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碩士論文

Maintaining Heritage Language and Culture for the Young Children

A Case Study of Vietnamese Immigrant Mothers in Taiwan 台灣新住民家庭母語和文化傳承之個案研究

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Abstract

Since the early 1990s, there has been an emerging trend of immigration, which mainly involved women from Southeast Asian countries, coming to Taiwan by means of marriage. Among foreign spouses from Southeast Asian countries, Vietnamese remained the largest immigrant group in Taiwan. This study gained insight into Vietnamese mothers' perspectives and practices in maintaining heritage language and culture for their young children. In addition, the study explored the difficulties they face in educating their children in the transnational family context while being significantly influenced by the mainstream Taiwanese society.

A qualitative case study was adopted and the participants included four Vietnamese mothers in Chiayi County in Taiwan. In-depth interviews inquired into (1) the Vietnamese immigrant mothers' perspectives on heritage language and culture maintenance for their children (2) their practices used to maintain Vietnamese language and cultural values (3) and the issues and difficulties these mothers encountered in attempting to maintain the Vietnamese heritage language and culture in Taiwan.

The results showed that the key factor that influenced the mothers' attitude toward Vietnamese heritage language and culture transmission was whether or not the mothers identify their children as Taiwanese or "half Taiwanese-half Vietnamese". Moreover, the results revealed that Vietnamese mothers made great efforts to maintain the heritage language and habits through traditional foods and teaching cultural values, such as respect for elders and being a caring person. Results also revealed that mothers faced many cultural conflicts and difficulties in rearing young children in a transnational family setting in a foreign country.

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Keywords: Vietnamese immigrant, Taiwan, Vietnamese culture, heritage language



摘要

1990年代以來,大量的婚姻移民來到台灣,者要是以大陸和東南亞外籍配偶 居多。在東南亞婚姻移民者中,又以越南籍人數最多。本研究的主要目的探討 越南外籍配偶對於傳統母語和文化保留的觀點。跨國婚姻家庭受到台灣主流社 會影響,是否造成越南籍外籍配偶教育子女面臨的困境,此為本研究欲探討的 重點。

本研究採取質性研究方法,研究參與者包含四位嘉義縣的新住民配偶,研究 者採取深度訪談的方式蒐集資料,研究問題包含:(1)越南移民母親對於傳統母 語和文化保留的觀點;(2)他們保留越南母語和文化的方法;(3)新住民母親傳遞 越南母語和文化時遭遇的困難。

研究結果顯示影響新住民母親對於傳統母語和文化保留的主要因素包含:新 住民母親認為他們的子女是「台灣人」,或「一半台灣人、一半越南人」。越 南籍新住民母親認為她們透過傳統的越南食物和教子女越南的文化價值,是保 留傳統母語和文化的方式。例如,尊敬老人家,並且關心別人。研究結果發現 在養育子女的過程中,新住民母親面臨許多文化衝突和困境。

關鍵詞:越南移民、台灣、越南文化、傳統母語

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Statement of the problem

Since the early the 1990s, the new immigration trend in Taiwan, has most times involved women from Southeast Asian countries coming to Taiwan by means of marriage to settle and build a family. As of 2006, out of Taiwan's large immigrant population of approximately 428,240 people, 18% were females who had relocated to the country through marriage (Taiwan's Ministry of the Interior, 2015). According to Executive Yuan, marriages of Republic of China citizens to foreigners peaked in 2003 at 54,634 couples, accounting for 31.86% of all marriages. In 2014, this figure had dropped by more than half, to 19,701, or one in every 7.6 marriages, with 55.76% of spouses being from Mainland China and 27.74% from Southeast Asian countries. Among foreign spouses from Southeast Asian countries, Vietnamese maintained the largest percentage, which accounts for 46.76% of the total (Department of Information Services Executive Yuan, 2015).

This new trend of marriage migration created a unique type of family structure in Taiwan. Unlike the immigrant families formed by two individuals who share same language and culture, the mixed-marriage family type formed by spouses from Southeast Asian countries established family types that included two individuals with different languages, customs, and values (Yeh, Ho, & Chen, 2015). Most immigrant spouses are mothers mainly from Mainland China and South-East Asia, who are situated in the lower social class of the society and are discriminated against in their newfound families, schools, and the general societal settings at both a personal level as well as on a national scale. It is obvious then, that immigrant mothers would face challenges in socializing their children in Taiwan. They have two languagess and two cultures, native culture and mainstream culture, in which they desire to socialize their children.

A considerable number of studies on multicultural education and diversity in Taiwan have indicated the significant role of mothers, most of them focused on the school adjustment and language development of the children (Chin & Yu, 2008; Chou, 2010; Hsin, 2011). Hsin (2011) conducted a study with thirteen Vietnamese mothers who had children aged 4-6 years to deepen the understanding of how mothers construct home literacy environments for their children. This study showed that immigrant mothers were active agents who valued their children's learning of literacy, develop social networks, incorporate different resources, and use strategies in bicultural contexts to foster their children's literacy. Chou (2010) investigated the adjustment of immigrant women to life in Taiwan and their children's development as a result of cross-national marriage. Ninety-four immigrant mothers (41 Chinese, 37 Vietnamese, and 16 Southeast Asian women) and their 104 children born in Taiwan were enrolled in this study to assess the influence of their immigrant motherhood on child development. The findings showed that Chinese mothers, who were significantly more educated and less likely to marry via referral agencies over mothers from Vietnam and other countries in Southeast Asia, had the highest degree of cognitive function and provided a better home environment for their children. Chin and Yu (2008) compared children of Southeast Asian immigrant mothers with those of native-born Taiwanese mothers in regards to their school adjustment. Results showed that children of Southeast Asian immigrant mothers had poorer school adjustment than did children of native Taiwanese mothers. The students gained

significantly lower scores for "academic performance" and teacher-student relationship than did the children of native Taiwanese mothers.

Besides, Taiwan's past immigration policies have reflected a perception that Taiwan is essentially a mono-cultural society based on a narrow shared ethnicity and culture (Chun, 2002). Most immigrant policies were based on the viewpoint of 'integration' and programs aimed at assimilating immigrants to Taiwanese culture and society rather than accepting diverse cultures and identities of immigrant groups. The government's basic position shifted from 'accommodating immigrants to Taiwanese society' to 'recognizing cultural and language diversity'. The advantages of cultural differences brought by foreign brides were underscored before and the multicultural values were concerned as contributions to Taiwanese society (Chun, 2002).

In addition, Vietnamese mothers in Taiwan are regarded as minority group; they faced two sets of challenges in everyday parenting situations, which include cultural norms and values. Hence, it is very important to learn about heritage language and culture maintenance experience of Vietnamese mothers in socializing their children in order to maintain their identity especially because of the unique context in which this takes place. This unique context looks at the fact that the responsibility of heritage language and culture maintenance is usually placed solely on the individuals of the target group and the homes are usually the only place where Vietnamese language and culture is used and portrayed.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to gain insight into Vietnamese mothers' perspectives and practices in regards to heritage language use and culture maintenance to their children in the context of transnational families in Taiwan

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whereby the children are influenced by the mainstream Taiwanese culture. In addition, this study seeks to explore the difficulties immigrant mothers face when they try to maintain heritage language use and culture for their young children in a transnational marriage.

A qualitative research type was adopted in the form of a case study was seen to be the most appropriate for this study in order to explore the above issues. Through this method the researcher would be able to understand the lived experience of participants and the meaning they make of that experience with in-depth interviews. The researcher interviewed the participants in Vietnamese (i.e. their native language) which helped the participants to express their ideas without language limitation and for them to feel more comfortable in expressing themselves.

The findings of this study will contribute to the Vietnamese mothers in Taiwan and to those concerned about heritage language and culture maintenance for children from cross-national marriage families.

Research questions

The following questions guided this research toward the accomplishment of its purposes:

- 1. What are Vietnamese immigrant mothers' perspectives on heritage language and culture maintenance for their children?
- 2. What practices do they use in order to maintain Vietnamese language and cultural values for their children?
- 3. What issues and difficulties do these mothers encounter in attempting to maintain Vietnamese heritage language and culture in Taiwan?

Significance of the study

Given mothers' primary role as caregivers to their children, mother-to-child interaction is an important topic for research and inquiry. I believe research on mothers' cognitions, beliefs, and perceptions regarding children and early childhood development are particularly fruitful because the findings have significant implications for practice.

Although many studies focused on the adaptation of cross-national marriage families, few of them were conducted using a qualitative approach. Furthermore, very few focused on the immigrant parents' attitudes and practices in maintaining Vietnamese heritage language and culture. In addition, the language barrier limited these studies as all of the interviews were conducted in Chinese. Furthermore lacking cultural and language understanding was normally the limitations of these studies. This study aims to learn about mothers' experiences of maintaining heritage language and culture for their children in a cross-national marriage, the strategies they use to teach their children the heritage language and culture and the challenges Vietnamese mothers faced when they try to maintain heritage language and culture within the dominant Chinese culture.

This was a qualitative case study involving four Vietnamese mothers in Minxiong, Chiayi County. Although it is limited in sample size, the value of this research lies within the in-depth nature through the use of semi-structured interviews. Practically, the findings of the study will serve as guidelines for immigrant mothers, practitioners working closely with children from transnational family, and might be valuable to anyone whose concern is focused on the problems of maintaining heritage language and cultural in mixed marriages.

Definition of term

I will describe the important terms used in this study, present the operational definitions based on how other scholars defined and used the terms in previous studies and make relations as to how they were used in this study.

Mixed marriage: used interchangeable with "transnational marriage" is a marriage in which one spouse is of Vietnamese origin and the other spouse is Taiwanese.

Heritage language: A heritage language is the language someone learns at home as a child which is a minority language in a society, but because of growing up with a dominant language, the speaker seems more competent in the latter and feels more comfortable communicating in that language. In this study, heritage language is a language spoken by the children of Vietnamese immigrants mothers in Taiwan.

Heritage language maintenance: "...a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continue to use their native language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language becoming the main/sole language in these spheres" (Pauwels, 2004).

Cultural values: transmitted from generation to generation through a shared understanding of beliefs, attitudes, meanings and hierarchies. Values are the things that people consider important such as love, loyalty, hard work, compassion, knowledge and humanitarianism. Values define what is just, fair, and good in a given society. When faced with a decision, individuals use culture values to determine the appropriate course of action.

Cultural heritage: is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values (International Cultural Tourism Committee, 2002). According to UNESSCO, there are two type of cultural heritage: tangible and intangible. Tangible heritage are things like artifacts, buildings and landscapes. Intangible heritage includes those things that cannot be touched like oral history, values and traditions. Concerning this study, the term "cultural heritage" implies intangible heritage. This implies a shared bond, our belonging to a community. It represents our history and our identity; our bond to the past, to our present, and the future.



Chapter 2

Literature review

Firstly, I will discuss about the concepts of 'heritage language' and 'culture', as well as 'cultural values'. Then, I will review theories and research about the importance of maintaining heritage language and cultural values. The last part reviews literature about the role of immigrant mothers in heritage language and culture maintenance.

2.1. Heritage language

There are several synonymous terms for heritage language that have been used over the years such as ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, community language, and mother-tongue (Cummins, 1981, 1983; Wiley, 1999). In this study, the researcher use heritage language to refer to language spoken by the children of immigrants, which is often embedded within family life, the home environment and parental influences are seen to be greatest affect in language proficiency of the children.

Language is considered a channel of communication among members of a group in order to exchange ideas and pass on knowledge of the world. As stated by Edwards (1976) : "a common language is a powerful symbol of group identity". Language differences can be used to identify different minority group. In immigrant minority contexts, the term language maintenance refers to the situation when members of a minority ethno linguistic group "continue to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres" (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006).

Previous research on heritage language maintenance highlights the importance of the role of the immigrant adult family members in the retention of heritage language and cultural identity among immigrant children (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). Yeh et al. (2015) suggested that the immigrant mothers who speak Vietnamese at home with their children increased their children's motivation to learn Vietnamese as a heritage language. While some parents tend to emphasize the importance of the heritage language and try passing it to their children, other parents regard the home language as a problem and thus encourage their children to shift to the majority language in order to accelerate their children's assimilation in the host society (Cummins, 1986; Tuominen, 1999).

