 5) 1 = almost all of them are not Vietnamese; 5 = almost all of them are Vietnamese	2.43	1.24	1	5	343
Talks with neighbors	0 = never talk with their neighbors 1 = talking with most Vietnamese neighbors 2 = talking with most on-Vietnamese neighbors	1.16	0.89	0	2	340
Family support	1 = yes 0 = no	0.62	.049	0	1	323
Generalized trust (trust people in general)	11-point scale (0 to 10) 0 = Need to be very careful; 10 = Most people can be trusted	5.15	2.04	0	10	339
Particularized trust (trust the Vietnamese)	10-point scale 0 = Need to be very careful; 10 = Most people can be trusted	5.07	1.99	0	10	335
Polish proficiency	5-point scale (1 to 5) 1 = I do not speak Polish; 5 = I speak Polish as my first language	2.58	0.97	1	5	347
Migrant generation	1 = First-generation 0 = 1.5 and second generation	0.89	0.31	0	1	347
Polish citizenship	1 = yes 0 = no	0.19	0.40	0	1	333
Years living in Poland	Open (in years)	10.65	9.15	0.4	43	339
Polish identity	4-point scale (1 to 4) 1 = I definitely disagree with myself as Polish; 4 = I definitely agree with myself as Polish	2.09	0.95	1	4	343
Gender	1 = Male 0 = Female	0.54	0.50	0	1	332
Age	Open (in years)	34.48	11.14	17	73	338
Level of education	Multiple point scale (0 to 1)	0.75	0.24	0	1	344
Marital status	1 = Married 0 = others	0.59	0.49	0	1	347
Religion	0 = No religion 1 = Following Buddhism 2 = Following Christianity and others	0.78	0.75	0	2	347
Employment status	0 = Unemployed 1 = Employed by others 2 = Self-employed	1.14	0.78	0	2	347

Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative data were gathered using semi-structured interviews from May 2020 to January 2021 with 15 Vietnamese people applying the snowball sampling technique. Participants are those who have lived in Poland for at least one year and are at least 18 years old at the time of the interview, are members of political parties, or are actively participating in civic and political activities in Poland. Characteristics of the participants joining the semi-structured interviews are presented in **Table 2** below.

Table 2
The Profile of Participants Joining Semi-structured Interviews

Categories	Characteristics	Number
Gender	Male	11
	Female	4
Age group	30 and below	1
	30 to 49	8
	50 and above	6
Polish citizenship	Yes	9
	No	6
Migrant generations	First generation	11
	1.5 and second generation	4

All qualitative interviews were conducted online using voice calls from the Messenger app on Facebook. The interviews were initiated with a brief introduction to the study's purpose and the permission requirement for recording, proceeded with an interviewing scenario probing Vietnamese people's political participation in the host country, their challenges in engaging in the political sphere, their social contacts and relations in the host country, their involvement in associational networks, and their assessment of social networks' role in political participation in the host country.

Qualitative data were analyzed by employing deductive content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs 2008), processing in three steps. The first step was to prepare the data, in which each interview transcribed into texts was treated as a unit of analysis. The next step was to organize the data by building a structured analysis matrix encompassing concepts or categories developed by formulating questions and topics in the scenario. The data were coded corresponding to the identified categories and concepts. Finally, reports interpreting the findings and results were made in the third step. This study used pseudonyms for the informants whose narrations are quoted in qualitative findings.

Results

Patterns of the Effects of Social Capital on Political Engagement of the Vietnamese in Poland: Quantitative Findings

The Effect of Social Capital on Latent Political Engagement

Table 2 shows the results from ordered logit models for political interest and political discussion. Focusing on formal networks, Models 1 and 2 reveal a counterintuitive

