

**NEW IMMIGRANT CHILDREN'S COMPLICATED BECOMINGS:
A MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY
IN A TAIWANESE DIASPORIC SPACE**

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

The coming of capitalist globalization and the so-called end of the Cold War and colonialism have brought Taiwan and its neighbors into a new era of migration. Many females from China and Southeast Asia come to Taiwan by intermarriage. These women are known in these days as new immigrants. They and their children—new immigrant children (NIC)—are now considered as the fifth ethnic group in Taiwan. Their arrival changes the demography of Taiwan and is recently perceived as an emerging challenge to the host society and its educational system.

This dissertation comes from a four-year ethnographic study of NIC's education and acculturation since 2002 when the challenge had not yet been fully recognized. Many NIC, their teachers, their neighbors, and their parents have participated in this study and shared their ideas and stories of the research topic. This study particularly focuses on six families and two older NIC from their middle school by following these participants'

everyday lives and biographies. With an interest in diverse becomings, this dissertation especially focuses on the Awen family.

Based on the Awen's stories, this study finds that all of the Awens are becoming new Taiwanese. But Taiwanese-ness is not an ahistorical culturalist concept. Rather, it is historically structured and territorially polymorphous; and therefore, is multiple and complicated. In order to cope with the subjects' multiplicity and complexity, the researcher argues for a situated interpretation of these NIC's everyday practices. Such an interpretation should first contextualize the subjects' diverse micro becomings into the ever-changing macro structure. Also, it implicitly calls for both a comparative study and a cultural critique of the culture of the host society.

Taking becomings as an alternative foundation of multiculturalism, this study finally argues that multicultural education should attend more to how to maintain and enrich the possibility of desirable becomings. In the context of Taiwan, this also means that, however diverse becoming new Taiwanese would be, it is a project of all Taiwanese.

Dedicated to my father

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has been a panacea to relieve the overwhelming stresses in a typical doctoral student's life.

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education

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INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT

This dissertation draws on a four-year research project on an emerging demographic and educational challenge in Taiwan. It takes New Immigrant Children (NIC) and their families as its subjects and focuses on issues of both their acculturation and education. The fieldwork involves six families although only one family, the Awens, is dealt with this dissertation. All of these children come from families of intermarriages. Most of them have, at least, one of their parents' national origins from China and less developed Southeast Asian countries, such as Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, and Cambodia.ⁱ Compared with average Taiwanese families, their parents are relatively poor and less educated.ⁱⁱ

The Emerging of the Research Topic

Since the 1980s, intermarriage has engendered the most recent wave of immigrants in Taiwan. It was gradually popular after the mid 1990s, but was not well recognized until Hsiao-chuan Hsia's (2000) groundbreaking study was published at the turn of this new millennium.ⁱⁱⁱ Two years later, a journalist's report (Rong-Yu Chen, 2002a) formally

raised a public alarm regarding the influx of NIC into the Taiwanese educational system.^{iv} Since then, the government, both central and local, the academy, and many non-governmental and non-profit organizations have employed hundreds of research and counseling projects in order to cope with this emerging “crisis”.^v

The Nature and the Purposes of this Research Project: The Complicated Becomings

In Taiwan, because of the emerging nationalist consciousness, NIC and their parents have been conceptualized as an emerging ethnic group of “foreignness”. This raises a sense of crisis around such topics as multiculturalism and multiplicity. However, the national/cultural background of this ethnic group is very diverse. Seeking a so-called cultural pattern which is typical in many studies of ethnic culture is often reductionist. Therefore, instead of starting an expected exploration from presuming their “foreignness”, this study attends to these subjects’ diverse trajectories of migration and complicated becomings.

In order to cope with the complexity of becoming, the researcher conducted an ethnographic study focusing on the subjects’ everyday life. In so doing, he wanted to find how the changes of structure and historicity impacted his participants. Put differently, the

research interest is in how their biographies and everyday lives have been (re-) made, actively or passively, because of both global and regional changes. In other words, this study theorizes their lives and their changes—their micro becomings—“situationally”, i.e. in the context of a changing global/regional political-economy at the macro level. This is the first sense of situational understanding.

In order to achieve this goal, this study uses a comparative lens. In order to demonstrate the similarities or differences, *all* Taiwanese—both the new and the old Taiwanese—are juxtaposed in front of these big and small topics, ranging from recent controversies of educational reform, male Taiwanese experiences in military service, to vegetable planting for informal economical purpose. This makes the study by and large a “cultural critique” and a project of anthropologist’s repatriation (Marcus and Fischer, 1999). It at the same time puts the “average” Taiwanese, with their racism, logics of naming and identity politics, and their thoughts of the most recent economic stagnation, under scrutiny, an “average” constructed via newspapers, films, documentaries, and academic studies and reports. This is the meaning of situational understanding in its second sense. Without such a situational understanding, policy suggestions for *all* Taiwanese would be impossible.

From these two situational perspectives of becomings, this study proposes some policy suggestions for multicultural education. The goal of such policies is less that of having the minorities, be they NIC or aboriginals, preserving their own cultural heritages. Rather, it aims both to maintain and to enrich the possibility of desirable becomings. It is not simply trying to excuse assimilationism. More importantly, this study urges the possibility of desirable becomings for all Taiwanese to become “new”.^{vi}

The Methods: A Colective Case Study

A few days before the journalist’s alarm was launched, this project had begun with its preparatory statistical estimation and a fieldtrip pilot.^{vii} By the end of October 2002, Jaguar community was selected to be the research site.^{viii} With the help of teachers in both Jaguar Elementary and Phoenix Middle, many NIC, as well as their parents, families, and neighbors shared their stories and ideas of educating NIC with the researcher. But, the core of this study was an ethnography of six NIC’s families and two older NIC from their middle school.^{ix}

Basically, this ethnography is a “collective case study” (Stake, 2000). All of its cases are at the same time intrinsic and instrumental. In terms of instrumental, they are the small things in which the researcher wants to find the big (Sahlins, 1999)—the

complicated impact of the (post) Cold War, the (post-) colonialism, and the ongoing capitalist globalization.^x These cases can, therefore, help *us* broaden our knowledge of history and its challenges that *we* have commonly experienced and will continue to face together. However, they are also individually intrinsic because of their particularities. With such particularities, a diasporic space (Brah, 1996)^{xi} is unfolded, and a broader range of complicated becomings then become possible. In other words, their instrumental uses make their particularities more significant and meaningful to *all* of their compatriots. In return, their particularities could thus be situationally coped with within a horizon that is undergirded by *our* common historical experiences. Such a double concern of the instrumental/commonality and the intrinsic/particularity has profoundly impacted the selection of studying, comparing, and learning.

The interest of becoming indicates a concern of temporality. In order to meet such a methodological concern, the project not only investigated its subjects' biographies, but also called for long-term observations and studies. This study, therefore, based on Marcus' (1995) suggestion of multi-sited design,^{xii} "followed" its participants into their everyday lives throughout the research duration from the August 2002 into summer 2006. Figure 1.1 shows the timeline of the research project.

	07/02	08/02	10/02	09/06
Demographic Study	• • •			
Pilot Fieldtrip		• • •		
Fieldwork: Interviews with and Observations on NIC, their families, and their teachers			• • •	
Final Writing				• • •

Figure 1 Timeline of the Research Project

Representativeness is a typical sampling concern in many case studies. In this study, it has been a little twisted because the research is interested in the “possibility of desirable becomings”. In order to explore the range of possibility, the researcher is attracted to both the complexity and the diversity of becomings. As a result, particularity becomes an additional sampling concern. In other words, representativeness is not the issue so much as pay attention to the subjects’ particular career expectations and changes of their behaviors, language practices, and so on.

However, it is worth noting that the foregoing concerns were not *a priori* given when the research began. They came together with the researcher’s field study. The researcher did not intentionally apply any sampling design. Most of his participants, especially all of his core cases, came from his informants’ social network.^{xiii} Fortunately or not, the

demographic feature of the studied cases is coincidentally very close to the population proportion of NIC in Jaguar community.^{xiv}

Profiles of the Selected Cases^{xv}

After years of fieldwork, the data of this research project are very rich. But, to be addressed more fully later, this dissertation presents only the Awen's stories. Details of the other cases have been reserved for a writing project in the next phase of the researcher's academic career. However, these cases still have their part: first of all, in explicitly foregrounding the structural historical context of this ethnic group's diaspora,^{xvi} and secondly, as implicit references to support the written stories of the Awen family in this dissertation and to provide a comparative base to be elaborated in future work.

In order to foreground the coming historical review of this ethnic group, here is a brief introduction of the core cases in this research project.

Ray and Xui are the cases of the older NIC in this project. The researcher met them in Phoenix Middle at the first half of 2003 when they were "socially" seventh graders, but "biologically" one (Xui) and three (Ray) years older than their classmates. They had been classmates since they were third graders in Jaguar Elementary. Both of them were not

born in Taiwan. Xui was born and spent her early childhood in China. Her mother had middle school education in China, and therefore, was hired as a full-time worker in an electronic factory in Taiwan. In addition to an older son, Xui is the first daughter of the three from her second marriage with Mr. Huang—an old “Mainlander”^{xvii} veteran. Ray was born in Thailand. With his older brother and sister, he came to Taiwan for family reunion after his mother remarried his new father—Mr. Liu, also an old “Mainlander” veteran.^{xviii}

Hau is the oldest son of Wen and oldest brother of Kai and Kiki. He was a second grader when he became part of this study in 2005. His father, Wen, was also a Hakka born in Indonesia. Wen came to Taiwan for his mother remarriage with Wen Sr.—again, an old “Mainlander” veteran. When the study began, Wen Sr. died a few years ago; Wen had no job; and Hau had no mother—she left her three children to Wen. Because of Wen’s joblessness, raising these children became, in reality, mostly their grandma’s responsibility.

Gui was a first grader when he became part of this study in early 2003. He is the only son of Ms Min and Mr. Cherng. Cherng is a Taiwanese Hakka. He earned his high school diploma from a vocational high school, and began his career as a construction

worker. But, he was jobless throughout the research. Min was born in Thailand. She owned a small Thai restaurant. They separated a little more than a year after this study began, and divorced another one year after. Gui, at first, lived with his father; but now, he was under Min's guardianship.

Yun and Berlin were Phoebe and Sam's children. Both Phoebe and Sam were Hakka born in Indonesia. Both came to Taiwan after their mothers' remarrying their step-fathers—both are old "Mainlander" veterans. Among all the cases under study, Sam was the only person at the managerial level in a small business; and Phoebe was the only mother with high school diploma which she earned in Taiwan.^{xix}

Jia was a third grader when he and his family were invited to join this study in 2004. He is the only son of Mr. Yi and Ms Zhang. Yi is an old "Mainlander" veteran. Zhang came from China. Just like Xui, Chia was born in China. He stayed there until six when his mother finally earned her Taiwanese ID. Since then, she was qualified to work in Taiwan. Like Xui's mother, Zhang had her middle school education in China and was a full-time worker in an electronic factory in Taiwan.

Yu, Syuan, and Zeng are Ms Fen and Mr. Chang's children. Both Fen and Chang are Hakka. But, Chang was born in Taiwan, Fen in Indonesia. Chang is a construction worker

with middle school education. Limited by her unfinished elementary education, Fen was a subcontracting worker at home before she took a job in an electronic factory.

This dissertation focuses especially on the Awen family. She is a Hakka born in Indonesia, and remarried Mr. Law, a Taiwanese Hakka, in 1996. In addition to five children who came to Taiwan for family reunion, she and Mr. Law have a daughter, Nini. Chapter One provides more details of this family's migration and their identity strategies to meet the ethnic politics in Taiwan. Data chapters (Chapters Five and Six) offer more fully developed narratives of this family's acculturation and migration experiences.

Comparing these fathers' ethnicities and these mothers' nationalities with the geography of Jaguar community and its history of intermarriage,^{xx} sampling through the informants' network "accidentally but successfully" represents the demography of NIC in this community. They are adequately representative. However, as a Hakka community (the second ethnic group in Taiwan) with a longer history of intermarriage and a huge "Mainlanders" population, the selected cases cannot represent this emerging ethnic group based on national or cultural backgrounds. In short, this study is interested in its subjects' particularities, especially the extent to which the selected cases can cope with the multiplicity of complicated particularities. With this concern in mind, the Awen family

central to this dissertation. For instance, the young Awens came to Taiwan either for family reunion or by birth. Such a parallel is not typical. But, both represent two of the most often seen routes of NIC's coming. Therefore, the Awen family is representative because it potentially includes a broader possibility of becomings.

Data Representation and Translation

This study applies the following principles to its data presentation. Supplementary, complementary, or contrary information as well as the researcher's practices related to ongoing issues will be put in boxes. Footnoted are specifically the researcher's methodological reflections. Endnotes are used to explain less critical details, and are spaces of cultural translation. Such a presentation strategy will be detailed in Chapter Four.

Interviews were conducted in Chinese and translated into English. Research journals, fieldnotes, and interview transcriptions were originally all written in Chinese. They are translated into English by the researcher after being analyzed and cited.

In Taiwan, translation, especially name spelling, always has special nationalist concerns. In order to spell the participants' (pseudo) names from a transnational stance, an alternative rule of spelling is necessary. Basically, name translation in this study is

primarily people's own if such is available (the Wade-Giles system mostly).¹ If it is not, he uses Hanyu pinyin (漢語拼音) or Tongyong pinyin (通用拼音) to “represent” the subjects’ “national” origins—Chinese or non-Chinese.² This rule applies to translation of places, like Taipei (台北), Hsinchu (新竹), Yunlin (雲林), and Guandong (廣東).

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters and a few sub-chapters which are interwoven with chapters to foreground, bridge, or conclude chapters before or after them.

¹ Most adults from Taiwan spell their name with the Wade-Giles system, including the researcher himself. Some of them may spell their names as they wish, like Kuan-Hsin Chen (陳光興). Also, as opposed to Mandarin, Chinese worldwide may use their own dialects to spell their names, such as Khay Thiong Lim (林開忠) and Beng-Huat Chua (蔡明發). Some may have English names, like Julie Liu (劉珠利) and Allen Chun (陳奕麟).

² Spelling of all of the research participants and most of the journalists, like Rong-Yu Chen (陳榮裕), are unavailable. Thus, the researcher will spell their names or create their pseudonyms by the following rules:

- a) If the person comes from Taiwan or it is a place in Taiwan, the researcher will use Tongyong pinyin currently promoted by the Taiwanese government, like Rong-Yu Chen (陳榮裕).
- b) If the person is from China (including those NIC whose mothers come from China) or the place is in China, the researcher will use Hanyu pinyin, such as Xui, Ms Zhang, and Fei, Xiaotong (費孝通).
- c) If both the person and the place are from/in neither Taiwan nor China, the researcher will use the Wade-Giles system to spell his/her/its pronunciation in Mandarin.
- d) English names will be used when pseudonyms are needed, such as Awen's oldest son, Tony, and Yun's father, Sam.

Chapter One reviews the ethnic politics in Taiwan—the political context where this study is emerging at the national level. But, such a limited context clearly lacks an adequate historical and transnational vision to cope with the complexity of the research topic. Demography and available statistics of the subjects are also introduced to generate a more general and clearer image of the research subjects. But, such a picture, in effect, cannot successfully capture the subjects' everyday life. With the help of ethnographic findings, this chapter calls for an alternative paradigm of multiculturalism which explores the subjects' complicated becomings by examining their everyday life in a context of a specific spatiotemporality.

Chapter Two is composed of the researcher's early research journals. It is also an introduction to the emerging of the dissertation project at a community level and from the researcher's perspective. Therefore, as critical background knowledge of the same scale, the chapter ends with the history and the geography of the research site. This chapter clearly addresses that part of this dissertation is both action-oriented and confessional (Van Maanan, 1988).

After a theoretical review of migration, Chapter Three responds theoretically to the call for an alternative paradigm of multiculturalism. Instead of employing the typical

culturalist approach, this study draws heavily on Harvey's (1989) geographical historical materialism with a specific regional—Asian—reconsideration. Following Kuan-Hsing Chen's (2006) suggestion, it identifies the impact of the (post-) Cold War, (post-) colonialism, and the emerging globalization on the modernization in Southeast Asia as the themes to be examined in its ethnography of the subjects' everyday life.

Chapter Four details the study's methodological issues. In order to cope with the subjects' production of culture, Lefebvre's (1991) trialectics is applied to the interpretation of the prepresentations of the subjects (the conceived), their biographies (the lived), and their daily practices (the perceived) in their life world. Its ethnographic effort especially focuses on the dimension of the perceived. In order to capture the subjects' becomings, the researcher employs Marcus' (1995) "multi-sited" research design and follows both their biographies and their everyday practices. The ethnographic findings constitute the realistic narratives (Van Maanan) in data chapters. However, in order to articulate the other dimensions of the production of the subjects' culture, to invite alternative interpretation, and to enhance the validity of representation, this dissertation utilizes a spatialized strategy to present and organize its findings. It uses footnotes for methodological reflections and boxes for supplementary information.

The Prelude is a guide to data presentation. It introduces the focus of presentation—the Awen family, and previews some of the repeatedly emerging issues in this case, such as the father’s pedagogical philosophy and practice as well as the economic issues that concern this family. In addition, regarding the confessional nature of this dissertation, a methodological reflection unveils the everchanging and often tricky relationships between the researcher and the members of this family. On the one hand, it suggests the limit of validity; on the other hand, it invites different interpretations.

Chapte Five focuses on two major issues: the family’s migration and the young Awens’ education. As analyzed in the interlude, literacy was clearly a critical challenge to the Awens in their way to a better life in a “modern” society. In addition, the father’s pedagogical philosophy and practices were, by and large, acquired from his military career which was very much affected by the prevailing Cold War atmosphere of the day. The Awen boys’ language learning was also impressive and exemplary in their efforts of becoming different “Taiwanese”. The effect of postcoloniality in both Taiwan and Indonesia had doubled the complexity of their becomings. Also, the meanings of “Taiwaneseness” are multiplied by both its (post-) colonial modernization and the capitalist globalization.

Chapter Six turns to issues of both the Awen family's economy and their family relations. As shown in the Coda, the family's (re-) production activities may look similar to typical Taiwanese family of the Awen's social economic status, but these activities, in effect, demand a situational interpretation. Although this family is not poor in material sense, in terms of their family relation, their inadequate literacy, and their awareness of both the mode and relations of modern production, they had trapped themselves in a culture of poverty. Social network might commonly be a critical answer to this challenge. But, as new immigrants, it is the very difficulty in their acculturation.

The Conclusion summarizes the research findings. Based on these findings, the researcher reasserts the importance of a situational understanding of the complicated becomings. Following his theory of becoming, he proposes an example of educational policy that can maintain and enrich the possibility of more desirable becomings. In the context of Taiwan, such a paradigm of multicultural education is concerned with not only the immigrants or the other minorities' becoming Taiwanese, but also the becoming "new" of all Taiwanese.

ⁱ See Chapter One for the definition of New Immigrant Children.

ⁱⁱ See Chapter One for the average condition of the NIC's families in Taiwan.

ⁱⁱⁱ See Chapters One for the emerging of this new ethnic group.

^{iv} See Chen's report in Chapters One.

^v See Chapter One for the average condition of the NIC's families in Taiwan, Chapter Two for the governmental policies recently proposed, and the beginning of Chapter Three for the proliferation of related studies.

^{vi} See the Conclusion.

^{vii} See Chapter Two for the early research practice of this study

^{viii} See the reports of finding research subjects and a research site and both the geography and history of Jaguar community in Chapter Two.

^{ix} See Chapter Four for the basic information of these families and teenagers.

^x See individual families' migration routes in Chapter One. A more macro review of the history is presented in Chapter Three.

^{xi} A diasporic space is a space where the immigrants meet both their new and old country fellows. Interactions and networking in such a space are, at the same time, affected by issues of gender, sexuality, age, class, etc. See Chapter Three for further review.

^{xii} See Chapter Four.

^{xiii} See Chapter Two about the challenges of finding research subjects.

^{xiv} See Chapter Two for both the geography and the demography of the research site.

^{xv} Here and elsewhere, pseudonyms are used for the schools and participants in this study.

^{xvi} See Chapter One.

^{xvii} See the common understanding of the formation of Taiwanese ethnic groups in Chapter One.

^{xviii} See Chapter One for more family travelogue of Ray's migration.

^{xix} For stories of Phoebe's family, see Chapter One. For their participation in this study, see Chapter Two.

^{xx} See Chapter One for the brief historical review of the ethnic politics and both the formation and the definition of ethnic groups in Taiwan. See also Chapter Two about both the geography and the history of the research site.

CHAPTER 1

AN EMERGING CRISIS

This is a study of “New Immigrants’ Children” (NIC) in Taiwan, and their (families’) experience of migration, education, socialization, and acculturation. In Taiwan, they are also known as “foreign spouses’ children,” “New Resident’s Children,” “New Taiwanese Children,” and were renamed as “New Immigrants’ Children” after a naming movement launched in 2003. All of these terms are involved in a “politics of naming” reviewed later in this chapter.ⁱ

As Taiwanese “conventionally” understand, NIC are children of “foreign brides”. In Taiwanese everyday language, this term (NIC) can be defined as a group of people—an ethnic group recently (mis-) recognized—whose mothers (fathers, or both) immigrated from China and other so-called “less developed countries” in Southeastern Asia, such as Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippine, Cambodia, and Myanmar (previously Burma) into Taiwan after the end of Chinese Civil War (1949). However, rather than political

oppression to refugees or asylum seekers, their coming is mostly “voluntary,” and a direct outcome of their parent’s (re-)marriage.

In this dissertation, the researcher will first study their current conditions, including: how these youths and their families are both socially and culturally challenging their host society, what challenges they are facing, where these challenges originate, and what can be done to assist them in their education, socialization, and acculturation. In addition, the researcher will explore their “culture”— their everyday practice, and how they invent and maintain (produce and reproduce) their “culture.” Also, this study will offer alternatives to understand and to live with the flow of people in the age of globalization. Finally, this dissertation will propose some suggestions of policy and education for *all* Taiwanese to better its multicultural conditions.

This study began at the end of July 2002 when this topic was not yet perceived as a “problem” by the majority of Taiwanese. But, as the research proceeded, the “problem” soon emerged. However, the background of such a problem can be politically well understood much earlier. The following quote came from a reading group in summer 2000. It suggests the political atmosphere that the “problem” had been situated before it was recognized.

Overture: They Are Coming!
July 2000, Hsinchu City, Taiwan

In a summer reading group, two guest speakers shared their scholarly careers with a group of graduate students in a local teachers' college to initiate a discussion of women's life stories. Before the end of that meeting, both scholars were asked to foretell some emerging critical issues of feminist study in the field of education in Taiwan.

“From my point of view,” said Professor A,ⁱⁱ

in spite of the triumph of native regime in this campaign,ⁱⁱⁱ people in our educational system are still desperately in need of a correct national identity. This will be an issue that must be taken into account with the continuous project of women's consciousness awakening.

“Yeah, this is an important issue.” Professor B followed,

But, I wonder if there is probably another challenge. I personally have no exact idea of the reality. But, there seems to be a large number of “foreign brides” in Taiwan. I am not sure how many children these females have had. Neither do I know how old their children are now. But, someday, these children will come to our schools. I don't know whether they will cause any particular problem. I wonder if our schools and teachers are ready to meet this challenge if there is any.

This chapter demonstrates the complexity of the research subjects, and how this complexity was entangled with the nationalist controversies in Taiwan, the post Cold War and postcolonial atmosphere in the region of Southeast Asia, in the age of the so-called globalization. Issues of who they are will be reviewed via two approaches: the

official statistics and the subjects' migratory travelogues. Also introduced are the politics of naming this ethnic group and the implicit identity conflicts from both the disjunction of historicity and the geopolitical transformation.

Immigration and Formation of Ethnic Groups in Taiwan

In Taiwan, in addition to factors of race and culture, the formation of ethnic groups is highly related to the arrival of Han's immigrants at different times—from a Han's ethnocentric point of view. Aborigines, ethnologically Austronesians, were the dominant ethnic groups four hundred years ago. But now, they are the smallest *one* in Taiwan.

In the following four centuries, as the geopolitical situation transformed, Taiwan developed various cross-border networks across the region. At first, under the pressure of intermittent politico economic turmoil, many Chinese migrants sailed across the Formosa Strait to this island. In the early seventeenth century, Portuguese and Dutchmen came and occupied Taiwan. They were interested in trading with Chinese. Such migration was especially encouraged. Fifty years after, this route was interrupted because of the rivalry between Ch'ing Dynasty (清朝) and Ming's (明朝) loyalists. The route was rebuilt but not supported by the government until the Chinese Empire recognized the geopolitical importance of Taiwan. But, the island was still taken by the Japanese Empire before the

end of the nineteenth century. A few decades after, for its need of a southward steppingstone, the Japanese interest was to connect Taiwan and Southeastern Asia. A new geopolitical network was developing. In sum, every regime had its own cartography to situate Taiwan that reflected their commercial and/or political—i.e. colonial— interest.

From the perspective of the present, Japanese quarantine of Taiwan from China had an additional effect on (re-) categorizing various Chinese sub-ethnic immigrants. Armed conflicts between Chinese sub-ethnic groups had lasted for more than a century (usually in the name of their Chinese originalities). But, these conflicts were finally and ironically pacified under Japanese occupation. An ethnic group known as Taiwanese (in a broader sense) thus emerged. It was constituted by the two largest ethnic/linguistic groups in contemporary Taiwan: Fukianese^{iv} (福建, or Taiwanese in a narrow sense) and Hakka (客家)^v.

Fifty years later, millions of refugees under Chiang Kai-shek's (蔣介石) command retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. A newer ethnic group emerged. They speak a variety of dialects, but are racially almost the same as so-called "Taiwanese". As soon as Chiang's authoritarian regime accomplished this large-scale political immigration, all doors for immigration and travel were tightly closed. The Cold War had arrived. Since

then, only refugees and anti-communist asylum seekers were authorized to enter and stay. They came either directly from coastal areas or islands in southeastern China or by way of Thailand or Korea. These refugees and those who came with Chiang are currently perceived as the third immigrant ethnic group in Taiwan, “Mainlanders/Outerprovincers.”

In 1979, a decade before the end of the Cold War, Taiwan lifted its restrictions on international travel. Intermarriages came after the increase in interactions with foreignness. The flow of transnational immigration which was frozen after 1950 was restarted. In the 1990s, the capitalist globalization enlarged this flow by labor import and more intermarriage.^{vi} Many Taiwanese families opened their doors to new permanent members with “foreignness”—mostly daughters-in-law or wives. In addition to China, most of these “foreigners” came from so-called “less developed countries” in Southeast Asia. As they populated, another ethnic group was emerging and became the newest member of Taiwanese multicultural society—the research subject in this study.^{vii} As estimated, this newest ethnic group may soon outnumber the oldest one—the Aborigines.^{viii}

A National Crisis at the Gates

A dramatic increase of intermarriages in the mid 1990s had invoked the public's apprehension of the quality of the next generation in Taiwan. Many were worried about these women's "less developed" national origins as evidence of their inferiority. Some were convinced that these females may be disqualified mothers and wives.^{ix} However, before the study began in July 2002, little attention had been paid to this issue. Some NIC's stories might appear now and then in the media.^x But, the government took no reaction to these fragments. In effect, it knew almost nothing about this emerging young population in its education system because no evidence, statistically speaking, testified to their existence. It is Rong-Yu Chen's (陳榮裕, 2002a) report on August 21, 2002 that put these children in the spotlight. Based on some statistical and cultural presumptions, he asserted that school year 2002 should be the booming year of NIC's enrollment. They were about to invade the national educational system in Taiwan. It sounded like a crisis at the gates of Taiwanese schools. But, is it a crisis, and if so, what is the nature of this crisis?

The title of Chen's report kindly, but anxiously as well, addressed his concern to the public: *The Enrollment of The Foreign Brides' Children is Booming: Sizeable*

Population—Some Schools may have 1/5-1/2 New Students Comes from Intermarriage Families; New Minority—Education System Has So Far No Reaction Scheme.

His report was analytical and founded on the statistics of intermarriage from the Ministry of the Interior (MOI). The mid 1990s looked to be a high point of intermarriage. Then, based on an unspoken assumption of these females' birth pattern—having babies as soon as they married, he estimated that the enrollment number of the “Foreign Brides” children would rocket in 2002. The government's “senselessness” was one of his primary concerns.

Along with his analysis were some reports about the challenges and situations (for good or bad) of NIC's families, including: *She, a Five-Year-Old Mama's Girl, Cannot Speak Well—Foreign Brides' Children Usually Have Difficulties in Language, School Works, and Interpersonal Relations; Demanding the Government's Assistance* (Chen, Fong-Lan, 陳鳳蘭, 2002a); *100,000 Foreign Brides, Only 1/7 have Attended to Literacy Classes—the Ministry of Education (MOE) will Provide Widely Specific Programs and Introduce Excellent Foreign Cultures for Exchange and Sharing* (Rong-Yu Chen, 2002b); and *More and More Young Males Marry Foreign Brides—the Growth of Vietnamese Brides is the fastest, More than 60,000 have married to Taiwan* (Chen, Fong-Lan, 2002b).

On the same page, there were three other reports of the mothers: an extended family have more than twenty foreign brides from Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, and China (Chen, Bi-Lin, 陳璧琳, 2002); Young fishermen on a remote island in Penghu all married Cambodian brides (Liu, Hui-Bin, 劉揮斌, 2002); and some of the brides make their living by opening together Vietnamese cafeterias or Indonesian grocery stores (Chen, Cing-Jhih and Jyun-Jhang Zeng, 陳清智、曾俊彰, 2002).

The importance of this special issue did not rest on its correctness. In effect, many of its assumptions were problematic.^{xi} Rather, it was critical for its political effect. It pushed the government to meet an upcoming challenge. Also, it rehearsed some of the related discourses at issue, such as the NIC's disadvantages in education, their families' inner- and inter- national networking, and the feminization of the issue at stake. Namely, males are relatively invisible in family education if the topic is thus constructed. That is, mothers look more like the origin of this "trouble".

About the Research Subjects

After an initial hasty reaction to this alarm, an emergent meeting was held on the next day (Rong-Yu Chen, 2002c). The first measure came out about ten days after Chen's alarm. It required all elementary and middle schools to report the number of these

students. Then, a week after this command, MOE suggested teachers opening resource rooms for these students if they have any learning difficulty (Chen, Man-Ling, 陳曼玲, 2002). In the next few years, the Taiwanese government applied many measures—including large-scale educational research—in quick succession. In 2004 and 2005, many results of the related surveys and research projects were released or published. A clearer picture about NIC was finally illuminated.^{xii} MOE then had an initial understanding of this new ethnic group in its school system.

The Demography of NIC in Taiwan and its National Education System

This section provides “objective” statistics of the changing demography in Taiwan. Table 1.1 demonstrates the total number of births in Taiwan, and the number of births by both non-Taiwanese mothers and Taiwanese mothers from 1998 to 2006. Table 1.2 shows the population of NIC in middle and elementary schools in the school year 2005-2006. Both tables provide a basic understanding of the NIC’s population. As Table 1.1 shows, generally speaking, both the number of births and the birth rate in Taiwan are decreasing in these years, while both numbers of NIC are enlarging.

Year	Births		Birth Registration (by Mothers' National/Regional Origins)					
			No of Births by Females regarded as nationals of ROC		No. of Births by non-Taiwanese Females			
					Numbers before 2004 do not include those who come from China (or Hongkong/Macao) or those who are originally from foreign countries but have naturalized before 2004.			
	No. of Births	Birth Rate (0/00)	Subtotal	%	Subtotal	%	Mainland, H.K. & Macao	Foreigners
1998	271,450	12.43	257,546	94.88	13,904	5.12	...	...
1999	283,661	12.89	266,505	93.95	17,156	6.05	...	...
2000	305,312	13.76	282,073	92.39	23,239	7.61	...	...
2001	260,354	11.65	232,608	89.34	27,746	10.66	...	...
2002	247,530	11.02	216,697	87.54	30,833	12.46	...	...
2003	227,070	10.06	196,722	86.63	30,348	13.37	...	...
2004	216,419	9.56	187,753	86.75	28,666	13.25	11,206	17,460
2005	205,854	9.06	179,345	87.12	26,509	12.88	10,022	16,487
2006	204,459	8.96	180,556	88.31	23,903	11.69	10,423	13,480

Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI (edited by the author).

Table 1.1 Numbers of Births in Taiwan from 1998 to 2006 (by Mothers' National/Regional Origins)

Table 1.2 shows that there were more than 60,000 NIC in elementary and middle schools in year 2005-2006. In general, the population of NIC in schools was growing in these years. The population of the NIC whose parent(s) originally come from Vietnam recently has the highest growth rate. This should be a foreseeable result when marriage immigrants from Vietnam out numbered those from Indonesia in the mid 1990s (See

Table 1.3). But, as is clear in Table 1.1, the increase of NIC may reverse when those who born in 2005 and 2006 are at their school age. The majority of them have, at least, one of their parents from China (Hongkong and Macau), and Indonesia, Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, or Myanmar as followed.

Nationality	Total	Middle Level				Elementary Level						
		Total	7 Grade	8 Grade	9 Grade	Total	1 Grade	2 Grade	3 Grade	4 Grade	5 Grade	6 Grade
Total	60,258	6,924	2,741	2,318	1,865	53,334	12,876	11,997	9,580	8,018	6,177	4,686
China, Hong kong, and Macau	21,189	2,331	1,030	733	568	18,858	4,629	4,138	3,199	2,789	2,296	1,807
Vietnam	10,930	645	238	221	186	10,285	3,519	2,909	1,782	1,086	569	420
Indonesia	14,206	1,139	438	379	322	13,067	2,532	2,766	2,608	2,322	1,712	1,127
Thailand	2,855	672	219	260	193	2,183	384	424	457	348	309	261
Philippines	3,801	381	170	113	98	3,420	616	719	705	592	451	337
Cambodia	613	34	11	13	10	579	303	176	33	31	15	21
Japan	975	336	124	118	94	639	106	103	107	125	118	80
Malaysia	1,461	382	153	126	103	1,079	151	175	180	187	203	183
United States	542	146	56	45	45	396	83	67	73	62	60	51
Korea	638	182	58	64	60	456	63	70	78	94	75	76
Myanmar	1,357	224	79	79	66	1,133	258	232	161	189	160	133
Singapore	198	69	25	25	19	129	19	15	21	15	29	30
Canada	125	22	11	7	4	103	21	23	16	13	18	12
The Other	1,368	361	129	135	97	1,007	192	180	160	165	162	148

Source: Dept of Statistic, MOE (edited by the author).

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Table 1.2 Population of Foreign Spouses' Children in Middle and Elementary Schools in the Academic Year 2005-2006 (by Nationality) ^{xiii}

Nationality Year	Thai/ Myanmar	Malaysia	Philippines	Indonesia	Singapore	Vietnam	Cambodia	Total
1994	870	55	1,183	2,247	14	530	NA	4,899
1995	1,301	86	1,757	2,409	52	1,969	NA	7,574
1996	1,973	73	2,085	2,950	18	4,113	NA	11,212
1997	2,211	96	2,128	2,464	50	9,060	NA	16,009
1998	1,173	102	544	2,331	85	4,644	NA	8,879
1999	1,184	106	603	3,643	12	6,790	656	12,994
2000	1,259	65	487	4,381	3	12,327	875	19,397
2001	1,389	NA	377	3,230	NA	12,340	567	17,903
Total	11,360	583	9,164	23,655	234	51,773	2098	98,867

Source: Bureau of Consular Affairs of Taiwanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (edited by the author).

Table 1.3 Numbers of Visa permitted for Taiwanese spouses from Southeast Asia countries.

Currently, the possible composition of the national origins of NIC's parents is clear from the statistics in Table 1.4. In addition to those who come from China, Vietnamese are the largest pool of candidates of NIC's mothers.

		Vietnam	Indonesia	Thailand	Philippines	Cambodia	China	HongKong and Macao	Other
Total	377,600	75,378	25,866	9,611	6,046	4,529	233,454	10,848	11,868
%	100	19.96	6.85	2.55	1.60	1.20	61.83	2.87	3.14

Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI (edited by the author).

Table 1.4 Population of Foreign and Mainland Spouses in Taiwan by nationalities (from Jan 1987 to August 2006)

However, here are two worthnoting issues directly related to the demography of NIC. First, based on the Statistical Report of State Information No.34 (Directorate- General of Budge, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, 2006) and Table 1.1 as well, intermarriages decreased dramatically in 2005 and 2006. It is not clear if this decrease would become a trend. If it is, some further studies will be necessary in the near future.

Secondly, in addition to those who with parent(s) from China, as Table 1.3 shows, although Vietnam is now the biggest country of “exporting” females, Indonesia occupied the first place in the mid 1990s. Therefore, it seemed reasonable that there could be more NIC with parent(s) from Indonesia than from Vietnam when this study began. Also foreseeable is that NIC with parent(s) from Vietnam should become the largest subgroup among all NIC in the mid 2000s in Taiwan. However, there may be regional disparities. In Taiwanese Hakka village, marrying Hakka from Indonesia might well be still more popular than marrying females who speak different languages. Such an ethnic factor can be applied to the selected research site in this study.^{xiv}

Moreover, some methodological issues behind these tables may be equally critical to further our knowledge of the NIC’s emergence. Methodologically speaking, Table 1.1 is a summary of the governmental demographic database—the records of birth registration.

Table 1.2 comes from a nationwide annual survey conducted through teachers in public elementary and middle schools. Clearly, Table 1.2 looks less “objective”. It risks the possibility that some NIC might conceal their parent(s)’ national origins.

But, statistics in Table 1.1 have also their limits. First, the government did not require such an item for birth registration until 1998. It is therefore insufficient to know the NIC’s population higher than grade four (born in the school year 1996-1997). Second, children who came after their mothers’ remarriages with Taiwanese males would not be counted in this table. Such a population can only rely on survey like that of Table 1.2 to estimate. Third, in order to identify the “foreignness” of NIC’s mothers, the government has to “fix” technically the mothers national origins—whether they have naturalized or not. Hence, there was a redefinition of the mothers’ nationalities in 2004. Consequently, if a mother originally from Indonesia has naturalized herself in 1997 and has three children born in 2005, 1998, and 1996, the oldest would have been indifferently registered just as a birth in Taiwan, the second one would be registered as one of the 257,546 under the column of “No. of Births by Females regarded as the nationals of ROC”, but the youngest one would be regarded as a child born by a “Foreigner” in Table 1.2. In other words, such a redefinition basically perceives these mothers as “permanent”

foreigners. Clearly, all of these numbers are not “scientific” or “neutral” as they might initially appear.

Their Families

As is clear in the preceding reflection, many statistical indexes and items are either just created or still under exploration. Thus, it is probably impossible to have a “statistically” scientific answer to what are the most effective indexes. Nor can we confirm, in terms of coping with the transient phenomenon, how effective and correct are the published statistics since they were all collected more than two years ago. Suffice it to say, this new ethnic group is more than “emerging”. The speed of its change, in effect, resists a static representation of their demographics. Therefore, the review here cannot be a precise image of their families, but is a rather simple sketch. Meanwhile, the researcher has only a limited choice to base the review on: a) the *Survey of the Learning and Living Disposition of Foreign Spouses’ Children in Elementary Schools* (the Department of Statistics, MOE, 2005, *LLD*)—a survey started in Autumn 2005, with additional information from b) the *Handbook of Advancing Foreign Spouses’ Family Education* (Shu-Ling Lin 林淑玲, 2004, *Handbook*)—research conducted in Autumn 2004, and c)

MOI's *Survey of the Living Conditions of the Foreign and Mainland Spouses* (MOI, 2004, LC)—a survey began from August 2003 to December 2003.

1. Gender and National/Regional Origins of NIC's Foreign Parents

In the imperial age, immigrants from China were male dominant. As widely known: “Tang-Shan (唐山, i.e. Chinese) came to Taiwan. Only Tang- Shan Gong (唐山公, male Chinese), no Tang-Shan Mu (唐山母, Chinese females).” Hundreds of thousands of Chiang Kai-shek's followers were military people who, therefore, made the Mainlanders very masculine. It is clear that, in the Taiwanese history of transborder migration, the majority of the participants were male. But, intermarriages create historically the first predominantly female immigration. More than 95% of the participants in intermarriages are females (LC).

LLD indicates that students whose mothers come from Indonesia (in addition to China) are currently the largest population in elementary and middle schools. But, as Tables 1.3 and 1.4 show, NIC born by Vietnamese females shall soon outnumber.

2. Household Economy

As reported in *LLD*, 76.7% of the NIC's fathers are the major economic support in these families. But, also 15.4% of the families rely on the mothers' income. As both the

Handbook and *LC* made clear, 22.3% of marriage migrants hold regular fulltime positions. 12.3% have part-time jobs. 48.1% of these employed marriage immigrants work in manufacturing, and 38.9% in service industry. But, in addition to other minorities, such as people with physical or mental difficulties, veterans of the Chinese Civil War, and the Aborigines, more than 50% of Taiwanese male participants of intermarriages are unemployed. For those employed males, 48.5% work in manufacturing, 38.8% in service industry. Finally, in terms of average monthly household income, 73.6% of these families are less than NT 60,000 (less than US 1,800); while the average of a “typical” Taiwanese family is almost NT 68,000 (about US 2,100). In sum, most of these families are economically disadvantaged. 22.6% are under poverty line (*LLD*: 58).

In this study, there were ten fathers in the eight selected cases (two cases had already had their third generations). Five were “Mainlander” veterans. One of them was dead (Wen’s step father). The others lived on their pensions. Except a manager in a small business, two of the other five were unemployed. The last two fathers had a more or less negative vision of their current careers, including Mr. Law—Awen’s husband. The economic stagnation had clear impact on these fathers.

Also, three of the mothers had retired. One graduated from an elementary night school program in Taiwan, and worked for her own small business. One had completed compulsory education in Taiwan, and had been a divorcee without any connection with her children. Both of their husbands were jobless. The other five mothers were factory workers. Three of them—with at least middle school education in China or Taiwan—were officially employed, while the others—with at most elementary education in Indonesia—were dispatched/subcontracting laborers, like Awen. It is clear that many of these mothers played critical economic role in these families.

3. Education Level and Challenges

As shown in the *Handbook* and *LC*, 70% of Taiwanese males in intermarriage have finished either senior or junior high school education. Their female counterpart from China has also mostly finished their middle or high school education (approximately 70%). But, nearly 70% of those women from Southeast Asia have no education higher than middle school (78% in *LLD*). Of course, the language proficiency is another challenge to those from Southeast Asia. In effect, even the Chinese females have some language troubles, especially in face of the Mandarin phonetic symbols (ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄉ) and the traditional Chinese characters. Moreover, as the *Happy Family Hand-Book* (Wen-Zou

Hung & Shin-Hui Wu 洪雯柔、吳欣蕙, 2006) noted, they also have to adjust themselves in order to fit in the educational ecology in Taiwan, for instance, the culture of cramming, finding after school services, etc. Poorly educated (14.6% of fathers and 20% of mothers) and busy in earning survival income (69.2% of fathers and 32.5% of mothers) are two major challenges to parents in helping their children's learning. Mothers' language and cultural difficulties (33.7%, *LLD*: 44-47) have made the problem even worse.

On average, the education level of the ten selected fathers is higher than that of their wives. Five veterans were born in China before the World War Two. All of them had at least finished their elementary education in China. Four of them had, at least, acquired middle school diplomas from supplementary programs in the army. Two of these five veterans' wives were born in China. They had their middle school education there. The other three came from Southeast Asia. They had not finished their elementary education before they married. Only one of them, Ray's mother—Abao, had finished an elementary night school program in Taiwan.

Three of the other five fathers were born in Taiwan. The oldest of them (Mr. Law) had only elementary education—the minimum requirement of his generation. The other younger two had had either middle or high school education. Sam and Wen were born in

Indonesia and migrated to Taiwan when they were young. Sam had his elementary education in Indonesia and had attended a supplementary middle school program at night after he moved to Taiwan. Wen actually received most of his education in Taiwan almost the same as the typical Taiwanese of his age. His wife, Hau's mother, is actually a Taiwanese—born and educated in Taiwan. She and Wen stopped receiving any formal education after they graduated from middle school. The other four wives of these five fathers were born in Southeast Asia. Three of them, including Awen, had not finished elementary education before they married. Yun's mother, Phoebe, is very exceptional among these ten mothers for having had her high school diploma and higher education level than her husband. She moved to Taiwan when she was around ten; thus, received most of her education in Taiwan.

In sum, the education level of the parents in the selected families is lower than the average in those surveys. Also, as the surveys have shown, jobs have occupied too much of these parents' time, especially that of those mothers who worked. Probably because many of these fathers are veterans who had more free time, the fathers in these families tended to share more responsibilities in educating their children, especially in the cases like Mr. Law, Mr. Yi, and Sam's father. Of course, this does not mean that the mothers

were not concerned with their children's education. But, in terms of their children's academic achievements, it is true that only those mothers who had, at least, middle school education—except Hau's mother—would be really helpful to their children's elementary education. However, it is perhaps ironic that the higher the mothers' education the more they tended to seek more after school educational programs from private institutes than those whose education level was lower. Yun is very exemplary in this trend. As a sixth grader, every weekday's evening was occupied by after school programs, ranged from playing flute, dancing, and learning English.

4. Family Patterns

Based on Yea-huey Sheu's (許雅惠, 2003) study, families of intermarriage are mostly nuclear families (39.1%) and extended families (38.6%). The ratio of extended families is significantly higher than those of Taiwanese couples (16.3%), but clearly lower in the ratio of nuclear families (47.7%). As the *Handbook* pointed out, given such a residential pattern, relationships with families, especially with mothers- and siblings-in-law are also a part of the everyday challenges to NIC's mothers—see also (Huang, Hong-Ji, 黃宏璣, 2003). However, for the benefit of NIC's education, living with the other families could be ideally an advantage, especially in fulfilling their need of

companions of their age at a time of low birth rate. In addition, the other adult members could well be the parents' educational partners. But, the images of the other family members on media are more negative than positive (Jhang, Ming-Hui, 張明慧, 2004; Wang, Ji-cing, 王紀青, 2006). Studies of the family members are too few, too. If checking students' homebook could be evidence of educational participation, the other family members did not very actively participate in NIC education. Only 4.3% of NIC get help from family members other than their parents or siblings (*LLD*: 43). It seems that the mode of extended family is not very helpful in NIC's education.

Age difference—around or more than a decade—between Taiwanese males and their foreign wives is another frequently identified characteristic of such marriages—“aged husbands with young wives” (老夫少妻). But, its causes and effects have not been fully explored, either.

All of the selected families are nuclear families. This could be a matter of the demography and the geography of the community. Five fathers are veterans. All their families were left behind in China. Also, since the selected community is right beside an industrial zone, most of the living units were apartments, and quite many residents were themselves internal immigrants. Extended families were, therefore, reasonably unpopular.

The age difference between these veterans and their wives is impressive. Some of their differences are greater than thirty years, especially true in those who had their own children like Xui and Jia's parents. As for those veteran couples without their own children, such as Phoebe, Wen, and Ray's parents, the difference is smaller, but still at least more than fifteen, and usually twenty years. The difference between the younger Taiwanese males and their foreign wives tended to be smaller and sometimes less than ten. If the fathers were themselves NIC (Sam and Wen), the age difference between these couples were similar to average Taiwanese.

It seems that, in the history of intermarriage, the age difference is decreasing. But, willingness to have their own child would be a variable to the difference at issue.

Altogether, the age difference between Mr. Law and Awen looked to be "average". They had children by birth (like Xui and Jia's parents) and from family reunion (like Ray, Wen and Phoebe's parents). Their age difference is about twenty— about the average/mean of all of the selected cases.

As some teachers reported, a father about the age ordinarily to be his/her grandfather sometimes embarrassed the children. Meanwhile, worried by being unable to see their

children's growing-up, these senior new fathers tend to have somewhat different perceptions about the future.

5. Two Major Controversies of NIC: Numbers of Births and Household Health Condition

In Taiwan, the decreases of both the number of births and the birth rate have continued for more than two decades. Their impacts on national education are gradually recognizable after the coming of the new millennia. Some of the widely known include the oversupply of teacher and formal educational services (ranged from elementary to higher education), the critical return of personal education investment (the unemployment rate of those who with higher degree is climbing, while their wage is stagnating), the difficulty of recruitment for schools in remote areas, and the cost of maintaining these schools. From the perspectives of the government and the mainstream media, the decreases of both numbers are clearly undesirable challenges (Hui-Hui Chen & Min-Fong Chen 陳惠惠、陳敏鳳, 2004; Yu-Lin Lin 林諭林, 2005; Editorial, 2005).

However, the contribution of NIC is ironically not welcomed and encouraged. In effect, their mothers' numbers of births have been one of the most disputable issues of NIC in recent years. Why is it a critical question? What is the reality of these females' birth pattern, and what is the social implication behind this "reality"? And, what is the

impact of the number of births to NIC themselves, their families, schools, and communities?

Physical and psychological health conditions are another controversy of NIC. In an MOI's early survey in 2001, 1.18% of NIC were reported with developmental problems. In *LD*, this ratio was lower than the average of all Taiwanese children. But, once in a while, some would "remind" the public how inferior these NIC and their mothers are with a camouflage of patriotism and good will.

Controversies of NIC' Birth Rate:

Ethnic Politics in Taiwan—A Racist Game of Disempowerment:

Group libel is NOT guilty? (Yuan-hau Liao, 廖元豪, 2006)

Many Taiwanese perceive NIC's mothers as a potentially negative factor in the population quality in Taiwan. Many controversies have centered on their birth patterns. Discriminatory discourses never cease but are not loud until July 4, 2004.

In a national conference for officers from local educational bureaus, a vice minister of MOE dropped a bomb: "*Don't give so much birth*" (Han, Kuo-Dong, 韓國棟, 2004). He urged that regarding their problematic quality, something must be done to control the foreign brides' birth rate. Their children would, otherwise, become the "social burden". Many activists and NIC's families were enraged. They presented the statistic in *LC*,

which was just released within a month before the incident, denounced the vice minister's racist speech, and accused him in the name of racist, liar, and ignoramus. As shown in *LC*, every foreign spouse has on average 1.04 children, and every Mainland spouse has 0.73 children. Both are, in effect, much lower than a Taiwanese couple's 1.21. The vice minister was clearly lying.

LLD provides a seemingly contradictory statistic. As *LLD* (60) showed, 51.6% of the NIC's families have two children, 29.0% of them have three children, 12.1% have one, and 7.2% have more than four. Thus, those who give birth in this marriage would on average have more than 2.3 children. The average of birth in *LC* is so low is most likely due to the fact that 50.3% of Mainland brides and 30.3% of foreign brides do not have any child in this marriage. The vice minister is doubtlessly a racist, but, was statistically correct "in some way". The protesters were certainly politically correct, but dubious in methodology. The former clearly presumed that the more NIC would cause the more troubles to education. This should be the core of his racism. But, as the numbers came into focus, his racist presumption was exempted from careful examination. It seemed that, if the vice minister quote the right number, he would not be a racist of any kind. This is

clearly a paradox in the ethnic politics in Taiwan, or possibly all kinds of politics in Taiwan.

Another racist talk was delivered on April 1, 2006. A legislator not only repeated the vice minister's words of "*Don't give so much birth*", but further "reminded" the public that many Vietnamese females are poisoned by agent orange. It is absolutely necessary to apply an imperative health screening before they marry Taiwanese males (Lin, He-ming, 林河名, 2006). This, of course, provoked activists and NIC's families' protest again. An activist, also a professor in law school, challenged such racist language, and accused the legislator as guilty for group libel. None, not even a politician, should have the right to propagate and disseminate such a racist idea, or to encourage practices or discourses of racism (Yuan-hau Liao, 2006).