2.2. Culture and cultural values

Definitions of culture

Since the beginning of time, the term "culture" has remained a controversial topic to researchers who have made efforts to give it an adequate definition. Throughout its history, the word "culture" usually refers to something that is derived from, created by the intervention of humans, chosen and refined by human and society (Dahl, 2004).

More recent definitions focus on the beliefs, values, and concepts underlying observable behaviors and customs (Rohner, 1984). According to Bond, Zegarac, and Spencer-Oatey (2000), "culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioral norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behavior and his/her interpretations of the meaning of other people's behavior". They considered culture as a program made from life experiences which tells us what problems are, what to do, what to prefer to, what to avoid, etc. From an educational viewpoint Nieto (2009) stated, "Culture is learned". Nieto emphasized that culture, especially ethnic and religious culture can only be unconsciously absorbed through contacts and exchanges with families and communities. This theory is important for the purpose of imparting culture to the next generations, so it is valuable for studies and research on cultural values maintenance in immigrant families.

Cultural value

Collier (2003) stated that culture included four fundamental components: cognition, behavior, language and education. Cognition refers to the way we think; behavior refers to the way we act; language works as the means of communication for a culture; and education implies how the other three components are transmitted to the next generation. She also emphasizes on the social aspect of culture and sees culture as a process of learning, sharing and passing on to the next generation.

Cultural values are those criteria and standards that have been rooted in our minds, which are not easy to give up or build up a new set (Nieto, 2009). Even when the complexion of the society has changed, some values were still active (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). For instance, although Confucianism reached its prosperity in the feudal society a long time ago, many of the Confucian philosophies and values are still shared among societies in which they were present, a few of these includes the Vietnamese, Chinese and some other Asian communities nowadays (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Ralston, Terpstra-Tong, Maignan, & Napier, 2006). Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov (1991) also pointed out that individual's values are the products of both shared culture and unique personal experience. Each cultural group or community has different values shared among members, coming from the relevant experiences

socialized by its people. And each person has his or her own personal priorities according to their own unique experiences, characteristics and personalities.

Many researchers consider social and cultural values as factors which provide parents with the standards needed to form their manner and behavior in raising and educating their children (Charles, 1997; Danseco, 1997; LeVine, 1974). For example, Vietnamese families were highly influenced by Confucian philosophies and values. As a result, one of the most important priorities for Vietnamese families is that of knowledge and filial piety which is highly valued by believers of the Confucianism. So, parents pay much attention to children's study and expect their children grow up understanding and enacting filial piety (Matsuoka, 1990).

2.3. Theories and research findings support for maintaining heritage language and culture.

2.3.1. Benefits of bilingualism with the children development

A lot of the studies on early language development in infants and toddlers concluded that the simultaneous acquisition of two languages does not lead to delays in speech or language development. As a matter of fact, children exposed to two languages at an early age actually profit from the rich exposure to differing language inputs and achieve language milestones even earlier than their counterparts (Genesee, 1989; Lanza, 2004; Pearson, Fernandez, & Oller, 1993). At age 3 or 4, the children can learn whatever language or languages they hear, as long as the conditions for language learning are present (Fillmore, 1991a). When children continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages throughout their primary school years, they gain a deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively (Genesee, 1989). They have more practice in processing language, and they are able to compare

and contrast the ways in which their two languages are organized in their reality. Hence, bilingual children may also develop more flexibility in their thinking as a result of processing information through two different languages.

Cummins (1976) theories for the positive effect of bilingualism on cognitive and academic development have been supported by many empirical studies. These findings provided a number of evidences for the benefits that bilingual education brings to the children, especially on cognitive development such as academic success, flexible thinking, and improvement of linguistic skills (Bankston III & Zhou, 1995; Diaz, 1983; Madhav, Anand, Swapna, & Sangeetha, 2012). Cummins in his study about the influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth, claimed that bilingual students had a more flexible and diverse structure both in intelligence and in thought (Cummins, 1976). When children were learning through a minority language (e.g. language from their immigrant mother), they were not only learning this language in a narrow sense; they were also learning concepts and intellectual skills that are equally relevant to their ability to function in the majority language (Cummins, 2001a). For example, children who know how to count in their mother tongue understand the concept of counting. In order to count in the second language (e.g. the majority language), they do not need to re-learn how to count; they simply need to acquire new labels for what they have already learned.

It has also been proven that children's second language acquisition and academic skills can be greatly facilitated and enhanced by their native language knowledge. According to the linguistic interdependence principle, a strong base in minority children's heritage language literacy skills enhances their second language learning and academic skills (Bankston III & Zhou, 1995). In the same vein, Cumin claims that bilinguals' cognitive development can be positively influenced by their attainment of a certain level of competence in two languages. In addition, he stated that students' level of second language competence rests on the degree to which they had competence in their heritage language at the time when they were introduced to intensive second language learning (Cummins, 1980). Furthermore, he also claimed that linguistic minority students who have a deficiency in their heritage language literacy skills due to lack of educational support lose their heritage language skills while they acquire second language skills, which is a form of subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 1980). In this regard, Cummins (2001b) suggests that an additive educational context in which immigrant students can develop literacy skills in both languages should be provided so that they can develop flexibility in their thinking by comparing and contrasting two different languages.

2.3.2. Relationship between parent and children

Family provides children with the fundamental elements for their success in their later life (Phinney et al., 2001). These factors are also a part of the cultural values including knowledge of one's origin and identities, the ability to deal with hardships, the importance of emotional connections and responsibility to oneself, family and community (Maccoby, 1992).

In addition, from home, the children learn the sense of belonging and learn how to be a part of the community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This provides children with more connections to the immigrant community and peers, developing children's confidence and self-esteem. Also, the perception of two different cultures helps children improve their critical thinking by seeing various viewpoints toward a phenomenon or problem (Charles, 1997). Moreover, there is a strong connection between maintaining language and cultural values and enhancing the relationship between parents and children in immigrant families (Cummins, 1986, 2001a; Fillmore, 2000; LeVine, 1974; Tuominen, 1999). If parents can help their children to preserve the cultural values of their origin, there will be opportunities that help children to understand and respect their parents' traditional values and beliefs. This creates the space for family members to share, discuss and exchange their views. As Kondo-Brown (2006) and Love and Buriel (2007) pointed out, language maintenance is a necessary condition in order to maintain meaningful family relationship, reduce depression and prevent predicted emotional consequences for children both at school and at home.

2.3.3. Cultural identity

As the number of immigrants in Taiwan continues to grow, the researchers have become increasingly interested in culture and acculturation. Ethnic identity (the degree to which one views oneself as a member of particular ethnic group) and acculturation (the process of adjusting to different cultures) describes individuals' relationships to their cultural environment, and it is dynamic and constantly changing. Over the times, belonging to a particular ethnic group has remained an important part of how individuals view and describe themselves (Smith, 1986). By identify oneself in term of one's ethnic or cultural group; an individual retains his or her connections to an existing community (Takei, 1998).

It is believed that the cultural values of a community are invaluable, and should be preserved for the benefits of each member in that community as well as their descendants. For this reason, cultural values maintenance for each culture in general and for immigrant communities throughout the world is very important. UNESCO's 2001, Article 7 coincides with these points as it states: "Heritage in all forms must be preserved, enhanced, and handed on to future generations as a record of human experience and aspirations, so as to foster creativity in all its diversity and to inspire genuine dialog among cultures".

In this regard, language is often referred to as one of the most important factors for the maintenance of ethnic group identity and culture values maintenance (Cummins, 2001a). McMillan and Chavis (1986) suggested that several key factors, including: a common language, a system of shared beliefs, and other common traditions such as food, clothing, residential preferences etc. contribute to a sense of ethnic group membership, with language as the most significant among the factors. Ralston et al. (2006) also found that Vietnamese language proficiency was positively related to ethnic identity and parental cultural maintenance, defined as parents' promotion of the maintenance of Vietnamese culture.

Many recent studies demonstrated the role of language in exploring a culture and they also explain why minority language is so important for cultural identities (Cummins, 1983, 1986; Fillmore, 2000). Ethnic minorities who receive enough linguistic input in their heritage language are likely to maintain and develop the minority culture and identity. In addition, ethnic minorities who acquire ethnic group membership are also likely to have positive feelings about their ethnic identity, which leads to their heritage language maintenance (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997).

2.4. The role of immigrant mothers in maintain language heritage and culture.

2.4.1. The parenting role of mothers

Parenting practice, parent engagement, and parental involvement are terms used to describe parents' efforts to raise their children to achieve different

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developmental goals (Wu et al., 2002). When children are young, differences in their environment and materials provided for learning and playing, along with the amount of time parents spend with children and the teaching of skills are all important, determining factors in child development. When children become older, parenting differences might appear in the way parents communicate (Wu et al., 2002). She/he believes that as long as children feel safe, loved and are given the necessary supports to become capable and mature adults, then the differences in cultural approaches to parenting are to be respected and encouraged.

It is believed that mothers play the most important role in the socialization of children and in helping them establish emotional and social functioning in order to adjust in society (Hetherington, 1978; Maccoby, 1992). Many studies regarding maternal IQ and maternal education have reported significant effects of poverty on children's cognitive and verbal skills (Chase-Lansdale, Gordon, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, 1997; Hortaçsu, 1995; Maccoby, 1992; Ragozin, Basham, Crnic, Greenberg, & Robinson, 1982). Research also pointed that the education level of mothers influenced a greater number of children outcomes directly than did that of fathers (Hortaçsu, 1995).

Research on motherhood and parenting has provided substantial findings on factors affect women's experiences of motherhood (Bornstein & Bradley, 2014; Hortaçsu, 1995; Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, & Duncan, 1994; Magwaza, 2003; Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001).

In Bornstein & Bradley's view, parents' **socioeconomic status** determines their positions in the social system, and equips parents with different viewpoints on children's development, academic and social skills. In middle-class families, mothers purposely engage their children in different activities such as dance or painting classes. As a result, children in middle class families are more equipped with various skills than children in working-class families (Bornstein & Bradley, 2014). In the study about low-income minority families, Hortaçsu (1995) it was also found that mothers with higher education had higher expectations for their children's academic achievement. Klebanov et al. (1994) found mothers' education and family income were important factors of the physical environment and learning experiences at home and mothers' education was predictive of parental warmth.

Mothers in different **social circumstances** may experience motherhood differently and may have different interpretations of what motherhood means. As a result, Magwaza (2003) compared Black and White mothers' perceptions and experiences of motherhood in Durban, South Africa, and found that Black and White mothers' contemporary mothering manners were strongly influenced by their cultural and historical background, as well as the cultural environment.

Regardless of **cultural backgrounds**, all mothers expected children to grow. But the ways in which they raise their children and the goals they expect children to achieve may differ according to the cultural and ecological context (Wang, 2010). Cultural differences are reflected in mothers' developmental goals, ethno theories and aspirations for their children (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001). This research revealed that it is culture, rather than parental experience, which strongly influences how parents arrange efforts to achieve socialization and developmental goals for their children.

2.4.2. The mother's role in maintaining culture and language heritage

Parenting, child development, and cultural context are inseparable, because parents in all cultures guide their children's development in directions that are consistent with their family and cultural values (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001). Even though culture is of primary importance, little was known about the relationship of parental perceptions and children's learning environments in minority cultures until rather recently.

There have been some studies about the parents' role and the link between parents' attitudes and the cultural values maintenance in immigrant families (Bankston III & Zhou, 1995; Gorman, 1998; Guardado, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Phinney et al., 2001; Portes & Hao, 1998).

Phinney et al. (2001) suggest that, together with the influence from their peers, parents' attitudes are important to children in maintaining cultural values and forming ethnic identities. Portes and Hao (1998) emphasized that maternal use of the heritage language with their children within a supportive home environment can lead to a greater possibility of maintaining children's heritage language. In a similar vein, Kondo-Brown (2006) examined factors influencing heritage language maintenance and found that mothers played a significant role in fostering children's heritage language maintenance, since immigrant children have much more contacts and use in the heritage language with their mothers. Kondo- Brown also emphasized the mothers' role as communicators in the heritage language with their children, and also as facilitators who support children's heritage language education.

A research done by Park and Sarkar (2007) also inquire into immigrant parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance for their children through a questionnaire and interviews with Korean immigrant parents in Canada. The finding suggested that mothers' positive attitudes toward their children's heritage language maintenance helped their children develop and enhance the Korean language skills in a multilingual context. In the research of Guardado (2002) which studied children's Spanish loss and maintenance of the first language in Vancouver, resulted in the parents of language maintenance families encouraging their children to use their heritage language in an active and positive way, whereas the parents of language loss families underscored only the ideal importance of the heritage language without actual advocacy of children's heritage language use.

