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越南外籍配偶的母職挑戰與協商策略

Challenges and Negotiations of Being A Good Mother of
Vietnamese Women in Taiwan

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摘要

外籍配偶通常比本籍配偶更容易受到歧視。她們被以「外星人的子宮(alien wombs)」或「不適任的母親(unfit mothers)」當作生產機器來羞辱，甚至影響到新住民與其子女的關係。然而，從 20 世紀末開始，它被當作是爭取女性平等的訴求之一。透過深入訪談 16 名嫁來台灣的越南籍母親，並以女權主義觀點切入，其研究顯示：在不幸的婚姻中，母愛有利於用來擴展親密關係。這項研究發現，為了成為一個好的母親，越南籍配偶勇於嘗試在家庭成員之間建立一個和諧的家庭，通過對家庭和社會的付出，來改善人們對於越南籍配偶的不良刻板印象。最終，孩子們的信任與希望是越南籍配偶最大的榮耀。此研究結論為建立良好的親密關係可作為一種方法，透過母愛來達到性別平等，並獲得本地人對外籍配偶認可。

關鍵字：越南婚移女性、母職實踐、污名協商、親密關係



ABSTRACT

Immigrant women often encounter with more difficulties in mothering than local women. Stigmatization on their mothering as “alien wombs” or “unfit mothers” for reproductive role and it influences to next generation of biracial child. Intimacy, however, it is utilized as one of many strategies for the purpose of obtaining equality for women from the late 20th century. Drawing upon in-depth interviews with 16 Vietnamese immigrant mothers, feminist perspectives in research of mothering are used to extend how intimacy existing within an unhappy marriage. This research found that to become a good mother, Vietnamese immigrant women try to build up a harmonious family among family members, change bad notions about image of Vietnamese immigrant women through good deeds for family and society. Finally, the trust and hope in the children who will help them to change in a wider range of honor of Vietnamese immigrant women. This research concludes the intimacy can be used as a strategy for getting gender equality in mothering through improving ethnic identity in the host country.

Keywords: Vietnamese immigrant women, mothering, social stigmas negotiation, intimacy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
摘要	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Process of immigration to mothering from Vietnamese brides	2
1.2 Research purpose	4
1.3 Research question	4
1.4 Structure of this thesis	4
Chapter 2 Literature Review.....	6
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Position statements	7
2.2.1 Core thoughts of feminist theories	7
2.2.2 Feminist standpoint on mothering.....	9
2.3 Key concepts.....	11
2.3.1 Challenges in mothering of immigrant women in transnational families 11	
2.3.2 Negotiation in intimate-contradictory (mothering) practices.....	19
2.3.3 Identity of being a mother	25
2.4 Conclusion	31
Chapter 3 Methodology	32
3.1 Introduction	33
3.2 Research methods	33
3.3 Pilot interviews & fieldwork	34
3.4 Ethnographic fieldwork challenges	36
3.5 Transcriptions and data analyses	37

3.6	Conclusion.....	37
Chapter 4 Results.....		41
4.1	Introduction	42
4.2	Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about mothering values.....	43
4.2.1	Children create a responsible mother	43
4.2.2	Mother is a teacher of moral discipline for children	44
4.3	Vietnamese mothers' challenges in mothering to become a good mother	46
4.3.1	Unhappy marriages from Taiwan dreams	46
4.3.2	Stigmas and discrimination from society	51
4.3.3	Language barriers.....	55
4.4	Vietnamese mothers' negotiation in mothering to become a good mother.....	58
4.4.1	The cultivation of intimate relationship for family members	60
4.4.2	The confrontation to social stigmas	66
4.4.3	Transnational identities for children	72
4.4.4	The preservation of a harmonious family for children's growth	75
4.5	Conclusion.....	79
Chapter 5 Discussion.....		80
Chapter 6 Conclusion		85
6.1	What has this thesis explained?.....	86
6.2	Limitations.....	87
6.3	Future research direction	88
REFERENCES		90
APPENDIX		96

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 The average age of Vietnamese immigrant women	12
Table 2 Demographics.....	39
Table 3 Major themes by Sample (N=16)	96



Chapter 1

Introduction

-
- 1.1 Process of immigration to mothering for Vietnamese brides
 - 1.2 Research purpose
 - 1.3 Research question
 - 1.4 Structure of the thesis
-



1.1 Process of immigration to mothering from Vietnamese brides

Since the early 1980s, some veterans and other men in Taiwan have had difficulty finding brides. Because of globalization, these men had an opportunity to find foreign brides from other countries through marriage brokers (Kuo & Hsu, 2010). Until 1993, with the policy “Pushing South” for promoting cultural and economic exchange from the Taiwan government, there are a lot of Taiwanese traders have come to Southeast Asia to make purchases and that includes marrying with foreign brides in this area (Hsia, 2004). As a result, over the past 15 years, the number of newly arrived immigrant women to Taiwan has increased, already surpassing 440,000 people (National Immigration Agency, 2011). For the past two decades, there are more and more foreign women from Southeast Asian countries, such as Indonesia, Vietnam, and Thailand, marrying Taiwanese men, and they are commonly called “foreign spouses”, “new immigrants” or “foreign brides” (Hsia, 2009; Wang, 2007). Especially, the number of Vietnamese immigrant brides have the highest proportion, about 61% (Ministry of Interior, 2003). They are often called “Vietnamese brides” or “Vietnamese female immigrants”. As Wang (2007) reported, these Vietnamese immigrant brides have a certain influence on the cultural structure in Taiwan. In 2005, transnational marriages accounted for one in every five marriages, and children of foreign brides accounted for 12.88% of births (Chin & Yu, 2009; Government Information Office of Taiwan, 2010). Until now, the number of children of Vietnamese brides have increased, and thus has lead to a much more a multi-cultural country than Taiwan was with the traditional society in the old days (Liao & Wang, 2013).

Following the traditional Chinese culture, every woman should have three obediences that indicate the situation of a Chinese woman: deference to her father before marriage, to her husband when married, and to her son when her husband died (Wang, 2007). Thus, the image of women places them in a subordinate position to men and they have lesser rights than men in the patriarchal society. Traditionally, it was expected that women must stay at home, take care of her husband’s family members, and give at least a son for continuing the husband’s lineage (Xoan, 2005). For example, one male informant in Wang’s research (2007) said that he did not want to marry a beautiful wife, he only expected a wife who could take care of the family and to give birth to a baby. Taiwanese women are expected to take the role of housekeeper or caregiver and men to take the role of heads of family. Women often willingly accept control and dependence on men. However, Taiwan has a changing structure

of society - Taiwanese modern women are no longer as similar to women in traditional society. Women in Taiwan have more opportunities to access higher education and careers, which allow them to become more independent and more able to provide financial stability for themselves. They are no longer to be subordinated to men, they can take the role as heads of family by themselves. With Taiwanese women having a higher position in society like this, it is very difficult for Taiwanese men with low education and low socio-economic status (who are also sometimes physically or mentally handicapped) to find a traditional wife (Hsieh & Wang, 2004). Regarding Taiwanese tradition, men are responsible for the continuance of their race, so they must get married and have a son to continue the family bloodline (Wang, 2007). Going to undeveloped countries to get married to Vietnamese brides who have low education and socio-economic status is one of the ways to solve this problem while marrying Taiwanese women has become more and more difficult (Wang, 2007).

Beside that traditional ideology with just staying at home for caring family and having at least a son, immigrant women have encountered many challenges at destination. Vietnamese immigrant women have faced “Taiwan disillusionment” because some were treated as slaves by their husbands’ relatives, some were sold to brothels by their husbands or became victims of domestic violence (Thi & Hugo, 2005). Or language gaps not only hamper women’s relationship with her husband and family (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013) but also make difficulties in raising up and sharing cultural values of their country to children (Lin & Hung, 2007). Moreover, the stigmatization for immigrant women’s condition are mentioned as “alien wombs” or “unfit mothers” who could not do reproductive duty (Lan, 2008:842). On the media, Vietnamese immigrant women’s image labeled for “run away” who make broken families and influences the traditional family structure (Hsia, 2007) or negative impacts on their children’s education because they “have education much lower than average Taiwanese” which lead to endanger society and influence population quality (the report of China Times 11 December 1991, as cited by Hsia, 2007) which influence seriously to mother of these women.

For the reasons mentioned above, I conducted this thesis in order to explore challenges encountered by Vietnamese immigrant women in the process of mothering and how they negotiate and maneuver these challenges. This research inherits and extends from existing

studies on the mothering experiences of immigrant women, specifically those of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan.

1.2 Research purpose

The purpose of this research is to increase understanding and encourage further research about mothering experiences of immigrant women from SouthEast Asia, particularly focusing on the group of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan. In this reseach, I explore how Vietnamese immigrant women neogotiate with challenges of mothering in Taiwain, especially social stigmas has long been labeled on Vietnamese immigrant women. From that, the research gives the strong voice for women experience and are changed through mothering.

1.3 Research question

Following are three research questions about the challenges and negotiation of mothering with Vietnamese women:

1. What are Vietnamese immigrant women's thought about mothering values?
2. What challenges are Vietnamese immigrant women facing in mothering to be a good mother?
3. How do Vietnamese immigrant women negotiate mothering practices in order to be a good mother?

1.4 Structure of this thesis

This thesis endeavours to provide a more accurate view of the image of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan, especially for strategies to be a good mother through intimacy. To clarify this, this thesis focuses on addressing the issues which raised by the three main research questions above. Accordingly, Vietnamese immigrant women's negotiation with challenges in mothering which is considered in term of gender dimension. I agrue that, the use of intimacy is seen as a tool to help enhance strength for Vietnam immigration mother to regain the gender equality and the elimination of racism in Taiwan.

Chapter 2, **Literature review** critically examines the existing studies about challenges in mothering of immigrant women in transnational families and their negotiation with challenges in mothering practices. Moreover, intimacy and identity are analysed as strategies to become a good mother. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide my analytical framework, which illustrates the usefulness of using intimacy in dealing with issues related to relationships among family members. In addition, the maintenance of ethnic identity of

Vietnamese immigrant women also helps for negotiation to become a good mother in the contemporary societies.

Chapter 3, **Methodology** documents the trajectory of my research and the method is used to collect data. This chapter refers to my academic and fieldwork experience. From there, it shows the advances in both theoretical and practical aspects which gain from practical experience. At the same time, it also clarifies the data processing and reliability of the data

Chapter 4, **Results** shows the consequence from the fieldwork and answers three main questions from the research. The results show that Vietnamese immigrant women encounter with major challenges in mothering, including: unhappy marriages, stigmas and discrimination, and language barriers. In particular, the intimacy factor is featured by immigrant Vietnamese women in addressing all difficulties in mothering.

Chapter 5, **Discussion** indicates new points drawn from previous studies and from the results in chapter 4. This chapter also once again highlights intimacy in relation to genders, classes, generations and races.

Chapter 6, **Conclusion** provides an overview of my research by giving the contributions to existing studies. This is followed by a critical examination of the limitations of my research. Reflecting upon my own research, there are two future research directions are suggested: first, researching about Vietnamese cuisine from Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan – it is relevant to sociology of food (Fischler, 1988); second, researching bi-racial children come to Vietnam for university education or learning Vietnamese.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Position statement

2.2.1 Core thoughts of feminist theories

2.2.2 Feminist standpoint on mothering

2.3 Key concepts

2.3.1 Challenges in mothering of immigrant women in transnational families

Lacking of supports from husband's family

Language barriers

Stigma & discrimination

Cultural conflict

Gender ideology

2.3.2 Negotiation in intimate-contradictory (mothering) practices

Intimacy and intimacy in parenting

Child-bearing and working

Child care and paid work

Language retention in transnational identities

Keeping intimate relationship between mothers and children

2.3.3 Identity of being a mother

Transnational mothers' experiences in becoming a good mother

Norms to be a good mother in Taiwan

2.4 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the feminist standpoint on mothering and existing studies of mothering/motherhood will be provided. Through it, I hope to map out an analytical framework which is suitable to my own research. This chapter will be divided into four sections: (i) core thoughts of feminist theories and feminist standpoint on mothering, (ii) challenges in mothering of immigrant women in transnational families, (iii) intimacy connects to negotiation in mothering practices, and (iv) identity of being a mother. At the beginning of the literature review, (i) I will give the understanding of feminist theory under three levels: theory, practice and profession. After that, feminist application to research about mothering. The discussion of genders, classes, generations, ethnicities and races contributes a critical framework for my research in the sense that they illustrate the importance of applying feminist on mothering.

In the second part of the literature review, (ii) I will focus about challenges of mothering from immigrant women. Through this, we will see a comprehensive picture of the difficulties of minority women in a country or when immigrating to another country. In this part, there are five big challenges are showed: lacking of supports from husband's family, language barriers, stigma and discrimination, cultural conflict and gender ideology.

In the third part of the literature review, (iii) I will discuss about the negotiation with challenges in mothering practices in which intimacy plays an important role in the resolution of conflicts in mothering. At the same time, the expectation of transnational identities of migrant mothers in transnational families is also mentioned in the form of intimate relationships as a strategy to become a good mother.

The last part of my literature review focuses upon identity of being a mother in which transnational mothers' experiences in becoming a good mother are provided. Actually, definition of "good mother" does not necessarily include all child-related activities (Lawler, 2000), it may be relevant to other relationships and in this section will indicate those relationships. In what follows, I shall begin with the understanding of feminist theory and feminist application to research about mothering

2.2 Position statements

2.2.1 Core thoughts of feminist theories

Unlike other theories, the feminist theoretical foundation does not originate from a single theoretical formula. No theorists (Karl Marx, Gandhi or Susan Bordo, etc.) define

feminist theories for all time. That being true, there is no specific theoretical definition of feminist theory which is suitable for every women of each epoch. The definition, therefore, can and is always changing because feminism is based on concrete facts and levels of culture, the history of consciousness, perceptions, and actions. Thus, it could be said that the feminist theory that was used in the 1990s will be different from feminist theory that was used for the first time in the 18th century.

Kamla Bhasin (2000) defined feminist theory as the perception of patriarchal domination, exploitation, and oppression at the material and ideological levels of labor, reproduction, and sexuality of women in the family, work place, and in society in general; and part of the theory is the conscious action of women and men that change that situation. Following this definition, regardless of who (male or female) recognizes the existence of discrimination based on sex, male domination and patriarchy, and those who take action against it, are called feminist. In doing so, theorists do not identify solely with women, but it is a term that is used by those who avocate for male and female equality.

Referring to feminist theory, it could be understood from the following levels:

Theoretically, feminism is a term referring to “the doctrine of fighting for equality between men and women”; this was formed in eighteenth century and then developed with many different schools, such as liberal feminism, cultural feminism, radical feminism, marxist and socialist feminism, eco-feminism, etc. These different doctrines are a part of feminism.

Practically, the feminist movement’s initial target was to fight for women’s rights in the sphere of politics (the right to vote as men) and economy (equal pay as men). The development of the feminist movement has gone through different stages. The feminist movement is now in the third wave with a variety of fighting goals: protecting the dignity and honor of women (against sexual abuse and sexual harassment in the workplace), demanding men's faithfulness (only women must be faithful, but men may commit adultery), and decrying violence against women and girls. Moreover, the feminist movement also extends its struggle for human rights, environmental protection, anti-war, sustainable development, etc.

Professionally, there are those who are called feminists, who fight for the goal of equality between men and women (or gender equality). At a different level, some are more or

less influenced by feminist perspectives who behave according to feminist ideologies and may support and participate in the feminist movement to varying degrees.

Sociologists define social movements as groups of actions that support or fight against social change. Movements often emerge because of the awareness of the members about injustices or wishing changes to modify the injustice which they have encountered. Social movements are related to the sustainability of organized groups, and they usually include a network of organizations; although they may have goals or other members, they have a similar understanding about what belongs to the movement. Sociologists studying social movements also try to distinguish social conditions that promote the development of that movement (Kolmar & Bartkowski, 2000). In the case of contemporary feminist movement, the development of feminism can be seen coming from the development of the women's movement in nineteenth century.

A feminist framework considers gender inequality under the lens of the crux of social life. Feminists believe that via history and most societies, men have the greater power and have subordinated women so as to benefit themselves. Feminist theory builds the core thoughts of feminism through trying to understand the reasons behind gender inequality in societies and history's human development. Actually, there is not a unified ideology of feminist theory but feminists recognize gender difference is crucial in social change and women need to be empowered apropos men (Palkovitz, Trask & Adamsons, 2014). In the next part, I would like to argue why I choose feminist theory for my own research and the theoretical standpoint in research about mothering of Vietnamese women groups in Taiwan society.

2.2.2 Feminist standpoint on mothering

The core thought of feminist theory provides a solid foundation for my argument to research on mothering of immigrant women in general and Vietnamese women in particular. Gender, class, family background, sexual orientation, or growing ethnic and racial diversity all impact one's individual awareness of life and experiences (Thomlison, 2015; Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Palkovitz, Trask & Adamsons, 2014).

Mothering. The mothering of women in the nuclear family of a contemporary capitalist society creates specific personality characteristics in men that reproduce both an ideology and psychodynamic of male superiority and submission to the requirement of production (Chodorow, 1978). It means that the women provide a dominant position for men in family

and society, but this inadvertently causes men to have lesser emotional involvement in the family life as well as in the capitalist world of work. In family ideology, fathers often keep the crucial position and are considered the breadwinner of family. Wives often keep the subordinated position and depend on men (Chodorow, 1978; Chen, 2010; Choo, 2017; Dreby, 2006; Hoang, 2016; Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Moon, 2003). Take an example, in research about mothering from a distance of Filipino mothers, the author shows that transnational households in the Philippines are considered abnormal and even called “broken homes”. Many Filipino mothers broke down the traditional division of labor, left their husband at home to take the responsibility of *socially* reproducing the family. It is clear that many Filipino families are now considered “abnormal” or “broken” because the nuclear family model is changed and doesn’t fit any more (Parreñas, 2001).

Masculinity in society. Traditionally, wives often act as caregivers, while husbands act as financial providers for the family. In doing so, wives spend more time taking care of children than husbands do who must go out to work and bring money back home. Logically, children will have more intimacy with their mothers than with their fathers, but femininity is less considerable for effecting to sons. In traditional families, however, masculinity is always highlighted through generations which is presented to husbands/sons, but less available and reachable than femininity presented by the mothers. Although the period of early care-taking and socialization is by mothers for children because of the father's absent involvement in the childcare, the superiority of masculinity to femininity is imposed on the sons (Chodorow, 1978). In modern society, I argue that femininity is recognized beside that being a part of masculinity. Gender ideology in division of labor has been interchanged in transnational/intergenerational families. Migrated women in the receiving country work as financial supporters for family members of the natal country (Parreñas, 2001; Hoang, 2016); or women get married to foreigners who take on many different social roles in the husband’s country (Buriel & De Ment, 1997; Moon, 2003; Wang, 2007; Hsieh, Shelley & Wang, 2008; Lin & Hung, 2007; Tang & Wang, 2011; Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014).

Mothering and social responsibilities as mothers, wives and breadwinners. In all societies, families contribute a lot of time and money to social reproduction, which is the production and maintenance of 'human capital' (Folbre, 1991). The unequal distribution of income and the division of labor in a family means that women bear a disproportionate burden of the cost of reproduction. Some studies of single mothers point out that the lack

of women's resources (poor education, for example), contributes to the increase in child mortality, delinquency, and the decrease for educational and life opportunities of the children. The case of male job opportunities and wages are also declining. More and more men find that they cannot support their families and this marriage leaks their resources. Even among middle-class families, it is clear that some men are using greater family bargaining power to negotiate reallocation of responsibilities so that women have a greater role in parenting costs and welfare. This means that, when women can earn an income, they may find that they are forced to pay for running the family while the husband retains his income for other purposes (Dwyer & Bruce, 1988). The roles and expectations in the division of labor in the family are forced to change, as women make more money while their partners are unemployed. The definition of a 'good wife' and a 'good husband' is changing, and as a result the personal relationship of the man is under great pressure. The forms and structures of families and households are responding to these changes in several ways (Silva, 1996).

2.3 Key concepts

2.3.1 Challenges in mothering of immigrant women in transnational families

People often have the viewpoint that immigration abroad ensure a better life than in one's natal country. A typical example is the "American Dream" that is a concept from the famous book, *Epic of America* (1931) by writer and historian - James Truslow Adams. Having stepped foot in America, it means that you obtained the life of the dream which people all over the world want to have. But it is only partially true in the case of immigrant women to Taiwan.

Lacking of support from husband's family

Foreign brides coming to Taiwan for the first time are faced with the unfamiliarities of a new country. They are more vulnerable in the first few years of their arrival in Taiwan when they have not yet established their social networks, as well as a new life in the husband's family (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013). In addition, they lack of support from husband's family. Following Xoan (2005), almost all immigrant women coming to Taiwan are young:

Table 1 The average age of Vietnamese immigrant women

Age	Percent
15-17	0.3
18-22	70.5
23-29	26.0
30+	3.2

(Source: *Marriage migration between Vietnam and Taiwan: a view from Vietnam, 2005*)

The statistics pointed out that over 70 percent were aged less than 22, and 26 percent were aged from 23 – 29. This contrasts with some other marriage migration streams such as that of Filipino women who marry Australian men where the women are often older and have frequently been married previously and have children by that first marriage (Xoan, 2005). This is not the case for the Vietnamese women moving to Taiwan, almost all of whom had never been married before. At such a young age, these immigrant women lack the mothering skills and they have no one to ask for guidance on how to care for themselves and their baby when they are pregnant and bearing children. There is a Vietnamese young woman who said that she was just 19 years old and had never had baby before. She did not know how to take care of a child and no one in her husband’s family gave her a hand, and even the husband beat her (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013). In the other research regarding breastfeeding of immigrant wives by Chen, Tai, Chu, Han, Lin & Chien (2010), it showed that the mother-in-law did not encourage breastfeeding for their foreign daughters-in-law and supported her less in her household activities. These immigrant women left their natal family and society and came to Taiwan lonely. In a short time, they faced not only culture shock, but also pregnancy, and having to raise children without the support of the husband’s family (Lin & Hung, 2007). Their responsibility was both to mother and to take care of the family members. They only stayed at home, cared for the children and did housework. Another Vietnamese informant complained that her father-in-law said that he prohibited her from going out to work, and that she should stay at home to take care of the children (Wang, 2007). It is indeed a big challenge for them with the daunting role of being a daughter-in-law from another culture.

