

Vietnamese Spouses' Cultural and Social Identity in Taiwan

YU Teng-Huang

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Abstract

Whilst a considerable number of studies in relation to Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan have tried to explore many crucial issues such as life adjustment, knowledge empowerment, the life of new generations, marriage motives, post-marital life, and the process of matching making and facilitate understanding of this particular ethnic group, nonetheless few have focused on their cultural and social identities ,having become a core part to secure themselves when settling down in Taiwan and commencing a new life on the one hand, and constructing their social networks and enhancing their social status on the other hand. Additionally, unlike this research analyzed both qualitative data gained from interviews and quantitative data gained from questionnaires, most of research would only look into this phenomenon by way of either qualitative way or quantitative way. Thus, using two data collection methods provides not only an opportunity to interact qualitatively with Vietnamese spouses but also gain a more representative data set providing more reliable research results. Furthermore, this dissertation research fills a gap in the previous literature on the experiences of these women in Taiwan in terms of how their cultural identity and social identity affect the quality of their lives. The aim of this dissertation research was to enrich the understanding of Vietnamese female spouses in Taiwan from the perspectives of cultural identity and social identity.

Seven Vietnamese wives in Taiwan were interviewed. The interviews were conducted and recorded in Chinese and then translated into English. Reoccurring themes or ideas from the interviews were categorized as follows: personal abilities and traits, remittances and ethnic identity, filial piety as the eldest daughter and daughter-in-law, holding incense, male heir in a Taiwanese family, dual and dynamic personal identity—a process of acculturation, culture diffusion: food and karaoke, the maintenance or management of transnational marriage, and the description of social exchange. Through above-mentioned findings, the process of transformation regarding cultural identity and social identity of Vietnamese spouses is to be better perceived and located behind this unique phenomenon—transnational marriage in Taiwan.

In addition, 200 Vietnamese wives in Taiwan completed a questionnaire that 99% completed in Vietnamese and 1% in Chinese. The questionnaire included 25 items categorized into four dimensions of cultural identity: “cultural belonging,” “self-identity,” “cultural devotion,” and “cultural integration.” The analysis of the quantitative questionnaire data showed that among the four dimensions of cultural identity, cultural integration received a higher mean score than cultural devotion and cultural belonging, while self-identity received the lowest mean score. Therefore, it is assumed that most of Vietnamese respondents think adapting themselves to Taiwan’s culture or customs cannot be emphasized too much while living in Taiwan, being concomitant of retaining their original culture or customs.

The research findings suggest that Vietnamese female spouses have the ability to take

advantage of their surroundings by involvement in cultural capital activities such as Vietnamese cooking and language related skills. Moreover, these wives further enhance their cultural capital by spending time developing skills in local Taiwanese languages and customs. These Vietnamese spouses have learned how to flexibly utilize their cultural and social capital while interacting with Taiwanese locals, other Vietnamese spouses, and Vietnamese migrant workers inside the family premises or in public places like eateries or factories. Likewise, by participating in more activities held by the government or non-governmental organizations, they have gradually enhanced empowerment and increased their own social status. The findings of this dissertation research can play a crucial role in aiding transnational couples in Taiwan by providing the Taiwanese government suggestions for improving their quality of life.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Motive

There are approximately 240,000 Vietnamese living in Taiwan. Out of the total number, there are about 100,000 Vietnamese who are married to Taiwanese. Others are in Taiwan working as domestic helpers, caregivers, students, and diplomats. There are also about 30,000 undocumented Vietnamese migrants living in Taiwan. Ever since Vietnamese spouses began emigrating to Taiwan through the channel of marriage, there have been a number of public issues becoming a great concern to Taiwanese society including domestic violence, economic dependence, vulnerability, linguistic and cultural isolation, lack of social networks, cultural constraints, fear of deportation, and debt bondage (International Conference on Border Control and Empowerment of Immigrant Brides, 2007). Compared with the 100,000 Vietnamese spouses reported in 2007 the latest 2013 report of 87,357 Vietnamese one can see the number has decreased by 12,643 in those 6 years, of which included about 2,107 divorces per year. This divorce rate is not strictly a phenomenon of Vietnamese brides; in fact around 4,500 Taiwanese men divorce their Southeast Asian brides per year. Since the number of Vietnamese spouses accounts for 75% of these Asian brides, equaling 3,100, it can be assumed that some of Vietnamese divorcees left for their natal homes or remarried while the remaining 1/3 remained in Taiwan (Ministry Of Interior, 2013).

As former Minister of M.O.I., Lee Hong-yuan said, the rise in the divorce rate, 2.41% in 2013, the third highest in the world, could partly be ascribed to the increasing number of transnational marriages in Taiwan because a great number of

foreign spouses either from Mainland China or Southeast Asian countries often have a hard time adapting themselves to Taiwan's culture or customs, leading to a high divorce rate among transnational couple (Wu, 2013).

After the introduction of transnational marriage, Taiwan has undergone a tremendous political reform as well as socio-cultural and ethnic transformation (Lin, 2012). As a result, this socio- and ethno-cultural change has shuffled the traditional culture creating a newly surfacing diverse socio- and ethno-cultural "melting pot" (G.I.O.,2014). This is a phenomenon that has manifested for the first time in Taiwanese history. Recently, a significant amount of research on the transnational marriage in East Asia has helped in understanding more regarding the consequences of such changes (Kojima,2007; Chang, and Ko,2006; Seol, 2005). Many anthropological, sociological, economic and political insights on this regional phenomenon have been revealed. Also, many challenges, influences, and even controversies have been investigated and discussed. For example, from the perspective of area economic studies, Hsia (2005) argued that the growth of transnational marriages in Taiwan has been due mainly to economic globalization and various level of capitalism. The latter has resulted in a world that comprises three categories of countries: the nucleus area, semi-periphery, and periphery.

As an increasing number of young ladies from Southern Asian countries and China marry much older men living in semi-periphery or nucleus areas, this has caused scholars such as Wang and Chang (2002) to point out how marriage brokers have brought up a new model of the market economy to make two recruiting mechanisms join and work effectively together. From the standpoint of labor and social welfare, Hsiao (2003) and Lan (2006) both claim that foreigners from Southeast Asia migrating to Taiwan have come a long way to seek more equal socioeconomic statuses and better treatments and benefits. In terms of cultural

differences respecting gender, Lee (2003) reports that it's not just a cultural difference that Vietnamese spouses face in Taiwan but also women's lower social status as well. In addition, a majority of research has mainly focused on the anthropologic and socioeconomic structure of the ethnic group and the immigrants' policies (Cheng, 1999; Hsia, 2005; Wang, 2004). However, few studies have looked into the "foreign spouses" responses and the process of cultural identity and social identity they have been through in a completely new family and an unknown society in the host country. Rather, the general public's knowledge about the so-called "foreign brides" is limited with the stereotyped impression as signified by the prevailing name calling on this ethnic group, such as "Pilipino Servant," "Thai Laborer," "Foreign Bride" and "Mainland Gal." As Lan (2006) indicates, part of the society even perceives the Southeast Asian workers and brides dichotomously as "profit seekers" in a negative way. In other words, they are still perceived with bias and prejudices.

Under such circumstances, it is important for us to gain greater understanding about how the new Southeast Asian immigrants think of, feel and talk about and respond to the huge changes in their lives and the challenging process of their cultural identity and social identity in a new society. Also, Taiwanese should seek to know in depth about these brides perspectives on the roles they play in Taiwan. Hopefully, the information regarding their feelings, responses, and ideas can delineate a clearer picture on what this group of new transnational marriage immigrants have been through and what Taiwan as a society can do in order to support both of the Taiwanese "grooms" and the Vietnamese "brides." Completion of such an investigation can offer a better picture of the emerging Taiwanese "melting pot."

1.2 Purpose of the Study

Taiwan is a multicultural country; however, over 98% of the population is made

up of those from Chinese origins before the 1950s. Still, a large number of immigrants have arrived in Taiwan after the 1990s. Many of those have come by way of marriage. Those entering Taiwan from China account for 68%, Vietnam 18%, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Cambodia, and others account for the remainder (M.O.I., 2012).

As shown in Table 1-1, the biggest group of foreign spouses comes from Vietnam. Besides the contact with Vietnamese women due to economic reasons, other enticing factors for Taiwanese men to select Vietnamese women as brides is their similarity in appearance, in traditional values, and customs of local people, all of which fit together well in easing cultural adjustment in such marriages (Tomas, 1951).

Table 1-1

Foreign Spouses residing in Taiwan from Several Countries at the End of 2005

Country	Resident Visas	Permanent Residents or Naturalized Citizens
Vietnam	57,806	53,976
Indonesia	9,304	8,752
Thailand	5,919	5,283
Philippines	3,441	3,026
Cambodia	2,416	2,333

Note. Source (National Police Administration, and Department of Population, Ministry of the Interior, 2007).

This influx of immigrants has had a major impact on Taiwanese society. This has been resulting in a considerable number of research articles and theses exploring one of the main reasons accounting for immigration, the so-called “foreign bride phenomenon.” The term, called as foreign spouse or foreign bride, often carries a negative connotation leading to discrimination and inequality. Life can be either complicated or simple depending on how many policies pertaining to migration help these immigrants especially those who emigrate here by so-called “economic

exchange” from much lower developed countries (Lu, 2005). Besides, some research exploring the troubles of this particular group of immigrants has included how they adjust to their new lives (Chen, 2005c); how they empower themselves with knowledge (Chiu, 1999; Chung, 2003); the life of their second generation affects the society of Taiwan (Chen, 2005a; Chen, 2005b) ; what motives they have for marriage (Hsia,2005; Lee,2006); what their lives are like after marriage (Chen,2003 ; Hsia, 2005); the process of match making through agents (Wang & Chang, 2002). A review of related literature indicates that globalization places a strong emphasis on the trend of transnational marriage migration as opposed to personal interest and desire (Thai, 2008).

It also shows that the key issue of this kind of marriage is described as economic exchanges (Tien & Wang, 2006; Chang & Ko, 2006). Many studies provide explanations in regard to the reasons why Taiwanese men tend to marry Vietnamese women based on many patriarchal traits (Lee, 2006; Lim, 2006; Tien & Wang, 2006). However, little is known about the concrete feelings of these individuals some research has been conducted.

Furthermore, little research has been conducted regarding their cultural and social identities, which is important for these marriage immigrants to secure themselves when settling down in Taiwan and commencing a new life on the one hand, and building up their social networks and enhancing their social status on the other hand. In this dissertation, cultural identity can be defined as concept that links persons with their cultural and social universes (Tomas, 1999); while, social identity is defined as an individual’s self-concept originated from perceived membership in a particular social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The principal purpose of this dissertation is to focus on the dynamics of the lives of foreign Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan after marriage especially in regards to

the four dimensions of cultural identities including: 1) cultural belonging, 2) self-identity, 3) cultural devotion, and 4) cultural integration. The elaboration is presented as follows: how they define their identities or roles as Taiwanese wives while interacting with other Taiwanese or other foreign wives in Taiwan is very significant in understanding the development of their cultural identities and social identities. Therefore, it is hoped that the research reported in this dissertation can benefit not only current and future immigrants but also set an example for research practices for similar veins of research from the perspective of cultural and social identity of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian spouses.

As a result, the findings regarding cultural identity will shed light on the difficulties of these Vietnamese spouses and also benefit them and their family members to overcome such difficulties. In addition, the findings can be used by MOI to help new immigrants to better adjust themselves to living in Taiwan.

The impact that these foreign spouses have on Taiwanese society cannot be overlooked since according to the statistics from the ministry of civil affairs of R.O.C., there have been over half of a million spouses coming from China or Southeast Asian countries with eighteen per cent of these female spouses coming from Vietnam. With such a large number of immigrants coming into the country, to assist them in their transition is not only needed but appropriate to prevent societal problems from manifesting. Therefore, in order to help them to settle down in Taiwan, it will not be enough to only consider their influence from the perspective of the government itself, in other words through a top-down policy, instead one must take a bottom-up or grass-rooted approach. This can be done through research and then action taken from the results gathered from research; however, the majority of previously conducted research has been little more than superficial exploration of the lives of these brides which is not enough to solve genuine problems. Instead, this dissertation research

aims to focus on inner aspects such as the conditions for these Vietnamese spouses to engage in governmental activities and to develop the formation of their cultural identities or social identities. Additionally, another aim of this dissertation is to get more insight into deeper cultural concerns which will empower the Taiwanese society to understand their struggle and thus be able to develop more suitable methods to assist these brides in overcoming some of their current social problems such as mal-adjustment to a new society, something which definitely affects the value of their lives after emigrating to Taiwan.

Aside from the principal purpose, another two related purposes of the dissertation research are described in the following. The first is to gain more insight into the new social networks constructed by Vietnamese spouses from the dynamic of empowering themselves through working either as part-time or full-time or running their own businesses in the host society, and of creating a wide variety of interactions with locals or local communities. The findings from interviewing these Vietnamese participants whose statuses are either married or divorced also add a new dimension regarding the issues of empowerment and identity, which makes the investigation of the “transnational marriages” clearer from a much wider scope, including the following facets of society: socio-economics, culture, history, geography, migration, anthropology, gender, class, and social economic statuses. The second is that this research aims to help the Taiwanese society to understand the issue of “transnational marriage” through insights gained through the interviewing of one newly-created group consisting of over half million of new immigrants. This is of utmost importance since one day their sons and daughters will become a generation associated with multicultural spectrum in the society of Taiwan. The probable findings gained from such an investigation as the one taken up in this dissertation research can be utilized by Taiwanese policy-makers and scholars thereby making more valuable and practical

regulations and bills which not only will benefit these new immigrants but also the next generation.

On the other hand, this dissertation research also aims to find out how Vietnamese spouses negotiate their Taiwanese cultural identities while maintaining their Vietnamese cultural identities. The dynamics between these conflicts in terms of cultural identity and social identity will be studied through analyzing the contents of both in-depth qualitative interviews and extensive quantitative questionnaire responses. The data from the participants will be analyzed in terms of a relationship between their cultural identities and race, culture, gender, status, value and social networks to determine how they have adjusted themselves to fit into this completely new environment. The findings of this dissertation research will unveil the strategies and tactics used to decrease the stress contributed by interaction with new relatives, ethics, and social responsibilities in the Taiwanese society.

This dissertation research hopes to offer some contributions to Taiwanese society. Firstly, findings from analysis of interviews and questionnaire results will speak out for new immigrants regarding the difficulties they encountered in terms of several aspects including the following basic human rights: legal, empowerment, and citizenship. Secondly, it is hoped that this dissertation research can fill the current gap in current research topics and methodologies employed to gain access to the perceptions of these new immigrations. Therefore, this dissertation research aims to act as a catalyst encouraging future researchers to use more flexible research methods including field notes and qualitative data techniques to uncover unknown phenomenon in relation to transnational marriage.

Most importantly, this dissertation research hopes to uncover some invisible challenges Vietnamese women are facing, regardless of the stereotype of their suspected motivation of marrying Taiwanese men. It is the goal of the dissertation to

contribute to a more multicultural awareness in the field of transnational immigration and marriages between Vietnamese women and Taiwanese men.

Lastly, it is hoped that this dissertation research can be a significant source for those whom are conducting related research in the field of migration, marriage, and globalization.

1.3 Research Questions

With the influx of new marriage immigrants coming to Taiwan since the 1990s, there have been a number of problems categorized into several aspects regarding these immigrants and their interactions with the Taiwanese government. First, how the government can set up more humane bills or regulations to make the majority of immigrants feel they are being supported after settling down in Taiwan is much needed. Secondly, how to help these new immigrants to raise their awareness and also gain more consciousness regarding their own legal rights or citizenship right needs attention. Thirdly, how to provide these new residents with more suitable programs for the sake of empowerment, education, and their next generations should be of focus. On the top of these governmental issues are problems arising from foreign spouses' daily lives. This dissertation research attempts to touch more on the neglected issues from the perspective of the international brides' life-long decision to agree to marriage to a local Taiwanese man. These issues will be addressed by not only analysis of the current state of affairs in Taiwan but also this dissertation research aims to review new immigrant policies from neighboring countries like Japan or South Korea to serve as valuable examples.

Little research has been conducted in which cultural identity and social identity have been the topic of interest. Furthermore, little discussion has taken place by

researchers regarding knowledge empowerment with most discussion centering on the economic aspects of marriage (Chiang, 2004; Sheng, 2002). For example, Chang (2004) studied the process of transnational agents based on the agents' perspective. The results of his study reveal how marriage agents play a crucial role in the context of transnational marriages. However, it does not delineate how Vietnamese spouses began running their own businesses in order to build up not only their financial basis to send more money back to their natal families but also to elevate their social statuses from within Taiwan.

This dissertation research aims to show how an understanding of economic power and social network can lead to an understanding of the importance of cultural identity for these women, their families, and their next generation. Furthermore, previous research lacks details on the process of the change in these brides cultural identity and how it may affect their assimilation process in Taiwan. Apart from research on marriage agents, a great number of studies (Cheng, 2000; Hsia, 1997) focus on post-marital lives to offer a broad-scale review of data collected from interviews to elaborate on the level of life satisfaction professed by these brides; however, the issue of their cultural identity and whether it is in anyway related to their life satisfaction has not been explored. Under such a backdrop the dissertation research was designed and conducted for the purpose of providing more insightful and significant information in respect of cultural identity, specifically this included a close examination of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration. The information gained from this dissertation research will voice the Vietnamese women's perspectives of and responses to their new lives, which will help to fill in the current uncompleted picture of the phenomenon of transnational marriage in Taiwan.

Vietnamese spouses living in Taiwan normally come from relatively poor

families and usually choose a wide variety of means of either speeding up the process of acculturation in the host country or maintain the preservation of their own Vietnamese cultural identities (Wang & Chang, 2002; Wang, 2007). In order to find out more details related to the issue at hand, a series of research questions have been constructed as a guide for the dissertation. These research questions have been written to explore the nexus of “cultural identity” including the dimensions of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration. The six research questions are as follows:

1. Research question one: What is the current situation of Vietnamese spouses’ cultural identity in Taiwan?
2. Research question two: In which aspects do the respondents demonstrate more cultural identity and in which aspects do they show less cultural identity?
3. Research question three: Is there any significant difference in cultural identity for the birthplace, education, and religions?
4. Research question four: What are the relationships among the four dimensions of cultural identity with having a job outside the home or not and having siblings living overseas or not?
5. Research question five: Is there any significant difference in cultural identity for the channel of marriage and different family composition in Taiwan?
6. Research question six: What are the relationships among age, the years of marriage, the years of living in Taiwan, the number of children, and the four dimensions of cultural identity?

1.4 Definition of Terms

1.4.1 Foreign Spouses, Foreign brides, and Mail-Order-Brides

The general public tends to associate foreign brides specifically as being from

countries such as Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia or Cambodia, which Taiwanese regard as less developed than Taiwan (though this is not necessarily true). Hsia (2007) serves as the best support for this general conception. When exploring the “foreign brides” phenomenon, she argues that it is a global phenomenon and defines foreign brides as women from less developed countries who marry men from more developed countries.

1.4.2 Cultural Identity

Wang (1994) identified the concept of culture especially to Chinese as everything related to them through daily life since culture is so embodied that it encompasses all the aspects of life. In addition to the definition provided by Wang (1994), the dissertation also adopts the definition provided by Tomas (1999) when referencing the term “cultural identity”: a concept that links persons with their cultural and social universes. Thus, we draw on some other dimensions resulting from cultural identity in the following sections.

1.4.3 Cultural Belonging

Cultural belonging indicates how new immigrants perceive the sense of belongingness related to the host country in terms of culture , mainly depending on the term ‘cultural identity,’ in which cultural belonging often plays an essential part (Orchard, 2002). In addition, the dependence and inseparable affection between new immigrants and their next generations while living in a host country can also be included as part of cultural belonging (Hill, 2000).

1.4.4 Self-Identity

Self identity refers to how one sees him or herself in relation to the host and home culture (Ho, 2012). According to Turner’s statement, an individual does not just belong to ‘personal self’ rather than a member of a group. Encountering different social contexts will make individual think, feel and act based on the self in terms of

his personal, family or national level (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Vietnamese spouses' self-identity have the possibility of double belonging because of their constant contact with their natal home or through their remittances.

1.4.5 Cultural Devotion

Cultural devotion entails how much involvement new immigrants have with their host countries by participating in activities held by the government or non-governmental organizations (Phinney, 1995). On the other hand, any devotion they show towards themselves or their family members can also be included, for example how much effort new immigrants put into acquiring basic literacy or life skills in the new culture for the purpose of elevating their life quality in either Taiwan or Vietnam. However, cultural devotion must also take into consideration the possible reasons preventing them from becoming more involved in host culture activities (e.g., Taiwanese husbands or parents-in-law) (Chen, 2005c).

1.4.6 Cultural Integration

Cultural integration is regarded as a measurement of the degree to which immigrants have combined their home culture with the mainstream culture within a host country (Dehyle, 1992). Additionally, cultural integration also can indicate how much engagement they conduct through their abilities in the local community or the extent of integration with their family members in Taiwan. Apart from the concrete aspects such as food, entertainment, and handicrafts, more abstract aspects of cultural integration must be included such as religion, work ethic, and life values.

1.4.7 Social Identity

Social identity is an individual's self-concept originated from perceived membership in a particular social group. Social Identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) can be used to predict certain intergroup behaviors based on perceived group status differences. Though some researchers have treated it as such, social identity theory

was never intended to be a general theory of social categorization.

1.4.8 Empowerment

The concept of empowerment is stated as a motivational phenomenon pertaining to expectancy and self-capability (Conger & Kanungo, 1988). Besides complying to the traditional norms such as filial piety and sacrifice for their families in Vietnam, Vietnamese brides marrying foreigners are also looking for better chances to possess empowerment rather than to be unemployed at home (Lee, 2006). From Zimmerman's (1990) conceptualization, the essence of empowerment is not an outcome but a multi-phased process which is a combination inclusive of forces outside of the person, a number of intra-psychic mechanisms, and many potential results related to working place. Thus, the phenomenon of Vietnamese brides searching for their futures seem to fit into this concept in that the definition of empowerment is regarded as a process for a person to expand and strengthen his or her power (Eylon & Au, 1999).

1.5 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 contains seven sections covering the historical backgrounds of marriage migration and transnational marriage in Taiwan in addition to an overview of theories that contribute how the collected data is analyzed and discussed in later chapters. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the research design including the characteristics and the distribution of the participants, the explanation of research instruments, the procedures of data collection, and the approaches to data analysis. Chapter 4 presents the life stories of seven Vietnamese women who migrated to Taiwan through marrying a Taiwanese husband. The life story of each woman is described and organized into four phases: (1) life in Vietnam

before the migration; (2) the channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot; (3) life in Taiwan after the marriage; and (4) the future prospect of her life in Taiwan. Based on Chapter 4, Chapter 5 provides an analysis of each case which resulting in two reoccurring themes, social identity and cultural identity, attaching weight to the phenomenon of transnational marriage. In Chapter 6 the quantitative results are reported and then discussed. The dissertation concludes with Chapter 7 in which summary of the study and conclusion of the research are first provided followed by policy implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical background of the Taiwan immigration policy

From demographical and socioeconomic perspectives, migration has emerged and responded to development changes within Taiwan. Located off the west rim of the Pacific Ocean, among Mainland China, Japan and the Philippines, Taiwan has been susceptible to the influence of transforming global circumstances, especially after becoming a member economy of the APEC in 1991, thereby providing Taiwan (known as “Chinese Taipei” by the APEC) the opportunity to become engaged in various APEC activities in support of regional cooperation (Lin, 2012; M.O.F.A., 2010).

Very much like the trend of immigration to the U.S., Taiwan has embraced a rather lengthy historical tradition of immigration that stimulated its early development. Before the 1950s, both immigration and the development of Taiwan were considerably shaped both directly and indirectly by the Dutch and the empires of China and Japan. Before the Dutch colonization between 1632 and 1661, there were only a small number of Chinese labor immigrants hired by the Dutch East India Company. All of them settled in Southern Taiwan. It was not until 1662, did the military leader Zheng Cheng-gong defeat the Dutch. From 1662 to 1682, an influx of Chinese immigrants came to the agrarian economy in Taiwan and the surge continued till 1894 during the Qing Dynasty when a strict Chinese ban on emigration was implemented, leading to many immigrants moving to central and northern Taiwan (Lin, 2012).

During the 50-year Japanese-colonial time, with the elimination of emigration

from China, a considerable number of internal migrations from Japan supplemented the lack of laborers. The number of Japanese emigrating to Taiwan increased to 300,000 which continued until the end of World War II (Barclay, 1954). A key movement to transforming the Taiwanese agrarian economy to an industrial economy is attributed to the Japanese Empire's "Southward Policy," which emphasized the benefits of setting up businesses in Southeast Asian countries instead of in China. Another contributing factor was the war. Half of the 40,000 Chinese in post-war Japan were from Taiwan. Posterior to World War II, Taiwan was no longer a Japanese colony, so many overseas Taiwanese in Japan joined the Chinese Society even outnumbering those from other Chinese provinces (Hsu, 2011). It was not until 1949 that around two million Chinese mainlanders comprised both civilians and soldiers retreated from China to Taiwan due to the defeat of Chinese National Party in the civil war with the Communist Chinese Party (Chang, 2010).

A large-scale return migration of Japanese from Taiwan was due to a political transition from Japan to R.O.C. during the chaotic period between 1946 and 1950. However, the relationship between Taiwan and Japan is still very close because of the 50-year Japanese colonization (Lin, 2012). With very tight border control, emigration was small in volume from 1950s through 1970s except for Taiwanese students studying overseas primarily in the U.S. and Japan. However, the significant trend of rural-to-urban migration emerged due to rapid economic growth between 1961 and 1973. The early 1980s marked the key era in the development of high-tech industries in Taiwan resulting in a growing number of Taiwanese families emigrating to North America, Australia, and New Zealand has significantly increased. In addition, the opening of the Chinese market during the mid 1990s led to an increased number of skilled or highly educated Taiwanese emigrating to China (Chang, 1992; Lin, 2012).

The infancy of the so-called transnational marriage phenomenon emerged after

the early 1970s. The majority of the prospective foreign brides were off-springs of overseas Chinese, primarily from the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. The type of transnational marriage was mainly shaped by personal social networks. Any prospective foreign bride would be arranged to come to Taiwan for the chance of match making, resulting in a lot of social problems like sham marriages, illegal immigration, and human trafficking. Therefore, with much stricter regulations being imposed on visa applications required to enter Taiwan for short-period visits, this type of marriage brokerage waned in the mid-1980s. Instead, arranging Taiwanese grooms to go abroad started shaping a booming business-marriage brokerage after mid 1980s (Hsia & Constance, 1995).

Owing to travel restrictions, before 1987, it was very difficult for Taiwanese to travel abroad, let alone to China. Taiwan presented a special case in that the several thousand single soldiers or veterans fleeing the mainland in 1949 had difficulty in finding a wife, for there was an imbalance in the ratio of male mainlanders and female mainlanders on the island. Besides, an identity gap between female Taiwanese and Chinese mainlanders still more or less existed adding to the difficulty in solidifying marriages. Therefore, a small number of veterans did manage to marry overseas Chinese through brokers. Since that number was small, that trend did not get the attention it deserved at that time. The lifting of martial law in 1987 altered greatly opportunities for marrying foreign wives, especially to marry women from China. Along with the opportunity for Taiwanese to visit relatives in China, the number of marriages between Taiwanese men and Chinese women grew sharply. According to the latest statistics, there are a quarter million Chinese women married to Taiwanese who are either mainlanders who came after 1949 or native Taiwanese (Tsay, 2004).

After the early 1990s, with the economic mobility between Taiwan and China as well as Southeast Asian countries established, the phenomenon of immigration

emerged dramatically through marriage to Chinese Mainlanders or Southeastern Asians and migrant workers from Southeast Asian countries. With the impact from international migration on socio-economic, cultural, and political aspects in the society of Taiwan, more suitable government policies or strategies needed to be embedded into national planning to face some of the challenges such as brain drain, marriage migration, and migrant workers. For example, if there are illegal aliens currently in Taiwan new policies offer them the chance to “become legal” by returning to their countries and reapplying for work permits as long as they have not overstayed for longer than six years; however, if they wish to become citizens, the only method is through marriage (Lee,2002).

Ever since the late 1980s in the last century, the phenomenon of “marriage migration” has been rising in the societies in East Asia, such as Taiwan (Lee, 2003) and Japan (Chiou, 2005), followed by South Korea in the early 1990s (Seol, 2005). There has been an increasing amount of businesses vis-à-vis so-called exotica joining the communities in the urban cities or tourist areas. In contrast to the ordinary images of foreign spouses being hidden away in the premise of homes or in remote villages, more and more foreign female immigrants have chosen to work outside the home or even have started to run their own businesses. An influx of this group of immigrants from Vietnam began when Taiwanese women started vacating the domestic spheres under the influence of so-called New Feminism in the 1970s (Yang, 2007) and with it came the demand of domestic care-takers from Southeast Asian countries.

It was not until the late 1980s that the Taiwanese government commenced opening up the door for foreign workers from the Southeast Asia to make up for their shortage of domestic laborers through regional cooperation with ASEAN countries, none of whom have formal diplomatic relationships with Taiwan; therefore, with more economic cooperation with ASEAN countries, Taiwan will benefit not only

from an economic perspective but also politically especially in relation to China (Lee, 2003). As Lee (2003) states the “Go-South Policy” is being constructed from tapping into the whirlpool of the Chinese market to aim in promoting relations between Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries. From an ontological perspective, Taiwan needs to utilize its limited opportunity to be known and recognized; therefore, taking advantage of its economic power to establish multilateral relationships with Southeast Asian countries is a turning point to expand its influence to some extent on the so-called economic diplomacy struggle with Mainland China. As a result, not only did the policy open to import a considerable number of migrant workers from the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam, but the policy also intentionally or unintentionally opened the way for those who want to enter Taiwan by way of marriage from the commence of “Go-South Policy.” This continued up until the end of the first term of Chen Sui-Ban’s presidency in 2004, in which Taiwanese identity was echoed more than ever before.

Not until 1999 did more Taiwanese marriage agencies start cooperating with Vietnamese partners; therefore, in the beginning of the 1990s, most migrant workers were from North Vietnam because of the convenience and connection to few labor agents mostly setup in Hanoi (Huang, 2013). The number of Vietnamese female marriage migrants started climbing up from the end of 1990s and soon replaced Indonesia as the number one for female migrants entering Taiwan as spouses (Chang, & Ko, 2006). The most noteworthy growth in the population of migrant workers occurred between 1996 and 2000 (Lin, 2012). However, with the number of run-away Vietnamese migrant workers increasing, the government of R.O.C. terminated recruiting Vietnamese migrant workers from 2005. With the new regulations imposed, both the governments of Vietnam and R.O.C. agreed to begin negotiating a recruitment plan for migrant workers from Vietnam at the end of 2014 (M.O.I., 2014).

It is in the best interests of the Taiwanese government to allow for this emigration through marriage phenomenon to continue. Some might be surprised to know that in 2003 more than 20% of new marriages that occurred that year in Taiwan were between local Taiwanese men and foreign brides from Mainland China. Furthermore, by 2007 more than 18% of all registered marriages in Taiwan included a foreign-born wife. Although still an issue in Japan, it is less so with less than 5% of marriages in Japan including a foreign-born wife. Some Taiwanese may consider this phenomenon in a negative sense as in a de-Taiwanization of the household instead of as a positive progression of the internationalization of the household, with Taiwan becoming more internationalized; however, critics of such policies should acknowledge the need of such emigration in its positive impact on the low birth rate in Taiwan. Furthermore, the need for these women will be quite evident when considered from not only a global village perspective but also from some basic economic standpoints (Chang, 2010).

2.2 Statistical trends in immigration and marriage of Vietnamese women in Taiwan

The newest statistical report of naturalized foreigners (excluding China, Hong Kong, and Macau) obtaining the citizenship of R.O.C. from the past decade from Jan. 1, 2003 to Dec. 31, 2012 shows among the 5,004 foreigners, 94.3% of them belong to foreign spouses with 77% (3,855) of the foreign spouses having immigrated from Vietnam. Table 2-1 shows that among the total number of naturalized spouses from Southeastern Asian countries, Vietnamese spouses account for almost 75%; this is especially evident after 2005, when the number of Vietnamese spouses rose to almost 3.5 times larger than that of 2004 and four times larger than that of Indonesian

spouses reported in 2005. However, after a peak in 2008, due to the worsening economic situation and tougher immigration regulations imposed, the number decreased in 2009 and in 2012 this number went further down from 7,421 to 4,129.

Table 2-1

The number of naturalized foreign spouses from Southeast Asian nations; Dates starting from Jan. 1, 2003 to Dec. 31, 2012

Country	Total	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Vietnam	61,437	407	2,348	8,193	10,135	8,115	10,571	7,421	5,732	4,386	4,129	3,855
Indonesia	12,307	253	2,839	2,198	1,250	1,274	1,217	1,058	866	719	633	
Cambodia	3,382	316	689	350	0	829	615	308	159	66	50	
Philippines	2,813	188	317	378	374	192	243	316	272	235	298	
Myanmar	1,173	67	117	17	27	26	178	307	258	109	67	
Thailand	761	92	61	33	68	117	117	102	70	70	31	
Total.	79,060	1,323	6,371	11,169	11,854	10,553	12,941	9,512	7,357	5,585	5,208	

Note: Source Department of Household Registration Ministry of Interior (M.O.I, 2103).

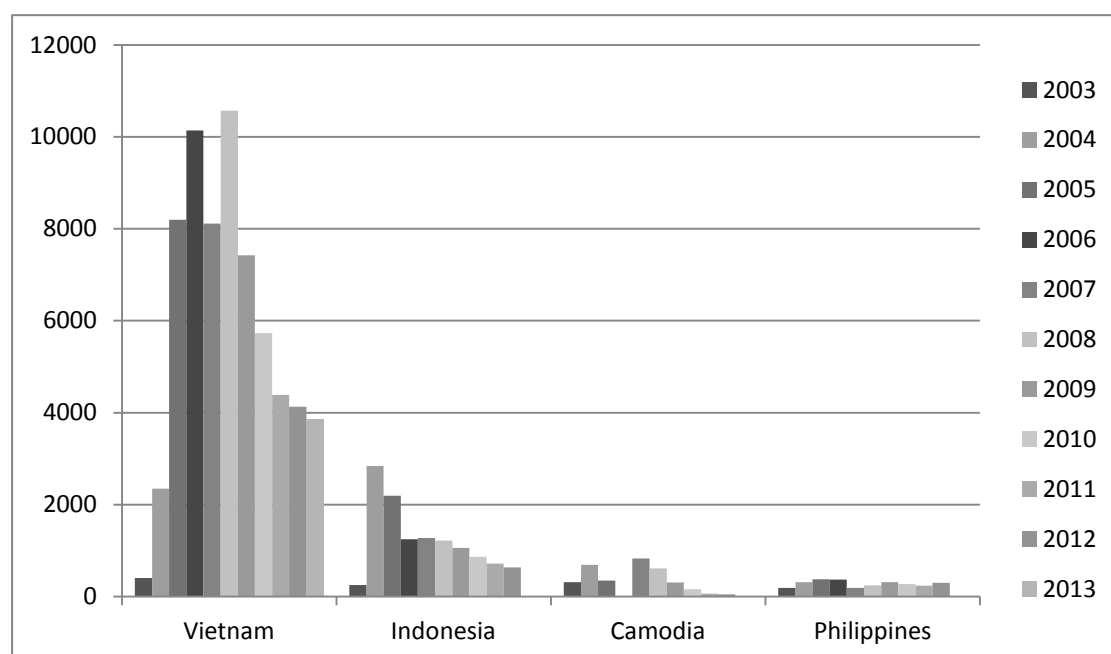


Figure 2-1. The number of naturalized foreign spouses from Southeast Asian nations; Dates starting

from Jan. 1, 2003 to Dec. 31, 2012.

Table 2-2 shows those foreign spouses coming from China, Hong Kong, and Macau account for 68% of foreign spouses in Taiwan compared with 32% of spouses from other foreign nations. Among foreign spouses, the percentage of Vietnamese spouses account for 57% equaling to 88,005 wives, 61,437 of whom were naturalized and possess citizenship with the remaining 26,568 Vietnamese spouses only possess residency permits. Among all foreign spouses coming from China Hong Kong, and Macau, and other countries, Vietnamese spouses account for 18 %.

Table 2- 2

The total number of foreign spouses applying for residence visas from Jan. 1987 to April 2013

Spouse Native Country / Date	P.R.C.	Other Countries other than *C.H.M.	Vietnam
Dec. 2012	473,144	153,858	87,357
Jan. 2013	474,451	154,331	87,726
Feb. 2013	475,160	154,451	87,712
March 2013	476,575	154,838	88,005
April 2013	477,712	155,155	88,005
Percentage	68%	32%	18%

Note. Source (National Immigration Agency, 2013). *C.H.M.=China, Hong Kong, and Macau

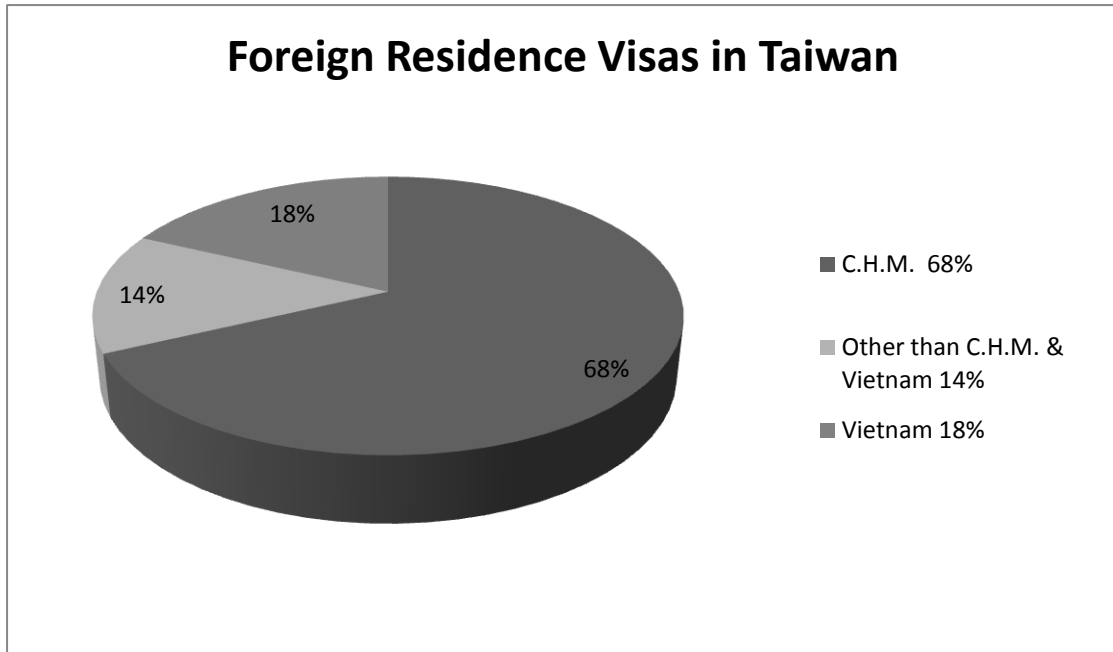


Figure 2-2. The total number of foreign spouses applying for residence visas from Jan. 1987 to April 2013.

Table 2-3 shows the highest ratio in the history of the R.O.C. between local and foreign couples, with local couples being outnumbered by foreign couples 3.5:1. However, along with the worsening economic situation and much tougher regulations in terms of marriage migration, the percentage of foreign couples has decreased to 13%, meaning in 2012 out of every 8 couples in Taiwan, only 1 was a foreign couple.

Table 2-3

The number of married naturalized and foreign couples in the R.O.C. from 2001 to May, 2013

Year	Number of Married Couples	Number of Local Couples	P.R.C. & Other Foreigners		C.H.M. Foreigners				
			Couples	Percentage	China	Hong Kong & Macau	Couples	Southeast Asia	Other Areas
2001	170515	124313	46202	27.10	26516	281	19405	17512	1893
2002	172655	123642	49013	28.39	28603	303	20107	18037	2070
2003	171483	116849	54634	31.86	34685	306	19643	17351	2292
2004	131453	100143	31310	23.82	10642	330	20338	18103	2235

2005	141140	112713	28427	20.14	14258	361	13808	11454	2354
2006	142669	118739	23930	16.77	13964	442	9524	6950	2574
2007	135041	110341	24700	18.29	14721	425	9554	6952	2602
2008	154866	133137	21729	14.03	12274	498	8957	6009	2948
2009	117099	95185	21914	18.71	12796	498	8620	5696	2924
2010	138819	117318	21501	15.49	12807	525	8169	5212	2957
2011	165327	143811	21516	13.01	12800	663	8053	4887	3166
2012	64952	56689	8263	12.72	4757	280	3226	1910	1316

Note. Source Department of Household Registration (M.O.I., 2013).