There seems to be a disempowering rule behind such a racist game. Both incidents lost their temperature a few weeks after their racist speech. The vice minister and the legislator successfully excused themselves in terms of patriotism and good will. Both of them, then, survived through those protests against them, without a word of apology. Everything is nothing but a misunderstanding. A few months later, a similar racist speech appeared again (Wong, Shun-Li, 翁順利, 2006). Not even a whisper of dissent followed.

**More about the Research Subjects:
The Name of the Rose and the Ground for its Growth**

Still call me a “Bride”? I’m already an OBASAN. (Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, 2005, title page, my translation)^{xv}

As clear in this chapter, Taiwan has been entangled in a confrontation of two nationalisms—Chinese nationalism vs. Taiwanese nationalism. This may well define its post-colonial syndrome. Conditioned by global power politics, naming seems to be the only and the most applicable action to fulfill the desire of national independence.^{xvi} Consequently, so much attention has been attracted to redress those who carried stigmas or misrepresentation, or to replace a Chinese name with a Taiwanese or an aboriginal one. In such an atmosphere, naming the researched ethnic group was also taken as a necessary step to eliminate their stigma. The lead-in citation is exemplar. Not only should the term “foreign” be replaced because it implicitly refers to “othering”. The use of “brides” is also problematic: It cannot successfully represent their age throughout their life span. This is, in part, true. But, why it is also critical should probably refer to the value of seniority in Taiwanese/Chinese gender culture: Young women usually situated in the lowest stratum of a family.

As Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2002) has argued, both “foreign” and “mainland” imply an enduring othering against those “brides”. Some suggestions, such as “New Taiwanese

Women/Lady/Daughters-in-Law”^{xvii} and “New Taiwanese,”^{xviii} analogized their political affiliation to their new country with their kinships in their new families. But, the national signifier paradoxically magnified their alienation to their new home. Also, as Antonia Yen-ning Chao (趙彥寧, 2002) criticized, kinship metaphors, in effect, revealed their dependence and subordination to an order of patriarchic family,^{xix} thus, reaffirmed their otherness. Hence, their otherness is clearly a double of ethnicity/nationality and gender. Politicizing was also involved in naming the research subjects, such as “New Taiwanese Children” or “Son/Children of (new) Taiwanese.”

In March 2003, Awakening Foundation (a Taiwanese feminist association 婦女新知) launched a naming movement: “Let Female Immigrants Speak for Themselves: Please Call me...” By the end of that year, the association found that, in addition to hyphenation—such as Indonesian-Taiwanese (Tsung-Rong Edwin Yang and Ching-shuei Lan, 楊聰榮、藍清水, 2006), Vietnamese-Taiwanese, and probably “Chinese-Taiwanese,”^{xx} “New Immigrant” was these immigrants’ favorite designation. Later, it was officially accepted by Taipei Municipal Government, and is employed in this study.

However, this new term only nominally erased part of their double otherness. Their otherness in gender was not as salient as before. But, based on the ethnocentric history of

ethnicity formation and immigration, the “new” now carries their ethnical/national otherness.

Old Nationalism, New Nationalism, and the Politics of Naming

In addition to the foregoing “achievement” of naming effort, based on his early interview, the researcher found that some of his participants, in reality, used to have an “old identity”. For instance, this identity was loudly asserted when a village head introduced an old “Indonesian Bride,” Hau’s^{xxi} grandma, to the researcher as a “foreign bride”. The old lady protested:

Damn it. Why do you call me a “Foreign Bride”? I’m a foreigner? I’ve told you too many times: I’m, as you are, a Chinese, hua-ch’iao (華僑). Got it? Why do you still take me like an outsider after I’ve married here for almost thirty years, ugh? (September 2, 2002)

Such identity can also be heard from a NIC at her early tens when she was invited to participate in this study. Yun is a granddaughter of a so-called “Indonesian Bride.” When the researcher met her in 2004, she was eleven years old. After an introduction, she tentatively questioned the correctness of calling both her mother and her grandmother as such:

...But, my mom and my grandma are “hua-ch’iao.” They’re not “Foreign Brides.”

Yun's question and the complaint of Hau's grandma clearly revealed their unease and dislike to be labeled as "foreigners." *Hua-ch'iao* is their self-identity. This dialogue opens an often neglected structural and discursive transformation of immigration in Taiwan.

Hua-ch'iao, also known as *huaren* (華人), is so-called overseas Chinese.^{xxii} It refers to descendents of emigrants from China who left for Southeast Asia and other parts of the world in the last several centuries. Now, some of them can still speak in some Chinese dialect, such as Hakka and Fukiens—two major vernaculars in Taiwan. But, as Ying-hui Lee (李盈慧, 2004) and Gungwu Wang (王賡武, 1981) highlighted, *ch'iao* suggests an implicit political identification with China. *Hua-ch'iao* was, therefore, less popular in a global context since the 1970s (Ying-hui Lee, 2004), especially in the most recent globalization. As Gungwu Wang (1994) argued, in the age of globalization overseas Chinese are less concerned with national politics but more with their own economic interest.

More than a decade before 1990—the end of Cold War, some overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia had migrated to Taiwan by transnational marriages.^{xxiii} At that time, they were welcomed as "returning families" for remembering their contributions to the

founding revolution of the Republic.^{xxiv} *Hua-ch'iao* was, therefore, strategically a positive term to identify themselves with the host society, the Republic of *China*. That is, they were actually “homing.” But then, a discursive transformation emerged. *Hua-ch'iao* gradually yielded its nobility to *tai-ch'iao* (台僑),^{xxv} and became a signifier of “Chinese chauvinism.” Thus, in spite of their self-recognition, the foregoing naming movement paid little attention to this term.

This is a loud and clear echo in the ongoing controversy of nationalist politics in Taiwan. The research subjects are, thus, becoming “foreigners” *from* a Taiwanese point of view, and in effect foreigners to both sides. Nonetheless, some of them were, in effect, still “foreigners” from the perspective of their original government.

The effect of naming would be probably just as Cheng-lin Chang's (張正霖, 2003) reflection on scholarly attention to “foreign bride.” It offered an outlet for self-realization, will to empowerment, or desire for salvation. As for its effect, hopefully, it could be still a medicine for the anxiety and uncertainty in face of those challenges of the ongoing globalization and the domestic nationalist conflict. After all, if naming could stop othering and discrimination, too much effort would never be enough. For those who are

discriminated against, the effect of naming would be like a famous quote: “*That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as...*”—bitter, in this case.

Border Crossing

In order to move beyond the abovementioned ethnocentricity, one must understand how they identify themselves. Also, as Tsung-Rong Edwin Yang and Ching-shuei Lan (2006) suggested, it is a “must” to look into both ends of immigration route, i.e. to examine their ethnicity/nationality *from* the perspective of the government in their “homeland.” But, in this study, the interest of the coming biographical and historical review is not to underscore *the* reality of their being. Nor does it intend to create a “correct term” to capture their multiplicity. Rather, the review is to bring out an international and transnational lens of the post Cold War and the post-colonial historical transformation and of the currently often called globalization. In short, the interest is about structure and changes.

Clearly, such a transnational lens can be applied to framing a chronology with a “larger” spatiotemporal scale just as indicated in Appendix A. This chronology can provide a basic understanding of politicoeconomy of the day at both the global and the regional levels. But, more critically, it is composed with events that had impact and could

be seen in individual “foreigners” travelogues. That is, the chronology addresses those events that have been directly or indirectly inscribed on their migration experiences. The following are exemplary stories of three families’ border-crossings. They demonstrate the complexity of the research subjects’ identities, their migration, and their complicated situation in international power politics throughout the second half of the last century.

Complicating Border Crossing I: Is Ray, as well as his Mother, a Foreigner?

Abao is a “Thai Bride”. Ray is her youngest son. In order to seek a better life for her family, Abao—a widowed single mom then—came to Taiwan as a guest worker in 1990. Before her work permission had expired, she decided to stay in Taiwan. In 1992, introduced by her friend, she met and remarried Mr. Liu—a veteran of the Chinese Civil War, an Outerprovincer born in Hunan, China. About four years later, she earned her citizenship and brought three of her five children (one girl and two boys— including Ray) to Taiwan.

When Ray and his mother came to Taiwan, they had only Thai passports. Clearly, they were legally Thais. As a “foreign bride,” Abao’s story is not very special, except for her birthplace. She was born in 1938 in Yunnan when China was still under KMT’s^{xxvi} control. Her first husband, Ray’s father, was an officer in KMT’s army. In other words,

Ray's parents *were* both Chinese (Miao/Hmong). But, after the Chinese Civil War, both his parents exiled into Burma, then, northern Thailand (around Chiang Rai) where they married in a military camp. In 1987, the village had been disarmed. Ray was born as a Thai as opposed to his brothers born in the 1970s as non-nationals. His father died in 1989. In 1996, at his age of nine, Ray followed his mother, came into Taiwan with a Thai passport. But, soon, he reissued his status as a *hua-ch'iao* and kept it until 2004 when he received his Taiwanese ID. In the Chinese New Year of that year—more than a decade's migration, Abao's family finally reunited—the happiest New Year in her life.

Ray's story involves a complicated situation of both the domestic politics in Thailand and the shifting multilateral diplomacy among Burma, Thailand, Taiwan, the United States, and China.^{xxvii} Communists or the Cold War provided probably the most simplified rationale to conclude this complex historical background.

After being defeated by Chinese Communist Party, Ray's parents followed an armed force exiled into northern Thailand, and settled in an unstable condition from the late 1950s. Needless to say, this military power made its uninvited coming more unwelcome than that of typical refugees. However, by joining Thai government's anti-communist war since the 1960s, and fought with their lives and blood, they gradually earned their

residency. After Thai communist party was defeated in the early 1980s, they finally earned Thai citizenship. Since then, identity cards and passports were chartered.^{xxviii} Thai and its national curriculum were taught in their village schools. Thai national ensign is now flying in these schools.^{xxix}

Therefore, Ray was born as a Thai, but the first language he learned in family was Yunnanese, the languages he learned at school were both Mandarin and Thai. So, in what sense, is Ray, as well as his mother, a foreigner?

Complicating Border Crossing II: Those Hard Days

Anti-communism was also a critical factor that had significant impact on most of the marriage immigrants from Indonesia, especially those pioneers. In addition, for most countries arising from ex-colonies, issues of internal ethnic conflicts were usually severe and critical. Such conflicts have been quite a large part of these countries' postcolonial challenges. From the beginning of its independence, the Indonesian government had a clear concern of pursuing its national integration in which the "Chinese problem" was one of the most critical challenges. In the 1950s, President Sukarno had gradually set up some political, economical, and cultural restrictions on Chinese. In 1965, China was accused of supporting an unsuccessful *coup d'état* by the Indonesian Communist Party.

Thus, in the name of extinguishing communists, General Suharto took more violent and fiercer actions to assimilate Chinese.

Yun's grandma testified her life in such a postcolonial history in Indonesia in an interview in front of her daughter and granddaughter—Pheobe and Yun:

Grandma : I was born in 1941, Singkawang.

Pheobe : Wow, this is a map of Indonesia... I almost forgot how it looks like... Look, it's Pontianak. You worked here, right?

Grandma : Yeah. There are many Hakka. Many of them married to Taiwan.

Grandma : I am not an Indonesian. Actually, my father was born in China. I don't know exactly his birthplace. I have little idea of China. I can't remember when he exactly arrived at Indonesia, either; and why? I wonder if his life in China was worse. But, I know that my grandpa brought my father to Indonesia when he was still a little boy.

Grandma : I was too little to recall what happened when Japanese came to Kalimantan. But, my uncle told me that Japanese soldiers and some Indonesians killed a lot of Chinese fellow villagers. The river was red. So, some Chinese hid into mountain area and ambushed Japanese, but not my families.

Grandma : Not all Indonesians hated Chinese. You know, there are always bad guys, especially in a troubled time.

Grandma : At that time, there was no compulsory education. I am a girl. Parents seldom let their daughters study too much, especially those poor. And my father was a poor cottager.

Grandma : I began to do housework at probably ten when I was younger than Yun is now. Anyway, this is a happier generation. They have beautiful clothes; they can go to school, watch TV, and go shopping; and they don't have to do too much housework.

Yun : I do.

Grandma : But, my father, my uncles, and my brothers would teach me Chinese. I mean Chinese characters. Anyway, I know very little.

We spoke Hakka. Not only in our family. It was a Chinese village, a Hakka village. We spoke Hakka.

Grandma : There was a Chinese school. My brothers went to Chinese school and learned Chinese there. I cannot recall when Chinese schools were closed. But, there was no Chinese school when Phoebe was about to go to school. So, she went to an Indonesian school. But, my families still kept some Chinese textbooks in our house. Our children would need textbooks to learn Chinese. I married very late as compared with girls in my neighborhood.

Phoebe : I went to school at about 1980.

Grandma : It was terrible. Some just disappeared. We were, of course, not communists; otherwise, I would not be here. But, nobody listened to you. No, I didn't witness any body. I was too scared to go out.

Phoebe : I was not born yet. But, I heard quite a lot from my brothers and my mothers.

Grandma : Of course, we still spoke Hakka in our house. My husband was rich and educated. He and his sons taught my daughter Chinese.

Grandma : Phoebe is my only daughter. I was the fourth wife of my first husband. His concubine. Boys came from the other wives. They were much older than Phoebe. They all adored her. So, she went to school at six just like some boy.

Phoebe : I think I was very lucky. Eldest mom loved me very much. She was still alive when I visited Indonesia last time.

Grandma : I came to Taiwan with a *ch'iao-sheng* (僑生).^{xxx} He had introduced several girls, including a friend of mine, to Taiwan, and married Taiwanese. I came here as a visitor, but I did not really visit any place. I was just waiting to meet Taiwanese guys. I think I was lucky. Very soon, I met her [Phoebe's step-] father. He looked diligent, honest, and strong in his age. Then, we married and tried to bring Phoebe here.

Phoebe : It was a tough decision whether I should come with my mom to Taiwan after she remarried my [step-] father. I was so adorable in Indonesia. It's my uncle's call. He made me pretend to be someone's child in order to travel into Taiwan. You know, it's too inconvenient to travel at that time. On the one hand, I was too

young to travel alone. On the other hand, there were too many legal issues if my mom tried to pick me by herself. It would cost a lot of money. In addition to the cost of airplane ticket, the Indonesian government was not clean.

Grandma : It was 1982.

Grandma : Now, he is eighty, still very strong. His voice still sounds a thunder, and he actually kept driving his taxi until two years ago [2003].

Complicating Border Crossing III: We Are All (sometimes) Hakka

Awen and her family are the focus of this dissertation. She is a Hakka born in 1963 in Singkawang, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. She is almost twenty years younger than her second husband, Mr. Law, a Taiwanese Hakka, a taxi driver. By matchmaking, they met and married in Taiwan in 1996, and had a daughter, Nini, in 1998.

After Nini was born, Awen continued her Chinese lessons in an elementary night school in which half of her classmates were so-called “foreign brides.” Three came from Thailand, including Abao; the other came from Indonesia. A Taiwanese obasan joined this class when Awen was taking her postpartum rest. This old woman approached Awen, congratulated Awen on her new girl, and welcomed her return. Their polite greeting was frozen as soon as a question of Awen’s foreignness appeared. Awen replied firmly and ended the conversation a little upset: “*No, I am a Hakka.*”

Four years later, Awen brought three of her five children from her first marriage in Indonesia (one elder son—Tony born in 1990, and two elder daughters—Akin and Ahui born in 1987 and 1988) to Taiwan, and sent them to the same night school. Now, all their classmates were young “foreign brides” from Indonesia. All of them can speak Hakka very fluently as compared with Taiwanese Hakka of their age. But, whenever there was any personal writing conversation or a need to spell the pronunciation of a Chinese character, it was Bahasa Indonesia.

Interestingly, when their teacher brought up comparative issues of their experiences between Taiwan and Indonesia, a typical prolog of these young ladies was: “*Come on, sir, you know quite well, we are all Hakka.*” Otherwise, their reply would be “*when we were in Indonesia...*” if the teacher started an issue with “*We, Hakka...*”

It seems that the female Awens have had somewhat different national identities. Awen, the mother—similar to about twenty-year older grandmas of Hau and Yun—felt less comfortable when she was identified as a foreigner. These older females tended to identify themselves as Chinese Hakka. For these women, Taiwan is more like their home than Indonesia. But, Awen’s daughters and their classmates seemed to enjoy playing their inbetweenness of Chinese Hakka and Indonesia. Language practices of both generations

also affirmed such a difference in identity politics. These younger “foreigners” were more familiar with and willing to use Bahasa Indonesia than the older generations. Different identities between generations seemed to suggest a political “advancement” of national identity in postcolonial Indonesia at the turn of the new century—the time when these young “Indonesians” came to Taiwan. Taiwan’s effort to establish its independent national subjectivity could be another critical factor. Consequently, their identity looked to be a double of the postcolonialities of both Taiwan and Indonesia. Such complicated identity shifts and plays clearly cannot be rendered by the dualism of foreign and national in current Taiwanese politics of identity and naming. They make the Awen family very identical, thus representative. This family combined different identities that were usually characterized separately in different families under the same roof.

Troubling their Chineseness and Foreignness

Addressing these cases is by no means to argue that all marriage immigrants in Taiwan have inherited some sort of “Chineseness.” Nor is it to turn the focus of this study onto Chinese diaspora. It is to demonstrate some both typical and atypical characteristics in the migration under study—“identity migration”.^{xxx} It makes their migration somewhat like a “homing.” This is exceptional in an average migration in which asylum

seeking for environmental or political causes and economic interests are usually determinants.^{xxxii}

Clearly, this “Chineseness” complicates the “foreignness” in this study. Two strategies are often used to settle this complication. One is to reduce it legally into a formative issue of nationality—like the obasan’s perception of Awen. This approach is rather state-centered or “patriotic” so to speak. It tends not to consider the subjects’ perceptions and experiences and the violence of state—especially those which frequently violate human rights. The other is essentially a cultural reductionism. In the context of this study, it suggests taking whoever has “Chineseness” as “Chinese” which the young Awens may not fully agree. Then, the subjects’ perceptions and experiences would be again buried in an overly amplified “we” which these subjects may not approve—just like the identity game played by both the Awen girls and their classmates.

Anti-Chinese riot in Indonesia in 1998 exemplifies a conspiratorial dilemma of both approaches. Upon knowing this incident and its violence against human rights, some Taiwanese observers have suggested that Chinese Indonesians should first of all examine their own identity: Are *they* faithful to their “homeland”—Indonesia (Chen Mao-Hsiung, 陳茂雄, 2001). This comment was actually put into a context that questioned the loyalty

of these authors' pro-unification compatriots—if they still believed there is *a* nation. On the contrary, in the name of a “*we*”, some others denounced the Indonesian government's connivance. Ironically, a year after, their identification with China also silenced them in face of the incident of Falun Gong (法輪功) in China. In a word, either the we-and-they distinction or the formative and essentialist strategies are, in effect, both sides of a coin.

Therefore, rather than applying a constructivist theory based on a state-centered subjectivization or an essentialist cultural reductionism, this study will bypass this abstract dualism. Instead, it will turn its focus on everyday practice—in the context of ever-changing structural material conditions. That is, it will bracket their culture and nationality, and focus on their acculturation—a process of “becoming” throughout their everyday life. Both the regional/global history and the theory of everyday life are more thoroughly reviewed in Chapter Three. It seeks an historical structural background that results in such complicity and is supported or conditioned by their acculturation. In addition to the effect of capitalist globalization commonly accepted by many scholars, the postcolonialism and the Cold War have had significant impact on the subjects, too.

ⁱ The politics of naming is briefly reviewed later in this chapter.

ⁱⁱ Here and elsewhere, quotations are identified as have been recorded in the researcher's field notes. Brackets mark text that has been inserted for clarification. Ellipses indicate a period of silence.

ⁱⁱⁱ Mr. Chen Shui-Bian (陳水扁) claimed himself a “son of Taiwan” in the presidential campaign of 2000. His birth in Taiwan—compared with his major competitors’ birth in China—marked his victory as a triumph of Taiwanese nationalism, and signified an historical achievement of the native-born Taiwanese.

^{iv} Also known as Minnanese (閩南人) or Fujien. People come from the province of the same name at southeastern China. Fukian also refers the dialect of this population.

^v Hakka is a Han ethnic group. Hakka also refers to the dialect of this population. Their ancestry migrated from northern China to their current base in southeastern China at the border region of Guandong (廣東), Jiangxi (江西), and Fujien and mixed with local aboriginals.

^{vi} As shown in many studies (Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, 夏曉鵬, 2000; Hong-Zen Wang, 王宏仁, 2001), the emergence of international marriage, and then its commodification, was a new business by some small businessmen from Taiwan whose initial investment in a foreign country had failed.

^{vii} Such acknowledgement as one of the “five major ethnic groups” is often seen since 2004, in public discourses, such as, Yu-Fang Liang (梁玉芳 07/26/2004), and e-News from President Chen’s official webpage on April 14th, 2005.

^{viii} See, for instance, Hui-Jhen Chen (陳惠珍 09/25/2004). Based on the official statistics at the end of December 2006, the population of the aboriginals was 474,919 (Department of Household Registration Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, 2007), while that of the “Foreign Spouses” (including “Mainland Spouses”) was 377,600—the research subjects (New Immigrants’ Children) were not included. As the Ministry of Education recently reported, there have been more than 80,000 NIC in elementary and middle schools in the academic year 2006-2007. Thus, it is foreseeable that NIC will probably outnumber the aboriginal population in the near future.

^{ix} Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2002) has analyzed and criticized such a racist bias in the media.

^x See, for instance, Hui-Yuan Wong and Pei-Hua Lin, (翁慧圓、林佩樺, 2002) “My Mother is a Foreign Bride”, a story of a foreign bride’s two children. The mother cannot read and speak Mandarin well. Pressed by her family’s economy, she was busy making money. She, therefore, had little time to fulfill her children’s educational need. The elder sister was a badly regulated first grader with terrible academic performance and poor sociability. Her brother was five, and cannot speak clearly Mandarin. In short, this report provided a disadvantaged image of average NIC and their families.

^{xi} For instance, Rong-Yu Chen’s assumption about these females’ birth pattern was not supported by available statistics. See the coming review of the research subjects in this chapter.

^{xii} Chapter Two will review the researcher’s practice of finding these subjects juxtaposed with the government’s efforts in creating the subjects’ governability from a different angle.

^{xiii} As the most recent report has shown, the number of NIC at elementary and middle school level in the school year of 2006-2007 is more than 80,000. However, since the report cannot reveal the yearly population growth, the researcher presents the older data.

^{xiv} See the geography of Jaguar community in Chapter Two.

^{xv} “Bride,” in Chinese, is pronounced as “sin-niang” (新娘) young/new lady, literarily “lady just married”. Obasan (おばさん) is Japanese but widely used in Taiwan. Literarily in Chinese, it is equivalent to old lady—“lau-niang” (老娘) or “lau-tai-po” (老太婆).

^{xvi} Currently, the name of the country in Taiwan is Republic of China. However, in the international power politics, Taiwan is commonly recognized as a province of China; and China continuously depresses the Taiwanese government’s effort to be an independent country in the international community. Many Taiwanese politicians, therefore, argue that it is the “China” in the name of the country that is confusing. In order to solve this problem and to regain its national subjectivity in the global community, the best strategy that these politicians try to persuade their country fellows is to correct the name of the country. A movement of eliminating everything in the name of “China”, from China, or related to China is, therefore, undertaken.

^{xvii} This term was proposed by Vice President Lu Hsiu-lien (呂秀蓮) in 2003 (Jyong-Liang Guo, 郭俊良, 09/13/2003).

^{xviii} This term first appeared in 1998 to qualify a nominee’s (Mayor Ma Ying-jeou, 馬英九, 1999-2006) candidanship in the mayor election of Taipei City. His father was born in China, and he in Hong Kong. Later, as opposed to those whose ancestors came to Taiwan before 1945, “new Taiwanese” was widely applied to immigrants who came to Taiwan after 1945, including “Mainlanders” and marriage immigrants in these years.

^{xix} This has been a reality for some of these women, especially “Mainland Brides.” For instance, in order to maintain their legal residency, their right to work, and their guardianship to their children, they are vulnerable to their husbands or families’ control, including, violence, detaining their identity certificates, and threat to divorce (Shu-fen Chen, 陳淑芬, 2003).

^{xx} This new term was originally invented by the chairman of the Democratic Progressive Party to distinguish Taiwanese from Chinese on September 16th, 2006. On the one hand, it confirms his lineage from China. On the other hand, it asserts his loyalty to Taiwan.

^{xxi} Names are pseudonyms.

^{xxii} See Lau-Fong Mak (麥留芳, 1985) about the name of this population in Southeast Asia.

^{xxiii} The other ways of migration to Taiwan include family reunions and studying or working in Taiwan.

^{xxiv} How overseas Chinese in Southeastern Asia valued the notion of *hua-ch’iao* and identified themselves as such can be seen in Ching-hwang Yen (顏清滢, 1976).

^{xxv} In Mandarin, *Tai* refers to Taiwan. Therefore, *Tai-Ch’iao* refers to those Taiwanese who emigrated abroad—specifically after the Second World War. Currently, Taiwanese also call them as *Hsin* (new)-*Ch’iao* (新僑), as opposed to *lau* (old)-*ch’iao* (老僑).

^{xxvi} Koumintang, also called the Chinese Nationalist Party.

^{xxvii} See Tom Yee-Huei Chin (覃怡輝, 2002) about issues of the international relation resulted from these refugee warriors.

^{xxviii} The struggle of these “military refugees” can be seen in Bo Yang’s reportages (柏楊, 1996/1961, 1982). Their adaptation from refugee warriors to immigrants can be seen in Wen-chin Chang (張雯勤, 2001, 2006).

^{xxix} The degree of their naturalization can be seen in the changes of curriculum and educational settings. See Li-ling Hsu & Bo-chuan Yu (許麗鈴、余柏泉, 2001) and Chiu chow Lo (羅秋昭, 2005).

^{xxx} This term refers to those overseas Chinese who “return” to and study in their cultural motherland—Taiwan.

^{xxxi} “Identity migration” was Drs. Rachel Hung and Mei-Hsien Lee’s (洪秀敏、李美賢) working concept to cope with this particular type of immigration. It was proposed in a curriculum workshop of Southeast Asian culture for inservice teachers in 2005.

^{xxxii} Jewess’ “return” to Israel is an “identity migration.” But, as these immigrants’ (new) home, Taiwan is not their original home—at least from some Taiwanese points of view. Therefore, the case in Taiwan would probably have a taste of Jewess’ coming to Palestine though not so far. New immigrants are not Jewess, and Taiwanese are not Palestinians, nor *vice versa*.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH AS CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT

Before the problem of NIC's coming was recognized, the researcher began his study.

Many factors require critical attention at the beginning of an ethnographic study. One of the most significant issues is to locate a field within a reasonable geographical scale with a researchable number of desirable subjects.

The definition of the research subjects is close to Taiwanese common understanding. But, for a research operation, it is impractical. With few distinguishable traits, records of household registration or births are necessary for their identification. However, these records were unavailable when the study began in June 2002. Also stereotypically, NIC's mothers entered individually Taiwanese families with very limited social connections; therefore, they tended to be socially inactive in public spaces. They were more family members than active citizens whether or not they had an ID card. Family is almost a social enclave in which they are surrounded (or protected?) by their families. Only a few voluntary associations or active scholars who worked with them have had access.

In sum, the definition provides few characteristics that are physically, socially, and sociologically identifiable. They are “invisible.”

Invisibility

Ethnologically speaking, these individuals are either Mongoloid or Australoid—or mixed; thus, they look “racially” similar to “average” Taiwanese.ⁱ There is almost no physical trait, such as color of skin, eyes, or hair, for a researcher to identify his/her research subjects. This is the first and the most superficial meaning of the “invisibility.” For a researcher, this is clearly a disadvantage. But, for themselves, this should be an advantage in concealing their discriminated background in their everyday life—if they would like to do so.

Sociologically, there were no accessible statistics of these youths in 2000. In effect, the most seminal study of their mothers (Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, 夏曉鵬, 2000) was not published until September 2000.

In spite of their sociological and physical invisibility, they were socially impressive. For more than a decade, they have been represented in many social spaces such as intermarriage commercials. It would be unusual without such commercials painted or standing on an ordinary street side or corner. Some of them looked “neutral” and simple:

Matchmaking: Thailand and Indonesia, Call: (09XX) XXX- XXX;

Marriage Broker: Indonesia and China, TEL: (0X) XXX- XXXX.

Some might look more seductive, erotic, or sexist—thus, controversial:

Connecting the Destiny Couples from a Thousand Miles away;
Young, Hot, Beautiful, and Obedient;
NT 300,000. Virgin Guaranteed;
or NT 260,000. One Year Unlimited Warrant, Escape or Sterilityⁱⁱ

These phrases, of course, discomfited many anti-sexist critics and activists. But, many unheard stories of the subjects had been told quietly through these representations. They provided some primary impressions—though biased and vague—about both those who created and received these messages. Clearly, research subjects can be conceptualized through these representations. But, such visibility is not enough to make them more researchable than objects of criticism stemming from their commodification and sexism.

The proliferated commercials manifested the existence of “New Taiwanese.” They had been living with “old” Taiwanese together for awhile, facing the same political, economic, cultural, and social challenges, and hopefully sharing the same fortunes. But, do “we” really live in the same society?

To bridge such a social distance is clearly a technical and ethical challenge. Since their “natural” coloration has prevented them from being identified and being discriminated against, it is ethnically necessary to avoid any involuntary exposure. With such an ethnical concern, statistics seemed to be inevitable technology to increase the

possibility of finding research subjects with so few identifiable traits. Without knowing how unrealistic the presumptions behind the numbers are, the researcher began his preliminary study of the numbers.

Engaging the Invisible

Playing with Numbers

Both reports and commercials of intermarriage are overwhelming. There should be many potential research subjects “out there”. However, I can hardly recall when or where I have seen any. They seem physically unrecognizable. In face of their invisibility, two approaches seem applicable. I can work with teachers with my advantage as a lecturer in a local teachers’ college. This is seen as a privileged position, an expert in elementary education. But, I was uneasy with this implicated power relationship. The other possibility is more “objectively” looking into relevant statistics. I am in north Taiwan. But, in Taiwanese commonsense, there should be more “foreign brides” in southern and middle Taiwan. Statistics should be able to help me locate a researchable site with a researchable population. With a desire to be less political, more “scientific” and “independent” in mind, a statistical study began.¹

2.1 No Politics? Impossible

I was anxious about being unable to meet researchable subjects because I was “trapped” in a myth: the higher density of desirable subjects is the higher possibility of meeting and recruiting them— although the population density should be an issue to be examined.

Shu-Ling Lin (2004) proposed a comprehensive summary of approaches to locate families involved in intermarriages, including:

1. governmental sectors, such as offices of household registration,
2. sectors of public service, such as village heads,
3. community development association, also represented by village heads,
4. associations of foreign spouses, not available in the neighborhood of my field,
5. Taiwanese non-governmental organization concerned with related topics, including literacy classes providers,
6. schools, finally the major resource of information,
7. marriage brokers,
8. and churches, ethnic grocery stores, cafeterias.

Most of these approaches were more or less tentatively adopted at the beginning of this study. Both the availability and the effectiveness of these approaches are still an issue of power relations between the

I was not sure how many numbers would be available. So, I first visited a household registration office in urban Hsinchu in the morning of July 30th, and tried to find out what was available in their records. The officer was kind, and frankly expressed her support of my study. She said:

I know very clearly from my position. There are more and more
“foreign brides” in the last several years. It’d be better to get ready as

researcher and the informants or organizations. A process of negotiation is inevitable. In many cases, the informants or organizations—the gatekeepers—are usually in power. For instance, an association leader wanted to supervise my performance as a voluntary tutor in her daily based literacy class for a quarter before she could decide my request for access. I thought such a demanding requirement was technically a “NO”.

Personal social credibility was usually another criterion to be examined. I found from my research process, because of the culture of most of my potential researchable settings, a lecturer was more credible than a doctoral candidate. Also, regional disparities are involved. For instance, all of the villages have community development associations. But, their role really depends on their members and the politics of the community. In order to recruit more participants, I had tried to organize a program for taking driver license tests. A local leader actively offered her help. Another wished me to reschedule my project to meet her election activities, while the others were clearly not interested at all.

soon as possible; especially they probably have more babies than average Taiwanese women would like.

My finding was both rich and poor. On the one hand, I had now clearer ideas of what numbers interested the authorities and how the government collected these data. For instance, data were recorded by village—geographically a more researchable scale. On the other hand, the government surprisingly had very limited records of the desirable subjects though their coming had already been more than a decade. Birth registration showed no mothers' nationalities; neither the office recorded the number of married-with-foreigners until 1998. Thus, in order to continue my demographical study with limited records of married-with-foreigner from 1998 to 2001, some presumptions of their “cultural patterns”, such as pregnancy, marriage, and migration, would be inevitable, including:

- a geographical presumption of marriage pattern: In order to extrapolate the number of married-with-foreigner in a specific locus up to seven years ago, a steady tendency of marrying with foreigners was a premise;
- a presumption of pregnancy pattern: In order to find school-age children (older than six) in 2002, statistics of marriages back to at least seven years ago (six years old

plus one year pregnancy) was expected, that is, they should be pregnant as soon as they married; and

- and a presumption of migration pattern: Given that available data did not reveal their internal migration, registered couples would not relocate themselves after they married.²

In spite of these unproven presumptions, finding and calculating limited numbers continued. At the library of the National Taiwan University on August 6, I reviewed all available nationwide statistics. Not much was found because the record started after 1998.

2.2 Too Many Presumptions to Be Aware

From the point of the present, there were more unaware presumptions, such as: ignoring the effect of remarriages—NIC may come from family reunions. This is especially problematic given the particularity of my research site. See the geography of the research site at the end of this chapter. Presuming that all of these foreign females would have “children” after they married was another. Based on the review of NIC’s family background—especially the event of the vice minister’s misspeaking—in Chapter One, this is also very inadequate.

My findings were tables in Appendices B and C. They were used to estimate the density of “foreign brides” in a specific county. Unexpectedly, except Chiayi and Yunlin, the density of “foreign bride” in most counties in southern and central Taiwan were not especially high; but Hsinchu County—just a stream across from Hsinchu City—was. Would the widely known hearsay be more reliable than the limited statistics? Could these numbers of brides be really researchable subjects? Do they have children? Basic questions continued. Finally, instead of county, village is a more researchable scale. Thus, a field trip is clearly inevitable.

From Numbers to Reality

Figure 2.1 is a map of Taiwan. It shows those critical locations in this study. Yunlin is a pristine rural county in southern Taiwan, and was the poorest on the west coast of Taiwan until petrochemical plants of the Formosa Petrochemical Corporation appeared in the 1990s. Many guest workers, mostly from Thailand and Philippines, are imported to this area.

A week before the publication of the threatening news,ⁱⁱⁱ I went to Yunlin. On August 12th, I visited an agent of civil affairs bureau in the county government. The agent kindly demonstrated his effort in literacy education for female marriage immigrants. He

appreciated the researcher for alerting him to a coming “crisis.” Given his replies, he had clearly no information about NIC.

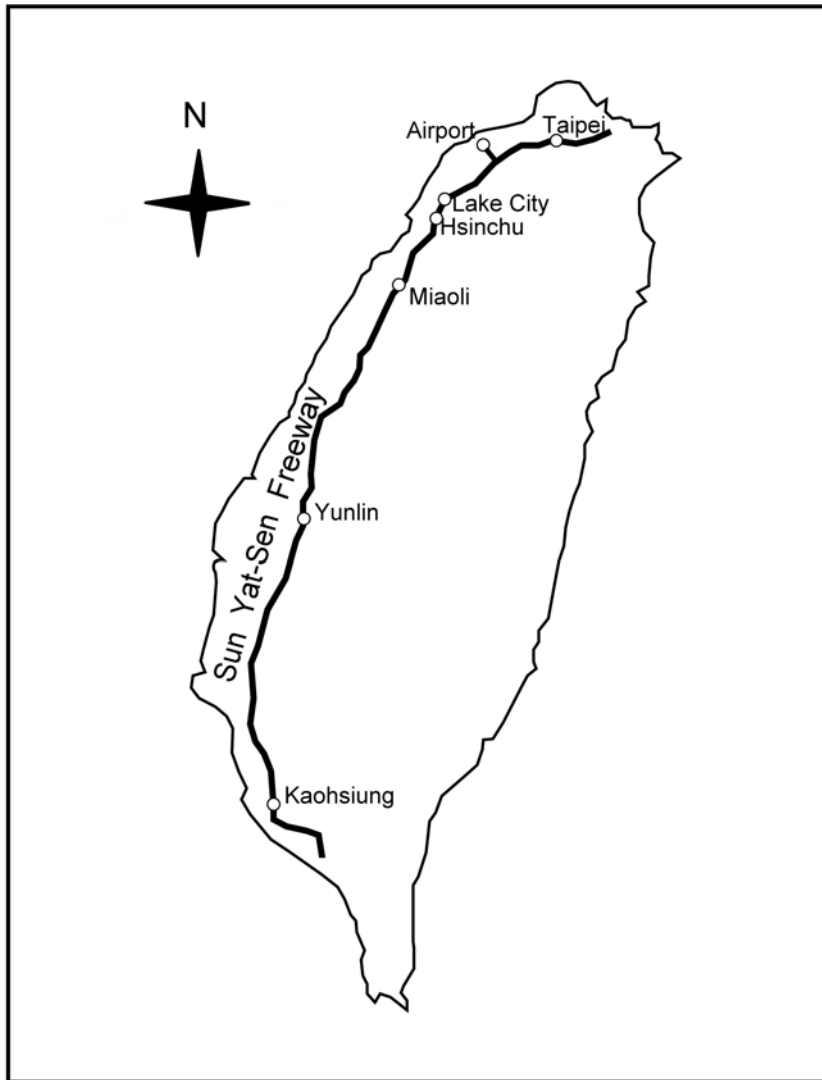


Figure 2.1 A map of Taiwan with the key locations which are major “connecting nodes” among the capitalist global network (Taipei, Kaohsiung, Hsinchu, International airport, and Sun Yat-Sen Freeway) or where the researcher had traveled in this project (Yunlin and Lake City/pseudonym). Lake City was later the chosen site for this project.

In the next few days, the journey into townships continued. I tried to visit every household registration office that would let me access its records. Whenever I found a village that had significant number of transnational marriage on record, I would roughly refer this village to its school district,^{iv} and called the school for further information.^v

Some schools expressed their interest in this study, but none replied positively. As one of the ministrater said,

[o]ur school has no such data. Only teachers would have the chance to know the nationality of their students' mothers. But, there was no teacher at school in the summer vacation.

Some of the others just declined, or answered with another question:

We saw no particular trouble from our students. I don't think we have that kind of student you are looking for.

Are you sure you got the correct information? Thanks you. We will see when the school begins.

We have no idea about the village. It sounds terrible. Where did you get this information?

Both my estimation and the hearsay did not successfully depict the geographical distribution of immigrant mothers. Were my presumptions incorrect? Were there no such mothers? Were their children still too young?

But, somehow, there was a "smell" they left behind. In a visit to a registration office, an agent told me two NIC's stories from her child's class.

Agent: I don't want to be a racist kind of person. But, you see, my boy has a girl classmate. Her mother is a "foreign bride," and she is excellent.

She speaks perfect English and is the most competitive student in test scores with my son.

Me : Really?! Wow...

Agent: But, there is a hyperactive trouble maker. His mother is also a “foreign bride” with very poor communication.

Me : The boy or his mother?

Agent: Both. So, your study is very important and in time.

Me : Oh... Thank you.

Agent: We need to know whether their coming is good or bad for Taiwanese; and what do we have to do in face of their coming? Is it good or bad for Taiwanese? What do you think?

Me : Well... I don't know yet.

Agent: Yeah, this is why we need your study. (August 14, 2002)

But, both of us were surprised, based on the record of “married-with-foreigners” in her town that the number of potential participants might not be adequate for sound research.

In the next evening, I checked in a small inn. The manager was about sixty. It was his family business. Upon knowing my study interest, he excitedly shared his information of those who have wives or daughters-in-law from abroad in his neighborhood. Soon, his wife and daughter (in-law?) joined our conversation. They enthusiastically exchanged stories of those foreign females in their small town, such as: Adam had his eldest son married a few years ago, and happily became a grandpa a year later; Ben, Bob's second boy, had joined a few matchmaking tourisms to several countries in Southeast Asia before he married, and so on. However, with extremely little demogeographic knowledge of this township, I was unable to effectively follow their conversation.

Clearly, this family looked friendly. They were very familiar with this town and sounded very pleased to share their information. This place should be a suitable site for my study—they knew where the subjects were. Therefore, I optimistically requested their assistance, such as introducing those they had mentioned. All of a sudden, the air was frozen. Maybe a few minutes later, the manager recited some other stories:

A few years ago, in order to find a wife for his son, Carl, Charles spent probably 300,000 (NT) dollars for Carl to be in a matchmaking tourist group to Indonesia, and successfully found a girl. We were all invited to Carl's wedding banquet. At the beginning, everything looked fine. He should be a happy grandpa in the near future. But, a few months later, his daughter-in-law disappeared. Gossip went around. But, none of us knew what exactly happened until a few days ago. He told me that his daughter-in-law had run away. He said, only a few weeks after the banquet, he got a strange call from a male to his daughter-in-law. Since then, he personally got several calls from other females with a strange accent. And his daughter-in-law would pick up the phone and answer in an unknown language. All his family was worried about what was going to happen. They, therefore, did not let her go out, did not let her touch the phone. But, what should happen still happened. He told me that: "until today, since he has done everything he can, he still had no idea of how his daughter-in-law could just disappear."

After he went through all stories of unhappy marriages, he continued:

If you are going to visit my fellow villagers and their daughter-in-law, I think the police station would be more helpful. The police station is just beside the household registration office. You can take a visit after you collect your data from the office. (August 15, 2002)

A “NO” was clearly his answer.³

2.3 Sex Matters: An Unspoken Gender Question to a Male Researcher in Studying a Feminized Topic

Throughout the night, groaning and lusty conversation burst from my next door, and everlasting noises of laughing, drinking, singing, chatting, and flirting loudly from some karaoke clubs outside my window. But, I cannot recall I had seen any red light house around in the afternoon except some closed restaurants made by shabby cargo containers. (August 15, 2002)

Later, a friend told me that these restaurants are, in reality, adult karaoke clubs—not exactly brothels, but sex services are available. Many female employees are either “foreign brides” or guest workers who run away from their families or employers. Related information can also be found in many reports (see box 2.1). I think, for the manager, I would be taken as a dangerous male stranger who would make another strange call to those daughters-in-law in his neighborhood. Then, I would probably fool around with them; or lure them into those adult KTV, restaurants, or brothels. Conducting my research under police supervision would help me avoid these prevalent skepticisms. Nor would he get any trouble or complaint from his country fellows because of my possible misconduct.

Box 2.1 Concerns and Representations of Missing Brides:
Targets of Sexual Desire and Moral Discipline

Missing brides has been one of the major concerns of intermarriages in media and police reports. As “foreigners,” they have been the target of xenophobia. Their missing makes them more dangerous. Reports, such as “About a Quarter of ‘Foreign Brides’ in Chungli City are Missing” (Luo Ping羅平, 06/29/2004), “Where are Missing Brides?” (Yu-Long Yan and Li-Ke Chang顏玉龍、張力可, 12/02/2003), “Fifty Percent of ‘Foreign Brides’ in Taichung City are Missing” (Wun-Jheng Cheng and Jheng-Si Chen, 鄭文正、陳正喜, 11/11/2003), and “14000 ‘Foreign Brides’ in Taipei County are Missing” (Syu-Kai Shen沈旭凱, 03/22/2005), are typical warnings.

Their missing is usually theorized in terms of their economic interest. It fits the stereotypical purpose of their marriages. If it is correct, running away would make them nothing but illegal workers or potential cases of human trafficking—their marriages are “fake” and an alternative of human trafficking. Based on such a theory, sex industry appears to be one of the few businesses ideally most applicable for them. For those in charge of these underground economies, its profitability is clearly higher than the other. News of this business is clearly “very seductive” than that of nursing or cleaning. Exemplary reports can be seen in: “Found 14 Vietnamese Brides in a Container House”

(Jhih-Sian Zeng 曾至賢, 10/22/2003), “Thai Prostitutes cannot Name Correctly their [fake] Husbands” (Bo-Dong Jhang 張柏東, 08/04/2004), “Vietnamese Bride Pushed Vietnamese Brides into Sex Industry” (Jhih-Ming Wu 吳志明, 03/11/2005), and “Vietnamese Females Seek Money, Restaurant Looks Erotic” (Long-Tian Sie and Ying-Ming Ciu 謝龍田、邱英明, 08/30/2004).

Return, Reflection, and Restart

With a little disappointment, the trip ended two days before the stunning journalist’s report^{vi} was published. Was the statistical finding incorrect?

Regions	Middle Schools		Elementary Schools	
	Population	%	Population	%
Total	5,504	100.00	40,907	100.00
Northern TW	3,028	55.02	17,776	43.45
Taipei City	814	14.79	3,352	8.19
Central TW	1,214	22.06	10,453	25.55
Southern TW	1,080	19.62	11,476	28.06
Kaohsiung City	287	5.21	2,008	4.91
Eastern TW	123	2.23	922	2.25
Kinmen & Lienchiang	59	1.07	280	0.68

Note 1: Table originates from “Population Analysis of Foreign Spouses’ Children in Middle and Elementary Schools” (MOE Dept of Statistics, 2004).

Note 2: Northern Taiwan includes: Taipei County, Taipei City, Yilan County, Taoyuan County, Hsinchu County, Hsinchu City, Keelung City. Central Taiwan includes: Miaoli County, Changhua County, Nantou County, Taichung County, Yunlin County, Taichung City. Southern Taiwan includes: Chiayi County, Tainan County, Kaohsiung County, Pingtung County, Chiayi City, Tainan City, Penghu County, Kaohsiung City. And Eastern Taiwan includes: Hualien County and Taitung County.

Table 2.1 Population of Foreign Spouses’ Children in Middle and Elementary Schools (By Regions)

The government redefined the “foreignness”. More detailed birth registrations by mother’s nationality (or area) were released in 2004.^{vii} A demogeographical report was published by the end of the same year, too.^{viii} As Table 2.1 shows, 55% of NIC in middle schools and 43% of NIC in elementary schools were in northern Taiwan. This clearly negated the public’s impression. But, as is clear in the same report, the ratio of NIC in Yunlin was relatively higher than most of the other counties on the island of Taiwan.

Did this report verify my statistical estimation and related presumptions of cultural patterns? Probably no. Available information was insufficient. Did this report confirm Yunlin as a good site for this study? Not really. For those who are interested in typifying NIC, the answer could be “yes”. But at that particular moment, for me as an outsider, the answer should be “NO” because few, if any, possible subjects could be identified.

Without necessary social connections, the social distance between me and my potential, but invisible, subjects (face-to-face, probably days, weeks, or months in order to build necessary rapport for a sound study) was no less than the distance between Hsinchu and Yunlin (120 miles, four hours by riding a scooter). They are all “socially invisible.”

In effect, answers to these questions may not really matter. But, the meaning of that trip did. It deserves some methodological further elaboration. When the trip was started,

the research subjects were still sociologically (statistically) invisible. Its effect on the local elementary schools and the county government were ironically very similar to the journalist's report—a patrolman's warning: a "crisis" is knocking at your door. This was clearly not my intention.

However, this trip was still productive in many ways. For instance, it offered a chance to examine some stereotypical hearsay, such as the geographical distribution of NIC and the marital condition of those female marriage immigrants—from a Taiwanese (males') perspective. Also, as a single male, the researcher had his first chance to engage in an implicit gender line which feminized the nature of this study—given that the cause of NIC's disadvantages and the framing of related studies were usually attributed to their *mothers'* foreignness. Finally, but most critically, this trip was helpful in coping with the subjects' triple "invisibilities" in redirecting an alternative approach.

When his subjects are invisible, an anthropologist "at home" would be still in need of native informants to walk across the cultural gap and into a different social network. No matter how reluctant to take over that privileged expert position, it seemed to be the most practical strategy of the day. At about the same time, the Taiwanese government

was, to a degree, doing the same—finding NIC. To put it in a Foucauldian way, the government was making a governable subject.

**Here They Are:
Making a Governable/Researchable Subject**

On August 21st, 2002, the journalist rang the alarm on NIC's coming. On the same day, the Ministry of Education (MOE) hastily reacted to this alarm. The ministry suggested teachers pay more attention to students whose mothers are so-called "foreign brides." Also, schools were advised to make their resource class available to NIC with difficulties or challenges in learning and delay in development (Rong-Yu Chen, 2002c). Ten days later, the new semester began. An emergent census was conducted through the national educational system under MOE's command. Education bureaus in all counties and cities were required to make all elementary and middle schools report the enrollment of NIC in schools. This initiated a project for making a new governable subject—a minority that needs helps or makes troubles.

At the end of 2002, MOE revised its policy of Education Priority Zone. The ratio of NIC's enrollment in a school was regarded as one of the indices to determine if the school needed for extra educational resources. NIC was, thus, officially recognized as an educationally disadvantaged group, juxtaposed with children with single parents, children

raised by grandparents, and the aboriginals.^{ix} One measure to help these disadvantaged minorities was to offer after school programs based on their learning difficulties.

Meanwhile, with some school teachers' help, I established necessary social contacts in a selected field and began my data collection in Hsinchu County. This time, rather than any numerical estimate, my decision was based on necessary social networking.

On September 14, 2004, a major informant (Ms. Wise—a first grade teacher) brought me to a couple. Their mothers are so-called “foreign brides;” and both of them were born in Indonesia, and were now about thirty years old. After their mothers' remarriages with Taiwanese (Mainlanders) in the early 1980s, they came to Taiwan for family reunions. Clearly, they *were* NIC. They have now a girl and a boy. Both have joined various after school programs—academic or non-academic. Their academic performances are clearly above average. In fact, the girl is rated excellent. Here, the emerging question is: are these two children “NIC”? Many teachers had raised similar questions with me—supposedly an expert on issues of NIC. But, I am not. I wonder if the government has yet an answer or a way to find one.

Enforced Exposure

As soon as both visitors stepped into their living room, the husband complained:

Are you the reason why the homeroom teacher asked my daughter if her mother is a “foreign bride,” and whether she wanted to participate in some after school program or not?

“No, I don’t know her homeroom teacher. Neither have I anything to do with the program. That’s just another ineffective policy from MOE.” I hastily clarified my innocence in what had happened to these parents and their children; and magnified their successful parenting:

Your daughter is excellent. Her performance in every domain is so great. Clearly, both of you have no problem in your parenting. I don’t think the program will help her in any sense. You can provide her better learning opportunities than the program.

“Don’t worry, I don’t think you are. I just like to tease you.” The father said,

Ms. Wise has told me several times your interest in visiting our family because both my wife and I were born in Indonesia. To tell the truth, I was a little upset. So, I used to ignore your proposals. But, we know, Ms. Wise is a good teacher. She won’t do any harm to my family. Thus, I think you should be a good guy, too. I was just reluctant to be a part of your study. I and my wife, as well, don’t like to talk too much about our immigration background.

I think you have no idea of how hard both my wife and I have tried to let our children develop just like an average Taiwanese child. We don’t want their lives to be shadowed by our immigration background. Therefore, we seldom told them about our lives in Indonesia and as new immigrants in those years. However, upon knowing their homeroom teacher’s query, honestly, I was pissed off. How can he so brutally step into our parental rights and family privacy? Do you know, all our protection was shaken simply because of his mindless stupidity? I think this is going to be a big problem, and you are probably the guy we can talk to. Therefore, we decided to answer your interview this time.