Language barriers

Language is the key to connect people around the world. However, immigrant women to Taiwan, in their initial arrival to Taiwan, meet with a big problem with communicating to locals. Almost all immigrant women can not converse fluently with their husband at least in early stages of coming to Taiwan because they don't speak Mandarin and their husbands don't speak Vietnamese (Xoan, 2005). Language barriers not only hamper women's relationships with her husband and his family but also make difficulties in raising up children. Although immigrant women can learn the Chinese language quickly, and usually can speak basic Chinese within a year of their arrival, most of them would have become pregnant by this time and, after they have had their baby, they would be required by the husband's family to stay at home to take care of the baby, and therefore speaking Chinese to the children is a challenge (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

Then, if immigrant young women have any problems in mothering, they are not able to understand all that the mother-in-law/spouses said to them. Moreover, their children can not speak Vietnamese, which is the barrier for them to transmit the cultural values of their country. The difficulties in life adaptation for those Vietnamese women are predictable, especially because of the language barriers (Lin & Hung, 2007). Mandarin language classes are available in Taiwan, but some immigrant women said that their husband did not allow them to go these classes. As Eyton (2003) points out, "Surveys show that most of them are quite willing to learn Mandarin, the problem is their husbands are often unwilling to pay for them to go to school to do so" (Xoan, 2005). Because Taiwanese husbands think that if their immigrant wives come to class and meet other immigrant women, they will learn bad things from each other and gradually disobey their husbands (Wang, 2007). By doing so, the language barrier reinforces the traditional patriarchy mode in oriental societies in which women are always subordinate to men (Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013).

Stigma & discrimination

There are many definitions of stigma (Stafford & Scott, 1986) and in each discipline there will be separate definitions of stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001). The origin of the term stigma comes from Goffman, who defined stigma as "attribute that is deeply discrediting" and that reduces the reputation "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 1963:3). In an understandable way, stigma refers to attitudes and beliefs

that lead people to reject, avoid, or fear those they perceive as being different. While stigma is attitudes or beliefs, discrimination is behavioral departing from those attitudes or beliefs. Discrimination occurs when individuals or organizations illegally deprive of other rights and life opportunities due to stigma. Discrimination can lead to exclusion or marginalization of people and deprive them of their citizenship, such as access to fair housing choices, employment opportunities, education and full participation of civic life (Stafford & Scott, 1986).

In Taiwan, the reproductive activities of migrant women are not considered a fulfillment of patriotic duty but a potential threat to the nation. Because they are considered as “alien wombs” or “unfit mothers” who could not do national reproductive duty biologically and culturally (Lan, 2008:842). Typically, In April 2006, as the result of Agent Orange was used in Vietnam War, Legislator Lao Ben-Yen was a party who support for a strong ideology of Taiwanese nationalism suggested that government of Taiwan must have medical checks whether Vietnamese immigrant women carry any defective genes because this may reduce the quality of the population in the next generations of Taiwan. (following Chang, 2003 as cited by Lan, 2008). Or immigrant women create next generations with “AIDs babies” from cross-boarder marriages, they are suspected as vectors of disease from sex industries from Southeast Asia (following Fan, 2006 as cited by Lan, 2008). In the work of Yin (2004:2) showed that Vice Minister of Education of Taiwan Chou Tsan-Te expressed his worry about population quality for next generation from immigrants and said that “foreign brides should not have so many children” (as cited by Lan, 2008).

In addition, "run away" is what the media described about immigrant brides after arriving in Taiwan and this causes broken families and influences the traditional family structure (Hsia, 2007). They "run away" because they came to Taiwan with the image of a "gold digger" who married Taiwanese men only to suck away these men's money and bring it to the natal family. Besides, there is a link between foreign brides and crimes because these did not registered in household records and immigrated to Taiwan to make disguised prostitution through marriages (Lan, 2008). With these social stigmas, it influences strongly to mother of immigrant women. Following the report of China Times (11 December 1991) the mainstream media reported that immigrant women’s negative impact on their children’s education because they “have education much lower than average

Taiwanese” which lead to endanger society and influence population quality (as cited by Hsia, 2007). As the result, an emphasis is placed on the immigrant wives’ children having learning disabilities, and then people consider immigrant wives as the ones who are to be blamed (Hsieh & Wang, 2008). Moreover, although Taiwan has policies of globalization and national integration into the world, there are still social accusations for immigrant women with assumptions that class and race of the immigrant women is not suitable with these policies. In addition, Taiwanese education system has embraced internationalization ideas but focusing more on Western model of education than Eastern. Thus, the language skills and local knowledge of immigrant women are considered as burdens more than properties in transmitting their indigenous values to the next generations (Lan , 2008).

Nevertheless, immigrant women have their negotiation with social stigmas. As Parreñas (2001) mentioned that Filipino immigrant mothers use intimacy via calling regularly children to resist to social stigmas of mothering because of creating “abnormal” or “broken homes” in Philippines. This is expanded in work of Hoang (2016) about Vietnamese immigrant women seek strategies from practices of endurance and self-sacrifice to avoid social criticisms and to make up for the emotional loss in her relationship with children. Or black mothers in Britain practice mothering with their identity through working to take care of their children’s needs regardless of what “gender ideology” put on them (Reynolds, 2001). Thus, there are many way to negotiate with social stigmas in mothering from immigrant women. However, there are still many other aspects of negotiating with social stigma in mothering that need to be studied. Depending on the different contexts, there are different ways of negotiating, in which this essay focuses the group of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan.

Cultural conflicts

Although Taiwan and Vietnam are both influenced by Confucian culture, they have had different social and historical developments and have different gender cultures. This has resulted in a gap in expectations between the Taiwanese husband and Vietnamese wife (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

Following Chinese culture, they mentioned a Chinese proverb *jia ji sui ji* (嫁雞隨雞- marry a chicken, follow a chicken) meaning that a woman should follow her husband and share a life with him whatever he does and wherever he settles. This is one of their reasons

to settle down in Taiwan and take care of the families (Hsieh & Wang, 2008). The saying that every woman should have three obediences indicates the situation of a Chinese woman: in deference to her father before marriage, to her husband when married, and to her son when her husband dies (Wang, 2007). It means that the wife always takes the subordinated position in connection with a husband in the family and men in society. In Taiwan, it is regarded as appropriate for a daughter to work and send money home to help her family before marriage. However, if she were to do this after marriage, it would be regarded as being unfaithful to, and a betrayal of, her husband. Some women save money secretly and remit it stealthily, which could cause a serious dispute if the husband's family found out (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013). In Vietnam, it is a normal when a daughter works and sends money to her home for helping her natal family before and after marriage. Most of the immigrant women want to remit money to their parents in Vietnam without the knowledge of their husbands' families. As Ngoc said, "Is it wrong that I work and save money for my natal family?" (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013). This is the contrast between the two cultures with regard to working to earn money and supporting a family of origin. In spite of the reason why Vietnamese women come to Taiwan, they are expected to follow the norms set by this patriarchal system, but since they are from a different gender culture, and have different norms or expectations, it results in tension between the two social norms (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

The ancestor worship also expresses a difference between Vietnam and Taiwan. A female, after her death, is not worshiped in the natal family, but in her husband's family (in Taiwan). If she dies before "marrying-out," the natal family cannot put her name in the lineage. Her enshrined tablet must be put in the "Virgin Temple", or the natal family has to find a man to marry her ritually so that the female's soul can find a place to rest (Wang, 2007). Conversely, in Vietnam this can be done in both the natal family and in the husband's family.

Especially, we see a contrast in the culture of communication. Children talking to an elder with their arms crossed in front of their chest is regarded as a respectful and humble posture in Vietnamese culture, whereas in the Chinese culture such a body posture is considered disrespectful and aggressive (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014). Moreover, in the same research expressed above, children are supposed to be impacted more from their fathers than from their mothers, but the fathers may spend less time with their children due

to a heavy workload or lack of relevant knowledge. Thus, the patriarchal culture and gender prejudice impacts the upbringing of children when children are in contact with their immigrant mothers more than local fathers, but they are influenced more by fathers in the perceived context of Taiwanese society.

Gender ideology

Many conceptual frameworks and research methods used early by fathering researchers have been found useful for mothering studies. They complained that the main difficulty which researchers faced when trying to study fathers is that most parenting materials are framed by a conception of care based on maternal parenting, or what is called a "maternal template" (Palkovitz, Bahira, and Kari, 2014:408). In doing so, studies on parenting under a gender ideology is judged on underlying frames of mothering. In this part, I would like to indicate how gender ideology impacts mothering based on the social norms of patriarchy society.

Following Chinese culture, every woman should have three obediences that show the situation of a Chinese woman: reverence to her father before marriage, to her husband when married, and to her son when her husband dies (*zaijia congfū, chujia congfū, fusi congzi*) (Wang, 2007:715; Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013:432). Fathers usually play an authoritarian or controlling role, whereas mothers are expected to take subordinated role. The father is usually the head of the family and the result is that the parenting approaches are often decided by the father (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014). The women's roles are considered as a wife, mother, and daughter-in-law. They are expected to be an obedient wife, an obsequious daughter-in-law, and a good mother to the children. A woman in Chinese society married not for her future life, but for her husband's family, and she had to learn how to serve her parents-in-law first to show her filiality (Wolf, 1972). In view of the patriarchal society, one of the important functions of women is to give birth. A man can use this woman or that woman for keeping his lineage. He can hire this woman or another woman to replace one or other aspects of caring for his children. From the perspective of the man, his seed can not be replaced, but the mothering or caring can be (Glenn, Chang, & Forcey, 2016).

In the work "The Seeds of Rape", written by Liao Hui-ying, it shows the Taiwanese cultural and social attitudes regarding son preference and unfair gender discrimination. Liao states: "A girl's fate is similar to the seed of the rape plant: it grows where it falls; a

daughter was only a daughter, no matter how good she was. Only a son could keep the family incense burning” (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013:432; Glenn, Chang, & Forcey, 2016). Thus, men play a role as breadwinner and women play a role as traditional wives who have to be obedient and take care of the family. This traditional division of labor does not change with fathers earning wages outside and the mothers nurturing the families’ environment. In the Philippines, the outmigration of many mothers broke down this traditional division of labor, leaving fathers to take the responsibility for reproducing for the family. Transnational households are considered “abnormal” or are called “broken homes”, and even as a social and cultural tragedy. It no longer fits the ideal of a nuclear household model (Parreñas, 2001). There is a Chinese proverb *jia ji sui ji* (嫁雞隨雞 marry a chicken, follow a chicken); this means that a woman should obey and share with her husband whatever he does and wherever he settles (Hsieh & Wang, 2008). It is also the patriarchal husbands’ viewpoint that wants to impose it into the thinking of the wives.

When Vietnamese women come to Taiwan, they face the norms of a patriarchal system which are unexpected where they come from with a different gender ideology and expectation. As a result, there is tension between the two social norms. In Vietnam, women are expected to become working, filial daughters, and a good mother after marrying, they try to work hard in order to save money for themselves and their natal family (Ngo & Wang, 2011). It is opposite to the expectation of women in Taiwan which encourages women to stay at home to care for the whole family. The tension appears when both expected values do not coexist in one direction. One Taiwanese man complained that the Taiwanese government had never taught these Vietnamese women about Taiwan’s customs and these women should not leave children alone and do whatever they like. He said this even though he knew that women went out to work earning money in Vietnam and that only men go out and women must stay at home to care for children in Taiwan (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

In different social contexts, mothers and fathers also have different standards in parenting and are judged by how well they do their parental roles (Palkovitz, Trask & Adamsons, 2014). Although they often share roles, values, ideals and involvement in parenting (Palkovitz, 2013), household work (Blair & Lichter, 1991), and well-being (Eiser & Moorse, 2001) they seldom do it equally (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). In the most general sense, all over the world, across a wide range of cultural

diversity, mothers and fathers share similar parenting goals of nurturing, protecting, educating, and fostering self-reliance for their children. However, men and women often perform their converging goals through different roles, styles, levels, and forms (Palkovitz, 2013). For example, mothering standards are different between middle-class white women and women of color, based on their social class and ethnicity (Alexander, 2001). In comparison to men, the status of women is still lower than men not only in East, but also in Western society. Women are understood to have a subordinate position themselves. When they become mothers, their roles and experiences will differ from men who become fathers and are considered more dominant group. It is the reason why the social class of these mothers will impact their mothering practices (Palkovitz, Trask & Adamsons, 2014).

2.3.2 Negotiation in intimate-contradictory (mothering) practices

Kawakami (2003) mentioned in his work that people who live in host countries are always negotiating the representation and reproduction of their identity within the host society. These negotiations could be under many aspects of social life. Thus, below I would like to show some intimate-contradictory parenting practices between the decisions of child-bearing, child-rearing, and keeping two-way intimate bonds. First of all, I would like to give a definition of intimacy and how it is important in mothering.

Intimacy and intimacy in mothering

What is intimacy?

Although there is no universal definition for the term "intimacy", it can be understood is "*at the centre of meaningful personal life in contemporary societies*" and it is often "*a very specific sort of knowing, loving and "being close to" another person*" (Jamieson, 1998:1). In an understandable way, intimacy is a type of personal relationship that is a subjective experience of the human being and is recognized as "closeness". Closeness is expressed in two forms: cognition and emotion with subjective experiences such as mutual love, love conception and many other special things. Closeness can also be physical and bodily intimacy, although an intimate relationship does not necessarily have to be sexual intercourse because it can happen without intimacy (Jamieson, 2011). So, mutually shared intimacy requires a relationship in which people must to have the equality each other. Similarly, intimacy can use in studying about genders, generations, classes and races if the participants can reduce social inequalities in these aspects. This type of intimacy are sought

for studying more than in previous historical eras because of the change in the specific social conditions of the late twentieth century (Jamieson, 1998:1&2).

Why intimacy is important in personal life?

Following Jamieson (1998), there are many array of sociological traditions agrees that “personal relationships lead to social consequences”, it means that “personal relationships are a key form of social cohesion”.

Family and friendship of childhood are critical in the production of socially competent adults, for structuring the gender and sexual identities of individuals and thus for helping sustain societal patterns of sex/gender difference. Personal relationships are also crucial in maintaing social divisions. They can provide training in hatred as well as love and in dominance and submission as well as co-operative efforts. In highly hierarchial and segmented societies, extreme social divisions can block not only close association, but also the potential for empathy, creating the conditions for the dehumanizing of “the other”. (Jamieson,1998:2&3)

Hence, personal relationships have the great significance for individuals and society. In different spaces and times, parent’s love for children may be different depending on the sex of the child. For sociology, it emphasizes how societies are structured, gender differences are created by different ways of interpersonal interaction based on their gender. For psychoanalysis, the different treatment between boys and girls is not a major issue, but it focuses on the boy and girl infants who deal with the discovery of the biological differences between men and women while encountering with powerful emotional and sexual feelings.

Some scholars believe that there is a causal relationship between structural gender inequalities and the capacity for intimacy. For example, in Euro-North American socities, men play a dominant role in women both in family and in society. Moreover, men are seen as a pattern of independence in every aspect of life, whereas women are seen as emotional and dependent creatures on men. Some feminists believe that in the modern heterosexual relationship, if men pursue intimate relationships less than women do, this proves that there is still persistent inequalities between men and women. The weakness or disadvantage of women in the labor market has reinforced their dependence on men for economic survival and this has given men the advantage in the marriage market as well as the labor market (following Engels, 1972 as cited by Jamieson, 1998). The division of labor in the family, women are assigned to child care and housework. This makes marriage a career of women in which their obvious task is to become a full-hearted woman for the family, as opposed to a husband's image as a breadwinner. Since men have dominant power in the marriage

market as well as the labor market, they have the power to give the rules of sexual behavior. Thus, women are expected to protect their sexual reputations themselves and are only allowed to have a romantic relationship with a man as their husband. In doing so, the relationship between gender, sexuality and intimacy have not come to an end and have caused debates later following the social context which gradually changes with the development of society.

Mothering and Intimacy

In the work “Intimacy: personal relationships in modern societies” of Jamieson (1998), she indicated that in the late nineteenth century, mothers are expected to the intensive management of children more than fathers. Greater intimacy was expected between mothers and children more than fathers and children. In the late twentieth century, it has appeared the view that children benefit if parent can become their intimates. Who will do better this role between fathers and mothers? Of course, mothers become the socially accepted best carers because mothers’ image has attached to nurturer and caregivers. Portrayals of “the sensitive father” have become more popular nowadays. Nevertheless, in essence, the man plays a dominant role in the family, so the image of a weaker woman always holds more social interest than a man.

Usually, father as earner and mother as full-time carer in family, the views on the roles of fathers and mothers have changed more than actual practice (Ruble, Fleming, Hackel & Stangor, 1988). For example, in the work of Backett (1982), author showed the British middle-class parents believed that they should have the equal relationship with their children while actually their actual practices are not equal to the children. When both mothers and fathers were at home, mothers had the contact with children more than fathers. Although these couples discussed the “equality” in the family and considered it is very important. However, it was only a temporary stage. They emphasized that fathers/husbands can take on the work of a mothers/wives even though they never did it. Instead of having interest and being involved in the children, these men took on large symbolic importance. “these developments which were taking place in these families were concerned more with sustaining such beliefs about joint parenthood, rather than actually constituting practical attempts to create objectively equal arrangements” (Backett, 1982). At the same time, there was a research of white middle-class parents which was conducted by LaRossa and LaRossa (1981). The research found that fathers had the trend to treat their babies as

“things” than mothers. Most fathers enjoyed the social approval of parenthood more than making the minimal interreactive effort with their children (as cited by Jamieson, 1998). Such studies showed that when mothers were with their children, they often had to double their activities, paying attention to their children while doing other chores (Bittman, 1992). Fathers are rarely able to do activities which attempted by “sensitive mother” or they are less involved in their children’s lives more than mothers (Jamieson, 1998). For instance, in the research of children in fifteen- and sixteen-years-old in Britain found that mothers are able to know more their children’s friends than fathers (Brannen, Dodd & Oakley, 1994). In recent years, intimacy is referred to as a strategy to regain "equality" for mothering. As Parreñas (2001) mentioned that Filipino immigrant mothers use intimacy via calling regularly children to resist to social stigmas of mothering because of creating “abnormal” or “broken homes” in Philippines. This is expanded in work of Hoang (2016) about Vietnamese immigrant women seek strategies from practices of endurance and self-sacrifice to avoid social criticisms and to make up for the emotional loss in her relationship with children. Or black mothers in Britain practice mothering with their identity through working to take care of their children’s needs regardless of what “gender ideology” put on them (Reynolds, 2001). For the above reasons, I decided to use "intimacy" for this study to understand how Vietnamese immigrant women use it as a tool for coping with challenges in the mothering.

Child-bearing and working

Almost all childless women feel that mothers should stay at home with their children for several years when they are infants, but none of them could do this terrifying idea themselves (Maher & Saugeres, 2007). The combination of paid employment and motherhood is rarely visible to the childless women that I researched. Many childless women shared about the values of freedom, independence, flexibility, and their own ambitions. Some childless women noted that they did not want to do work which was not valued because motherhood was not valued in society. However, women with children have the opposite negotiation with childless women. In the case of Lucinda, she has seen her decision to become a mother closely associated with her working identity. She shared that the job was just there for her to return to and she did not wait a few more years and more financially solvent. She knew that she had something when she returned if she needed it. While Brenda (another case) understood she was able to make negotiations although

there were social conflicts around working women. She said that it was never a challenge in her mind about whether she had to have children or not because she always felt she could do both. In doing so, these women did not describe a quick or easy transition to being a mother but they showed what the mother actually did in doing mothering (Maher & Saugeres, 2007).

Child care and paid work

DiLapi (1989) showed the traditional gender ideology on mothering with an expectation for full-time stay-at-home mothering maintains a cultural hegemony (as cited by Johnston & Swanson, 2006). Hays (1996) described how the marketplace's logic (e.g., benefit, success, personal achievement) is inherently contradictory to the logic of intensive mothering (e.g., child-rearing is central to mothering). Consequently, it is not easy for mothers to negotiate a position that satisfies the expectations of both the public and private ideological scope. Hochschild & Machung (2012) reiterated this point when she suggested that the cultural expectations of working are more suitable with the breadwinner role of father and provider role of mother in 1950s and 1960s than working parents of today who are making strategies to perform both roles at the same time. So women obligated themselves to mother and work simultaneously, although they admitted the persistence of the gender ideology for full-time mothering included Western and Eastern societies (Utomo, 2014; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Maher & Saugeres, 2007; Reynolds, 2001; Parreñas, 2001). When talking about reproductive decision-making, women often focused on practical problems such as child care, flexible time and workplaces, parenting and gender income gap – they concentrated on the “doing” more than the “being” of motherhood. More and more women have utilized these strategies to cope with conflicts between a paid worker and doing mothering activities. (Maher & Saugeres, 2007). For instance, with the negotiation of child care and paid work from low-income parents, they refer to cost, convenience, and quality/safety as factors which influence to their choice of child care providers. Although the formal care (child care centers and schools) are more reliable and qualitative than informal care (care by relatives, siblings or friends), in the parents' practical viewpoint, the benefits of informal care seem to be most evident in the low-income parents' discussions about convenience and affordability. This perspective is because these arrangements may be more likely to work than formal care to provide flexible payment and working schedules. Some parents reported that when school or child

care is not in session (e.g., holidays, semester breaks, and summers), they need to bring their children to their workplace despite getting reprimanded from supervisors because they do not have any informal social networks (Henly & Lyons, 2000). Thus, there is a lot of contradiction in decision-making whether out children in formal care or informal care. After all, parents still have to negotiate to overcome this contradiction and give the final decision that best fits for their children and themselves.

Language retention in transnational identities

Language is one of the instruments for measuring one's transnational identities from the first and later generation migrants in the host countries. However, the native language gradually decreases with following generation migrants (Utomo, 2014). For instance, the second-generation Dutch migrants spoke 96% English at home, but in contrast, the second-generation Indonesian migrants only spoke 30% Bahasa Indonesian while living in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). In Rumbaut's research (2006), it showed that in the linguistic life expectancy (the expectation for fluently speaking in one's mother tongue) of the migrant household members, it was found that no migrant language could be sustained more than a third generation. Although migrant mothers expect the preservation of native identities for their children, they also express a desire for transnational identities in their children (Utomo, 2014; Park, 2009).

On the one hand, Han Nah, a migrant mother in US, shared her struggle in helping her children have Korean American identities. She did this by only speaking Korean at home and sacrificing her personal social networks, resulting with less outside friends (Park, 2009). A similar situation happens with Indonesian migrant mothers; they expect their children who can speak Bahasa Indonesia to simultaneously keep their ethnic identity, even though they live in the Western context (Utomo, 2014). On the other hand, migrant mothers also expect somewhat natural transnational identities for their children, such as saying the words "I love you" to their children which they cited from a common practice in Australia, but at the same time have their children show the traditional filial piety by kissing or putting an elder's hand on their forehead or nose which, which is a common practice in Indonesia (Utomo, 2014). In doing so, migrant mother's choice in using language is related to the gender ideology of good mothering. Agreeing with this, Mills (2004) stated that "a mother's language choices are related to her notions of mothering" (p.164).