As the process of democratization progressed and Taiwan's economic investment in the Chinese mainland grew, the ban of martial law was lifted by the late President Chiang, Ching-kuo on July 15, 1987. Therefore, the lifting of the ban on visiting relatives in the People's Republic of China permitted Taiwanese who fled to the mainland after 1949 to return as tourists. Taiwan shares a similar social context as Japan, and so, has faced the same challenges when it comes to marriage. Therefore, rapid economic development created conditions which contributed to the phenomenon of local Taiwanese men marrying foreign brides from mainland China, Vietnam, and Southeast Asia. Despite the unfavorable social problems resulting from cross-border marriages, their number kept increasing until the central government tightened restrictions on such unions. For example, Taiwanese authorities imposed rigorous interviews in order to determine the future spouse's eligibility, be he a groom or she a bride (Chen, 2005c; Nagamochi, 2005). Consequently, newer regulations (see Table 2-4) have hindered sham marriages, reduced the trend of illegal work, and pushed brides to tend to the hearth in a normal and more traditional family setting.

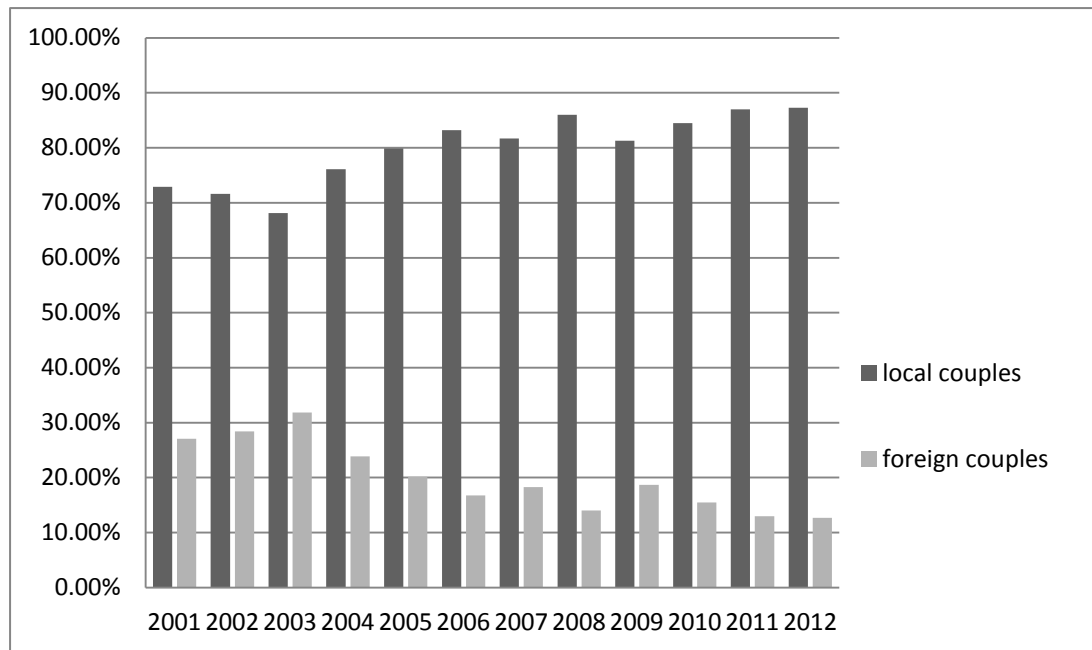


Figure 2-3. The number of married naturalized and foreign couples in the R.O.C. from 2001 to May, 2013.

After 1975, South Vietnam was united with North Vietnam to become one unified country. The country did not completely open its market to the outside world until 1987 when the Doimoi policy was implemented causing a great number of economic changes afterwards. With the influx of investment from Taiwan and Korea into the South part of Vietnam (see Table 2-4), a considerable number of female marriage migrants mostly living in the rural areas of South Vietnam married Taiwanese men. It has been quite common to see many women from South Vietnam married to foreigners, especially westerners before the unified Vietnam and later to Taiwanese, Koreans, and Japanese because of constant economic channels. However, it is not as common to see North Vietnam women married to Westerners or others that may have economic ties to Vietnam (PE1, 2013).

The world is flat. Indeed, globalization and the prevalence of mass media and the internet are concomitant for say the isolated rural bachelor in a remote farming or fishing village in Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea in breaking out of a small world. As

a tool, modern technology has opened the door for single men to find a wife. The situation of local men finding foreign wives in Taiwan is not an isolated phenomenon. The percentage of international couples in Japan, for example, has been increasing steadily from 4% in 2000 to 5.8% in 2005. Compared with Japanese statistics, Taiwan has inadequately regulated the flow of female emigrants. Thus the trend of international marriage for the past 15 years looks as though it is an unstoppable flow, irrespective of it is a marriage of convenience, a paper marriage, or a more durable union. So by 2006 16% of couples in Taiwan were international couples, with 9% of these spouses coming from China and the other 7% of these spouses coming from a Southeast Asian country. However, the government did begin to take measures in 2003 targeting Chinese spouses and in 2004 Southeast Asian brides. Government intervention has had an obvious effect on the number of international marriages, causing the number to drop.

Table 2-4

Foreign Investment in Vietnam from 1988 to 2007

Ranking	Source	Projects	Percentage	Amount (US\$ Million)	Percentage
1	South Korea	1,458	19.46	9,365.32	13.89
2	Singapore	486	6.49	9,365.32	13.63
3	Taiwan	1,637	21.85	8,728.09	12.95
4	Japan	819	10.93	8,067.01	11.97
5	Hong Kong	404	5.39	5,505.19	8.17
6	U.K.	300	4.00	3,818.80	5.66
7	Netherlands	76	1.01	2,429.37	3.60
8	USA	335	4.47	2,319.39	3.44
9	France	179	2.39	2,249.49	3.34
10	Malaysia	219	2.92	1,739.80	2.58

Note. Source (Vietnamese Ministry of Planning and Investment, 1988-June 2007)

Table 2-5

Foreign Spouses in Taiwan from 1998 to 2006

Year	Total Marriage Registrations (couple)	Male and Female Foreign Spouses	Male Foreign Spouses	Female Foreign Spouses	Percentage of Taiwanese Married to Foreign Nationals
1998	145,976	10,413	1,788	8,625	7.13
1999	173,209	14,670	1,953	12,717	8.47
2000	181,642	21,339	2,277	19,062	11.75

2001	170,515	19,405	2,417	16,988	11.38
2002	172,655	20,107	2,768	17,339	11.65
2003	171,483	19,643	2,794	16,849	11.45
2004	131,453	20,338	2,738	17,600	10.64
2005	141,140	13,808	2,867	11,121	9.78
2006	142,669	9,524	2,708	6,818	6.68

Note. Source (National Police Administration, and Department of Population, Ministry of the Interior, 2007)

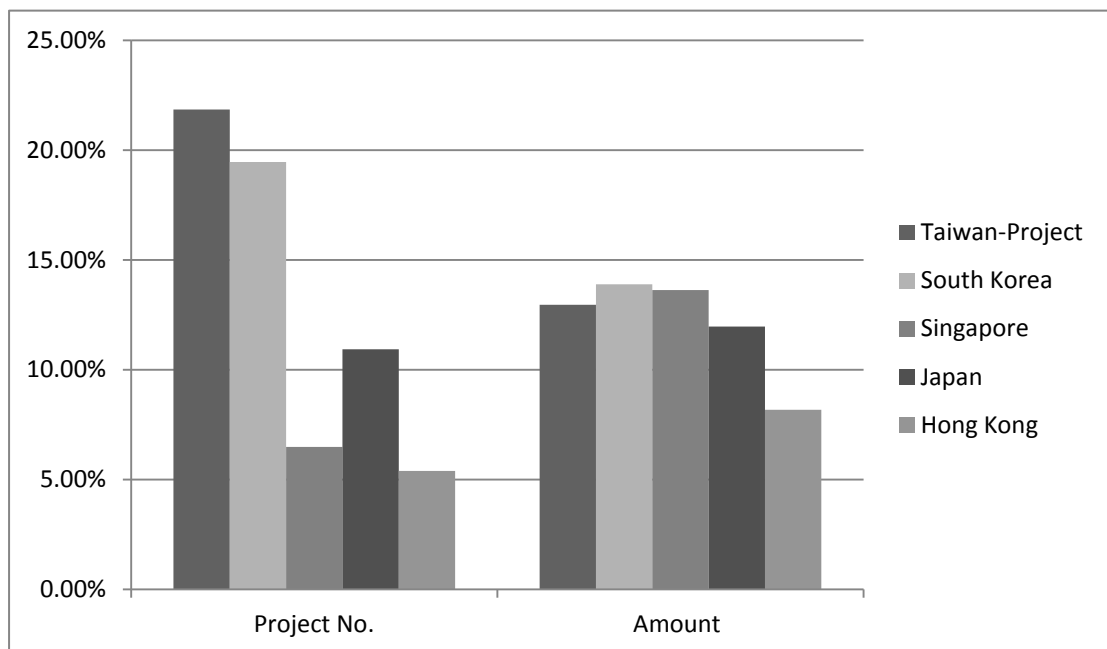


Figure 2-4. Foreign Spouses in Taiwan from 1998 to 2006

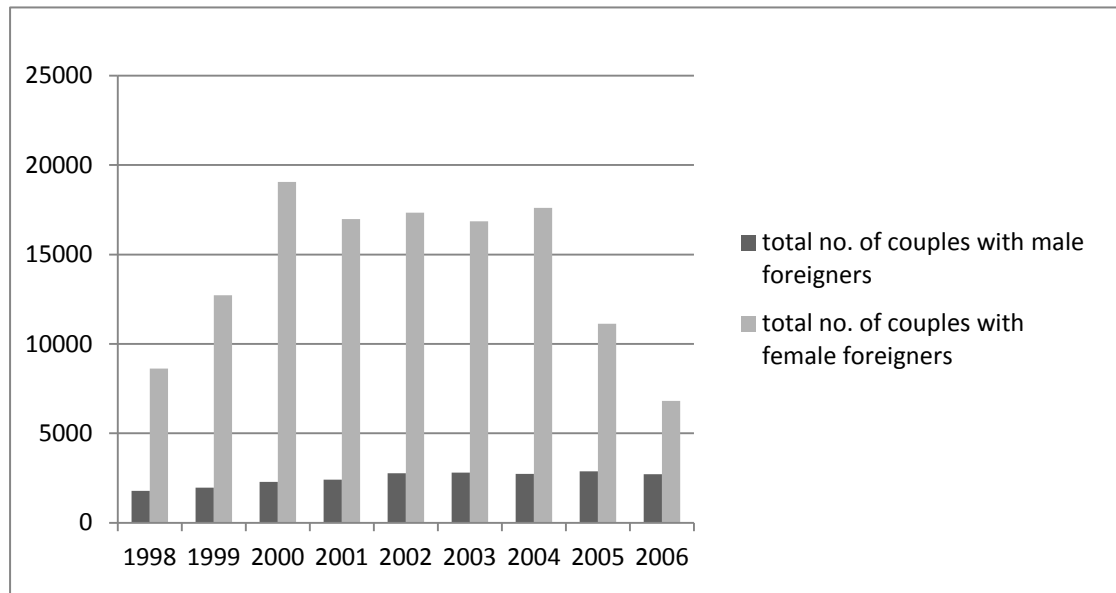


Figure 2-5. Foreign Spouses in Taiwan from 1998 to 2006

Statistics in Table 2-4 suggest that along with businesses ranging from small-scale traditional industries to high technology industry, more Vietnamese employees have been working in factories or related industries, which eventually contributes to more frequent economic and cultural contacts between Taiwanese and Vietnamese. Based on the amount of investment from 1988-2007, Taiwan only ranks the third place despite the fact that it has the biggest number of investment projects, implying that a high percentage of Taiwanese factories set up in Vietnam belongs to medium and small enterprises while compared with big enterprises from Singapore. Table 2-5 shows a slight decline in the percentage of foreign brides, especially since 2004 when both governments enforced new regulations, such as the 20 policy and individual interviews. The former stipulates that the prospective bride must be at least 20 years old and that the age difference between bride and groom can be no more than a 20 year difference in age. The latter replaced the practice of collective interviews, the better to weed out bogus marriage for the explicit purpose of obtaining a work permit.

According to the data, the implementation of individual interviews resulted in a rejection rate ranging from 25% to 35% in July 2005 (Chen, 2005c). Hence, one finds a decrease in the number of international marriages from 10.64% in 2004 to 9.78% in 2005 to the even lower 6.68% in 2006. Sham marriages trying to bypass stricter rules on marriage of convenience seem to have been severely proscribed thanks to the mutual cooperation of both governments. Another feature shown in Table 2-5 indicate the phenomenon of the feminization of migration closely related to the transnational marriage between Vietnamese women and Taiwanese men. Thus, as Sheu (2007) contends, even though foreign spouses need to burden all the responsibility, they only have partial citizenship, not only attributing the vulnerability to the unfair process of applying for *naturalization but also violating their human rights*.

2.3 The Overview of Transnational Marriage

A number of terms can be used to describe the marriage between two people from different countries. Marriages between people belonging to different races, tribes, nationalities, or ethnicities are regarded as “international marriage” (Davis, 1941; Cahill, 1990; Penny & Khoo, 1996; Liang, 1999; Fu, 2001; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Garcia, 2006), “inter-ethnic marriage” (Berrington, A. (1996), “international marriage (Hwang, Saenz, & Aguirre, 1995; Barclay, 2005), “cross-border marriage” (Tsai, 2011; Wang & Chang, 2002), “transnational marriage” (Charsley & Shaw, 2006), “cross-national marriage” (Cottrell, 1973), “cross-border migration marriage” (Piper, 2003), “mixed marriage” (Rodman, 1965) or “exogamy” (Ensminger & Knight, 1997). Among all these terms, interracial marriage or intermarriage are commonly used by researchers and scholars in the U.S. or Europe. Transnational marriage, marriage migration, cross-border marriage, and cross-national marriage are often used as synonyms for Mail-Order Brides (MOBs). Obviously MOBs are part and parcel of race, gender, and culture from two different nation-states.

The number of “international families” is growing rapidly. This term has been mainly used to describe those who are working as migrant workers, who go back to their home countries to find their partners for marriage or find their partners in host countries, and then settle down there instead of their original home countries like African-Spanish couples living in Catalonia or many South Asians living in the UK (Charsley & Shaw, 2006; Garcia, 2006). In such a scenario a person marries to someone from his own culture but may spend a part of his life abroad living in the foreign culture or instead may take his culturally equal spouse to another country to live.

There are many methods for a man to secure a bride. The ubiquitous use, however, of the internet has facilitated a tendency for MOBs through on-line match-making or correspondence by email or even text messaging. APMS (2007) defined MOBs as in modern-day cross-border marriage foreign brides usually coming from poor countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand, whereas the groom comes from more affluent areas like the North America, Europe, and Japan. Nevertheless the use of individual or professional matchmakers is more the rule, especially since they conform to the traditional established steps leading to arranged marriage after a very short courtship (Hsia, 2000). Yet, the process of securing a bride is different in this respect: the bride, although Asian, comes from outside Taiwan and another cultural setting. In consequence, such unions are known as “commercial marriage migration” (Lu, 2005), “cross-border marriages” (Wang & Chang, 2002), “cross-border migration marriages” (Piper, 2003). Some researchers refer to this “north-south” cross-border marriage as “hyper-gamy” or “women marrying up into higher socio-economic groups” (Gould, 1961;Edlund,1999).

Barclary (2005) stated that scholars had recognized the essentiality of inter-ethnic marriage to European commercial expansion to the Americas, Africa, and

Asia. Hsia (1997) also argued that for decades a woman's body was treated as a commodity in global trade, judged by the fact that so many American or European soldiers took foreign wives from many third-world countries after World War II. Wang and Chang (2002) likewise posited that this type of marriage used to be regarded as commoditization of marriage migration, entangling it with migrant labor in unequal and unfair regional economic development. Besides some economic aspects, there are several issues which have a bearing on patriarchy, gender inequality, and the pervasive stereotype of submissive Asian women, which panders to western fancies and is encouraged by oriental society itself. However, Ogena, Valencia, and Roma (2007) contended that many Filipina brides did not fall into the category of MOBs for the simple reason that they parlayed their English language ability to promote themselves on on-line dating services or skillfully used social networking in order to migrate overseas to find a husband. Ogena, Valencia, and Roma (2007) positively adduced several facts that women choosing to marry foreign men exhibited autonomy, decisiveness, and a bold determination to accept unknown challenges in a foreign marriage abroad, and this reaffirmed a personal sentiment of selfness. Therefore, it is arguable that most MOBs are victims of international marriage enterprises, supported by evidence of abuse and exploitation, or that as feminists; MOBs saw in marriage with a foreigner a challenge but with a positive change of social and economic conditions making this challenge acceptable.

In the past few decades, transnational migration through marriage and new forms of labor have been a global trend in many countries, especially in underdeveloped and developing Southeastern Asian and Latin American countries (Constable, 2005; Hsia, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Cranford, 2006). The consensus and policies based on globalization particularly propel international communication, which eventually encourages people from the “peripheral areas” to seek the

opportunities to work, stay or migrate to the so-called “core” areas (Hsia, 1997). The end of Cold War in 1990s helped change the socio-cultural norms and political policies and made this trend more prevailing (Busse, 1999). Under the context of such an increasing international communication, Taiwan, meanwhile, was undertaking a process of democratization and industrial transform, which indirectly initiated a series of movements that transformed this island from a historically nationalistic and ethno-centric to a more multi-ethnic and culturally diverse society. The need of foreign workers also quickened such a socioeconomic transformation. With more contact with people from the neighboring areas, Taiwanese society, then, started to accept one of its largest groups of international marriages in history, especially from Southeast Asia and China (Hsia, 1997; Wang & Chang, 2002; Chao, 2002).

Asian international migration has speedily increased during the last few decades. The primary reasons for this phenomenon are widening differences in wages, labor demands, labor supply, and political freedom (Archavanitkul & Guest, 1999). As Lan (2006) stated, the nexus of migration is not only a simple process of aggregation from personal decisions but also a liquid process which is formed and patterned by currently existing politico-economic systems. This can also be used to interpret the phenomenon behind the marriage migration between Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women. Besides economic reasons, what for the past fifteen years has been the main cause influencing foreign brides to marry Taiwanese men? Lan (2006) claims two crucial factors are needed for international migration; these include poor countries to take on the role of the “sending countries” and a need to go to those relatively rich countries. What are these reasons? Many studies have found women willing to migrate for other reasons besides economic betterment. Therefore, we call this kind of marriage a “mobility marriage.” Education opportunities and more satisfying lifestyles are also some of the main considerations. Thus, the notion of a mobility

marriage has been introduced while the means of upward social mobility are being used by many autonomous women. Besides, there are still some considerations like seeking higher status compared with those in their home countries , which is also crucial in the marital choices of females (Thadani & Todaro, 1984). This is evident from the MOB's phenomenon that occurs between Filipinas and Americans or Japanese and Australians. These marriages can exist, even when the two ethnic groups differ without the need of having same or similar cultural origins (Charsley & Shaw, 2006; Robinson, 1996).

In addition to the new immigrants through marriage from China, Vietnamese women have made more changes to and impact on Taiwanese society. According to the official census, Vietnamese women account for 20% of the foreign spouses who married and immigrated to Taiwan in 2008 (M.O.I., 2008). Historically, Taiwanese immigrants from other areas have mainly come from the Chinese mainland, in which people generally share similar languages and cultures. The Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan mainly come from a society where languages and cultures are significantly different from that of the Han, although both of them share similar Confucian-related traditions to some extent (Tu, 2007). The phenomenon of intermarriage with Southeast Asians by local Taiwanese men, therefore, has brought forth a multiethnic and diverse culture to emerge from within Taiwanese society.

Aldridge (1978) states that research on intermarriage would provide some keys to answering many problems, such as assimilation, including the extent of internal cohesion of groups formed from different races, religions, and ethnicities. Some not easily recognized traits often surface and become more pronounced in interracial marriages. Pasco (1991) claims marriage as a phenomenon can be examined in terms of race, gender, and culture. Pasco (1991) further claims that women historians tend to write about the history of intermarriage with a multicultural view emphasizing three

concepts. First, the interconnection between gender and race can be explored; second, race and gender can be perceived from the stance of cultural construction; and three, a definition of culture can be written that incorporates the concept of multiculturalism (Pasco, 1991). Fu (2001) also pointed out that group boundaries will and do affect both racial intermarriage and endogamous intermarriage and thus deserves attention.

2.4 Transnational Marriage in Taiwan

The impact from globalization on transnational marriage cannot be overemphasized. From the perspective of globalization, Taiwan has been integrated into either regional or worldwide economic systems for the past two decades, especially after signing the “Plaza Accord” with the U.S. in 1985 (Chiou, 2005) and the lifting of martial law in 1987 (Lee, 2003), thereby contributing to a number of dramatic changes including several demographic transitions, economic liberalization, political democratization, and social diversification. Chiou (2005) pinpointed that after 1980s, because of the appreciation of Japanese currency under the pressure from the Plaza Accord signed with U.S.A., many cities and villages were looking for new developments abroad. Therefore, many proposals regarding how to promote the degree and qualities of internationalization had been adopted by these local governments to attract more foreigners by way of a wide variety of activities such as cultural exchanges, autonomy exchanges, autonomous diplomatic policy, and host families to host several thousands of college students from the U.S. Japan used to be one of the biggest investors in Taiwan from the 1960s through the 1980s. However, when Japan, Taiwan and other Asian countries signed the Plaza Accord with the U.S. in 1985, a number of disadvantageous outcomes emerged. As a result, the rising of labor and land cost as well as the appreciation of New Taiwanese dollar severely impacted many different industries in Taiwan, especially traditional

manually-intensive industries. Therefore, following Japan as a model, many Taiwanese factories eventually moved to other neighboring countries including China or ASEAN countries. Besides setting up factories in these countries, Taiwanese have invested a considerable amount of capital into these countries due to their relatively lower land and labor costs. Among ASEAN countries, Vietnam is often regarded as the first choice of investment because of its bountiful natural resources, ample manpower, and lower cost of setting up factories and hiring workers.

In Taiwan, along with getting more involved with the trend of globalization, several phenomena such as an increasing number of migrant workers and more female nuptial foreign spouses have changed the fabric of the Taiwanese society. Besides the abovementioned causes, there are also some domestic demographic factors, which have been adduced to the phenomenon of “Transnational Marriage” and “Marriage Migration” in Taiwan initiated from the end of 1980s (Hsia, 2008). In the beginning, “international marriages” were seen as the marriages between Taiwanese women and foreign men, who mostly were from the U.S. because of its political and economic links with Taiwan, and Japan because of its economic and colonial links with Taiwan. Their counterparts in some remote farming towns in Taiwan were also faced with the increasing number of marriages with those women coming from China and Southeast Asia, which is definitely concomitant of a number of demographic and economic factors such as the ageing society, depopulation in some remote villages, decreasing birthrate, increasing female empowerment rights, the inflows of migrant workers from Southeast Asia, and some related domestic social welfare or health issues.

Compared with the social openness of the late or early of 19th or 20th century, international marriages between different ethnicities seem not to be that surprising. However, either from acculturation or assimilation perspectives, there are still many obstacles for newcomers to adjust themselves to living in a new and strange

environment. Therefore, it is apparent that it would be tough for these Vietnamese brides to acculturate or assimilate themselves into the society of Taiwan. The population in Taiwan is made up of 3% Taiwanese natives (the first settlers in Taiwan traced back for several thousand years ago), 67% Hoklo, 15% Hakka (arrived in Taiwan several hundred years ago from southern parts of China, especially Fu-Jian and Guandong provinces), and 15% Chinese Mainlanders (came from different provinces with former president Chiang Kai-shiek after retreating from China during the period of 1945 to 1949) (Chang, 2010). A person not of Chinese ethnic and cultural origin moving into such a culture will be in need of time and assistance for acculturation to occur.

Marriage migration is the term used to describe a kind of marriage popular in Europe, North America, East Asia, and Australia. The example below is provided on how marriage migration often occurs between Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women. The Taiwanese man has the privileged opportunity to travel abroad to select a Vietnamese young woman wanting to marry and move back to Taiwan to make both themselves and their partners' dreams come true. Taiwanese men typically go to Vietnam to marry through so-called bride-choosing arrangement and subsequently return to Taiwan to initiate paperwork to sponsor their wives as immigrants. This is one example of marriage migration.

Marriage migration is not necessarily a negative situation. Unfortunately, many studies have frequently focused on extremely dichotomous images of women stereotyped as either "helpless victims of Taiwanese men" or as scheming agents "shrewd and greedy foreigners out for a permit to work in Taiwan, thereby digging as much money as possible to send remittance back their natal family" (Constable, 2003). Thai (2008) indicates that this bipolar view has led to many problems in the context of transnational and immigration communities. In the west, marriage choice is

often regarded as an “either/or” choice. Namely, satisfying material needs is the one reason for people to form economic partnership by way of marriage or fulfilling emotional needs will be the other reason for them to marry, in other words they marry for love, sex, and romance (Kalmijn, 1998).

Compared with the recent international marriage mostly resulting from love, migration, economic, and other reasons, during Japanese colonial time from 1895 to 1945, there were a number of interethnic marriages between Japanese colonists and Aborigine women because this interethnic marriage served as a solution to the problem of “Aborigine administration” in central Taiwan’s rugged mountain areas (Barclay, 2005). As Hsia (2000) mentioned, the phenomenon of transnational marriage in Taiwan truly reflected the impact from economic globalization and unequal capitalism while the world has been divided into three groups serving as nucleus area, semi-periphery area, and periphery area as many young ladies from periphery areas such as southeastern countries or southern Asia countries marry much older men living in semi-periphery or nucleus areas. This kind of marriage has been turning into a kind of commodity for both sides to exchange their profits when ladies use their bodies to exchange more economic profits for themselves or their original families or better living or educational environments for their next generations whereas men use their economic powers to exchange young wives to set up their families for taking care of the next generation of family members. Wang (1997) claimed these women used their bodies to gain the right to access to countries with better economic situations. He further pointed out how marriage brokers have brought up a new model of construction as to market economy to make two recruiting mechanisms join and work effectively together in both countries and their recruiting mechanism will flexibly be adjusted according to the change of regulations from both sides. Wang (2001) and Hsia (2000) also pinpointed how foreign brides take

advantage of their low-cost labor as a very important part of a reenergized labor force.

The context of transnational marriage in Taiwan is slightly different from the version in the U.S. where the number of interracial marriage has been increasing mainly because of the natural process of acculturation, fusion, and structural assimilation (Floyd, & Gramann, 1993). However, a small number of intermarriages in the U.S. do occur due to migration and marriage of convenience, meaning that it may be easier to marry someone from outside your culture since they are more willing and eager for marriage than those within your own culture. This has also started to happen in Taiwan. Between 1987 and 2006, in Taiwan, according to the statistics from the Ministry of Interior (2007), there were 240,837 foreign spouses, 42.2% of whom came from Southeast Asian countries and among them Vietnamese spouses accounted for 57.5%. The transnational marriage issue seems to also be a gender specific phenomenon. Among these Vietnamese spouses, gender bias migration is very obvious because female spouses account for 97% of the total.

2.4.1 A Review of the Foreign Spouses' research in Taiwan

Introduction

Posterior to being included as a member of WTO, Taiwan can't help being more open to follow the trend of globalization; therefore, temporary migrant workers have been playing a crucial role to make up for the lack of local manpower or to serve as care-takers for the old or the young. On the other hand, marriage migration, which is also booming as well, will be viewed and discussed from the perspective of economic globalization. Besides, in the past decade, the data resulting from demographic transition have been presented in detail from this article (Tsay, 2004).

Lim (2003) examined the term called "foreign brides" from a number of news reports to come up with an almost unanimous result, treating "foreign brides" as sources of social problems and infectious diseases. These myths about "foreign brides"

have been constructed without exception by many media and represent a very subjective judgment based on the so-called difference of this type of marriage from a normal or typical one. Therefore, the author suggests that more research regarding the “culture of origin” of the “foreign brides” should be touched on in order to have a wider picture or more thorough understanding about this phenomenon in Taiwan.

There are many studies or researches related to Vietnamese Spouses living in Taiwan. A review of this literature hopefully will afford a better understanding towards this study –“Vietnamese Spouses’ Cultural Identity and Social Identity in Taiwan.” According to Lin & Hung (2007), there are eight different categories of familial problems resulting from ‘transnational marriage.’ These eight categories include ethnic and cultural discrimination, the disparity of values and family cultures, the foundation of ‘transnational marriage,’ the barrier of lingual communication, financial situation and employment, the shortage of supporting network within the family, the relationship with mother-in-law or sister-in-law, and the way to education the next generation.

For the past two decades, there have been a great number of researches related to the transnational marriage, and these research topics divide into three mainstreams: international political economy in terms of transnational marriage, life adjustment of Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan, and Vietnamese spouses’ children in relation to health, education, and counseling (Ko&Chang, 2007). Furthermore, regarding the “Promises and Pitfalls” of Intercultural Marriage, this book offers a very complete list of aspects ranging from the process of establishing a cross-boundary relationship to all the possible encountered problems related to daily life. Since some superficial phenomena that exist among human beings still exhibit some subtle fundamental diversity in terms of beliefs and behaviors, intercultural couples need to think through their decisions thoroughly in advance. A little light advice has been presented for

those who have chosen a more unique and complicated route in life. It will definitely take them more time, work, and empathy; yet, it will be likely to put them on the track of savoring something more different than those who don't dare (Ramono, 2004).

Research related to economy and political socialization

Among 7 interviewees, there are three of them running their own Vietnamese-style eateries or food stands. As we mentioned, in order to run their own culinary business, these eatery owners need to take advantage of their own cultural abilities or so-called cultural capital as well as social networking or so-called social capital to secure their ethnic economy and ethnic identity. Therefore, Hsieh's study (2012) offers a number of findings related to the cross-border consumer behavior of the "cultural economy." Hsieh's study (2012) explores the consumers' point of view and analyzes their consumption patterns. In this study, several concepts such as "cultural economy," "ethnic economy," "ethnic identity," "ethnic networks," and "stranger" are discussed in order to outline a true profile of the consumption relationship within Vietnamese food stores.

According to Lee (2003), the origin culture of Vietnamese brides married to Taiwanese men is scrutinized in this article to bring up with a fact that an increasing number of young Vietnamese girls decided to emigrate to other countries for marriage for other than economic reasons. The key points discussed here consist of globalization, the differences in the images and illusions of Vietnamese males versus foreign males, the social status of males and females in Vietnam, and how Vietnamese girls transform their traditional gender difference into their own revised belief and practice it by way of marrying foreign men to benefit their families and sacrifice themselves to meet the so-called "filial piety."

Cheng (2011) brought up a number of research findings and results after

conducting depth interviews with 18 new female immigrants from the perspective of political socialization such as Chinese recognition, living adaptation, and employment. These findings are concluded as follows: (1) The communication between foreign spouses and their Taiwanese husbands is not a big problem. However, their maladjustment is usually caused by the gap of values, customs, and habits. (2) All new female immigrants had experiences of being excluded or discriminated against after arriving in Taiwan.

As Kung (2006) said, beyond the contracts of marriage between Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women, there are some issues that both countries try to address related to traditional morality, societal development, and even up to the level of national security. This article tries to explain why these two governments put so much effort to highlight a so-called happy combination, international marriages, but from the political and patriarchal perspectives prohibit or discourage this phenomenon.

Wang & Chang (2002) posited that the current intermarriage between Taiwanese men and foreign brides, especially from China and Southeast Asian countries, is based on part of the commodification process, where the aim is profit-oriented marriages rather than traditional marriages. Along with the demand of laborers from several developing countries, many women have chosen to marry men in the host country rather than work as temporarily laborers. More and more profit-pursuing marriage agents are thriving to meet the demand of local people's need to marry foreign wives while the percentage of Taiwanese women wanting to marry is declining.

Research related to life adjustment, language learning, and local religious ritual practices in Taiwan

There is a consensus that a language barrier exists in a transnational marriage in both domestic and international research. Wang & Chang (2002) pointed out that

the language issue is the first priority for all the cross-border immigrants to encounter while moving out their natal countries. Hsiao (2000) also stated that there is a number of familial problems resulting from ineffective communication between foreign spouses and their Taiwanese husbands.

Without their own parents living in Taiwan, Vietnamese brides residing in Taiwan seem to eventually develop their own strategies to escape from the society which is unfavorable to them by way of the latest communication devices such as cell phones or computers. Whether integrating into Taiwanese society or being embedded in traditional Taiwanese family norms, Vietnamese brides know well to take advantage of some empowerment regarding reproduction and education in order to have better lives from their own perspective (Shen & Wang, 2003). Lee (2006) also noted that the definition of a good woman will differ based on the various viewpoints from the elites or rural-class families. While Vietnamese women from the countryside see the capability and opportunity they can grasp to help their parents or even brothers as worthwhile and thus are even willing to sacrifice themselves to marry those who are so strange and unexpected. However, their decisions are regarded as being unjustified as they betray their souls and sell their bodies to satisfy their material need.

Worshiping rituals in typical Taiwanese families under traditional patriarchal influences is the focus of Chen's study (2011), probing how these new immigrants as daughters-in-law participate in Taiwanese ancestor worshipping rituals and how their natal family religion savvy correlates with their engagement in Taiwanese rituals. Wang (2007) & Huang (2009) state that the adaptation of foreign spouses' religion is decided mainly by husbands' religions or their relatives.

Research related to spouses' children in terms of educational achievement

Chen's study (2011) explores how teacher education influences new Taiwanese children at the junior high school level. A number of results are described as follows: (a) New Taiwanese children's learning will become better as long as there is interaction between these children and their teachers at the junior high school. (b) The achievement of new Taiwanese children's learning will become better if there is more interaction between the foreign spouses and their children. (c) Some of the problems of new Taiwanese children's learning can be solved if there is more communication between teachers and foreign spouses.

Ko (2003) conducted an investigation about current social values and attitudes regarding child-bearing in Taiwan and Vietnam. The purpose was to find out the value of the culture of origin in Vietnam compared with its counterpart in Taiwan since sixty-three percent of the foreign immigrants holding resident permits are Vietnamese, and ninety-eight percent of them are foreign brides. As to the most important data regarding gender roles and the contribution and achievement that women hold in families, Taiwanese tend to be more liberal than Vietnamese. However, family is still regarded as crucial in their lives for both Taiwanese and Vietnamese.

Research on the perspectives of marital status, divorced status, and spouses'

Taiwanese husbands

Chao's study (2012) explores five divorced Southeast Asian female immigrants to investigate the processes of their cross-border marriage and their working conditions after divorce. Filial piety and responsibility are the key issues to be discussed for these divorced female immigrants. In my study, three of seven interviewees are divorcees and now are still single. Therefore, Chao's study can add more elements to my study in terms of transnational marriage. These elements include

the process of cross-border marrying, the problems of adaptation to Taiwanese society, working conditions after divorce, the reasons for divorcing, and the problems of these divorced immigrants.

Little research explores with deep insight into the complex motives as to why Taiwanese men, whose backgrounds are often of inferior status compared with their counterparts, are willing to face the very daring facets related to international marriages. All in all, difficulty to find a mate and low socio-cultural status often factor as two indispensable reasons to explain why Taiwanese men cannot help but do this. Wang (2006) shows us with more elaboration different perspectives regarding the role played by Vietnamese women and the expectations of Taiwanese men.

Research related to cultural identity

The purpose of Wu's research is to look into the immigrant spouses' children's cultural identification with their mothers and Taiwan. This research has 181 samples from immigrant spouses' children studying at junior high schools in a central county in Taiwan. A questionnaire survey was the major method to collect data. To analyze data, Pearson product-moment correlation was used to provide descriptive statistics. The four major findings of this study are described below:

- (1) The cultural identification between most immigrant spouses' children and their Mother shows a positive tendency.
- (2) Even though the immigrant spouses' children showed much interest in their mothers' culture, they seldom took part in their mothers' culture activities.
- (3) In regards to cultural integration, most immigrant spouses' children had a strong link with their mothers and Taiwan.
- (4) There was a significant positive correlation between most immigrant spouses' children cultural identification with their mothers and their cultural integration

with Taiwan.

This research bases its conceptual framework on acculturation theory by Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986), who presented three different modes elaborating the pictures regarding cultural attitudes, values, and behavior while having the interactions between two ethnicities. Three modes are described as follows:

(1) Two extreme modes: One culture from a minority is absorbed into a mainstream culture; therefore, the culture of the immigrant spouses will not be strongly identified with by their children.

(2) Two parallel modes: It is emphasized that mainstream culture will co-exist with a minor culture.

(3) Multi-faceted modes: With more interactions and conflicts, a mainstream culture adopts a minor culture leading to a new fusion.

Summary

The multicultural impacts resulting from the influx of migrant workers and foreign brides from Southeast Asian countries in Taiwan, and the extent new comers will be affected by the new modes of cultural expression will be explored. The theories related to Taiwan's experience will be presented to further test whether so-called "Transnational communities" in Taiwan can be smoothly assimilated into mainstream Taiwanese society or not. However, the Taiwanese government seems ignorant of individual cultural needs, and the result appears that many of these communities are isolated from having chances to integrate themselves into the mainstream society. The purpose of this research is to encourage more research into "transnational communities" in terms of cultural policy studies and offer more vibrant and colorful picture of cultural influence and development from these communities in

Taiwan (Wang, 2005).

2.5 Transnational Marriages in Vietnam

There are several historical, economic, and geographical reasons for a considerable number of Vietnamese women to have married Taiwanese men. Historically, Vietnam has a long tradition communicating with Han people, be it for political, cultural or economic reasons (Hutton & Eng, 2000). Nevertheless, the transnational marriage between Taiwan and the ex-French colonized state is an outstanding, unprecedented area of ethnic interchange. The cross-border migration brought forth a new way of acculturation, which involves a unique emerging social strategy for economic empowerment and the development of new cultural identity (Wang & Chang, 2002; Lu, 2005). Like so-called “War-brides” during American-occupied time after World War II in Japan and Korean War in South Korea, many international marriages were held between South Vietnamese women and American soldiers during the Vietnamese War in the 60s and 70s (Saenz, Hwang & Aguirre, 1994).

Right after the unification of Vietnam, over a million Vietnamese refugees fled and emigrated mainly to America, Canada, Australia, and some west European countries through three waves between the mid 70s and the early 90s. These three waves of refugees fleeing out of Vietnam resulted from different reasons related to politics, economics, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and languages. As a result, along with many Vietnamese diasporas communities setting up in the world and the commencement of open-door policy to the world for more and more Vietnamese men living abroad to go back to Vietnam to look for their future wives by way of marriage agents, relatives’ introduction, and internet chatting. Since 1986 when economic

revolution occurred, the marriage market in Vietnam witnessed a similar revolution (Nguyen & Williams, 1989). Between 1995 and 2006 Taiwan saw a large number of business men traveling back and forth between the two countries and a similar phenomenon occurred in South Korea between 1999 and 2008. The more constant contact between Vietnamese women with foreign businessmen resulted in an increasing number of international marriages. Furthermore, the number of migrant workers to the four Asian economic tigers-Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, increased along with the number of Vietnamese women marrying the men from these countries. However, due to the negative news issued by Vietnamese and Taiwanese news media outlets regarding the large number of sham marriages and human trafficking, both the Taiwanese and Vietnamese governments have brought forth new policies to strictly filter out these unwanted unions; therefore, the number of marriages between Vietnamese and Taiwanese has decreased sharply since 2005. At the time of writing the average number of marriages occurring per year including a Vietnamese bride is around 3,000 compared with over 10,000 for each year between 1998 and 2004(Bélanger, Lee, & Wang,2010).

2.6 Transnational Marriages in Japan and Korea

The trend of marrying foreigners has been underway for several decades in Japan; however, previously such marriages were generally unions between American soldiers and Japanese women, especially from Okinawa and some other navy bases in Japan. Most couples later moved to the U.S. instead of continuing to reside in Japan. After rapid economic development in the 60s and 70s, urbanization expanded many metropolitan areas such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. Along with the rapid economic development and fast-growing urbanization after the 1960s, came low fertility, ageing population, and densely-populated urbanization. These phenomena motivated more

single Japanese farmers and fishermen to find foreign brides. For example, after the 80s, more and more farming and fishing towns suffered problems caused by demographic factors such as depopulation, low birth rates due to low fertility, (1.32 in 2006; 0-14 years representing 13.7%, the lowest in the world) and an aging population comprised of fewer and fewer young people (those 65 and over represent 20.1% of the population, the highest in the world)(Manton & Vaupel, 1995). In order to cope with these problems, from the late of 80s onward many farming towns in Yamagata prefecture initiated matchmaking trips for their local single farmers to meet prospective marriage partners in South Korea, the Philippines, and China. In the late 1980s the first matchmaking trip was initiated by the Tohoku municipal government; local farmers and fishermen flew to South Korea and the Philippines in search of brides. Several hundred foreign women got married and moved to those towns in Japan before the termination of these trips in 1990. Currently, the couples consisting of a Japanese male and foreign female represent eighty percent compared with twenty percent of couples consisting of a Japanese female and foreign male. Among these foreign brides, ninety percent of them are from many developing countries like China and the Philippines, or neighboring countries like South Korea.