In the context of a cross-national family, Yeh et al. (2015) conducts a research about learning Vietnamese as heritage language in Taiwan. The results indicated a correlation between the mothers' attitudes about Vietnamese and their use of the language at home. The findings also showed that a mother speaking the heritage language with her children plays a very important role in the children's learning of the language heritage.

Another research on new immigrant women and new Taiwanese children report that children's poor academic performance is the result of the mother's low Chinese literacy levels; the mother's inattention to children's academic performance and the lack of appropriate parenting knowledge and practices (Chen, 2011; Hsin, 2010).

Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to investigate Vietnamese immigrant mothers' perspectives toward the issue of maintaining heritage language and cultural values for their children. The study also gains insight into mothers' experiences and practices used to educate their children. Additionally, difficulties associated with Vietnamese heritage language and culture maintenance in the context of transnational families while their children were so much influenced by the mainstream Taiwanese society were examined.

The study took a case study approach, utilizing qualitative research methods with in-depth interviews. This chapter provides a description of the research design, beginning with the rationale for the decision to use qualitative methods and design, and giving background information on the participants. This chapter also highlights the researcher's position on this type of research and a discussion on how the data was collected and analyzed.

3.1. Rationale for Case Study Design

Each type of research approach and methodology has their own advantages and disadvantages. One of the biggest advantages of a qualitative approach as compared to quantitative research is that it allows researchers to delve into the complexities of particular case study while most of the time quantitative is not able to do that (Mugenda, 1999). And because of the in-depth nature of qualitative type research the sample size is usually considerable smaller than that of a sample size using a quantitative design. However, when done well, the results provide new insights and in-depth information.

There is a difference in the orientation of the two types, quantitative research, focuses on the "why" aspect of the problem as it searches for explanations, while in a qualitative type research the researcher focuses on the "how" or "what" as it searches to promote understanding (Mugenda, 1999).

It is my belief that this research I am conducting is better suited to be investigated using a qualitative type research focusing on a case study approach. My reasoning for this is because my study aimed to investigate a social phenomenon and obtain answers to "what" and "how" questions. The case study approach was preferred because the findings often produced in case studies not only help to explore or describe the data in real-life environment, but also help to explain the complexities of real- life situations, which may not be captured through experimental or survey research (Swanborn, 2010).

The case study method allows investigators to obtain the holistic understanding of participants' perspectives and gather rich information (Swanborn, 2010). Case studies are widely used today to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events. This method was chosen by Ro and Cheatham (2009) as it allowed them to extract rich information in their investigation of a bilingual child and his parent's perception toward Korean-English bilingualism.

3.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were applied for the study because it facilitates indepth knowledge of respondents' thoughts and provides the flexibility to present new questions when needed (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). One of the advantages of

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conducting interviews is that it allows the researcher to gain a more insightful look of the issue. In-depth semi-structured interviews with open-ended question helps provide more details concerning the participants' experiences (Mugenda, 1999).

For the main reason that I wanted to learn about the childrearing experiences of Vietnamese immigrant mothers in maintaining Vietnamese heritage language and culture in a mixed marriage, I believe that in-depth interviews was a valuable tool for this study mainly because it allowed me to understand the real life experiences of participants and the meaning they make of those experiences through their stories.

For the purpose of this thesis the semi-structured interview was designed using an interview guide, which made it possible to keep orientation during the interview. Furthermore, the structuring made sure that important theoretical issues were covered in the conversation and it facilitated the analysis according to categories. Before conducting the interviews, existing literature was studied intensively. Relevant theories or related themes were collected and to each of them several questions were developed. Based on these questions, an interview guide was developed which can be found in the appendix B.

During the interview, the guide was not followed strictly and the questions were asked in that order that most suited the participants at the researcher's discretion. On the other hand, due to the open and semi-structured character of the study, it allowed the interviewees to talk about their individual opinions and experiences and answer the questions in a non-constraining way, and being allowed to say everything that came to their minds. Many interviewees brought up themes and points that would have been asked for a latter part of the interview in the earlier stages so it seemed appropriate to cover those questions regarding those responses at that given time so as to have an easier flow and save time. Thus, the interview guide was used more as a tool to guide and support the orientation during the interview and to make sure that all areas of the research are covered as oppose to a stringent structured pattern for the interviews (Seidman, 2013).

In order to prepare fluent interviews, the questions were distributed into different categories. These categories included demographical information, attitude and specific experiences and practices in terms of maintaining Vietnamese language and culture. Demographical information included age, duration in Taiwan, number of children, children's age and sex, mother's educational attainment, husband's occupation and educational attainment, and their household makeup. In order to gain a holistic understanding of participants' views, the second part of interview questions were developed under three major categories: mother's attitudes, specific practices and challenges to maintain Vietnamese language and culture.

3.3. Participants

The Vietnamese mothers who participated in the study are in a mixed marriage with Taiwanese men, having at least one child younger than primary school age, which is younger than 7 years of age, and reside in Minxiong area of Chia Yi County, Taiwan.

The participants in this study were selected for the main purpose that they were information-rich, and were directly related to the focus of this study. In selecting the participants who fit the profile of the study, the researcher then selected two mothers who had taught their children Vietnamese successful and two others who did not.

In order to have a good collaboration with the participants, the researcher must build a trusting relationship with the participants. A trusting relationship is the key for the researcher to get into people's real life experiences and to make meaning of those experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Hence, before conducting interviews with the participants, the researcher visited them several times in order for the participants to become comfortable with the researcher and gain an understanding into their living conditions and day to day running of their lives. However, to protect confidentiality, pseudonyms were used for all participants. Please see Table 1 below for details about the participants' background information. A more in-depth description of these participants is given in Chapter 4.



Name	Mrs. Lan	Mrs. Hoa	Mrs. Thu	Mrs. Giang
Age	36 years old	37 years old	29 years old	30 years old
Birth place	Ha Tay province	Ha Tay province	Dong Thap province	Kien Giang province
Educational level ¹	High school	Bachelor	High school	Secondary school
Religion (if any)	No	No	No	No
The family members in Vietnam	2 parents 5 female siblings	mother 5 siblings	2 parents 5 female siblings	2 parents 6 siblings
Language proficiency	Chinese: excellence Taiwanese: good	Chinese: excellence Taiwanese: excellence Others: French	Chinese: good Taiwanese: understand with effort Others:	Chinese: good Taiwanese: good Others:
Occupation (if any)	Housewife	Team leader in a manufacturing company	Waitress in a restaurant	Owner a restaurant
Working experience (if any)	Helper, a worker in a manufacturing company	Helper, teacher, translator, assistant in a workforce agency	Worker	Seller, waitress
Income (if any)		60,000-70,000 NTD/month	20,000 NTD/month	
Duration in Taiwan	12 years	14 years	6 years	10 years
Others living in the same house beside husband and the children	No	2 parent in laws	No	2 parent in laws

Table 1: Participants' background information

¹ Education in Vietnam is divided into five levels: preschool, primary school (5 years), secondary school (4 years), high school (3 years) and higher education

3.4. Role of the researcher

In this study, the role of the researcher was interviewer, inquirer, data analyst, and translator. The researcher conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The researcher recorded all interviews, and coded the recordings for later data analysis. Lastly, the researcher translated participants' interview answers from Vietnamese into English.

As an inquirer, I developed an initial set of questions for collecting data, and asked the same questions to all the participants in the interview. Throughout the interviews, participants were not forced to answer questions in a strictly structured way. Rather, participants were given the opportunity to just speak freely during the interviews. Some questions were also expanded upon depending on the participant's responses.

As a native Vietnamese and student resident of Minxiong, I could build a rapport with participants throughout the interviews, in that participants could speak in their native language, which is usually more comfortable, hence participants feeling more motivated to express themselves. All participants were very open to the researcher in answering the questions. As Rubin and Rubin (2011) mentioned in their study, using an interview in the native language could increase response accuracy or higher response rate. My identity as a Vietnamese female gave me the upper hand in that I had something in common with them, which made them more eager to share about their viewpoints, their life challenges as a immigrant mothers, daughters-in-law and wives rather than if they were talking to a male researcher or Taiwanese researcher.

3.5. Data Collection

To ensure a complete collection of data, the interviews were recorded using a laptop computer. The interviews were conducted at participants' convenience, in their house and their workplaces. To protect participants' confidentiality, each recording session were coded in number and secured in a locked personal file, which was only accessible by the researcher.

A total of 4 mothers were interviewed for this study. The researcher adapted the interview format of Seidman (2013). According to his method, the first set of interview conducted should aim at establishing the context of the participants' experiences by asking the participant to tell as much as possible about themselves in light of the topic up to the present time (Seidman, 2013). The second set of interview should allow participants to reconstruct the details of their experience within the context in which it occurs, and the third set of interviews should "encourages participants to reflect on the meaning their experiences held for them" (Seidman, 2013).

At least two semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant. Each interview lasted around one hour. The first interview was designed to understand Vietnamese immigrant women's demographic information and their attitude toward Vietnamese heritage language and culture maintenance. The follow-up interviews were designed to understand their specific practices, issue and difficulties in maintaining Vietnamese language and culture.

In this study, participants chose the interview location that best fit their schedules. Three of the four of the interviews were preferred to be conducted in the homes of the participants except for Mrs. Giang whose was conducted at her

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restaurant. All of the interviews were conducted in Vietnamese, which is the first language of both the mothers and researcher. After interviewing, the Vietnamese version of transcriptions was sent back to the participants for revision and verification before translation was done to the English language.

3.6. Data analysis

The data collected from recorded interviews were analyzed through deductive and inductive coding methods. Interview answers were placed into deductive categories on the same day as the interview took place. The transcript of the tape recording data were created on the day of each interview while the interview was still fresh in my mind so that I could note the nuances and interactions. All recording files were coded and saved on an external hard drive.

I used pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the participants. In order to contextualize individual response, each participant's demographic information, including the age, duration in Taiwan, number of children, children's age and sex, mother's educational attainment, husband's occupation, and their household makeup will be articulated with their names are mentioned.

Representative examples from the interview data were transcribed and translated into English by the researcher to support the major findings. Direct quotes from participants were extracted from the collected data to illustrate findings as well. The recorded interview data were listened and read multiple times in order to identify key ideas, topics, patterns, or themes within the research questions.

3.7. Limitation

One of the limitations of this study is the small sample of participants. Since there are only four participants, the study does not represent all Vietnamese mothers in Taiwan. As conveyed in earlier chapters, the mothers come from various backgrounds and past experiences that shape their beliefs and practices. Therefore, the study does not intend to draw a conclusion to generalize its findings to the larger population or does it seek to be a representation of the entire population of Vietnamese immigrant mothers in Taiwan. It does however; provide an insight on what is occurring in many homes with these dynamic factors. Duff (2008) reminds us that case studies do not make general statements about the inclusive population, but they can be seen as a small step toward grand generalizations.

A possible limitation of interview approach is that the data are self-reported, and the participants need to rely on their own memories, and here is the researcher only explored the opinions of the mothers. This limitation of interview data was addressed by the researcher doing some observations of the home situation while to the communication was taking place with parents. However, primarily interest of the study was learning about participant's experiences from their perspectives, so validity has been met. For future study, consideration may be placed on exploring the perspectives of the fathers, families, and teachers so as to get a more holist view of the topic.

Finally, because this is a qualitative study and the researcher is the sole data collector and analyst, it is possible that the study cannot be completely reproduced due to the fact that two people can look at the same data and yet find different themes.

3.8. Ethics

Ethical issues such as honesty, privacy, responsibility and fair share were considered thoughtfully. The researcher took certain precautions required by the design of a case study. Participants were all informed of the voluntary nature of their participation, and that they were allowed to withdraw at any time if they did not wish to continue participating. None of the participants and their family members was named in this study. The researcher was also aware of any cultural sensitivity issues that could occur. These issues were considered throughout the research.





Chapter 4

Findings

Four Vietnamese immigrant mothers living in Minxiong, Chiayi County were invited to participate in this study. The researcher arranged the findings of the study, to answer the research questions guiding this important investigation, based on the three categories: mothers' perception, mothers' practices and the challenges they faced in order to maintain the heritage language and culture for their young children in Taiwan. Direct quotes of participants are offered to support the findings. In addition, several tables were created to organize the most relevant information concerning the participant demographic profiles (see Table 2) and the children's language use (see Table 3) to gain a better understanding of each case study. The following section further explains in detail the description of the demographic profiles of the participants included in the study.