finding regarding the impact of involvement in ethnic associations on latent engagement. Specifically, contrary to theoretical expectations, membership in associations composed of most Vietnamese positively impacts political interest and political discussion. To assess the effects of membership in ethnic organizations on these two dependent variables, this study refers to the change in predicted probability when the independent variable changes from a minimum to a maximum level while holding other variables at their means. **Figure 1** below illustrates that, regarding political interest, an increase in the number of involved ethnic associations from a minimum to a maximum level leads to an 8.1% point decrease in the probability of respondents declaring “Not at all interested,” a 55.2% point decrease in reporting “Not very interested,” and a 22.6% point drop in the possibility of respondents claiming “Fairly interested.” The same change in the number of involved ethnic associations results in an 86% point increase in the probability of respondents declaring “Very interested.” For political discussion, an increase in the number of involved ethnic associations from a minimum to a maximum level brings about a 10.6% and 50.4% decrease in “Never” and “Rarely,” respectively. By contrast, that change in the number of involved ethnic associations leads to a 6.3% and 54.7% increase in “Regularly” and “Almost every day,” respectively. Unlike membership in ethnic associations, involvement in cross-ethnic does not provide bridging social capital convertible into these forms of engagement as its statistically non-significant effects. A further interesting finding lies in the impact of membership in co-ethnic associations when involvement in fellow-countrymen organizations decreases the possibility of being at a higher level of political interest and discussion. Although the significant effect of this membership is only on the dimension of political discussion and only in the imputed data instead of the original one, it should be acknowledged that individuals who privilege bonding ties in compatriot groups are less likely to be in a higher level of discussing Polish politics than those who did not. As shown vividly in **Figure 2**, compared to those who do not engage in fellow-countrymen associations, involved individuals lower the probability of the “Almost every day” and “Regularly” categories by 1.5% and 9.7%, respectively, while increasing the likelihood of “Never” and “Not very interested” categories by 3.7 and 7.5 percent, respectively.

Regarding informal networks, excepting the non-significant impacts of talks with neighbors, the remaining variables are demonstrated as significant sources of either one or both of these forms of latent political engagement. Family support appears to be the most striking determinant that significantly decreases the degree of political interest and discussion yet with different significance levels (a 10% level for political interest and a 1% level for political discussion) in both data sets. As portrayed in **Figure 3**, regarding political interest, in comparison with people who do not rely on close ties with families for seeking support, individuals who bank on the ties have lower probabilities of the “Very interested” and “Fairly interested” categories about 11% and 2.4%, respectively, while having higher probabilities of the “Not at all interested” and “Not very interested” around 2.8% and 10.6%, respectively. Concerning political discussion, compared to individuals who do not bank on close ties with families to solve problems, individuals relying on the ties have 2.8% and 15.8% lower probabilities of “Almost every day” and “Regularly,” respectively, while possessing the higher likelihood of declaring “Never” and “Rarely” about 5.6% and 12.9%, respectively. In addition, while daily interaction with Vietnamese

Table 3

Effects of Social Capital on Latent Engagement: Ordinal Logistic Regression Estimates

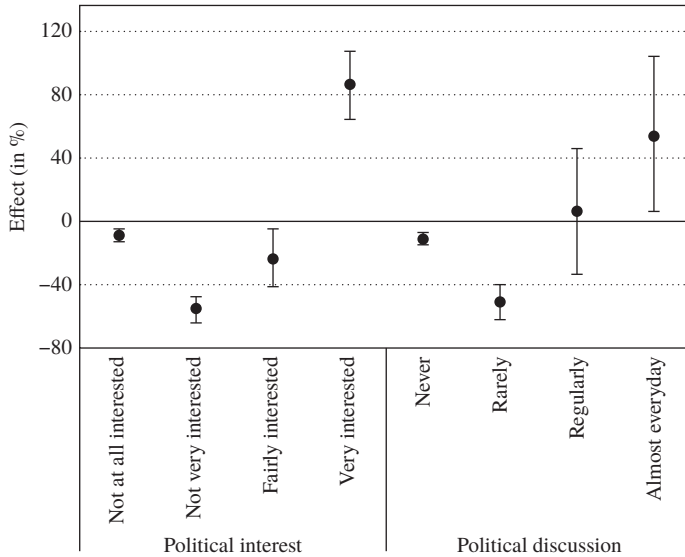
Independent variables	Political interest		Political discussion	
	Model 1		Model 2	
	(Original)	(Imputed)	(Original)	(Imputed)
Social capital variables: Formal networks				
Membership in co-ethnic associations	-0.301 (0.284)	-0.152 (0.266)	-0.465 (0.284)	-0.531* (0.264)
Membership in ethnic associations	0.348*** (0.075)	0.312*** (0.072)	0.243*** (0.069)	0.227*** (0.067)
Membership in cross-ethnic associations	0.0785 (0.054)	0.0385 (0.051)	0.0706 (0.052)	0.0583 (0.049)
Social capital variables: Informal networks				
Daily interaction with the Vietnamese	-0.064 (0.110)	-0.057 (0.103)	0.249* (0.109)	0.191+ (0.101)
Talk with neighbors (never talks)	With Vietnamese neighbors		0.275 (0.389)	0.543 (0.361)
	With Non-Vietnamese neighbors		0.042 (0.303)	0.155 (0.279)
Family support	-0.540+ (0.288)	-0.449+ (0.272)	-0.765** (0.288)	-0.6 08* (0.264)
Control variables: Social trust				
Generalized trust	0.026 (0.101)	0.046 (0.0945)	0.128 (0.0992)	0.163+ (0.0953)
Particularized trust	0.070 (0.106)	0.086 (0.095)	-0.072 (0.103)	-0.078 (0.097)
Control variables: Migration-related variables				
Polish proficiency	0.569*** (0.175)	0.475** (0.155)	0.603*** (0.172)	0.508*** (0.152)
Migrant generation	0.320 (0.507)	0.430 (0.468)	0.437 (0.497)	0.539 (0.463)
Polish citizenship	-1.102** (0.424)	-1.016* (0.398)	-0.766+ (0.417)	-0.468 (0.367)
Years living in Poland	0.050+ (0.027)	0.071** (0.024)	0.036 (0.025)	0.043+ (0.023)
Polish identity	0.106 (0.157)	0.232+ (0.139)	0.127 (0.158)	0.237+ (0.142)
Control variables: Demographic variables				
Gender	0.396 (0.256)	0.360 (0.243)	0.131 (0.252)	0.190 (0.238)
Age (years)	0.024 (0.019)	0.010 (0.017)	0.034+ (0.019)	0.025 (0.017)
Level of education	3.259** (1.101)	3.168** (1.011)	4.079*** (1.117)	2.816** (1.064)
Marital status	0.222 (0.348)	0.291 (0.295)	-0.156 (0.342)	0.081 (0.295)
Religion (non-religious)	Buddhist		-0.074 (0.300)	0.057 (0.275)
	Christian and others		-1.010** (0.385)	-0.841** (0.328)
Employment (unemployed)	Employed		0.625+ (0.334)	0.586+ (0.314)
	Self-employed		1.345** (0.440)	0.931* (0.417)
	/cut1	2.404** (1.004)	2.492*** (0.960)	4.106*** (1.014)
	/cut2	5.398*** (1.050)	5.496*** (1.002)	6.818*** (1.069)
	/cut3	8.295*** (1.123)	8.321*** (1.066)	9.803*** (1.162)
Observations	278	347	279	347
Log pseudolikelihood	-268.065		-273.895	
McFadden R2	0.204		0.200	