Even though these type of trips were not sponsored by local Japanese governments after 1990, some private matchmakers continued to offer such services, especially to those unmarried men residing in remote farming or fishing villages. McCartan (2008) pointed out that in the early of 1990s, rural Korean governments took note of the subsidized system from the Japanese government to organize matchmaking tours to China and Southeast Asian countries to help Korean men find suitable brides. It was not until the late 1990s did marriage brokering begin to emerge aiming to pair Korean farmers or physically handicapped men with ethnic Koreans located in China. Currently, there are at least 2,000 to 3,000 marriage agencies

operating in South Korea.

Until the year 2,000 there were only one hundred Vietnamese ladies found to have married Korea men; however, during this year the number quickly increased to almost six thousand. Several reasons have been contributed to this quick increase. First, many Vietnamese women switched their destination from Taiwan to South Korea because the Taiwanese government started implementing much stricter policies such as 20-20 rule and individual interviews to curb the flux of marriage migration from Vietnam. Compared to the required wait time for an interview for a Vietnamese lady wanting to marry a Taiwanese man, the wait time for an interview to marry a Korean man was much shorter; therefore, many marriage brokering agencies preferred their Vietnamese ladies to marry Koreans. Another reason is that for the past few years, the economic situation in Korea has outperformed that of Taiwan. Take the fee paid by Korean groom-to-be as an example. Potential grooms pay as much as US\$20,000 to brokers for their services, while the bride's family is given US\$1,000 as well as money to cover the costs of the wedding. The rest of fee will go to brokers on both sides (McCartan, 2008; Suzuki, 2007). In addition to marriages with Vietnamese women, the considerable of Korean-Cambodian marriages occurred through an informal and exploitative broker-arranged process. In 2007 alone, the number of foreign marriage licenses rose to 1,759, up from a mere 72 in 2004 in Cambodia (McCartan, 2008; Go & Kim, 2008). Although some researchers have explored the role played by profit-pursuing marriage agents or brokers, few have attempted to highlight the life stories of foreign spouses in order to know how women such as these construct their new lives associated with local communities and families.

There are still a number of other reasons that Vietnamese ladies may be more drawn to Korean men than simply wait times or the marriage brokers' suggestions.

The influence of the popularity of Korean drama is also another reason why many Vietnamese girls wish to marry Korean men; they may feel a connection to the culture simply through the viewing of the dramas (Epstein, 2008).

2.7 The Formation of Theories Pertaining to Transnational Marriages

Based on a number of theoretical frameworks, the phenomena related to transnational marriage in Taiwan will be explored and examined from interdisciplinary and multi-faceted perspectives to aid in coming up with a more insightful and broader findings. Since the phenomenon of cross-border marriages has been strongly related to migration either from both economic and geographic perspectives, the purpose of which is for the majority of dream-seeking women to find their spouses in another country through economic and geographic hyper-gamy in order to find a husband supporting her or her family back home along with the realization of her marital subjectivities (Constable, 2005). Consequently, migration per se is undoubtedly said to stand for a form of self-insurance by rural families who take advantage of it as one of several strategies for the purpose of economic survival (Portes, 2007). With easily seen eye-catching advertisements, posters, or even some channels on TV advertising such opportunities, it is not surprising to note that the number of Vietnamese ladies marrying foreigners has continued from the early 90s until today. Therefore, the theories in relation to transnational marriage are categorized into two aspects including economic perspective and sociological perspective to further look into then nexus behind this phenomenon.

2.7.1 The Theories from Economic Perspective

The argument about whether these foreign spouses really want to become wives or just wish to be long-term workers has been ongoing. Firstly, from the stance of

economic analyses of marriage contributing to part of microeconomics, Grossbard-Shechtman (2003) entails the same theoretical tools composing three basic theories as follows: cost/benefit analysis, game theory, and market analysis. Furthermore, Grossbard-Shechtman (2003) states that the most fundamental economic theory of marriage is the cost/benefit analysis, stating that no matter whether a man searches for permanent romantic love or for a partner who can be a substitute for a maid, he can compare costs and benefits. Thus, a theory sticking to the costs/benefits of marriage is a rational choice. Secondly, game theory can be used to describe how behavior is strategic no matter whether its goal is sincere matrimony or the satisfaction of biological needs. Lastly, market analysis can be used to focus on the demand and supply, ensuring the fact that competition will emerge as long as there is a market, so it is universal to see the competition for potential mates.

2.7.2 The Theories from Cultural or Sociological Perspectives

Apart from those three economic theories, Collins (1971) idea of “the institution of sexual property”, which refers to a permanent claim to exclusive and unique sexual rights to a certain person, is also of importance. Collins (1971) claims the primary determination regarding the extent of sexual dominance is related to economic and political issues rather than the influence from family or kinship in a society. On the other hand, in accordance with Collins’s theory (1971), two determinants regarding the degree of male dominance are: 1) the authority to control the resources and exercise them; and 2) how men use their market advantageous position to exchange sex from women, which can clearly reflect the whole scenario about the matching marriage market between Taiwanese men and foreign brides. Another feature from Collins’s theory (1971) is that of the institutionalized hierarchies of dominance. The last pertinent feature from Collins’s theory (1971) is

eroticism, meaning that a foreign bride may be selected due to the “exoticness” of her being “foreign.” In other words, local women may not be selected due to a perceived lack of exotic exoticness.

In Wang’s (2004) new definition or concept of Asian paradigm, human progress derived from value is much emphasized as one of the most crucial features from “culture,” which seems to be self-evident and ubiquitous in Asia. If underpinned under seemingly similar cultural backgrounds, it will be supposed that different ethnics seem to have more “trust” no matter what kind of languages or political backgrounds they are currently possessing. In other words, many Taiwanese men who married Vietnamese women have imagined that many Vietnamese women not only have more similar appearance like Taiwanese women than women from other S.E. Asian countries but also must have been cultivated by Confucianism or patriarchal families, emphasizing wives must obey their husbands without any doubt. Nonetheless, it will also surprise many Taiwanese men that there was a women movement in 1930s’ French colonial period (Tran & Wanjiku, 2000). Besides cultural matters, the theory of the link between core region , semi-periphery region and periphery region (Wang 2004) is also a continuous paradigm in Asia, depicting that people residing in core region are supposed to be wealthy and have a good life and vice versa. Therefore, while more and more Taiwanese businessmen moving to Vietnam and setting up business or factories in Vietnam, especially in Big Mekong Delta, it will be suspected that to some extent these Vietnamese women know most of their future husbands are not that rich or most of them already know what kind of future they will have as long as they can leave their very poor families and move to relatively rich but unknown families. As Tu(2007) postulated, the phenomenon of recent marriage migration in Taiwan also elaborates that even with many expected barriers such as language, customs , identity and value , most Taiwanese families

are happy to see more stable family situations with the establishment from marriage with those who come from Vietnam ,where Confucianism is still existing. However, whether Confucianism is still prevailing over Vietnamese society is still raising a question for us to explore from interdisciplinary perspectives during our a series of interviews, observation,

There are many commonalities of the mate-chosen process shared by Taiwanese and Australian men in terms of instant marriage. The criteria of men's imagination and motivation will vary from person to person; however, one basic stereotypic representation will be that brides from developing countries either from Vietnam or the Philippines are inclined to possess more traditional values and serve as good wives than those from cities, which is as Robinson's statement (1996) that the 'traditional value' of male-pre-eminence in the family will be reappeared.

2.8 Cultural Identity

2.8.1 The Overview of Cultural Identity

The definition of culture can be defined as "sets of learned behavior and ideas that human beings acquire as members of society" (Schultz & Lavenda, 2012, p.6).

Another differentiation between "Culture" and "cultures" has been fervently discussed for the past 50 years, as the former, defined as people's ability to create or mimic something patterned they have seen to learn how to survive, whilst the latter is defined as a type of tradition, thereby helping a specific group of people to learn particular and learned ways of life (Schultz & Lavenda, 2012). In this dissertation the term culture consisting of a capital C, representing ability and small c, representing tradition, will be discussed as an interwoven or imbedded facet of "transnational marriage."

On the other hand, the definition of identity is defined as self-concept, so when we focus on the issue of culture, identity is never a cause nor an end in itself; it is a

dynamic and holistic process (Bhabha,1994).

Cultural identity is a somewhat abstract construct whose elements are ubiquitous and entangled in every part of our lives including customs, religions, languages, rituals, festivals, collective memories, political or ethnic viewpoints, and so on.

In addition, in accordance with claims made by Tan & Tang (1993), cultural identity is defined as a process of an individual attitude and behavior regarding the acceptance of a specific culture, thereby internalizing its cultural value and behavior regulation into one's mind. Thus, the criteria of cultural identity are divided into the former bases referring to cultural symbols like Vietnamese national costume, customs like wedding and funeral rituals compared with ethnics and races as the major elements of latter one.

As to the cultural environment, the father is the most significant figure for establishing a cultural environment in the home (Saenz, 1995). Since foreign spouses are the nexus on this research, therefore, the development regarding women's identity should also be reviewed; Gilligan (1982) and Miller (1991) pointed out that female development emerges while having relationships with others. Furthermore, Brown and Gilligan (1992) developed a theory showing how females take charge of their own characteristics under much pressure from traditional society. Finally, the ethnic identity of a foreign spouse is simply one of many elements in a series of important social background factors affecting the process of negotiation involved in marriage; besides, many other factors like education, socio-economic status, and physical proximity are also key factors that must be regarded when making the final decision to marry (Allen, Goldscheider, & Ciambone, 1999).

How to overcome the visible or invisible barriers of identity for foreign spouses who urgently need to empower themselves with the help from governmental and

private organizations prior to moving to the phase of acculturation and assimilation in the host country is of utmost importance. In this dissertation, acculturation is defined as “cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture (acculturation, 2014).” ; assimilation is defined as “to fully become part of a different society, country, etc. (assimilation, 2014).” However, the process of acculturation will always take a long time and enhancing self-esteem through empowerment gained from either governmental or private organizations is a must.

Cerulo (1997) stated the formation of “me,” will be a base to explore how interpersonal interactions create an self-identity.” Along with the chance of conducting interpersonal interaction with her family members, colleagues, volunteers, and even their customers at so many different venues in the society of Taiwan, Vietnamese spouses’ self identity will also get strengthened to accept what they have at any given stage of acculturation and assimilation. As a result, the correlation between self identity and cultural identity can be assured, which self identity is one of four dimensions pertaining to cultural identity of importance to this dissertation research. By examining self identity finding some of the facts respecting the correlations between Vietnamese spouses themselves and their roles as Taiwanese wives can be explored. Thus, how they define their identities or roles as Taiwanese wives while interacting with other Taiwanese or other counterparts in Taiwan is very critical in understanding the conditions to develop their cultural identities and social identities.

To find out how much “cultural identity” a person has can help to determine whether acculturation has occurred. Phinney (1995) claims “cultural belonging and cultural devotion” are often used as important indicators regarding the metric of “cultural identity.” “Cultural devotion” is comprised of “cultural recognition” and

“cultural participation.” Therefore, this dissertation research will use “cultural belonging” and “cultural devotion” as two indicators: the former pointing out the relationship between Vietnamese spouses and their husbands and the latter pointing out the extent of the participation from Vietnamese spouses in the society of Taiwan after they have eventually built up the relationship with their Taiwanese husbands.

Cerulo (1997) stated that some researchers approach identity as a source of mobilization rather than a product of it. Therefore, the elaboration of the following elements consisting of “cultural identity” from Vietnamese spouses’ perspectives will be presented. At the onset, “cultural belonging” is defined as how to some extent Vietnamese spouses interact with their Taiwanese husbands or friends while living in Taiwan and then how they respond to or are affected either positively or negatively by both their Taiwanese husbands and people they need to negotiate with around them. Thus, after either after interacting with their husbands or being affected by Taiwanese culture or other people around them, how do they see their roles as Taiwanese wives in the society of Taiwan is related to one of the constructs-self identity of cultural identity. Following the process of gaining knowledge of the relationships with the culture in the society of Taiwan and of the definition of their roles and existence in relation to their Taiwanese husbands and the society in Taiwan, cultural devotion can be seen as an important indicator to see how much they like to participate in the activities either held by the local government or their diasporic community. Finally, cultural integration will ultimately be a process for Vietnamese spouses to be more acculturated or even assimilated into the society of Taiwan.

2.8.2 Cultural Belonging

Cultural belonging indicates how new immigrants perceive the sense of belongingness related to the host country in terms of culture , mainly depending on the term ‘cultural identity,’ in which cultural belonging often plays an essential part (Orchard, 2002). In addition, the dependence and inseparable affection between new immigrants and their next generations while living in a host country can also be included as part of cultural belonging (Hill, 2000).

According to U-shape theory (Borjas, Bronars, & Trejo, 1992), based on the length of stay, a new-comer will pass through three phases of adaptation as follows: 1) honeymoon period, meaning that a new-comer will feel very interested in everything, indicating the highest point in the U-shape theory; 2) cultural shock period, pointing out that the freshness or intense interest in the local culture is fading away, indicating the lowest point in U-shape theory; and 3) recovering adaptation period, poising that an outsider having become accustomed to living in the new environment and starting to appreciate what he or she see or does, indicating the other highest point in U-shape theory. Similarly, Black and Mendenhall (1991) show a similar pattern in U-shape theory but in four stages with the added stage of marriage: 1) honeymoon period; 2) illusion period or culture shock; 3) adaptation period and acquaintance period which will be elaborated as follows like marriage through romance; and 4) marriage through relatives’, friends’, or agents’ introduction. Thus, in this dissertation, based on the abovementioned pattern in U-shape theory, the stage of cultural belonging can be synonymous to the third stage and fourth stage since a majority of Vietnamese spouses didn’t spend a lot of time on the first and second stages.

2.8.3 Self Identity

The line between cultural identity and social identity is sometimes blurred, especially when it comes to self-identity. According to Turner's statement, an individual does not just belong to the "personal self" but also as a member of a group. Therefore, encountering different social contexts will make the individual think, feel and act based on the self at the personal, family or national level (Turner, Haslam & McGarty, 1994). For example, two ways to have these Vietnamese spouses reflect what their self identities are either from interacting with Taiwanese locals, especially their husbands or their family members or their Vietnamese friends, which also can add more pictures into this research (Nga,2012). Additionally, Ponterotto and Pedersen (1997) also stressed that the identification of ethnic culture is a very crucial aspect for the development of self-identification. Therefore, those who have a sound identification of ethnic culture will often have better self concept and more positive cross-cultural attitude. There is no denying that the correlation between the identification of ethnic culture and self-identify.

2.8.4 Cultural Devotion

Cultural devotion is translated into how much involvement from new immigrants to their host countries with the ways like participating in the activities either held by the government or non-governmental organizations (Phinney, 1995). On the other hand, any devotion they show towards themselves or their family members can also be included, for example how much effort new immigrants put into acquiring basic literacy or life skills in the new culture for the purpose of elevating their life quality in either Taiwan or Vietnam. However, cultural devotion must also take into consideration the possible reasons preventing them from becoming more involved in host culture activities (e.g., Taiwanese husbands or parents-in-law) (Chen,

2005c).

2.8.5 Cultural Integration

Cultural integration, the fourth dimension, is regarded as a measurement of how much a new cultural identity has been formed from a combination of the mainstream cultural identity of the home and host countries (Dehyle, 1992). Apart from the concrete aspects such as food, entertainment, and handicrafts, more abstract aspects of cultural integration must be included such as religion, work ethic, and life values. Gordon (1964) hypothesized that “once structural assimilation has occurred...all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow,” meaning intermarriage will be common. Scholars have long recognized the importance of interethnic marriage to European commercial expansion into the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Aldridge (1978) stated that research on transnational marriage could provide some keys to many questions regarding assimilation, such as to what extent internal cohesion in many racial, religious and ethnic groups occurs due to assimilation. Interethnic marriages in Taiwan served a number of political and commercial functions in the early modern era as well (Barclay, 2005).

In the past, there were many global migration cases involving mostly economic reasons for marrying. For example, during the colonial times, many Spaniards migrated to central or south America and the Chinese to the Philippines, resulting in marriages with local women (Tong, 2010). In the last forty years, however, the phenomenon respecting marriage migration to the U.S., Europe, and Japan has been fervent partly because of the development of high-tech and popular media. Kramer’s (2000) theory of cultural fusion claims that the human condition is marked by creativity and the search for novelty. In addition, Kramer (2000) emphasizes the unpredictable mixing of cultures and the potential for creating something new. Kim

(2001), on the other hand, focuses on cross-cultural adaptation instead of the cultural fusion emphasized by Kramer (2000). Kim (2000) describes cross-cultural adaptation as a learning process in which one's life can be shaped by decisions made. In this dissertation, a learning process of cross-cultural adaptation can be found from many Vietnamese spouses coming to Taiwan as a pioneer, followed by their siblings or /and friends.

2.8.6 Summary and Discussion

As we know, culture not only constitutes the experiences of ordinary people but also manifests itself in the structure of feelings. Upon moving to Taiwan, how these emigrant spouses construct their cultural identity will be very crucial to their securing an ordinary life, faced as they are by barriers of language, values, and beliefs. Language is almost always the first obstacle in confronting cultural adjustment; language does constitute identity; it is never inbred; it has to be learnt, and by learning it, the speaker takes on its linguistic and cultural legacy. Therefore, though in-depth interviews and questionnaires, respecting normative cultural identity, are needed, it is hoped that they will more fully uncover benefits for newly married emigrants and will positively affect the next generation. On the other hand, as for Taiwanese grooms, it has been previously found that they strongly prefer marrying a Vietnamese wife because of similarities in culture, religion, way of life, and physical features to those of local women (Tsay, 2004). For example, Vietnamese have fairer skin color and physically they resemble the slimmer stature of Taiwanese or Chinese women; and in addition, the lasting cultural influence of China on Vietnam, traditional beliefs and rituals mirror the same practices, be they births, marriages, funerals, performing Buddhist rites, or observing local festivals. Hence, the Taiwanese male's preference for either brides from Vietnam or mainland China. Yet, this said, Vietnamese brides still face "invisible cultural barriers."

2.9 Social Identity

2.9.1 The Overview of Social Identity

In relation to marriage migration, both transnational-ism and identity are important to brides seeking to be accepted into a culture based on particular moral principles. On the one hand, this is so in that many peoples' transnational networks are constructed on the perception that these people share similar identity, which is also based on a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic features. With participation in socio-cultural activities, these migrants can build up their networks through patterns of communication or exchange of resources and information (Vertovec, 2001). On the other hand, negotiated are among transnational migrants, the identities of some individuals or groups of people within social worlds expanding into many places. For example, Vietnamese eateries are used for Vietnamese spouses to gain first-hand news of their natal country or exchange some important resources or information about institutional welfare to improve their living qualities in the host country. The diasporic community will emerge after there is an influx of foreign spouses and migrant workers. With their cultural capital brought from Vietnam, some Vietnamese convert it into social capital, which also shapes patterns of mobilization between cultural identity and social identity. By doing so, they expand their social networks and make more exchange of resources or information from both Vietnamese and Taiwanese.

2.9.2 Cultural Capital and Social Capital

This dissertation research is partly grounded on cultural capital and social capital theories put forth by Bourdieu (2008), entailing that cultural capital plays a role as a social link inside a social system of exchange including the accumulation of

cultural knowledge that generates power and status. In addition, taking advantage of cultural capital can bring about benefits, like being awarded with status or being accepted, thereby being transferred into social capital. Likewise, social capital consists of a resource on the basis of group membership, relationships, social networks related to influence and support in a Diasporas community. Lin (1999) entails that the theory and the research enterprise of social capital have to be based on embedded resources in social network. Thus, the benefits from social capital can include gaining economic capital, which can be invested in cultural capital, enhancing the power of social capital, shaping and affecting social interaction and relationships.

A large number of Vietnamese wives in Taiwan came from poor families (Kibria, 1994; Tian & Wang, 2006); therefore, some of them cashed in on their cultural capital, for example in regards to appearance, young age, similar religions, dedication, reproduction, filial piety as a daughter in Vietnam transformed into a daughter-in-law in Taiwan. From the statistics of households, most of Taiwanese men marrying Vietnamese brides are living in farming and fishing towns or villages where husbands still have greater power in decision-making compared with the fact that those who married local women or Chinese women are mostly living in bigger city or metropolitan areas (Tsay, 2004). Rodman (1972) claimed resources in a cultural context are related to decision-making patterns among spouses in a family. This statement entails that the greater the socioeconomic status of the husband, based on the measurement of his educational and occupational status, the greater the husband's power (Cooney, 1982). With the social capital from their husbands, many Vietnamese spouses take advantage of their unique cultural capital from Vietnam and have begun business thus expanding their social networks to accumulate their own social capital and economic capital in Taiwan. Some of these Vietnamese spouses have even spread their social capital or economic capital to their natal country by investment, thereby

elevating their social status. The transnational marriage between Vietnamese and Taiwanese can often be used as a good example of the cultural and social capital theories put forth by Bourdieu (2008). Furthermore, Cerulo (1997) also stated that in order to be mobilized, identity is seen as a basic source; therefore, in the pursuit of a newer identification from either inside herself or outside the family, many Vietnamese spouses also see the mobility-upward on economic status or social status as the first priority among a number of life choices.

2.10 Summary and Discussion

In a nut shell, despite a rather strict immigration policy, the phenomenon of transnational marriage has become a nexus relating to socio-economic, cultural, and political contexts in the society of Taiwan. The beginnings of migrant workers from the Southeast Asia started alongside the development of Taiwan democratization and globalization in 1988. Throughout much of the world, gender socialization and accompanying gender ideologies support the idea that women are “natural” caregivers (Brewer, 2003), and religious and cultural beliefs further shape and reinforce these sentiments (George, 2003). Immigration policy, especially regarding marriages, is always being afflicted by other Mainland China policies. Before a large number of Vietnamese were here in Taiwan due to work but then later due to stricter regulations these numbers decreased but due to several factors Taiwanese men still find Vietnamese women very suitable choices for wives, even more so than Mainland Chinese brides. Statistics show that foreign nationals (not including people from mainland China) living in Taiwan has jumped from around 30,000 to 417,385 between 1991 and 2008. This was caused in part by the influx of blue-collar guest workers beginning in the early 1990s but most importantly because of the increase in marriages between ROC citizens and foreign nationals. Among these foreign

nationals, Vietnamese spouses account for one-fourth, equal to 100,000 people living in Taiwan. On the other hand, between 1989 and 2008, approximately 677,000 ROC citizens immigrated to other countries. Statistics for the past 15 years show the United States as the top choice for Taiwan's émigrés, followed by Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (MOF, 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Qualitative Research

The largest bulk of data come from the in-depth interview of seven Vietnamese spouses who form the seven case studies presented in later chapters. In this qualitative part of my research, the methodology of this study is based on the theoretical sensitivity, having a close relationship with grounded theory and referring to the personal quality of the researcher (Glaser, 1978). There are a number of characteristics such as having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capability of understanding, and ability to separate the appropriate from that which isn't. Theoretical sensitivity is composed of many sources such as literature, professional experience, and personal experience. The literature belongs to a part of training to make the researcher easily have the bountiful background of knowledge to be more sensitive to what is going on with the phenomenon that the researcher is studying. Professional experience will make the researcher more easily understand events and actions of the study with similar background. Personal experience enhances the insight into the situation that the researcher is going to study or research. Therefore, with these three sources added to the focus of this research, it will be very helpful for the researcher to investigate the issue of social identity and cultural identity from the four subcategories of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration.

The qualitative ways consist of interviews and observations through various analyses from the study of the literature including readings on theory, research, and

documents of various kinds, professional experience such as talks with marriage agents, workers at some new immigrant centers, and some public officials associated with foreign spouses, and lastly personal experience of working abroad, studying abroad, and becoming an immigrant overseas.

The nexus of this research is about the contents of the life-narratives of Vietnamese women who emigrated to Taiwan via marriage to Taiwanese men; they also moved their residences from Vietnam to Taiwan. Besides, there is the commonality of using these life stories or narratives to delineate and to provide meaning to the experiences and choices in the lives of these people at the center of this social science research.

Recording their narratives of the lives of Vietnamese spouses form the temporal order of events and gives the opportunity to make sense out of these events (Sandelowski, 1994). In Table 3-1, 7 Vietnamese spouses' basic profiles are shown. Among 7 Vietnamese spouses, 4 are living in Taipei City while 2 are living in New Taipei city and one is living in Miao Li County, which all belong to northern region in Taiwan.

Table 3-1

The background profiles of seven Vietnamese Spouses

Pseudo names	Age	Yr.in Tn.	Birth place	Educa tion	No. of Child.	Religion	Employment	Husband's ethnic	Way of marriage	Current citizen ship	Marital status
PE1 (eldest daughter)	37	10	Hay Long Bay (N.V.)	Senior High	0	Buddhist	Yes(factory Group leader)	Hakka	Romance as a migrant worker	R.O.C.	Married
U2 (eldest daughter)	37	17	HCM city (S.V.)	Senior High	1(daughter)	Catholic	Yes (teacher at an after-school center)	Mainlander	Romance through Uncle's introduction	R.O.C.	Divorced
JE3 (second daughter)	39	17	Đồng Nai (S.V.)	Senior High	1(son)	Buddhist	Yes (eatery owner)	Hoklo	Sister's introduction	R.O.C.	Married
WU4 (eldest daughter)	47	10	Vĩnh Long (S.V.)	Elementary	1(daughter)	Catholic	Yes (cater Vietnamese food)	Hoklo	Cousin's introduction	R.O.C.	Married
KI5 (eldest daughter)	43	19	Da Nang (C.V.)	Junior High	1(daughter)	Buddhist	Yes(eatery owner)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced
PA6 (eldest Daughter)	31	10	Tây Ninh (S.V.)	Junior High	1(son)	Buddhist	Yes(nail salon)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced
ME7 (eldest daughter)	33	13	Bac lieu (S.V.)	Senior High	1(son)	Buddhist	No (full-time Housewife)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Married

**N.V.=North Vietnam; C.V.=Central Vietnam; S.V.=South Vietnam

I approached 7 Vietnamese spouses (shown as Table 3-1) either at some Vietnamese eateries or through friends, students, or participants who knew I needed additional participants to take part in the study. After they agreed and signed the consent form, they became one the cases in the study. There are several marital statuses (i.e. still married, divorced, separated, satisfied, or unsatisfied with married life), various lengths of time in marriage and in residing in Taiwan, different numbers of children, different religions, different educational achievements, and different regions of origin in Vietnam (a city in Northern Vietnam, a city in Central Vietnam, countryside in Northern Vietnam, a city in Southern Vietnam, and countryside in Southern Vietnam). The reason for me to establish these criteria was not only for the questionnaire but also in my belief that these conditions could have a significant impact on the experiences of these Vietnamese spouses in their marriages and in their lives in Taiwan. Thus, this variety would make the finding more interesting and profound and can in turn be linked to the findings of the quantitative method.

3.2 Quantitative Research

Apart from having 7 Vietnamese spouses' interviews, the other method was a survey from 200 questionnaires used. The respondents were purposefully chosen (Field & Morse, 1985; Sandelowski, 1994) in this study. 320 questionnaires were distributed to Vietnamese spouses living in Taiwan, and 72 percent of them accounting for 232 Vietnamese spouses returned their questionnaires. Among the 232 copies, only 200 copies were valid and processed using SPSS, thereby leading to many results like frequencies, percentages, means, and deviations, which were first run to investigate the views of the participants towards each item of cultural identity and to give an overall picture of the results of the assessment. In addition, the interpretation of the relationships among four dimensions: cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration, were found to be insightful in

this current study of the cultural identity of Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan.

To investigate Vietnamese spouses' cultural identity in Taiwan, six research questions are raised:

Research question one: What is the current situation of Vietnamese spouses' cultural identity in Taiwan?

Research question two: In which aspects do the respondents demonstrate more cultural identity and in which aspects do they show less cultural identity?

Research question three: Is there any significant difference in Cultural Identity for the birthplace, education, and religions?

Research question four: Is there any significant difference in Cultural Identity for the employment or not, having relatives overseas, and first marriage or not?

Research question five: Is there any significant difference in Cultural Identity for the ways of marriage, and family compositions in Taiwan?

Research question six: What are the relationships among age, the years of marriage, the years of living in Taiwan, the number of children, and the four dimensions of cultural identity?

The respondents included 200 Vietnamese spouses who filled out the questionnaires from the northern regions of Taiwan such as New Taipei city, Taipei city, and Miao Li County. New Taipei City is a typical satellite city comprised several important industrial areas where a considerable number of factories need many labors; Taipei City is a typical metropolitan city comprised a large number of commercial areas where a lot of office workers need to eat out, so an increasing number of Vietnamese restaurants and eateries have been opened over the past decade. Based on the statistics from Ministry of Interior, the percentage of foreign spouses living in New Taipei City and Taipei City accounts for 55% not only because there are a big number of industrial areas located in New Taipei City offering many jobs to many

Vietnamese spouses but also because there are a wide range of commercial activities in Taipei City where many Vietnamese spouses either run their own eateries or restaurants or work there (MOI, 2012).

Based on a survey of 200 volunteer participants from northern Taiwan, this study focused on four dimensions of cultural identity and the participants' demographic variables affecting their performances of cultural identity. Participants in this study voluntarily completed the questionnaires, The Questionnaire of Vietnamese Spouses' perspectives on Cultural Identity in Taiwan (in Vietnamese), which consisted of 12 items pertaining to the participants' backgrounds and the twenty five-item version Cultural Identity in Taiwan in early of August of 2013. The questionnaire takes about 20 to 25 minutes to complete.

At first, 320 copies of the questionnaire were delivered with a note describing the purpose of this study and instructions about how to complete this questionnaire. Of 320 copies, 232 (72%) were returned. Of 232 copies, only 200 copies were valid, after deleting incomplete copies.

3.3 Instruments

To solicit data, the questionnaire (see Appendix A) entitled The Survey of Cultural Identity from Vietnamese Spouses (in Vietnamese, Chinese, and English) was employed in this research. Two parts are included: (1) Demographic questions: this portion contains 12 items related to the respondents' age, number of years of marriage, number of years of living in Taiwan, education, number of children, birthplace, religion, family foreign experience, current living situation, the number of marriages , current working situation, and the channel to know their potential husbands. These demographic variables were added ahead of the Cultural Identity in order to find out the differences between groups and the possible dimensions affecting the respondents' adaption towards Cultural Identity from the four major dimensions of

cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration. (2) Cultural Identity formulated by Vertovec & Cohen (1999) was employed in this study, for this instrument has demonstrated strong reliability of appropriate concurrent and predicative validity.

3.3.1 The construction of the quantitative scale

In order to investigate the cultural identity of 200 Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan, a questionnaire entitled The Cultural Identity Survey was designed (See Appendix A) by the researcher. It was constructed by developing questions based on reviewed literature on Cultural Identity, Phinney (1995) and Wu's (2009) questionnaires.

Originally, the questionnaire comprised 30 questions; after consulting with professional experts and conducting a pilot study, several questions showing a low alpha value or they were irrelevant to the four dimensions were deleted, and the expert validity was determined. To measure the dimensions' validity, the quantitative data of the questionnaire were conducted by validity and tallied by Barlett's Test of sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value was 0.932, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6 (Field, 2005), and Barlett's Test of sphericity reached statistical significance ($p = .000$), showing sufficiency of samples for factor Analysis.

The result of factor analysis yielded four dimensions (shown in Table 3-2). Three dimensions were named as Cultural Belonging, Cultural Devotion and Cultural Integration. One dimension containing 3 items describes how the participants view themselves as wives of Taiwanese; for example, whether or not they are proud of getting married to a Taiwanese. Therefore, it was named Self-Identity. As shown in Table 3-3, the final questionnaire of Cultural Identity contained twenty five items,

divided into four dimensions: (1) Cultural Belonging—1,2,3,4,, (2) Self-Identity—5,6,7, (3) Cultural Devotion—8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18, and (4) Cultural Integration— 19,20,21,22,23,24,25.

Table 3-2

The result of Dimension Analysis

Dimension		Items	Cronbach's Alpha	Extraction	Eigen-value	Explained Variance
Cultural Belonging	1	There is a close relationship between the culture of my husband's natal country and my life in Taiwan.	0.89	.659	4.89	19.56
	2	The culture of my husband's natal country is precious and important.		.811		
	3	I am very interested and fond of the culture of my husband's natal country.		.705		
	4	I should introduce the culture of my husband's natal country to my family in Vietnam.		.606		
Self Identity	5	I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese.	0.81	.760	3.74	14.97
	6	I am proud of being a Taiwanese husband's wife.		.507		
	7	I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible.		.599		
Cultural Devotion	8	I want to explore and learn the culture of my husband's natal country.	0.92	.674	3.51	14.07
	9	I like to listen to some historical events and stories about Taiwan from my husband		.693		
	10	I like to listen to what my husband has done in Taiwan.				
	11	I am willing to learn Taiwanese traditional craftsmanship and ballads.		.576		
	12	I am willing to attend some activities related to Taiwanese culture.		.592		
	13	I like to learn Taiwanese languages and words.		.542		
	14	I am willing to learn Taiwanese languages and		.639		

		words.				
	15	It is important for me to attend the activities related to Taiwanese culture.		.478		
	16	I am willing to cook Taiwanese cuisine.		.456		
	17	I like to eat Taiwanese cuisine.		.402		
	18	While I am learning Taiwanese culture, I am also willing to introduce Vietnamese culture to Taiwanese.		.457		
Cultural integration	19	Understanding Vietnamese culture and Taiwanese culture at the same time can help me broaden my vision.	0.88	.435	2.44	9.79
	20	Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted.		.453		
	21	I think there are many similarities between Taiwanese culture and Vietnamese culture, which can easily make me get used to living here.		.465		
	22	Although I came from Vietnam, I think I have become a member of Taiwanese society.		.639		
	23	When I am working or communicating with Taiwanese, I do think I am the same as they		.602		
	24	I am willing to share some Taiwanese cuisine with my Vietnamese friends.		.662		
	25	Faced with the culture of my natal country-Vietnam and the culture of Taiwan, I am confident that I can adjust myself well.		.693		

Table 3-3

Distribution of the Questions in the Questionnaire

Part	Dimensions	Number	Items
1	Cultural Belonging	4	1-4
2	Self-Identity	3	5-7
3	Cultural Devotion	11	8-18
4	Cultural Integration	7	19-25

Based on the research of the cultural identification of the second generation of foreign spouses in Taiwan, we constructed this questionnaire, which aims to explore the extent of cultural identity by observing four related dimensions of cultural belonging (Hill, 2000), self-identity (Cerulo, 1997), cultural devotion (Phinney, 1990), and cultural integration (Dehyle, 1992). Cultural belonging: First of all, cultural belonging indicates how new immigrants perceive the sense of belongingness related to the host country in terms of culture , mainly depending on the term ‘cultural identity,’ in which cultural belonging often plays an essential part (Orchard, 2002). Self-identity: There are two ways to have these Vietnamese spouses reflect what their self identities are either from interacting with Taiwanese locals, especially their husbands or their family members or their Vietnamese friends. Cultural devotion: cultural devotion (Phinney, 1995) entails how much involvement new immigrants have in their host countries by participating in activities held by the government or non-governmental organizations. Cultural integration: cultural integration, the fourth dimension, is regarded as a measurement of how acculturated the second generation of immigrants are that they are able to combine with the mainstream cultural identity in a host country (Dehyle, 1992).

The overall result of the four dimensions respectively for the present questionnaire was 0.89, 0.81, 0.92, and 0.88, indicating satisfying construct reliability. The overall reliability coefficient of the total questionnaire was 0.953, which was deemed reliable and acceptable. The result indicated that the cultural identity is reliable to measure the cultural identity in the multicultural society of Taiwan.

3.3.2 The qualitative questions

Even though employing quantitative methods seems suitable to address the Vietnamese spouses’ issues regarding cultural identity at a larger scale, yet some of

their lived events are not easily explained and addressed by quantitative methods (Sandelowski,1994 ; Patton, 1999). In order to have a more complete understanding of every subject, qualitative inquiry also is an appropriate research method. Eight questions are designed for seven selected interviewees as shown in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4

8 Questions to ask 7 Interviewees

Types of questions
1. CB-1: Please describe your life in Taiwan and some Taiwanese culture practiced with your husband or parents-in-law in detail.
2. CB-2: Please describe how Taiwanese culture or some customs practiced by your family has influenced your life and has made your life different or unique from that in your natal home.
3. SI-1: Please tell me how you define your identity while communicating with Taiwanese friends .
4. SI-2: Please tell me some examples regarding your self-identity while getting together with your Vietnamese friends in Taiwan.
5. CD-1: Please describe what kinds of activities you have participated with your husband or children in Taiwan. How do you like them?
6. CD-2: What is your suggestion to the Taiwanese government when it comes to some activities related to Vietnamese spouses and their family members?
7. CI-1: What kinds of Vietnamese culture would you like to introduce to Taiwanese friends or practice in Taiwan? Why are they?
8. CI-2: How do you like Taiwanese culture or what customs or traditions would you like to promote to your Vietnamese relatives or friends?

3.4 Data Analysis

Data collected were tallied by SPSS/PC 17.0 for Windows. A five-point Likert scale was utilized to respond to each item: 5= Strongly Agree, 4=Agree, 3= Fair, 2= Disagree, 1=Strongly Disagree. A series of descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, means, and deviations were first run to investigate the views of the

participants towards each item of CI and to give an overall view of the results of the assessment.

According to the scoring method adopted by the study, 3 representing fair is the median, and the score of 4 representing agree. The average score above 3.5 suggests a relatively positive attitude toward cultural identity. To determine the level of the participants' cultural identity, an interpretation for mean score was employed. Through this stage, the ranges of the participants' responses were assigned into 5 levels as shown in Table 3-5, which is Low (mean scores ranging from 1.00-1.49), Low Intermediate (mean scores ranging from 1.50-2.49), Intermediate (mean scores ranging from 2.50-3.49), High Intermediate (mean scores ranging from 3.50-4.49), and High (mean scores ranging from 4.50-5.00). Higher scores of this measure are suggestive of being more adaptive to these four dimensions related to cultural identity.

Table 3-5

Interpretation of Mean Scores

Level	Mean Scores	Interpretation
High	4.50 and Above	Excellent
High Intermediate	3.50-4.49	Positive
Intermediate	2.50-3.49	Mediocre
Low Intermediate	1.50-2.49	Poor
Low	1.49 and Below	Negative

The analyses of the contents (shown in Table 3-6) from the lived events will be described in a number of features related to the focus of the four dimensions: cultural

belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration.

Table 3-6

Data collection and analysis

Research Questions	Data Collection	Data Analysis
1. What is the current situation of Vietnamese spouses' cultural Identity in Taiwan?	CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS	1. Means 2. Standard deviation
2. In which aspects do the respondents demonstrate more cultural identity and in which aspects do they show less cultural identity?	CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS	Percentage
3. Is there any significant difference in CI for the birthplace, education, and religions?	1. CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS 2. Demographics (3 variables: , birthplace, education, and religion)	1. A Pearson's product-moment coefficient
4. Is there any significant difference in CI for the employment or not, having relatives overseas, and first marriage or not?	1. CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS 2. Demographics (3 variables: employment or not, overseas relatives, and first marriage)	1. A Pearson's product-moment coefficient
5. Is there any significant difference in CI for the education, ways of marriage, religions, and family compositions?	1. CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS 2. Demographics (4 variables: , education, ways of marriage, religions, and family styles)	1. A Pearson's product-moment coefficient
6. What are the relationships among age, the marriage, the years of living in Taiwan, the number of children, and cultural identity?	1. CIS: 4 dimensions and overall 25 items on CIS 2. Demographics (4 variables: age, the marriage, the years of living in Taiwan, the number of children)	1. A Pearson's product-moment coefficient

3.5 Summary

For this study, quantitative methods will be used as a time-effective way to obtain data. Data will be elaborated through the questionnaire, *The Questionnaire of Vietnamese Spouses' Perspectives on Cultural Identity in Taiwan*. Descriptive analysis, such as means and standard deviations, will be applied to illustrate the current situation of the participants' cultural identity. Percentages will be used to analyze in which aspect the participants demonstrate more or less cultural identity.