Keeping intimate relationships between mothers and children

Some migrant mothers reported that they pay a lot for the bill phone in order to update their left-behind children's activities, and simultaneously get a certain level of familiarity and intimacy (Hoang, 2016; Parreñas, 2001). From the love to a "technological" management of distance, these migrant mothers found a lot of ways to cope with family separation during their migration. Although technology has partially removed the barriers of distance in communication between family members, many still feel that intimacy is only fully achieved through a great investment in time and daily interactions in the family (Parreñas, 2001). However, Brown's research (1960) reported that two-thirds of adult children regularly visit their aged parents, but only 17% have close, affectionate ties. In person contact, therefore, does not imply intimacy; family members can make contact regularly without emotionally satisfying inter-generational relationships. This is repeated in the work of Lopata (1979) in "intimacy at a distance". This reported that some mothers claimed close relationships with their daughters although they did not see each other often. So, it seemed that family members could feel close to one another without frequent contact. The most recent research has shown that employed fathers have difficulties between balancing work and parenting responsibilities. They feel that they have "lost touch" with their children's daily routines, matters with which mothers are still intimately involved. One UK father shared that he needed to sleep more because he exhausted after a tiring working day; since his wife cared for the children both night and all day, he felt that he became a bit more secondary (Palkovitz, Trask & Adamsons, 2014). In doing so, making a call phone to create long-distance intimacy (Parreñas, 2001; Chib, Malik, Aricat & Kadir, 2014) or visiting (ir)regularly with(out) close affectional ties (Brown, 1960; Lopata, 1979) indicated that intimacy can be emotional and conscious, with personal experiences including a feeling of mutual love, frequent thoughts, and being special to each other (Jamieson, 2011).

2.3.3 Identity of being a mother

There are various definitions for the term "Identity" because of its diversity and flexibility depending on the context. Discourses of people's usage and awareness of identities should be considered within people's living contexts and life routes; though its definition, we have more or less of an explanation and usage of people's identities within certain limitations (Chan, 2005:229; Johnston, & Swanson, 2006; Chib, Malik, Aricat, &

Kadir, 2014; Utomo, 2014; Phuong & Eipper, 2009). For instance, Chan's (2005) research about Viet Kieu [Vietnamese living abroad] on the Vietnam-China borderlands put these groups in political and economic contexts. In a similar context, Hamilton (1977) debated regarding Chinese identities in Southeast Asia through each period of economic development in this area. Moreover, identity appears under the context of religion and history, via the work of Phuong & Eipper (2009). Most importantly for my own research, identity is most clearly illustrated within a socio-cultural context to mothering in minority groups such as black mothers (Reynolds, 2001), immigrant women (Tang & Wang, 2011; Hsieh & Wang, 2008; Lin & Hung, 2007; Dreby, 2006; Hoang, 2016; Moon, 2003), or even native mothers lives before and after being married (Choo, 2017).

Moreover, some research indicated that social class (Reynolds, 2001; Johnston & Swanson, 2006), caste (Johnston & Swanson, 2006), ethnicity (Utomo, 2014; Kawakami, 2003) or work status (Reynolds, 2001) distinguishes identity in certain issues; in this research, mothering is a central part of a woman's identity. For instance, black mothers with professional occupations and high revenue have flexible time for childcare arrangements in contrast to black mothers with lower revenue who have less variable time for childcare arrangements (Reynolds, 2001). Kawakami's (2003) work concerning ethnic identity showed that the younger generation in Japan tends to have negative feelings regarding their own ethnicity because the discrimination of their names in *Katakana* (compared to the pure Japanese's name in *Hiragana* and *Kanji*). In contrast, counterparts in Australia tend to have positive feelings for their self-images with their refugee stories about coming on a small boat to Australia, or the sense of pride in Confucianism that is owned in the younger generation that shows loyalty and respect to their parents. In doing so, overseas Vietnamese are always negotiating their representation and reproduction of their identity within the host society (Kawakami, 2003:55).

Actually, when I study about the concept of "identity", a complex and ambiguous concept that still plays a central role in debates taking place in every field of science, this concept has not translated into Vietnamese because there is not a Vietnamese word can take out all the implications of it. "Identity" as we know it is the work of psychologist Erik Erikson in the 1950s, dictionary definitions have not caught up, failing to capture the word's current meanings in everyday and social science contexts. In my understanding, Identity is more personal. Each person possesses a different identity and identity of each

person is formed based on their different experiences and contacts in the process of growing up. More importantly, the identity of each person can change at any time in life. So there are different concepts in English: self-identity, cultural identity, national identity, gender identity, etc. Asian culture in general and Vietnam in particular promote collectivism and nationalism, while Western culture promotes personal egoism and democratic freedoms. This is not to say that Vietnamese culture is not democratic, but the role of the individual in Vietnamese culture is not emphasized, so never existed "personal identity" before. Return to mothering, the concept of "good mother" has also changed in modern society, and immigrant mothers' thought about "good mother" have changed as they move into another culture. Or even in the same country, but minority mothers will have different thoughts about "good mother" in their individual way. Particularly in contemporary society, personal factors are gradually rising in the social context in Asian countries. Therefore, in a simpler sense, immigrant mothers will decide for themselves the concept of "good mother" in their own way of thinking that they think is appropriate for their current living situation.

Transnational mothers' experiences in becoming a good mother

There are variety of thoughts on mothering depending on each what women think before and after having children. Childless women think that mothers should stay at home with children for a few years while the children are infants but admit they could not do it themselves. They justified this position by valuing their independence, freedom, flexibility, and being able to follow their own ambition. The issue of career is central to their posture toward having children. Motherhood will occupy all their priorities in life such as personal promotion, relationship to others, social activities, etc. They are scared that motherhood will interrupt their lives and even make them lose their identities. Some childless women are afraid that they must put their children's priorities before their own. Thus, motherhood is considered not valid in society and they do not want to do work which is not valued (Maher & Saugeres, 2007). However, those thoughts change when they have children, and then they view it more pragmatically and in a less idealized sense. While women with children often said that the decision to have children was a "natural" evolution for them, they describe mothering as *part* of their activity and identity rather than the whole. In doing so, a combination between personal ambition and child caring offered a great scale of difficulty because mothering required a basic change in identity (Maher & Saugeres, 2007).

As Marshall stated, childless women “*do not stand outside the ideology of parenthood*” (1993:139).

Following Confucian culture, women are expected to play the traditional role of obedient wives, good mothers, and filial daughters-in-law (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013; Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014; Hsieh & Wang, 2008). The ideals for intensive mothering, where women are considered most suitable to take care of young children unconditionally, retains considerable strength in societies such as the United States, England, and Australia (Hattery, 2001; Maher & Saugeres, 2007; Johnston, & Swanson, 2006). As such, the norms of intensive mothers appear not only in oriental society but also in western society, with the traditional mother ideology - which is perceived as a good mother being a full-time stay-at-home mom that cares for the family members and is completely fulfilled through domestic aspirations (Johnston, & Swanson, 2006).

In England, "gendered moral rationalities" for motherhood is still rooted in the concept of "good mothering". As a result, full-time black mothers are considered "morally wrong" regardless of whether they work or not because of economic considerations (Reynolds, 2001). Intensive mothering is mentioned in Hays' (1996) work as the dominant mothering ideology of our culture, reinforced by gender ideology in England. Intensive mothering, according to Hays, is a child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor intensive, financially expensive ideology in which mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture and development of the “sacred” child and in which the children’s needs take precedence over the individual needs of their mothers (p. 46). However, Reynolds (2001) indicated that black mothers practice mothering within their identity regardless of what “gendered moral rationalities” put on them. Zora, a participant in Reynolds’s research, shared she works so she can be a mother; if she did not work, she could not take care of the children’s needs nor do the job of a mother properly. This explanation implicitly expressed the awareness of good mothering depending on their ability to financially support to family via paid work. It suggests that there is a tight connection between being a paid worker and mothering practices in black mothers’ thoughts. It also supports similar work regarding black women in the USA (Collins, 1994) and Britain (Duncan & Edwards, 1999), in which it clarifies the mother/worker status as being a good mothering notion in the minds of black women. It is totally opposite to traditional western ideologies of

mothering and being a paid worker, in which they are considered as two solitary and unsuited gendered entities (Richardson, 1993).

The fact of economic liberation created a strong identity of women being a breadwinner, in comparison to the traditional role of women as providers (Uy-Tioco, 2007). Madianou (2012) shows a “desire for recognition and self-improvement” (p.286) as an inspiration, recognizing a “tension between their roles as mothers and their identities as women” (p.287). This rationalization involves the simultaneous modification of the relationship from being a nurturer who is giving physical and emotional care, to being one who gives material security (Parreñas, 2001). The tension becomes more stressful in the case of single mothers who take a further responsibility by maintaining the identity of the virtuous woman, especially for the children’s benefit (Lan, 2003). Lawler (2000) argued that ‘meanings are also produced and reproduced through social practices’ (p.1) and the social practices indicated a pragmatic outlook of how to be a ‘good mother’ which did not include activities focusing on children. Likewise, the family plays an important part in the building of transnational identities between generations of migrants and their children (Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos & Zontini, 2010; Utomo, 2014).

Norms to be a good mother in Taiwan

In traditional Confucian society, childbirth and parenting is believed to create a close relationship to strengthen the spousal relationship. In other words, child birth is a part of the basic goals in marriage (Chen, 2010). Even though Taiwan and Vietnam are both influenced by Confucian culture, they have had different social and historical progress and have different gender norms. As a result, there is a gap between Taiwanese husbands and Vietnamese wives in their expectations. When Vietnamese women come to Taiwan, they are expected to adhere to the norms of this patriarchal system, but because of their different gender cultures, norms, or expectations it entails tension between the two social norms (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

In Vietnam, women are symbolized as mothers with the so-called “*thiên chức người mẹ*” (the natural occupation of motherhood) while care and housework are admired as their natural abilities and duties (Hoang, 2016). Ironically, when women are respected with this noble occupation, they are also expected to undergo adversities and sacrifice their own interests for the family (Werner, 2009). These are expressed via policies such as the 1986 Marriage and Family Law and the Happy Family Campaign which underscored women’s

mothering role and the family structure's integrity as the foundation of nation building. The woman has an important role in building family happiness through economic contributions, giving birth to male children to keep the lineage of the husband's family, and socializing her children to stay away from evil (Hoang, 2016). In addition to the natural roles of a mother, they also have to shoulder part of the family's economic role as a way to maintain a moral and harmonious family (Werner, 2009). Vietnamese culture encourages women to be working women and filial daughters; it means that they have to find a job and try to work hard in order to have income for themselves and their natal families (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013).

In Taiwan, women are also expected to have the same noble values as mothers in Vietnam, but in the role of wives and mothers is without the economic providing factor. Chen (2010) indicated that at least one boy is considered necessary for couples. Males keep the family power high because only sons can continue ancestor worship for the family, while daughters are seen just as another member of the family. In the work of *Culture and customs of Taiwan*, the authors mentioned a term from "The Seeds of Rape" (by Liao Hui-ying), which showed Taiwan's cultural and social attitudes regarding son preference and an unfair gender hierarchy: "*A girl's fate is similar to the seed of the rape plant: it grows where it falls; a daughter was only a daughter, no matter how good she was. Only a son could keep the family incense burning*" (Davison & Reed, 1998, p. 110). Thus, one of the traditional Chinese values is 不孝有三 無後為大 (among three events of being unfilial, without a son is the vital one) which expresses the importance of giving birth to descendants. This Chinese traditional viewpoint is embedded in many Taiwanese parents' mind (Hsieh & Wang, 2008; Wang, 2007). The women are expected to give a firstborn son, or at least she has a son and then she does not worry about his position in the family as well as balance the power imposed from her husband's family (Chen, 2010; Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013).

The majority of traditional families in Taiwan hold a "strict father, loving mother" parenting method, in which positions of harsh, rigorous fathers and warm, nurturing mothers are an ordinary reality for children (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014). One Taiwanese husband complained that the Taiwanese government never taught migrant brides that only men work outside to bring money back home while the women's major role is staying at home to take care of children in Taiwan. He said that these women should

not leave children alone and do whatever they want when they are in Taiwan (Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013). From the husband's perspective, it is revealed that they wish their wives would stay at home and perform their traditional gender role. A migrant woman shared that she was only 19 years old and did not know anything about taking care of children before. Nobody helped her and her natal family was not with her. When children cried, she did not know what to do, and her husband's family started to blame her; even her husband beat her because she did not know how to care for children (Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013). In doing so, the mutual responsibility of child care assigned by nation and society is rarely criticized, whereas mothering is described as an individual responsibility (Chen, 2010). As a result, family structure and support from family members is important for mothering practices in Taiwan.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavoured to provide a systematic understanding of mothering via showing challenges in mothering of immigrant women, followed by a discussion of the negotiation in intimate-contradictory mothering practices, and finally exploring the identity in connection to become a good mother from transnational families. I emphasize the intimacy of negotiating with the challenges of being a mother of immigrant women. It is important to remember that the struggle for women's equality is not just about formal struggles or protests but also of invisible things coming from human's inside. There are "silent" struggles that women have to fight alone and only she knows how to fight to win a good position for herself - a good mother. In addition, identity also accompanied intimate relationships on the road of these "silent" struggles. That's all I want to convey in this chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology

- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.2 Research methods
 - 3.3 Pilot interview and Fieldwork
 - 3.4 Ethnographic fieldwork challenges
 - 3.5 Transcriptions and data analyses
 - 3.6 Conclusion
-



3.1 Introduction

The primary concern of this chapter is to provide a mainstream research method for my own research – qualitative research with the in-depth interview technique. Moreover, I would like to share my different experiences in pilot interview and fieldwork. The gender influences not only to my participants in mothering but also to me in process of collecting data and it is the biggest challenges in my practical experience in M.A program. Finally, I will mention to transcriptions and data analyses and how do I increase the reliability of my data.

3.2 Research methods

This thesis project is relevant to total of 14 months of building relationships with Vietnamese immigrant women at Southern area in Taiwan, includes 1 month for pilot interviews and 3 months for fieldwork, the remaining time for strengthening relationships and for observing the lives of the participants. During my initial 1 month of pilot interviews, I collected 6 in-depth interviews around June 2017. In the second phase of fieldwork, I collect 16 in-depth interviews including reinterview previous 6 participants from December 2017 to March 2018.

This research utilizes grounded theory as the research method (Charmaz, 2009; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Additionally, there are three unique points:

- (1) The researcher is from Vietnam and familiar with research participants' original cultural norms, religion, and social conditioning.
- (2) This study specifically explores Vietnamese women's life histories and daily behaviors.
- (3) The researcher spends a significant amount of time interacting and building rapport with the participants.

My study and experience of living here temporarily for a 2-year master program has helped me see the challenges of finding and building relationships, and has given me sympathy for people who live far from their homeland for a long time.

The research uses a semi-structured interview with an interview guide to collect data. The participants answer questions which are mentioned in the interview guide the researcher. In qualitative research, the size of the sample can not be determined in advance. It is determined instead by a procedure called *theoretical saturation* (Charmaz, 2009). After the first interview, the collected data is immediately analyzed and the findings are used to refine

this study's theoretical constructs and interview guide. After several interviews with new participants, if additional understanding is not found, the data collect process achieves saturation. Following this point, when additional participants do not provide any new information, and then it is enough data for this research.

Participant

In-depth interviews with 16 Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan were conducted for the analysis. The collected data from these women show that they lived in an unhappy marriage and were labelled as “bad Vietnamese brides/mothers.” It does not mean that all of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan encountered these situations. Some are in more fortunate circumstances, getting a happy family, getting the support from family, friends and neighbors and be seen as a good immigrant woman in family and society. But some are in opposite circumstances and Vietnamese immigrant women in my study belong to these less fortunate group.

3.3 Pilot interviews & fieldwork

As I mentioned above, from the first semester of the master program, I had clearly defined the research direction to Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan, so I have deployed the construction of the network connection to these women. Due to the advantage of being a Vietnamese student, I can easily approach and create rapport with these women. At the present time, more than 14 months have been spent on building relationships, the network connecting to Vietnamese immigrant women has grown strongly in three areas. In the beginning of pilot interviews, I departed from convenient sampling, it means that I chose the best available relationships to start the research after around 5 months of building up my relationship to them.

In the first area, I know AnHo – a tailor in her own small shop. Through my advisor's introduction who has had many years of experience researching about immigrant women, I met Mrs. Hồng in the sunny weather in Taiwan. After many meetings, I have considered that her tailor shop is famous in her area, where many Vietnamese women & workers often come to gossip with her because she has lived in Taiwan for more than 20 years until now. Whenever I visited her, I did not directly ask about issues related to my own research. Instead, I listened to her talking about the daily life stories that we encountered in living in Taiwan and stories from the time we were in Vietnam. Later, I gradually linked her life's events together and created a general picture of the notes in the pilot interview. Through AnHo, I

know more Vietnamese women such as Mrs. Hoa, Mrs. Trang (childless mother), Mrs. ThuTra, etc. However, during the main fieldwork, I selected the five women I have the best relationship with and fit the criteria in my research, including Mrs. ThuTra, Mrs. AnTu, Mrs. BiTu and Mrs. TiHan.

In the second area, I am lucky to know a successful Vietnamese woman in Taiwan through an introduction from Meichi teacher – her name is Nguyễn Kim Hồng (阮金紅). She is a famous director of documentary films about Vietnamese living and working in Taiwan. She often celebrates volunteer activities to introduce Vietnamese culture to Taiwanese; she also creates playgrounds for bonding friendships for Vietnamese immigrants and also between Vietnamese and Taiwanese. Her present peak of career is building a Vietnamese cultural center in the Minsyong township in where it is easier for cultural exchange activities and to support the Vietnamese, especially Vietnamese immigrant women. Through KiHo I have known Mrs. Linh a Vietnamese immigrant woman has lived 14 years in Taiwan and has provided a lot of useful information for the process of making proposal. However, in the official fieldwork, I could not contact Mrs. Linh for sensitive problems from her family so I can not exploit more information from her. In Mixiong township, I conducted in-depth interviews with Mrs. BiLi, Mrs. NoLi, Mrs. PuTu and Mrs. NuNo who I have had good connections with. Moreover, Mrs. PuTu who participated in the educational program of Taiwan government for immigrant women to become teachers or interpreters which held at Sikou Elementary School in Chiayi in five weeks, I had more opportunities to understand deeply about mothering from her and others through contact with them and their children as well as building more relationship with Vietnamese immigrant women from other townships. In all participants, Mrs. HoCu is the only woman who comes from Zhuqi township. I knew her through one time KiHo drove me to visit her's eatery. After that, I often contact her through Facebook because of long distance from my university to her store and get more useful information about the mothering of a widowed woman.

In the third area, there is a Vietnamese restaurant near the Douliu train station where Mrs. KiNo works. She is a Vietnamese immigrant woman who cooks Vietnamese traditional food for selling at the stores and night markets on the weekdays. With a good-nature attitude and often helping others without better conditions, her store has become a place for meeting, interacting, and gossiping about the daily life of Vietnamese immigrant women. Her network of acquaintances is also quite large because she often moves from this night market to others

in different areas, so she has a good relationship with many Vietnamese Here, I made 2 pilot interviews with her and Mrs. TiHai but there is a difficulty in finding the participants here because almost Vietnamese immigrant women here live far away from center and I do not have a vehicle for moving. Therefore, in the fieldwork, I use the snowballing strategy to find other participants, including Mrs.HoTa, Mrs.TiDu and Mrs.TiNa.

Initially, when I did pilot interviews, my longest interview lasted for an hour, even the first interview lasted 15 minutes because I still did not have the skill to exploit what the participants shared. When I hear the responses of the respondents, some I could exploit deeply but some I could not catch up with their answers and I have to ask other questions because I could not leave the talking was interrupted. And another problem is that the order of the questions in my head is still unclear and inaccurate. Through pilot interviews and the hint of interviewing skills from my advisor, I had some experiences for fieldwork and official interviews lasted at average of 2 hours at home, workplace, coffee shop, etc., as long as the respondents were comfortable talking to me.

3.4 Ethnographic fieldwork challenges

In this part, I would like to present some important challenges which I encountered through pilot interviews and fieldwork:

Getting the trust from husbands

This problem is related to gender; because I am a male researcher, in contact with immigrant Vietnamese women can not avoid the misunderstanding of the husband. It is very easy to get and build up the trust with Vietnamese immigrant women because I am a Vietnamese student who talk the same language with them but it is a challenge to get the trust from their husband. I remembered at a meeting with Mrs. Hằng at her vegetable shop because I talked to her for a long time and had never met her husband before even though I had been to the store several times. Her husband asked her about me with concern that I am a Vietnamese student coming here to study and want to research about Vietnamese immigrant women. According to her, obviously he has suspicion because the social stigma attached to Vietnamese immigrant women who often have adultery with Vietnamese immigrant young laborers. She had to explain for a long time and I had to answer the questions from him to get his trust. Similar tension occurred with Mrs. TiHai's husband. When Mrs. TiHai made appointment with me at a coffee shop to do the interview, her husband repeatedly called her where she was and with whom? Finally, in order to create the

trust for him, she asked her husband to contact Mrs. KiNo to confirm my condition because I had known Mrs. KiNo from first days coming to Taiwan.

Content of interviews

Although I have known research participants for a long time about each person's situation. However, when I made interviews with them about mothering, most of them turned to their life stories and relationships with their husbands. At first, I thought that they did not answer on the main problem, but then I discovered that their life stories and relationships with the husband are main factors affecting the mothering and I had to flexibly change questions to be suitable with contexts. It took a lot of time and perseverance, since after each interview, I had to transcript, analyze the interview and add relevant questions to the interview guide before conducting next interviews.

3.5 Transcriptions and data analyses

The core of my thesis is relevant to systematic narrative and discourse analyses on interviews with 16 Vietnamese immigrant women. These interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in Vietnamese. After that, I conducted line-by-line coding for each interview and linked to field notes to have the most complete information for each transcription. In the process of analyzing the data, I just translated verbatim the main responses of the respondents into English in my thesis. I do not translate the entire transcriptions into English.

3.6 Conclusion

For an international student whose English is not a mother language, the academic experience in another country will provide broader insights into major and life. In Vietnam, I rarely have access to language and immigration issues because of the simple fact that immigration in Vietnam is not as widespread as in developed countries. Therefore, while living and studying in Taiwan, all academic knowledge and practical experience are completely new to a graduate student like me, who is quite familiar with academic learning style in Vietnam, not much practical and critical thinking. However, that is not a big barrier in my academic journey, I have quickly adapted under the help of professors and friends. That is the life adjustment in the course of two years to pursue my master's dream. But it is a completely different experience for Vietnamese immigrant women when they come to Taiwan and face more difficulties. I also experienced some of their feelings in the first time coming to Taiwan and their arduous adaptation process. Listening to the lives of Vietnamese

immigrant women in Taiwan, it reminds me about the past image of my mother through her narrative of the early days as daughter-in-law in husband family and difficulties after giving birth. The experience of my mother's past image and the image of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan is a part of the reason to urge me performing this research.