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$ (two-tailed tests)

Note: Main entries are unstandardized regression coefficients, and the numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

Figure 1

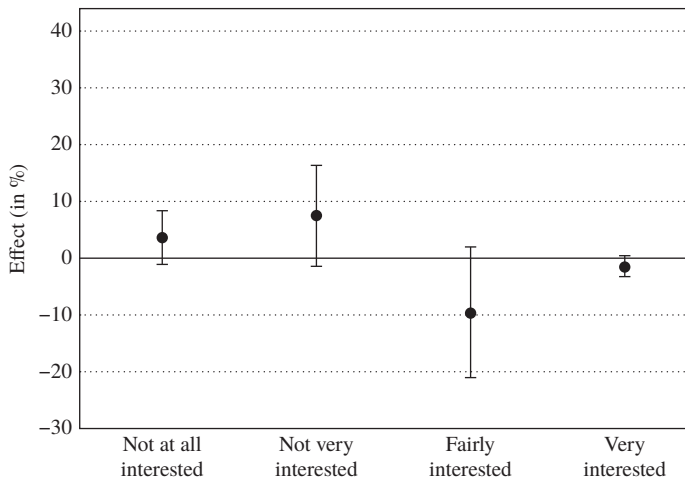
Effects of Involvement in Ethnic Associations on Political Interest and Political Discussion



Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of outcome categories when the independent variable changes from minimum to maximum values, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

Figure 2

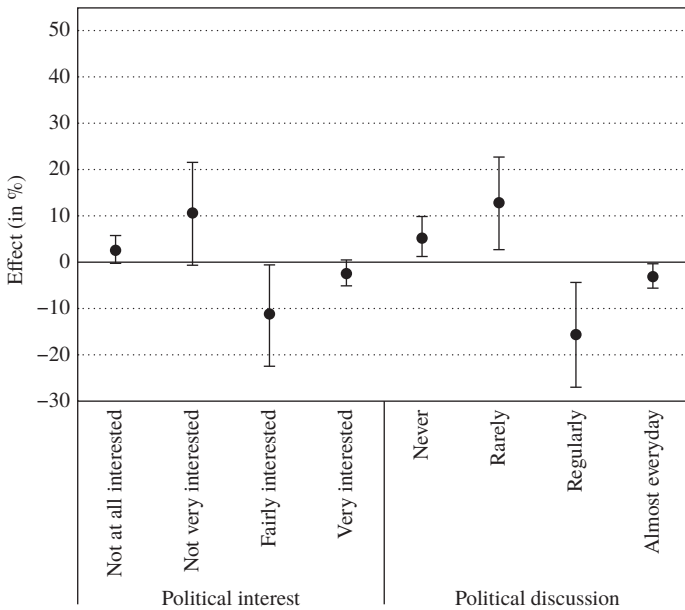
The Effect of Involvement in Co-ethnic Associations on Political Interest



Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of outcome categories when the independent variable changes from minimum to maximum values, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

stays adverse to political interest as expected, albeit marginally statistically insignificant, it surprisingly significantly facilitates political discussion. As displayed in Figure 4, holding other variables constant at their means, an increase in daily contact with the Vietnamese from a minimum to a maximum level is conducive to increasing the probability of respondents declaring “Almost every day” and “Regularly” by 4% and 20.2%, respectively. By contrast, the exact same change of ethnic composition in daily interactions leads to a decrease in the possibility of respondents reporting “Never” by 7% and “Rarely” by 17.2%.

Figure 3
Effects of Close Ties with Families on Political Interest and Political Discussion

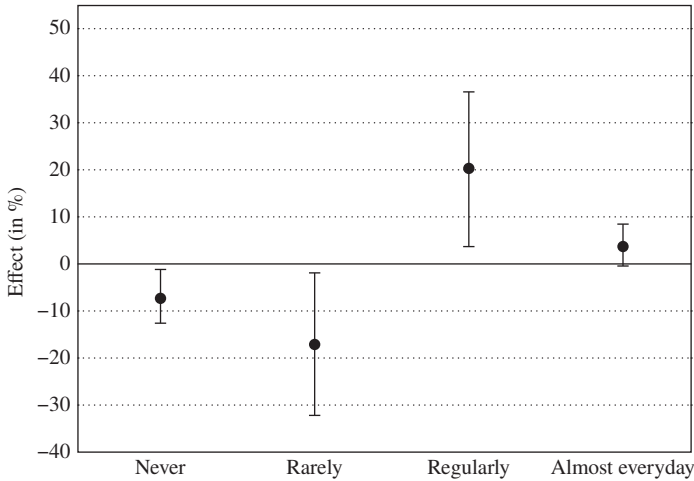


Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of outcome categories when the independent variable changes from “0”—relying on family ties to “1”—not relying on family ties, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

The Effect of Social Capital on Manifest Political Engagement

Table 3 presents the effects of social capital on formal and legal forms. In general, the findings show a virtually identical pattern between the impact of social capital on formal participation and legal participation. Among the most relevant aspects, associational involvement is observed to have essential effects again. Contrary to theoretical expectations, membership in ethnic organizations has significant and positive effects on both forms of manifest engagement, though the significance degree drops from the 5% level in the original data set to the 10% level in the imputed one in both models. As shown in Figure 5 below, an increase in the number of involved ethnic associations from a minimum to a maximum

Figure 4
The Effect of Daily Interaction with Vietnamese on Political Discussion



Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of outcome categories when the independent variable changes from minimum to maximum values, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

level increases the probability of engaging in formal participation by 56.6%, while all other variables are constant at their means. By analogy, the exact same change in the number of involved ethnic associations leads to a 67.4% increase in the probability of participating in the legal form. Unlike ethnic associational membership, the cross-ethnic variant has only a potentially positive impact on legal participation, as shown by a 10% level of statistical significance in the original data set but statistically insignificant in the imputed one. Further analysis shows that increasing the number of involved cross-ethnic associations from a minimum to a maximum level while holding other variables at their means brings about a 33.9% point increase in the probability of engaging in legal participation. Although this finding points to a facilitating role of the involvement in cross-ethnic associations (composed of less the Vietnamese) in the legal participation, it should be cautious about reaching a conclusive view on the effect of membership in cross-ethnic associations due to the low level of statistical significance. In both models, the results also show non-significant effects of involvement in co-ethnic associations on the manifest political participation, albeit positively.