“I am sorry about what has happened to you.” I said.

“I was just too naïve.” Ms. Wise followed.

I don’t know that to identify your immigration background will make you so uncomfortable. Doc,⁴ do you know, how careless was I? In these years, actually just a few days ago, in order to reply to the MOE’s survey of NIC’s enrollment, I used to ask publicly, and I did this time as well, my students to raise their hands if their mothers or fathers were not born in Taiwan.

“No, you should not do this.” The mother replied.

“Well, it’s not your fault.” I tried to release Ms. Wise’s embarrassment by accusing the government’s violence of doing an unnecessary survey in a careless way and its ignorance of people’s privacy:

The MOE should set up a standard survey procedure for school administrators to review all students’ booklets of registered residence, on which parents’ birthdays and birthplaces are clearly recorded. You know, all schools will get these booklets as soon as students complete their registration. I think it is the government who doesn’t really care about the feeling of the persons involved and the protection of privacy.

“Now, I see the reason why some of my colleagues would say some NIC seem to be less open-minded and honest to issues involving their parents,” Ms. Wise commented.

2.4 Doc

I was called in terms of “Doc” in the field. This alias symbolized a tricky power relation among me, my informants, and participants which I tried to get rid of at the beginning of the project.

The Establishment of Governability

At the beginning of academic year 2006, Ms. Wise told me that teachers have now their students' booklets of registered residence. It is no longer necessary to ask publicly students about their mothers' nationalities or birthplaces. At this point, the governability of NIC was established although the definition of this ethnic group was never "scientific"—that is to say inclusive and exclusive—enough.

Methodological Reflections

Box 2.2 is a chronology that shows two intertwining projects for seeking targeted subjects in a school setting. The first is the "discourses-in-practice" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000) of the government and the media. Clearly, there are diverse conceptions of the subjects. They could be taken as a negative factor in the overall quality of Taiwanese population as the vice minister insisted, a disadvantaged minority, potential social welfare eaters, or a threat to national and social security in the Executive Yuan's policies,. Also, NGOs have their own conceptualizations. Some of them are philanthropic. Some look to be more progressive in struggling to give the subjects chances of "voicing for themselves". In sum, a variety of powers sought to represent the subjects. They have

heterogeneously proliferated the “discourses-in-practice”, the representations, and the resulting conceptualizations.

Coexisting and promoting are many agendas based on different assumptions with multiple interests at the same time. My research interest (in *Italia*) is one of them. There is a complicated relation between these two approaches to representation: They look similar and cooperative (or complicit?) in some way, but competitive or even contrary in the other. Such a relationship deserves further methodological clarification.

Box 2.2 Establishing NIC’s Governability and the Course of the Study

07/2002	<i>In order to prepare for the proposed study, I conducted a project of demogeographic estimation. With limited information, I was unable to locate a researchable site.</i>
08/2002	<i>I initiated a field trip to verify my estimation and to locate a researchable site for the study. The trip was rich but unsuccessful in terms of its original purpose.</i>
08/2002	Rong-Yu Chen’s fired the alarm of NIC’s coming. The Ministry of Education (MOE) made initial reactions.
09/2002	Under MOE’s command, the first census of NIC was conducted through teachers in local middle and elementary schools.
09-10/2002	<i>Taking advantages as a lecturer at a local teachers’ college, I visited Jaguar Elementary. The school is in Jaguar community in Laker City, Hsinchu County with a long history of NIC’s attendance. I was accepted to make the school a site for the study.</i>
12/2002	MOE revised its policy of Education Priority Zone. NIC (of “Foreign Spouses) were listed as one educational disadvantaged minority.
03/2003	A naming movement was launched by Awakening Foundation (婦女新知): “Let Immigrant Females Speak for Themselves, Please Call Me...”

12/2003	Taipei Municipal Government, the first local government, accepted “New Immigrants” as the official title of NIC’s non-Taiwanese mothers/fathers/parents.
2004	NIC of “Mainland Spouses” were added to the list of educational disadvantaged minorities in the revision of Education Priority Zone. In order to calculate more precisely the population of NIC, MOI redefined mothers from Mainland, Hong Kong, Macao, or mothers from the other countries that have been naturalized as “non-nationals”.
06-10/2004	Based on the “Current Reaction Plan of Foreign and Mainland Spouses’ Immigration” (現階段外籍與大陸配偶移入因應方案 Council for Economic Planning and Development, 06/16/2004), the premier of the Executive Yuan announced a ten-year project to meet the challenges resulting from the new immigrants’ arrival. The government planned to establish a foundation with three billion NT dollars (nearly one hundred million US dollars) to support this project (MOI and MOE, 2004). Many programs of education, social and national security, public health, and international affairs followed. Meanwhile, based on MOE’s report of “Educational Situation and Policy Suggestions of Children in Disadvantaged Transnational Families” (弱勢跨國家庭子女教育處境與改進策略 2004), a four-year project would specifically focus on NIC’s education. The budget of the first year was one hundred and sixty-five million NT (approximate 5 million US dollars). Many educational programs were thereafter proposed and initiated based on this medium range project.
06/2004	The first nationwide conference on the education and counseling of Foreign and Mainland Brides was held at National Chiayi University. Attendants included school educators, social workers, scholars, and government officers. With one of his main informants’ help, the researcher had a chance to observe closely and listen to the methodology and process of the emerging, yet indefinite and polymorphous, official representations of his research subjects.
07/2004	“Foreign and mainland brides should not give so many births which would increase the load of our country.”—an incident of a vice Minister’s misspeaking. See Chapter One.
08/2004	The researcher was invited to a meeting held by the Department of Social

	Education. As part of the ten-year assisting project, the topic was how to organize a nationwide circuit exhibition of Southeast Asian culture. Its goal was to educate the public about the new immigrants' original culture.
09/2004	As MOE announced in July, NIC have a higher priority than average Taiwanese for entering public kindergartens.
	Jaguar Elementary received a census directly from MOE's Department of Statistics, the first government nationwide census of NIC.
11/2004	MOE launched the project of "Developing a New Immigrant Culture" (發展新移民文化計畫).
2005	Based on MOE's four-year project, Jaguar Elementary started a new after school program for NIC. However, because of the difficulty of recruitment, all educational disadvantaged students were included.
09/2005	NIC was removed from the project of Education Priority Zone because the Executive Yuan launched a special project—the ten-year assisting project.
04/2006	Vietnamese females are poisoned by agent orange. It is imperative to impose a stricter health screening before their marriages and naturalization—another mispeaking incident by a legislator.
09/2006	Students' booklets of registered residence were delivered to elementary school teachers to identify the national background of their students' parents.

First, it is critical to note that Yun's parents' reactions to all conceptualizations and representations are similar and symbolic: They refused to take the place they had been assigned. Their reluctance can be theorized as unwilling to reply the "interpellation"—a "call"—that requires them to be the subjects of those who have power to represent, such as Althusser's (ideological) state apparatus (1971) or a researcher. Underlying is a violence that wrongs them with an unwanted subjectivity. Throughout my research, I, of course, kept making such a "call". In the name of the state, Yun's homeroom teacher and

Ms Wise also made similar “calls” no matter what primary concerns were involved: from a will “to control” to an apparently “generous giving”. This violence is typical in most of the representations and conceptualizations.

Second, when I failed to locate a researchable site after my pilot fieldtrip, I was envious of those who can spot their fields and subjects simply by numbers or appearance. I, therefore, complained to my friends: “Why is the government so ‘dumb’ in such a basic technology of governing?” But, later, as I reflected on my practice of field seeking and entering, I realized that I was actually stuck in a dilemma. On the one hand, I tried to avoid using my privilege in order not to take the advantages of my potential participants and informants. On the other hand, knowledge produces power; and it is a product of power. If I had not used my privilege, some other substitutes would be necessary. The “objectivism” of statistics and its power were thus what I tried to count on. This is the complicity between my practice and other attempts of conceptualizations. But, it may be actually less innocent than my privilege. From this perspective, however oddly it may sound; to take my privilege as a socially inseparable part of my subjectivity should be a more reflexive foundation to undergird my study. The point is: make it their “call”.

Clearly, not only the numbers were not reliable enough, but also their limits should be more carefully examined. There was something that the numbers cannot bear, but were necessary to facilitate my networking within the community. Here my privilege came into play. In spite of many ambiguous ethical concerns,^x it worked.

However, I soon realized that my method of networking also led me into a special spatiotemporality. I was informed by an elementary school teacher who taught in this community a few years ago. Unlike those staffs I called in Yunlin, he knew the community's "exoticization" long before the "crisis" of NIC's coming was noticed. This made my research site very particular, involving factors including a longer history of intermarriage and a less typical demographic composition.^{xi} For instance, just a year before I retreated from my field, the majorities of the NIC's matrilineal origins in this community were Indonesia (47), China (10), and Thailand (10).^{xii} But in the same school year (2004-2005), the nationwide NIC population at elementary schools is China (14,033), Indonesia (10,651), and Vietnamese (6,612).^{xiii} Also, the dominant male marriage participants are ethnically Hakka and "Mainlanders" rather than Minnanese. With this particular spatiotemporality, my interest of the structural background of intermarriage rather than their average image can be more fully explored.

It would be somewhat difficult to identify whether the “spatial specificity” or my research interest emerged a priori to the other. Is there a recognizable causality; and where does it come from? Or it is just a coincidence, but what kind of coincidence it is, a happy match or a self-realized bias? Here, a critical, though hypothetical, methodological question emerged: If I had been equipped with more statistical power and successfully located a field through numbers, what would this study look like today? This question may not be answerable. But, it does suggest an alternative study that could be built on a different research practice. This unanswerable question reveals at the outset the importance of the methodological context. If there could be a meaningful contrast between this study and the other efforts of representation, this methodological foreground should be a critical issue, and *vice versa*.

Also, my use of privilege is certainly disputable. It seems that only leaving them alone could avoid, or conceal, the violence. But ignorance and innocence are not necessarily more ethical when everybody is trying to have a say. After all, to know each other is, in effect, mandatory in a multicultural society. Thus, it would be too idealistic to look forward to a “non-violent” study. Ethically, my pragmatic concern would be how to make my “interpellation” “less-violently” access my participants. My informants’, like

Ms Wise, intermediation had clearly soothed a little my participants', like Yun's parents, resistance.

The subjects' "NOs" were interesting. Rather than to mark a period, they called for an endless negotiation, thus, could result in some positive effects. They gradually let me understand how I exaggerated my "privilege". There were various kinds of "NOs". Some of them were actions in the name of privacy protection, especially when improper behaviors were about to happen. In such a context, they were to resist my "judging privilege"—presumably from the subjects' perspective. Sometimes, my privilege could also be instrumental from the subjects' perspective, especially in some emergent conflict situations. When the instrument was not effective enough, these "NOs" told me their disappointment. In this regard, I am by no means suggesting that the subjects are all utilitarian or my privilege does not exist. But, it is clear that a researcher's privilege cannot be measured with an absolute scale. It would be contextually examined by his/her subjects.

My first conversation with Yun's father showed an interesting examination of my privilege. I knew Yun's brother, Berlin, a year before I met his parents. Many "NOs" I had been politely informed. They kept their NO until a more threatening violence had

acted upon them. As compared with that of the government, mine was less compelling; therefore, I was validated. In other words, my study is competing among many others for the legitimacy of representation and conceptualization. Methodologically, this process is an ethical and political competition. The subjects are referees. Their consent, the quality of data among many other criteria will tell the researcher how s/he scored. Was I really privileged? It depends. The field is after all their “home”, and they are the home team.

Geography of the Research Site

My fieldtrip to locate a researchable site failed for its lack of a supportive social network. Then, I was advised to take advantages as a college lecturer to seek help from school teachers. Some of them firmly suggested that Jaguar Elementary had been famous as a “small United Nations” for a long time. I visited the school as a lecturer, and was welcome by its teachers. They confirmed the diverse national backgrounds of their students’ mothers and showed their interest in participating in this project. Then, I took strolls in the community, witnessed the “exoticism” on the street, and personally talked to some village heads and local small businessmen. All of these, which I had hardly seen in Yunlin, sounded promising. With the teachers’ support, I was, now, more confident in meeting desirable subjects in this community. The research site was decided.

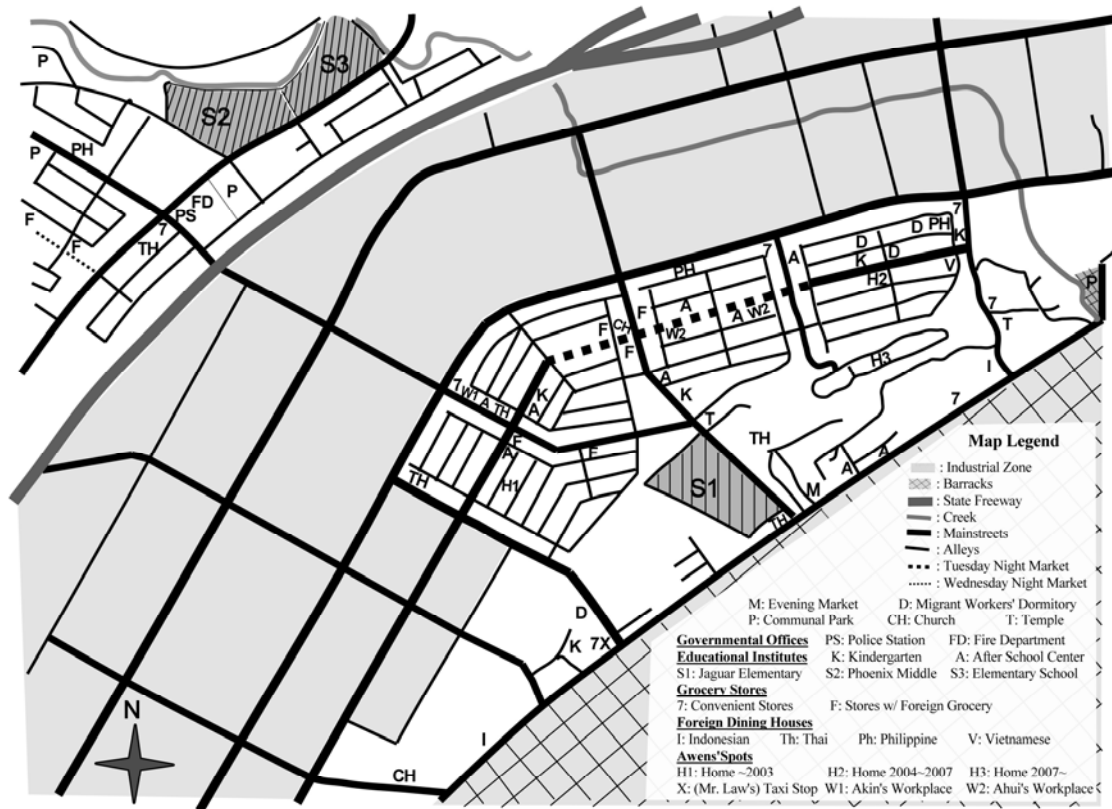


Figure 2.2 A Map of Jaguar Community

Jaguar Community is located at Laker City, Hsinchu County. It is a plateau and historically a Hakka lebensraum since the Ch'ing Dynasty. The community now covers three originally peasant villages. Before the end of World War II, Japanese colonial regime took its geomorphologic advantages and deployed a big army barracks in its south. After the war, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party (also Koumintang, KMT) was defeated in a few years by Chinese Communist Party. Then, he led millions of so-called

Mainlanders into Taiwan. Many of them are military personnel. Under his command, the barracks became the biggest armory garrison in northern Taiwan.

In the early 1960s, more and more Mainlanders recognized that Taiwan was going to be their “new home.” Many military people in these barracks, especially those low-rank officers and staffs, began to settle outside their camps. Without official authorization and assistance, they willfully bought local Hakka’s farmlands and built their cottages around the barracks. A Mainlanders’ community emerged. When the industrial zone was extended into its north in 1980, almost all farmlands disappeared.^{xiv} The local Hakka resettled in the Mainlanders’ community and gradually took over the latter’s small businesses along the main street—Victoria Road.

When these “Mainlanders” followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan, many of them were still teenagers and single (or became single). As they were older and ready to make this place their new home, marriage became a critical issue. Some of them (re-) married. But, given their marginality in the marriage market—poor, old, and ethnically alienated, their potential spouses, in this particular community, were primarily aboriginals or disadvantaged Hakka (poor or females with physical or mental difficulties). Later, poor

females from Southeast Asia and China were also welcomed. Thus, they became the “pioneers” of underclass intermarriages.

Establishing an industrial zone is a typical strategy in urban planning in most newly industrialized countries. The Laker Industrial Zone was built in 1975. It was originally a base of so-called traditional industries—textile, mechanics, etc, and was located in the west of Jaguar community. To meet the impact of globalization, many factories of traditional industries moved to China in the last two decades for cheaper labors or bigger market. Meanwhile, factories of IT industry moved into this zone, especially its extended part in the north of the community. Transformation of a kind redirected the route of internal migration. Many migrants came to this community, such as Fukienses—foes of Hakka in the history of armed conflict. Of course, new opportunities were not only open to technicians and white collared labors. 3D (dangerous, dirty, and demeaning) labors are always needed in which Aboriginals have a critical share. However, there is still a shortage of labor power, both in technology and non-skilled labor. Many migrant workers were hence imported from Philippines and Thailand—major sending countries of factory migrant labors.^{xv} Many dormitories were built for them. In order to put their activities under surveillance, these dormitories are equipped with monitors,^{xvi} and are managed by

housemasters. The vacancy of non-skilled labor then is filled by native Hakka—and unexpectedly marriage immigrants.

This community has many restaurants serving different cuisines. Beef noodles and dumplings are typical “Mainland” styles.^{xvii} But, they are now very nativized. Stores of boxed lunch and these “Mainland food” are normally targeting Taiwanese eatouts in the industrial zone. Also, there are a few “western” restaurants serving so-called “Italian” and “American” food. They supposedly feed the white collar or higher ranking personnel. Finally, there are eight simple Southeast Asian cafeterias serving Vietnamese (1), Thai (3), Philippine (2), and Indonesian (2) food. Bahasa Indonesian, Thai, and English letters are on their signboards. These cafeterias represent the complicated demography of the region. Their consumers are exclusively “lower class” Southeast Asians divided by their national originalities. Customers of Philippine and Thai cafeterias are dominantly factory migrant workers usually in uniforms, while those of the Indonesian are mainly “foreign brides” from Indonesia. When collecting my data, they were the biggest national group of marriage migrants.

There are also, at least, fifteen grocery stores with foreign letters on their signboards. At the beginning, I thought these businesses as well as those Southeast Asian cafeterias

should be “ethnic businesses” run by “foreign brides.” But, a village head showed me more complicated ethnic and class implications. Most cafeterias may be run by families with “foreignness,” but, grocery stores are not. A grocery store requires more capital investment. Its return is bigger but slower as well. Most of the foreign brides’ families can hardly meet that criterion, and cash—small though—is more needed in their everyday life. Thus, most of the grocery stores are Taiwanese properties (or *hua-ch’iao* who came here much earlier than marriage immigrants; neither were they marriage migrants). The majority of foreign brides share the lowest stratum of the labor market with the native Hakka and the migrant aboriginals. Most of them are competing against each other in the same 3D labor market.

These cafeterias and grocery stores represent both the culture and the social networks of people with different national originalities. The Philippine and Thai cafeterias usually offer both meals and entertaining facilities, such as pools and karaoke; therefore, are also gathering centers for migrant workers. But, they sell relatively few “homeland” groceries, such as canned food, music CD, and DVD. Most of these workers do their grocery shopping in local supermarkets or those stores with their languages or English—their language in factories—on the signboards. These grocery stores offer

alternative social spaces for migrant labors. Storeowners provide seats and tables around of their stores. In the weekend daytime, these are popular dating spaces. In the evening of the weekdays, they are party spaces for male workers. They drink, smoke, sing, and chat from late afternoon to early night.

On the contrary, in addition to homeland cuisines, an Indonesian cafeteria provides more Indonesian products, such as music tapes, canned food, instant noodles, etc. but no entertaining equipment. Indonesian brides may spend some time for a meal inside the store (because they have responsibility to their home? Then, when and where could be their “social life”?). But, the space is by no mean a public space as Philippine or Thai cafeterias (because they have no household responsibility after work in Taiwan?). In fact, the music in this space is usually made up of Taiwanese popular songs rather than that of Indonesian (the salesgirl identifies herself as *hua-chiao*. She and her families came from Indonesia more than fifteen years ago. She claimed that she does not like Indonesian music. Her father said she knows no Bahasa now.). Seldom are these Indonesian groceries seen in the local supermarkets. In sum, these small ethnic businesses offer spaces for different kinds of social gatherings. They also represent a complicated social spatial division of culture, class, and gender.

In addition to the foregoing “foreign” businesses, there are more traditional native market activities. An evening market from three to seven every afternoon is held right on a Mainlanders’ old gathering square beside the barracks. The time fits the Taiwanese off-duty clocks. Around the square are grocery stores, internet cafés, dining houses, comic book stores, motor garages, barber shops, tea shops, pool halls, laundry rooms, and many other small businesses that serve the residents’ everyday needs or the soldiers’ needs of entertainments.

The square used to serve entertaining or political purposes. Now, both ends only function in election seasons. In a normal afternoon, the square is relatively feminized and occupied by housewives and small businessmen. Its stage is taken by an informal club of poker games and Chinese chess—a public space for old male Mainlanders. The stage is under the surveillance of a Sun Yat-Sen’s picture—their national father. But, these old men still enjoy their small bets every day. Discolored is the picture, but clear and fresh is the political statement of the community. In the election season, staged candidates are usually nominated by Koumintang. Mainlanders are the majority; Mandarin is dominant; but Hakka can sometime be heard and can always be seen in refreshments—Hakka fry rice noodles.

Vendors of the market are mainly Hakka farmers from the other rural villages close by. They sell their own crops to residents around the neighborhood. But, some Fukianese vendors from the other townships recently tend to take over the best selling spots. Their goods come from wholesalers. Languages in use in business activities are Mandarin, Minnanese, and Hakka. In sum, modern and traditional modes of exchange coexist in this ethnically diversifying space. But, probably because of both the constraint of time and distance and the characteristics of commodities, factory migrant workers are rarely seen.

Commodities for sale, languages in use, and consumers' ethnic backgrounds are more diverse in a mini night market on Tuesday and a bigger one on Wednesday. The former extends along a main street in the residential area beside the new industrial zone for about four hundred meters. The latter spreads just a block from the border of the old industrial zone for about six hundred meters. Night market is a sort of one night carnival. It starts around six and closes around eleven. It, therefore, matches the factory migrant workers' double shifts clock. They usually wear their uniforms and come to the markets after work in a group typically more than three—if not dating. For sales are various local snacks, appetizers, soft drinks, clothes, shoes, breads, toys, office equipment, and the most popular illegal video and music CDs. Sometimes, a super mini ferris wheel and

carousels for pre-school children are also part of the scene. Most of them are more exotic for migrant workers than for Taiwanese. Languages in these markets are more diverse because of the migrant workers. Pidgins of Tagalog, English, Thai, and Chinese dialects are used to make their deals.

Because of the (inner or inter national) migration, the population of this community is booming and diversifying. The demographic composition of Jaguar Elementary reflects such a mass injection. It used to have about eighteen classes (about thirty-five students per class) in the mid 1990s. It has now thirty-six (averagely thirty-two students per class). When most schools have troubles recruiting students in the last decade, the growth of Jaguar Elementary is impressive and exceptional. In a typical Taiwanese educators' world, the growth of school size is usually regarded as progress, but this is not the case of Jaguar Elementary. Educators in Jaguar Elementary consider the demographic complexity a challenge and a potentially negative factor in their reputation and the resulting quality of their work.

The high fluidity of the community can also be seen in the school's personnel. Most teachers in Jaguar Elementary are young and migrants (mostly Fukienese). Only one out

of thirty-six homeroom teachers has taught in this school for more than ten years (till 2005). Most of them are not Hakka.

Gender is an additional issue in this demographic change. A decade ago, most of the male teachers came to this school when they were single and had just begun their career. Transferring to another school closer to their origins was the most likely trajectory of their career. But, many of their female counterparts were married (or about to marry). For most of them, transferring to this school used to be a result of their husbands' opportunity in the Science Park. It could also be a stepping stone if only the next stop might prove to be a better location with better reputation. But now, given the economic recession, the low fertility, the oversupply of teachers, and with the local population booming, the chance of coming- in is higher than that of moving-out. The flow of teachers is recently "one way and slow". The school personnel are stabilizing. Single male teachers married and bought their houses around the community in these years. They are nativizing, so to speak.

Most of the graduates of Jaguar Elementary continue their education in three middle schools. The research participants attend mostly Phoenix Middle. It is a small school with fair reputation before the new century. As one of its staffs complained, historically, a

higher proportion of its students are either cultural/ethnic minorities or socioeconomic disadvantaged. Their parents are either less concerned with their children's education or too poor to pay the tuition for the private school. Or they lack legal information to transfer their children to the bigger school in downtown Laker City. Indeed, if culturally sensitive enough, one would be easily impressed by the school's demographic complexity. As a school in a community conventionally dominated by Han ethnic group, the ratios of both its Aboriginals students and NIC are much higher than the averages nationwide. Suffice it to say, Phoenix Middle is, in effect, a school of (internal and international) migration.

This traditional rural area has been industrialized and globalized. It has a different story from those major global cities, such as Tokyo, London, New York (Sassen, 2001), or even Taipei. Manufacturing rather than financial services is its base. Two intersecting road systems can successfully represent the doubled transnationality of its networks. The state freeway^{xviii} (see Box 2.3) cuts and opens an exit at the north edge of the district. It symbolizes a "high speed" international network. The Laker City is a critical part of this network. Through the freeway, the city is connected to the largest global city in Taiwan—Taipei (about 60 minutes drive) and the Chiang Kai-shek international airport

(30 minutes drive, recently renamed as the Taoyuan International Airport in the name of Taiwanese nationalism). From the same airport, migrant workers and “foreign brides” come to this district, and develop their own, alternative and glocalised, social network.

Box 2.3 The Sun Yat-sen Freeway and Globalization

extracted from Bruce Einhorn, Matt Kovac, Pete Engardio, Dexter Roberts, Frederik Balfour, and Cliff Edwards “Why Taiwan Matters”. *Business Week*, 2005.05.16

Want to find the hidden center of the global economy? Take a drive along Taiwan's Sun Yat-sen Freeway. This stretch of road is how you reach the companies that connect the vast marketplaces and digital powerhouses of the U.S. with the enormous manufacturing centers of China.

The Sun Yat-sen is as bland as any U.S. interstate, but it's the highway of globalization. Though it snakes along the whole west coast of Taiwan, the key 70-km stretch starts in Taipei's booming new Neihu district of high-tech office buildings and ends in Hsinchu, home to two of Taiwan's best universities, its top research center, and a world-renowned science park. Along the way, the Sun Yat-sen leads to some of the most important but anonymous tech outfits in the world: Asustek Computer, whose China factories spit out iPods and Mini Macs for Apple (AAPL); and Quanta Computer, the No. 1 global maker of notebook PCs and a key supplier to Dell (DELL) and Hewlett-Packard. You'll also find Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co. (TSM), the biggest chip foundry on the planet, an essential partner to U.S. companies such as Qualcomm and Nvidia (NVDA). Dozens more companies dot the Neihu-Hsinchu corridor. There's AU Optronics (AUTO), a big supplier of liquid-crystal display panels, and Hon Hai Precision Industry, which makes everything from PC components to Sony's (SNE) PlayStation 2, and which is a fast-rising rival to Flextronics International (FLEX), the world's biggest contract manufacturer. Taken together, the revenues of Taiwan's 25 key tech companies should hit \$122 billion this year.

Juxtaposed are the local traffic communications, a representation of an alternative globalization with heterogeneity. The road system of the community was constructed like a chess plate (a network?) with numerous intersections. The state freeway is broad, smooth, speedy, linear, and bright after the sunset. Roads of the local system are narrow, zigzag, occasionally rocky, and dark with only a few street lights at night. Vehicles on the freeway never stop except with their own problem or traffic jams. Moving objects on the roads range from pedestrians, bikes, scooters, to sedans, trucks, and CRANES. Once in a while, they like to stop for greetings and conversations; or they have to stop because the road is too narrow for vehicles coming from different directions. But, there are some similarities between these two systems. Similar to the state freeway, all intersections inside the community have no traffic lights and stop signs. Careful passengers must be cautious to both non-stops.

ⁱ Early Chinese immigrants, ancestors of current Taiwanese, were dominantly single males. Because of the lack of marriageable counterpart of the same ethnic group, they usually married aboriginal females.

ⁱⁱ Also see (Chen, Cyong-fen, 陳瓊芬, 2002) and (Pan, Yan-Fei, 潘彥妃, 2003). The Taiwanese government recognized marriage brokers as a legitimate business in 2003. But, being protested by feminists from its inside and outside, the government decided to limit its development in 2006.

ⁱⁱⁱ See the effect of Rong-Yu Chen's report in Chapter One.

^{iv} The Bureau of Education refused to provide exact information.

^v Contact information is available on the school websites.

^{vi} See Chapter One.

^{vii} See tables in Chapter One.

^{viii} See “Population Analysis of Foreign Spouses’ Children in Middle and Elementary Schools” (Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Education, 2004).

^{ix} See the section of project orientation in MOE’s “Promotion of Education Priority Zone” revised in September 2005 (MOE, 2005).

^x See the footnotes in chapters of data presentation.

^{xi} The geography of my research site will be clarified at the end of this chapter.

^{xii} One of my key informants in Jaguar Elementary reported this information based on the school enrollment record in 2005.

^{xiii} See Department of Statistics in the Ministry of Education. (2004).

^{xiv} Interestingly, farmland has gone, but “farmers” are still farming. They “willfully” clean up some spaces—usually small green space in parks or other public spaces—close to their houses for their own planting.

^{xv} Household migrant workers are mainly from Philippines and Indonesia.

^{xvi} Monitors, as shown in Davis (1990), are typical equipment for policing the borderland. But, their direction is reversed in Jaguar community because “the others” are now living inside its enclaves. The challenge is how to “contain” their outflow.

^{xvii} In Taiwanese rural communities, traditional peasants do not eat their best farming assistant.

^{xviii} The Sun Yat-Sen Freeway (equivalent to the Interstate in the US), was built in 1971 and completed in 1978.

CHAPTER 3

NEW HORIZONS AND NEW LENSES OF/FOR EMERGING CHALLENGES: THEORIZING IMMIGRANTS' EVERYDAY LIFE

Since the journalist launched the first alarm, the government has undertaken many projects—including large-scale educational research and survey—in quick succession. Studies of these children burst out. In the last three academic years (2003-2004, 2004-2005, and 2005-2006), about one hundred and twenty masters degree theses (approximately 120,000 masters graduates from all fields were conferred in the same period) were produced. This single subject amazingly grasped 0.1% of master graduates' attention. However, this surge of studies did not create a clearer image. In some studies, these youths were not a real problem (Chin-Lien Chen陳金蓮, 2005; Hsiu-Chieh Chou周秀潔, 2004). There were also some threatening predictions as well (Siu-Yan Liu劉秀燕, 2003). Some studies suggested that these children have language difficulty (Chia-Pei Hsu許嘉珮, 2004; Hui-Ju Nien粘惠如, 2006; Guei-Jr Chiou邱桂治, 2005). Yet, in some studies, this difficulty is not as serious as the majority perceived (Ya-Ting Lin林雅婷,

2004). Some argued that their language difficulty is a result of their families' low social economic status (Hsiao-Feng Su, 2005 蘇筱楓; Mei-Hui Wang王美惠, 2005); while some refused to make such a connection (Yin-Cheng Hsu許殷誠, 2005; Pi-Shan Chang張碧珊, 2006).

In short, most of the existing studies were either repeating pathologically the subjects' stereotypes, or were talking back with a strong anti-pathological consciousness. Contradictory arguments may inevitably keep proliferating and confusing the public and the authorities. In face of these contradictions, this chapter will develop a more adequately grounded theory to cope with the complexity of the relative issues. It first reviews the theories undergirding this study. As a study of people in migration, it begins with an introduction of migration theories at three levels, namely: micro, macro, and meso. Each has its focus of interest. Basically, the micro approach is more interested in individual migrants' rational (economic) choice. The macro approach concerns globally the historical-structural background on which the studied migration is triggered and conditioned. The meso analysis inquires into mechanisms, such as migrants' social networks, related formal or informal institutions, and individual states' policies and regulations. These domains facilitate, maintain, or restrict the flows of migration.

Followed by the theories of migration is a review of both the global and the regional structure of NIC's coming. As underscored in the introductory ethnography in Chapter One, this study will push beyond the current consensus about the structural background. In addition to capitalist globalization, or internalization of capital as Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2000) put it, this study brings both the effect of (the end of) the Cold War and the consequence of (de-) colonization into account. With this account, we will be enabled to cope with why, for instance, the composition and the direction of the flow, the formation of current discursive practice, and the enthusiasm of a politics of identity are emerging and changing.

Theories of Migration

Ravenstein's "law of migration" (1885, 1889) established a paradigmatic theory of "push-pull" for many migration studies. Negative conditions at migrants' origin provide a "push" force; while positive attractions "pull" them into their destinations. Since then, scholars have continuously explored myriad factors of push and pull. These neoclassic scholars, such as Sjaastad (1962), considered the decision of migration an outcome of calculating cost and return. Their analytical unit could be very individual. Like Everett Lee (1966), personal qualities and opportunities, or recently so-called "human capital,"

were critical in understanding people's migration decisions. For instance, better educated and more skillful migrants are more positive and destination- oriented. In sum, migrants are perceived as people "who make free choices which not only 'maximize their well-being' but also lead to an 'equilibrium in the marketplace'" (Borjas, 1989:482, quoted in Castles & Miller, 1998: 33).

This paradigm provides an economic theory for those NIC's mothers' participation in intermarriages: they were "pushed" by their "poor" motherlands, and were "pulled" into "affluent" Taiwan. But, such a rationale sounds like an odd echo—more "civilized" though—to a stereotype of these mothers: They are utilitarian; or more bluntly, they "married money."ⁱ This is clearly an offense against the sacredness of founding a family with romantic love. Along with a criticism of the commodification of their marriage,ⁱⁱ these families are cursed.ⁱⁱⁱ Many of these discourses were, then, followed by poor parenting from these couples, especially the mothers. Only a few critics have argued for counter-discourses to protest such an overwhelming stigmatization. For instance, Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2001) and Mei-Hsien Lee (李美賢, 2003) denounced such widely but falsely imagined and imaged representations.^{iv} Hsing-Ju Shen & Hong-Zen Wang (沈倬

如、王宏仁, 2003) questioned the necessary causality between affection foundation and marital happiness.

In addition to the discontents of its (mis-) understanding the reality, there have been many theoretical challenges to the “push-and-pull” model. This classical perspective was unable to cope with the structural conditions from which various demographic flows have been historically derived. Many scholars, such as Cheng and Bonacich (1984), therefore, called for a macro perspective, or historical-structuralist approach as Hugo (1993) and Castles and Miller (1998) conceptualized, to examine the cause of migration—or “root cause” (Van Hear, 1998). Put differently, this approach looks forward to understanding the structural conditions that constrain individuals’ choices of migration decisions (Zolberg, 1989).

The internationalization of Taiwanese capital has been the most commonly well recognized and frequently referred structural factor by scholars of marriage immigrants in Taiwan, such as Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2000), Hong-Zen Wang (王宏仁, 2001), Hong-Zen Wang & Shu-Ming Chang (王宏仁、張書銘, 2003), and Wen-hui Tang & Ya-yu Tsai (唐文慧、蔡雅玉, 2000), etc. Such an economic dimension has been a Marxist long-term concern of migration. Amin’s (1974) dependent theory structured a world with critical

economic disparities that foregrounded individuals' decisions of migration. Also, as one of the leading scholars of this approach, Saskia Sassen's focus has been on the impact of globalization. Her earlier work (Sassen, 1988a) demonstrated the correlation between migration and capitalist investment. In her reviews of migration in European modern history (Sassen, 1999) and in the age of this ongoing globalization (Sassen, 1996), she cross-examined the relation among: first, the role of nation-states when they were emerging and at the present time as well; second, the changing regional and/or global economic order; and third, the "generation" (both conceptually and in reality) of migrants, refugees, and ethnic politics and related discourses. Migration becomes, therefore, historicized in a regional and/or global political economy of capitalism.

In addition to the capitalist globalization—the economic factor, the end of the Cold War (Van Hear, 1998; Castles & Miller, 1998) and the effect of (de-) colonization (Castles & Miller, 1998) are the other frequently cited historical-structural issues.

American males and Philippine women in Aguilar's (1987) study exemplified the effect of the Cold War and American colonialism on marriage migration in the United States.

Eventually, Taiwan is also enmeshed in these two historical predicaments.

Geographically, it is centered on the first island chain of the anti-communist front, and

neighbored with ex-colonies of the west. Historically, it is itself an ex-colony of the only eastern imperial power. In reality, based on the ethnographic foreground introduced in the first chapter, both factors should be quite critical in understanding the coming of the research subjects. Surprisingly, both were still missing in the existing studies. This lack will be considered after the review of theorizing migration.

As Stark (1991) argued, migration is more of a collective action than a personal business. The vision of push-and-pull theory is somehow individualistic to illuminate the structural-historical conditions of their migration. Yet, the macro approach is much too abstract to render individuals' decisions and realities. In addition to the micro personal rational choice and the macro structural condition, Douglas Massey (1990, 1998) and Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pllegrino, and Taylor (1993) suggested a meso approach, a migration systems theory as Hugo (1993) has identified it. These scholars suggested that

any migration movement can be seen as the result of interacting macro- and micro- structures. Macro-structures refer to large-scale institutional factors, while micro-structures embrace the networks, practices, and beliefs of the migrants themselves (Castles & Miller, 1993).

States, the world market, and interstate relationships—be it political, cultural, legal, or economical—account for the macro-structures. Migrants' social networks are the

major micro-structure. They are usually based on the migrants' familial or communal relations, and can be conceptualized and served as social capital—see Coleman (1988), Lin (2001), and Granovetter (1973)—to lower the cost, the risk, and the threshold for the latecomers' moving outward (Castles & Miller, 1993). Through social networks, migrants develop and accumulate their “migratory cultural capital” (Massey et al, 1993; Van Hear, 1998: 50-54), including knowledge of destination and travel, which initiates and sustains their migratory movement.

With Brettell's (2003) outlook, this ethnographic study is also attracted by this meso approach. Clearly, Yun's mother (Phoebe), Awen's sons and older daughters, and Ray's coming were directly affected by the social network that built on their mothers' remarriages. In effect, these mothers' arrivals also relied on an atypical, but stigmatized, social network—formal or informal institutions of commodified intermarriages. Various middlemen have been involved in such marriages. For instance, marriage brokers assist matchmaking. Scriveners take care of the follow-up legal issues. These middlemen offer most of the intermarriage migrants critical and necessary service for the latter's lack of “migration cultural capital.” In Taiwan, this “capital” includes myriad legal knowledge to go through the migration process—such as passports and visas application, migration

interview, and health examination; and some financial service, granting a loan for the required security deposit in order to meet the quality for citizenship application. Thus, a “migration industry” (Harris, 1996) emerged. It is a “meso-structure” (Castles & Miller, 1998), and a social network *a posterior* (Wang & Chang, 2003) as well.

Clearly, this social network is more commercialized than those connections normally based on family or community. Females in this network are treated as commodities for exchange (del Rosario, 1994; Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, 2000), wombs for having babies (Chen-Chou Tai 戴鎮洲, 2004), maids for housework, and nurses for aged families (Jia-Ling Han 韓嘉玲, 2003). Such commodification and their own economic motifs offend the value of family and the sacredness of love; therefore, they incur many criticisms and objections. But, in terms of NIC’s socialization and education, few scholars are able to verify any solid connection among these parents’ weak affection ties, these mothers’ “abnormal” marital networks, and the major challenges that NIC (or their families) have to confront, except some “minor” predicaments.

First, as some reports have shown, a few NIC may feel uncomfortable because of their cohorts or sometimes even their own contempt for their mothers’ being the purchase targets (Li-Li Mo and Pei-Ling Lai 莫藜藜、賴佩玲, 2004; Sie-Li Tang 唐秀麗, 2006).

Such discomfort is clearly a direct result from their mothers' "atypical" social network.

But, it seems that NIC and their mothers are more often discriminated for: first, their "racial" or physical appearance (Rong-Li Tang 唐榮麗, 2006; Li-Ke Chang 張力可, 2006), such as, for example, their very slightly darker skin; second, their "similarity" to migrant workers— especially "housemaids" as they were usually ridiculed, given that both have been domestically or socially looked down upon and have had similar cultural geographical origins (Wan-Yu Lin 林宛諭, 2005; Zih-Yu Cheng 陳子鈺, 2004).

Second, some reports and studies (Juei-King Lee and Mei-Chih Chang李瑞金、張美智, 2004; Li-Li Mo and Pei-Ling Lai, 2004; Shu-fen Chen, 2003; Chen-Chou Tai, 2004; Shu-Man Pan潘淑滿, 2004) have partly attributed some of NIC and their families disadvantages, such as marital or family violence and their disrespectable status, to their lack of solid affection ties or to their arrival as a commodity. Theoretically, it is not very difficult to explain the possible impacts of violence on NIC's socialization and education. Violence may easily become a cause of divorce,^v and children may become its targets (Jing-Houng Kuo and Hui-Ping Hsueh郭靜晃、薛慧平, 2004; Huai-Chen Peng彭懷真, 2004). But, the causality from the mothers' "atypical" marital social networks, the violent

atmosphere in their families, and then, to the challenges to their socialization and education has not yet been fully examined.

In effect, as shown in many studies and reports, there are other causes of family and marital violence, such as their poverty, their lack of support from the government and the society, and the cultural differences between those couples or the mothers and their families-in-law (Li-Li Mo and Pei-Ling Lai, 2004; Liang-Yen Chiang, Yen-Jen Chen, and Chih-Chun Huang江亮演、陳燕禎、黃稚純, 2004; Juei-King Lee and Mei-Chih Chang, 2004; Shu-Man Pan, 2004; Betty Yung-Shew Weng翁毓秀, 2004).^{vi} In addition, they are also silenced or disempowered due to their concerns related to work permission, residency (Chiang, Liang-Yen, Yen-Jen Chen, and Chih-Chun Huang, 2004; Juei-King Lee and Mei-Chih Chang, 2004; Shu-Man Pan, 2004; Shu-fen Chen, 2003; Julie Liu劉珠利, 2004; Yen-Lin Ku & Yi-Chun Yu顧燕翎、尤詒君, 2004), and guardianship (Yen-Lin Ku & Yi-Chun Yu, 2004; Shu-fen Chen, 2003; Ching-Hung Shen沈慶鴻, 2004). Clearly, at the macro level, the government plays a crucial part in legal issues. But, such violence, to some extent, is also maintained by various micro and local institutes, like community. Therefore, family violence could be an example to examine the quality and condition of a family's social network.

In sum, as opposed to those eugenic studies, some of the existing studies of NIC may have correctly recognized that their social disadvantages serve as the major origin of their current challenges. These studies (Su-Ke Ye, 葉肅科, 2004; and Hsiu-Chu Lee, 李秀珠, 2005) were, therefore, interested in examining their social capitals and networks—but within the nationalized boundary of Taiwan.^{vii} Consequently, their “here” was separated from and more attended than something “out-there.” Since this space is a huge part in their current everyday practices, this spatial confinement is understandable. But, this nationalized space is also part of the globalizing space. Therefore, this study has an additional concern from a transnational point of view. Through this perspective, the researcher will bring the impact of commodified marriages and their transnational and posterior social networks back into vision.

Reconstructing an Historical Background

With its economic advantages, Taiwan has become a receiving country. How has it achieved and maintained these advantages concerned with some critical historical conditions, including capitalist globalization, colonization, and the Cold War. These conditions not only have critical impact on research subjects, but also constitute the background of this study. However, there is also a culturalist theory trying to cope with

Taiwan's economic advantages through a more spiritual approach. This theory constitutes a counterpart to the theoretical dialect in this study.

Culturalism and its Limit

In the last two decades, some Chinese scholars (Weiming Tu, 杜維明, 1996; Ying-shih Yu, 余英時, 1987, 1998) argued that the neo-Confucian ethics is the inner dynamic for the rise of the Asian tigers. With this cultural theory, these scholars tried to interpret and to defend the economic success in East Asia, to balance the Weberian classic (mis-) perception of Confucianism.

Many scholars disagreed with such a theory. For instance, Bruce Cummings (1993) and Allen Chun (陳奕麟, 1999) questioned its essentializing the nature of the East. In addition to risking such a self-orientalism, this culturalism homogenizes the difference within the East (Allen Chun, 1994). It was invented to pacify the trauma resulting from this capitalist global colonization, thus, fossilizing the minorities' self-imagination (Arif Dirlik, 1997). In a word, it is hegemonic, as all of these criticisms concurred.

Moreover, its use was situational, inconsistent, or even contradictory. Typically, it depended on the interests of those authoritarian regimes. In Singapore, it was employed to support the government's paternalism (Beng-Huat Chua, 蔡明發, 1991). In China, it

was applied to prevent the corruption that resulted from capitalist individualism (Aihwa Ong, 王愛華, 1997). In Taiwan, it was to maintain Taiwanese nationhood (Allen Chun, 1994). In effect, whatever such culturalism was originally for, it was too obscure to answer some basic questions, such as Chua's (1999): Having been colonized for about one and a half centuries, is Singapore still a country of Confucianism? This obscurity can be viewed as applicable to the other political entities, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and perhaps all those so-called Confucian countries, and to some of those "foreign" individuals with Chinese lineage, such as Ray, Abao, Yun, and many other participants in this study.

Finally, the culturalist interest of inwardness has difficulties in theorizing outward connections, such as one of the basic concerns of this study— intermarriages. After all, in classic Confucianism, outsiders are barbarians. They can be qualified business objects but not marriageable subjects. That is, with a little cynicism, Confucianism could be more successful in justifying those racialized and ethnicalized challenges in front of NIC and their families rather than effectively theorizing about their coming.

In spite of its lack of persuasiveness, Allen Chun (1999) argued for the necessity to "give a fuck" (ibid: 131) to both the background and the conditions that fostered such

culturalism. Beng-Huan Chua (1999) exemplified Chun's insistence. As he theorized, the collapse of the Socialist bloc damaged the legitimacy of the collectivism welcomed by Asian authoritarian regimes, such as his Singapore. Hence, the emergence of related discourses was still structurally conditioned. For the concern of this study, Chua's argument indicated: however comprehensive the culturalist discourses appear to be, the structural issues, such as the end of the Cold War, are no less determinant.

The Capitalist Globalization and Historical Geographical Materialism

Instead of an idealistic culturalism, this study will appropriate Harvey's historical geographical materialism (1989) with necessary geographical translation. Following the Marxist tradition, Harvey highlighted the end of Fordism and the coming of post-Fordism in the early 1970s. As he theorized, this new mode of production came together with capitalist global expansion and flexible accumulation. Thus, the infrastructure of the modernist standardized mass production was changed. Its current flexibility is supporting the ever growing postmodernity.

As part of the semi-periphery in the world system since the 1960s, Taiwan was one of the major receivers of the direct investments from Japan and the United States. Given its ability to undertake outsourcing and OEM (original equipment manufacturing)

projects, it was soon integrated into the post-Fordism system as a major offshore production base of the first world in early globalization. By the end of the 1980s, it had been privileged as a paradigmatic newly industrialized country. Then, the need of outlets to advance its own capital accumulation emerged. Its less “developed” neighbors in its south (Southeast Asia) and west (China) became the most accessible destinations of its investment. Intentionally or not, a demographic effect responded to Sassen’s (1988b) theories. The flow of people usually appears at the same time with the flow of capital in opposite direction. Taiwan, henceforward, began to “import” research subjects from these countries.

Clearly, Harvey, Sassen, and most Taiwanese scholars have, at large, successfully delineated, at an international or global level, the *economic* dynamics of the marriage immigrants’ coming. But, there are yet some other more political and/or cultural issues to be considered. For instance, how is an economic issue connected to problems of identity, representation, racism, and the like?

Also, in order to employ Harvey’s *historical geographical materialism*, some other challenges are required. Given his concern and location, his globally scaled and Euro-American centered cartography was understandable. But, such cartography has politically

made his history a version of the first world. Therefore, in order to apply his theory to the other part of the world, “translation” is *methodologically* necessary. Such translation is by no means to parrot the evolutionist modernism assuming that the first world is simply more advanced than the rest. Nor does it suggest an essentialized self-orientalism and assume that the West and its others are on different planets. On the contrary, as read contrapuntally (Said, 1993), both constitute an inseparable diode, and are coevally interwoven by a regime of power. This coexistence will be better recognized if a geographical shift of perception—translation of power—can be effectively applied.

A simplified statement from the theories of dependency—the underdevelopment of the undeveloped results from their dependency on the developed—can exemplify such translation. To translate the power behind the dependency with a critical geographical reversal, the statement can be rephrased, and therefore, be better understood: The development of the developed eventually “depends” on their exploitation over the undeveloped. Clearly, this translation more literarily dissipates the implicit evolutionism behind the notions of both the undeveloped and the developed. In effect, they are coeval, as Fabian (1983) argued. Also, this translation together with the original statement more clearly addresses differences between the developed and the undeveloped in the context

of political economical power. Then, to push Wolf's (1982) criticism a little further with this acknowledgement of power, the others, the rest, the undeveloped will regain the histories of their own in spite of the inevitable interference of the "dependent" histories of the West.

In sum, for the need of a convincing structural background, the history of Taiwan in this study will engage the following questions through Harvey's lenses of historical geographical materialism with adequate translation of power: why were Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore the tigers rather than Indonesia, China, or Vietnam? Why was Indonesia an earlier destination for Taiwanese investors before Vietnam? In short, what is the political, economical, and cultural mechanism that generates such an historical- geographical condition?

A Methodological Reconsideration of Geographical Historical Materialism

Recently, Kuan-Hsing Chen (陳光興, 2005) addressed his criticism of methodology. As opposed to those idealists' theories, he did not essentialize the nature of the East. Nor is it by any means to take that essence as a counter fact of the West for maintaining the Eastern values or defending a superior inner spirituality in facing a (westernized) modernization. Rather, the East—especially East Asia—have to be aware that the West

has been partly their inseparable inside (Kuan-Hsing Chen, 2001a). It is inevitable that our self is at the very center of criticism when we examine the West (Kuan-Hsing Chen, 2004). This internalized West should not be a target of resentment, but a necessity to be cautiously scrutinized (Kuan-Hsing Chen, 2005). In order to rebuild their subjectivity, the rest must reflexively examine the cause of such internalization and elaborate how such internalization can be useful in undergirding a reconstruction project.

Chen (2005) argued that this methodological turn is necessary to step out of the West-East dualism. In such dualism, the West *are* conventionally the common reference of the East. The East *are* either ontologically disconnected others scattered around the Western center or epistemologically examples of Western theories. Few connections are there among the East themselves. Hardly can they recognize each other. Thus, he called for a new methodological reference—new conversation partners— so that the rest can more fully envision each other.

Meanwhile, he also noticed that, at this particular historical conjuncture, there have been too few theoretical and conceptual frameworks for valid communication among the others. Also underlying is a potential crisis of various national- or ethno-centralisms. Here, the internalized West can be useful as one of the existing multiple resources to

facilitate the interactions among the rest. For instance, it could be a medium, a router, bridging the others to each other, or epistemologically, a strategic reference capable of pursuing different comparative and international studies.