Table 2 Demographics

N ₀	Name	age	Time in Taiwan	Occupation	Edu	Husband			Children (boy)			Children (girl)		
						age	Occupation	Edu	Age	Edu	VNese language	age	Edu	VNese language
1	AnHo	54 (1963)	21	Tailor	12/12	59 (1959)	None	12/12	21	University (junior)	None	✘		
2	ThuTra	36 (1982)	10	Worker	12/12	49 (1969)	Real estate	University	✘			5	Kinder garten	Good
3	AnTu	37 (1981)	11	Selling pork in market	Missing (M)	M	Selling pork in market	M	11	6/12	None	✘		
									9	3/12	None			
4	BiTu	36 (1982)	11	Selling pork in market	11/12	52 (1966)	Selling food at home & canned food	University	10	4/12	None	✘		
									5	Kindergart en	None			
5	TiHan	38 (1980)	18	Selling food at home	6/12	59 (1959)	vegetable grower & greengrocer at market	12/12	15	9/12	None	18	12/12	None
6	KiHo	39 (1979)	18	Freelancer (documentary director, MC..)	5/12	54 (1964)	Communications, Journalist, Lecturers	Master	✘			17	11/12	Good
7	BiLi	40 (1978)	17	Planning baby orchid trees in glass bottles at home	4/12 (unfinished)	43 (1975)	Worker	12/12	2	At home	Good	14	9/12	Good
8	PuTu	35 (1983)	12	Worker of company manufactures locks	College (unfinished)	45 (1973)	Worker of Electronic components assembly company	12/12	10	4/12	Basic	12	6/12	Good

9	NuNo	41 (1977)	20	Worker at company of powder	University (unfinished)	Pass away	Pass away	Pass away	18	12/12	None	✘		
10	NoLi	37 (1981)	16	Farmer	10/12 (unfinished)	55 (1963)	Farmer	9/12	15	9/12	None	✘		
									11	6/12	None			
11	KiNo	44 (1974)	20	Selling Vietnamese food in the store and night markets	6/12	62 (1956)	Farmer and guardian of the temple	University	16	10/12	None	15	8/12	None
12	TiDu	40 (1978)	18	Worker at fabric company	12/12	40 (1978)	Mechanic worker	11/12	14	8/12	None	16	9/12	None
13	TiNa	40 (1978)	10	Cooking dishes in elementary school	Literacy	56 (1962)	Excavator	5/12	✘			10	4/12	None
												9	3/12	None
14	HoTa	36 (1982) 18	17	Selling Vietnamese food	11/12	50 (1968)	Excavator	9/12	13	7/12	None	17	11/12	None
15	TiHai	36 (1982)	18	warehouse manager at the paper company	Vocational training school -Accounting	53 (1965)	None	12/12	17	11/12	None	18	12/12	None
16	HoCu	42 (1976)	15	Selling Vietnamese food at home	9/12	Pass away	Pass away	Pass away	15	9/12	None	✘		

Chapter 4

Results

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about mothering values

4.2.1 Children create a responsible mother

4.2.2 Mother is a teacher of moral discipline for children

4.3 Vietnamese mothers' challenges in mothering to become a good mother

4.3.1 Unhappy marriages

4.3.2 Stigmas and discrimination from society

4.3.3 Language barriers

4.4 Vietnamese mothers' negotiation in mothering to become a good mother

4.4.1 The cultivation of intimate relationship for family members

Intimate relationship between mothers and children

Intimate relationship between fathers and children

4.4.2 The confrontation to social stigmas

4.4.3 Transnational identities for children

4.4.4 The preservation of a harmonious family for children's growth

4.5 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

I: Could you tell me your thinking how does a good mother look like?

KiHo: a good mother it does not mean that we give our children a lot of money and give them a luxurious life, although I agree that we just want best thing for them. The best thing we must give them that is love and caring....Second, we must help them recognize that they have to care for others, when they can care for others, it means that they have to care for themselves.....my view of mothering just like that, I do not require them getting a high scores or good achievement.

I: do you think you are a good mother?

KiHo: I think that it is never enough to me. If I just a full-time mother who does not care anything outside, and then I can give enough love to my child.....I never admit that I am a good mother. You know, I just know to try my best for my child.

“I am not a good mother” as a answer that all participants give in this research. It is not that they can not care physically but they feel that it is not enough intimacy with their children. This is found in Brown's study (1960), there were two-thirds of adult children regularly visiting their aged parents, but only 17% had affectionate ties. Thus, the emotional or intimate element will be the highlight that goes through this research.

In this chapter, there are three main sections: (i) Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about mothering values, (ii) Challenges in mothering of Vietnamese immigrant women, and the final part (iii) is Vietnamese immigrant mothers' negotiation in mothering to become a good mother. I will give the views of Vietnamese immigrant women about the interactions arising in the mother-child relationship. In there, the value of mothering is elevated to moral values in society.

In the second part (ii), challenges in mothering are provided and complementary to existing studies on this issue. These challenges do not only revolve around the issue of mothering in the family but also includes other elements from the society. In particular, the issue of social stigma will be highlighted.

The last part (iii) of negotiation for challenges in mothering will be discussed. As mentioned from the beginning, intimacy will be highlighted throughout this research. In this part, it will be further clarified through separated negotiation of Vietnamese immigrant women. In what follows, I shall begin with Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about mothering values.

4.2 Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about mothering values

4.2.1 Children create a responsible mother

To begin with, I would like to show how having children could create a woman's sense of responsibility.

I felt really stressed when I had a baby because her father (ex-husband) doesn't have the responsibility to us so I don't want to have more babies. I tried to mother my child and didn't want her to feel like a complex problem. You shouldn't think that the more children you have, the better you are at giving your children a good education. On contrary, if you don't have the ability and your family is unstable, I am sure that you will never care well for your children; so don't harm your children. When you have children, it means that you must have the responsibility with them, if you can't do what responsible mother or father must do, please don't have the baby. I am serious. (KiHo)

KiHo is a woman who experienced an unhappy marriage when she came to Taiwan at 21. In her mind, her ex-husband is an irresponsible husband and father to her and her daughter. This is not the first time I meet KiHo, I often went to her home to help promote Vietnamese cultural activities in Taiwan. She shared that the main reason for doing social activities was to help Vietnamese immigrant women with any problems they are having in marriage. This is because she knows that it is very difficult for immigrant women to mother if they have marriage troubles. Her daughter has been the greatest encouragement for her to overcome all the challenges in her life and get the success she has now. In doing so, children often serve as carriers for their mother's maturity.

They are my guts. At the present, all my children are in my arms, I can't feel happier than now. Although [I have a] low-income, as long as my children are in my arms, I feel very satisfied. All the hardship I can suffer, my husband can't suffer like this. For instance, at 1 am or 2 am I am still working (put baby orchids in glass bottles) to earn more money, but my husband can't do it like me, he can't suffer this hard work. (BiLi)

BiLi was a teenager who was raped in Vietnam and had a daughter. She did any kind of work to have money for her child, mostly farming and working as a hired labour. Through her friend's introduction to get married to a Taiwanese man, she sacrificed her life to go to Taiwan at 23 to earn money for her daughter in Vietnam. She lived in Taiwan 15 years and it was a hard time for her because she had to work, take care of children with a Taiwanese husband, and send money back to her daughter in Vietnam. She did everything for her daughter's reunion in this pearl island. Finally, she already accomplished her dream and has more motivations in her life because children are

everything to her. Whether it be working sweat-drenched under summer sun in a tomato garden planted in a closed space by transparent rubber pads, or staying up all night to complete the crafts to send and receive small amounts of money, etc., These are the unforgettable memories of a woman who endured hardship for children.

When we have babies who don't have a father or don't have a mother, it is really [hard on] them, if we don't want to have or we don't have the responsibility to parent them, then don't have babies. For example, when your children go to school, their peers will tease that "*you are a guy without father*". They feel sad, they don't know who they can confide in and how to talk this [about] problem with you. Day by day they will be stressed. The mother is very busy with her work. Without a father, the children are very easy to get into social evils from their peers' spoiling words. Thus, my responsibility is to bring warmth in the family, to be both father and mother in order for the children's best growth.
(PuTu)

PuTu's account is not an isolated one, many participants shared similar experiences. Almost all Vietnamese immigrant women come to Taiwan via married brokers. Fifteen out of sixteen Vietnamese immigrant women mentioned that their financial issues are the main reason to come to Taiwan. With them, families are the only spiritual support they have in this strange land; and in the family itself, the child is the greatest motivation for growing up and taking responsibility for the family. That is the reason why they continue to stay in unhappy marriages and try to heal the emotional traumas appearing among family members. I shall address this viewpoint in the next part (see section 4.5.1)

4.2.2 Mother is a teacher of moral discipline for children

BiLi is a resilient mother and also a moral teacher for her children. Sometimes, she has had a part-time job as a cesspool cleaner in period time near Lunar new year at 10 pm until 3 am. She encourages her child saying, "*My honey, sleep well at home, I need to work to earn more money for us. You are a good child, not a pesky child, right?*". She said this to her child about her part-time job at night in order for the child to feel comfortable and know for whom she does this job.

That energy probably comes from a mother who never succumbs to fate. I must try to learn how to become a mother, how to feed my children. As a woman, who [doesn't] know how to hook, net fish, or fish, I [still] must do something to find bread and butter for [my] children. As a result, I often tell to my children that "*You have to treasure what you have because I didn't have these things when I was a kid like you*" (BiLi)

TiHan is a vegetable grower and greengrocer at a market. She thinks that the importance of parenting children is to make them aware of their roles in society, what they need to do and who do they study for. She believes this role is enough for a mother.

I often talk to my children that I work hard to earn money for their education, so try to study hard. My first daughter tries to study hard and she is ranked 2nd [in the] whole school in academic performance. She comes back home with a smile and immense joy. This is a happiness in my life, I work hard and my daughter also studies hard, she is not inferior to anyone. It is my greatest happiness and I am proud of that. (TiHan)

Vietnamese immigrant women also focus on personal characteristics for their children, such as respect for parents, to be responsible for themselves, and to care for others.

Initially, I felt uncomfortable because my mother-in-law always asked me why I came back home late. I answered many times that I needed to work overtime but she didn't remember what I said. Later, I realized that maybe she loves me so she just wants to be good to me. Or when my natal mother uses all money which I send back for gamblings in Vietnam, I felt very sad. I confide in my son, but I said that *"if your mom does any mistakes, you shouldn't be angry with your mom. You should advise her not to do it anymore, because mom is the greatest benefactor of your life; you aren't in this life without mom. You have to respect your mom no matter what she does"* (NuNo)

This society needs you to know human virtue. I always remind my daughter, *"You have to care [for] yourself and care for others. If you care for others, it means that you know how to care for yourself. When you live in this society, you can't be selfish and just think for yourself, you have to open your heart to care to others"* (KiHo)

Following Confucianism, there are three essential values which have to be presented in every human: filial piety, humaneness, and rituals. Thus, filial piety is first mentioned in the Confucian value system. Filial piety includes the respect to parents which is considered the most fundamental of the Confucian values - the root of all others (Wing-tsit Chan, 1963). This precious traditional ideology has been maintained until today's generation. It is promoted through the mothering Vietnamese mothers do, as well as honoring the noble role of a mother. Several quotes are used to illustrate the result of this precious traditional value:

I asked my son *"Do you want me to buy new clothes or shoes for you?"*. He answered that *"Mom, don't need, I already have them"*. But I still bought shoes for him, he never asks me to buy anything for him. For 3 years since he has gone to university, he hasn't asked for my money. If he lacks of money, he will ask his grandmother to send it for him. (AnHo)

AnHo (out of 16 participants) has settled in Taiwan for the longest time - 21 years. She has a son who is attending a university far from home. Since her husband is a disabled person, she has to work as a tailor and pay for the bills of the whole family. Due to poor economic circumstances, she has sent her son to a grandmother and aunt to support him; she also was reluctant to do so. However, she shared that her son is filial to her. He never either asked anything from her or complained about the poor condition of the family. On the contrary, he loves her because she is left alone to shoulder the whole family. Below is the reason why her son does this:

Everytime I come to my birthday, my son will come back home (he lives on campus), buy a birthday cake, hug me with a kiss on my cheek and say: “*I love you so much, happy birthday mom*”. He is an adult but behaves like a kid [laugh] (AnHo)

When children can respect their parent and be responsible for themselves, it means that they could really care to others. The only simple action of the hug with a kiss to his mother on her birthday expresses that mothering (with precious traditional values) has permeated in his minds, even the mind of a biracial child. With the above evidence, it is reasonable to state that the mother is the moral discipline teacher for children. This is totally contrary to the social stigma carried by the Vietnamese immigrant mothers regarding mothering skills (see in section 4.2.2). Next the section, I shall show challenges which Vietnamese immigrant mothers have faced in mothering in order to become a good mother.

4.3 Vietnamese mothers’ challenges in mothering to become a good mother

In the literature review, I showed several challenges which Vietnamese immigrant women faced in mothering of transnational families. The evidence below will prove existing research and supplement new evidence in the studying about mothering challenges.

4.3.1 Unhappy marriages from Taiwan dreams

In this section, an unhappy marriage is presented with five different perspectives: a non-emotional relationship with the husband, non-supportiveness from the husband’s family, multiple-roles, gender ideology, and the economic burden. Each perspective was agreed on by 11 out of 16 participants. There are no subtitles for each perspective; rather, the inter-connection through quotations of data will be used instead.

ThuTra is a girl who lived in a poor village in Vinh Long province, Vietnam. Her family is a middle-income household (in comparison to others in rural areas) with nine

children; she is the youngest daughter. Her parents had to work hard all year round to feed nine children. Even though they were more financially well-off, 11 people was a huge problem. The older brothers and sisters gradually dropped out school, one from grade 10, other from was in grade 12, etc. They had to work to earn money for their younger siblings' education. ThuTra is the most fortunate of all siblings to finish grade 12, but failed the entrance exam. She found that the family was in a difficult situation. Her parents and brothers and sisters farmed, worked as hired laborers for living expenses. She decided to get married abroad to support her family. A friend in her neighborhood married a Taiwanese man, and she came back to Vietnam with beautiful clothes and the smell of expensive perfume. In addition, she often watched television series depicting life in Taiwan and dreamed of having a multi-storied house, a car, and the label "Viet Kieu" (Vietnamese who live abroad). She hoped to be a source of great honor to her family. ThuTra decided herself to make a journey to change her life as well as change the destiny of her poor family in Vietnam – to get married to a Taiwanese man. However, everything became contrary to the positive notion she had while she was still living in Vietnam. ThuTra is less fortunate to be married to a husband who doesn't love her, has an unstable job, and regularly commits adultery. Moreover, she is also in trouble with her husband's family. Since the birth of her daughter, her mother-in-law ignored her and her baby, with a very simple reason because she gave birth to a daughter. Her sister-in-law oftentimes confided in her that if she gave birth to a daughter, her mother-in-law would never look up because the same thing happened when her sister-in-law also gave birth to a daughter. However, her sister-in-law's second son has the love and care from the mother-in-law.

I feel very sad and disappointed because I asked him why he married me? He replied, "*I got married to you because I need a person to take care of my parents and do housework*".....When I was pregnant, I went out with my friends, if I craved for something, they would buy it for me, and my husband's family bought nothing for me. That is the reason why when I got married here I cried a lot. Even when I gave birth to my first child, I still cried and no one in my husband's family cares to me. During that time I felt extremely tense, I felt like I was crazy. When my child was eight months old, I began to receive dried tea for sorting, collecting some money for myself and my baby. (ThuTra)

Due to the poor family situation, the whole family (including their mother-in-law) had to rent a temporary house. Initially, she did not intend to have a baby because of the difficult family economic circumstances and unstable income from the husband. But with

an unplanned pregnancy, she had a baby and determined to raise her child with the money she made. As the role of a daughter-in-law who is concerned about housework, the role of a mother caring for her children with meals made by her own hands, she also assumes the role of a financial-provider to support the family and natal family. She undertook multiple-roles with the heart of a wholehearted woman for family. However, the husband did not change his patriarchal mind, did not care for her, and even commits adultery.

My husband does not help me at all. When I and he come back home from work, he just sits on the sofa with the smart-phone until I finish cooking for dinner and call him to come to the table for dinner. After that, he leaves all for me to wash and go to the room. All the housework is done by me, from sweeping the house, cleaning the house, cooking, washing dishes, hanging and folding clothes, etc. He only knows the smart-phone and checks our child's homework.....I work in this company every day to wash the stainless steel saucepan ... winter, my arm aches unbearably.....it's useless to tell to him. If I get sick, I told him about that, but he does not reply to me, so I make an appointment with doctor myself.....Last night, I drove my child to meet dentist and came back home at 8:30 pm, he did not ask me where we go and how is the daughter. (ThuTra)

Nevertheless, he does not abandon the responsibility of a father which every father should have. He still pays rent, electricity and water bills every month.

I just work and earn money for myself and my family's meals, my children's clothes or if my child gets sick, I will drive her to the doctor. He pays for rent, electricity and water bills, also supports that part. (ThuTra)

BiLi is a girl from a poor countryside in Tay Ninh province, Vietnam. Due to the difficult economic circumstances, she had to drop out of school in the 4th grade, in addition, her parents separated, which made her education end when she was just 10 years old. She chose to follow her mother because with her, she saw that her mother is a resilient and hard-working woman who can work alone to raise 2 children. An image of a woman who never bowed to fate is what she has been imprinted in her mind until now. In order to help her mom, she worked as a hired laborer with simple jobs such as peeling tamarind skin, and picking up pieces of bombs, bullets scattered throughout the fields after the Vietnam War. She was paid 8.000VND or 9.000VND (around 0.35USD) at that time, but she felt most happy with the money she made to help her mother. At the age of 17, she was raped and became pregnant with a baby girl. The family's economic situation was difficult, but now it became even more difficult. BiLi went to Ho Chi Minh City to establish a business with the hope to earn more money for her little daughter. She went to work for a family of

Vietnamese-Taiwanese marriage brokers. Her responsibility was to cook and also to clean the bedrooms for Vietnamese girls who waiting to be “picked out”. One day, four years later, because the host did not have enough of the “girls” for Taiwanese men, she thought she would try her luck at marrying a Taiwanese man. She thought it might be worth the risk to change her life and the life of her child living in the countryside waiting for money to be sent back monthly. “So thought so done”. She went to Taiwan herself and was shocked when she was first picked up from Kaohsiung airport where the city lights were brilliant and the traffic was more crowded. Her Sikou countryside seemed so remote compared to Kaohsiung city. In her heart, she screamed fearfully *"My God, where does this car drove me to?"* It was the first feeling when she went to this pearl island. When her husband arrived to his house at 2am, her husband just said *"my house"*, walked into the house, and went straight to the bedroom, leaving her with a bunch of suitcases. So she had to pick up the suitcases herself upstairs and sat there until morning because she did not know where to change clothes and bathe after a long day of weariness. The next morning, her mother-in-law called her downstairs to do housework under her guidance. She only stayed at home doing housework and did not go to work for three years; still, her mother still had a bad view of the Vietnamese brides and did not really care when she gave birth to her first child, nor did her husband:

My baby is healthy thanks to mother's milk, that happened thanks to my friend who cooked food for me when I just after I gave birth.....In the early morning, Phuong [my friend] secretly visited me and brought 2 cups of rice, and at lunch, she ran from her workplace to buy 2 cups of rice for me and went back to continue her work.....Phuong said: *"I remembered when my mother gave birth to her youngest. I made good food. My mother asked me to buy lean meat and then cooked it with pepper for storing fat and then eat with white rice; [mothers need to] eat more and drink water in order to have milk for baby"*. In the past, the old people fed post-birth women like this.....My mother-in-law and husband did not mind. When my mother-in-law brought me breakfast at 11am or 12am.....My mother-in-law cooked food for me to avoid the bad reputation not caring for her daughter-in-law. My children's good health is due to Phuong's work. She is very good; Saturday and Sunday she is with me for 2 days. (BiLi)

At the mention of the husband, tears rolled down her cheeks. She does not have the attention and sympathy of her husband. In addition, the male chauvinism she faced in the birth of her first daughter. Her parents-in-law and her husband felt disappointed about this and they are not interested whether she does well in the role as a mother, a wife and a daughter.

I felt sorry for my daughter because I did not make my daughter as a boy, because my husband's family hoped for a son to follow the lineage.I feel self-pity since I was pregnant until my baby was born, but my husband did not care; he doesn't buy any good food for me.He also did not buy me and my baby a warm coat in winter.I have to work to earn small amounts of money, collect the money to buy milk cans, bag diapers for baby.baby drinks few days for a milk can, 2 or 3 days for a bag of diapers.I can not make a big money, cannot collect money just in a few days.I told to my husband 2 days before out of milk can, but he still did not buy.even he drunk until 11 or 12 pm with his friends. (BiLi)

TiHai is from the northernmost part of Vietnam and is also one of the highest educated woman among all participants. She graduated from a training vocational school in accounting, worked for a Taiwanese company in Vietnam, and had a salary that many dreamed of at the time. Through the director's introduction at work, she got married to her boss's friend. To believe the introduction of her boss that "*you will change your life, and become a richer person when you come to Taiwan*" is a completely different story when she came to Taiwan. When she first arrived in Taiwan, she had been pregnant for 5 months, but because her first child was a daughter, her husband's family urged her to have another child, but it must be a son.

My husband said that "*If you give birth to a son, it's ok. But if you give birth to a daughter, I and you will die with my mother, or do you want to give birth more?*". When we went to the hospital for the fetal ultrasound, it was a son, and my husband's really happy and called to his mother immediately "Hey, mom, it's a son, a son". (TiHai)

However, the birth of a son to worship the Taiwanese ancestors did not give her mother-in-law a better view of Vietnamese brides. During her pregnancy, her father-in-law asked her to open a food shop at home to earn a little money, so she became a morning vegetarian vendor. At 4 am every morning, she had to get up early to prepare the merchandise, but no one in her husband's family awoke and supported her. At 7 am, her father-in-law gave her a hand and her business finished at 11 am. After that, she prepared lunch for the whole family. After lunch, 2pm was the time for her to go the field to weed, cultivate, and care for fruit trees with her husband and parents-in-law. Such strenuous work was not good for a pregnant woman. And after the birth of her second child, she only either sold breakfast foods or took care of the children. Shortly thereafter, her husband played cards and owed over one and a half million Taiwanese dollars. She negotiated with her husband to let her work in a company and leave the store for him to manage. As usual, she

got up at 4 am to prepare everything and then went to her workplace. After work, she needs either to care for her children or wrap four-cornered rice dumplings because her husband did not know to do that. Three years later, the store closed because it did not bring the high income to pay for her husband's debts. She continued her work and her husband became a rented driver. The first period of time in Taiwan was a terrible time for her:

I had to take care of children and prepare goods for sale the next day.....If two little children cried in mid-night, only I cared for them.....My mother-in-law and husband did not care or helped me with anything because they thought it was my duty. (TiHai)

Currently, her husband has not worked more than 4 years since her husband's legs are a bit difficult to move and he does not have any income at all. This has put the pressure on her shoulders with monthly bills, monthly school fees, food for the whole family, etc. That is also a reason why her two children have to both work and go to school to support their studying and living.