Turning to informal networks, the effects of this dimension on manifest political engagement are exhibited most straightforwardly through the indicator of family support, which is in line with theoretical expectations. The impact patterns of this factor on formal and legal participation are virtually identical, with a negative statistical significance. As displayed in Figure 6 below, individuals who strongly rely on family relations to solve problems have an 8% lower probability of engaging in formal participation than individuals who do not. That same pattern of the difference for legal participation is 13.3%. Accordingly, this finding suggests that close ties with families are converted

Table 4

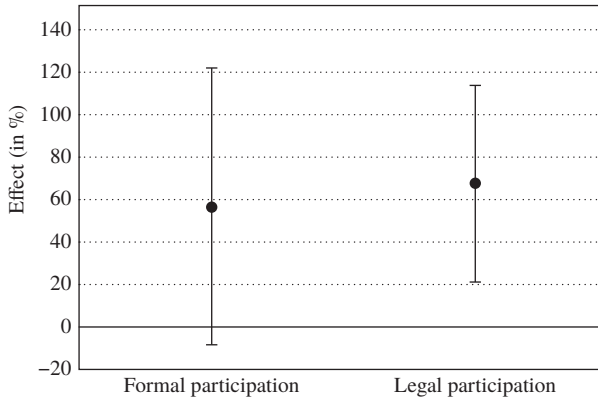
Effects of Social Capital on Manifest Engagement: Logistic Regression Estimates

Independent variables	Formal participation		Legal participation	
	Model 3		Model 4	
	(Original)	(Imputed)	(Original)	(Imputed)
Social capital variables: Formal networks				
Membership in co-ethnic associations	0.115 (0.568)	0.728 (0.493)	0.041 (0.443)	0.589 (0.397)
Membership in ethnic associations	0.219* (0.096)	0.160+ (0.089)	0.211* (0.090)	0.151+ (0.085)
Membership in cross-ethnic associations	0.101 (0.075)	0.033 (0.070)	0.108+ (0.062)	0.051 (0.058)
Social capital variables: Informal networks				
Daily interaction with the Vietnamese	0.167 (0.208)	0.158 (0.193)	0.135 (0.165)	0.071 (0.151)
Talking with neighbors (never talks)	With Vietnamese neighbors		0.772 (0.605)	
	With non-Vietnamese neighbors		0.724 (0.546)	
Family support	0.301 (0.625)	0.341 (0.593)	0.276 (0.472)	0.292 (0.437)
	-1.285* (0.536)	-1.340** (0.466)	-1.042* (0.428)	-1.162** (0.405)
Control variables: Social trust				
Generalized trust	0.041 (0.179)	0.020 (0.168)	0.081 (0.154)	0.050 (0.136)
Particularized trust	-0.028 (0.185)	-0.007 (0.175)	-0.074 (0.160)	0.043 (0.140)
Control variables: Migration-related variables				
Polish proficiency	0.790* (0.314)	0.558* (0.271)	0.562* (0.259)	0.399+ (0.222)
Migrant generation	-0.0128 (0.890)	-0.259 (0.874)	0.292 (0.747)	-0.115 (0.671)
Polish citizenship	0.635 (0.629)	0.514 (0.594)	0.874+ (0.523)	0.818+ (0.469)
Years living in Poland	0.036 (0.041)	0.037 (0.040)	0.039 (0.039)	0.031 (0.035)
Polish identity	-0.060 (0.281)	0.142 (0.257)	0.119 (0.233)	0.302 (0.209)
Control variables: Demographic variables				
Gender	-0.029 (0.478)	0.055 (0.463)	-0.204 (0.380)	0.023 (0.355)
Age (years)	0.016 (0.037)	0.003 (0.034)	-0.028 (0.033)	-0.037 (0.030)
Level of education	-1.476 (2.003)	0.665 (1.922)	1.298 (1.697)	2.366 (1.512)
Marital status	0.421 (0.679)	0.099 (0.595)	-0.148 (0.530)	-0.178 (0.462)
Religion (non-religious)	Buddhist		-0.928* (0.462)	
	Christian and others		-0.509 (0.385)	
Employment (unemployed)	Employed		-1.399* (0.634)	
	Self-employed		-0.671 (0.521)	
	-0.414 (0.642)	-0.326 (0.593)	1.058* (0.533)	0.973* (0.494)
	-0.493 (0.820)	-0.139 (0.766)	1.696* (0.702)	1.800** (0.625)
Constant	-5.131** (1.865)	-5.346** (1.717)	-4.583** (1.513)	-4.934*** (1.360)
Observations	278	347	278	347
Log likelihood	-74.141		-104.509	
McFadden R2	0.253		0.273	

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, + $p < 0.1$ (two-tailed tests)

Note: Main entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and the numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

Figure 5

Effects of Involvement in Ethnic Associations on Formal and Legal Political Participation