4.1. Demographic information

All four mothers were between the ages of 29 and 37 years of age, with more than 10 years living experience in Taiwan except for Mrs. Thu who only had 6 years living experience. All participants were married to Taiwanese men and currently living with their children in Minxiong, Chiayi County. Pseudonyms were used for the participants in order to protect participants' identities.

Mrs. Lan

Mrs. Lan is 36 years old. She came to Taiwan 12 years ago as a worker through a labor agency. She met her husband in Kaohsiung where she worked and 2 years later they got married. Her family first lived in Kaohsiung and then moved to Minxiong after her husband changed his job. They have been living in Minxiong for the past seven years. Currently, her husband works at the railway station in Chiayi. He will retire in September 2016 after which her family may move to Tainan, because the family has a big house in Tainan and her husband wants them to take care of his father.

She shared with me that her husband, who is much older, has 4 kids from a previous marriage. As a result, he reminds and helps her be a better parent. There are several times she got angry with her mother through the phone. He reminded her she should not act like this. He explained to her that her parents were very hard working to bring her up. Now she already needs to take care of her kids and must know that it is not an easy task. She should not talk aloud to her parent like this.

She has two children, Meixin 美心 and Chenggong 成功. The elder girl is in 3rd grade at a public primary school near their home. The younger is 2 years old. Currently Mrs. Lan stays home to take care of her younger daughter, who has not started any mainstream schooling as yet.

Mrs. Hoa

Mrs. Hoa has lived in Taiwan for 14 years. She has two sons Hung and Huy. Hung is 8 years old, studying in a public primary school near their house. The younger one is Huy, two and a half years old, will start preschool this September. Currently, she works as a team leader in a manufacturing company. She was very easy to talk to and enjoyed talking about education issues for children and Vietnamese culture. She told me she would introduce me one potential participant as well.

She shared with me the reason she came to Taiwan was to separate with her boyfriend. Her boyfriend's family is rich but he is a playboy. At that time she was 23 year olds and owned one small hair salon in Vietnam. But she thought if she married him, she would not be happy. In 2002, she first came to Taipei to work as a helper for a cancer patient in a hospital for 1 year. After that patient died, she changed her job, then moved to Chiayi to work as a helper for an elderly person who is her now husband's grandmother. After working 3 years under contract, she went back to Vietnam to comply to the marriage procedures for she was going to get married.

Speaking about her family in Vietnam, she mentioned that her mother, who is a beautiful queen in her hometown, had married a soldier who died during the Vietnam War. After 1975, her mother married her father who already has 3 children in a previous marriage. They had two more children, she and her younger brother. Her father was born in the elite family and he was very talented. When she was small, her father even taught her French. But he passed away 2 years ago. However, she still keeps the habit to come back to Vietnam every year to visit her family.

Mrs. Thu

Mrs. Thu is the youngest one among the four interviewees. She is 29 years old now. Her natal family in Dong Thap province in southern Vietnam has 5 daughters. She married a Taiwanese man through a marriage broker six years ago and has been living in Minxiong ever since. One year after coming to Taiwan, she gave birth to her first daughter. Her husband works in the machine-tool factory near their home, while she works in a restaurant.

She revealed that her biggest life challenge when she first came to Taiwan was her relationship with her mother-in-law. The complicated relationship she had with her mother-in-law involved both discrimination and a lack of support for her child rearing practices. She said that it is better now because they moved out from her mother-in-law's house.

Her daughter Thuy is 5 years old. Thuy impressed me, not only because she was very nice and friendly to Mrs. Hoa and me, but also because she can understand Vietnamese well and I felt her behavior was very similar to children from Vietnam. Thuy mentioned that she had visited Vietnam before and she really liked Vietnam. She loved the time when all her relatives came together to make a party at her grandmother's house. She also liked to go to the traditional market with her cousin and showed me the toy that her aunt bought for her from there.

Mrs. Giang

I met Mrs. Giang at a Vietnamese restaurant I frequently visit near my university. Sometimes I stayed a little bit longer to talk to her after lunch, from 2-5 pm when she has fewer customers. Gradually, we started talking more often and she perceives me as a friend instead of a customer. When she knew about my study, she told me that she would like to participate in my study.

Mrs. Giang is the eldest sister from a very poor family in a rural village in Kien Giang province in southern Vietnam. When she was 17 years old, she had to quit high school to go to Ho Chi Minh City to work. She worked in different jobs such as: selling lottery tickets and breakfast on the street or being a waitress in the restaurant. When she turned 20 years old, she decided to marry a Taiwanese man through a marriage broker, hoping that the marriage could help her family's financial burden. After being in Taiwan for about a one year, she gave birth to her first son Dajin (大晉) in 2007. Her second son Xiaolong (小龍) was born in 2011. The information about the participants and children's demographic is illustrated in Table 2 below.

Mother	Mother's age	Number of years in Taiwan	Child	Child's age
Mrs. Lan	36 years old	12 years	Meixin 美心	9 years old
			Chenggong 成功	2 years old
Mrs. Hoa	37 years old	14 years	Hung	8 years old
			Huy	2 ¹ / ₂ years old
Mrs. Thu	29 years old	6 years	Thuy	5 years old
Mrs. Giang	30 years old	10 years	Dajin大晉	9 years old
			Xiaolong 小龍	5 years old

Table 2: Participants' demographic information

4.2. Language use

Mothers were asked about their children's spoken language. All informants reported that they spoke to their children in Chinese and Vietnamese at the same time, except Mrs. Giang who only spoke Chinese to her children.

Both Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang reported that Chinese should be considered their children's mother tongue because it is the language they were born into and used to communicate with the family members.

While Mrs. Hoa and Mrs. Thu stated that their children have been using Vietnamese since birth but revealed that although the children speak Vietnamese to her now that may change and they may switch to Chinese as they grow older. In detail Mrs. Hoa said:

My second boy has not attended the preschool yet so Vietnamese may remain stronger with his elder brother. But the language shift happened to my older son quickly. Before Hung started Kindergarten, he spoke Vietnamese mostly with me but this changed a lot after one year. Especially after he enters primary school, his dominant language changed to Chinese. He seems more comfortable speaking and express things in Chinese. (20160305Hoa-Q1f)

The participants provided more information on their children's language use in Table 3 below.

 Table 3: Mothers' ratings on their children' Vietnamese proficiency and

 language use at home

Mother	Child	Speaking in Vietnamese	Listening in Vietnamese	Language use to mother	Language use too to other family member
Mrs. Lan	Meixin 美心	No	Very poor	Chinese	Chinese
	Chenggong 成功	Very poor	Very poor	Chinese, Vietnamese	Chinese
Mrs. Hoa	Hung	Good	Fair	Chinese, Vietnamese	Chinese, Vietnamese
	Huy	Good	Very good	Chinese, Vietnamese	Chinese, Vietnamese
Mrs. Thu	Thuy	Very good	Very good	Chinese, Vietnamese	Chinese
Mrs. Giang	Dajin 大晉	No	No	Chinese	Chinese
	Xiaolong 小龍	No	No	Chinese	Chinese

4.3. Mothers' viewpoints on heritage language and culture maintenance

The further section seeks to give answer to the first research question concerning the important it is for Vietnamese mothers in regard to their children maintaining the Vietnamese language and culture heritage.

Therefore, to learn more about the mothers' viewpoints on language and culture heritage preservation, five sub-questions were asked aimed at giving a better understanding to the first research question. These sub-questions included: (1) What do you identify your children as; Taiwanese or Vietnamese? (2) How important is it for you that your children's maintain their Vietnamese language and culture heritage? (3) What Vietnamese proficiency level do you want your children to achieve? (4) What Vietnamese cultural values do you want to pass on your children? (5) What are the differences between Vietnamese and Taiwanese childrearing practices?

Mothers provided a detailed explanation in the following paragraphs.

4.3.1. The implication of Vietnamese heritage language and culture maintenance

Based on the interviews, Mrs. Hoa and Mrs. Thu stated they valued maintaining Vietnam heritage language and culture very highly while Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang indicated they valued less their Vietnam language and cultural heritage.

As for Mrs. Hoa, it was very important for their children to keep their heritage language because it helps them communicate with her relatives in Vietnam. She explained, It's obvious that Vietnamese language and culture maintenance is very important. Although they live in Taiwan but they must acknowledge themselves as both Vietnamese and Taiwanese. It is natural that my sons become able to speak their mother's language. I believe that it is my responsibility to teach Vietnamese to our children. Because their relatives in Vietnam cannot speak Chinese, so my boys should speak Vietnamese to keep contact with them. If my boys can talk in Vietnamese with their grandmother on the phone, this will bring a big happiness to her. (20160305Hoa-Q1a)

She also added that maintaining the Vietnamese heritage provides more opportunities for her children in the future.

Besides that, it's an advantage for them [her children] to learn another language, so they have more chances to find a good job. The more languages children can speak, the more advantages they will have in their future. Like me, because I can speak Chinese and Taiwanese very well so I could find a good job and have a better salary than other immigrant here. Currently my salary is up to 60.000 NTD per month, almost 2 times than normal. That's why I always try to teach them Vietnamese." (20160305Hoa-Q1b)

Similarly, to Mrs. Hoa, Mrs. Thu also affirmed that family communication is the most important factor for the children to keep their heritage. She said:

I understand that if my child can speak Vietnamese to me, it may enhance our relationships and we can share more with each other. I know that when the child go to school, it gets worse as she learns more Chinese, and I will not have enough Chinese to explain things or talk to her. My daughter also gets to learn more about Taiwanese culture at school and gradually forget about Vietnamese culture. It becomes more and more difficult to communicate and understanding between mother and children. (20160308Thu-Q1a)

Mrs. Thu also emphasized the importance of preserving Vietnamese identity for her daughter:

Some of my Vietnamese friends I know believe that their children would be more successful in the future and could stay away from the discrimination if they only speak Chinese. They tried to speak only Chinese with their children, and did not say anything about Vietnam or proud of Vietnamese at all. I think it t was terribly wrong. The children were born and grown up in Taiwan they will be Taiwanese. But half of their blood is Vietnamese. What the mother should do is help them also maintain heritage culture values. Nowadays, Taiwan is a multicultural country; everyone has his or her own origin and culture that we should all value. If we don't teach the children about our culture, they will grow up thinking that their mother origin is not to be proud of and not being grateful to the ancestors. (20160308Thu-Q1b)

When looking at the identity of the children, Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang shared different point of views. They perceived their children as Taiwanese only, hence it affects the way they transmit Vietnamese language and culture for their children. Mrs. Lan said that:

My children were born in Taiwan so they are Taiwanese no matter how I teach them. Of course if they can speak Vietnamese it would enhance the relationship with their grandmother and other relatives. But definitely they need to learn Chinese well first. (20160301Lan-Q1)

The findings in this part lead to the conclusion that most of the participants wanted their children to maintain Vietnamese and culture for family ties and increased communication with the Vietnamese relatives, some of them viewed adding Vietnamese, as a second language would add to the strength in their children future. Also, it is important to note that the way mother perceived their children as Taiwanese or Vietnamese determines their willingness to push or not to push their children to learn the heritage language and culture.

4.3.2. The Vietnamese proficiency level the mothers want the children to achieve

Most of participants wished for their children to obtain level-appropriate Vietnamese in communication without reading and writing.

When asked what proficiency level she wants her children to achieve, Mrs. Hoa hoped for her children to understand and speak Vietnamese fully, without having to use Chinese, if possible. However, regarding to reading and writing, she added: I want to teach them how to read and write Vietnamese, but it got more and more difficult when Hung were in higher grades. I don't have a time because of work, and he had more homework and spent more time at school. And you know, it was difficult for the children to write Vietnamese sometimes as Vietnamese language use Latin system, it is totally different with Chinese character. (20160305Hoa-Q1c)

When I asked Mrs. Thu does she expect her daughter to read and write Vietnamese, she said:

I don't think it is necessary to learn how to write Vietnamese. Because when she comes to primary school, she needs spend more time on her learning in Chinese. Speaking Vietnamese fluently is good enough. I would like to give my daughter a foundation in Vietnamese. When she grows she can come to Vietnamese class to learn to read and write Vietnamese there. Or, at least, if she wanted to learn more about Vietnam culture, she could learn it by herself. (20160308Thu-Q1c)

Mrs. Lan hoped her younger child will understand and speak Vietnamese at a fair level and just enough to get around. She thought that later when her children goes to school, they would need to spend more time on learning Chinese. She was afraid of causing confusion in her children's learning of Chinese.