With this methodological strategy in mind, it is clearer to see Chen's earlier studies, as well as his colleagues', and to better cope with the historical structural conditions within which this study is situated. The globally or internationally scaled economic dynamics could therefore be contextually translated into regional conditions.

Colonial Legacy and De-Colonization

In the era of globalization, colonial legacy still has very different but closely related and critical impacts on the West and the ex-colonies. For the ex-colonies, in order to terminate discernible colonialism, the first challenge is usually to build a nation-state of their own. But it has been much too usual that, after the nation-state was established, the colonial legacy still persisted. It prevailed over all indigenous or diasporic ethnic groups in every domain, such as economy, politics, culture, and even psychology. For the western ex-colonizers, returns and the influx of their ex-colonized were typical domestic challenges. However, at the international level, most of their political and economical interest remained given the dependency of the newly independent nation-state. Fanon

(1967, 1965) had, therefore, foreseen a need of further de-colonization to meet this postcolonial syndrome.

The condition of Chinese in Indonesia is very typical in terms of postcolonial ethnic politics. They were originally imported by the ex-colonizer. Inherited from the Dutch East Indies' "divide-and-rule," the tension between the indigenous and the diasporic became an immediate challenge to this newly independent nation-state. The testimony of Yun's grandma revealed her terror of being stuck in a sandwich position as a little girl. Some NIC and their families may be still living with such colonialism and its legacy. As Ien Ang (2001) indicated, the occasional occurrence of anti-Chinese riots has kept reminding these Chinese-Indonesian, or *peranakan*, about their non-aboriginality and ambivalence. Their difficulty to identify themselves is but one example that resists to be dispelled.

The protest by Hau's grandma against being identified as an "Indonesian" and the awareness of their own Chineseness of Yun and her family may be partly a result of the postcoloniality in their origins. But, in reality, Taiwan has its own colonial legacy. Taiwan has been colonized by many imperial powers, but has never been an historical colonizer of any region or country. So, what has made it an immigrant receiver like those

experienced colonizers? Is its receiving status quo related to colonialism of any kind?

Where is such colonialism coming from and heading toward remains a critical question.

Around the end of the 1980s, post-colonial theories had been imported into Taiwan, and enthusiastically embraced by many scholars. At first glance, it seemed that these discourses properly and timely fitted into a specific historical conjuncture. A locally born new Taiwanese President was just inaugurated in 1988. The very belated postcolonial era had finally arrived, as many intellectuals had gratefully assumed, such as Fang-Ming Chen (陳芳明, 2000).

Additionally, the martial law was lifted in 1987. A little earlier of that year, after almost a half century's separation, the strait was bridged before the Berlin Wall had fallen. Visiting families in mainland China was finally permissible. Inter-marriages across the strait were hence desirable and increasing—the “Mainland Brides” was staged. Given their linguistic and cultural affinity (You-tien Hsing, 邢幼田 1997), the peaceful strait also made most Taiwanese investors irresistible to the rising China. In order to manage the risk of overseas investment and to maintain its economic independence—in other words, to resist the magnetic attraction of China as an enormously huge consumer market and a world factory, the Taiwanese government announced the Southward Policy in 1994.

This policy, agreed by most Taiwanese scholars, such as Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2000), enlarged the number of intermarriages. The foreground of the coming 1990s was so sketched. In addition to the internationalization of capital, the ending Cold War comes into view. International politics was painted onto and complicating a still optimistic picture on which two apparently independent demographic flows were converging.

But, some Taiwanese internationalist cultural leftists perceived this picture differently. Kuan-Hsing Chen (1994, 2000) fired the first shot at the “Southward Policy,” followed by Chi-Chung Yu (于治中, 1995) Jenn-Hwan Wang (王振寰, 1995), Fred Yen-Liang Chiu (丘延亮, 1995), Wan-Wen Chu (瞿宛文, 1995), Wen-Liang Cheng (鄭文良, 1995). As these critics argued, except for military forces, this policy was in many aspects a copy made by Japanese Empire, in a similar yet unsuccessful Southward Advance in the 1940s. The ex-colonized (Taiwan) was now ironically following its ex-colonizer’s (Japanese Empire) step to launch a new colonial project underlying a desire to build a nation-state, a sub-empire—an inferior type of its predecessor’s desire of an empire.

This inner desire was clearly mirrored in the emerging concern of the politics of identity and the studies of nationalism and ethnicity. Kang Chao (趙剛, 1996), also Kang

Chao & Marshal Johnson (2000), argued that the emerging Taiwanese nationalism was just a duplication of the old authoritarian Chinese nationalism. Most of the social sciences are, in effect, not natural but a part of institutionalizing a nationalist agenda (Johnson, 1997). Ichiro Tomiyama's (1997) review of the conspiracy between Japanese colonialism and its interest of studying "Island People" is a case of this kind. Fred Yen-Liang Chiu (1997, 2000) brought Tomiyama's issues into a more contemporary scenario. He examined how anthropology in contemporary Taiwan had inherited the Japanese colonial legacy to serve the agenda of nation-state building in Taiwan. In sum, by tracing academically the genealogy of Taiwanese nationalism, a ghost of Japanese imperialism was wandering about and seemed to have come alive.

Aware of this coined project of domestic nationalism and international sub-imperialism, Kuan-Hsing Chen (1996a) responded to those who were celebrating the coming of the postcolonial era. The old colonization was not yet dispelled and the new, in the name of globalization, had come. In order to rebuild the subjectivity of the colonized, he (Kuan-Hsing Chen, 1996b) argued for an everlasting project of decolonization. In this project, it is imperative to employ Harvey's geographical historical materialism along with the translation of the colonial power regime, that is, de-colonial geo-historical

materialism. These works clearly addressed the (post-) coloniality in Taiwan. It has inherited its colonial legacy as a colonized and has transformed itself into a colonizer.

The Unended Cold War

As noted earlier, the end of the Cold War had offered a stage of “Confucianism renaissance” for the culturalists (Beng-Huan Chua, 1999). Meanwhile, it opened a new market for capitalist globalization. The latter, of course, directly enabled the flows of capital and population as it amplified their volume. Though problematic, the former had fabricated an imagined transnational cultural commonwealth which, to a degree, could enhance the self-esteem or “moral superiority” of those who live in this “cultural community”—as opposed to their “others.” Therefore, no matter how unsustainable and essentialist Confucianism has been criticized, this culturalism can be potentially powerful “cultural glue” for “modern Chinese Transnationalism” (Aihwa Ong and Donald Nonini, 1997). Such transnationalism is no less controversial than the culturalism; but, appears effective for Hau’s grandma to merge herself in her new home. Clearly, the Cold War and its ending have had impact on NIC’s coming at the international level in both discursive and material domains.

Moreover, as shown in Ray and Abao's migration history, anti-communist warfare has been deeply inscribed into their family biographies and those who have had similar experiences. So was the effect of anti-communist conflict to the childhood of Yun's grandma. In effect, given that special historical conjuncture, most of the newly independent ex-colonies or those which were looking forward to independence in Southeast Asia had to take their side in the anti-communist warfare. Some were directly part of the battlefield, especially those in Indochina. The discrepant recognitions of the purpose of the Vietnam War from those major participants' point of view reveal one of the connections between the Cold War and the enthusiasm of the decolonization. For Ho Chi Minh and his compatriots, it was a war of national liberation; while for American President Johnson and his cabinet, a war to save their free world. Some were troubled by or on the edge of civil wars or *coup d'etat*. Even an active member of the non-aligned movement like Indonesia cannot be exempted. The progress of decolonization in East and Southeast Asia was eventually repressed and delayed because of the development of the Cold War. Those authoritarian governments (included were South Korea, Indonesia, and Taiwan) were supported and their corruption (such as Philippines and South Vietnam) was tolerated, either actively or passively, by the leading country of the free world. It is

clear that the Cold War and its legacy are critical parts of the structure at the national level for those NIC's coming. For instance, until the coming of 1960, Chiang's soldiers from China had no right to get married in the name of the anti-communist holy war, and later, became pioneers of intermarriage

Specifically to Taiwan—NIC's current home, since the end of the last century, the resentment of each other among different ethnic groups would be heated and reheated in every election and presidential campaign. Most politicians and critics in public media have taken this mutual discontent as an *ideological* conflict between two contradictory national identities, namely pro-unification Chinese nationalism and pro-independence Taiwanese nationalism. Their origins were symbolically attributed to an incident on February 28, 1947. Such an interpretation was however too superficial and insufficient, in terms of its distance from present everyday life. It is critical to examine the infrastructure that nurtured and polarized these two contradictory ideologies.

Kuan-Hsing Chen (2001b, 2002) employed Raymond Williams' (1961, 1977) concept of "structures of feeling" in his analysis of this identity conflict. As he observed, two "structures of feeling" have formatted the Taiwanese emotional world. One came from a collective reminiscence of the modernization under Japanese colonial regime held

by many seniors born in Taiwan. The other, owned by most “Outerprovincers,” can be extracted from their group biography of both the Chinese civil war and more acutely the struggle against the Japanese Empire. The disparities between these two world views had caused the “impossibility” of ethnic reconciliation. The impossibility also represented the unended trauma of the Cold War and colonialism. In order to overcome the ever going identity conflict, after years of traveling around Asia and meeting left-wing critics, Chen (2006) proposed a three-in-one critical agenda for his Taiwanese and international colleagues: de-Cold War, decolonization, and de-imperialization.

This is an ambitious academic project in search of an alternative transnationalism. It is by no means profit-oriented as are many transnational corporations. It looks unlike the pragmatic (Chinese) transnationalism as Ong and Nonini (1997) have marked. But, his scholarly rhetoric also makes it difficult to be a promising version “from below.”

Relatively speaking, his use of “structures of feeling” is closer to the subalterns’ life world and lived biography. But, there are some blanks to be filled: How have the structures of feeling of so-called Taiwanese been un/affected by the Cold War (Kuie-fen Chiu, 邱貴芬, 2001)? (How) are they different from or similar to the Outerprovincers’ (Kuie-fen Chiu, 2001)? Would the effect of such disparities be more of the different

expectations and experiences of “borrowing” (Chao-Yang Liao, 廖朝陽, 2000) modernization from the Japanese Empire or the United States in the Cold War era than the disagreement of desirable nationalism (Hongsheng Zheng, 鄭鴻生, 2001)? Could more attention to the co-presence of both the Mainlanders and the Taiwanese help their mutual understanding or their formatting a common view of modernization? What would be necessary strategies to catalyze such a positive cycle so that living together can be more desirable? In effect, if “Outerprovincers” and the Cold War can be replaced by NIC and globalization, these questions are still critical, necessary, productive, and of equal importance.

Becomings: Multi-Culture and Everyday Life

As Harvey (1998) argued, in the post-Fordism world, our “feelings” of space and time were changed. Both have been “compressed” so to speak. Intermarriage in Taiwan are one of the effects of such a compression. For those who previously had limited travel ability, such marriages could be imaginable and possible only in this smaller world. Thus, NIC’s coming is also a result of this compression. Yet, (how) do they “feel” such a compression in their everyday life before and after their migration? In order to grasp this ambiguous feeling, this study employs an alternative perception of cultural multiplicity.

The subjects' everyday performance is the "cultures," always plural—as de Certeau (1997) defined it. The multiplicity refers more to the issue of "becoming" than that of "being" (Harvey, 1989; de Certeau, 1988; Hall, 1990).

In ethnic studies, multiculturalism has been a key concept. But, there are also many discontents. A threat to cultural integrity, social solidarity, and national unification has been a typical attack from the right. Liberalists thus attempt to maintain the need of recognition for further fusion, Taylor (1995) for example; or to subsume the minority cultures under a national umbrella, such as Kymlicka (2001). Leftists are also dissatisfied with liberal multiculturalism. As Fraser (2000) pointed out, the politics of recognition was misdirected into identity politics. The politics of redistribution was overlooked and in need of an alternative politics of recognition to readdress their relation. Brah (1996) noted that some versions of multiculturalism are, in effect, assimilationist. Many studies of it are eventually "minority studies." The liberalist multiculturalism has been trapped in a Sartre's (2001 [1948]) dilemma, namely "anti-racist racism."

Cultural essentialism and misrepresentation could be a starting point to engage with this problem. Both enmesh in the conceptualization of culture. Neo-Confucianism is a paradigmatic misuse at the global level (Dirlik, 1999). Cornel West's (1993) reflection on

the homogenizing tendency in Black literature criticism is an example in the United States. In Britain, to meet the challenges of representation, Stuart Hall (1996) called for a struggle to renew our knowing of ethnicity. He started with rejecting the essentialist innocent notion of ethnic culture; decoupling ethnicity from dominant discourses and its equivalence with racism, nationalism, imperialism, and state; finally, reconceptualizing the idea of ethnicity. As a response to Hall, Brah (1996) followed Barth's (1969) definition, and suggested that "ethnicity is best understood as a mode of narrating the everyday life world in and through processes of boundary formation" (Brah, 1996: 241).

Two critical issues deserve further elaboration based on Brah's concept of ethnicity. The first is her stress on "process." Its significance can more clearly be seen together with her redefinition of culture as process in which meanings are always under construction and practices are developing. In order to cope with such process, Brah's concern of multi was the multi-axiality of power—such as class, race, nation, generation, and sexuality—under specific socio- economic and political conditions. Thus, instead of an ahistorical summation of naturally pre-given ethnic groups, the meaning of multi became a regime of different powers in maintaining or detaining the process at a specific historical conjuncture—a situational Althusserian overdeterminism without the last instance.

There are three critical understandings to approach Brah's notion of multi. First, it is necessary to envision the shared historical structure of all ethnic groups. The review of historical background and those episodes in Chapter One have illuminated the structure shared by both NIC and "stay-put" in Taiwan. Second, ethnicity is as real as class, gender, and all of the other power axes that have to be equally accounted for. This is the nature of the multiplicity that concerns this study. Third, what is at issue is less of the idea of "being" but more of Harvey and de Certeau's "becoming"; or "a process of becoming" (Stuart Hall, 1990, quoted in Yon, 2000: 124).

In such a process, the concept of culture, ethnicity, and identity are neither materially untraceable nor naturally unchangeable. It does not presume ontologically the subjectivity as a cultural or natural unity as essentialists have preconceived. Nor does it predestine a historicist utopia that left-wing elitism used to do. It keeps both ends open, and turns our attention to the mechanism, the power regime, of change. In other words, it pays more attention on how the changes could be possible, different, and better. Here, the second theme is emerging, namely: "everyday life."

As Brah suggested, the power of multi-axiality "does not inhabit the realm of macro structures alone, but is thoroughly implicated in the everyday of lived experience" (Brah,

1996: 242). That is, every trivial routine can be full of meanings and can tell a story about the big world. To reveal the implicated demands an impressionist micro sociology (Highmore, 2002) as Simmel's (1990) conceived of the modern society in terms of the philosophy of money. Benjamin (1968) was interested in how to save our life without going into an eternal repetition of the same. He was convinced that shock experiences are the key. Thus, it is critical to examine how they were emerging out of and interwoven with everyday life to fulfill our present need (Benjamin, 1983). If Benjamin is a historian and an aesthete, Lefebvre is clearly a social(ist) activist. He (1988) was concerned with the reproduction, the eternal repetition of the same, in our everyday life, too. For him, it symbolizes the colonization of capitalism. If there could be a revolution in this world, this domain must be changed. Therefore, he (Lefebvre, 1991a) focused more on how shock experiences can interrupt the continuum and reconfigure the routine from its inside. Clearly, in spite of his criticism of the reproduction, everyday life is still the foremost domain. De Certeau's (1984) attitude on everyday life is more positive. Rather than a colonized domain of routines, he took everyday life as an exciting space filled with possibility of a variety of tactical resistances from which people creatively bricolage every accessible material for their own good—as opposed to the designers' pre-given

strategic regulation. Listen to the speech of the others rather than what has been orderly written is de Certeau's art of research practice and writing. In short, the following quote states par excellence the quality of everyday life: "at best, daily life, like art, is revolutionary. At worst, it is a prison-house" (Willis, 1977).

All of these scholars were interested in the details of everyday practices. With such an interest, a study of youth in an urban setting can hardly neglect their subculture, especially their relation to cultural commodities, such as TV programs and music CDs. The danger of ideological brain washing by the cultural industry has been widely acknowledged. But, as many studies have shown, such as Ang's (1996) audience of melodrama, Fiske's (1989a, 1989b) receivers of commercials and movies, Radway's (1984) readers of romance, human agency are still very desirable. Sub-culture is still a critical site of production, creativity, and resistance. Gilroy's (1987) music is an example of such optimism in a diasporic context. He affirmed the function of music as resisting various forms of racism, criticizing capitalism, and constituting a transnational network. Thus, music could be an expression of alternative modernity by which people are brought together across various national, racial, or even ethnical lines (Gilroy, 1993). Also starting with the black subculture in Britain, Hebdige (2002) traced how different white

subcultures appropriated various signs of dress and music from their black counterparts.

Through these symbolic performances, they were able to speak for and to identify

themselves. In Yon's (2000) Canadian high school, styles of music and dresses were

again at issue to identify students' subcultures and to present themselves in addition to

their social relationships. It is clear that subculture is a critical part in this study.

In addition to subculture, spatiality also interested those theorists of everyday life

and opened another way to approach the subject at issue. In order to undertake spatially

her study of migratory community, Brah (1996) reviewed the concept of diaspora. As she

pointed out, diaspora usually indicates a home to return to. But, such an implication has

to be distinguished from the migrants' desire of home. Thus, instead of employing

diaspora as her conceptual tool, she developed a new key, diaspora space.

Diaspora space, as she conceived, is a space of "intersectionality of diaspora, border,

and dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural, and psychic

process" (Brah, 1996: 208). In such a space, "the native is as much as diasporian as the

diasporian is the native" (ibid: 209); and four modes of difference—social relation,

experience, subjectivity, and identity—are relationally categorized and cross examined

through multiple power axes. Clearly, all her reconceptualizations of "multi," "ethnicity,"

and “culture” were, as a whole, a pack of a theoretical kit to cope with the complexity of contemporary migration; and are very inspiring in this study. However, one theme has yet to be examined more thoroughly.

Indeed, Brah had successfully problematized the formation of ethnic border *within* the space. But, has this space a geographical or a physical frontier? If not, why? If yes, how is it formatted, who makes it, and based on what (and whose) criterion or idea? Would it be a space without limit? Probably yes. Most administrative boundaries, be they national, state, or county, can hardly match its profile. Nor is the space circumscribed tightly by physical walls. It is sometimes easily seen on the bodies of the subjects (Ong, 1999; Trouillot, 2001). From the perspective of bio-politics, it is especially clear when these bodies are endowed with political significance, such as: a) materialized targets of national or ethnical hostility (Bautalia, 1997; Benderly, 1997); b) physical symbols of border to be controlled (Yen-ning Chao, 2004, 2005; Yen-Fen Tseng, 曾熾芬, 2006); and c) many other cases in reifying exoticism. Or to employ the idea of process again, the frontier is somewhere unfixed as a process if the concept of diaspora is not essentialized. Then, how is this space identifiable? How does the process progress? More profoundly, can the subject’s own agency be a part of the frontier making process in addition to those

historical structural forces and the researchers' perception? Lefebvre (1991b) and Soja's (1996) trialectics of space provides a basic scheme to meet this challenge. Spatial practice, as one of the three dimensions that interested de Certeau's (1984) and Clifford (1997), is specially prompting. The theory of trialectics will be elaborated in Chapter Four.

ⁱ See Ching-Hung Shen (沈慶鴻, 2004), Chun-Yi Wang (王春益, 1998), and Nancy Hsiao-Hung Chen (陳小紅, 1997).

ⁱⁱ See the coming discussion of intermarriage from the meso perspective in this chapter.

ⁱⁱⁱ The lack of affective foundation in marriages of a kind was taken as a major problem of intermarriage. This argument can be seen in official report by the Minister of Interior Cheng-hsien Yu (余政憲, 2003), unpublished thesis by Ya-Chen Chen (陳亞甄, 2005), articles in government periodicals (by the Ministry of Interior), such as Shu-Fen Chen (2003), Chen-Chou Tai (戴鎮洲, 2004), Li-Li Mo and Pei-Ling Lai (莫藜藜、賴佩玲, 2004), Shu-Man Pan (潘淑滿, 2004), Yen-Lin Ku & Yi-Chun Yu (顧燕翎、尤詒君, 2004), Ci-Hao Lou (樓其豪, 2004), Ju-Na Chiu and Wei-Yen Lin (邱汝娜、林維言, 2004), Liang-Fen Wang (王良芬, 2004), Wen-Yu Tsai (蔡文瑜, 2004), Ming-Feng Wang (王明鳳, 2004), Su-Ke Ye (葉肅科, 2004), Jing-Houng Kuo and Hui-Ping Hsueh (郭靜晃、薛慧平, 2004), and paper delivered in conference, such as Shu-Jong Li (李淑容, 2004), Chun-An Jian (簡春安, 2004), and Shyue-yahn Wu (吳學燕, 2004). More can be seen in journalists' reports on printed and electronic media. See Hsiao-Chuan Hsia's (2001) analysis of the media construction of "Foreign Brides."

^{iv} Khay Thiong Lim and Yating Zhang (林開忠、張雅婷, 2003) also focused on the misrepresentation of "Foreign Brides" in public media.

^v There have been some "warnings" about the divorce rate of intermarriage (Nai-Liang Shih施奈良, 2004; Cang-Lin Yang楊昌林, 2005; Wei-Ci Cai蔡偉祺, 2006). But, not yet any official statistic confirms that the divorce rate of intermarriage is significantly higher than Taiwanese couples. In effect, just as what has happened in the other statistical items of intermarriage, there were oppositional reports of the same issue, such as Nian-Huang Jhong鍾年晃 (2003) and Wen-hui Tang and Jenn-Jaw Soong (唐文慧、宋鎮照, 2002).

^{vi} No one has admitted that most assaulters are Taiwanese, either the husbands or their families. If this is not the assaulters' taking advantages of the females' lack of supportive social network, it would be interesting to see, in addition to "masculinity" and "Taiwanese culture", what the other excuses could be.

^{vii} The effect of such containment will be further reviewed and clarified before the end of this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS: MAKING AND REPRESENTING A MULTI-SITED RESEARCH/DIASPORIC SPACE

Since Malinowski conducted his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands about a century ago, ethnography has been considered one of the most critical methods to describe both holistically and realistically a social phenomenon. Recently, it has been widely applied in many fields of studies, such as anthropology, sociology, and education. Now, under the postmodern impact (Clifford and Marcus, 1986), holistic and realistic representation of culture that used to support the belief in both the value and the validity of ethnographic knowledge has been seriously challenged. But, to meet such a crisis of representation, rather than abandoning the method, what has shifted is more sensitivity to the researcher's authority in his/her perpetual pursuit and writing of partial truths. Reflexivity and partial truths are, therefore, two basic guiding principles in this study.

↓ Global Political Economic Conditions

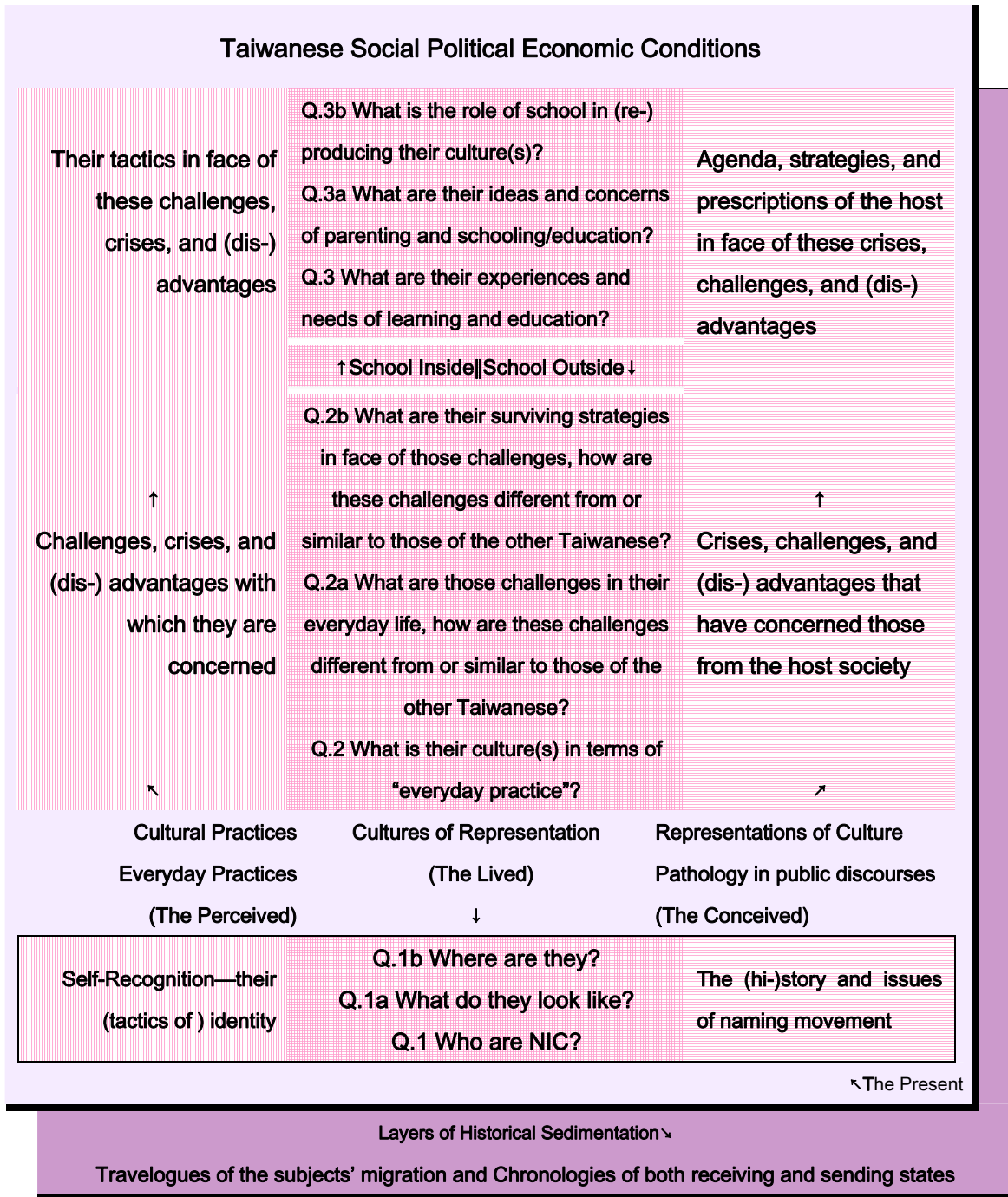


Figure 4.1 Diagram of Trialectical Research Design.

This chapter details issues of the research questions, design, and methods. The study is basically ethnographical with some additional methodological concerns. As detailed in previous chapters, the research subjects are creations of a changing world. They are socially invisible and “essentially” heterogeneous—in terms of their national and ethnic origins. In order to cope with these poststructuralist challenges, this study is based on a horizon by deconstructing the existing formation. Therefore, a poststructural hybrid of Marcus’ (1995) multi-sited ethnography and Foucault’s discourse analysis is integrated into a framework of Lefebvre (1991b) and Soja’s (1996) trialectics (see Figure 4.1). Based on such a design, fieldwork especially attends to issues of the subjects’ diverse practices, representations, and structural/material circumstances. Ethnographic data are interlaced dialectically with related discourses of both the subjects and social events.

Research Questions

To read the figure from the bottom up, this study explores, first of all: “who are they?” It examines this question from two approaches. First, what do they look like? Second, where are they?

The first approach has been partially explicated as the research background in previous chapters. Chapter One traced and revealed some of the research participants’

routes of migration and their national/ethnic background. Chapter Three, through Harvey's lenses of geographical historical materialism, contextualized their coming within an ever-changing structure under the impact of globalization and the colonial dependent development of Taiwanese modernization. The coming data chapter will more fully detail the participants' migratory biographies. Clearly, given the concern of their history and biographies, the issues of their (travel) biographies (the lived)ⁱ, as shown in Figure 4.1, constitute the major focus.

The second approach of the Question One could usually be clarified with objective governmental statistics and reports in Chapter One. But, if approached from the chosen research process, this issue is, itself, a critical challenge at the beginning of the study especially when the subjects had limited visibility. Only little "objective" information can facilitate the finding of the research subjects, as well as defining a researchable site. But, as Clifford argued, a space "is not a space until it is practiced by people's active occupation, their movements through and around it" (1997, p. 54). Thus, a field, as a space, is also a product made by a series of spatial encounters, a result of the researcher's own (field/ spatial) practiceⁱⁱ—*research practice*. Such practice, therefore, constitutes both the "sampling" and the "siting".

This practice of seeking and entering, on the one hand, inevitably is challenged and constrained by changing policy and shifting discourses—namely the cultural/spatial representationⁱⁱⁱ of the research subjects. In other words, the practice of research is decisive in what kind of partial “out-there” can be envisioned, and foregrounded as part of the context of this study—not those of biography, history, structure, or whatsoever, but that of methodology. On the other hand, as soon as the space has been transformed into a research site, it turns into a place with history and demography, i.e. representations. These representations emerge from the researcher’s perception, merge with the problematic of the study; and become the counterpart as dialoguing with the participants’ survival tactics and lived experiences (spatial practices and spaces of representation). For, geographical information of the place and the seeking and entering process, namely *methodological context*, see Chapter Two.

Question Two is about their culture. But, the idea of culture is not that of culturalism. Rather, it is more of de Certeau’s “everyday practice” (1984). Thus, the critical question at issue is: how do families’ heterogeneous transnational backgrounds affect their current everyday practices. Included are their perceptions of their situations and their survival tactics in face of these situations. This study, therefore, considered more than elements of

basic group identity, factors such as shared origin and ancestry, historical context, culture and customs, religion, language, physical traits, values and beliefs (Isaacs, 1974), and more of the subjects' subcultural practices as identified by Willis (1977) and Gilroy (1993). With Gilroy's (1993) focus in his classic study of African diaspora, this diasporic study looks into the subjects' day-to-day practice in disseminating and (re-) producing their own culture. Also, in order to explore their subculture, the researcher has followed his subjects, as Willis (1977) did in his study of the *Lad*, into places in their everyday life, such as the daycare center, communal park, internet café, and work floor. Household is clearly one of the most significant sites among the others. With an additional concern of Brah's (1996) reconceptualization of "multi" as interactions of multi-axial powers, this study pays special attention to the demonstrations of power. Conflicts, crises, challenges, and special events are scenarios that evidence powers in action.

Based on the knowledge of their culture, Question Three focuses more specifically on their education. It focuses on their experiences and needs in the realm of education. Given the shortage in formal support from societal (governmental or non-governmental) institutes, Taiwanese families, in addition to schools, have to fulfill many educational functions for their minors. Thus, the researcher has walked into his subjects' families and

classrooms, and talked to their parents and teachers about the following issues: First, what are their ideas and concerns about parenting, schooling, and education? This inquiry aims to examine more fully their (families') needs, experiences, and expectations. Second, what is the role of school in (re-) producing their culture(s)? This is, in effect, to investigate the role of school in (re-)producing their culture.

Research Design: Lefebvre's Trialectics and its Application

In the last several decades, theorists of human and social science recognized and recovered the importance of space and spatiality. Their works repositioned issues of space at the center of their efforts (Foucault, 1997; Soja, 1989). The underlying relation between space and power, as Foucault (1980) underscored, and his spatializing analysis of discourse and power (Foucault, 1986) are two excellent examples. Space can also be seen clearly in Jameson's (1991) criticism of postmodernism as one of the most critical issues in studies of culture. As opposed to the unification and the standardization of time in the progress of modernity (Giddens, 1990), as a rhetoric of difference in the postmodern era, culture is highly related to the issues of spatiality. Recently, it would be nearly impossible to talk about culture without taking spatiality into account, except those cultural essentialists. Or to be more explicit, even the culturalists have their unspoken

idea of spatiality. Based on what Gupta and Ferguson (1992) theorized as a conventional trinity of culture, people, and place, it is not very difficult to map the geography of, for instance, Confucianism and Orientalism. To appropriate Knox and Pinch's (2000) elaboration of Soja's sociospatial dialectic, space constitutes, constrains, and mediates culture, and vice versa. Suffice it to say, in Harvey's geographical historical materialism, culture is spatial, and space is cultural. Likewise, migrants' culture and Brah's concept of diasporic space are, in effect, two sides of a coin. It is upon this emerging base that this study strategically and spatially explores NIC's culture. It draws, therefore, heavily on the methodology of spatial study.

Representational Cultures—Diasporic Spaces from the Origin

“Space is social” (1979, p.286); “(social) space is a (social) product” (1991b, p.26); and it is both political and strategic (1977), said Lefebvre. In order to cope with how space is socially made, Lefebvre proposed a conceptual triad which includes: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces.

As Lefebvre defined, a representational space is a lived space, which is made up of the users' everyday experience. Consistency and cohesiveness are not its nature. Rather, “it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic” (1991b, p.42). Elements in these spaces

have their own sources in history (of a people) or biographies (of individuals). As Lefebvre noted elsewhere, “[t]he past has left its mark, its inscription, but space is always a present space, with its links and connections to action” (1979, p.286). Being inscribed with flows of the past, representational spaces are thus riverbeds with layered sediments of “times” or memories still in action. In other words, this dimension is basically about how people manage their past for, and at, the present. It is a “life history”—“a history of the present” which exists “somewhere between history and memory” (Tierney, 2000, p.545).

Clearly, part of the interest in ethnographic fieldwork is the participants’ lived experiences. Smith (1994) called such an approach an “ethnographic biography.” With Denzin’s (1989) interpretive interactionism, the use of biographic methods is also to capture the nexus between participants’ social conditions and their lived experiences. Moreover, the findings of this biographic study will be, in effect, part of a group biography. As Smith (1994) pointed out, a group biography of the “others” can transcend their individual conditions and perceptions, and can give a clearer image of their history.

However, co-edited with our common historic structural background, the life history in this study is more than collective memory. It is to bridge our current differences and to

reconstruct our history of the most recent globalization in Taiwan. In return, it gives a better account of our similarity and diversity. Therefore, this study pays special attention to their networking within the research sites and their travelogue throughout their migration trajectories. In short, this biographical study spatiotemporally rearticulates its subjects' cultural and spatial practices from the past.

In sum, in these diasporic spaces, translocality and/or transnationality have been experienced. Some of them may have well been filed in participants' memories entitled with "there and then", thus, buried in deeper layers. Some of the others may be still alive and continuing. Thus, to explore these spaces is to cope with these memories in action or to uncover those now left behind and to bring them into the present—"the creation of the past as a comment on the present condition" (Tierney, 2000, p.539). The basic principle of exploring these spaces is Marcus' (1995) "follow-the-biography". Data are NIC or their (families') migration biographies. In addition to examining their biographies, both mechanisms and conditions that activate, transform, or inactivate their past into some specific memory format are critical interests of study. This interest cannot be fulfilled without accounting dialectically for the other dimensions of Lefebvre's triad.

Representations of Culture—Conceptualizing Diasporic Space

Representations of space are “tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33). They are a conceptualized space as it is conceived—from the producers and the designers’ point of view. They are always ideological with respect to power and knowledge. They “are certainly abstract,” but still “play a part in social and political practice” (ibid., p. 41). They subordinate established relations between objects and people to abstract logic. That is, they are of those who are in power or have a say. But this logic lacks consistency. Sooner or later, these relations should break down. Nation-state is one such spatial representation (ibid., p. 23-4).

National monuments and offices of government institutions are typical spatial expressions of such representations.

In addition, literature has had a no less critical share in such representations. In this study, electronic or printed publications, such as documents of regulation and policy, academic studies, and media reports that report or explore the research subjects’ conditions, are all methodologically so-called “objective” representations. All furnish the data of their cultural/spatial representations. But, based on Lefebvre’s trialectics, an

emerging critical point this study is pushed to employ a more post-positivist perspective to manage these documents.

As many critical studies have shown (Hsiao-Chuan Hsia, 2001; Lim, Khay Thiong and Yating Zhang, 2003; Ming-Hui Chang 張明慧, 2004; Guan-Jhen Su 蘇冠甄, 2006), many of those “objective” representation are, in fact, misrepresentations, problematic and biased. Hence, from a critical positivist point of view, a researcher must find out the Truth or truer images, and to correct the public’s stereotypes with less biased images. These problems and biases, of course, also concern the researcher. But, regarding the impossibility of the Truth, this study may be unable to correct fully—in terms of political correctness—these biases and problems. Less is it capable of drawing a truer image with limited cases. Rather, it focuses more on: first, their impact on the research subjects; and second, the discursive formation of these biases and problems. Underlying the first focus, this study takes them as realities, though biased and problematic. Or put differently, regarding their effect on people’s understanding the others and how the others have to struggle against such images, as Baudrillard (1994) put it, these representations are more real than the reality—they are hyperreality. Also as Lefebvre argued,

[t]he *producers* of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the ‘*users*’ passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted

into, or justified by, their representational space (Lefebvre, 1991b, p.43-4, my emphases).

That is, this post-positivist approach examines how the research subjects have lived with, or are trying to live with/out, these impositions; and how their representational cultures/spaces interact with these spatial/cultural representations. In other words, these representations, be they true or false, are taken as resources and materials from which the subjects constitute their reality or try to find alternatives to substitute for it.

Grounded in such a post-positivist perspective is the method of Foucauldian discourse analysis—an analysis of “discourse-in-practice” (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000). In this study, the aim of such an analysis, as shown in Figure 4.1, is to examine: a) how the participants’ subjectivity is constructed; b) what the crises and the challenges—in terms of their appearance that have concerned the host society—and what their (dis-) advantages are perceived; c) what the agendas, strategies, and prescriptions of the host are in face of these challenges, crises, and their (dis-) advantages.

But, its purpose is, again, less to do with the trueness of a statement. Less is it to examine, at least not at this stage, the effectiveness of specific policies or regulations. It is to review and clarify, as exemplified in Foucault’s study of the history of human sciences (1971), how a specific episteme is historically defined by a given “discursive formation”

(Foucault, 1972; Brooker, 2002, p.78-80). This examination is, in effect, a reflexive, thus critical, move to illuminate and criticize the discursive formation that scaffolds cultural politics in Taiwan.

Power/Knowledge and Temporalities

At first glance, repressive power and dominance are the most significant disparities that distinguish the representational spaces from the spaces of representation. The right upper corner of Figure 4.1 seems to be “stronger” than its countercorner. But, in terms of a Foucauldian idea of power, de Certeau’s (1984) notions of strategy and tactic may reveal more fully the connotation of agency and knowledge that engender the practices of power on this horizon. They thereby may be more reliable in characterizing the dimension of power. The knowledge of strategy, as Chow paraphrased, is generated out of a place where every thing is properly fixed in a rational order (1993, p.16). But, the knowledge of tactics is quite the contrary. It is an “art of the weak” in order to survive in a “space of the other” (de Certeau, 1984). Clearly, weak as they may be, they do not surrender their agency. They still possess their ability to create power and knowledge of their own. And the first and foremost distinction between the representational spaces and the spatial representations is, therefore, different types of the power/knowledge complex.

The other equally critical differences between representational spaces and spatial representations should be their temporalities. In Figure 4.1, there is a diachronic dimension that emerges from the under layer of the back of the sheet then cuts across the diagram through the other diagonal direction: from its right bottom part (more of the past) to its left upper side (more of the present). But, this dimension is just suggestive because the conceived and the lived seldom share a common temporality. For the representations of space, there should be a linear axis which is calendared with standardized units by those who are in power or dominate in ideology. As Giddens (1990) pointed out, such a standardization of time is one of the most critical characteristics of modernity. It therefore is undoubtedly an historical product. Ironically, its typical function is usually to represent ahistorically—against any effect of time— some abstract reasons and/or the Truth. Thus, spatial representations are utopia, unreal space, as Foucault (1997) marked. But, they are also as true as Baudrillard's (1994) simulacra: No matter how true they look, they are actually representing no reality, and conceal the trueness of no reality. However, in spite of such non-trueness, they have true impacts on the subjects' everyday life. Capitalist space is a typical abstract space with an abstract temporality of the working hours that Marx has conceptualized in his theory of surplus value. In such an abstract space, as

Lefebvre marked, the users are silenced. National space is, to a degree, abstract, too.

Ethnicizing the New Immigrants within a multicultural conceptual grid calendared by emerging nationalist ideology is a clear example (see Chapter One).

However, the temporality of representational spaces is inconsistent. A delightful season may go faster than a tough day. All joyfulness and bitterness could be narrated in quite different ways tactically depending on one's perception of the communicative circumstance of the present. In short, a representational space is a "heterotopia" (Foucault, 1997). It juxtaposes complicatedly several incompatible spaces and incommensurable heterochronies in a single real place of the present. In such a heterogeneous space, subjects live within a network of social relations filled with deviations, crises, illusions, and desires. In such a complex context, a psychology of spatial practice is emerging.

Cultural Practice and the Making of Diasporic Space

Spatial practices are the *perceived* of the material world. As Merrifield summarized, they "structure everyday reality and broader social and urban reality, and include routes and networks and patterns of interaction that link places set aside for work, play and leisure" (2000, p. 175). Such practices "embrace both production and reproduction," and "ensure continuity and some degree of cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33). This cohesion

implies a level of competence and certain performance. In terms of issues of power, it is similar to the representational spaces. Both may disappear because of the “speculative primacy of the conceived over the lived” (ibid., p. 34). However, the perceived may be related to, but definitely not determined by, the lived for their different temporalities.

Thus, spatial practice cannot, and should not, be identified with or reduced to the representational spaces. Spatial practice is more of the present. It “is lived directly before it is conceptualized” (ibid., p.34). It is about making changes, while the lived tends to be of the past. The practice, thus, opens the possibility of agency of the production of space and the creation of culture, to enable changes, consciously or not, without being trapped by determinism. In other words, spatial practices involve in a series of spatial encounters by which a space is made. Then, such engagements reciprocally reinforce or change practitioners’ perceptions.

Spatial practices are “empirically observable” (1991b, p. 413), said Lefebvre. They include the subjects’ everyday “discursive practice” as Gubrium and Holstein (2000) put it, and also those “little ones” in which Sahlins (1999) would like to perceive the great things. In the context of this study, they range from the conditions of globalization, the post Cold War, postcolonialism, patriarchalism, and the emerging nationalist conflict in

Taiwan, to name a few. In short, these everyday cultural/spatial practices, i.e. their perceptions of their lebensraum and their survival tactics, constitute the most critical theme in this ethnographic study. As shown in Figure 4.1, typical issues include: a) the subjects' self-recognition—their (tactics of) identity; b) challenges, crises, and (dis-) advantages with which they are concerned; and c) their tactics in face of these challenges, crises, and (dis-) advantages.

In spite of some criticism,^{iv} Lefebvre's theory of social space is still very useful in reconceptualizing the production of space in the era of emerging globalization. Just as the making of a research space, a diasporic space could also be an outcome of the subjects' everyday cultural/spatial practice. They carry their transnationalities and translocalities into different places, including their physical and psychological beings, their households, classrooms, schools, communities, and make these places diasporic spaces. A diasporic space could be otherwise more representational. For instance, a college classroom could be diasporic when diasporic subjects are the topic of discussion. But, clearly, the subjects would be relatively silenced in such a spatial/cultural representation. Or, a diasporic space could be both representational and practical. For example, by applying Marcus' "multi-sited" research strategy, this study overlaps its research space with its subjects'

diasporic space, and makes the latter more heterogeneous with more interactive cultural/spatial practices undergo.

“Multi-Sited” Ethnography: Issues of Procedure and Reflexivity

Both Questions Two and Three constitute the main body of the study. Approaches to both questions, in terms of strategies of research and presentation, are trialectical ethnography. Question One, in reality, led the way to the whole ethnographic study. Its exploration began in mid August 2002. Upon locating a suitable field and acquiring the participants’—including NIC, (some or all of) their direct family members, and the other key informants’^v—consent of participation (near the end of October 2002), the researcher started his data collection with Marcus’ “follow-the-people” theory base. The intensive ethnographic data collection ended the beginning of summer 2006.

In his seminal article on emerging globalization, Appadurai (1990) noticed that the global cultural flows have transformed irregularly and unevenly the cultural landscapes of the earth. In order to understand this complex phenomenon, he suggested five dimensions to be accounted for: ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, and ideoscape. In the face of such polymorphous cultural landscapes, Marcus (1995) called for an alternative research strategy. Rather than continuing the conventional intensive

single sited ethnography, he strongly recommended multi-sited research to cope with flows of various kinds. Seven modes of construction are suggested. Clifford (1997) ingeniously marked the conventional mode of ethnographic study in terms of “dwelling” as opposed to Marcus’ “following”, and brilliantly signified two quite different yet unspoken strategies behind these two modes of ethnographic practices. Or more precisely, to appropriate de Certeau’s theorization, the “following” comes together with tactics, and the “dwelling” with strategies.

Marcus’ “follow-the-people” is the prototype among the seven modes of “followings”. At first glance, there is no clear distinction between “following” and “dwelling” in ethnographic practice. In a typical single sited study, an ethnographer also “follows” his informants into various sites of events. But, the idea of “following” is not simply a real time spatial movement. Rather, it requires a researcher “strategically” working simultaneously with or moving back and forth between different geographic scales (from the global to the local) and temporalities (including a standardized modern clock and a variety of ever-changing tempos in individual biographies). This study applies some of Marcus’ suggestive modes of “followings” each of which is a combination of specific spatiotemporalities.

“Follow-the-biography” is a practical necessity for exploring Question One. It tended to deal with a larger, translocal, geographic scale in a past tense. Semi-structured interviews were the basic means, and usually happened at the very beginning stage of every case. Most of the questions focused on their (migratory) biographies and their concerns and interests in their everyday life and education at the time when interviews were conducted. The additional purposes of these interviews were primarily to unfold a ground for coming participatory observations. Sample questions are listed and attached as appendix C. These interviews were most often held at the participants’ households which later became one of the most important observation sites—in addition to their schools.

Interested by the subjects’ practices, onsite data collection was conducted in several research sites. This is the most critical research practice of this study which involves Marcus’s idea of “the-strategically-situated (single-sited) ethnography.” Its tense is present progressive. Its geographic scale is, relatively speaking, communal and physically confined, except in the cyberspace or when the subjects were in travel. Schools, classrooms, playgrounds, clinics, Internet cafés, or even convenience stores were those sites that the researcher has gone with his participants. Among all of these, household is the most significant site. As a result, “home” is taken as the practical unit in this study.

Originally, Marcus' idea of strategically-single-sited ethnography is to compare the implication a conventional single-sited ethnography with what goes on in yet another related locale. This study is also comparative, but the unit of comparison is primarily family and is fixed (and two older children in middle/high school). The researcher conducted single-sited ethnographies in six families for practical and multiple rationales. "Family" is the place that minors spend most of their time. It is also the place, sometimes the most critical backstage, where most of the works of parenting and family education occur and different "cultures" encounter one another, such as father's Taiwanese culture, mother's foreign culture, parents' conventional/traditional culture, children's youth culture, and many other cultures of gender, class, and religion. In other words, it is a place where different cultures confront each other, a "contact zone," as Pratt (1992) conceptualized. These families and parents have different educational experiences, migratory biographies, socioeconomic concerns, and ethnical or national backgrounds. A cross-examination could more elaborately reveal the participants' diverse perceptions and experiences. Such juxtaposition could effectively enhance research validity.

In order to "follow" the research participants, observations and interviews have been conducted while tutoring, counseling, and playing with the participants in these settings.

These practices have helped to make this study action oriented. This is especially clear when some of these practices do intend to change the participants' behaviors or practices. Examples of this intent are NIC's academic performance or occasional family violence. The degree of participation in such observations will pragmatically depend on recognized ethical concerns as well as the effectiveness of data collection.

Participatory action research can be characterized with Kemmis and McTaggart's (2000) analytic frame. In research settings, the researcher's interest is in individual participants' subjective concerns. For the research purpose, he is interested in how their practices are historically/biographically acquired, socially structured, and materially conditioned. Interested by de Certeau's idea of spatial practice, the dialect between individual concerns and social conditions—the orient of human agency—is the most critical focus of this study. Then, by further dialoguing with the “discourse-in-practice” translated/ paraphrased and boxed in data presentation, the researcher invited his readers to examine reflexively, as Kemmis and McTaggart may state, together the making of their diasporic space and his making of research space. In effect, throughout the duration of data collection, knowledge from such reflexive participatory actions had been shared with some informants, especially school teachers and vice principals who were concerned

with the subjects' education. These school people are in a position to offer directly educational, legal, or other informal assistance to the research subjects and their parents.

Other modes of "following" were both contextually and flexibly employed to extend the data sources. For instance, "follow-the-thing" serves as a supplementary strategy. School report cards, certificates of award, souvenirs, music CDs, and the other cultural products were of interest to the researcher. Other informants were invited to participate from time to time in the overall process of data gathering.

In sum, in Marcus' mode of "following", it is those which are in flow that are the focus of this study. Therefore, the research space cannot be pre-given or fixed. It is a result of the research practice itself. In this study, it is, at the beginning, a result of the researcher's spatial practice of seeking the subjects. Then, under the guidance of the subjects' spatial practice, it stretches and overlaps as closely as possible the subjects' diasporic space. Such an overlap makes the space more heterotopia, a node of confluence where the subjects and the researcher meet and interact with each other. Clearly, there are, at least, two types of spatial practices interacting in this heterotopia—the researcher's research practices and his subjects' everyday cultural practices. Thus, through the interaction of two spatial practices with many others in such spatial overlap, this

heterotopia becomes a Doreen Massey's (1994) node in the age of globalization where a network is developing in both its inside and outside.

Data Typology, Summary of Methodological Issues and Issues of Validity

In order to realize the foregoing methodological considerations in concrete research settings, the foci of this section are practical issues of the research methods involved.

Characteristics of Data

	Data about the Subjects	Data about the Researcher
The Lived	Migratory Biography	Methodological Context
The Perceived	Everyday Cultural Practices	Research Practices
The Conceived of the Anonymous Public (Discursive)	"Objective" Representations	
	Contextual Simulacra	

Table 4.1 Types of Data in this study

Clearly, based on the above methodological elaboration, three participants can be seen in the research space: the subjects and their close party, the researcher, and an anonymous, but influential, public. All identifiable subjects have personally contributed their efforts to maintaining, modifying, or exploring, consciously or unconsciously, the diasporic space (see Table 4.1). The subjects' migratory biographies and the researcher's methodological context coexist as the lived. They are originally scattered (given the

subjects' different cultural geographical originalities) on a somewhat fragmented horizon that having been ravaged by capitalist globalization, the Cold War, and colonialism. But at the conjuncture of the research, they came together and made up this diasporic/research heterotopia.

Conceived by an anonymous dominant public, the representations of the subjects—though usually biased and ahistorical—are also critical in making such a space. These representations are discursively part of those global, nationwide, and social issues that have impact on all Taiwanese, including the subjects, in their everyday life. As cohabitants in the same space, the subjects cannot escape these influences although, given their positionities, may have very different perceptions and experiences in terms of degree and would consequently develop very different tactics.

Here, given the overlap of the subjects' diasporic space and the researcher's research space, there are six types of data to be collected: the subjects' migratory biographies, their everyday cultural practices, the researcher's methodological context, his research practices, the discourses of "objective" representations of the subjects, and those of the contextual simulacra. Their relationships are depicted in Figure 4.2.