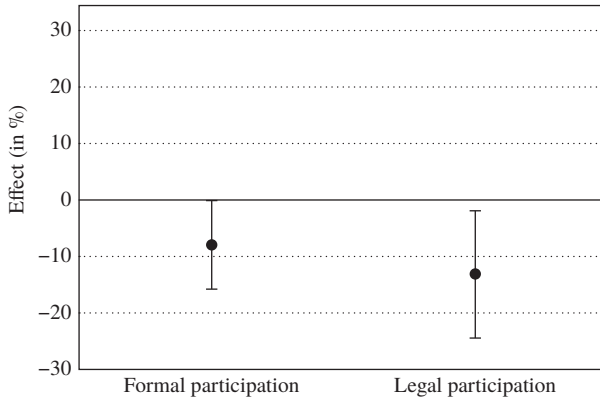
Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of binary outcome when the independent variable changes from minimum to maximum values, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

into strong bonding social capital, reducing the willingness to participate in manifest political engagement among the Vietnamese immigrants in Poland. For other indicators, talking with neighbors only affects formal participation with a low level of statistical significance. Specifically, individuals who talk more frequently with Vietnamese neighbors tend to engage more in formal participation than those who never talk with their neighbors. This difference is only statistically significant at the 10% level in the original data set. In addition, there is no difference in the degree of participation in the formal form of manifest engagement between individuals who mostly talk with non-Vietnamese neighbors and those who never talk. Daily interaction with the Vietnamese is shown to have no significant impact on both forms yet positively.

The Effect of Control Variables on Political Engagement

It is evident in [Tables 2](#) and [3](#) that social trust in both forms appears as an insignificant predictor of political engagement, except for the potential positive impact of generalized trust at a 10% level on political discussion in the imputed data set. Besides, it should be acknowledged that migration-related factors are significant drivers of latent rather than manifest engagement. Polish proficiency emerges as the most important predictor of both components, significantly facilitating latent and manifest engagement. Polish-naturalized individuals are found to be less likely to engage in latent engagement but more active in performing manifest engagement than those without Polish citizenship. Furthermore, the findings show that more years living in Poland is solely transferable into involvement in latent political engagement. In both components of political engagement, the results show no statistically significant difference between the 1.5 and second-generation migrant individuals and the first-generation group in the degree of political involvement. Finally, the effects of Polish identity on both political engagement components are unclear. This factor

Figure 6

Effects of Close Ties with Families on Formal and Legal Political Participation

Notes: The figure displays changes in the probability of binary outcome when the independent variable changes from “0”—relying on family ties to “1”—not relying on family ties, with all other variables held at their mean. The estimates are based on original data. The dot indicates the value of the mean, and the bars mark the 95 percent confidence interval of the mean.

only significantly and positively affects political interest and discussion in the imputed data set at the 10% level, and it stays irrelevant to manifest engagement.

Considering the effects of demographic variables, the findings indicate that the political engagement of the Vietnamese is not explained by gender, age, and marital status. Meanwhile, the education level strongly fosters latent engagement but remaining no effects on manifest engagement. For religion, the findings imply a less favorable source constituted by religious beliefs for engagement in host politics when religious believers are less likely to participate in the political sphere than atheistic individuals in general. Finally, the finding indicates that employed individuals, be they self-employed or by other agencies, have more propensity for engaging in both components of political engagement (notably political discussion and legal form) than unemployed ones.

Interpretation of the Role of Social Capital in Political Engagement of the Vietnamese in Polish Society: Further Insight from Qualitative Data

Thus far, quantitative evidence of the effects of involvement in social networks on the political engagement of the Vietnamese in Poland has been presented. This section utilizes qualitative data to provide more insight into the mechanism of the effects portrayed by the quantitative findings. First, the quantitative results found very weak evidence for the impact of involvement in fellow-countrymen (co-ethnic) organizations on political engagement. Although the strong bonding social capital from co-ethnic association membership is theoretically expected to generate resources enabling the Vietnamese to favor homeland-related issues and discount the host politics, the empirical analysis yields weak evidence for this reasoning. In addition, this associational membership has also insignificant impacts on manifest political engagement. The empirical result, thus, does not entirely support

the initial assumption on the relationship between involvement in co-ethnic associations and migrant political engagement. This finding is broadly in line with what Giugni and colleagues (2014) found that membership in associations advocating for people of the same national or ethnic background has no significant effect on migrant political participation. Second, membership in ethnic associations is the most straightforwardly relevant to Vietnamese immigrants' political engagement in Polish society. Bonding social capital generated through the embedment in these associations is expected to result in engagement in ethnic-related social and political issues, meanwhile impeding political participation in the host society. However, this theoretical assumption is not upheld by empirical evidence. The result shows that ethnic associational membership crucially facilitates all kinds of political participation of the Vietnamese, particularly latent political engagement. This outcome is different from those reported by other scholars working on this topic (Berger et al. 2004; Morales & Pilati 2011), where ethnic membership is found to foster ethnic-related political engagement while reducing political involvement in the receiving country.