I feel very embarrassed because I can not take care of my baby enough to let my two children go to work every night to pay for school fees and living expenses.....of course, learning is important but if you do not have the money, you can not go to school, it forces them to go to work.....because I have no virtue, so I have a husband who does not know to do anything. (TiHai)

4.3.2 Stigmas and discrimination from society

Although I had anticipated the social stigmas and discrimination that Vietnamese immigrant women encountered in the process of studying the existing research literature. For example, Chen (2011) also mentioned the discrimination of Vietnamese immigrant women encountered in the workplace and in the community. Besides, I also discovered the learning failure of immigrant women's children (Hsieh & Wang, 2008) or the media reported that children of immigrant mothers tend to suffer from poor academic performance (Lan, 2008) and I was quite surprised about the prejudices those transnational families have toward their Vietnamese immigrant daughters-in-law.

BiLi has heard the bad rumors about the Vietnamese immigrant women many times, and she remembered as the words of an older lady near her home: "*Vietnamese girls like you come here only to take money, to take the wealth of the Taiwanese and bring back to Vietnam, but all of you do not love your husband and children*". That statement seems to prove that BiLi is also one of the Vietnamese women who appears in that older lady's

words. Moreover, she heard that “*Vietnamese come here with the main duty becoming a ‘reproduction machine’ for Taiwanese, but they do not know how to mother well*”. In the first period of time in Taiwan, BiLi felt really shocked by the bad ideas about the Vietnamese brides around her home. For her, living in the area with bad rumors about the Vietnamese brides (she herself being one of them) was a huge shock. There will even be comparisons between families if the bride is Vietnamese. They compare mothering, working, living expenses, etc.

Another narrative from NoLi shared sad memories of a friend who went to Taiwan with her 16 years ago. Her name is Trang. When she came here, her husband's family has kept all her private IDs to prevent her escape to Vietnam. Listening to the friend instigated Trang to find the passport to be able to buy airfare to come back Vietnam. So she rummaged through all the nooks in the house. Her husband's family then thought that she stole money, but she could not explain because of language barriers. Her husband's family claimed that she was a property thief, so they defamed her and forced her to divorce and go back Vietnam.

If her family considered her to be family members, they won't attribute to her the crime of "thief" and force her to divorce and come back Vietnam.....Her husband forced her to sign a divorce [paper].....If she told me sooner and then I could help her..... She told me that "*it is better to stay in Vietnam than here*".(NoLi)

Vietnamese immigrant mothers suffer from stigmas not only from society but also in their home by family members in mothering. Teaching children in Vietnamese seems a good education mission to bring a bright future for next generation, but this is considered the worst thing a mother could do (Lan, 2008:844).

My mother-in-law said, “*Why do you teach her in Vietnamese? [Do you] teach her to speak something bad so that no one knows what you and she are talking [about]?*” She also said “*My grandson is Taiwanese, teach Vietnamese for what? You two do not want to live in here any more? [Those] living in Taiwan must speak Chinese, but why speak Vietnamese?*”. Actually, my mother-in-law [was] just kidding, but I know her mentality. So I never speak Vietnamese with my children in front of husband family's members; I speak in Vietnamese with them in my room. (PuTu)

HoCu has lived in Zhuqi for 15 years. Because she has a Vietnamese eatery, I need to ask and help her to serve customers with bowls of Phở [Vietnamese traditional rice noodles] or sliced pieces of meat for Vietnamese bread, etc. From the day her husband died, she has

had to raise her children alone, a heavy burden placed on the shoulders of this little woman. She worked hard and wholeheartedly for the little son. One day, her son was playing the game continuously for hours and She asked him to stop but he disobeyed, so she said that “*If you do not listen to me, I will leave our home*”. Instead of responding with obedience, her only son uttered a sentence that she always remembers in her mind:

My son said, “*I am serious, all of you Vietnamese leave [their] children, it is not the first time I see this,. If you want to go, you can go*”. Oh my god, that sentence makes me feel so angry, and at that time I cried a lot for several hours. I was furious with him, I love him so much, I do not want to have a boyfriend or remarry with anybody because of him. My neighbors introduce me to a single man but I refuse all; my family in the U.S wants me to come there to remarry with a man but I also refuse.....I stay here because of him. (HoCu)

But in the end, her son apologized and promised not to say such words anymore. She shared to me that when her son becomes an adult, she will make public the amount of money which her son inherited from his father in order that he does not despise but rather appreciates Vietnamese immigrant mothers like her. The section of negotiation for these social stigmas and also discrimination is discussed in detail later (see in section 4.6.2).

AnHo also faced discrimination from her mother-in-law during her pregnancy. Part of it was because at that time, she had just come to Taiwan and was not familiar with local food tastes, therefore, she could not eat Taiwanese dishes, so she could only eat Vietnamese flavors. Her mother did not pay attention to that problem but only listened to heard the rumors of neighbors about her Vietnamese daughter-in-law who had recently arrived:

My mother-in-law thought that she bought me so I had to listen to her. If I do not listen to her, she will think that I am not good daughter-in-law. For example, I was pregnant, I felt uncomfortable in body, it is very difficult for me to eat something. In the winter, I just could eat rice with tomatoes and Thailand canned fish box which was dipped in fish sauce.....[The] neighbors told to my mother-in-law “*Tomatoes this season is very expensive and your daughter-in-law buys it every day*”.....My mother-in-law told to my husband that “*tell her do not buy it anymore, it is very expensive*”. (AnHo)

ThuTra not only has problems with her mother-in-law, but she is considered as a stupid person in mothering which came from the viewpoint of her husband:

When I first arrived to Taiwan, my mother-in-law said, “*You are Vietnamese, do not talk to me.*” She forbid me to talk to her.... My mother-in-law was upset, hated me, despised the Vietnamese, did not talk and did not care for me There

are many words written on the sign on the road, I do not know the meaning so I ask my husband so that I could teach my child later I ask him, he scorned me ignorant, not educated, every time I told to him, he despises me very muchHe said that I did not go to school [Chinese class], but I ask you, if you come here and have a full life, do not have to worry about money, and then you feel comfortable [enough] to learn. Otherwise if your life is not enough, you have to work and go to school in the evening. [H]ow could you have the mind to learn?(ThuTra)

TiDu is one of the only Vietnamese immigrant women among my participants who came to Taiwan via the labor cooperation. She met her husband at her workplace and went to get married. Although there is love from the husband, she still encounters discrimination from mother-in-law and her husband's siblings.

They think that I am Vietnamese so I will probably come back to Vietnam so they can not depend on me for help. Taiwanese are born and grow [up] here so they can depend on them for help....When I just gave birth, my parents [in-law] cared for me a little, [but] when my baby just turned 1 month old, they did not care anymore ... they only care for their grandchild [Taiwanese original children]. [M]y child is not cared [for] like this so I need to hire a nanny. (TiDu)

Nevertheless, the social stigmas sometimes come from Vietnamese immigrant women. PuTu, BiTu and AnHo have given negative viewpoints about Vietnamese immigrant women like themselves.

I know some people are [playgirls], do not go to work, [are] lazy, not cook for the husband's family, do not care for their children's studying ... even some of them cannot teach their children who are spoiled and [are] cheeky to elders I just talk to kind Vietnamese, I have little contact [with] unkind Vietnamese (Thu)

"sitting table" means sitting in there, [singing] karaoke, drinking wine [with] men, this is called KTV.... many are play[girls], [they] use brand name goods and they do not enough money, so they do that job . . . most of them play cards, gamble I have some friends who play [for] NT10,000 a turn ... even if they lose, they need to strip naked because of no money. To strip naked themselves for men [who are] looking ... [if] they have children at all, what happens if their children know about that ... I do not want to play with them much, I am afraid to be affected. (PuTu)

Oh my god, they [Vietnamese immigrant women] are play[girls], [they all] play the whore ... they come to Taiwan for money, not for love. [M]ost of them have dated youth workers, the Northern guys [who] come here as immigrant laborers, those guys have sweet-mouths and [are] handsome Taiwanese husbands are not handsome, they are all disabled persons who just come to Vietnam to find a Vietnamese bride...eventually, they can not stand their husband and leave out, they leave their children for husband; they remarry to other. (AnHo)

Social stigmas about Vietnamese immigrant women are ingrained in the consciousness of Taiwanese and this inadvertently affects the perception of the bi-racial children about

their mothers. KiHo's narrative will further illustrate the social stigmas that Vietnamese immigrant women encounter and how it influences the next generation.

KiHo is an activist promoting Vietnamese culture in Taiwan. She has come to many schools to lecture for students about Vietnamese culture. Once, she was invited to a juvenile detention center to motivate and guide them to the right orientation, in which most of them are children of Vietnamese immigrant women. She also asked, "*Today there are a lot of people in this class, but I do not know if anyone is a bi-racial child. Could you raise your hand for me to know? Let me get to know you*". Initially, no one admitted to their heritage; no one dared raise their hand. Later, through several private conversations with bi-racial children, she learns the root cause of the problem:

These children feel complex; they dare not identify themselves as bi-racial children. That means that in this society, the mother was despised. The mother has been labeled as a bad mother, so this affects the next generation. Because they think that "*Well, people say foreign brides are not good, maybe I am also affected and people will think that I am not good, too*" or "*I am a person who is not well educated from my mother*". So these children feel very complex. (KiHo)

The school is where the bi-racial kids meet the most discrimination from their peers. HoTa recalled that her daughter confided in her about getting teased by her peers who said, "*Her mom is Vietnamese. Do not play with her.*" She felt very sorry for her little daughter because of her condition. HoCu also shared that after her husband died, the problems related to the son's schooling have increased. "*He told me about his friends teasing him, laughing at him without a father and a mother [who] is Vietnamese*".

4.3.3 Language barriers

Language is the key to connect people around the world. As Xoan (2005) mentioned, Vietnamese immigrant women, in their initial arrival to Taiwan, meet with a big problem with communicating to the husband's family. Through the result of this data, language not only interferes with the initial period of time, but also even when Vietnamese immigrant mothers have lived in Taiwan for many years, they continue to encounter language barriers. The evidence below will demonstrate the language barriers that appear throughout the mothering process and how they have a negative impact on the development of bi-racial children.

KiNo said that when she was pregnant with her first child, the medical service in Taiwan 14 years ago was much better than in Vietnam, most of the time. She was carefully

and thoroughly instructed by a team of doctors and nurses at the hospital. However, her biggest problem was language. Additionally, her mother-in-law only spoke Taiwanese, which made her feel even more confused during her pregnancy. No matter what she did or where she went to, her mother also reminded her to be careful. However, sometimes she did not understand what her mother-in-law said and this created unwarranted conflicts.

You know, it is really good, when you come to hospital to have pregnancy test. The doctor will teach you everything. But they teach something I understand, something I cannot understand because I just came to Taiwan at that time so my Chinese is not good..... my mother-in-law also reminded me but I did not understand what she said although she reminded [me] really carefully. (KiNo)

Almost all the participants answered that they cannot help their children with their homework, because they cannot read Mandarin fluently and understand what the teachers ask for, or comment on their child in the school report. They will ask their husband to look at their child's homework or ask their child to translate what the teachers wrote in the school report instead.

I rarely check my son's homework I do not understand what are written inside school reports. [I]t is my difficulty in mothering, his teacher wrote a lot in school report but I do not understand, it is not Vietnamese. How could I understand all[?] (NuNo)

I cannot help my children with homework ... I do not know how to write Chinese ... I am a low-educated person so I do not know how to teach them (AnTu)

I do not know how to teach them. I really want to study with my children. [A]fter school, I will study and make homework with them, I want myself to teach them but I cannot, I do not know Chinese words. [I]t is the reason why I let them study in cram school after school until 8 pm. (BiTu)

After work, my husband usually checks her homework ... some homework I can help her, but almost [all] her homework I do not know (smile) My husband is the main checker for her homework (KiHo)

Another problem in which previous studies have little remarks is the difficulty of using Chinese language to convey the feelings of Vietnamese immigrant mothers to their children. Since most of the bi-racial children cannot speak Vietnamese, it is very difficult for Vietnamese immigrant mothers to express their feelings, sorrow, or confidence in life for her children.

I feel that there are a certain distance between us [her and her son] because he does not speak Vietnamese, so I confide in him in Chinese. When I speak Chinese, I feel it is not equal to my mother tongue. I prefer talking to my child in my mother tongue but my child does not speak Vietnamese. Chinese cannot describe emotionally what I want to say to my child. (NuNo)

In general, although you can [speak in] Chinese, your language, emotions, [and] feelings cannot be expressed all. So sometimes I [get] really annoy[ed], easy to collide, easy to be crazy (smile). Because I cannot use Chinese to express my emotions, sometimes it is also very annoying. (NoLi)

Teaching Vietnamese to the next generation is prevented by the husband's family. This is another aspect of the language barrier and perpetrates the social stigma. It especially affects the boys who are supposed to be first paternal grandson. These grandsons receive much covering and protection from the husband's family. Even their eating, sleeping, walking, and learning is closely monitored, and they will not give any exceptions to these boys to be able to learn Vietnamese. On the other hand, for girls, this problem is not serious. Vietnamese immigrant mothers can do mothering in their own way and are less supervised by their husband's families, so it is easier for Vietnamese immigrant mothers to teach daughters in their mother tongue. That is the reason why the percentage of daughters speaking Vietnamese well is higher than the sons (look at table 2).

My husband's family does not like me to teach Vietnamese for children, I am a wife, a daughter-in-law so I do not dare to argue [M]y situation is unlucky but it's also lucky because my mother-in-law does not care to my first daughter, so I took care of her myself. I gradually teach her Vietnamese a little day by day, now she can speak two language fluently (BiLi)

Nevertheless, the prohibition from the husband's family is just one factor. Another factor that contributes to not speaking to the children in Vietnamese is a lack of confidence and an inferiority complex about Vietnamese immigrant mothers' own language. They believe that learning Vietnamese will not help their children in the future because the country they live in uses Chinese, not Vietnamese. In addition, they also think that teaching three languages (Chinese, Taiwanese and Vietnamese) at the same time will lead to heavy learning pressure for their children.

Because they learn Chinese very weakly, if I teach them Vietnamese more, they could not absorb much [S]tudying Vietnamese is not applicable, there is no one who they can speak Vietnamese with. (TiNa)

The biggest mistake of my life is not teaching Vietnamese to my children since childhood. On the one hand, I am afraid that my children learn many languages and get neurological disease, so I do not teach them in Vietnamese, it was my biggest mistake. On the other hand, my husband's family does not like me teaching Vietnamese to them, they will feel unhappy. At that time, I just come here, I do not know anything so I'm scared of everything. Now, I think that it is the biggest mistake of my life. (NoLi)

4.4 Vietnamese mothers' negotiation in mothering to become a good mother

Most of the Vietnamese immigrant women have the same opinion as trying to endure and persevere in an unhappy family because of their children. In Confucianism, the woman must fulfill the responsibility of a mother who keeps the harmonious family (Phan, 2012; Hunt, 2005). Besides the having an image of a woman with multiple roles in modern society, Vietnamese immigrant women still retain the traditional image of women who are wholeheartedly concerned for the family, especially for children.

TiHai, after much bickering and her husband's billion debt [NTD], one day the couple quarreled and she made the decision to divorce. She asked two crying children "*Daddy and Mommy cannot stay together anymore, so who do you want to be with? Follow me or follow him.*" One ran to hug her father, while the other ran to hug her mother and both of them shook their heads for the separation. The boy asked her: "*What is the matter between you and dad that you decide to divorce? How about me? Who will raise us up? Please don't divorce, could you?*". Tears rolled down her eyes and after that night she decided to stay in an unhappy marriage to keep a full family for her two young children.

I can [tolerate] having no husband, but I must have my children. I can work hard for them anyhow. [F]or me, my children are the most important. In 18 years with my husband, I can leave him, but I never leave my children. [W]e often quarrel and I said, "Divorce is very simple, [but because] I do not leave you it does not mean that I love you. I stay in this house for my children so it lasts until now" (TiHai)

ThuTra is another example of a shallow understanding of the law. Her husband is very cool and unmindful to her and her daughter as well, and often commits adultery. One day, during a quarrel, her husband sent her out of the house and she demanded to take the daughter with her. But he refused and threatened her by keeping the daughter with him and forbidding her to meet the daughter anymore. Finally, she has accepted to stay in the unhappy marriage because of her daughter. Her natal family also advised leaving this husband because there would not be a good ending, and leave the child for him. However, she can not leave this little child:

He asked me to sign the divorce paper, but I do not accept Now, I do not care who he will date, now I only care for my daughter. [N]ow, if he invites any girls coming home, I also say nothing I sacrifice my life for her If I do not meet her every day I would be crazy, so no choice to stay in this marriage days by days. (ThuTra)

BiLi often suffered from her husband's curses after every time he went carousing, even sometimes thrashing her until she was black and blue. I interviewed her in early December 2017. By mid-January 2018, I came back to check on her health and asked about some

missing information. I remember that evening even though I had contacted her at noon. When I arrived, her house was disturbed as if it had just been burgled. She had just finished cleaning up the glass pieces on the floor because her husband shoved her into the tray of glass vases used to grow baby orchids. She was doing this in order that I could go inside the house without trampling glass fragments. Her body had bruises, and there were scars on her arm that were created by the fragments of glass after the thrashing by her husband. I also asked why she did not call the police and ask for help, but she only answered with a teary eye while embracing her 2-year-old son:

My younger brother [what she calls me], I will tell you. I could call the police to ask for the protection certificate but it means that my husband would not be able to stay at home and close to my children If I do that, my child will have a pressure that is why parents do not live together? And then they will feel complex because of the family circumstances [M]y pressure is really heavy, but I can stand [it] as long as my family is enough father and mother for children; it's ok.(BiLi)

Similar to the stories mentioned above, NoLi also made her point about keeping a complete family when she often had quarrels with her husband for different views on parenting due to their age gap.

Although my husband does not care much for children, if you [separate], it also misses a certain part of life. Although we do not [agree] in the viewpoint of parenting, if [we] parent as a couple that is different to just [doing it alone] [T]he family having parents is still better although [there is] no care from [the] father even a strong woman still need a man to be with her. (NoLi)

In this study, there is a special case of KiHo, a woman who remarried after experiencing an unhappy marriage. The remarriage is not for her own benefit but for her daughter because KiHo always wants to compensate for the daughter's lack of love from a father.

I told him [the second husband]: "If Trinh does not love you and you do not love her, I would never marry you, because I lived for my daughter so much, and I persevere everything also for her." I always want my child to have enough father and mother so that she does not feel complex with [her] peers, but I also have to consider whether he treats my daughter well or not? [It was] not because I love him [that] I get married to him, never. (KiHo)

These are the views on maintaining and healing an "unhappy" family so that it is not broken from the perspective of Vietnamese immigrant women. In what follows, I shall give the ways and actions which they have made to realize these views.

4.4.1 The cultivation of intimate relationship for family members

Intimate relationship between mothers and children

Firstly, spending time with children is the key to the development of intimate relationships between mother and child. Eleven out of the 16 participants had answers related to the time factor. In the modern times, the image of a traditional women just at home, caring for her husband's family, is too old and instead the image of modern women are busy with work and are equal to men. However, modern life is so much different from traditional life, and women are less likely to spend more time with their children. Therefore, the balance between work and children is very important to promote the development of intimate relationships.

KiHo recalled the days after giving birth. She struggled a lot because she did not know what to do when her husband did not provide money to buy essential necessities for her baby. She wanted to work but she was afraid that her parents-in-law could not care well for her child, so the last solution was receiving processed goods at home. Although she received a low salary, she could have flexible time and at least give the best care for her child.

At the time, my mind is disturbed, I feel that my life is not stable ... I'm afraid of losing my babyI do not let anyone take care of my baby, I want anything myself to do for her.....I receive processed goods.....[A]t home, for cooking time I go to the kitchen, to cleaning house time I clean up, to eating time for the baby, I let her eat.....[M]ostly in the evening, my baby go to sleep and I work until over midnight. One month I get NT17,000 or NT18,000, I stayed up so late that I was almost exhausted.[P]rimarily, I want to have time to take care of my baby, I do not feel comfortable to work outside. (KiHo)

Although my work of planting baby orchids at home has a low income, I could be with my children, because now I still have energy so I could try to do this job. [M]y son is too young [2 years old], I cannot work in the daytime, I just could work over midnight when he sleeps at nightI sleep very little, around 3 or 4 hours a day. (BiLi)

KiNo has opened her Vietnamese eatery over 14 years after her first child turned 2 years old. Her daily work is wake up around 5 am to sell vegetables in front of her eatery and prepare materials for selling Vietnamese food at night markets. She could not be off any day in a week because of losing regulars. She does not have time for her children until she recognized herself the gap between her and her children when she just meets them several evenings a week. It was then that she changed her schedule to heal the mother-children relationship.

I need to work. I work all day so I do not have time. Even when I sometimes pick them up from school, their teacher does not accept to pick up them. You know, my children studies [under] this teacher, but school change teacher several months later so the new teacher does not [know] me, they just know the nanny who often picks my children up. ... Later, I think that if it still lasts for a long time, the love between mother and children will be faded. So I am off on Monday to pick them up from school. (KiNo)

To mothers who work in the company, they could not get off on a weekday like KiNo did for her children, they even have to work overtime to save more money. However, the weekend time is their golden key to promote intimate relationships with them and children.

I sell pork all days in a week and my children [are] just off on Saturday and Sunday. [S]o, in the Saturday and Sunday, I sell in the morning and afternoon, [and then] I often drive them to park, game zone in malls, or to eat something, etc. I want to have more time for them on weekends. (AnTu)

In the Saturday and Sunday, I often drive my child to somewhere because he [husband] never let us to somewhere.... [I]f he said that he works on weekends, who could prove that? . . . [S]o my child is closer to me than her father....I want to spend more time with her because I live for her now. (ThuTra)

In Taiwan, according to the sharing from the Vietnamese immigrant women, the school's teacher-parent conference for the children is not required. "*If I am busy I will write that I cannot go to parent meeting, it's ok*" (HoTa) or "*In Taiwan, if you do not go to parent meeting, it is okay, no problem*" (Ngoc). However, in Viet Nam not attending teacher-parent conference shows that parent is not interested in their children's schooling because I am a Vietnamese researcher who spent 12 years in the Vietnamese education system from primary school to high school, so I am aware of the importance of teacher-parent conference. Indeed, it require all parents to attend meetings to receive feedback from the teacher about their children (Hedges, Flear, Flear-Stout & Hanh, 2016). Preserving this view, 3 out of 16 Vietnamese immigrant women still believe strongly that when they receive the invitation to attend the teacher-parent conference, they are still willing to attend and even ask husbands to go with them to show their interest in children's schooling.