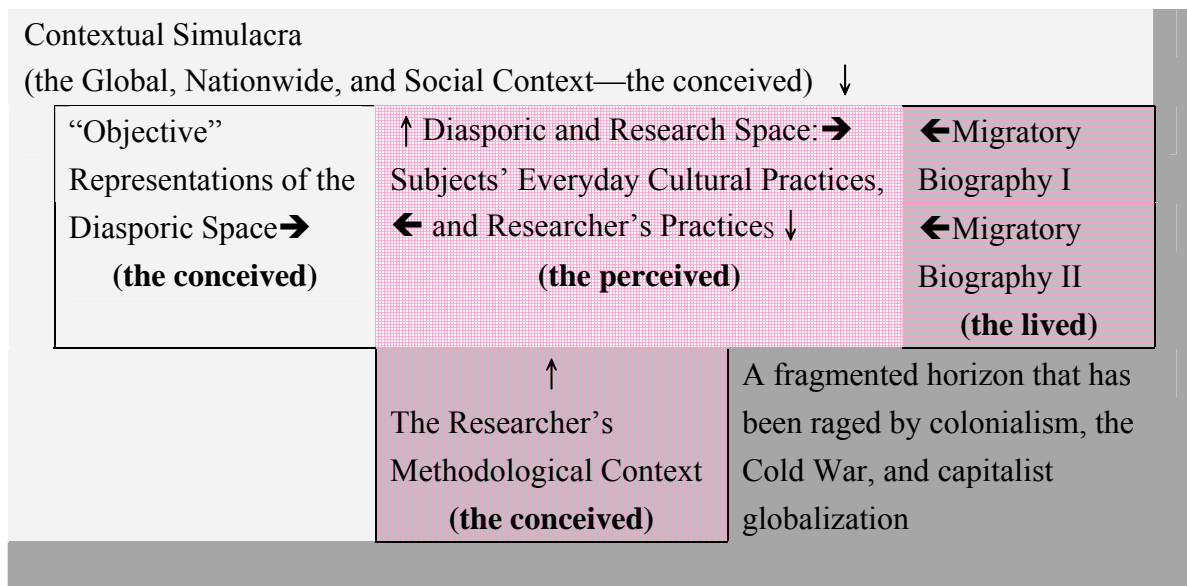


Figure 4.2 Relationships among Different Types of Data

Methods of Data Collection and Presentation

Part of the lived in this study is the methodological context. It is the records and reviews of the researcher’s practices of seeking and entering his research site and interacting with the subjects. It has been presented in Chapter Two. As soon as the researcher “set up” his field, he collected both the perceived and the lived of the subjects by observations and interviews. These stories constitute the body of data presentation in a “realistic” style in the coming chapters.

The representations of the subjects are the basic data of the “discourse-in-practice”. Academic studies, governmental publications, and media reports are collected to background how the dominant public has conceived and had impacted on, this diasporic/

research space. These data are boxed as supplementary information of this space, and intersect with the realistic tale as it unfolds.

This study explores the participants' concerns that they would like to be shared with the researcher. However, as cohabitants of this space, there were some other common interests and concerns to be examined. That is, the researcher is also interested in knowing how these subjects, as "Taiwanese," perceived a number of popular concerns that have attracted their compatriots' attention. The range of the proposed topics extended from economic issues—such as continuing stagnation and the rising unemployment rate from 2002, and emerging modes of production (labor dispatch and outsourcing), identity politics in political campaigns—to educational reforms—especially the implementation of Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum (九年一貫課程) and the multi-channel entrance examination (多元入學). Social events were also grist for the mill—like the controversy of the Taiwanese first family's corruption, to natural disasters, such as typhoons and the impact of SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) in 2003.

To inquire into these specific issues, the researcher collected related information from media and the other publicly accessible publications as alternative "discourses-in-practice". Meanwhile, he also collected the subjects' perceptions and experiences—

“discursive practice”—of these topics by interviews or observations. Then, both discourses were cross referenced. Implicated is a comparative interest concerned with identifying and reconsidering, i.e. problematizing (or reaffirming but *a posteriori*?), their differences or similarities compared to those of other Taiwanese. Again, the subjects’ perceptions and experiences are the body of the data presentation and “discourses-in-practice” will be boxed.

Clearly, here are two types of “discourses-in-practice” coming into play. One focuses on (othering?) the subjects. The others relate to those challenges and constructions (or, in effect, the simulacra) of social reality that all Taiwanese (including the research subjects) had to live with. Discourses of the latter are representations of shifting or constant social conditions, or *contextual simulacra*. Both will be taken as a reality, as Baudrillard would argue, and have their roles in the production of the diasporic/research space. All of these discourses will be translated/paraphrased, boxed, and intersected with the subjects’ stories—their “discursive practice”.

With all of these dialogues in six types of data, a “juggling act” or as Gubrium and Holstein (2000) termed “analytic bracketing”, this study, therefore, provides an

ethnographic sketch of the New Immigrants and a preliminary geography of their diasporic space.

Finally, this complicated strategy of data presentation also includes a reflection of the researcher's own perceptions of his research space. In effect, for most of his participants, the researcher was also a cultural informant. Almost all of his subjects wanted to "become a Taiwanese". Their interest made his action-oriented practices, as a part of the conceived. Therefore, these practices will also be boxed. Clearly, such interference deserves critical reflections. Therefore, footnotes are space for reflections. In sum, the body of data presentation is primarily "realistic"; the footnote is, in essence, "confessional"; together with the interruption of boxes, the whole presentation can effectively be viewed as "impressionism" (Van Maanen, 1988).

Validity and Data Presentation

The main body of the data presentation is primarily a realistic tale in which trueness is clearly a basic requirement. For such a story, face validity is very basic. In order to maintain this validity, triangulation was frequently applied especially when acquired information lacked clarity. Informants, mostly school teachers, were major alternative sources of information. Films, novels, related studies, and various publications, such as

newspapers, journals, etc., were the other sources for triangulation. Member checks are another skill as many researchers have suggested. But, they were mostly informally done as part of the greeting at the beginning of a meeting.^{vi} Given the researcher's deep involvement in all of his cases, the quality of mutual understanding could be better evaluated through the ongoing quality of their relations. These are basic practices in achieving face validity in realistic tales.

“Catalytic validity” (Lather, 1985) was another validity check to be examined given the researcher's interference. However, in all of his research praxis, only his tutoring was always welcomed and in most cases very successful. Most of the others were, more or less, controversial. Therefore, the researcher often adjusted his degree and strategy of interference for some cultural and situational considerations. More frequently, he was pushed to take immediate actions before he could clarify more fully the scenario. That is, the researcher did not always know what would be the effect of his actions; and sometimes, he would strategically do something he did not really want to do. Most of the related afterthoughts were, therefore, critical and were footnoted for further examination.

However, as the deconstructive review has revealed in the foregoing chapters, the nature of both NIC's coming and the emerging crisis is, in reality, simulacra. Nor is there

coherent essence in the social historical construction of NIC. A study of it, therefore, has to consider poststructurally its validity. In order to cope with issues of such validity, Lather and Smithies' study (1997) of HIV women is provocative and exemplar in which multiply told narratives were deployed in fragmented textual space. Such a textual fragmentation was critical for engaging poststructuralist validity. This dissertation, too, presents its data with a strategy of spatial fragmentation.

Boxes and "fat" footnotes inevitably interrupt the linearity of realistic tales.

Footnotes are clearly a space of reflexivity. It is filled with situational and pragmatic concerns (Lather, 1994) of the research practice. In addition, this textual underlayer also implies some of the cultural particularity in the research/diasporic space unspecified on the realistic surface. Therefore, it also suggests different interpretations to what characterized the realistic text. Boxed information can sometimes offer a means to triangulate the face validity of the stories in the text, while examining and demonstrating how these stories were ironically or rhizomatically (Lather, 1994) connected to a broader network of meanings and realities in the other occasions.

Research Samples

This study began at the end of summer 2002. In the next four years, many NIC in Jaguar Elementary and Phoenix Middle, their teachers, their neighbors, and their mothers in the night school program at Jaguar Elementary had shared their experiences, ideas, and stories of the NIC's becoming Taiwanese with the researcher. But, the core of this study is the researcher's special journey of following NIC in six families and two older NIC.

One older boy was born in Thailand. The other older girl was born in China. Both of them graduated from Jaguar Elementary and met the researcher at Phoenix Middle. Their fathers are both mainlander veterans, and their mothers are both ethnically Chinese (or more exactly ethnic minorities in China).

In the six families, mother came from Thailand, another from China, and the others from Indonesia. This sampling does not fit the demographic proportion of the "foreigners" in Taiwan, but is close to their proportion in the selected community.^{vii} All of these families had children studying in Jaguar Elementary. Two mothers from Indonesia, in effect, have had their third generation in Jaguar Elementary. Three of those from Indonesia were remarried and had children from their previous marriage in Taiwan. But, all of them now had children (the second or the third generation) born in Taiwan. All

mothers from countries other than China had finished, at most, their elementary education before they came to Taiwan. Both mothers from China have middle school diplomas.

Five fathers of the eight cases (including those older NIC) are Mainlander veterans (one has died), and the others are Hakka—but two are internal immigrants. Six of them (including one Hakka) were older than sixty when they met the researcher. The others were in their late thirties. Two families have married second generations. These parents of second generations were all around thirty with, at least, middle school education in Taiwan. In addition to veterans (five), two of these families (ten fathers—including those of the second generation) had adult males facing economic crises when the researcher was collecting his data. Therefore, almost all adult females in these families had more or less economic responsibility to their families, except one divorcee.

In spite of his rich collection of data, the researcher has had to focus only on the story of the Awen family in this dissertation because of time constraints. The researcher persisted in following this family throughout the field study. Many research topics, in effect, emerged from his experiences with this family. Therefore, although much additional data will not be drawn upon in the coming report, the Awens can still reveal many critical issues of this emerging ethnic group and their complicated becomings.

ⁱ The notion of the lived in trialectics will be elaborated in the section on research design.

ⁱⁱ The idea of spatial practice will be clarified in the section on research design.

ⁱⁱⁱ The concept of spatial/cultural representation will be addressed in the section on research design.

^{iv} For example, Michael Peter Smith (2001) argues that Lefebvre's idea of everyday life is too locally fixed.

^v Key informants are mostly teachers of the participants at elementary or middle school levels. The others are (vice) principals and chiefs of villages.

^{vi} For part of the reason, see the methodological reflection in Chapter Two, and the prelude of data presentation.

^{vii} See the methodological reflection in Chapter Two.

PRELUDE TO THE DATA PRESENTATION

Before the coming of the 1960s, Oscar Lewis conducted and published his ethnographic studies of poor Mexican families in which he proposed his seminal concept of the “culture of poverty”. He argued that, under the pressure of poverty, the poor have adapted themselves by adopting an autonomous value system—the culture of poverty. This culture, based on his presentation, can be seen daily in these families’ routine (re-) production. Then, through socialization, their children learn and internalize this culture, therefore, are unable to escape from the social understratum. In sum, being poor is not just about the lack of material resources, but a mindset, too. Then, what is the utility of such a psychological anthropological approach in an era of globalization, and how can it explain both the poverty and the culture of the emerging transnational families?

The following data chapters represent ethnographically a family of intermarriage—the Awens, an exemplar exploration of a family in diasporic space. The first begins with their migration history—the lived. This is followed by the Awen boys’ experiences in school in which are the dialectics of both their surviving tactics (the perceived) and both

the institutional and familial conditions (the conceived) of education. The former is a direct response to the first research question, and the latter to the third.

Mr. Law's (the father) philosophy of education is a critical section in between. His military career had significant impact on the modernization of his subjectivity, and thus, is of great importance in formatting his philosophy. Through his pedagogical practice, it turns out to be part of the circumstance that the young Awens had to live with. Issues of gender, ethnicity, age, physique, religion, language, etc. are over the narratives in this chapter, and will be repeatedly involved in those that follow.

The second data chapter explores the Awen's everyday practices in a broader spatial setting in order to respond to the second research question. Based on the reviews of the Awen's (re-) production activities and their spatial practices, the chapter demonstrates their culture in a more materialistic context and at an interpersonal level. A critical conflict is a direct outcome of the family's material conditions and their interpersonal dynamics. It offered a scenario to examine the development of individual Awens' social networking and their spatial practice, as well as the researcher's interference. Combined also are individual members' diverse tactics and practices based on their genders and ages.

Before a more detailed analytical conclusion, this ethnography also examines the Awens' perspectives of their future. The young Awens may have no clear idea of what globalization is all about. But, they have clearly had their own perceptions of life in the ongoing globalization.

Data are presented as indicated at the beginning of the Fourth Chapter. Basically, the Awen's stories— both their practices and thoughts—in both data chapters are “realistic” (Van Maanen, 1988). However, in order to understand more fully their conditions and experiences, three types of editing are employed to enrich the ethnography. Contrary, complementary, or supplementary contexts, such as *de facto* information from media reports, other academic studies, and the researcher's action-oriented practices, to the ongoing issues are presented in boxes. The researcher's methodological reflections on his practices are footnoted. Endnotes explain less critical details, and more importantly, are spaces of cultural translation. See the methodological concerns, especially the first two representational spaces, of such a representational strategy in Chapter Four.

The Cast of the Awens

Members of the Awen family

Awen	The Mother
Mr. Law	The Father
Akin	Awen's Oldest Daughter

Ahui	Awen's Second Daughter
Tony	Awen's Oldest Son
Ali	Awen's Second Son
Fortune	Awen's Youngest Son
Nini	Awen's Youngest Daughter

Key School People Involved in the Study of the Awen family

In Jaguar Elementary

Mr. Chen	A Vice Principal
Mr. Jade	A Vice Principal
Ms Ping	Tony's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Five & Six
Ms Jong	Fortune's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Two
Ms Hua	Fortune's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Three and Four
Ms Chi-Chi	Ali's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Three & Four
Mr. Bin	Ali's Coach in the Sports Team

In Phoenix Middle

Mr. White	Tony's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Seven
Mr. Pen	Tony's Homeroom Teacher at Grade Eight

The Other Important Persons in the Awen's Social Network

Jenny	Awen's Classmate in Night School
Mei	Jenny's Oldest Daughter
Mr. Chang	The Marriage Broker of Awen's Marriage
Mr. Peng	The Researcher

The Beginning of the Awen's Story: The Encounter of Two Subjects' Practices

As the researcher has argued, the quality of the data and the study as well, depend on the relationship between the researcher and his/her participants. The participants are usually the umpires who make the call. The Awen's story is exemplary.

I met the Awen family on December 13, 2002. From then on, we kept in touch until I left for the United States September 12, 2006. The relations between me and individual Awens were always changing.

At the very beginning of our encounter, I identified myself as a typical researcher who intended to know his subjects' concerns and experiences within the context of this study. Meanwhile, as I was acknowledged, Mr. Law and the Awens had their own concerns. They wanted to send Tony and the other boys to school. I also sincerely hoped myself to be helpful in this endeavor. However, from their perspective, I would probably have a very ambiguous identity. On the one hand, I was such a stranger who kept asking some "private, sensitive, and irrelevant" questions about our past, our intent/desire, and their everyday life. On the other hand, I seemed to know the "threshold/doorway" (Mr. Law's term) that would help their children get into school.

I was soon aware of their ambiguous perceptions. Sometimes, they would admit they were trying to cover up something for their own benefit. For instance, Awen believed that if boys could restart their education from lower grades, they would have better language skills in the future. Therefore, she, at first, tried to convince me that Tony had not finished his elementary education, Ali was still a first grader, and Fortune had not yet

come to school. But, as soon as Mr. Law showed me their transcripts, she, then, complained, “We have already known our disadvantages. Why can’t we start our education from lower grades?” (December 21, 2002) Contradictory replies from the Awens were another example. Their family diaspora, talks of their biofather, their birthdays, among many other issues, were stories that were put together with their somewhat inconsistent narratives.

Such ambiguity would probably be intensified because Mr. Law was preparing the legal process of adopting the Awens. There must be a question in his mind whenever he talked to me: “Is he some kind undercover special agent from the family court or the Bureau of Social Affairs?” I can feel his defensiveness very well. But, I had hardly any awareness of such a context until I had a better sense of the legal process a year after. Then, I finally understood where his resistance came from.

Bhabha (1994) has theorized about such a postcolonial psychology: the coexisting ambivalent emotions of both love and hate (not so much in my case, but discomfort at least). But, as a person growing up under the authoritarian regime in the 1960s and the 1970s in Taiwan, if I were in face of a similar skeptical person, I would also probably have had similar defensive reactions, too. In other words, we—Awen, Mr. Law, and

I—are people of a kind to a degree. Certainly, the Awens had many calculations about what are those “Truths” that could be revealed and how. But, as one of a kind, I was, of course, able to detect their (mostly the Awens) efforts of covering up, or his (mainly Mr. Law) defensive moves. In a sense, my research interference and their ambivalent desires conspiratorially made up a head game, especially among the adults before the participation of the older three (the price of growing up?): I wanted them to “love me”, which they did; while at the same time, they felt discomfort with me, too. Knowing such ambivalence, I gradually recognized that most of my questions or visible formal research practices would be inevitably taken as an investigation/interrogation of the Awen’s qualifications for naturalization or an examination of Mr. Law’s parental quality. Then, I faced the question of how could my study be continued under such a condition?

I would be extremely exhausted if I actively continued the head game for more than three years. This would be a match against the umpires that I should have no chance to win. In addition, I had no interest to win anything from them. Facing this challenge, my tactic was very simple. I stopped all formal research activities. I took off my research cloak, and dropped by their house once in a while like a friend which I believe we were. Also, rather than questioning, I spent more time listening, unless some of them were

asking a favor. As a friend, I never prepared a topic to visit them. This is, of course, a very uneconomic approach to data collection. It would limit my following immediately some critical emerging issues or verifying some unclear situations. But, would it be less desirable than a new head game?

The evolution of our relations continued since I employed this new strategy. I will footnote these changes as the story goes on. My intent to clarify the quality of the data is to invite an alternative reading of my realistic story. Hopefully, it will open, to some degree, the backstage of my constructing the culture of my participants.

CHAPTER 5

THE AWEN FAMILY (I): MIGRATION AND EDUCATION

This chapter reviews the issues of the Awen's diaspora in Indonesia and the early stage of their arrival. Included are aspects of Mr. Law's educational philosophy and the boys' new learning experiences. Many obstacles were unsurprisingly impeded on their paths to their new home, their new school, and better education. Involved were legal issues, economic challenges, language problems, stereotypical gender distinction, and generational gaps between parents and children.

A Brief History of the Family

Awen is a Hakka. She was born in 1963 in Singkawang, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. She is almost twenty years younger than her current husband, Mr. Law. He is a Hakka and a taxi driver. His family was originally from Miaoli, Taiwan. But, for job opportunities, his grandfather gave up the tenancy and moved to Kaohsiung where he was

born in 1944. By matchmaking, Awen met and married Mr. Law in Taiwan in 1996, and had a daughter, Nini, in 1998.

Across the National Border

Awen seldom talked about her ex-marriage, less of her ex-husband—an irresponsible father and a gambler. “That’s it” she asserted. This man appeared only when she sometimes would like to take Mr. Law’s side in a family conflict. She would tell the children:

Like father like son. Go to see your useless father, that trash. Let him take care of you. Did he know anything about responsibility? Had he ever spent a dime on your life? Don’t you know how tough it is to feed you all? (September 5, 2006)

The children have little to say about their biofather, either, except making a comparison between their two fathers. These words usually came out when something was wrong between Mr. Law and them. “He never beats us” is the point most often addressed. The man, just like most of their past, is an issue about which the Awens had little to say.

In order to proceed with their naturalization and adoption, Mr. Law prepared the man’s death certificate. As Mr. Law theorized, “the procedure would be simpler if the

biofather were dead.” Is he alive? An Awen’s boy nodded. Mr. Law further explained (to the boy?):

You can buy anything from Indonesian officers—be it real or not. But you have to pay for it whether it is legal or not. It’s better to be a Taiwanese. The Taiwanese government is clean, efficient, and much more advanced. The Indonesian bureaucrats are too corrupt and slothful. The Indonesian government sucks. Being an Indonesian is unfortunate. (March 1, 2003)

So, the man is “legally dead” in Taiwan.

When an alive can be dead, a new birthday would not be a surprise. Awen has five children with the man: two older girls—Akin (1985) and Ahui (1987), and three younger boys, Tony (1990), Ali (1992), and Fortune (1993). As Mr. Law theorized, “it would be less problematic if the applicant [for naturalization] was younger than eighteen.”

(December 21, 2002). Given such concern, Akin, is now legally born in 1987, her sister in 1988. Mr. Law especially pointed out that:

if Akin would like to marry a Taiwanese, she’d be better a Taiwanese, and stay in Taiwan. She would have more chances to know more Taiwanese, look closely those guys, and lower her risk in matchmaking. (December 21, 2002)

Mr. Law did not pay anything more than a regular fee to the Taiwanese government as compared with what he claimed would have been to the Indonesian government.

Instead, he bowed a lot and deep. For instance, he was informed that the extension of

Ahui's resident visa had a problem in early 2003. He ran to the department of Civil Affairs many times. He found his papers were not well cared for. But, the bureaucratic system was too confusing and unfriendly. No one would like to help him until he bowed to a right person—the superintendent. Nevertheless, he is, of course, not a specialist in naturalization regulations. Therefore, he did pay his scriveners a lot for the related “knowledge”. He estimated that every Awen averagely cost him NT 100,000 (about US\$ 3,000). But, he loved to pay this.

Before they married, he thought Awen had only one boy and two girls. He met them when he met Awen's parents in Jakarta. He promised to give them a better life in Taiwan after he married their mother. Ali and Fortune were absent from that meeting. Nor did they attend to their mother's marriage banquet. Awen said they were too young, and she wondered if Mr. Law would change his mind upon knowing the number of the Awens. It would be better to leave them behind. Mr. Law disagreed. He believed that a family should not be separated. Children should live with their mother before they grow up.

Finally, but most critically, he was so pleased to have three boys when he had been more than half way to a hundred years old. He said his family was always too “thin”—too few males to keep the Law's lineage. Both his father and grandfather (on the father's

side) were the only sons. His generation is better. There are two males. He has one older brother, a “lawyer”, as he said, who transcribes pleadings in a law firm (scrivener?). But, for the next generation, there was no boy at all until he got these three. He kept the Law’s “thurification”—lineage, and proved himself a more successful descendent of the Laws—in comparison to his brother—in spite of his less successful career.

Internal Diaspora in Indonesia

Before she gave herself a chance to remarry, Awen always had troubles of making money to feed her families until she went to Jakarta where she worked in a Taiwanese tailoring factory. The salary was higher. In addition, the company provided lodging and meals. But, the work was too demanding. She had no time for the restroom in working hours; and overtime was very common. She met Mr. Chang, a Taiwanese matchmaker—originally a Chinese Indonesian (*ch’iao-shen*), in the factory. Mr. Chang helped her come to Taiwan and meet Mr. Law.

Two younger boys were left with her parents. Meanwhile, the other older children were sent to their relatives in Jakarta when the girls were about ten. Ahui, Akin, and Tony lived with their grandaunts. The primary concern was to reduce the grandparents and the mother’s burden. Also, once in a while, the Awens could have a family gathering

in the city on holidays. Girls could be part-time assistants for and learn some practical skills from their grandaunts. Better education was a plus, especially for Tony.

1998 was a tough year for the young Awens. When Awen was in Taiwan expecting Nini's coming, an anti-Chinese riot in Indonesia, especially in major metropolitan area in Java, like Jakarta, was underway. She asked her children to leave their schools, and move back home as soon as possible. Since then, Tony and Akin continued their education at their hometown. The quality of their new schools was poor compared to their schools in Jakarta.

Tony : There was no computer, no gym, not even a basketball stand, almost nothing in our school in Kalimantan.

Fortune : There was a big square where we can play soccer.

Tony : you know nothing but a shit. (January 24, 2003)

Also, the school environment and their new classmates were less competitive. As their transcripts evidenced, they easily got better scores in their new schools.

Although the riot had been calmed before 1999, Tony did not return to Jakarta. He continued and finished his elementary education in Singkawang. Then, he came to Taiwan near the moon festival in 2001. Awen's family reunion had begun. After finishing her middle school education, Akin returned to Jakarta, and continued her work with her grandaunt as a bookkeeper until she left for Taiwan in early 2002.

After finishing her elementary school in Singkawang, Ahui returned to Jakarta and started her early secondary education and helped her grandaunt after school. In the middle school, she had her first chance to learn Mandarin—both writing and reading. She is the only Awen who had the chance to learn Mandarin before their reunion in Taiwan. In 2001, a new ethnic conflict burst out in Central Kalimantan. Native Dayaks were hunting Madurese migrants. This riot touched Awen's nerve again. But, Ahui did not panic because she had seen what had happened before. This time, Chinese were not involved and Jakarta was, by and large, peaceful. Also, she was not afraid of any Dayak. She said one of her aunts-in-law is a Dayak. With little mercy to the victims, Ahui emphasized:

She believes in God since she married my uncle. Now, she is a true believer and is very nice to our families. Dayaks are simple-minded. We have no problem with each other. But, Madurese and Javanese are mean. They always domineer over the other. They should know how badly the others have been treated. (September 23, 2003)

She did not join her family until she finished her middle school by the end of 2001.

The youngest two boys did not meet Mr. Law until their new sister was three. Mr. Law brought all members of his family to Singkawang. This trip was originally to process and schedule the three older Awens' migration, and to show his parents-in-law their new granddaughter. Both boys' appearance surprised Mr. Law. He immediately

decided all Awens would be a part of his family. But, Awen argued that, unlike the other older children, these two boys were still too young to work. A better strategy should be: to let the older Awens make money in Taiwan, and feed both younger boys in Indonesia. Regardless of Awen's objection, both boys came together to Taiwan a few days before the Chinese New Year in 2003. After about a decade's diaspora, the Awens reunited in a new home. For Mr. Law, his easiness to have six children at once from newly born to the late teens was just the beginning of his parenthood challenges.

Coming to School

In spite of their Chineseness, language was still an immediate challenge to the Awens. All of them can, of course, speak their first language (Hakka) very fluently. But, it is clearly not enough to live in contemporary Taiwan—even in a village traditionally occupied by Hakka. Ironical as it may seem, after more than fifty-year's imposition of Mandarin Only policy, only a few seniors can speak Hakka as fluently as the Awens. "Go to school and learn Mandarin" was an emergent project for these new arrivals.

Many students of their kind had enrolled in this school before Awen's boys. As new arrivals, these students were, of course, not the nationals of Taiwan. Some registered with their foreign passports as foreigners. Some others applied for the certificates of

ch'iao-sheng (僑生).ⁱ Most of them had no problem in entering Jaguar Elementary School. However, on the base of their language proficiency, they usually restarted their education as lower graders than average Taiwanese children of their age. This is, perhaps, a necessary alternative when there was no special language program for these young immigrants. Tony was clearly not an exception.

When Tony arrived at the beginning of the school year 2001-2002, Mr. Law brought him to Jaguar Elementary for registration. As Mr. Law recalled, Mr. Chen, a vice principal, asked him to apply for *ch'iao-sheng* status. Mr. Law followed his instruction, went to the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission, acquired the application form, and returned to the school to visit Mr. Chen again. But, this time, Mr. Law was informed that the school did not need these forms. He was upset.

Then, Mr. Law called his “matchmaker”, Mr. Chang, for assistance. Mr. Chang was a *hua-ch'iao*ⁱⁱ from Indonesia. In addition to fostering Mr. Law's marriage with Awen, Mr. Chang also helped him in all of the issues of the Awen's migration and naturalization. Mr. Chang affirmatively told him that there was no way to make Tony a *ch'iao-sheng* because Awen had been naturalized. Oddly, Tony did not look like an exceptional case,

but was strangely stopped at the gate of Jaguar Elementary. Mr. Chen, then, offered his hand to Mr. Law, and opened a place in the night school for Tony and his sisters.ⁱⁱⁱ

Awen was very upset with this outcome. She counseled with Jenny, her night school classmate. Jenny is a Thai. Similar to Awen, she remarried a Taiwanese in 1997, and immediately brought her daughter, May, to Taiwan. Thus, May was, then, a fifth grader in Jaguar Elementary. But, both of them still held their Thai passports. When Awen realized that both Jenny and May were still foreigners, she was extremely mad. She believed that either someone was picking on her or that her matchmaker was not doing his job. But, Mr. Law insisted that “this is something women would never know” (December 25, 2002).

None really knew how the foreigners, the *hua-ch’iao*, the *ch’iao-shen*, and the nationals were legally (biologically) differentiated. As a broker of intermarriage and migrant workers and previously a *ch’iao-shen* himself, none had challenged Mr. Chang’s legal opinion. Consequently, as Awen theorized, Mr. Chen would be the guy picking on her. Thus, the conflict became personal—without any adequate rationale. Unfortunately, Mr. Chen was a teacher of Tony and his sisters in the night school. Witnessing Tony’s predicament and the coming of Ali and Fortune, Awen felt helpless.

**Box 5.1 What Is on the “Doorway/Threshold” (Mr. Law’s Term) to School?
The Letter^{iv} and the Unqualified Consultant**

After two interviews with Mr. Law and Awen, I had been confused by the conflicting information in Mr. Chang’s theory, Jenny’s success, and the reply from an agent of the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission (OCAC). In order to clarify related legal issues, I called the office several times. I had an appointment with the Awens in the evening of December 25, 2002; and promised them the clearest answer from the office. In the morning, I called the office again to affirm finally both the quality and the required documents for applying for certificates of *ch’iao-shen*.

Me : My friend is a so-called foreign bride. In order to get her ID card, she has given up her original nationality. Last year, she brought her children to Taiwan. I wonder if these children can still be qualified as *ch’iao-shen*?

Agent : if only [they came to Taiwan] in less than a year.

Me : But, someone told me that since the mother has abandoned her original nationality, her children would not be qualified any more.

Agent : It is OK. What she has abandoned is not Taiwanese nationality.

Me : The parents said they have talked to you before.

Agent : You have called me several times. Why do you still have this question?

Me : Every time I called you, some new excuses would follow. This made it difficult to persuade the parents.

Agent : Why did you buy their words? I am in charge of the review process. To whom should you listen?

Me : Yeah, you are right. But, to be honest, my friend has had many troubles in sending her children to school. I think a more comprehensive understanding of legal process would be necessary

to persuade the parents' to reissue the application.

Agent : If only she can provide required documents, her children can get the certificates after our review. Don't stick yourself over this issue, all right? Just give us their documents, fill the required forms and we will see.

Based on the agent's reply, Awen's naturalization is not a problem at all to issue

5.1 What Is on the "Doorway/Threshold" to School? Mr. Law's Unspoken Defensiveness

When I ended the call, I found that both Tony and Ahui had been in Taiwan for more than a year.

Both of them had lost their qualification for *ch'iao-shen's* certificates. Only Akin could be qualified.

However, when I visited the Awens that evening and told them my *good* news, some yet unspoken complex concerns vaguely emerged.

Clearly, the agent's statement was strong enough to challenge Mr. Chang's legal opinion about the young Awens' education. But, it was equally clear that Mr. Law trusted him and relied very much on his service. After all, Mr. Chang was a "modern marriage broker". This made his relation with the couple tricky. I wondered if my challenge were successful, how Mr. Chang would react? Would he lower the quality of his service, especially the forthcoming event—the younger boys' coming was less than a month? Who would take care of the other upcoming legal issues, such as the Awens' naturalization?

A more critical issue would be the parents' philosophy of education. A *ch'iao-shen* certificate would benefit Akin in the entrance examination to junior colleges or senior high schools. But, as I encouraged Mr.

the certificates for her children. Mr. Chang's information was clearly misleading.¹

In the spring semester of 2003, Awen's two younger boys had arrived. Mr. Jade, a colleague of Mr. Chen, stepped into this emerging trouble. Mr. Jade created a fallback position for Mr. Chen, and made him accept Ali and Fortune's registration as foreigners. In early March, Ali restarted from the third grade, and Fortune the second grade. Then, with some extra effort with the Bureau of Education, Tony was finally accepted as a fifth grader at mid April. Both girls meanwhile continued their study in the night school program. Mr. Law and the Awens had survived their first educational challenge.

Law and Awen to undertake Akin's application, Awen clearly expressed her objection. She said, "a girl doesn't have to study that much." Instead of clarifying his opinion, Mr. Law repeated his concern of Akin's literacy again and again, "I'll certainly let her finish the night school in Jaguar Elementary." Then, he actively mentioned his driving lessons in the army by which he seemed to suggest that useful skills are not necessarily learned from school (see the first quote in the coming section of 'the Father's philosophy of education'). Mr. Law's statement sounded like a sign of detour for my further inquiry. How should I interpret his theory about the issue at stake: a progressive philosophy of de-schooling, or just like Awen, a typical concern of patriarchy with an economic interest—the cost of her tuition or the loss of her salary?

Box 5.2 Biased but not Personal

After the three boys entered the day school, I had a chance to talk to Mr. Chen about his concern for the young Awens' coming on April 16, 2003. He acridly commended my legal assistance in defending the boys' educational rights.

Chen : How caring you are. I knew that you have spent quite a lot of time in helping these boys' education.

Me : Well, not much. I just did what I can do.

Chen : They are really lucky to have your assistance. But, why were you so concerned with their education? Their primary interest is a better material life. And they got it since their arrival. They don't really care about the quality of education. The night school program should have served their interest very well.

Me : I think they will be sooner or later part of us. Don't you think better education will make them better citizens, then, they can make better contributions to our society in the future?

Chen : I don't think we have to worry about this. There will always be the need of some work that nobody wants to do. These works require only a little education and should be good enough for them.

Me : Is this the reason why you rejected Tony's registration?

Chen : Not really. We have had many students of the same kind. All their parents but Mr. Law can get the application without any problem. I had no idea about what was wrong with Mr. Law. I asked him to apply for the certificate of *ch'iao-shen*. But, rather than finishing the application process, he brought me some strange forms. Therefore, I asked him go to the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission again. I don't know why he insisted that these were the forms and refused to complete the legal process.

Me : I see.

Chen : I actually did him a great favor. It's I who put his girls and the oldest boy into our night school program. Since you have studied entrance regulations, you should know, it's illegal to put a child

younger than fifteen (Tony) in the night school program.

Me : Yes, I do. But, since you can give Mr. Law such a favor, why did you not help Tony come to the day school?

Chen : This involves an issue of student's welfare. Our county government provides free textbooks and lunches for students in day schools. So, it examines more carefully students' qualifications. Shouldn't we be careful in spending our limited resources?

The Father's Philosophy of Education

After he finished his elementary education,^v Mr. Law worked with his father until he was conscribed into the army. The most critical skills that he had learned in his life were acquired at this stage: driving and handwriting. For him, learning a driving skill in the army is significant in his life. First of all, driving was an advance technology at that time—the most important technology in his life. His successful learning confirmed his ability to learn other emerging technologies.

In the 60s, very few people knew how to drive. Less had ideas of auto maintenance. But, I had learned driving from the army. Moreover, if you wanted to be a Jeep driver in the army, you had to know not only driving but also auto maintenance which I learned a little, too. Anyway, at my time, drivers were actually a branch of technology in the army, and I was a man of technology. But, I did not learn this technology from school. (December 25, 2002)

Second, he and other four soldiers in his battalion were chosen to take driver training. Later, he was assigned to be his commander's driver. He took this appointment as an honor. It was more than an issue of skill, but also an issue of integrity. As he said,

I was by no mean a punk. Not anybody can take the driver training. I was chosen because of my integrity and diligence. My commander knew me very well. I always followed the orders, I did everything by books, I obeyed the authority, and I cleaned the jeep diligently. I never fooled around in the army. We are made by discipline. We never complained, unlike the young men nowadays. This is what a real soldier should be. We were an army that can fight. If the boys don't know how to behave, the army will teach them. (September 19, 2005)

Finally, driving, of course, has made even more contributions in maintaining his life since he left the army.^{vi} It made his current family. At first, he tried to develop a business career in Taipei City which was a dream of many young Taiwanese in the early 1970s.^{vii} But, he was not very successful. Then, he began his driving career. It seemed all right till these days. Meanwhile, for his parents, he moved the Laws to Hsinchu. Mr. Law's economic condition is clearly better than many other jobless males in intermarriage. He should, at least, have spent millions of dollars (NT) in building and supporting this family. Most of his expenses came from his professional driving career.

In the first two decades [of my professional career], taxi was a good business because everybody was so rich. That was really a good time. It just took me a few years to earn the first cab of my own in the early 1980s. Now, I have been a licensed professional driver for more than twenty years. (December 21, 2002)

In addition to saving, he had had a life insurance policy for more than two decades. He was proud of his vision. As a working class man of his age, few of his friends twenty years ago had such ideas of personal financial management. He believed himself an advanced and open minded person, unlike most of his fellow workers of his age who used to take life insurance as a matter of self-cursing. In the coming of the new century, he was interested in neighborhood real estate. On the one hand, he was trying to provide a spatial living environment for his new family in which all of his grandchildren could live together. On the other hand, he realized that a house could be more than a mere space for his family. As long as the industrial zone was booming, the life of his family could count on the rent after his retirement.

But, in the last few years, he came to sense a growing stagnation.

A few years ago, it was not impossible to earn 60,000 per month if only we worked harder. But now, I have to work very hard in order to earn 30,000 per month. The emission of [NT] 2000's bill and [NT] 50's coin was another evidence. The larger denomination always means the "thinner" (devaluation) of the money. This is an iron rule.
(December 21, 2002)

Fortunately, the armory barracks continue to be a stable source of customers. Every weekend, he would be very busy transporting soldiers on vacation between the barracks and the railroad station at downtown Lakers.

Calligraphy is yet another of Mr. Law's achievements. As he theorized, it is the art of handwriting that makes his brother a successful lawyer—making easy money in an air-conditioned office. This theory emerged again from his military career.

I was a jeep driver which was already very privileged. But, I knew, some had more enjoyable military life than I did. Many of them may have middle school diplomas. But, I knew, diplomas did not matter. If I could have beautiful handwriting, just like my brother, I could have a much easier military career. Whenever I was working under the big sun in the summer or surrounded by chilly air in the winter, those corporals can sit in the office and enjoy electric fans. In addition, they had higher initial rank than I did. I was finally a corporal when I left the army. But, they were then all sergeants. They had better pay than I did. (September 9, 2003)

Writing beautiful words is no trick. Just keep writing. When I was in the army, whenever there was some spare time, I would grasp a [political] textbook^{viii} to somewhere nobody would go, and transcribed the book word by word. It was a little late for me. If I could have done this in my elementary school like my brother, I would probably have a very different career. (March 2, 2004)

For Mr. Law, many other critical learning experiences also occurred in his military career. For instance, what makes quality leadership? The model that he really had personal contact with was his battalion commander. Fearless and poised in front of the crowd and speaking loud and clear to the audience were his impressions of the commander.

Box 5.3 Military Service as a Critical Rite of Passage and the Origin of Mr. Law's Educational Philosophy

There may be many critical rites of passage throughout one's life time, such as graduation, first job, marriage, the birth or death of a significant other, and so on. For a male Taiwanese, obligatory military service is certainly very critical. But, it is probably not the *only* one. Nor would it be necessary very educational.

The army is doubtless a compressive state apparatus (Althursser, 1971) to the society; but, in everyday life, especially to its members, soldiers and officers, its function is more of a total institution (Goffman, 1961). Many researchers have studied its impact on the socialization of Taiwanese males. But, most of them were focused on the issues of gender/sexuality (Kuang-Huei Chin 秦光輝, 1997; Hsueh-Ju Pei 裴學儒, 2001; Ying-Chao Kao 高穎超, 2006) or political socialization (I-Ming Yu 余一鳴, 1999; Wei-Wei Ni 倪薇薇, 1991). No one has ever postitioned the army as an institute of literacy education.

Experiences of military service may be an odd foundation for one's educational philosophy. But, such a militarized education philosophy was, in effect, not unusual in the 1950s in Taiwan. Hsiao-Hsien Hou's (侯孝賢) autobiographic film "Growing Up" (小畢的故事, 1983) represented such a educational experience in the Cold War era.

The movie is a story of a naughty step-son of an old Mainlander bureaucrat. The boy knew that particular moment very well. If he cannot be excellent in academic performance, his alternative would be “like-a-soldier”.

Preparing for School: Mr. Law’s Pedagogy of Calligraphy

Before he was accepted by day school, Tony was legally too young to work outside. He spent most of his time at home in subcontracting homework, night school assignments, or a little husbandry on a small vegetable field behind their house which made him a petit economic contributor in the family.

Watching cartoons and listening to music were the other activities to kill his time. Sometimes, he would visit guest workers across the street. Their computers and the internet access in their apartment were attractive to Tony. But, he was only an observer when the owners were browsing the cyberspace in Bahasa Indonesia. The radius of his daily activities was less than ten meters. Awen always condemned his doing nothing all day although there was really not too much to do in his life—especially when most of the housework was assigned to Ahui.

Mr. Law later assigned Tony some additional calligraphic practice. Just as what he did in the army, Mr. Law made Tony copy new words from his textbook. This

assignment quite effectively killed Tony's time. He had to write eight to ten pages a day, about three to four times that of a Taiwanese five or six grader. In the evening, Mr. Law would carefully examine Tony's work. Tony's achievement was amazing. In a little more than a year of studying Chinese, Tony's handwriting was much better than his Taiwanese cohorts. Mr. Law was very proud of his pedagogy. He claimed:

I really care for my children's education. I will push them to the limit. You see, practice books are not very expensive. Even if they were, my supply would be still unlimited. If only they can write beautiful characters, it would be worthy. I know too well the importance of writing beautiful characters. I want them success, and they should keep practicing their handwriting. (June 8, 2004)

After Ali and Fortune arrived, Tony had to teach his brothers Chinese, too. Every day, both boys had to "draw" four to six pages of Chinese characters of which they knew nothing. In addition, they had to memorize Mandarin phonetic symbols which they could hardly pronounce, either. Given their age and probably more because of the required practice of Chinese characters, they were hardly able to go beyond places ten meters from home. Just as many Chinese/Taiwanese are well informed, calligraphy was not only concerned with issues of literacy—however uniquely theorized by Mr. Law. A process of cultivation—physical discipline—was involved at the same time.

Box 5.4 Literacy Matters, but How?

All of the boys' homeroom teachers were impressed by their regular handwriting when they formally became students of Jaguar Elementary in spring 2003. However, the teachers soon found that the younger two were actually "drawing" the characters of which they did not know the meanings. But, the teachers still appreciated Mr. Law's calligraphic training. In a so-called digital age, it has been a difficult task for teachers to require regularity in students' handwriting.

Mr. Law's concern for the regularity of handwriting sometimes really embarrassed people. Before I was aware of his concern with calligraphy, my handwriting fortunately helped me avoid such embarrassment and strengthen my scholarly credibility. At our first meeting on December 13, 2002, I was invited to write my name and contact information to introduce myself. Mr. Law asked Tony to read my handwriting, and commented: "Look, how beautiful is Mr. Peng's handwriting. This is why Mr. Peng can become a doctor and a man of knowledge." Then, I was invited to read his writing which was stylish and regular, too. But, it was really odd to see my credibility measured by the regularity of my handwriting.

Mr. White, Tony's seventh grade homeroom teacher, was an embarrassing victim

of poor handwriting. When Mr. Law read his reply on Tony's homebook, he commented: "No wonder he's only a sub. Look, how terrible is his handwriting!" (October 16, 2004) A few days after, Mr. Law visited the school. He suggested the teacher in the office before the other teachers and students that improving his handwriting would help him get a tenured position. This incidence, or joke for many teachers, soon spread, even back to Jaguar Elementary. Both Tony and his teacher were embarrassed.

In summer vacation of 2003, Awen's boys spent quite much time practicing their handwriting. Tony finished 22 practice books, Ali 28, and Fortune 32 (a second grader may finish six in a semester)—in addition to their school assignments. Even the father's princess Nini (not yet five years old) voluntarily finished two. The boys were exhausted by such practice. Therefore, before the summer vacation of 2004, they asked me to talk to Mr. Law. Mr Law, at first, had no intent to fulfill the boys' expectation although he did later. Fortune, for example, still finished twelve practice books. But, the boys could finally have some real vacation. They could now, for instance, watch TV, visit my apartment, and play with my computer. For Ali and Fortune, the radius was twice or thrice bigger than before.

Boys' Lives and their Emerging Cultures

A week after they came to their new home, Ali and Fortune had their first chance to visit the school they were going to in the next few years. They were both surprised by the playground at Jaguar Elementary. A wide open playfield is surrounded by a two-hundred-meter PV track with a square for dodge ball at its center, two basketball squares on its corner, and many facilities for fun, such as balance beams, monkey bars, horizontal bars, parallel bars, slides, and tilts. For them, the school was such a fascinating space. Before they came home, the last but most important question was: “When can we come to school?” (January 24, 2003)

After the spring semester 2003 began, it took them about a month to get them into their school. Fortune started at the second grade in March, Ali at the third, and Tony at the fifth one more month after. Both Fortune and Ali are more than one year older than their classmates, and Tony is almost three years older. Physically, Fortune did not look very different from his classmates. But, Ali and Tony’s appearances were clearly different. Ali was much taller than the average male third graders, Tony’s pimples and body hairs reflected his maturity.

All of their homeroom teachers were females about thirty years old. They all married engineers in the Scientific Park nearby a few years ago, and just transferred to

this school within two years. None of them can speak Hakka; therefore, nobody can directly communicate with these boys without interpreters. This was especially true for Fortune and Ali. Both of their homeroom teachers sought language help from students from the local community. But, very few students were able to speak Hakka as fluently as these boys. Clearly, Ali and Fortune were challenges to their teachers. Both teachers prepared some individualized counseling program to welcome the boys' coming.

Tony's Cultural Adventure

After a series of unpleasant negotiations with the school administrators and the local bureaucrats, Tony finally joined the day school and acquired a full-time student status. Having finished his elementary education in Indonesia, Tony generally felt no problem with the fifth grader's curriculum in Taiwan. Social studies were difficult. There was hardly any connection between what he had learned and what he was going to learn. But, he found that he could do multiplication faster than his new classmates because memorizing multiplication tables were required in Indonesia. In Taiwan, this requirement was removed from math textbooks in the recent curriculum reform. Mandarin was a little difficult, but he had learned Chinese in night school for more than a year. So, it was all

right. English was new to him, but it was also new to the other students. In addition, he felt it looked somewhat like Bahasa Indonesia. So, it was not a problem at all.

Moreover, as a fifth grader more than two years older than his classmates, he had some physical advantage in the playing field. With a compact body built more than 55 kg and higher than 160 cm, he was clearly very competitive in many contests such as race, tug of war, and unquestionably the best center in basketball although the game was new to him. Watching NBA became one of his after school activities. Not only his class benefited from his strength, but also the school sports team was taking advantage of his physique in various county contests. Tony enjoyed his physical advantage, and was generally well behaved. Such maturity, both physical and social, was appreciated by many classmates and his teachers.

Tony was also excited about his new school. He enjoyed new opportunities that he had never had in Singkawang and social activities that he had lost for more than a year. Computers were one of the most interesting subjects. He had known this technology for quite a long time—when he was in Jakarta, but never had a chance to be more than an observer until now. He knew that computers can do many things. One he liked was making copies of music and video CDs.

These CDs carried quite a bit of the Awen's memories in Indonesia. Copies were made for his new friends though their parents would perhaps be more impressed. These CDs were supposedly exotic. However, if there were any exoticism, it would come from their Indonesian background, but is not very much in reality. A large part was, in effect, very Taiwanese. Some music was "classic" and very "Japanese" or "Taiwanese". Many such sources appropriated melodies from Taiwanese or Japanese popular music in the 1970s and the 1980s, and added lyrics in Hakka or Bahasa Indonesia.^{ix} Video CDs were either Japanese or Disney cartoons, such as Mickey Mouse, Snow White, and Doraemon (ドラえもん).^x In return, his new friends would give him CDs of the most recent popular music in Taiwan that helped him "update" the meaning of being a contemporary Taiwanese boy or, more exactly, a boy in his early teens of the day.

He excitedly absorbed all kinds of information about the idols of his "social" age, such as Jay Chou (周杰倫) and a boy band 5566— boyhood, modern, and fashionable. Trendy dramas^{xi} played by these young stars were his second lesson. But, his right to remote control became an issue. Younger siblings wanted cartoons and child programs after four pm. The older sisters wanted variety shows before they went to the night school. Mr. Law wanted news channels from seven pm to nine pm when he was having his

dinner. Awen wanted Taiwanese country dramas^{xii} after nine pm when she finished her housework and Mr. Law was taking a bath. In face of this busy schedule, Tony's strategy was first to promote this "modern" drama to his siblings. Clearly, he was both a cultural transmitter and a cultural receiver. In this new role, he also tried to find alternative access to more outlets.

Then, he bought a DVD player with the money from his factory subcontracting work in the summer 2003. Thus, he could more flexibly enjoy the ongoing drama. In order to please Awen for his spending money on such a "luxury", he bought some Hakka video music CD at the same time. Awen was half pleased with his bribe and half upset with his consumerism.

Also, he found a new use of the internet. Recently, many Taiwanese teachers would require their students to collect data from the internet. But, in addition to managing such assignments, Tony also found that he could collect from the internet information about those celebrities and their programs. Hence, the need of internet access for homework turned out to be a legitimate excuse to go out to accumulate his "capital" of popular culture and to increase his sociability. He believed, sooner or later computer and internet access would be an inseparable part of his life. But, both Mr. Law and Awen were not

convinced by his emerging theory. So, he planned to buy a computer with the money from his work in factory in summer 2004. This was his next step in a changing world.

New school was, of course, not a perfect world. As soon as Tony had new friends and started a new life, he met new “enemies”, too. His physical advantage was perceived as a threat to some previously good athletic punks (Ms Ping’s term) in his class because they could no longer dominate the field. They dared not really physically pick on Tony, either. Instead, they made fun of his strange accent, and often boycotted a game with all kinds of excuses if Tony were a part of it. They also japed him in terms of “chimpanzee” which puzzled Tony until he was an eighth grader in Phoenix Middle. A friend told him, his stigma came from his pimples, darker skin, curly hairs, and hairy limbs. From then on, he shaved his hair twice a week with Mr. Law’s razor—another point of parental conflict.

Both Awen and he heard (from her colleagues and his classmates) that Laker High (a six-year high school) was better than Phoenix Middle. Many of his friends were going to Laker High. Tony was additionally interested in its sports program. He tried to make a learning career out of his physical advantage. But, Mr. Law did not accept his (mother’s) proposal. After Tony finished his second elementary education, he became a student at Phoenix Middle where many new issues were waiting for Mr. Law, Awen, and Tony.

None of them had personally experienced middle school education in Taiwan. Some of these issues, such as cramming and competence-based class grouping, had lasted for decades; while some of the other, including the new entrance examination to high school, were just emerging from a recent educational reform. Even Taiwanese parents were unable to cope fully with these new changes. But, all of them were clearly new to Mr. Law, Awen, and Tony—the first of the Laws be a part of a middle school setting.

Fortune's Academic Efforts

Ms Jong was Fortune's homeroom teacher. Aware of a student with whom she cannot communicate, her plan A was to make a student exchange with a Hakka teacher or to make Fortune start from the first grade. But, both were failed trials. Then, she began her plan B.² Second graders had no class in four afternoons of the weekdays. Afternoons

5.2 Hawthorn Effect?

This was perhaps a kind of Hawthorn effect of my study. But, I took it as a positive result, though unexpected. I asked some older NIC who had graduated from or were still studying in Jaguar Elementary about their experiences of entering school. As they reported, there was no special program or treatment to help their accommodation. Some of them, such as Jenny's May and Phoebe (Yun's mother), whose parents

were, therefore, open for individualized counseling. For security concerns, administrators strongly disagreed with such after school counseling. But, since the boys entered Jaguar Elementary, nobody was at home in the afternoon. Mr. and Mrs. Law appreciated this

could afford the expense, would purchase a tutorial service from some after school centers. Otherwise, they had to live on their own, such as Ray or Hau's father (Wen).