The above findings raise the question of why membership in co-ethnic and ethnic associations has different impacts on Vietnamese immigrants' political engagement while both jointly capture the notion of associational bonding social capital. A possible explanation for this might lie in the distinct nature between these two types of associations. As documented in the literature, co-ethnic associations identified as fellow-countrymen groups are alleged members of the Association of Vietnamese in Poland, one of the "official" organizations of the Vietnamese closely connected to Vietnamese authorities through the role of the embassy institution. This kind of association mainly aims to gather and promote solidarity among Vietnamese nationals and enhance the sense of Vietnamese embedment. Although joining such ethnic associations is primarily based on the voluntary will of individuals, its activities are not characterized by the autonomous consensus among members, yet politically mobilized due to being primarily entangled with the politics of the Vietnamese state (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2019). Resources from this kind of association favoring host political engagement, such as civic skills, a sense of political efficacy, and political knowledge, are thus limited. Consequently, membership in such compatriot organizations is more likely to inhibit the political integration of the Vietnamese in Poland. Qualitative data prove this reasoning. A male interviewee below pointed out that political information or knowledge relevant to Polish politics is not accumulated through involvement in those groups due to the aim of building a strong cohesion within the community and orienting to Vietnam through implementing homeland-related activities.

I think these Vietnamese associations (referring to "official" Vietnamese associations) have not brought resources for Vietnamese people's political participation in Poland. Because these associations mainly aim to connect people to preserve Vietnamese culture rather than facilitate integration. Most fellow-country associations have the primary goal of building cohesion within the community and keeping a solid connection to Vietnam. (Nam, man, 27 years old)

Unlike co-ethnic membership, involvement in ethnic associations produces a different bonding social capital that does not constrain the attachment of the Vietnamese within only the community because it provides more channels to the mainstream society through its autonomous activities, benefiting the accumulation of favorable resources for integration such as relevant policies or information, as reported by an interviewee below:

Participating in the Vietnamese scientific association enables me to access Polish policy, a resource for my integration. I also take part in the association of Vietnamese parents (who have children in Polish schools) in Poland, which gives me not only information regarding children's studies but also information about contemporary Polish politics. So I think I am prepared with information for the integration. (Phước, man, 41 years old)

The presence of these relatively autonomous associations reflects the evolution of the associational life of the Vietnamese as a result of embeddedness in the pluralistic liberal democracy of Poland. Besides the emergence of Vietnamese pro-democratic groups advocating for democracy (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2019), qualitative data reveal that several Vietnamese groups based on voluntary principles emerged to connect people who share the same interests, such as sports, art, culture-related groups, professional groups, charity groups, religious groups, environmental associations. This finding reflects the analogous evolution of associational life in the homeland, where voluntary participation, the foundation of civil society, has been increasingly preferred in Vietnamese society (An & Phuong 2021). Qualitative data reveal that these associations are more or less independent of "official" Vietnamese organizations. A striking example is the appearance of voluntary groups doing charitable activities to support Polish doctors and nurses during the pandemic, which preferred and attracted many Vietnamese people to contribute substantial materials. This associational involvement is perceived as a responsibility to the second homeland, crucially facilitating political participation through developing a sense of belonging to Polish society.

In general, involvement in this type of ethnic association boosts the political engagement of the Vietnamese by generating favorable resources for political activism and a sense of political efficiency. It provides more channels to connect the Vietnamese to the host society, allowing transmitting political knowledge and information relevant to the receiving country, owing to psychological and cultural comfortability and communicative understanding. In this regard, the consistency between this finding and those from previous studies where ethnic associational membership enhances migrant political involvement in the host country (Giugni et al. 2014) is understandable. This analysis suggests that bonding social capital from associational involvement plays a vital role in the political engagement of Vietnamese in Poland, but based on the "degree of autonomy" from the sending state rather than an ethnic cleavage.

Third, the quantitative analysis found very weak evidence for the facilitating role of cross-ethnic associations in political engagement as the theoretical expectation. This associational involvement has no significant impact on latent engagement while only potentially fostering legal participation in the manifest form. Although this finding does not entirely support the theoretical assumption, this potential effect upholds the insight from previous studies where bridging ties from associational involvement tend to support informal participation (protesting activities) rather than formal forms (voting) (Nguyen Long 2016). In addition, as presented through the narrative of a male interviewee below, the qualitative finding also uncovers the mechanism that membership in cross-ethnic associations enhances migrant political engagement by exchanging politically relevant information among members (Giugni et al. 2014). Overall, although quantitative finding suggests that cross-ethnic associational membership produces bridging social capital that is not convertible into beneficial resources for enhancing individuals' political engagement,

this kind of membership would play a potential role in the process of political integration of the Vietnamese in Polish society.