I am interested in my children's schooling. If the teacher invited me to attend the parent meeting, no matter how busy I am, I will go. Teachers send the invitation in advance that what date the parent meeting will be held, and then I try to arrange my work to go in order to my children does not feel complex because the parent does not interest to their schooling. (NoLi)

If I am busy, my husband will go or on the contrary, if my husband is busy, I will go. But now I would like both of us [as a couple to] go to parent meeting

because I want [us as a] couple talk to her teacher; it means that if my daughter has any problems, we will ask teacher cares for her more in school time. When the parent is not to be with daughter, the teacher will be an important person to educate my child....I think that parent meeting is very important so our couple must go there. (KiHo)

Another interesting thing that was discovered in this study is the sleep habits of the children of Vietnamese immigrant women. They said that most Taiwanese mothers will practice self-reliant behavior for their baby from childhood so they will put babies in a cradle and separate a room for the children. However, Vietnamese immigrant women thought that if they are separate from their children since childhood, it will be dangerous for children because they cannot manage babies' situation at night. *"If the baby [is] vomiting, then how can I know, [the] baby can easily suffocate....I am afraid that baby is not warm enough because at 6 or 7 months old, [the] baby may [kick away] the blanket; they do not know how to cover the blanket themselves I absolutely do not agree to sleep separately"* (BiLi). Moreover, children will not feel the love from mothers and it is very difficult to increase the intimate relationship between mother and children. Therefore, they still keep the habit of sleeping with their children even if their children have attended secondary or high school. Likewise, sleeping with children helps control their behaviors and it is an opportunity to teach children about the moral values of life.

From Monday to Friday I and husband sleep late, it influences to her schooling next day. Saturday she is off so she can sleep [in the same bed] with us ...our family 3 members sleep together at night, so I think that if our family can sleep together, the love will be tighter. (KiHo)

In the evening, I and my children sleep [in the same bed] together and I often ask them "Anything new in your class today?" and then they will say a lot to me. I feel that if I do this, I can express my interest to children's schooling (NoLi)

She is very like to hear about Vietnam before sleeping. I told to her about my life in Vietnam since I was childhood like her. It is the reason why she likes to learn Vietnamese and come back Vietnam. (ThuTra)

Before sleeping, I often told to him some moral stories...[I say,] "The most important human qualities are to love everyone, kindness, and you must have the honest." I always remind him about these....because [my] husband died, so he is my only relative in here, I am familiar to sleep [in the same bed] with him, I feel pleasant and peace of mind when sleeping [near] him. If he does not sleep [near] me, I do not feel peace in mind. (NuNo)

Secondly, understanding the mind of children is the key to increase intimate relationships between children and mothers. ThuTra is a woman who understands the psychology of her daughter very much. Only by pretending to be an illiterate person in

order to her child teach her to read and write in Chinese was the intimate relationship between her and daughter to become stronger and stronger. She created a comfortable mentality for her daughter at home and gained a little pride in class.

Every time she comes to class and says to the teacher that she teach me in Chinese at home. I [say to her], “Could you teach me writing and reading in Chinese, I do not know how to do it.” In fact, I already know those words, I want my daughter to feel happy becoming a teacher for her mom. (ThuTra)

KiNo started having trouble buying clothes for her daughter. She had bought clothes for her children since childhood. But, when her daughter went to secondary school, she refused to wear these clothes and would not tell mom her why she refused to wear them. Without giving up, Ngoc tried to look at her child and understood why she did not wear the clothes she bought. By understanding her daughter's idea of fashion, the affection between her and daughter became closer.

I buy many clothes for her but she does not wear. [S]he has 2 shirts and wears them until being torn, sometimes I feel crazy about that. Now, I understand her habits. My daughter does not want to wear clothes which are tight [on] her body and she only wants to wear white and pink colors. If I buy other colors and something she does not like, she never says anything [but] puts them in somewhere until she grows in stature and throws it away. (KiNo)

BiLi believes that the education of children in modern ideas will help affection between mother and children grow. Contrary to that idea, her husband retains the traditional fathering and gradually creates a gap between him and children.

I often talk to my children as their siblings, so if they have any problems, they will confide in me, especially not to their father. My children do not like their father because they said that “In the past, how grandparent teach dad, dad teach us like that.” (BiLi)

HoTa does not have time for going out with her children because she is very busy with her Vietnamese restaurant all days in a week. However, she knows how to explain and get their sympathies to her situation.

Sometimes, they said “Only Saturday and Sunday you stay at home with us.” I answer, “Now, you two are young, I try to work. [W]hen you grow up, your school fee is very much, instead of driving you to somewhere to play, I use that amount of money to pay your school fee. If you do not have money, you have to work and go to school at the same time, poor you, right?”.... I often encourage them “If you love me, please try to study to get high scores and then I won't feel a headache anymore.” In fact, I do not feel a headache but I want them to sympathy for me and try to study, I do not force them anything, I just get their sympathy. (HoTa)

Finally, mothers' words and actions are always catalysts to help children understand and love their mothers more. Because through words, people will understand all the emotional feelings that someone wants to give to them (Tambiah, 1968) and through actions will help people feel more clearly what we do it for whom and for what.

I told to my children “*you are my “museum piece”*” so I love you, you are of my piece of gold, so I love you so much”. I have to say that to let them know how much I love them (TiHan)

I think that if I love him, I have to say that for him to know. I show him how to express his care to others, if he cares to certain one, he has to say that person know that, or they never know that you are caring them.....Sometimes, I hug him on the bed and said “*Oh my god, my darling, my darling, my darling I love you so much*” [laugh] (BiTu)

In the case of HoCu and NuNo, their husbands have died, so they try to compensate to their children in affection and kind words what they think should be done on behalf of their fathers. NuNo was very difficult and scolded her son in the past because she thought that doing so would educate him better and make him obey more. But after her husband died, she changed her mind about mothering and her son recognizes this change:

After his father died, I loved him more. In the past, I am very difficult to him, if he makes something wrong, I will punish or scold him, etc.....Poor him, he lost father forever so I do not want to torment him anymore.....He asked me “*Why you do not punish me like you did before?*”.....I am easier and often say “*I love you*” to make up for the love he lacks from the father. (NuNo)

Likewise, HoCu also agrees with the viewpoint of compensating for the father’s love to her son. She undertakes roles from caregiver to breadwinner in the family. Sometimes, her son has problems in school; she will listen and try to motivate him to overcome these difficulties.

I want to be on behalf of his father, becoming father and mother.....because sometimes, his friends teased him in school, so I need to console him that “*It is okay, do not listen to them, I love you okay? I love you so much*”.....Then, I have to go to school to solve the problem that he encountered. (HoCu)

Intimate relationship between fathers and children

For Vietnamese immigrant women, living in an unhappy family and with a bad husband does not mean that they will let these negative thoughts influence the minds of children about their fathers. On the contrary, they will only convey good things about their father and if children ask them about something bad that their father did, they will explain and defend the honor of these fathers.

BiLi's daughter repeatedly asked her why she only bought milk and baby diapers for her younger brother and why only she works at night while the father works in the daytime. Sometimes, the daughter's careless questions that come from her life's observation of family relationships make BiLi confused. However, that is not why she says bad things or laments the irresponsibility of her husband to the daughter. Conversely, she explained carefully and thoroughly to the daughter about her father and the current circumstances of the family.

I said “trying to study, we [the parents] have worked hard, although your father is less responsible a little bit, I have to praise your father also working hard to earn money for our family like me, so my darlings [children] have to try to study, ok? The adult's problem is theirs, do not think too much. Moreover, per person per fate, maybe your fate is not good enough so your father does not love you much like your peers, but I will love you more” (BiLi)

Or a very naive question may come around Lunar New Year, “*Why does dad not give me lucky money?*” Again, she has to protect her husband's image in front of the daughter.

Probably, he forgot in this year, next year I ask him to give you lucky money, ok? Next year, I have to play the role of father. I prepared two more red envelopes for my children and said that it comes from your father. I can not change my husband's thought so I have to play two roles at the same time so that my children have a smile. (BiLi)

NoLi's family had a problem with the father's use of the traditional ideas imposed on their present life. According to her, the age range between her and husband is quite large, which leads to conflicts in parenting and make the children feel uncomfortable. There are even bad thoughts about their father. That is not why she is on the side of the children, she stands neutral and tries to explain why their father has such thoughts and then discusses with her husband about parenting (see section 4.6.4).

My husband's personality is very old-fashioned.....[M]y son said “[D]addy, tomorrow my school has a picnic trip, could you give me NT1,300 to pay fee?” and my husband answered, “When I was a child like you I do not go anywhere, now you have everything, everything is happy, everything is available.” [M]y son feel touchy and said to me when I come back home, “Dad always compares my life to his old life” and I appeased. [saying] “It is ok, please sympathize for him, your father is old so thinking is different to present, dad just say that but [do not worry], if you want money to pay, tell me, ok?” (NoLi)

I still remember interviews with ThuTra as the tears flowed down her face all the time because she is in such a poor condition. She told about a lot of difficulties from the

first time coming to Taiwan until now and about her husband's adultery. But she has never complained to daughter about her father.

Huy: Have you ever confided in your daughter about her father?

ThuTra: I rarely talk bad about him with my daughter, I am afraid that it will affect her later ... she has slept [in the same bed as] her father since childhood; she loves him very much, both of them sleep on a pillow, two faces close together.... [S]he always said that her father is the most handsome one, if someone decry her father, she will tell that her father is the best father in the world [W]ith such an innocent thought, I do not want her to have a bad prejudice about her father; he is her father anyway. If I convey bad things from her father and then she will hate her father, I do not want this to happen.

KiHo is a remarried woman and her daughter lives with the next father. Although she is not his biological daughter, he does love and care for her. However, this is not why he spoils her. He is a lecturer at a famous university in Taiwan, so everything must be in its vicinity. The point of his fathering is that children must be responsible for their work, be responsible for the room they are in, etc. However, KiHo's daughter cannot meet his expectations because she is rather lazy. One day, KiHo was on a business trip and her daughter called, "I do not want him to come back home, I do not want to see dad; dad is very difficult to me." KiHo remained calm and explained to her daughter why her father has such strict views toward her.

Dad loves you very much, dad will not ask you anything, dad just hopes you mature. Dad only hopes that you live useful for society so that people know that you are a good girl who respects and obeys her parent....Dad does not want you to be a lazy girl and let people decry you. Dad is not difficult to you anything; if dad does not love you, he won't care [about] you anymore. (KiHo)

AnHo is the opposite case; she maintains the father and son affection between her husband by giving examples of a possible bad relationship in the future between the father and the son.

They meet and talk a little bit each other and then there is a problem between them; so I often told to my husband "*If you scold him, maybe he does not want to see you anymore in someday*"...."*[Speak] softly to him, do not scold him anymore, or when you are old, he deprive you of food; he [might] not give you money for meals.*" [F]ortunately, my son is dutiful to his father; he never argue to father; it is the reason why I always told my husband about that or maybe they won't see each other in someday. (AnHo)

4.4.2 The confrontation to social stigmas

To remove the social stigma labelled on Vietnamese immigrant women in general, these women have strategies of overcome that gradually emerge from within the family

and then increase at the macro level in society. In the past, when the communication media was not developed, the eradication of these stigmas might never have seemed possible. Today, however, with the increased attention from the government and the modern media, the improvement of the image of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan has gradually gained much success.

First of all, the study will provide evidence at the family level that is typical of the changing the views of family members regarding the labels they put on Vietnamese immigrant women. As discussed in section 4.5.2, Taiwanese families have bad thoughts about Vietnamese brides as "miners" who came to Taiwan just to bring money back to their natal family. To fight for this view, NoLi, TiHai and AnHo will be eloquent witnesses of labors of their own energy. Ironically, they are also the main spiritual and economic support for the husband's family.

During her first days in Taiwan, AnHo was assigned to a clothes shop with her husband. Due to poor management, the clothes shop bankrupted and she changed her job to be a tailor for more than 10 years. However, the income was not enough to support her son's education, and she was internally compelled to send her son to her mother-in-law and aunt for help in schooling. For her part, she needs to pay for her and her disabled husband's monthly living expenses. This is too much for a 54 years old woman. According to my observations obtained through meetings at her store, the husband's only duty is to drive her to the store at 9am, buy lunch, and drive her back home at 7 pm, but he does nothing else because he is a disabled person.

Do you think that it is easy to take their money [husband's family]? I have been here for a long time, when I returned Vietnam, she [my mother-in-law] was afraid of I will leave my husband alone. I told to my son "because I cannot earn much money so I am forced myself to send you to grandmother and aunt for helping your schooling; your father cannot work, do you see any men just stay at home like him?".....[N]ow nobody [husband's family] gives me a penny.....I have to pay for monthly bills of electricity, water, rent, etc. If I ask him to buy anything, I will give back. I do not take any coins from him. [H]e has enough money for his meals [for] which I am enough very lucky. [He gets a subsidy from the government for disabled people which is NT4500, and also money from his mother, which is NT6000 per month]. (AnHo)

TiHai (the woman noted in section 4.5.1) is a spiritual and material support for her husband and children presently because her husband has not worked more than 4 years because he has a problem of the leg.

I told my husband, "Now if I divorce you and go out with my children, I [would be] very happy because I do not need to worry for anyone; currently the children can earn a little money or I can work overtime to pay for their school fees, but now staying in this house I have to care for everyone".... [A]lthough I hate my husband but if he lacks money, I still give him, [if] my parents-in-law need money, I have to give them; it is my responsibility.... Now if he wants to eat something, he will ask me to cook. [H]e depends on me; he considered that it is my responsibility even though he is at home doing nothing. (TiHai)

It was mentioned in section 4.5.1 regarding BiLi's story and bad rumors about Vietnamese immigrant women. People said things like, "*Vietnamese girls like to come to Taiwan and bring wealth back to Vietnam, but all of you do not love your husbands and children*". BiLi denied this image of Vietnamese immigrant women in general, as well as for herself.

Dear Aunt, I am really sorry, I do not know whether your family has a Vietnamese bride or not, but I confirm that what are you thinking is completely wrong In here, we also work, saving for our children; and in Lunar new year, we also want to send a little money for our parents only because of filiality.... If you have a daughter [and she] gets married far away, do you want your daughter to return home and have a little gift for you, do you think that is right or wrong?.....We come here and work very hard to earn money, not only staying at home and ask[ing] husbands [to] give us money to send back Vietnam.... You are Taiwanese. You know that nobody puts a pile of money at home and we come here to bring it back for our natal parent[s]; have you ever seen anyone like that?.....She said that she understood and she won't think like that anymore.....I am angry because I do not do that. [W]hy I am labelled? I have to correct myself and other Vietnamese sisters. (BiLi)

Secondly, I would like to mention about changing children's thoughts about Vietnamese mothers via academic achievement. Bi-racial children often encounter discrimination from society, especially in the school environment. They suffer from contempt and isolation from peers because they have a Vietnamese mother. To remove this, Vietnamese immigrant mothers step by step change their children's views about their origins — one half Vietnamese blood. Vietnamese immigrant mothers have improved the social view of the image of a Vietnamese mother who is not good in mothering. They have done this through encouraging and motivating their children to achieve good academic performance in school and from there, helping their children take pride in themselves.

My daughter in school was teased by her friends, "*Her mom is Vietnamese, do not play with her.*" I also encourage her, "*[D]o not to pay much attention; you should try to study well so that they will not despise you anymore.*" Because Taiwanese see Vietnamese in a different eye, they think [bi-racial] children are not as good as they are. So my daughter tries to study. Finally, she studies better than others. Her academic achievement ranked first in her class; her peers do not despise her anymore, even they ask her about homework (HoTa)

I always encourage my daughter “*never give up when someone said that your mother is Vietnamese; do not feel shy or feel inferior to others.*” I have to explain this to my daughter since childhood, so she also understands partly and have a happiness because she is a bi-racial child who is [more] intelligent than peers a little bit.....I found that the children of the Vietnamese [who are born conceived] with the Taiwanese [are] more intelligent, so I always encourage my child [to say], “*My mother is Vietnamese [and] is not worse than others. My mother also teaches the Vietnamese language for students.*” (BiLi)

As mentioned in KiHo’s story, there is a juvenile detention center where most of them are half Taiwanese and half Vietnamese children. She had captured the psychology of the children from previous conversations in schools and was able to arouse the dignity of these bi-racial condition of children instead of just giving an excuse to give up.

“*Chinese is not my native language, but I have the [courage] to stay here to share by [my] local language. [S]o you all must to understand that, firstly, Vietnamese women also try to promote Vietnamese culture in Taiwan. Secondly, we have tried to teach Vietnamese for second generation in schools, so we were brave right? Is this a good thing or a bad thing?*” They clapped their hands. Next, I asked, “*Surely some of you here are bi-racial children, right?*” So they raised their hands a lot. I think that I have to use a method which helps them feel comfortable to [be] self-aware of themselves. I have to introduce myself first so that they can see that the Vietnamese have nothing to feel complex and embarrassed about. Then, I added “*All of you have to take responsibility for replacing your mother to introduce Vietnamese culture and teaching Vietnamese for your friends, do you agree?*”.... Even in universities, after I lectured about Vietnamese culture, there were a lot of bi-racial children who wanted to take pictures with me. They said, “*My mother is also Vietnamese*”.... I feel these children gradually change their views on the Vietnamese mother. They no longer feel contempt for their mothers. At least they are willing to learn and dare to stand in front of the crowd saying, “*I am the child of a Vietnamese mother*” (KiHo)

Moreover, ThuTra and PuTu expect their children to become a teacher of the Vietnamese language to express the sorrows and worries of Vietnamese women in Taiwan. This is so the next generation’s activities will help them remove the stigma which society has labeled upon Vietnamese immigrant women.

I dream that my child will become a teacher to express the [troubles and struggles] of Vietnamese mothers in Taiwan, because we have the same thought that wish[es] everyone [to] consider us as the normal people in society. But you can not change this just in one night, you have to start with children. [W]e will teach them good things about Vietnamese brides and bi-racial children and then they come back and talk to their family and gradually the society will have a good view about us. (PuTu)

I like my child becoming a language teacher. I want her to teach Vietnamese in order to speak the Vietnamese’s voice in Taiwan, to protect [the] Vietnamese [reputation]. [B]ut now she [is] just a kid, I do not know whether she can or cannot (ThuTra)

Thirdly, we consider the view on community service of Vietnamese immigrant women. In March 2018, it is also the time for writing graduation theses. But I am also very fortunate to be part of an educational program for migrant foreign women to become teachers or interpreters which is held at Sikou Elementary School in Chiayi for five weeks. My duty is to look after and teach Vietnamese to children of immigrant women, mostly Vietnamese women. PuTu, a Vietnamese mother who attended the class, said that she came to this class not only because she wanted to have a degree for teaching Vietnamese, but also for other important reasons. She wants to be a teacher in order to change the social view of Vietnamese women in Taiwan.

I do not want to be despised. Taiwanese people despise Vietnamese[us], so I determined to go to school to get a degree in teaching Vietnamese. I also bring my children here for them to know that their mother is eager to learn and can become teachers like the Taiwanese. Moreover, there are little friends like them here; they can study and support each other. If my daughter studies well in future, we can teach Vietnamese to students and then the image of the Vietnamese community will develop here (PuTu).

BiLi attended these classes from the previous programs and also shared the ideas of improving the image of Vietnamese immigrant mothers in Taiwan through teaching Vietnamese for the second generation.

I also participate[d] in government-sponsored classes for foreign brides. I found these programs very useful because my children are not just in Taiwan in [the] future, they can go to Vietnam or go somewhere [else] and introduce the Vietnamese culture in there; they are the bridge between Taiwan and Vietnam I join in these programs not only [to] teach the Vietnamese language for students, but also know how to teach my children If I do something useful for the society, then how can my children feel complex anymore? I have to do something let my children understand that their mother is a Vietnamese person very interested in the community. (BiLi)

KiHo has the same ideals, and in addition, she teaches her daughter about moral values through volunteering.

KiHo: I told my daughter that I wish her to be a language teacher [I]f she has the opportunity, she can go to poor villages in Vietnam to teach English or Chinese free for poor students. I want her to contribute to our Vietnamese society.

Huy: Have you ever thought about your daughter's income in doing volunteering?

KiHo: I do not want her to think much about money because if today she only thinks about money, surely she cannot serve others, she just thinks for herself more...[I tell her to] "*use your time, youth, and strength to devote to society.*"...I always told [her], "*You should feel happy to have a house to stay,*

while in society there are many people [who] do not have a house to live, no food to eat every day, so you have to feel happy for [a life] better than others”....
[S]o I educate my child, first of all helping her to be aware that a child in society should do something meaningful, not just live for herself.

Finally, we examine the merit accumulation for children from the perspective of Buddhism. With the viewpoints of community service mentioned above, Vietnamese immigrant mothers continue to associate these viewpoints with the merit accumulation for their children. NuNo is very interested in teaching her son about merciful views and doing good deeds through small actions in daily life.

I teach my son to do good deeds. [E]very morning, [we] put NT1 or NT2 in a bamboo tube and then pray with the bodhisattva for the peaceful world without war, all patients are out of the disease, etc. After a year, we will bring the money to the charity to help poor.....I told him, “*You do that so you will get a lot of merit. When you die, the money will belong to others, only the good and the bad things will follow you forever*”.....I like to drive him to volunteering and try to accumulate much merit to prepare for afterlife. I believe about afterlife, so I have to carefully prepare for me and him. (NuNo)

TiHan recalled a story about a monk in Vietnam who entrusted her with the task of mobilizing overseas Vietnamese living in Taiwan to collect money to build a 33 meter high bodhisattva statue in Tien Giang (a province in Mekong Delta in Vietnam). The monk had a tumor in his body and was afraid to die before the statue was completed. Thanks to her mobilizing people for the statue, it is soon to be completed. She could not refuse this request, and she had not slept for three to four days because she did not know where to start. After that, she prayed the bodhisattva give her the wisdom do this and she thought about her daughter at first.

My daughter has a little money from her part-time job (laughs). I said: "I have to [go] back to Vietnam, if you have money, give a little bit to build the statue for Bodhisattva, so it is very good"..... [S]he gave me NT500. I am very happy because she can understand my heart from then, I have more motivation to mobilize others. (TiHan)

Almost all Vietnamese immigrant mothers in the survey agreed with the viewpoint of merit accumulation for their children. They believe in the afterlife and to prepare for a happy and good afterlife for themselves and their children, doing good deeds are something which these mothers want to transfer to their children.