Mrs. Giang, who never spoke Vietnamese to her children, showed a small part desires for her children to know something of Vietnamese language and culture. She stressed that Chinese is the language of power that will help her children to be successful.

The researcher: What about your goals for your children with regard to language and culture? How well do you expect them to be able to using Vietnamese?

Mrs. Giang: I did not want her children to reside in Vietnam in the future; therefore, there was no reason for my children to master the Vietnamese. Sometime I thought if they know Vietnamese, it's a blessing but I would not push them to learn it. Rather than I wished that they would be able to speak and write Chinese very well because we live in Taiwan. That is the language we need to success. (20160108-Q1a)

In conclusion, for two mothers (Mrs. Hoa and Mrs. Thu), their children's learning to speak Vietnamese was clearly of high priority and they were willing to put a lot of effort into making it happen and aimed for higher level of Vietnamese language proficiency. For the other two mothers (Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang), while they wanted their children to identify themselves as Taiwanese, they believed it would be "good" if their children can learned more languages. However, for Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang learning Vietnamese was not so important, giving much higher priority to Chinese learning eventually.

4.3.3. The Vietnamese cultural values the mothers want to pass on their children.

All participants mentioned that the main Vietnamese cultural values they want to keep for their children is respecting their elders and being a caring person. Most of them expressed the desire that their children understand the importance of maintaining a profound attachment to relatives. An excerpt below illustrates the finding.

Mrs. Lan said:

There are some obvious values from Vietnamese culture I want to pass on my children, such as love and respecting the elders, being a caring person, first with their siblings and then withe their relatives and other people around them. (20160306Lan-Q1)

Mrs. Giang told me her main parenting goal was to teach her children how to respect their parent, their elder and ancestors. *"I really hope my children will be filial, like me"*.

Mrs. Hoa mentioned:

In my opinion, the most important thing I want to pass on to my children is teach them how to love and respect other people in their daily greetings and conversations. And of course parents play very important role in educating them. It is not limited at teaching the children what is right or what is wrong. I often told my sons: "If someone who knows how to love and respect the others, especial his parent, the successes and happiness will follow them. Even if you are very successful in the social community but you don't respect your parents, your grandparent, the others will not consider you are good human." I try to teach them this when they are very young so that it becomes a part of who they are. (20160312Hoa-Q1a)

Beside that Mrs. Hoa also mentioned another moral value in Vietnamese culture, which is the close family bond between relatives. That is why she often sent money to her mothers and sibling in need. She also shared this is one of the differences between Taiwan and Vietnamese culture.

I often send part of the money I make to my mother in Vietnam. I also give some money or buy some gifts to my younger brother family when they are in need. Of course, it is not easy to earn money but I would like to send some to Vietnam. Sharing is not only my responsibility but also my happiness.

In Taiwan, like my husband family, they did not share finance ability with cousins or relatives, even rarely visit each other. Meanwhile in Vietnamese as you know everyone is brother and sister, or uncle and auntie. We help each other when we can; we share up and downs with our relatives and friends. If there is a value from Vietnam culture that I would like to keep, it will be this close kinship we hold with our relatives. In my opinion, learning how to share our love with our family and relatives is the most important lesson in order to be a good person. (20160312Hoa-Q1b)

To sum up, the mothers' narratives in this study have shown awareness in maintaining heritage culture for their young children. Also identified was the mothers' strong attachment to their core values from their Vietnamese culture such as "respecting the elders" and "being a caring person".

4.3.4. The mothers' viewpoints on childrearing in Vietnamese and Taiwanese culture

When looking at Vietnamese and Taiwanese culture value in educating children, most of the participants shared that they do not only hold on rigidly to Vietnamese culture values but also take the advantages of the mainstream culture. Mrs. Thu said:

I find it too broad to cover the term cultural values. It is very difficult to define what the cultural value are and what we should or should not keep. When it comes to the specific situation I just know. Of course I can't keep my Vietnamese ways rigid all the time, but I have to combine the two cultures. For example, I don't want to use the rod to discipline the child; even it is popular both in Vietnam and in Taiwan. Sometimes my husband spanked Thuy. I tried to explain to him that it doesn't help to discipline her that way. I learn this from my own experience. When I was small and was punished by rod by my father, I felt uncomfortable and even angry. So that when my daughter Thuy was around three years old, every time she did something wrong, the way I often do is to ask her to stand on one corner until she calm down. When she is older, I explained more to her about what she does wrong. I do not agree the overuse of rod and violence with children. (20160313Thu-Q1c)

Each culture has its own advantages which we should learn both. For example, children in Taiwan are taught to be independent which is very good for them. Taiwanese children seem to be more active and creative. As I see it is not the same in Vietnam. Nowadays each family only has one or two kids, parents seem to cover their children too much and never let them do anything by themselves. Taking my second sister's family in Vietnam as an example, I have seen they overprotect their child. My niece is 5 years old now, but she still need adults feed them every meals. Her parents does too much for her, therefore the child becomes dependent on her parents and does not learn how to be responsible with her own lives. Or my eldest sister's son, he is 12 years old now but he never does any housework or washes his own clothes. My sister would like her son to focus on his learning at school only, but never asks him to help with the housework or to take care of himself. (20160306Lan-Q1d)

However, different with others three mothers, Mrs. Hoa preferred the Vietnamese way of teaching the children.

I do not agree with the way of educating a child in Taiwan. The adults such as my husband or my parents in law, they seem to give no punishment at all and only praise the children for their good behavior. The children here are not taught how to show enough respect to their elders. They were taught to be more independent but I am afraid that it makes the child has no sense of sharing and they do not listen to their parents. I have seen many families where children shout at their parents. (20160312Hoa-Q1b)

These findings demonstrate the similarities and differences between the values across cultures. The mothers touched upon many important issues on childrearing between two cultures, these include: the role of parents in children's education and in child discipline. Much was also learnt from the mothers' open views toward the different cultures, and their willing to keep the best of each of the cultures for their children's education.

4.4. Mothers' practices in teaching heritage language and culture for the young children

This part aims to answer the second research question: What practices do the mothers use in order to maintain Vietnamese language and cultural values for their children? Their answers could not be summarized as right or wrong but rather descriptions of related situations and people. It emphasized complex situations and various relations with other people.

4.4.1. In maintaining heritage language

In this study, only Mrs. Giang used only Chinese to communicate with her children, while the other three mothers reported that they communicate with their children in both Chinese and Vietnamese language and they tried to use Vietnamese as much as they could to help their children maintain the Vietnamese language. When the children were younger, especially from birth to preschool age, they spoke to the children, read stories, lull the children to sleep in Vietnamese. In addition, each mother described other efforts to teach Vietnamese, as detailed below.

When I asked Mrs. Hoa what, if any, rules she applies when teaching Vietnamese to her children, she said she did not have any fixed rules about talking Chinese or Vietnamese for her sons.

Sometimes, when I find that it's very difficult to explain something in Vietnamese, I will use Chinese. Then I return to Vietnamese, repeat that sentence for several times to make sure they are able to follow me. Right now my children sometimes seem to understand Vietnamese, sometimes they don't. It takes a lot of time and effort to teach them. One strategy I applied is to answer with a "yes" if they ask me in Vietnamese, and give them a "no" if they speak in Chinese. For example, when Hung, the elder boy would like to ask for some snack, I would refuse if he asked me in Chinese. (20160305Hoa-Q2a)

She continued to share her interesting ways in which she used to teach Vietnamese to her children:

I try to talk to my kids in Vietnamese; even sometimes they speak to me in Chinese. In the conversations that have others Taiwanese such as their father or their grand father, I usually talk to them in Chinese first and then repeat again in Vietnamese. Beside that, my husband often encourage Hung [to speak Vietnamese] by asking Hung to translate what I talk. Sometimes he asked Hung how to speak this sentence in Vietnamese. The dream becoming his father's translator made Hung happy and inspired him a lot in learning Vietnamese. I think we somehow successful with this strategy and we will continue apply with our second son. (20160305Hoa-Q2a)

She also often talks about the advantage of learning Vietnamese to her children:

With Hung, he is older, I told him that adding Vietnamese to their languages just like English, would add to the strength in his future. I also told him that they [he and his younger brother] had a very good condition to learn Vietnamese and they should take the chance. I took myself as an example for them: "You see, I had found a good job because I learned hard and after a short time I could speak both Chinese and Taiwanese very well. The more language we know, the more chance we have in the future. (20160305Hoa-Q2d)

Mrs. Lan shared that she never tried to speak Vietnamese with her first child because she was overwhelmed by just learning how to be a parent. So now it is hard to start to teach her older kid Vietnamese. Something interesting about what Mrs. Lan shared was about the way in which she maintained the Vietnamese language for her younger daughter. With Chenggong, her second child, based on the recommendation of her friends and the teacher from the Vietnamese community where she often take part in, she learned from previous mistake and started to talk to her child in Vietnamese since she was born.

The whole first year I felt a little bit silly because there was no feedback from her. Sometimes I wanted to give up because speaking Chinese is easier to me while other three people in my family speak Chinese. Now I only speak Vietnamese to her when there are only two of us. But I also started to realize that my daughter actually understood. I still remember the very first time I asked her: "Con oi, chị ở đâu nhi?" (Where is your sister?). And she turns and looks at her sister. So I knew that she was actually listening and responding to my inquiry in Vietnamese. (20160301Lan-Q2a)

She shared that she doesn't know how to teach her daughter Vietnamese language, and had never taught them formally, but she tried to create a good environment for learning Vietnamese. She made mention that she could speak both Chinese and Taiwanese fluently. Before marriage, she worked as a helper for the older people for 3 years. Because of the nature of this work she had a lot of time to watch television, which helped her to improve her Chinese a lot. With Taiwanese she started to learn when she moved to Minxiong, as her neighbors are mostly locals, they prefer to speak Taiwanese. She thought that maybe she still displays a Vietnamese manner in living with the neighbors; she often comes to their houses and chats with them. That helps her get better at Taiwanese quickly. She said: I'm not good at learning; in Vietnam I never was a top student in the class. I was even very bad in my English course. But when I came here, I found out that I am quite good at learning a new language. I guess because of the environment. That is why I also tried to apply this strategy to my children. Actually I really like to listen the music, so I brought a lot of Vietnamese CDs for them and play it every day. I often watch Vietnamese TV shows with them through the Internet. They might not understand Vietnamese, but it doesn't matter, as it is only entertainment. I just want to give Chenggong as much exposure to Vietnamese as possible. (20160301Lan-Q2b)

The case of Mrs. Thu is quite unique. Mrs. Thu shared that the Vietnamese language ability of her daughter is good but mostly because of her mother's help.

When Thuy was 1 year old, I need to go to work and my mom from Vietnam came here to help take care of Thuy almost 2 years. I can say Thuy was taught Vietnamese by my mom, because I rarely had time to teach her. Most of the time I talked in Vietnamese to her is when I tell her the bedtime stories in Vietnamese; I retold the fairy tales that my mother told me when I was a little girl. When she got older, around 4 year olds, I told her some historical stories and legends, which were fascinating to her and easy for her to remember such as "Sự tích bánh trưng bánh dầy", "Mị Nương Trọng Thuỷ", "Phạm Công Cúc Hoa", etc. During the bed story time, Thuy often stops me and asks the definition of the new words. I often take advantage of this chance to define those new words with a more frequent synonym to bring her more Vietnamese vocabulary. (20160308Thu-Q2a)

Mrs. Thu also mentioned that taking the child back to Vietnamese was a way of improving the Vietnamese language for the child:

I have brought my daughter to Vietnam two times, the first time for 2 months and last time for I month during Lunar new year festival. She enjoyed her visit very much as she could play with her cousins and grandmother. Sometimes they [her relatives in Vietnam] brought her to a local kindergarten there, so that she could meet and make friends with Vietnamese kids around her age. Her Vietnamese improved a lot after that time period. And in Vietnam, she could learn much more than just language, she would have the sense of my homeland and close relationships among relatives as well. She experienced how people live together in an extended family. Those are things that really difficult to explain to the children only through word. However, it is effective way but it's too costly. (20160308Thu-Q2b) The findings revealed that Vietnamese mothers put great efforts into helping their children maintain heritage language. Some of them speak to their children in Vietnamese language since birth and tried speaking to their children in Vietnamese as much as they can, others, tried to create a good environment so that the children can absorb language awareness. In addition, they also ask for help from their husband and other Vietnamese family member to encourage the children to speak Vietnamese.