The participants' differences on the five-point-scaled questions in the questionnaire will be assessed by an independent sample t-test. A product-moment Pearson correlation was conducted to detect the relationship among cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, cultural integration, and demographic variables affecting cultural identity to discover whether the four categories correlated with one another.

In order to completely understand the richness of each respondent's lived experiences, qualitative methods such as interviews and observation will provide a richness of understanding which cannot be exposed by quantitative inquiry alone.

However, 5 constraints to qualitative research regarding interviewing are listed as follows:

1. Gender consideration: As a male researcher, interviewing these female respondents with a list of personal questions without a female researcher or assistant on the spot to release their pressure from a person like their own husband may produce some hesitancy on their part. Therefore, a female assistant will be helpful while interviews are conducted.
2. Race consideration: Since the researcher is the same race as their husbands and the interview is held in the host country, it may also generate some stress for these female interviewees to freely answer my questions. Therefore, with a female helper coming

from their home country beside me, those interviewed Vietnamese spouses will feel more secure or have more intention to communicate with me.

3. Age consideration: Since my age is very similar to the age of the Vietnamese brides' husbands; therefore, it is likely to make them feel more stressful and less willing to tell me their family life, especially the interaction with their husbands. Therefore, a female assistant at their similar age will be very beneficial to this research.

4. Language consideration: Even though most of my interviewees can answer me in Mandarin, yet fluency is significantly diversified because of their personal education related with Chinese. Thus, there is the likelihood the questions may be misunderstood by interviewees. A female assistant having good command of both Chinese and Vietnamese will be needed to decrease some misunderstanding between researcher and interviewees.

5. Status consideration: The role of researcher will not benefit from interviewing these Vietnamese spouses; therefore, letting them to trust me as a simple student will be better way to improve the communication channels between the interviewer and interviewees.

CHAPTER FOUR

SEVEN CASE STUDIES OF TRANSNATIONAL MARRIAGES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the life stories of seven Vietnamese women who immigrated to Taiwan through marrying a Taiwanese husband. These Vietnamese spouses were chosen on the basis of a snowballing method through different channels. During the field trips, there were ten respondents chosen to conduct interviews but three cases of the ten didn't have enough details to cover the four phases. In spite of trying to invite them to do interviews again, these three respondents declined the meeting with researcher again; therefore, only seven cases were included in the study. The way of associating with the following seven respondents are described as follows: PE1, a North Vietnamese, was introduced by one of my Vietnamese students (the other five respondents were all born in South Vietnam except one in Central Vietnam); LU2 is the person who is a very active member at a public immigration center; JE3 has been running a small restaurant selling both Taiwanese-style breakfast and Vietnamese-style lunch since 2007 in a relatively newly-developed residential area in Taipei City; WU4 is LU2's friend and they got to know each other at a public immigration center; WU4 is residing in an ordinary apartment in an older area in Taipei City; KI5, JE3's friend, is running a Vietnamese-style restaurant in an industrial region in New Taipei City, where many Vietnamese migrant workers or spouses are working in some labor-intensive industries such as clothing, footwear, and chemical in New Taipei City; PA6 is one introduced by one of my Taiwanese friends and now is running her own shop helping customers coloring their nails; ME7 is LU2's friend and they got to know each other at a public immigration center, and

ME7 is residing in a house, located in an older area in Taipei City.

According to the background information of the 7 respondents, there were four different channels by which the Vietnamese women met their prospective husbands. PE1 belongs to a love marriage following her working in Taiwan. A love marriage is defined as having dates for at least a couple of months or longer. LU2 represents another type of love marriage since she never worked in Taiwan; however, contrary to the common process of an arranged marriage requiring Taiwanese men to fly to Vietnam, LU2 came to Taiwan to date her prospective husband for three months before deciding on marrying him. The last two channels of meeting prospective husbands were arranged marriages. JE3 and WU4 were introduced by their relatives or friends who already were married to Taiwanese men and living in Taiwan, while KI5, PA6, and ME7 were introduced by marriage agents based in HCM City in South Vietnam.

The life story of each woman will be described and organized as consisting of four phases: (1) life in Vietnam before the immigration, (2) the channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot, (3) life in Taiwan after marriage, and (4) future prospects of her life in Taiwan.

In describing these seven cases, my purpose is to show the importance of social capital and cultural capital in shaping the social identity and cultural identity of the Vietnamese women under study. How they develop their identity in turn determines the ways these women adapt to the Taiwan society.

The data of these case studies were collected by a semi-structured interview method (see Table 3-4 for the interview guide). The background information of these cases is summarized in Table 4.1

Table 4-1

The background profiles of seven Vietnamese Spouses

Pseudo names	Age	Yr. in Tn.	Birth place	Education	No. of Child.	Religion	Employment	Husband's ethnicity	Way of marriage	Current citizenship	Marital status
PE1 (eldest daughter)	37	10	Hay Long Bay (N.V.)	Senior High	0	Buddhist	Yes (factory group leader)	Hakka	Romance as a migrant worker	R.O.C.	Married
U2 (eldest daughter)	37	17	HCM city (S.V.)	Senior High	1(dau ghter)	Catholic	Yes (teacher at an after-school center)	Mainlander	Romance through uncle's introduction	R.O.C.	Divorced
JE3 (second daughter)	39	17	Đồng Nai (S.V.)	Senior High	1 (son)	Buddhist	Yes (eatery owner)	Hoklo	Sister's introduction	R.O.C.	Married
WU4 (eldest daughter)	47	10	Vĩnh Long (S.V.)	Elementary	1(dau ghter)	Catholic	Yes (caters Vietnamese food)	Hoklo	Cousin's introduction	R.O.C.	Married
KI5 (eldest daughter)	43	19	Da Nang (C.V.)	Junior High	1(dau ghter)	Buddhist	Yes (eatery owner)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced
PA6 (eldest daughter)	31	10	Tây Ninh (S.V.)	Junior High	1 (son)	Buddhist	Yes (nail salon)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced

ME7 (eldest daughter)	33	13	Bac lieu (S.V.)	Senior high	1 (son)	Buddhist	No (full-time Housewife)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Married
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**N.V.=North Vietnam; C.V.=Central Vietnam; S.V.=South Vietnam

Based on the details of these seven cases, a descriptive chart is shown in Appendix D and is designed to show how their lives have developed in terms of cultural capital and social capital. In order to respond to the developments of cultural capital and social capital, some important happenings or turning points related to the respondents in Taiwan or Vietnam will be briefly described during three periods of time consisting of life in Vietnam before the immigration, life in Taiwan after the marriage, and future prospects life in Taiwan.

4.2 Case one-PE1

The interview was conducted on August 15, 2013 at a café. Mandarin was used during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before the migration:

PE1, 37-year-old Vietnamese, was born in a middle-class family in Hay-Long Bay, North Vietnam. Among five siblings made up of four girls and one boy, she is older than the other three sisters but 2 years younger than her brother. Before the global financial crisis of 2008, her family ran a company exporting some Vietnam-made furniture to Taiwan; therefore, her family has some business

associations with a number of Taiwanese businessmen.

As the eldest daughter, she has been very independent and responsible; thus, right after her graduating from senior high, she started taking some Chinese courses after work in order to be a competent assistant to a tour guide, and her job was about helping some Chinese-speaking tour groups to go sight-seeing and take cruises around Hay-Long Bay.

Due to many and frequent contacts with those tourists from Taiwan, she started to learn about Taiwan and had some good impressions toward Taiwan and Taiwanese people. Above all, she was very impressed about the generosity and affluence of some of middle-aged Taiwanese tourists. Owing to her desire to become a fluent Chinese speaker and to run her own travel agency, she decided to study Chinese at a university in Taipei. Hay-Long Bay is one of eight world wonders attracting so many tourists from Chinese circles including Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Macau.

She attributed her going to Taiwan to her family's business connections and some good impressions of Taiwan she obtained while acting as a tour guide's assistant. One of her Taiwanese friends living in Taipei still keeps a close relationship with her family, and she even treats one of them as her 'Godmother,' who promised her parents that she would look after her while she studied or worked in Taipei.

After having worked at a travel agency in Hay-Long Bay for two years, she flew to Taiwan as a student and worked part-time after class to support her living costs in Taiwan. Her Godmother sometimes would drive her to some scenic spots and let her experience some Taiwanese culture, especially going to the night market.

According to what she learned from history taught at the school, she knew that Vietnam had been a Chinese colony for a long time, so Vietnam had adopted a lot of Chinese culture, especially Confucianism into its mainstream culture; one of these elements associated with Confucianism is 'filial piety' towards one's parents, ie. sons

or daughters need to sacrifice themselves for the whole family if they suffer family hardship. She could not help taking on more responsibility than other siblings.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

Case 1 belongs to the first type of transnational marriage resulting from frequent contacts with a Taiwanese man during her time working in Taiwan as a migrant worker.

During the 2-year time when she was working in a factory as a migrant worker in the northern part of Taiwan, she often went to the post office where her prospective husband was working because she needed to send some packages back to Vietnam. Receiving a lot of help from her future husband and having interactions with him, she started having a good impression toward him. Therefore, she accepted a date from her future husband. In the beginning, she was worried about the age difference and different cultures because her Taiwanese husband is 15 years older than she, and there were different ethnicities and customs in Taiwan and Vietnam. However, love seems to have overcome some existing barriers. After the termination of her contract with a factory, she needed to go back, but her future husband often called her or sometimes even flew to Vietnam to pay her a visit, which touched her, and she decided to marry him. As PE1 recalled, “[I was]...not sure whether this transnational marriage would come true or not because my husband is a Taiwanese and I am a Vietnamese. After coming back from Taiwan, I already saved some money and had a good command of Chinese, so I really wanted to run my own travel agency. However, the love and care from my husband really touched me, so I decided to put my dream aside and move to Taiwan to set up a family with him.”

She finally decided to marry her husband, a public bureaucrat in a post office in

Taiwan after their two-year relationship unfolding in Taiwan and Vietnam.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

After the completion of a 6-month Chinese course, one of her Vietnamese friends introduced her to a full-time job in a factory, so she moved to another small town called Miao-Li, located in the western part of Taiwan, in which she signed a two-year contract with a factory as a migrant worker. As a full-time migrant worker, she worked as hard as she could to save money for remittances back to Vietnam. While working in Taiwan, she was required to live in a dormitory with other Vietnamese migrant workers. Hence, it was hard for her to find some spare time for she had a night shift where she needed to work from 10 pm to 6 am, so she could take some free time during the day and do some shopping. She loved to buy some daily commodities like clothes, shampoo, and some cosmetics. Therefore, she needed to go to a post office to have her packages mailed back to Vietnam, which gave her a chance to meet her prospective husband, who was working in the post office and often helping her a lot. As a result, after dating for two years, she decided to accept his proposal and then settled down in Taiwan.

Now, she is living in a single house with a yard, located in a suburban area of Miao-Li, where a majority of the residents speak Hakka. Therefore, she can speak a little Hakka to communicate with her parents-in-law, who live nearby. She recalled the early years of her marriage, saying,

“...[A]t first, I had some misunderstandings with my mother-in-law because we used to live together and I couldn't understand what she said in Hakka; therefore, my mother-in-law thought that I didn't respect her and didn't follow what she asked me to do. Since I have improved my Hakka, there is no difficulty communicating between us. Our relationship has been very close after I started learning some Hakka; besides, we

are not living together, which is much better than before.”

Speaking of her current job, she takes pride in her good command of Mandarin and Hakka besides her native tongue—Vietnamese, and her leadership as well as diligence, which helped her to be promoted as a group leader in a factory producing jeans. However, she has started to worry about the night shift because she thinks she is getting old and needs to protect her skin by having enough sleep during the night time instead of sleeping during the day. Asked about the group of Vietnamese spouses she is supervising, she proudly said,

“...[A]t my factory, I have enjoyed my family life which brings me a lot of happiness and joy compared with other Vietnamese couples, most of whom came from South Vietnam through arranged marriage. I personally do not agree with arranged marriage because I think mutual understanding with your husband is a key to having a happy family. As a result, it is better to have a love marriage requiring time to spend with each other rather than an arranged marriage where you skip the crucial phase of dating and directly getting married instead.”

Whenever she has spare time, she would like to help her husband grow vegetables in their own yard. Giving some of their home-grown vegetables to their relatives or friends will always bring her and her husband a lot of joy and let her have a sense of belonging to the soil of Taiwan. Apart from being a gardener occasionally, she likes to watch the news reports including local news or international news on different TV channels, which is very appealing to her because she loves to know what is happening in the world whenever she has time. Besides, she will surf on the internet to read news about Vietnam and share it with her husband. In response to ‘how

difficult it is to read traditional Chinese characters,' she said that since she used to be a tour guide, she could recognize traditional Chinese much easier than other foreign spouses. She described some unfortunate scenes that she saw or heard,

“ ...[A] lot of my Vietnamese colleagues have become addicted to gambling, thereby creating some trouble to their family and even leading them to get divorced or separated from their husbands.”

Regarding the food in Taiwan, she thinks there are not too many differences between Taiwan and Vietnam; therefore, it is much easier to get used to eating the food here. However, if people want to marry Americans, they will encounter some hard time adjusting themselves to eating American food. She thinks the ingredients of Taiwanese cuisines are more bountiful, so she eventually likes to savor Taiwanese cuisine. From time to time, she will mix the ingredients from Vietnam and Taiwan and then create some fusion cuisine to make her Taiwanese friends surprised.

Her husband and other relatives have been very respectful of her Vietnamese culture and cuisine. Therefore, with their compliments toward her home-made Vietnamese cuisine, she has been encouraged to cook more different and delicious Vietnamese cuisine to treat them in return; thus, she enjoys such a harmonious relationship with those relatives or friends in Taiwan. For example, even though she cooked seven or eight dishes, she wouldn't worry about any leftovers because every guest would still want to take the leftovers home, making her assume that they just wanted to show their hospitality to me as a Vietnamese living in Taiwan. However, they all said that compared with Taiwanese food, Vietnamese cuisine was delicious and not that oily, especially with a lot of seafood. Also there were several crucial spices like peanut powder, fish sauce, and so on, which Taiwanese or Chinese dishes

didn't have. From time to time, she would like to try to add some Taiwanese ingredients to Vietnamese cuisine or vice versa.

Whenever talking about Vietnamese food, PE1 will always say,

“...[E]ven though I have been working hard and long hours, cooking Vietnamese food or savoring them is an indispensable way to keep me vigorous while coping with a busy daily life in Taiwan. I think food is one of the most crucial markers toward all Vietnamese people living in Taiwan, regardless of status, religion, occupation, and so on.”

Even though her home is very close to Tai-An, a famous hot spring spot, she seldom goes there to enjoy the hot spring bath for she is not interested in it. However, in order to accompany her husband during her spare time, she would like to make some tea with her husband and sometimes her husband's friends will also join. A tea party is regarded as a part of their family culture, notwithstanding it is rare to have any experience of making tea in Vietnam. Actually, she used to make coffee to treat her friends or relations in Vietnam because Vietnam was colonized by France before.

She thinks that the relationship between her culture and her husband's culture is very close and won't conflict with each other. She thinks these two cultures can be mixed well. However, one difference she can feel is the fact that the pace of life is a little bit faster in Taiwan than that in Vietnam.

She believes that there is no shortcut to look for a good marriage without putting a lot of effort and time on it. Therefore, a lot of couples through marriage agents or introduction will end up getting divorced. With some skillful management, a marriage will be much healthier and sounder. In order to manage a good marriage life in Taiwan, there are many barriers and misunderstandings within transnational families. For example, a lot of Taiwanese have stereotypes towards foreign spouses

and see most of these foreign female spouses as ‘Gold diggers;’ however, there are still many foreign spouses, who developed love with their prospective Taiwanese husbands while serving as migrant workers. From her viewpoint, respect, thoughtfulness, and effort are the three most important elements in managing a harmonious and healthy transnational family. At the beginning, she also suffered a lot from having an inharmonious situation with her mother-in-law because she couldn’t understand some rituals and local language. Putting more effort on her husband and family, the trust and understanding have been built up between her and her parents-in-law. She now enjoys a life of happiness. There are no exceptions to the fact that a good marriage needs time, needs care, and needs the patience of the partners to overcome problems like daughter-in-law and mother-in-law misunderstandings, and the difference of opinions toward life style, values, and personality. As far as she knows, there are some Vietnamese spouses ending up in getting divorced because of some information asymmetry between the country of emigration and the country of destination.

From her point of view, Taiwanese men are willing to spend more time taking care of their family and being more considerate to their wives and are generally very kind, friendly, and thoughtful compared with other nationals, say Americans or Vietnamese. She personally loves to cook Vietnamese cuisine to please her husband and luckily her husband and his relatives all like what she cooks, which makes her feel proud and satisfied. To cook for her husband and his family makes her feel happy and enjoy a lot of contentment.

Her husband is very good at investing in the stock market, so he is helping her to invest some money in the stock market. Apart from the investment in Taiwan, she also sent some remittances back home and let her father help her to do investment in Vietnam since she is holding a Taiwanese passport, which, by law, prohibits her from

owning any possessions in Vietnam. The 'terms of endearment' between her and her husband is also shown from her trimming her husband's hair even though her husband is getting bald.

Despite the fact that many of her husband's friends envy her happy marriage, few of them will take action because they are worried about the worsening economic situation in Taiwan as well as many stricter regulations imposed on marriage immigration, resulting in spending more time and more money. On the other hand, before tying the knot, her husband had a lot of bad habits and then he eventually did away with them after the marriage. A lot of his friends were very surprised that she managed to change her husband and help him become a completely different person.

Asked what she thinks about this kind of transnational marriage, especially to those Vietnamese spouses from the southern parts of Vietnam, she thinks a lot of Vietnamese spouses themselves have got used to smoking, gambling, and drinking alcohol, so it will be hard for them to make enough money not to mention sending remittances back to Vietnam. Contrary to a common statement that most of Vietnamese spouses will try their best to send money back home, she has helped her husband to pay the loans partly because she loves her Taiwanese husband very much and partly because her family is not poor. However, she will often help her younger sister for her father asked her younger sister to come to Taiwan to major in English at a university not only to learn Chinese and English but also let her come to build up a social network and then start a business in the future.

Since she likes to watch world news on TV, she knows that the current situation of Vietnamese spouses in Korea has been getting better along with the economic development in South Korea; therefore, the number of protests from Vietnamese spouses is getting less and less. Like a lot of Taiwanese men, a great number of Korean men also have experienced difficulties marrying a Korean woman; therefore,

marrying a submissive, young, pretty, Vietnamese woman with fair complexion is getting popular to some Korean men.

A lot of northern Vietnamese's parents love to send their children to foreign countries to study and then have them come back to contribute to developing the country upon their return. Contribution, wisdom, and talents to your country are very important. Since Vietnam is a communist country, it is not allowed to speak negatively about their leaders. However, it won't prevent those Vietnamese women in the south from marrying foreigners. The government still suffers from corruption since it's a one party government controlling everything.

At her factory, among 20 workers, only 5 workers are from North Vietnam and the rest of them were born in South Vietnam. Of those 15, the majority of them came here by way of marriage agents instead of relatives' or friends' introduction and romance. As a child, it is important to show your filial piety to your parents, which is very common in Vietnam. There still is a great disparity between the infrastructure of big cities and small towns, showing a disparity between the rich and the poor. After living in Taiwan for two years and then returning to Vietnam, she got lost when she arrived home because a number of new buildings had been constructed lately.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan:

PE1 is very confident of managing her family life in Taiwan because of the support and trust between her and her husband. In order to understand more Taiwanese culture, she hopes that she will have more spare time for travel with her husband in Taiwan, so she can understand Taiwanese culture more.

Since she is also good at English, one of her hobbies is to watch a variety of programs in different languages including local dramas in Mandarin or Japanese and CNN news reports in English. If time allows, she would like to learn Japanese and

travel to Japan occasionally.

She treats Taiwan as one of her permanent homes besides her birthplace, Hay-Long Bay in North Vietnam. Paying her parents a visit every year is also a must for her to do. With her younger sister studying in a university in Taipei, she won't feel that lonely because her younger sister often visits her.

As to their next generation, she personally thinks having a baby in the near future is not one of her current goals because she is quite enjoying life with her husband in Taiwan, and there is no pressure from her mother-in-law, hoping to see her grandson soon.

Speaking of her work, she almost works every day, especially during the peak season at the factory. She thinks she is still young, so she wants to work more and save more money to go abroad later with her husband. Since she is quite independent in her economic situation and even shares the responsibility to pay the loans with her husband, she is very confident of her economic empowerment to lead a good life in Taiwan.

Whenever she and her husband go back to Vietnam, her husband likes to make her relatives happy and laugh by speaking a little bit of Vietnamese. Therefore, her husband is very popular in her family even though she still has to act as his interpreter, which also makes her proud of being his wife and gives her a lot of face in front of her family, especially to her parents.

Accompanying her husband and catering for her husband with some Vietnamese dishes are her favorite hobbies. Regarding the way of marriage, she thinks a love marriage is the best choice because of better understanding between Vietnamese wives and Taiwanese husbands. Whether or not she has considered giving birth to a child or not is not that important to her at the present moment as long as she has love and happiness with her husband.

4.3 Case Two-LU2

The interviews were conducted on Feb. 4 and Feb. 22, 2014 at WU4's home. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before the migration:

LU2 was born in a Vietnamese-Chinese family in 1977 in HCM City, South Vietnam. Her family consists of her parents, two younger brothers, and two younger sisters. Instead of Vietnamese, Cantonese is the common family language, which is very important for the ethnic identity of the Vietnamese-Chinese as is the region that they live in. For example, there are several regions such as the sixth or eleventh, where there are a lot of Vietnamese-Chinese. As to two other regions—the first and fifth, they are in downtown HCM City and prosperous respectively.

She finished junior high under a Chinese system and senior high school under a Vietnamese system because there was no senior high in the Chinese system at that time. She started learning three languages when she was a student in a primary school; she learned Vietnamese in the morning; Chinese in the afternoon; English in the evening. During the weekends, she also learned ballet.

Actually, during the tough times when South Vietnam was just unified with North Vietnam, not a lot of people could afford the tuition fee, but her father insisted that she should learn three languages at the same time to improve her language ability and broaden her view. Her family belongs to the upper middle-class and hired two maids in the family to take care of the children and attend to the house chores.

After 1949, her grandparents walked to Vietnam from Canton because they didn't dare to take a ship crossing Taiwan Strait to Taiwan when her grandfather served in the KMT army. They walked from Canton, Yunnan, North Vietnam to South

Vietnam. The reason why they didn't live in North Vietnam is the people, the majority of Vietnamese and indigenous people, wouldn't allow ethnic Chinese to live in North Vietnam; therefore, they walked to HCM City and lived with a lot of Chinese also coming from Canton and spoke Cantonese.

When she was born in 1977, two years after the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, her family was running a small family-style factory selling auto parts. When she was ten in 1987, her father started running a big-size factory with a dozen of workers working for her dad, and then began doing trade with China and Taiwan after 1990. It was not that easy to manage such a big factory, so her father needed to socialize with a lot of local officials or bribe them in order to keep the factory running.

The culture involving 'red envelopes'¹ has also prevailed in Vietnam for a long time, like that in some other countries with a Chinese-culture base. There are pros and cons for the new economic development starting from 1986 in Vietnam. With the open market with other countries, such as China, a lot of auto parts at a much lower price were imported to Vietnam, so her dad's business faced a lot of competition. Therefore, her dad needed to find more markets, so he started doing some business with some companies in Taiwan, which is one of the major reasons why she, as the eldest daughter, ended up with marrying her ex-husband and living here.

While living in Vietnam, her family was living in the sixth region with a lot of Vietnamese-Chinese in HCM City. Even though she felt some kind of hostility toward her because she is a Vietnamese-Chinese, she felt very proud of being a Vietnamese-Chinese in that she thinks that they are very smart and diligent. Furthermore, she is also very proud of her high social status because her father used to

¹ The culture of 'red-envelopes' means the customs of giving bribes placed in red envelopes to the public officials.

be a businessman with a good image by being involved in charities like donating money to schools located in the rural areas.

Her father was an apprentice in an auto parts factory when he was in his teens before South Vietnam was unified with North Vietnam in 1975. The languages she used were based on whether she knew them or not; if there was someone she didn't know, she would speak Vietnamese; on the contrary, she would speak Cantonese to those who she knew. The reason why she started learning Mandarin Chinese at such an early age is that her father wanted them to move back to China after the liberation of South Vietnam; therefore, even though they have a lot of relatives living overseas, they never thought of going anywhere except China.

Another reason is that her father needed to take care of her grandparents, who only could speak Cantonese and took her father to Vietnam during the French colonization. Besides, they still have real estate and property in Canton, China. Regarding English, her father thought that she needed to learn English in case they could not go back to China.

When she was 17, she worked in an antique store run by a Taiwanese businessman, who still did a lot of trading between Vietnam and Taiwan. She was the only person on that street to speak both Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese. There were a lot of businessmen from Singapore or Taiwan; therefore, she used to be an interpreter for some stores if they needed someone who could speak Mandarin Chinese with their Singaporean or Taiwanese customers. When she was working at that Taiwanese-run antique company, she knew a lot of Vietnamese women who lacked knowledge of the Chinese language, but who still dared to marry Taiwanese men and immigrate to Taiwan, which made her feel that she would be very confident of moving to Taiwan just in case someday.

In 1994, the year that she started working in HCM City, she became acquainted

with a lot of Vietnamese girls who married Taiwanese men and immigrated to Taiwan. Actually this trend of marriage immigration also was partly due to the fact that many old KMT Vietnamese-Chinese were allowed to immigrate to Taiwan; however, it would take a lot of time for them to move to Taiwan; therefore, a lot of Vietnamese-Chinese already settled in Taiwan would go back marrying those who had the same background living in HCM City.

Later, more Taiwanese men also went to HCM City to look for Vietnamese women by way of marriage agents run by many Vietnamese-Chinese or introduced by their Taiwanese friends who used to work in Vietnam and later moved back to Taiwan, especially to those who already were married to Vietnamese or Vietnamese-Chinese.

For individual marriage agents, being a marriage broker was not only lucrative but also afforded many chances to go back to see their parents in Vietnam. Along with an increasing number of Taiwanese businessmen moving their factories to Vietnam, the number of transnational marriages between Vietnam and Taiwan also increased, especially during the peak periods from 1994 to 2004; afterwards the number of Vietnamese women marrying Taiwanese has been decreasing over the past years because in order to stop fake marriages or human trafficking, the Taiwanese government gave the authority to run the business of match-making to some non-profit organizations instead of a public open market. However, there are still some Vietnamese women coming here by the introduction of their relatives or friends like around 2000 Vietnamese marrying Taiwanese men in the year 2013.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

Case 2-LU2 belongs to the second channel of getting to know each other through the introduction from their friends or relatives and then developing a romance.

Before she went to Taiwan, she already had confidence of living in Taiwan because she thought she could speak Mandarin. Therefore, she shouldn't have any difficulty communicating with Taiwanese while living in Taiwan.

She arrived in Taiwan at the end of 1996. During the three-month stay, she was introduced by her uncle who is living in Taiwan to her prospective husband. After three months of intensive dating, she decided to accept her prospective husband's proposal before the end of her 3-month stay. Her uncle told her that her husband was a teacher, so his job also attracted her a lot. In Vietnam, being a teacher is a respectful job to everyone.

She just turned 20 when she married her Taiwanese husband in 1997 while her husband was 19 years older than she. In fact, neither of their mothers agreed with their marriage because her husband's mom thought that she was too young and her mother thought that her husband was too old. Besides, her mother-in-law thought that her purpose to marry her son was for the money. Nevertheless, from her angle to see this marriage as migration, she was eager to experience how other Vietnamese spouses lived in Taiwan in spite of the objection from her mom.

The biggest motivation behind her moving to Taiwan to tie the knot with her prospective husband was that she thought she had ability to adjust herself far better than other Vietnamese women who didn't have any background of Mandarin Chinese. If those Vietnamese women were not afraid of marrying Taiwanese, she shouldn't have any difficulties.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

She came here with financial statements including five million NT dollars in a bank account and six months of living expenses from her father, a businessman doing business with some Taiwanese companies. She was only permitted to stay here for

three months and couldn't work at that time. She has an uncle who came here in 1994 because his father-in-law came here in 1993. At that time, she stayed with her father in Taipei since she couldn't either work or study. Her father passed away 13 years ago when he was 52 years old. She thinks that the death of her father means that she lost a lot of social connections in Taiwan.

With respect to one of the life turning points, the death of her beloved father, she stated,

“Not until we were married for five years, did I really want to have my own child partly because of the loss of my father. The relationship with my husband was not very good at the beginning of marriage. Therefore, after losing my dad, who often came here to visit me on business trips, I really wanted to have a baby to accompany me, and also I hoped the new birth of our baby would make our relationship better. However, I was wrong because my husband insisted on getting divorced right after the birth of my daughter.”

Before she worked in a cram school to teach children Chinese, math, or English, she used to work in a primary school teaching children who just returned from Vietnam and had little ability to speak Chinese; therefore, she needed to teach them in both Vietnamese and Chinese.

In 1997, after she arrived here, she felt that she was discriminated against because of her Chinese which had a very strong Cantonese accent. The local people would call her “Da-Lu-Mei or Hong Kong-mei.” She would rather tell people that she came from Hong Kong instead of Vietnam because she didn't like the feeling of being discriminated against.

Actually, pretending to be a person from Hong Kong made her feel a bit safer and let her forget some of the discrimination. However, she could not avoid being

discriminated against by her husband and mother-in-law. The same discrimination happened to those Vietnamese spouses, who sometimes didn't want to be regarded as "gold-diggers"; they would rather be regarded as migrant workers, who came here to take care of Taiwanese instead of marrying Taiwanese. Since she suffered a lot when she moved here, she also told her brothers and sisters not to move here.

To anyone that she didn't know, as long as they called her "mainland girl", she would say that she was a Hong Kong girl instead.

As a Vietnamese-Chinese, she does not have a lot of difficulties living in Taiwan. Eating is no problem for her; and some people give her discriminatory words, especially her ex-husband's mom telling her that she couldn't tell others that she came from Vietnam, which was what hurt her the most.

After living for 17 years in Taiwan, she thinks she has worked hard and studied hard to prove that she is a Taiwanese. She would suggest to a lot of Vietnamese spouses that they should learn Mandarin Chinese to empower themselves both in knowledge and economy, especially while communicating or interacting with local people.

Now, she can watch a lot of programs without any language barriers, so she thinks language is the most important symbol for her to identify herself as one of the members of this society. She thinks, compared with many homogeneous societies like Japan or Korea using blood as the most important symbol to access 'ethnic identity,' Taiwan is not that strict toward the issue of 'identity.'

After she felt discriminated against because of her Mandarin with a Cantonese accent, she tried very hard to assimilate herself into this society. For example, she didn't make any Vietnamese friends, or even when she taught Vietnamese spouses Mandarin Chinese, she didn't even tell them that she came from Vietnam. Not until two years ago did she attend any activities and classes held for new immigrants by the

government; she started to understand that the government made a lot of efforts to help new immigrants, so she came out as a new immigrant and then she made a lot of Vietnamese friends.

Before that, she didn't even mention "Vietnam." Now, the government really tries to help them. Behind these new immigrants, there are so many organizations trying to help compared with the past when only a few organizations would pay attention to them. She thinks that, generally speaking, Taiwanese men are more responsible compared to their counterparts in South Vietnam.

Her uncle introduced her husband to her in 1997, and her husband is 19 years older than she is, so he now is 56 years old. Partly due to the difference of family values and partly due to her poor adjustment towards the life in Taiwan, she didn't build up a sound relationship with her husband and her mother-in-law.

When her husband married her, he was 39 years old. After their five-year marriage, they got divorced one month after she gave birth to her daughter.

They only knew that they could communicate in the same language, but they didn't consider whether they could match well or not when they decided to marry.

Her dad was supportive as long as she could send some remittances back home. They had a lot of arguments starting from the commencement of their marriage. At the beginning of their marriage, she lived with her husband, her mother-in-law, her brother-in-law's family and sisters-in-law. They only lived with them for six months, and there were many things happening during that period; for example, doing laborious work from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. such as sweeping, cleaning, and cooking. She said that her mother-in-law thought she was a gold-digger and was attracted by their wealth.

Since she didn't know that her mother-in-law was against their marriage, she wondered why her mother-in-law was not very happy about her. Besides, she knew

Chinese, so she completely understood what she said to her, which maybe would have made it a little less hurtful to those who didn't know Chinese at the beginning stages of a transnational marriage.

However, she could understand what her mother-in-law said to her about the issue of money as she was worried that she married her son just for money. Since her husband was responsible for all the living expenses of his family, that was why his mom was against the marriage and thought that her intention in marrying was evil. Even though a lot of people said a new-born baby would bring the marriage much closer together, it didn't work in the case of her marriage. Their marriage was terminated a month after her baby was born.

In order to raise their daughter and save some living expenses, she still lives with her ex-husband and daughter. She loves her daughter so much, so even though she now holds the custody of her daughter, she still has to count on her ex-husband, who supports her daughter and pays the rent. They seldom talk even though they live under the same roof. She asked her daughter whether she could live without her dad. Her daughter needs her dad, so she aborted the idea to move out two years ago. Asked whether she wanted to date other men, she said that nobody trusted her since she is now living with her ex-husband.

Now, she needs to take care of her child and cooks them dinner. She really has no courage to manage a second marriage even if she were to have a chance. She thinks that managing a marriage needs mutual contribution instead of unilateral contribution.

In the beginning of her marriage, in order to be a good wife and daughter-in-law, regardless of her belief as a Catholic, she still did her best to accompany her mother-in-law to temples to practice religious rituals. She would try to do what they wanted her to do; however, she still couldn't get their 'recognition'. Her ex didn't support her at the beginning. For example, in the beginning six months, she got up

early to clean the 150-square-meter house and then spent three hours cooking for the family. She is worried whether her ex-husband can support their daughter's tuition fee to college.

From the perspectives of cultural identity and self-identity, in Vietnam, she was regarded as ethnic-Chinese after she was born and even Chinese would be shown on her ID card. Vietnamese-Chinese is the ethnic identity of her identity and Canton is her ancestors' registration.

Her ex-husband thought that she would never be better than him, meaning that he looked down upon her all the time. Her ex-husband's mom also asked her not to tell other neighbors that she came from Vietnam; instead, she told others that she came from the south part of Taiwan. Therefore, she worked very hard to improve her Chinese and tried to get rid of some of her Cantonese accent while speaking Mandarin Chinese. She even spent six years studying at night school for junior high and senior high even though she already completed senior high in Vietnam.

As a Vietnamese-Chinese, it only took one year for her to gain citizenship compared with other Vietnamese spouses needing four years. Whether or not they want to have citizenship or have permanent residence is hard to say. As for knowledge empowerment, she thinks that free language lessons sometimes will lead a lot of Vietnamese spouses not to seriously spend their time studying since they do not have to pay the tuition fee. All in all, without speaking good Chinese or reading Chinese, the second generation will be affected, she strongly recommends that Vietnamese spouses should learn Chinese well.

However, a bill was passed requiring primary school teachers to hold a bachelor degree, so she left the school because she doesn't have a college degree.

She is a person with a lot of ambition. Besides, she is open-minded and active to participate in a lot of activities held by the government such as belly dancing,

make-up, and wooden gifts like lunch box containers, and purses. She is native in Cantonese, Vietnamese, and Mandarin Chinese in addition to being good at English.

The future prospect of her life in Taiwan:

She hopes to enter a university to complete her bachelor degree, thereby making it easier to find a full-time job. She would like to choose social work as her major because she hopes to become a certified tour guide or a certified social worker in the future.

The market of tourism has been getting very competitive, so she hopes to pass the exam as soon as possible. She personally wants to be a tour guide for Chinese tourists since a great number of Chinese tourists visit Taiwan or to take Taiwanese tourist groups to Vietnam since she is native in Vietnamese.

Besides, it is also one of her dreams to be a certified social worker to help those in need. However, it will be a difficult challenge because first she has to spend four years in college and then prepare for the test to become a social worker. In order to support herself and her daughter, she will try every way she can to have a better life.

4.4 Case three-JE3

Three interviews were held on Sep. 24, 2008, Jan. 17, 2009, and Feb. 21, 2014 at her eatery. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interviews.

Life in Vietnam before migration

JE3, born in a small town in South Vietnam in 1974, is the second daughter with one elder sister already married to a Taiwanese while another elder brother and two younger sisters are married to Vietnamese living in Vietnam. Her dad already passed away 13 years ago. Currently, her mom is living with her brother's family in Vietnam.

Born in a family running a grocery store selling daily commodities and vegetables, she is proud that all of her family members are very good at doing business. While she studied the second year in a senior high nearby her hometown, Tây Ninh, about two hours from HCM City by car, her cousin living in Taiwan introduced her to a Taiwanese. She sometimes needed to help the family to do farming work or sell groceries and vegetables. Therefore, she also learned a lot of selling skills and communication skills from her family business.

After both her sister and then her cousin married Taiwanese, most of the news from them was good because they rarely mentioned negative news to her mom or her aunt. Thus, the thought of her marrying a foreigner and immigrating to Taiwan was not a bad idea because she had never had a chance to go abroad.

Asked whether or not she would feel scared about the life in Taiwan, she declared,

“...[I didn't] really. . . feel worried upon arriving here, for I could count on my kinship to get some support.”

Additionally, she regarded this transnational marriage as a dream and hoped this dream to be realized like in the Taiwanese dramas, in which most of the people seemed to have a good life in Taiwan. Despite knowing that there were also many negative problems in Taiwan, she had a good impression of Taiwan.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

There was first a process of validation through photos and then an arranged date in Vietnam before completing the lengthy process of marriage. Despite the fact that all

of them were introduced by their relatives or friends living in Taiwan, this kind of marriage process didn't spend much time on dating in Vietnam. This is another type of marriage through the social networking of their sisters or friends living in Taiwan. She married her Taiwanese husband right after she was graduated from a high school by way of the introduction of her cousin, who is also married to a Taiwanese and is living in a nearby community in Taipei. Her perspective mother-in-law knew her cousin, so at first, her cousin introduced her sister; however, the man did not like her sister's appearance. That's why her cousin introduced her to her husband, thereby letting her have an opportunity to come here as a foreign spouse.

While she was studying in the senior high, she felt the life was very boring. Even though she had many friends, she didn't have a boyfriend. Never had she thought about marrying a foreigner until she was introduced to her prospective husband through the exchange of photos. As soon as JE3 sent a photo to her prospective husband, she was offered a proposal in 1998 by her prospective husband who is 13 years older than she. However, since she hadn't finished senior high and also couldn't get married before 18, her husband waited for one more year and then went to Vietnam to marry her in 1999. Because her cousin told her that her future fiancé looked much younger than what he was, JE3 decided to give herself a chance to move abroad and treated this transnational marriage as a kind of 'traveling overseas.' Besides, she was unemployed right after graduating from the school, so she decided to tie the knot with him and move to Taiwan.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

Upon arriving here, she found the atmosphere in her family was not very harmonious compared with that in Vietnam. In addition, she felt disappointed with her family situation such as the relationship with her mother-in-law and her husband.

Since her mother-in-law was very bossy, smart, and diligent, they had some misunderstandings at first but eventually their relationship got better because of more interactions and communications. JE3 expressed,

“...I didn’t like my mother-in-law at first because my husband only listened to her and my husband was unemployed at that time, so I felt sad then. With my husband’s working and my having more chances to communicate with my mother-in-law, I find my mother-in-law is very diligent and intelligent regarding how to do some investment. I have learned a lot from her.”

Her husband was working as a courier and was very shy, and he always listened to what his mother said. However, she did not need to send any remittances back home because her family’s financial situation was not bad.

Being disappointed that her husband was unemployed at the time, she eagerly tried to find a part-time job outside not only because she didn’t like the atmosphere at home but also because she could make some extra money for her own needs. In addition, she thought,

“Running her own store could be a lifetime career.”

Before she ran her eatery, she not only had some experience of doing business in Vietnam but also used to be a helper at a Taiwanese-run breakfast café. She thinks she learned a lot from the owner and indeed she taught her a lot about how to set up her eatery. She does not have to remit any money back because her brothers are taking care of her mom and dad. JE3 asserted,

“As a foreign spouse, I need to work harder to prove that I can overcome some discriminatory norms like communication skills in Mandarin, social values, and our ethnic food from local people. Therefore, we open the eatery 7 days a week and our meals are inexpensive and delicious to attract more loyal customers to our shop. Thus, I have been sharpening my speaking ability in Mandarin by more practice with my son.”

Regarding some difficulties while living in Taiwan, JE3 thinks Chinese is still her weakness especially writing and reading. Because she is running a culinary business, accumulating more loyal customers is very crucial. Therefore, her eatery is open year around except two weeks for her to pay her mother a visit during the summer. She really does not have spare time to advance her Chinese comprehension.