However, after the Awens' arrival, many lower graders' teachers would "actively" (not encouraged by school administrators) provide similar personal assistance in such cases. Either teachers or older students would take the lead for the new students in a one-on-one tutorial of learning phonetic symbols, practicing pronunciation, and writing characters. Projects of this kind were encouraging because they were developed by teachers themselves. But sadly, these teachers received little recognition and assistance (theoretical, pedagogical, or material) from the school and the outside. It tended therefore to be a personal favor.

Fortune, in effect, played a leader in one of these counseling projects when he was a fourth grader. He was invited not because of the regularity of his handwriting, his perfect Chinese accent which he had not, or his Bahasa Indonesia that had been almost entirely forgotten. As a teacher theorized, he was a successful living model who overcame language and cultural challenges in the new environment. This would give his partner some positive psychology to face incoming challenges.

arrangement very much. Ms Jong's tutorial fixed many problems at the same time.

Currently, this counseling had currently been employed by many enthusiastic teachers at lower grades for students with special needs regardless of the administrators' objection.

Children from intermarriage families counted as one of the new kinds.

With no problem in "drawing" Chinese characters, Ms Jong focused on Fortune's pronunciation. Fortune was making significant progress. Meanwhile, upon Mr. Law's request, Ms Jong required Fortune to read aloud before his class every other day. In addition to this individualized assistance, her policy of classroom management also encouraged students to organize their study groups with disadvantaged classmates, such as NIC and those who were physically or mentally challenged. Each group of five or six would have one or two "under-achievers" whose performance would be double credited. Probably as part of the effect of such a strategy, Fortune was very welcomed for his easygoing and hardworking efforts. He could more or less tell what was going on, but he still appreciated their assistance. Of course, there were some students with a genuine sense of justice. They actively invited Fortune to join their play after class, and protected his right of accessing playground facilities—though he was actually older and a few months later clearly "bigger".

Generally, Fortune really enjoyed his life in school, especially the first several months and Ms Jong's tutorial. As he told Mr. Jong, he was still a little uncomfortable with this new environment. If there had not been her tutorial, he could go nowhere but stay at home. Throughout the afternoon, he would have nothing to do. Seldom can he sleep well, either. Too often he had bad dreams of getting lost. In sum, he loves school because it means freedom, rather than the boredom and constraint for dropouts. It is usually filled with richer materials and more fun than his home.

As the oldest boy in his class, Fortune had physical advantages, too. He, just like his brothers, was also recruited by the school sports team. But, unlike his brothers, he did not spend much time in the playfield. As his fourth grade homeroom teacher (Ms Hua) reported, Fortune was one of the few boys who would still like to approach their teachers after class. She noticed that when boys come to the third grade, they tended to develop their own social network through ball games—especially dodge ball. But, Fortune used to come to her desk and ask for her counsel about his studies, his families, his concerns of future, his possible careers, even with his beloved in mind. She was convinced that Fortune was looking for a substitute of intimacy that he could not fully enjoy at home.

Math was always Fortune's pain. He could not tell when he should apply division or multiplication until his fifth grade. However, he had become a premature linguist although his Mandarin still had an accent. Many foreigners had difficulties in learning the tones of Mandarin. But, as this amateur linguist theorized, the tone is not difficult just confusing.^{xiii} Mandarin is, in effect, much closer to his mother tongue (Hakka) than Bahasa Indonesia. Every character is literarily a self contained unit. All characters are single syllables. Mandarin is easier. Bahasa Indonesia is much more difficult. It is entirely different from Hakka. He had never learned it until elementary school. He was frustrated because nobody helped him. He shyly admitted that this was why he repeated his first grade in Indonesia, and should have to repeat the second grade again if he had not come to Taiwan. But now, he felt much more confident. He believed he could be a winner in academic competition.

In the next few years, he seemed to be mostly on the right track in spite of some slight deficiencies. In his class, his outspoken optimism more fully developed and revealed as his language proficiency progressed. But, he was still too shy to talk to the girl of his beloved. He was socially active and welcomed. Thus, he was elected as the model student^{xiv} at grade three and a student representative at grade five. However, he

could not understand, nor could he cope with, questions of his migration, such as “why did you come to Taiwan?” “Are you going back to Indonesia?” As an upper grader, more of these questions emerged.

In the school, he took advantage of Hakka and represented the school in the local dialect (Hakka) elocution contest of the county. In addition, he was selected to be one of the emcees in the school commencement. But, he still stammered in front of his mother. Fortunately, his mother gradually recognized his steady progress from the last three to the fifteenth in a class of more than thirty students throughout these years. She, therefore, currently no longer flailed a knife or scissors and threatened to split his lips. But, more investment in his education was still a difficult decision for her.

Awen knew that many Taiwanese parents would send their children to cramming schools in order to be more competitive in future entrance examinations. “Would it be worthwhile?” She had asked and talked to Akin, an associate of the Awen’s future, many times. She still could not make up her mind.

Her attitude of educational investment can also be seen in her chariness of (not) pursuing children’s books. She believed children rarely read a book twice, and it was unnecessary to read it twice. So, spending money on books was for her a waste.

Therefore, Fortune had to find his own way to get reading materials. He unwittingly became one of the best library users of Jaguar Elementary. He was among the very few who visited regularly the school library. Most of his schoolmates either had little interest in reading or had many “new” books at home. Fortune enjoyed those “old” books in the library. With those books, he was one of the few who regularly received a certificate of reading achievement every semester with only very few books at home.

Ali's Career Choice

Ali was quiet, shy, inward, and deep, just like his homeroom teacher—Ms Chi-Chi. Foreign language (English) teaching was her specialty. But, it was clearly useless in knowing better her new foreign student.

Ali entered Jaguar Elementary as a third grader. The schedule of the third grade is much fuller than that of the first and the second grades. The only available free time is Monday afternoon. To apply Ms Jong's model was clearly impossible. In addition, Ms Chi-Chi was newer than Ms Jong in Jaguar Elementary. She knew of less potential assistance in the school. Fortunately, Awen's night school teacher actively introduced two sixth graders for Ali's need of tutorial help. Both had good personalities and had excellent academic performance. Their most distinct and critical quality was that they

spoke Hakka very fluently. Under their guidance, Ali had a chance to practice Mandarin every noon. Unsurprisingly, his progress was clearly slower than his younger brother. However, he had fewer problems to cope with in science and math since he had finished his first three grades in Indonesia. But, a few months later, he gradually seemed to have had more and more difficulties in academics.

Like Tony, Ali was physically more fully well developed than his new classmates, and he also very much enjoyed this advantage. No matter in a game of (relay) racing, tug of war, dodge ball, or basketball, he could always easily attract the other fellow students' attention, and there was not yet a recognizable challenger because, as Ms Ping theorized, third graders were still relatively naïve, less socialized than fifth graders, and would be more open and somewhat more "simple minded/naïve". Thus, he (as a boy?) came to the very grade, when he could build his leadership on his physical advantage appreciated and legitimized by his socially redefined new cohorts. In effect, when Fortune talked about his difficulties in facing questions of his migration, Ali claimed that he never met such a problem—even though he had a much stronger accent than his younger brother.

Like his older brother, the school sport team also recognized his physical advantage. He joined the team from grade four and got a "complete" training which Tony did not.^{xv}

As his coach said, Ali worked very hard and seriously. He was one of the members that made the team favored for winning trophies. With fuller training, Ali had a more compact body than Tony, tall and thin but fit, long legs and arms with muscles, a perfect athlete build for track and field. In short, he looked “professional” as opposed to Tony’s amateur physique.

Ali participated in more countywide contests, and won medals—a ticket to, though not yet an invitation from, a middle school sports program. School year 2005 was his last chance to earn an invitation. But, unfortunately, he screwed up his shoulder in his first try in the high jump contest. He suffered the pain, continued and finished all of the contests and won, in the end, a medal again. But, he was clear in his mind that it was not enough for an invitation without a winning championship. Even worse, Mr. Law finally noticed his athletic life in school.

Mr. Law and Awen believed that well disciplined boys would only focus on their academics. Sports and all the other non-academic activities were only for fun. Therefore, the boys’ extra-curriculum life was minimized. Fortune was once interested in diabolo when he was a third grader. But, his short career as a diabolo performer was called off by Mr. Law in two months. Ali’s joining sports team, therefore, had to be just between him

and his brothers. This was also the reason why he needed more than a ticket. He learned from Tony's failure to transfer to Laker High, and talked to Tony about a strategy for making the transfer. Their conclusion was: Ali needed some outside "experts" to explain the advantage of the program to Awen, and also the process of transferring to Mr. Law. If only he had good performance, his chance would not be hurt by too much attention from the coaches from middle schools—the more the better.

Ali's injury complicated the situation because his parents did not pay his national health insurance. Mr. Law was, in effect, himself a nostrum consumer which resulted in renal failure and almost killed him in early 2006. To repair Ali's shoulder would cost much money without insurance. He therefore had no choice but to stand the pain. His coach found this unbelievable and brought him to the hospital. Then, Mr. Law smelled the ointment and found his injury and learned of his sports activities. Both of his parents forced him to leave the field. His expectation of an athletic career was clearly terminated.

Ali did not make significant progress in academic performance throughout these years. But, both Ms Chi-Chi and his coach affirmed his leadership in the field, well behaviors in the classroom, and diligence in every assigned duty. Such a boy was understandably very serious about Awen's concern for Fortune and his coming.

In front of their mother, these boys never talked back. But, behind Awen (of course, Mr. Law as well), Fortune was frustrated by her complaint, and was confused if he was not making good progress. As he reviewed all of the certificates that he had been awarded, he believed that he could make significant contributions to his family in the future. But, he probably had little idea of how much money was it demanded in order to pursue academic success in Taiwan. His expected success required more financial investment in the future. This had come to Awen's account though talking only to Akin but not to him.³

5.3 The Accommodation to Taiwanese Learning Culture

As an adjunct lecturer in a local teachers' college, I was unable to offer many "substantial" aids to my participants, especially in terms of monetary assistance. In addition to my irregularly scheduled tutorial, free reference books were sometimes my payback to my participants. I received these books from my friends. As school teachers, textbook publishers would give them free samples. But, for Taiwanese parents, these books usually cost substantial amounts of money in order to facilitate their children's learning (see Box 5.2), especially repeated practices. Such an expense was certainly a critical issue for a mother, like Awen, who had serious economic concerns for her children's education.

At the beginning, I would provide reference books to all of the Awen boys. But soon, I found that only Fortune would seriously read these books and do the exercises. Only he would expect these books

Box 5.5 Parents’ “Substantial” Investment in Children’s Learning

In Taiwan, all of the textbooks for compulsory education were published by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation before the coming of 1990s. The liberalization (deregulation) of textbook publication was launched in the name of anti-authoritarianism. Market was supposedly the solution of the monopoly of state ideology. A policy of Multi-edition Teaching Materials (一綱多本)^{xvi} was then on its way. Emerging from a different sociopolitical background, we heard the mimicry of the neo-liberalist buzzwords: choice, market, deregulation, and liberation.

As the marketization policy entered the new century, a reverse trend emerged. The price of the textbooks and their related products, such as reference books^{xvii} and practice papers, had risen to a controversial level. Powered by the effect of entrance examination, multi-edition teaching materials meant the multiplication of the cost of

every semester. In addition, he also looked forward to going to an after school center (cramming school) just as many of his classmates did. He believed that he could make more significant progress and become much more competitive if he could have the same opportunity to learn just like an “average” Taiwanese student. Then, I was sure that, compared with his brothers, he had better adjusted himself to the cultural pattern of academic learning in Taiwan.

textbooks and related products. The public urged the government to rejoin the market to balance the cartel of major publishers. But, such a policy still cannot put the price of reference books and practice papers under control. In effect, ironic as it was, it created a new need for the reference books and practice papers of governmental editions.

As shown on the website of a major publisher,^{xviii} for an eighth grader who wants to buy just the reference books for five subjects for a school year, the price would be more than NT 2,000*2. In addition, there are several editions of practice papers each of which is more than the half price of reference books. Thus, the total would be more than NT 6,000 a year if the student buys *only* one edition of practice papers. If the student were interested in buying related products of other publishers' textbooks (including the governmental version), the cost would be twice or thrice higher—depending on how many versions the student wants. Also see the reports: Jhang, Jin-Hong (張錦弘, February 1, 2007) and Chen, Jhih-Hua (陳智華, August 29, 2006).

Also involved is a more expensive but, as many parents considered, more critical educational expenditure: after school cramming. As shown on the Taiwan Education Panel Survey Newsletter No.51 (TEPS #51, February 24, 2006), 56% of middle school students and more than 60% of high school students participate in after school

cramming. In TEPS #65 (September 8, 2006), the percentage is even frightening. Only 3% of middle students did not participate in any kind of after school cramming. 41% of their parents spend more than NT 4,001 per month in after school cramming, and 23 % of the parents spend NT 3,001-NT 4,000. If the entrance examinations (to both high school and university) are approaching, their expenditure, especially those of the middle school students, is even higher. 62% of the ninth graders' parents have to pay more in order to prepare their children's examination as compared with their expense a year ago (TEPS #66, September 22, 2006).

These reports do not include the expenditure of those whose children are at the elementary level or lower. After school programs of talent and skill, ranging from art, music, and language to the simplest of day care, have been regarded as an "average" service for many families, especially those with double income. The monthly cost of these services has a broad range, but is certainly huge for a family like the Awens. Nini's program costs the Laws more than 4,000 a month which covers only four-hour day care every afternoon on weekdays plus the guidance of homework.

The other evidence of parents' *extra* expense in their children's *extra*-curriculum is the booming of the educational service market.^{xix} Because of low birth rates, public

schools have difficulties in recruiting sufficient students. But, the number of after school businesses is currently more than five times larger than a decade ago. Such a growth strongly suggests the expansion of highly consuming after school services (Ping-chuan Peng, 彭秉權, 2006).

Many reports and critics have foreseen such undesirable effects of commodifying educational service. Students like Fortune would be clearly disadvantaged. However, MOE always replies with accounts of some successful cases that never purchased cramming and reference books. But, MOE never reveals the number of those who have been eliminated from the academic track without purchasing related service. Should Awen and her co-investor, Akin, buy the service for Fortune?

The same question also bothered Ali, but he had a different approach. Behind Awen, he actively sought opportunities for part-time jobs even in the last winter vacation of his elementary career. He remembered that Tony had gone to a factory in the summer of grade six. He believed that Awen would feel more comfortable if she could realize his sincerity in making an economic contribution to the family. In summer 2006 right after he graduated from Jaguar Elementary, with Akin's help, he got his first job in an electronic factory. His physical strength, again, made him a quality packing worker. He

spent a few weeks in the factory until the coaching lessons in Phoenix Middle began.

Tony insisted that a new student must participate. Then, he reluctantly returned to his student status and gave his paycheck (around NT 12,000) to Awen.

Ali was now the closest son to Awen. Just as most of the boys of his age, he was interested in computer games.^{xx} He studied game tricks harder than his schoolwork.

Occasionally, he was still somewhat childish and watched cartoons more than trendy dramas. Meanwhile, he was a grownup who had made economic contributions to his family, and therefore, played basketball with Tony in the communal park rather than at school. Recently, he had begun watching Taiwanese country drama with his mother which was quite unusual for a “boy of his age”. Given his age and his concept of family, “family boy” was perhaps the best term to capture the essence of his life.

ⁱ This term refers to those overseas Chinese who “return” to and study in their cultural motherland, Taiwan.

ⁱⁱ *Hua-ch’iao* is so-called overseas Chinese, also known as *huaren* (華人).

ⁱⁱⁱ Elementary night school is a three-year supplementary adult education program for people older than fifteen without elementary diplomas or equivalent. Clearly, its curriculum is more or less compressed and simplified. A decade ago, senior Taiwanese, mostly females, were still the majority population in such programs. Meanwhile, night school still had its own independent curriculum and textbooks. But, as the new century was coming, “foreign brides” gradually became the dominant student population. Also, the marketization of textbooks resulted in the cancellation of its independent curriculum. Currently, some of these programs implement special programs to meet the need of their majority student population. However, some of the others, including the one in Jaguar Elementary, might simply employ the day school curriculum for children.

^{iv} Here, I borrow Angel Rama’s (1996) conceptualization of “letter” in his study of the urban planning in colonial Latin America where the “letters” constituted both the rule of signs and means and the signs (or means) of ruling. Among many other rules, means, and

signs, specific in the context of this appropriation, I pay special attention to the legal letters and legally lettered modern institutions—such as an elementary school like Jaguar.

^v Compulsory education in Taiwan was not extended from six-year into nine-year until 1968.

^{vi} Mr. Law had a three-year military career. He left the army in 1968.

^{vii} Such a dream of urbanism and modernization can be seen in movies and romances of the day such as *Home Sweet Home* (literally: *My home is at Taipei*, 家在台北, 1970), *Good Morning, Taipei* (早安台北, 1979). Taipei was very often their background setting.

^{viii} In the Taiwanese army, there is a day for political warfare education every week. It is a political socialization of the military personnel for the interest of the authorities.

^{ix} “Under the Banyan” (榕樹下), a Taiwanese popular song, is a classic example of the transnational movement of popular music. The song was originally Sen Masao’s (千昌夫) “Spring of the North” (北国の春), Japanese popular music, composed by Endou Minoru (遠藤實) in 1977. In 1979, Mandarin lyric was added to the melody. In Tony’s collection, its lyric was in Bahasa Indonesia. Melodies from Taiwanese new campus folksongs were another majority in Tony’s collection. This music genre was very popular in Taiwan in the late 1970s. It was a hybrid of Taiwanese modernist poems, local popular music, and American country music.

^x Doraemon is a Japanese manga series co-authored by Fujimoto Hiroshi (藤本弘, Fujiko F. Fujio) and Abiko Motoo (安孫子素雄, Fujiko Fujio (A)) in the name of Fujiko Fujio (藤子不二雄).

^{xi} Trendy drama (偶像劇) is a drama genre originally from Japan in the 1990s. Its stories are dominantly young people’s romance and friendship and always backgrounded in a modern urban setting. All major characters are young stars.

^{xii} Country drama (鄉土劇) is a special genre of soap opera in Taiwan. The name of “country” originally refers to its representing the ordinary rural people’s everyday life. The mix of dialects—usually Fukianese and Mandarin—is one of its characteristics. But, as the progress of urbanization and industrialization in Taiwan, the “rural” is barely the necessary component of this particular drama. The mix of language is now the most critical element of this genre.

^{xiii} Mandarin has four tones, but Hakka has seven tones.

^{xiv} In Jaguar Elementary and many other elementary schools in Taiwan, every class would have an election of the best student every school year. Candidates were ideally nominated by classmates. The winner of the election would be publicly awarded.

^{xv} Tony joined the team at grade six much later than Ali.

^{xvi} Based on the old curriculum policy, the government followed a standard curriculum and published one nationwide edition of teaching material (textbooks) for all schools. In the new policy of Multi-edition Teaching Material, the government only lays down a curriculum outline for all publishers (ideally including teachers) who are interested in providing teaching material to meet different students’ needs.

^{xvii} In the context of elementary and secondary education in Taiwan, reference books refer to a specific type of practice books. Their major contents and purposes are summary of

critical points and issues (hot spots of examination) of the textbooks or curriculum and exercises for repeated practices.

^{xviii} See http://www.hle.com.tw/service/datas/95_02.files/95_02_j_01.htm

^{xix} See <http://ap4.kh.edu.tw/afterschool/>

^{xx} Tony finally bought a desktop after summer 2004—with his own salary.

INTERLUDE

Issues of Language

From the Power of Money to the Power of the Letter

In order to walk across the national border, Mr. Law's document counterfeiting was impressive. This should be probably accredited his consultant. His purchase power overwhelmed a supposedly solid lettered system of a foreign government. This, in return, authenticated his recognition of his own "advance" and national identity. Ironically, his monetary power cannot so easily triumph over the power of letters in his more developed home country. Such powerlessness of both legal literacy and money unwittingly exposed how he has been "disadvantaged"—his poverty—in a country that makes him proud.

With limited legal literacy, people of his kind were desperately in need of related legal service. However, with limited fortune, hardly any certificated lawyer would be interested in serving these customers. Exposed in front of the letters were their anxiety, frustration, vulnerability, and helplessness. They therefore had no choice but to purchase related services from unqualified nonprofessionals.

As many studies indicated, most of the service providers were themselves originally “in-between”, including petit Taiwanese investors or *hua-ch’iao*—like Mr. Chang. Their “experiences” were supposedly accountable; but, in effect, not always reliable.

Consequently, these unreliable consultants sometimes put their legally illiterate clients into a difficult condition they had no voice with which to cope.

Mr. Law’s inability to pass through the “doorway/threshold” of Jaguar Elementary was an exemplar. This also offered a chance to discern more fully his theory of literacy and power, his self-recognition, and then, his tactical response to authority. In terms of “doorway/threshold”, he had identified himself as a person outside the “doorway” with insufficient “insiders’ knowledge” to over the “threshold”. The letters, as he correctly conceptualized, are both a qualitative challenge to his identity and a measurable quantity of his capability. Both resist to be directly reduced to an issue of money. Instead, he had to bend his body in order to be recognized by the lettered institutes. His boys perhaps, therefore, began to recognize his weakness. See Tony’s suggestion to Ali about how to realize his interest in transferring into a sports program.

Among all of the Laws, Fortune was perhaps the only Law who tried, consciously or unconsciously, to engage directly the Laws’ insufficient literacy. However, as the cost of

his attempt to pursue academic excellence suggested, through a complicated reproduction mechanism, money is still at issue. Bourdieu (1977) had well theorized such a social reproduction mechanism. In the context of Taiwan, Peng (2006) had specifically focused on the function of after school programs in such a social reproduction process. Here, the mother's decision of investing in the boy's education or not became critical to how far the boy's—and the family—could go in pursuing the power of the letters.

The Culture of Letters in the Cold War Era and its Postcoloniality

In order to maintain themselves, all societies, be they traditional or modern, have some sort of reproduction mechanism. Angel Rama's (1996) study of the lettered city in Latin America did not directly engage the emergence of such a mechanism, typically school education, and its complicated development. Yet, his theory, as well as many other theorists' works (Willinsky, 1998; Anderson, 1991; et al.), did imply a positive correlation between the proliferation of the letters/signs and the growing complication of such a mechanism in many movements of national independence, projects of state building, and colonial histories of modernization. Such a correlation has been a very paradigmatic postcolonial syndrom.

As a subject who has survived through the shift of historicity, Mr. Law was clearly deeply affected by his experiences in the era of (post-) colonialism and the Cold War. His experiences of the proliferating power of letters in many ways—including his desire and practice to pursue, his confirmation with, and his surrender to this power are similar to the rural laymen in colonial Latin America. The way he learned the power of letters may be atypical—copying the political textbooks in the army. But, it unwittingly revealed how a modern repressive state apparatus of the Cold War was at work everyday: When it was not repressing its people, it disciplined, politicized, and “educated” them, both physically and ideologically speaking.

More critically, its effects tended to last for decades after the soldier has left the army. Mr. Law was, thus, “civilized”—a modernized “specialist” of driving a car and a “lettered” person—in an eccentric sense. Both his ideas and (pedagogical) practices of literacy were aestheticized—writing characters with regularity. He was, then, oddly but not quite incorporated into a letterizing Taiwan at the climax of the Cold War—at the same time when both the colonial modernization and the dependent development in Taiwan continued. He clearly acknowledged the importance of letters; but he was still an outsider in spite of his effort to pursue. About four decades later, because of his late

marriage which should be another effect of modernization, he was now carrying and transmitting his postcolonial and the Cold War experiences to new Taiwanese.

In addition to the father's insistence in conveying his "historical legacy", there were other types of (historical) challenges to these not so exotic NIC—namely, cultural assimilation. Losing their mother tongue is a typical issue that would concern many progressive educators, especially when the boys' recent conversation was mostly in Mandarin. However, this is, in effect, an ironic part of postcolonial Taiwan: Almost all Taiwanese were losing or had lost their mother tongues since the imposition of the Mandarin-Only policy more than a half century ago. Therefore, the loss of mother tongue, if it simply counts as a loss, was in reality not a particular challenge specific to Awen's boys. It has been a challenge to all Taiwanese. What was really remarkable was Nini's changing her everyday language. She started to speak in Hakka a few months after Ali and Fortune's arrival. This is more than reviving a dying dialect by pedagogical and political imposition because Hakka in this family was alive.

Indeed, as a major postcolonial educational policy in Taiwan, the implementation of dialect curriculum was to revive the use of mother tongues. But, all of the dialects are too far away from the current everyday life. Some have originally no written form at all. The

others have either lost their traditional written form, or have no modernized written form to cope with the details of a “modern” life. This belated dialect curriculum, therefore, became nostalgic.

Compared with Mandarin in Taiwan before the end of the Cold War era, the boys’ Indonesian postcoloniality made them maintain their Chineseness with their dialects. Therefore, Taiwanese losing their own mother tongue ironically further made the Awen boys more “native” than their new country fellows. Then, the government’s effort to revive the “nativeness” surprisingly opened a special doorway for Fortune to demonstrate his linguistic ability—a niche based on the intersection of two postcolonialities.

In sum, the struggles in their changing lives were more than how to survive “passively” those which has been presumably “passed away”, such as their father’s educational philosophy, and the other disadvantaged situations. These disadvantages had, of course, circumscribed these boys’ possibility. But, they were also creating their advantages by piecing together with all the possibility out of these negative conditions.

Situationally (Re-) Defined (Dis-) Advantages:

The boys were “victims” of a sort of their father’s militarized discipline. They were also suffocated by their mother’s economic insecurity, and were clearly disadvantaged by

the lack of institutional assistance. At first glance, these are nothing but obstructions to the boys' learning. But, given the lack of special programs for these NIC, other factors emerge. Tony and Ali had to restart their education with much younger classmates. Thus, their bodies became an institutionally given advantage. Then, by interacting with their age and their initial grade levels, this advantage had further effects on their educational opportunities. However, from their failure to enter a sports program, it was clear that there were also issues of letters on their way.

Fortune was also recruited by the sports team. But, he was not interested in the same tactic. He was more interested in an academic track where he also found an institutionally authorized advantage for himself. Although many reports and studies had argued that language was one of the major challenges to NIC, as previous analysis has shown, this young post-colonial “in-between” subject—neither purely Indonesian nor entirely Chinese Hakka—finding/making his advantage in the dialect curriculum. He successfully appropriated this advantage to enhance his academic standing. This is but one intersection of two postcolonialities in a diasporic space where a postcolonial Indonesian/Chinese subject met a post-colonial Taiwanese educational policy.

Equally critical in language learning was how these boys articulate their “this or that side” with the new languages to be learned, such as Tony’s seeking the similar elements between English and Bahasa Indonesia and Fortune’s finding the affinity between Hakka and Mandarin. They were everyday linguists. They had theories of their surviving tactics in learning new languages. First of all, unlike their new government which insisted the authenticity in mother tongues of different ethnic groups, in order to facilitate their learning, they were more interested in finding the “similarity/connection” between the new language and the languages they had already had. Based on their findings, they were, in effect, not so-called “losing” their mother tongue. Rather, they built their language learning on, and extended from, their “in-between” experience. With such a practical theory in mind, they were probably more capable of communicating with a stranger with very limited knowledge of his/her language than their foreign language teacher would be.

Clearly, they were making advantages out of their situations. But, similarly, they had to meet a variety of challenges as the situations changed. The boys all restarted their education from lower grades. They may or may not, therefore, earn better language skills. But, it was clear that the degree of hostility they faced seemed to be an equally critical factor to their language proficiency in the long run. This, in effect, opens an important

question, but yet to be explored, of the development of ethnic awareness in average

Taiwanese children: When and how does their awareness of ethnic others emerge; where

does their ethnic awareness come from; and why was it skewed?

The Effect of the Father's Pedagogy

Mr. Law was not a typical father of NIC who does nothing as reported. But, from many aspects, he may not be qualified as an “eligible” father, either. As a “typical” step-father, he treats his own child (Nini) more patiently, and is authoritative with the boys. In addition, he is patriarchal, thus, is more concerned with the boys’ education than the girls’. He is also an old-timer who valued some rather passé behaviors and skills.

Moreover, his violence with the Awens provoked much discontent. It finally broke up the Awens and incurred physical resistance. In sum, his attitude with the Awens could well be seen more like a corporal might view his foot soldiers.ⁱ

In spite of all of his questionable parenting, some of his pedagogical, or probably disciplinary, strategies created unexpected, but positive, effects on the boys and Nini’s learning. His demand for exemplary handwriting was overwhelming, but, it helped Fortune earn a calligraphy award. Many teachers were surprised by a foreign boy’s artful Chinese characters.

Mr. Law's idea of leadership was very unique, too. Based on his odd ideas, he had no interest in a more interactive pattern of parent-child reading currently under promotion (Chuan-Hui Syong 熊傳慧, 2006; Sin-Yi Liang 梁欣怡, 2005; Ruo-Lan Jhu 朱若蘭, 2006b; Yong-Ming Lu 魯永明, 2006; Yen-tsung Lin 林燕宗, 2004; Wen-Zou Hung and Shin-Hui Wu, 2006). Rather, his reading pedagogy was based on a more hierarchical undergirding. Boys and Nini must recite their textbooks before him every other evening—this was the way his commander spoke. Also regarding his ideas about the details of performing a salutation, such as the degree of a bow, many teachers perceived his militarized pedagogy as patriarchal, traditional, and authoritarian. But, his pedagogy still implicitly assisted in Fortune's school performances, such as the boy's receiving certificates of various recites and being an emcee at commencement.

Becoming Taiwanese

Unlike the often commonsense of the fathers in intermarriages, as the master of the family, Mr. Law had clear influences, however questionable, on the children's education. His pedagogy successfully transmitted some of the traditional skills and values from the past, such as the art of calligraphy, together with his reminiscences of an authoritarian order which, to some extent, represents one of the facets of Taiwaneseess.

However, it is clear that the Awens did not fully follow his “command”. There were a variety of Taiwaneseesses. These boys were exploring their own Taiwaneseess. It was clear that digital literacy and the urban popular subculture had attracted Tony’s attention. Ali showed more interest in the rural side of Taiwan. Fortune was more motivated by the power of letters. These Awens were becoming different Taiwanese in their own ways.

The most externally visible becoming was largely a matter of typical multicultural issues, such as their religious behavior, their language practice, their taste of foods, and so on. Issues of a kind usually assume a (set of) standardized “Taiwaneseess”. Their experiences of language learning had shaken the stability of such Taiwaneseess.

A more sophisticated becoming is relatively internal as opposed to the visible standardized performative characteristics. This “Taiwaneseess” at issue is not a constant. Rather, it is multiple and ever-changing. It is a product conditioned by and the interaction among personal experiences, the history, the institutions, etc. They may often be seen as being very different depending on the subject’s situational reactions and available resources—tactics. It can be seen in the Awen boys’ career expectations and their tactics

to pursue desirable goals. Many of these ideas and behaviors are future oriented, and will be more fully examined in the next chapter.

A no less complicated becoming can be seen in their participation in and their consumption of popular culture. There, this “Taiwaneseness” is spatially further deconstructed. It may be a genre of drama that is very native in terms of its background and language. But, it may also be represented by a music created in Japan, then, translated or reworked in Taiwan, and consumed in yet some other place. Such Taiwaneseness is, in effect, spatially indefinable. The critical questions become what kind of Taiwanese do they want to be, and can they develop in this changing milieu?

The next chapter will provide a more spatial examination of the Awans’ becomings in their everyday life and economic activities since some of the barriers to the boys’ study in Taiwan were removed. When such a diasporic space of a family met the globally developing capitalism, how were individual subjects’ spaces expanded along the age and gender axes under the father’s militarized discipline? What are their expectations of their future?

ⁱ See the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE AWEN FAMILY (II): (RE-) PRODUCTION AND STRUGGLES OF SPACE

This chapter examines the Awans' becomings in their everyday life and economic activities after the boys began their studies in Taiwan. It explores how they adjust to what is identified as capitalist globalization. Also involved are individual subjects' struggles of spatial expansion under the father's militarized discipline. As suggested in Chapter Three, their reactions to family violence are, in effect, sociologically meaningful.

Before he married, Mr. Law had to feed only himself and his mother.ⁱ In early 2003, the number of mouths had rocketed to nine. Meanwhile, remittance to Awen's parents was expected. Economy was clearly a challenge to Mr. Law. His professional driving career continued. But, it was no longer an easy way to make big money. In face of the decrease of clients and income, he felt it uneconomical to be part of a radio network in a

taxi company. He, therefore, signed off the radio service and became an independent professional driver in order to save the monthly membership dues in early 2003.ⁱⁱ

Nursery service was too expensive. When Nini was little, Awen had no choice but to work at home for subcontracting. Most of her work was sticking tiny metal pieces into various plastic beds of connector for pc or cellar phone parts. Every item may take her 10 seconds and could make, on average, NT 5 cents—depending on the complexity of the item. Expected income would commonly be NT 800-1,000 (around US\$ 30) a week.

Exploring Taiwan

A scooter was Awen's everyday transport. She had failed in the license test so many times. As she concluded, her night school elementary diploma was useless as opposed to the Life Adaptation Class for Foreign Spouses. The latter provided intensive classes focused on the license test. If students were not ready to pass the test after their formal learning; they could still "help each other" in the test. Altogether, without a legal license, she seldom rode her scooter to places farther than her workplace. On the one hand, she felt uneasy when seeing police on the road. On the other hand, she heard of many foreign brides' traffic accidents. They may not be at fault on the road, but they were always at fault because of their foreignness which could be easily identified by their accent. They

usually have no choice but speaking Mandarin if such an accident unfortunately occurs because their mother tongue (Hakka) is now not well accepted in public spaces and in negotiating or communicating with strangers.

When Tony, Akin, and Ahui had just arrived in Taiwan, Mr. Law bought lady bikes for the girls as transports to their work. Less than three years later, both girls bought motorcycles as did many young Taiwanese female factory workers of their age. But, at first, just like their mother, they “rode with their ID cards”—more exactly their resident certificates. That is, they had no driver licenses, either.

Tony got a cool mountain bike. He was excited with it. He remembered his old bicycle from his grandfather in Singkawang and how he was hurt in an accident when its brake line failed on a downgrade. It was just too old with all kinds of problems, such as punctures on the inner tire and chain stretch. He had to fix most of them by himself. Therefore, he believed he could be a good mechanic. However, with his limited knowledge of the community and limited spatial autonomy, his bike seldom took him to any really exciting place but only to grocery stores and supermarkets. In sum, bicycles were the young Awens’ transportation vehicles.

The Awens were busy at work during the weekdays. Weekends were the finest time for Mr. Law's business because the soldiers in the barracks were mostly on vacation. Thus, the Awens had hardly any opportunity to do family travel. Shopping at Carrefour near the county government (in the neighbor township) had been their favorite weekend activity, especially for the children. Now and then, they may take a bus to downtown Laker City, where they could have a lunch before they took the train to the neighborhood of the county government. Or, they might take a bus directly to the county government in the late morning. Then, they could have a lunch and spend their afternoon at the shopping center.

The shopping center had a bookstore (Fortune's favorite), a dining mall which had a variety of local morsels and a McDonalds with an indoor playground (Nini's favorite). It also had a department of foreign (specifically Southeast Asian) cuisines where Tony can buy spicier Indonesian instant noodles. Whenever he visited the center, he would buy at least a trunk of it for his night snake and teatime.

Ahui was the explorer of the family. She explored related routes. As she stated, she, not her mom, was the first Awen who knew how to enjoy the affluence of this new home. She learned how to take a train to Taoyuan, Chungli, and Taipei for fun and window

shopping. Awen admitted that she was so scared when she took a train without Ahui.

Awen always had trouble in telling which direction she should go, southbound or northbound? She was afraid of taking a wrong train and getting lost. Ahui, therefore, teased her mom, “trains run on the track. Follow the track, you will be home.”

(September 23, 2003). She seemed to be the only Awen who had, then, the knowledge, the autonomy, and the ease of travel. No doubt, her outward personality was a factor.

With limited knowledge of public transportation and the geography of Taiwan, Awen’s sightseeing experiences in Taiwan were constrained. Most of her travels were participating in tourist groups held by her company as part of employees’ welfare. But, for the reason of the Law’s lineage, Mr. Law had brought Tony (the oldest male Law in the future) to visit the grave of his father in southern Taiwan and the site of his family’s origin in Miaoli. Hakkanese Militia Shrine (義民廟, also Yimin Temple)ⁱⁱⁱ was one of the few religious places, ethnic and political cultural center as well, that the family would visit together. It is about five kilometers away from their home. The temple is now also an important tourist site. The family would sometimes hang out in its garden for an afternoon.

Ali and Fortune had entered school less than two months after they came to Taiwan. During that time, they were busy preparing their language for school. Consequently, they had no time to explore this new country. Nevertheless, their parents, Awen especially, still had serious concerns about the cost of their coming. She, therefore, hesitated about their participation in school field trips. Tony, however, did not want to see his brothers' letdown. He, then, used his savings from his subcontracting work to support his brothers. He continued such support with his limited savings for about a year or so. For these two boys, with limited travel experiences, Taiwan was still mostly images from their textbook for a few years after the Awen's reunion. Social studies which now stressed the history and the geography of Taiwan were always the most difficult subject for the young Awens. In face of this subject, they were not yet "native".

Weekday Routine

When Nini was at the age for the lower class in a kindergarten (four) and her older siblings had just arrived, both the work force and the economic demands increased. Nini, the beloved of the family, went to kindergarten one kilometer from home every weekday from eight am to four pm. A mother at the Awen's neighborhood would drive Nini home every afternoon. Therefore, Awen was able to join fully the formal labor market. When

the boys' educational problem was solved, the Awen's future looked even more prospective. The schools would take care of the boys and Nini throughout the daytime and their lunch. All older female Awens were more fully released from their housework, and could focus more on their work. The family's routine had come to a new schedule.

Every Morning, Ahui usually rose at a little before five, then rode her bike directly to her breakfast room for work and had her breakfast there. Awen was out of bed at about the same time. She first prepared the breakfast for the other family members and cooked the rice for the dinner in advance. Then, she would wake up the boys at six thirty for school and Mr. Law and Nini at seven. As she said, space in the house was limited. She had to wake them up earlier so that everybody would have enough time to use the only bathroom. But, the boys commonly tended to sleep late. She, therefore, was always angry and yelled almost every early morning which became part of the routine between six thirty to seven thirty. Akin was usually the last one up because her work was closest and began later. To meet Mr. Law's appetite, breakfast was usually steam rice with some typical simple Hakka dishes, such as fried eggs with dried radish. But, boys, especially Tony, preferred a more variable menu—such as sandwiches with milk-tea.

Awen's (Re-) Production

Awen had hardly been employed full-time except for two months in the summer 2005. She did not stay long because: a) the job was physically too demanding; b) workers were poorly protected in an environment filled with harmful chemicals; and c) she wanted her money as disposable as possible, but too much of it was given to pension, labor insurance, and the other welfare items from the corporation. In short, an hourly-paid daily contract worker could characterize her employment. She would have no work and income when her employer had no contract in hand. But, if there were a contract, it was always very pushing. Overtime was common and mandatory. That is, her mode of employment was very “flexible”—in terms of her boss’ schedule.

The pay was clearly much better than her subcontracting homework. She could basically earn NT 1,000 per day (about 120/hr for a normal eight-hour shift, 30% higher for overtime) and a free meal (or two for overtime) depending on the load of her work. Working 18-22 days a month was normal. But, in a busy season, 28 workdays a month (and overtime in many of them) was not uncommon, then she can make more than NT 30,000/mo. However, she also had records of working 8 or 10 days in a month. In other words, her income was quite “flexible”. She disliked such flexibility, but she was clear

that given her ethnic and educational background, she had to live with it. She just wished to have a more humane foreman or boss. She described the worst one that she had ever met:

One of my coworkers felt sick last Saturday. She asked for a rest on the weekend. But, my boss said: “You shall never come back if you dare to take a break.” So, she stayed. But she was still unable to come for the overtime on Sunday, and she did not show up Monday, either. We thought she was fired. But, yesterday afternoon, we heard that she was, in fact, hospitalized on Sunday, and was dead within 24 hours. We were all stunned and very upset. We all knew she was overworked. But, what an animal is my boss! Today, he said, “only joblessness and poverty kill men, but overwork never.” He said, “She died because she had no money to pay medical expenses. It’s her poverty that killed her, not my work. Don’t excuse our overtime for her death. In reality, if she had worked harder, she should have had the money to save herself.” Damn it! He is really an animal. I will quit this place as soon as I find a new job. However much it pays, I will go. (May 22, 2003)

Awen had worked in various industries in these years, such as factories of making coverlets for dolls, computer assembling, and wheel ring cladding. Most of her coworkers were middle age “foreign spouses” like her, old Taiwanese women (obasans), or night school girls of her girls’ age. But, whatever industry she worked for, her opportunities gradually demanded more labor and less skill. Before the degeneration of her eyesight, she was an assembly worker in electronic factories. More recently, she was a packager of end products. Now, her dexterity and strength were also losing to her age. She knew she

would have to retire, sooner or later. But, Nini was still so young. In order to maintain a longer career, she was currently pushing herself less for better pay.

Box 6.1 Industry Relocation

As Hsiao-Chuan Hsia (2000) and many other scholars, such as Hong-Zen Wang (2001), have marked, the emerging of intermarriage in Taiwan partly resulted from Taiwanese overseas investment. In the 1980s and the 1990s, many so-called “conventional” industries, such as bicycle industry (Shang-Ho Lien 連上賀, 1997; Kin-An Wang 王金安, 2002; Daniel Xie 謝其達, 2000) and footwear industry (Tsung-Chieh Chang 張聰傑, 1996; Lu-Lin Cheng 鄭陸霖, 1999; Yin-Bing Wei 魏吟冰, 1993) in Taiwan were relocating their production bases to Southeast Asia and China. Awen was herself once a worker in one of such factories in Indonesia before she married Mr. Law. Somehow, her marriage, and later her family reunion, was a result of such a powerful capital flow—they followed the works. As the Awens concurred, their income was better at their new home in spite of some unsatisfactory issues.

Awen was clearly dissatisfied with both the danger and the instability of her employment, her boss’ demanding, and the deskilling of her work. However, she did not recognize that these factors also resulted from the same structural change that

brought her to Taiwan. More critically, such a capital outflow, the trend of industry moving abroad, would not be reversed in a near future.

Only about a decade ago, when she had just arrived, Taiwan produced almost 80% of notebooks for the whole world, and was the biggest OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer) producer in the world. However, when she persuaded herself to take an easier job, the last notebook assembly line in Taiwan was closed in September 2005. Now, most of the notebooks in the world were still *made by* Taiwan- (ese companies). But, all of them were *made in* China and most of them with a brand *based in* the United States. The irony of the capitalist world is that: for subcontracting workers like her, overwork was still not enough.

Older Girls' (Re-) Production

When the two older girls arrived, jobs had been waiting for them. However, given their residential status, they legally had no right to work. Their employers would be fined if prosecuted. Therefore, both of their bosses represented such a risk to their wages.^{iv}

Akin has a lighter skin, compared to her siblings. She looked shy in public and did not speak much. Her first job was an assistant in a cafeteria two hundred meters from home. As a newcomer, cleaning was her major responsibility. In addition to salary, her

boss provided two free meals (lunch and dinner). Her beginning monthly income NT 12,000 was then raised to NT 14,000—the highest among all of the young Awens—for her longest working hours. She worked between nine am and six pm from Monday to Friday—thirty minutes before her night school. In between, would be a two-hour break in the afternoon. She had sufficient time to take a nap at home. Her coworkers were all Hakka “obasans”. They, of course, speak Hakka. But, their age difference and her inward personality made her very quiet in the cafeteria until she fell in love with the boss’ brother. He was the only young man in the cafeteria about nine years older than she. He was a Minnanese, and could speak only a little Hakka. He used to drive her for sight seeing after work. Sometimes, Awen’s boys would follow before they entered Jaguar Elementary. If not dating with her boyfriend, she seldom went out. Her daily route could approximately represent an equilateral triangle of “home-cafeteria-school”. Each side was two hundred meters or so.

Ahui’s skin is darker. She was very outward compared to the other Awens. Her first job was an assistant in a breakfast room about six hundred meters from home. She could have a free breakfast and some sandwiches for lunch if she liked. Her salary was lower than that of her sister (a little more than NT 10,000) for shorter working hours (between

five am and eleven am on weekdays). She had only one regular coworker, a “foreign bride” a little older than she. Her bosses were Mainlanders. They usually spoke Mandarin, but sometimes Hakka or Bahasa Indonesia between the employees. Cleaning was also Ahui’s primary responsibility. Aware of her diligence, her boss soon put her in charge of a sandwich toaster when business was busy. She received a little raise for this promotion (around NT 12,000).

After eleven, Ahui would go home for housework. After she finished her family and school assignments and before Nini’s return at four, she would sometimes visit some Indonesian guest workers who rented an apartment across the street. In addition to chatting on weekdays, she would sometimes hang out with these “ex-” compatriots on weekends. If she did not visit the neighbors, she would help Tony’s subcontracting. After the boys entered school, she found a new part-time in an ironworks. She enjoyed her new life and new social relations at her new home.

On average, the female Awens could additionally make more than NT 40,000 (about US\$ 1,300) for the family. Mr. Law kept the girls’ account books. This additional income was certainly helpful to meet the family economy and the cost of bringing the younger two to Taiwan. Thus, in general, the Awen’s economy should be adequate although Mr.

Law's driving did not make as much money as before. In effect, he was very optimistic as he examined the girl's accounts. A big plan was emerging.

Mr. Law believed that girls would learn some useful skills as interns in the dining businesses. They could someday have their own small breakfast room or cafeteria. He said,

People have to eat no matter how bad the economy might be. So, dining is a business that never dies. This is would be the best investment of my life. (September 9, 2003)

Therefore, with the need of more living space and long-term investment, in mid 2003, Mr. Law was preparing to buy a new house with a storefront along the street where Akin (or Ahui) could manage their own business. But, as Akin commented in private when she was at the center of a family: "This is not that simple as he thinks. Who's coming to eat?" (September 9, 2003).

Specifically on the prospect of girls' vocation, for different rationales^v, both Akin and Ahui had left the dining business after summer 2003. Before that, they had learned the workers' life in an electronic factory from their mother and their classmates in the night school. They appreciated its air-conditioned environment—especially compared with the heat in the kitchens of the dining businesses. Later, just like Awen, both of them became hourly-paid daily contract workers. But unlike their mother who was then

stepping out of this industry, their employment was more stable because the electronic industry was the booming mainstream in Taiwan. It usually had more orders than average. They were young. They could handle the demand of overtime. Accordingly, they earned a much higher income than before. Also, in order to make minute components, their work required many small muscle activities which made it seemed more technical and skillful than floor cleaning and garbage dumping.

More importantly, they now worked with many coworkers of their age who would show them a different Taiwan. They were able to develop their own social network. Finally, but probably most critically, they had opened new accounts from income from their new jobs. In other words, they now had more economic autonomy.

In short, as opposed to their old jobs which were hot, underpaid, unskilled, greasy, disgusting and odorous (kitchen waste), they liked their new jobs.

A Typical Evening of the Awen Family

Whatever I can make at home, I won't buy it from the outside. I'll save the money. (Awen May 22, 2003)

Ahui had a new part-time job in an ironworks since the boys had restarted their education. Except for Akin who may go home for a nap in the afternoon, the house was mostly empty until four pm when the boys came from school. Followed later, were Ahui

and Nini. These young Awens had many cleaning chores before Awen's return. Based on a rule of division of house labor, every Awen had some share of the housework except Nini. All of the young Awens had their part in their family's reproduction.

Ahui was, by and large, the little mom of the youngest three. She would help, or more precisely command, Nini to take a shower and finish her assignment. The following two hours (before Mr. Law's return) would be the most critical time in a day for the little princess. In addition to homework—both Mr. Law and school's assignments, the Awen boys' responsibilities to the family included sweeping the floor, cleaning up their personal things (such as utensils and clothing), and taking showers. Awen had a washer, but she did not trust the machine. In addition, the machine, she felt, consumes more water and detergent than hand. Therefore, she insisted that boys should wash their clothes, especially their sox, by hand. Tony thought this unbelievable and often refused to cooperate.

Also there were their family activities to boost the informal economy: planting—watering their small vegetable garden. The gardening space was, in effect, an empty housing space. It was not theirs. In a newly developed urban planning area, especially at a time of stagnation, there were many such empty spaces in their community. Many local

Hakka seniors, who used to be farmers before the industrial zone was extended, did the same as the Awens. But, local younger generations were no longer interested in such non-market production activities. Interestingly, the participation of new immigrant families, such as the Awens, was enlarging although most of them around this industrial zone were not original farm owners and had no ownership of their gardens. They simply took advantage of the owners or the public (green lands).

Awen thought just a small square of it could save her money for vegetables. In addition, family planting used no pesticide and chemical fertilizer. Then, the green food on her table would be healthier and cleaner than buying from the evening market or supermarkets. In her garden, she had green onions, (Ching Chiang) pai-tsai, and sweet potatoes (they took not only the tuberous roots but also its leaves). Normally, it was not really economic given the time they spent. But, the garden really helped in the typhoon season when the price of green onions sometimes raised to more than NT 600/kg.

However, this was also the finest time for child programs on TV. Therefore, their TV was always on, and the boys were usually distracted. Quite often, something would dissatisfy Awen. Then again, the house would be full of her yelling.

If there were no overtime, Awen usually went to the evening market for those items which she could not make at home before she rode home at around six. Awen had no time for a break. As soon as she arrived home, she had to collect quickly some vegetables from her small garden, and start preparing dinner.

Both girls had to go to night school. They, therefore, usually had no time for dinner at home. Akin usually had a boxed meal from her workplace. Ahui either prepared her dinner by herself before Awen's return, or bought it from the outside. Ajun was the most famous Indonesian cafeteria in this community. Coconut Yōkan (羊羹)^{vi} and dry egg noodles with roast pork (叉燒) and fish sauce were Akin's favorites. She said, "They were authentic Indonesian." As she explained, Chinese in Indonesia eat pork because most of them are not Muslims.

Fast is their [Muslims'] business. We have our own life. We eat pork no matter how they think even during the Ramadan. Just be careful. Don't let them know, don't do it publicly, especially don't do it in school. (September 23, 2003)

If Awen had to work overtime, Ahui would make the dinner for her siblings.

The spatial division of taking their dinner was interesting. Boys usually had their dinner at their seats (at the old home) or at the dinner table in the dining room (at the new home). But quite often, they had their dinner right after they had finished their showers.

So, they seldom took the meal altogether. Nini and Mr. Law had their dinner before the TV in the living room which almost seemed like one of their dishes. Awen sometimes saved the dinner as she usually claimed: “I can’t eat anymore and don’t want to eat because I was enraged and had been full of rages.”

Nini was a regular visitor at the Tuesday night market. She usually went there with Awen, Ahui, or Mr. Law. Toys and sweets were her favorites. When the boys had just arrived, they were also interested in strolling along the market. But, they gradually felt bored because they had very limited purchasing power. Thus, they currently seldom went there.

Early evening was Mr. Law’s TV time on most weekdays. He watched news more from “green” channels than “blue” ones.^{vii} However, regarding the flag on his car in election seasons, he was probably not an authentic green supporter. A traditional Chinese social principle—“differential mode of association” (Xiaotong Fei, 1992[1947])—was perhaps more profound. That is, one’s blood ties (rules of consanguinity), and their extension—especially territorial ties (rules of regionalism)—as well, are more critical relationships (guanxi, 關係) than whether there was a nationalist ideology commonly held by him/her and a stranger. For instance, candidates from the Law’s clan, or a Hakka

from his neighborhood, community, and village, would be more decisive than political ideology in winning Mr. Law's vote. But, none of the Awens had ever shown any of their political interest.