4.4.2. In maintaining heritage culture

While they varied in their goals and expectations of heritage language proficiency, all of the mothers wanted to pass on Vietnamese culture for their children.

In regards to Vietnam food and its cultural values, Mrs. Thu said:

A meal together is very important for a family. It is by far the most effective way to teach the children about cultural values. Now I've been started to teach my daughter how to preparing the food and the table. Later when she is older, I would teach her to make Vietnamese traditional food like spring rolls and some other simple dishes. (20160313Thu-Q2a)

She added:

I often cook both Taiwanese and Vietnamese foods for one meal. For example we often eat rice, fish or pork with fish sauce and ginger, in some special occasion we have spring rolls. Before when we live with my mother in law, we rarely eat Vietnamese foods, because she does not like it. After we moved here, I started cook Vietnamese foods more often. And I feel lucky that my husband also likes Vietnamese foods. (20160313Thu-Q2f)

She was asked whether or not it was hard for her to prepare both Taiwanese and Vietnamese foods at the same time for one meal. She said that on weekday, both her and her husband are busy with work, so on the weekend she often prepares food for whole week, and pack them in different boxes. In this way her husband can help her in heating up the food and feeding the children since gets home from work earlier than she does.

Mrs. Lan does something similar in the same way in which she maintains her Vietnamese culture through the meals:

Because the dinner table is where the family gathers after a long day, both breakfast and lunch, my husband and my elder daughter do not eat at home, so I want to take dinner seriously. We often have dinner together around 7 pm. Nowadays the life is too busy and there are a lot of Taiwanese family choose to eat out, but I try to maintain a meal together like the way I had in Vietnam. I think it is a very good culture values.

I cook special meal for my husband because he is vegetarian, and with three of us, I often cook Vietnamese food. Sometimes I cook Taiwanese food, but I am more familiar with the Vietnamese taste. My children also like Vietnamese food, because they have eaten Vietnamese food from very young. They don't like to eat unhealthy foods outside in the restaurant or vendor. I feel so blessed that I bring to them very healthy diet. (20160315Lan-Q2a)

Mrs. Lan also talked about the Vietnamese traditional celebrations as another

way to maintaining culture for her children:

"On Tết holiday², I ask my Vietnamese friends with their children to come to my house and make a party in Vietnamese way. I let my children wear Áo dài³, sing Vietnamese children song, of course some of them can not speak Vietnamese, but they just follow the music and dance. And we also cook and eat Vietnamese traditional foods. This year I even made Bánh Chung⁴ from lá dong⁵ I grown in my garden. Yes, culture, I would keep the traditional foods and the traditional celebrations. I think somehow that also increase my children's pride in being Vietnamese. (20160315Lan-Q2c)

 $^{^2}$ Tết is Vietnamese New Year and is the most important festival and public holiday in Vietnam. It falls on the same time with Lunar new year in Taiwan

³ The traditional Vietnamese long dress

⁴ Bánh Chung -Chung cake is a traditional and irreplaceable cake of Vietnamese people in the Tet Holidays. It is a square sticky rice cake that is made from glutinous rice, mung beans, pork and other ingredients

⁵ Dong leaves: the large green leaves used to wrap bánh chưng

Although Mrs. Hoa, due to her busy work, does not have time to celebrate Vietnamese traditional festivals at home for her children, she and her husband, sometimes with her in-laws, often take their children to the party in these special day hold by the community for Vietnamese brides. She also spends time to talk to her children about these festivals:

With these traditional days, I often find some video on Internet for my children. I showed them what is different between 2 countries. I also told them the way I celebrated it when I was small. My friends and I did lantern and some toys by our self, so I encourage my children do it instead of asking adults to buy toys from the shops. (20160305Hoa-Q2a)

Mrs. Hoa explained to me that almost all the main traditional days are the same between Taiwan and Vietnam, but the meaning and the way they celebrate them is rather different. She said that though the Taiwanese also celebrate Mid-Autumn festival by eating moon cake and pomelo like the Vietnamese do, "Tết trung thu"⁶ in Vietnamis a bit different. It is the happiest day for children, during which parents buy their children various kinds of lanterns, toys and snacks. They also have lion parade for this occasion. Meanwhile "中秋節"⁷ in Taiwan it is the celebration of the harvest moon, whereby people often gather with friends and/or relatives to have a barbecue. In Taiwan they don't have much lantern displays during the Moon Festival but on the 15th day of first month of the lunar year Chinese Lantern Festival. She said she spends a lot of her time talking to her children about the cultural festival in both countries. Specifically, Mrs. Hoa describes the value of this strategy:

I want to expose them to our traditions such as celebrating the Lunar New Year (Tết Nguyên Dán) and Mid-Autumn festival (Tết Trung Thu). I think these events have good cultural

⁶ Mid-Autumn festival in Vietnam

⁷ Mid-Autumn festival in Taiwan

atmosphere. Letting my children experience that is one of the ways that I would teach them about our culture. (20160305Hoa-Q2b)

Mrs. Giang who is also very busy with her own business, chose to take her children to the Vietnamese community for Vietnamese brides festival in Xingang as well. She said:

Sometimes when I have time, I bring them to the party hosted by the communities for foreigner brides in Xingang. Here they can observe, communicate and learn from other Vietnamese people and also from mixed Vietnamese children. It is much more effective to let them immersion in Vietnam environment than only contact to me (20160205Giang-Q2)

It is important to note that all of the mothers wanted their children to know Vietnamese culture. Through in this section, a number of strategies were collected that was used to help maintain Vietnamese culture within the homes, such as keeping meal together in the family, celebrating Vietnamese traditional holidays and special occasions, and taking the children back to Vietnam if possible.

4.5. Difficulties in Vietnamese language and culture maintenance

Mrs. Hoa answered that she doesn't have any difficulties with her children's Vietnamese maintenance.

There are currently no difficulties, not in my case, so far. Because I taught them since they were born. Maybe it will become a little bit harder when they get older and have to spend more time in school, immerse in Taiwanese environment. However with Huy, the elder son who already in the primary school now, I tell him that I want him to maintain Vietnamese, and it seems work and he understand my willing. Vietnamese maintenance comes naturally in my family. (20160305Hoa-Q3a)

However she stated that she had witnessed other Vietnamese mothers that did:

Because I once was a teacher in Vietnamese language class for the community, so I know with other mixed children from different background, it might harder. Even though the community made a lot of effort to encourage mixed race children learns their heritage language. Some immigrant mother tried to send their kids to these language classes, but their families like husband or parent in law don't want. They told to children that they should not learn heritage language and no need to learn it. It somehow affected the children attitude. I am very lucky because my husband and my-in-laws are very open-minded. My in laws did not help much in taking care of my children but they let me teach them by myself. My husband even has learned Vietnamese and he can understand some simple sentences. He always told our kids that your mom is Vietnamese, and your grandmother and your relatives in Vietnam cannot speak Chinese, therefore we should learn Vietnamese, so later whenever we have chance to come to Vietnam we can able to talk to them. I am very grateful for that. (20160305Hoa-Q3b)

While Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Hoa stated that they received strong support from their husbands, the others two mothers, Mrs. Thu and Mrs. Giang, have experienced challenges in their children's Vietnamese maintenance from their Taiwanese families. Mrs. Giang revealed that she lives with her in-laws and has a limited time to teach her sons of her own parenting beliefs in general and in maintaining Vietnamese culture. In regards to her in-laws, Mrs. Thu said:

When I first came here, I lived with my mother in law, I rarely had chance to talk in Vietnamese with my daughter, because she does not like it. But when Thuy was 1 year old, we [she and her husband] moved out so it is much easier now. (20160315Thu-Q3b)

Interestingly, Mrs. Thu also reported a change in her husband attitude. In years past, both her mother-in-law and her husband used to discourage teaching Vietnamese to her daughter but now her husband is encouraging her to teach their child Vietnamese. I speculate that this change in attitude was partly due to the activity and program from the community for the immigrant brides, which she encouraged her husband to participate with. Some useful programs in that community was mentioned such as courses about the advantage of teaching Vietnamese for the children, or the orientation classes provided for foreign wives and their husbands to teach concepts such as respect for cultural differences.

Another difficulty that most of the immigrant mothers in this study face in maintaining Vietnam language and culture was that of the limited time they have to spend with their children to aid in the maintenance. Except for Mrs. Lan who is currently a stay-at-home mom, the three other mothers all mentioned the time issue during their interviews.

Mrs. Hoa said that:

As I see, another common difficultie in teaching Vietnamese for the children among immigrant mothers here is time. Most mothers have to work very hard to earn a living. Because most of them have not any degree nor speak much Chinese, their obvious choices are to work on the factory, in the field or in a restaurant. These are hard work and require a lot of time. Like me, recently I usually work overnight, from 8pm to 8am, because it gives me more money with the same time at work. When I get home, I'm so tired and do not have much time for my children. I had put a lot of effort in order to maintain Vietnamese for them in such a limit time. (20160312Hoa-Q3)

Mrs. Giang who is really busy with her restaurant shared that:

There are only several hours in a day I can spend with the kids, especially as a owner of the restaurant. I have so little time with my kids, you know, I only have 1-2 hours a day I get to see them. And because there are so many other things I am trying to work on with the children, so...it seems like impossible. (20160229Giang-Q3)

In the same situation, Mrs. Thu talked about her case:

Since my family finance is not good, so we were so busy working to earn money. I had a limited time to take care of my daughter. That is why my husband and I decided to give birth only one child. Recently I did not have time to talk to my daughter in general and to teach her Vietnamese culture in particular. It may not even be an hour we truly talk to each other before she goes to bed. Luckily, Thuy already was exposed to Vietnamese language and culture since she was an infant, so it is much easy to maintain it. I has seen some of my friends, they did not

speak Vietnamese with their children since they was born, so when they get older, around 3 years old above, it is really hard to start to teach them Vietnamese. (20160315Thu-Q3c)

Regarding the late exposure to the Vietnamese language to the children, Mrs. Giang stated Vietnamese has become difficult:

It is difficult and too late now. My children are more comfortable speaking Chinese. They don't want to speak Vietnamese. You know, I am like: "Oh, let's go to Vietnamese language class or let's go to the Tet festival" and they responds: "No, Mom, I am just not interested". I cannot say, "You need to do this". It is not like something related to heath, for example, so I can say that. But Vietnamese language and culture is more optional. It is my original; I hoped them to know about their mother's original but I don't want my kids to feel obliged to do something. (20160227Giang-Q3)

Another issue some Vietnamese mothers reported were that of limited resources for Vietnamese language and culture exposure in their area. They mentioned resources such as a library with Vietnamese books, VDV or Vietnamese program for children. They said that there is a lack of community support that would be beneficial to their children's heritage language learning and culture maintenance. Mrs. Hoa who works full-time shared her wish to send her children to a specific Vietnamese class because it would help to emphasize the importance of Vietnamese culture; however the area in which they live doesn't offer those kinds of classes as yet. Mrs. Thu also shared her wish about the Vietnamese program for young children:

Recently I did not join any Vietnamese community, partly because we need to go quite far to reach the closest Vietnamese community. And I didn't see much activity for only mixedchildren together. I hope that in the future we have some activities like this so I can send her there to expose my daughter to the Vietnamese environment. I believe that the children learn much more from their peers. (20160308Thu-Q3)

When asked what difficulties she met in raising her child in a transnational marriage, Mrs. Thu said:

It is not easy to teach a child; especially I am a newcomer here. I have to combine what I think is the best of the two cultures and beware of any conflicts might have with my husband. And the most difficult thing is to become a model for my children to follow. You have to educate yourself first. You have to give up some bad habits from Vietnam such as talking too loud in a public area. (20160315Thu-Q3d)

I also want to add one difficult I have met as being in a mixed marriage. When Thuy was very small, I only spoke Vietnamese to her. But when she get older and could join the family activity like eating or watching television, I can only be able to talk in Vietnamese to her when only have two of us. Because I felt so weird to talk in Vietnamese in front of my husband and it is really hard to switch between two languages at the same time. (20160315Thu-Q3d)

The narratives in this part reveal a number of challenges that Vietnamese immigrant mothers have to face in maintaining heritage language and cultural values such as the limited time spending for the children due to their hard work to earn a living or limited resources Vietnamese language and culture. Beside that, it has presented how the mothers struggled in finding a way to educate their children in in transnational families, especially when facing with oppose from their husband family. In addition, In addition, the mothers also feel that the children had changed very much once they began to go to school due to the exposure to the new culture via the school system and the impacts from their peers. Some of them were discouraged and faced potential heritage language loss because they witnessed the language shift when their children started Kindergarten.