However, she has learned a lot from her customers through so much interaction with them; therefore, her listening and speaking comprehension have been much improved. She thinks most of her customers are very respectful of her original nationality, so she has never received any complaints about some Vietnamese posters hung on the wall or Vietnamese music turned on all the time.

In order to attract local customers, her menu only offers a very small amount of Vietnamese-style breakfast items with the majority of Taiwanese-style breakfast items. Regarding their lunch menu, she adds a lot of Vietnamese-style dishes because the breakfast accounts for 80% of the revenue; therefore, they only dare to try for another 20% of the revenue at lunch. JE3 expounded,

“In order to let our local customers feel a bit exotic as if in Vietnam, I put a lot of posters with Vietnamese icons such as ladies wearing Vietnamese national dresses or many Vietnamese breath-taking scenic spots.”

Generally speaking, her business is pretty good compared with other similar eateries run by the local Taiwanese because most of them will take a break on weekends or Sunday. She thinks only her eatery will be open on Sunday. In short, she thinks that she has good genes passed from her mom, so she can run a culinary business successfully in a very competitive area in Taipei.

Speaking of experiences of racial discrimination, she only has had a few. Whilst going shopping, the clerk sometimes will intentionally or unintentionally ignore her because of judging her facial expression or her Mandarin with strong foreign accent. Even though she suffered from some discriminatory norms regarding her Vietnamese ethnicity, she would never try to hide her own original ethnic identity. Moreover, she will work as hard as she can to prove what she can do. What she likes to do is to make herself feel more confident and also make her mother-in-law and her husband have different attitudes toward her.

She has taught her son some words of greeting in Vietnamese, but whenever his grandma saw her teaching her son, she was not very happy because she said he would get confused and mixed up with Mandarin.

Her ethnic identity will always belong to Vietnam, and since she has a son with her blood, she thinks she is also a mother of a Taiwanese. Therefore, she is partly becoming a Taiwanese if she wants to say that.

As she said before, her mother-in-law basically forbade her to teach her son Vietnamese; however, she is still very interested in chatting with him in Vietnamese, especially if he has chances of going back to Vietnam with her during his summer vacation.

She thinks her Mandarin has been improving not only by talking to her family members but also by communicating with so many people such as her customers, and her Taiwanese friends. On the other hand, she thinks that she has got used to hearing

Taiwanese even though it is still hard for her to speak this language. That's why she already accepts Taiwanese as part of her identity since she has lived here for over ten years and knows the local languages.

At home, her mother-in-law talks to her son in Mandarin and his grandfather talks to him in Minnan-i, one of the Taiwanese dialects. However, she is very proud of her son because her son thinks that he is half Vietnamese because his mom is from Vietnam. As a Vietnamese living in Taiwan, sometimes she feels sorry or embarrassed about her countrymen's behavior. For example, a large number of undocumented caretakers are Vietnamese. Besides, she doesn't wear her national dress because she does not feel comfortable while wearing her dress here.

Because of one of the school regulations, she used to wear national dress when she studied in senior high for three years. Even though she seldom has a chance to wear her Vietnamese dress, she still mostly listens to Vietnamese songs and music in Taiwan.

After becoming a boss, most of her counterparts are envious of what she has accomplished saying how well she has done it. As a result, more and more Taiwanese respect her, especially a lot of the disadvantaged or the minorities living in Taiwan love to show their patronage. Based on several observations inside her eatery,

“JE3 kindly asked one customer about what happened to his leg and this customer seemed to enjoy sharing his suffering with JE3.”

“...[A]n aboriginal girl helping her mom to run a car-washing store opposite to JE3's eatery often has breakfast and chats with JE3 and her coworkers.”

As to the empowerment that she has, before she opened her café, she used to be a helper. Her former boss is a Taiwanese, but she always treats her as one of her friends.

She is such a nice lady. She told her as a boss,

“You must have a sense of closeness to others, so it is important to find topics to chat with others, especially to those who need special attention like the old, the poor, the minority, and so on.”

Speaking of her marriage, she honestly said that she never had the thought about marrying a man living in such a far country from her natal home. She has always thought her marriage appears to have been an accident in her life. She thinks every Vietnamese woman coming here and marrying a local man wants to have a dependable and loyal husband, so she doesn't have to face a lot of hardship working outside, and instead, she can stay at home taking care of her kids and family.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan

As to her culinary business, she hopes that the number of customers for lunch will increase because she is very ambitious and confident of her ability.

She has a 14-year-old son who is studying at junior high. One thing she worries about is that her son is always playing video games with his dad, so she is not very happy about this. However, since she is always busy, it is difficult for her to have plenty time to supervise his study. At this stage, she only can send her son to an after-school center to have other teachers help him study.

Since she works so hard seven days a week without any break except the time when she goes back to Vietnam with her son for about ten days once a year, she would like to go somewhere like Kenting, famous for beautiful beaches, located in the southern tip of Taiwan and other scenic spots to which she has never been.

She has done some investment in Vietnam through her mom as a proxy, which

she thinks is a good way to connect with her natal family and country.

Aside from travelling in Taiwan, improving Chinese is also one of her goals in the future because she thinks Chinese is very important, especially reading and writing. She is dreaming to help her son to read more Chinese or Taiwanese stories in Chinese in the near future.

4.5 Case four-WU4

The interview was held on Feb. 4, 2014 at McDonald's and Feb. 22, 2014 in the living room of WU4's home. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before the migration

WU4, a 47-year-old Vietnamese spouse, was born in a farming village in the southern part of Vietnam in 1967. She married her Taiwanese husband at the age of 37; with 10 years of marriage, her husband, who married her when he was 53, is now 63.

WU4 was introduced by one of her cousins, who is married to a Taiwanese man by way of a marriage agent. WU4 only saw her husband's photo and knew some of her husband's background from her cousin, and then decided to marry him. With her cousin's introduction, she decided to come here to escape the poor and harsh conditions in Vietnam. She has one daughter, aged 9 and she has an elementary school background. She helped her mom since she was young.

After her dad, aged 51, passed away twenty-three years ago, she used to be one of the major bread winners along with her mother to take care of her younger sister and brothers. When she turned 37 years old, she then moved to Taiwan ten years ago. She is a bit shy, pessimistic, and withdrawn; however, she is very confident in cooking Vietnamese cuisine. She is a native speaker of Vietnamese and cannot speak

very fluent Mandarin Chinese.

WU4 was born in a very traditional big family in a farming village in the southern Vietnam. When she was born, her dad served as a soldier for the U.S., and her mom needed to take care of all the farming including growing rice, vegetables, and fruits. As the civil war got more serious, life also became tougher and tougher. She was the eldest daughter with three younger brothers and one younger sister. Her dad used to serve as a soldier to help the U.S. fighting against North Vietnam before 1975, so her dad was put in jail for three years after 1975, when North Vietnam united Vietnam and established a communist state in Vietnam.

At that time, she was only 8 years old; she already needed to help her mom to do the farming and take care of her sister and brothers. Currently, her three younger brothers have already got married, but her sister, aged 37, is still single.

Before she was 37, she had never thought of getting married until one of her cousins introduced her current Taiwanese husband to her when she was 37. She mentioned that her life is 'bitter' at least 5 times.

Besides, shouldering the responsibility for her mother and the rest of her younger sisters and brothers is what she had to do to show her filial piety as the oldest daughter since her father already passed away when she was 20 something. With help from one of her aunt's daughters, she got to know her prospective husband and then soon married him. Her cousin married a Taiwanese man by way of a marriage agent two years before she came to Taiwan.

Her husband is one of the relatives of her cousin's boss, who used to run a restaurant, and her cousin used to work there as a helper. WU4 felt life was harsh and was tired of working on the farm and in the fruit orchard because she couldn't make a lot of money even though she sometimes carried vegetables and fruits to HCM City to sell; however, it took at least four hours for her to take a bus to HCM City, which

made her feel hopeless.

Therefore, from time to time, she would be envious of her cousin marrying a Taiwanese man and moving to Taiwan, where she could make more money. She used to cook for the whole family and made dresses for herself or other people; therefore, she was very confident of her cooking skills and tailoring skills. She used to help people sell food or vegetables, or sometimes she would bring some vegetables and food from her hometown to sell to the city folks in HCM City. Her friend let her live with her in her small apartment in HCM City.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

First after the process of validation through photos, they then had an arranged date in Vietnam before completing the lengthy process of marriage. Compared with the second type, despite the fact that all of them were introduced by their relatives or friends living in Taiwan, this kind of marriage doesn't spend much time on dating, and the scene is in Vietnam instead of Taiwan. JE3, KI5, and PA6 all belong to this type of marriage. This is another type of marriage through the social network of their sisters or friends living in Taiwan.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

She is living with her husband and their only daughter, aged 9, studying at an elementary school on the first floor of a three-story house owned by her husband and another two brothers, who already moved out. Their house is located in a much older area in the southwest area of Taipei.

She used to study Chinese in a night school at an elementary school for two years; she didn't have to pay any tuition fee to study these basic Chinese lessons

because all the lessons were paid by the government.

Since she moved here, she has been a full-time housewife at home, but she used to work part-time before she started running her small grocery store at her home. Besides, since she is very confident and good at cooking Vietnamese cuisine, she often caters Vietnamese cuisine for some activities sponsored by various organizations. She showed a lot of photos of cooking classes, where she was very confident that she not only learned a lot of Taiwanese or Chinese dishes but also shared what she knew about Vietnamese cuisine. She really loves to show her talent for cooking Vietnamese food and tries her best to introduce it to Taiwanese people.

She is also very good at tailoring dresses, especially traditional Vietnamese dresses, representing her natal country, Vietnam. She also showed some photos of some occasions where she wore those Vietnamese national dresses she made by herself. What she earns is used to help to pay living costs because her earnings and her husband's earnings are pooled together. She doesn't have a lot of Taiwanese friends because most Taiwanese can't understand her Mandarin Chinese with a strong Vietnamese accent; this also made it hard for her to find a job because of the problem in communicating with Taiwanese customers.

Therefore, she will spend most of her time cooking Vietnamese cuisine ordered by her customers. She pays more attention to working, so she really does not have time to make a lot of Taiwanese friends.

Whenever she goes back home, she will bring some Taiwanese stuff like Chinese angelica for her mom and family members and cook it with pork. Her mom was at first rejected to come to Taiwan because she couldn't pass the health check; but after she regained health, she came here for a month. When her mom came, she felt very cold in the winter and they took her to 101, Keelung, and other scenic spots. WU4 also likes to bring Taiwanese shampoo back home as presents for her friends

and relatives in Vietnam.

Given that the prices of daily commodities are getting higher and higher in Vietnam, sometimes, it is much cheaper to buy things in Taiwan. She can't get used to the cool weather in Taiwan after arriving in Taiwan; oily foods or sweet foods are not to her taste.

Asked whether she likes to be regarded as a Taiwanese, she laughed saying that a lot of Taiwanese have the stereotype that she is an Indonesian or Vietnamese laborer because of her dark skin color. She said that she wouldn't mind telling other people that she worked here instead of being a Taiwanese wife. To her, it doesn't make any difference how other people think of her role in Taiwan. She only cares whether she can make more money and have a better life with her family. Asked what she would do if she were to get a lot of money, she said that she wanted to run her own restaurant without any hesitation.

Regarding how she can get to know some Taiwanese culture, she said that she didn't have time to watch any Taiwanese TV programs not only because she needed to do a lot of house chores and cook for the whole family but also because she can't completely understand their contents. She would like to see local TV stations aired in Vietnamese even though there are already some radio programs in Vietnamese.

Her husband is a Buddhist but she is Catholic; however, it is okay for Catholics to hold incense to pray to Buddha. WU4 said that she can arrange well the time for her religion and her husband's religion. Even though she needs to hold incense to pray to the Buddha, her heart is always on Jesus. There is no conflict between Buddhism and Catholicism; however, it seems against the principles of Protestants to burn incense. Catholicism must be more tolerant.

One thing that she does not like or can't figure out is why neighbors living in the same community in Taiwan are not that close and helpful to each other, whereas

neighbors living in the nearby community in Vietnam will definitely help each other. The bondage of the community in the city of Taipei is waning compared with that in the countryside in other parts of Taiwan. The indifference between people is a common scene in a big city. However, some neighbors are very helpful to her, so she sometimes will cook some Vietnamese dishes for them to show her appreciation.

The part in Taiwan she likes is that “as long as you work hard, you can make money.” However, in Vietnam, it is much harder to find a job and also much harder to make a lot of money. There are a lot of customs or festivals brought by Vietnamese-Chinese. For example, Vietnamese would like to eat a lot of fruits during Dragon Boat Day. Only Vietnamese-Chinese eat rice dumplings.

When feeling lonely, she will try to call her mom by a telephone card. She would like to eat a lot of Vietnamese food to get rid of her homesickness. It is okay for other people to wonder about who she is. The people will treat her better when they know she married a Taiwanese man. Some Vietnamese migrant workers will say that they are Taiwanese wives because they won't be doubted as to being part of Taiwan and other local people will be more respectful. According to news reports, many run-away Vietnamese migrant workers will pretend that they are the spouses of Taiwanese men to get rid of bad associations and bad image. She loves to cook Vietnamese food including spring rolls, Vietnamese-style sticky rice dumplings, which are often eaten during the Vietnamese New Year instead of Chinese Dragon Boat Day in Taiwan. She won't do anything that her Taiwanese husband doesn't like. For example, her husband loves to eat what she cooks. However, she won't add any fish sauce to the meal she cooks because her husband doesn't like fish sauce as he thinks that he has high blood pressure.

She and her husband will often accompany their daughter to the park. Her daughter likes to ride a bike and take a walk. Besides this, she and her husband

seldom exercise. Her husband will accompany her anywhere, indicating that their relationship is pretty good and harmonious. She has tried to put some Taiwanese ingredients into Vietnamese cuisine. Her best dishes are spring rolls and Vietnamese noodles; she has tried to cook very authentic food for Taiwanese people, but there is no good place for her to do this and she feels very regretful about this.

She still needs another person to help her while running a restaurant, and her home is not a good place because of the lack of potential customers. Perhaps she needs to find a good location in New Taipei City. All the recipes are done from memory, and she will try to make a dish once. In case she failed, she would try a second time till it tastes delicious. She likes to be her own boss instead of being hired by other people because she doesn't like to be supervised by other people. It would be more flexible for her to own a restaurant, so she could take a break whenever she likes if she feels tired.

She has attended a lot of activities such as cooking lessons and costume shows. After the first grade, girls in Vietnam need to wear their national dress. She sometimes wears national costumes to some activities to express her identity. The traditional Vietnamese conical bamboo hat combined with wearing a national dress is a very unique symbol during the show.

Vietnamese dance emphasizes delicate hand signs instead of big movement. Speaking of some good parts of Taiwanese culture, WU4 thinks that service in Taiwan is much better than that in Vietnam; she considers service to people is a part of Taiwanese culture. Respecting their customers is regarded as part of Taiwanese culture. Besides, the social well-fare to the poor is also much better than that in Vietnam. As to R.O.C. citizenship, it was not until 5 years ago that every foreign spouse needed to choose to convert her Vietnamese citizenship to Taiwanese; that is being naturalized or choosing to hold a foreign residence certificate allowing only a 6

month stay in Taiwan and then going out and coming back.

With a much darker complexion, WU4 is mistaken for a migrant worker from Indonesia. She said that it didn't offend her regarding whether local people think she is a Vietnamese or Indonesian. In addition, if being considered a migrant worker, local people won't feel threatened thinking that she will only stay temporarily while foreign spouses are often labeled as a 'gold digger' coming here with some ulterior purpose.

WU4 described,

“Whenever other people ask whether I am a migrant worker or not, I often tell them yes I am because I am fine with that statement; and it won't affect me at all. What I want is to live here peacefully, raise my daughter up, and have a better life.”

After 2009, Vietnamese spouses have another choice to hold permanent residence status instead of giving up their Vietnamese citizenship; therefore, more and more foreign spouses have chosen to hold permanent residence. The people with permanent residency can have better welfare than that of Vietnamese spouses holding R.O.C. citizenship.

With the contact by phone from her cousin saying that she wanted to introduce a Taiwanese man to her, WU4 never thought too much about it before because she was way too old and wouldn't dare to give it a try. She felt a lot of pressure in Vietnam; therefore, she just wanted to get out of the pressure of financial difficulties. WU4 thought she was given a chance to work in Taiwan to help relieve her family of some financial pressure by sending some remittances back home.

In order to confirm her belief in Catholicism, she and her husband went to a Catholic church to be witnessed by a priest. Asked whether she would choose Taiwan again, she said, “Taiwan is a good place to live and work.” Taiwan is very convenient,

and some people are very kind. She believes in “her own destiny” belonging to Taiwan, so she would choose Taiwan even though she had encountered a lot of hard times during her marriage.

The most difficult things she thought at the beginning of her marriage were getting a part-time job, and there was a little obstacle between her and her husband. She had help from her cousin, meaning she was very lucky because of the connection compared with other Vietnamese spouses introduced by marriage agents without any friends or relatives in Taiwan. Therefore, she eventually learned how to cope with the daily life.

As to her Taiwanese husband and her daughter, WU4 thinks that her husband was not respectful of her at the beginning stage of their marriage; this thought is echoed by a lot of new foreign spouses who feel the same way. Her husband paid more attention to their child. As long as she was okay, he was fine and often neglected the needs of his foreign wife. All the blame was put on her if their kid did something wrong. He sometimes would look down on her as a foreign wife and foreign mother. Of course, she felt discrimination emerge as a foreign wife. Compared with other Taiwanese husbands towards their Vietnamese wives, she felt that she deserved more respect and thoughtfulness instead of complaining and blaming.

WU4 needs more concern from her husband. Asked why her husband got married so late, WU4 said that her husband was engaged to a Taiwanese woman before his mom fell down some stairs, thereby making him abort the engagement because of the sign of bad luck at the engagement. Her husband used to work as a construction worker when they got married, and her parents-in-law had already passed away when she married him. Now, he has already retired because he turned 63 and could not meet the requirements of that job needing a lot of physical strength.

Now, he is responsible for picking up his wife and their daughter. The hobby he

has is to sing karaoke at home; especially he loves to sing Japanese songs. WU4 sometimes will join in Karaoke but she loves to sing Vietnamese songs instead of Taiwanese songs or Chinese songs because she still can't recognize most Chinese characters even though she took some Chinese lessons for almost two years after she moved here. She thinks that a lot of people can't understand her Chinese with a strong accent. Her husband doesn't make a lot of money from investing in the stock market, which she doesn't understand at all. After moving here less than a month, she started working part-time at home like wrapping betel nuts.

The reason why she had to work part-time is that her husband's job wasn't very steady, so she didn't want to get the money from him. She would rather count on herself, and she would not like to dine out. She used to run a small eatery at her home for two years. Since the business was not that good and made her tired, her husband also suggested that she should close the store. Her husband went back with her to Vietnam at the beginning of their marriage, but then because of financial reasons, he rarely went back with her, and he thought Vietnamese was too difficult to learn. Her husband is not very religious and seldom goes to the temple except for worshiping his own ancestors. Rarely does her husband exercise, but he does like watching TV, singing karaoke, and analyzing the trends of stock markets.

She cherishes her daughter very much and regards her as her precious child; therefore, she has to wait for her to grow up and then she can really concentrate on her cooking business.

Her daughter doesn't like to speak Vietnamese, and she will teach her when she grows older. She took her to Vietnam before and she learned some phrases. She is a bit shameful to tell other classmates that her mom is Vietnamese.

She thinks she is supporting her husband and her husband also agreed with what she said about this point, which impressed me a lot during the whole interview,

showing that a lot of Vietnamese spouses bring their virtues of working hard and diligently in Vietnam and continue them in their life in Taiwan.

Even though her husband still often jokes with her or disagrees with her, this type of communication has been part of the strength to make their relationship even closer and better, said LU2, one of WU4's best friends in Taiwan. Compared with those beginning years when her husband used to be the sole breadwinner, WU4 as the only breadwinner now, has empowered herself by totally controlling the finances of the whole family as well as having the authority over her husband to decide some big family affairs, for she thinks it will be much easier and take less time for her to make more money instead of her husband, who already retired and is getting old.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan

She wants her husband to make more money and then she can rent a place in a commercial area to run her own restaurant because her own house is located in a residential area where there are not too many potential customers nearby.

There are many Vietnamese women marrying Taiwanese men in her village; however, not all of them could send remittances back to help their families build new houses. WU4 said that she belongs to a poor family and wishes to help the family. Definitely, she would like to help her family by running a restaurant here. If her husband gives her some money, she will buy a plane ticket for her mom to pay them a visit.

On the contrary, if her husband doesn't have money, she won't consider getting any money from him. She rarely sends any remittances back home to help her family. She also wants to make some Vietnamese snacks in Taiwan and to introduce these desserts to the Taiwanese. She would like to make some dresses, but there is not a lot of profit in it. If she has money, she would like to run a grocery store and restaurant. It

will make her happy if other people eat the food she cooks. If she has more time, she would like to take some “Chinese lessons”. She hopes the government will have more classes for foreign spouses to attend and classes for their children. She would like to use the internet to market her Vietnamese food and hand-made dresses.

4.6 Case five-KI5

The interview was conducted on March 29, 2009 at her eatery. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before migration

KI5 was born in 1973 as the eldest daughter in a poor family with 8 children in a farming community, located in central Vietnam. Her dad used to run a family business selling farm produce and groceries; hence she learned how to do business from her father. After she graduated from junior high school, she didn't study further because the family needed her to earn some money to support her brothers and sisters. Therefore, she not only helped her family business but also learned how to cook Vietnamese cuisine from a local restaurant as an assistant. As a result, she learned the skills of selling goods and cooking Vietnamese food. As the eldest daughter, she wanted to dedicate herself to being a pioneer for her family in Taiwan and wanted to send more remittances back home. She is a very independent person with a lot of leadership skills and good at socialization with a good understanding of Mandarin.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

The subject lived in a house offered by the marriage agency and attended

arranged dates with potential husbands. She decided on those proposals from these men. If the decision was confirmed, then a formal wedding reception would be held before processing the legal paperwork.

She married her husband who is Taiwanese through a marriage agency in 1994 and one year later, one of her younger sisters also married a Taiwanese gentleman through her introduction. However, if a woman fails to find a husband in two months, she will be liable to pay the cost of board and lodging to her marriage broker. PA6 and ME7 also belong to this type of marriage.

The main reason why she married a Taiwanese is that she needed to make more money because she could not make as much money while working in Vietnam. She thought there was better financial security in marrying a Taiwanese than just working in Taiwan because her working permit would be valid for just three years.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

After arriving in Taiwan, she started having some disputes with her husband and her mother-in-law because of different values, religious rituals, and generally different opinions about how to raise her daughter. When her daughter turned 3 years old, she separated from her husband in 2001. She has her daughter's custody, so her daughter has been living with her since 2001. In 2007, she finally divorced her husband and started an eatery still running until now. In 2008, she was looking after her daughter, 10 years old and started to look after her sister's son, 5 years old, because her sister also got divorced in 2003 and moved to the U.S. the year after.

Her daughter is a very diligent girl and very thoughtful. Most importantly, her daughter can communicate with her in Vietnamese. Compared with other foreign spouses, she feels proud and assured because her daughter is not completely Taiwanese. Most other Vietnamese spouses don't win custody of their respective

children after filing for divorce with their husbands.

She has been running a middle-size Vietnamese restaurant with at least 6 tables which can accommodate up to 20 customers at a time. There are three karaoke rooms which can accommodate 5 to 6 customers in each room. She has been managing this eatery since 2007 right after completing the paperwork for divorce with her ex-husband. The restaurant is located in Xinzhuang, an industrial area in New Taipei City.

Regarding the eatery with 3 karaoke rooms, she thinks there are many functions allowing this eatery to offer a place for Vietnamese spouses to relax. These spouses can be themselves by eating their own cuisine and singing their own songs which reflect their cultural identity. During the weekends, many male migrant workers from North Vietnam will come to kill time. From time to time, she is able to introduce genuine Vietnamese foods to the local people which is also a good way for them to understand Vietnamese food culture. She thinks her aptitude for running this eatery is an important factor. Secondly, she has had to spend more money on her equipment such as the KTV speakers and other equipment, which should be of high quality if she wants to attract more patronage. The third factor is that she must have a variety of great foods which are not only delicious but also at reasonable prices. As to whether or not she has felt any discrimination because of her physical features, outward appearance and dress sense, she has definitely suffered discrimination because of her accent, dress, and Vietnamese food, which is why her eatery can't attract too many local people.

She bought her house by herself and is currently paying the down-payment. During the interview at her house, she was very proud of her own property and her business in addition to having a very considerate daughter who can speak Vietnamese fluently. She got divorced from her Taiwanese husband ten years ago.

There are several factors for KI5 to have to work so hard for her family. Firstly, she has a very considerate daughter to accompany her, which lets her feel secure and proud because she already got divorced from her husband. Secondly, as she said, compared with most of the next generation in a transnational marriage, it is not that common that their daughters can speak fluent Vietnamese. The main reason is that most of the children are under the custody of their Taiwanese husbands after divorce. Therefore, she cherishes this precious opportunity with her daughter. Thirdly, she is living in her own house instead of renting a house, which gives her and her daughter a completely safe and pressure-free environment to live in. It is quite rare to own a house if a Vietnamese spouse gets divorced.

Speaking of how to maintain her Vietnamese cultural identity, she said that she doesn't like to stick up posters, decorations, or pictures regarding Vietnam because she loves to live in a clean house. In addition, she thinks that running her own Vietnamese-style eatery is not only for making money to support her and her daughter in Taiwan but also for her and her business partner to have a stable place where she can retain her cultural identity by cooking authentic Vietnamese foods; some of the ingredients are imported directly from Vietnam . Another way to enhance her Vietnamese identity is to listen to a lot of Vietnamese music and appreciate a lot of Vietnamese movies at her own eatery. The role of this eatery serves as a kind of venue where a lot of Vietnamese spouses and Vietnamese migrant workers can get together and shape their identity by eating Vietnamese foods, chatting in Vietnamese, and listening to or watching Vietnamese songs or films (Safran, 1991; Brubaker, 2005). A lot of her own country folks can get together for peer support to relieve a lot of pressure from their work, family and Taiwanese society.

Regarding her suggestions for those who suffer from a broken family and economic hardship, she thinks a lot of Vietnamese spouses who either got divorced or

separated, need more money because they are addicted to gambling and materialistic ostentation; therefore, they even need to become involved in the sex industry. Having the custody of her daughter after getting divorced is the major reason for her to reflect on her process of acculturation into Taiwanese society.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan

She wants to go back to Vietnam to take care of her parents and then come back here to live with her daughter. Her daughter is very mature and she can communicate with her in Vietnamese. She always feels proud of her. She will eventually invest money on land in Vietnam, so she can retire there.

On May 10, 2013, I interviewed KI5 again and at the beginning, she was surprised to see me again and told me that her daughter is going to enter a junior college of nursing in Xin-dian this coming summer. This didn't make her very happy because she would have liked her daughter to become a police officer instead of a nurse. However, she eventually accepted this decision and wished her daughter luck after thinking that to become a nurse is not a bad idea because it is not that difficult to find a long-term job as a nurse in Taiwan.

4.7 Case six-PA6

The interview was held on July.15, 2013 at her nail-beautifying store. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before migration

PA6's family is made up of her father, a Vietnamese-Chinese, her mother, an ethnic Vietnamese housewife, and three children including her, her younger sister and

brother. PA6 is very independent and ambitious besides being good at social skills. She is a native speaker of Vietnamese and fluent in Mandarin Chinese. Even though her father is a Vietnamese-Chinese, she still identifies herself as a Vietnamese because her mom is Vietnamese.

PA6's father is a blue-collar worker occasionally doing odd jobs like painting and helping at construction sites. They used to live in the fifth district of Ho Chi Minh City where most of the Vietnamese-Chinese live. Right after their grandmother passed away several years ago, her father and other uncles living in Vietnam and aunt living in the U.S. decided to sell the house and split the assets.

After inheriting some of the property, her parents decided to move to Tay-Ninh province to grow some rubber trees, which has turned this province into the most prosperous area in the country. Planting rubber trees to produce rubber juice as a raw material is a very lucrative farming business. Therefore, many local people enjoy unrivaled riches compared with other provinces.

Before coming to Taiwan, she used to work for a marriage broker and helped a lot of Vietnamese women meet Taiwanese men. She was responsible for the Vietnamese women who were to meet Taiwanese men, while her boyfriend, a married man, was responsible for recruiting single Taiwanese men in Taiwan and taking them to HCM City. Therefore, she knew Taiwan is a good place for her to make money. In order to work in Taiwan and make more money to help her family in 2006, her boyfriend helped her to arrange a fake marriage with a Filipino-Chinese possessing R.O.C. citizenship.

Regarding her cultural identity and ethnic identity, she thinks that although her father is a Vietnamese-Chinese, her mom is a Vietnamese, so she still identifies herself as a Vietnamese since she was born in Vietnam.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

PA6 used to work in a marriage agency, so she often had a lot of opportunities of knowing many agents in Vietnam and in Taiwan. Since she was more interested in working in Taiwan rather than marrying a Taiwanese, she had a sham marriage to a Filipino-Chinese who was living in Taiwan and then she moved to Taiwan. Additionally, PA6 needed to pay her fake husband fifteen thousand dollars each month. When she moved to Taiwan, she lived alone and started running a Vietnamese-style eatery, including two karaoke booths with the financial help of a local Taiwanese.

She seldom speaks Chinese with her family members even though her dad taught her Chinese previously. However, because she can speak a little bit Chinese, she used to work as an assistant for a Taiwanese male agent, who used to be her boyfriend. If it hadn't been for his advice, she wouldn't have considered coming here and trying to apply for an R.O.C. Identification Card.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

A couple of months after she arrived here, she opened a restaurant in an industrial area because the area has a big number of factories and several industrial districts, which consequently could attract many guest workers and Vietnamese spouses. At that time, her restaurant with several KTV booths was very popular with both local workers and many migrants such as Vietnamese migrant workers and Vietnamese spouses. Since a Taiwanese man knew that PA6 had a sham marriage, he decided to court PA6 and help her to set up the restaurant.

One year later, she closed this eatery because the life of running this kind of eatery is very laborious and time-consuming. Additionally, she frequently had to deal

with many complicated affairs with a lot of blue-collar workers, especially getting drunk and fomenting trouble.

Right after she opened her eatery, Mr. H worked in a big company as a sales manager and started dating her. One year later after closing the eatery, she opened a nail-salon shop with the support of Mr. H. Since his factory was very close to her store, he would accompany her every morning and lunch time.

During the time she spent with Mr. H, even though she knew he was married, she still couldn't find anybody else better than him. They often took trips around the island and went back to Vietnam together. However, her residence expired in Nov. 2009 because she was already divorced; therefore, Mr. H told her that he would try his best to arrange for someone to go to Vietnam and marry her before March, 2010. She hoped she could get citizenship as soon as possible because without citizenship, she wouldn't be allowed to have employment insurance.

She gave birth to a son in Oct. 2010 and she has avoided being sent back to Vietnam because her son possesses R.O.C. citizenship; therefore, she is able to stay in Taiwan. It will take her five years before she is entitled to R.O.C. citizenship, whereas it only takes three years to obtain an I.D. card if a Vietnamese spouse still maintains her marital status with her Taiwanese husband.

Apart from her father still living in Tay-Ninh province, located in southwestern Vietnam, her mom has been illegally staying in Taiwan more than two years to take care of her son, PA6's brother. Since the fine of overstaying is the same, NT\$10,000, no matter how long one overstays, her mom decided to keep living here as long as she is not busted by immigrant officials or the police. Currently, her mom is living with her sister and is not working because she can't speak fluent Chinese. Her mom doesn't want to go back to Vietnam because she has become used to the convenient life in Taiwan, and also she can easily see her daughters, son and her only grandson in

Taiwan.

Her younger sister has been illegally staying in Taiwan for several years after she stopped learning Chinese in a university and now is illegally working in Taipei. PA6's younger sister has been enjoying the life in Taiwan; however, it is hard for her sister to work with PA6 because her sister's working attitude doesn't meet PA6's expectations. Her brother is currently working in a factory which produces towels in Xinzhuang district, New Taipei City. This is another famous area with many factories associated with traditional industries requiring heavy and intensive manual labor; it attracts many guest workers or foreign spouses, mainly coming from Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam. He now is living with a divorced Vietnamese woman.

Compared with Vietnam, all infrastructures are more advanced, and the life here is more convenient and better. The city life in Vietnam is unbearable to her especially the sound pollution from the cars and motorcycles. Even though Taiwan also has a huge number of motorcycles and cars, few car drivers and motorcycles riders will honk their horns all the time.

One of the important reasons for her to apply for citizenship was that she wanted to be entitled to benefits such as having employment insurance. Starting from Dec. 2009, employment insurance will cover all foreign spouses who haven't got their ID cards to the age of 65.

Apart from taking care of her son, she is very busy and satisfied with her work, which consists of manicures, pedicures, massaging, and make-up. She has empowered herself with what she has learned from Vietnam and with the communication skills which she has learnt from her customers and friends in Taiwan. She also knows how to read Chinese and understands what's happening around her, which can help her smoothly communicate with her Taiwanese customers, which accounts for

ninety-percent of her patrons.

On the other hand, although she has a lot of Vietnamese friends here, she has to be very cautious of what they want from her. Some of them have wanted to borrow money from her because they know she can make sixty to seventy thousand dollars per month, compared with their average earnings which are around twenty thousand dollars per month. Honestly speaking, her job requires her to work long hours which easily hurts her hands while massaging customers and touching a lot of chemicals. Most of her Vietnamese friends borrow money from her because of gambling, which seems very common among Vietnamese spouses.

One of her Taiwanese friends who married a Japanese husband used to gamble at a casino for the purpose of winning money for daily life necessities. Gambling at a casino in Japan is a legal activity while it is illegal to gamble in Taiwan. The major reason why Vietnamese spouses are involved in gambling is mostly related to the pressures from life.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan

Since she is not married at this time, she has the right to pursue her happiness even though her son's father chooses to maintain his marital status. Without any promise from her son's biological father, she has been dating a thirty-five year old Taiwanese man. Even though this man is not that rich, at least he is single, so she can see a promising future with him.

As the eldest daughter in the family, PA6 has not only played the role of pioneer for her family by moving to Taiwan to find another kind of life but also set up financial support for other family members like her sister, brother, and mom. She is planning to buy a house instead of paying rent to run her own business. PA6 has cleverly started using the money she earns in Taiwan to invest in Vietnam. She

already sent a lot of remittances to one of her cousins and lets her cousin purchase some land on her behalf because PA6 already has canceled her Vietnamese nationality and is now in the process of applying for Taiwanese nationality; according to the law in Vietnam, foreigners are prohibited from possessing land.

All of her family members are living in Taiwan except her father; he doesn't want to come here because he enjoys getting together with his friends in Vietnam and the life in Vietnam, and is used to the odd jobs and planting rubber trees. The reason for him to move to Tay-Ninh was that he used to complain about different kinds of pollution such as air and sound pollution in HCM City, so he took advantage of the money he inherited from his mom and moved to the countryside. In Tay-Ninh province, he is enjoying his retired life in a quieter and peaceful place.

PA6 sometimes feels discriminated against because of her accent, appearance, and dressing style. She feels life is hard here, and she would not have been that lucky if she hadn't met Mr. H. Currently, she is taking care of her three-year-old son with the support from his natural father, Mr. H has tried to offer her several million dollars to take the custody of her son. However, she will not do that because she loves her son very much.

4.8 Case seven- ME7

The interview was held on Feb.23, 2014 at WU4's home. Mandarin is the language we spoke during the interview.

Life in Vietnam before the migration

ME7, a 33-year-old Vietnamese spouse, was born in a farming village in Bac

Lieu, in the very southern part of Vietnam, in 1982. Her educational achievement is senior high school. Her family financial situation belongs to the lower class, and it is impossible for her to travel around with her family members. She married her Taiwanese husband at the age of 20 and has had 13-years of marriage so far; her husband was 30 at the time of marriage and now has turned 43.

ME7 was introduced by a marriage agent based in HCM City. ME7 saw her current husband once during an arranged date and then decided to marry her husband only having some limited information or background knowledge from her marriage agent. She has one son aged 13. Even though she is a full-time housewife, she is quite independent due to the mobility of riding her own motorcycle. In addition, she is very confident and optimistic when it comes to managing their marriage. As to the command of languages, besides being a Vietnamese native speaker, she can also speak fluent Mandarin Chinese and Minnan-i, one of the major Taiwanese dialects.

There are parents, two elder sisters and two younger brothers living in Vietnam. She is the only person in her family living abroad. Her hometown is about a seven hour drive from HCM City and is known for its fishery and some farming produce.

Right after she finished her senior high, she planned to move to HCM City to continue her study in a college; however, due to economic reasons, she aborted this goal. She made the highest educational achievement from senior high compared with her two elder sisters who only graduated from junior high. Her family used to run a grocery store to make a living. After her two elder sisters got married and moved out, her parents made a living by fishing and growing some agricultural produce.

Being asked why she married a Taiwanese, she said that one of her neighbors who married to a Taiwanese man told her that marrying a Taiwanese was not a bad idea. Besides, she disliked her remote hometown and wanted to go out and try her luck. Therefore, her neighbor introduced her to a marriage agent in HCM City. Before

she headed for the marriage agent, she did ask those who were married to Taiwanese whether they had a better life or not. She often heard that most of the girls married to Taiwanese men were living in the rural areas instead of big cities in Taiwan.

With the strong desire to go abroad, she decided to give it a try preferring to marry a Taiwanese living in the city rather than in a rural village. She then moved to the agent's home and lived with at least a dozen young girls. The boss and his wife know Taiwan very well because one of their daughters married a Taiwanese man. Cooking lessons were offered right after she moved in with the agent, and Chinese lessons were not provided until the girl was chosen, so the husband-to-be needs to pay the lesson fees for his future wife.

However, those lessons will only last for two months, so she can only learn some basic Chinese phrases, insufficient to communicate with her future husband. With such a highly competitive marriage market in HCM City, on average, a Taiwanese man will meet at least a hundred girls and then he needs to pick 3 out before he finally decides to choose one overnight. She said that she was lucky to be picked out among such a big number of competitors at that time. Having an unsuccessful marriage which only lasted for two months, her prospective husband almost gave up returning to Vietnam again; therefore, her future husband insisted that he should decide his ideal wife instead of listening to his mom's opinion as he did the first time.

Her mom was worried about her marrying a foreigner who had some mental problems and thought she was so brave to act in this way. Actually, when her parents went to HCM City to attend her wedding, they both objected to this marriage. However, she thought that if her husband was normal, it would be easier for her husband to betray or mistreat her; on the contrary, it would be more likely her husband would treat her better than if he were normal.

Additionally, the marriage agent told her that her future husband lives in a big

city. That was a relief for her, because she didn't want to live in a rural area anymore! In order to escape from the poor condition and seek a better future, she became more agreeable toward this marriage. Before her husband offered her a proposal, a 50-year-old Taiwanese man also offered a proposal but she turned him down because of the big age difference.

Another reason for her to accept her husband's proposal was because the marriage agent said if she did not accept a proposal she needed to pay all the cost of board and lodging; therefore, she took the risk of accepting her husband's proposal even though it was apparent to see some abnormalities in her husband. During the two-month stay, she saw many Taiwanese men who were either physically-handicapped or mentally-handicapped; even so the marriage agent still urged her to find a person to marry.

The channel through which she met her prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot

ME7 indicated that the time to process a transnational marriage between a Vietnamese woman and a Taiwanese man will take around 2 months. A Taiwanese groom needs to fly to Vietnam three times to complete all the paperwork, and each time requires at least one week to a fortnight. After a Vietnamese spouse emigrates to Taiwan, she needs to reside in Taiwan at least half a year during her first year's residence; and then, it will take another three years to be naturalized as a R.O.C. citizen after she shows proof of termination of her Vietnamese citizenship.

She lived in the marriage agent's house for two months. A lot of activities were arranged like attending arranged dates with Taiwanese men, and then deciding on whether they would accept the proposal of the Taiwanese men or not. After accepting the proposal, a wedding party was held before processing the paperwork. However, if

a woman failed to be chosen in two months, she was liable to pay the cost of board and lodging to her marriage broker. KI5 and ME7 belong to this type of marriage. This type of marriage also involves a social dimension connected to their friends in Vietnam.

Life in Taiwan after the marriage

She is living with her parents-in-law; and now she and her husband have a 13-year-old son studying in a prestigious private school. In her family, since her husband suffers from a syndrome of slight mental retardation, her parents-in-law put a lot of concern on her and hoped that she would adjust herself well to living in Taiwan. Her husband runs a pork stand taken over from his parents in a traditional market.