At the same time, the boys continued with their homework assigned by both their teachers and Mr. Law. Therefore, most of their evening activities were at their desks. As soon as they finished their homework, they could have a short break for soap operas. Every three or four days, Mr. Law would ask Nini and her brothers to recite lessons from their Chinese textbook. He concentrated on their volume and clarity because that is the way "somebody" should talk. After the practice, he would review and sign their homebooks. When waiting for his signature, children had to lineup and keep quiet. After he finished the review and signed, children had to make a deep bow and say "Thank you, father" before they left.

The final part of the Awen's daily routine was religious and adopted by boys only. No girls, not even Nini, had a right to participate. Before boys went to bed, they were required to burn joss sticks and to pray in front of the family shrine. There were a picture of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (觀世音菩薩)^{viii}, a small wooden statue of Daoji (道濟法師)^{ix}, and a memorial tablet of the Laws' ancestry. As the boys reported, they felt no

discomfort because they did similar things in Indonesia, but instead of Daoji, it was the god of land (伯公)^x.

Night school was usually over at eight thirty, or at most, ten minutes later. The older girls would usually return no later than nine. After they enjoyed some TV program, it was about “time to bed” for all.

Nini slept with her parents. Boys’ room had only one king size mattress. But, it was not enough for three boys rolling in sleep. Fortune would, therefore, sleep on the floor. The older girls shared a room with a king size mattress. It was spatial enough. However, the girls had very different work schedules. Akin used to do some personal business in the deep night for she started her daily work almost four hours later than her sister. But, Ahui had to sleep earlier in order to get up in the early morning. A conflict between the girls was, therefore, in need of negotiation.

The need of wider living space was apparently growing. Mr. Law’s big plan looked to be a solution just in time. However, this investment was not welcomed by the Awens. The Awens, especially the older girls, felt insecure in carrying the loan into the future. They wanted their savings to be used for their own futures rather than decided by Mr. Law. A seed of a long-term family conflict was planted in the soil of limited lebensraum,

and was growing into issues of economic interest and autonomy. A just reunified family was, thus, beginning to fall apart. The father's patriarchal and militarized discipline catalyzed the degree of damage. The Awens' reactions varied depending on their gender and ages culturally and legally confined. Based on their developing social network, they sought their own space outside of the family and away from Mr. Law's supervision.^{xi}

Events of Conflict

After the boys entered Jaguar Elementary, there was no major obstacle outside of the family. Apparently, everything seemed progressing and the future looked promising until a major physical conflict came in the summer 2003. It opened a sequence of serious aftermaths.¹

6.1 A Researcher's Dilemma in a Conflict Scene

In the early evening of June 10, 2003, I had an emergent call from Tony that Mr. Law had just hit Ali and Fortune which made Awen very angry. Now, his parents were fighting. He asked me to be the intercessor of the fight. It was difficult to reject such a request from an early teen. But, I was clear that his expectation was beyond my ability. I could only hope that the parents would fix their problem as smoothly as possible and that their fight could be less serious because of an outsider's presence.

As soon as I came to Mr. Law's house, I tried to make room for the adults to settle the problem and to minimize the impact on the children. I first persuaded the older girls to go to school, and the boys to stay in their room. But, I was unable to make Nini go to her room. It seemed that she wanted to do something to pacify her parents' fight. Three hours later, my hope had not been fully realized. However, I thought both Mrs. and Mr. Laws had somehow controlled their outbreaks. On the one hand, in spite of his oral affront, Mr. Law had not used his arms throughout the night. On the other hand, Awen's weapons—paper boxes and a broom stick—were, at least, less fatal than glasses, scissors, knives, and bats all available in their house. In effect, as children reported later, fights before my visit were usually more violent. Fortunately, their fights were never a matter of life or death. Their self-control may come from various sources. One could be their concern of "face" in front of an outsider. Oddly, for a study, if participants have more concerns for their "faces", they tend to keep more "truths" inside. In other words, the presence of an outsider may remind them of the necessity of keeping face. This may have alleviated the conflict. But, some "truths"—their real thoughts about each other, their families, and the ongoing event—could therefore be concealed.

After I left Mr. Law's house, I then had a chance to consider some unforeseen effects of my presence, especially those of the relationships between me and the Awens. In addition to the immediate on-site effect, to continue my study and to maintain the Awens' interest were both my professional concerns. For my

The conflict happened in the evening June 10, 2003. The fuse was Mr. Law's corporal punishment of Ali and Fortune. They had a wrangle about who was going to play the only diaboló—a typical issue of accessibility to limited material resources. It was basically an issue similar to their limited living space that happened almost everyday. It sometimes looked like a game or, once in a while, a duel, but seldom had it really into a big deal—no matter what they may usually have said though. Unpleasantness may last for a couple of days but hardly ever becomes a matter life or death. This time some of their big moves were witnessed by Mr. Law. He seriously took a forceful step to stop their quarrel immediately. He slapped both boys. This was, of course, not the first time that the Awens were physically punished. Yet, surprisingly, Awen challenged Mr. Law's

research, I began to worry about how Mr. Law perceived my presence. He was the gatekeeper of this family given his legal position and economic power. Before the young Awens earned their Taiwanese ID cards, he could easily stop the legal process of the Awen's migration. Clearly, he had known this well. If I would like to continue my study, it would not be a good idea to put myself on his opposite side no matter how I disagree with his parenting. I also wondered how the community and the other families would perceive my role who had openly intruded someone's "private territory". Their most likely question would be: "Would this guy do the same to mine?"

authority this time. As the girls concluded, “That’s enough. He went too far. We cannot stand anymore.”

Both adults had clear stances. She argued that her children were not here for his abuse. He insisted that discipline was mandatory and his right. If the children wanted to stay here, they must follow his orders. Do by his words, or go to see their father in Indonesia which had been a standard reply whenever Mr. Law, and sometimes Awen, was dissatisfied with the young Awens’ behaviors.

Awen’s challenge gave Mr. Law a chance to elaborate his philosophy of education.

Laws, such as anti-domestic violence and anti-child abuse, are unreasonable. Misbehaviors must be punished, and among all of the punishing skills, physical pain is most effective.

He strongly believed, just as an old army saying: “reasonable instructions are training; unreasonable instructions are disciplines.” Bottom line is always following the (his) instructions.

Box 6.2 Sir, Did you See How she was Busted? (Yan,Yu-Long, 2006)
Protecting the Country is more Critical than Protecting the Children

Children’s welfare was clearly a critical emergent issue. It was complicated by the legal culture in Taiwan and their interest of residency. On the one hand, the Child Welfare Law (1993), the Youth Welfare Law (1989), and the Domestic Violence

Prevention Law (1998) provide the legal protection to the young Awens from domestic abuses. As I heard from Mr. Law, he had known these laws, too. On the other hand, both the Immigration Act (2003) and the Nationality Act (as amended in 2001) could be legal weapons against the Awens' residency. There was not yet any specific arrangement for those who might be caught between these laws until the end of 2006. Consequently, their circumstance would depend on the culture of execution.

In the real world, the execution of those laws is against the Awens' interest. As many reviews of fatal or serious abuses have demonstrated (Editorial, 2005; Ruo-Lan Jhu, 2006a; Yan, Yu-Long, 2006), stepping into the others' domestic issues is culturally unwelcome. Thus, as part of the effect of such a culture, executive institutes, especially police stations, are relatively passive in responding to those who cry for help—unless a) murders or aggravated assaults are expected or b) it is the case of insubordination. More critical and ironic is the fact that these first line institutes are more responsive in identifying and expelling illegal foreign residents,^{xii} also in examining the quality of their naturalization.^{xiii} That is, if the Awens were to pursue legal protection from Mr. Law's violence, they might well be expelled before being protected. What would they choose, taking the risk of forced repatriation or standing for Mr. Law's violence until

they earn their ID cards? Who could be their legal consultant if they took the legal step? What would be the cost, or economic loss, throughout the process? What would their odds be?

However, rather than an exchange of opinions of ideas in peace, the scene was filled with physical contacts and cusswords. Nini was the only child who willy-nilly tried to go between the parents. She kept her smile throughout the fight. Sometimes, she asked for her father's help to fix her kiddie car; sometimes she wanted Awen to get snakes for her. Neither of her parents responded to her requests. Neither was annoyed, either. It was just difficult to estimate her conciliation efforts. Still, paper boxes flew. Brooms were swung. Humiliations of personal integrity, sexual history, and children's appearances were inexorably brought up by the parents until they were probably exhausted at about the bed time.

The tension between the parents continued. Awen was aware that she was now something of a sandwich. On the one hand, she was clear that "Mr. Law has that type of temper." He believed he has the authority to teach her children with his fists which every Awen knew well. On the other hand, she also looked forward to a well-ordered family although she had no idea and time to further such an ideal. She said,

They [the other Awens] all know well his [Mr. Law] temper. I don't want them to be beat up. Nor should they piss him off. But, I am so busy. I get up very early every morning, cook for them, and work all the day. When I come home, I am exhausted. However, rather than taking a rest, I have to do this and do that. I really have no time to take care of their businesses. They should behave themselves, and more actively finish their work without my pushing. Then, their father would have no excuse to beat them. They don't listen to me. What can I do? I don't want to tell him about their misbehaviors, and make them beaten up. What can I do? (June 20, 2003)²

Box 6.3 Learning and Schematizing their Possible Tactics

In the next few days, Ahui, Akin, and Tony also personally contacted me and reported his/her unhappiness and discomfort under Mr. Law's authoritarian control. Clearly, they were not only looking forward to physical security, but also trying to

6.2 Everybody was Sandwiched

I found myself in an odd situation, too. I certainly had no intent to break up Mr. Law's new family and the Awen's reunion. For these Awens, I simply wanted to provide them legal and economic information. Then, they could make their own decisions. For Mr. Law, I only expected that our exchange of educational philosophy could continue. And hopefully, he would later make some adjustment. However, from a Taiwanese point of view, such as from Mr. Jade, my honesty was regarded as encouraging these young girls and boy to run away from their family. See Box 6.4.

recover their economic autonomy (or independent subjectivities?):

Ahui : He not only busted my brothers. He beats my mom badly.

Tony/Akin: My [bio-] father never beat us.

Akin : He is going to use our money to buy a new house. It's his house.

But, that's our money.

Ahui : He's old, who's going to pay the loan in the future? I am not living here forever. I don't want to carry his house all my life.

They all conceded the possibility of repatriation. But, if possible, they would like to stay in Taiwan. They wanted to know if there were any legal way to stop Mr. Law's physical abuse. I shared my knowledge of related regulations and the reality as I had heard, and suggested that if they decided to take a further step, they may find more useful help, especially legal counseling, from some non-governmental organizations. It seemed that the legal issues were either too risky to their interest of staying in Taiwan or too complicated beyond their understanding. They sought alternatives. Moving-out coincidentally had the highest priority. Too, they wanted me to clarify possible expenses and legal issues.

Awen's busy schedule made it impossible for her to manage conflicts among her children and between her husband and the Awens. Therefore, with little external assistance, her challenge did not really change Mr. Law's disciplinary authority and practice. Neither had their household infrastructure undergone any major change. Both

the limited living space and the strict spatial discipline of everyday activities made the energetic teenagers like explosives in a poorly designed ammunition depot. The father's management methods catalyzed the unwanted explosions. Following are some recorded conflicts after the foregoing "big bang".

June 19, 2003

Ahui complained that she cannot sleep because Akin lighted their room at night. The girls brawled. Mr. Law slapped Ahui. Ahui felt this unfair. She ran away and stayed with her friends for a few days.

The mother complained to Mr. Law about the inconvenience of missing her best housework assistant and his overreactions to the discord among the children. Next Monday evening, Ahui still went to school and was found by Awen. She at first refused to go home. But in responding to her mother's efforts, Ahui finally agreed.

July 27, 2003

Mr. Law whipped Tony with his steel massage stick for his talking back. Tony ran away. He had nowhere to go but stayed overnight in a community park. With limited support network, the Awens failed to find him throughout the night. In the next early morning, Tony returned and waited outside after Mr. Law went out for work.

August 20, 2003

On the one hand, the conflict between Akin and Ahui was aggravating, and Akin was discontented with Mr. Law's interference. On the other hand, she was unhappy about her parents' opinion of her boy friend. Akin then eloped with her lover to his hometown in southern Taiwan.

Mr. Law threatened to sue Akin's boss and her brother if she did not return his minor daughter. The boss theorized the cause of this event as a matter of Mr. Law's own parenting problems. Akin had asked her to talk to Mr. Law about his patriarchal discipline. She thought Mr. Law should be more patient with his new children. Now, Akin's missing gave him an excuse to retaliate to her interference.

Akin came home about two months later. But, the relationship between these two families had been irrecoverably damaged. Families-in-law no longer had a likely future. She left her boy friend and the cafeteria for a new job in an electronic factory. Because she had missed too many classes, she was dropped from the night school. So far, she had no further chance to pick up her study because of the ongoing economic pressure and her busy new life as a mother.

August 4, 2004

Akin found a new boy friend, and moved to his home. This time, she at first left no clue of her whereabouts for her parents. But, she would sometimes visit Awen and his brothers when Mr. Law was at work. The Awens helped her keep the secret. However, her mother had a few words about her irresponsibility to her family's economy: "It cost so much to bring them here. See? Now, she ran away before really making some money." Nevertheless, Awen still wished her have a good life.

Akin soon reinstated her economic contribution. She invested in Tony's desktop by the end of 2004, and had provided him helpful information learned from her coworkers. She was pregnant in the middle of 2005 before her boy friend was conscribed. The baby came in March 2006. Mr. Law immersed himself with the joy of becoming a grandpa; as a consequence, the tension between Akin and Mr. Law was somewhat relaxed.

In May 2006, she returned to her work in the electronic factory after her postpartum rest, and waited for his boy friend's demobilization at his home. It was just a few blocks away from her mother's place. Meanwhile, she regularly visited the Awens, and helped with the investment in her brothers' education.

October 4, 2005

Since Akin lived with her boy friend, Ahui finally had her own room. One day, Awen unwittingly found a cigarette butt in Ahui's room and scented the odor. Mr. Law noticed her surprise, and later, slapped Ahui when she came home. Ahui rushed out the house and ran away again, but left most of her belongings at home. Awen kept her things for her any emergent need. Therefore, whenever she needed anything, she could return and get it from "home". But, she would always carefully call home first. She wanted to make sure that no adult, especially Mr. Law, was there. Now, the Awens were only able to contact her by telephone or try to reach her at her factory. But, nobody knew where she really lived. Her former room was now occupied by Tony.

Box 6.4 Whatever, I have friends in Indonesia, too

In 2005, Tony had completed the legal process of his naturalization. Mr. Jade told me that, in a family interview, Mr. Law complained about Tony's recalcitrance. Then again, the father claimed to send Tony back to Indonesia. Later, Mr. Jade tried to talk to Tony about the consequences of his disobedience. He was surprised by Tony's reply. He reported the conversation (April 10, 2006)³:

Mr. Jade	: I told him that: “Your father said you are making troubles. If you don’t make some changes and behave yourself, he will send you back to Indonesia.” I was surprised to hear his reply. He said: “No, he can’t. I have had my ID card. I am now a Taiwanese.” How could he possibly know this, even his father had no clear idea. I asked him who told him this. He did not answer.
Me	: I think he heard that from me.

6.3 Is this empowerment?

Tony was still living with Mr. Law, and was busted once in a while. Sometimes, from my perspective, rather than helping himself, he was making himself more trouble (see his fight back later). But doubtlessly, he was more aware of his rights than before (and probably Mr. Law, too), and was more confident in his own future. Sometimes, when I talked to Tony or watched the way he talked to his family, he seemed to believe he had more, in some ways “the most”, necessary cultural knowledge to live in Taiwan—such as life in middle school (See his pushing Ali to participate in coaching lessons), even more than one who had lived in Taiwan for more than sixty years—his step father.

For a researcher, “Why did you [Tony] call me that evening?” could well be a critical methodological issue. But, as I have stated, I sometimes played a role other than that of a researcher. From Tony’s point of view, I was perhaps more like a cultural informant about his accommodation of the day. In order to meet his emergent need, I therefore did not clarify my question. However, as my study went on, our relations changed yet again. I finally had not found an ideal time to discuss this issue with Tony. See footnote 6.4.

Mr. Jade	: Is it proper to let him know such information? You have made the father trouble in disciplining his son.
Me	: That's not my thought. I just helped them know their rights when they had been threatened. But, Mr. Law may really need a new pedagogy for his boys. He is old. He cannot rely on his physical power forever which is not education at all, either.
Mr. Jade	: You are probably too involved in the family.
Me	: Yeah, there's an ethical issue.
Mr. Jade	: Anyway, it probably doesn't matter. When I talked to him about the advantages of staying in Taiwan, I suggested that "your friends are all in Taiwan. It would be better to stay here, right?" Do you know what he said?
Me	: No... What did he say?
Mr. Jade	: He said "Whatever, I have friends in Indonesia, too."
Me	: Haha... Cool. The boy had his own idea. It's good, isn't it?

The father's strict discipline continued. Loss of things, such as jacket, bicycle, and umbrella, was a common cause of punishment. Sometimes, boys had to pay for the loss by themselves. The limit of outdoor activities was yet another issue, especially for the younger two. For instance, when Fortune entered grade four, he had to make excuses if he wanted to visit his classmates for fun or to study together. The cost of any exposure was serious. Many teachers had seen and understood the story of the welts on his legs. In order to keep him away from outside influences, he was not permitted to reach the phone. But, it seemed that he had taken all of these restrictions as part of his unspeakable life.

Perhaps, he was also waiting for the expected coming of *the age* as his older siblings had experienced. When they were old enough, they could have a legitimate excuse to enjoy a broader scope of activities. Tony was clearly paradigmatic.

Disparity and Conflict of Age Culture

Tony was perhaps the most “advanced” Awen in consuming “local” modern cultural products. His parents had many disagreements with his embracing such consumerism. But, they seemed to have very little knowledge of related cultural items involved, such as portable game consoles and internet game CDs. Both were Tony’s hobbies. He just kept CDs of on-line games, such as “Sango Heroes On-Line” (三國群英傳)^{xiv}, on his bookshelf although he had no internet access at home. Also, just like his classmates, he studied carefully pamphlets of game tricks.

When he was a sixth grader, mobile phones were another popular commodity in the culture of higher graders. Mr. Law gave him one of his passengers’ lost property, a Nokia 3310, still an up-to-date in 2003. It offered Tony greater sociability. It was not only a means to broaden his social connections. The phone, itself, also offered a sequence of hot topics in their daily gossiping settings, such as its clothing/cover and the other decorations. Tony was interested in these gadgets when he visited the night markets on

Tuesday and Wednesday. Just as many mobile users, the phones materialize and characterize their subjectivities. It, in effect, furthers a modern fetishism.

However, to maintain such subjectivities required economic support—for both their fees (phone cards) and decorations. After he entered middle school, his monthly expense on the phone further increased to support his broader sociability. Thus, he was asked to pay the fee by himself. Although he did the same work as Akin in an electronic factory every summer since 2004, his everyday expenses still overran his income. His role in family economy changed yet again. When he had just arrived a few years ago, he was a petit contributor, a family subcontracting worker without economic autonomy—unqualified in consumerism. He was more economically independent on his limited saving from subcontracting works before he entered middle school. But, when he had more income as an eighth grader, he asked for more financial support from his mother. Awen was extremely upset with the way he spent his money. She complained again and again, “he never supports the family.”

Tony began to spend more time outside his home in the evenings since the school year 2005. He insisted that the house was too crowded. There was no room for study. He also argued that the middle school curriculum was too difficult. He needed after school

cramming in the evening. At first, as the hope of the Awen's educational investment, his decision was encouraged and appreciated. But soon, Awen found him to be suspicious.⁴

6.4 Tony and I: From a Helper to a Privacy Investigator

In this section, it is clear that I, just as Awen, can no longer successfully follow Tony's everyday spatial practices which reflected a new relationship between me and Tony. It changed when he became an eighth grader.

I may underestimate the complexity of an early teens' mind. But, I was convinced that, when I got Tony's emergent request for stepping into his parents' conflict, he really believed I was well informed of many relevant things, and would solve many problems: such as his entering school before, pacifying any conflict of the day, and helping him become a Taiwanese in the future.

After the "big bang", I was frequently asked to be a helper in those reported family conflicts—the reason that I was able to know them as an absentee. Also, I was a cultural informant in answering Tony's questions of how to be a Taiwanese. This was a role in reverse. A researcher is supposedly to be informed; and his/her subjects are expected to inform. But, in order to pursue his interest of becoming a Taiwanese, Tony was also an ethnographer who wanted to know more about "my cultures". He visited my apartment almost twice or thrice a week after the beginning of school year 2003. One of his interests was asking for my tutorial or internet access for school assignments or news of his idols. The others were seeking my

counseling about his career both in the Taiwanese educational system and in the labor market. Typical issues included: what a middle school student's life would look like; how to survive in middle school in Taiwan; what his options would be after he finished his elementary education, middle school, and high school; what the nature of high school would be; if he can study computer [science] in high school, how much pay he would probably have. These were typical questions he raised with me.

This relationship continued into the first year of his middle school. Mr. Law began to call me about his whereabouts although he was always with me when Mr. Law called me. Then, the frequency of his visits decreased, especially after he became an eighth grader. But, I could hardly meet him at home in the evening, either. He kept making his own space outside of his family. As many teachers who lived in this community told me, he was seen hanging out with his girl friend or classmates in a community park, public spaces outside grocery stores (usually occupied by migrant workers), both the Tuesday and the Wednesday night markets, and in the outside of an internet café around the old gathering square beside the barracks. Some new social spaces were developed in his everyday life. But, neither the Awens nor Mr. Law had any idea about where they really were.

Regarding Tony's privacy and Mr. Law's concerns which I was unable to clarify in a way not to offend his parental authority, I did not aggressively follow Tony's spatial practices. However, I was still able to receive his short messages about reports of family conflicts, issues of his relation, questions of his

homework, and his greetings for the coming of Christmas and New Year which had started from the end of 2003. But, for unknown reasons, he never let me call him.

From the beginning of school year 2005, I had entirely lost my contact with Tony until Awen personally asked me to talk to him about the reality of his cramming school after the winter vacation of 2006. As a representative of his mom, I thought I might be viewed as an inspector from his point of view. This possibility can be read from the tone and the type of data in this section. He no longer talked to me as frankly as before even though I was a consultant in his relationship just about a year earlier when he knew I might make innocent fun of him, but would never betray him.

In an interview in March 14, 2006, as a more qualified specialist of Taiwanese educational culture, I had little difficulty to see through the unreality in his words, including “the cramming is free;” “there is no handouts;” “there is no assignment;” and so on. I had heard these statements from his mother which had silenced her successfully given her lack of the knowledge of cramming culture in Taiwan. However, as soon as he repeated these statements, he at once noticed that they cannot convince me. I was more familiar with the space and the culture he tried to describe. Then, he turned to silence. I did not threaten him to expose his “lies”. Rather, I suggested that he should consider his personal credibility and his relation to other adults—Mr. Law was not the only adult in the world. Also, “‘quit’ this cramming program since it is not improving your test score.” “Find a ‘normal’ cramming school. We can talk to your mom about the

He sometimes went out without any textbook. Nor had she ever seen him doing any assignment from his cramming school. It seemed that he was undertaking something else.^{xv} Cramming seemed to be nothing but his excuse. With little idea about after school cramming, Awen tried to follow him to class. A competition of spatial exploration between the mother and the son, thus, started.

In order to keep better track of her boy, the mother was heading toward a space which she had tried to avoid for a long time. She did take her scooter and follow Tony's bike twice into the border between the industrial zone and the next village. Then, the mother and the son stood in front of a convenient store (across the street of a police

financial issue.” And “go to the county library if you simply need a studying space outside your family.”

Before we finished our conversation, I finally tentatively reminded him to reevaluate his developing social space, especially its unspeakability and its cost to his credibility in front of the adults. But, I was clear that he probably had only limited choices in unfolding his social space as a middle student. In order to prepare a highly competitive entrance examination to high school, middle school is more meritocratic than elementary school, especially in terms of academic performance. Tony's academic performance was clearly regressing since he entered the eighth grade. Thus, his choice would be limited because of an unspoken “not-gathering-with-those-low-achievers” culture.

station) until the boy gave up his original plan. The boy, then, stayed at home some evenings. But, the mother still had no idea where he had gone before. This round, she did not successfully stop Tony's attempt to enlarge his invisible social space, but her effort did force Tony to "quit" the cramming program.

Later, playing "lion dance"^{xvi} for school was Tony's new after class activity. In order to avoid Mr. Law's interference, Awen had no choice but again pushing herself into Tony's schooling which used to be Mr. Law's responsibility. She had never gone to school or talked to her boys' teachers before because, as she said,

My Mandarin is sooo poor. I can't speak clearly. I am afraid that nobody can understand my words. It will be very embarrassing, right? In addition, I know nothing about school. I don't know to whom I can talk to. Going to school is so terrible. I am so scared. But, what can I do? I don't want his [Tony's] father to know his trouble. That would definitely cause a big fight. (April 17, 2006)⁵

6.5 Empowering or Disempowering?

Since Tony had entered school, Mr. Law learned more about his parental right to school involvement. Therefore, he became an active parent in Jaguar Elementary. He was later selected as a member of class parent committee when Nini came to school. He was getting used to visiting teachers whenever he had any question about young Awens' school work. Rather than being full of confusion when Tony cannot go to school, Mr. Law was now confident in his children's schooling. This should be evidence of empowerment.

In order to prevent the impact of low birth rate, Phoenix Middle had hired no teacher on tenure-track since 2003. Tony coincidentally met three sub homeroom teachers in his middle school career.^{xvii} The quality of mentorship that Tony experienced was therefore unstable. He and his classmates were in the same boat. They all had to adjust themselves for a new mentor every year because of this lack of continuity.

Awen may also have learned the complexity of both the legal and the educational issues from the same event. But, the complexity seemed to push her further away from participating in her children's school education. She became almost an invisible parent. With four children in school at the same time, she came to school only when the school was holding its annual athletic meetings. She kept a distance from the crowd. She did not cheer for her boys' performance, as key members in the school athlete team, which should be her boys' big show. Nor did she actively talk to her children's teachers. In a word, her public appearance was quite contrary to her behavior at home.

As she attended more personally to her children's education, she still felt uncomfortable to explore the unknown educational space. She would sometimes call me to help her talk to the teachers or her boys. I always positively responded to her request until I found that her chance of learning school culture in Taiwan was perhaps somewhat deprived because of my easy assistance.

Mr. White was their homeroom teacher at grade seven. He had just finished his bachelor's degree. He was green and knew little about the school and was inexperienced in teaching. But, he was friendly to his students like an older brother—communicable and enthusiastic in responding to students' needs. Tony felt supported when consequently he was forced to defend himself from a physical attack and a humiliation in terms of a “stinky pig” sentenced from his classmates. More critically, the teacher was aware of his home situation, and did not talk to Mr. Law at all about this conflict. Tony believed that Mr. Law would not back him even though he was not at fault. So, Tony felt especially sorry for Mr. Law's embarrassing view of Mr. White's handwriting (see Box 5.4).

Mr. Pen—Tony's eighth grade teacher—was an experienced substitute, a Hakka from a neighbor township. He was looking forward to the next hiring season. From Tony's point of view, in spite of his experiences in sub teaching, he was less familiar with the culture in Phoenix Middle and the dynamics among students. He managed his class with less communication. Compared with Mr. White and Ms Ping, Mr. Pen was the most “autobike” (機車)^{xviii} mentor he had met in Taiwan. Awen's seeking for help in exploring Tony's social space verified Tony's perception. Mr. Pen did not respond to Awen's concern. Tony's secret space was, thus, still unclear. With almost no parent-

teacher connection, Tony was quite free from all of the adults' supervision at this point of time.

Awen finally had her first experience in a Taiwanese educational space. It was not very encouraging, but was, at least, a beginning since almost a decade after her arrival. But, her closer attention to her children's education did not alleviate the most profound and continuing conflict at home. She tried very hard to avoid any possible conflict between Tony and Mr. Law. She knew that Tony was a growing boy nearly eighteen, while Mr. Law was not only old but also sick in these years. He was a victim of diabetes. He was now not really physically able to punish the Awens in the way he had before. Standing in the front door was a typical punishment in these days. It seemed that age had finally decided the result of physical conflicts between the boys and Mr. Law. Currently, Awen was more worried about Tony's tendency to fight back than Mr. Law's typical abuse.

The boys were now Taiwanese in the typical sense of that term. Thus, Mr. Law had gradually rephrased his edification from repatriation to those of put-behind-bars, send-into-army, and call-police. Clearly, he did not change his philosophy of education. But, on the one hand, instead of imposing the order by himself, he was now more often

seeking disciplinary assistance from “total state apparatuses”. On the other hand, the spatiality that undergirds his punishment was now territorially confined in the inside as opposed to the outside of the day.

As a case in point, in the evening of August 31, 2006, Mr. Law found that Tony probably had used his razor to clean his leg hair. He, then, questioned Tony about the reality. Tony refused to respond and “pushed him away”, but unwittingly “pushed him over”. Mr. Law called police and gave Tony a lesson together with the policemen. An insubordinate foreigner was clearly a big trouble. Tony was frightened. Hence, there was no necessity to put him behind bars. Awen watched the whole process and wished that “At what age can we send a boy to the army? Can I send him [Tony] to the army right after he finishes his middle school?” (September 5, 2006) She had so many unanswered questions about how to teach her children in Taiwan.

Looking into the Future

A few months after Ahui came to Taiwan, she had noticed that there were many educational institutes providing English classes in her neighborhood. She was so excited and tried to persuade her mother to let her continue her study of English. She said,

I have been interested in English since I was in Indonesia. I am so excited to see so many schools [after school centers] providing English

lessons on the street. I am free every afternoon. I have plenty of time. I want to study English. If I can learn English well, I will move to the United States in the future. (February 25, 2003)

However, limited by her knowledge of both Chinese vocabularies and the culture of education in Taiwan, she did not know that these institutes were kindergartens for preschool children, day care or after school centers for elementary students, cramming schools for middle school students (taught English for pen-paper examination), or were indeed mixed in their services. That is, none of these institutes provided programs for a customer like her (for daily practice). More critical was their cost. For a three-hour weekly program at the most basic level, the monthly tuition was NT 2,400. Nevertheless, the overall quality of these programs was not warranted.

Both Ali and Fortune had a similar American dream. But, as soon as they became aware of their academic performance, they thought America might well be too far away. Tony seemed to have a different geography for his future. As suggested in his conversation with Mr. Jade (see Box 6.4), Indonesia was still one of his options. Also, he believed himself to have a more successful career than the female Awens in Taiwan. Yet, the foundation of his belief was based less on his academic achievement, which was now clearly regressing, but rather on his physical capital and his on-line learning ability.

He started working when he had just come to Taiwan. As a family subcontracting worker in 2001, he knew he was competent for such work demanding many small muscle activities. From summer 2004, he again picked up the role of economic contributor to his family, and turned into a part-time factory worker in every long vacation. For now, he had worked in different departments and had increasingly proved his multiple capabilities.

In the packing department, as a strong growing boy, he had proved himself a quality wrapper in packing heavy stuffs. But, he was more interested in departments of quality assurance and manufacturing where his works were more technical. He had learned how to operate various kinds of equipment. One of his most exciting learning experiences was how to read the waveform, amplitude, pulse width, and other such data from a “computer” (an oscilloscope?). This work clearly included more technical characteristics than Awen had ever worked. Therefore, his daily income (more than NT 1,200) was higher than that of his mother. This fact made him more confident of his future. He believed he could make a greater economic contribution to the family than his mother could imagine.

Moreover, he was somehow becoming a practitioner of Mr. Law's philosophy, but not quite. He was clear that most of his Taiwanese cohorts had, at least, a high school diploma or an equivalent. It had been a basic requirement on almost all of the available job announcements, but the older female Awens would be unable to meet such a standard in a near future. He was, therefore, convinced that, in order to realize his desirable future, he would need a diploma from an industrial vocational high school. This goal seemed not very difficult. Then, with such a certificate, greater economic achievement would be more promising.

Moving out of the Law's family, working in a factory in the day time, and studying at a vocational supplementary high school in the evening was the most likely scheme after he graduated from Phoenix Middle in 2007.

ⁱ When Mr. Law was just married, his mother was still living with him. When Awen was expecting Nini, an old lady with physical difficulty became a challenge to a mother-to-be. Old Mrs. Law then moved to a senior wellness center and died in 2006.

ⁱⁱ As Mr. Law reported, monthly membership, including the radio service, was more than NT 4,000 (US\$ 120), ten percent of his gross income.

ⁱⁱⁱ Hakkanese Militia Shrine was built in 1790 to memorize and worship those dead in protecting Hakka community from the invasion of rebelling Fukianese. Today, almost all politicians would come to this temple and worship in order to show their concern of this ethnic group.

^{iv} When the researcher was collecting his data, basic wage of a full-time worker was slightly lower than NT 16,000 (less than US\$ 500).

^v Family conflict was one of Akin's reasons to transfer her career. See the coming section.

^{vi} Yōkan is a Chinese sweet, a thick jellied dessert made of red bean paste, agar, and sugar. It is usually sold in a block form.

^{vii} In Taiwanese political chromatology, green means pro independence, blue means pro unification. All channels, especially news channels, are either green or blue that fully reflects the political dichotomy of the society.

^{viii} Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is a very powerful and popular Bodhisattva. He hears the cries of the world and saves the people in dangers.

^{ix} Also known as Ji Gong (濟公, 1130-1209). He was a Buddhist monk during the Southern Song Dynasty (南宋) in China, but had also been accepted as a god in Taoism. Many people believe him a reincarnate of arhat, Nantimitolo (降龍羅漢). He was an eccentric monk who ate meat and drank wine; but he was kind and wise. He always helped poor people.

^x Also known as Tu Di Gong (土地公). Traditionally, every village has its own earth god in charge of issues very close to the villagers' everyday life, especially fortunes and merits that come from the earth. He is the lowest rank in the deity bureaucrat.

^{xi} Mr. Law's scheme of real estate investment was continuously interrupted because of the forthcoming family conflicts. He finally bought a big four-storied unit in the community. He was still expecting that the entire Laws/Awens could live together in the future.

^{xii} A typical example is that, if a foreigner divorces his/her Taiwanese spouse without a Taiwanese ID card, s/he would immediately become an illegal resident no matter s/he is at fault or not in that divorce.

^{xiii} From 2003, many new policies specifically aimed to regulate the migrants' inflow. Naturalization test (from October, 2005) and arrival interview (from September, 2003) were two policies newly implemented to screen the foreigners' coming. National Immigration Agency was inaugurated at the beginning of 2007. Most of its agents were originally policemen. In 2004, the Minister of the Interior even suggested that the naturalization of immigrants from China requires a financial statement of NT five million (about five times of an assistant professor's annual income). Relatively speaking, fewer legal concerns of the immigrant's human right were reviewed and thus amended in the same duration.

^{xiv} It is an internet game of strategic simulation. Its background is the three-kingdom era in ancient China. Tony was therefore a little interested in some of the historic events and figures. But, his interest of the history did not last long.

^{xv} In effect, as his classmates reported, he had attended the class for only two weeks.

^{xvi} Lion Dance is a form of Chinese traditional dance. It is usually played in important conventional festivals and rituals as praying for luck.

^{xvii} Conventionally, a middle school homeroom teacher would mentor the same class for three years.

^{xviii} In Taiwanese teenagers' slang, autobike has nothing to do with a real motorcycle. It was an adjective originally from its assonance in Minnanese "with dirty mindset and black-hearted". In English, it is the adjective of "asshole".

CODA

Situational Becomings

The Awen's new home in Taiwan was clearly a diasporic space. However, based on their weekday routine, the space was not very exotic except for some of the Awen's favorite foods and a few CDs in Bahasa Indonesia. Here, at issue is the most superficial sense of becoming. For now, the CDs have been heavily dusted since they had now lost their social function. This is probably the most confirmable "loss" of the family's culture up to date. But, their tastes would perhaps continue, just like Nini's McDonald, if only these cuisines continue to be still available, and *vice versa*. Then, Ahui can still buy her favorite desserts from Ajun or the other Indonesian dining houses; Tony would keep on purchasing spicier Indonesian instant noodles from different shopping centers; and Nini would still have her hamburgers at a McDonald. The sociology behind these tastes is, of course, very different although they all may be theorized as part of the ongoing globalization. It had made their coexistence in a hypermarket originally founded in France a phenomenal dialectic of space and representation.

Equally critical, yet less visible in the short term, should be whether these exotic cuisines would become a new component of the local culture, or put differently, redefine the local culture, just as the mainlanders' beef noodles had achieved through the last half century? Involved in this would be an enduring engineering of geographical and cultural deconstruction and reconstruction. Their CDs were once carriers/records/symbols of such a (de-/re-) construction. By consuming these cultural products/commodities—food, CDs, or whatsoever, the Awens had become what might be called geographical/cultural engineers.

Clearly, on the one hand are the Awens' biographies of inter-/inner- national spatial practices. On the other hand is a history of "Taiwaneseness". Inscribed are efforts of redefining Taiwaneseness. Various participants, including the Awens, have left their strokes on this ever-changing geography. In between is an interaction, a more situational relative motion, between human subjects and their environment.

Language and Development

The Awen's mother tongue and language development could be, at first, measured by degrees of nativeness and foreignness. Then presumably, every loss of foreignness or gain of nativeness might well be regarded as assimilation. Ironically, in terms of language,

the Awen boys were actually more native than their native classmates. In effect, if not their coming, Nini would probably never have taken Hakka as a so-called mother tongue. Clearly, here is a basic need of situational interpretation of their language experiences.

The intersection between the subjects' coloniality and that of Taiwan creates a contingent for the interaction between the agents involved and the space. By language practicing, the Awen boys proactively conceived some of both the possible and the necessary situational becomings out of his circumstance. They actively theorized and articulated their mother tongue with the language to be learned. Apparently, each was becoming a Mandarin speaker. But, they were actually realizing their possibility in responding to the given situation rather than being victims of assimilation.

However, the "usefulness" of Hakka in school for boys did not apply to their mother's language problem in a public space—not even in just another school setting where she was still expected to speak in Mandarin to Tony's Hakka sub-teacher, thus was afraid of entering an educational space or scooting somewhat away from her house. Clearly, when the postcolonial educational/public space overlapped the Awen's diasporic space, the meaning of their language practice cannot be reduced to a simple sorry story of assimilation.

There is a pedagogical spatial rule that speaking Hakka is encouraged and awarded for the younger generations. Oddly, this rule does not apply to the older generation when the space is considered as a public space “in general”. Clearly, in order to interpret these Awens’ language practices, one must have to consider the following issues: First, both the nature of the space and the legitimacy of language in use are decided by the age of those who are involved. Also, different public spaces are spatially divided and functioned by different postcolonialities. The first is concerned with individuals’ agency, while the ever- redefining “Taiwaneseness” is involved in the second. An adequate interpretation must take, at least, these two issues into account at the same time.

The Awen’s economic development was another situational becoming. Seasonal agricultural workers are one of the major demographic flows around the world. When they are on the road, they were employees who worked for money and the market. They work for their bosses not for themselves. As most of the migrant workers, Awen did not have her own farmland at their new home, but her petite farming was simply for her family. Unlike agricultural migrant workers, they looked in many respects more like (old) Taiwanese farmers. However, for the latter, farming was now more of a moral practice (Lan-chuan Yen and Yi-tseng Juang 顏蘭權、莊益增, 2005), a life style, or room of

maneuver for unemployment.¹ Awen was more concerned with the interest in what might be termed informal economy.

Their subcontracting work in their early arrival was yet another economic situational becoming. It was originally a movement (the living room is the factory, 客廳即工廠) promoted by the Taiwanese government in the early 1970s in order to increase income and to improve livelihood. Such a familized subcontracting network well fit the pattern dominated by micro-entrepreneurs and had been its foundation. As its basic unit, families were incorporated into an economic network by subcontracting (Gwo-Shyong Shieh 謝國雄, 1992a). They were units of both economic production and social network. Shieh (1994) further found that piece-rate systems could help homeworkers recognize the value of their labor. Then, by identifying their subjectivities as the owner of their own labors, quasi-boss consciousness could emerge in many of them. Consequently, through social networking, individual subcontract workers, quite often their families, could find their ways to become a “boss” (Shieh, 1989). Taiwan, therefore, became a “boss” island (Shieh, 1992b).

However, probably largely because of the lack of a proper initial social network, the Awens were not too much affected by the networking effect of family subcontracting.

Nor could a quasi-boss consciousness be seen to develop. Since they overruled Mr.

Law's idea of a family dining business, the job market was still their major solution to a more adequate family economy. Interpersonal issue was perhaps a major cause of their boycotting Mr. Law's proposal. But, there was also something more than personal.

They were, of course, not specialists in political economics. They probably cannot, based on the trend of micro-entrepreneurs' relocation, theorize about the increase of both the risk and the cost in maintaining a family business as compared with the time when Shieh conducted his research.ⁱⁱ But, they should have been aware that their limited social network would be a real challenge to a small family business. Again, the Awens adopted an available method of production with a somewhat different concern. In a transition period without sufficient knowledge of their new home and necessary social connections, plus the demand for a nursery, working at home was the most convenient way to make the best use of their labor force.

Clearly, the Awens were practicing the same economic activities, and were learning the same language as their new compatriots. But, these visible similarities cannot fully refer to the same culture effects and assumptions of those who formerly employed these practices. On the one hand, these practices were conditioned by their biography. As new

arrivals, they participated in these activities under quite different preconditions, such as the language and the social network they had (un-) owned. On the other hand, as the time went on, the geo-historical context of these activities had also changed. For now, the first language that young Taiwanese have learned is mostly Mandarin rather than their mother tongues. Also, as capitalism was overwhelming the world, the networks that the government used to encourage the growth of micro-entrepreneurs was now more in favor of transnational corporations. Almost four decades ago, these networks used to make such items as Christmas lightings with a local brand name that fulfilled the demand around the world. Today, the networks look the same, the demand is still global, but their end products are now branded and identified on the market with a name of a foreign corporation.

Becoming a Global Subcontracting Worker

At first glance, Mr. Chen might be not very wrong. Material interest was, at least, one of the major concerns of the Awen's migration. But, such a concern has nothing wrong in essence. Rather than judging only their material desire, those basic concerns and critical preconditions underling their practices are more important. Involved are their

economic theories that are usually reflecting the dominant and mainstream capitalist mechanisms of their time and place.

For instance, as opposed to his mother's hardworking, Tony's consumerism was a more up-to-date practice that undergirds a newly emerging capitalist world. Mr. Law's interest in a family business was yet another historical product. It could have emerged no later than his leaving the army. It came at about the time when the government was promoting a family subcontracting system.

Yet, in addition to such a "gap" among their economic ideas structured largely by their time, a more critical issue is how they perceive their future. In other words: What do they want to be, and how do they want to accomplish it? Somehow, since being a boss is not yet part of their desirable future, these questions could be rephrased as: what are their ideas of a better job, and why do they think they are qualified?

Learning Outside School

When Awen's older girls left the dining business, they had theorized about the nature of what is a better job. Its pay was, of course, critical. Therefore, overtime was acceptable if only it is affordable and reasonable. Also, its working environment should

be comfortable and neat—as compared with for example the typical dining business.

Finally, it should demand more skills than simple physical power.

Throughout his work across various departments, Tony had a similar concept at issue with a more elaborate idea of “skill”. First, knowledge of operating complicated equipment is clearly part of the definition of skill. Second, it may be less to do with “muscle and power”, it still has some physical characteristics, such as dexterity and precision. Third, skills are not necessarily learned from school. They could well be learned through on-line working, just as he and his sisters had experienced. But, hopefully, he could learn more from vocational high school.

How Tony conceived his future is another critical issue. Basically, he referred his future to accessible experiences around him. At first is his working experiences ahead of his “social age”. They had constituted a prelude to conceptualizing his idea of a better job and a more desirable career. Secondly, it came from his significant others—mother and sisters.

The meaning of “early” is compared with his “institutionally assigned” cohorts at school. His cohorts, being three-year younger than he, are still under their families’ protection. They may be busy preparing for better educational opportunities, happily

enjoying their blooming youth, or killing time with their childish ideas of nonsense. But, Tony had already been part of the adult's world. This is, of course, an experience that most of his cohorts had not yet known. Consequently, before the formal career curriculum is taught in school, he had already had some critical theories about his career.

Will he perceive and expect differently about his career after he learns a formal career curriculum from school? The curriculum is not offered until high school. It pays little attention to getting a part-time job. For a full time student, this is “ideally” a track of “the other” as opposed to the currently wide open academic track for “normal” students. Only “losers” would take this alternative track, and “losers” deserve little attention. A few years ago, for high school students, less than one hour would be spent on issues of Labor Standard Law (as amended in 2003)—the most important regulation for protecting labor conditions, workers’ rights and interests, etc. (Career Foundation 導航基金會, 2003). Surprisingly, even such a small portion had been removed from the official curriculum in the most recent revision of national curriculum standards. The answer to whether school career curriculum would meet Tony’s need is clear. Somehow, Tony has to be a practitioner of what might be thought of as a deschooling philosophy. Learning

how to be a worker in the era of globalization was unlikely to happen in his formal education.

Ethnicity or Poverty? The Culture of Poverty and Social Capital

Tony's experience is valuable. But, equally noteworthy is its limitation. As the foregoing analysis suggests, there is a huge gap between Tony's life in school and that he experienced in a factory. He is, in some respect, the Awen's expert on schooling. But, in factory, both the ideas and the experiences of the older female Awens seemed to be the sources of his major references. Taking older females as his significant others is not wrong, but their unwitting identification of themselves with a career as a subcontracting worker is problematic. It looks to be the beginning of a cycle of poverty—as Lewis (1966) conceptualized.

To embrace such a career requires some specific rationalizations, such as perceiving institutional injustices and inequalities as personal deficiencies. Exemplary is his sisters' taking the ability to handle overtime as a factor in a worker's own quality. Also, in face of injustices and inequalities, Awen's escape from her inhumane foreman should also be an expectable factor. In sum, as Lewis (1966) theorized, given their difficulties in

recognizing their condition, they feel powerless to change it, and are relatively easily entrapped in the cycle of poverty. As he said, this is a culture of poverty.

Lewis argued that poor and the culture of poverty are in reality different. One may be poor because of his/her lack of material resources. But, s/he would have different practices to manage poverty if s/he does not live in the culture of poverty. For instance, a union worker may be poor. But, s/he may take collective actions with her/his coworkers to challenge institutional inequalities. Then, this worker is not in the culture of poverty. The culture of poverty may be viewed as a double edged sword. On the one hand, it helps the poor adapt themselves with limited resources, and live through their helplessness. On the other hand, such a culture consigns them to a vicious cycle in which the culture is passed from generation to generation.

In Taiwan, the culture of poverty can, of course, be seen not only in intermarried immigrants and their families, but also in many other underclasses. But, what is their migration to do with such a culture? Their lack of local social networks may be one of the critical factors which pushes them to a both socially and economically disadvantaged position. In order to rebuild a supportive network at their new home, they might have to spend often unattainable additional efforts. Moreover, when they are exoticized as an

alien ethnic group by their host society in local ethnic politics, their difficulty in establishing social networking is reduced to issues of ethnicity. Sadly, the latter usually implies a sense of racism. Hence, their ethnicity and their poverty are sociologically and culturally connected.

School and Sociability

The importance of social network is evident in this scenario. However, since the subjects are different, so would be their network connections. Conceiving them as an ethnic group, if it works well, might help them develop a strong tie (Granovetter, 1973) and connect them to people of their own ethnic identity—although their national origins clearly suggest their difference. Undesirably, challenges of new immigrants might have been recognized as an ethnic issue as it is now. Yet, as Granovetter suggested, if overcoming their poverty is at issue, “weak ties” (ibid)—connecting themselves to their others—should be no less critical.

Weak ties might not promise structural awareness or desirable results; but, knowing the others and their significance are at least a likely breakthrough. Fortune’s counseling with Ms Hua should have been critical in building a weak tie with a helper in his

pursuing academic success. Ali's intent, and Tony's schema, to attract the coach's attention was also based on the same theory.

These weak ties made the young boys' networks a little different from their older female families. The boys' ties might not promise any upward mobilization, but their prospective is vaguely visible. In this regard, for these immigrants, with hardly any supportive network at the beginning of their arrival, schooling is especially critical in providing quality sociability—in addition to knowledge and amusement. Fortune is clearly an exemplar. He was attracted only by entertaining facilities in his first visit to Jaguar Elementary in early 2003. But, when the summer vacation of 2004 was coming, one suggested that it was good to get rid of the school's discipline. He replied, "I don't really like summer vacation. I can go nowhere at home. I like to go to school. My friends are there, and my teachers [Mss Jong and Hua] listen to my talk." (June 22, 2004)

Clearly, home grounded within a strictly regulated space has no help for the development of a larger social network. For the Awen's networking—in addition to avoiding his violence, walking out of Mr. Law's space is probably a necessary step. This problem constitutes a major reason to review the conflicts in the Awen family.

Conflicts

Mr. Law's militarized discipline is clearly a key in all of the family conflicts. But, the analysis here is less concerned with his violence, but more focuses on the meanings of children's reactions and the researcher's own methodological reflections. It explores, first of all, individual Awens' tactics of spatial practices, then, how the family's interpersonal interactions were (not yet) modernized. Finally, for a researcher, conflicts are one of the most challenging scenes in the effort to conceal his interference. The data analysis will end with an examination of the researcher's practices behind the scene.

Leaders of the Family's Culture Adaptation

Migration could be defined as relocating a person in a new environment to restart and redevelop a new network for oneself. For a child, growing up is, in some way, also a practice of networking. Involved in are subjects' practices to expand their social space. However, just as the complex of ethnicity and poverty, it is difficult to cut neatly the effect of the young Awens' migration from that of their sources of development.

Generally, parents, or in effect the society, would set up spatiotemporal regulations of age and gender for adolescents, such as a film classification system. Also demonstrated in many reports,ⁱⁱⁱ many Taiwanese families were worried about their new foreign members' contacts with the "outside". In order to "protect" these "foreigners"

from “evil and dangerous” influences, their families would sometimes impose spatial regulations on them. That is, these female adults are “infantized” because of their “foreignness”. However, given the age of the young Awens, it is difficult to define whether migration or adolescence was a critical cause of the regulations over their spatial practices.

In effect, there are usually explicit definitions of gender and age regulations in laws and often implicit rules in culture. In the case of the young Awens, the role in family economy seemed to play an additional part in defining their “ages” which were slightly deviant from the legal definition.^{iv} Methods to confining the children’s spatial practices included restrictions on telephone access, limitations of consuming power, corporal punishment—standing outside the door or direct physical violence, and even overloaded with writing practices. There is no clear distinction between these immigrant parents and their local counterparts in terms of both the methods and the definitions of regulating their children’s spatial practice. In effect, success in networking their school cohorts, factory coworkers, or just an intimate partner could indifferently account for both the young Awens’ successful resistance and their new compatriots.

However, Awen's tracing the reality of Tony's cramming is noteworthy. Compared to his mother, Tony had more cultural knowledge of cramming in Taiwan. He did not learn this knowledge from his mother; on the contrary, his mother was pushed to explore the culture. For local families, such a steering role may sometimes be seen in the domain of popular culture, but it is quite unusual in the domain of education. This could be an effect of migrating across cultural borders. It shows that children in such families could play more critical roles in their families' cultural intermediation and adaptation, just like their early participation in family economy. Ahui's route exploration is another example.