Chapter 5

Conclusions and Suggestions

With an increasing Vietnamese population in Taiwan, heritage language and culture maintenance has become a significant matter to transnational Vietnamese-Taiwanese families throughout Taiwan. Although the number of research on immigrant women and their children born to Taiwanese fathers have increased rapidly in the past decade (Tsay, 2004), there is however, a dearth of qualitative studies on the parenting attitudes and practices when it comes to maintaining the heritage language and culture of immigrant Vietnamese mothers in Taiwan. Therefore, the study aimed at exploring Vietnamese immigrant mothers' perspectives toward the issue of maintaining heritage language and culture values for their children, their daily practices and the difficulties they face in nurturing their children in the context of a transnational family.

The study explored this issue by examining three research questions:

- 1. What are Vietnamese immigrant mothers' perspectives on heritage language and culture maintenance for their children?
- 2. What practices do they use in order to maintain Vietnamese language and cultural values for their children?
- 3. What issues and difficulties do these mothers encounter in attempting to maintain Vietnamese heritage language and culture in Taiwan?

In the following sections, a review and discussion of the main themes which immerged from the four Vietnamese immigrant mother's narratives in the previous chapter as well as implications of these findings base on three research questions, will be done. In regards to the first research question, the mothers' responses from the semi-structured interviews highlighted the ways in which the mothers perceived their children's identity, as being Taiwanese or Vietnamese, revealed their willingness to push or not to push their children to learn the heritage language and culture. Also to be highlighted and discussed is the language maintenance, language loss and its effects. Looking at the second research question regarding the efforts of mothers in heritage language maintenance, I will review the two core Vietnamese cultural values that the mothers wanted to keep for their children, which was in connection with Confucian's educational philosophies. The next part will present the mother's opinion and effort to maintain Vietnamese culture through meals as a means of retaining their cultural. When looking at the third research question, the issue of cultural integration and cultural assimilation will be discussing. Then this chapter will ends with recommendations and suggestions for future research studies.

5.1. Research question 1: Mothers' perspectives on heritage language and culture maintenance for their children

5.1.1. Cultural identity

This research found that one of the key factors influencing the mother's attitude toward teaching Vietnamese heritage language for their young children was the way in which the mothers identify their children's identity as being Taiwanese, Vietnamese or Taiwanese- Vietnamese.

A bicultural identity implies an individual perceives their mainstream and ethnic cultural identities as being important (Benet- Martínez, Harris Bond, & Chen, 2008). Consistent that existing literature, two mothers in my study, Mrs. Hoa and Mrs. Thu explicated a balance between two cultures. The findings reveal a bicultural identity for their children was a core-parenting ideal through which they encouraged their children to retain their Vietnamese cultural identity.

However, with regard to cultural identity, (Gorman, 1998) found that American Chinese immigrant mothers were not concerned about raising their children to be Chinese. This perception is the same with two of the mothers, namely Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Giang in the study. Although they tried their best to maintain the Vietnamese language and cultural values for their young children, they reaffirmed that their children were born and will continue to grow up in Taiwan; therefore, they will be considered Taiwanese. In this way, how the mothers perceive their children's identity motivated the mothers' choice of language for their children and the attitude they had toward heritage language maintenance. I realized that whether they wanted their children to grow up as Taiwanese or Vietnamese showed a strong positive correlation regarding their practices of language use with their children.

5.1.1. Language maintenance and language loss

As mentioned previously in the literature review part, parents' educational attainment and multicultural experiences, influences their conception of bilingual education. In which, the mother plays a more important role in the children's development than does the father in a family (Hetherington, 1978). The mothers are more likely to pass on their attitudes and beliefs about native language to their children from a very young age. As has been demonstrated previously in the findings section, the mothers from this study also show their attitude toward heritage language maintenance. Retaining heritage language served the dual functions of preserving cultural identity as well as promoting cohesiveness with the Vietnamese extended family. Also, it brings a chance of getting a high-paying job because of the language skills.

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Still, preserving heritage language for children from transnational families is a challenging task. The children have to learn the language of the society in which they currently live in order to take full advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the society (Fillmore, 1991b). This means that mixed-children are likely to lose their heritage language rapidly while they are acquiring the majority language. The timing and the conditions under which they come into contact with Chinese, however, can greatly affect the continued use of their heritage language as well as the development of their second language.

One of the most important factors causing new Taiwanese children's heritage language loss is parents' choice. Some mothers in this study chose Chinese as a main language of their children's literacy ability, instead of maintaining their heritage language. Many immigrant mothers, who learn from their own experience about the importance of the majority language in the new environment, believe that their children are more proficient in the majority language than the minority language (Wang, 2010). They think that Chinese proficiency brings the key to schooling success for their children, which promises a brighter future for them. This is similar with what Hinton (2001) mention in his study about involuntary language loss among Asian immigrants in American. Hinton found that parents' language choice at home might increase the possibility of their children's heritage language loss. For example, as immigrant parents' level of proficiency in English grows, they want to try to help their children to learn English more rapidly and efficiently by using English at home with their children. However, despite the academic success closely linked to mainstream language competency, it does not mean that the children have to give up their family language.

The loss of a heritage language, particularly when it is the only language spoken by mothers, can be very costly to the children, their families, and to society as a whole (Fillmore, 2000). Firstly, since language represents the most significant aspect of culture and identity, heritage language loss can cause a negative self-image and cultural identity and children can become ashamed of their own heritage language and culture (Kouritzin, 1999). Additionally, when mothers are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to the children their values, beliefs, and understandings of the culture. They cannot teach the children about personal responsibility, or what it means to be a moral or ethical person. Mrs. Hoa and Mrs. Thu also mentioned this problem in the interview. When the mothers lose the means for influencing their children, the families will lose the intimacy. Lastly, if children build a strong foundation in their home language, they will learn to speak, read and write the community language even better (Kouritzin, 1999). Thus, to help children achieve academic success; parents should be able to discuss a variety of topics with increasing difficulty and complexity as academic levels increase.

Therefore, in order to retain heritage language, mothers should establish a strong home language policy and provide adequate opportunities and contexts for children to learn to use the mother tongue (e.g. reading Vietnamese books, watching Vietnamese program, visits to the family in Vietnam, etc.). Further, it required extra effort from the families, especially on the their spouse's part, to make a conscious effort to speak the heritage language with the children despite limited heritage language proficiency. As Mrs. Thu claimed one of her difficulties as a newcomer in Taiwan was that of combining the best of the two cultures along with being aware of any conflicts that may cause with her husband's family.

Even though Taiwanese government has given some positive supports such as local events or cultural venues for the new immigrant mothers, the interviewing of the mothers from this study revealed that one of the difficulties in maintaining Vietnamese heritage language and culture for the children is the limited heritage resources available. Of course, the family's efforts are not the sole factor in children's success; the community plays a very important role as well. This finding raises important implications for immigrant mothers, family members, educators, and community leaders, who should recognize that "heritage language maintenance is not just an individual process, but it is a societal process as well that is influenced by multiple factors at the personal, educational, and societal levels" (Lee & Oxelson, 2006). They should work together to create ways to raise heritage language awareness and provide resources and opportunities for learning and preserving the heritage language and culture.

5.2. Research question 2: Mother's efforts in order to maintain Vietnamese heritage language and cultural values for their

children

5.2.1. Respecting the elders and being a caring people

Mothers have brought a number of Vietnamese cultural values from daily routines such as language, food and traditions to core values such as moral lessons and norms into educating their children because they themselves are strongly attached to the Vietnamese cultural values they absorbed when they were young. As Mrs. Hoa stated, she did her best to teach and remind her children about their origin and ancestors as her father taught her. Mrs. Thu said she treasure the cultural values that she learned from her own parents and would like to pass those on to her daughter through bedtime stories.

The Vietnamese immigrant mothers in this study mentioned two important child-rearing beliefs and practices that reflected their culture specific value. First, all mothers emphasized the necessity for teaching their children to grow up understanding and enacting filial piety. Second, most Vietnamese mothers expressed the desire and trying to help their children understand the importance of sustaining close kinship with the extended family.

The mothers' efforts to educate their children to respecting the elders indicate their conceptions of the purpose of education. Respect as a function of filial piety refers to the cultural expectation of obedience and deference to elders. With reference to the Vietnamese population, (Matsuoka, 1990) has asserted that filial piety is the single most important construct binding and organizing the psychological experience and social reality of Vietnamese people. My findings add to the literature by providing a detailed description and interpretation of what aspects of these values were enforce, and how respect value align with filial piety plays an important role in immigrant Vietnamese mothers' lives in Taiwan. Those values appeared in the mothers' descriptions very often. Mrs. Lan and Mrs. Hoa claimed that "respecting the elder" was the first values that they wanted to teach their children. In Vietnamese culture, at an early age, children are taught by their parents to behave according to the principle of filial piety (Huy, 1998; Matsuoka, 1990). The family is where the child learns the respect rules in both behavior and linguistic response. Talking back or acting contrary to the wishes of one's parents is evidence of lack of filial piety. Children should be grateful to the parents who give them their lives, share love with them and raise them to be good people. For the Vietnamese, filial piety also means solicitude and support to one's parents, chiefly in their old age (Huy, 1998). These Vietnamese culture values were somewhat influenced by the Confucian's value and ideologies about filial piety in which filial piety is a virtue of respect for one's father, elders, and ancestors. It can be seen clearly that is why Mrs. Giang and Mrs. Thu married Taiwanese men with hope to fulfill their filial obligations to their parents by sending money back home.

To me, filial piety is very important. What I do for my kids now is my responsibility. In the future, when they grow up, it would be their turn to take good care of their parents. They should know to be good to dad and mom, to be grateful to parents, and can't treat parents badly. (20160108Giang-Q1)

Another core value in Vietnamese culture mentioned in my study is the close kinship between relatives. The close kinship care in extended family and familyoriented relationships are also pointed out as strength in Latino cultural values (Cantor & Brennan, 2000). These cultural values apply to extended families, where everyone is considered a family member and contributes to the development of the greater good of the family. Mrs. Hoa in my study found that this manner differ with that of her Taiwanese family. She often sent money to Vietnam to her siblings when they are in need to show her love and support for her relatives but it does not happen in her Taiwanese family. Mrs. Hoa believed that "being a caring people" had to be cultivated from a very young age. It somehow reveals the highest purpose of education for Vietnamese, reflecting the core values of Vietnamese culture being to mould a child into a good and caring human who will contribute to the development of society. The way Mrs. Hoa used her personal experiences to illustrate to what extent she herself valued also fit with what was mentioned before, in Chapter 1 literature review about cultural values and unique personal experiences.

5.2.2. Food and meals as a means of retaining heritage culture

Food plays an important role in the lives of families in most cultures. However, the degree of importance varies from culture to culture. In Vietnam, family meals with traditional Vietnamese food have been one of the unique cultural features (Ochs & Shohet, 2006). Since the ancient time, it has become a very familiar thing for members of the group and whenever they travel far away, members of the group think about their cultural foods in high regards. Even now, the family meals are higher appreciated due to the fact that people are getting busier and busier with their jobs and lots of other activities. Therefore, dinner is an intangible string to connect family member together and opportunities for them to share a meal and talk together after a hard day. During that time, sharing of the delicious food among the elderly, parents and children is an action, which shows affection among family members. In respond, the elders teach their children the ethnic standards and proper behaviors toward others. The traditional values, customs, and etiquettes of the ancestors are conveyed to the children and then, as the eternal rule, they teach their children these traditional values (Ochs & Shohet, 2006).

It can be seen that food is a crucial part of culture, and is mentioned in the response of all the mothers in my study. Food remains a traditional value that immigrant mothers would like to preserve carefully, because Vietnamese meals help to enhance family relationship. In addition, children learned not only about the traditional food but also the sense of family and belonging. In the mothers' view, a meal together is the most effective way to teach children about cultural values in the family.