There are some of family traditions including treating their friends to tea and singing karaoke at home. Regarding karaoke, her father-in-law and her son like to sing some Chinese songs, but she doesn't like to sing and can only sing a few Chinese songs.

The common language in their family is Minnan-i, one of the major Taiwanese dialects besides Mandarin Chinese, so her son is very fluent in Taiwanese, and so is she. She has a lot of exposure to a Minnan-i-speaking environment from her parents-in-law. Because praying to their ancestors is one of the major religious rituals in her family, she has learned a lot from her mother-in-law and is very good at preparing all the food tributes to their ancestors.

Right after her mother-in-law suffered from illness ten years ago, she herself could handle all the details of the religious rituals and cook all the food tributes. Most of the tasks of taking care of her mother-in-law are taken care of by her father-in-law, so she still has some spare time during the day. Her husband and father-in-law are both against her working part-time outside because they are worried that she will be

affected by other Vietnamese spouses. She mentioned that several Vietnamese spouses living nearby often argue with their Taiwanese husbands or even have already gotten divorced after working outside. Instead, her husband gave her complete authority to budget the family finances, which made her abort the idea of working outside.

Her husband also provided one half million NT dollars for her mom to build a new house after she gave birth to her son. Her father-in-law is worried that she can't teach her son, so her father-in-law encourages her to study at the school and also has transferred his grandson from a public school to a prestigious school where a lot of after-school lessons are offered to relieve her pressure of teaching her son. Her son is going to enter a junior high this coming summer, and sometimes her son teaches her Chinese. She felt relieved to see her son grow up healthy albeit her husband suffering some slight mental health problems. Since her husband is very busy with the pork business, her father-in-law often drives them around the island. As to "religious ritual practice" in her family, she mentioned that her brother-in-law has provoked his parents because he is a Christian, so her brother-in-law won't eat any food offered as tribute to the ancestors and also won't burn incense.

In a nutshell, she really appreciates the life she has and thinks it is a "big change" for a girl born in a poor family in a remote Vietnamese fishing village. She feels grateful of the care and love from her husband and parents-in-law. She thinks her husband is very smart and careful with money while doing business in spite of having some speaking difficulties. She thinks it is unfair for a lot of Vietnamese spouses to be judged by appearance, so she feels lucky to have made this wise decision. After communicating with her husband, her husband quit smoking and drinking as some kind of 'exchange.' She would like to tell other people that her husband is a Taiwanese. It is a compliment to her when people say she speaks Mandarin Chinese

fluently.

The future prospects of her life in Taiwan

Having total empowerment in family finances, she is very satisfied with the current situation. Her husband also has promised her that she can help her Vietnamese parents find a better place or a place close to HCM City in the near future; however, it will take time to persuade her parents to do that because her parents are worried about leaving their hometown and having some trouble getting used to other places.

ME7 hopes that her son will become more independent while studying at that famous private school from elementary school to senior high school in Taipei. As to her future plans, she would like to learn how to drive a car because her husband is unqualified to learn how to drive and her father-in-law is getting old, so other family members support the idea that she can learn how to drive except her son, who says that she would encounter some troubles since there are too many cars on the road, and it would be hard for her to understand those complicated routes for her reading comprehension is not that good. Therefore, whether or not she should learn how to drive is still a question to her.

Speaking of travelling, she has been to Hong Kong so far, and her family is planning to travel to Japan this year. Compared with other foreign spouses, she thinks that she is so lucky to have married her husband and to have moved to Taiwan; therefore, she still believes that marrying someone disadvantaged does not absolutely mean having a miserable marriage. Besides, a good marriage sometimes depends on mutual understanding instead of unilateral contribution. Contrary to ME7's opinion, LU2 thinks mutual understanding before marriage doesn't guarantee that your marriage can have a happy ending or result. LU2 already got divorced ten years ago, and she thinks sometimes understanding your partner too much is not a plus but rather

is a minus. LU2 would like to think ‘managing a marriage’ sometimes needs more the feeling of affinity or the luck by which people are brought together rather than just mutual understanding. LU2 thinks that her previous marriage based on a romantic course of action was not a positive advantage despite the fact that she had understood her ex-husband before deciding on marriage.

4.9 Summary and Discussion

Among the 7 respondents, 6 of them, PE1, LU2, JE3, WU4, KI5 and PA6 are working; ME7, a full-time housewife, doesn’t work outside because her husband and father-in-law do not want her to work outside. As Chen (2005c) said, many Vietnamese spouses are asked to work inside the home or have their own businesses or are prevented from working outside because of the worry of being influenced by other spouses; therefore, some of them not only need to be full-time housewives to take care of their children but also need to attend to their parents-in-law if they are sick or frail. If they have their own business, these Vietnamese spouses still need to give their parents-in-law a hand. Even though they get paid, they still have to play three kinds of roles: mother, wife, and care-taker at home, and the worst situation is for them to serve as unpaid reproductive laborers (Lan, 2006). Even though ME7 is a full-time housewife, she is the only respondent who can speak fluent Minnan-i because of a lot of communication and interaction with her parents-in-law and customers patronizing her family’s three-generation pork stand. As ME7 said,

“My husband can only ride a 50 cc motorcycle, which just needs one to pass a written test. But I ride a 125 cc motorcycle, which requires both a road test and written test. I always ride my motorcycle to pick up my son or my husband, so they need my help a lot in daily life because my husband’s motorcycle is not authorized to take another person.”

From this statement, it can be assumed that ME7 needs to take care of her son and her husband.

As to working outside the home, the case of PE1 shows that as long as a foreign spouse advances her local language ability, she will have more opportunities to enhance her social status by being promoted to a higher position. The same situation also happened to LU2 even though she suffered from the consequence of having divorced her husband. With the advancement of her mastery of Mandarin Chinese, she found a job to teach many Taiwanese children, which is something most foreign spouses cannot do because being a teacher to supervise Taiwanese children requires a lot of trust from the Taiwanese students' parents. In order to meet a lot of students' parents needs, LU2 still takes some Chinese lessons during her spare time and also studies with her six-grade daughter. As LU2 said,

“In order to stay here to take care of my daughter, I will try my best to be a competent language teacher to teach Vietnamese and Mandarin Chinese. When other people ask me where I am from, I will now say that I am a Taiwanese instead of a Vietnamese-Chinese.”

Among the 7 respondents, there are four of them, JE3, WU4, KI5, and PA6, who are either managing Vietnamese-style eateries or nail salons. Therefore, opening a business seems to be a strategy to ascend the social ladder. Ka (1993) similarly found that “it is impossible to promote the less educated in a bureaucracy, so 82% of the informants believed that to be one's own boss was the best way to be successful” (Wang, Hong-Zen, 2001, *Ethnicized Social Mobility in Taiwan: Mobility Patterns among Owners of Small-and Medium-Scale Businesses*, *Modern China* 2001; 27; 328).

In order to make a living in Taiwan, a lot of foreign spouses take advantage of their cultural capital such as different talents like cooking, selling, nail-beautifying, and massaging to open their own ‘Diaspora Community,’ where a lot of social capital will be gathered and then be converted into economic capital. For example, JE3, WU4, KI5, and PA6 are running their own stores and also enjoying their achievement through interacting with both local customers and Vietnamese customers. The more interaction with local customers or local groups, the more social networks they will gain and the more cultural capital they will build up. As KI5 recalled,

“Right after getting divorced with my husband, my income was so meager from working in a factory. Therefore, I took all my savings to open this eatery because I was so confident that I could cook more genuine Vietnamese food than other eateries could. Even though we only take a day off on Monday, I do not feel that tired because the business is pretty good, and above all, cooking my hometown cuisine has made me get rid of my homesickness and let other Vietnamese spouses or migrant workers have a place to eat, chat, listen to music, watch movies, sing Vietnamese songs, etc., which has made me and other Vietnamese friends feel great too.”

JE3 also commented,

“...[I]t is kind of a torture for me to stay at home because I learned how to cook and how to socialize with others when I lived in Vietnam. When I came here, I started feeling a kind of inharmonious atmosphere existing at my husband’s home, so I decided to find a job outside the home. I want to save as much money as possible for myself. Since my parents in Vietnam are not poor, I do not need to send any remittances back home; therefore, all the money I save is just for my retirement life

and my son.”

PA6 said,

“In order to help my sister, and brother to live in Taiwan, I am working very hard from Monday to Sunday. Most of my customers are locals, so my speaking ability in Mandarin has improved a lot. On the other hand, opening this nail-beautifying store not only lets me save some money but also helps my Vietnamese friends get together. Since I am taking care of my son, I feel great to teach my son some simple Vietnamese phrases while most of my Vietnamese’ friends wouldn’t do the same thing to their kids if they didn’t get the permission from their husbands or parents-in-law. Therefore, it is one of the advantages of being single here.”

CHAPTER FIVE

CROSS-CASE STUDY FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, seven cases of Vietnamese women were described in terms of four life phases including: (1) life in Vietnam before the migration, (2) the channel through which they met their prospective husband and eventually decided to tie the knot, (3) life in Taiwan after marriage, and (4) future prospects in Taiwan. Each case shapes not only the routine but also a unique process of immigration through marriage while also illuminating the more profound meanings behind the motivation to immigrate. After analyzing each case, two themes emerged, social identity and cultural identity, which attach weight to this phenomenon of transnational marriage.

Through cross-case analysis, this chapter provides the points of convergence and divergence among the seven cases regarding the first theme, social identity and its second, cultural identity. Under these two themes, a number of dimensions are shaped and discussed within the following three sections. In the first section, the first theme called social identity includes the following dimensions: (a) Personal Abilities and Traits, and (b) Remittances and Organizational Affiliations. In the second section, the other theme, cultural identity, includes the following categories: (a) Filial piety as the eldest daughter and daughter-in-law, (b) Holding incense and Male heir in a Taiwanese family, (c) Dual and dynamic personal identity—A process of acculturation, and (d) Culture fusion: Food and karaoke. In the third section, the discussion of the maintenance or management of transnational marriage will be summarized.

Generally speaking, examination of a group's social identity and cultural

identity cannot be shown from only responses to questionnaires or on the other hand from only interviews and observations. Thus, a mixed methods design in which quantitative questionnaires were used to get a general picture of the phenomenon followed by a qualitative investigation through interviews and observations, which in turn were used to explore the experiences of Vietnamese brides married to Taiwanese men.

Table 5-1

The demographics of seven Vietnamese Spouses in Taiwan

Pseudo names	Age	Yr. in Tn.	Birth place	Education	No. of Child.	Religion	Employment	Husband's ethnicity	Way of marriage	Current citizenship	Marital status
PE1 (eldest daughter)	37	10	Hay Long Bay (N.V.)	Senior High	0	Buddhist	Yes (factory Group leader)	Hakka	Romance as a migrant worker	R.O.C.	Married
U2 (eldest daughter)	37	17	HCM city (S.V.)	Senior High	1 (daughter)	Catholic	Yes (teacher at an after-school center)	Mainlander	Romance through uncle's introduction	R.O.C.	Divorced
JE3 (second daughter)	39	17	Đồng Nai (S.V.)	Senior High	1 (son)	Buddhist	Yes (eatery owner)	Hoklo	Sister's introduction	R.O.C.	Married
WU4	47	10	Vĩnh	Elementary	1	Catholic	Yes (cater)	Hoklo	Cousin's	R.O.C.	Married

(eldest daughter)			Long tary (S.V.)		(daughter)		Vietnamese food)		introducti on		
KI5 (eldest daughter)	43	19	Da Nang (C.V.)	Junior High	1 (daughter)	Buddhist	Yes (eatery owner)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced
PA6 (eldest Daughter)	31	10	Tây Ninh (S.V.)	Junior High	1 (son)	Buddhist	Yes (nail salon)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Divorced
ME7 (eldest daughter)	33	13	Bac lieu (S.V.)	Senior high	1 (son)	Buddhist	No (full-time Housewife)	Hoklo	Marriage Agent	R.O.C.	Married

Note. **N.V.=North Vietnam; C.V.=Central Vietnam; S.V.=South Vietnam; Yr.=Year; Tn.=Taiwan.

5.2 Social Identity

Social Identity Theory is used to understand the causes of intergroup discrimination experienced by Vietnamese brides. Tajfel and Turner (1986) aimed to identify the minimum conditions that would lead the members of an in-group to discriminate against or be in favor of the members of an out-group. Additionally, Walker (2005) stated that social identity theory is a personal concept formed by a personal identity like personal abilities and traits as well as social identity like organizational, religious, and political affiliations. Many happenings or turning-points collected from these seven cases of the lived experiences of these Vietnamese spouses can be interpreted and discussed showing the link to social identity theory.

Social capital plays a role as a social link inside a social system of exchange including the accumulation of cultural knowledge that enhances power and status. In addition, taking advantage of cultural capital can bring about benefits, like being awarded with status or being accepted, which will result in some degree of social capital afterwards (Bourdieu, 1977; 2008). Thus, after emigrating to Taiwan, many foreign spouses start taking advantage of their cultural capital (i.e., educational achievement, intellect, cooking or tailoring expertise, style of speech, dress, and physical appearance). These cultural reproductions are the result of many occasions both created by themselves and institutions and are often converted into social capital that makes them feel more confident and live with a better quality of life in Taiwan. Hence, cultural capital can be embedded into the context of social identity.

5.2.1 Personal Abilities and Traits

In LU2's lived experiences, there is a clear contrast between the perception of the individual self, a minority of Vietnamese-Chinese, and the group self, the majority Vietnamese. In order to increase her self-image as a Vietnamese-Chinese, she expressed some discriminatory notions toward Vietnamese, thereby, improving her social status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). While living in a small community with a majority of Vietnamese-Chinese in HCM City, LU2 was proud of her ethnic origin as a Vietnamese-Chinese, speaking Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese, which indicates she had a high socio-economic status.

“...We had two maids to help my mom and to take care of the kids when I lived in Vietnam; besides, we lived in a better region where only Vietnamese-Chinese could afford the housing.”

For the sake of showing in-group favoritism, the act of categorizing themselves by individuals is sufficient (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Here LU2 seems to express her favoritism towards Vietnamese-Chinese women's actions while expressing a negative sentiment to a similar action performed by Vietnamese women.

“... Knowing how to speak Chinese, I was confident to emigrate to Taiwan. However, I felt confused about why ‘they’ (Vietnamese women) dared to go to Taiwan without having any command of Chinese, so I was interested in this phenomenon and wanted to give myself a chance to try it out.”

PE1 shared her opinion about this trend of marriage migration, especially those coming from South Vietnam. She is proud of her origin and the way she got to know her husband; nevertheless, she is opposed to so-called arranged or forced marriages.

“I knew what I should do before deciding to marry my husband, so I spent some time working here and getting to know Taiwan. They (South Vietnamese spouses) have had a lot of problems adapting themselves to living in Taiwan; that's why at least half of them end up getting divorced or becoming addicted to gambling or some other bad habits due to their difficulties in managing their transnational marriages.”

JE3 shows her caliber in managing her business to increase her positive self-image as a Vietnamese spouse or a member of an out-group from the majority of Taiwanese customers or residents in her community.

“Right after knowing the fact that my husband was unemployed at the beginning of my marriage, I strived to empower myself socially, knowledgeably, and

economically. Besides, with the influence of my sister who also runs a business with her husband, I eventually set up my own business, which let a lot of my Vietnamese or Taiwanese friends show their respect to me. I can clearly tell the difference in the way they talked to me in the past and recently.”

Even though WU4 does not care about whether other people will take her for a foreign migrant or not, she still prides herself on her knowledge and creativity in cooking Vietnamese foods, and she criticizes the authenticity of Vietnamese foods cooked by other Vietnamese spouses. Showing her social identity is the way for her to gain confidence to offset some of her other flaws.

“I really want to find a suitable place to run my food business. It is hard for me to savor other Vietnamese foods because they are lazy to use some genuine ingredients imported from Vietnam. When it comes to Vietnamese foods, I become so obstinate and insist on some authentic materials; otherwise, it doesn’t make any sense for your customers.”

KI5 is the only case of the seven cases who owns her own house.

“...[Our] house is a place for me and my daughter to feel completely relaxed and have a good time after my six-days of work; therefore, I am very pleased to make this wise decision and now the price is already doubled. Despite having ended my marriage with my ex-husband, I understand that gaining more economic capital is the only way to make my social networks expand. I always persuade other Vietnamese spouses to save money instead of wasting it on some unnecessary commodities.”

PA6 exemplified some of her points.

“Since I came here by way of a sham marriage, I still had to pay my ‘fake husband’ every month. One of my friends introduced me to a Taiwanese man, Mr. A. Mr. A was around 60 and offered me financial support, let me manage an eatery, and hoped that I would eventually become his girlfriend. To me, he was too old and not very rich. I think I am both young and pretty, which makes him willing to support me and pursue me. After I started dating with Mr. H, a rich sales manager in a big company, Mr. A was very angry. However, since I was still married with my ‘fake husband,’ Mr. A couldn’t do anything about it except withdrawing all the financial support. Hence, with the financial support from my new boyfriend, Mr. H, I opened a nail salon, where I only needed to socialize and serve female customers, so Mr. H would feel much relieved.”

If PA6 did not possess such an attractive countenance, she would not have so many chances to have access to so many Taiwanese men that can help her to expand her social networks and economic capital. ”

Having been raised and educated in the society of Vietnam, these Vietnamese female spouses have brought their unique abilities or traits here by marrying Taiwanese men. Their special skills or idiosyncrasies include their educational achievement, cooking talent, language ability, values, religion and dress codes. From the seven cases of transnational marriages between Vietnamese women and Taiwanese men, many details or happenings are described and then interpretations are analyzed into different categories related to the theme of cultural identity.

Instead of being primarily applied to a national context, cultural capital is becoming popular among those who study abroad and gain distinctive educational

capital in a globalized world. Like the dimension in the context of cultural capital, this transnational cultural capital can also be called cosmopolitan capital (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa & Spittel, 2001). As PE1 said, her knowledge of Chinese and constant contacts with Taiwanese tourists initiated an opportunity for her to go to Taiwan.

“Even though I already knew some Chinese through my job as an assistant to a tour guide in my hometown, it was impossible to come here as a pioneer emigrating to a foreign country without the help from my ‘God mother,’ who is still maintaining a connection with my dad even though my dad hasn’t been active in the furniture trade for 6 years. Because of my God mother telling my dad and mom that she will take care of me, my parents felt relieved and approved of my study in Taiwan.”

The example of LU2 also proves the interplay between educational capital and social capital in Vietnam and in Taiwan.

“...My dad has donated a lot of money to local schools, which won him a large social network for his auto parts business. I have to admit without a good financial situation, it would have been impossible for me to learn three languages, Vietnamese, Chinese, and English. As a result, my language ability let me find a job in a cram school in Taiwan, where I need to show my competence to teach local children.”

JE3 stated what she learned from her mother-in-law.

“I find my mother-in-law is very diligent and intelligent regarding how to

do some investment, and I have learned a lot from her. I also asked my dad by proxy to buy some real estate for me in Vietnam.”

While interviewing WU4, she could not help but emphasize her cooking talents that she has brought from Vietnam. Even though she encountered some setbacks due to her poor command of Mandarin and her rather dark complexion in pursuing a job in Taiwan, she has been taking advantage of her competence to cater for Taiwanese and Vietnamese spouses or migrant workers as well.

“...Migrating to Taiwan has given me a brand new life since I almost gave up the thought of having a marriage in Vietnam at the age of 37. Therefore, I feel grateful that I am here to devote my ability to this society through my cooking skills, which not only helps me to know more people and earn some money as the solo bread-winner in my family but also enhances my confidence in living on this island.”

The kitchen is the world where KI5 can feed her family as well as other Vietnamese spouses or migrant workers.

“In order to help a lot of Vietnamese spouses or migrant workers get rid of their homesickness, I set up a Vietnamese-style diasporic community to offer them a pressure-free environment to chat in Vietnamese for some of them complained that they are prohibited from speaking Vietnamese in their work places. In addition, our TV is always playing Vietnamese movies that I brought from Vietnam and some other guests will choose to hang out in the karaoke booths to sing Vietnamese songs out loud to release their pent-up emotions.”

5.2.2 Remittances and Ethnic Identity

Providing remittances to their natal families offers an important way of generating a sense of social worth and respect in the community of origin (Fouon & Schiller, 2001; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). Through providing remittances, emigrant daughters gained enhanced status and power in their natal homes, thereby making some villagers in their hometowns express a preference for having girls to boys (Bélanger, Linh, & Duong, 2011). Aside from helping out, it is little known that some Vietnamese brides provide financial support in order to return various kinds of debts they possibly owed prior to their migration (Thai, 2008).

Ethnic identity derived from social psychology out of social identity theory, indicates that belonging to social groups like religious groups or occupational groups is regarded as a crucial basis for one's identity (Erikson, 1968). In constructing one's self-concept, having an affiliated membership is a key action because one's value and emotional significance are closely attached to one's membership. WU4 shows this with the following words.

“In order to pay the debts for my poor family, I borrowed some money, traveling to HCM City, living with the marriage agent's family and hoping to be chosen as a Taiwanese wife for the rest of my life.”

Davis (1941) and Merton (1941) developed exchange theories regarding intermarriage. This theory shows how minority group members marry majority group members to maximize their gains; therefore, minority members would be expected to trade their higher level of education or occupational status for higher social status. For example, this phenomenon is often seen when American Asian men marry white

women in exchange for a higher social status similar to the reasons why Taiwanese native males with a higher educational background marry women with a Mainlander background (Tsay, 2004). The following are several examples of the disparities between the people in the north and in the south even though Vietnam has been a united country since 1975. As one of the informants whose wife is a Vietnamese said:

“There being more political power in north Vietnam, most of women from the south can only choose to marry out instead of becoming a migrant worker unless they have some connection with migrant agencies in the north; furthermore, most of the prospective brides are from remote and poor areas, so finding a marriage agent in HCM City is a priority for them to have access to foreign grooms rather than going to the north to wait for a chance to be a migrant worker.”

PE1 explained why more southerners married foreigners than northerners.

“We northerners are more conservative than southerners; besides, we think it so important for us to contribute to our mother nation after studying or working overseas. On the other hand, southerners are living in the south, which has been open to the world for a long time, so it is very common to marry foreigners.”

LU2 and WU4 also felt resentful about the difference between those from the North and those from the South.

“Only those who were born in the north can be qualified as public officials or bureaucrats unless they marry a southerner, and then their next generation will be entitled to this right. As southerners, we feel deprived of our basic civil rights.”

Speaking of the political situation in Vietnam, PE1 cautiously said:

“As a northerner, I know exactly how corrupt the central government is and how it censors the press and speech of the civilian population; thus, I am grateful to have immigrated here through marrying my Taiwanese husband. Moreover, my younger sister is also enjoying her life here in terms of college study, working, and joining some religious gatherings.”

Sheu’s (2013) findings indicated that if a spouse is a foreigner then it is likely due to transnational marriage. Transnational marriages require a highly bureaucratized process, and finally the marriages cannot help but become state affairs. As long as they touch the issue of cross-border exit and entry, a transnational marriage is still absolutely a political issue. LU2 stressed another reason why she decided to marry a husband 19 years her senior only after three months of dating.

“In Vietnam, serving as a soldier is a ‘horrible’ obligation and experience, which has a very high possibility of getting killed or being abused to death for anyone, not to mention a minority group—Vietnamese-Chinese. All men who are 20 or older are obligated to serve in Vietnam, with my sending remittances back to my family, my brother could be waived of this responsibility through bribing some local authorities. Therefore, I kept sending remittances back home for ten years till my brother turned 30.”

One of the reasons why LU2’s mother-in-law did not like her is that she is a Vietnamese-Chinese with Cantonese as her mother tongue. LU2 remembers what her

mother-in-law told her.

“She reminded me that I should not tell any neighbor that I am Vietnamese but say that I am a girl from the southern part of Taiwan whenever they felt suspicious of my Mandarin with a strong accent. Therefore, I sometimes felt too frustrated and timid to go out. My mother-in-law also mentioned that she had been looking forward to having her son marry a mainlander from Hunan, China because she and her husband were born there and came to Taiwan after 1949.”

As a result, ethnic background seems to play a part within a transnational marriage because of the trust between those of different ethnic origins.

From their research, Davis (1941) and Merton (1941) conclude that the most significant characteristic of inter-marriage is status exchange, which also indicates a hierarchical ordering of groups. Fu (2001) points out that even if a husband is deficient in an unusual way, the husband's physical infirmity does mitigate the status of the wife's lower racial or socio-economic status. Thus, we see that Taiwanese men are usually much older and some of them suffer from signs of impotency. However, the social status of their Vietnamese wives is still enhanced through this transnational marriage because of a better social welfare and a quality education system offered by an imagined ‘Taiwan,’ which is a representation that grounds their husbands. On the other hand, many Vietnamese women with higher education prefer marriage to Vietnamese men with lower educational backgrounds, but who live in the United States (Thai, 2008). The advantages for an overseas marriage for these women are obvious. Yet, despite past research focusing on the hypothesis of status exchange, exchanging social status and national identity does not fully explain the situation of MOB in Taiwan. Currently marriage has been viewed as a partnership producing

commodities, such as children, status, insurance, financial and social support (Fu 2001). As ME7 said:

“Since my husband suffers from a syndrome of slight mental retardation, my parents-in-law have treated me very well to ensure that I will live with them because they are afraid that I will be like the first Vietnamese wife who ran away after staying just for a couple months. In addition, my parents-in-law pamper their grandson and ask me to send my son to a prestigious school with their financial support. My husband not only lets me manage the family’s finances but also has helped my natal family build a fancy house and even promised to offer some financial help to let my mom move to a better and more developed area close to HCM City.”

Along with some influential countries like the U.S., Japan, and the European Union giving R.O.C. citizens visa waivers, citizenship has turned into another asset for some of them to expand their social network and elevate their social status in the migrating world. As one of the informants whose wife is a Vietnamese said:

“... We are running a Vietnamese-style eater; there have been so much special news from our Vietnamese customers. I know a Vietnamese female divorcee regularly flies to Japan serving as a bar hostess in Tokyo since she is allowed to stay for three months at a time, and she definitely can earn more. Another story is that some Vietnamese female divorcees are using the internet to look for any chance to marry westerners or American Vietnamese.”

KI5 also said:

“After getting divorced with her husband, my younger sister married an American Vietnamese and left her son for me to take care of for three years before the custody went to her husband.”

Another informant is working hard to save more money at her nail salon because:

“...In order to save enough money to move to the U.S., I am working day and night; therefore, English will be one of my worries besides my son who is living with my ex-husband now. I still go back to live with my son after the work at my nail salon.”

With the chance to know some Taiwanese businessmen through her father, PE1 learned Mandarin Chinese as a tour guide in her hometown, Hay Long Bay, famous as one of the Seven Wonders of the World for its unique scenery. Therefore, she started having a lot of contact with tourists from Taiwan and thinking that having a good command of Mandarin Chinese could be another potential to assist her in the future. She decided to study Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan and work at the same time, thereby giving her a chance to meet her future Taiwanese husband that works at a post office.

LU2 mentioned that the main deciding factor for her to move to Taiwan was her command of Cantonese Chinese, which made her feel confident that she could survive well in Taiwan. She felt herself to be in contrast to so many Vietnamese women adventurously marrying Taiwanese without any knowledge of Chinese. LU2 recalled:

“On top of self-confidence and some social connections from my father and uncle, I thought that the social welfare in Taiwan was better than that in Vietnam, which is

also a major reason why many foreign spouses tied the knot with Taiwanese, who also were in a dilemma due to social status or age.”

In addition to having some connection with Taiwan because of language, there are still other reasons. For example, JE3 and KI5 treated marriage as travelling abroad to have fun with the support from an elder sister and cousin who already moved to Taiwan. WU4 and ME7 tried to escape from poverty and sent money back home to elevate their social status in Vietnam. Besides, they both were persuaded by a marriage agent whose daughter was married to a Taiwanese.

LU2 and ME7 also mentioned that only those citizens born in the north of Vietnam can serve as public officials in Vietnam; therefore, marrying a foreigner in the south of Vietnam is also an easier way to have a better future albeit there are a lot of unpredictable risks ahead. Instead of suffering from the unemployed or low income in their poor farming village, WU4 said she had no choice but to marry a Taiwanese man who is 16 years older than her because ten years ago she had already turned 37, an unmarriageable age in Vietnam. Recalling her previous family members, LU2 reiterated this by stating:

“Right after I married my husband, my mother-in-law suspected my intention to marry her son was because I was a ‘gold-digger’ after her son’s money....Even though I didn’t have a very close relationship with my ex-husband, I still hoped that the terms of endearment would get better if we had a baby, especially a son.”

ME7 has never worked outside the home and is a full-time housewife with total control of the family finances. Her parents-in-law not only have taken her to a lot of scenic spots around the island but also paid the expensive tuition fee for their

grandson to study at a very famous private school, where few students come from a background such as theirs. ME7 emphasized this:

“Actually I really appreciate what my parents-in-law have done for me even though I know their purpose is that they want to make up for their son and hope that I can wholeheartedly take care of the family.”

WU4 also showed her gratitude towards her marriage:

“I am very grateful for this marriage, especially to my husband because I never imagined that I would get married in Vietnam, let alone having a marriage to a Taiwanese husband at such an old age.”

PE1 also showed her gratitude, but in a joking way:

“...Even though my husband is getting bald, I still occasionally trim my husband’s hair because it is a good way to improve our ‘terms of endearment.’”

5.3 Cultural Identity

The formation of “I” has served as a primary focus of research for many sociologists, who explore how interpersonal interactions create an individual's sense of self. With the chance of interpersonal interactions with family members, colleagues, volunteers, and even their customers at so many different venues in the society of Taiwan, Vietnamese spouses’ self identity will also be strengthened and enhanced as they accept what they have at the current stage. Self identity is one of the four

dimensions pertaining to cultural identity in this dissertation, which attempts to uncover some of the connections between immigrants' identities as Vietnamese spouses and Taiwanese wives. Thus, how they define their identities or roles as Taiwanese wives while interacting with other Taiwanese or other counterparts in Taiwan is very critical to understanding more the conditions for them to develop their own ways to communicate with their family members or other locals. As we know, cultural identities play an essential part for self-identity (Bohara, 2000). Therefore, the following elements consisting of the 'cultural identity' of the seven Vietnamese cases will be elaborated upon. At the onset, 'cultural belonging' is defined as how to some extent Vietnamese spouses interact with their Taiwanese husbands or friends while living in Taiwan and then how they respond to or are affected either positively or negatively by both their Taiwanese husbands or the people around them that they need to negotiate with. This is what Orchard argues about the definition of cultural belonging (2002). Thus, after either interacting with their husbands or being affected by Taiwanese culture or the people around them, the way they see their roles as Taiwanese wives in the society of Taiwan is related to one of the constructs of self-identity, that is, cultural identity.

After following the acquisition of knowledge in relation to the culture in Taiwan, foreign spouses need also define their roles and existence in relation to their Taiwanese husbands and the society in Taiwan. Thus, cultural devotion becomes an important indicator in seeing how much an individual enjoys participating in the activities held either by the local government or one's diasporic community. Cultural integration will ultimately be defined in the dynamics of how these Vietnamese spouses become more acculturated or even assimilated into the society of Taiwan.

5.3.1 Filial Piety as the Eldest Daughter and Daughter-in-Law

In East and South Asia, women's care-giving responsibilities are framed by the concepts of filial piety and dharma, respectively (Chao, 2002). The notion of filial piety originated in China, and dharma is associated with Hinduism. However, these values have been diffused throughout these regions (McLaughlin & Braun, 1998). Filial piety is a reciprocal arrangement demanding obedience toward elders and those in authority in exchange for their benevolence and care (Holroyd & Mackenzie, 1995). Both concepts are shared in the notion that family and group need to take precedence over individual concerns. In the context of familial care-giving, caregivers are expected to enact their roles and gain satisfaction from their efforts to benefit the family (Neufeld, Harrison, Stewart, Hughes, & Spitzer, 2002). Hence, it is important to improve the understanding of migration from the consideration of social networks. Kinship ties play a key role to trigger chain-migrations following family members who have already migrated (Haug 2000; Palloni et al., 2001).

A very obvious tendency from the seven participants in this study is that Vietnamese spouses are the eldest daughters in the family. In fact, five of the seven cases were eldest daughters. For example, LU2 said:

“I thought that I served as a pioneer in my family to move to Taiwan; however, with so much unfair treatment and discriminatory norms I suffered from, none of my sisters or brothers would follow my step.”

KI5 echoed such sentiments:

“I felt sorry for my younger sister who followed me to Taiwan and married a

Taiwanese but ended up getting divorced. My younger sister later married an American Vietnamese through introduction from our overseas relatives. Even though she could not have her son's custody, I still felt happy for her."

PE1 and PA6 also pioneered moving to Taiwan, followed by their sisters; however, both of their sisters are studying and working instead of marrying Taiwanese. PE1 said:

"As the eldest sister in my family, I have a responsibility to take care of my younger sister; therefore, I suggested to my parents that my younger sister come here to study in a college with my financial support."

WU4 recalled what she had suffered when she was in her hometown:

"Since I am the eldest daughter, I really have spared no efforts to share the responsibility of feeding my other sisters and brothers. When one of my cousins called me asking me whether I wanted to marry a Taiwanese, there wasn't any second thought flashing into my brain to the contrary; I wanted to give it a try even though he was 16 years older than I was. At that time, I thought that the experiences of the harshest time I had gone through were unrivaled to anything, so I never felt scared while immigrating to Taiwan. Besides, my cousin was so helpful to make me feel secure."

Also PA6 has tried her best to play her part as the eldest daughter:

"As a pioneer, I knew how hard it would be for me; however, in order to help

my whole family including my mom, my sister and brother, come here to work or study, I worked very hard and even asked my younger sister to work with me. I felt sad that she didn't agree with my working ethic and attitude, so we stopped working together."

5.3.2 Holding Incense and Male Heir in a Taiwanese Family

Holding incense is a very crucial ritual to many Taiwanese families because Taiwanese treat "holding incense" as a religious ceremony to worship Buddha or other local gods as well as their deceased ancestors. Therefore, the practice is passed from generation to generation, and it would possibly enhance the Vietnamese spouses' Taiwanese cultural identity. The use of incense began being regarded as a religious ritual around 2000 BC in ancient China. There are many purposes to hold incense such as worship for ancestors (Herrera, 2012).

Hwang (1995) views marriage as a calculative transaction between a man and a woman. While examining educational backgrounds of Vietnamese brides or Taiwanese grooms, few will say that education was a determining factor. However, maximizing gains through emigration to Taiwan and finding a permanent job or situation will allow these women to provide financial support to their families in Vietnam; and on the other hand, Taiwanese men gain from such marriages because of the children that would come from them, thereby ensuring the family with a future generation, and a helpmate to improve family income. For example, PE1 said:

"My parents-in-law placed a lot of emphasis on praying to ancestors, Buddha and other local gods; therefore, one of our family activities is to visit many temples during the Chinese Lunar New Year or some holidays. Since I also did similar religious practices in Vietnam, I do not have the feeling that I am pressed to hold

incense.”

ME7 further provided an example:

“...Since my parents-in-law are running a stand selling pork, my mother-in-law stresses a lot the traditional ritual to pray to ancestors and gods, especially those gods related to our business. Holding incense is a must; otherwise, one is not qualified to be a member of the family. For example, my husband’s younger brother is a Christian, so he will never hold the incense or eat any dishes prepared for Buddha or other related gods. So my mother-in-law is sad and angry. Consequently, when his wedding was held, my parents-in-law refused to attend.”

All in all, traditional Taiwanese religious practices are very crucial in ME7’s family, and she has been very cooperative since she also was born in a very traditional fisherman’s family, where her parents also required her to hold incense when praying to Matsu, a goddess originating from China.

WU4 and LU2 also pointed out that even though they are Catholics, they are still willing to cooperate with the custom practiced inside the family. In WU4 and LU2’s words:

“It is lucky for us to have a Catholic church in our community, so we regularly go to church to join the mass on Sunday. We think that following the family culture like holding incense is indispensable for some Taiwanese families. Since we already have prepared some space for our own religion, holding incense won’t trouble us at all.”

Sometimes the women felt that a need to have a male heir outweighed the importance of their being a wife to their Taiwanese husbands. For example, JE3 said:

“My son has been spoiled by my husband because both of them are always playing video games together. I even envy their close bonding because I am always working.”

KI5 thought that her difficult relationship with her mother-in-law partly resulted from the fact that she gave birth to a daughter instead of a son:

“I had a daughter instead of a son, so they thought my daughter couldn’t continue the family line. That is the main reason why I have my daughter’s custody because they need a male heir.”

5.3.3 Dual and Dynamic Personal Identity—A Process of Acculturation

According to Vertovec (2002), community will be formed within many networks across different countries constructed by immigrants to meet their quests for better economic conditions and social recognition. By way of these networks, more and more people are capable of living dual lives. These transnational migrants often have a good command of two languages, mobilize easily between two cultures, always maintain homes in two countries, and look for economic and cultural interests requiring their existence in both countries. Therefore, a dual and dynamic personal identity will naturally emerge in the process of mobilization.

Most of the Vietnamese spouses indicate that their new life in their new country requires them to become a member of the new society, although they hesitate

to completely give up their ties with their home culture. Many of the cases expressed that they had worked hard to acquire the new language, to learn the new social norms, and to know about the new cultures in their “new homes.” As one of the cases explained:

“This is my new home and my real home now. My husband is a Taiwanese and my baby is a Taiwanese. Therefore, I am also a Taiwanese.”

However, some of them still expressed nostalgia for their native cultures and “homes far away.” On the other hand, some Vietnamese wives encounter little difficulty in negotiating Taiwanese cultural or religious rituals, since there is a great similarity between the practices in Vietnam and Taiwan, which can be easily explained by the 1000 year Chinese rule of Vietnam. Little wonder, the two cultural groups celebrate the Lunar New Year (*Tet* in Vietnam), the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Dragon Boat Celebration, and the Sweeping of Tombs.

ME7, a Vietnamese bride, describing her purpose in marrying her Taiwanese husband said:

“I want to help my family. My family needs a house and my brothers need to receive better education. My friend introduced me to an agent, through which I met my husband and married him. I feel good. I am happy I can help my family and be a nice daughter and elder sister.”

Likewise, JE3 said:

“I worked for a Taiwanese-run eatery for several years, and I learned how to

interact with Taiwanese customers and handle this type of business in this area. There are few Vietnamese spouses living in this area; therefore, the food I cook mainly targets Taiwanese customers. I feel very confident and proud when my customers say that I am very capable of cooking and communicating in Mandarin. Most of my regular Taiwanese customers treat me as Taiwanese, and even some of them would like to chat with me about their daily work at school or at the office.”

PE1 loves to grow some plants with her husband in their front yard; this is a good example of how she is enjoying her relationship with her husband:

“...Giving some of our home-grown vegetables to their or relatives or friends will always bring me and my husband a lot of joy, lets me have a sense of belonging toward the soil of Taiwan, and enhances the terms of endearment with my husband.”

LU2 used to treat the mastery of Mandarin as an expression of her belonging to the society of Taiwan; she explained as follows:

“After I filed for a divorce from my husband 11 years ago, I felt insecure about my ability to find a full-time job in Taiwan not only because I only have a certificate of senior high school but also because I was worried about my Mandarin with strong Cantonese accent. Both made me feel at a disadvantage while looking for a job in competition with other locals. Thus, I tried my best to assimilate myself into this society without making any friends from Vietnam. Not until two years ago did I find there were so many useful courses like cooking, language, and nail art at the public immigrant center. From then on, I have started actively participating in many courses at the public immigration center, where I have made a lot of friends from Vietnam

making my life more interesting and meaningful, especially meeting some Vietnamese friends who are Catholics. I think I am even happier than before because now I am more aware of a sense of belonging toward Vietnam, where I was born and brought up and the rest of my family are living now. “

Before PA6 was naturalized, she worried a lot about her identity:

“...This ID card symbolizes so much meaning to me because I cannot be entitled to many different kinds of social welfare, nor can I be insured without it. I think it is a must to purchase some other kinds of insurance to protect me or be a kind of savings.”

5.3.4 Culture Diffusion: Food and Karaoke

To Vietnamese spouses, food and language are two obvious cultural boundary markers which Vietnamese spouses like to share with others either from Vietnam or Taiwan (Lim, 2006). Many eatery owners say the main purpose of running their Vietnamese eateries is that they cannot forget their food and that sharing food with their people is also another important social event to share their collective memories. Another reason is the process of setting up an eatery in Taipei is not all that complicated, and the capital required to run an eatery is not large when compared with other businesses. Vietnamese food offers a wide variety of ingredients, which are not only strongly influenced by China, especially the southern parts of China, but also has some exotic tastes many Taiwanese locals enjoy. Therefore, Vietnamese food can attract both Vietnamese and Taiwanese customers. Besides the potential number of foreign spouses densely residing in the much smaller space of Taiwan, there are a large number of Vietnamese migrant workers living in certain industrial zones located

in the northern part of Taiwan.