Now if I can help someone, I am willing to help them. I hope this life do good deeds, the afterlife will be happier, my children are too. I do, but my children will inherit it (TiHai)

I often go to pagodas for charity and pray for good health for my daughter. I do that for accumulating merit for her; the afterlife will be better (ThuTra)

4.4.3 Transnational identities for children

Language is one of the instruments for measuring one's transnational identities from the first and later generation migrants in the host countries (Utomo, 2014). Legally, the children of Vietnamese immigrant mothers have Taiwanese citizenship and are recognized as legal Taiwanese. However, these mothers claim that by calling their children their given Vietnamese names helps them to realize their own part of Vietnam.

I [am] scare[d] my children [will] not [have] the ability to learn many languages like this. But ...when I come back home, I call their name in Vietnamese, not in Chinese. For example, [I] call my son's name is A-Quê in Chinese, translating to Vietnamese is Quý; and my daughter is A-me in Chinese, it means Vân in Vietnamese. (NuNo)

My first daughter [is] named Diem-Xeo-Xun [Vietnamese transliteration]. I often call her with [the] Vietnamese name, Yến Oanh; and my little son is Min-Min-Xin [Vietnamese transliteration], [but his] Vietnamese name is Lâm Minh Tâm. I call them in [their] Vietnamese names because I feel it closer. (BiLi)

According to KiHo, when I asked her if she wants her daughter to study abroad, she answered immediately with a smile on her face because that is a long-awaited expectation in her mind.

Yes, I like very much for her to study abroad in Vietnam, learn about the language and culture of Vietnam ... of course, to speak Vietnamese in Vietnam and then go to college; [the] lecturers will teach her about Vietnam more professionally. (KiHo)

Vietnamese immigrant women do not dream of their children being educated in a more developed country like the United States, England, Australia, etc. Their dream is simply that their children can learn Vietnamese and learn about Vietnamese culture. Beyond that is studying at a university in Vietnam.

Now let her learn Vietnamese first and then learn English later If her mother language is not good, how could she learn other languages?... [There was] recently held a Vietnamese class; I drive her to there once a week, now it's over. At the end of class, she [sang the] song *Duyên Phận* [a popular song in Vietnam] (laughs). (ThuTra)

I just hope that my children can speak well in Vietnamese. [N]ow the Taiwanese government is encouraging bi-racial children to study Vietnamese and return to Vietnam every summer to learn the motherland. My daughter can speak fluently [in] Vietnamese now; hopefully, she has the opportunity to study at a university in Vietnam. (BiLi)

Another reason for the teaching of Vietnamese to children is about social networks. According to KiHo, although she has been in Taiwan for more than 18 years and can speak Chinese and Taiwanese fluently, she has not denied her origin in Vietnam; and that includes her daughter's underpinnings, too. If someday she passes away, Vietnam will be the place to support her daughter because her family is always available to help when needed.

My daughter it too naive.....My family is different from families here, my family is not Taiwanese.....If I die someday, my child is here alone, no relatives nearby.....This is also a reason for me to teach her in Vietnamese, [if she has] no mother, there are families in Vietnam [to] support her. (KiHo)

Language and culture are closely related. Language can be seen as a verbal expression of culture. It is used to maintain and communicate culture and cultural relationships. Language provides us with the variety we use to express our thoughts, so it is natural to assume that our thinking is influenced by the language we use. Our values and customs in our country shape the way we think to a certain extent (Ee Lin Lee, 2016). Language and culture are two concepts going hand in hand together. It is no wonder that Vietnamese mothers want their children to learn Vietnamese and at the same time learn more about culture and traditional customs in Vietnam.

At first, we [the couple] thought that the beginning of this year [we'd] let her come back Vietnam to improve her Vietnamese and learn about culture and life in there. But I'm worried because the Vietnamese society is so complicated now and my daughter is too naive; I'm worried about her safety. Perhaps next years coming back when she comes to college. (KiHo)

Every night I tell stories for her, telling about how I live in Vietnam when I was a kid; she likes to hear about Vietnam. I tell in Vietnamese what kind of animals [we] have or what people do in Vietnam. (ThuTra)

At the present, my daughter wants to learn about Vietnamese language and history, but now her time is limited with a mountain of homework. But I told her "You spend a little time in the day to find out the meaning, [if] I say something if you do not understand, you can ask me again." We just learn the meaning first, and then if we have time, we can learn vocabulary. [M]y daughter can read a little bit of Vietnamese since she can absorb quickly (BiLi)

Culture in each country has different practices, so the children cannot bring the culture of Vietnam to apply in every part of life in Taiwan. Children talking to an elder with their arms crossed in front of their chest is regarded as a respectful and humble posture in Vietnamese culture, whereas in the Chinese culture such a body posture is considered disrespectful and aggressive (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang (2014). However, according to

KiHo, children talking to an elder with their arms crossed in front of their chest will be applied depending on the circumstances.

I think this is our culture, I teach her to know the politeness. In Taiwan, crossing your arms in front of chest expresses you are as gangsters but we have to explain to everyone that it is our culture showing politeness in greeting adults Why do I teach her about this, I think crossing our arms is also showing our patience, showing a good and educated child [Our] neighbors around here love my daughter very much because she nods her head to everyone with a smile in greeting adults. If she meets my friends or comes back Vietnam, she must cross her arms and say hello to them. (KiHo)

Another interesting factor discovered in this study is Vietnamese cuisine. Most of the Vietnamese immigrant women cook traditional Vietnamese dishes for their husband's families. Taiwanese can eat some, but cannot eat some other dishes due to improper taste. The introduction of traditional Vietnamese dishes in the family meals and guidance on how to make traditional Vietnamese food is believed by these mothers to remind their children about the homeland in Viet Nam as a part of their lives.

Last Lunar New Year, my son asked me "Why do not you cook Thịt kho nước dừa [caramelized pork and eggs]?" I said that I did not have free-time and I was tired, [and] cooking this food was very elaborate. My son said, "I love to eat the food having the smell of Vietnamese mothers [cook]". When I heard I feel very sorry for my son because he still remembers to me, a Vietnamese mother. (AnHo)

I like to cook Vietnamese food. [A]t home, I cook Vietnamese food for my son, but he can eat Taiwanese food outside, so he can enjoy the cuisine of two countries. (NuNo)

I said [to] my child, "every time I cook Vietnamese food, please come to the kitchen to help me" so that she can learn how to cook Vietnamese food. [S]omeday when she comes back Vietnam, she can help my family to prepare food; it is good. (PuTu)

Finally, I would like to quote a folk song of Vietnam called Quê Hương (homeland) by musician Do Trung Quan. Whenever I went to BiLi's house to visit her, I heard her sing her little son to sleep, while he was lying in the hammock. The song she sang was of the homeland in Vietnam. I asked her why she did not sing a Chinese song for her son. She replied, "*I think I am Vietnamese. [M]y son is also Vietnamese so I sing the song about homeland feeling more dear. [B]y the way when I was a kid, my mother also sing this song for me*".

Quê hương là chùm khế ngọt	Home land is where the sweet carambola grows
Cho con trèo hái mỗi ngày	Where you climb to pluck fruit everyday,
Quê hương là đường đi học	Home land is the old path to school
Con về rợp bướm vàng bay	Where you run home chasing yellow butterflies.
Quê hương là con diều biếc	Home land is where a blue-green kite flies
Tuổi thơ con thả trên đồng	Happily in amongst the youth on grassy fields,
Quê hương là con đò nhỏ	Home land is where a little ferry lies
Êm đềm khua nước ven sông	Gently rippling the home rivers waters

Quê hương là cầu tre nhỏ	Home land is a little bamboo bridge
Mẹ về nón lá nghiêng che	With mother in a crooked Palm-leaf hat,
Quê hương là đêm trăng tỏ	Home land is the bright moon at night
Hoa cau rụng trắng ngoài thềm	Where areca flowers scatter upon the veranda floor
Quê hương mỗi người chỉ một	Everyone has only but one Home land
Như là chỉ một Mẹ thôi	Just like everyone only one birth mother,
Quê hương nếu ai không nhớ	Home land if someone does not miss
Sẽ không lớn nổi thành người !!!	Won't become adults !!! ⁽¹⁾

4.4.4 The preservation of a harmonious family for children's growth

The Vietnamese immigrant women in modern life has to work as the breadwinner, but they still sustain the traditional role as a caregiver (Buriel & De Ment, 1997; Moon, 2003; Wang, 2007; Hsieh, Shelley & Wang, 2008; Lin & Hung, 2007; Tang & Wang, 2011; Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014). In this traditional role, there are two main objects that these women need to focus in order to maintain a harmonious family: the children and the husband.

Regarding the children, as discussed in section 4.6.1, understanding the psychology of children is the key to increase an intimate relationship between children and mothers. However, this section takes a different purpose. The evidence of the psychological understanding of children will help to avoid unnecessary conflicts between mothers and children.

I know that my children just like to hear sweet words so I talk softly with them instead of scolding. I do not use violence, just speak softly and explain for them to understand. (TiDu)

I do not hit them when I am angry, if I can control it; then I explain to my children. If I could not handle it, I would go away, because the human's ang[er] has the limitation. [I]f I hit them, it can not solve anything. (BiLi)

If my children did something wrong and then I explained, [I would] not hit them. [With] my husband [and son], one is hitting or the other is scolding. When my son was in secondary school, my husband slapped him on his face because he argued with his father. (TiHai)

Avoiding unproductive conflicts between a mother and child is a top priority in mothering. In addition, the psychological understanding of children turns these mothers into girls that

are similar to the age of their children. This is because they think that if they put their position at the age of their children, the emotions and the sharing in daily life will become closer and children will have more psychological comfort to share any problems in life.

Sometimes young people will have better thoughts than us, then we can discuss [with] each other and apply it I told [my child] *“I used to have childhood like you, my parents ask me to do something and I am not happy. [B]ut I do not apply the way my grandmother taught me to teach you. I use my childhood to share the experience for you.”* [S]o our love is closer; there are not any gaps between adults and children. I like the relationship between me and them like friends, so it would be natural to share something. (NoLi)

I transfer[ed] my daughter to the school near the house. [T]he first semester she was teased too much; I told the teacher, but no good results. I asked principal to transfer her to other school father; in there she got the improvement [A]t the school near the house is the school in the center, so they had the scoring dispute, low or high scores, I do not want to give her such pressure. I want to find a place for her to get a comfortable childhood I am very interested in the psychology of children, if it feels uncomfortable leading to poor academic performance, I would rather drive her to the school far from home than let her study in the nearby school. (KiHo)

Speaking of schooling, no parent has no interest in their child’s academic performance. This topic is the core issue of couples when they have children. Normally, if the results are bad, it will be easy for them to put pressure on the students. Recognizing that problem, Vietnamese immigrant mothers never put pressure on their own children about academic results.

I do not need my children to be a successful person. I just hope they are diligent enough to feed themselves. [M]y mind is simple. I never asked them to do anything as long as they do not fall into the social evils. (NoLi)

I do not teach my child in comparison to others but compare with yourself. For example, last month [you] got 70 points, this month get 80 points, it is your own improvement [D]o not compare with others because you [will] never [be] like them. (KiHo)

In public, keeping the children's face is noticeable.

My son [was] sitting in store and swearing. [C]ustomers [asked] why he swore but I do not scold him? And I told him at that time *“Please do not swear anymore.”* In fact, I explain[ed] to him why he cannot swear and gave him some examples. I do not want to scold him in public, I keep his face. So people said that I spoiled him, but actually, I am not. (BiTu)

Although my children are still kids, they have [feelings about their] face; I have to keep it for them. If there is any problem, [I] come back home and talk to them. I never scold them in public (AnTu)

I see many Vietnamese mothers often compare their children with others [who] can speak Vietnamese well. I find that it is their mistake because they accidentally created a gap between mother and children when they compared their children with others. [The children] also have their pride (BiLi)

In addition, creating motivation for children in life is paid special attention to by immigrant mothers because bi-racial children are sensitive to problems in life. They need support and motivation from their own family members. Here is typical, real story from the life experiences of a Vietnamese immigrant mother.

I often confide in my daughter because I have nobody to talk to. I [said] “When I was a student in the poor rural area, I did not have the money to go to cram school, but because I loved my parent so I try to study well so that I do not need to go to cram school.” That is also an experience for my child Actually, I know my daughter loves me so much because I ask her “If you want to go cram school, tell me.” [B]ut she said, “[I]f I cannot catch up with peers I will tell you,” but until now, she has ranked 6th or 7th in class; it is not bad at all. I think she heard me encourage [her] since childhood; she understands my situation. [S]he tries to learn. (BiLi)

Notice also the moral ideas that these mothers want to convey to their children through daily activities and stories before bedtime.

Saturday and Sunday I ask my two children to help me at the market. Two of them take turns each day. [T]heir duty is just refunding or put the meal in plastic bags. Essentially, I want them to know how their mother works hard to earn money for them, I teach them about the money values and filiality to parent. (Tu)

I teach my son “*the most important virtue of human is love and honest[y]*” [B]efore going to sleep that night, I told my son a story about honesty in the Buddhist scriptures...(telling a story)...I said, “[Y]ou know, we are human, we must be honest because when people find out that you are the unreliable person, their trust will disappear and they will never believe you once again.” (NuNo)

AnHo's son is the oldest child among the respondents, she also teaches him about human virtue and how to behave with others. Especially later in her marriage, she realized that her life did not have a happy family. She wanted him to think carefully before marrying and having to respect the partner.

I told him “[I]f you want to marry someone, please think carefully. [T]hat is not a game,. [Y]ou can not marry and give birth and then leave your wife to get married to another; your children are very easy to be vulnerable.” I am in that circumstance so I know that I do not interfere your love because my life does not have a good love, then I have to give my son a good love He can love anyone, but I will tell him a sentence “I want your life to be happy, not like my life.”.... If you get an unhappy person then you have to suffer. (AnHo)

With regard to the husband, a psychological understanding of him will also help to avoid creating unnecessary conflicts between couples. From the viewpoint of Vietnamese immigrant women, they think that a responsible woman should have a stable family first, and then take care of other issues outside of society. If the husband's mentality is unstable, they

cannot maintain a happy family, and vice versa, if they can maintain a stable temperament for the husband, then the husband is a supporter for them in mothering.

Actually, my life has been stable; I can also raise my child and feed myself. But for [our] children and for this family, I have to listen to my husband a little bit. We have to consider the case, it is better than we argue each other. I cannot ask my husband hear all my words. My husband hears me more than I listen to him, but I also listen to him a little bit.Firstly, I am a Vietnamese, my knowledge is not equal [to] him so I have to rely on him a little; I do not force him hears all my words; he is a man, he also has [his dignity]. I have to understand my husband's psychology.....Here, if the couple cannot understand each other, it will be difficult to live together because our age gap is large; moreover, customs and practices are different.....The couple must sympathize with each other for children, for the family. (AnTu)

After work, my husband had to check our child's homework because [it was] something I did not know.....Then my husband felt the pressure because he checked her homework regularly but she did not have improvement.....[H]e went to the hospital and doctor said he was under pressure. [A]t night he could not sleep, he got sick and pale.....At that time my child was in secondary school. I thought that I was a mother and I also had the responsibility to make this family happy, so I advised my husband to rest, not work too much. I found his friends to ask them going out or confide in him.....I think I [could] do social work, but [if] my family is not stable then I can not help anyone. [S]o that time I stayed at home for a while not work[ing] and help[ing] my husband manage the daughter.....One year later, he is better, so educating children is really important for both father and mother; it is [a lot of] pressure for just one. (KiHo)

Thus, according to the above statements, the responsibility of educating children does not belong to any individual but must be the contribution from the father and the mother. There is sympathy and sharing in the couple's relationship in order to give children a comprehensive development. However, it is only a one-sided thought and action of Vietnamese immigrant women. For Taiwanese husbands, listening to and sharing their children's education with their partners seems less interesting.

My husband teaches children in the old style, no need to know what [went] wrong, he always scolds them before understanding the reason I advised him “[N]ow our children are teenagers, they are in a vulnerable age, so if you want to understand your children's psychology, do not beat them anymore. [W]e should spend time to advise and confide in them. If you scold [them], then they are too scar[ed] and do not tell you their problem”..... But my husband does not accept my opinion, he thinks I do so that my children will love me more. If I talk too much, he does not like and go[es] out. (NoLi)

Father and mother are all important because father works hard to earn money for this small family and mother worries [about] each shirt, each meal for children But I must have been harder than my husband because two children are in my arms [separation to husband] and I have to stay up late to work ... because now I have the energy so I try, at night while my son sleeps,

I do my job. If I depend on my husband, my current situation is not like the current. (BiLi)

One last issue is very important. This regards is a limiting of quarreling in front of children because this inadvertently creates an invisible pressure on the child that will affect their psychological state or academic performance.

I see many cases of disagreement in the view of teaching children [that] leads to a couple's quarrel If we want to give our children a good development and comfortable psychological state, it is best that we should never argue in front of children [W]e rarely argue in front of our children. (PuTu)

Sometimes I am very angry, [I] just want to argue with him, but I try to hold back. [T]omorrow when my children go to school, I start to fight with him. I often have a "cold angry" with him (she laughs). (NoLi)

4.5 Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter is to answer two key contents of research that are challenges and negotiation to become a good mother of immigrant Vietnamese women. In existing literatures, intimacy was often applied to maternity studies at a distance as works of Parreñas (2001) and Hoang (2016). The application of intimacy to research about nuclear families or extended families with full family members is rarely paid attention. Because there is a way of thinking about taking emotional relationship for granted in full families. In reality, however, there are many objective factors affecting this intimate relationship, namely stigma and discrimination that lead to rifts in relationships between family members and Vietnamese immigrant women. And the best solution to this problem is to cultivate ruptured relationships that become more coherent and cohesive by their intimacy. These Vietnamese immigrant women can be considered as the happy fire keepers for the family. Struggles and demanding equal rights for self is not shouting banners to demand equal rights, but the struggle here is understood as the struggle for happiness of family. Although struggles took place in silence in transnational families, it has great strength in improving the image of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan, and above all for the next generation of bi-racial children. A good mother, not only thinking about what to do to become a good mother, but also to be aware of the thoughts and feelings of family members. At the social level it is further thought for the community and future generations.

Chapter 5

Discussion

In chapter four, I presented the main challenges faced by Vietnamese immigrant women in mothering and how they use intimacy to negotiate with these challenges. From the experiences of mothering of Vietnamese immigrant women in this study, I have discovered significant portions of the challenges they face in their daily lives which were described in previous studies about Vietnamese immigrant women, including: lacking of support from husband's family in mothering (Xoan, 2005; Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013; Lin & Hung, 2007), husband's prohibition for attending Chinese class in order to prevent them from learning bad things from other immigrant women (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013; Lin & Hung, 2007) and stigmatization on media for “foreign brides” phenomenon as social problems (Hsia, 2007; Lan, 2008). Intimacy, however, as one of many strategies are used to cope with challenges in motherhood. As Parreñas (2001) mentioned that Filipino immigrant mothers use intimacy via calling regularly children to resist to social stigmas of mothering. This is expanded in work of Hoang (2016) about Vietnamese immigrant women who seek strategies from practices of endurance and self-sacrifice to avoid social criticisms and to make up for the emotional loss in her relationship with children because Vietnamese immigrant women can not perform daily physical caring which is called “*thiên chức của người làm mẹ*” (natural vocation) to their children in Vietnam from long distance. Gradually, they lost the emotional connection to children over the years, family relationships are reduced to responsibilities and obligations thorough actions such as calling to children, sending money back for children’s school fees, etc. Another similar example is that Black mothers in Britain practice mothering with their identity through working to take care of their children’s needs regardless of what “gender ideology” on them (Reynolds, 2001). In doing so, this study highlights the importance of intimacy for negotiation with the challenges on mothering of Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan.

For Vietnamese immigrant women, children are the greatest source of motivation for them to overcome all the turmoil in their lives in a foreign land, to make them stronger and more resilient. For Vietnamese immigrant women, the most important thing is to create a responsible woman for the family. These women take not only the role of a responsible mother but also the role of a moral teacher for their own children. Previous researches have rarely addressed the impact of children to mothers and how their children make these women become good mothers.

However, interestingly, 16 participants in this study admitted that they were not a good mother even though they had fulfilled all the roles and responsibilities of a mother.

Research shows that social stigma is the major challenge which Vietnamese immigrant women encounter in mothering beside other challenges as discussed in section 4.2. The reason why I think that social stigma gains a significant part more than other challenges is because it has a strong influence and connect to other challenges. As Chen (2010) mentions the classification of immigrant women from Southeast Asia, women are "selected" by origin and different labeling based on their normative femininity including skin tone, appearance and cultural heritage. In particular, Vietnamese brides are very popular because they are considered "pretty, short and pale skin" and the price for buying a Vietnamese bride is cheaper than others. Thus, the gender ideology of Taiwanese and marriage brokers have labelled Vietnamese immigrant women as an easy-to-trade commodity and get the inevitable imposition of negative thinking on these "commodities". As a result, it severely affected these women's motherhood and consequently their children.

In Taiwan, these women have encountered social stigmas as women coming from a poor country and do not have the necessary skills for mothering. They are discriminated in relationships with their husband's family members (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013) in which previous research mentioned frequently about this internal relationships. In addition, they are under pressure from gender ideology in Taiwan that women's major role is staying at home and take care of children (Chen, Tang & Liu, 2013). In modern times, however, this gender ideology is too old and instead a multiple role woman with the responsibility of a mother, a daughter-in-law, a wife and a second breadwinner for family (Lim, 1997). Ironically, these women come to Taiwan and bring a dream of a brighter future where they can get the support from husband family or it can be considered as a dependency of a developing country wife to a developed country husband. But everything opposite, these women are the spiritual and physical support of the whole husband family. Back to social stigma, beside patriarchal regimes and power influence of husbands and their kin members (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014), in addition to above evidences, this has affected the perception of biracial child about their Vietnamese immigrant mothers. The mainstream society has made certain distinctions for Vietnamese immigrant women, so this leads to biracial child's inferiority and self-esteem of their condition as well as creating invisible barriers between these children and their mothers. As the result, it has inadvertently contributed to the strengthening of patriarchal ideology in Taiwan in the influence of fathering more than mothering. Moreover, social stigmas also lead to language

barriers because Taiwanese families think that if they let Vietnamese immigrant women attend Chinese classes, they will learn bad things from other immigrant women (Wang, 2007). As a result, immigrant women just stopped at the basic level of Chinese literacy. They shared that they could not help their children with homeworks. Likewise, Vietnamese immigrant women do not have enough Chinese literacy to express their feeling with children and thus creates a certain distance in the mother-child relationship. Furthermore, male chauvinism has once again affected when these women want to teach Vietnamese for biracial children. Interestingly, if Vietnamese immigrant women give birth to a son, husband family or mother-in-law will intervene in mothering and teaching of Vietnamese is unacceptable to the nephews. Conversely, if they give birth to a girl baby, they will be blamed for not doing well as a daughter-in-law in family. However, since the family-in-law does not pay much attention on daughters, Vietnamese immigrant mothers can teach their daughters Vietnamese. In sum,, social stigma has a profound effect on the motherhood of Vietnamese immigrant women especially when it is combined with other factors such as gender ideology and language barriers..