5.3. Research question 3: The issues of cultural integration and cultural assimilation

Culture is a dynamic concept that changes over time and space (Algan, Bisin, Manning, & Verdier, 2012). Therefore the term "culture maintenance" raises the question of what culture values we are talking about and what is to preserve it. The culture of the home country with regards to immigrants themselves is not protected from social evolution, internal migrations and international developments (Algan et al., 2012). One's cultural experiences and values shape the ways they see themselves and what they think is important. Furthermore, , cultural perspectives influences parenting and how children are educate .

Parenting is dynamic a process that evolves over time (Berry, 1997). Researches on parenting within immigrant populations suggest that these parents increasingly adopt the attitudes and practices of the dominant culture as they become acculturated (Berry, 1997). The immigrant mothers from this study revealed that they do not only hold on rigidly to Vietnamese cultural values but they also take the advantage and benefits of the mainstream culture into their parenting perspectives. Mrs. Lan shared about this in a childrearing thought she had: "Each culture has its own advantages which we should learn both". All mothers claimed that they had never forced their children to learn Vietnamese but only encouraged them to learn Vietnamese as an additional language to improve their opportunities in their future. The mothers' narratives from my study confirm Citrin and Sears (2009) which found that there were no collisions between strong national and ethnic identity. The cultural values that the mothers tried to maintain for their children mentioned in previous chapters are good values, which should be considered as added strengths to the mainstream culture. In the same vein Deaux (2006) also see the immigrant families as a great contributor to the culturally diverse society within which they now reside with the beautiful values from their own culture.

Some challenges still remaining for many immigrant mothers are: firstly, how to bridge two cultures more efficiently and effectively and how to find the balance between two cultures, especially when raising their kids in a transnational marriage.

5.4. Suggestions

Based on findings and discussions, this study provides suggestions for parents and local communities.

5.4.1. Mothers and family members

It is important for mothers to re-evaluate what their expectations are for their children. Immigrant mothers should talk to their husband and family in laws and their children to express their thoughts and feelings towards heritage language and culture maintenance. If maintaining the heritage language is important, parents should try to stimulate both maintaining heritage language and developing Chinese as an additional language. As Yeh (2014) mentioned children's literacy is constrained by family capital and resources. It is not easy for immigrant mothers to master Chinese and to share reading activities with their children in Chinese. Immigrant mothers should use their heritage language when speaking with their children from birth and encourage them as much as they can. They should also learn ways to help and support their children's teachers to seek ways of introducing and celebrating their heritage in preschool.

5.4.2. Educators

When early childhood educators acknowledge and respect children's heritage language and culture, ties between the family and school programs are strengthened. Teachers should get to know the language situations in the students' family and understand the importance of maintaining native culture and mother tongues as well as broaden their world outlook. Early childhood education institutions should provide Second-Language Acquisition and Bilingual Education in their schedule, and their curriculum should reflect the language diversity of Taiwan and encourage bilingualism in children.

5.4.3. Local communities

Immigrants' heritage is an important asset to the community, the society, and the nation (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Community leaders should also consider including various heritage celebration events by closely working with community members. The findings of this study suggest that the Vietnamese immigrant mothers responded very positively towards community opportunities to share their heritage language and culture. This study, however, identified that there are only a limited number of multicultural societal opportunities available for the immigrant mothers and their children: only one community exit for foreigner brides in Xingang; lack of heritage resources available to the children, such as heritage language class, public library with Vietnamese books, magazines, DVD, etc. Therefore, the community should continue to try to provide culturally appropriate music, food, literature, toys, books and pictures, etc. Additionally, these committees should discuss activities and strategies that would be effective for use with linguistically and culturally diverse children. They should try to create transitional programs that support and celebrate diversity such as Vietnamese language program for the Taiwanese husbands of Vietnamese immigrants. It is my hope that the results of my study will serve to inform social groups in Taiwan as to create more effective plans that can be enacted for immigrant mothers and their children.

5.4.4. Suggestions for future study

Despite the merits of the findings, there are several limitations inherent to this study.

First of all, since the study was conducted with only four Vietnamese immigrant mothers, the findings are limited to the small sample size. In addition, with restricted time the data collection was conducted over two months, mainly through interviewing with mothers, which may be problematic because it may not have fully detected the mothers' normal behaviors or interactions with their kids. One direction that future research could take to build upon and complement this study is observation and field note. Future studies should include larger participant and utilize a longitudinal design that would allow the researcher to observe variables changes over time. Future studies could also include various types of immigrant mothers (include mothers who reside in Taiwan for both short time and long time or mothers in different Chinese proficiency) to understand their unique experiences.

The study also excluded the voices of the participants' children and Taiwanese family that may factor influentially in mothers' attitudes toward heritage language and culture maintenance. Furthermore, while the study claims its significance from its context, the study did not account for an investigation of outside-the-home heritage language and culture situations to validate the level and quality of heritage language and culture support from communities. Future studies could be applied to investigate the kindergarten classroom observations, with an attempt to unveil how young children from transnational marriage families and local Taiwanese families interact in the same classroom. The other line of direction for future research should carry out with Taiwanese husbands' perspectives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Cover Letter for Vietnamese mothers

Cover Letter for Vietnamese mothers

Dear Friends,

I am a graduate student in the Education Leadership and Management Development Program, National Chung Cheng University in Chia-yi. I am working on my MA dissertation research on Vietnamese mothers' experiences of teaching children Vietnamese language and culture. I would like to invite you to be my participants.

In-depth interviews will be conducted and it takes 60-90 minutes each time. The interviews will be tape-recorded if you agree.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, and your interviewing data will not appear in my thesis. All your personal information will be confidential and the tapes will not be disclosure to anyone else apart from me. The results of this study may be published, but your name will be anonymous. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation. Although there may be no direct benefit or any financial gain if you decide to participate, I still appreciate all your help on my research and I value the chance of talking to you.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact me through email: or call me at

Your participation in this research is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Phuong-Thanh Vu,

Master candidate Educational Leadership and Management Development National Chung Cheng University

Advisor

Yu-Ching Yeh, Professor Department of Early Childhood Education National Chiayi University

Thư mời tham gia phỏng vấn trong luận văn thạc sĩ

Chào bạn,

Tôi tên là Vũ Phương Thanh, hiện đang là sinh viên cao học chương trình lãnh đạo và phát triển quản lý của trường Đại học Quốc gia Trung Chính tại Chiayi. Tôi hiện đang làm nghiên cứu cho luận văn bảo vệ thạc sỹ của mình về vai trò của người mẹ Việt Nam trong việc dạy ngôn ngữ và văn hoá Việt nam cho con cái tại Đài Loan.

Tôi muốn mời bạn tham gia nghiên cứu này nếu bạn quan tâm đến nội dung trên và sẵn sàng tham gia hỗ trợ cho nghiên cứu. Cuộc phỏng vấn sẽ kéo dài khoảng 60 phút mỗi lần và sẽ được ghi âm nếu bạn đồng ý.

Sự tham gia của bạn trong nghiên cứu này là hoàn toàn tự nguyện. Bạn có quyền không tham gia hoặc dừng ở bất cứ thời điểm nào và dữ liệu về cuộc điều tra sẽ không xuất hiện trong luận văn của tôi. Tất cả các thông tin cá nhân của bạn sẽ được bảo vệ, giữ bí mật và băng ghi âm sẽ không được tiết lộ cho bất cứ ai khác. Việc tham gia vào cuộc khảo sát này dự kiến sẽ không có rủi ro gì cả. Nếu kết quả của cuộc nghiên cứu được công bố thì sẽ không có thông tin nào có thể dùng để nhận diện bạn/con bạn. Mặc dù nếu bạn đồng ý tham gia nghiên cứu này sẽ không có bất cứ lợi ích trực tiếp hoặc thu nhập tài chính, nhưng tôi thực sự biết ơn sự giúp đỡ của bạn và tôi đánh giá cao cơ hội được nói chuyện với bạn.

Nếu bạn có bất cứ câu hỏi nào liên quan đến nghiên cứu, làm ơn liên lạc với tôi qua email: hoặc số điện thoại:

Sự tham gia của bạn mang một ý nghĩa quan trọng đối với sự thành công của luận văn. Vì vậy, tôi rất mong nhận được sự hỗ trợ của bạn trong nghiên cứu này.

Tôi xin chân thành cám ơn.

Vũ Phương Thanh, Chương trình Thạc sỹ lãnh đạo và phát triển quản lý Giáo dục Trường Đại học quốc gia Trung Chính, Đài Loan

Giáo viên hướng dẫn: Giáo sư Yeh Yu-Ching Khoa Giáo dục trẻ em, Trường Đại học quốc gia Chia-yi, Đài Loan

Appendix B: Interview guide

Hello...!

Thank you very much for taking part in this interview. My name is Phuong-Thanh Vu, in the Education Leadership and Management Development Program, National Chung Cheng University. I am conducting a research study for my thesis writing under the direction of Professor Yu-Ching Yeh. The purpose of this interview is to explore the experiences of Vietnamese mothers who are trying to teach children Vietnamese language and culture in Taiwan.

The interview might last about an hour and will be tape-recorded for later transcription. The tapes will be kept in a locked folder in my personal computer and will be erased upon completion of the study. You have the right to withdraw from the interview as well as the study at anytime. Also, you can refuse any questions that might be sensitive to you. All the information during this talk will be kept confidential and for the purpose of my research only.

Interview Date:	Time:	Locatio	on:
Participants' home address:			
Telephone(s):			
Participants present during the interview:			
I. Part	icipants' background		

- ✓ Can you talk about your family in Taiwan?
- ✓ Can you talk about your family in Vietnam?
- ✓ Can you talk about how you meet with your husband?

- ✓ How about children's relationships with other Taiwanese families (husband, grandparents etc.)
- ✓ What do you think your role in the family? (Will you be able to make any decisions?)

II. Mothers' opinions of their roles in maintaining Vietnamese language and culture

- How do you think about maintaining Vietnamese language and cultural values for your young children? Do you think it is better for your children to understand both Vietnamese and Taiwanese values? Can you tell me why do you want your children to learn Vietnamese language and culture?
- 2. What do you often talk or show your children about Vietnamese culture? What do you think is the most important factor of a culture? What are the common Vietnamese values that you expect your children to keep? How do you think Vietnamese culture can benefit the children?
- 3. What do you think about the role of mothers in teaching their children in general and in teaching them about Vietnamese language and culture in particular? What are the differences between children who grow up in Taiwan and in Vietnam? What makes a good child in Taiwan and how is it different from a good child in Vietnam?

III. Mothers' practices in teaching Vietnamese language and culture for the young children.

 How much time do you spend talking/communicating with your children in a day? What are you doing/have done to try to teach your children Vietnamese? Do your children speak Vietnamese at home? How well can they understand Vietnamese? In what context do you use Vietnamese with your child?

- 2. How do you teach your children about Vietnamese cultural values?
- Talk to children about differences and similarities between Vietnamese and Taiwanese culture
- Celebrate Vietnamese holidays : Do you celebrate Vietnam festivals in Taiwan?
 If yes, who you usually have the celebration with? How do you celebrate these festivals?
- Eat Vietnamese foods: how often you cook at home here? What kind of food do you usually cook? When your family has dinner outside, what kind of food your families usually eat? (For Vietnamese people, they often cook at home everyday, or they love fish sauce while Taiwanese are not
- Take a trip to Vietnam: how many times, how long your child stayed in Vietnam, do you think your child enjoyed the trip to Vietnam?
- Ask Vietnamese grandparents to talk about how they grew up
 - Do you have any special strategies in teaching your children Vietnamese language and culture? Are there any resources available for you about Vietnam (for example: TV shows, magazines, and so on...)
 - 4. Do you have any further advice for Vietnamese mothers in teaching their children Vietnamese heritage language and cultural values?

III. Issues and difficulties in teaching Vietnamese language and culture for the young children.

What are the difficulties in teaching your children Vietnamese in a Taiwanesedominant environment? Do you have any ways or strategies to deal with such problems?

- What are some strategies/techniques you would like to do with your children but are not able to? Why are you not able to?

- What are your biggest challenges teaching Vietnamese language and culture to your

children? Do you think your Taiwanese families (husband, parents-in-law etc.)

support you?

Thank you for your time and cooperation!