Like many Chinese immigrants in the U.S., Lum (1996, p. 23) entailed that the role of karaoke has been articulated with Chinese American immigrant culture from the overall development of Chinese American media. Karaoke is seemingly not only a means of singing but also a way to transmit cultural identity, thereby helping immigrants adjust to their adopted country. As JE3 pointed out:

“Running my own business keeps me very busy; therefore, I often invite some of my Vietnamese friends to the eatery or a restaurant with karaoke booths to enjoy Vietnamese food and sing Vietnamese songs. Singing Vietnamese songs always makes me forget that I am living in a foreign land and always reminds me of my parents in Vietnam.”

It is presumed that working outside the home will decrease the extent of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration because of the lack of time for these economically-empowered Vietnamese women to interact with their husbands, children, and their Taiwanese parents-in-law, or vice versa. LU2 said that in the early stage of her life in Taiwan, she tried hard to adjust herself to meeting some of her mother-in-law’s expectations such as the way of cooking or the ingredients her mother-in-law used. She recalled:

“It was really a hard for me to follow exactly the way of cooking they used or the ingredients they always used to cook. For example, the way to scramble egg is quite different from ours, so is the use of onion as an ingredient too.”

PE1 thinks the ingredients of Taiwanese cuisine are more bountiful:

“Since I like to go shopping with my husband at a night market, I eventually accustomed myself to savoring some Taiwanese foods. In order to please my husband and his relatives or friends, I will try some cuisine fusions blending Vietnamese and Taiwanese ingredients, which is not only a lot of fun but also lets my friends get to know something about Vietnamese cuisine. “

As to the strategy of running their eateries, they have already created a series of mechanisms to boost their business: some eateries can only count on Vietnamese customers while others need to promote their business to local residents or office workers in their area. JE3 explained:

“I know that the revenue can not only count on the Vietnamese spouses in my community, so I focus more on Taiwanese-style breakfast rather than Vietnamese-style lunch because there are a small number of Vietnamese spouses living in the area, and almost no Vietnamese migrant workers are living here.”

One of the informants further stated:

“...How to improve the quality of our Vietnamese food is important because as long as the food you cook has a good quality, the local customers will show their patronage. Instead of products imported from Vietnam, I insist on using the ingredients made in Taiwan because the rice noodles will taste better and are much chewier. Since our eatery is located in the downtown, we need to attract more Taiwanese gourmets.”

KI5 likewise stressed:

“The food we cook is almost equal to the taste in Vietnam because without this genuine taste, it will be hard to attract so many Vietnamese spouses and many young male migrant workers in this industrial zone. We do not have a lot of Taiwanese customers here, so I have never thought about changing my menu by adding some Taiwanese or Chinese dishes to the menu as many eateries or restaurants do in some commercial or residential areas.”

Besides a significant racial marker—food, family-style entertainment is also another example related to culture fusion. PE1 stated:

“...During my spare time, I would like to make some tea with my husband and sometimes with our friends too. A tea party is regarded as one of our family traditions notwithstanding the fact that it is rare to have any experience of making tea in Vietnam.”

WU4 also likes to sing with her husband:

“...Singing karaoke at home is very relaxing; however, I seldom sing Chinese songs because of my difficulty in reading Chinese characters; my husband loves to sing Japanese songs rather than Chinese songs for he has been strongly influenced by his parents who were educated in Japanese-colonial times.”

JE3 says that she has played a Vietnamese-style Bingo recently to relieve some pressure after long working hours from 4:30 am to 2 pm, 7 days a week.

“I used to sing Vietnamese songs and have chats with other Vietnamese spouses; however, I found it a waste of time; instead, I will invite some close friends including Taiwanese friends to our eatery to play games after the work. It is fun to bet some money on the game, which will make the game more exciting. Since we do not bet a high amount, we do not consider it a kind of gambling.”

PA6 is now dating a single Taiwanese man, which she finds quite relaxing.

“I only take a rest on Sunday afternoon, so my boyfriend will take me and my son to some scenic spots. I personally do not care about my entertainment too much, but since my son loves to go out, I would like to do that. Besides, it will be great to see different places and get to know something different and eat something different.”

KI5’s favorite hobby is sleeping:

“I look forward to spending my Monday at my home, where I can sleep longer after working a whole week; besides, the business of my eatery is so good, so we have been open for 7 years and have not found any similar type of rival nearby”.

ME7 has been blessed with a lot of happiness compared with her other counterparts in terms of economic capital or resources.

“Even though my mother-in-law has been in rehabilitation at home for years, my father-in-law is taking care of her. However, with a full daily schedule, I can not leave home for more than three hours; otherwise, they will call me and ask me to

come back partly because they are worried that I will be affected by other spouses. I think one of my favorite hobbies is to ride my 125 cc motorcycle to pick up my son because my husband is only allowed to ride a 50 cc motorcycle because of his physical problem. Additionally, I am considering going to a school to learn how to drive a car since my father-in-law is getting old and my husband is also not qualified to drive a car.”

5.4 The Maintenance or Management of Transnational Marriage

Pingol (2001) indicated that a symbol of traditional ‘male masculinity’ is deep-rooted in the control of economic power and sex. Additionally, the theory of sex domination by Bourdieu (2001) explains the confrontation between masculinity and femininity, within which a conflicting relationship between superior class and subordinate class can be seen in many transnational marriages. Therefore, in the family, men often dominate in terms of authority whilst women dominate in terms of submission, reflecting male masculinity and female moral virtue in the management of the marriage. However, the utilization of their cultural capital and then social capital sometimes changes this confrontation between the stereotype of male domination and female submission in a traditional family. The seven cases show the dynamics and mobilization in the maintenance or management of a transnational marriage. PE1 gave an example of bad situation:

“...Her husband was addicted to a lot of bad habits before their marriage; nonetheless, he got rid of them after marrying her. A lot of his friends were very surprised and wanted to know how she could manage a transnational marriage so well.”

JE3 said:

“Even though I do not have a very close relationship with my husband, my mother-in-law is a person that I really admire because she has been teaching me how to invest and do business from her experience. As a result, our relationship is getting better, thereby making me feel that I need to remain in this family partly because of my son and partly because of my mother-in-law.”

ME7, a fulltime housewife, expressed:

“Compared with other spouses working outside, I can spend more time watching a lot of local TV programs, so I can speak both Mandarin and Minnan-i (one of the Taiwanese dialects). With these two languages, I sometimes will help my husband to sell pork and have casual chats with our loyal patrons. I can feel that most Taiwanese in this area do not have any hostility or discrimination against me. I think I have already acculturated myself to my family and the society of Taiwan. “

Of the seven cases, two have already been divorced for several years and have made some negative comments about their transnational marriage life. As LU2 stated:

“Since I am a Vietnamese-Chinese, I don’t have any difficulty communicating with my mother-in-law and my husband; however, since my mother-in-law had some biases against me such as my young age and my ethnic background, she never treated me well and always kept indifferent to me.”

No matter how hard LU2 tried to follow family cultural traditions such as

“holding incense” or “cooking Chinese-style cuisines” her mother-in-law and husband never gave her a feeling of belonging to the family. Moreover, as a religious Catholic, she already ‘compromised’ many of her own traditional family values in order to adhere to the traditional Taiwanese family. In a nutshell, she thinks it is not really easy to manage one’s family life without any support from her husband or mother-in-law.

KI5 also stated:

“... Because I couldn’t get the support from my mother-in-law and husband, my marriage ended up with having a divorce.”

These two cases illustrate that the mother-in-law is always a ‘key person’ affecting the management of family life in Taiwan. Asked how she manages her transnational marriage, ME7 said that:

“...The whole support from her husband and her parents-in-law has made me feel grateful. Of course, I am very lucky to encounter my husband who is loyal to me, and I also cherish this affinity between me and this family. Even though my marriage is full of happiness, I still think it is better to have a mutual understanding prior to deciding on such a transnational marriage.”

Besides giving birth to a male heir for her family, it is obvious that ME7 not only counted on her beauty at the very beginning but also expanded her personal abilities and traits to adjust herself to her family and the community surrounding her husband’s three-generation business. In order to manage a good transnational marriage, PE1 said:

“When it comes to the Vietnamese food I’ve cooked, not only my husband has saved my face but also his relatives, especially my husband’s sister and brother.”

PE1 husband’s relatives were always pleased to eat what she cooked, which made her feel proud and happy even though some relatives just wanted to give face to her husband. PE1 explained:

“I think ‘face’ plays an important role in a Taiwanese family, so it is important to a transnational family, which needs even more compliments.”

In order to make up for what ME7 did to help their family by marrying their slightly mentally retarded son, ME7 explained:

“My parents-in-law have been treating me very well right after I moved here for the past 13 years, hoping that I would get used to living in Taiwan and wouldn’t run away as the previous Vietnamese lady did to my husband.”

Speaking of how to manage her marriage, WU4 jokingly said that she had gone through several phases:

“I still remember that my husband was very snobbish when asking me to do this and that. Then, he changed his attitude to me after he lost all of his money in the stock market, so he started depending on me financially and has become my helper while I am cooking or making Vietnamese foods. Rarely has he said some harsh words to me lately; instead, joking with each other has added some spice to the management of our marriage.”

CHAPTER SIX

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The seven cases presented in chapter four and analyzed in chapter five exemplified a wide variety of forms of cultural identity and social identity cultivated by the Vietnamese spouses migrating to Taiwan through transnational marriages to Taiwanese men. Aiming to provide a data set regarding the identity development of Vietnamese spouses to complement the seven cases, in 2013, I conducted a survey to collect facts, statistics, and other related information. Using a snow-balling method, 200 Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan were asked to complete a questionnaire.

The object of this chapter is to report the findings gained from the questionnaire. The first part of the chapter provides the background profile of the 200 respondents including age, birthplace, education, foreign network, years of marriage, years in Taiwan, number of children, family composition, and whether they work outside the home or are full-time housewives.

The second part of the chapter reports the measures of the social and cultural identity of the Vietnamese spouses. The measurements are given in terms of four dimensions: cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration. Higher scores are suggestive of being more adaptive to these four dimensions of cultural identity. Interpretation of the questionnaire results used the following standard. Participants' level of cultural identity was determined through analysis of mean scores (see Table 6-1). Means were divided into five bands in which a mean score from 1.49 and Below was considered Low (Negative), 1.50-2.49 was

considered Low Intermediate (Poor), 2.50-3.49 was considered Intermediate (Mediocre), 3.50-4.49 was considered High Intermediate (Positive), and 4.50 and Above was considered High (Excellent).

Table 6-1

Interpretation of Mean Scores

Level	Mean Scores	Interpretation
High	4.50 and Above	Excellent
High Intermediate	3.50-4.49	Positive
Intermediate	2.50-3.49	Mediocre
Low Intermediate	1.50-2.49	Poor
Low	1.49 and Below	Negative

Next, the correlation between the cultural and social identity in terms of various variables is examined. Results of the quantitative data analysis are given in response to the five research questions guiding this dissertation. Initial interpretations are also given based on the quantitative data and supported by excerpts from the qualitative interviews with the cases. This chapter finally ends with a summary of the results.

6.2 The Respondents

In accordance with the latest statistics from Ministry of Interior (Ministry Of Interior, 2014), the percentage of transnational marriages between Taiwanese and foreigners is about 13.46% while that of the marriage between Taiwanese is 86.54% during the year of 2013. Among the 177,886 transnational marriages, the percentage of couples with one Vietnamese bride or groom is about 18.3%, representing 2,638 Vietnamese comprising 2,554 Vietnamese women and 84 Vietnamese men. The ratio between couples of Vietnamese women and Taiwanese men and couples of

Vietnamese men and Taiwanese women is 97% to 3%. Thus, the marriage migration is a type of feminized migration (Belanger & Linh, 2011). From 2012 to 2013 the number of foreign spouses decreased by 1,214 persons. The number of brides coming from countries decreased; however, the number coming from Vietnam increased by 231, indicating that Taiwan is still a main destination country for Vietnamese to emigrate by way of marriage (Ministry Of Interior, 2014).

Table 6-2 shows that the 200 respondents were all female Vietnamese spouses married to Taiwanese men. The average age of these 200 respondents is 33.9 years old. The youngest respondent is 18 years old and the oldest respondent is 50 years old. Respondents aged less than 30 years account for 36%, whilst 50% of them are aged 31 to 40, showing that the majority of them (86%) are less than 40 years old; only 14% are older than 40 years. The mean years of marriage to their Taiwanese husbands is 9.6 years, ranging from 1 year to 20 years. Fifty-five percent of them have been married for 6 to 14 years. Table 6-2 shows that the mean age of these Vietnamese spouses when they married was 24.2 years old, while the mean age of Taiwanese women when they marry is 29.5 years old (Ministry Of Interior, 2013).

It can be assumed that the habit of hyper-gamy or marrying-up is rather prevailing in Taiwan, thereby increasing the number of well-educated females remaining single or marrying late. Based on Edlund's (1999) calculations, 55% of university-educated Chinese men marry less educated spouses, whereas only 32% of university-educated women do the same. The mean years of living in Taiwan is 0.3 years longer than that of marriage because some of them had stayed in Taiwan as migrant workers prior to getting married to their husbands.

Among the 200 respondents, the ratio between the first marriage and the second marriage is 93.5% (187) to 6.5% (13). A recent news report claimed 79% of the Mainland Chinese brides (including those from Hong Kong and Macau) in Taiwan are

in their first marriage whereas 97% of Vietnamese brides are in their first marriage (Tien, 2013).

Among these 200 female Vietnamese spouses, only 57 were born in Northern Vietnam while 143 were born in Southern Vietnam; Thirty-nine (39) were from a city and 104 from the countryside. The ratio of birth place between North Vietnam and South Vietnam is about 3 to 7. As one of the informants said, the business relationship between South Vietnam and Taiwan has played an important role in the number of brides marrying Taiwanese men. Commencing from the early of 1990s, this is regarded as one of the major causes.

Their educational achievements have been divided into four levels: 50% of them have senior high school diplomas; 29.5% of them have junior high school diplomas; 10% of them have primary school diplomas; and 10% of them have undergraduate diplomas.

Of the 200 respondents 63% are working full-time or part-time outside the home compared with 37% of them that are full-time housewives. This indicates that a majority of Vietnamese spouses prefer empowering themselves through working outside their homes. The average number of children was reported as 1.34, which is higher than the Taiwanese average of 0.89, ranked as one of the lowest fertility rates in the world (M.O.I., 2010).

It was determined that only 19% of them have one or more siblings living overseas, including Taiwan, whereas 81% of respondents do not have any overseas connections. From among those 7 respondents having relatives overseas, 5 of them are the eldest daughters in their family, acting as a pioneer in their family by going to Taiwan.

The way of getting to know each other by way of introduction from relatives or friends represents the lowest percentage (10%), followed by the marriage through romance (13%), then introduction from marriage brokers (36%), and finally those

meeting their husbands while working in Taiwan (41%). These results indicate working in Taiwan is like an interim before marriage. Therefore, the percentage of romance marriages is 54% compared to 46% belonging to the categories of arranged marriages through brokers or social networking. It seems contrary to the common belief that the majority of Vietnamese women marry Taiwanese men by way of marriage agents or introduction from their relatives or friends. Thus, it is assumed that serving as migrant workers first may give them a good opportunity to evaluate whether they can adjust themselves to the society of Taiwan or not.

Of the respondents, 81.5% stated that they are Buddhists or Taoists, while only 4.5% stated they are Catholics; an additional 7 % said they are Protestants and 7% of them are believers in other local religions. The majority conforms to the mixture of Buddhist and Taoist accounting for 93% of people in Taiwan (Katz, 2003; Chen, Chen, & Chen, 2006).

In regards to family composition, 60.5% of these Vietnamese spouses live with their husbands and children in a so-called nuclear family. The second most popular family composition making up 19.5% of the respondents including a family composed of husband, children and parents-in-law, followed by 12.5% respondents that live with only their husbands. The type of family composition consisting of husband, children, parents-in-law, and other relatives accounts for only 5%. Only 2.5% of the 200 respondents live with their husbands and parents-in-law. In summary, the result is also contrary to common belief that most Vietnamese spouses live with their parents-in-law. The results from the respondents indicate that only 27% of these Vietnamese spouses live with their parents-in-law, whereas 73% of them live with their children and husband or husband only. Only one out of four Vietnamese spouses lives with her husband's father's family, called patrilocal residence whereas almost three-fourths of these transnational families belong to "neolocal residence, in which the new couple sets up an independent household at a place of their own choosing"

(Schultz & Lavenda, 2012, P.291).

Table 6-2
Descriptive statistics of the respondents

Demographic variables (n = 200)		Frequency	%
Gender	Female	200	100
Mean age	33.89	200	100
Length of marriage	1- 5	45	22.5
	6- 10	71	35.5
	11-15	64	32
	16-20	20	10
Number of children	1.One	23	11.5
	2.Two	98	49
	3.Three	68	34
	4.Four	10	5
	5.Five	1	0.5
Birthplace	City in NV	34	17
	Countryside in NV	23	11.5
	City in SV	39	19.5
	Countryside in SV	104	52
Educational achievement	Elementary	20	10
	Junior High	59	29.5
	Senior High	100	50
	College	21	10.5
First marriage or not	1. Yes	187	93.5
	2. No	13	6.5
Foreign network	1. Have siblings living abroad	38	19
	2. Do not have siblings living abroad	162	81
Religion	1.Taoism	17	8.5
	2.Buddhism	146	73.0
	3.Protestant	14	7
	4.Catholic	9	4.5
	5.Other	14	7
Way of marriage	1.Romance	26	13
	2.Introduction from marriage broker	72	36
	3.Introduction from friends or relatives	20	10

	4.Migrant worker	82	41
Family Composition	1.Husband	25	12.5
	2.Husband and children	121	60.5
	3.Husband and parents-in-law	5	2.5
	4.Husband, children, and parents-in-law	39	19.5
	5. Husband, children, parents-in-law, and relatives	10	5
Working outside or housewife	1.Work outside the home	126	63
	2.Full-time housewife	74	37

6.3 The Status Quo of Vietnamese Spouses' Cultural Identity in Taiwan

6.3.1 Research question one: What is the current situation of Vietnamese spouses' cultural identity in Taiwan?

The research of this dissertation aims to offer a general picture regarding how Vietnamese spouses make use of their cultural capitals including their learned abilities like cooking skills, leadership, and filial piety or/and genetic tradition like appearance, young age, similar religions, dedication, and reproduction (Schultz & Lavenda, 2012),² to combine with their social capital such as interpersonal connection to reach their goals. The findings for research question one are given below. These findings are in terms of four dimensions of cultural identity. Cultural belonging indicates how new immigrants perceive their sense of belongingness related to the host country in terms of culture, mainly depending on the term 'cultural identity,' in which cultural belonging often plays an essential part (Orchard, 2002). Self-identity refers to the ways these Vietnamese spouses reflect on their self-identities in view of how they interact with Taiwanese locals, especially their Taiwanese husbands or with their Vietnamese friends (Lin, 1999; Ho, 2012). Cultural Devotion entails how much

² I am grateful for Professor Miyabara to have advised me on the differentiation of culture.

involvement new immigrants have with their host countries and within their families, for example participating in activities held by government or non-governmental organizations or any devotion they show towards themselves or their family members can also be included (Phinney,1995). Cultural Integration is regarded as a measurement of the degree to which immigrants have combined their home culture with the mainstream cultural within a host country (Dehyle,1992).

Table 6-3 provides the means and standard deviations of the four dimensions of cultural identity gained from the responses to the questionnaire. The reliability (Cronbach alpha) for the questionnaire of Vietnamese spouses' perspectives on cultural identity in Taiwan was .935. The mean score for overall cultural identity is 3.88 ($SD = .58$) with a minimum score of 1.48 and maximum of 5, implying that the overall cultural identity of these Vietnamese brides can be rated as positive or at the high intermediate level. The means of the four dimensions, cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration, are all higher than 3.5, suggesting that they have reached a high intermediate or positive cultural identity. The variable with the highest mean score was cultural integration ($M = 3.98$, $SD = .61$), followed by cultural belonging ($M = 3.88$, $SD = .72$), cultural devotion ($M = 3.85$, $SD = .62$), and self-identity ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .83$).

Table 6-3

Mean scores on each dimension of Cultural Identity (N=200)

Dimensions	Minimum	Maximum	M	S.D.
Cultural belonging (CB)	1.0	5.0	3.88	.72
Self-identity (SI)	1.0	5.0	3.78	.83
Cultural devotion (CD)	1.45	5.0	3.85	.62
Cultural integration (CI)	2.0	5.0	3.98	.61
Overall Cultural Identity	1.369	5.0	3.88	.58

In summary, the respondents obtained the highest mean score in the dimension of cultural integration, cultural belonging, and cultural devotion, the results of which

are very consistent with the findings of previous research (Wu, 2009). However, the respondents tended to have mediocre self-identity, the lowest score among the four dimensions, especially for item 7 “I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible,” and item 6 “I am proud of being a Taiwanese husband’s wife,” implying that most of them are not satisfied with their current situations in terms of family life. As one of seven cases, ME7 said:

“Even though I think I am lucky to have a happy family life at this moment, I still think it is better to understand your future husband well and then get married.”

Another interviewee, LU2, also stated:

“I feel regretful of my decision to marry a Taiwanese, so I told my sisters that having a transnational marriage in Taiwan was not as we imagined.”

On the contrary, item 5 “I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese,” has the highest score among three items related to self-identity. It can be assumed that their Taiwanese husbands to some degree enhance their social capital, which can allow them to integrate into Taiwanese society. As PE1 said:

“I would like to mention my Taiwanese husband whenever necessary because my husband is working in a post office, a public official, regarded as having higher social status in my community.”

Then a lot of people she encountered would show more respect to her partly because of her husband working in the post office. The result is consistent with the findings of

a previous study, describing that the children born in a transnational family will need more help from the father than the mother when it comes to local language, studies, and things related to school (Wu, 2009).

Echoing Dehyle (1992), Hill (2004), Phinney (1995), and Wu (2009), the results of this study show that the cultural identity of the 200 respondents was at a high-intermediate level ($M = 3.88$); however, the respondents who did not have strong self-identity might doubt whether they had made a right decision to marry Taiwanese men. One of the interviewees, KI5 recalled:

“My previous marriage was destined to failure because of the conflict of ‘value’ with my mother-in-law and ex-husband; besides, they needed a son to continue the family line and I had a daughter, which also aggravated our relationship and ended up with a divorce. I have the custody over my daughter.”

Even though they did not show strong interest in some historical events and stories about Taiwan from their husbands, they would like to pay more attention to cultural integration. They also feel that there is a place for not only learning more about Taiwanese culture but also maintaining and even promoting Vietnamese culture. It can be assumed that those respondents have encountered some difficulties in strengthening their self-identity because of a lower degree of mutual understanding of their Taiwanese husbands from the very beginning of their marriage. For example, WU4, one of the cases, said:

“But for my unmarriageable age and harsh life in my hometown, I wouldn’t have counted on a marriage agent to find a foreign husband for me.”

They are likely to have a strong desire to maintain their Vietnamese culture and to learn Taiwanese language and culture in order to have a better life in Taiwan. In

addition, they are willing to participate in more activities to interact with Taiwanese and let them know that they belong to Taiwanese society. WU4 also stated:

“Without my cooking abilities, I would confine myself inside my home because a lot of Taiwanese still can’t understand what I say. My talent of making Vietnamese cuisine is seen as part of my ability from Vietnam and has offered me a lot of access to local communities and local Taiwanese, which, I think, has become part of my social capital in Taiwan.”

6.4 Research question two: In which aspects do the respondents demonstrate more cultural identity and in which aspects do they show less cultural identity?

Respondents showed a high intermediate level of overall cultural identity. Among the 25 items, item 20 “Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted,” received the highest mean score ($M = 4.21$). This result mimics the opinion of three of the cases interviewed (WU4, JE3, KI5). They said that they would like to cook Vietnamese food not only to rid themselves of homesickness but also to make money by selling food to both Vietnamese spouses and local Taiwanese. The question item 5 “I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese,” received the second highest mean score ($M = 4.08$). As one of the cases, LU2, mentioned:

“I don’t want other local people think that I am just here to make money; instead, I will tell my Taiwanese friends that I married a Taiwanese man and have a daughter already, which makes her feel elegant and proud.”

The item that received the third highest mean is item 14 “I am willing to learn Taiwanese languages and words,” ($M = 4.06$). All seven cases interviewed (see Table 4) attended classes to learn Mandarin Chinese for one to three years. Even PA6, a Vietnamese Chinese, said:

“In order to let other Taiwanese trust me and not discriminate against me, I think it crucial and necessary to learn more accurate Mandarin Chinese in order to have better communication with my Taiwanese customers in my nail-beautifying shop.”

In order to help rid herself of a strong Cantonese accent, LU2 paid her own tuition for a six-year evening high school program. She explained by saying:

“Now I am very confident that most of Taiwanese will think I am a Taiwanese because my Mandarin is just like other Taiwanese.”

In fact, her Mandarin skills became so strong that she found some part-time jobs as a Chinese teacher for other Vietnamese spouses and their children. JE3 and KI5 furthered LU2’s sentiments:

“Learning Mandarin has been the important lesson for us because without a good command of Mandarin, it would be hard for us to communicate with our Taiwanese customers,”

PE1 also added:

“Since I have a better command of Mandarin, I was promoted as a group leader to supervise a group of migrant workers or Vietnamese spouses.”

WU4 also expressed her concerns in performing poorly at spoken Mandarin:

“I tried many times to find a part-time job but I just couldn’t work long because the boss always complained about my Mandarin with a strong Vietnamese accent. And some other customers also said that they couldn’t understand what I said; therefore, I think I had better stay home catering Vietnamese cuisine for others.”

Item 22 also received a rather high mean score ($M = 4.02$) *“Although I came from Vietnam, I think I have become a member of Taiwanese society.”* Interviewees WU2, KI5, JE3, PA6, LU2, and ME7 all have at least one child, and they want their children to have a better future in Taiwan. As a mother of a Taiwanese child, ME7 mentioned:

“Even if I didn’t study at a college in Vietnam, I and my family members all look forward to seeing my son study hard at a very prestigious school in Taipei.”

All of seven respondents were naturalized and now have R.O.C. citizenship, so they all agree that they would like to live in Taiwan to see their children grow up, expect KI5:

“I would like to go back to Vietnam to accompany my parents, and then I will come back here to live with my dear daughter. Living with her family and taking care of my grandson or granddaughter is also one of my dreams in Taiwan.”

However, KI5, was the only case interviewed that bought her own house. It seems that she is reluctant to return to Vietnam even though she misses her family there:

“Even though I already got divorced, I see Taiwan as my hometown, so I bought this house for me and my daughter, who is under my custody.”

Among the four items with the lowest scores, item 7 “I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible,” received the lowest mean ($M = 3.47$). Most of the cases interviewed were also very hesitant to answer this question. For example, WU4 said:

“I think I have been destined to Taiwan and my life belongs here, so undoubtedly, I am confident of being a Taiwanese and marrying a Taiwanese in my next life.”

Item 10 “I like to listen to some historical events and stories about Taiwan from my husband,” received a mean score of 3.73. The third and fourth lowest means were received by item 11 “I am willing to learn those Taiwanese traditional crafts and ballads” ($M = 3.73$) and item 15 “It is important for me to attend the activities related to Taiwanese culture” ($M = 3.76$). LU2 somewhat provides an explanation for this result:

“I would like to take my daughter to attend; however, these kinds of activities are rare. Even so a lot of Vietnamese spouses hope to attend some activities which they can take their children to. Of course, if immigration centers can also offer some babysitting, I think more foreign spouses will have a higher motivation.”

In a nutshell, questions having higher scores are all closely related to social capital. On the other hand, those who can utilize their cultural capital, for example cooking Vietnamese cuisine or tailoring Vietnamese traditional dresses, are more likely to have opportunities to take advantage of social capital such as social networks or personal connections to access local communities or government. As WU4 proudly told me:

“My Taiwanese husband is happy to be my assistant on the occasion when I cook Vietnamese foods and sell them,” exemplifying a combination of cultural capital and social capital.

Table 6-4

Descriptive Statistics of Each Item on Cultural Identity (N=200)

Dimensions	No.	Items	1	2	3	4	5	M	S.D.
Cultural Belonging (CB)	1.	There is a close relationship between the culture of my husband’s natal country and my life in Taiwan.	1 0.5	5 2.5	66 33.0	82 41.0	46 23.0	3.84	.825
	2.	The culture of my husband’s natal country is precious and important.	1 0.5	8 4.0	64 32.0	92 46.0	35 17.5	3.76	.804
	3.	I am very interested and fond of the culture of my husband’s natal country.	2 1.0	8 4.0	45 22.5	92 46.0	53 26.5	3.93	.860
	4.	I should introduce the culture of my husband’s natal country to my family in Vietnam.	2 1.0	3 1.5	51 25.5	84 42.0	60 30.0	3.99	.842
Self-Identity (SI)	5.	I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese.	1 0.5	5 2.5	42 21.0	81 40.5	71 35.5	4.08	.841
	6.	I am proud of being a Taiwanese husband’s wife.	3 1.5	19 9.5	52 26.0	71 35.5	55 27.5	3.78	1.003
	7.	I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible.	7 3.5	27 13.5	71 35.5	56 28.0	39 19.5	3.47	1.060
Cultural Devotion (CD)	8.	I want to explore and learn the culture of my husband’s natal country.	2 1.0	11 5.5	56 28.0	97 48.5	34 17.0	3.75	.837
	9.	I like to listen to some historical events and stories about Taiwan from my husband.	1 0.5	7 3.5	73 36.5	83 41.5	36 18.0	3.73	.813

	10.	I like to listen to what my husband has done in Taiwan.	1 0.5	6 3.0	62 31.0	82 41.0	49 24.5	3.86	.839
	11.	I am willing to learn those Taiwanese traditional crafts and ballads.	1 0.5	8 4.0	76 38.0	74 37.0	41 20.5	3.73	.849
	12.	I am willing to attend some activities related to Taiwanese culture.	1 0.5	10 5.0	66 33.0	81 40.5	42 21.0	3.77	.856
	13.	I like to learn Taiwanese languages and words.	3 1.5	3 1.5	51 25.5	80 40.0	63 31.5	3.99	.877
	14.	I am willing to learn Taiwanese languages and words.	1 0.5	5 2.5	39 19.0	94 47.0	62 31.0	4.06	.803
	15.	It is important for me to attend the activities related to Taiwanese culture.	1 0.5	9 4.5	69 34.5	79 39.5	42 21.0	3.76	.852
	16.	I am willing to cook Taiwanese cuisine.	1 0.5	5 2.5	49 24.5	94 47.0	51 25.5	3.95	.803
	17.	I like to eat Taiwanese cuisine.	0 0	6 3.0	74 37.0	76 38.0	44 22.0	3.79	.818
	18.	While I am learning Taiwanese culture, I am also willing to introduce Vietnamese culture to Taiwanese.	0 0	8 4.0	50 25.0	89 44.5	53 26.5	3.94	.821
Cultural Integration (CI)	19.	Understanding Vietnamese culture and Taiwanese culture at the same time can help me broaden my vision.	0 0	6 3.0	63 31.5	79 39.5	52 26.0	3.89	.828
	20.	Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted.	0 0	2 1.0	39 19.5	75 37.5	84 42.0	4.21	.785
	21.	I think there are many similarities between Taiwanese culture and Vietnamese culture, which can easily make me get used to living here.	0 0	5 2.5	47 23.5	96 48	52 26	3.98	.773
	22.	Although I came from Vietnam, I think I have become a member of Taiwanese society.	0 0	4 2.0	51 25.5	82 41	63 31.5	4.02	.808
	23.	When I am working or communicating with Taiwanese, I do think I am the same as they are.	0 0	9 4.5	51 25.5	83 41.5	57 28.5	3.94	.849
	24.	I am willing to share some Taiwanese cuisine with my Vietnamese friends.	0 0	4 2.0	53 26.5	87 43.5	56 28	3.98	.792
	25.	Faced with the culture of my natal country-Vietnam and the culture of Taiwan, I am confident that I can adjust myself well.	0 0	4 2.0	70 35.0	80 40.0	46 23.0	3.84	.798

6.5 Correlations between Cultural Identity and Three Cultural Background Variables

6.5.1 Research question three: Is there any significant difference in cultural identity for the birthplace, education, and religions?

The third research question probed the probable correlations between the degree of Cultural Identity, including its four dimensions, with birthplace, education, and religion. Based on the results of a One-Way ANOVA, two demographic variables, birthplace and education, were found to have a significant influences on cultural identity; however, a significant difference has been only found in birthplace in cultural belonging ($F = 2.938, p = .034$). Sheffe's post hoc test indicated that respondents born in the cities of North Vietnam have a stronger tendency toward cultural belonging than that of those born in the countryside of South Vietnam. As one of cases stated during an interview:

“With having studied Mandarin Chinese for one year in both Hanoi, Vietnam and Taipei, Taiwan, and having worked for at least ten years till now, I think it will be much easier for me to speak better Mandarin than most Vietnamese spouses fresh from the countryside who can only learn Mandarin for less than two months while living in a marriage agent's house.”

Only education was found to have a significant impact on Overall Cultural Identity ($F = 6.29, p < .000$), Cultural Belonging ($F = 5.82, p = .001$), Self-identity ($F = 4.55, p = .004$), Cultural Devotion ($F = 4.75, p = .003$) and Cultural Integration ($F = 5.97, p = .001$). The respondents with B.A. degrees have a higher overall cultural identity, cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion and cultural integration than those who graduated with only an elementary, junior high, or senior high

diploma.

As to religion, no significant difference was found in terms of different religions and cultural identity. Among the 7 cases interviewed, only LU2 and WU4 are Catholics, while the others all believe in Buddhism or Taoism. WU4 and LU2 stated:

“As a daughter-in-law, we all know what we should do when it comes to following their religious rituals in our husbands’ families. However, besides giving some space to meet their needs, we often go to the Catholic church in our community to be loyal to our own religion.”

6.6 Relationships among Four Dimensions of Cultural Identity and Demographic Variables

6.6.1 Research question four: What are the relationships among the four dimensions of cultural identity with having a job outside the home or not and having siblings living overseas or not?

Generally speaking, as the results from Table 6-5 show, those spouses who have siblings living overseas have higher scores in terms of the four dimensions related to cultural identity than those who do not have siblings living overseas. Among the four dimensions, cultural belonging and cultural integration are the two highest compared to the remaining two dimensions, cultural devotion and self-identity. Of these four dimensions, cultural integration is the highest and self-identity is the lowest. Among the case interviewees, JE3 is a typical example:

“Since my cousin lives nearby and my elder sister also resides in a neighboring county, I never feel lonely though having an inharmonious relationship with my husband for a long time. It is very convenient for me to pay my sister a visit by bus, so

I won't feel isolated."

On top of that, she seldom feels lonely because is so busy running her eatery, which is open seven days a week. PE1 looks at herself as a replacement for her parents in that she hopes to take care of her sister. This is something her husband even supports. PE1 explained:

"I am so happy that my younger sister is here and is studying at a university in Taipei, which makes me feel less concerned about her future because she is majoring in English; therefore, as long as she becomes a multilingual, it will be easy for her to find a job either in Taiwan or Vietnam."

Results in Table 6-6 show that Vietnamese brides who have jobs outside their homes receive better responses toward the four dimensions. Among these four dimensions, cultural integration is also the highest and self-identity is also the lowest score. It can be interpreted that those spouses working outside the home will have more chances to interact with Taiwanese in their work places. As one of the cases interviewed, LU2, mentioned:

"In order to find a job, I went to school to study advanced Chinese even though I already know how to speak; however, I do not want others to know I am a foreigner by hearing my Mandarin with a strong Cantonese accent." LU2 went to school in order to obtain a job:

"With more chances to be interactive with local Taiwanese, not only my Mandarin is getting better, but also I am working in an after-school care center to help elementary school children to work on their homework. Now, I am very confident

of my Chinese, so I even can teach Taiwanese children. ”

However, this phenomenon can also be interpreted as kind of forced labor. As LU2 and WU4 said that they were envious of PE6 because she is a full-time housewife. LU2 said:

“Even though I have several part-time jobs, I still have difficulty saving enough money to live with my daughter alone in Taipei; therefore, in order to save some living cost, I cannot but live with my ex-husband.”

WU4 also mentioned:

“ Since my husband has been unemployed for several years, I need to work long hours to be a sole breadwinner at my family.”

Table 6-5

The statistics of siblings living overseas

Siblings	Yes/No	n	MS	SD	t	p
Overseas						
Cultural	Yes	162	3.8025	.726	-3.103	.002
Belonging	No	38	4.1974	.610		
Self	Yes	162	3.7243	.823	Not Significant	
Identity	No	38	3.9912	.807		
Cultural	Yes	162	3.7969	.620	-2.335	.021
Devotion	No	38	4.0550	.579		
Cultural	Yes	162	3.9180	.618	-2.335	.004
Integration	No	38	4.2293	.517		

Table 6-6

The statistics of occupation in Taiwan

Occupation	Yes/No	<i>n</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Cultural	Yes	74	3.75	.679		Not Significant
Belonging	No	126	3.92	.736		
Self	Yes	74	3.59	.776	-2.397	.017
Identity	No	126	3.88	.837		
Cultural	Yes	74	3.73	.614		Not Significant
Devotion	No	126	3.90	.617		
Cultural	Yes	74	3.91	.575		Not Significant
Integration	No	126	4.01	.631		

6.7 Relationships between the four dimensions of Cultural Identity and ways of marriage and family compositions in Taiwan

6.7.1 Research question five: Is there any significant difference in cultural identity for the channel of marriage and different family composition in Taiwan?

Firstly, from the perspective of cultural belonging, romance marriage ranks the highest, followed by introduction from relatives or friends, then introduction from marriage brokers, and finally introduction while being a migrant worker. Secondly, from the perspective of self-identity, romance marriage receives the highest score, followed by introduction while being a migrant worker, introduction from marriage broker, and introduction from relatives or friends. Thirdly, from the perspective of cultural devotion, romance marriage still tops the other three methods of obtaining a husband. Fourthly, from the perspective of cultural integration, romance marriage has the best response, followed by introduction from marriage broker, introduction from relatives or friends, and finally marriage through having been migrant workers.

From these results, it can be found that spouses marrying through romance love have the best reaction to these four dimensions related to cultural identity. It seems

surprising that the group of Vietnamese spouses having the experience of being migrant workers in Taiwan and then marrying their Taiwanese husbands have the weakest performance of the three dimensions: cultural belonging, cultural devotion, and cultural integration. Hence, an interpretation applied to these results is that most of the migrant workers would rather work than marry in the beginning; however, since they had a limited period of years working in Taiwan, they would eventually change their minds if they knew some male friends whom they might get married to in the future. There is some support from one of the interviewees' friends who said that,

“I never thought of getting married to my current Taiwanese husband, for when I came here, I was married. However, because my Vietnamese husband had an affair in Vietnam, I decided to file for a divorce from him. One year later, I met my current Taiwanese husband and then accepted his proposal of marriage to me.”

There are some correlations related to family compositions with the four dimensions of cultural identity. The extended family compositions of parents, husband, children and other relatives have the highest scores in all four dimensions of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration, followed by either a nuclear family or the composition having husband, children and parents. The family composition containing only husband and parents-in-law received the lowest scores from the three dimensions of cultural belonging, self-identity, and cultural devotion.

6.8 Relationships between Demographic Variables and the Four Dimensions of Cultural Identity: Cultural Belonging, Self-identity, Cultural Devotion, and Cultural Integration

6.8.1 Research question six: What are the relationships among age, the years of marriage, the years of living in Taiwan, the number of children, and the four

dimensions of cultural identity?

From Table 6-7, on the basis of Spearman's rho correlation, even though no significant correlation between the demographic variables and cultural identity or its four dimensions could be found, a significant correlation was found among the demographic variables. Age has a poor correlation with years of marriage and moderate correlation with the number of children.