To cope with these challenges, the women have used intimacy as a strategy to overcome these challenges and protect Vietnamese mothering identity. “A diverse array of sociological traditions agree that personal relationships have profound social consequences. Personal relationships are a key form of social cohesion. Family and friendship relationships of childhood are critical in the production of socially competent adults, for structuring the gender and sexual identities of individuals and thus for helping sustain societal patterns of sex/gender difference” (Jamieson, 1998:2&3). In this viewpoint, it requires a relationship in which people must have the equality with each other. This is also the view of gender equality from feminists. Specifically here, it is that gender equality in parenting between fathers and mothers. In this study, intimacy was used by immigrant Vietnamese women as a bridge that links relationships among family members and as a weapon against social stigmas in mothering. First, these women cultivate intimate relationships among family members, particularly in mother-children relationships and father-children relationships. They recognized the gender ideologies of full-time mothering (Utomo, 2014; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Maher & Saugeres, 2007; Reynolds, 2001; Parreñas, 2001), however, they still have to force themselves to do as mothers and as breadwinners simultaneously. Spending free time in a week for children, knowing the child's feelings and expressing love through words or actions are the main strategies which they use to increase intimacy with their children. As for the relationship between father and children, although they have bad husbands but not so that they convey a bad image of fathers to children.

From the viewpoint of Vietnamese immigrant women, father's image is also very important in the psychological development of children. Hence, maintaining and protecting a beautiful image for their husbands means they have given their children a comprehensive physical and mental development, regardless their own unfortunate fate.

Next, it is about using intimacy in confrontation with social stigma. There are many studies on stigma in mothering from immigrant women in Taiwan as mentioned above (Hsia, 2007; Lan, 2008; Hsieh & Wang, 2008; Hoang & Yeoh, 2015) but using intimacy to negotiate with stigma in mothering is rarely focused by existing studies. Ignoring the unfortunate situation of living in an unhappy family, these women try to build a image of a responsible mother and as a second breadwinner in the family. They become a spiritual and physical support for husband family, besides trying to change the views of the children about the bad image of a Vietnamese mother in Taiwan through encouraging children to achieve good academic performance, giving views on serving the community and accumulating merit. These are simple but significant meanings in healing the wounds caused by social stigmas which were labeled on Vietnamese immigrant women.

The topic of transnational identities for children is always mentioned in the study of motherhood or mothering. Typically, language retention is the primary choice for helping children to get transnational identities in transnational families (Utomo, 2014). However, there are many other ways in creating transnational identities discovered in this research. On issue of cultural conflict, Vietnamese immigrant mothers teach children about filial piety through explaining why they send money to their parents in Vietnam. This is a meaningful lesson of filial piety labeled as “stealing money” or “a miners” on the Vietnamese immigrant brides. On the issue of children talking to an elder with their arms crossed in front of their chest is regarded as a respectful and humble posture in Vietnamese culture, whereas in the Chinese culture such a body posture is considered disrespectful and aggressive (Yang, Kuo, Wang & Yang, 2014). This problem was labeled as spoiled children to become “gangster”, however, Vietnamese immigrant women explain that this action expresses the respect and patience of a child and the appliance of each each circumstance. Another prominent issue in this area is the transmission of racial meaning through Vietnamese food and songs. As Beardsworth & Keil (2002) mentioned, the characteristic of human culture will be absorbed through the given food when it happens many times, which has a certain influence on the transmission of ethnic identity into personal eater. Thus, when Vietnamese dishes and songs are repeated many times to biracial

child, it will help them to perceive and increase their self-esteem as a part of the value of Vietnamese identity in their bodies.

Finally, Vietnamese immigrant women also use intimacy in relationships with family members to maintain a harmonious family. In Confucianism, Buddhism and the Taoism, maintaining a harmonious family is considered a moral value in interpersonal relationships, especially spousal relationships (Phan, 2012; Hunt, 2005). Therefore, the role of women in maintaining a harmonious family is the responsibility which they have to handle regardless of the circumstances (Ha, 2008). Intimacy in psychological understanding is always given priority to avoid unnecessary conflicts with husbands and children as well as avoid creating disagreements in parenting.

In sum, Vietnamese immigrant women can be considered as a good companion to Taiwanese husbands in a working team. What is a good wife? Good wife is a person who never requires equal right or equality with her husband. The happiness of a woman is to keep “fire” [happiness] of the family, even sometimes they feel a hundred of disadvantage, hundreds of hard working but they always tell themselves that women is not born to fight for power. Modern women can struggle all their lives to require the justice for themselves. However, in the family, Vietnamese immigrant women only 2 principles: Respect and compromise. Between men and women, if there is a gender equality, it can not change the fact that women is born as a weaker, they can only stand behind men. Behind men is not the lowly, they stand in there to keep complete happiness for family. Love is not all to a couple who can accompany each other to the end of life, there are something bigger than love. In order to reach the end of their lives and take care of children, couples must have enough faith, patience, tolerance and sympathy, love is not enough.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

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- 6.1 What has this thesis explained?
 - 6.2 Limitations
 - 6.3 Future research direction
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In this chapter, I will first recall main findings that the research achieved through 16 in-depth interviews with Vietnamese immigrant women as well as the contribution of the research. In the next section, I will present limitations of this research and the final section of this chapter as a recommendation for future research.

6.1 What has this thesis explained?

The phenomenon of immigrant women has come to Taiwan through marriages that has paid much attention from researchers around the world from the 1990s until now. Most previous researches focused on economic issues (Wang & Chang, 2002; Hsieh & Wang, 2008; Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013), politics (Tsai, 2011), health (Chen, Tai, Chu, Han, Lin & Chien, 2010; Lin & Hung, 2007) second generation's adjustment (Chin & Yu, 2009; Liao & Wang, 2013), social development (Thi & Hugo, 2005; Tang & Wang, 2011), education (Chen, 2010; Chen, 2011) and stigmatization on immigrant women (Hsia, 2007; Lan, 2008). However, there are not many researches about how immigrant women negotiate with challenges in mothering. Thus, this research gives a perspective on the use of intimacy as a strategy to cope with the challenges of mothering from Vietnamese immigrant women. In this thesis, the issue emerges that is the understanding of the social stigma attached to immigrant Vietnamese women and its resonance effect on other challenges as stated in finding section including gender ideology and language barriers. In addition, the research shows the negotiation to cope with these challenges under intimate aspect as well as maintain their ethnic identity. I recognize that this is an interdisciplinary research in combining psychological and sociological research. Because it highlights elements of gender ideology, ethnic identity, social stigma and interpersonal linkages between Vietnamese immigrant women and their family members. This research contributes to existing literature in three ways.

First, the study highlights the use of intimacy in the study of mothering from various perspectives. Intimacy can be used to negotiate against social stigmas and maintain a harmonious family.

Second, this research offers an image of Vietnamese immigrant women community in Taiwan as good Vietnamese mothers. These women are seen as moral teachers in transmission of right behaviors and perceptions inside and outside family. Besides, it also shows Vietnamese immigrant women's expectations for creating a next generation with transnational identities for the removal of the image of a "bad Vietnamese mothers" and the discrimination for biracial child.

Third, theoretically, the feminist standpoint in research about mothering always expresses the equality in parenting from both mother and father. Beside that gender ideology of a good mother as a full time mother at home in Taiwan (Chen, Tang, Liu, 2013), these Vietnamese immigrant women has done an unexpected function as a second breadwinner (Lim, 1997). Thus, they should be seen as good mothers, but on the contrary, they have to encounter with social stigmas as “bad Vietnamese mothers” in mothering. Hence, the definition of a "good mother" should be reconsidered with racial factors(Silva, 1996) . Although it is impossible to change the traditional patriarchal ideas in Taiwan on the division of labor in the family, the results of research shows that the efforts of Vietnamese immigrant women in changes the gender stereotype of Taiwanese society about “bad Vietnamese mothers” in using intimacy to negotiate with social stigmas and maintain a harmonious family for the best development of children.

6.2 Limitations

There are several limitations in this research. First, I am a Vietnamese graduate student and Chinese is not my native language. I can not use Chinese to get more access to objects who are relevant to these Vietnamese immigrant mothers, including their husbands, family members and children. Because this is a self-reported method of collecting data, it raises questions about the quality of the data. This is a one-sided viewpoint from Vietnamese immigrant mothers, there are no feedback viewpoint from the above mentioned relevant groups. Therefore, the content of this study is largely based on the perspective of the Vietnamese researcher and the views of the participants are Vietnamese immigrant women.

Second, it's about the literature review. As I mentioned the language barrier, I could not read the previous researches in Chinese, so it was very limited in accessing valuable research resources on immigrant women, especially about Vietnamese immigrant women. This led to shortcomings in skipping a lot of work from the perspective of local researchers on mothering. Therefore, in order to deal with this problem, I have been seriously looking for relevant works in the English version which domestic and foreign authors researched on issues to be related to immigrant women that are published in prestigious international academic journals.

Finally, it is about gender. In essence, the issue that I am about to come up with is both the limitation of research and the challenge in fieldwork. If a researcher is a woman, it is easier for her to access to these immigrant women than a male researcher. Initially, I had intent to make participant observations about family life of participants. However, only 5 of the 16 participants agreed to let me go to the house and meet the family members. Others were hesitant and

embarrassed as I suggested “*whether I could interview at your house?*”. However, I can not make difficulties for participants, so I made a comfortable choice by ending the question with with a other free choice “*or we can make interview in a place you feel comfortable and convenient?*”. As the result, due to only approved by 5 participants, I did not do the participant observation method in my research.

6.3 Future research direction

From the perspective of 16 immigrant Vietnamese women, this study offers an alternative perspective on the use of intimacy to negotiate with challenges in mothering in Taiwan from the perspective of Vietnamese immigrant women. Future studies should continue to acknowledge feedback from husbands, family members and children that can generate a more complete study of mothering from a multi-dimensional perspective. In addition, in this study, two prominent issues that I see can be deployed in future studies, including: Vietnamese cuisine in Taiwan from Vietnamese immigrant women and biracial child come to Vietnam for university education or learn Vietnamese which I mentioned in section 4.3.3 on transnational identities for children.

First, it is about the Vietnamese cuisine from Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan. Before discussing the main issue, I would like to give you some definitions and a brief overview of the sociology of food. Sociology of food is the study of food as it relates to the history, progression, and future development of society. This includes production, consumption, distribution, conflict, medical application, ritual, spiritual, ethical, and cultural applications, environmental and labour issues. According to sociologists, different food groups are divided for their purpose and meaning under the viewpoint of symbolic interactionist, there are many symbols that is relevant to the sociology of food. Food can bring people together and connect them in different levels. For example, when we eat dinner on the same table together, it expresses that food connect family members together. Or food can symbolize for a greater thing than it's meaning. For example, In America, fast food represent for busy families who need a simple and fast meal. However, it is also represent for consumption under the perspective of McDonaldization Theory (Germov & Williams, 2017). Fischler (1988) points out that food is central to individual identity. In doing so, Vietnamese dishes interwoven into the daily menus of transnational families, on the one hand, can help Vietnamese immigrant women maintain the Vietnamese identity themselves. On the other hand, helping their children realize and acknowledge that part of their origin is the Vietnamese. A common feature of human culture is the idea that the absorption of a given food, especially when it occurs many times, may have

the effect of transferring certain symbolic attributes of that food into personal eater (Beardsworth & Keil, 2002). Further researches will make benefit in paying attention on the aspect of food sociology for the maintenance and promotion of the ethnic identity of Vietnamese immigrant women and transnational identities for their children.

Second, it is about biracial child coming to Vietnam for university education or learning Vietnamese. In recent years, the Taiwanese government has paid attention to and introduced many policies encouraging the children of immigrant women to learn the mother tongue and return to motherland to learn about their a part of origins. In particular, the Taiwanese government is particularly interested in Vietnamese. According to the Taiwanese Ministry of Education, Vietnamese will be included in the curriculum for 3rd grade students in elementary school from 2018. At the present, over 100,000 Vietnamese immigrant women are current in marital relations with Taiwanese who give birth to over 80,000 second generation children in Taiwan (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ho Chi Minh city). In doing so, returning to Vietnam for education or working are considered a journey to find their motherland and identify the transnational identity. So the question is, how do biracial child understand the meaning of returning to Vietnam? And what challenges do they encounter on the way to return to their motherland and how to overcome those challenges?

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APPENDIX

Table 3 Major themes by Sample (N=16)

Research questions	Major themes	Amount of respondents
1. What are Vietnamese women's thought about mothering values	1. Children create responsible mothers	14
	2. Mother is a teacher of moral discipline for children	11
2. What challenges are Vietnamese women facing in mothering to be a good mother	3. Unhappy marriage (No supporting from husband family, multi-roles, gender ideology, economic burden, non-emotional relationship with husband)	16
	4. Stigma and discrimination from society	13
	5. Language barriers	12
3. How do Vietnamese women negotiate mothering practices in order to be a good mother?	6. The cultivation of intimate relationship for family members (children to mom/children to dad)	11
	7. The confrontation to social stigmas	14
	8. Transnational identity for children	15
	9. The preservation of harmonious family for children's growth	11

Interview guide

A. Personal demographic information:

	Participant's answer	
1. Name		
2. Age		
3. Birth of origin	City: District:	
4. Language proficiency		
5. Job		
6. Husband's job		
7. Income		
8. Number of children:	First child:	Name:
		Age:
		Grade:
	Second child:	Name:
		Age:
		Grade:
	Third child:	Name:
		Age:
		Grade:
9. Time of living in Taiwan		

10. When did you come to Taiwan?
11. What happened to you when you came to Taiwan for the first time?
12. Why do you know your husband?
13. When did you get married? Where did you get married?
14. Why did you decide to get married to your husband? (Note: arranged marriage or free-will marriage)
15. How did you feel when you got married to your husband? (Note: feel excited, expecting, afraid, worried, sad, or not wanting to be separated from your natal family)
16. Do you know any friends in your home country who also married Taiwanese men? If yes, how did they get married to Taiwanese men?
17. Have you ever gone back your home country? If yes, how many times have you gone back? When you come back, do you bring anyone to your home country? How do you feel when you come back your home country?
18. How did you keep in touch your natal family when you first arrived in Taiwan and how about nowadays? How often do you contact your natal family?
19. What jobs did you do in your home country?
20. Besides your main job now, Do you have other part-time job?

B. Vietnamese brides' thought on mothering values:

1. In Vietnam, when a woman gets married to man, she must have 4 virtues (Công, Dung, Ngôn, Hạnh) and 3 Obidiences, what do think about this opinion? I would like to take an

example: If a Vietnamese woman gets married to a Taiwanese man, does she need to keep these values (the 4 virtues and 3 obediences)? If Yes/No, why?

2. What is a good mother in your view?
3. Have you considered yourself being a good mother? Why?
4. What do think about Taiwanese mother's mothering?
5. Following your opinion, between the father and the mother, whom is more important in child-rearing? Why?
6. What are the differences in mothering among you and your relatives or your friends? How do you feel about those mothering differences?
7. Do you copy the mothering of others? What are the good points of those ways?
8. Do you think about who will be better in mothering between Vietnamese mothers and Taiwanese mothers? Why?
9. What are the differences between the educated mothers and low-educated mothers in mothering?
10. Some people believe that the mother will become more mature as she has a baby and raises children. What are the inspirations and growth you have gained from mothering? Can you give an example?
11. Following your view, what are are the duties of father and mother in the family? Have you ever explained the duties of father and mother in the family to your children?
12. Does your husband often help you in the housework?
13. Does your husband's family care about having a son or not?

C. Challenges in mothering & negotiation for each challenges:

As a foreign mothers in Taiwan, what difficulties do you meet in mothering?

Child-bearing & working

1. When you come to Taiwan, do you think that you need to have baby immediately? Why? (*If she want to have a baby*) Why do you want to have baby instead of going to work?
2. Which is more important between having baby and working?
3. When did you give birth to your first child? How about the next children? Where were they born?
4. When you had the first child, how did you feel about that?
5. Do you prefer having a son or daughter? why?
If it is a son, what kind of jobs do you want him to do?
If it is a daughter, what kind of jobs do you want her to do?

Child care & (paid work)

1. When you have baby, do you send them to childcare or you care them yourself? Why? (*If you send them to childcare*) why you do not care for them yourself?
2. Following for your view, which is better between childcare service and caring for children at home?
3. When your children grow up a little bit, how will you arrange between your paid work and childcare? (ex: drive or pick them up from school, who will care them in holidays or summer vacation, etc). Is there anyone who can help you?
4. If you spend all day working, how do you do to compensate for your children?

5. Have you ever explained to your children that you work hard to earn money for them to study? How about their reaction?
6. Do you often to talk (tâm sự) to your children? Why?
About what problems do your children often talk to you? What advice do you give to your children?
When your children have problems, to which parent will they often talk (mom or dad)? Why?
7. What problems do you worry about for your children now?
8. What the most important goal in your mothering? What kind of personal characteristics do you want to have in your children? (Note: filial piety, obedience, so on) Why?

Language barriers & language retention

1. In which language do you most often talk to your children (Chinese or Vietnamese)? Why do you choose this language to talk to your children?
2. What language do you want your children to study (Vietnamese or English)? Why?
3. Do you wish your children could understand and speak Vietnamese fluently? Why?
4. Do you force your children to learn Vietnamese?
5. How do you teach them Vietnamese? (Note: via daily conversation, songs, books, so on).
6. Does your husband or parent-in-law(s) agree about that?
7. If your children do not like the Vietnamese language, what will you do for your children to love Vietnamese?
8. Are there any Vietnamese classes for children of Vietnamese women near your house? Have you ever drive your children to there for studying?
9. Have you ever drove your children to join in cultural exchange party of Vietnamese in your area?
10. Have you ever asked your children to talk your Vietnamese friends to practice more?
11. Have you ever met with difficulty in making conversation with your children? (ex: your children speak Chinese fast, their Vietnamese voice is not clear, etc). How do you do to solve this problem?
12. Do you help your children with their homework? (if no, why and how do you solve it?)
Who often checks your children's homework? Why that person?
13. Have you ever said "I love you" to your children? If speaking in Chinese, do you often say "I love you"?
How about your children's reaction? they respond in Vietnamese or Chinese?

Keeping intimate relationship between mothers & children

1. When you do work all day, who will care your children?
2. As perceived by you, there are any gaps between you and your children?
What is the gap?
Why have this gap?
3. What kind of breakfast food do you often prepare for your children and family?
4. What kind of dinner food do you often prepare for your children and family after school/work?

With mothers have children who are studying long-distance

- a) How often do you call your children?
- b) How do you handle your children in a long-distance situation?
- c) Why do you make a call phone regularly to your children?
- d) Do you think that making a call phone regularly is enough to express your love and care to your children? Why?
- e) Do you often visit your children or do your children come back home regularly to visit you? Why?
- f) How do you feel when your children come back home after long time?
- g) Have you ever blamed yourself for not being able to care for your children when they study at a long-distance?

Supports from society

1. Are there any gathering places for Vietnamese brides near your home?
What topics do you often discuss one with another?
Do you often exchange mothering information with others?

Supports from husband/natal family

1. Who do you consult with when you meet some difficulties in mothering? Besides, that person, is there anyone else?

Discrimination

In family

1. In your family, who do children often obey more? Why is it that person?
2. Who most often contacts the children in your family?

In society

1. Have you ever heard that someone gossips about the family with Vietnamese brides?
What gossips/viewpoints are good or bad?
2. Have you ever been work and have had to ask your boss to go home for reasons related to children? such as: pick them up from school, they are sick, etc.
How is your boss's reaction?
Have you ever heard someone say something not good about you?
3. Who often goes to the parent meeting for your children?
Does your children's teacher express discrimination to you in parent meeting?

Cultural conflict

1. Have you ever had conflict in raising children between your husband or husband's family members?
(For example: mother-in-law/someone teaches you something in mothering but you do not agree, so how do you solve this? And how is their reaction?)
2. If your parent-in-law forces you to mother following their way, how do you resolve this situation? And how about your feelings?
3. Have your husband/husband's family members ever made a comparison to your mothering to other mothers? How do you feel about that? How do you answer to them?
4. Do you often cook at home daily?
How often do you cook Vietnamese food for your family?
Do your husband's family members like Vietnamese food?

5. Have you ever introduced your home country's festivals to your husband's family?
(If yes) has anyone in your husband's family liked those festivals?
Does your husband or parents-in-law agree for you to introduce Vietnamese festivals to children?

D. Vietnamese mothers' thoughts about children

1. Have you ever thought about letting your children study abroad? Why?
2. When you were in Vietnam, had you thought about going to foreign countries for the next generation to enter a better education, excepting the economic reasons? (ex: go to Taiwan...)
3. If your children have a lover, do you prohibit them? Why?

E. Vietnamese identity

1. Do you want to come back Vietnam for living when you are old? Why?
2. Almost Vietnamese women have to have a paying job, don't they? Is not their husband's salary enough, so they need to work?
Does your husband's family force you to work or just stay at home to take care of children?
You do work yourself, don't you?
Why do not you stay at home to take care of your children but, instead go to work?
If your husband's family is very rich, do you think that you would just stay at home to take care of your children or would you still go to work? Why?
3. Do you want your children to get married to children of Vietnamese women or of Taiwanese local people? Why?
4. Have you ever disagreed with your children? What was your solution? (Ex: you want your children to stay at home after school for safely, but your children want to go everywhere to discover).
5. Do your children feel negatively because of having a Vietnamese mother? Or are your children proud of it?
6. Do you think that your children are Vietnamese or Taiwanese? And does he/she need to know about Vietnamese values?
7. Do you often sleep in the same bed as your children like Vietnamese women do in Vietnam?

My academic experience

From the middle of the first semester of my master's program, I had the idea for studying about Vietnamese immigrant women in Taiwan. Through the process of learning, orientation and encouragement from professors, I have seriously implemented the complete outline which can be viewed as a part of literature review for issues of immigrant women after the first semester in around January 2017.

Next, after the second semester, I completed the literature review of the motherhood/mothering of immigrant women. In this semester, I learned how the feminist theory could apply in motherhood/mothering. I have seen the problem in a variety of perspectives on factors such as gender, class, family background, racism and ethnicity, etc. Moreover, I could not ignore the intimacy always a topic around mothering. At the end of the second semester, I conducted the pilot interviews and then edited the literature review from notes of the pilot process in around June 2017.

The third semester is the time for the proposal and at the end of this semester in December 2017 I defended the proposal in front of research council. I received and acknowledged carefully suggestions of professors on my own research and then I continued to edit and conduct data collection.

After collecting data from fieldwork, I discovered a new element that most Vietnamese immigrant Vietnamese women faced in mothering which was social stigmas from society and their families in mothering in which was absent in previous studies. From there, I always ask myself "how Vietnamese immigrant women use their intimacy to negotiate with these challenges?"