For Vietnamese people, it is very delicate when it comes to political issues, and no one dares to talk about it. However, foreigners like my friends in the charitable group that I am a member of say it is very normal. They like talking to me to see my Vietnamese perspective. (Hùng, man, 43 years old)

In addition to formal networks, this study shows that informal social networks are crucial in explaining Vietnamese immigrants' political engagement in Polish society. The most relevant aspect is the close ties with families when this factor significantly reduces the willingness to engage in all political forms. It supports the theoretical expectation that the density of close ties impedes migrant political engagement and suggests the hindrance of bonding social capital generated by the dense interaction with families to the Vietnamese's political engagement. This result may be attributed to the prevalence of collective and Confucian values in most Vietnamese families in Poland, which allegedly discourage political activism. It can be seen as a result of the phenomenon that Vietnamese parents, primarily first-generation immigrants, are trying to impart Vietnamese traditional cultural elements to their children to preserve Vietnamese traditions (Huu 2021). Moreover, it also comes from the situation in which Vietnamese parents try to impose future orientation on children, resulting in the detachment of Vietnamese children from being involved in social and political issues in Polish society, as a male interviewee clarified below.

There are many Vietnamese families where parents expect their children to focus on studies to study abroad in the United States or the United Kingdom. Then, they are advised to settle in those countries to look for good jobs. Thus, those children are not oriented to stay in Poland and are less interested in issues related to politics and society in Poland. (Hùng, man, 43 years old)

Another factor of informal networks, namely frequent contact with the Vietnamese in daily interaction, is found to significantly impact political engagement by fostering political discussion. This result contradicts the theoretical assumption of the relationship between informal networks and political engagement. As disclosed by the qualitative finding narrated by a male interviewee below, the Vietnamese could take full advantage of informal ethnic networks to mobilize their co-ethnic peers to vote. In this regard, daily interaction with co-ethnics in participation in elections among the Vietnamese seems to contradict the previous research, where higher contacts with co-ethnic networks decrease the propensity for casting ballots in elections (Kim 2017).

In some elections, we, who knew each other, texted each other to mobilize votes for our favorite candidates. The number of people who know each other is very small. Those are people who are related to everything. So everyone called each other to incite each other to vote for this guy or that guy. Everyone would participate in the election and see which candidates are more suitable. (Cánh, man, 55 years old)

Furthermore, this study does not find quantitative evidence supporting the theoretical expectation regarding the facilitating role of informal contact with native individuals in the political engagement of Vietnamese immigrants. This finding might be attributed to the fact that not all interactions with native people qualified enough in size and density to produce bridging social capital favoring political engagement. On the one hand, a few participants claimed that their political views were substantially shifted due to the regular contact with

Polish friends, where they were provided political information and knowledge that differed from what they were imparted in the homeland. On the other hand, a number of other informants recognized that their contact with native people does not operate in the way resources for political participation are generated. The finding suggests that bonding rather than bridging social capital accumulated through daily contact matters for the Vietnamese to engage in the political sphere in Polish society.

Conclusion

This study aimed to fill the gap in the research of the Vietnamese community in Poland, which raises the issue of the political integration of the migrant group to a very small extent, focusing on the impacts of social networks on the migrant group's political integration in Polish society. The study revealed that bridging social capital generated from membership in cross-ethnic associations does not significantly shape the Vietnamese's political engagement in the host country, whereas bonding social capital from ethnic and co-ethnic involvement does diversely. While bonding social capital generated from participation in ethnic associations facilitates the political engagement of the migrant group, one from membership in co-ethnic associations potentially reduces the host political participation of the migrant group in the latent form. Like formal social networks, bonding rather than bridging social capital accumulated through informal networks is significant to the Vietnamese's political engagement in the host country. The close ties with families were demonstrated as an impediment to all forms of political involvement. Meanwhile, daily interaction with the Vietnamese and talking with Vietnamese neighbors benefited political engagement.

This study helps advance knowledge of the Vietnamese community by providing significant insight into the migrant group's political functioning in Polish society. It sheds more light on how the political integration of the migrant group is driven by social capital generated through embeddedness in social networks. The effects of social capital on political integration vary across types of social networks and forms of political engagement of the Vietnamese. Furthermore, bonding rather than bridging social capital from social networks is a prominent driver of their political engagement in the host country.

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