Table 6-7

The correlation between 4 Dimensions and three variables

			Dimension1	Dimension2	Dimension3	Dimension4
Spearman's rho	Age	Correlation	.115	.095	.046	.059
		coefficient				
		Sig.	.106	.179	.515	.410
	years of marriage	Correlation	.009	-.004	-.056	.026
		coefficient				
		Sig.	.898	.960	.429	.716
	years of staying in Taiwan	Correlation	-.003	.002	-.027	.039
		coefficient				
		Sig.	.966	.975	.709	.582
		number	200	200	200	200

** Related level of significance= 0.01 (two-tailed test) ◦ Sig.=Significance

6.9 Summary and Discussion

The 200 respondents demonstrate their level of cultural identity consisting of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration at a high intermediate stage. Moreover, among these four dimensions, cultural integration received the highest score and self-identity had the lowest score because the former has a majority of items related to their own natal culture. This means the more items related to cultural integration indicate that these Vietnamese spouses have devoted

themselves more to engaging in cultural activities, so the acculturation process will be emphasized. Since self-identity has the lowest score, it is presumed that Vietnamese spouses do not want to emphasize too much on themselves. For example, question 20 “Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted,” and question 22 “Although I came from Vietnam, I think I have become a member of Taiwanese society,” both had the most positive responses from the 200 respondents. On the contrary, question 7 “I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible,” in relation to their husband and their next life, had the most negative responses from the 200 respondents. However, question 5 “I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese,” had very positive responses. There are some explanations for these results about cultural integration and self-identity. Bourdieu (2008) maintains that cultural capital plays a role as a social link inside a social system of exchange including the accumulation of cultural knowledge to generate power and status. In addition, taking advantage of cultural capital can also bring about benefits, like being awarded with status or being accepted, thereby being transferred into social capital. Therefore, it can be implied that mentioning that their husbands are Taiwanese can enhance their social capital in the society of Taiwan. Nevertheless, asked whether they would consider marrying Taiwanese again in their next life, most of respondents would not consider this possibility important for their social capital. The words of some interviewed respondents LU2 and JE3 can interpret these results. As LU2 said,

“To me, Taiwan has been an imagined and familiar place since I was a kid, but my grandfather, a KMT soldier, was scared of crossing the Taiwan Strait. We should have lived in Taiwan after World War II. Therefore, anything related to ‘Taiwan’ was of interest me till I married my Taiwanese husband, who broke my good image to

'Taiwan.' We ended up with divorce after only a 5-year marriage."

JE3 also stated,

"As a high-school graduate, I liked to dream and wanted to have a chance to live abroad as my elder sister and cousin did. Besides, I had some images of Taiwan coming from some TV dramas or from the conversations with my siblings married to Taiwanese men. However, my husband is far from my ideal because he is too shy and has been unemployed for several years."

The overall results of this study coincide with the four dimensions of cultural identity. The four dimensions of the 'Cultural Identity Scale' identified by Wu (2008) emphasize the affective perspective of acculturation competence. Additionally, this study examines the relationships among the four dimensions of cultural identity with 12 demographics variables. Likewise, a number of significant correlations were found among the four dimensions with demographic variables. There is a significant correlation between the respondents' birthplaces in a city of North and South Vietnam and their cultural identity. Part of the contents from interviews can directly prove the abovementioned result. PE1 and LU2 can speak Mandarin better than the other five spouses, and coincidentally they are the only two spouses born in a city of North Vietnam and South Vietnam and the other four interviewees were all born in the countryside of South Vietnam and one in a city of Central Vietnam.

There is a significant correlation between people believing in Taoism and four dimensions of cultural identity. Based on the interviews, all 7 respondents including the 2 Catholics and 5 Buddhists or Taoists said that they would be very respectful to either religious rituals or family rituals like 'burning incense' to worship their

deceased ancestors.

There is a significant correlation between whether or not they have worked outside and the four dimensions of cultural identity. The interviews show that among the 7 respondents, only ME7 doesn't work even though she really wants to work; her husband and father-in-law are opposed to her working outside because,

“They are worried that I will be affected by other ‘evil Vietnamese spouses’, so they just want me to stay home and take care of my son; instead, my husband lets me manage our family spending, so I have a lot of freedom to use the money.”

In addition, without having any worries about the money issue and spending time working outside, ME7 can speak Taiwanese more fluently than the other 6 spouses do because she has more time watching local TV programs than the other spouses. Therefore, contrary to the assumption that working outside will definitely give new immigrants more chances to interact with the local people resulting in an enhanced cultural identity, ME7's case offers another angle to see the correlation between cultural identity and working or not working.

There is a significant correlation between the participants' having siblings living overseas and the four dimensions of cultural identity. Among the 7 respondents, only PE1 and JE3 have a sister living in Taiwan, and both of them speak fluent Mandarin. JE3 has her own business whilst PE1 is working as a group leader in a factory. PE1 said,

“It is not easy to become a group leader because I am a foreign spouse; however, because of my strength in Mandarin, Vietnamese, and leadership skills, my boss trusts me and has assigned this post to me supervising a group of Vietnamese

workers in the factory.”

JE3 also stated that she does not feel lonely and isolated because her sister and cousin live in Taiwan, so she can work as hard as she can to save more money for her life during retirement.

A significant correlation between romance marriage and the four dimensions of cultural identity was found. It can be assumed that one married through the process of romance will be more willing to understand Taiwanese culture; one of the interviewed respondents, PE1, said,

“A lot of my husbands’ friends were surprised to see my husband getting rid of some bad habits like smoking, drinking, and going to night clubs, which made me feel so proud and happy that I could change my husband and lead him along the right track. I think the main reason why my husband wants to listen to me is because we understand each other through the process of romance lasting for years rather than having an instant kind of arranged marriage.”

There is a significant correlation between the family compositions of husband and children along with parents-in-law or other relatives and the four dimensions of cultural identity. There is only one interviewed respondent, ME7, who lives in an extended family currently; she said,

“I have a lot of opportunities of communicating with my parents-in-law, so that is why I can speak fluent Minnan-i, one of the major Taiwanese dialects. Besides, I often go to the market to see my husband selling pork in a very traditional market, where I use Minnan-i a lot too.”

However, there is no significant correlation between the following variables

including age, the years of staying in Taiwan, the years of marriage, and the four dimensions of cultural identity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The ultimate purpose of the research of this dissertation was to look into Vietnamese spouses' experiences of living in Taiwan to understand how these experiences have shaped the nexus of mobilization through social identity and cultural identity. A number of in-depth interviews were conducted with seven Vietnamese spouses. The seven participants were approached and informed consent was obtained to interview them. This was done through friends, students, or participants who knew additional participants were needed for this dissertation research. The data gained through the interviews were later analyzed by way of theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978) and social identity theory (Walker, 2005). Walker (2005) stated that social identity theory is a personal concept shaped by one's abilities and traits. Social identity can also be thought of in relation to organizational, religious, and political affiliations. After immigrating to Taiwan, many foreign spouses started taking advantage of their cultural capital including their educational achievements, intellect, cooking or tailoring expertise, style of speech, dress, and physical appearance. These instances were initiated either by them or through institutional involvement; these were often converted into social capital, making the women more confident while improving their quality of life in Taiwan. Furthermore, since identity can serve as a source for new immigrants to be easily mobilized (Cerulo, 1997), the data gained from the interviews with the seven cases were examined with more direct references to both social identity and cultural identity. Along with the chance of having interpersonal interaction with family members, colleagues, volunteers, and even customers, Vietnamese spouses' self-identities could become strengthened and

enhanced, thereby having a stronger sense of belonging, which contributed to more involvement in relation to community activities.

Besides conducting interviews with seven participants, 200 questionnaires were administered. The respondents to the questionnaire included 200 Vietnamese spouses from the northern regions in Taiwan. The respondents³ were purposefully chosen to participate in this dissertation research. The principal data collection method was snow balling, meaning social networking was used to gather the questionnaire data during a three week time span. Findings regarding the correlations among the four dimensions of their cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, cultural integration and several demographic variables affecting their cultural identity, were investigated through the analysis of the questionnaire data. Based on the findings from analysis of all quantitative data, it was found that several demographic variables are crucial factors affecting the level of cultural identity for these women. These will be discussed as follows:

Birthplace

The ratio of birthplace of the 200 respondents between North Vietnam and South Vietnam is about 3 to 7. Results of a One-Way ANOVA found a significant difference in their Cultural Identity ($F = 2.938, p = .034$) between women born in North Vietnam and women born in South Vietnam. Sheffe's post hoc test indicated that respondents born in the cities of North Vietnam have a stronger tendency toward Cultural Belonging than those born in South Vietnam. This was evident in the mean scores on items such as 3 "I am very interested and fond of the culture of my husband's natal country." From the interviews with the cases, it was shown that most of the women coming from North Vietnam will come to Taiwan first for work and

³ From here onward, respondent means respondents from the quantitative research; case means interviewees in the qualitative case study.

then may later marry for reasons of romance. This is most likely due to education-related reasons; women from North Vietnam are more likely to have a better education than those from South Vietnam. However, those from South Vietnam often have difficulty in obtaining work permits and may have an easier time getting to Taiwan via the route of marriage. For example, one of the cases interviewed said, “The business relationship between South Vietnam and Taiwan has played an important role in helping Vietnamese from South Vietnam marrying Taiwanese men.” Since the 1990s, this has been considered as one of the main causes of marriage between Vietnamese women from South Vietnam and Taiwanese men. Furthermore, this may affect their notions of cultural identity, being more willing to move abroad in order to increase their chances to promote their economic status. For example, JE3 treated marriage as travelling abroad to have fun; this idea was further fueled by her elder sister and cousin who had already moved to Taiwan. PA6 believed if she did not possess such an attractive countenance, she would not have had so many chances to gain access to the aid of local Taiwanese, who helped her to expand her social networks and economic capital. PA6’s case illustrates that despite having so many hurdles in the process of moving here, she, as the eldest daughter, has utilized her cultural capital, which has been converted into part of her social capital to aid in accumulation of economic capital by running her own nail salon.

Education

Education had a significant impact in Overall Cultural Identity ($F = 6.29, p < .000$), Cultural Belonging ($F = 5.82, p = .001$), Self-identity ($F = 4.55, p = .004$), Cultural Devotion ($F = 4.75, p = .003$) and Cultural Integration ($F = 5.97, p = .001$). Generally speaking, those spouses who have siblings living overseas showed higher mean scores in terms of the four dimensions of cultural identity. In addition, women who have jobs outside their homes had higher means in regards to the four dimensions

related to cultural identity. Results also indicate spouses that marry through romantic love had higher means for the four dimensions related to cultural identity. Those whose family members included parents, husband, children and other relatives had the highest mean scores in the dimensions of cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration, followed by nuclear families and those nuclear families with the addition of parents. How these women define their identities or roles as Taiwanese wives while interacting with other Taiwanese or other counterparts in Taiwan is critical to translate the whole process of transformation of cultural identity (Cerulo, 1997). PE1's case can be used to illustrate the ideal way of marriage through love and romance irrespective of race, language, and culture. In her own words, "[I]n order to manage my marriage well and keep the quality of family life, I share some of financial burden with my husband; even though I am working hard, I feel happy to have a responsible husband, quality life, and our own sweet home with two yards, similar to my natal home in Vietnam." PE1, in contrast, loves to grow plants with her husband in their front yard, which she explained was a way to build a relationship between her and her husband as well as to other Taiwanese—it gives her something to talk about. As to LU2, she used to treat the mastering of Mandarin as her way to become a part of Taiwanese society. LU2's case destroys the myth that only by having the similar ethnic and language backgrounds can a transnational couple have a better chance to maintain their family life than that of different ethnic or language backgrounds. However, with her efforts to increase her cultural capital such as sharpening her Mandarin skills, she has started regaining some of her social capital from associating with some Vietnamese spouses and recognizing the importance of cultural devotion in the society of Taiwan. With the comfort of her religion, she looks on the bright side and strives for her goals firmly and confidently.

Religion

Most respondents (81.5%) reported practicing Buddhism and/or Taoism, while 4.5 % were Catholic and 7 % Protestant. For example, “holding incense” is a crucial ritual to many Taiwanese families because Taiwanese treat “holding incense” as part of a religious ceremony to worship Buddha, local gods, and deceased ancestors. WU4’s case shows a typical story for many foreign spouses emigrating to a new country through hyper-gamy. Although she does not always agree with certain religious practices, she feels an obligation to perform the rituals out of respect to her parents-in-law and husband. In her own words she says, “I am destined to belong here, but I won’t turn my head back even if I have to work my way through life cooking and selling Vietnamese foods, which has made me feel less homesick. This is my new home now.”

Husband Introduction

The majority of the respondents (41%) reported that they got to know their husbands by first working in Taiwan whereas a lower percentage (10%) said relatives or friends introduced them. PE1 and LU2 are examples of Vietnamese women that came to Taiwan initially for work with a result of a romance marriage. In this way, one can regard working in Taiwan as an interim before marriage. Contrary to common belief, the majority of Vietnamese women do not marry Taiwanese men by way of marriage agents or the introduction of their relatives or friends. Thus, it is assumed that serving as migrant workers first gives them a good opportunity to evaluate whether they can adjust to Taiwanese society. According to the interviews with PE1 and LU2, they seemed to have integrated themselves into the Taiwanese society more than the other cases. The relationship between these two cases and their husbands mimic those of local marriages. In the case of LU2, although she has divorced her husband, they still live together as friends to raise their child and save on living costs;

this is a situation that also occurs in other Taiwanese marriages (Chang and Newell, 2007). In the case of PE1, in order to help her husband have less financial pressure, she recently made a down payment on a house. She has a stable job outside the home as a team leader in a factory and has mastered not only Mandarin but the local language spoken by her husband.

Marrying-up

The average age of the 200 respondents was 33.9 years old. Their mean age when first moving to Taiwan was 24.2 years old while the mean age of Taiwanese women when they marry is 29.5 years old (Ministry Of Interior, 2013). It can be assumed that the habit of hyper-gamy or marrying-up is prevailing in Taiwan; however, from the examination of the interview transcripts of the cases, one can see that not all marriages between local Taiwanese men and Vietnamese women place these women in a financial situation that was necessarily better than the one they had while living in Vietnam. For example, PE1 came from a well-off family, placing her in a position to pursue a romance marriage. With her father's business connections, before marrying and moving to Taiwan, PE1 was able to learn Mandarin Chinese and be a tour guide in her hometown, Ha Long Bay, famous as one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Family Relationship

Marriage is viewed as a partnership producing commodities, such as children, status, insurance, financial and social support (Fu, 2001). As to the composition of family members, contrary to common belief, only 22% of Vietnamese spouses live with their parents-in-law, whereas 73% live with their husband or husband and children. In East and South Asia, women's care-giving responsibilities are framed by the concepts of filial piety and dharma, respectively (Chao, 2002). JE3's case helps to highlight the process of constructing a relationship with family members, especially

one's mother-in-law. With little trust between them in the beginning, their relationship has since become solid due to their mutual respect and understanding that has manifested itself due to JE3's business dealings. As an eatery owner, she is so proud of her mother-in-law, who is so good at doing business and teaching her the lessons that she would never get from her husband. After the acquisition of knowledge in relation to the culture in Taiwan, foreign spouses need to also define their roles and existence in relation to their Taiwanese husbands and the society in Taiwan. Men often dominate authority whilst women become submissive, reflecting that male masculinity and female femininity play their respective roles in a marriage. However, some of their family interactions show the dynamics of transnational marriage in Taiwan—the reality is at times not what is stereotyped of such a marriage. For example, PE1's husband's relatives were always pleased to eat what she cooked, which made her feel proud and happy even though some relatives just wanted to give her husband face. ME7's case explains how skillfully she turned her position being passive into being active during the process of arranged marriage. Instead of marrying an old gentleman, she made it a point to marry a disadvantaged young gentleman whose parents have given her a lot of support. Among these seven respondents, she is the only full-time housewife and does not have to worry about sending money home. She has become very satisfied with her life in Taiwan at this stage.

Work

In regards to work, 63% of respondents reported working part-time or full-time outside the home compared with 37% claiming to be full-time housewives. This result indicates that the majority of Vietnamese spouses prefer empowering themselves through working outside their homes. In fact, all the cases except one stated that they work outside the home. Most of the cases claimed that they worked outside the home in order to provide remittances to their families back in Vietnam. Providing

remittances for their natal families offers an important way of generating a sense of social worth and respect in the community of origin (Fouron & Schiller, 2001; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). Through providing remittances, emigrant daughters gain an enhanced status and power in their natal homes, thereby making some villagers in their hometowns express a preference for having girls to boys (Linh, 2011). However, sending money to relatives is not the only reason for them to work outside their homes. KI5, for example, works outside her home to express her resilience, not allowing a divorce to set her back. Instead, she spends almost all her time managing a culinary business while raising her daughter and paying a house loan. She is quite happy with the life she shares with her daughter that will become a nurse and that can speak Vietnamese with her mother fluently.

Cultural Identity

Respondents mean score on the Cultural Identity Scale is 3.88 ($SD = .58$) indicating high-intermediate overall cultural identity. Having been raised and educated in the society of Vietnam, these Vietnamese female spouses have brought their unique abilities or traits to Taiwan through the marrying of Taiwanese men. These skills and idiosyncrasies include education achievements, cooking talents, language abilities, values, religions and dress codes. For example, while living in a small community with a majority of Vietnamese-Chinese in Ho Chi Minh City, LU2 was proud of her ethnic origin as a Vietnamese-Chinese, speaking Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese, which distinguished her in terms of her socio-economic status. Likewise, even though WU4 does not care about whether other people will take her for a foreign migrant or not, she still prides herself on the knowledge and creativity she possesses in terms of Vietnamese foods; in fact, she criticized the authenticity of Vietnamese foods cooked by other Vietnamese spouses, stating that they did not hold true to their ethnic heritage. To Vietnamese spouses, food and

language are two obvious cultural boundary markers which Vietnamese spouses like to share with others either from Vietnam or Taiwan (Lim, 2006). The mean scores for the four dimensions (cultural belonging, self-identity, cultural devotion, and cultural integration) all reached high intermediate levels. These results are very consistent with the findings of previous research (e.g., Wu, 2009). However, the respondents tended to have moderate self-identity scores, the lowest score among the four dimensions, especially when responding to item 7 “I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible” and item 6 “I am proud of being a Taiwanese husband’s wife,” implying that most of them are not satisfied with their current situations in terms of family life. However, all seven of the cases that were interviewed stated that they were naturalized and now have R.O.C. citizenship, all agreeing that they would like to continue living in Taiwan to see their children grow up here. Results may depend on how much control they are given or can take in a marriage. WU4 is a good example of how one can learn to manage a marriage. She jokingly said that she has got through several phases and now she is embracing her high status at home since she is the only bread-winner. LU2 also is a good example of how cultural identity is very fluid. While she was married, she tended to separate herself from Vietnamese spouses to appease her Taiwanese mother-in-law and husband; however, after her divorce she began to reclaim her original identity to build a social network of other Vietnamese spouses.

Integrating Vietnamese Culture into Taiwanese Culture

The respondents did not show a strong interest in historical events such as martial law in Taiwan or stories about their husband serving in the army. In contrast, they would like to pay more attention to cultural integration. They also think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted. In my case study, JE3 shows her caliber in managing her business to increase the image of Vietnamese spouses in

Taiwan; in fact, she interacts more with Taiwanese customers or residents in her community than those of Vietnamese. These attempts to integrate Vietnamese culture with that of Taiwan are supported by survey data. Among the 25 questions, Item 20 “Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted,” received the highest mean score ($M = 4.21$).

Summary

The overall results of this dissertation research are consistent with the idea of cultural competence measured by the four dimensions of the “Cultural Identity Scale” identified by Wu (2009) and emphasize the affective perspective of acculturation competence toward the link between new immigrants and their next generation. Additionally, this dissertation research examined the relationships among the four dimensions of cultural identity with 12 demographic variables. In addition, a number of significant correlations were found among the four dimensions with the 12 demographic variables. This shows that those items receiving higher mean scores are all closely related to social capital such as learning local languages, and the connection to Taiwan through husbands or other individuals. On the other hand, those who can utilize their cultural capital such as skills of making Vietnamese cuisine or tailoring Vietnamese traditional dresses are more likely to have opportunities to take advantage of social capital such as social networks or personal connections accessing the local community or government. In short, this dissertation’s argument shows that most of the Vietnamese spouses have the goal of becoming a member of the new society, although they hesitate to completely give up their ties with their home cultures.

Policy Implications

Firstly, more on-line courses should be setup to give foreign spouses living in

remote villages more convenient access to empowering themselves with knowledge, especially Chinese reading and writing. Secondly, it is noted that only one of seven cases interviewed stated that she has enjoyed a lot of opportunities to travel in Taiwan due to the fact that she is a full-time housewife. However, the other six Vietnamese spouses have limited mobility not only because they devote themselves to working long days but also because some of them are the major or only breadwinners in the family. Thus, it is suggested that more group travels can be held by immigration centers or NGOs with some subsidies from the MOI to allow more foreign spouses the opportunity to learn more about Taiwanese culture through travelling. Thirdly, Bhabha (1994, p. 51) stated, “[W]hen the issue of culture has been brought to the spotlight, identity is never a priori, nor a finished product; it is only ever the problematic process of access to an image of totality.” Research needs to continue on into the second generation of transnational marriages because how the new generations conceptualize their positions in such a unique environment needs to be further understood. Not only do the mothers need to be understood but also what it means for them to have a foreign mother and Taiwanese father. Fourthly, the findings imply that these Vietnamese spouses cherish and enjoy the integration of mixing Vietnamese cultural characteristics with Taiwanese ones besides looking for an economic empowerment in Taiwan. Therefore, how to preserve Taiwanese culture will be an important lesson to meet the expectations of these Vietnamese spouses. Lastly, along with two urgent and worsening social phenomena: an ageing society and low fertility rate, eventually shaping the demographic changes in the society of Taiwan, the government needs to spare no effort to review its immigration rules in a broader scale, especially toward migration through marriage or work.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Apart from conducting further research on the lives of Vietnamese spouses in Taiwan, it is hoped that succeeding research can focus on cultural identity and social identity of brides from other ethnic backgrounds other than Vietnamese spouses to determine whether or not any significant disparities exist. Secondly, it is hoped that future research will not neglect the role of the Taiwanese husbands, who always play the most important roles in terms of transnational marriages. Lastly, research about the next generation of “the new generation of the fifth ethnic group”⁴ (Sandel & Liang 2010) is needed. The offspring of these transnational marriages can’t be focused on too much because this new generation may well serve as a bridge between Taiwan and Southeast Asia in the near future.

⁴ In accordance with the population, the first ethnic groups are 67% Hoklo, 15% Hakka, 15% Chinese Mainlanders, and 2% aboriginal people. The group of foreign spouses and their next generations is called the new generation of the fifth ethnic group.

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Appendix A: The Questionnaire of Vietnamese Spouses' perspectives on Cultural Identity in Taiwan (Vietnamese version)

Câu hỏi về quan điểm của phụ nữ Việt Nam khi kết hôn với chồng Đài Loan về bản sắc văn hoá tại Đài Loan(Vietnamese version)

Các cô, các chị thân mến!

Mục đích của việc đưa ra các câu hỏi này là nhằm khảo sát và tìm hiểu rõ hơn về cách thức và phản ứng của phụ nữ Việt khi đối mặt với những ảnh hưởng về bản sắc văn hóa tại Đài Loan. Hi vọng những phát hiện này có thể đem lại sự hữu ích và sự giúp đỡ có hiệu quả cho bản thân họ và mọi thành viên trong gia đình họ. Thậm chí nó còn góp phần cải thiện cuộc sống hiện tại và giúp họ thích ứng hơn với cuộc sống tại Đài Loan. Giúp cuộc sống của họ trở lên trơn tru, hạnh phúc hơn.

Các câu hỏi liên quan đến thông tin cá nhân trong cuộc khảo sát nhằm sử dụng cho việc nghiên cứu. Câu trả lời của bạn sẽ được hoàn toàn giữ bí mật. Vì vậy bạn có thể hoàn toàn an tâm. Hãy cứ thoải mái trả lời các câu hỏi ấy theo cảm xúc chân thành nhất của bạn trước tình hình thực tế.

Chúng tôi đánh giá cao sự tham gia hợp tác của bạn vào việc góp phần thực hiện nghiên cứu. Xin gửi lời cảm ơn trân thành nhất đến sự đóng góp to lớn của bạn. Chúc bạn luôn gặp nhiều may mắn thuận lợi.

Ritsumenkan Đại học Châu Á Thái Bình Dương, tốt nghiệp Đại học Châu Á Thái Bình Dương tại Nhật Bản

Giám sát nghiên cứu: Giáo sư / tiến sĩ KO, Yiu Chung

Tiến sĩ Ứng cử viên: YU, Teng-Huang

Số điện thoại: 0952-809771

Email: tengyu06@gmail.com

Tháng Tám, 2013

I. Câu hỏi khảo sát:

1. Tuổi: _____
2. Thời gian kết hôn được bao lâu:: _____ Năm
3. Thời gian bạn ở Đài Loan tất cả là bao nhiêu Năm? _____ Năm?
4. Số lượng con cái 0 1 2 3 4
5. Bạn được sinh ra ở đâu: Thành phố - miền bắc Việt Nam Vùng quê -miền bắc Việt Nam Thành phố- miền nam Việt Nam Vùng quê -miền nam Việt Nam .

6. Trình độ học vấn: Tiểu học Trung học cơ sở Trung học phổ thông
 Đại học hoặc cao hơn trình độ đại học
7. Bạn đang làm việc: Nội trợ Nông nghiệp Công nhân Thương mại
 Thủy sản Dịch vụ Việc làm khác _____ Chưa có công việc
8. Bạn có bất cứ anh chị em nào sinh sống hoặc tạm trú ở nước ngoài không? Có
 Tại quốc gia: _____ Không
9. Đây có phải là cuộc hôn nhân đầu tiên của bạn? Phải Không phải
10. Quá trình dẫn dắt đến việc bạn kết hôn với người chồng Đài Loan hiện nay của bạn là như thế nào? Tình yêu lãng mạn Giới thiệu từ nhà môi giới hôn nhân
 Giới thiệu từ bạn bè hoặc người thân Từng là một công nhân nhập cư rồi quen biết nhau.
11. Tôn giáo của bạn là gì: Đạo giáo Phật giáo Đạo công giáo Thiên chúa giáo
 Tôn giáo khác
12. Bạn đang sống cùng ai? chồng Chồng và các con Chồng và bố mẹ
 chồng Chồng, con cái, và bố mẹ chồng chồng, con cái, và người thân

II. Vui lòng chọn câu trả lời thích hợp theo tình hình hiện tại của bạn: Có 5 sự lựa chọn: 1. Rất không đồng ý 2. Không đồng ý 3. Bình thường 4. Đồng ý 5. Rất đồng ý

Nội dung: văn hóa trực thuộc (1-4), tự bản sắc (5-7) văn hóa tiếp nhận (8-18), hội nhập văn hóa (19-25). (Xin vui lòng khoanh tròn vào đáp án bạn chọn)	Rất Khôn g đồng ý	Không đồng ý	Bình thườ ng	ĐỒNG ý	Rất đồng ý
1 Có một mối quan hệ chặt chẽ, mật thiết giữa nền văn hóa từ quốc gia của chồng tôi với cuộc sống của tôi ở Đài Loan	1	2	3	4	5
2. Văn hóa bản địa thuộc quốc gia của chồng tôi là thứ giá trị và quan trọng.	1	2	3	4	5
3.. Tôi rất hứng thú và thích quan tâm tới nền văn hóa từ đất nước đã sinh ra chồng tôi.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Tôi sẽ nói với tất cả mọi người rằng chồng tôi là một người Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
5 Tôi tự hào là vợ của một người chồng Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Nếu có kiếp sau, tôi hy vọng sẽ tiếp tục được kết hôn với người đàn ông Đài Loan	1	2	3	4	5
7. Tôi nên giới thiệu về nền văn hóa của đất nước sinh ra chồng tôi cho gia đình của tôi tại Việt Nam được biết.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Tôi muốn khám phá và tìm hiểu về nền văn hóa của đất nước đã sinh chồng tôi.	1	2	3	4	5

9. Tôi thích lắng nghe một số sự kiện lịch sử và những câu chuyện về Đài Loan từ chồng của tôi.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Tôi muốn lắng nghe những gì chồng tôi đã làm tại Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Tôi sẵn sàng tìm hiểu những nghề thủ công truyền thống của Đài Loan và những khúc hát, những bản nhạc ballad.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Tôi sẵn sàng tham gia vào một số hoạt động liên quan đến văn hóa Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Tôi thích tìm hiểu ngôn ngữ Đài Loan và văn từ	1	2	3	4	5
14. Tôi sẵn sàng học ngôn ngữ Đài Loan và văn từ, chữ viết.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Tham dự các hoạt động liên quan đến văn hóa Đài Loan, đối với tôi đó điều rất quan trọng.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Tôi rất sẵn lòng để nấu các món ăn Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Tôi thích ăn món ăn Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Trong khi tôi đang tiếp thu, học tập văn hóa Đài Loan, tôi cũng sẵn lòng để giới thiệu văn hóa Việt Nam đến Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Sự hiểu biết văn hóa Việt Nam và văn hóa Đài Loan trong cùng một lúc có thể giúp tôi mở rộng tầm nhìn.	1	2	3	4	5
20. Mặc dù tôi đang sống ở Đài Loan, nhưng tôi vẫn nghĩ rằng văn hóa Việt Nam nên được duy trì và phát huy.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Tôi nghĩ rằng có rất nhiều điểm tương đồng giữa văn hóa Đài Loan và văn hóa Việt Nam, điều đó có thể dễ dàng khiến cho tôi làm quen với cuộc sống nơi đây.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Mặc dù tôi đến từ Việt Nam, tôi nghĩ rằng tôi đã trở thành một thành viên của xã hội Đài Loan.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Khi tôi đang làm việc hoặc giao tiếp với người Đài Loan, tôi nghĩ rằng tôi cũng giống như họ.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Tôi sẵn lòng chia sẻ một số món ăn Đài Loan với những người bạn Việt Nam của tôi.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Phải đối mặt với nền văn hóa của quê hương mình và nền văn hóa bản địa của Đài Loan, tôi cảm thấy bản thân mình thích nghi khá tốt.	1	2	3	4	5

Cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của bạn!!!

Appendix B: The Questionnaire of Vietnamese Spouses' perspectives on Cultural Identity in Taiwan (Chinese version)

嫁來台灣的越南女性配偶對先生原生國的文化社會認同之問卷調查

親愛的太太們您好：

此份問卷調查是希望可以更清楚地瞭解從越南來的女性配偶，在面臨丈夫原生國的文化認同時所造成的影響。更令人期待的是，這些發現，可以對這些新住民和他們的家人有所助益，以幫助他們更適應台灣生活。懇請撥空惠答，本調查僅供學術研究使用，問卷內之個人資料絕對保密。請依照您最真實的感受與實際情形，放心填答問卷內之問題，您的參與對本研究的實際進行深具貢獻。謝謝您的合作，最後，在此致上最誠摯的謝意。

敬祝事事順心。

日本立命館亞洲太平洋大學指導教授 KO, Yuin-Chin 博士
博士班研究生 尤登煌

聯絡方式：0952-809771
電子郵件：tengyu06@gmail.com
中華民國 102 年 8 月

I.基本資料:

1. 年齡：_____歲
2. 結婚幾週年： _____年
3. 來臺時間： _____年
4. 現在的婚姻是您的第一次婚姻嗎? 是 不是
5. 越南出生地： 北越都市 北越鄉下 南越都市 南越鄉下
6. 教育程度： 小學 初中 高中 專科或大學以上
7. 目前工作狀態：沒有工作 有工作 工作類型: 家管 農 工 商 漁 服務業 其他:_____
8. 您是否有兄弟姐妹住在越南以外的地方嗎? 沒有 有 國家:_____

9. 子女人數：0 1 2 3 4
10. 您是藉由何種方式與您的先生認識？自由戀愛 經由婚姻仲介介紹
經由朋友或親戚介紹 之前來台擔任過看護工或工廠工人進而認識
11. 您的宗教信仰：道教 佛教 基督教 天主教 其他
12. 您目前和誰同住：丈夫 丈夫和小孩 丈夫和公婆 丈夫、小孩和公婆 丈夫、小孩和及親戚

II. 根據您現在的情況，請選擇最適當的選項:

1. 非常不同意 2. 不同意 3. 尚可 4. 同意 5. 非常同意

填答說明：此一部分是要瞭解您對文化認同的看法。請您仔細閱讀每一題，如果題目所提的情形，您覺得非常不同意，請在非常不同意的號碼上打勾；如果您覺得同意，請在同意的號碼上打勾。謝謝您的合作！

內容: 文化歸屬(1-4); 自我認同(5-7); 文化投入(8-18); 文化整合(19-25)	非常不同意	不同意	尚可	同意	非常同意
1.先生的原生國文化與我在台灣的生活關係密切。	1	2	3	4	5
2.先生的原生國文化是珍貴且重要的。	1	2	3	4	5
3.我對先生原生國的文化充滿興趣與喜愛。	1	2	3	4	5
4.我會大方地承認我的先生是台灣人。	1	2	3	4	5
5 我以當台灣人的太太為榮。	1	2	3	4	5
6.如果可以的話，我希望下輩子仍然可以嫁來台灣。	1	2	3	4	5
7.我先生的原生國文化，應該介紹給我越南的家人知道。	1	2	3	4	5
8.我想探索與學習先生的原生國文化。	1	2	3	4	5
9.我喜歡聽先生談論有關台灣的歷史事蹟。	1	2	3	4	5
10.我喜歡聽先生談論有關他在台灣所發生的往事。	1	2	3	4	5
11.我願意學習台灣的傳統技藝或歌謠。	1	2	3	4	5
12.我願意參加和台灣文化有關的各種活動。	1	2	3	4	5
13.我喜歡學習台灣的語言和文字。	1	2	3	4	5
14.我願意學習台灣的語言和文字。	1	2	3	4	5

15.參加有關台灣文化的活動，對我而言是很重要的。	1	2	3	4	5
16.我願意學習烹煮台灣的在地料理。	1	2	3	4	5
17.我喜歡吃台灣的在地料理。	1	2	3	4	5
18.學習臺灣文化的同時，我願意將越南文化介紹給臺灣本地人。	1	2	3	4	5
19.同時了解越南及臺灣文化，更可以幫助我拓展視野。	1	2	3	4	5
20.即使在台灣生活，本身的越南文化，也應該受到保留與發揚。	1	2	3	4	5
21.我認為臺灣本地文化與自己原生國的文化，有很多相似之處，讓我很容易習慣這裡的生活。	1	2	3	4	5
22.雖然自己來自越南，可是我覺得自己已經融入臺灣社會。	1	2	3	4	5
23.當我在與臺灣本地人一起工作或交流時，並不會覺得自己跟他們有什麼不一樣。	1	2	3	4	5
24.我願意烹煮台灣菜與其他越南朋友分享。	1	2	3	4	5
25.面對自己原生國的文化與臺灣本地文化，我覺得自己調適得很好。	1	2	3	4	5

本問卷至此為止，此再次檢查是否有問題遺漏填答，若有遺漏之處，懇請您完成回答。衷心感謝您的填答與協助。

Appendix C: The Questionnaire of Vietnamese Spouses' perspectives on Cultural Identity in Taiwan (English version)

Dear *Informants*,

The purpose of this questionnaire aims to explore how Vietnamese Spouses react to the issue of cultural identity while living in Taiwan. It is hoped that a number of fruitful findings can benefit Vietnamese spouses and their family members as well, thereby making them more smoothly and happily live in Taiwan.

Please take your time to answer this questionnaire. Since this questionnaire is only for the purpose of academic research, your answers will be fully confidential, so please feel relaxed to answer all the questions. We sincerely appreciate and thank for your participation and cooperation.

Ritsumenkan Asia Pacific University, Japan Graduate College of Asia Pacific

Study Supervisor: Professor/ Dr. KO, Yuin-Chin

Ph.D. Candidate: YU, Teng-Huang

Phone No.: 0952-809771

Email: tengyu06@gmail.com

August, 2013

II. Survey Questions:

1. Age: _____
2. The length of marriage: _____
3. How many years for you to have lived in Taiwan: _____
4. How many children you have 0 1 2 3 4
5. The province you were born: Northern Vietnam-city Northern Vietnam-Village Southern Vietnam- City Southern Vietnam- Village
6. Educational achievement: Elementary school Junior high Senior high College or about
7. Are you working now: Housewife Farming Worker Commerce Fishery Service Other jobs: _____ No
8. Do you have any brothers or sisters living or staying in a foreign country? Yes In which country: _____ No
9. Is this your first marriage? Yes No

10. What is the way for you to marry your Taiwanese husband? Romance love
 Introduction from Marriage broker Introduction from friends or relatives
 Used to be a migrant worker and know my husband
11. What is your religion: Taoism or Buddhism Christian Catholic
 Atheism or other religions
12. Who do you live with? husband husband and children husband and
 parents-in-law husband, children, and parents-in-law husband, children,
 parents-in-law, and other relatives

II. Please select the proper answer according to your current situation among the five choices: 1. Strongly Disagree 2. Disagree 3. Fair 4. Agree 5. Strongly Agree

Contents: Cultural belonging(1-4) ; Self-identity (5-7); Cultural devotion(8-18); Cultural integration(19-25)	S	D	F	A	S
	D				A
1. There is a close relationship between the culture of my husband's natal country and my life in Taiwan.	1	2	3	4	5
2. The culture of my husband's natal country is precious and important.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am very interested and fond of the culture of my husband's natal country.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I will tell all the people that my husband is a Taiwanese.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am proud of being a Taiwanese husband's wife.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I hope to marry a Taiwanese man in my next life if it is possible.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I should introduce the culture of my husband's natal country to my families in Vietnam.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I want to explore and learn the culture of my husband's natal country.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I like to listen to some historical events and stories about Taiwan from my husband.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I like to listen to what my husband has done in Taiwan.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I am willing to learn those Taiwanese traditional craftsmanship and ballads.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am willing to attend some activities related to Taiwanese culture.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I like to learn Taiwanese languages and words.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I am willing to learn Taiwanese languages and words.	1	2	3	4	5
15. It is important for me to attend the activities related to Taiwanese culture.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I am willing to cook Taiwanese cuisines.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I like to eat Taiwanese cuisines.	1	2	3	4	5
18. While I am learning Taiwanese culture, I am also willing to introduce Vietnamese culture to Taiwanese.	1	2	3	4	5
19. Understanding Vietnamese culture and Taiwanese culture at	1	2	3	4	5

the same time can help me broaden my vision.					
20. Even though I am living in Taiwan, I still think Vietnamese culture should be maintained and promoted.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I think there are many similarities between Taiwanese culture and Vietnamese culture, which can easily make me get used to living here.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Although I came from Vietnam, I think I have become a member of Taiwanese society.	1	2	3	4	5
23. When I am working or communicating with Taiwanese, I do think I am the same as they.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I am willing to share some Taiwanese cuisines with my Vietnamese friends.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Faced with the culture of my natal country-Vietnam and the culture of Taiwan, I am confident that I can adjust myself well.	1	2	3	4	5

Thanks for your assistance!!!

Appendix D

A descriptive chart about the turning points from their life events categorized into Cultural Capital and Social Capital

Pseudo names		life in Vietnam before the migration	life in Taiwan after the marriage	future prospects life in Taiwan
PE1 (north Vietnam; eldest daughter; family business; senior high)	Cultural Capital	senior high/little Chinese appearance	working/ married/ fluent Chinese/English	
	Social Capital	middle-class	a laborer/ married a public official/ a group leader in a company	
LU2 (HCM city, south Vietnam; eldest daughter; family business; senior high)	Cultural Capital	senior high/multilingual, felt discrimination/learned Mandarin for 6 years /teach Vietnamese		
	Social Capital	two maids at home	married/dad's death/divorced/daughter's custody/to be a teacher	
JE3 (satellite city of HCM City; family business; senior high)	Cap.	senior high/appearance	felt discrimination/married	learn from her mother-in-law
	Social Capital	grocery store	sister and cousin / running her own business/own social network/invest in Vietnam	In Taiwan

WU4 (remote fishing village; elementary; unmarriageable age; eldest daughter)	Cultural	
	Capital	<p>elementary school/ cooking skills / hard to find a job popularity with her Vietnamese cuisine</p>
	Social	<p>family's financial</p>
	Capital	<p>poor family/old married problem only bread-winner</p>
KI5 (poor family with 8 children; eldest daughter; daughter under her custody)	Cultural	
	Capital	<p>junior high/cooking expertise fluent Chinese/ learn from her daughter</p>
	Social	
	Capital	<p>poor family married divorced bought a house/ invest in Vietnam/ run her store/daughter (nursing college)</p>
PA6 (Vietnamese Chinese; work for marriage agent; beautiful appearance)	Cultural	
	Capital	<p>senior high/appearance fluent Chinese learn nail-beautifying skill</p>
	Social	
	Capital	<p>work for a marriage agent married divorced son / run her store /social network</p> <p>has a boyfriend/travel around Taiwan</p>
ME7 (remote village; poor family; can't attend a college; beautiful)	Cultural	
	Capital	<p>senior high/appearance learn Chinese/Taiwanese/full-time housewife</p>
	Social	
	Capital	

appearance)		<p>poor family married control finances travel around Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan / son in a private school/</p>
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