From the young Awens' experiences, the younger generations would be active cultural adventurers. They are not simply passive cultural receivers in Lewis' concept of cycle of poverty. There is insufficient evidence to tell how such active adventures would have had an impact on their future in this study. But, theoretically, this clearly suggests a more dynamic process of the inheriting, adapting, or confronting their parents' poverty. Also manifest in such cultural adventures are the potential challenges to their parents' authority. For instance, Ahui's exploration could be a positive contribution to the family's adaptation, but the event of Tony's cramming would be discouraging. Here, the interpersonal dynamic is involved.

Holistic Collectivism

By examining intimate relationships, such as those of family, sex, and love, Giddens (1992) theorized modernization at the interpersonal level which is, in essence, the democratization of interpersonal relations. That is, modern intimate relations are more plastic, reflexive, autonomous, and purer—with fewer attachments. They are codependent and demand continuous negotiation. Obviously, based on his theory, the Awens were very “non-modern”. It is clearly represented by Mr. Law’s authoritarian pedagogy and the parents’ sexism—“toxic” as Giddens put it. The mother’s “addiction”—pressuring for commitment, imbalance of power, etc. was not “modern”, either. Therefore, fewer spaces were left for the children to lead and negotiate the family’s adaptation though the parents and children were, in reality, deeply codependent—even from an economic perspective.

In effect, a more profound “non-modern” feature can also be seen in the family’s material base. The differentiation between production and reproduction is unclear. The Awen family is an economical unit. Therefore, Awen’s consideration of the younger boys’ migration was very economic. In order to maximize the economical interest of her family, separation was a tactical option. Also affected, in addition to the family’s material

need, were members' starting their working careers at a relatively younger age. That is, the children's full-time student careers would be shortened.

However, this is not to say that the Awens had abandoned pursuing better education. It is, in reality, perceived as a part of the family economy rather than individual children's interest. Based on such collectivism, the mother is the project manager of the educational investment; also, given a typical sexist bias, the older sisters and boys, who joined the labor market earlier as well—Tony's supporting his brothers' fieldtrip was exemplar, would be seen as co-investors—at the cost of their own educational opportunities; and the other boy(s) are objects of investment.

Such a pattern of educational investment, or its profound collectivism, is not unusual in some Taiwanese families. Nor is it a special product of migration. It can actually be found in ancient China. Its familial framing was not changed by their migration, but its implementation was. As the eldest son, Tony received most of the early investment. But, roughly speaking, in addition to his own efforts, both the institutional context and the age factor had made Fortune the most likely candidate for further investment. With limited knowledge of educational investment in Taiwan, this was a tough question for these family investors.

Such collectivism could be interpreted as a continuation of the “oriental culture”. Some would celebrate its authentic cultural value, while the others may question its “biases” in several dimensions. Then, people would evaluate differently those occasional resistances, such as Tony’s consumerism. It could also be criticized from the perspective of Giddens’s theory of modernization. But, it seems that if there were no substantial amelioration to the family’s infrastructure—including the differentiation between the functions of production and reproduction, it would be difficult to maintain any desirable democratization of intimate family relations.

Clearly, emerging is a paradigmatic postcolonial predicament. First of all, their subjectivities were bearing the postcolonial legacy from their origin. Their relocating themselves at a new home was also filled with postcoloniality. Nevertheless, their making a diasporic space of its own is another emerging postcoloniality. At this particular conjuncture, taking their collectivism as an alternative tactic of becoming with limited resources would be perhaps the most balanced strategy to cope with and to interpret their practices in defending and developing their own diasporic space. But, it is clear that such collectivism had caused serious tensions among individual family members.

This study is indebted to these Awens' sharing their struggles under a postcolonial condition. Throughout the research, the researcher had fortunately witnessed and participated in their struggles. The researcher also devoted himself in engaging in these struggles with his cultural and professional knowledge always with the need for more. Before concluding this ethnography, the researcher would like to take a final look at his relations with his participants.

Box 6.5 Final Echo: The Last Conversation

Boxed is a brief conversation between Awen, Mr. Law, and me before I left for the States when I was ending my last visit. This conversation more directly revealed some of Mr. Law and Awen's cultural concerns that are basic to this study. Meanwhile, it also revealed their perceptions about the researcher's culture—the letters. In spite of the same language, given our cultural differences, the conversation, just as most of the others throughout the research, turned into a cultural engagement. Therefore, it is, at the same time, a reflection of the relations between the researcher and his participants.

Law : When is your flight?

Me : It's in the evening of September 12.

Law : Do you need a ride?

Me : Thank you. My friend will drive me to the airport.

Law : Where are your stuffs?

Me : My friend helps me keep them.

Law : I think I can help. You know, my house is close to completed. It's

a big house. You can keep your stuffs here, and I'll have the boys move them to my new house when it is done. It's roomy. There are plenty of rooms. Every boy can have his own. And we still have additional rooms for you. You will have a room there whenever you come back to Taiwan.

Me : Thank you. I really appreciate.

Law : It's me who should thank you. If not your threshold [doorway], I had no idea how to put my kids into school. I really appreciate. Ali, Fortune, Come here. Thank Mr. Peng. He is leaving. Thank him for what he had done for you. If not him, you'd never be able to go to school. Be aware and polite.

Boys : Thank you, sir. (With an unnatural deep bow)

Me : You're welcome. It's not a big deal, just part of my study. (In order to relieve their uneasiness before Mr. Law, I waved my hand and suggested them to leave.)

Awen: [Sigh] Now, I don't know who can help us if the boys have any trouble. Would you take Fortune with you? (Joking)

Me : Don't worry. They are cool, and you will be fine.

Law : How long will you stay there?

Me : Probably a year.

Law : And then?

Me : I shall be back.

Awen: With a foreign sweetheart. (Joking)

Law : Nonsense. But seriously, it's true. If you were at my age, you would know what has to be done at your age. The most important thing for a male is to get married and to have his sons. Then, you are a man, and your life is complete. You should marry, raise your families, rather than go abroad and study. It's nonsense. You had studied enough.

Awen: He wants a foreign gal, right? (Joking) See, on TV, American girls are hot and sexy, right? Hmm... But, please no black. White is better; black looks terrible.

Law : Nonsense. He has had a girl friend. The only thing he has to do is to get married.

Me : Thank you for your advice. We will see when the time is up.

Law : Nonsense. It's already there.

Me : OK, thanks for your consideration. It's a bit too late. I should go now.

Law : No problem. Let me know if there is anything I can help.

Me : Sure. Good bye.

Law : Please keep us in mind. Good bye.

Awen: Come to see us when you are back.

Me : Sure. Bye.

Law : I still believe you should not go abroad. You should stay, get married, and complete you life...

Awen: Come on. That's your idea. It's too late. He's about to take off. Take care.

Me : Sure. I will, and you, too.

Awen: Bye. Ali, Fortune, Mr. Peng is leaving... (the boys reappeared and waved their hands)

As he repeated in this conversation, Mr. Law believes the mission of a male is to complete his manhood in which marriage and fathering are the most critical tasks. Since we are both male, we are of the same culture but in different degrees of completeness. As a male to be completed, I should follow the advices from a completed "man", like him.

However, as a person of "letter", I considered we are culturally different. This can be clearly seen when he argued that I had studied too much. Consequently, as we were both engaging issues of literacy relate to the boys' education, such as the legal issue of their registration and his pedagogy of reading and writing, there was always a "cultural" tension between us. On the one hand, I tried to inform him how literacy comes into play

in “the lettered city” nowadays. On the other hand, as a less completed man, my words were usually not very persuasive because of his consideration as demonstrated in the conversation. But, for a feminized research topic,^v my gender was probably still a privilege in order to enter this family with a male gatekeeper really in charge of his children’s education.^{vi} Probably, this could be taken as part of my identity play.

ⁱ See the Straybird project (漂鳥計畫) promoted by the Council of Agriculture in Taiwan.

ⁱⁱ In effect, quite many micro-manufacturing businesses had relocated their production bases to Southeast Asia and China. See Box 6.1.

ⁱⁱⁱ See the researcher’s travel of finding a researchable site at Yunlin in Chapter Two, especially Box 2.1.

^{iv} Child labor defined in the Labor Standard Law is sixteen and above. Tony and Ali’s first factory experiences both happened before they were sixteen.

^v See Chapter Two.

^{vi} See the section of the boys’ coming to school in Chapter Five.

CONCLUSION

This study began at the end of summer 2002 when the “crisis” of New Immigrants’ Children’s (NIC’s) was about to burst out. In the next four years, the researcher had collected his data by following NIC in six families and two older NIC who are now high school juniors. Many other NIC at school, their teachers, their neighbors, and their mothers in the night school program at Jaguar Elementary had also shared their experiences, ideas, and stories of NIC’s becoming Taiwanese with the researcher. This dissertation recorded and theorized the background, the complexity, and the multiplicity of these narratives.

Summary of the Chapters

This dissertation includes three chapters of background information. They foreground the study from different perspectives. Chapter four engages methodological issues. It is followed by two chapters of data presentation.

Multi-Perspectives of the Research Background

The first chapter provided a static/statistical structural overview of both the official images and the conditions of this new ethnic group and its younger generation. This review was contextualized within the ongoing ethnic friction in Taiwan. By examining the logic of the local naming politics, the researcher argued that the formation of New Immigrants was basically a product of Taiwanese ethnic politics. The complexity of their backgrounds was not really taken into account by the hosts. Consequently, when the hosts were indulging themselves in reminiscing both their triumphs and sadness in their history of modernization and colonization as well as in the era of the Cold War, the experiences of their new compatriots throughout the same period were all simply reduced to “foreignness”.

Such foreignness has few identifiable traits on the surface, but socially, its carriers had already been seriously stigmatized. The second chapter described the researcher’s efforts to find out about this invisible population—a methodological context of this study. By paralleling his journey of seeking with the measures of the government, this chapter also provides a micro perspective of the reality of the “crisis”—at the level of community, school, and family. These originally invisible subjects were often unwillingly exposed.

Without being consulted in advance, they were assumed to have a position of minority by their new government. Altogether, they were finally made visible and governable. The government believed that it is now governing and managing this crisis, and that the crisis is under control. But, as this research demonstrates, new challenges are just beginning to overwhelm these “causes” of the crisis.

Also included are both the history and the geography of the research site. The multiplicity of its demography and its complex street scene documented the change of the community throughout the history of Japanese colonialism, its dependent modernization in the era of the Cold War, and the invasion of global capitalism in these decades. The juxtaposition of the highway, hi-tech factories, the checkered community traffic system, people’s unruly uses of the public green zones, and the exotic small businesses particularly disclose the complicated aspects of globalization in this originally small rural community.

The third chapter began with a sociological review of migration theory. It especially attended to the cultural effect of intermarriage and migration of the NIC’s parents’ on these families’ everyday life and the children’s education. However, instead of the more common culturalist approach, this study employed Harvey’s (1989) historical

geographical materialism with additional regional reconsiderations. At the macro level, not only the ongoing globalization (Hsiao-chuan Hsia, 2000; Hong-Zen Wang, 2001) but also both the colonialism and the Cold War (Kuan-hsin Chen, 2005, 2006) had impact on the NIC's coming and their cultures both "now and then" as well as "here and there".

With such a historical consciousness, the researcher further examined a space of diaspora (Brah, 1996) at a more micro level of everyday life—the focus of ethnographic study.

These chapters served as a more comprehensive historical and geopolitical horizon to background the coming of this new ethnic group. Based on this horizon, the experiences of the early immigrants and the continuation of intermarriage since the early 1980s can be more fully explained. Moreover, it also unfolds a space where the difference between the old and the new Taiwanese can be better understood at a common spatiotemporal conjuncture—contrapuntally as Said (1993) put it. It would then be more applicable in negotiating a possible history of all.

However, without a clear understanding of the subjects' lived experiences, such a vision is no more than a hollow theory. Therefore, one of the basic interests of this ethnographic study was to examine and to seek the past in the present in these immigrant families. That is, how these macro cultural, economic, political historical events have

continuously influenced these immigrants' lived experiences and new lives at their new home? Also in view are the nature of these new immigrants' challenges and tactics of, especially those of their children, in becoming new members of the host society? How do they perceive their future?

A Trialectical Multi-Sited Ethnography

Chapter Four addressed the methodological issues undergirding this study. To explore such a space, the researcher framed his multi-sited ethnographic study (Marcus, 1995) with trialectical lenses (Lefebvre, 1991a). With such methodological lenses, data in this study were characterized in three categories: the lived, the perceived, and the conceived. First are the participants' "lived" experiences—both their biographies and travelogues. This was one of the foci in the researcher's interviews. Also collected by interviews and participatory observations were their "practices" and their "perceptions" of challenges and tactics in their everyday lives. Meanwhile, media reports, academic studies, and governmental documents were collected in order to reveal how these participants were represented. The researcher's actions were also recorded. On the one hand, in his fieldwork, the researcher was sometimes expected to be a cultural informant to meet their interest in becoming a Taiwanese. Therefore, his actions were, in effect, part

of the “conceived” in making their culture. On the other hand, by presenting these interferences, the researcher wanted to open the backstage of his effort to constructing the cultures of these NIC’s families.

Data were represented differently based on their natures. The participants’ “lived” experiences and their “practices” constituted the main text, and were narrated from a third person position. Supportive, contextual, and contradictory information, including the researcher’s interfering actions, were boxed. Reflections of both actions and methodology were footnoted. Such a spatial deployment and the interruption of the text flow have methodological implications. For instance, boxed information can sometimes offer a means to triangulate the face validity of the stories in the text, while also they may examine and demonstrate how these stories were ironically or rhizomatically connected to a broader network of meanings and realities (Lather, 1994). In short, the constitution of the data presentation was itself to perform validity of the study.

By means of “following-the- people/things”, this methodological experiment traced the diverse and complicated trajectories of the participants’ acculturation—their becoming Taiwanese—at different places and times. With these trialectical lenses, the

study was able to capture more contextually the subjects' conditions and their complicated becomings.

Major Findings of the Awen's Stories

The Fifth and Sixth Chapters represent the story of the Awen family. The researcher had persisted in following this family throughout the field study. Many emerging topics out of the fieldwork came from his experiences of studying this family. This family was primarily the major referential case for comparison with other research cases. With limited duration, this dissertation only focused on these Awens' complicated becomings as only a part of the larger complex scene.

Clearly, the Awens were disadvantaged in many senses. In this study, their economic difficulties and lack of necessary literacy were most significant. They may not be seen as poor in terms of material resources. But, as defined by Lewis (1959, 1966), they were struggling against *a* culture of poverty in order to jump out of a vicious cycle of poverty. Yet, unlike Lewis' (1966) findings, the younger generation did not simply receive their parents' culture/tactics of adapting oneself to a pervasive material shortage. They were, somewhat like Willis' (1977) boys though not completely similar, learning and making their own (poor) labor culture on their own. For instance, similar to Willis'

boys, work floors were a critical space for learning and creating their labor culture, even in a country with a very high school attendance rate. But, unlike Willis' boys, given the trend of feminizing subcontracting labor forces in the overwhelming capitalist expansion, skillful activities, rather than masculine muscle works were more appreciated and applicable. Finally, but perhaps most critically, they were redefining their own ideas of better lives and better jobs—being, for example, a skillful subcontracting worker. However, such emerging ideas probably cannot help them avoid a new yet still undesirable cycle in a foreseeable future.

In spite of many difficulties in becoming Taiwanese, in some way or the other, they were still able to found their niche in a relatively unconcerned national setting. What is more important is how they made use of their “situational advantages”, such as their physical maturity as compared with their socially assigned cohorts. Among all of these “situational advantages”, their language learning was most impressive. Herein, their colonial subjectivities were intersected with the postcolonial policy in Taiwan. Based on their own linguistic theories, they were less victims in losing their mother tongue, but more experts in learning second languages.

In general, their education in school was pleasant, especially as opposed to their step-father's militarized home pedagogy. Here, they met the legacy of the Cold War in Taiwan. Mr. Law's militarized pedagogy came from his military career. He applied this pedagogy to the literacy education of his children. His demands of both the regularity of characters and their speaking performance, at first glance, were aesthetic. But, their hidden effect was physical and disciplinary. This aesthetic dimension was still more or less appreciated at school and was helpful in pursuing their academic success. But, in the long run, would it be enough to meet the need of functional and digital literacy in a modern society? This is a question that the boys would someday have to answer.

Somehow, the Awen's migration was a project of a family's modernization. But, this family was still "traditional" in many senses, such as their unclear differentiation between production and reproduction. Housework consisted of obligations to be shared by all of its members. Such collectivism was, of course, not modern, at least from Giddens (1992) point of view. Parents' authoritarianism is easily seen in their role as managers of the family business, including investment in education. However, such a managerial pattern was challenged not only because of the children's growing up, but also because of their more advanced cultural adventure. More than generation gaps, the

children in immigrant families would sometimes have more critical cultural knowledge of the host society than their parents. Then, collectivism and parental authority tend to be threatened. As the family conflicts aggravated, the collectivism of the Awens also came to a critical point. On the one hand, the collectivism seemed to be an effective strategy to utilize their limited resources. On the other hand, both the quality of the intimate relations of the families and the individuals' personalities demanded more attention. Would the Awens find an alternative path to their modernization?

Policy Suggestions of Becoming Taiwanese

Based on the Awen's experiences, here are some emerging policy suggestions to meet the special needs of such NIC come to light:

- a) Legally, the government and schools should simplify the immigrant children's application for access to educational services—especially schooling, and should more actively provide assistance for their registration.
- b) In the school curriculum, the government and schools should actively provide transitional curriculum for immigrant children to facilitate their language and social cultural learning.

- c) The government and NGOs currently have paid increasing attention to foreign brides' education. Formal supplementary schools tend to concentrate on literacy and arithmetic education. Life Adaptation Classes usually more focus on adapting skills and knowledge in everyday life, such as transportation safety and the driver license test, purchasing in the market, and seeking medical advice. Local educational culture should be added into their curriculum.
- d) Regarding these foreign females' need, student teachers' multicultural literacy should be promoted—if possible including their native language—in teachers' preparation programs. In examinations of teachers' certificate and employment, these cultural abilities should be sought and credited.
- e) Finally, the government and schools should offer counseling to answer these families' questions and to help their communication with local teaching staffs.

Additional suggestions are relevant to those challenges common to children in Taiwan—wherever their parent(s) originated. Legally, the authorities should more actively interfere and counsel in cases of all kinds of domestic violence. The government should more rigidly protect the laborers' working conditions, and should include related legal knowledge in the formal curriculum. Finally, there should be developed more

widely after school programs as complementary counseling for minority families to fulfill their lack of skills to help their children and their difficulties in looking after both the needs of work and that of their families.

Moreover, the government should pay more attention to the multiplicity of these new immigrants, and by formal and informal educational offerings, more correctly inform the nationals about their new country fellows. These new compatriots are not a means for political manipulation as it often happens. For instance, it is inadequate to identify their Chineseness simply because they speak Hakka and eat pork. After all, they have different accents and tastes after decades of diaphora in pursuing different routes. But, it is equally inadequate to reduce their “foreignness” based on their coming from Indonesia. Clearly, such a definition has simplified our understanding of these foreigners.

However, the very meaning of “becoming” deserves more careful examination. What makes “becoming Taiwanese” different from mere assimilation if it is simply to eliminate unilaterally their “foreignness”? Clearly, if “becoming” is desirable, the concept of “being” has to surrender its fixity and authenticity. But, the question remains how is it possible to defend becoming without losing the multiplicity into “becoming the same”—i.e. assimilation? The researcher is convinced from his study that if only the end

of becoming is open and continuously under deconstruction, both the diversity of available paths and the differences of originality can be promised and celebrated.

Becoming Taiwanese and Redefining Taiwaneseeness

From the outset, this study did not take the cultural difference of NIC's family and their educational need at face value. The researcher makes clear his deconstruction of the subjects' foreignness. With this stance, the researcher is by no means arguing that there is no difference between these new Taiwanese and those who lived in Taiwan before their arrival. On the contrary, the deconstruction of their "foreignness" as well as their cultural differences serve the process of more contextually engaging the difference between these immigrants and original residents. In other words, these new Taiwanese are still different. But, the study pays significant attention to how they are, therefore, different from the non-immigrants to meet similar historical challenges. Clearly, this would be more desirable not only to know better each other but also to learn from each other.

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, all of the Awens were in their way to becoming Taiwanese. But, it was also clear that there were multiple becomings, and there were also different concepts of Taiwaneseeness involved. In effect, by deconstructing their "foreignness", what is also implicated is a deconstruction of "Taiwaneseeness", i.e. a

reconstruction of “Taiwanese-ness”. It is not only that they who are becoming Taiwanese. Rather, it is that all of the Taiwanese are becoming new Taiwanese. For instance, Nini’s learning Hakka and her brothers’ learning Mandarin can be construed from a cultural racist point of view as recovering and losing their mother tongue. However, if her brothers’ language learning was, in reality, an active application of their everyday linguistics, Nini’s acquiring Hakka should also be situationally reconceptualized as an alternative “becoming Taiwanese”. That is, rather than her ethnic background, she learned the language because she wanted to be one of the Awens.

Cultural racism is problematic for its assigning the minority responsibilities to maintain the multiplicity of the society by defending their own culture—usually with limited resources and from disadvantaged positions. It cannot be excused if the mission is so critical, why should it not be also a responsibility of the majority, even the whole society? The minority should have no obligation to be the cultural sample of multiplicity. Here, rather than showing more respect to the minority, more responsibility is uploaded on their shoulders. Therefore, based on its concern of becoming, this study has implications for the current policy of mother tongue education.

Mother tongue education is one of the most critical educational policies of decolonization in Taiwan. Its purpose is primarily to correct the prevailing effect of the Mandarin Only policy in the last half century by which most of the ethnic groups were silenced and forced into a prevailing assimilation. By recovering the dying languages, this policy aims to revive cultural multiplicity. In this policy, the minorities' mother tongues are, therefore, symbols of multiplicity and a matter of their own responsibility. However, it is in reality a difficult task.

First of all, the definition of mother tongue is often a question. Wen-hui Tang and Hong-Zen Wang (2002) clearly point out that the current definition of mother tongue is patriarchal. It usually assumes a child's "mother" tongue in terms of his/her father's ethnicity. Also problematic is a local government's recent decision about making Bahasa Indonesia part of the mother tongue education for children whose mothers come from Indonesia (Ru-Yi Syu 徐如宜, 2007). As it can be clearly seen in the case of the Awen family and the review in Chapter One, the mothers' "foreignness" is, in effect, partly a result of the emerging nationalism in Taiwan, i.e. a side-effect of local politics of identity. Not all of these "Indonesian" females identify themselves as Indonesians.

Secondly, the population of most minorities is usually fewer and more dispersed. Therefore, it is technically more difficult to create a more adequate language learning environment. Opportunities to practice their languages are also fewer. As a result, this policy has not really revived those dying languages and cultures. Such a constraint has occurred in most of the ethnic minorities of both the aboriginals and the intermarriage families. The limit of such a multicultural education based on the cultural racist assumption is clearly a continuing problem.

It would be very different if multicultural education were to be based on the notion of “becoming”. In addition to the language used nationwide, this multicultural education could encourage the ethnic majorities also to begin learning the language of the ethnic minorities.

Such an approach would be extremely unrealistic when some market value is still a determinant of language learning. (Un-) fortunately, in Taiwan, there has been a common entrance examination. It would have no need to make languages of all minorities a subject in the examination, but to establish a weighted index system of certificated proficiency of individual minorities’ languages. In effect, such a certification system has recently been achieved. Clearly, there is ideally only a step away from realizing such a

multicultural policy—although it is a very political step. As an officially recognized cultural capital in entrance examination, learning minorities’ mother tongues should then be more fully encouraged. More critically, the responsibility of maintaining both the minorities’ languages and cultural multiplicity would be more equally shared by the whole society. Such a policy balances the need of learning the majorities’ language for survival and the intent to preserve the culture and the dignity of the minority. With such a policy, it would be foreseeable that changes of both the cultural geography and the nature of “Taiwaneseness” would follow. There would be then more diverse Taiwanese and also “becoming Taiwanese”.

Based on the foregoing chapter summaries and emerging policy suggestions, this study clearly sheds new light on the following fields of study. First, this dissertation contributes to studies of diaspora, migration, and immigrants’ education, culture, and acculturation. Similar phenomena can also be seen in Japan and Korea. Related studies could all be contextualized within a very similar historical background, namely a postcolonial modernization under the ongoing globalization (Shu-Wen Chiu 邱淑雯, 2005). Second, this study is also concerned with studies of parenting, especially those families in poverty and with a large age gap. In this study, it can be clearly seen how

issues of poverty, migration, gender, and generation had intersected one another in children's development, learning, and their perspective of the future. Finally, with close examinations of the complicated becomings of the research participants, this study proposes an alternative foundation for further considerations of multicultural education and postcolonial policies of language education. It suggests that the condition of immigrants and other ethnic minorities' cultures is not simply losing or dying. They are sometimes proactive creators of their own culture and new space for their future. They are usually more open to the call for different "becomings". All multicultural societies must reconsider a more responsible balance of how to maintain their multiplicity.

Directions for Further Research

Constrained by its budget, this study was, geographically contained. All ethnographic data were collected in Taiwan. Incidents outside of Taiwan were, therefore, not examined. In order to complete his "following", the researcher is looking forward to visiting the sites where the stories began.

Also, a transnational nursery pattern was emerging before the end of this current research. Double income families have been common in Taiwan since industrialization. When both parents work full-time, child-raising, especially at the stage of preschool

education, is clearly a challenge. Many of those nuclear families have to purchase privatized nursery service. Its cost is high for most intermarriage families given their economic disadvantage. For instance, as a mother reported, yearly expense for a top class in an average kindergarten, fees of tuition (spring, summer, and autumn semesters), monthly refreshments, and sundries, could require more than ten percent of her family's annual income.

For some Taiwanese couples, their families of origin of either side might well take over this responsibility. But, fathers of intermarriage are usually older. Their families of origin are therefore usually older, and are relatively unable to share this load. Thus, some children have been sent to mothers' families of origin (mainly Vietnam). Divorce is yet another reason that brought these so-called "New Taiwanese Children" to their mothers' origins. In effect, based on current findings, mothers from China have met similar challenges but usually with additional legal issues. The Taiwanese government currently tends to have more unfriendly regulations on issues of residency and naturalization of incoming Chinese.

Currently, children of a kind are regarded as either victims or potentially triumph transnationlists. Yet, prior to making such judgments and predictions, what should be

clarified in advance should be the question of in what sense these children are transnationalized, internationalized, and/or globalized. These matters mark a starting point for further research directions in this emerging critical arena.

APPENDIX A

CRITICAL REGIONAL HISTORICAL EVENTS

The following chronology is created by the author based on his participants' review of their lives. Therefore, it begins from time of the Second World War and ends at the coming of the new millennium when most of his participants had arrived at Taiwan; and it spatially covers both Taiwan and those major bride-exporting counties. Events are either those which, as the author acknowledges, have global impact or those which, as his participants reported, had direct or indirect impact on their biographies and their families.

- 1940 Japanese army invaded French Indochina (currently Vietnam and Lao), Ho Chi Minh and his nationalist fellows started a guerrilla campaign against the Japanese
- 1941 Japanese Empire began its invasion of Southeast Asia at the end of this year.
- 1942 Dutch and British colonists were driven out of Indies (currently Indonesia) and Malaya. Thailand was also under Japanese control. Overseas Chinese and the natives (such as pribumi¹ in Indonesia and Malays in Malaya) had no coherent stance to Japanese occupation. In the name of independence, some might choose to fight against Japanese, while the other might be on the other side. But, as Tsung-Rong Edwin Yang (2001) argued, military

¹ Pribumi refers to the majority ethnic groups around Java, such as Sundanese, Javanese, Madurese, and Balinese.

- strategies and administration policy of the colonial authorities (British, Dutch, and Japanese) had fostered conflicts between different ethnic groups in post-independent era.
- 1945 In order to rebuild the international economic system after World War II, allied nations signed the Bretton Woods Agreement. Fixed-rate dollar standard was built to regulate the international monetary system. Japanese Empire surrendered. As soon as the end of its occupation, struggles for national independence burst out (in Indonesia and Vietnam). Overseas Chinese might stand aside, against, or for these struggles.
- 1946 According to the Tydings-McDuffie Act, Philippine became an independent country.
- 1949 Dutch left the Republic of Indonesia.
Chinese Communist Party took over the control of Mainland China. KMT and Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan.
- 1950 Some KMT's army, later military refugees, retreated into Burma, then Thailand in 1960.
The Korean War Began.
- 1954 French colonial power was defeated. Cambodia and Lao earned their independence. Vietnam was divided into South and North Vietnam at the 17th parallel. America went into Vietnam.
Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of China was signed at Washington in December.
- 1961 The Berlin Wall was built.
- 1965 In the name of anti-Communism, General Suharto came to power. Chinese Indonesians became scapegoats and were increasingly discriminated against.
- 1966 Suharto championed forced assimilation policy against Chinese Indonesians and enacted much anti-Chinese legislation, including banning Chinese schools and publications. Thousands of Chinese in Indonesia returned to China or Taiwan.
- 1973 Bretton Woods Agreement and the fixed-rate dollar standard failed followed by floating standard and a post-Fordist mode of production for flexible accumulation.
The globalization was emerging.

- 1975 The United States President Ford announced the end of military action in Vietnam. Indochina was ruled by Communist Parties.
Thailand established diplomatic relations with China.
- 1979 Taiwanese government lifted its restriction of international travel.
- 1980 Thai Communist forces were eliminated. KMT's military refugees finally earned their Thai citizenship with flesh and blood.
Mutual Defense Treaty between America and Taiwan was terminated by America.
- 1986 Vietnam opened its door and started its economic reform policy.
- 1987 Taiwanese government opened its door for "Outerprovincers'" homing.
- 1989 The Berlin Wall fell. The Cold War was over.
- 1991 Under the pressure of labor shortage, Taiwan began to import guest workers from Southeast Asia.
- 1993-4 Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui (李登輝) announced his Southward Policy to minimize Taiwan's economic dependence on China.
- 1997 A financial crisis broke out in Asia. Thai, Indonesia, and many other countries (or areas) in Southeast and East Asia were heavily struck.
- 1998 A new anti-Chinese riot in Indonesia burst out in May. After more than 30-year's dictatorship, Suharto finally stepped down.

APPENDIX B

NUMBERS OF MARRIED WITH FOREIGNERS (1998-2001)

year	1998					1999				
Locality	No. of Household	Population	Married with Foreigner			No. of Household	Population	Married with Foreigner		
			Total	Male	Female			Total	Male	Female
Total	6,369,768	21,928,591	10,454	8,656	1,798	6,532,466	22,092,387	14,674	12,721	1,953
Taipei County	1,062,767	3,459,624	1,584	1,248	336	1,102,154	3,510,917	2,248	1,848	400
Yilan County	127,466	465,627	186	164	22	130,059	465,004	271	251	20
Taoyuan County	466,035	1,650,984	977	805	172	486,834	1,691,292	1,305	1,143	162
Hsinchu County	108,693	427,980	328	298	30	112,499	433,767	494	464	30
Miaoli County	139,847	559,858	325	310	15	142,936	559,804	530	495	35
Taichung County	379,359	1,467,579	761	696	65	388,737	1,481,407	1,105	996	109
Changhua County	307,039	1,301,467	657	614	43	313,063	1,305,640	968	919	49
Nantou County	144,576	545,874	378	355	23	147,687	544,038	553	526	27
Yunlin County	194,350	748,995	496	466	30	196,518	746,241	672	641	31
Chiayi County	149,989	565,733	448	409	39	152,102	562,662	558	534	24
Tainan County	313,762	1,100,270	394	340	54	319,825	1,103,723	583	549	34
Kaohsiung	363,680	1,227,072	592	523	69	371,349	1,230,352	781	715	66
Pingtung County	242,344	910,540	434	388	46	245,946	909,015	642	589	53
Taitung County	71,301	249,937	108	90	18	72,176	247,801	150	125	25
Hualien County	102,938	356,601	149	118	31	104,799	355,686	183	152	31
Penghu County	26,722	89,463	58	55	3	27,095	89,013	88	84	4
Keelung City	122,729	382,118	133	101	32	126,574	385,201	205	173	32
Hsinchu City	104,929	356,243	143	116	27	109,086	361,958	239	207	32
Taichung City	285,455	917,788	299	219	80	296,875	940,589	365	265	100
Chiayi City	77,373	263,050	103	88	15	78,423	265,109	156	136	20
Tainan City	219,199	721,832	188	139	49	224,420	728,060	275	222	53
Taipei City	869,803	2,639,939	1,089	640	449	879,156	2,641,312	1,397	946	451
Kaohsiung City	470,257	1,462,302	600	452	148	485,011	1,475,505	852	687	165
Kinmen County	17,664	51,060	24	22		17,644	51,731	51	51	—
Lienchiang	1,491	6,655	—	—	—	1,498	6,560	3	3	—

Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI.

Continued

Table B.1 1998-2001 Numbers of Married with Foreigners (by county)

Table B.1 continued

year	2000					2001				
Locality	No. of Household	Population	Married with Foreigner			No. of Household	Population	Married with Foreigner		
			Total	Male	Female			Total	Male	Female
Total	6,681,685	22,276,672	21,338	19,062	2,276	6,802,281	22,405,568	19,405	16,988	2,417
Taipei County	1,136,300	3,567,896	3,441	2,977	464	1,164,418	3,610,252	2,837	2,345	492
Yilan County	133,143	465,186	436	403	33	134,568	465,799	426	401	25
Taoyuan County	505,296	1,732,617	1,803	1,590	213	521,200	1,762,963	1,807	1,562	245
Hsinchu County	116,042	439,713	777	751	26	119,426	446,300	612	576	36
Miaoli County	146,167	559,703	799	773	26	148,648	560,640	703	661	42
Taichung County	396,743	1,494,308	1,527	1,412	115	402,505	1,502,274	1,346	1,248	98
Changhua County	318,950	1,310,531	1,309	1,250	59	323,331	1,313,994	1,213	1,146	67
Nantou County	150,807	541,537	777	745	32	153,265	541,818	655	630	25
Yunlin County	200,473	743,368	902	871	31	203,751	743,562	850	826	24
Chiayi County	155,269	562,305	866	847	19	157,448	563,365	728	706	22
Tainan County	325,537	1,107,687	960	903	57	328,824	1,107,397	1,029	928	101
Kaohsiung County	377,440	1,234,707	1,159	1,080	79	382,320	1,236,958	1,047	963	84
Pingtung County	248,893	907,590	935	883	52	251,733	909,364	946	900	46
Taitung County	72,974	245,312	220	199	21	73,766	244,612	187	178	9
Hualien County	106,472	353,630	281	249	32	107,869	353,139	210	180	30
Penghu County	27,643	89,496	120	116	4	28,260	92,268	98	93	5
Keelung City	129,497	388,425	350	319	31	132,196	390,966	378	318	60
Hsinchu City	112,187	368,439	335	293	42	115,169	373,296	337	289	48
Taichung City	307,505	965,790	560	448	112	317,310	983,694	521	395	126
Chiayi City	79,716	266,183	256	238	18	81,262	267,993	313	281	32
Tainan City	229,032	734,650	440	369	71	233,504	740,846	496	391	105
Taipei City	888,560	2,646,474	1,952	1,385	567	894,763	2,633,802	1,603	1,086	517
Kaohsiung City	497,546	1,490,560	1,058	886	172	506,632	1,494,457	1,021	845	176
Kinmen County	17,985	53,832	71	71	1	18,542	56,958	41	39	2
Lienchiang County	1,508	6,733	4	4	—	1,571	8,851	1	1	—

Source: Dept. of Household Registration Affairs, MOI.

APPENDIX C

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION DENISTY (1998-2001 by county)

1998 location	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Person
Taipei County	0.00149	0.00117	0.00032	0.000458	0.000361	0.000097
Yilan County	0.00146	0.00129	0.00017	0.000399	0.000352	0.000047
Taoyuan County	0.00210	0.00173	0.00037	0.000592	0.000488	0.000104
Hsinchu County	0.00302	0.00274	0.00028	0.000766	0.000696	0.000070
Miaoli County	0.00232	0.00222	0.00011	0.000581	0.000554	0.000027
Taichung County	0.00201	0.00183	0.00017	0.000519	0.000474	0.000044
Changhua County	0.00214	0.00200	0.00014	0.000505	0.000472	0.000033
Nantou County	0.00261	0.00246	0.00016	0.000692	0.000650	0.000042
Yunlin County	0.00255	0.00240	0.00015	0.000662	0.000622	0.000040
Chiayi County	0.00299	0.00273	0.00026	0.000792	0.000723	0.000069
Tainan County	0.00126	0.00108	0.00017	0.000358	0.000309	0.000049
Kaohsiung County	0.00163	0.00144	0.00019	0.000482	0.000426	0.000056
Pingtung County	0.00179	0.00160	0.00019	0.000477	0.000426	0.000051
Taitung County	0.00151	0.00126	0.00025	0.000432	0.000360	0.000072
Hualien County	0.00145	0.00115	0.00030	0.000418	0.000331	0.000087
Penghu County	0.00217	0.00206	0.00011	0.000648	0.000615	0.000034
Keelung City	0.00108	0.00082	0.00026	0.000348	0.000264	0.000084
Hsinchu City	0.00136	0.00111	0.00026	0.000401	0.000326	0.000076
Taichung City	0.00105	0.00077	0.00028	0.000326	0.000239	0.000087
Chiayi City	0.00133	0.00114	0.00019	0.000392	0.000335	0.000057
Tainan City	0.00086	0.00063	0.00022	0.000260	0.000193	0.000068
Taipei City	0.00125	0.00074	0.00052	0.000413	0.000242	0.000170
Kaohsiung City	0.00128	0.00096	0.00031	0.000410	0.000309	0.000101

Estimates are based on the statistics in Appendix A. Significants are underlined.

Continued

Table C.1 Estimates of Population Density of “Foreign Spouses” (1998-2001, by county)

Table C.1 continued

1999 location	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Person
Taipei County	0.00204	0.00168	0.00036	0.000640	0.000526	0.000114
Yilan County	0.00208	0.00193	0.00015	0.000583	0.000540	0.000043
Taoyuan County	0.00268	0.00235	0.00033	0.000772	0.000676	0.000096
Hsinchu County	0.00439	0.00412	0.00027	0.001139	0.001070	0.000069
Miaoli County	0.00371	0.00346	0.00024	0.000947	0.000884	0.000063
Taichung County	0.00284	0.00256	0.00028	0.000746	0.000672	0.000074
Changhua County	0.00309	0.00294	0.00016	0.000741	0.000704	0.000038
Nantou County	0.00374	0.00356	0.00018	0.001016	0.000967	0.000050
Yunlin County	0.00342	0.00326	0.00016	0.000901	0.000859	0.000042
Chiayi County	0.00367	0.00351	0.00016	0.000992	0.000949	0.000043
Tainan County	0.00182	0.00172	0.00011	0.000528	0.000497	0.000031
Kaohsiung County	0.00210	0.00193	0.00018	0.000635	0.000581	0.000054
Pingtung County	0.00261	0.00239	0.00022	0.000706	0.000648	0.000058
Taitung County	0.00208	0.00173	0.00035	0.000605	0.000504	0.000101
Hualien County	0.00175	0.00145	0.00030	0.000514	0.000427	0.000087
Penghu County	0.00325	0.00310	0.00015	0.000989	0.000944	0.000045
Keelung City	0.00162	0.00137	0.00025	0.000532	0.000449	0.000083
Hsinchu City	0.00219	0.00190	0.00029	0.000660	0.000572	0.000088
Taichung City	0.00123	0.00089	0.00034	0.000388	0.000282	0.000106
Chiayi City	0.00199	0.00173	0.00026	0.000588	0.000513	0.000075
Tainan City	0.00123	0.00099	0.00024	0.000378	0.000305	0.000073
Taipei City	0.00159	0.00108	0.00051	0.000529	0.000358	0.000171
Kaohsiung City	0.00176	0.00142	0.00034	0.000577	0.000466	0.000112

Estimates are based on the statistics in Appendix A. Significants are underlined.

Continued

Table C.1 continued

2000 location	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Person
Taipei County	0.00303	0.00262	0.00041	0.000964	0.000834	<u>0.000130</u>
Yilan County	0.00327	0.00303	0.00025	0.000937	0.000866	0.000071
Taoyuan County	0.00357	0.00315	0.00042	0.001041	0.000918	0.000123
Hsinchu County	0.00670	0.00647	0.00022	0.001767	0.001708	0.000059
Miaoli County	0.00547	0.00529	0.00018	0.001428	0.001381	0.000046
Taichung County	0.00385	0.00356	0.00029	0.001022	0.000945	0.000077
Changhua County	0.00410	0.00392	0.00018	0.000999	0.000954	0.000045
Nantou County	0.00515	0.00494	0.00021	0.001435	0.001376	0.000059
Yunlin County	0.00450	0.00434	0.00015	0.001213	0.001172	0.000042
Chiayi County	0.00558	0.00546	0.00012	0.001540	0.001506	0.000034
Tainan County	0.00295	0.00277	0.00018	0.000867	0.000815	0.000051
Kaohsiung County	0.00307	0.00286	0.00021	0.000939	0.000875	0.000064
Pingtung County	0.00376	0.00355	0.00021	0.001030	0.000973	0.000057
Taitung County	0.00301	0.00273	0.00029	0.000897	0.000811	0.000086
Hualien County	0.00264	0.00234	0.00030	0.000795	0.000704	0.000090
Penghu County	0.00434	0.00420	0.00014	0.001341	0.001296	0.000045
Keelung City	0.00270	0.00246	0.00024	0.000901	0.000821	0.000080
Hsinchu City	0.00299	0.00261	0.00037	0.000909	0.000795	0.000114
Taichung City	0.00182	0.00146	0.00036	0.000580	0.000464	0.000116
Chiayi City	0.00321	0.00299	0.00023	0.000962	0.000894	0.000068
Tainan City	0.00192	0.00161	0.00031	0.000599	0.000502	0.000097
Taipei City	0.00220	0.00156	0.00064	0.000738	0.000523	0.000214
Kaohsiung City	0.00213	0.00178	0.00035	0.000710	0.000594	0.000115

Estimates are based on the statistics in Appendix A. Significants are underlined.

Continued

Table C.1 continued

2001 location	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Household	Number of Marriage with Foreigner/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Female/ Person	Number of Marriage with Foreign Male/ Person
Taipei County	0.00244	0.00201	<u>0.00042</u>	0.000786	0.000650	<u>0.000136</u>
Yilan County	0.00317	0.00298	0.00019	0.000915	0.000861	0.000054
Taoyuan County	0.00347	0.00300	0.00047	0.001025	0.000886	0.000139
Hsinchu County	0.00512	0.00482	0.00030	0.001371	0.001291	0.000081
Miaoli County	0.00473	0.00445	0.00028	0.001254	0.001179	0.000075
Taichung County	0.00334	0.00310	0.00024	0.000896	0.000831	0.000065
Changhua County	0.00375	0.00354	0.00021	0.000923	0.000872	0.000051
Nantou County	0.00427	0.00411	0.00016	0.001209	0.001163	0.000046
Yunlin County	0.00417	0.00405	0.00012	0.001143	0.001111	0.000032
Chiayi County	0.00462	0.00448	0.00014	0.001292	0.001253	0.000039
Tainan County	0.00313	0.00282	0.00031	0.000929	0.000838	0.000091
Kaohsiung County	0.00274	0.00252	0.00022	0.000846	0.000779	0.000068
Pingtung County	0.00376	0.00358	0.00018	0.001040	0.000990	0.000051
Taitung County	0.00254	0.00241	0.00012	0.000764	0.000728	0.000037
Hualien County	0.00195	0.00167	0.00028	0.000595	0.000510	0.000085
Penghu County	0.00347	0.00329	0.00018	0.001062	0.001008	0.000054
Keelung City	0.00286	0.00241	0.00045	0.000967	0.000813	0.000153
Hsinchu City	0.00293	0.00251	0.00042	0.000903	0.000774	0.000129
Taichung City	0.00164	0.00124	0.00040	0.000530	0.000402	0.000128
Chiayi City	0.00385	0.00346	0.00039	0.001168	0.001049	0.000119
Tainan City	0.00212	0.00167	0.00045	0.000670	0.000528	<u>0.000142</u>
Taipei City	0.00179	0.00121	0.00058	0.000609	0.000412	0.000196
Kaohsiung City	0.00202	0.00167	0.00035	0.000683	0.000565	0.000118

Significant numbers are underlined.

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions for Minor Participants:

1. Basic Info:
 - What is your name?
 - When and where were you born?
 - If you were not born in Taiwan, when did you move to Taiwan?
2. Language:
 - What do you usually speak to your mother?
 - What do you usually speak to you father?
 - When did you start learning Mandarin?
3. Travel experiences:
 - Have you visited your mother or father's birthplace?
 - ✓ If no, would you like to visit her/his birthplace, why or why not?
 - ✓ If yes, how many times have you visited her/his birthplace?
 - ✓ When was the last time you visit her/his birthplace?
 - ✓ Whom did you meet there?
 - ✓ What did you do there?
 - ✓ Name two of the most interesting things when you were there.
 - Name the farthest place you have visited without your parents' company.
 - ✓ Why, how, and when did you go there?
 - ✓ How did you get the information about that place?
 - Name the most interesting place you have visited without your parents company.
 - ✓ Why, how, and when did you go there?
 - ✓ How did you get the information about that place?
4. Have you met any relative from abroad?
 - Do you know what s/he does there?

- Did you know what s/he was doing here?
 - What did you do when s/he came?
 - In what language did you talk to her/him?
5. What is your responsibility for the housework in your family?
 6. What do you usually do after school?
 - Do you go to an after school center or participate in any after school program?
 - ✓ Why do you go there?
 - ✓ Do you think the center or the program is helpful?
 - Name three of your most interesting TV programs.
 - ✓ Did you collect anything, such as cartoon stickers, comic books, game cards, etc. related to, or because of, these programs?
 - ✓ How did you get them? Who bought them for you?
 - What is your favorite item in addition to those we just mentioned?
 - ✓ Why do you collect it?
 - ✓ How did you get it? Who bought it for you?
 7. To whom do you prefer to talk when you have troubles or secrets, father or mother, why?
 8. In addition to your parents, name three of your friends with whom you spend most of your time after school?
 - What are those things you would like to do with them?
 9. What do you usually eat for breakfast, lunch, and dinner?
 - Have you eaten cuisine that comes from your mother or father's birthplace?
 - How did you get those dishes?
 - Do you like them?
 10. Name a person you dislike most, why?
 11. Name a thing you hate most, why?
 12. What would you like to do twenty years from now?

Questions for Adult Participants:

1. Basic Info:
 - What is your name?
 - When and where were you born?
 - If you were not born in Taiwan, when did you move to Taiwan, and why?
2. Language:
 - What do you usually speak to your families?

- When did you start learning Mandarin?
 - If you are an immigrant, do you still speak the national language where you were born, in what occasion?
3. Travel experiences:
- Have you returned to your (parent's) birthplace after you came to Taiwan?
 - ✓ If no, do you like to visit your (parent's) birthplace, why or why not?
 - ✓ If yes, how many times have you returned to your (parent's) birthplace?
 - ✓ When was the last time you made this visit, why did you go there?
 - ✓ Whom did you meet there?
 - ✓ With whom have you returned to your (parent's) birthplace?
 - ✓ Name two of the most interesting things when you were there.
 - Have you ever thought of immigrating to places other than Taiwan (including your/parent's birthplace) to develop your career, why?
 - ✓ Did you really try to move to places other than Taiwan?
 - ✓ If not, why?
 - ✓ If yes, what happened then?
4. Have you met any relative from abroad in Taiwan?
- Do you know what s/he does there?
 - Did you know what s/he was doing here?
 - What did you do with her/him when s/he was here?
 - In what language did you talk to her/him?
5. Do you have any relative, in addition to your parents and siblings, who also immigrated into Taiwan?
- Do you know what s/he does now?
 - Did you know how s/he did her/his immigration?
 - In what language did you talk to her/him?
6. If you are an immigrant,
- name two most impressive things before you immigrated;
 - name three most useful lessons that you learned before you immigrated;
 - name two most impressive things after you immigrated;
 - name three most critical lessons that you have learned after you immigrated.
7. Do you have friends with similar family background as you do?
- How did you know his/her background?
 - How did s/he know your background?
 - How often do you contact each other, in what way?

- What language do you use in your communication?
 - What do you usually do when you meet each other?
8. Would you mind if someone unexpectedly knows your family's immigration background?
- If yes, why?
 - If not, how many friends born in Taiwan do you have who know your immigration background?
 - How did they know?
 - Have you ever shown them anything that came with you from your birthplace?
9. Will you tell your child (if you have none now, please assume) about your life back in your birthplace?
- What will you say to him/her, for instance, those issues we just mentioned?
 - ✓ Which of those you think is ok, why?
 - ✓ Which of those you will try to avoid, why?
 - Will you bring him/her to your birthplace, why and why not?
 - Do you think your (family's) immigration background an advantage or disadvantage for raising your child, and why?
10. Do you still have any thing that came with you since your immigration?
- Why do you keep it?
11. How will you identify yourself, for instance, "new immigrants," "foreign bride's child"? Or, do you have any better word to identify yourself?
- Do you have any comment on the perspectives of people of your kind held by the Taiwanese majority?

Questions for Parents:

1. Basic Info:

	Father	Mother
Name		
Birthday		
Birthplace		
Date of Marriage		
Times of Marriage		
Numbers of Children from this marriage		
Numbers of Children not from this marriage		
Level of education		

Job/Profession

Title

Numbers of families in the same household

2. For both parents:

- Please talk about your experiences of work and education before you got married.
- How did you know each other?
- Name three most exciting achievements after you got married, why?
- Challenges:
 - i. What was the most challenging issue at the beginning of your marriage?
 - ii. What was the most challenging issue when you (or your spouse) just moved to Taiwan?
 - iii. What was the most challenging issue at the beginning of your (spouse's) pregnancy?
 - iv. What was the most challenging issue when your first baby just arrived?
 - v. What is the most challenging issue in these days?
 - vi. As far as you can foresee, what will be the most challenging issue for your family in the future?
- Have you discussed how many children you would like to have?
 - i. What is your major concern of this?
- In what language do you usually talk to your child?
 - i. Do you mind if your child talks to your spouse in a language with which you are not very familiar?
 - ii. Do you encourage your child to learn non-Mandarin mother tongue from you or your spouse?
 - iii. Have you had any trouble in teaching your child Mandarin and both of your mother tongues?
- Did you return to your (or your spouse's) home country after you married?
 - i. If no, why?
 - ii. If yes, how often did you take such a visit?
 - iii. Has any of your family in Taiwan been there with you?
 - iv. When was your last visit?
 - v. What did you usually do there?
- Name two of the most common activities that you and your child do after school on a normal weekday and on the weekends.

- Name two of the most popular topics between you and your child.
 - Name three of the most exciting things your child has done?
 - Name two of the most troublesome things your child has done?
 - What are your expectations to your child's level of education and career, why?
 - Has either of you thought of the possibility of going back to your (or your spouse's) mother country with or without your family in Taiwan, before or after your retirement?
3. For the parent who was not born in Taiwan:
- Do you have families in Taiwan?
 - i. If yes, how often do you contact them in what way?
 - How often do you contact (including phone, letter, or physical visit) your families in your mother country?
 - i. Have your families come here?
 - ii. If not, why not?
 - iii. If yes, why did they come here?
 - Is there a constant financial flow between you and your families in your mother country?
 - Where do you usually get information of your mother country?
 - Name two most important turning points in your life.
 - i. Why do you think they are important?
4. For the parent who was born in Taiwan:
- Do you have families outside Taiwan?
 - i. Why are they there?
 - ii. How often do you contact them and in what way?
 - Is there a constant financial flow between you and your families?
 - Name two most important turning points in your life.
 - i. Why do you think they are important?

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